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Opening the Curtains on Popular Practice

Kaichō in the Meiji and Taisho Periods

In this article I discuss the continuity and changes of displays of temple and shrine treasures (*kaichō*) in the Meiji and Taisho periods. I estimate the number and features of *kaichō* in these periods primarily using articles in the *Yomiuri shinbun* and *Shinano mainichi shinbun* newspapers. I discuss the ways that these displays intersected with aspects of the Meiji period, including changing laws and the expansion of a convenient transportation network. The newspaper articles are also an excellent source of information regarding the practice of these displays, including the functions of confraternities, continued attraction of sideshows (*misemono*), and use of these displays to pray for victory in Japan's modern wars and the repose of its war dead.

KEYWORDS: *kaichō*—newspapers—trains—confraternities—law

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ON THE evening of 19 June 1885, several members of the Tokyo police on patrol in Fukagawa 深川 Park approached a woman they thought was trying to kill herself. They asked her name, but she would only mumble, “Even Fudōsama can’t hear [me]” or “I can’t even hear Fudōsama.” After repeated questioning, the police managed to discover that she had come from her home in Mie Prefecture with a request for the Fudō Myōō 不動明王 from Shinshōji 新勝寺 in Narita, which had been on display in the park. When she arrived, however, she found that the display had ended on 13 June and became distraught. Thinking it best not to leave her alone, the police temporarily placed the woman in a local hospital (YS 21 June 1885, 2).¹

This woman’s story highlights several issues that this article examines. The first is that displays of regularly hidden images (*kaichō* 開帳) still had the power to draw people from all over Japan even into the modern period, despite the dearth of scholarship on the display of temple and shrine treasures in this period. Perhaps this lacuna is understandable: for some scholars, the early modern period was the heyday of *kaichō*, and accordingly their work remains firmly focused on this period (HIRUMA 1980). Even scholars who discuss hidden buddhas and their displays in the medieval and modern periods skip much of what happened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (HORTON 2007). One might incorrectly assume from research that ignores this period that *kaichō* and practices associated with them remained relatively unchanged from the early modern period to the present day. As I will demonstrate below, although the early modern period was the golden age of *kaichō* in terms of numbers and display size, the displays that are held at temples today have undergone small but significant changes since then late nineteenth century.

The woman’s story highlights another important issue: how *kaichō* practices intersected with and were changed by the various aspects of Japan’s transformations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most obvious in this case is the newspaper: the story of how she missed the display of Fudō was covered in the *Yomiuri shinbun* (YS). In the first section of this article, I discuss newspaper coverage of *kaichō* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Articles about *kaichō* varied and included announcements of upcoming

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1. Unless noted, all quotations from the *Yomiuri shinbun* are from the morning edition.

displays, opinion pieces, the promulgation of laws, highlights about travel to displays, and discussions of events at and around *kaichō*. The two newspapers I discuss below had major differences as well. The *Shinano mainichi shinbun* (SMS) focused on displays held in Nagano or by Zenkōji 善光寺, and during those displays the paper ran multiple, lengthy articles on many days discussing activities and participation. The content in the *ys* was more varied yet shorter. It also shifted throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with more diverse articles and legal promulgations appearing in the 1880s and 1890s and less complex announcements about and advertisements for *kaichō* in the 1900s. I also estimate the number and frequency of displays from the articles that appeared in the papers. These numbers show that there were some continuities over the course of the Meiji period; the trends of which temples displayed their images and which ones hosted displays remained similar to those seen in the early modern period. There were some changes as well: religious sites seem to have slowly decreased the number of displays of treasures outside of their home temple or shrine (*degaichō* 出開帳), while continuing to display their treasures in their own temples or shrines (*igaichō* 居開帳), a trend that began in the late Edo period (AMBROS 2004).²

The woman's encounter with the police brings up yet another aspect of modern Japan that I discuss here: the police and changing legal codes. In the second section of this article, I examine how temples and shrines navigated the changes enacted by the nascent Meiji state by looking at how laws and changes in the penal system affected *kaichō*, especially *degaichō*, in the 1870s and 1880s. Finally, one aspect of Japan's nineteenth- and twentieth-century transformations evident from the woman's story is perhaps less obvious: that a woman from Mie Prefecture traveled to Tokyo for a display of Narita's Fudō image. While travel over such a distance was not unusual for the early modern period, transportation changed rapidly in the Meiji period. Thus, I also discuss how infrastructural changes, especially quick and convenient train travel, affected the practice of *kaichō* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Other scholars writing about *kaichō* have focused on the absent or hidden image, questioning its ontological or semiotic status (RAMBELLI 2002; HUR 2009). Rather than ask, "What happens at *kaichō*?" they ask, "What does it mean to hide an image?" or "What does this signify?" Here I focus on what happens when that image is shown. To this end, in the final section of the article I consider three examples of practice associated with *kaichō*. The first is the role of confraternities (*kō* 講) in *kaichō* and how those roles changed in the late nineteenth and

2. There are several types of *degaichō*, from the single stop, just called *degaichō*, to the tour of the provinces, called *kaikoku kaichō* 回国開帳. Because it is unclear from the news coverage under discussion, I use the broader classification of *degaichō*.

early twentieth centuries. Second, I examine the sideshows (*misemono* 見世物) popular during the early modern period to show how they continued with novel attractions into the modern period. Finally, I discuss two cases of *kaichō* used during the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) to pray for victory, the wellbeing of soldiers, and the repose of the war dead. Though these examples may be too few or selective to make a larger argument about modern *kaichō*, I include them to demonstrate the range of activities, both old and new, that occurred at and around *kaichō*. Perhaps they will inspire others to examine these practices in more depth.

An examination of modern *kaichō* is particularly useful for several reasons. First, it provides an excellent opportunity to study popular practices in these periods. These practices are often overlooked in order to study the reformation of Buddhism, how government policy affected religious traditions, or the growth of new religions. Second, by examining modern *kaichō*, we may see continuity and change across time. As I mentioned above, *kaichō* and practices associated with them did not suddenly cease, change drastically, or simply continue unchanged after the Meiji Restoration. Rather, there was a gradual process of transformation from early modern *kaichō* to those of postwar and contemporary Japan, such as displays in department stores (READER 2014, 1–27). Finally, an examination of *kaichō* in these periods demonstrates how the intersections of popular practice with governmental regulations and modern innovations led to changes in the practice of *kaichō*.

Before moving on, it might be useful to briefly discuss *kaichō*. As mentioned above, *kaichō* refers to the display of a temple or shrine's treasures either in the home institution or at an outside institution. The characters for *kaichō* literally mean “opening the curtain.” Although the objects displayed were most often hidden statues or images (*hibutsu* 秘仏), they could also be scrolls or even relics of the Buddha or a saint. Other nonreligious treasures could also be displayed, such as the display at Sengakuji 泉岳寺 that includes the weapons and armor associated with the forty-seven samurai of *Chūshingura* 忠臣蔵 fame. Public displays of temple treasures have their roots in ninth-century China, there is mention of hidden images in the *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語, and there are records of temples in Japan displaying their treasures from the Kamakura period (HORTON 2007, 157; AMBROS 2004, 2–3).³ Temples and shrines perform *kaichō* for various reasons. One reason is to allow petitioners to create a karmic connection with the deity. Deities are also thought to respond to face-to-face requests for benefits

3. Horton examines a number of reasons given to hide images: influences from esoteric Buddhism and Shinto, practical concerns (hiding the damage to images or controlling the viewing of images for fundraising purposes), that concealment is an element of Japanese society, and that hiding an image is similar to the way that our illusions obscure our buddha-nature (HORTON 2007, 166–173).

(AMBROS 2004, 3; MACWILLIAMS 1997, 398–403). In some instances, temple legends mention how their images had to be hidden and only occasionally unveiled to protect casual viewers from their power. Some images were considered so powerful or precious that copies were made at the temple for ritual or display purposes while the originals were hidden from view. The Maedachi Honzon 前立本尊 (literally, “the image that stands before”) at Shinano 信濃 Zenkōji is perhaps the most famous example of such a copy of an image. In Zenkōji’s case, its main image has remained hidden for many years (referred to as a completely hidden buddha [*zettai hibutsu* 絶対秘仏]) and its Maedachi Honzon, which is a national treasure in its own right, is what is shown to the public during *kaichō*.

Kaichō are also important economically for the temple or shrine and its local area because of the large number of pilgrims who come to see the image. Thus, *kaichō* are often used as fundraisers for the institutions, for instance when they need to repair a hall. Additionally, in the Edo period, the Tokugawa government benefited because it did not need to give money to temples and shrines if they could raise it on their own (AMBROS 2004, 3; HIRUMA 1980, 202–203). Finally, *kaichō* and *degaichō* were effective means of advertising a temple in the hopes of encouraging potential pilgrims to visit it (READER 2014, 4).

Displays in the News

In the early modern period, *kaichō* were advertised through signposts in the crossroads and outside of the hosting temples and by showy processions as the objects to be displayed were paraded into or through the town (AMBROS 2004). In the Meiji period, another form of advertisement was added: the newspaper. Displays were, and still are, considered newsworthy events. Additionally, *kaichō* organizers purchased ad space to make their upcoming displays known.

In this article, I examine articles published in the *ys* during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although the *ys* is now a nationwide newspaper with offices in major cities, in the Meiji and Taisho periods the paper focused on Tokyo. It began publishing on 11 November 1874, and by 1875 it had the highest readership of any paper in Tokyo. By 1885, it had the second largest readership of any paper in Japan. Subscription numbers fluctuated around fifteen thousand for its first twenty-five years, increased from twenty to thirty thousand from 1900–1910, and jumped to seventy thousand in 1915 (HUFFMAN 1997, 87–89, 142, 386–387). It was popular for a number of reasons: it was published with *furigana* reading aids, written in a popular style, and it printed topics of interest for a mass audience (HUFFMAN 1997, 89–93). Although it only briefly touched on politics for the first decades of its publication, it published the laws and announcements of the local and national governments, which is useful for this study (HUFFMAN 1997, 89, 129).

The history of the newspaper shapes the information that we are able to glean from it. For instance, since the paper was founded six years after the Meiji Restoration it cannot be used to track the immediate effects of the “separation of buddhas and kami” (*shinbutsu bunri rei* 神仏分離令, announced 17 and 28 March 1868) or “Destroy the buddhas, eliminate Śākyamuni” (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈, 1868–1871) movements on *kaichō*. Nor can we determine what effects, if any, the Great Promulgation Campaign (1870–1884) and the laicization of Buddhist priests had on *kaichō*.

Because the *ys* focused on Tokyo during this period, much of its coverage concerns temples and shrines in the Kanto region that were displaying their images, hosting images, or sending their images to other temples. Though the reports remained centered on Kanto, the paper occasionally did report on displays of famous icons that were further afield, such as displays in Nara, Kyoto, and on the Saigoku 西国 pilgrimage route (*ys* 23 March 1877, 1; 12 May 1877, 2; 12 March 1893, 2; 13 September 1910, 3). The displays at Shinano Zenkōji, whether *degaichō* in Tokyo or *igaichō* in Nagano, were almost always noted, perhaps because of the temple’s popularity nationwide and its relative proximity to Tokyo.

The extensive reporting of *kaichō* in the *ys* is perhaps a result of the paper’s focus on a general readership in its first decades. Its editors may have seen that *kaichō* were popular, and therefore they reported on them. Despite this coverage, many of the articles—like other articles in the *ys* during this period—were remarkably short. Though a few took a third or a fifth of a page, most were just a few lines long. This severely limits the amount of information that can be gleaned from these articles individually. However, the articles can be used collectively to determine a great deal about *kaichō* as they were practiced and as they changed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For more in-depth information about individual *kaichō*, however, one would have to turn to other sources, such as temple and shrine archives, local histories, or local newspapers. For this reason, I have supplemented the *ys* reporting with that from the *sms*, a regional newspaper in what is now Nagano Prefecture. The *sms* began publishing as the *Nagano shinpō* 長野新報 in 1873 and became the *Shinano mainichi shinbun* in 1881. The *sms*’s focus on news in Nagano Prefecture provides detailed information on the displays of Shinano Zenkōji, a temple with a long history of both at-home and traveling displays of the copy of its main image, as we will see below.

In addition to the concerns of balancing news from Tokyo with regional news, I also chose the *ys* and *sms* because I was able to easily access them. The *ys* digital newspaper database, Yomidas Rekishikan, has been readily available in Japan and abroad for many years. The *sms* has also been digitized and made available via the *Shinano mainichi shinbun* database. Though it is currently available online through tiered paid plans, at the time of my research in 2013, I could

only access the SMS database at the Nagano Prefectural Library in Nagano City, where it is still accessible for free. Additionally, the historical coverage for both newspapers is comparable and covers the period in question in this study: the Yomidas Rekishikan includes all issues of the *ys* since 1874, and the SMS database includes issues from 1873 on.

Including other regional newspapers, or perhaps even the *Chūgai nippō* 中外日報 religious newspaper (available in microfiche in a few libraries in the United States), would provide breadth and depth to the material presented here. However, doing so presents its own set of problems. Many of these newspapers have not been digitized, and for some the articles have not been indexed. In cases where the articles have been digitized, the databases are often only available in local or prefectural libraries or behind paywalls. Additionally, the sheer number of articles would soon become overwhelming. Tracking down and accessing other newspaper archives or databases, combing through their pages, reading thousands of articles, and recording the information would surely provide more depth and breadth to what I provide here, but searching in multiple newspaper archives would likely result in diminishing returns past a certain point.⁴ So, due to time and financial constraints, I have limited myself to these two newspaper databases. These two provide a balance of national and regional news, and I was able to access them freely while doing research.

Searching for the term “*kaichō*” in these databases also returned a few articles that used synonyms for *kaichō*, such as *kaihi* 開扉 and *keigan* 啓竈. The search in the *ys* database resulted in 543 articles for the Meiji period, fifty-seven for Taisho, seventy-six for prewar Showa, twenty-nine for the war period (1937–1945), forty-three for post-World War II, and ninety-two for the 1960s, but I focus on the first two periods here.⁵ The results included a number of false positives that had to be removed. These included many articles on organized gambling, called *tobaku kaichō* 賭博開帳 or *bakuchi kaichō* 博打開帳, among other names. Other false positives included the use of the word *kaichō* as a metaphor for the unveiling of things normally hidden, such as the story of two women from Yoshiwara who were crying because their rickshaw overturned and “like the [statue of the] founder of Ikegami, [Nichiren 日蓮], their hidden areas were displayed outside [*degaichō*]” (*ys* 27 April 1880, 2).

4. Newspark, the Japanese Newspaper Museum in Yokohama, has access to the databases of sixty-three newspapers in Japan, but it only has one terminal from which to access these databases and it does not allow printouts, which would severely limit the ability to reliably read, record, and review the articles on temple and shrine displays.

5. Although there is some overlap in the coverage of the Meiji and Taisho and the Taisho and Showa prewar databases, this only resulted in an overlap in one article, which I have deducted from the above total.

TABLE 1: Articles on temple/shrine *kaichō* in the *Yomiuri*

| | MEIJI | TAISHO |
|-----------------|-------|--------|
| <i>igaichō</i> | 221 | 29 |
| <i>degaichō</i> | 126 | 3 |
| general | 20 | 0 |
| unknown | 14 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 381 | 32 |

After the false positives were removed, I found 381 articles on *kaichō* published in the *ys* in the Meiji period and thirty-two in the Taisho period.⁶ I placed these into four categories: *igaichō*, *degaichō*, general articles on *kaichō* (including laws and opinion), and unknown—*kaichō* articles that I was unable to place in a previous category (TABLE 1).⁷

In the Meiji and Taisho periods, the *ys* frequently published a number of articles on individual temple displays. Typically, the first notice of a *kaichō* came one to six months in advance. This happened most often with large *kaichō*, such as those by Asakusa Kannon 浅草観音 (Sensōji 浅草寺) or Narita's Fudō (Shinshōji). The number of articles on *kaichō* per year are shown in FIGURE 1.

The number of *kaichō* per year is shown in FIGURE 2.⁸ In total, the *ys* reported on 117 *igaichō* and fifty-one *degaichō* in the thirty-eight years of reporting for the Meiji period; it reported on eighteen *igaichō* and three *degaichō* for the roughly fourteen years of the Taisho period. During the fifty-three years in question, the images most frequently displayed at their home institutions were the Asakusa Kannon (eight times), Narita's Fudō (six times plus one *degaichō* at Fukagawa), the statue of Yūten Shōnin 祐天上人 (1637–1718), the founder of Yūtenji 祐天寺, (six times), and the image of Kōbō Daishi at Kawasaki Daishi 川崎大師 (also known as Heikenji 平間寺) (six times). The images most frequently displayed in Tokyo for *degaichō* were the image of Nichiren from Mt. Minobu 身延 (Kuonji 久遠寺) (five times), Maedachi Honzon of Shinano Zenkōji's Amida triad (four times), and the Shakamuni statue at Seiryōji 清涼寺 (three times). The most

6. In later periods there appear to be more articles on gambling and fewer on the display of temple and shrine images in these periods.

7. Although in some cases the articles amounted to one-third or one-fifth of a page, they usually presented little more information than the article "title" did. In fact, most articles did not have what we would call a headline or a title, rather, they were set off by bullet points and the first line of the article functioned as its title.

8. I determined this by recording the first mention of the display of an image or at a temple or shrine. This may have resulted in a slight skewing of the year in which *kaichō* were held in some instances.

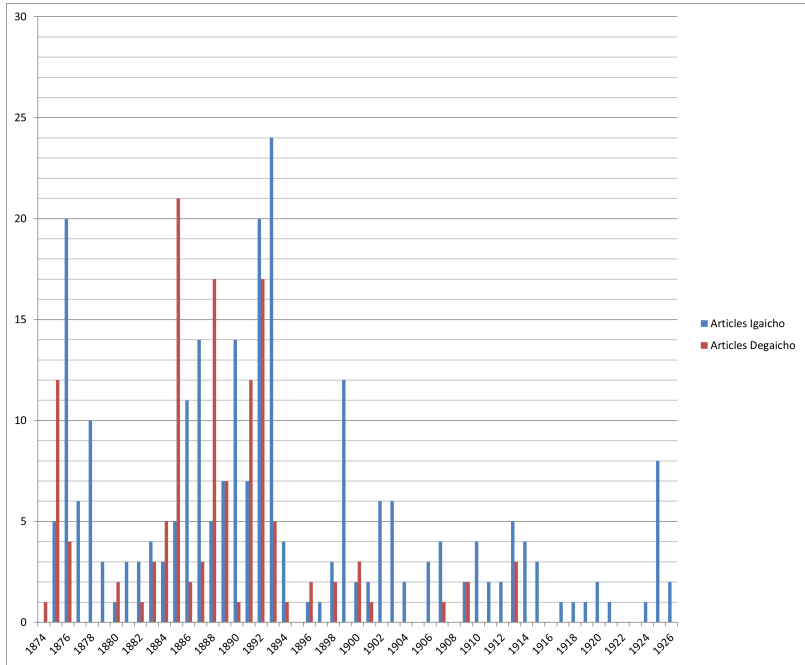


FIGURE 1. *Yomiuri* articles per year.

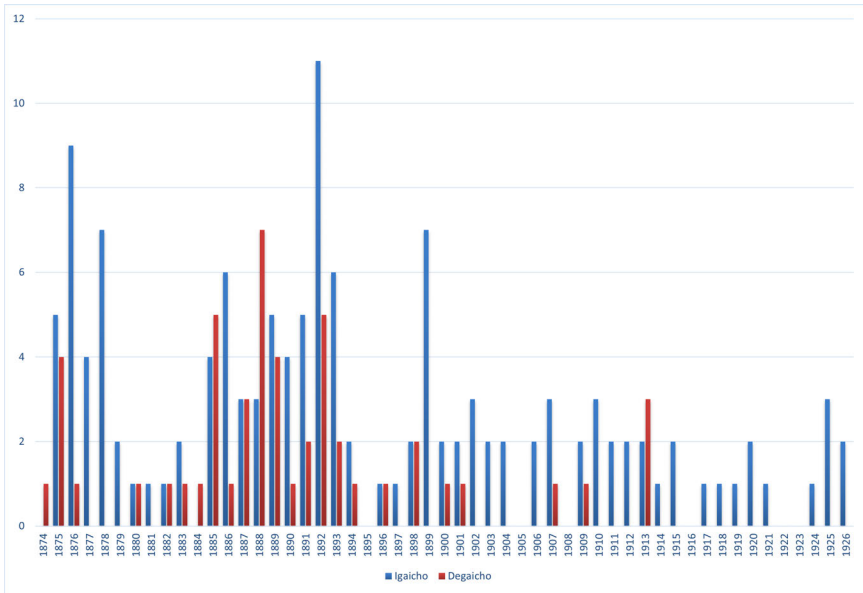


FIGURE 2. Displays per year.

frequented host institutions for traveling displays were Ekōin 回向院 (eleven times, 20 percent of the *degaichō*) and Jōshinji 淨心寺 (six times, 11 percent).

This information is not surprising because it is a continuation of early modern trends. Asakusa Kannon was the image most frequently displayed during *igaichō* in Edo. It was shown thirty-six times from 1654 to 1850.⁹ During the early modern period, the four most frequently displayed images for *degaichō*—nicknamed the “Four Heavenly Kings” (*Shitennō* 四天王)—came to Edo from Narita (twelve *degaichō* in Edo), Mt. Minobu (ten), Zenkōji (six), and Seiryōji (ten) (AMBROS 2004, 1; HIRUMA 1980, 55, 152; KITAMURA 1989, 37).¹⁰ Ekōin was also the most frequented host temple in Edo, hosting 166 out of 741 *degaichō* between 1654 and 1867 (AMBROS 2004, 6). Continuing a trend from the early modern period, Nichiren temples always held *degaichō* in other Nichiren temples. Jōshinji, a Nichiren temple that hosted six *degaichō* in the Meiji and Taisho periods, hosted twenty-two in the early modern period, the most for any Nichiren temple (KITAMURA 1989, 48, 52).

Returning to the information presented in FIGURES 1 and 2, we can see one major change over the course of the fifty-three years covered. There is a gradual decrease in individual *kaichō* mentioned in the YS, beginning from around the turn of the twentieth century. Specifically, between 1874 and 1900 the average number of *igaichō* reported in the YS per year was 3.48 and *degaichō* was 1.74 per year (2.11 per year from 1882–1900).¹¹ From 1901 to 1926, however, the averages were much smaller: 1.58 per year for *igaichō* and 0.26 for *degaichō*.

Although a decrease in reports on *igaichō* could be the result of an overall decrease in *kaichō*, this is not necessarily the case. The decrease could be due to a change in the focus of the YS. Though it started as a paper for the masses, it began to print more fiction in the 1890s and thus focused more on literary readers (HUFFMAN 1997, 268). This could have combined with the introduction of other more specialized newspapers, such as the *Chūgai nippō* mentioned earlier, which would cover religious events. These could have resulted in the reporting of only large *kaichō* within the Kanto region. Cross-referencing these data with other sources could indicate whether the number of *kaichō* decreased or the YS’s coverage of them did. Additionally, while there is a gradual decrease in

9. The other most frequently displayed *igaichō* images in the early modern period were the Enoshima Benzaiten 江島弁財天 (16), Gokokuji 護国寺 Kannon (15), Kameido Tenjin 亀戸天神 (13), Susaki Benzaiten 洲崎弁才天 (12), Mita Jōkanji Amida 三田淨閑寺 (10), Kinogawa Jōkōji 木下川淨光寺 Yakushi 薬師 (10), and Eitaiji 永代寺 Kangiten 歡喜天 (10) (HIRUMA 1980, 97–98).

10. For more on Zenkōji’s Edo *degaichō* and *kaikoku kaichō* (*kaichō* around the provinces), see MCCALLUM (1994, 169–173).

11. I have included this number because there was a law, to be discussed in the next section, which banned the transportation of Buddhist images to different jurisdictions. This was in effect from 16 June 1876 to 21 March 1884.

the frequency of articles on displays overall, there are several fluctuations of articles on *degaichō* specifically. The first is from 1876 to 1884 when, aside from a few isolated displays, they drop to zero for reasons I discuss in the next section. Between 1884 and 1900 they jump to an average of 2.11 per year, with a high of seven. Following 1900, however, reporting on *degaichō* decreased significantly. I should note again that these numbers are most likely not the absolute number of displays held during these periods. For reasons mentioned above, this discussion should be taken as a rough indication of the trends in temple and shrine displays as indicated in the ʻs.

Laws and Kaichō

Like many things connected with religion in the early years of the Meiji period, *kaichō* were subject to a number of frequently changing laws and regulations. The most drastic of these, the Ministry of Doctrine (Kyōbushō 教部省) Proclamation Number Four, came on 14 June 1876. The proclamation stated: “The transportation and display of Buddhist images by every temple to other jurisdictions must cease immediately. This is to be promulgated to the temples” (ʻs 16 June 1876, 1). The order was signed by the Vice Minister of Doctrine (Kyōbutaifu 教部大輔), Shishido Tamaki 宍戸璣 (1829–1901).¹² Though only banning the transport and display of Buddhist images outside their home jurisdictions, this proclamation effectively ended *degaichō* for the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 (FIGURE 2).

Although I have not been able to determine the context surrounding the ministry’s ban on *degaichō*, or its focus on only Buddhist *degaichō*, the ban is not surprising for a number of reasons. In the two years leading up to it, there had been a number of articles in the ʻs concerning troubles associated with *kaichō*; Proclamation Four could be interpreted as a response to these issues. In one case, there had been rumors about confraternities misappropriating the donations collected during a *kaichō* and using them to visit sex workers in Yoshiwara (ʻs 22 May 1875, 1; 3 June 1875a, 2). Other people complained of the noise generated by *kaichō*, particularly by confraternities drumming in the early morning to welcome the visiting image (ʻs 29 March 1875, 1), but this practice was curtailed by a general order on 7 April 1876, which stated that “drumming when others are sleeping and other unusual customs are strictly prohibited” (ʻs 7 April 1876, 1). Local schools worried that the gathering crowds surrounding *degaichō* would distract students (ʻs 19 April 1876, 3). One writer complained that since Tokyo was to set an example of civilization and enlightenment for the rest of the nation, people should spend time at school or working rather than waste time and energy at *kaichō* (ʻs 3 June 1875b, 2).

12. Shishido is perhaps more famous for his involvement in the annexation of the Ryūkyūs by Japan (KERR and SAKIHARA 2000, 390–391).

Furthermore, Proclamation Four came in a line of other laws that affected religion in the early Meiji period. After the Ministry of Rites was replaced with the Ministry of Doctrine in the fourth month of 1872, the new ministry set up a series of laws restricting or redefining Buddhism and Shinto. These included the creation of doctrinal instructors (1872–1884); the abolishment of anti-meat-consumption and marriage laws (fourth month of 1872); the required adoption of surnames by priests; and the ban on cremation in 1873 (BERNSTEIN 2006, 68; JAFFE 2001, 72; KETELAAR 1990, 99). Taking these laws as context, it might not be surprising that the Ministry of Doctrine would ban *degaichō* in 1876 when faced with a series of complaints about it.

Changing ideas about cultural artifacts and their preservation may also have been a factor in the development of Proclamation Four. The nascent Meiji government began developing a policy for cultural and historical preservation in the 1870s (MCDERMOTT 2006). Inspired by international museums and participation in cultural exhibitions around the world, government officials “realized that preservation of the nation’s cultural property was fundamental to defining and maintaining its historical identity and demonstrating its long cultural heritage to the rest of the world” (MCDERMOTT 2006, 343). As part of this, temples were required to submit lists of their treasures to the government in 1871 and allow inspections of those treasures. There was a great deal of overlap between the treasures on these lists and items that had been displayed during early modern *kaichō*. For example, in the case of Hōryūji 法隆寺, the items on the list submitted to the government and surveyed by officials were items from the temple’s *degaichō* in 1692 and 1842 (MCDERMOTT 2006, 348). Furthermore, plans for national museums began around this time, and officials’ inspection visits to temples were one step towards that. However, the basic principle of preservation put forward by the Grand Council in 1872 was to house treasures at their temples whenever possible and only seek to house multiples or copies of objects in museums. Additionally, in 1873, the Grand Council issued a directive stipulating that priests were required to seek permission from the Ministry of Religion before selling items—foreign collectors were purchasing temple treasures, and selling items helped temples balance losses of land and stipends—in case the government wanted to purchase them for museums.¹³ Seen through this lens, the Ministry of Doctrine may have promulgated Proclamation Four, which put a stop to *degaichō*, as part of a larger move to protect important cultural and historical artifacts in the 1870s. At the same time, local and national governments in Japan pushed for exhibitions (*hakurankai* 博覧会) of items of historical and artistic significance. A number of these occurred in the 1870s and 1880s, and many of them, especially in the Kansai region, included tem-

13. For example, Ernest Fenollosa amassed a large collection of Buddhist art during this period (HORTON 2007, 159–160).

ple treasures (McDERMOTT 2006). Perhaps the move by the Ministry of Doctrine was meant to curtail *degaichō* and promote participation in these exhibitions.

Whatever the reason, Proclamation Four effectively brought an end to *degaichō* between 1876 and 1884. However, some temples and shrines still managed to take their images on the road—there were three *degaichō* during this period. The majority were able to do so due to technicalities. The first case was the display of a scroll depicting Genkai's 源海 body from Yuinenji 唯念寺 in Nagano to Taisōji 泰宗寺 in Tokyo on 17 June 1876.¹⁴ Genkai was a *nenbutsu* ascetic who had become a “mummy” (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏); however, his body had been washed out of its tomb/mound in the Kawanakajima 川中島 area of what is now Nagano City during the flooding of the Sai 犀 River following the Zenkōji earthquake of 1847 (ys 17 June 1876, 2). The priest at Yuinenji saw what he thought to be a person in the river, swam out to save it, and then realized that it was Genkai's mummified remains. He had a painting of Genkai's remains made before reburying the body on Yuinenji's grounds. The temple was able to carry out this traveling display most likely because they had begun moving the scroll before the order was put into effect. The second *degaichō* held was between two temples in Tokyo and therefore was allowed because it was between temples in the same jurisdiction (ys 2 October 1880, 2). The third was from the Suitengū 水天宮 in Kurume 久留米 City, Fukuoka Prefecture, to one of its branch shrines in Tokyo: this was the *degaichō* of a Shinto image, and so perhaps it was allowed because it was not a Buddhist image (ys 5 September 1882, 2).

After several years with no traveling displays by Buddhist temples, the ys published a rumor in May 1881 that the proclamation would soon be repealed and that the government would set aside a plot of land in Ueno specifically for *degaichō* (ys 6 May 1881, 2). It is unclear if this plot of land for displays was an actual proposal or simply a rumor, but either way it did not come to fruition, and it would be another three years before the measure would be repealed. Proclamation Four was repealed on 21 March 1884 by the Ministry of Interior Secondary [Proclamation] Number Sixteen (Naimushō Otsu Dai Jūrokugō 内務省乙第十六号), which simply stated that the Ministry of Doctrine's 1876 Proclamation concerning *degaichō* was repealed (ys 21 March 1884, 1). Less than a month after the repeal, the ys began reporting on pending *degaichō*. The first was a request that Seiryōji be allowed to bring its famed Shakamuni image to Tokyo (ys 13 April 1884, 2). In the year following the repeal, *degaichō* came back bigger than before: there were six in Tokyo, more than any year in the Meiji period prior to the ban.

14. Though the newspaper article is unclear whether it was his body or an image of his body (they use the phrase “Genkai's desiccated...”), it was most likely an image because the priest at Yuinenji had buried Genkai's body in 1848. A special thanks to Wada Yoshitaka 和田良尊, head priest at Yuinenji, for his quick response to my query regarding the display of the Genkai scroll.

The *ys* articles do not contain any information regarding the reasons for the repeal of Proclamation Four. This and any possible complaints by priests when the ban first started are topics that warrant further investigation. The repeal did come from the Ministry of the Interior at a time when the central government was backing away from involvement in sectarian and religious matters (JAFFE 2001, 70–71). For example, the ban on cremation was lifted in 1875, the Ministry of Doctrine dissolved into the Bureau of Shrines and Temples under the Ministry of the Interior in 1877, and the Doctrinal Instructor system was abolished in 1884 (BERNSTEIN 2006, 85; JAFFE 2001, 70–71).

Though now officially sanctioned, *degaichō* were not arranged haphazardly. The sixty-fourth article of Proclamation Sixteen stated that when taking an image to another prefecture for display, one “must receive approval by submitting to the primary and secondary area offices documents signed by the resident priest and parishioners, with a postscript signature by the sect’s *kanchō*” (*Genkō jūin reiki*, 30). Four months later, the Tokyo prefectural government issued a more specific proclamation that temples were to request permission before loaning their halls to another temple for *degaichō* (*ys* 5 August 1884, 1).¹⁵ Furthermore, Tokyo’s proclamation states, treasures (*hōmotsu* 宝物) were not to be taken out of Tokyo (*ys* 5 August 1884, 1).¹⁶ These laws were much simpler than those of the early modern period, which required approval from local businesses, domain offices, administrative head temples (*furegashira* 触頭), and the Magistrate of Temples and Shrines, in addition to consensus among the temple’s priests, parishioners, and hosting institutions (AMBROS 2004, 8–10; KITAMURA 1994).

Another concern for temples and shrines was security. In the early modern period, temples would often hire local people for security, and the town magistrate (in Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto) would send their subordinates to patrol the grounds during displays. In the Meiji period, however, temples began to work with and rely on the local police force. During displays, police would keep an eye out for lost children and suspicious people (SMS 7 April 1894). It is unclear

15. This proclamation was called Tertiary [Proclamation] Number 121 (Hei Dai Hyaku Nijūichigō 丙第百二十一号). It states: “Concerning the repeal of the Kyōbushō’s Proclamation Number Four from Meiji 9, from now, when transporting and displaying images from temples in Tokyo’s jurisdiction to other jurisdictions, as well as loaning halls for the display of images of temples from inside and outside the jurisdiction, [one] should take to the appropriate office a document with the joint signatures of the said temple’s resident priest, parishioner representative (for temples without parishioners, a representative believer), the head temple (*honji* 本寺), and a postscript by the temple’s headquarters. Circulate this proclamation. [One] should understand that treasures are not to be taken out.”

16. It is not clear whether this meant officially designated cultural treasures or temple treasures. Additionally, it is not clear what it meant by “taking out,” that is, whether travel out of Tokyo or simply out of the temple was banned.

whether they would have patrolled inside of the temple building to secure the images displayed there.

One *kaichō* in particular demonstrates the transition from early modern policing and punishment to that of the Meiji period. From the 1610s to 1876, Kodenmachō 小伝馬町 Prison in Edo held suspects and prisoners, some of whom were tortured and executed there. In the transitional years following the Meiji Restoration, however, the former shogunal penal system was transformed. This included the construction of a modern, Western-influenced prison near the metropolitan police headquarters in Kajibashi. This prison was completed in 1874, and Kodenmachō was decommissioned in 1876 (BOTSMAN 2004, 171).

It was apparently difficult to convince people to purchase and develop this land where the former prison had stood, so some of it was turned into a city park. Another portion was purchased by Mt. Minobu to build a Tokyo Betsuin, which was completed in 1883. As they neared completion in September and October of 1883, a fourteenth-century Nichiren statue (Ganman Nichiren 願満日蓮) was sent from Mt. Minobu to Tokyo. Although traveling displays were still technically illegal under Proclamation Four at this time, this Nichiren statue was transported from Mt. Minobu, marched through Tokyo, and displayed in Jōshinji before being enshrined at the Tokyo Betsuin Founder's Hall (Soshidō 祖師堂) (ys 16 September 1883, 3; 7 October 1883, 3; 19 October 1883, 3). A four-day *kaichō* was then held at the Betsuin. This occurred seven months before Proclamation Number Four was repealed, and although it had the elements of a traveling display, it would have perhaps been allowed since the image was displayed in the process of being transferred to a new, permanent home.

Meiji Japan also saw the development of modern ideas of public health and sanitation, along with the introduction of a variety of infectious diseases from abroad. A major concern from the 1850s on was cholera. In 1854 in Scotland, John Snow discovered that cholera spread through ingesting contaminated water, and that information had reached Japan by the Meiji period. Japanese methods of prevention in the 1870s included isolation of infected individuals as well as disinfecting toilets and sewage pipes. Despite these preventative measures, the disease remained a threat throughout the Meiji period, and there were major outbreaks. The ys blamed an outbreak of cholera for the low attendance at *kaichō* in the Chiba region in 1877 (ys 31 October 1877, 2). However, when one of the largest outbreaks occurred in 1879, which killed more than one hundred thousand people, Kyoto City government attempted to check the spread of the disease by curtailing public gatherings. These included *kaichō*, temple and shrine festivals (*sairei* 祭礼), and preaching (*sekkyō* 説教), as well as mutual financing meetings (*tanomoshikō* 頼母子講). The ys reported that “all gatherings of various people have been stopped, so the level of economic depression in the city was almost miserable” (1 July 1879, 3). This mirrors contemporary restrictions

and rescheduling of events due to the COVID-19 pandemic, where, for instance, Shinano Zenkōji's *gokaichō* 御開帳 ceremony scheduled for 2021 was postponed until 2022.

Viewing Hidden Images as Art

One aspect that is difficult to ascertain from newspaper articles on *kaichō* is how changing conceptions of Buddhist and Shinto images may have affected the practice of and participation in displays of temple and shrine treasures. Interpretations and ways of viewing objects change with time. Recognizing this, Fabio RAMBELLI (2002) has identified phases of modern thought about hidden images in Japan, which can also be applied to Japanese religious images in general. During the separation of buddhas and kami, objects were destroyed in an attempt to desacralize them. One result was that collectors acquired large numbers of Buddhist images. In the 1880s, scholars and government agencies began analyzing images in terms of Western aesthetic values. From the turn of the century, priests began seeking recognition for objects in their temples as important cultural properties (*jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財) or national treasures (*kokuhō* 国宝); RAMBELLI (2002, 278–279) traces this to a desire on the part of Buddhists to forge connections with the government.

Other scholars have also discussed the effects of Western aesthetics and burgeoning Japanese nationalism on Buddhist images. Sarah HORTON (2007, 161) discusses the oft critiqued roles of Ernest Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzō 岡倉覚三 in “turning buddhas into art rather than objects of devotion.” Fenollosa played a number of roles in Japan, including as Imperial Commissioner of Fine Arts and a position at the Tokyo Fine Arts Academy, and in the U.S., such as head of the Oriental department at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. In these positions he pushed for recognition of Japanese art. As part of his quest, in 1884, against the protests of the Japanese priests at Hōryūji, Fenollosa and Okakura uncovered the Kannon image in the Yumedono 夢殿 that had been hidden for more than eight hundred years (HORTON 2007, 159–160).

Japanese governments also had a role in this transformation. The 1897 law for the protection of temple and shrine artifacts, which created the categories of important cultural properties and national treasures, “hastened their transformation into aestheticized relics of a bygone age” (*Shaji shūkyō hōki zenshū*, 235–253; GRAHAM 2007, 209). One way this may have affected *kaichō* was that it allowed temples and shrines with important cultural artifacts to petition the Minister of the Interior for money for their repair. This would mean that the temples and shrines would have more money to spend on other things and would not need to raise funds for the repair of certain items.

While the recognition of the aesthetics of Buddhist images may have influenced how people viewed images, it did not necessarily mean that all people viewed religious images as simply objects of art or pieces of history. Objects can be accorded many meanings by those who view or use them, and even a single viewer can have multiple interpretations of a single image. Additionally, it takes time for ideas such as the artistic value of objects to diffuse. Thus, years after Fenollosa and Okakura promoted the aesthetic quality of Japanese religious images, people were going to Narita and Nagano in droves to petition their efficacious cultic deities, and others like the young woman from Mie who was found by the police were drawn to displays so they could “hear” the image or be heard by them. Even today, visitors to *kaichō* may go to access the perceived cultic power of the image, see its beauty, or enjoy it for its history. In fact, if anything, the interpretation of images as art or historical objects may have drawn people to a *kaichō*, rather than chased them away.

Boats, Trains, and Rickshaws: Changes in Infrastructure and Transit

While it is difficult to determine what effect, if any, changing views of religious objects had on *igaichō* and *degaichō*, the effects of more convenient transportation are much easier to trace. In the Meiji period, many travel restrictions from the early modern period were lifted. These included the requirement to have approval before long-distance travel within the country, checkpoints on major roads, and limitations on who could utilize certain modes of transportation. Additionally, although river transportation, roads, and maritime travel were all relatively well developed in the early modern period, they became more stable and convenient in the Meiji period. In 1906, for example, the SMS reported that the city had put in “new roads” so visitors to Nagano did not have to “traverse country roads” (*inakamichi* 田舎道) to reach Zenkōji as they had during previous displays (SMS 31 March 1906, 3). From the 1870s on, railroads were a major component of these infrastructure improvements that vastly accelerated travel. Together, these changes to travel put *kaichō* within the reach of more people. From the newspaper accounts, train travel had a greater impact on *kaichō* for both the organizers and participants, so I will focus on that below.

Although slow to start due to the high cost and a desire to pay off foreign loans, the amount of rails in Japan increased almost exponentially from 1872 to 1907 (TABLE 2) (ERICSON 1996, 9–10). At the beginning, there were only eighteen miles of track running from Shinbashi to Yokohama and from Osaka to Kobe, which were the ends of a longer line planned between Shinbashi and Osaka. While the rail significantly reduced the amount of time it took to travel between Shinbashi and Yokohama, the ticket prices were quite high: a third-class ticket cost 37.5 *sen* 銭 (approximately 3,500 *yen* 円 in current Japanese currency), which was more than

TABLE 2: Railroad in Meiji Japan

| YEAR | MILES OF TRACK |
|------|----------------|
| 1872 | 18 |
| 1876 | 65 |
| 1880 | 98 |
| 1884 | 263 |
| 1888 | 912 |
| 1892 | 1871 |
| 1896 | 2507 |
| 1900 | 3855 |
| 1904 | 4693 |
| 1907 | 4899 |

the steamboat between the two cities; second-class was 75 *sen* (approximately 7,000 *yen*), or 13 *sen* more than taking a rickshaw; and first-class was 1 *yen* 12.5 *sen* (approximately 10,000 *yen*). This was at a time when 1.8 liters of rice cost 4 *sen* (ERICSON 1996, 66).

The first record in the *ys* of a *kaichō* benefiting from the railroad (and vice-versa) is in an article from 4 April 1884. The article announced that from that day until the *kaichō* at Kawasaki Daishi ended on May 4 there would be special service between Shinbashi Station and Kawasaki. For the length of the *kaichō*, there were two express trains between the stations each day: one at ten in the morning, and one at four forty-five in the afternoon. Because Kawasaki was a stop on the initial Shinbashi-Yokohama line, and there was at least one *kaichō* between the opening of this line and the 1884 *kaichō* there (in 1876), it is highly likely that some visitors to the temple took advantage of the train before this, but there is no record of it in the *ys*.

On 15 May 1884, more than a month after the first article, the *ys* published that in the forty days of the *kaichō* (it seems to have been extended, as many *kaichō* often were) 29,543 people rode third class, 771 rode second class, and 29 rode first class on the special *kaichō* express service. The article provides even more detail: of the third-class passengers, 975 were children; of the second-class, 60 were children; and there were no children in first-class. In all, this special service had earned the Japanese national railroad 4,358 *yen* 32 *sen* and 5 *rin* 厘 from third-class passengers, 222 *yen* 30 *sen* from second class, and 4 *yen* 95 *sen* from first class (*ys* 15 May 1884, 3).

Although there are only eight articles on *kaichō* in the *ys* that mention transit after the Kawasaki Daishi display in 1884, we can gather some information

about *kaichō* and transit from those that are mentioned. For example, the second mention of transit, with reference to Ikegami Honmonji 池上本門寺 for its 1887 *kaichō*, only mentions express travel and a special stop, like Kawasaki Daishi's *kai-chō* three years earlier (ys 21 June 1887, 2). From the 1890s, however, a number of rail companies, led by Nippon Railway (Nippon Tetsudō 日本鉄道, a private company not to be confused with the National Railroad Office, Tetsudōkyoku 鉄道局), began offering discounted group and commuter tickets, particularly to special events (ERICSON 1996, 82). So, in 1894, when Zenkōji hosted its *igaichō*, the Nippon Railway company offered a 40 percent discount on tickets to Nagano (ys 7 February 1894, 3).¹⁷ Other companies followed suit, offering discounts on three-, four-, and five-day roundtrip tickets to Nagano (ys 4 April 1894, 3). The ys announced that because of these discounts more than five thousand people crowded Zenkōji in one day and confraternities showed up with more than two hundred members; the hotels were booked, and the local shops did brisk business (ys 15 April 1894, supplemental ed., 1; also mentioned in sms 24 April 1894, 2). And “although Nagano residents take care in their preparations for *kaichō*,” the sms reported, “even they were taken by surprise” by the number of people arriving for this display (sms 25 April 1894, 2). This happened one year after Zenkōji had held a *degaichō* in Tokyo. Zenkōji, once known as one of Edo's Four Heavenly Kings of *degaichō*, held one more *degaichō* in 1898 at Ekōin, but after that a Zenkōji *degaichō* does not appear in newspaper records until the twenty-first century.¹⁸

Narita's Shinshōji, the second of the Heavenly Kings, shows a similar pattern. It held two *degaichō*: one at Shitennōji 四天王寺 in Osaka in 1875 and another at Fukagawa Park in 1885 mentioned at the start of this article. From 1885 onwards, there are only newspaper records of it holding *igaichō* in Narita. The Narita Railway completed a line in 1897 with the express purpose of transporting people from Tokyo to Narita's temple.¹⁹ Furthermore, it began offering discounted tickets to Shinshōji's *igaichō* in 1902 (ys 16 March 1902, 6). Before the train line was completed—and even for a time after—petitioners walked or rode in carts to the temple (ys 30 May 1898, 3).

Travelers to *kaichō* also visited places near their destinations and farther afield. During an 1882 display at Shinano Zenkōji, nearby temples Saikōji 西光寺 (Karukayasan かるかや山) and Seisuiji 清水寺 (in Nagano City) held displays of their treasures concurrently, hoping to draw in visitors in town for Zenkōji's

17. Nippon Tetsudō was a private rail company that the government supported in order to develop its rail network (ERICSON 1996, 20).

18. Zenkōji held a *degaichō* at Ekōin in April and May of 2013 to collect donations for the rebuilding of the Tohoku region in the wake of the triple disaster on 11 March 2011.

19. Likewise, Sanuki 讃岐 railway, which opened in 1889, was built to take people from Marugame 丸亀 to Kotohira 金刀比羅 Shrine (AOKI, IMASHIRO, KATO, and WAKUDA 2000, 92–93).

display (SMS 13 April 1882). Twelve years later, the SMS reported that many people traveling to Nagano City for Zenkōji's display were also visiting Moto Zenkōji 元善光寺 in present-day Iida City, Nagano Prefecture, located roughly one hundred fifty kilometers to the south of Zenkōji (SMS 15 April 1894, 2). Almost seventy kilometers to the north, in Naoetsu, travelers had to transfer between train and steam ship, and so businesses and inns there were crowded during Zenkōji's 1894 display (SMS 5 May 1894, 1). Visiting other sites and stopping along the way was, of course, a part of travel in the early modern period, so these results are not surprising. However, as direct routes increased in later years, businesses at these former transfer points lost customers.

The opening of railroads had a great effect on the performance and practice of *kaichō*. In the early modern period, *degaichō* were expensive affairs that included the transport of many items, not simply the main image, from the temple (AMBROS 2004, 1–2, 9–13, 18–21). Occasionally the temple lost money (MCCALLUM 1994, 169–172). Additionally, the town around the temple languished while the main image was being displayed elsewhere (AMBROS 2004, 8). As the case of the 1884 Kawasaki Daishi display demonstrated, even the local railroad stood to profit from *kaichō*. And, in some cases, like that of Narita Railroad (FIGURE 3), the rail companies took an active role in promoting *igaichō*, even listing times of express trains in their advertisements. For these reasons, if a nearby train station existed, it would be more profitable for the temple or shrine, its town, and the railroad company if the petitioners came to the temple or shrine rather than transport the main image to Tokyo.

However, some temples continued to perform *degaichō*. One possible reason is that there was no convenient transportation. Two temples that performed *degaichō* after 1901 were Mt. Minobu (in 1913) and Okuyama Hōkōji 奥山方広寺 (Shizuoka, in 1907).²⁰ There was no convenient rail access to these temples until the Taisho period or later. Three others were from western Japan—Kyoto (Honkokuji 本國寺, 1901), Nara (Tsubosakadera 壺坂寺, otherwise known as Minamihokkeji 南法華寺, 1913), and Nachi (Seigantōji 那智青岸渡寺, 1913). These temples, while famous, were perhaps too far afield for petitioners from Tokyo to reach quickly. However, access to train lines and distance from Tokyo may not have been the only factors behind organizing a *degaichō*. Ikegami Honmonji held a *degaichō* in 1909, traveling from its location on the outskirts of Tokyo to another Nichiren temple in central Tokyo (YS 17 April 1909).

While travel had been made easier and faster, it was not necessarily safer. For example, in March of 1877, the YS reported on how travel to the display of the typically hidden icon of Kegonji 華嚴寺 in Gifu Prefecture would be easier because “the peaks had been reduced” by roughly 27 meters (89 *shaku* 尺) at a

20. Okuyama displayed its Hansōbō 半僧坊 statue.

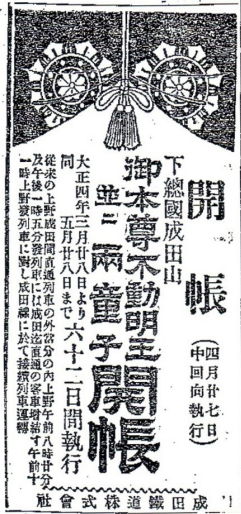


FIGURE 3. An advertisement by Narita Railway for Shinshōji's 1915 *kaichō* (ys 26 March 1915, 1), used with permission of *Yomiuri shinbun*.

cost of four thousand yen (ys 23 March 1877, 1). However, less than two months later, about ten people drowned when a ferry carrying pilgrims to that same *kai-chō* overturned in the river (ys 12 May 1877, 2). Even as travel became easier, death was always a possibility.

Less life-threatening issues also arose. Names of stations did not always match what people expected, especially when the names of municipalities had changed in the Meiji period. This apparently caused some to miss the stop closest to the temple they planned to visit. This reportedly happened in Nagano City where “the station employees called out ‘Nagano! Nagano!’ but people did not exit the train because they did not know that ‘Nagano’ was ‘Zenkōji’” (sms 1 April 1894, 2). The author of the article suggested adding a placard with the name “Zenkōji” on it or having the station employees call out “Zenkōji! Zenkōji!” in addition to “Nagano.” It is unclear, however, how many people missed their stop because of names, or if it happened in other locations.

As roads improved and cars and busses became more prevalent in the 1930s, and especially in the postwar period, travel to temples around Japan changed. This affected pilgrimage sites in rural areas. As READER (2005, 152–158) points out, and as we see here, pilgrimage sites and transportation companies worked together to promote travel to temples and shrines. More research could be done to discuss how this affected travel to distant displays in the postwar period.

Meiji and Taisho Kaichō Practices

Many practices associated with *kaichō* during the early modern period continued after the Meiji Restoration, while others changed or were forced to stop

and new ones added. In this section I will discuss several of these practices that appear in the *ys* and *sms*, including the involvement of confraternities, exhibitions or *misemono* sideshows, and the performance of *kaichō* practices for victory in or remembrance of the Russo-Japanese War.

In the early modern period, confraternities of the visiting temple prepared the area around the host temple, and this practice continued into the Meiji and Taisho periods with some modifications. For example, when Zenkōji's icon was to be displayed at Seiganji 誓願寺 in Tokyo in late April and May of 1893, "Confraternity members and believers alike" were said to be "preparing to meet the icon" almost a month in advance (*ys* 5 April 1893, 3).²¹ Some preparations included placing lanterns and flags announcing the *kaichō* on the surrounding streets (KITAMURA 1989, 136–140). However, the Road Management Law of 1882 regulated this activity. It stated that approval was required from the police before placing lanterns or placards on the streets to advertise *kaichō*.²² Confraternity members also drummed and chanted to welcome the image (KITAMURA 1989, 136–140), but as noted above, drumming early in the morning was banned in April of 1876 (*ys* 7 April 1876, 1).

Another change in confraternity practices came with the railroad and group discounts. In the early modern period, it may have only been possible to send a few members of a confraternity to a distant *igaichō* (THAL 2005, 113). Those lucky members traveled to the temple or shrine with the group's offerings and petitions and returned to the confraternity with amulets to distribute. With travel discounts, especially group ones, whole confraternities could travel to *igaichō*. One place where this happened was at the 1894 *igaichō* at Zenkōji, where the *ys* and *sms* reported that a number of confraternities arrived by train with two hundred to three hundred members each (*ys* 15 April 1894, supplementary ed., 1; *sms* 15 April 1894, 2). Confraternities continued to present offerings, including music and food, to the displayed deities (*ys* 3 March 1887, 2; 28 April 1888, 2). An additional practice was naked pilgrimage. This practice, which seems to have ended in the Meiji period, may or may not have been connected with confraternities. The *ys* reported that in one night in May of 1885, fifty-six naked people who were petitioning Narita's Fudō or Mt. Minobu's Nichiren images in Fukagawa Park were discovered by the police (*ys* 15 April 1885, 2).

Misemono were unaffiliated displays or exhibits that were held outside of the main *kaichō*. The performers at the *misemono* of the early modern period displayed unusual or vulgar things, performed dances, sold goods, or challenged

21. Though Seiganji was in Asakusa's Tajimachō 田島町, following the Kanto earthquake in 1923 it moved to Momijigaoka 紅葉丘 in Fuchu City.

22. This was the Central Police Office's Law Primary Number Eight. The sections concerned are three and five. See *ys* 24 October 1882, 1.

passersby to games of skill, all for a fee (MARKUS 1985). According to the reports in the *ys*, *misemono* continued near *kaichō* into the Meiji period.²³ While the *ys* does not list most items displayed at Meiji *misemono*, it does mention a few. Like their early modern predecessors, many of these items were novel to many Japanese; indeed, that is why they were mentioned in the paper. The first mention is of an elephant that was to be moved from the *misemono* area in Asakusa Park for a *kaichō* (*ys* 2 April 1890, 2). A few years later, an entertainer attempted to gather customers by advertising months in advance that he was giving away roller skates as the grand prize at his booth (*ys* 12 December 1892, 2). Other people became (unintentionally?) *misemono* through their actions: several people racing bicycles drew a crowd from the nearby *kaichō* of Shinobazu Benzaiten 不忍弁才天 (*ys* 17 April 1899, 1). In Nagano during the 1882 and 1888 *igaichō* displays of Shinano Zenkōji's Amida Triad Icon, building stalls on the temple's grounds was banned. This pushed the *misemono* to an empty lot nearby. On display were moving mechanized dolls, the life of Shinran (*ichidaiki* 一代記) divided into fifteen parts, and a variety of performances (*sms* 13 April 1882; 14 April 1888). In 1882, the town was covered in lanterns so "night is like bright day, it is very beautiful" (*sms* 13 April 1882). That *misemono* were discussed in such detail in newspaper articles on *kaichō* demonstrates that they were considered to be a part of the general atmosphere of displays into the Meiji period, even though they were not a formal part of the temple and shrine displays.

Finally, two *kaichō* were connected with the Russo-Japanese War. The first was Kawasaki Daishi's 1904 *kaichō*. A *ys* article announced that the *kaichō* was "to pray for the complete victory of the imperial army and the well-being of the soldiers at land and on the sea, from tomorrow the eleventh [of April] until the twentieth of May we are displaying our main image of Kōbō Daishi" (*ys* 10 April 1904, 3). That Kawasaki Daishi would use a *kaichō* to pray for the victory and health of the armed forces is not surprising. Other temples and shrines offered prayers and gave amulets to the armed forces during the Russo-Japanese War (THAL 2005, 266).

Following the end of the conflict, which claimed 10 percent of the Japanese soldiers mobilized, the *ys* published an article about an *igaichō* held by Shinano Zenkōji in April 1906. This *kaichō* was one of Zenkōji's regularly scheduled displays, which have been held every six years.²⁴ In addition to this *kaichō*, the article continued, there was also to be a memorial service for those who had died in the war (*ys* 5 April 1906, 3). The use of displays to pray for victory and the repose

23. I have been unable to find information about *misemono* into the Taisho period.

24. Modern-day *gokaichō* at Zenkōji have been performed in the Year of the Ox and Year of the Sheep. One major exception was the *gokaichō* scheduled for 2021, which was postponed by one year due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

of the war dead may have come at a time when Japanese Buddhists sought ways to be relevant to the government and therefore tied old practices with the concerns of the nation-state and its citizens.

Conclusion

Much like the woman from Mie who had traveled to Tokyo looking for Fudō Myōō, we have searched for traces of *kaichō* in the Meiji and Taisho periods. Unlike the poor woman who was so far from Fudō that even he could not hear her pleas, we can still see a faint silhouette of the *kaichō* of these periods. This outline, gathered from articles from the pages of the *YS* and *SMS* newspapers, demonstrated that *kaichō* and practices surrounding them continued through the Restoration into the Meiji period, but they were buffeted in the first twenty years of that period by changing government policies. For a time, regulations severely restricted the movement of temple images. Temples and shrines continued to display their images, though either these displays decreased or the reports on them decreased at around the start of the twentieth century. People's practices and temples' performances of *kaichō* were also altered by the convenience of train travel, which benefited petitioners, temples, and train companies. The articles of the *YS* and *SMS* also allowed us to briefly glimpse some of the practices that occurred with *kaichō*, and how those changed in the Meiji period. Practices that were deemed disruptive—drumming at night, posting signs in the streets, and petitioning deities while naked—were banned or policed. Other activities adjusted to fit new developments: train travel allowed confraternities to travel en masse; temples gained new commercial partners such as newspapers and train companies; sideshows showcased new items; and displays were tied to war efforts. However, as mentioned above, these articles have only provided us with a sketch of *kaichō* in this period; more work must be done, using other sources such as temple and shrine archives and municipal histories, to fill in the details of this sketch.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- SMS* *Shinano mainichi shinbun* 信濃毎日新聞. *Shinano mainichi shinbun* database. <https://db.shinmai.co.jp/tdb/service/>.
- YS* *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞. Yomidas Rekishikan. <https://database.yomiuri.co.jp/about/en/>.

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