

HUANG Yueh-po

Pilgrimage, Modernity, Tourism, and Nostalgia

Tenrikyō's *Ojibagaeri* in Post-colonial Taiwan

This article examines the practice of *ojibagaeri* as a means of gaining personal experience of spiritual development, self-empowerment, modernity, and nostalgia. *Ojibagaeri* is a pilgrimage holding a central position within the Tenrikyō tradition, attracting pilgrims both inside and beyond the geographical boundaries of Japan to embark on a journey to Tenri, the sanctuary said to be the original birth place, eventual destination, and home of humankind. This article will present Taiwanese perspectives on *ojibagaeri* and an ethnographic account of the pilgrimage in the present post-colonial Taiwanese situation. The author conducted fieldwork in Taiwan in 2009, 2011, and 2015, collecting evidence concerning religious journeys to Tenri and interviewing Taiwanese followers.

KEYWORDS: Tenrikyō—Japanese new religious movement—tourism—*ojibagaeri* (pilgrimage)—post-colonial

HUANG Yueh-po is a member of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan.

TENRIKYŌ SITS within one of the first waves of Japanese new religious movements emerging in the mid-nineteenth century. It arose in a rural region of Japan during the late Tokugawa period when the disintegration of the feudal system was inevitable.¹ It originated from divine revelations given to a Japanese farmer's wife named Nakayama Miki, known to Tenrikyō's followers as Oyasama 教祖 (beloved Mother or Parent), Tsukihi no yashiro 月日のやしろ (the Shrine of God the Parent), and the Foundress (ELLWOOD 1982; IKEDA 1996; TENRIKYŌ CHURCH HEADQUARTERS 1996; TENRIKYŌ DŌYŪSHA 1993). The major teachings of Tenrikyō include the *Mikagura-uta* みかぐらうた (the songs for the service), which was drawn from Miki's interpretation of revelations at various times and written accordingly in the form of lyrics to be accompanied by melody and hand movements, as well as the *Ofudesaki* おふでさき (Tip of the writing brush), which was also written by Miki immediately following each revelation and then transcribed in a literal and legible form (TENRIKYŌ DŌYŪSHA 1993). Since the two fundamental canons are believed by the Tenrikyō community to give instructions for leading a joyous life, the Tenrikyō authorities provide regular and occasional instructional courses for spreading such teachings for pilgrims, converts, and newcomers in Tenrikyō Church Headquarters. The realization of Tenrikyō's teachings is achieved through two main practices: *tsutome* つとめ (salvation service) and *sazuke* さづけ (healing service), both of which are performed in order to accomplish self-purification and universal salvation.

The cosmology of Tenrikyō involves two categories: God and human beings. God is creator, tutelage provider and savior, and the objects of God's interest, mercy, and pity are human beings. The notion of an evil spirit or of any other third-party dangerous entity never appears in the Canons of Tenrikyō. In addition, Tenrikyō presupposes a two-dimensional universe, namely the world as the Body of God and the world where human and other beings reside. It rejects the notion that the universe contains the underworld (the nether world). In addition, Tenrikyō's mythology, The "Truth of Origin," is included in Tenrikyō's doctrine (*The Doctrine of Tenrikyō*) which gives us a clue to the puzzle of how the relationship between God the Parent and human beings is established—God and humankind are in a relationship of parent and children. Closely connected

1. Tenrikyō (1838), along with two other new religions—Kurozumikyō (1814) and Konkōkyō (1857)—emerged in the nineteenth century (ANESAKI 1930; McFARLAND 1967; BLACKER 1971).

to Tenrikyō's mythology is *ojibagaeri*,² or the pilgrimage to Tenri, a place which is associated with the birthplace of its founder. For Tenrikyō followers, *Jiba*, located in the Worship Hall of Tenrikyō Church Headquarters, is seen as the place where humankind was created, and the global pilgrimage of Tenrikyō followers to Tenri/*Jiba* may be another way of constituting and reaffirming the connection of their relationship with Tenrikyō and the founder.

In 1896, Tenrikyō first set foot in Taiwan through colonial encounter, and started making inroads into local popular religions through the process of inculturation. Since 1896, the religious conditions of Tenrikyō in Taiwan have been through various stages: growth but decline during the pre-war period (1896–1945), stagnation after World War II (1945–1968), and revival since 1968. Statistics provided by one Tenrikyō scholar revealed that Tenrikyō's condition in Taiwan from 1998 to 2004 is encouraging.³ Several studies show that Tenrikyō, with the attribution of this-worldly benefit, fits into the practical religious system in Taiwan (CHIU 2006; HUANG 2003). It has also been recently discovered why Taiwan serves as an extraordinary pattern for Tenrikyō's overseas propagation (HUANG 2003). The main reasons include, 1. the doctrine of Tenrikyō being based on the practicality of everyday life, compatible with Taiwanese popular religion; and 2. Tenrikyō providing the Taiwanese followers with religious means (through pilgrimage to Tenri/Japan, for example) to embrace modernity and post-colonial nostalgia (seeing Japan as a civilized and law-abiding country/motherland).

In this article, the author will argue that for Taiwanese Tenrikyō pilgrims, their incorporation of *ojibagaeri* into the seasonal or annual round of healing-oriented practices transforms Tenri into an ideal "healing site." Through this process, *ojibagaeri* accomplishes continuing reinforcements of past visits with family, relatives, and fellow Tenrikyō Taiwanese through tourism and post-colonial nostalgia. In this vein, the author suggests an interdisciplinary approach to the study of *ojibagaeri*, including individual experience, healing, post-colonialism, education, and tourism, all of which have predisposed Taiwanese adherents to make a pilgrimage to a holy site (or a metaphorical home). In the following section, the author will make reference to previous ethnographic studies of Tenrikyō's *ojibagaeri* in contemporary pilgrimage studies, on Taiwanese pilgrims' participation, and on the reasons motivating the Taiwanese pilgrim to engage in *ojibagaeri* in modern and post-colonial Taiwan. To achieve this, the author has visited Tenrikyō Church Headquarters in Japan and Tenrikyō local churches in

2. In Tenrikyō, the term *ojibagaeri* おぢばがえり ("pilgrimage") refers to a "return to *Jiba*," and the first words of greeting received by pilgrims are "welcome home." *Ojibagaeri* also refers to *kisan* 帰参, meaning the return to *Jiba*.

3. MORII (2008, 841–42) shows that in the period 1998 to 2004, Taiwan (with 8,238 followers) held the status of the largest Tenrikyō population outside Japan, compared with other countries such as Korea (6,316), Brazil (6,169), and the United States (1,703).

Taiwan several times since 2008.⁴ This has involved observation and interviews, description of how Taiwanese followers regularly make the pilgrimage to Tenri in Japan, and how their experience is enriched by several factors such as tourism. The last section discusses what we may learn from Tenrikyō's *ojibagaeri* by looking at the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism and other factors such as healing and postcolonial nostalgia, and how this can make a contribution to the current theoretical discussion in this field.

Ojibagaeri in the Context of Contemporary Pilgrimage Studies

PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON PILGRIMAGE STUDIES

There are a number of materials lying within the range of extant academic literature in contemporary theories of pilgrimage, both in Western and non-Western societies (TURNER 1974). Turner provides a model of pilgrimage containing several features, including fixed static communities, informants as embedded only in the local context, and all pilgrims sharing the same place and culture. TURNER (1967; 1974) advances his idea of *communitas* to develop a theory of pilgrimage as social process, believing that all pilgrimages have shared features: pilgrimage is a liminal phenomenon that draws people to leave everyday community and escape its strictures; it not only provides local people with a sense of unified common humanity, but also liberates them from particularism and social categories; the sacred geography in which pilgrimages take place minimizes local differences, decreases competing identities and histories, and produces mystical nationalism.

Other scholars, however, have put forth different interpretations on pilgrimage (see DELANEY 1990; DUBISCH 1995; FULLER 1992; SANGREN 1993). With respect to the question as to whether pilgrimage can dissolve the existing social order, in rural areas of Taiwan, Sangren found that the pilgrimage to Ma-Tsu temple in Pei-Kang and the idea of *ling* 靈 (magical power) not only help to reinforce everyday notions of hierarchy as well as an ideology of the social order, but also locate the sources of magical power (*ling*) outside the local community, preventing Taiwanese villagers from recognizing the local economic and political conditions in their village that help to produce the power of the local cult. Evidence found in Delaney's work suggests that the Muslim Haj does not break down a regional, local sense of belonging but rather intensifies it, even among immigrants in Belgium who are part of the global migrant economy. When completing their Haj to Mecca, Turkish villagers from Anatolia returned to

4. The author has visited Tenrikyō local churches in Taiwan and Tenrikyō Church Headquarters in Japan numerous times since 2008, including participating in *ojibagaeri* in January 2012 and *kodomo ojibagaeri* 子供おぢばがえり (children's pilgrimage) between July and August 2015.

Belgium with an intensified sense of their difference from other Muslims and with a strengthened sense of distinction between male and female Muslims.

Similarly, on the subject of regional identities, CRAIN (1997) points out that the local pilgrimage of El Rocio in Andalucia, Spain, is now a national event promoted by the tourist trade and Spanish media. Images of such religious activity in mass media and tourism are exploited as a sign of nostalgia for a rural past and of the backward, emotional nature of Andalucia. Regional difference is reinforced as a timeless tradition. In addition, native villagers in pilgrimages resist the national or tourist interpretation of their identity, which is linked to the physical, actual hard pilgrimage, inventing themselves culturally as “Los Indios” (the Indians) with a view to differentiating themselves from the rest, the urbanized developers usually being mocked as “Yupeeers” (cowboys). DUBISCH (1995) puts forward the idea of pilgrimage as a focus for competing identities. She contends that the Virgin Mary has actually become a powerful symbol of political conflict, conquest, and difference, and Marian pilgrimage seems to display two contradictory yet interrelated forces: a universalism that can be extended to the national, international, or even pan-Christian at its widest, and a localism that serves to create social divisions.

All these discussions of pilgrimage confront processes of place-making and the intersection between local communities' religious practices and identity with regional, national, and global forces, which calls for a more comprehensive study of this religious practice. In response to the *communitas*/contestation paradigm on pilgrimage, COLEMAN (2002) reminds us that the most important consideration is to place more weight on the human actions of pilgrimage than the institution itself. ALBERA and EADE (2015) suggest that the traditional theoretical shape moves on from the *communitas*/contestation debate to a more diverse disciplinary perspective, including mobility and globalization, gender, ethnicity, political processes, the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism, and so forth. For instance, in terms of political and ideological change in Japan, READER (2015) found that *minzokugaku* 民俗学 (folk studies/folk ethnography) came to prominence during the period of the Meiji government (1868–1912), which supported public beliefs in the distinctiveness and supremacy of Japanese culture and religious practices such as pilgrimage.

In the context of Japan, there has also been a body of English and Japanese literature on pilgrimage, and both Japanese and non-Japanese writers provide their own explanations for this (see PYE 2015; READER 2015). Joseph KITAGAWA (1987) proposes that the typology of pilgrimage in Japan be divided into three categories: pilgrimages to sacred mountains; pilgrimages based on faith in a specific divinity who is the image of worship of several linked sites; and pilgrimages

based on visits to a number of sites associated with charismatic holy figures.⁵ In READER and SWANSON's analysis (1997), there is a major differentiation between single-site and multiple-site pilgrimage. The former, described as linear, focuses on one single holy site or location, which is the pilgrim's goal and the purpose of his or her journey. The latter, normally called circuit pilgrimage, involves a number of sites linked together, with each site considered equally important and crucial to the completion of the pilgrimage, as shown in the current Saigoku *junrei* 西国巡礼 and the Shikoku *henro* 四国遍路.⁶

HOSHINO also notes (1997) that the crucial difference that separates multiple-site/circuit routes from single-site/linear routes is that the former have a set number of sites which are all seen as equally important. Also, READER and SWANSON (1997) and READER (2015) collected a number of Japanese words associated with the concept of pilgrimage, and gave each word a literal meaning and illustrated the way it is used in its local context.⁷ Furthermore, Reader made special reference to the word *utsushi* 写し, which means something copied or transferred. According to Reader, the term *utsushi reijō* 写し霊場, literally "copied or transferred pilgrimages," was employed by local people to describe a prominent pilgrimage phenomenon relating to the replication of major pilgrimage routes, foremost of which are the Saigoku *junrei* and the Shikoku *henro* in smaller, regional, and localized forms. These *utsushi reijō* were found to be generally on

5. However, Kitagawa's central principle of classification, questioned by READER and SWANSON (1997), is his focus on single-site mountain pilgrimage, which does not include other types of movement such as multiple-site pilgrimages incorporating groups of deities linked together in circuits, and extensively worshipped by Japanese people; these would include the seven gods of good fortune called *Shichifukujin* 七福神 and the thirteen Buddhas called *jūsan butsu* 十三仏, both groups being the focus of pilgrimages in Japan. In addition, Reader and Swanson redefine Kitagawa's first category of pilgrimage using the Japanese term *mairi*, the second using *honzon junrei* 本尊巡礼, and the third using *seiseki junrei* 聖跡巡礼. According to READER (2015), *honzon* pilgrimage focuses only on a main image of worship, that is, the bodhisattva, Kannon, whilst the *seiseki* focuses on the traces of the itinerant figure of Kōbō Daishi which permeates the island of Shikoku.

6. In Shikoku, for instance, there are eighty-eight sites spread across the four prefectures in the island of Shikoku. Given that the Shikoku route is over 1,300 kilometers in length and that pilgrims must make a considerable effort to complete it (six weeks or more on foot, ten or more days by bus), pilgrims who intend to make the religious journey but cannot be away from their daily business and homes for such extended periods, may divide it into several stages.

7. Reader divided these words into three groups: first, words such as *junrei* 巡礼, *junpai* 巡拝, *henro* 遍路, *henreki* 遍歴, *junro* 順路, *meguri* 巡り, *sankei* 参詣, and *yugyō* 遊行 convey a process of visiting a number of religious sites that are linked together in a circuit, literally stressing the notion of going around and worshiping; second, words such as *mōde*, *mairi*, *sangu*, and *sanpai* generally signify the process of paying a visit to a shrine or a temple, with emphasis upon a special ritual occasion; third, words such as *reijō* and *fudasho* refer to pilgrimage sites, indicating not just a place connected with the souls of the dead but also a place of spiritual power—a location where miraculous events occur.

a smaller scale than the pilgrimages after which they were modeled.⁸ In principle, both Reader and Hoshino emphasize the considerable overlap in meaning as well as interchangeability between these words in the religious context of Japan. The same pilgrimage can be referred to by several of these different terms. The Shikoku pilgrimage can be referred to as *henro*, *junrei*, *reigō*, or *junpai*.⁹

The study of Japanese religion in pilgrimage has shifted in recent years, from “time paradigm,” an emphasis upon the debates over whether Japan has a plurality or a representative tradition in her religious landscape, to “space paradigm,” a focus on a specific local context (AMBROS 2008). MOERMAN (2005) makes this commitment when looking at Kumano pilgrimage in the Kii Peninsula, albeit through a historical analysis of the way that pilgrimage was practiced in pre-modern Japan. DESSI (2013) pays particular attention to globalization and its accompanying factors such as the development of the market economy, the new information media, civil transportation, tourism, and so forth—all of which have played a decisive role in the dramatic increase in the material and cultural exchanges that are shaping the nature of Japanese religions. Today, the introduction of modern transport and the tourist industry into pilgrimage in Japan has made this outbound religious journey more convenient and commercially dictated. LEAVELL and READER (1988) point out that faster transportation enables pilgrims to perform pilgrimages such as Saigoku and Shikoku with great speed, shortening the journey between different locations. Although the mode of transport used for the Shikoku *henro* has varied with the progress of time, the walking pilgrimage still takes place today. READER (1993) observes that changes to the way in which pilgrimages have been made have been influenced, of course, by transport developments and by the changing pace of life. However, he suggests that the prevalence of car and bus transport in the present day need not necessarily be taken as evidence either of decline or, indeed, of secularization in pilgrimage, simply because the development of modern transport has led to a change in the way pilgrims have made their religious journey. Pilgrims in earlier times walked because they had no alternative: modern transport has provided

8. For instance, NAKAGAWA Mirai (2016) of Ehime University presented a paper concerning *utsushi reijō* currently taking place in Taipei City and Hualien County in Taiwan, one of Japan's former colonies (1895–1945). A research center named *The Shikoku Henro and Pilgrimages of the World* was established in Ehime University in April 2015 and the research team has been developing mostly historical research projects on the Shikoku pilgrimage for some years, holding annual conferences on the topic since 2009. See the following website for the English version: <http://henro.ll.ehime-u.ac.jp/eng/>.

9. Bearing in mind that the vocabulary of “pilgrimage” *per se* should be considered in a multi-layered sense, and although some of these terms are case specific, if one only applied one type of interpretation, then one would not be able to understand fully what is really occurring in a specific social and cultural context in Japan. ALBERA and EADE (2015) also warn that one should be alert to the nuances in the term such as pilgrimage within different linguistic contexts.

the pilgrim with greater levels of choice and opportunities. HOSHINO (2007, 66) also doubts the extent to which modern technology has led to a decrease in walking in the Shikoku *henro* and argues that there is considerable evidence for a limit to its decline.

THE OJIBAGAERI OF TENRIKYŌ AND TAIWAN'S PILGRIMS

Looking at the development of pilgrimage in contemporary Japan allows us to understand the wider context of *ojibagaeri* in Tenrikyō. *Ojibagaeri* is in essence multifaceted, inheriting and absorbing ideas and practices from Japanese culture and society as a whole. In Tenrikyō, *ojibagaeri* has been a dominant religious activity since the establishment of Tenrikyō in 1838, practiced by every member at all levels within this Japanese new religion (ELLWOOD 1982). There is no time restriction on this practice of visiting religious centers, so every devotee may make his or her journey to Tenri at any time, but there is a tacit agreement among Tenrikyō followers that this type of “family reunion” is best made on the twenty-sixth day of any month, because this day has several specific connotations. It was the day Tenrikyō was established, the day Nakayama Miki designated *Jiba* 地場 as a holy site, and the day she departed this world.

Although the practice of journeying to Tenri has generated much public curiosity, it still remains relatively unknown in academic discourse. Pilgrimage studies in Japan have mostly focused on the traditional practices associated with Shinto or Buddhism, rather than with the new religious movement, or on the application of theoretical concepts of pilgrimage to contemporary life in Japan.¹⁰ For Tenrikyō followers in Taiwan, *Jiba* is the most venerated site and is of paramount importance—in their present life, Taiwanese pilgrims seek help with their health as well as spiritual comfort and development by returning to the homeland. The following section gives an ethnographic account of Taiwanese pilgrims' participation in their religious journeys to Tenri and the diverse ways in which pilgrimage has been practiced from the past to the present. The motivations of Taiwanese pilgrims is explored and discussed, with a view to showing

10. In Taiwan, writers like CHEN (1992), YAMANISHI (2010), and LIU (2010) have conducted research on the subject of Tenrikyō but gave little weight to *ojibagaeri*, much less to any detailed discussion of *ojibagaeri*. In Japan, articles by READER and SWANSON (1997) and HOSHINO (1997) concentrate exclusively on circuit pilgrimages to a number of sites linked together in one group and in particular circuits that are made up of Buddhist temples. The works by MOERMAN (2005) and AMBROS (2008) both focus upon Buddhist-affiliated pilgrimages. NAKAMAKI (2003) gives an example of how government-sponsored international training courses in overseas study trips are parallel to pilgrimage in the creation of a sacred experience amongst the participants who, through a process of initiation, generate a fresh view that changes something inside them. Another approach can be seen in Joy HENDRY's work (2007), where she proposes applying the concept of pilgrimage to international theme parks in Japan.

how their version of such religious journeys is associated with healing, family reunion, national identity, modernity, and tourism. It should be noted that Taiwanese pilgrims see the Tenrikyō pilgrimage as linked to Japanese tourism, paralleling the movements of pilgrims in Japan and outside Japan. However, what makes Taiwanese pilgrims different from other foreign pilgrims is that they join Tenrikyō's religious journey with a sense of a post-colonial nostalgia.

An Ethnographic Account of the Pilgrimage to Tenri

In Taiwan, the earliest pilgrimage to Tenri dates back to 18 January 1916, prior to the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Nakayama Miki. This trip was primarily made possible by the influence of Katō Kin, a Japanese woman who pioneered Tenrikyō's mission in Chiayi in an age of Japanese colonization in Taiwan and left local followers, and possibly the whole Tenrikyō community, an inspiring legacy. According to KANEKO (1996), the main reason motivating Katō Kin to bring Taiwanese pilgrims to Tenri was that a pilgrim's experience of the spectacular view of the Worship Hall, the Founder's Sanctuary, and other wooden structures would prompt him or her to be in awe of the power of religion. Additionally, the pilgrimage to Tenri had much to teach from its recorded history. For instance, one famous story is that a local policeman benefited greatly from the earliest *ojibagaeri*, in which he gained a full recovery from chronic pain in his legs after returning from *Jiba* to his hometown, Chiayi City (KANEKO 1996).

However, Taiwanese followers' pilgrimage to Tenri can hardly be understood through the religious aspects alone and other facets must be considered, such as tourism, modernity, healing, education, the post-colonial situation in Taiwan, the political-economy of the Japanese presence in Asia, and others.¹¹ The following interviews conducted by the author during fieldwork in Japan and Taiwan indicate this:

Before I went to Tenri, I had gone through many difficult times in my life. The head of my church suggested me to visit Tenri, but I hesitated because I just thought I might not be able to afford such a journey.... Then I returned to *Jiba* again and attended the three-month spiritual program (*shūyōka* 修養科), eight years later when I made my first trip there. The schedule was very tight, getting up in the early morning and going to bed at 9:00 PM, but I didn't feel

11. For instance, a *kodomo ojibagaeri* (children's pilgrimage) is held annually during a ten-day scorching-hot summer holiday (between 26 July and 4 August) in Tenrikyō Church Headquarters in Tenri City, attracting thousands of families from across the world. During an interview, one Taiwanese informant saw this religious event as an ideal occasion for re-educating his child, including aspects of self-discipline, having a group-oriented mentality rather than individual-oriented, the value of obedience, respect and loyalty, philanthropy and so forth (M1JN, 03/08/2015—these numbers refer to interview subjects and date of interview).



FIGURE 1. Kōga dormitory. Photographed on 18 January 2012. All photos courtesy of author.

tired. Instead, I always felt full of energy. I remembered the first time walking from the (Yamana) dormitory to the worship hall, I felt fatigued, my legs barely moving. However, after three months, I could walk back and forth three or four times very easily. I think joining *shūyōka* can change people's lives, as it did to me. Now I always feel grateful (Fo1TT, 15/12/11).

Visiting *Jiba* is something like making a pilgrimage to a sacred site. Everyone is free to visit Tenri. Frankly speaking, you can recharge your batteries there. I saw some occasions where Taiwanese pilgrims change themselves after returning from *Jiba*. I believe most people who have been to *Jiba* have the same view as I do (Mo2TK, 27/12/11).

Most people, notably the young followers, go to *Jiba* partly because of religious reasons and partly for touristic reasons. Perhaps this is influenced by social change such as the advent of mass media. And that motivates the people to visit Japan (Mo3TY, 28/12/2011).

The following is an ethnographic account of the author's visit to *Jiba*, together with a Taiwanese family (a middle-aged couple and their teenage girl) who belong to *Kōga daikyōkai* 甲賀大教会 (Kōga Grand Church) and funded this religious itinerary themselves. It shows how such a religious voyage not only reaffirms the Taiwanese pilgrims' belief in this Japanese new religion within the grand church to which they belong (that is, Kōga Grand Church), but also rekindles their past memories of Japan as a modern and tourist-friendly country and even a distant motherland.

DEPARTURE FROM TAIWAN

The seventeenth of January 2012 was the start date for the Taiwanese family to revisit this “tradition.” The family had been to Tenri before, but this time they had no intention of attending the *Besseki* 別席 lectures, the advanced courses consisting of a set of nine lectures centering on the same theological topic, with each lecture lasting ninety minutes and held specifically in a separate building on a daily basis. It should be noted that a Tenrikyō follower can attend the *Besseki* lectures nine times. Once an individual has attended the nine lectures, they would receive a *sazuke* さづけ (healing) and become a *yōboku* ようぼく (a “timber” or a person who performs acts of salvation in the world).

Although an individual visit to *Jiba* is a common religious phenomenon, in Taiwan the pilgrimage to Tenrikyō's holy site is usually not made alone. For instance, one has to make a request through the local church with which one is affiliated, and the local church reports to Tenrikyō Taipei Official. In addition, one also has to reports to one's affiliated grand church in Japan, which usually provides a car service (to and from the airport and the dormitory) and accommodation in Japan.

About a month before their sacred journey to Japan, the Taiwanese Tenrikyō family were requested to register at the Tenrikyō Kōga Taiwan Church and, if successful, were provided with accommodation in the Kōga dormitory (see FIGURE 1) from the Kōga Grand Church. On the day of leaving for *Jiba*, the three Taiwanese dressed in civilian clothes, packed their personal belongings and headed to the busiest airport in the country, Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport. For the couple, the most attractive aspect of the pilgrimage was the anticipation of *Jiba*, despite the fact that they had been there before; the visit would allow them to experience *Jiba*, in its full religious significance and aesthetic richness, with amazement and veneration. The middle-aged female pilgrim I spoke to was gratified with the fulfillment of her dream and expressed her feeling of excitement at being able to return to the homeland again: “This journey will be an extremely pivotal as well as unforgettable part of my life.”

The other attraction of this journey was witnessing the industrial advancement and culture of Japan. In industrial terms, Japan has set global trends for modernization since World War II. Japan's iconic transport system, Shinkansen, has been the best-selling tourist attraction both for China and for Taiwan, with its trains that can carry hundreds of commuters several times a day with a normal operating speed of about 270km/h and a top speed of about 300km/h (HOOD 2006). According to annual official statistics (TOURISM BUREAU 2012), Japan is the second most popular destination for outbound travel for Taiwanese citizens: the number of visitors from Taiwan to Japan in 2009 was 1,113,857,

second only to mainland China (1,516,087).¹² The Taiwanese family agreed that another reason why they wanted to go was to see and travel by the Shinkansen, to immerse themselves in cultural tours, and to enjoy a Japanese-type bath in a hot spring. Similarly, the older generation's fascination with and idealization of Japan, derived from the stories of a past mothercountry, was clear. They sided politically with Japan against the current pro-mainland Chinese government, because they believed that the former was widely recognized as a nation with strict laws, order, and democracy, while the latter was tainted by outdated images of corruption and an authoritarian apparatus.¹³

A SOJOURN IN JAPAN

The key section of the pilgrimage to *Jiba* was marked by an architectural tour and participation in *Jiba's* religious life. In the early morning of 18 January at 6:45 AM, we joined other members of the Kōga Grand Church to take the shuttle bus to practice the morning ritual in the main sanctuary at 7:00 AM. After getting off the bus, we walked to the main sanctuary. Reaching the end of the slope, we stood still for a few seconds and bowed once to the sanctuary as if greeting the divine dwelling there and showing respect. As we approached the main gate of the worship hall, we stood still and bowed three times, first bowing toward the main sanctuary (*shinden* 神殿) associated with Tenri-Ō-no-Mikoto (God the Parent), the second time toward the Founder's Hall (*kyōsoden* 教祖殿) associated with Nakayama Miki (Oyasama) and the third time toward the Ancestor Hall (*soreiden* 祖霊殿) associated with the big names of Tenrikyō such as the descendants of Miki, Iburi Izō (Honseki), and others. We entered the Hall, walked through a congregation of followers and found a space as close as possible to the *Kanrodai* ("The Stand for the Heavenly Dew," under which is *Jiba*, which is conceived as the place of human creation) to kneel down. As the ritual began, we maintained a kneeling position and thus participated in the ritual. The morning ritual only consisted of the first three parts of the *Mikagura-uta*, probably lasting less than thirty minutes. As we left and walked out of the hall, we bowed toward

12. The latest information concerning the entire population of Taiwan is 23,119,772 (DIRECTORATE-GENERAL 2013).

13. HUANG (2003, 308–309) discerns in Taiwan's rural community a pervasive nostalgia for past Japanese colonialism and points to the significant role played by the comparative politics of the colonized nation in contemporary Taiwan's political situation: a majority of Taiwanese people consider the ruling Nationalist Party from mainland China in 1949 to have been simply a substitute for Japanese colonial rule, but in this comparison, the Japanese colonizers are seen as far better than the alien Chinese regime. Another phenomenon of local politics, particularly evident among older villagers at grassroots level, has been the prevalence of Taiwanese discourse about a national identification with Japan.



FIGURE 2. The Main Entrance of *Jiba*, photographed on 18 January 2012.

the three sanctuaries once more as if greeting the divine and showing that we were about to leave.

The author was given a brief tour of *Jiba*, which appeared to be an ideal place for retreat and tourism. The size and grandeur of the headquarters' precinct, together with the orderliness and vitality found there, were frankly astounding. First, the layout of *Jiba* is based around the architectural plan of Oyasato-yakata, which has one large structure, rectangular in shape, 873 meters on each side, with many interconnected wings. Construction is still underway, but the completed parts have been used as facilities for study, dormitories, a hospital, and educational institutions. It is worth noting here that each grand church is responsible for fundraising to build its own dormitory.

Second, viewed from the front, the main entrance is characterized by two wooden columns facing each other, with a horizontal wooden beam crossing their tops, forming a frame which immediately directs the visitor's view towards the Worship Hall (see FIGURE 2). The shape of *Jiba's* entrance resembles what is called *torii* 鳥居,¹⁴ which is usually found in every present-day shrine in Japan; this shows the religious influence of Shinto on Tenrikyō before it separated itself from what was then the national religion.

14. The *torii* is an essential part of any Shinto shrine because it is the entrance marking the beginning of the central line along which every part of the shrine is organized. In addition, it makes the shrine a pathway that allows the power of God to enter the inhabited area.



FIGURE 3. The Main Sanctuary Worship Hall. Photographed on 18 January 2012.



FIGURE 4. Tenrikyo Kōga Grand Church. Photographed on 18 January 2012.

Thirdly, within the precinct of the headquarters are various architectural installations. The main sanctuary, called the Worship Hall (see FIGURE 3), where the author and other Taiwanese pilgrims joined the morning service, is at the heart of the compound and is dedicated to the worship of God the Parent, Tenri-Ō-no-Mikoto. It consists of an inner sanctuary and four worship halls constructed in different years¹⁵—north, south, east, and west—with *Jiba* situated at the center. Placed in the middle part of the *yane* 屋根 (roof) in four directions are four *onigawara* 鬼瓦 (ogre tiles), as shown in the lower right-hand corner of FIGURE 3.¹⁶ The roof with a hole through which the heavenly dew (*kanro* 甘露) falls from the sky is on the opposite side of the front of the Worship Hall.

In the surrounding area are located the institutions for the Founder's Sanctuary, right behind the north worship hall. Since Tenrikyō claims that the founder still resides in the sanctuary, this place is perceived to be Miki's residence where she is provided with meals on a daily basis and new red clothes (*akaki* 赤衣) on a monthly basis.¹⁷ There is also a complete Tenrikyō-affiliated school system ranging from kindergarten to university, an organized network of health management (hospital, orphanage, and sanatorium), an integrated administrative body which operates numerous office buildings, the dormitories of various grand churches, an ethnological museum (<http://www.sankokan.jp/>), a publishing house, training institutes, and so forth. Lastly, there are various other facilities which have been established either in traditional or modern style, which together make up the self-sufficient whole which represents a religious society.

The pilgrimage to *Jiba* in January 2012 needed to take into account other important events such as a return to the parent church (see FIGURE 5) and the annual anniversary of the death of Nakayama Miki on 26 January. There were tangible signs that the Kōga Grand Church successfully creates its bonds with Taiwanese followers. On 23 January, the author visited the Kōga Grand Church with his Taiwanese informants.¹⁸ Departing at around 9:00 AM, the author joined the Taiwanese pilgrims taking the shuttle bus to the parent church. They

15. The north worship hall was constructed in 1913, with 271 *tatami*-mat floor (the area being 926.87 square meters). The south worship hall was built in 1934, with 546 *tatami* (the area being 6,586 square meters). The west worship hall was constructed in 1981, with 1,170 *tatami*; the east worship hall was built in 1984, with 1,170 *tatami* (TENRIKYŌ DOYŪSHA 1991).

16. The interpretation of the purpose of *onigawara* is based on an elderly Japanese Tenrikyō follower whom the author chatted with on an informal occasion in Tenrikyō Kōga Taiwan Mission Center (Field Notebook, 08/12/11).

17. The old red clothes are cut into small pieces and distributed to visitors as a talisman. Each person can only take one piece in his or her lifetime. It is said that Miki wore red clothes to show her commitment to Tenrikyō and her endeavors in a mission to save others. (TENRIKYŌ DŌYŪSHA 1993).

18. In Taiwan, most Tenrikyō followers would visit their own parent churches when making their religious journey to *Jiba* as a group.

DATE	SCHEDULE	TRANSPORT	ACCOMMODATION
14/4, Tue.	Cathay CX 564 Taipei—Osaka	Church's Shuttle Bus	Yamana dormitory
15/4, Wed.	Church Headquarters: Morning Worship at 6:00 AM Visits to Jiba, Yamana Grand Church at 1:00 PM Evening Worship at 6:30 PM (<i>Besseki</i> Lecture available)	Tourist Coach	Yamana Grand Church
16/4, Thu.	Church Headquarters: Morning Worship at 5:45 AM Dong-Men Branch Church Ritual at 9:30 AM Sakura tour (cherry blossoms) 12:00 PM Evening Worship at 6:45 PM (<i>Besseki</i> Lecture available)	Church's Shuttle Bus	Yamana dormitory
17/4, Fri.	Touring day (Komagane City) (<i>Besseki</i> Lecture available)	Tourist Coach	Hotel
18/4, Sat.	Oyasama's Birth Cele- bration at 10:00 AM		Yamana dormitory
19/4, Sun.	Women's 91st Work- shop at 9:30 AM		Yamana dormitory
20/4, Mon.	Sazuke for those attending the <i>Besseki</i> Lecture	Church's Shuttle Bus	Yamana dormitory
21/4, Tue.	Cathay CX 565 Osaka—Taipei	Church's Shuttle Bus	Home

TABLE 1. The daily schedule of a pilgrimage to *Jiba*, 2009 (translated into English by the author). Leaflet provided by Dong-Men Church, Taiwan (2009).

reached their destination about seventy minutes before a service took place at 11:00 AM. Mr. Okagawa, the head of Tenrikyō Kōga Taiwan Mission Center, ushered them into a traditional Japanese house where the office of the Kōga Grand Church is located. The author followed the Taiwanese pilgrims, took off his shoes, entered the house, and lined up outside the room. A few minutes later, we were all allowed to meet with the head of this Grand Church, a young male and the fourth leader of this Grand Church. With Mr. Okagawa in front, the author followed the Taiwanese family and knelt behind them. Following the etiquette, we bowed toward the leader first. The male leader was briefed by Mr. Okagawa, including an introduction to the author. After this, the family withdrew to the Worship Hall to join the service. As the author was returning to Tenri with other Japanese pilgrims, he caught sight of the Taiwanese family. The family waved and said they were going to take a tour of Osaka City.

Perhaps the most significant event is the annual anniversary of the death of Nakayama Miki. On 26 January outside the main entrance were two lines of flags bearing the names of Tenrikyō-affiliated institutes around the world, which implied not only the strength of Tenrikyō but also exhibited a sense of belonging among this religious community that could transcend ethnic and cultural boundaries and reaffirm the centrality of Tenri to the Tenrikyō community across the world. Before the ritual began at 11:00 AM, the author went to the Worship Hall to join the Kanrodai Service but found it extremely hard to find a sitting space, because thousands of pilgrims were already packed inside. Fortunately, a Taiwanese minister spotted the author and called him over, so the author was able to find a narrow space on the floor in the back of the west worship hall. As the service came to an end about 1:30 PM, the current leader of Tenrikyō (the present Shinbashira) came forward, stood on the podium and gave a sermon. He talked about the earlier period during which Tenrikyō endured heavy political suppression, including several events that led Nakayama Miki to be arrested and detained for questioning. He also urged the congregation to cherish the legacy the founder left for them. He spoke in a voice and mood which matched the solemnity of the occasion. As 2:00 PM approached, elegant and solemn music was played, which signaled the moment when the founder departed this world. The Shinbashira stopped preaching, and all the pilgrims sat silently until the sound of the music faded away. As the service came to an end, the pilgrims began to move out into the falling snowflakes.

The ethnographic account of *ojibagaeri* in January 2012 above reminded the author of his earlier fieldwork study in Tenrikyō Dong-Men Church in Chiayi County, southern Taiwan in 2009, where he found evidence of a daily schedule of pilgrimage to *Jiba* in April 2009 (see TABLE 1). According to this schedule, the Taiwanese Tenrikyō followers planned to be in Japan for only one week (14–21 April). Visits to *Jiba*, Yamana Grand Church, and Japanese beauty spots such

as Komagane City, all contributed to the experience, giving rise for many to a sentimentally charged feeling of reflection and immersion. Pilgrimage routes in the context of a “return home” were equivalent to memory maps; to participants this religious visit might become a return to “Mother Japan.”¹⁹ A senior Taiwanese follower who the author met in Tenrikyō Chiayi Dong-Men Church on several occasions in 2009 and who spoke in mixed languages such as Hokkien (a Chinese dialect) and Japanese, was still appreciative of the civilization and modernization that Japan exported to Taiwan during its fifty-year colonization (1895–1945), and he would even have been content to be a Japanese national.

In addition, these Taiwanese pilgrims became attached to their grand church as they received many forms of support such as accommodation from their religious and cultural facilitator, but they gave priority to Tenri’s main center, *Jiba*. In the context of the religious journey, Tenrikyō missionary orthodoxy and ideas about Japanese culture converged with strategies of tourist consumerism and nostalgia to produce an image of Japan as a cultural country of religious significance and ideal tourism. In the process, Japan became sacred and commercial, modernized and idealized.

In summary, on this religious itinerary, Taiwanese participants were encouraged to express their allegiance to a certain belief through the religious framework of ritual practice, of homeland and family, and of touring to a well-known scenic city; this framework allowed participants to reassert their sense of being successful Taiwanese pilgrims as well as tourists, whilst also asserting a religiously and culturally privileged difference. In addition, the abundance of aesthetic, familiar, and powerful imagery relating to self-purification and universal salvation, as well as Japanese culture witnessed during the pilgrimage, came together with the actual experience of the religious itinerary to produce a sense of personal commitment and involvement in Tenrikyō religious affairs.

Furthermore, the dynamics of the comparative politics concerning present-day Taiwan’s polarized political situation (either pro-Chinese or pro-Japanese) as well as its post-colonial circumstances, led these pilgrims to undergo what HUANG (2003) suggests was a profound transformation from nationalist aversion (to the current Chinese government) to post-colonial nostalgia (for the former Japanese government). The former is associated with a backward, corrupt,

19. A number of studies show that a part of the general populace in Taiwan, mostly the Hokkien group, look to Japan as way of claiming their superiority or making a distinction between them and the so-called “Mainlanders,” who strongly identify with China (GATES 1981; HUANG 2003). Both HUANG (2003) and HO (2007) locate Taiwanese attitudes toward Japan in the context of comparative politics, revealing that Japanophilia in Taiwan can be linked to the present post-colonial context, in which the Taiwanese tend to evaluate Japan’s performance in the governance of Taiwan and to compare it with that performed by the Nationalist-led government in the postwar era.

and Chinese-dominated society, and the latter with a civilized, law-abiding and modernized country.

OJIBAGAERI AND TOURISM

Also linked to *ojibagaeri* in many ways is the subject of tourism. In Japan, tourism has been central to pilgrimage, with a number of studies showing that several booming private organizations and pilgrimage-related tourist companies have played an important role in facilitating this process (see READER 2003; RODRIGUEZ 2007). READER (2003) notes that the pilgrimage tour run by an Osaka-based pilgrimage association, Iwaki-kai, provides pilgrims with a “one prefecture” journey, a flexible and shortened version of the pilgrimage to temples in Kagawa Prefecture over a year-long period, and later he gives an example of how a two-person travel company serves as a transport service/commercial business, bringing pilgrims to various pilgrimage sites and souvenir shops along the routes.

Rodriguez’s fieldwork in Wakayama Prefecture shows a similar trend to that observed by Reader, in a different region and with a subtle change of emphasis on religious activity. First, she finds that religious worship, hot springs, and pleasure seeking were closely connected in many Japanese pilgrimages (RODRIGUEZ 2007). Second, in the case of the Kumano Pilgrimage, she concludes that the massive improvement in transport has not only made pilgrimage routes more accessible than ever before, but has also created a new form of pilgrimage in which both traditional and modern elements exist together in the religious journey. Kumano’s historical and political significance, as shown in MOERMAN’s work (2005), lay in its connection to the Japanese deity who created this Japanese island and was buried there, and to the frequent visits made by a number of former emperors of Japan. This made a religious journey to Kumano more appealing to pilgrims as it brought an awareness of their ancestral past and Japanese identity. This was also introduced into local touristic pursuits as a way of promoting rural tourism.

The author paid a visit to Tenrikyō Taipei Office in northern Taiwan in November 2011. The author asked if he was eligible to join the religious trip to *Jiba* in January. A Japanese member of staff cast a wry glance in my direction and laughed in response to my question. “People here usually don’t do it this way. I wouldn’t suggest you go there. First, it will be freezing outside. Second, it will probably be very boring because it is not the typical tourist season in Japan. I would suggest you try another time. Perhaps the best time is in April, as you may see the beauty of the cherry blossoms then. Most Taiwanese followers join the trip to *Jiba* in April” (Field Notebook 3, 01/01/12). Also, when the author joined a ten-day *kodomo ojibagaeri* (children’s pilgrimage) in Tenri between 26

July and 4 August, he obtained a similar answer to his question and realized that tourism did play a part in this.

Some Taiwanese people, whether they are Tenrikyō followers or not, come to Tenri simply for a trip. Although the religious journey to Tenri is usually family-based or individual-based, the local churches normally encourage their followers to bring old and new fellows to *Jiba*. As I said, those joining *ojibagaeri* may have no affiliation with Tenrikyō—they are just like tourists. If the non-Tenrikyō followers enjoyed the trip, they would contact the local church for the trip next time. Then he would begin to bring his family, relatives, or close friends to participate in local missionary activities. When they take a trip to Japan, they may love to stay in one of the accommodations available in Tenri, where they can stay for a lower price (M17JT, 01/08/15).

In LIU's (2010) fieldwork research on Tenrikyō's propagation strategy in Taiwan, he revealed the link between pilgrimage and tourism. According to Liu, the Taiwanese look to Japan as a very popular tourist destination: attractive hotels and resorts, cherry blossoms and hot springs, good shopping, for the most part safe and friendly, and so on. Simultaneously, the Tenrikyō organization appears to capitalize on the Taiwanese obsession with Japan's tourist resources and employs many marketing strategies to promote its propagation. It encourages Taiwanese followers as well as their families and friends to visit Tenri by offering them cheaper travel and recommending scenic spots in the Kansai area.

A discussion of whether a pilgrimage to *Jiba* is another form of tourism in Japan provides a useful way of understanding the nature of *ojibagaeri*. This issue has been examined by several researchers and has been taken up by anthropologist MARTINEZ (2007). The pilgrims' experiences, according to Martinez, provides common ground for both pilgrims and tourists, because they are both in a place away from home for a specific period. What distinguish pilgrims from tourists are that the former experience hardship, penance, and prayer, as well as the spiritual and physical pleasure enjoyed by the latter. Although the spiritual quest as well as the experience of being there for self-healing is still at the heart of the shared religious expedition, the enjoyment for both the mind and senses may be what motivates the Taiwanese villagers to go to Tenri.

In addition, the above pilgrimage schedule merges the familiar religious journey with contemporary transnational touristic consumerism in Japan, the former colonial government, thus creating a subjective sense of remembrance. At the same time, it provokes nuanced and complicated responses among the Taiwanese pilgrims; the experience can stimulate cultural conflicts because the participants undergo rites of passage that make them experience Japan as home, as a modern country, even as a mother country. In the first stage, the pilgrimage brought geographical separation from Taiwan, which led to a stage of awareness

in which notions of self, community, and nation were called into question. As these progressed, Japan became a place for lifelong engagement and reevaluation of participants' conflicting histories. Personal transformation was evident and should be seen in a broad context in which a variety of influences, whether of religious or tourist origins, shaped the Taiwanese pilgrim's notion of self and nation.

Conclusion

The ethnographic account and subsequent discussions above enable us to understand the reasons behind Taiwanese Tenrikyō pilgrims' regular visits to Tenri/Japan. That is, a deeply embedded idea of the quest for spiritual development, healing, and tourism, which have motivated Taiwanese adherents to make a visit to a pilgrimage site which seems more like a home where a supposedly distant power is located and sanctified, to which a feeling of pious attachment is directed, and most importantly, where continuous pilgrimage has been made over the years. The views and acts of belonging, continuity, social order, modernity, national identity, tourism, and so forth—all these are represented by and manifested in a linear form of pilgrimage in Tenrikyō.

For Taiwanese Tenrikyō pilgrims, Tenri may be considered a sacred place, where they create an alternative, holy landscape in which local differences and competing identities are minimized and mystical unity produced. However, the Taiwanese followers' return to Tenri is not a conscious attempt to leave their communities and escape daily life, as Turner would have us believe. On the contrary, their collective journey to Japan is an act of continuation, reinforcement, and recreation of the ordinary faithful life that they have been leading in their communities; they visit Tenri to recharge their batteries, which enables them to accommodate themselves to a changing society when they return to normal life in Taiwan. It also indicates that the ultimate cause of attending such a religious occasion is associated with a sense of belonging, a sense of being part of the wider Tenrikyō community through a grand family reunion as well as an organized congregation. Although the Taiwanese Tenrikyō followers are taught to see Tenri as a homeland, they still perceive Tenri as a sacred site associated with its origins, the founders, and a distant power.

In view of the fact that the religious journey to Tenri involves several short tours to Japanese beauty spots, it raises the intriguing issue of whether pilgrimage is a type of tourist-oriented act. In the preceding section, the author's ethnographic evidence of the Taiwanese followers' schedule to Tenrikyō's Church Headquarters includes a *sakura* (cherry blossom) tour, a short trip to Komagane City, and bathing in hot springs, all of which are part of the normal package of a tourist program any visitor might experience in Japan.

Thus, *ojibagaeri* encompasses a wide range of interests, ranging from spiritual development and growth to tourist trips, to art and cultural exhibitions, and so forth. In relation to material culture, the advent of technology has added several new dimensions to the tradition of pilgrimage as practiced in Japan. One key example is that modern transport networks provide pilgrims with a more convenient way to realize their spiritual pursuits, essential for those pilgrims starting their journey outside Japan. For the Taiwanese pilgrims, taking part in a religious expedition was an attractive prospect including experiencing Japanese civilization on the Shinkansen (Bullet trains) and in the *sakura* (cherry blossoms) and on the trip to a scenic spot for a traditional bath. The buildings at Tenri themselves, together with the logic behind their design, was another factor which played a role in enhancing the adherents' appreciation of Japanese art and culture. The layout of the wooden buildings within the precincts of Tenri represented an awe-inspiring architectural style they had never seen before.

Lastly, the fact that a constant number of Taiwanese people undertake pilgrimages suggests several matters for future examination. The apparent link between the Tenrikyō pilgrimage and Taiwan's post-colonial situation is intriguing. The reason that Taiwanese pilgrims relish the whole package of Tenrikyō's religious journey is not simply the real enjoyment of Japan's beauty and efficient transport, but also a sense of a post-colonial nostalgia as a result of the many deep-rooted problems arising from their own comparative politics. Before the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) took power in Taiwan, the fifty-year colonization of Taiwan by Japan had left a legacy of modern infrastructure both at national and at regional levels. It seems to some Taiwanese people that the "civilization" they gained under the former Japanese colonial authority was by any standards an extraordinary feat of political administration.

REFERENCES

- ALBERA, Dionigi and John EADE
 2015 International perspectives on pilgrimage studies: Putting the anglophone contribution in its place. In *International Perspectives on Pilgrimage Studies: Itineraries, Gaps and Obstacles*, Albera, Dionigi and John Eade, eds., 1–22. New York: Routledge.
- AMBROS, Barbara
 2008 *Emplacing A Pilgrimage: The Oyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.
- ANESAKI, Masaharu
 1930 *History of Japanese Religion: With Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation*. London: Kegan Paul International.

BLACKER, Carmen

- 1971 Millenarian aspects of the New Religions in Japan. In *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Donald H. Shively, ed., 563–99. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

CHEN Shu-Mei 陳淑媚

- 1992 天理教在台灣的發展 (The Development of Tenrikyō in Taiwan). M.A. thesis, Chinese Culture University.

CHIU Hei-Yuan 瞿海源

- 2006a 台灣的民間信仰 (The Popular Religion of Taiwan). In 宗教、術數與社會變遷(一): 台灣宗教研究、術數行為研究、新興宗教研究 (Religion, Occult and Social Change (1): the Study of Religion, Occult behavior and New-arisen Religions in Taiwan), Chiu Hei-Yuan, ed., 61–98. Taipei: Laurel Publishing Company, Inc.

COLEMAN, Simon

- 2002 Do you believe in pilgrimage? Communitas, contestation and beyond. *Anthropological Theory* 2: 355–68. doi.org/10.1177/1463499602002003805

CRAIN, Mary M.

- 1997 The remaking of an Andalusian pilgrimage tradition: Debates regarding visual representation and the meanings of “locality” in a global era. In *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds., 291–312. Durham: Duke University Press.

DAVIS, Winston

- 1980 *Dojo: Magic and Exorcism in Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

DELANEY, Carol

- 1990 The haji, sacred and secular. *American Ethnologist* 17: 513–30. doi.org/10.1525/ae.1990.17.3.02a00060

DESSI, Ugo

- 2013 *Japanese Religions and Globalization*. London and New York: Routledge.

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL OF BUDGET, ACCOUNTING, AND STATISTICS (R. O. C.)

台灣主計處

- 2013 人口年度或月統計 (Population during month or year). <http://eng.stat.gov.tw/point.asp?index=9> (accessed 27 February 2013).

DUBISCH, Jill

- 1995 *In A Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender, and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

ELLWOOD, S. Robert

- 1974 *The Eagle and the Rising Sun: Americans and the New Religions of Japan*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.

- 1982 *Tenrikyō: A Pilgrimage Faith: The Structure and Meanings of A Modern Japanese Religion*. Tenri: Tenri University Press.

FULLER, Christopher John

- 1992 *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

GATES, Hill

- 1981 Ethnicity and social class. In *The Anthropology of Taiwan Society*, Emily M. Ahern, Hill Gates, and Joint Committee on Contemporary China, eds., 241–81. Taipei: Nan-Tien.

HENDRY, Joy

- 2007 Old gods, new pilgrimages? A whistle stop tour of Japanese international theme parks. In *Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests in Japan*, Maria Rodriguez del Alisal, Peter Ackermann, and Dolores P. Martinez, eds., 84–93. London: Routledge.

HO I-Lin 何義麟

- 2007 跨越國境線—近代台灣去殖民化之歷程 (Beyond the Boundary of Country: De-colonisation in Contemporary Taiwan). New Taipei City (Banqiao): Dawshiang Publishing Company.

HOOD, Christopher P.

- 2006 Bullets and trains: Exporting Japan's Shinkansen to China and Taiwan. http://japanfocus.org/-Christopher_P_-Hood/2367 (accessed 20 February 2007).

HOSHINO Eiki 星野英紀

- 1997 Pilgrimage and peregrination: Contextualizing the Saikoku *junrei* and the Shikoku *henro*. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24: 271–99.
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.24.3-4.1997.271-299
- 2007 Current increase in walking pilgrims. In *Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests in Japan*, Maria Rodriguez del Alisal, Peter Ackermann, and Dolores P. Martinez, eds., 65–83. London: Routledge.

HUANG Chi-Hui 黃智慧

- 2003 The transformation of Taiwanese attitudes toward Japan in the Post-colonial period. In *Imperial Japan and National Identities in Asia, 1895–1945*, Robert Cribb and Narangoa Li, eds. 296–314. London: Routledge Curzon.

IKEDA Shirō 池田士郎

- 1996 *Nakayama Miki to hisabetsu-minshū: Tenrikyō kyōso no ayunda michi* 中山みきと被差別民衆—天理教教祖の歩んだ道. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten.

KANEKO Suisuke 金子圭助

- 1996 加藤金—
燃燒生命的天理教女傳道者 (Katō Kin: The Female Priest Who Devoted Her Life to Tenrikyō). Tenrikyō Overseas Mission Headquarters: Tenrikyō Overseas Department.

- KITAGAWA, Joseph Mitsuo 北川三夫
1987 *On Understanding Japanese Religion*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- LEAVELL, James B. and Ian READER
1988 The Saikoku pilgrimage: A researcher report studies. *Central and East Asian Religion* 1: 116–18.
- LIU Hsin-Wei 劉興偉
2010 認同與發展—天理教在台信徒對其宣教模式認同度之研究 (Identification and Development: A Study for Identification of the Tenrikyō's Believers to Their Preach Religion Pattern in Taiwan). M.A. thesis, Aletheia University.
- MARTINEZ, Dolores P.
2007 Pilgrimage and experience: An afterword. In *Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests in Japan*, Maria Rodriguez del Alisal, Peter Ackermann, and Dolores P. Martinez, eds., 172–78. London: Routledge.
- McFARLAND, H. Neill
1967 *The Rush Hour of the Gods: A Study of New Religious Movements in Japan*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- MOERMAN, D. Max
2005 *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan*. London: Harvard University Asia Center.
- MORII Toshiharu 森井敏晴
2008 *Tenrikyō no kaigai dendō* 天理教の海外伝道. Tokyo: Zenponsha.
- NAKAGAWA Mirai 中川未来
2016 Shokuminchi Taiwan no Shikoku hachijūhachi kasho utsushi reijō 植民地台湾の四国八十八ヶ所写し霊場. *Shikoku Henro to sekai no jyunrei* 1: 43–50.
- NAKAMAKI Hirochika 中牧弘允
1991 The indigenization and multinationalization of Japanese religion: Perfect Liberty Kyōdan in Brazil. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 18: 213–42. dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.18.2-3.1991.213-242
2003 *Japanese Religions at Home and Abroad: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- OFFNER, Clark B. and Henry VAN STRAELEN
1963 *Modern Japanese Religions, with Special Emphasis upon Their Doctrines of Healing*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- PYE, Michael
2015 *Japanese Buddhist Pilgrimage*. Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd.
- READER, Ian
1993 Review article: Recent Japanese publications on the New Religions: The work of Shimazono Susumu. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 20: 229–48. dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.20.2-3.1993.229-248

- 2003 Chance, fate, and undisciplined meanderings: A pilgrimage through the fieldwork maze. In *Doing Fieldwork in Japan*, Theodore Bestor, Patricia G. Steinhoff, and Victoria Lyon Bestor, eds., 89–105. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- 2015 Japanese studies of pilgrimage. In *International Perspectives on Pilgrimage Studies: Itineraries, Gaps and Obstacles*, Dionigi Albera and John Eade, eds., 23–46. New York: Routledge.
- READER, Ian and Paul L. SWANSON
- 1997 Editors' introduction: Pilgrimage in the Japanese religious tradition. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24: 225–70.
dx.doi.org/10.18874/jjrs.24.3-4.1997.225-270
- RODRIGUEZ del Alisal, Maria
- 2007 New forms of pilgrimage in Japanese Society. In *Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests in Japan*, Maria Rodriguez del Alisal, Peter Ackermann, and Dolores P. Martinez, eds., 84–93. London: Routledge.
- SANGREN, P. Steven
- 1993 Power and transcendence in the Matsu pilgrimages of Taiwan. *American Ethnologist* 20: 564–82. doi.org/10.1525/ae.1993.20.3.02a00060
- STALKER, Nancy K.
- 2008 *Prophet Motive: Deguchi Onisaburo, Omoto, and the Rise of New Religions in Imperial Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- TENRIKYŌ CHURCH HEADQUARTERS
- 1996 *The Life of Oyasama, Foundress of Tenrikyō*. Tenri: Tenrikyō Church Headquarters.
- TENRIKYŌ DŌYŪSHA 天理教道友社
- 1991 *Tenrikyō no hyakunen: Bijuaru nenpyō* 天理教の百年—ビジュアル年表. Tenri: Tenrikyō Dōyūsha.
- 1993 *Hinagata kikō: Tenrikyō kyōsoden saiken* ひながた紀行—天理教教祖伝細見. Tenri: Tenrikyō Dōyūsha.
- THOMSEN, Harry
- 1963 *The New Religions of Japan*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- TOURISM BUREAU, MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION (M.O.T.C.), R.O.C.
- 2012 Outbound Departures of Nationals of the Republic of China by Destination, 2007–2012. http://admin.taiwan.net.tw/statistics/year_en.aspx?no=15 (accessed 27 February 2013).
- TURNER, Victor
- 1967 *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 1974 *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

VAN STRAELEN, Henry

1957 *The Religion of Divine Wisdom: Japan's Most Powerful Religious Movement*.
Kyoto: Veritas Shoin.

YAMANISHI Hiroaki 山西弘朗

2010 天理教在台灣信仰型態之變遷—一個宗教人類學的考察 (Transformations of Tenrikyō in Taiwan: An Anthropological Study). M.A. thesis, National Chengchi University, Taipei.

APPENDIX: BACKGROUND OF INTERVIEWEES

CODE	AGE	SEX	POSITION	ETHNIC BACKGROUND	LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP (YEARS)	INTERVIEW DATE/TIME	OCCUPATION
01	52	F	follower	Taiwanese	52	15/12/11, 11:00–12:00	housewife
02	58	M	minister	Taiwanese	58	27/12/11 13:00–14:00	minister
03	51	M	minister	Taiwanese	51	28/12/11 13:00–14:00	minister
04	28	M	follower	Taiwanese	6	01/08/11 14:00–15:00	student