

Editors' Introduction

Pilgrimage in the Japanese Religious Tradition

Ian READER and Paul L. SWANSON

PILGRIMAGE IS A WIDELY RECOGNIZED aspect of religious behavior, found almost universally in religious cultures across the world, and often holding a central position within many religious traditions. This is certainly so in Japan, where SHINNO Toshikazu has described pilgrimage as “one of the great pillars” of Japanese religion (1991a, p. 19). The action of journeying to and visiting religious centers—whether one single center or, as is often the case in Japan, a number of places that are linked together—has been a dominant religious activity since at least the early Heian period, when the Buddhist monk Ennin 円仁 (794–864) described his journey to and travels in China in search of the Buddhist law as a “pilgrimage” (*junrei* 巡礼). Whether associated with the travel of ascetics to sacred mountains, the journeys of Heian-era aristocrats to Buddhist sites renowned for their miraculous efficacy, the wanderings of impoverished or sick Tokugawa peasants on the pilgrimage route around the island of Shikoku, or the visits of members of new religious movements to the sacred centers of their faiths, the practice of making pilgrimages has been a recurrent strand in Japanese religious history, engaged in and practiced by members at every level of Japanese society.

While the importance of pilgrimage (within which general term we include the travels of religious mendicants such as *hijiri* who engaged in itinerancy both so as to perform religious austerities and in order to spread religious teachings, as well as the travels to sacred places of ordinary people) has been widely recognized by Japanese scholars in such terms, the subject has until relatively recently been less widely covered in Western languages. This is not to suggest that no important studies have been made, for several informative articles have been written by Western scholars. Amongst these we include: Joseph KITAGAWA's early attempts to construct a typology of pilgrimages in Japan (originally published in 1967 but more widely available in

KITAGAWA 1987, pp. 127-36), Paul SWANSON's (1981) discussion of *yamabushi* pilgrimage in the Yoshino-Kumano region, James FOARD's (1982) seminal essay on the Saikoku pilgrimage, Allan GRAPARD's study of sacred space, which contains information about pilgrimages (1982), Winston DAVIS's study of pilgrimages to Ise in the late Tokugawa era (originally published in 1983 and 1984, but now available in a revised form in DAVIS 1992, pp. 45-80), Robert RHODES's study of mountain pilgrimage at Mt. Hiei (1987), Helen HARDACRE's study of pilgrimage in a Japanese new religion (1988), and Ian READER's essays on the Shikoku pilgrimage (1993a, 1993b, 1996).

As yet these studies have been largely confined to articles rather than full-length studies. In recent years, however, an increasing interest in the topic of pilgrimage and religious travel (which mirrors the growth of interest in the wider fields of Religious Studies and Anthropology in the topic of pilgrimage) and a growing recognition of their seminal importance in the Japanese religious landscape have become apparent, not least with the emergence of a number of younger scholars who have taken up the subject. Nevertheless, studies of Japanese pilgrimage, whether by Japanese or Western scholars, have as yet contributed comparatively little to the broader academic debates about and analytical interpretations of pilgrimage, while the theoretical debates about the interpretations of pilgrimage that are currently going on in disciplinary fields, notably Anthropology, have as yet to take any serious notice of the Japanese materials on the subject.¹

There are certainly reasons why this is so, not the least of them being that for most scholars the majority of the literature on Japanese pilgrimages is inaccessible for linguistic reasons, since so much of it is written in Japanese. This point is perhaps also compounded by the fact that Japanese academic studies have, for the most part, been concerned with studying Japanese pilgrimage solely within the context of Japanese folklore and religious history and behavior, and have thus generally not taken up the comparative perspectives and theoretical issues that have increasingly permeated and dominated much of the

¹ Among the recent works that attempt to provide overviews of pilgrimage within an interpretative framework, one should note that one, by EADE and SALLNOW (1991), makes no reference to Japan at all. Admittedly this volume is an anthropology of Christian pilgrimage, but in its attempts to provide a model for the wider study of the subject, it does make use of some examples of pilgrimage and studies thereof from southern Asia. A second, COLEMAN and ELSNER (1995), does mention Japanese pilgrimage in its section on Buddhist pilgrimages outside India, but it relies heavily on materials such as haiku translations, translations of Bashō's poetry, and Oliver STATLER's (1984) informative and semifictionalized narrative account of the Shikoku pilgrimage. A third, READER and WALTER 1993, is probably the only volume so far that specifically attempts to integrate Japanese pilgrimage studies into the wider field by utilizing Japanese academic studies of the topic.

Western academic field. A further reason is that the core focus of Western academic studies of pilgrimage—and certainly the main area through and around which pilgrimage theories have been formulated—has been on pilgrimage in the world religions, most notably Christianity, with some additional focus on Islam, which of course shares some elements of its own sacred geography and important pilgrimage locations with Christianity, and to a lesser extent Hinduism and Buddhism in India. This focus on pilgrimage in the world religions has often, also, been associated with examining the experiences of pilgrims as they travel across boundaries and outside their home cultures: thus COLEMAN and ELSNER emphasize sacred travel outside one's home culture "as a defining characteristic of the way pilgrimage has developed in the world's religions" (1995, p. 206). This process, they affirm, causes the pilgrim to make comparisons with his/her home culture, and it is here, they suggest, that one sees a primary difference between pilgrimage in the world religions and those in what they call "community religions such as those specific to a particular ethnic group or territorially restricted culture" (p. 206), in which category they appear to place Japanese pilgrimages.

Certainly it is fair to say that if Japanese studies of pilgrimage have made a serious impact on the wider field, such comparisons between cross-border pilgrimage and intracultural pilgrimage would be seen to be problematic. As studies of Japanese pilgrimage have repeatedly shown, pilgrims in Japan have constantly been moved or influenced by the differences in their home cultures and those of other parts of Japan to which they have made pilgrimages, whether in the regionalized culture atmosphere of Tokugawa and pre-Tokugawa times, or in the present day, where a major source of comparison exists in many pilgrims' minds between the urban culture in which they live and the rural environments through which many of the major pilgrimage routes pass (see HOSHINO 1981 and READER 1987 for further comments on this point).

The comparative lack of impact that studies of Japanese pilgrimage have made on the wider field so far is unfortunate, in that Japan provides so much material, both in published academic works and in the sheer scope and nature of its pilgrimage culture, that can contribute to our growing knowledge of pilgrimage in general. This is equally so in historical and contemporary terms, given that pilgrimage flourished both within the feudal culture of pre-Meiji Japan and, as the popularity of pilgrimages has shown especially in the latter part of the twentieth century, in the present day.

It is the aim of this special issue of the *Japanese Journal of Religious*

Studies to contribute to this emerging field of interest in pilgrimage among scholars of Japanese religion, by drawing attention to recent scholarship in this area and to the ways in which this scholarship might contribute to wider academic understandings and debates about pilgrimage. It will do this by providing a general overview of the role and nature of pilgrimage in Japan, by examining some of many diverse themes as well as specific pilgrimages within this wider framework, and by providing a number of articles focussing on specific pilgrimages or specific issues related to pilgrimage in Japan.

First, in this Introduction we intend to contextualize the topic by providing a general discussion of the concept of pilgrimage itself, by looking at some of the meanings with which this term is invested both in general in its English usage and more particularly in the Japanese context, where we provide a brief guide to the complex Japanese vocabulary related to the subject. In so doing we attempt to provide a set of definitions for the wide variety of terms that may be translated in English by the word "pilgrimage." Following from this we shall provide a general overview of the studies of Japanese pilgrimage in its multiple forms, with a special focus on Japanese scholarship. From this we shall turn to a short discussion of some of the dominant theoretical issues and perspectives that have been utilized by Western scholars in the academic interpretation and analysis of pilgrimage in general, and then we shall briefly introduce the articles contained in this collection, indicating how these can contribute both to the wider issues of developing a greater understanding of pilgrimages in general and to the wider theoretical discussions of the topic, as well as assist us to increase our knowledge of Japanese religion in general.

Pilgrimage: A Definitional Framework

In using the term "pilgrimage" we are referring both to a process and practice whereby people (pilgrims) make special journeys to or through sacred locations and engage in acts of worship, and to an institution that includes and is composed of all the various component parts and elements that surround that process. By "sacred locations" we are alluding to any place or setting that is accorded some religious significance by visitors and/or those who guard over such places, such as temples and shrines, as well as features of the geographical landscape, such as mountain peaks or, indeed, whole ranges of mountains. We should also note here that in using the term "sacred location" we are not alluding to any clear-cut division between the realms of the sacred and the profane and that we recognize that these

two categories are at the very least indistinct or overlapping in Japanese terms: a mountain peak that may be sacred to one person may be the setting for another's worldly hobbies, as with places such as Mt. Ontake in Japan, the focus of the devotions and pilgrimages of adherents of the religious group Ontake-kyō, but also the aim of mountain hikers and tourists who view the same location in a rather different manner.

Standard dictionary definitions of the words *pilgrim* and *pilgrimage* tend to emphasize the aspect of process, as in the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary's* definition of pilgrim as "one who journeys to some sacred place...as an act of religious devotion" (1992, p. 1584) and the *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* definition of pilgrimage as "the journey of a pilgrim, especially one to a shrine or sacred place" (1986, p. 1715). At times, too, the terms may contain the implication of distance; in the above definition from the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, the words *usually a long distance* are added in parentheses. Certainly distance may be a factor in many of the well-known pilgrimages found in different religious cultures across the world, such as the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca in Islam, to which pilgrims travel from across the globe; the great pilgrimage centers of medieval European Christianity such as Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela, which necessitated long and arduous journeys; or, in Japan, the pilgrimage around the island of Shikoku, which in the Tokugawa period might take pilgrims from distant parts of Japan several weeks even to reach the island, as well as several weeks to actually go around the route itself.

However, distance need not be a contingent factor, and the term pilgrimage (as well, we should note, as its various Japanese corollaries) may refer also to the journeys of local populations to major pilgrimage centers near their homes, as well as to local pilgrimage sites. Muslims living in the vicinity of Mecca who participate in the annual hajj are as much pilgrims as are those that come from the other side of the world, while many of the pilgrims in Shikoku, one of the most prominent pilgrimages in Japan, and one that will feature often in this volume, are local island residents, for whom, therefore, the journey to the sacred locations may necessitate only a very short journey (see SATŌ 1990). Studies of Indian pilgrimage have drawn attention to the existence of networks of pilgrimage sites, ranging from major and national sites, to which pilgrims might travel long distances and which may be bound up with notions of national culture and identity and to which pilgrims might travel rarely and perhaps once or twice in their lives, to more local sites, which play a continuing part in the religious lives of local communities and which may be readily and regularly

accessed (BHARDWAJ 1973). GOLD's (1988) study of the pilgrimage activities of Rajasthani villagers shows how they engage in a range of pilgrimage activities, ranging from the rarer long-distance routes to short pilgrimage visits to sacred sites that are more immediately to hand.

What is perhaps more important to note as a characteristic of the pilgrimage process is the question of separation or departure from normal, everyday routines, with pilgrimages thus standing in contrast to ordinary patterns of behavior. Christopher MCKEVITT sums this point up in his remark that "it is axiomatic that a pilgrimage is a journey to a sacred place which lies beyond the mundane realm of the pilgrim's daily experience" (1991, p. 78). This sense of separation may be marked out by the assumption of a special set of symbols and clothing, as well as by the taking of vows and observance of abstinences during the period of pilgrimage; for example, pilgrims following the medieval European pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela in Spain wore what amounted to a pilgrim's uniform that marked them out as pilgrims, and that consisted of a staff, a tunic, a pouch, and a broad-brimmed hat, as well as various badges symbolizing sacred places, such as the scallop-shell that was the sign of Santiago (TATE AND TATE 1987, pp. 37-40), while pilgrims on many Japanese pilgrimages also wore a form of uniform in which they dressed themselves to signify their separation from the mundane world (READER 1993a, SWANSON 1981). Such ways of marking oneself as a pilgrim are not always obligatory, however, for one theme that runs through much of pilgrimage activity is that it is by and large a voluntary act, driven by volition rather than obligation.² In the present day, for example, many Japanese pilgrims prefer to wear everyday clothes rather than special pilgrimage garments. Even when traveling in such an apparently mundane guise, they normally also carry some objects, such as the scroll or book (*kakejiku* 掛軸 or *nōkyōchō* 納経帳) in which to get the stamp (*shuin* 朱印) of the sites they visit, that invest their journeys with some special significance beyond the parameters of ordinary shrine and temple visiting.

The notion of quest, of seeking something through the process of travel, is also implicit within pilgrimage. This may be in terms of prag-

² There are, of course, pilgrimages that are obligatory for members of a particular faith, the most prominent being the pilgrimage to Mecca, which all Muslims should perform once during their lives. However, as Victor TURNER (1974, pp. 174-75) has shown, there are many reasons that legitimate not performing the pilgrimage, and no sanctions behind the obligation. Thus, what leads Muslims to do the pilgrimage is something voluntary—whether they want to do it. On this question of the interplay of obligation and volition see also READER 1993c, pp. 233-35.

matic goals such as seeking the granting of favors or boons from the gods visited, or related to notions of seeking mental solace or spiritual advancement. In the context of quest, too, the English term "pilgrimage" has been widely used to refer to the process of life itself (as in another of Webster's dictionary definitions, "the course of life on earth") and to life itself as a metaphorical spiritual journey or pilgrimage (as in "a search for mental and spiritual values" (1986, p. 1715). Ennin's use of the term *junrei* to describe his journey to China is indicative of this aspect of pilgrimage behavior and motivation.

While pilgrimage involves some or all of the above elements—journey, worship, quest, separation—we should also note that it is a process involved not only with outward journeys and separation, but also with return and reintegration. Pilgrimage, as COLEMAN and ELSNER (1995, p. 6) note, is about returning home, perhaps laden with souvenirs and stories of the journey, just as it is about going out. If pilgrims travel to sacred places in search of some goal or other, often marking themselves out via special clothes and paraphernalia, their return home, along with the often festive elements that involves, symbolizes a process of reintegration into the everyday society from which they have temporarily separated themselves.

There are many more elements involved in pilgrimages besides the processes of travel and worship, however, for the term, as we noted above, also refers to an institution that comprises or encompasses what Alan MORINIS has described as the "total set of symbols, history, rituals, legends, behavior, deities, locations, specialists or whatever that centre on those sites" (1984, p. 2). This understanding is reflected also in the Japanese terminology to which we shall turn shortly, where terms such as *junrei*, which we have already encountered, and *henro* 遍路, which is the standard word used for the Shikoku pilgrimage, indicate not just the route itself but its various constituent elements, such as the different ways in which different pilgrims do the pilgrimage, the various stories and legends that have contributed to the formation and sanctification of the pilgrimage, the different perspectives of the officiants of the sacred sites, the histories and traditions of the temples themselves and their officiants, and, we would add, the interactions between the pilgrims and the local populace through whose regions pilgrims pass.

Our focus on pilgrimage in this issue is concerned not just with the processes and practices associated with journeys to sacred locations, or the concepts of quest, but also the broader aspects of the institution of pilgrimage in the sense outlined above. Thus, as we shall see below, the contributions to this volume do not focus on the pilgrims

and their journeys alone, but on reflections on the structure of pilgrimage routes, the development and uses of stories and legends as a means of promoting pilgrimages and sacralizing pilgrimage locations, the impact of pilgrims on local populations, and even how civil authorities in pilgrimage regions dealt with and regulated the pilgrims that passed through their regions. Before turning to such specific topics, however, we should first like to develop this overview further by turning our attention to the meanings of the terminology of pilgrimage in Japan, and to some of the studies of pilgrimage in Japan, after which we shall examine some of the major thematic focuses of interest and theoretical concern that have appeared in the academic literature on pilgrimage so far.

The Vocabulary of Pilgrimage in Japan

It is indicative of the significance of religious travel and of the importance of visiting sacred locations such as shrines and temples that a rich vocabulary exists in Japanese to describe these practices, all of which relate to the ideas conjured up by the term “pilgrimage.” The terms used to refer to the process or practice of pilgrimage overlap to a degree, and as such any attempts at definition must come with the admonition that these are not hard-and-fast rules so much as general guidelines and indications of the normal usage. The following terms may all be translated by or relate in some way to the word *pilgrimage*: in each case we shall give a short definition and then expand on this to provide a wider suggestion of what each term refers to within the broader framework of pilgrimage. Some of them are taken up in greater detail in the subsequent essays.

JUNREI 巡礼

Junrei is widely used in Japan when talking about specific pilgrimage routes, and it implies a process of visiting a number of religious sites that are linked together in a circuit. Literally, it indicates the notion of going around (*jun* 巡) and worshipping (*rei* 礼). While in early usage, for example in the Heian period, it contained implications of ascetic practice and visiting special sites of miraculous efficacy, the term is no longer limited to this use. It is now most widely used in referring to specific pilgrimage routes that incorporate a number of pilgrimage sites, particularly when the route is focussed on one figure of worship, such as the Saikoku *junrei* (or the *Saikoku sanjūsan kasho Kannon junrei* 西国三十三個所観音巡礼; the thirty-three-stage Saikoku Kannon pilgrimage).

Junrei is also occasionally used with slightly different characters 順礼, which do not significantly alter the meaning of the term. Instead of implying a notion of “wandering” or “going around,” the first ideogram implies following a specific order. These two terms are generally interchangeable, although the former is more widely used.

JUNPAI 巡拝 / 順拝

Junpai contains the same implications as *junrei*, i.e., to go around (or to follow in order) and worship, and is a common generic term used for the practice of going on pilgrimage (*junpai suru*). It may also be used to refer to specific pilgrimages (e.g., “Saikoku *junpai*”), but it is less commonly used in this sense than the term *junrei*.

HENRO 遍路

While this term has a broad literal meaning of a circuitous route or road, it refers specifically to the eighty-eight-stage pilgrimage around the island of Shikoku (*Shikoku henro*) that focusses on the popular figure of Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師. This term is believed to have derived from the word *heji* 辺地 (the periphery), the road around Shikoku (see KONDŌ 1996, pp. 25–26). The term *henro* is also used to refer to the various other eighty-eight-stage pilgrimages centered on Kōbō Daishi that have developed in many regions of Japan. It also is used to refer to the pilgrims themselves who perform these specific pilgrimages.

HENREKI 遍歴 AND *JUNREKI* 巡歴

Henreki and *junreki* are also general, though less widely used, terms for religious itinerancy and pilgrimage. Their meaning is similar to *henro* and *junrei*.

JUNRO 順路

This combination of ideograms refers specifically to the route of a pilgrimage, but is not as widely used as the terms above.

MEGURI 巡り / 稼り

Literally meaning to “go around,” *meguri* refers to a pilgrimage to a number of shrines and temples. Although it is another generic term for religious travel, it is most widely used in cases where the sites on a pilgrimage route are not united by their dedication to a single figure of worship, but focus on a group of deities or Buddhas that are related in some way. Thus the *shichifukujin meguri* 七福神巡り are pilgrimages that link sites related to the seven gods of good fortune (Shichifukujin). Sometimes the term *mawari* 回り is used in a similar way, though not as

a suffix for specific pilgrimages.

MŌDÉ 詣

Mōdé refers to a visit to worship at a shrine or temple. *Mōdé* added as a suffix to the names of sacred sites or areas (especially mountain sites) indicates a special journey of worship, i.e., a pilgrimage, to those places. Thus one refers to the Kumano *mōdé*; other sacred site pilgrimages for which the term *mōdé* is used include the Kōya-san *mōdé* and the Konpira *mōdé*. This term can be added as a suffix to further emphasize special forms of religious visits: *monomōdé* 物詣 (making worshipful visits to things), a term widely used in the Heian period for pilgrimages; and *hatsumōdé* 初詣で, the first shrine (or temple) visit of the year.

MAIRI 参り

Deriving from the verb *mairu*, which means to “go,” *mairi* signifies the process and practice of making special visits, i.e., pilgrimages, to a sacred place that one would not normally visit in the everyday course of one’s life, or that one visits on a special ritual occasion. Thus it is not uncommon for Buddhist sects to promote pilgrimages to the head temple of their sect (*honzan* 本山 *mairi*) as a means of encouraging their parishioners to deepen their links with the sect. *Mairi* is one of the terms used to refer to the pilgrimage to Ise, while it is also often associated with special mass pilgrimage events. Thus the Zenkō-ji *mairi* is a pilgrimage to the popular Buddhist temple Zenkō-ji in Nagano, and in particular the special pilgrimage that occurs every seventh year in conjunction with the *kaichō* 開帳 (opening of the curtain), during which a sacred copy of the temple’s hidden central icon is shown to the public. The practice of *kaichō*, displaying to the public normally hidden icons at periodic intervals, was and is common in Japan, and such occasions attract large numbers of pilgrims. The word *mairi* may also be applied to forms of pilgrimage behavior that appear to conflict with or threaten the existing stability of the social order, such as mass pilgrimages that assume an air of wildness, spontaneity, and an undermining of normal social controls. One example is the *okage* お陰 *mairi* to Ise in the Tokugawa period.

SANKEI 参詣

Sankei combines the ideograms for *mairi* and *mōdé*. Broadly speaking, it indicates the general process of visiting sacred places and making pilgrimages. SHINJŌ’s work (1982) on the social and economic history of shrine and temple visits, for example, uses *sankei* in its title as the general descriptive word for this process, and one uses it to describe

pilgrimage activity in general (as in *Heian kizoku no sankei* [pilgrimages of Heian aristocrats]). It is not, as a rule, used for specific pilgrimages, i.e., one would not say “Saikoku *sankei*.”

SANGŪ 参宮

Although literally the ideograms for *sangū* indicate “worshipping at a shrine” (*miya* 宮), this term has a specific and limited meaning, and refers only to pilgrimages to the Ise Shrines (see NISHIGAKI 1983, p. 36).

SANPAI 参拜

Sanpai indicates a more ordinary visit to worship at a local shrine or temple, as well as the act of worship itself. It also is used to describe the process of worship at a pilgrimage site. Although it contains the ideogram *maini*, it refers to the localized action of worship rather than the wider process of performing a pilgrimage.

YUGYŌ 遊行

This term refers to pilgrimage or religious itinerancy. Normally associated with ascetic practice and the travels of religious itinerants such as *hijiri* for whom pilgrimage was a way of life, the combination of ideograms itself in this term requires some comment, since they implicitly reflect an underlying thematic element within pilgrimage. The ideogram *yu* 遊 (play) contains notions of enjoyment and free-spirited behavior, while *gyō* refers to ascetic practice. Although as a term *yugyō* thus refers to the unfettered ascetic travels of holy figures, in its linking of notions of enjoyment and asceticism it implicitly hints at the close relationship and interaction between enjoyment and religious travel.

REIJŌ 霊場 AND FUDASHO 礼所

Two further important terms when discussing pilgrimage in Japan are *reijō* and *fudasho*, both of which refer to pilgrimage sites. *Reijō* literally refers to a place (*jō*) that attracts spirits or at which spirits (*rei*) congregate, while mountainous *reijō* are also known as *reizan* 霊山, mountains where the spirits gather. There are numerous such mountains throughout Japan, regarded in popular lore as places where the spirits of the dead gather or as a staging post on their journey to the other-world. Among the better known of these are Osore-zan in northern Japan and Mt. Ontake in central Japan. *Reijō* also indicates not just a place connected with the souls of the dead but a place of spiritual power, i.e., a location where miraculous events occur. The term *reijō* has become a term for pilgrimage sites, and for specific pilgrimages

themselves. Thus, for example, in Shikoku the individual pilgrimage temples are often referred to as *reijō*, while the term Shikoku *reijō* indicates the pilgrimage as a whole, and the official association of the eighty-eight pilgrimage temples is called the Shikoku Reijōkai.

A term related to *reijō* is *utsushi* 写し, meaning something copied or transferred. The term *utsushi reijō*, literally “copied or transferred pilgrimages,” refers to a prominent pilgrimage phenomenon in Japan, that of the replication of major pilgrimage routes (most particularly the Saikoku *junrei* and the Shikoku *henro*) in smaller, regional, and localized forms. These pilgrimages are generally on a smaller scale than the pilgrimages on which they are modeled. The first developments were in the thirteenth century, but they flourished particularly in the Tokugawa era onwards, during which period numerous small-scale, regional, and localized models of Saikoku and Shikoku appeared throughout the country. The basic intention of these pilgrimages was that they brought the model, meanings, and form of major pilgrimages such as Shikoku and Saikoku to those who were unable, whether through limitations of time and money or through age or infirmity, to perform the main pilgrimage. Taking only a number of days (or even hours) to complete—in contrast to the weeks required for routes such as Shikoku—these pilgrimages assimilated the form (33 or 88 stages) of Saikoku or Shikoku, and centered on their main images of worship, Kannon or Kōbō Daishi. Frequently they also borrowed or appropriated legends and miracle stories associated with these major pilgrimages, but many have, in time, also developed their own sets of legends and local customs, as well as clienteles, and many remain popular in the present day. They are regarded not so much as replicated pilgrimages but as important pilgrimages in their own right (as in the case of the eighty-eight-stage pilgrimage on the island of Shōdoshima), able to attract thousands of pilgrims each year (see READER 1988 and the various essays in SHINNO 1996c, especially ODA 1996, for further details).

The term *fudasho* also refers to pilgrimage sites, places where pilgrims can receive sacred talismans (*fuda*) and where they leave their calling cards (also called *fuda*) to mark their visit and to convey their requests to the gods and buddhas. A term used in this connection is *utsu* 打つ, literally “to strike,” but in the context of pilgrimage it refers to the act of visiting a pilgrimage site or *fudasho*. The origins of this term are that in earlier times the pilgrims’ *fuda* was made of wood, and they would nail them to pillars or other parts of the pilgrimage site.

NYŪBU 入峰 AND RELATED TERMS

There are many pilgrimage terms that are used specifically in the con-

text of mountains, and that fall under the general rubric of *nyūbu* (to enter a mountain). The two ideograms when reversed are read *mine-iri* 峰入, and refer to specific mountain pilgrimage ascents or retreats. The term is used most frequently in relation to the mountain religious order Shugendō 修験道 and the activities of *yamabushi* 山伏, the mountain ascetics. A further term sometimes referred to as a form of pilgrimage and related specifically to mountains is *kaihōgyō* 回峰行 (circling the peaks), literally the practice of circumambulating or performing pilgrimages on a peak or throughout a mountain range. The best known example of this is the thousand-day *sennichi* 千日 *kaihōgyō* performed by ascetic monks at Mt. Hiei (see RHODES 1987), but the practice is also found at other mountains such as Kubote-san in Kyūshū and Yoshino in Nara.

As can be seen through this list, there is much overlap and interchangeability between these terms. The same pilgrimage can be referred to by a number of these different terms, e.g., the Shikoku pilgrimage can be referred to as *henro*, *junrei*, *reijō*, or *junpai*. However, one should note that the usage of some of these terms is case-specific. Thus *mōdé* and *mairi* seem to be mutually exclusive: one makes the Kumano *mōdé* but the Zenkō-ji *mairi*. *Henro* refers almost exclusively to the Shikoku-type eighty-eight-stage pilgrimages, while *sangū* is only used in the context of Ise (for which, on the other hand, *junrei* is never used).

Multiple Forms of Pilgrimage in Japan

PILGRIMAGE TYPES, FORMS AND NUMBERS: A GENERAL OVERVIEW

The complexity of this terminology is paralleled by a multiplicity of types and forms of pilgrimage in Japan, and here we shall just draw attention to some of the issues relating to this multiplicity. Some indication has already been given in this Introduction of the various different forms and types of pilgrimage found in Japan, with reference being made to pilgrimages to sacred mountain locations, including the mountain circumambulation pilgrimage of Mt. Hiei, to the head temples or sacred centers of specific religious organizations (e.g., *honzan mairi*), to various sacred shrines and temples (Ise *mairi* or *sangū*, Konpira *mōdé*, Zenkō-ji *mairi*), and to various sacred areas (Kumano *mōdé*). Mention has also been made of pilgrimage routes that combined a number of sites together, in a linked route or circuit, centered either around a particular main image of worship (e.g., the Saikoku *junrei*) or holy figure (e.g., the Shikoku *henro*), or a group of linked

deities (e.g., the *shichifukujin meguri*), as well as copied pilgrimages (*utsushi reijō*).

While these pilgrimages by and large share a number of common themes and motifs, they also manifest some structural or typological variations. One basic differentiation that may be made is between pilgrimages that are limited in terms of potential participation and those that may be described as potentially mass pilgrimages open to all regardless of belief or religious affiliation. In the former category one could include ascetic pilgrimages that are limited to officiants and religious specialists of specific religious orders. As a general rule, where restrictions exist in terms of participation the levels of asceticism within a pilgrimage are likely to be heightened, a prime example being the *sennichi kaihōgyō* at Mt. Hiei, which only ordained Tendai monks can do and which remains entirely ascetic in nature. Others, although less clearly ascetic but nonetheless restricted pilgrimages, include pilgrimages specially associated with faith in a particular organization or movement, and with intensifying faith in that movement. In this category one could include pilgrimages to the sacred centers of established Buddhist sects, which are aimed at heightening the faith of members of those organizations, ascents of mountains associated with particular religious groups, such as, for example, ascents of Mt. Ontake, which are a special feature of the religious movement Ontake-kyō, and pilgrimages to the sacred centers of new religions (such as to Tenrikyō's holy center at Tenri) that function as a central religious dynamic within such movements.

While such pilgrimages are important in Japanese religious development, and play specific and crucial roles within the functioning of the various religious organizations with which they are associated, it has been voluntary pilgrimages such as the Ise pilgrimage and multiple-site types such as the Saikoku *junrei*, the Shikoku *henro*, and the various regional "copied" pilgrimages, that have tended to attract the greatest levels of mass participation and to have had the greatest influence in the broader development of Japanese pilgrimage culture. It is these pilgrimages in particular that are focused on in this volume, and it is to these, and the typological differentiations that may be made between them, that we now turn.

One major differentiation that can be made here is between single- and multiple-site pilgrimages. The former (which have also been classified by some scholars as linear pilgrimages) focus on one single holy site or location, which is the focus of the pilgrim's goal and which forms the apex of his or her journey, as with, for example, the Ise and the Zenkō-ji *maini*. The latter (also termed circuit pilgrimages) involve

a number of sites linked together, with each site thus being considered as equally important and crucial to the completion of the pilgrimage, as in the Saikoku thirty-three-stage pilgrimage. Such multiple-site pilgrimages are extremely prevalent in Japan and represent one of the most striking features of Japanese pilgrimage culture: the tendency to link a number of sacred places together in a numerically structured route. Some of the structural differentiations between linear and circuit routes are further discussed in the following essay by Hoshino Eiki. As Hoshino notes there, while in linear (or single-site) pilgrimages, pilgrims may well also visit other sacred locations on the way to their final goal, the crucial differentiation is that in multiple-site or circuit routes the pilgrim is obliged, in order to complete the pilgrimage, to visit every single site numbered along the way.

To some extent the differentiation between single/linear, and multiple-site/circuit routes reflects the varying nuances we have already discussed between terms such as, on the one hand, *mairi* and *mōdē*, which are more closely associated with journeys to one sacred center, and, on the other, *junrei* and *henro*, which tend to incorporate, in an extended route, a number of sites each focused on a sacred image of worship or holy figure. There are further possible differentiations within this matrix, such as those suggested by numerous scholars who have sought to divide circuit or multiple site pilgrimages into two main types: *honzon junrei* 本尊巡礼 (linked visits to a number of sites that have the same main image of worship) and *seiseki junrei* 聖蹟巡礼 (a multiple-site route associated with a holy figure who is not the main image of worship at the sites but who provides the linking focus of them all). Joseph KITAGAWA, for example, mentions three types of pilgrimage in Japan: pilgrimages to sacred mountains (and although he does not mention other single-site routes, one could suggest that pilgrimages to Ise and other such *mairi* could also be included in this first category), pilgrimages based on faith in a specific divinity who is the image of worship of a linked number of sites (this being the category of *honzon junrei*), and pilgrimages based on visits to a number of sites associated with charismatic holy figures (*seiseki junrei*) (1987, pp. 130–32; see also SHINJŌ 1982 and SHINNO 1996, and the following essay by Hoshino). Kitagawa, besides limiting his single-site focus to mountain pilgrimages, also does not include in his outline other multiple-site pilgrimages that incorporate groups of deities who were linked together in circuits. By this we mean groups such as the seven gods of good fortune (Shichifukujin) and the thirteen buddhas (*jūsan butsu*), each of which group is the focus of pilgrimages in Japan. However, just as other single-site routes can be absorbed into the broad typology used by Kitagawa, so too, we consider, can these types

of pilgrimage be classed, in typological terms, as forms of *honzon junrei*, since each site on these routes is dedicated to one particular figure of worship, and the route itself thus brings together all of these deities as main figures of worship. Whether a *honzon* or *seiseki junrei*, however, the principle remains the same: completion of the route involves visiting every one of the sites on it.

Thus a salient characteristic of multiple-site routes is that they contain a set number of places that have to be visited in the context of the pilgrimage. It is, for instance, common practice for pilgrims doing multiple-site routes in Japan to carry a scroll or pilgrim's book that they have stamped at each site and that serves as testimony, as it is filled with stamps, to the pilgrim's progress and, when full, to the completion of the pilgrimage. Thus each site on multiple-site routes is equally important in terms of completing the route. As such, too, multiple-site pilgrimages, in contrast to single-site pilgrimages that focus on a single definitional location (as with, for example, a temple, as in the *Zenkō-ji maini*), have no single "center" or single definitional location. Rather, they tend to encompass an area and a geographical unit within which the various sites of the pilgrimage are located, and thus have a regional (rather than single-locational) focus to them. Indeed, this point is shown by the names of multiple-site routes, which generally identify and draw attention to their regional setting: we talk of the *Shikoku* pilgrimage, the *Awaji Shichifukujin* pilgrimage, and so on.

One further structural aspect of multiple-site pilgrimages that is worthy of note is that they provide the pilgrim with greater scope and choice in terms of the performance of their itineraries than single-site routes. Although in many multiple-site routes the individual sites themselves are assigned numbers, this does not imply a specific route pilgrims must follow, but rather one that is convenient for pilgrims. As the following essay by Hoshino discusses in further detail, the assignment of numbers on pilgrimages such as *Shikoku* and *Saikoku* is based on historical circumstances indicating the most convenient route of travel for pilgrims coming to these pilgrimage areas from major centers of population, and in reality the pilgrim has the freedom to choose which order s/he will visit the sites in, depending on his/her own convenience.

Multiple-site routes also exhibit another characteristic not associated with single-site pilgrimages: the freedom of the pilgrim to perform the pilgrimage not in one journey but, if they so wish, in a number of them that may be spread out over a long period of time. Since the focus is on visiting all the sites, each of which is equally important and crucial in the broader framework of the pilgrimage, these pilgrimages

in many respects can be seen as being made up of a number of journeys, from site to site, which combined together constitute the pilgrimage as a whole. This pattern of practice may be seen, for example, in Saikoku and Shikoku. While many pilgrims may perform these pilgrimages in one journey, the custom of doing so in stages is also widespread. In Shikoku, for example, the 88 sites are spread across the four provinces (now prefectures) of the island, and the custom has existed from the Tokugawa era of pilgrims, especially those resident in Shikoku, who did not have the time or money to do the whole route, to visit the sites of one province at a time—a practice known as *ikkoku mairi* 一国まゐり or pilgrimage to one province. By combining four such *ikkoku mairi* to each province or prefecture in turn, one could thus complete the route in stages.

Given that the Shikoku route is over 1300 kilometers long and that it takes a considerable amount of time and effort to perform (six weeks or more to perform by foot, ten or more days by bus), the practice of breaking the journey into a number of stages is also very popular in the present day amongst those who wish to do the pilgrimage but who are unable to get away from their work or homes for such extended periods. The speed of modern communications, which enable pilgrims to get to Shikoku from anywhere in Japan in a matter of hours, has further facilitated this process, and many organized pilgrimage tours use the *ikkoku mairi* format. This was, for example, the case with a pilgrimage tour in which one of the authors of this Introduction participated in November 1990, which went to all the Shikoku pilgrimage temples in Kagawa Prefecture, the last of the four prefectures that pilgrims who follow the numerical order of the route visit. The tour was run by an Osaka-based pilgrimage association, the Iwaki-kai, for most of whose pilgrims this “one prefecture” pilgrimage was their fourth and final stage in a pilgrimage that had spanned three previous short visits to the other three prefectures of Shikoku over a year-long period. Interestingly, even though most of these pilgrims were retired, they still felt constrained not to spend too long at one time away from their homes and families, and hence the short *ikkoku* format was ideal for them and enabled them access to a pilgrimage that, otherwise, they would not have been able to perform (see READER 1993a, pp. 130–32 for further details of this group).

Pilgrims may also use this type of format to walk pilgrimages such as Shikoku: one of the authors has met several pilgrims during his travels and research in Shikoku who have done this, such as a retired man in the mid-60s encountered in spring 1991. Determined to walk the whole route, but feeling that he was not up to the whole six- or

seven-week journey at one time, and not keen to be away from his family for so long, he was walking the pilgrimage in one-week sections during periods of amenable weather, and then returning home for a respite before returning some while later to Shikoku to pick up where he had ended previously.

It is also possible to perform such multiple-site pilgrimages in an even more fragmented fashion than this, and this tendency has become especially prominent in the present day with the popularity of *higaeri* (日帰り, literally, day return) pilgrimages, in which pilgrims make day-trips from their homes to pilgrimage sites, either to one site on a route or perhaps two or three if they are readily accessible from each other. This practice has become especially prevalent for those doing the Saikoku *junrei* who live in the Kansai region (from which a large proportion of the Saikoku pilgrims come [SATŌ 1989]) and who can readily get to and from individual sites using public transport or their own cars. As a result of this tendency one finds many pilgrims doing the pilgrimage over an extended period of time as a series of day-trips to different sites, with each site thus the focus of a special journey. In visiting various Saikoku sites the authors have met many people who have done the pilgrimage in this way, often taking many years over their pilgrimages, selecting the days of their day trips to particular temples with great care, so as to take advantage of special circumstances such as, for example, the blooming of cherry blossoms or of autumn leaves at sites famed for these things, or, as was the case with one middle-aged man who was doing the pilgrimage as a memorial *kuyō* for his dead father, spread over a period of thirteen years, with his visits timed to coincide with important anniversaries and dates in his father's life. This pattern of practice has also begun to appear more frequently in Shikoku in recent years.

In such ways, multiple-site pilgrimages can become extended processes that do not manifest in so sharp a focus many of the parameters—the outward journey and return home, and the sense of extended symbolic separation from the everyday world—that typify or are normally associated with single-site and linear pilgrimages. Rather, Japanese pilgrims performing multiple-site pilgrimages may be involved with these routes for a number of years, moving back and forth from their homes to pilgrimage sites many times, with each separate journey to one of the locations needed to complete their pilgrimage and their scroll, and their pilgrimages thus in effect a linked series of shorter pilgrimages, an extended series of rituals or ritual processes, each of whose parts constitutes a short pilgrimage on its own but that, added together, constitute a whole.

These changes in the structural ways in which pilgrimages may be performed have been influenced, of course, by transportation developments and the changing pace of life. Modern, faster transportation, by enabling pilgrims to move to and fro between their homes and pilgrimage locations with great speed, makes it easier for them to perform pilgrimages such as Saikoku and Shikoku in shortened sections. Increasing car ownership has also played a part in this process, for it has given many pilgrims the greater freedom to construct their own schedules of travel: by the mid-1980s in Saikoku, for example, over half the pilgrims traveled by car (see LEAVELL and READER 1988). The pressures and increasing pace of modern life, in which many people cannot manage to get away from their normal social settings for any extended periods of time, also encourage such performances, and here one might suggest a parallel of sorts with the situation faced by many prospective pilgrims in the Tokugawa period, who wanted to do pilgrimages such as Saikoku and Shikoku but, for reasons of time and money, were unable to, and who thus turned to the localized *utsushi reijō* (see above). The modern pilgrim may still do this, but s/he also has an alternative way of making his/her pilgrimage more practically feasible, by, as it were, transforming the pilgrimage into a series of manageable sections, a sequence of miniaturized pilgrimages that together form a whole.

In mentioning this point we should just like to draw attention to one very important element in shaping the ways in which pilgrimages develop: the effects and repercussions of changes in economic structure and transportation. In general terms, the development of modern transport has, naturally, led to a change in the ways that pilgrims have performed their travels. Here we would simply note that the prevalence of car and bus transport in the present day need not automatically be considered as a manifestation of either decline or, indeed, secularization in pilgrimage. Pilgrims in earlier times walked because they had no other choice: what modern transport has done has been to provide the pilgrim with greater levels of choice and opportunity as to how to perform pilgrimages—as well as, as has been argued elsewhere, increasing the numbers who are able to do them (see READER 1993a, p. 128).

MULTIPLE-SITE PILGRIMAGES IN JAPAN

The existence of multiple-site pilgrimages with fixed numbers of places that must be visited is not, of course, unique to Japan: linking a number of sacred sites together to form a numerically fixed pilgrimage route that spans a broad landscape is a theme found also, for

example, in Hindu pilgrimages in India. However, the extent to which this practice occurs in Japan, and to which pilgrimages utilizing such numerically prescribed formats are created and produced, is probably unrivaled elsewhere. Indeed, one only needs to mention some of these pilgrimages to illustrate the extent of this phenomenon.

The most widely known of multiple site pilgrimages are two that we have mentioned a number of times already, the Saikoku 33-stage *junrei* that goes around the Kansai-Kinki region of west-central Japan, and the Shikoku 88-stage *henro* around the island of Shikoku. In many ways these are the multiple-site pilgrimages par excellence in Japan, representative examples of the *honzon* and *seiseki* forms of pilgrimage respectively. Along with the single-site pilgrimages to Ise and Kumano they are the two pilgrimages with a true national status able to attract pilgrims from virtually the whole of the country and from all sectors of society over the centuries (FOARD 1981, p. 231).

These two pilgrimages will be discussed in more detail by Hoshino in the next essay but here we shall briefly introduce some of the many themes that they contain. The Saikoku pilgrimage, which originated in the latter Heian period as a manifestation of the cult of veneration of Kannon, drew on numerous themes prominent in Japanese religion, such as the promises of salvation from one's sins after death and of worldly benefits in this life for those who did the pilgrimage. Its close association with many of the major temples of the region around Kyoto and Nara, and the fact that the route took the pilgrim on what was a veritable journey through the cultural centers of early Japanese history, coupled with the proximity of numerous sites of tourist interest (such as the hot springs close to the first temple on the route near Nachi), played an important part in popularizing this route and transforming it, in the Tokugawa era, into what James FOARD has called a journey "through the commercial and cultural geographies of the nation"—a journey, however, that simultaneously took the pilgrim "through Buddhist paradises as well" (1981, p. 246). In such terms, the roles of pilgrim and tourist were fused together in Saikoku.

The Shikoku pilgrimage, which centers on the figure of Kōbō Daishi, who is depicted in Shikoku lore as constantly wandering the island dispensing benefits and aiding pilgrims and those that help pilgrims, originated in the latter-Heian-era travels of ascetic devotees from Mt. Kōya to sites associated with the life of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) on the island of his birth, but only coalesced into a pilgrimage route in the latter part of the Muromachi and earlier parts of the Tokugawa eras. The pilgrim travels round the island on a route that encompasses mountain temples (many of which were yamabushi centers and set-

tings for ascetic practice in earlier eras; see HOSHINO 1979) and those in urban environments, and that links together the prominent geographic features of Shikoku—its mountains, coastline, and promontories (the two southern promontories, Cape Muroto and Cape Ashizuri, are both settings for pilgrimage sites), and its plains and urban area settings, with clusters of pilgrimage sites around each of the main towns of the island.

Perhaps the two most important themes in the Shikoku pilgrimage are the imagery of death and the association of the pilgrim with Kōbō Daishi. The traditional clothing (such as the pilgrim's white shirt that symbolizes purity and serves also as a burial shroud) worn by pilgrims declares them to be symbolically "dead to the world" (READER 1993a), separate from the mundane world and traveling, for the duration of the pilgrimage, through the realms of the sacred. Subsumed in this imagery are motifs of rebirth and renewal, while popular belief amongst pilgrims suggests that a successfully completed pilgrimage absolves all sins and enables the pilgrim, at death, to enter the Pure Land. The pilgrim also wears, on his/her clothing, the inscription *dōgyōninin* 同行二人 (literally, two pilgrims performing the same practice) to indicate a key tenet of pilgrimage faith, that Kōbō Daishi walks with and protects each pilgrim. In the symbolic structures of this concept of traveling with Kōbō Daishi, it is believed that the pilgrim traverses a path to enlightenment, in which the four provinces of Shikoku represent four stages on this path, the first representing the awakening of the mind to the possibilities of the Buddhist faith (*hosshin* 発心), the second the religious practice (*shugyō* 修行) required to polish that faith, the third the opening of enlightenment (*bodai* 菩提), and the fourth total and unending enlightenment (*nehan* 涅槃).

Besides these symbolic structures of enlightenment and death are more pragmatic ones relating to the benefits of pilgrimage in this-worldly terms. The belief that Kōbō Daishi accompanies and protects each pilgrim in effect contains a promise and an expectation that he will intercede to aid and bestow benefits of a this-worldly nature on pilgrims, and the experiencing of such benefits and of the reception of Kōbō Daishi's miraculous grace are recurrent themes in Shikoku pilgrimage lore (see READER 1996, pp. 276–79). In general terms, while it is this focus on more pragmatic and immediate benefits from the pilgrimage that are uppermost in the minds and motivations of pilgrims, one should note also that the pilgrimage, in terms of its imagery and in terms of the potential rewards it offers to participants, combines transcendent and more pragmatic and worldly themes.

Saikoku and Shikoku are, however, only the most prominent of a

far wider array of routes. In the three-volume series on pilgrimage edited by SHINNO Toshikazu (1996) mentioned later in this Introduction, for example, numerous such pilgrimages are featured, including the Bandō and Chichibu Kannon *junrei*, each originally modeled on Saikoku and with 33 and 34 sites respectively, but each having such a long history and reputation that they tend not to be considered as *utsushi reijō*. These two may also be combined or linked with the Saikoku 33-stage pilgrimage to form a 100-stage Kannon pilgrimage. Besides these are the countless *utsushi reijō* that are found throughout Japan and that use either the Saikoku model or the Shikoku one: a recent compendium of such routes listed over 200 of the former and 100 of the latter (TSUKADA 1981). Other pilgrimages included in the Shinno volumes include *roku Jizō meguri* or pilgrimages to 6 linked sites each devoted to Jizō, of which there are many in Japan, and pilgrimages to sites, or collections of sites, associated with founders of various Buddhist sects, such as the 25-stage Jōdo sect pilgrimage developed in the mid-eighteenth century and focused on sites associated with Hōnen (TODŌ 1996, pp. 219-49) and the Jōdo Shin sect 24-stage pilgrimage focused on sites associated with the disciples of Shinran (ISHIZAKI 1996, pp. 250-67).

Even this remains only a partial list: SAITŌ Akitoshi's dictionary of pilgrimage sites, which focuses on Buddhist temples and only on multiple-site pilgrimages, includes (besides some of the forms we have already mentioned above) also pilgrimages to three temples dedicated to Kōbō Daishi (*san Kōbō*), to 12 linked sites focused on the Buddha of healing, Yakushi (*jūni Yakushi*), 28 temples associated with Fudō (*niijūhachi Fudō*) and 48-site Amida pilgrimages (SAITŌ 1975). Besides these one could also mention four other forms of multiple-site pilgrimage routes that have proved popular at least at regional levels, including 49-stage pilgrimages devoted to Yakushi and 36-stage Fudō pilgrimages, several of which have appeared in various regions of Japan and attracted a clientele in the past two decades (READER 1994), and thirteen-site pilgrimages (*jūsan butsu mairi*) that link together sites each associated with one of the thirteen Buddhas who in Japanese cosmology oversee the passage of the souls of the dead to the otherworld over a number of years, with each Buddha figure overseeing one part of the journey and time period (AOKI 1983), and *shichifukujin meguri*, pilgrimages associated with the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, which have been popular since Tokugawa times but which have proved especially so in the present day (ŌISHI 1989, READER 1991, pp. 164-67).

There is generally some significance to why certain numbers have

been chosen to frame particular pilgrimages: for example, Kannon pilgrimages commonly have 33 sites because this is the number of manifestations that Kannon, in the *Lotus Sutra*, vows to take on in order to save humanity, while the many pilgrimages associated with Jizō have six sites because of Jizō's role in descending into the six Buddhist hells to save souls. An exception appears to be the number 88 in Shikoku, for which there appears to be no single or clear reason, although there are several speculative ones (see the following article by Hoshino). Our purpose here, however, is not to discuss the numerical significance of each pilgrimage so much as to illustrate the numbers and varieties of pilgrimage found in Japan, and to draw attention to a particularly distinctive feature of Japanese pilgrimage, the practice of linking sites together in numerically framed pilgrimages.

The complexity of pilgrimage terms and types of pilgrimage is reflected also in the broad and diverse range of studies by Japanese scholars on the topic, and it is to their contributions that we now turn our attention. We should note here that, since the field and number of studies done by Japanese scholars is immense, we have of necessity had to be selective in our overview, and have thus chosen to focus on a few important themes within that work and on a selective number of scholars whose work we consider to be seminal in the field.

Japanese Studies on Pilgrimage

Japanese studies of Japanese pilgrimage have concentrated more on the historical and folkloric dimensions of pilgrimage than they have on the anthropological and fieldwork based studies. They have also, with a very few exceptions (see, for example, the essay by Hoshino Eiki in this collection), focussed on examining pilgrimage within the boundaries of Japanese culture and religion, rather than on using the topic to make any broader comparative studies or to use such studies of Japanese pilgrimage to help further any wider ranging theoretical positions.³

Within such spheres, however, Japanese studies have been especially valuable in showing the influences of pilgrimage and of religious itinerants in Japanese religious history, in the development and expansion especially of the Buddhist tradition in Japan, and in the development of popular faith centered on Buddhist figures such as

³ We should note here that we are, in this section, concentrating solely on Japanese academic work on Japanese pilgrimages. Some studies (mostly historical or ethnographic) have been made by Japanese scholars of pilgrimages in other parts of the world, and there is at

Kannon and Kōbō Daishi. In particular such studies have shed much light on the interactions between what is generally termed folk religion (*minkan shinkō* 民間信仰 or *minzoku shūkyō* 民族宗教) and Buddhism. In looking at such issues one theme that has been addressed by scholars such as SHINNO Toshikazu has been the apparent tensions that can exist between official orthodoxies and religious hierarchies on the one hand, and folk and popular, unofficial, heterodoxies on the other. Shinno notes the existence of such tensions in pilgrimages such as Shikoku, which he states manifests two faces (*futatsu no kao*):

one side is controlled and dominated by a Buddhist, or rather, a Shingon sect- maintained religious ideology, the other is rooted in folk religious belief and faith in Kōbō Daishi.

(SHINNO 1991a, p. 91)

Yet, as Shinno shows, in this apparent tension is a source of religious creativity. The fusion of popular, folk religious ideas and practices with Buddhist ones—a process brought about particularly through the actions of the wandering mendicants known as *hijiri*, who were often associated with Buddhist temples but who traveled throughout medieval Japan disseminating legends, chanting Buddhist sutras, and performing healing rituals and singing the praises of Buddhist temples and statues—was an immensely creative one that lies at the heart of Japanese religious dynamism. He, like several other writers, thus treats pilgrimages as expressions of the wider religious culture, which manifests both tensions and conflicts, yet also displays an underlying unity that transcends the apparent boundaries of the traditions (especially folk and Buddhist) from which it derives. Shinno's work particularly draws on folkloric legends and texts of miracle tales and the like relating to pilgrimages to construct an understanding of premodern religious practice and to demonstrate how such stories and legends contribute to the formation of religious awareness as well as pilgrimage practices (SHINNO 1980, 1991a, 1991b, 1993).

Similar themes may be discerned also within Japanese studies of mountain religion, a major formative influence in Japanese religious history, and one that also encapsulates the aforementioned tensions and interactions between orthodoxies and official religious orders, and folk heterodoxies.⁴ Pilgrimage has been a recurrent theme within mountain religion and it, along with the study of special religious

least one collaborative volume that brings together studies of pilgrimage in different cultures in some form of comparative perspective (SEISHIN JOSHI DAIGAKU KIRISUTOKYŌ BUNKA KENKYŪJO 1987). This contains essays on, inter alia, Chinese, Islamic and Mexican Catholic pilgrimages, as well as pilgrimages made by Japanese to other parts of the Buddhist world, and is introduced by a comparative essay by Hoshino Eiki.

figures within mountain pilgrimage, have thus been the concern of many scholars. Among the major scholars in this area are Gorai Shigeru, Miyata Noboru, and Miyake Hitoshi.

GORAI Shigeru has published extensively in the area of folk studies and religion. One of his most important works dealing with pilgrimage is *Kōya hijiri* (1975), in which he provides a broad examination of the itinerant monks associated with Mt. Kōya and the Shingon school. This book provides much anecdotal information related to the Shikoku pilgrimage and is important for studying the role of ascetics in the formation of pilgrimage. Gorai continues his studies in this vein in subsequent works such as *Yugyō to junrei* (1989), which examines the interaction of itinerant travel and pilgrimages, especially in terms of the role played by itinerants in the formation of pilgrimages such as Saikoku and Shikoku, and, finally, in some of his more general writings on Buddhism and folk religion, which contain sections on pilgrimage (e.g., GORAI 1984), as well as in posthumous collections of his talks on such topics as the Saikoku pilgrimage temples (1995). Gorai was also heavily involved in (and responsible for many of the individual volumes of) the monumental *Sangaku Shūkyō-shi Kenkyū Sōsho* [Collected research on the history of mountains and religion] (18 volumes, Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1975–1984). As the title indicates, this collection contains research on religious activity, including pilgrimage, associated with various mountains and mountainous centers throughout Japan.

MIYATA Noboru is a leading scholar on folk religion in contemporary Japan who has published widely in this area. Among his most prominent works are a study of the Miroku cult (1975) that, although not on pilgrimage per se, demonstrates how the cult of faith in the future Buddha Miroku was linked to and reinforced the cult of Kōbō Daishi, which was extremely important in the development of pilgrimages such as that around Shikoku. Miyata's most important study relating to pilgrimage, however, is his *Yama to sato no shinkōshi* (1993), a study of the interplay between mountain and village in Japanese religious life in which he emphasizes the importance of mountains as *reijō*, homes of the spirits of the dead, and examines such topics as *kō* 講, religious confraternities that are closely associated with village social and religious life and that are focussed on practices such as mountain pilgrimage.

⁴ For further information about mountain religion in Japan see the special edition of this journal on "Shugendo and Mountain Religion in Japan" (vol. 16/2–3, 1989), edited by Royall TYLER and Paul L. SWANSON, which contains translations of work by two of the authors (Miyake and Gorai) we discuss here.

MIYAKE Hitoshi is a leading scholar in the study of Shugendo, the Japanese religious tradition of mountain asceticism. His twin works on Shugendo ritual (1970) and thought (1985) are considered classics in the field. Although Miyake's work covers a wide range of topics and places associated with Shugendo, one of his main focuses has been the Kumano region, especially the development and role of the Kumano *sendatsu* 先達 (pilgrimage guides) (see, for example, MIYAKE 1992 and 1996). A collection of his essays translated into English over the years is forthcoming.⁵

In ethnographic terms there are numerous studies of pilgrimages to mountain sites that provide information on contemporary practice, including a study of Ontake pilgrimage in French by HASHIMOTO Kazuya (1981), the work of AOKI Tamotsu, also on pilgrimages to Ontake (1983 and 1985), in the first of which he attempts to make some differentiations between different types of pilgrimage structure in Japan (see Hoshino's essay in this volume for further details), and NISHIGAI Kenji's writings on various mountain pilgrimages, including those centered on Mt. Ishizuchi in Shikoku (e.g., 1984).

In terms of historical studies, the work of SHINJŌ Tsunezō (1960, 1971, 1982) has been one of the basic building blocks upon which much of contemporary Japanese studies of pilgrimage has been based. Shinjō's primary interest in travel and the social history of travel naturally led him to a study of travel to religious centers because, as he stated in one of his early works, in the premodern era, for ordinary people the term travel (*tabi* 旅) was virtually synonymous with pilgrimage (*mōdē*) (1960, p. i). Shinjō amassed a vast amount of documentary evidence to illustrate what he termed (to translate the title of his magnum opus) the social and economic history of visits to shrines and temples (SHINJŌ 1982). This work covers the whole scope of Japanese history until the end of the Tokugawa era, providing core historical data on all the major pilgrimages and religious centers, and details in particular how social circumstances such as changing economic conditions furthered the development of pilgrimage, as well as detailing how religious travel and pilgrimage played its part in helping develop communications and economic infrastructures. Shinjō's work, which has been a basis upon which virtually all scholars of the history of pilgrimage have relied, was originally published in 1964, but was revised and expanded (to almost 1400 pages, from 1071 in the earlier edition) in 1982. The reason for the revision, Shinjō notes (1982, p. 2)

⁵ Miyake has informed the editors that a number of his articles that have been translated into English over the years, and which were used for a seminar at the University of Michigan during the spring of 1997, are being collected and edited for publication as a book.

was the increase in the availability of source materials relating to the latter periods (particularly the Tokugawa era) his book covered. This increase in the available materials came about especially from the 1960s onwards because of the growing number of studies of local and regional history, many of them carried out by local history societies, which enabled him to increase by several hundred pages his treatment of pilgrimage in the Tokugawa period.

Besides Shinjō's work, other important studies of the historical aspects of pilgrimage in Japan include the work of KONDŌ Yoshihiro (1971, 1982) on the origins and development of the Shikoku pilgrimage, and on early Tokugawa pilgrimage documents and materials relating to Shikoku, while the copious writings of NISHIYAMA Matsunosuke on various aspects of Tokugawa culture include much material on pilgrimage, travel, and tourism, and on related events such as *kaichō*, as they relate to the culture and society of that time (e.g., 1983 and 1985).

Here mention should also be made of the work of scholar-priests such as MIYAZAKI Ninshō and SHIMIZUTANI Kōshō, who, while often writing from a perspective of faith and devotion befitting their status as Buddhist priests, have nevertheless produced works with much useful historical material in them. Shimizutani, who is based at Asakusa Kannon in Tokyo, combines his priestly role as an ardent devotee of Kannon and as a leader of pilgrimage parties, with scholarly activities in which he has written extensively about Kannon pilgrimage focussing both on historical materials and on pilgrims' experiences (e.g., 1971 and 1986). Miyazaki, a Shingon priest from Tokushima in Shikoku, has written extensively about the Shikoku pilgrimage (1985) as well as providing an edited version of and commentary on the diary of the seventeenth-century Shikoku pilgrim Chōzen, one of the earliest historical documents relating to that pilgrimage (1977).

In sociological terms probably the most representative and important work has been carried out by MAEDA Takashi, whose study of pilgrimage activity in the Tokugawa era and in the 1960s has provided vital sociological and historical data about the activities of pilgrims at various stages of Japanese history (1971). Maeda's work involved detailed investigations into temple records and into the *osamefuda* 納札 (originally wooden plaques, although nowadays paper slips, which pilgrims inscribed with their names, dates of visit, and other such data, and left at the sites) left by pilgrims at temples on the Saikoku and Shikoku routes. Maeda also has investigated the death registers (*kakochō* 過去帳) of some of the Shikoku temples in the Tokugawa era, thus providing us with some information on the incidence of death

amongst pilgrims at that period of time, and has carried out surveys also among pilgrims in the 1960s. As a result, Maeda's work has provided us with the most detailed picture of pilgrimage trends and activities in the Tokugawa era, showing, inter alia, where pilgrims to Saikoku and Shikoku came from and in which seasons and months of the year. His study also traces the ebbs and flows of pilgrimage numbers during the Tokugawa period, providing us with one of the most complete records from anywhere in the world of the fluctuations in the popularity of pilgrimages over an extended period of time, and provides one starting point, with its data based on Maeda's surveys of the 1960s, into modern sociological studies of the Saikoku and Shikoku routes. One of those who assisted Maeda with the data collection on his research in the 1960s, SATŌ Hisamitsu has carried out subsequent sociological studies and analysis in the 1980s that provide data on pilgrimage patterns in Saikoku and Shikoku in more recent times (see SATŌ 1989 and 1990).

A theme that is expressed in both Shinjō's and Maeda's work that is highly relevant for studies of pilgrimage in general has been their linking of economic circumstances and conditions, along with travel and communications developments, to the ebbs and flows of pilgrimage. The recognition, common to virtually all Japanese scholarship on Tokugawa era pilgrimage, that the great boom in pilgrimage travel in that era was closely related to such factors as the improvements in travel communications and routes has been largely based on Shinjō's extensive research backed by Maeda's sociological data.

The influences of economic circumstances and improvements in transport communications as factors in the growth of pilgrimage are recognized also by more contemporary studies of Japanese pilgrimage in the postwar era, and particularly of the era referred to as the "pilgrimage boom" (*junrei būmu*), which covered at least the latter part of the 1970s and the 1980s. Such studies have also discussed how the economic growth and greater disposable wealth of that period, coupled with the increased convenience and speed of communications, and the increase in leisure time, have contributed to this boom (e.g., HOSHINO 1981). Hoshino Eiki in particular has also drawn attention to the ways in which the pace and pressures of modern society have been important in attracting people to pilgrimages, and has drawn attention to the importance of escape as a factor in pilgrimage. Although Hoshino's attention here has been on the modern day (and he especially draws attention to the desires of people to step outside the high-paced nature of modern life), this theme of escape is in fact a recurrent one in pilgrimage motivations. Hoshino, one of whose arti-

cles is included in this volume, has also carried out studies of the Shikoku pilgrimage and various small-scale pilgrimages based on the Shikoku model (see the bibliography provided with his article for further references). His work is especially notable in that underlying his work is a recognition of the comparative aspects of Japanese pilgrimage; it is also notable for his use, and critique, of anthropological theories such as those espoused by Victor Turner.

Pilgrimage has been an integral element also in many of the case studies of specific sacred figures within the Japanese tradition, such as Kannon and Kōbō Daishi, neither of whom can seriously be studied without reference to the pilgrimages (Saikoku and Shikoku respectively) that center on them. One example of this can be seen in the work of HAYAMI Tasuku, whose studies of the development of faith in Kannon (*Kannon shinkō* 観音信仰) in Japan pay great attention to the formation, emergence, and development of Kannon pilgrimages ranging from Heian era pilgrimages to Kannon temples, to the Saikoku, Bandō, and Chichibu routes (1970).



The above brief survey has only touched on some of the many studies in book and article form by Japanese scholars, and here we would like to refer readers who wish to pursue the matter further to a recent and important three-volume set edited by SHINNO Toshikazu (1996). These three volumes contain extracts from the works of many of the most important scholars who have worked on the subject of pilgrimage, including many of those mentioned in this Introduction, as well as many previously published yet difficult to obtain articles. The three volumes, which focus almost exclusively on circuit pilgrimages—i.e., pilgrimages that incorporate a number of sites linked together in one group and in particular circuits that are made up of Buddhist temples, such as the Saikoku and Shikoku routes, as well as the *utsushi reijō* pilgrimages based on them—provide some insights into the ways in which Japanese scholars have traditionally differentiated between pilgrimage routes. Thus the first volume, *Honzon junrei*, focuses on pilgrimage circuits in which the individual sites within the route each share the same main image of worship; in this volume attention is focussed primarily on Kannon pilgrimages such as Saikoku, Bandō and Chichibu, but also on pilgrimage routes centered on other figures such as Jizō. The second volume, *Seiseki junrei*, focuses on pilgrimage circuits that are linked together because of their association with a particular holy figure that provides the core unity to the route but that is not the main focus of worship of the sites on it. This vol-

ume particularly focuses on the Shikoku *henro* and its association with Kōbō Daishi, who is the unifying figure in the pilgrimage and in making the region of Shikoku into a sacred arena, but who is not the main image of worship (*honzon*) at the Shikoku temples; it also examines other pilgrimages linked by a sacred figure, such as the Jōdo sect's pilgrimage to twenty-five temples associated with its founder, Hōnen. The third volume, *Junrei no kōzō to chihō junrei*, concentrates both on the structure of pilgrimages, by focusing on such issues as the role of ascetics in the formation of pilgrimage and on the social dynamics of pilgrimage, and on the phenomenon of regional and copied pilgrimages and their extent in Japan (for a further study of this issue see also TANAKA 1983, which attempts to provide a framework for comparing the geographical structures of Shikoku and copied pilgrimages based on it). To each of the three volumes Shinno appends a short essay discussing the field of studies in these areas (1996a, pp. 311-33; 1996b, pp. 299-325; and 1996c, pp. 315-34), each of which is followed by a bibliography of important works in the area. The essays as well as the volumes themselves are important additions to the field that will be of help to scholars wishing to delve further into the subject.

Western Academic Studies of Pilgrimage: Some Important Theoretical Issues

While Japanese studies of pilgrimage have eschewed theoretical perspectives, it might be fair to say that Western academic studies have almost been bedeviled by them, at least to the extent that disputes over the value of theoretical perspectives have created divides between those who espouse more anthropological and synchronic perspectives, and those who take diachronic, historical, and theological ones. To make a simplistic division, the latter have been more inclined to examine pilgrimage within the context of one cultural and religious system, viewing it, for example, as a phenomenon that reflects the inner dynamics and workings of the religious system within which it is found. Representative of this perspective is the position taken by the historian of medieval Christianity, Jonathan SUMPTION (1975), who discusses medieval pilgrimage as a reflection of the medieval Christianity. By contrast, anthropological studies have tended to be concerned with viewing pilgrimage in terms of broader social processes and with searching out overarching theoretical frameworks through which to interpret such processes in comparative terms.

In such terms, it has been a general contention of anthropologists that it is they who have taken the lead in providing analytical frame-

works for the study of pilgrimage and, in the words of John EADE and Michael SALLNOW, to have attempted to "set the agenda for the study of pilgrimage" (1991, p. 1). The anthropological tendency to interpret pilgrimages in terms of social processes and through a synchronic lens has frustrated historians and students of religion who recognize, through their more phenomenologically oriented studies into pilgrims' experiences and of pilgrimage developments and changes in particular pilgrimages at different stages of history. Historians point to the weakness of a synchronic approach, which, *inter alia*, fails to recognize the ebbs and flows of particular pilgrimages and cults at different periods. The tensions between these different perspectives has occasionally surfaced publicly at conferences. Thus, reporting on a conference in Britain in 1988 that attempted to bring together scholars from different backgrounds, BOWMAN (1988) discusses how tensions arose between these different perspectives, and how some of the historians present felt that the anthropologists hindered the discussions of pilgrimage by their focus on theory. This feeling also emerged in a conference one of the authors of this Introduction attended in Canada in 1995 when, after a series of papers that dealt more clearly with anthropological and theoretical studies of pilgrimage, one noted historian of pilgrimages began his talk by expressing his dislike of theoretical musings and stating that he was not going to use "the technical term Victor Turner" in his paper.

This division is unfortunate, because pilgrimage itself so readily (as Morinis's comment, cited earlier, about pilgrimage as an institution incorporating such things as symbols, history, rituals, legends, behavior, deities, locations, and specialists, so clearly shows) opens itself to a multidisciplinary focus in which there is much scope for an interplay rather than tension between different fields of study. While we recognize that there are many problematic elements and methodological weaknesses behind the drive towards constructing widespread theoretical frameworks in the study of pilgrimage, especially when these overlook the obvious concerns of a diachronic approach, we are also aware that this field of study in general has been advanced considerably by the attention paid to it by anthropological studies and challenging theoretical analyses. Naturally, also, if studies of Japanese pilgrimage are to make an impact on the field beyond Japan, they need to do so within the contexts of the wider discussions about pilgrimage in comparative terms, and thus need to address at least some of the theoretical concerns and issues that are being raised and to be aware of the ways in which pilgrimage is being studied elsewhere. As such, we shall here give a brief outline of some of the important issues

that have textured the theoretical debates, especially in anthropological studies of pilgrimage.⁶

We have already mentioned the name of the anthropologist Victor Turner a number of times, and it is fair to say that, although Turner's theories on pilgrimage have been critiqued in many recent studies (including, we would note, some of the essays in this volume), his work has been vital in stimulating the study of pilgrimage, in framing the intellectual debates around it, and in attempting to suggest the possibilities of developing broad and overarching schemes for the interpretation of pilgrimage. Turner, in a number of seminal publications both on his own and with his wife, Edith (see, for example, TURNER 1974, TURNER and TURNER 1978), argued that pilgrimage enables the pilgrim to step outside the normal bonds of society and enter into a liminal state, one outside the normal borders of society, on the edges or margins, in which s/he is unfettered by the normal processes of social order, identity, and belonging. In this transient state of liminality, the pilgrim is able to enter into a nonhierarchical and spontaneous state of identity and being with his/her fellow pilgrims, who form a temporary, idealistic community of belonging, a state Turner termed *communitas*, which provides a form of antistructure that stands in juxtaposition to everyday society. To Turner, then, pilgrimage was largely about moving outside one's normal parameters of being, escaping from the rigid hierarchies of social belonging, and entering into this idealized state of *communitas*, which provided a temporary yet potent antithesis to the structures of ordinary society.

Turner's views thus saw pilgrimage as potentially challenging to the existing order, while possessing an integrating dynamic that drew all pilgrims together in a shared purpose. His views, which have been extremely influential, have been reiterated by others since, notably the French scholar Alphonse DUPRONT (1987), who treats pilgrimage as one of the cardinal manifestations of popular religion, and who emphasizes its integrative nature as a universalizing force that draws people together in a sense of well-being (pp. 412-15).

Turner also drew attention to the ludic elements in pilgrimage and to the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism, most notably in the well-known remark that "a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist" (TURNER and TURNER 1978, p. 20). While some scholars have disputed the extent to which analogies between tourism and pil-

⁶ This account is of necessity selective and not intended to be comprehensive. For fuller discussions of pilgrimage theories see the following: MORINIS 1984, esp. pp. 233-75; EADE and SALLNOW 1991, pp. 1-29; READER and WALTER 1993; and COLEMAN and ELSNER 1995, pp. 196-220.

grimage can be made, many, especially those working in the field of tourism, have seen strong analogies between the two in terms of process, even to the extent of regarding tourism as a modern form of sacred journeying.⁷ In general terms the close connections of tourist behavior and pilgrimage activity, and of the ludic aspects and elements of pilgrimage, are amply displayed throughout the ethnographic and historical studies of pilgrimage, to the extent that some scholars consider that attempts, within the context of pilgrimage, to differentiate between pilgrims and tourists are not very useful (see NAQUIN and YU 1992, p. 22).

Turner's ideas have been widely discussed, especially among his fellow anthropologists, who, generally, while acknowledging their debt to him for his pioneering work, have criticized the model he constructed. While recognizing that at times during pilgrimage processes there may be some coming together of various groups in displays of unity, most of those who have examined pilgrimages from anthropological perspectives have, rather, seen it as a medium in which group conflicts may be played out and social and cultural divisions intensified. Thus PFAFFENBERGER (1979) shows that pilgrimages to Katarama in Sri Lanka, a location sacred to both Singhalese Buddhists and Tamil Hindus, intensify religious and ethnic differences between the two communities, rather than dissolving them in a communal sense of oneness, as would, Pfaffenberger contends, be implied by Turner's notion of *communitas*. Similarly, SALLNOW (1981) shows how pilgrimage groups in Peru compete and conflict with each other rather than fuse together in a state of *communitas*.

In criticizing the notion of *communitas* (i.e., pilgrimage as a centripetal force), many scholars have thus focussed on the potential for pilgrimages to emphasize divisions or to provide a realm in which such contestations can occur. This is the thrust of EADE and SALLNOW's work in which they claim to set a new agenda for the field (1991), and in which they argue that "pilgrimage is above all an arena for competing religious and secular discourses" (p. 2) and that "it is these varied discourses with their multiple meanings and understandings, brought to the shrine by different categories of pilgrims, by residents, and by religious specialists, that are constitutive of the cult itself" (p. 5). They thus draw attention to some of the areas of competition and social interaction within pilgrimages, especially the differ-

⁷ See, for example, GRABURN (1978) for an interpretation of tourism in this light, and John URRY (1990, esp. pp. 10–15) for a fuller discussion of some of the issues relating to the relationship of pilgrimage and tourism, viewed from the perspective of the academic study of tourism.

ing views different groups of people with an interest in pilgrimage take of the same site and sacred figure, as well as focussing on what they see as the transactional aspects of pilgrimage, in which a market ideology operates, with the giving and receiving of favors, and the interchange of sacred and secular commerce in pilgrimage settings. Various of the essays in their volume draw out the tensions that exist between different interest groups involved in pilgrimages, such as those between priests and those in official control of pilgrimage centers, and the pilgrims themselves and the populist and antihierarchical dimensions of the pilgrims and the meanings they attribute to the sites, which are often rooted in the powers of healing of charismatic saints who, at least in their lifetimes, stood beyond the control of the religious traditions to which they nominally belonged.

Eade and Sallnow's work has been valuable in showing the multiplicity of attitudes inherent within pilgrimages and the ways in which pilgrimage can provide a *tabula rasa* upon which different participants can inscribe their own meanings. One could, of course, argue that all or most ritual forms are similar in this sense of providing scope for individual interpretation, although Eade and Sallnow do not discuss this point. Nor do they, as COLEMAN and ELSNER (1995, p. 205) have rightly pointed out, take much note of movement, which is of course a vital element in pilgrimage, or of the impact that such movement and the response to experiences gained in pilgrimage have on the life of pilgrims. It is this, Coleman and Elsner argue, that differentiates pilgrimage from other forms of ritual performance found in religions: "the experience of travel and the constant possibility of encountering the new" (p. 206), a process that invests the pilgrim with the possibilities of transformation.

Although there are problems with the emphasis that they place on the crossing of borders (as we noted earlier, the contrasting nuances between one's home and pilgrimage site are found strikingly in Japanese pilgrimage experiences that occur within a national framework), the perspective that Coleman and Elsner take, in arguing for the potential for cross-cultural comparisons of pilgrimage, opens up plentiful scope for new discussions. Given the limitations of an anthropological, synchronic approach that privileges groups and is unable to cope with changing patterns within pilgrimage, it is clearly important to widen the scope of pilgrimage studies, and they propose doing so by reaffirming an emphasis on the ambience—what they term the "landscape"—in which pilgrimage activity takes place. In stating the importance of "landscape as a powerful metaphor for examining pilgrimage cross-culturally and through time" (p. 212) they do

not, however, refer only to the physical terrain and architecture (i.e., the constructions of the sites that are visited) but also to the myths, traditions, and narratives associated with that terrain and architecture. This focus on landscape as an avenue for exploring and analyzing pilgrimages is one that can favorably be pursued in studies of Japanese pilgrimages, where particular landscapes have been visualized as imagined and imaginative representations of the realms of the sacred (as with the topographical depictions of the Kumano region as the locus of Kannon's Pure Land) and where myths and legends have played a vital role in the creation of sacred locales and of pilgrimage sites, issues that are discussed in some of the essays in this edition.

Many of the attempts to develop theories of pilgrimage have been (like Turner's and Eade and Sallnow's) largely concerned with pilgrimage in Christianity. However, there have also been many fruitful studies of pilgrimage in Asian settings that have contributed greatly towards our wider theoretical understandings of pilgrimage, and here we shall give a short outline of some of the important works in this field.

Alan MORINIS's study of Bengali pilgrimage (which also provides a comprehensive critique of Turner's theories) has given emphasis to the individual religious meanings of pilgrimages, to pilgrimage's symbolic meanings as a journey of the soul, and to the individual wishes (in which profound spiritual and other-worldly aims are interwoven with this-worldly and more material needs) of the pilgrims. It is this "implicit model" (i.e., the underlying notion of the pilgrimage as spiritual journey and as allegory of the journey of the soul to God, a journey that incorporates allusions to death and purification from sin) that, to Morinis, "unites and makes comprehensible these disparate elements of the pilgrimage traditions" (1984, p. 298).

Barbara AZIZ (1987) has further emphasized the individual aspects of pilgrimage behavior by drawing attention to the vast breadth of individual views and aspirations amongst the Indian pilgrims she interviewed, and has argued persuasively that the prevalent theories dealing with pilgrimage as social processes have neglected the individuality of the pilgrims and failed to listen adequately to their voices. Aziz and Morinis both critique the tendency prevalent in much anthropological writing to treat pilgrimages almost entirely as social processes and to thus lump all pilgrims together as one undifferentiated mass. The danger, however, and this is where Morinis and Aziz's work tends towards the problematic, is of thereby not adequately taking into consideration the potential of pilgrimages in terms of affirming social identity and social processes.

One of the most significant works to have emerged in terms of pilgrimage has been Anne Grodzins GOLD's (1988) study of the pilgrimage culture of Rajasthani villagers in India. This work is significant in that, rather than examining the sites of pilgrimage and those that visit them (hence viewing pilgrims in their transitory phase—a form of analysis which almost inevitably leads to the consideration of pilgrimage as, to use Turner's terminology, a liminal and marginal practice performed by people as a special excursion from their daily lives), it examines pilgrims from the environment of their own sedentary existence. Gold carried out her fieldwork in a village from which she went on pilgrimages with the villagers. As such her work shows how pilgrimage is an intrinsic part of local village religious culture and social life, a central religious and cultural metaphor in the lives of the villagers. Gold's work also reiterates the point that Hoshino Eiki makes in this volume, that even when pilgrimages are directed to one sacred place, pilgrims invariably take in other sacred places along the way. She comments that even a hasty trip to the sacred site of Hardwar made by one pilgrim to deposit the ashes of his father in the Ganges there, was seen as not quite right if one did not visit some of the other sacred places in the area (1988, pp. 202–11), while the pilgrimages made by villagers to distant pilgrimage sites to perform the ritual of "sinking flowers" (immersing the ashes of the dead in the Ganges, an important religious ritual) were "embedded in a general 'Hindu darshan bus tour'" (p. 213).

A further contribution along similar lines is also made by William SAX in his account of the cult of, and pilgrimages to sites associated with, the goddess Nandadevi (1991). Sax shows how the cult and pilgrimages associated with it are integral elements in the religious lives of Hindu women in the central Himalayan area where he did his fieldwork, and how the ways in which pilgrimages associated with Nandadevi express and display the underlying meanings of the cult.

A recent and important new volume on Chinese pilgrimages has been published by a group of historians and Buddhologists, but displaying a critical awareness of many of the theoretical issues raised by the study of pilgrimage (NAQUIN and YU 1992). Their volume presents a multifaceted approach to pilgrimages, with essays focusing, *inter alia*, on the experiences of women pilgrims, on the sacred geography of specific sites, and on the construction of a modern pilgrimage location, the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall. Naquin and Yu make a plea that in many respects mirrors Aziz's comments that one should look more closely at the various individual views of pilgrims: they argue that the tendency towards framing general models of pilgrimage has

led to a focus on similarities in the experiences of pilgrims and away from their differences. NAQUIN and YU's volume, in drawing attention to the multiple levels and dimensions of pilgrimage activity, make a plea for scholars "to reconsider the chaos of pilgrimage and to listen again to the cacophony" (1992, p. 7)—in other words, rather than moving towards a generalized focus on similarities underlying pilgrimage experience, to take more note of differences and recognize the various elements and complexities within pilgrimage. It is by so doing, and by reconsidering the cacophony of different sounds and themes that are bound up in the wider process and institution of pilgrimage, that one can grasp a fuller understanding of its scope and meanings.

Their plea in many respects echoes the themes of Eade and Sallnow in the attention they wish to pay to the various realms of discourse inherent in pilgrimages, and also resonates with Coleman and Elsner's wish to examine the multivalent landscape of pilgrimage in its shifting social and historical perspectives. It also strikes a chord with the studies in this volume, which, in examining the topic of pilgrimage in Japan from a variety of perspectives, themselves draw attention to the landscape that frames Japanese pilgrimage, to the cacophony of voices, meanings, and thematic issues that flow through the process and the institution of pilgrimage in Japan, and to the diverse and often competing realms of interpretation expressed by the various actors who participate in it.

As has been indicated in this brief survey, attempts to formulate single or overarching theories on pilgrimage have been fraught with problems and have provoked much criticism. This does not mean that such attempts have been invalid: as we have noted, theories such as those produced by Turner have been a crucial element in framing intellectual understandings of and interest in the academic studies of pilgrimage, and in shaping the academic background against which most contemporary studies of pilgrimage have taken place. However, as the various discussions outlined above have shown, there is a need to look more closely at the complex themes and elements that may be found within the phenomenon of pilgrimage, to pay attention, in order words, to its chaos and diversity, as a means of better understanding its potential commonalities.

It is in this context that we offer the following essays. They are intended not only to provide further information on the nature of pilgrimage in Japan, but also to contribute to the growing literature on pilgrimage in general and to help further our broader understandings of pilgrimage in comparative and theoretical perspectives. As we have commented earlier, so far Japanese studies of pilgrimage have

played little part in shaping wider understandings of the topic; this volume, we hope, can play a part in altering this situation.

The Articles

Normally a special edition of this sort in the *JJRS* would include a number of translations of Japanese articles, and it was the editors' original intention to incorporate translations of some representative works from the Japanese as well as bring together the most recent Western scholarship on the subject. However, we decided to include only one article in translation, by the Japanese scholar Hoshino Eiki. Partially this was because many of the key studies in Japanese, though extremely valuable and informative, are highly technical and detailed; research that does not lend itself to translation. A more significant reason is the high quality of work being done recently by young, international scholars with an interest in pilgrimage, and to which we wished to provide proper focus in this edition. Three of the contributions (Ambros, Moerman, and Kouamé) are by graduate students working on their doctorates, and two further ones by recent graduates in the early stages of their academic careers (MacWilliams and Smyers). This bodes well for the future, and we expect the field to blossom and make a significant impact on the study and understanding of religion in Japan in the coming years.

The essays themselves are arranged in an order that begins from more general overviews to a series of specific case studies based on historical records or contemporary fieldwork. The specific case studies are arranged in historical order.

The vastness of the field, to which this Introduction has already referred, and recent developments in the study of pilgrimage both in Japan and abroad, requires some overview. Thus our only translation from Japanese, "Pilgrimage and Peregrination: Contextualizing the Saikoku *Junrei* and the Shikoku *Henro*" by Hoshino Eiki, was chosen to provide some general theoretical overview of Japanese pilgrimage, while discussing some of the characteristics of the Saikoku and Shikoku pilgrimages in relationship to each other and other pilgrimage forms across the world. Hoshino places the Saikoku and Shikoku pilgrimages in a broader perspective by comparing pilgrimage sites such as Santiago, and discussing the characteristics of Indian Buddhist pilgrimage. He also compares the Saikoku and Shikoku pilgrimages within the Japanese context.

The first specific study, "Liminal Journeys: Pilgrimages of Noblewomen in Mid-Heian Japan" by Barbara Ambros, introduces the

themes of seeking mundane benefits as the motive for pilgrimage; the role of ritual performance; how pilgrimage can intensify class differences; and how pilgrimage functioned as the antithesis of normal (static) lifestyles for Heian women. Ambros introduces the idea that tourism, sightseeing, and entertainment are elements in pilgrimage from early on, and warns that one should not interpret ludic activity as a sign of decline in religiosity. Her focus is on individual pilgrims and their experiences and she shows, through studies of the writings of Heian female pilgrims, that, contra Turner, liminality and *communitas* are not necessarily interlined, and that pilgrimages may in fact heighten rather than collapse a sense of social distinctions.

A second essay on Heian Japan, "The Ideology of Landscape and the Theater of State: Insei Pilgrimages to Kumano (1090–1220)" by David Moerman, discusses a single-site pilgrimage by a specific group: the imperial pilgrimages to Kumano. He looks at pilgrimage as a form of organized state ritual and the links between pilgrimage and power structures, showing that pilgrimage may not be a matter of liminality at all but a practice closely associated with the very core of power and influence. The pilgrimages of ex-emperors were a very high-class activity, and not very ascetic. They were not, at least in the context of the political dynamics of Heian Japan, marginal or peripheral phenomena but matters of the highest order to the state. Liminality, in terms of going outside the normal channels of society, was for the retired emperors a means of reconstructing the center and reaffirming their own power. Moerman also shows how pilgrimage may be both a recurrent phenomenon (the imperial pilgrims he examines each performed the pilgrimage numerous times) and one bounded by the forces of particular periods of historical circumstance: as he notes, for approximately one century this type of imperial pilgrimage flourished and then it disappeared. Moerman's essay also shows the degree to which such pilgrimage parties led by ex-emperors consumed resources and were a burden on those who lived along the route (a point that links with the essay by Kouamé later in this volume). Moerman also affirms the extent to which pilgrimage can intensify social class differences, and while this point (which his essay shares with Ambros's) may perhaps be more striking for societies with more rigid hierarchies, such as Heian Japan, it nonetheless raises some further questions about the question of *communitas*.

Shifting to the early modern period, Mark MacWilliams studies "Temple Myths and the Popularization of Kannon Pilgrimage in Japan: A Case Study of Ōya-ji on the Bandō Route." Pilgrimage sites do not, as MacWilliams shows, just become famous of their own

accord but as a result of concerted efforts from people connected with them, who strive to publicize their sites and to make them into sacred centers that can attract the custom of the faithful. While the Turners have developed a case for the popular foundations of pilgrimage, commenting on how rumors of miracles stimulate the formation of pilgrimages, with ordinary people “voting with their feet” (TURNER and TURNER 1978, p. 25) and being drawn to places where such miracles occurred and making them into pilgrimage sites, thus suggesting the populist foundations of pilgrimage, MacWilliams shows that this model is perhaps too simplistic, and that something much more complex occurs in the construction of sacred reputations. Indeed, the rumors of miracles and the legends and stories that help make a site sacred and draw the faithful to it may well be the product of intensive, and inventive, activity by those connected with sacred sites, who produce richly woven texts that endow their sites with miraculous efficacy and that serve as publicity to attract pilgrims. By focusing on such legends, myths, and miracle tales as they are connected to one pilgrimage site on one of the older Japanese pilgrimages, he shows how these provide publicity, attract pilgrims, and provide meaning to the pilgrimage. A detailed exposition of foundation legends and myths shows how they reflect, and resonate with, themes found elsewhere in Japanese religious literature.

Nathalie Kouamé’s essay on “Shikoku’s Local Authorities and *Henro* during the Golden Age of the Pilgrimage” uses primary historical materials to focus on a topic little covered so far in studies of pilgrimage: the relationships between pilgrims and local populations, and particularly local officials and authorities. Kouamé’s study deals with such issues in Shikoku during the Tokugawa period, and particularly in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, drawing attention to the bureaucratic dimensions of pilgrimage in Tokugawa Japan, to how authorities tried to control pilgrimages, and to the regulations pilgrims had to concur with and that were imposed on them by regional authorities. The process of obligation and legal constraint was not a one-way issue, however, for regional and local authorities also had obligations towards pilgrims passing through their lands. Kouamé also, through this research, examines an important pilgrimage custom—almsgiving to pilgrims—that occurred in many Japanese pilgrimages but that was especially important in Shikoku because of the poverty of many of the pilgrims. What Kouamé shows is that, far from a spontaneous practice rooted wholly in the faith of locals, this custom had an institutionalized dimension to it. Her article thus provides further insights into pilgrimage as an institution surrounded by customs,

regulations, and legal constraints that placed obligations on pilgrims and legal authorities alike.

Karen Smyers's article on Inari pilgrimage, which concludes this volume, brings us to the present day. Smyers takes a look at various practices connected with visiting Inari Mountain near Kyoto (as well as some other areas of Inari worship), and points out that the liminality of the Inari pilgrimage does not involve a sense of *communitas* but rather allows individuals to "do their own thing." She suggests that "in Japan, where social expectations are for group cohesiveness and harmonious cooperation at the expense of individual desires, the liminal *release* may be not into shared fellowship but rather into the expression of particular individual needs and desires."

These essays, then, provide a number of studies of pilgrimage as process and institution in Japan, illustrating various of its attributes and themes through Japanese history. As such they reiterate the comment made by Shinno at the start of this Introduction, that pilgrimage is one of the great pillars of Japanese religion. They also inform us that this is a subject that merits wider consideration and study in the future.

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