

Chichibu's Kannon Temples Before and After the Meiji Restoration

Iwamoto Kaoru

1. Prologue

Around four o'clock in the morning, the chief priests of the thirty-four temples left their lodgings [throughout Edo] and gathered at Daigo Temple (大護院). The Kannon Images were placed on lotus-shaped pedestals, each decorated with a single white silk flag in front of them. Members of the Kannon Association wore hemp shirts and trousers, stood in two rows in front of the Kannon images, behind them male and female members sang pilgrim's songs. At Daigo Temple from five o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock at night, all thirty-four Kannon images were carried to the enshrinement at the Gokoku Temple (護國寺).

... The street from Daigo Temple to Gokoku Temple was filled with the noble and the base, with women and men, with young and old everyone singing and praying for the Kannon. It was an unprecedented success, all boisterous and without argument or injury to anyone. Truly our gratitude is for Kannon's grace. I have written this account for posterity...¹⁾

In 1764, Chichibu's thirty-four temples honouring Kannon, the Buddhist deity of mercy, held their first *sō-dekaichō* (惣出開帳) ceremony at Gokoku Temple in Edo. The *sō-dekaichō* was a special unveiling of the thirty-four Kannon images, which were usually kept out of view in the compound of Gokoku Temple. The involved temples spent nearly two years preparing for the special exhibit, and on the day preceding the opening ceremony, representatives from the thirty-four temples marched about eight kilometres from Daigo Temple to Gokoku Temple.²⁾ The brightness of the parade is said to have expressed the miracle of the kannon of Chichibu. Having succeeded in building a relationship with the people of Edo, this was by far the golden age of the Kannon temples of Chichibu.

About 120 years later in 1885, however, what Matsuura Takeshirō (松浦武四郎, 1818–88), an explorer who travelled throughout the Japanese Archipelago, saw at Chichibu's Kannon temples differed greatly from the prosperity of the Edo period:

The second [*fudashō*] is Ōdana-san Shinpuku Temple [大槌山眞福寺]. Both the entrance gate (*niō-mon*; 仁王門) and the main temple building or *hondō* (本堂) were heavily damaged. The principal image was Shō-Kannon (聖観音). Beside it, there were dozens of images of *Rakan* (羅漢; Lohan), whose arms and legs were scattered and whose paint was chipping. I heard there had been *Gohyaku-Rakan* (五百羅漢;

myriad images of Lohan) in the past. Near the images, an old priest was sleeping covered with a ragged quilt. The temple appeared so impoverished; nonetheless, the priest limped out of his bedding and made bitter tea for me.³⁾

There were but a few pilgrims in Chichibu, and the local people's faith in the Kannon had diminished. In some temples, the buildings and Buddhist images had been greatly damaged. This rapid shift from the prosperity of the second-half of early modern period to the desolation of early years of the Meiji period dramatizes the social instability caused by the Meiji Restoration. In this paper, I consider the dissolution of early modern religious culture and its reorganization in the modern period by following the transformation of the Chichibu pilgrimage.

2. The Rise of the Chichibu Pilgrimage

The Chichibu region made up the northwest area of Musashi Province (now Saitama Prefecture) and lay about 100 kilometers from the city of Edo (renamed Tokyo in 1868). Owing in part to its being surrounded by mountains, the Chichibu region had a particularly well-established tradition of mountain worship.

From as early as the eleventh century, people around Kyoto began making the pilgrimage along the then thirty-three Kannon temples in a pious act of reverence to the Buddhist deity. These thirty-three temples were also known as *fudasho* (札所) temples because pilgrims dedicated to them a card or *fuda* with their name, place of residence, and a prayer. This kind of pilgrimage was first organized in western Japan with the thirty-three *fudasho* temples of Saigoku (西国),⁴⁾ and later in eastern Japan with the thirty-three *fudasho* temples of Bandō (坂東).⁵⁾ During the medieval period, this kind of pilgrimage began in the Chichibu region, where it was combined with the local practice of mountain worship. By the fifteenth century, a local version of the thirty-three-Kannon circuit was being practiced in the Chichibu region.⁶⁾ Compared with the Saigoku and the Bandō pilgrimages, however, the scale of the Chichibu pilgrimage remained much smaller.⁷⁾ In Chichibu, the *fudasho* temples were small and some did not even have buildings for their Kannon.⁸⁾ Similarly, there were only a small number of pilgrims, many of whom were priests practicing an ascetic form of worship.

From the sixteenth century onward, however, monks and priests in the Chichibu region took on an increasing role in promoting and administering the pilgrimage. By directly involving themselves in changing the organization and route of the pilgrimage, the temples aimed to attract people from outside the Chichibu region.⁹⁾ First, an additional temple (Ōdana Kannon) was added to the original thirty-three *fudasho* temples to make a total of thirty-four pilgrimage sites, which, when combined with the thirty-three sites of the Saigoku and thirty-three sites of the Bandō pilgrimage, totalled exactly 100 sacred sites. In making this change, the Chichibu pilgrimage attained countrywide prominence by positioning itself as an integral circuit of the larger "100-site Pilgrimage of Kannon." Second, the temples dramatically changed the traditional route of the pilgrimage. Instead of starting from Ōmiya-gō (大宮郷), which was in the central part of the Chichibu region (see **Figure 1**), the new pilgrimage route for the Chichibu *fudasho* temples was changed to make it more

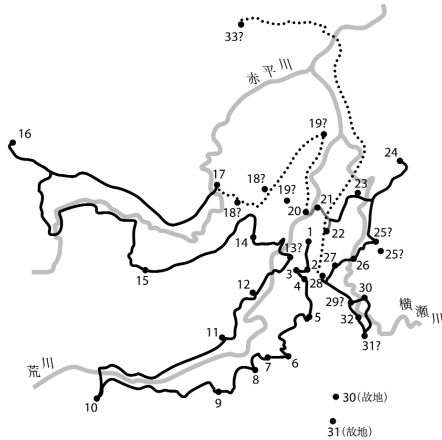


Figure 1: The original route of the Chichibu pilgrimage



Figure 2: The new route of the Chichibu pilgrimage

convenient for those also undertaking a pilgrimage of the Bandō circuit (see **Figure 2**).¹⁰⁾ In this way, the two sixteenth-century changes to the Chichibu circuit can be understood as having had the same aim of integrating this regional pilgrimage into a countrywide route of 100 sacred sites. And, as result of these changes, the thirty-four *fudasho* temples of Chichibu gradually achieved the same status as that accorded to the temples of the Saigoku and the Bandō circuits.

3. Chichibu Pilgrimage in the Edo Period

After the founding of the Tokugawa Shogunate in Edo in 1603, Edo's rapid population and commercial growth further stimulated pilgrimage along the Chichibu circuit. Requiring but ten days from Edo, the relative ease of the Chichibu circuit, when coupled with the novelty of its mountainous scenery, led to a great increase in the number of pilgrims. Also within the Chichibu region, the temples aimed to encourage pilgrimages by carrying out such events as the unveiling of the principal Kannon images every twelve years during the Year of the Horse (*Umadoshi sō-kaichō*)¹¹⁾ and installing path markers, bridges, and other infrastructural improvements. The number of pilgrims making the journey to and from the Chichibu was great, especially during the time of the unveiling held in the Year of the Horse. According to a report by the local domain government in 1750, in a single day there were as many as 2,810 pilgrims passing through Shiroku Village (白久村) where the Thirtieth *fudasho* temple was located (see **Table 1**).¹²⁾ That was the equivalent of about four times the village population at the time.¹³⁾

As the popularity of the Chichibu pilgrimage increased among the people of Edo, temples within the city also partook in the Chichibu's prosperity by inviting the thirty-four Chichibu temples to hold unveiling ceremonies (*sō-dekaichō*) at their temples in Edo. The first such exhibit was performed for ninety days at the compound of Gokoku Temple in 1764, which, due to its popularity, continued for an additional thirty days beyond the originally scheduled sixty-day event. Based on the success of the 1764 unveiling in Edo, another *sō-dekaichō* was carried out again in 1775, attracting

Table 1: Number of pilgrims passing through Shiroku Village in 1750

Dates (month/day) on old (lunar) calendar	Number of Pilgrims
From New Year's Day to 2/7	About 7,200
From 2/8 to the end of the month	15,618
From 3/1 to 3/7	5,161
3/8	1,846
3/9	2,151
3/10	2,810
3/11 to 3/21	18,095
Total	About 52,981



Figure 3: *Record of Kannon's Miracles* (undated, Saitama Prefectural Urawa Library)

commoners, samurai, daimyo, and even members of the shogun's family to see the "special" Kannon images.¹⁴⁾

Media was also used to promote the rising prominence of the sacred sites along the Chichibu pilgrimage. For example, maps of the Chichibu Kannon circuit were published both in the Chichibu region and also in Edo.¹⁵⁾ Moreover, with the publication of the *Record of Kannon's Miracles* (観音靈驗記) (see **Figure 3**) as a series of *ukiyo*e pictures in the nineteenth-century, the Chichibu pilgrimage can be said to have reached the point of becoming a media spectacle.¹⁶⁾ A set of 100 *ukiyo*e pictures presented readers with depictions of the *fudasho* temples and compounds of Saigoku, Bando, and Chichibu by Utagawa Hiroshige II (歌川廣重) (1826–1869) and



Figure 4: The third *fudasho* illustrated in *Record of Kannon's Miracles*

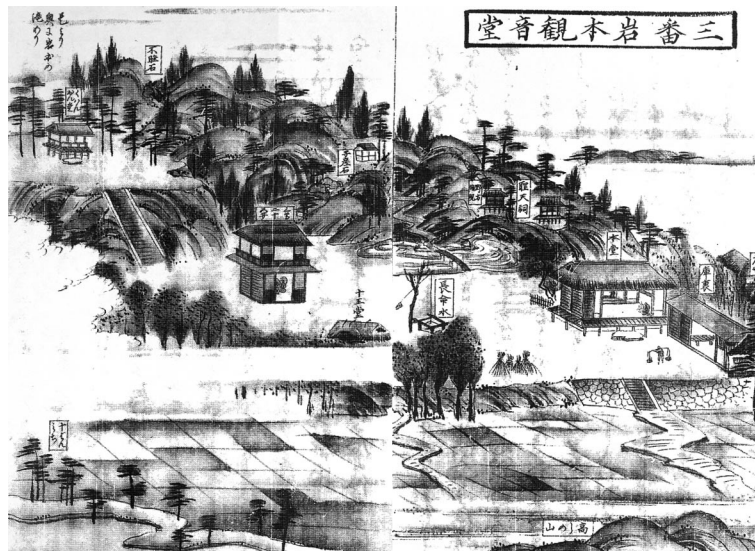


Figure 5: The third *fudasho* illustrated in *An Account of Chichibu Pilgrimage* (秩父順拝記)

illustrations of Kannon's miracles by Utagawa Kunisada (歌川國貞) (1786–1864) and Mantei Ōga (万亭應賀) (1816–90). The upper portion of each page is composed of drawings of the necessary institutions required to complete a pilgrimage to a particular temple, while the lower portion is a drawing of one of the Kannon miracles. When the depictions of the *fudasho* compounds are carefully examined, though, we will find that buildings that were certainly there at the time are missing and only specific elements, such as the gate, the *Kannon-dō* (a temple dedicated to the Kannon) or the *Hondō* (main temple building), are drawn according to their actual construction. Compare, for example, the following two drawings of the third *fudasho* (Figure 4 and Figure 5¹⁷). In other words, the compositional arrangement of these pictures mirrored less the temples themselves than how pilgrims actually sought to experience the temples.

From the mid-eighteenth century onward, the Chichibu pilgrimage came to reflect the desired image of people in Edo. And, the space of the pilgrimage changed to accommodate their desired experience. That is, rather than reflect a pure act of faith,



Figure 6: The *Kannon-dō* of the first temple

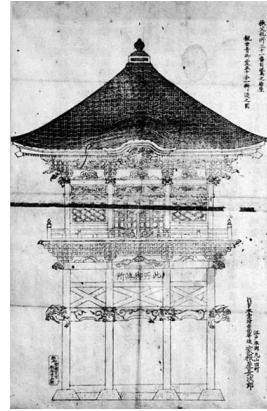


Figure 7: The *Kannon-dō* of the thirty-first temple (from “Chichibu Fudasho no Kenchiku,” 201)

pilgrimages were increasingly coloured by the trend toward pleasure excursions and sightseeing. In relation to this trend, some temple buildings were decorated to catch the eye of the pilgrim, such as the first temple on the circuit (*Ichiban fudasho Kannon-dō*) (Figure 6), and others like the thirty-first temple (*Sanjū-ichiban fudasho Kannon-dō*) (Figure 7) were decorated with extravagant ornamentation.¹⁸⁾ By adapting to value standards of Edo culture, the temples along the Chichibu pilgrimage welcomed their greatest period of prosperity.

4. Desolation of the Pilgrimage after the Meiji Restoration

The change in political authority that accompanied the 1868 Meiji Restoration greatly shook the prosperity of the Chichibu pilgrimage. Although Arai Sajirō and Satō Hisamitsu have already examined changes to the Chichibu pilgrimage after the Restoration (Arai 1968; Satō 2004), hereafter I will both refer to and reconsider their conclusions.¹⁹⁾

Focusing on the impact suffered by the Chichibu *fudasho* temples in the modern period, Arai has highlighted the role of the Restoration government’s policy toward religion and the accompanying changes within various religious sects. He also shows how the government attempted to dismantle ‘feudal’ institutions by appropriating temple and shrine properties. Especially destructive for the Chichibu pilgrimage, Arai explains, was the government’s promulgation of a series of new laws on 13 March 1868 that ordered the separation of Shintō and Buddhist deities. For instance, the Myōken Shrine (妙見社) held a particularly symbolic role for local beliefs and had been an integral part of the Chichibu pilgrimage since its inception. Its prominence can be seen from the guidelines to pilgrimage and prayer at the temple as shown in many guidebooks, maps, and travel accounts published in the early modern period. Following the Meiji Restoration, however, the Myōken Shrine was renamed the Chichibu Shrine (秩父神社) and elements of the now strictly ‘Buddhist’ pilgrimage were forcefully removed from its grounds in accord with the new government’s policy

of clearly separating the realms of Shintō and Buddhism.

The experience of the Fifteenth Kannon temple (15 番観音) was particularly tragic. Although this Kannon temple was administered by Zōfuku Temple (藏福寺), a branch temple of the Sōtō (曹洞) sect's Kōken Temple (廣見寺), Zōfuku Temple was also a shrine-temple (神宮寺) because it was located in the compound of the Myōken Shrine. Therefore, during the Restoration, the chief priest of Zōfuku Temple re-ordained himself as a Shintō priest and the Fifteenth Kannon temple was destroyed.²⁰⁾

In another example, the Shrine and Temple Office (社寺役所) of nearby Oshi Domain (忍藩) allowed the chief priest of the *Shugendō* (修験道) sect's Imamiya-bō (今宮坊), who administered the Fourteenth Kannon temple, to be re-ordained as a Shintō priest in the summer of 1868. The following is the request submitted by Imamiya-bō:

My humble apologies for making this request

This is Imamiya-bō, the administrator of Imamiya Shrine in Ōmiya-gō. My temple has been the branch temple of Honzan Shugen (本山修験) sect's Shōgoin Temple (聖護院). However, because of the Restoration's innovations, the separation between Shintō and Buddhist deities has been announced, and priests who identified themselves as *bettō* (別当) or *shasō* (社僧) in large or small shrines all over the country are ordered to be re-ordained as a Shintō priests. I want to follow this policy, and sincerely serve the Shintō deities with the spirit of patriotism as the traditional way of the Empire...

Eighth month, 1868

Chichibu Province, Ōmiya-gō

Imamiya-bō (stamp)

[To] Shrine and Temple Office of Oshi Domain²¹⁾

The *Shugendō* (修験道) sect, a form of mountain asceticism or shamanism that incorporated both Shintō and Buddhist concepts, had played a particularly important role in the establishment of the Chichibu pilgrimage²²⁾ and even in the mid-nineteenth century continued to administer five of the Chichibu temples.²³⁾ However, these temples had no choice but to become Shintō shrines or temples of other sects under the 1872 prohibition of *Shugendō*.

The 1875 *Gazetteer on the Counties and Villages of Musashi* (武蔵国郡村誌) shows the condition of the Chichibu *fudasho* temples immediately after the proclamation of this series of government policies on religion:²⁴⁾

- 1) Fourteen *fudasho* temples under the control of the Sōtō sect (曹洞宗): #1, #2, #3, #6, #7, #10, #13, #19, #25, #27, #29, #32, #33, and #34
- 2) Seven *fudasho* temples under the control of the Rinzai sect (臨濟宗): #5, #8, #9, #12, #23, #26, and #30
- 3) Three *fudasho* temples remaining under the control of the Shingon sect (真言宗): #16, #21, and #22
- 4) Eight *fudasho* Kannon-dō that were not controlled by any particular sect: #11 (formerly a Tendai sect (天台宗) temple); #14, #18, #24, #28, and #31 (formerly *Shugendō* sect temples); and #17 and #20
- 5) Two closed *fudasho* temples: #4 and #15 (both formerly of the Sōtō sect)²⁵⁾

Thus, of the original thirty-four Chichibu *fudasho* temples, we can see that eight were no longer administered by particular sects due to the new government's religious policies following 1868. Moreover, a number of *fudasho* temples lost priests to attend to their Kannon even though they continued exist as temples. For example, according to a 1968 guidebook to the Chichibu pilgrimage, only seventeen *fudasho* temples had resident priests, and it was local residents who managed and maintained the remaining *fudasho* temples.²⁶⁾ This loss of resident priests at the *fudasho* temples must also have had a detrimental influence on the Chichibu pilgrimage during the Meiji period. Thus, in contrast to the prosperity of the second half of the early modern period, the Chichibu pilgrimage suddenly found itself on the verge of collapse.

The religious policies of the Meiji government can be seen as one trigger in the decline of the Chichibu pilgrimage, but another factor was the adverse affects of social modernization. Although some Edo pilgrims who came to Chichibu to pray during early modern period did so out of pure belief, most regarded their pilgrimage as an enjoyable excursion and opportunity to enjoy the scenery. Strictly regulated under the shogunate and domain system, travel during the early modern period was generally prohibited except in order to perform a pilgrimage or other such activity. Therefore, when restrictions on travel and movement were removed in the modern period, people in living in Tokyo were less inclined to make a pilgrimage to Chichibu. In this way, following the Meiji Restoration, the number of pilgrims visiting Chichibu's sacred sites plummeted. In response to the economic decline, some *fudasho* temples even sought foreign pilgrims as a source of income.

To concretely show the state of decline, I would now like to look at accounts of making the Chichibu pilgrimage during the modern period. For example, in 1925 Nohara Gōdō (野原剛堂) wrote "An Account of the Sacred Sites of Chichibu" (秩父靈場順拝記) in a *Guide to Chichibu* (秩父案内). In his description of the Chichibu *fudasho* temples, Nohara describes the ruinous condition into which the temples had fallen:²⁷⁾

Year by year, pilgrims are decreasing in number because this *fudasho* is located in a very remote location. (Description for #2)

Internal affairs are very confused. Priests are not satisfied with their impoverished life and seek outside work to obtain a small salary. (Description for #3)

This *fudasho* is a decrepit temple like #3. (Description for #4)

The temple gate is utterly ruined. (Description for #5)

This *fudasho* looks as if it were a ghost house. (Description for #8)

The building for the Kannon is collapsing due to rain and erosion. (Description for #10)

This *fudasho* is very cramped and of poor construction. (Description for #14)

This *fudasho* been abandoned and has haphazardly become part of the village. (Description for #17)

This *fudasho* is half ruined and pathetic. (Description for #25)

This *fudasho* met with fire some years ago and not having been repaired is nothing but a standing frame. (Description for #27)

No building for the Kannon image aside from a small resting area. (Description for

#31)

Similarly, the 1939 *History of Saitama Prefecture* explains that a number of the *fudasho* temples: "... are difficult to recognize as temples and only manage to continue as *fudasho* temples through the care of locals."²⁸⁾

5. Reorganization of the Pilgrimage

Thus, after the Meiji Restoration, Chichibu's *fudasho* temples as a whole can be seen as having falling into a period desolation and decline, and that is how the previous scholarship as evaluated the modern history of Chichibu's temples. However, on the other hand, the move to reorganize the sacred sites during this period should not be overlooked.

First, I would like to take up the move to revive the Fifteenth *fudasho*. As I discussed above, the Fifteenth *fudasho* was located within the grounds of the Chichibu Shrine and demolished following the government's order to separate Shintō and Buddhist deities. Though the Kannon image of the Fifteenth *fudasho* was sold to the Shingon sect's Jūrin Temple (十輪寺) in Ogano Town (小鹿野町), the nearby Shōrin Temple (少林寺) of the Rinzai sect actually inherited the *fudasho* at the request of locals who feared its destruction. The following is the request by local villagers:

Our humble apologies for making this request

We (names listed below) residents of Ōmiya Village (大宮郷) make this request. We and other people have had faith in the fifteenth Kannon enshrined in the compound of the Chihibu Shrine. However, after the Restoration, all things related Buddhism in Shintō shrines were ordered to be moved to temples, and the chief priest of Zōfuku Temple who had administered the Kannon applied to be re-ordained himself as a Shintō priest. The head temple, Kōken Temple, took over all the Buddhist images and the Buddhist altar fittings, but we felt very sorry to lose our faith by abolishing the Kannon which has resided in this town from olden days. Therefore, we decided to enshrine the fifteenth Kannon image in the Shōrin Temple in this town to pray everyday for peace, fortune, stability, abundant crops, and successful silk cultivation. Please grant us your benevolence and grant our wish.²⁹⁾

Thus far, both contemporary visitors and later scholars have cited the fate of the Fifteenth *fudasho* as an example of the desolate state into which the *fudasho* temples fell during the 1870s and 1880s. However, considering that both the Jūrin Temple and Shōrin Temple were completely unrelated to the Chichibu pilgrimage during the early modern period, this change can also be evaluated as a reorganization of the thirty-four *fudasho* temples in Chichibu to fill an expected vacancy. After obtaining the Kannon image from the Fifteenth *fudasho*, the Jūrin Temple erected standing stone monument (still standing today) before its main gate explaining that it is the compensatory location for the Fifteenth *fudasho* (補陀所十五番). Similarly, after inheriting the role of the Fifteenth *fudasho*, the Shōrin Temple built a new mortar-finished pavilion of Japanese-Western design dedicated to the Kannon, which thereby



Figure 8: Mortar-finished pavilion for Kannon at Shōrin Temple

expressed in architecture the beginning of a new era for the *fudasho* (Figure 8). Thus, in spite the Meiji-period decline, these changes suggest that for temples in the Chichibu region being a *fudasho* remained quite meaningful.

In addition to the example of the Fifteenth *fudasho*, we can see changes in both the sect affiliation and administration of a number of other *fudasho* temples following the Meiji Restoration. For example, in the modern period, both Kōken Temple (廣見寺)³⁰⁾ and Enpuku Temple (圓福寺),³¹⁾ which are respectively the main Sōtō and Rinzai sect temples in Chichibu region, began administering as the adjunct head priests or contributed to the maintenance of nearby *fudasho* temples that had lost their own resident priests.³²⁾ In the case of the *Shugendō* sect's Chōsei Temple (#18) and Myōjō Temple (#24), both came under the protective umbrella of the Kōken and Enpuku Temples.³³⁾ Moreover, until the 1920s, the head priest of the relatively well-off Hōchō Temple (法長寺), the Seventh *fudasho* temple, also served as the head priest of the Daien Temple (大淵寺) and Hashidate Temple, which respectively were the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth *fudasho* temples. And, in 1935, the head priest of the Hōchō Temple completed the Gokoku Kannon (護国観音), a 15-meter tall concrete image of Kannon, atop a hill behind the Twenty-seventh *fudasho*.³⁴⁾ This Gokoku Kannon is now counted as one of the three Great Kannon of the Kantō region (関東三観音)³⁵⁾ and has become a famous attraction in its own right.

Thus, in these instances, we can see how prominent *fudasho* temples aimed to revive smaller *fudasho* temples by overtaking administration of them.

In contrast to the changes seen in these individual *fudasho* temples, after the Meiji period concerted movements amongst the thirty-four temples (as had occurred during the early modern period) did not appear until the 1930s. However, starting with people in Tokyo, the public continued to hold an image of the “Chichibu thirty-four

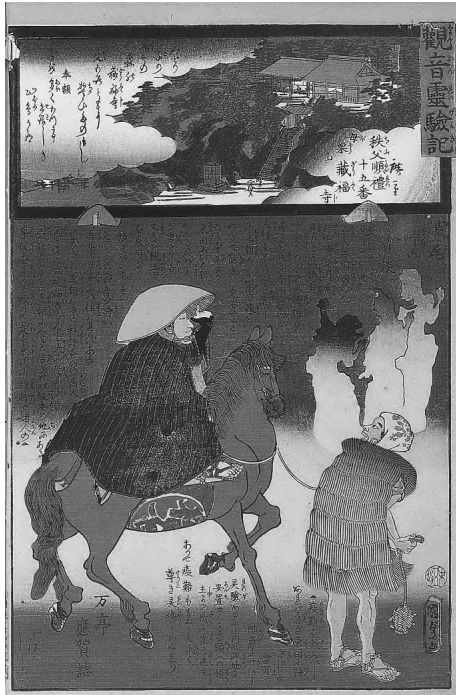


Figure 9: The Fifteenth temple illustrated in *Record of Kannon's Miracles*



Figure 10: The Fifteenth temple illustrated in *The Story of One-Hundred Kannon Miracles* (1882, Saitama Prefectural Urawa Library)

sites” that had taken firm root in the early modern period and carried over into the modern period. For example, in 1882, the editor of the above mentioned set of 100 *ukiyo*e pictures *Record of Kannon's Miracles*, Mantei Ōga, published a new book entitled *The Story of One-Hundred Kannon Miracles* (百番観音霊験記).³⁶⁾ Aside from commissioning the artist Utagawa Kunimasa IV (歌川國政) to illustrate the work in monochrome, the contents of *The Story of One-Hundred Kannon Miracles* were the same as the earlier *Record of Kannon's Miracles*. As with the illustrations of Zōfuku (#15) and other temples that had been destroyed or burned down, *The Story of One-Hundred Kannon Miracles* reflects none of these tragic changes to the *fudasho* temples during the 1870s and presents them as if they still existed (see **Figure 9** and **Figure 10**). In this way, people in Tokyo received media representations of the Chichibu pilgrimage as if it were frozen in the ‘Edo period.’

With histories proudly traced back to the medieval and early modern periods, pilgrimages to sacred sites struggled to find their significance in the modern period. For example, although the eighty-eight Sacred Sites of Shikoku like the Chichibu pilgrimage also declined after the new government’s promulgation of anti-Buddhist policies, they determined to survive by taking advantage of modern tourism. Following the Saigoku pilgrimage’s use of the Hankyū Railway in 1935, the Shikoku pilgrimage cooperated with the Nankai Electric Railway to perform an unveiling of

Buddhist images (*sō-dekaichō*) in the Osaka suburbs in 1937.³⁷⁾

Such moves to try and revive its pilgrimage can also be seen with the thirty-four Sacred Sites of Chichibu in the 1920s and 1930s. For instance, the 1939 *History of Saitama Prefecture* describes the contemporary situation of the Chichibu pilgrimage as follows:

... stimulated by the recent development of transportation and the rising interest in tourism, there has been a gradual increase in the number of people attempting a pilgrimage of the old sacred sites. For this reason, the various *fudasho* within Chichibu County have organized the Association of Chichibu *Fudasho* Temples (秩父札所連合会) and endeavoured to advertise the *fudasho* worship and arouse religious consciousness. They reprinted late-Edo period *ukiyo*e pictures of the *fudasho* temples, held unveilings of the Kannon images in Tokyo City, and other such activities that when coupled with the move to improve national physical education has brought about a sense of revival.³⁸⁾

The reprinted *ukiyo*e pictures of the *fudasho* temples, published to coincide with the 1930 unveiling, were none other than the *Record of Kannon's Miracles* and should be seen as a holdover of an early modern technique of unveiling.³⁹⁾ And, the savvy adaptation to the modern importance given to an “interest in travel” and “national physical education,” can be seen as the Sacred Sites of Chichibu’s search for a path to revival. For example, in the guidebook *Chichibu Pilgrimage* published by Jigen Temple (the Thirteenth *fudasho*) in 1936, it is recommended that visitors see the Nagatoro valley, which had become famous as a Natural Park⁴⁰⁾ after the Meiji period, in conjunction with the Pilgrimage.⁴¹⁾

Having overcome the disorder of the transition from the early modern to the modern period, these efforts at revival eventually bore fruit following the period of rapid economic growth in the 1950s and 1960 with the restoration of the full pilgrimage in the 1970s and its coexistence with modern society.⁴²⁾

Notes

- 1) *Kaichō Nikki*, 1764, Iwata-ke monjo [岩田家文書], Chichibu City Library.
- 2) These preparations are discussed in the following essay: Iwamoto Kaoru [岩本馨], “Chichibu kannon reijō no kūkan to sono hen’yō [秩父観音霊場の空間とその変容],” *Kenchiku shigaku* [建築史学], no. 25, (2005), 51–54.
- 3) Matsuura Takeshirō [松浦武四郎], *Itsuyū-kōki* [乙酉後記], 1885, quoted in *Matsuura Takeshirō kikō shū: jō* [松浦武四郎紀行集 上], (Tomiyama-bō, 1975), 625.
- 4) Hayami Tasuku [速水侑], *Kannon shinkō* [観音信仰], (Hanawa Shoin, 1970), 265–270.
- 5) Tsuruoka Shizuo [鶴岡静夫], *Kantō kodai jiin no kenkyū* [関東古代寺院の研究], (Kōbun-dō, 1969), chapter 5.
- 6) The oldest document referring the Chichibu circuit is called “Chōkyō banzuke [長享番付],” 1488, Hōshō Temple, which lists the names of the original 33 *fudasho* temples. See *Saitama Sōsho* [埼玉叢書] vol. 7, (Kokusho Kankōkai, 1972), 127–128.
- 7) For example, the total distance of the Saigoku (or Bandō) pilgrimage is as much as 1,500 kilometers, while that of the Chichibu Pilgrimage is no more than 100 kilometers.
- 8) In “Chōkyō banzuke,” there are sites described as “Iwadono [岩殿]” or “Iwaya [岩屋・岩窟]” (cave or grotto).
- 9) Kōno Zentarō [河野善太郎], *Chichibu sanjū-yon fudasho-kō* [秩父三十四札所考], (Saitama shimbunsha,

- 1984); and Iwamoto Kaoru, “Chichibu kannon reijō no kūkan to sono hen’yō,” 36–64.
- 10) The (new) First *fudasho* was located near the 9th and 10th *fudasho* temples of Bandō circuit.
 - 11) This unveiling may have started in the late of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century.
 - 12) *Matsumoto-ke goyō Nikki*, Matsumoto-ke monjo [松本家文書], Chichibu City Library.
 - 13) “Tenmei 6-nen muramura ninzū oaratame-cho utsushi [天明六年村々人数御改帳写],” Matsumoto-ke monjo.
 - 14) Tokugawa Iemoto, the son of Tokugawa Ieharu (the 10th shōgun), came to see this unveiling on 9/22. See, Kaichō Nikki, Myōon-ji monjo [妙音寺文書], Saitama Prefectural Archives.
 - 15) For example, “Chichibu fudasho annai ezu [秩父札所案内絵図],” eighteenth century, Shimabu Temple; and “Chichibu hitori annai [秩父独案内],” reprinted in 1813, Daikokuya, Saitama Prefectural Urawa Library.
 - 16) *Kannon-reigenki* [観音靈験記], Saitama Prefectural Urawa Library.
 - 17) *An Account of Chichibu Pilgrimage* [秩父順拝記], 1823, Saitama Prefectural Urawa Library.
 - 18) Sakamoto Saichirō [坂本才一郎], “Chichibu fudasho no kenchiku [秩父札所の建築],” *Chichibu fudasho no konjaku* [秩父札所の今昔], (Chichibu fudasho no konjaku kankō-kai, 1968), 201.
 - 19) Arai Sajirō [新井佐次郎], “Kindai no Chichibu fudasho [近代の秩父札所],” *Chichibu fudasho no konjaku*, 119–141; and Satō Hisamitsu [佐藤久光], *Henro to junrei no shakaigaku* [遍路と巡礼の社会学], (Jimbun shoin, 2004), 131–135.
 - 20) Matsumoto-ke monjo, Chichibu City Library.
 - 21) Imamiya-bō monjo, 1868, quoted in *Shinpen Saitama kenshi shiryō-hen* [新編埼玉県史資料編] 18, (Saitama Prefecture Board of Education), 1987, 610.
 - 22) See Kōno Zentarō, *Chichibu sanjū-yon fudasho-kō*, chapter 2; and Yomoda Minoru [四方田稔], “Chichibu fudasho no naritachi [秩父札所の成り立ち],” *Chichibu fudasho no konjaku*, 12–47.
 - 23) The five Shugendō administered temples were the Chōsei-in [長生院; #18], Myōjō-in [明星院; #24], Hashidate Temple [橋立寺; #28], and Kannon-in [観音院; #31].
 - 24) Saitama Prefecture, *Musashi-no-kuni gunson-shi* [武蔵国郡村誌], 1875, vol. 7.
 - 25) Saitama Prefecture, *Musashi-no-kuni gunson-shi* [武蔵国郡村誌], 1875, vol. 7.
 - 26) Hirahata Yoshio, *Chichibu sanjū-yon kasho*, (Fudasho kenkyūkai, 1968), 112.
 - 27) Nohara Gōdō, “Chichibu reijō jumpaiki [秩父霊場順拝記],” *Chichibu annai* [秩父案内], (Jiseisha, 1925), 107–128.
 - 28) The temples mentioned are as follows: #2 Shimpuku Temple [眞福寺] in Yamada Village [山田村], #8 Saizen Temple [西善寺] in Yokoze Village [横瀬村], #14 Kongō Temple [金剛寺] (Imamiya-bō), and the #20 Iwanoue Temple [岩の上堂] in Odamaki Village [尾田蒔村]. See Saitama Prefecture ed., *Saitama kenshi* [埼玉県史] vol. 7, (Saitama Prefecture, 1939), 210–211.
 - 29) Matsumoto-ke monjo, quoted in Arai, “Kindai no Chichibu fudasho,” 122.
 - 30) Kōken Temple was established in Ōmiya-gō in 1391, and was the biggest Sōtō sect temple in Chichibu region and oversaw 35 branch temples (6 of which were *fudasho* temples) during Edo period.
 - 31) Enpuku Temple was established in Tamura Village (now Chichibu City) in the late-fourteenth century and oversaw 35 branch temples (3 of which were *fudasho* temples) during the Edo period.
 - 32) Nojima Yasuichi, “Chichibu fudasho junpai annai [秩父札所巡拝案内],” *Chichibu fudasho no konjaku*, 243–305.
 - 33) See, for example, Arai, “Kindai no Chichibu fudasho,” 130.
 - 34) Hirahata, *Chichibu sanjū-yon kasho*, 142.
 - 35) The other two Great Kannon are Takasaki Kannon (Gunma Prefecture, built in 1936) and Ōfuna Kannon (Kanagawa Prefecture, halfway built in 1934, completed in 1960).
 - 36) Mantei Ōga, *Hyakuban Kannon reigen-ki* [百番観音靈験記], (Kodama Yakichi, 1882).
 - 37) Satō, *Henro to junrei no shakaigaku*, 121–132; Mori Masato, *Shikoku henro no kingendai*, (Sōgensha, 2005), 63–93.
 - 38) Saitama Prefecture ed., *Saitama kenshi*, vol. 7, 211.
 - 39) *Kannon reigen-ki*, (Chichibu Kannon reigen-ki kankōkai, 1930). Held by the Saitama Prefectural Library.
 - 40) Chichibu was rediscovered as Natural Park in modern era. For example, the forestry specialist Dr.

Tamura Tsuyoshi wrote the following article, “Chichibu no kindai teki hakken [秩父の近代的発見],” in *Teien* [庭園], (Zouen gakkai, 1925), to judging the Chichibu as the best area for a Natural Park in the areas surrounding Tokyo.

41) *Chichibu Pilgrimage* [秩父巡礼], Chichibu Thirteenth *fudasho*, 1936.

42) Pilgrims from Tokyo increased greatly after the completion of Seibu Chichibu Line in 1969.

付記 本稿は平成 18 年度科学研究費補助金・若手研究（スタートアップ）「日本前近代の巡礼に関する空間史的研究」の成果の一部である。