

Evaluation of a “Historical Walking Course” Map in Chikusa Ward, Nagoya

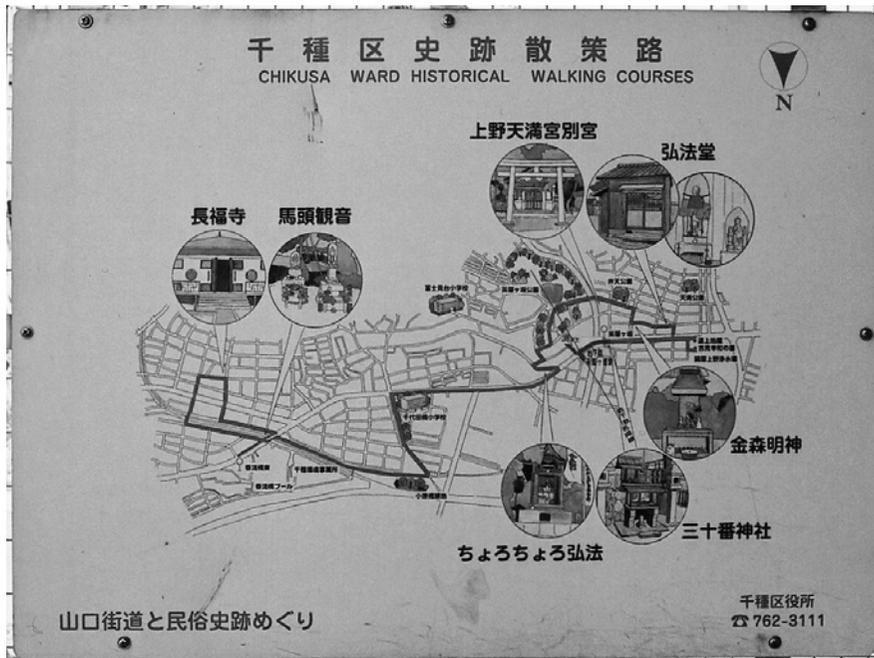
Simon Potter

Last year a booklet and an article were published about publicly displayed illustrated maps in Nagoya,¹ and in them are a few examples of maps with “historical walking courses.” Here, one such example from Chikusa Ward has been taken for evaluation along the lines of usefulness for recreational walkers, pictorial impressions, and historical merit. Reproduced as Map 12 (photographs 22 and 23) in the booklet, it has a bilingual title – 千種区史跡散策路 [*Chikusa-Ku Shiseki Sansakuro*, (A) Walking Route(s) to Historical Sites in Chikusa Ward] / *Chikusa Ward Historical Walking Courses* – which, by using the plural “courses” in the English version, suggests that it belongs to a set of such maps. At the bottom left of the map is a subtitle which is more specific, 山口街道と民俗史跡めぐり [*Yamaguchi Kaidou to Minzokushiseki Meguri*, Tour of the Yamaguchi Highway and Historic Sites of Folkways]. Photograph 1 of this article shows this map (far right) alongside two others near Entrance/Exit #2 on the east side of Chayagasaka subway station in the northernmost part of the ward, while photograph 2 is the map itself. The maps in the middle and on the right in photograph 1 were originally and singularly photographed in January 2007, and in September of the same year, that on the right was selected as one of seventeen maps in the city to be revisited and used to determine how useful publicly displayed maps can be. While doing so, photographs were taken of the actual sites indicated on the map as well as of an associated site to try to make sense of one of its illustrations. Some of these photographs are reproduced here as a basis for the commentary which follows.²

To start, an interesting thing about the map in photograph 2 is that although it has been put up in a place where it is easy to consult, it is not exactly user-friendly because it is inappropriately located. The two maps to the left of it in photograph 1 are oriented with north to the left, which corresponds reasonably closely to the actual circumstances since the view in the photograph is essentially eastward, placing north to the left and south to the right of all three maps. That on the right and



1: Maps on the east side of Chayagasaka Station in September 2007



2: The map on the far right of photograph 1 in January 2007

in photograph 2, however, is oriented with north at the bottom and thereby has a directional skew of over ninety (to be pedantic, roughly 130) degrees from reality. What this means in practical terms is that if somebody consulted this map with the assumption that what is to the right on the map is actually to the right and headed for the first site on the course (三十番神社, in photograph 3), that person would be walking in the wrong direction. In this case, the first site is due west of the starting point for the walking course, which on the map is to the right, but the actual direction to the right of the map where it stands is roughly southsoutheast. For some people, this might be a sufficient obstacle to give up the course, while for others it might be a source of frustration that can be overcome by adjusting a copy of this map and/or using another.

In this context, it is possible to argue that maps such as the one in photograph 2 serve more as an advertisement of selected items in the cultural landscape than a practical device for wayfinding through simple association with their surroundings. It would be within reason to assume that users of such maps, primarily on recreational outings, have been expected to be cartographically aware and capable of squaring the orientation of a map with the actual topographic circumstances, to make notes or copies of or from the map (nowadays, this is rather easy for people with devices that allow for instant photography), and/or to have access to at least one other map that covers the depicted area. Yet, the map contains clear evidence that it was not put together simply to advertise the selected sites, but that it was designed with a concurrent intent of providing practical information in terms of distances and directions.

Comparing the topographical information on this map with that on other, reasonably detailed maps of the area³ reveals a high degree of accuracy in spatial distributions, but further evidence can be found in the equivalent of a “you are here” (現[在地], *gen[zaichi]*, place at present) label just right of center in the map. Its arrow points to the eastern (left) side of the subway station, which matches its actual location and suggests that the map must have been compiled to make sense outside the eastern entrance/exit of the station.⁴ Given this piece of evidence and the fact that the map’s location is skewed by over 90 degrees from the surrounding reality, it would seem that a mistake was made during the process of putting the map up, and it would be reasonable to wonder if this were due to spatial limitations at the site or to carelessness. Since on-site examinations in September 2007 and June 2008 of the topography around the entrance/exit building revealed that a sizeable open space

with plenty of room for squaring the map with its surroundings exists between the building and the main road to its south (above it on the map), carelessness is the more likely cause. In this regard, it shares notoriety with another map from Chikusa Ward which was reproduced in the article last year.⁵

Orientation aside, “historical walking course” maps in Nagoya draw attention to selected sites in the landscape through rather attractive, colorful illustrations that have been coined “idealized portraits”⁶ and by highlighting a route to be taken to get to all the sites. Idealized portraits capture the essence of their subjects with a sufficient degree of artistic license to argue that the impressions are not supposed to be exact replicas or reasonably detailed copies of the subjects, as is the case with the circled pictures in the map being discussed here. Photographs 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 have subjects which are easily identified with the corresponding pictures on the map, while photograph 4 hints that circumstances were not good for taking a picture of the images inside the building, although those on the map are faithful to two of the works.⁷ Curious, however, is photograph 6 which does not match the picture of a torii and shrine building on the map and thereby raises the question of why the illustration and reality differ.



3: Sanjuubanjinsha
(三十番神社, Shrine of the Thirty Alternating Deities)



4: Kouboudou (弘法堂, Hall of Kuukai)



5: Shrine to Kanamori Myoujin (金森明神, the Spirit of Kanamori)



6: Ueno Tenmangu Bekku
(上野天満宮別宮, Separate Shrine of Ueno Tenmangu)



7: Oblique view of the site Chorochoro Koubou
(ちよろちよろ弘法, Trickling Kuukai)



8: Images of Batou Kannon (馬頭観音, Horse-Headed Avalokiteshvara)



9: The Main Hall of Choufukuji (長福寺, Choufuku Temple)

Photographs 3-9 are in the same order as the sites are met along the highlighted route, not according to the clustering of the pictures on the map, and have translations for the sites. The route begins at Chayagasaka Station, goes west (right) to Sanjubanjinsha, west and then south to the Kouboudou, east (left) to the Kanamori Myoujin site and Ueno Tenmanguu Bekku, generally northeast to the Chorocho Koubou structure, mainly east to the Batou Kannon site, eventually south to Choufukuji, and finally to its terminus due north of the last site at the Kanarebashi Higashi bus stop along the main road cutting across the map from west to east. While all of the sites have religious significance, it is difficult to say that they are purely relics of the past as suggested by “*shiseki*” (historic(al)) in the title and subtitle. Choufukuji, the last site, is a Zen temple that is functioning today, as is the Shintou shrine Ueno Tenmanguu (photograph 10) which is not shown on the map⁸ but is linked to the Bekku site illustrated in the upper right. Observations at and information about the other sites suggest that despite their being curios from or connected to the past, activities with present-day meaning occur at at least two of them.

Photograph 10 was taken at the main compound of Ueno Tenmanguu, due west (right) of the Bekku and adjacent to the park (trees) in the uppermost righthand part of the map, after consulting another map at the Bekku site (photograph 11). Judging from this picture, it is tempting to think that it is the main compound of the shrine, not the separate shrine (*bekku*), which is illustrated in the “walking courses” map. If this were true, one site could be said to have been used to draw attention to a more important one that could not be fitted into the map, but a comparison of photograph 10 with the picture for the Bekku on the map still suggests that the idealized portrait does not match reality. Some information about the Yamaguchi Kaidou found on the Internet, however, seems to provide evidence that the illustration depicts the Bekku as it used to look,⁹ not the main shrine compound. According to the text accompanying the map in photograph 11, the Bekku is where the *kami* (spirits or deities) of Ueno Tenmanguu are mounted in their palanquins and later stop for an hour after a journey around the area during their yearly festival,¹⁰ thereby giving the site a role in contemporary society and a link to the past through tradition.

Shintou spirits or deities are identified in two of the idealized portraits on the map in photograph 2. “Tenmanguu” is a name used for Sugawara-no-Michizane (845-903), the main *kami* at Ueno Tenmanguu who in life was an expert in writing and served as a high-ranking government official. Posthumously, he came to be venerated as a *kami*, is linked with the Tenmanguu shrines throughout the country,



10: The entrance to Ueno Tenmangu (上野天満宮, Ueno Tenmangu)



11: The map and text at the front of Ueno Tenmangu Bekku and visible in the foreground of photograph 6

and is usually approached for good luck in studying. Another *kami*, Kanamori, is referred to on the map in photograph 2, and the little shrine devoted to him is shown in photograph 5. Kanamori is traced to the Heike military commander who went blind during the war between the Genji (Minamoto) and Heike (Taira) clans in 1180-85 and is supposed to have a miraculous effect on eye diseases, but judging from the date on the stone monument in photograph 5 (Meiji 37, i.e. 1904), this site was probably used to pray for good fortune during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05,¹¹ a war that established Japan as a military power of consequence.

The map in photograph 2 also refers to some Buddhist characters, one historical person and the others metaphysical. Kuukai (空海, 774-835) is honored at the sites in photographs 4 and 7, both of which use his posthumous name Koubou (弘法), and thereby links the two sites to the Shingon sect of Buddhism that he founded. Pictured in the upper right of the map are two of the four stone works with Buddhist imagery inside the Kouboudou. That on the left is of Jizou (Kshitigarbha), a bodhisattva who notably helps deceased children, while the smaller one on the right shows the buddha Amida (Amitābha) flanked by the bodhisattvas Seishi (Mahāsthāmaprāpta) and Kanzeon (Avalokiteshvara); these four belong to the set of five buddhas and eight bodhisattvas who are emphasized in Shingon. The site in photograph 7 was dedicated to Kuukai because he has often been worshipped or enshrined at places where clean water trickles (*chorochoro*) out, as it used to do at this site.¹²

Photograph 8 shows two stone images of the Horse-Headed Avalokiteshvara, a bodhisattva known in Japanese as Batou Kannon or Batou Kanzeon, and a brief explanation posted to the right of them mentions that an image of Batou Kannon, dating to 1780, was unearthed in 1969 and put alongside a “substitute” image which was made in 1947 after the original had been lost toward the end of the Second World War. The image on the right in the photograph is the one which was unearthed, while that on the left is a newer version (1998) of the “substitute” image.¹³ Although the newer image is easier to identify from the photograph as Batou Kannon because of the characteristic three faces and eight arms, the older one also has three faces and both of them have heads of horses – hence the name – above the faces. This version of Avalokiteshvara came to be believed in as a *kami* that protected horses and as a buddha who served as a guide. Also metaphysical are the Thirty (三十, *sanjuu*) Alternating Deities (番神, *banjin*) who are honored at Sanjubanjinsha in photograph 3 and who each represent a day in a month in the lunar calendars that were formerly used in Japan. The sequential use of the characters *jin* (神) and *sha*

(社) in its name might suggest at first sight that this is a Shintou shrine (神社, *jinja*), but these deities are Buddhist and protect Buddhist scriptures.¹⁴

Kuukai, Sugawara-no-Michizane, and Kanamori are people from early Japanese history who can be interpreted to provide “historical” meaning – in the sense of “history” being about influential people and events – to the illustrations on the map which correspond with photographs 4-7. Still, none of these sites appear to be “historical” on their own merit since these people did not do anything at them or the shrine in photograph 10, and neither did any event of significance during the Russo-Japanese War take place at the Kanamori site, so the “historical” context is to be found in what the local people have done at these places. Similarly, Sanjuubanjinsha in photograph 3 seems to have been preserved as a reminder of the local past, and the older image of Batou Kannon in photograph 8 is a local religious artifact from days gone by. This leaves the question of what makes Choufukuji (photograph 9) worthy of “historical” consideration. The answer seems to be simply that, despite the rather modern appearance of the main hall (本堂, *Hondou*) shown on the map and in photograph 9, the temple has been part of the cultural landscape for at least several generations.

To this day, however, Choufukuji has been functioning as a temple belonging to the Oubaku School of Zen, and the fact that it is a place for religious activities and has a very new, small graveyard accounts for its value in present-day society more than does its past. Ueno Tenmanguu is also a thriving religious establishment, and its annual festival that involves parading its *kami* on October 25th is a means to breathe contemporary life into tradition. The same may be said of what happens at the Kouboudou, where local people assemble each month for a vigil on the night of the 20th-21st. The stone images inside, of course, are more important than the shabby building that houses them, and this would explain why the map has an illustration of two of these works and thereby makes curious visitors look for something not seen by a casual walk past or around the site.

By probing into the background of the sites in photograph 2, a visitor is likely to come to the conclusion that the word “history” has been rather loosely applied. Many similar monuments, shrines, temples, and pieces of art exist throughout the city and country, which suggests that whatever is at the sites indicated on the map need not be truly precious or significant for understanding the big pictures of the past. They do, however, seem to have meaning for at least some of the people in the area, and it would be reasonable to suggest that some of them are remnants of days

gone by which elderly residents might remember themselves or be removed from by only a generation. As an example, the story about the stone image of Batou Kannon that dates to 1780 most likely means little to people born after the Second World War, but to those from the generation which lived through the American bombing of 1945, there must be some sense of accomplishment over restoring a cultural artifact from (even to them) a bygone era, as well as the memory of a harder, more insecure, less prosperous life than what recent generations have experienced. In a sense, then, the Batou Kannon site is more of a monument to the people who can identify with the war and the artifact being found than to a particular manifestation of Avalokiteshvara.¹⁵ Although this is not “history” in the old-fashioned sense of relating stories of influential events and people, it serves as a reminder of the myriad “little” events acted out in the past by the unheralded “little” people.

For people in the know – in the case of this map, mainly to be found among the local population – and for others who are interested in seeking information, the sites do offer insights into the local past as implied by the subtitle of the map. Yet, given that this past is generally not of great interest to people from outside the local community, and presumably even to many inside it, it would seem that learning about or appreciating the past is actually an excuse for doing something else, which in this case is getting exercise as the “walking” part of the title suggests. A look at the map in photograph 2 reveals that the first five sites (six illustrations) on the walking course are separated from the last two by approximately two kilometers in which there are no “historical” sites to be visited. This raises questions about why the middle stretch of “historical” nothingness exists and about whether a map centered on the subway station and with only the five sites to the west (right) displayed on it would suffice to draw attention to local sites of cultural heritage.

A walking course with only the five western sites would be obviously shorter, less than half the distance of the course as it exists.¹⁶ Yet, the fact that the course would be shorter does not explain why the historically empty middle stretch needs to exist because another “historical” course could be created by using the five sites to the west and including Ueno Tenmanguu and other sites in the cultural landscape off the map to the right. It would therefore seem that when this course was made, there was a desire to work the Batou Kannon site into it. One reason would be its connections to the Edo Period, the Second World War, and post-war development, but it is just as likely that its location – near the northeastern boundaries of Chikusa Ward – was a factor, as if to draw attention to a remote area. Choufukuji would

thus have been added to create some semblance of balance with the rest of the course on the map.

The course includes stretches along a very busy main road and through rather modern neighborhoods which include various types of housing (detached houses, apartment and condominium buildings), shops of all sorts and sizes, small factories and workshops, paved roads, and even an incinerator. Making the tour of the five western sites takes about the same number of paces (about 2625) as does the stretch from Chorocho Koubou to Batou Kannon which goes along the busy main road before turning north (downward on the map) to the Yada River and then along the smaller Kanare River to Batou Kannon. A person who studies urban history and geography might discover some interesting things about local development in time and space throughout this "historically" empty stretch on the map, but it is not likely that most people who walk this course are particularly intrigued by such things, let alone inspired to the point of going to libraries, archives, and the like to dig up information about how the area has changed and for what reasons. Rather, most people who walk along the route would seem to be interested in getting some physical exercise, which leads to the question of who such people are likely to be.

Anecdotal evidence can only be offered to attempt to answer this question, although a bit of reasoning by analogy might help. While walking the course in September 2007 and in June 2008, including in opposite directions on different days in the latter month, nobody was observed to be specifically following the course, which in itself does not mean that the course is never followed. The residential areas where most of the sites are were rather quiet, with people passing through being on their way to somewhere else or, in the case of the Bekku, using the parking lot for a convenience store in which it stands as a place to leave vehicles. Along the main road which covers two stretches of the course, a good number of people were walking, but it was impossible to tell if any of them were actually following the course and, although a few elderly people were seen to slow down and at least look at the Chorocho Koubou site while passing, suspicions were that they were going about some other business. The stretch along the Yada and Kanare Rivers at the bottom of the map (to the left of the illustration of the Chorocho Koubou site), however, was relatively lively in that there were walkers, joggers, and bicyclists going along it, and many of them appeared to have recreational intent. Still, this seems to have more to do with the fact that this part of the course is along a large embankment which would protect the adjacent built-up areas in the event of a large

flood and, along with the level land below it and next to the Yada River in particular, doubles as territory for recreational exercise.

Judging from the people who were observed to be out for exercise along the embankment, most were adults, but no age group seemed to dominate. As for determining who is likely to pursue the whole course, whether from Chayagasaka Station to the Kanarebashi Higashi bus stop or the other way since a similar map exists near the latter (and was photographed in June 2008), it is best to use circumstantial evidence. The course requires about ninety minutes and approximately 7000 paces for a healthy, neither slow nor fast walker to complete, which means that substantial spare time and a desire for exercise need to exist. Although the route is about 3000 paces shy of the 10,000-paces daily regimen that is suggested for getting into or staying in good physical condition, it does provide over two thirds of that recommendation and gives targets, potential resting sites in a sense, to aim for while walking. The 10,000-paces per day regimen seems to have been becoming rather well known in recent years, and several acquaintances have mentioned that they have either done the 10,000-paces course at Higashiyama Park,¹⁷ most of which is in Chikusa Ward, or walked at least the equivalent according to a device that is worn and calculates the number of steps taken. Such activity might be difficult for most working people to do with sufficient regularity and frequency to get optimum benefit, but it does seem to be something to aim for when possible. Although people who work might be able to find an appropriate amount of free time on days off, many retirees would seem to have more opportunities for such activity, and it would also seem that people in upper midlife and in old age might prefer less strenuous exercise such as walking than heavier, and costlier, workouts at gymnasiums, which themselves do not offer the scenic diversity of a walk outdoors. In this regard, sites of “historical” interest, however local and trivial they are, would be a complementary attraction for elderly walkers who might be able to or try to associate them with their own lives.

Notes

1. *Illustrated Maps on Public Display in Nagoya and Their Educational Merits* (Nagoya, 2007), 55 pages of text and illustrations, and “Publicly Displayed Maps in Chikusa-ku, Nagoya: Samples of Japanese Cartographic Art,” *Studies in Language and Culture* 29, 1 (2007): 161-74; both were written by the author of the present article.

2. The map in the middle of photograph 1 is reproduced as photograph 3 on page 168 of the Chikusa-ku article [note 1 above]. Photographs 3-11 in the present article were, like photograph 1, taken in September 2007. In June 2008, while working on this article, the sites were visited again at least three times and photographs were taken of them as well as other views in the landscape for future work; with the exception of the photographs in note 7 below, which were due to an unusual opportunity that a casual visitor could not expect, they have not been used here.

3. Maps published as single sheets or in atlases by the company Shoubunsha are useful, and three which came in handy when doing the fieldwork for this article are maps 82 (*Chikusaku*, 1:25,000), 26 (*Sunadabashi*, 1:10,000), and 27 (*Hikiyama*, 1:20,000) in the atlas *でっか字ニュータイプ名古屋* [*Dekkaji Nyuutaiipu Nagoya*, Nagoya (in) Big Letters (and) a New Type] (Toukyou: Shoubunsha, 2006). A single-sheet map of Chikusa Ward at 1:11,000, published by another company, was also used while preparing this article: *名古屋市区分詳細図千種区* [*Nagoya-Shi Kubun Shousaizu Chikusa-Ku*, Detailed Map of the Divisions of Nagoya City – Chikusa Ward] (Nagoya: Arupususha, 2007).

4. There is only one other entrance/exit to the station, #1 on the west side, so the map was compiled to be put up more or less where it is. On the map, the first character in 現在地 is intact, the second is damaged, and the third is missing, hence the brackets in the Japanese expression which is used to show the location of the viewer.

5. Entitled *Sightseeing Route* and showing areas northwest and southeast of Shiroyama Hachimanguu in Chikusa Ward; see photograph 8 and corresponding text in “Publicly Displayed Maps in Chikusa-ku” [note 1], 171, 163-4, 166. The map is oriented with north at the top, which puts east on the right, but it was put up on the wrong side of the sidewalk so that the viewer looks southward at the map with east being to the viewer’s left, a skew of 180 degrees between the map’s orientation and the topography around it.

6. Explained in a few articles, but notably in Potter, “Illustrated Maps on Public Display in Japan: Geography and Artistic Tradition,” *Geographical Review of Japan* 76, 12 (2003): 199 or 835 (187-206 or 823-42 for the entire article).

7. At the upper right of the map are two pictures related to photograph 4. That to the right shows two works of Buddhist stone imagery which are inside the building on an altar that lies to the left when viewed through the windowed doors. Conditions for taking photographs of them, however, are not good because of the latticework on the doors, the rather dark interior, the oblique angle toward the images through the doors, and the images basically being obscured at the back of the altar. That said, on one visit to the site in June 2008 while

working on this article, the doors were open, and a lady cleaning inside allowed photographs to be taken of the stone images and the display in general; two with the images illustrated on the map are shown below.



Photographs of the stone images inside the Kouboudou may be seen at the website <http://www.ueno-e.nagoya-c.ed.jp/midokoro.htm> (学区の見どころ, *Gakku no Midokoro*, Places to See in the [Ueno] School District), while a photograph of the altar with them is at http://16.pro.tok2.com/~pegasus1297/A41_1.htm (なごや史跡探訪山口街道, *Nagoya Shiseki Tanbou Yamaguchi Kaidou*, Inquiries [into] Historical Sites [in] Nagoya – the Yamaguchi Highway); both websites were recently accessed on June 3, 2008.

8. Although the site of the Ueno Tenmangu shrine compound is not indicated on the map in photograph 2, it lies immediately to the south of (i.e. above) and is in the same block as Tenman Park (天満公園, *Tenman Kouen*), which is labeled and illustrated by trees in the uppermost right part of the mapped roads, just below the picture of the stone images inside the Kouboudou.

9. At http://16.pro.tok2.com/~pegasus1297/A41_1.htm [note 7 above]. Part of the text for a similar picture at this website translates as “until a number of years ago, [Ueno Tenmangu Bekku] was a shrine concealed by a luxuriant grove.”

10. The title for the text and map translates as “Journey Site of Ueno Tenmangu,” and the following is a translation of the text. “This place is fixed as where, once a year, the festival *kami* [spirits/deities] of Ueno Tenmangu are mounted in *shin'yo* [palanquins for the *kami*] and taken on a journey. After the annual festival of Ueno Tenmangu on October 25 is finished, the festival *kami* (Lord Sugawara-no-Michizane and others) are taken on a journey to

this place and stay for one hour. Therefore, because the place for making monetary offerings and worshipping is not set up [now], please [pay a] visit at Ueno Tenmangu which is to the west [and] separated by 500 meters from this place.”

11. Noted at http://16.pro.tok2.com/~pegasus1297/A41_1.htm [note 7 above].

12. At http://16.pro.tok2.com/~pegasus1297/A41_2.htm; this is a continuation, under the same title, of the website about the Yamaguchi Kaidou cited above in note 7 and was also recently accessed on June 3, 2008.

13. “Kannon” and “Kanzeon” are both Japanese names for Avalokiteshvara, the bodhisattva who embodies compassion, and “*batou*” means “horse-head.” The title for the posted explanation at the site reads 馬頭觀世音菩薩 (*Batou Kanzeon Bosatsu*, Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara with a Horse’s Head), and a translation of the text of the explanation follows. “During construction along the Kanare River [as part] of the Shouwa 44 [1969] land readjustment works, the image [on the right] was discovered in the ground and came to be put next to and enshrined with a substitute Kannon. Then, in Heisei 10 [1998] the substitute Kannon was newly made and, up to the present, is the [same] bodhisattva which was made in An’ei 9 (1780). In Shouwa 20 (1945), during the Great Pacific War [i.e. Second World War], it was bombed and went missing, and because of that the substitute Kannon was made in Shouwa 22 [1947] with the warm heart of the local people of [the] Inokoishi New (Rice) Fields [district].”

14. In *Illustrated Maps on Public Display in Nagoya* [note 1], this shrine is mistakenly referred to as “Sanjuuban Jinja” (Shrine #30), an error caused by reading the characters in the sequences 三十番 (thirtieth) and 神社 ((Shintou) shrine). The characters aside, the *shimenawa* (a sacred rope with white strips of paper) which can be seen on the central structure in the back of the shrine is generally associated with Shintou; this, however, would seem to be related to practices that evolved with the historical syncretism of Shintou and Buddhism.

15. As anecdotal evidence, while doing follow-up fieldwork in June 2008 for this article, an elderly man was observed visiting the Batou Kannon site. He seemed to drop some money in the offertory box at the front center and then prayed. No inquiries into such personal activities being made, it is left to the imagination to wonder whether this individual had any direct recollections of what happened to the image of 1780 during 1945 and its subsequent unearthing, but he certainly appeared to be old enough to have been at least a child during the American bombing.

16. In June 2008, it took almost ninety minutes to walk the entire course, which was cal-

culated to be about 7000 paces long. The methodology for calculating the paces involved *vipassana*-type walks – attention generally being focused groundward just ahead of the steps and concentration being on the numbering – over eleven segments of the course exactly as it appears on the map (Chayagasaka Station to Sanjuubanjinsha, to the graveyard and an apparently not extant Jizou at the far right, to the Kouboudou, to Kanamori Myoujin, to the Bekku, to Chorochoro Koubou, to the ninety degree turn next to the school in the middle of the “empty” stretch, to the sharper turn at the bottom, to Batou Kannon, to the car park at Choufukuji, and to the middle of the Kanarebashi Higashi bus stop which is the terminus of the course); the numbers for the segments were then added together. For calculating the potential shorter course covering only the five sites in the western part of the map, the number of paces to Chorochoro Koubou was added to the number of paces from that site along the main road to the intersection with Sanjuubanjinsha and then to the station; this came to approximately 3050.

17. A map devoted to this route, 東山一万歩コース (*Higashiyama Ichimanpo Koosu*, The Higashiyama Ten-Thousand Steps Course), is reproduced as map 13 (photograph 24) in the monograph *Illustrated Maps on Public Display in Nagoya* [note 1 above].