THE DEVELOPMENT OF SHIKOKU *HENRO*

The Formation and Dissemination of a Pilgrimage in Pre-Modern Japan: A Case Study of Shikoku

by

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Abstract

This study will examine the development of a pilgrimage in Shikoku, Japan, commonly known as Shikoku *henro*. Anyone familiar with this pilgrimage would know that this is a topic that has drawn much academic and non-academic attention in the recent years. We have come to know more about this pilgrimage than ever before, thanks to the meticulous studies that have been conducted by scholars in and out of Japan. If there is a general trend in the recent studies, it is toward the anthropological/sociological interpretation of the pilgrimage, and the interactions of the pilgrimage with the society in which it exists. These studies also tend to focus on the modern era. Doubtless, such focuses are immensely valuable when seeking to shed light to this complex phenomenon. However, it may be time that we can reconsider the historical processes around this pilgrimage, by incorporating the recent findings of this and other pilgrimages, and by re-examining the historical materials pertaining to the subject.

Thus, I will focus on the pre-modern developments in the pilgrimage of Shikoku. Specifically, the religious themes and the activities of the religious specialists in relation to the pilgrimage will be thoroughly analyzed in the context of pre-modern Japan (before 1868). In doing so, I will deal with issues that have yet to be addressed, such as the relationship between the pilgrimage and the pilgrimage temples. One might be inclined to assume that the two came hand in hand from the start—that the temples and their affiliates, as the prime beneficiaries of the pilgrimage, must have taken various measures to lure the pilgrims. Such an assumption, however, would drape the dynamics behind the formation of this pilgrimage, as will be demonstrated in this thesis.

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Having grown up on the island of Shōdoshima, just off Shikoku and the site of a replicated *henro* pilgrimage, the white-clad pilgrims have been a familiar sight since my youth.[1] Due to the distinct practice of the pilgrims offering "alms" to the local residents in Shōdoshima (i.e., reverse *settai*), I had come to associate the pilgrims with the candies and crackers that they often gave to the local children. But somewhere in my mind, I always knew that there was something more to *henro* than candies and crackers.

Fast forward about a decade and a half, I was so fortunate as to have the opportunity to conduct a study of Shikoku *henro* at the University of British Columbia. Here, I wish to thank my research supervisor Professor Nam-lin Hur for his help and guidance in the last two years. I thank also the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the Department of Asian Studies at UBC for accommodating my research.

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[1] For studies on this pilgrimage, see Reader (1988) and Oda (1996).

Introduction

Pilgrimage is "manifested in one form or another in virtually all the world's religions," the anthropologist James Preston says.[2] In Japan, it occupied an important place in the lives of the common people since pre-modern times. One scholar has even described it as "one of the great pillars" of Japanese religion.[3] Among the countless pilgrimages that boomed and waned in the history of Japan, there was Shikoku *henro*.

Shikoku *henro* is a pilgrimage of eighty-eight sacred places on the island of Shikoku, the fourth largest island of the Japanese archipelago. It was one of the thriving pilgrimages of the early modern Japan (1600-1867). In the present day this is arguably the best known pilgrimage in Japan, attracting over one-hundred-and-fifty-thousand pilgrims annually according to one calculation.[4] This pilgrimage is featured frequently in various mass media, most notably in the NHK national television programs. In 2008, NHK broadcasted a TV series titled *Gaidō tekuteku tabi – Shikoku hachijūhachikasho wo yuku* (街道てくてく旅 四国八十八ヶ所を行く). In this program, a celebrity ping-pong player Naomi Yotsumoto walked the entire pilgrimage route of nearly 1,400 kilometers, and introduced to viewers: (1) the eighty-eight temples in the pilgrimage, (2) the people and the landscape of Shikoku, and (3) the pilgrims who were on the pilgrimage route. Although the program covered all the temples and the basic liturgies of the pilgrimage, its main focus was not the "religious" dimensions of the pilgrimage. This is indeed suggested in its title—meaning "trudging along the eighty-eight-sites of Shikoku." Instead, the health benefits of walking and the

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[2] Preston (1992), 31.
[3] Ian Reader and Paul Swanson cite Shinno Toshikazu. See Reader and Swanson (1997), 225.
[4] NHK Matsuyama (2009).

interaction with the people of the local communities appear to have been the main concerns of the program, which also portrayed the pilgrimage as an exemplar of the traditional Japan.[5]

This indicates, as recent studies have noted, that Shikoku *henro* is a diverse cultural phenomenon with many facets and meanings, which cannot be simply understood solely from "religious" perspectives. Nevertheless, the religious dimensions are crucial to the underpinnings of Shikoku *henro*, because, as Mori Masato notes, the pilgrimage is a "cultural phenomenon developed upon religious values."[6] On a similar note, Ian Reader, who has produced a number of landmark studies of this pilgrimage, comments that a pilgrimage is a "religion in its own right."[7]

Thus, this thesis will focus on the history of the religious dimensions of the pilgrimage. In particular, the key issues to be dealt with are: (1) the developments of religious ideas associated with the pilgrimage, (2) the activities of the religious specialists who facilitated the development of the pilgrimage, and (3) the process by which Shikoku *henro* became a booming pilgrimage in the early modern period.

Definitions

There are several terms that will recur throughout the following thesis. The most common ones will be defined here before proceeding. Others will be defined as they appear in the discussion.

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[5] For example, the main host Yotsumoto composed a haiku poem per episode based on her experience.
[6] Mori (2005), 10.
[7] Reader (1996).

Henro (遍路・辺路) is a multi-site religious pilgrimage consisting of eighty-eight designated stops on the island of Shikoku, in which the main figure of worship is Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師 also known as Kūkai 空海: 774-835), the founder of the Kōyasan temple complex and the Shingon esoteric Buddhism in Japan. Kōbō Daishi is also the legendary founder of Shikoku *henro*.[8] Although there are *henro* pilgrimages in other parts of Japan, namely those that have been transplanted or copied from Shikoku (i.e., the *henro* pilgrimage in Shōdoshima mentioned above), in this study, *henro* will refer to the pilgrimage in Shikoku unless otherwise noted. *Henro* also refers to the pilgrims who are doing this pilgrimage; hence this term in the thesis will refer to either the pilgrimage or to the pilgrims.

The designated stops in this pilgrimage are commonly called *fudasho* (札所) literally meaning a place to offer pilgrims' calling cards, or *reijō*, (霊場) meaning a sacred place. I will use *fudasho* throughout this work for the sake of consistency. I will not refer to them collectively as temples or shrines, because historically, the *fudasho* consisted of both Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, and using either "temple" or "shrine" will have affiliative connotations to either Buddhism or Shintōism which would not be appropriate for discussing the phenomenon in pre-modern times.

Fudasho, as mentioned above, is a place for pilgrims to leave their calling card, which is called *osamefuda,* or simply *fuda* (納札・札). This is a slip of paper or, in some cases, fabric of a specific colour that is inscribed with the name of the pilgrim among other

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[8] However, it should be noted that Kōbō Daishi's founding of the pilgrimage is more a "legendary" history than a "real" history. In reality, it is unlikely that he founded the pilgrimage. For discussion on the "legendary" history versus "real" history of Shikoku *henro,* see Reader (2005), 107. By no means do I intend to dismiss the "legendary" history, for, as Reader notes, it is in many ways more important than the hard historical facts for the pilgrimage culture. However, in this study, I will focus on the "real" history.

standardized inscriptions. *Fuda* is a ritual implement of *henro*, to be offered to the deities of the *fudasho* as a means of symbolically communicating with them.

Lastly, Kōbō Daishi and Kūkai technically refer to the same person but there are slight differences. Kōbō Daishi is the posthumous title of the historical monk named Kūkai. The former is also closely associated with the popular worship that developed after his death, in which he is considered one of the deities in the common Japanese pantheon. I will use Kūkai when referring to the historical monk, and either Kōbō Daishi or simply Daishi to refer to him posthumously or as the deified monk.

Thesis Outline

Shikoku *henro* did not suddenly emerge in the early modern period. There were extant pilgrimage traditions in Shikoku that influenced its creation and development. Indeed, the emergence of Shikoku *henro* was a "cumulative process," which incorporated elements from existing pilgrimage practices, as noted by Reader.[9] What has not been sufficiently addressed in the studies to date, however, is how those older pilgrimages influenced Shikoku *henro*. For instance, were there themes that were carried over from the ancient and medieval pilgrimages to the one we see today? What developments were there in Shikoku in medieval times, that helped usher the thriving popular pilgrimage in the early modern period? In the first chapter, I will deal with these questions, by surveying the ancient and medieval pilgrimage traditions in Shikoku, and by analyzing them dialectically with the characteristics of the pilgrimage in the early modern and modern periods. This will allow us to assess holistically the relevance of the extant practices in the understanding of this pilgrimage.

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[9] Reader (2005), 111.

Shikoku *henro* is known to have received substantial external influences in its formation. Among such influences, Kondō Yoshihiro, Yoritomi Motohiro and Shiraki Toshiyuki have argued that Kumano *shugenja*, or ascetics affiliated with the three shrines of Kumano in the Kii Peninsua, were seminal in providing the impetus to the development of the pilgrimage. However, it has not been convincingly demonstrated in concrete terms as to how they may have contributed to this pilgrimage. Reader comments that although the Kumano influences were important, to argue that the pilgrimage was formed solely by the influence from Kumano is problematic.[10] Hence, in the second chapter, I will re-examine the relevance of the Kumano traditions in the pilgrimage, by focusing on one *fudasho* institution that is known to have been strongly influenced by Kumano. This is Ishiteji in Iyo province, the fifty-first *fudasho* of Shikoku *henro*. A famed pilgrimage legend that has been associated with the activities of the Kumano *shugenja*, the story of Emon Saburō, also will be examined. In doing so, I will look at the historical context around the Kumano *shugenja* in Shikoku, to argue that they did not, in fact, contribute to the development of this pilgrimage.

In the second half of the chapter, I will consider other actors that made more significant contributions to the formulation of the Shikoku *henro* in the early seventeenth century: the ascetics from Kōyasan. Their involvements with the pilgrimage will be examined through careful analysis of seventeenth century texts. In this section, attention will be paid to the physical route of the pilgrimage, and the religious themes that had become enmeshed in the pilgrimage, such as the piety of Kōbō Daishi and the promise of salvation in the afterlife.

In the third chapter, I will examine how the eighty-eight-site pilgrimage—established in the early seventeenth century by the ascetical devotees of Kōbō Daishi—was transformed

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[10] Reader (2005), 109.

into a thriving popular pilgrimage, which attracted a large number of non-specialist pilgrims, in the late seventeenth century. In this section, I will build on the analytical model used by Asakawa Yasuhiro in his 2008 book—the most comprehensive study on the practice of alms-giving in the pilgrimage to date. Asakawa describes the structure of the pilgrimage in terms of the "hardware," or the physical route and infrastructure of the pilgrimage, and the "software," or the religious themes and ideas that established the sacredness of Shikoku, which served to attract a large number of pilgrims.[11] These two elements combined, Asakawa argues, constituted the structure that sustained the pilgrimage. Unlike Asakawa, however, whose main concern was the implications of the pilgrimage on the host communities, I will delve into the "software" of the pilgrimage itself. That is, my focus in this section will be the sacred attraction of Shikoku that lured the people to conduct the pilgrimage, similar to what James Preston calls "spiritual magnetism."[12] To be sure, the sacredness of Shikoku is a topic that has already been discussed by many scholars. But there has been no attempt to locate the sacredness of Shikoku *henro* in the early modern pilgrimage culture at large. There are numerous recent studies on early modern pilgrimages in Japan that provide useful points of comparison with Shikoku. Therefore, in this section, I will draw from: (1) previous studies on Shikoku, (2) recent studies on other pilgrimages, and (3) the primary documents from the early modern period that propagate the sacredness of Shikoku. This approach will not only allow us to enhance our understandings of the sacredness of Shikoku, but also enable us to observe a broader pattern in the sanctity of pilgrimage sites in early modern Japan.

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[11] Asakawa (2008), 82.
[12] Preston (1992).

Hoshino Eiki is considered among the foremost scholars on Shikoku *henro*. His comparative approach and theoretical analysis have contributed immensely to our understandings of the pilgrimage. Hoshino emphasizes that the Shikoku *henro* was, and still is to a degree, relatively un-institutionalized.[13] By un-institutionalized, he means that the pilgrimage developed without the coordinated efforts of the *fudasho* institutions. In more general terms, there was a relative lack in the involvement of organized religions, such as the Buddhist sects and the temples that they administered, in the formative phase of the popular pilgrimage. Hoshino provides reasons for this when he argues that the dispersal of the *fudasho*—both over the wide geographical area of Shikoku, and across the sectarian organizations—served to resist coordination by the *fudasho*. Also, the belief and liturgies of the pilgrimage were based more on the folk religion than on the organized religion.[14]

Shinno Toshikazu, another influential scholar in the study of pre-modern Japanese pilgrimages, has grappled with this issue, though with different interests from Hoshino. Shinno argues that the development of the Shikoku *henro* saw an interactive process between organized religion on one hand, and the wayfaring proselytizers on the other.[15] In particular, the activities of an itinerant proselytizer named Yūben Shinnen in the late seventeenth century has been demonstrated as having been seminal to Shikoku *henro*. This fits Shinno's theory that the activities of the itinerant proselytizers, who occupied "peripheral" positions in organized religions, were critical in the history of Japanese religions.

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[13] However, Hoshino foresees changes to this structure of the pilgrimage. When he wrote his 2001 book, he felt that there was a shift toward the institutionalization of the pilgrimage. Hoshino (2001), 383-386, 416.
[14] Hoshino (2001), 92-93.
[15] Shinno (1991).

Nevertheless, there are several issues that are yet to be resolved. For instance, what was the relationship between the *fudasho* and the pilgrimage? And if, as Hoshino argues, the pilgrimage resisted the institutionalization marshaled by the organized religions, why was this the case? How did this pilgrimage succeed? Who contributed to the development of the pilgrimage as it began to attract a large number of the common people in the early modern period? The final chapter will examine these issues, with particular attention paid to the activities of Shinnen, who made various contributions to the pilgrimage, and to the people around him who supported his activities.

Based on my examination of the early modern primary materials and the wealth of secondary materials, both in Japanese and English, I argue that Shikoku *henro* was an organic cultural phenomenon based on religious values, as Mori noted, but also which reflected political, economical, and social developments of given historical periods. It began as a pilgrimage primarily of religions specialists, and later began to attract a large number of the common people—a process similar to what Hayami Tasuku has demonstrated for the Saigoku (Saikoku) Kannon pilgrimage.[16] Nevertheless, there were uniqueness of Shikoku, because there were different actors, historical circumstances, and objects of worship in Shikoku. Notable continuities in the religious themes are evident as the pilgrimage developed, such as that of the other-world and the piety of Kōbō Daishi. But there were novel ideas as well, such as the symbolic presence of Daishi in the pilgrimage space, which was crucial for its success as a popular pilgrimage. Shikoku *henro* had some common religious ideas with other early modern pilgrimages, such as the leitmotif of the healing of illnesses, and the localization of an efficacious deity in the pilgrimage space.

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[16] Hayami (1980).

Notwithstanding, there were pronounced differences as well, most notably the sacredness dispersed to the entire pilgrimage space—the island of Shikoku—than that localized to the precinct of a specific religious institution. This was the result of a distinct belief system of Shikoku *henro*, which indeed developed outside the interests of the organized religion. In the following pages, I will deliberate on these points in greater detail. It would bring me the greatest joy if this study contributed in any way to our understandings of this fascinating sacred journey.

Chapter 1: The "Roots" of Shikoku *Henro*

In Shikoku, there have been pilgrimage practices of the ascetics and the religious specialists since ancient times—long before an eighty-eight-site pilgrimage that we now call Shikoku *henro* emerged. These traditions appear to have been different from Shikoku *henro* in many respects. Some differences were the scale and route of the pilgrimage, and the object of worship. However, they were important factors in the development of the pilgrimage, shaping the sacred geography of Shikoku. Since then symbols and themes have become ingrained in the landscape of Shikoku *henro*. Thus, they provided a rich repertoire of traditions for the evolving pilgrimage culture in Shikoku to draw from, which reached a milestone in the early modern period with the establishment of the eighty-eight-site pilgrimage.

Surviving records indicate that there were three categories of devotees in the pre-*henro* pilgrimage tradition in Shikoku: (1) religious ascetics, (2) devotees of Kōbō Daishi, and (3) Pure Land believers.

1.1. Ascetics (*shugenja* 修験者 / *gyōja* 行者)

By religious ascetics, it is meant *shugenja* (修験者) or *gyōja*(行者), religious specialists who conducted rigorous exercises such as climbing boulders, performing magical exercises, sitting under waterfalls and so on to cultivate supernatural powers (*shugen* 修験).[17] The austerity training, combining indigenous nature worship with the imported Daoist, Shamanistic, and Esoteric Buddhist elements, developed in the mountain range of Kumano, Ōmine and Yoshino in Kii Peninsula and formed a "loosely organized religion" known as *shugendō* in the late Heian period (794-1185).

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[17] Miyake (1999); Swanson (1981), 56.

The earliest known examples of austerity in Shikoku were conducted by Kūkai, as evidenced in his own writings in *Sangō Shiiki* (三教指帰), an autobiography written in 797. Here he writes about practicing *Kokūzō gumonjihō* (虚空蔵求聞持法), which involves reciting a mantra dedicated to Bodhisattva Kokūzō one million times, at Mount Tairyū in Awa (site of present Tairyūji: no. 21)[18] and in Mikuradō cave at Cape Muroto in Tosa (site of present *fudasho* 24 to 26). He also left a record of his austerities at Mount Ishizuchi in Iyo province. For young Kūkai, these activities were conducted to cultivate his religious capacities. Although there is no means to verify that he founded *henro* as legends claim, he did travel to some parts of Shikoku and conducted austerity exercises, and such places have been incorporated into the *henro* circuit. They have become renowned landmarks in the sacred geography of Shikoku.

1.1.1. *Heji Shugyō* (辺路修行)

By the late Heian period, it is thought that there was a distinguished form of ascetic pilgrimage in Shikoku. *Ryōjin Hishō*(梁塵秘抄) from the late twelfth century says:

> *we train (shugyō 修行),*
> *with ninniku kesa (忍辱袈裟)[19] thrown over our shoulders,*
> *and oi (笈)[20] pack on our backs*
> *our clothes always drenched with saltwater,*
> *as we tread incessantly the "heji"(辺路/辺地) of Shikoku.[21]*

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[18] Numbers in parenthesis following temples or shrines indicate their numerical designation on the current pilgrimage circuit, starting with Ryōzenji (no.1) and ending with Ōkuboji (no.88).
[19] Robe worn by Buddhist practitioners.
[20] Backpack of itinerant religious practitioners.
[21] Gorai (1989), 106. Gorai, and Yoritomi and Shiraki reads the combination of characters 辺路 as "*heji*." But in other versions, it is written as 辺地, which is also read as *henchi* or *henji*. For example, see Terauchi (2007), 29. Nishi suggests that 辺路 and 辺地 were used interchangeably. See Nishi (2007), 47-48. See below for the definition of this term.

On the other hand, the excerpt from the *Konjaku Monogatarishū* (今昔物語集) from the

same period suggests that there was a pilgrimage tradition of religious adherents which

involved walking around the island of Shikoku:

In the time of antiquity,
monks following the way of the Buddha,
in a group of three,
journeyed through the hechi/henchi (辺地) *of Shikoku,*
which is the coastline of Iyo, Sanuki, Awa and Tosa.
When by mistake they step into the mountains,
and become lost in the deep forests,
they wished direly to get back to the shoreline.[22]

Such pilgrimage from the ancient period has been described as *heji shugyō* (辺路修行)

by folk scholar Gorai Shigeru and others.[23] The term *heji* is thought to be a derivative of the

word *henji/henchi* (辺地), which, according to *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, means: (1) a realm

where those who doubted the salvific powers of Amida Buddha are reborn after death, or

the peripheries of the Buddhist Pure Land, and (2) a place far away from the centre.[24] From

the linguistic standpoint, Nishi Kōsei defines the ancient word *hechi* (へち) as rigorous

terrains by the water, such as precipitous shorelines or similar topographies in the

mountains by bodies of water. When it was used in combination with Shikoku, as the *hechi*

of Shikoku (*Shikoku no hechi* 四国のへち), it referred to the rigorous shoreline along

Shikoku which became a renowned site of religious austerities, Nishi suggests.[25] According

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[22] Ibid., 107.
[23] For discussions on *heji / hechi*, see Gorai (1989), 106-107; Kondō (1982), 6-15; Shinjō (1982),481-485; Yoritomi and Shiragi (2001), 1-11; Terauchi (2007), 28-41; Nishi (2007), 42-59. Note Gorai, Yoritomi and Shiragi, and Terauchi use the term *heji shugyō* (*heji* training) to emphasis it as an *activity*, while others refer to it as a *place* or path where the activity was practiced. Shinjō suggests that *heji* implied a place in Heian period, but later, around Kōan period (1278-1288) it implied activity. All agree that there was a distinctive ascetic training at *heji / hechi*.
[24] *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* in Japan Knowledge Plus online, http://www.jkn21.com/body/display/ (accessed May 16, 2009).
[25] Nishi (2007), 53, 56.

to Gorai, *heji shugyō* was *shugendō* of the sea (海の修験) associated with the indigenous sea worship (海洋信仰).[26] This worship is thought to be based on the ancient belief in the spiritual realm of abundant wealth and longevity called *tokoyo,* located across the sea (海の彼方の常世),[27] which was conflated with the Buddhist concept of *fudaraku,* the realm of Bodhisattva Kannon, located on an island across the sea. In Shikoku, Cape Muroto and Ashizuri were centres of *fudaraku* worship and were considered, along with Kumano in Kii Peninsula, as the gateway to the *Fuda*raku Pure Land.[28] In this practice, *shugenja* practiced austerity by the seaside, such as "circumambulating a precipitous boulder by the shore, advancing slowly as he hung onto the shells on the surface of the rock."[29] According to Gorai, this practice predates Kūkai and, unlike *henro,* which emerged later, it is not based on the worship of Kōbō Daishi. In fact, Kūkai himself is said to have conducted his austerities in Shikoku because he was a practitioner of *heji shugyō.*[30]

Gorai argues that this form of ascetical pilgrimage expanded to create a pilgrimage circuit that we now call *henro.* Thus he emphasizes that it is the "original form" of the pilgrimage. First, he says that there were many local austerity sites along the shoreline of Shikoku where *heji* shugyō training was conducted since the ancient times. These places were typically in close proximity to the sea and had caves or other topographic features suitable for *shugenja* austerities. Some of the *fudasho* that fit this description include Cape Muroto (site of Hotsumisakiji [no.24], Shinshōji [no.25], and Kongōchōji [no. 26]), and Kongōfukuji (no. 38) on Cape Ashizuri. Then he suggests that there were local routes

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[26] Shugendō of the sea, according to Gorai, was later consumed in the *shugendō* of the mountains.
[27] Gorai (1989), 131. On *tokoyo,* see Origuchi vol.2, 11.
[28] Terauchi (2007), 36-37.
[29] This is an example taken from Ryōjin Hishō. Gorai (1989), 110-111; Yoritomi and Shiragi, 7.
[30] Gorai (1989), 119, 135.

connecting a few *heji shugyō* sites together, which he calls *chūgyōdō* (中行道). And finally there was a larger path around the entire island of Shikoku, *ōgyōdō* (大行道), which formed a route similar to the present *henro* route and thus considered as the bedrock of the pilgrimage.

This developmental theory has been influential in the study of *henro*. For instance, Yoritomi Motohiro and Shiraki Toshiyuki follow this analysis in their co-authored book.[31] Indeed, it is valuable in that it sheds lights on the pre-*henro* traditions in Shikoku, and in particular it explains why there are many austerity sites (*gyōba* 行場) in the precinct of the *fudasho* by the shore. However, it does not explain how many *fudasho*—without the links to shugendō austerity—were incorporated into the *henro* circuit. For instance, the first ten *fudasho* in Awa do not appear to have roots to *shugendō* austerities, similar to the four Kokubunji temples and Ichinomiya shrines of each province that were designated as *fudasho*. This suggests other logic was in play in formulating the *henro* circuit. Moreover, the ancient worship of the sea that is no longer a significant part of the belief system in the *henro* pilgrimage in the later period. This is also the case with liturgies such as circumambulating boulders.[32] *Heji shugyō* appears as though it was a radically different form of pilgrimage from *henro*; therefore, overemphasis of it will result in a synchronic interpretation of a phenomenon built on a rich, diachronic process. Thus, in the discussion to follow, more attention will be paid to the historical factors that led to the formation of the *henro* pilgrimage.

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[31] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001).

[32] Note that there are some ascetics today who conduct austerity exercise as part of their *henro*. For example, in Shōdoshima *henro*, there is a group of lay ascetics (*gyōja* 行者) from Nara, who, in their annual pilgrimage, performs austerities at certain *fudasho*. For the majority of the henro, however, austerity exercise is not part of their pilgrimage.

1.1.2. Other Ascetics

Shikoku had become a renowned site for ascetical training in the ancient to medieval periods. Shunjōbō Chōgen (1121-1206), known for his managing role in the renovation project of Tōdaiji, conducted ascetical training in Shikoku hen (修行四国辺) in 1137 as an aspiring monk, at the tender age of seventeen.[33] He also conducted austerity practices at Ōmine in Yoshino, Kumano in Kii and Ontake in Kiso, which suggests that his exercise in Shikoku was a part of his long-term training program to cultivate religious competency—based on austerity. Another record is a late thirteenth-century document from Daigoji in Kyoto, which lists Shikoku *heji* (四国辺路), along with Ōmine, Katsuragi, and the Saigoku Kannon circuit, as places to conduct *shugen* training (*shugen no narai* 修験之習).[34] It shows that Shikoku *heji* was indeed considered a place to conduct austerities, and it attracted ascetics from the centres of *shugendō* in the *Kinai* area in central Japan.

1.2. Followers of Kōbō Daishi

Another strand of pilgrims to Shikoku in the medieval period was those who made homage to places in Shikoku associated with Kōbō Daishi. Zentsūji (no. 75) and Mandaraji (no. 72), were believed to be places where Daishi had spent his childhood; these were among the most common places for pilgrims to visit. Although their journey's motive was to visit Kōbō Daishi's sanctuary, a popular destination of *henro* pilgrims in the early modern period, there is no record to suggest that there was any kind of organized pilgrimage route around places associated with Kōbō Daishi's life.

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[33] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 73-74.
[34] Shinjo (1982), 483; Nishi (2007), 43-44. Note Shinjo states that Shikoku *heji* in this document implies the activity of doing the *heji*, whereas Nishi argues that it implied the physical place or route called Shikoku *heji* where austerity was conducted.

Shinjō Tsunezō argues that Shingon monks were particularly influential in shaping the *henro* culture in the medieval period because they tended to be devoted to their patriarch.[35] But it should not be assumed that piety to Daishi was limited to affiliates of the Shingon sect. For example, Ippen Shōnin (1239-1289), the founder of the Jishū sect, a branch of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, also made a pilgrimage to Shikoku, and his impact on the *henro* circuit can be readily observed. He was a Shikoku native, born in Iyo, but took tonsure and left home. Ippen later came back to Shikoku and visited many places associated with Kōbō Daishi. There are nine *fudasho* that can be traced to him, including Iwayaji (no. 45), Hantaji (no. 50), Zentsūji (no. 75), and Gōshōji (no.78), a Jishū temple.[36] His traces are left only in Iyo and Sanuki; nonetheless, he is thought to have influenced the pilgrimage culture with his eclectic worship that conjoined not only Kōbō Daishi and Kumano worship, but also *nenbutsu* chanting. Kumano, which we will examine later, left a notable imprint on the sacred places of Shikoku.

In the fourteenth century, there appears to have been a steady inflow of pilgrims devoted to the Daishi. This is when a Zentsūji monk said, "those with heart all make pilgrimage to this temple."[37]

1.3. Pure Land Believers

Some pilgrims also went to Shikoku in search for a Buddhist Pure Land. The spread of *Amida* worship in the late Heian period also rendered the image of Shikoku as the gateway to *Amida's* Western Pure Land, similar to how Shitennōji in Osaka was perceived.[38] For

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[35] Shinjō (1982), 483.
[36] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 71-72.
[37] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 75.
[38] Terauchi (2007), 37.

example, Enryakuji monk Chōzō (長増) is reported to have spontaneously left his temple. He went to Iyo in order to go to the Pure Land (*gokuraku ōjō* 極楽往生). According to Terauchi Hiroshi, Shikoku, by virtue of being located southwest of the capital, Kyōto, as well as being an island isolated by the sea, was recognized by some as the Pure Land, which was believed to be located to the west.[39]

1.4. The Influence of the "Roots"

As seen above, Shikoku was indeed considered a sacred place where religious practitioners of various strands made pilgrimage in the ancient and medieval periods. These pilgrimages are, in a sense, the "roots" of the popular *henro*, as elements from them were carried over. However, it would be an overstatement to say that these were the original forms of *henro* because (1) there is no indication that there was an organized pilgrimage route consisting of designated *fudasho*. In other words, the route and the destinations were different, and (2) the belief system associated with the pilgrimage changed as the *henro* pilgrimage was transformed into an organized popular pilgrimage in the late seventeenth century. The pilgrimage culture in Shikoku saw drastic changes as time passed.

With this in mind, how are these forebears of Shikoku *henro* relevant to the study of the pilgrimage? How could they be related, and how could they enhance our understandings of Shikoku *henro*?

First, on the conceptual plane, the notion of the pilgrimage as an ascetical training to cultivate one's spiritual or physical capacities has been retained throughout the evolution of the pilgrimage to the present day. In an influential late-seventeenth century book on *henro*,

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[39] Ibid., 39.

the pilgrims were encouraged "not to grudge the hardships (of the pilgrimage) and leave behind the impurities of the human society" as they engaged in *henro*.[40] To be sure, the ascetical aspects of the non-specialists' pilgrimage would be different from that of the *shugenja*, for the former typically would not conduct specialists' exercises such as circumambulating boulders. But to the extent that rigorous exercise associated with the pilgrimage was considered as a means to elevate one's abilities, they are indeed comparable.

A good example of Shikoku *henro* as ascetical training can be found in the unique social practice in many village communities in Shikoku. They send off young adults at a certain age on the pilgrimage as an initiation ritual. Upon return from the pilgrimage, they are recognized within the village community as grownups, and, in some cases, imbued with marriageable status. This practice is thought to have begun in the early modern period and continued to the post-war era as part of the communal life of villagers. It was thought that that the hardships associated with the pilgrimage prepared the youths well for the challenges that came with adulthood.[41]

More recently, *Shikoku Reijōkai* (四国霊場会), the association of the *fudasho* temples in Shikoku, has advanced an explanation of the pilgrimage in terms of the four stages associated with reaching Buddha-hood, overlapping with the four prefectures that the pilgrimage route passes through. In what is essentially a "mandalization" of the pilgrimage space —that is, morphing the religious cosmology onto the physical landscape— Tokushima prefecture is rendered as the place for "awakening" (*hosshin* 発心) the Buddha-hood, Kōchi as "ascetical training" (*shugyō* 修行), Ehime as "enlightenment" (*bodai* 菩提),

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[40] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 6.
[41] Maeda (1971), 181-184.

and Kagawa as "nirvana" (*nehan* 涅槃). Here, "ascetical training" is treated as an integral component of the pilgrimage, and this model has been hugely influential in the pilgrimage guidebook of the present era.[42]

Indeed, asceticism has persevered in Shikoku pilgrimage from the ancient times to the early modern period, as Shinjō argues. Its influence may have been pronounced to a greater degree in Shikoku compared to other pilgrimages, due in part to the relative lack of the leisurely elements in Shikoku.[43]

Second, on the theological plane, the notion that Shikoku represented the "other world" has been also carried over from the ascetical pilgrimages discussed above. According to Miyake Hitoshi, *shugendō* austerity was performed in what was perceived as the "other world" (*takai* 他界), where supernatural capabilities could be cultivated, which in turn, could be used in "this world" to deliver practical benefits through rites and prayers to the people who desired such services.[44] Following this analysis, the *shugenja* performing austerities in Shikoku were in a "liminal" zone, to borrow the term coined by Arnold van Gennep. I do not use this word to imply the social process it potentially insinuates, which has been deliberated by Victor Turner with his concept of *communitas*, for that is outside the scope of the current work. Instead, here it simply refers to the cosmic notion of the boundary between this and other worlds. As we have seen, the *fudaraku* worship associated with shoreline austerities also had similar other-worldly connotations.

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[42] See for example, Miyazaki (2007).
[43] Shinjō (1982).
[44] Miyake (1999), iii.

In Shikoku, the perceived liminality of the pilgrimage space is manifest at least in two ways: (1) Shikoku as the sanctuary of Kōbō Daishi, and (2) the association of Shikoku with death and afterlife. The notion that Kōbō Daishi is present in Shikoku was the most obvious link to "sacredness" attributed to this pilgrimage. This concept was widely circulated in the early modern period through textual and oral transmission, which will be examined in greater detail later. This was the premise of the distinct sanctifying theme of Shikoku *henro*, *dōgyō ninin* (同行二人), the idea that Kōbō Daishi travels with each pilgrim in Shikoku to offer his protection. Indeed, Kōbō Daishi's symbolic presence in Shikoku was the core of the sacred appeal of this pilgrimage. The association with death, on the other hand, was not as obvious as the theme of Daishi. Nevertheless, it was embedded in the symbolic dimension of the pilgrimage. When the pilgrims undertook the pilgrimage or made offerings to memorialize deceased family members, this became a common practice in Shikoku. Moreover, the standard regalia of the pilgrimage is imbued with the theme of death, with the pilgrims' hat (*sugegasa* 菅笠) bearing a Buddhist poem on the ephemeral nature of life, usually also inscribed on coffins. The white pilgrims' robe (*hakue/hakui/byakue* 白衣) resembled the dress for death, particularly with the "reverse" order of wearing the robe—typically reserved for death rituals. The pilgrims' staff signified the tombstone, the stamping of the pilgrimage notebook (*nōkyōchō* 納経帳) at each *fudasho* was equivalent to the passport to the other world, and so on.[45]

Shikoku was both a sacred domain associated with Kōbō Daishi and the realm of death, where pilgrims consciously or subconsciously weaved through the symbolic boundary between this and the other world through the act of pilgrimage. The liminality of Shikoku

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[45] Reader (2005), 63-64.

was strengthened by its inevitable geographical feature; as an island surrounded by the sea; it evoked the sense of a different realm and in particular, as Reader notes, the Buddhist notion of the "other shore" associated with afterlife.[46]

These are some of the factors that contribute to defining the landscape of Shikoku as "other worldly" and sacred, which has been kept intact since ancient times to the present era in the minds of those engaged in Shikoku pilgrimage. On this note, the Kōchi writer Kurahashi Yumiko comments of her 1990 pilgrimage. Near Cape Muroto on one rainy day, the mist in the air blended with the colours of the cherry blossom on the roadside, forming a fantastic scenery that evoked the boundary of this and other worlds.[47] The idea of Shikoku as an exceptionally sacred domain is encapsulated in the common reference of Shikoku with an honorary prefix o, Shikoku as *o-shikoku*. (お四国).

Third, on a soteriological plane, the idea of going to Shikoku to in search of the Pure Land—and, by extension, to secure post-death salvation—has been inherited from the early pilgrims that I called Pure Land believers. The motif of the Pure Land is evident in the pilgrimage song (*goeika* 御詠歌) of each of the eighty-eight *fudasho*, which first made its appearance in a 1687 *henro* guidebook, *Shikoku henro Michishirube*. These are still recited by some pilgrims today. Of the eighty-eight songs, twenty-two have the theme of Pure Land or afterlife.[48] For instance, the *goeika* of Gokurakuji (no. 2) reads; "if you wish to go to the Pure Land of Amida Buddha, make it a habit of reciting *namu-amidabutsu*." (*gokuraku no, mida no jōdo ni ikitakuba, namu-amidabutsu kuchiguse ni seyo* 極楽の弥陀の浄土に行きたくば南無阿弥陀仏口ぐせにせよ)

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[46] Reader (2005), 47.
[47] Kurahashi (2002), 75.
[48] They are goeika of *fudasho*: 2,3,5,6,8,10,12,13,14,16,19,26,38,44,45,46,48,52,56,57,61,and 64.

Fourth, the chief object of worship in Shikoku *henro,* Kōbō Daishi, was shared with the medieval pilgrims who made homage to Daishi's homeland. This indicates that although there were various strands of religious practitioners engaged in the ancient and medieval pilgrimage in Shikoku, those most influential in organizing what has come to be known as Shikoku *henro* were the devotees of Kōbō Daishi.

Many elements of the ascetical training have morphed into traditions adopted by later pilgrims. They affect both the theoretical underpinning of the pilgrimage and in the perseverance required. This is, after all, a gruelling walk that requires one to forsake the comforts of home and trudge for a month-and-a-half. In a sense, all walking pilgrims are the new ascetics.

1.5. Emerging Multi-site Pilgrimage in the Medieval Period

In the late medieval period (16th century), there was a pilgrimage in Shikoku that incorporated multiple sites. Some pilgrims from this period left graffiti at the temples and shrines that they visited, usually including such information as pilgrims' name, place of their origin, date, and the number of people in the pilgrimage group. And since there were invocations of Kōbō Daishi (*namu daishi henjō kongō* 南無大師遍照金剛) inscribed around them, the pilgrimage was likely conducted in association with the worship of Kōbō Daishi.[49]

Such graffiti from the sixteenth century is evident at Jōdoji (no. 49) in Iyo, Sanuki Kokubunji (no. 80), and Tosa Ichinomiya shrine (Zenrakuji: no. 30). Also, Ishiteji (no. 51) in Iyo, was designated as a *fudasho* according to the temple's genealogy from 1567, and a legend from this temple also has Shōsanji (no. 12) in Awa treated as a stop in Shikoku

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[49] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 78.

henro.[50] These sites are scattered around Shikoku and were likely designated as stops in the Shikoku pilgrimage. Hence, we can assume that by the sixteenth century, there was a multi-site pilgrimage inspired by the piety of Kōbō Daishi. All these temples and shrines were later designated as *fudasho* of the pilgrimage. However, there is no record to suggest that the pilgrimage was organized into eighty-eight stops.

The surviving graffiti is limited, since most of them were cleaned up in Meiji era.[51] However, there are two noteworthy words that are common in the surviving graffiti. First, the combination of Chinese characters hen (邊)and ro/ji (路) (or 辺路), which appear along with the names of the pilgrims is thought to have been read as "*henro*" by this time, instead of "*heji*;" it was used as an identity marker of the pilgrims. That is, the pilgrims recognized their activity and called themselves *henro.*[52] This was also how *henro* was commonly written in the early modern period. Second, the word *dōgyō* (同行) meaning "doing the pilgrimage together," is written to indicate the number of people in the pilgrim group. This term was later developed into the distinctive sanctifying notion of Shikoku *henro, dōgyō ninin*. But when it is found in this graffiti, this was not what it implied. The numbers following this word are random, thus seems to simply indicate the number of people physically present in the pilgrimage group. The word was likely adopted from the Saigoku Kannon pilgrimages, which, by the fourteenth century, had developed the practice of

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[50] This legend is the legend of Emon Saburō which will be examined in the following section. For Ishiteji being designated as *fudasho* in 1567, see Kawaoka (2007), 68.
[51] Maeda (1971), 34.
[52] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 77.

offering *osamefuda* at *fudasho*, typically inscribed with the name of a pilgrim and the number of people in the group marked by the word *dōgyō* or *dōdō* (同道).[53]

There was a mix of religious specialists and laypeople who did the pilgrimage during this period. For instance, at Jōdoji, there is graffiti left by a resident of Myōdō in Awa (阿州名 東住人) during the Taiei era (1521-1528). The word, "resident" suggests he/she was a layperson. At the same temple, there are two instances of graffiti left by monks from Kongōbuji at Kōyasan and one by a monk from Shoshazan Enkyōji in Harima, a *fudasho* of the Saigoku pilgrimage. Both are dated Taiei 8 (1528).[54] Enkyōji monk also left graffiti from the same period at Sanuki Kokubunji (no. 80).[55] It is noteworthy that of the few surviving instances of graffiti, several were inscribed by the affiliates of Kōyasan and Enkyōji. Because Kōyasan was a monastic complex, founded by Kōbō Daishi, it likely housed many devotees who made the pilgrimage to Shikoku to pay homage to their patriarch. And from Enkyōji, we can discern the influence of the Saigoku Kannon pilgrimage, which had been burgeoning from the fifteenth century with people from every strata of society flooding the pilgrimage route.[56] Also, as seen by the transposing of the term *dōgyō* from the Kannon pilgrimage, Saigoku is thought to have provided stimulation to the development of a multi-site pilgrimage in Shikoku.

Thus, by the sixteenth century, there was a multi-site pilgrimage in Shikoku called Shikoku *henro*. This pilgrimage resembles Shikoku *henro* as seen today because it was a pilgrimage circuit consisting of multiple temples and shrines, and was associated with the worship of Kōbō Daishi. But it does not seem to have had eighty-eight designated stops, nor

[53] Satō (2006), 57.
[54] Maeda (1971), 34.
[55] Yoritomi and Shiragi (2001), 79.
[56] Shinjō (1982), 443.

enjoyed participation by a large number of the common people, which became the characteristic of Shikoku *henro* in the early modern period.

Chapter 2: Formulation of the Eighty-Eight-Site Pilgrimage

As discussed above, multi-site pilgrimage in Shikoku was practiced in the medieval period. It begs the question: when and how did it develop into an organized pilgrimage circuit with eighty-eight *fudasho,* which attracted a large number of commoners? There are two separate elements to investigate when approaching this issue. First, how were the eighty-eight *fudasho* organized, and second, how did this pilgrimage spread to the common people?

2.1. The Influence from Kumano and the Legend of Emon Saburō

The three shrines of Kumano in Kii Peninsula, Nachi, Hongū, and Shingū, were arguably the most important religious institutions in medieval Japan. They dispatched *shugenja* to the regions throughout Japan including Shikoku to: (1) spread the worship of the Kumano shrines, (2) transplant Kumano shrines to regions, and (3) cultivate and maintain parishes (*kasumi* 霞). In these parishes, they monopolized certain prayer rituals and took the role of the *sendatsu,* or pilgrimage guide, who facilitated the journey of lay pilgrimage to Kumano. They were also instrumental in funneling income for the Kumano shrines. The *shugenja,* comprised of *yamabushi* (山伏) and *bikuni* or nuns (比丘尼), traveled around the country, staying at local temples and shrines to proselytize and manage parishes.[57] In Shikoku, they left their marks by building Kumano shrines throughout the island, and by their physical presence at many of the *fudasho.* For instance, according to one study, there were one hundred and thirty-seven Kumano halls or shrines in Tosa alone.[58] Another study

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[57] Miyake (1992), 303.
[58] Kondō (1971), 261.

demonstrates that twenty-nine of eighty-eight *fudasho* have accommodated Kumano deities at one point or another.[59]

The influence of Kumano on Shikoku *henro* has been advocated particularly by Kondō Yoshihiro, who argues that Shikoku *henro* was formulated by the stimulation from the extant pilgrimage tradition in Kii Peninsula. According to him, in Kii, there were: (1) eighty-eight-sites within the pilgrimage, (2) *hechi / heji* (辺路) pilgrimage routes, (3) the worship of *fudaraku*, and (4) the practice off *settai*—alms-giving by the host society for the incoming pilgrims, which were all reproduced in Shikoku.[60] The pilgrimage in Shikoku incorporated these elements from Kumano, but was organized around the figure of Kōbō Daishi, according to Kondō.[61] As exciting as his theory is, as Reader notes, there are no substantive records to prove this.[62] It is possible, however, to examine the influence of Kumano by focusing on a specific *fudasho* institution where Kumano *shugenja* exerted influence, and by analyzing developments at that institution dialectically within the historical circumstances. With such an approach, the following section will reconsider the role of the Kumano *shugenja* in the formulation of Shikoku *henro*.

2.1.1. Kumano Through Ishiteji

According to Yoritomi and Shiraki, who also stress the influence of Kumano, there were distinguished austerity sites in Shikoku, such as capes Muroto and Ashizuri, and Shido, that drew Kumano *shugenja*.[63] However, since they were in Shikoku not merely to perform austerities but, more importantly, to spread the worship of the Kumano deities and to

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[59] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 63.
[60] Kondō (1982); on settai, see p. 158; on *heji* route, p.150-151; and on Ōji and the number eighty eight, pp. 160-169.
[61] Kondō (1982), 176.
[62] Reader (2005).
[63] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 55-63.

establish economic bases for the Kumano shrines by cultivating parishes, these remote austerity sites were unsuitable for their operational bases. Thus, they sought to establish other strategic bases for their proselytizing activities. They found such bases in Iyo, at Ishiteji (no.51) and at Yasakaji (no. 47). Both were entitled *Kumanozan* (熊野山) signifying their connection to Kumano. They became the regional strongholds of the Kumano *shugenja,* from where Kumano influence dispersed.

Ishitejij (石手寺) was formerly called Annyōin (安養院), but incurred a name change when Kumano *shugenja* began to exert a greater degree of influence with the temple. Specifically, the name change is recorded to have taken place after the twelve deities of Kumano were "transplanted" to the precinct in the ninth century.[64] Although the date given here, as seen in a 1567 temple genealogy, may not be historically accurate, it is indicative that behind the name change, there was a shift in the power structure within the temple in favour of the Kumano *shugenja.*[65] We do know that by the time Chōzen, a Shingon monk from Chishakuin, in Kyōto, made his pilgrimage in 1653, Ishiteji was the grandest monastery in Iyo. Its prominent features were the worship halls for the Kumano deities and a large *nagatoko* (長床), a typical residential building of *shugenja* from Kumano *hongū.*[66] Ishiteji indeed appears to have been a stronghold of Kumano *shugenja.*

[64] This is according to the temple genealogy of 1567. See Kawaoka (2007), 65. Kawaoka also demonstrates that the earlier name, Anyōin (安養院), was related to the worship of Yakushi associated with the healing hot spring of Dōgo. During the medieval period, both Anyōin and Ishiteji were used concurrently to refer to the temple, but after Genna era (1615-1625), the name Anyōin ceased to be used. Kawaoka explains that this was the result of a process in which Kumano worship gradually gained currency throughout the medieval period, and eventually overtook the previous Yakushi tradition.

[65] Kawaoka (2007).

[66] According to D. Moerman, *shugenja* with affiliation to Kumano *hongū* were called *nagatokoshū* due to the type of building they lived in. Moerman (2005), 21. For Chōzen's description of this temple in 1653, see Chōzen (1653), 338. For a 1689 illustration of the precinct from *Reijōki,* see Figure 5 at the end of this thesis.

2.1.2. Emon Saburō Legend

How could have Kumano *shugenja* been related to *henro*? The link can be observed, according to Yoritomi and Shiraki, in the story of Emon Saburō, considered an alternative tale to the founding legends of *henro*.[67] The first known appearance of the legend is in the 1567 genealogy of Ishiteji, cited below. Note, however, that this legend did not credit Saburō with founding the pilgrimage. He went on the pilgrimage called Shikoku *henro*, but there is no reference to suggest he was considered the founder. Nor is there any indication that the pilgrimage referred to as Shikoku *henro* in this story was organized into eighty-eight sites. It only mentions Ishiteji (no. 51) and Shōsanji (no.12) out of the current *fudasho*. In the later versions of the legend, he is represented as the patriarch of Shikoku *henro*.

> *In Tenchō 8 (831), there was a greedy man named Emon Saburō. He violated the Buddha and kami, and as a result (as divine punishment) his eight children died. Hence he took tonsure and went on Shikoku henro. At Shōsanji in Awa, as he was ill/exhausted and on his last breath, he wished to be reborn to the household of the lord in Iyo (the Kōno clan 河野氏). Kūkai (who was at his side at Shōsanji) heard this wish, engraved the name Emon Saburō on a small stone, and placed it in Saburō's left hand. (And Saburō passed away) After some years, a boy was born to Okitoshi, the lord of Iyo (国司息利 or Kōno Okitoshi 河野息利). He inherited the headship of the household, and the stone (which the boy clasped in his hand at birth) is now stored at the main hall of Ishiteji.[68]*

A hint of Kumano influence is in the places where the climax scenes take place, namely his death at Shōsanji (no. 12) in Awa and his rebirth at Ishiteji. Shōsanji was also a place where Kumano worship had taken roots, indicated by the existence of a Kumano hall in 1653.[69] Yoritomi and Shiraki suggest that it was a centre of Kumano *shugenja* activities in

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[67] According to one version of this legend, which has now come to be the standardized version, Saburō is the patriarch of *Henro* as he is the first person to do the pilgrimage after Kōbō Daishi "founded" the sacred sites in his legendary pilgrimage in 815.

[68] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 39.

[69] In *Shikoku Henro Nikki*, Chōzen states that there was a Kumano hall in the precinct of this temple, which indicates that Kumano affiliates had been active here. The hall still exists today.

Awa.[70] Also, later versions of the story say Saburō was from Monjuin, a sub-temple of Yasakaji (no. 47), another stronghold of Kumano, not far from Ishiteji. Therefore, in this legend, *henro* and Kumano seemingly converge, as all major events in the story take place at centres of Kumano. Hence, it is thought that the story was shaped and spread by Kumano *shugenja*, who advocated both the worship of Kōbō Daishi and Kumano deities, and sought to promote places where their colleagues were active.

There were no apparent contradictions in the Kumano *shugenja* accommodating the worship of Kōbō Daishi. In fact, as already discussed, this tendency was also seen in Ippen. One indication of this syncretism is the presence of a worship hall for Kōbō Daishi, or Daishidō (大師堂), at a temple that also had a worship hall for Kumano deities.[71] In 1653, according to Kawaoka Tsutomu, there were three *fudasho* in Iyo that had Daishidō; Daihōji (no. 44), Iwayaji (no. 45), and Ishiteji, all of which were places where Kumano *shugenja* were active.[72]

2.1.3. Ishiteji Historicized

However, there are other historical factors that need to be considered in analyzing the relationship between Kumano *shugenja*, the Saburō legend, Ishiteji, and *henro* in this particular period.

First, in the medieval period, Ishiteji prospered with the patronage of the Kōno clan (河野氏), the ruling clan in Iyo at the time. The relationship between the temple and the clan can be dated to 1279, when the Kōno transplanted the *Mishima myōjin* deity to Ishiteji and

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[70] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 60.
[71] Note these were sub-halls within a precinct aside from the main hall that enshrined the chief deity (honzon). See Figure 5 at the end of the thesis for the illustration of the Ishiteji precinct from *Reijōki*. It shows that among numerous enshrinements in the precinct, Kumano halls (twelve deities of Kumano) were the largest.
[72] Kawaoka (2007), 75.

sponsored the construction of worship halls in the precinct.[73] This relationship evidently

endured throughout the medieval period; in 1481, the renovation of the temple gate and

main hall was also sponsored by the Kōno. Then in 1562, the Kōno issued a decree, which

conferred on the monks of Ishiteji the privilege of bathing at a nearby hot spring, suggesting

an amicable relationship.[74] It was the economical and political support of the Kōno that

enabled Ishiteji to thrive in the medieval period, even after it lost the official support of the

state it had enjoyed in the Heian and early Kamakura periods.

In this context, the Saburō legend reveals another facet; that it was a product of Ishiteji's

relationship with the Kōno. Saburō's sacred rebirth, to reiterate, was to the Kōno. As such,

it was designed to sanctify the authority of the ruling household, which reminds us of Allan

Grapard's comment that the ruling power in medieval Japan was often legitimized through

sanctity.[75] Thus, Saburō legend should be understood, at least in origin, within the temple-

patron relationship with the Kōno clan, and it emerged from the power dynamics

surrounding this temple.

Second, the period between late medieval and early Tokugawa era was a time of

dramatic change for the Kumano shrines and their affiliated *shugenja*. Kumano, which was

arguably the most important pilgrimage centre in Japan in the medieval period, began to

decline and lost the spiritual appeal to lure pilgrims. The downturn of Kumano, according to

Shinjō, was caused by the Kumano affiliates "resigning" from their role as *sendatsu,* thus

cutting their ties to the Kumano shrines, and settling in the various regions of Japan. This

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[73] Kawaoka (2007), 66.
[74] Heibonsha (1980), 391.
[75] Grapard (1992), 138.

was a pattern reinforced by the Tokugawa *bakufu's* policy to "station" the mobile religious practitioners in the early seventeenth century.[76]

More specifically, according to Miyake Hitoshi, the organization of Kumano *shugenja* is known to have gone through a major transformation in the late sixteenth century.[77] This was the time when Shōgoin (聖護院) in Kyōto, as the head temple of the *Honzanha shugendō* order, consolidated its control over Kumano *shugenja* by creating the post of a regional administrator (*nengyōji* 年行事), who exercised authority over *shugenja* in the assigned territory. In this organizational framework, *shugenja* who had been previously affiliated with the Kumano shrines, rescinded the direct ties with Kumano, and instead became organized under the authority of the *nengyōji* and, by extension, the *Honzanha* order. Although Kumano was still, in theory, the centre of *Honzanha shugendō*, the system brought different dynamics to the Kumano *shugenja* in the regions, as they were no longer liable to generate incomes for the Kumano shrines. Instead, they would remit fees to *nengyōji,* who channeled the money to *Shōgoin.*

Considering Ishiteji was a regional centre of Kumano *shugenja*, one wonders how such change played out at this temple. How did the change affect the *shugenja* at Ishiteji? Did they diversify their activities as they lost their official ties to Kumano and became stationary *shugenja?* For example, did they begin performing different functions for the temple? Can they be correctly called Kumano *shugenja?* It is not unlikely, one could

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[76] Shinjō (1982), 854. That is, they were "mobile" in the medieval period, but became "sedentary" *shugenja* in the early modern period. Exception to this would be the Kumano nuns (bikuni) who maintained mobility and proselytized, and other class of Kumano agents called oshi (御師), who traveled and distributed talismans. However, Kumano as a pilgrimage centre declined in Tokugawa period, and sendatsu who had been the key agents in linking the lay people to Kumano had for the most part became sedentary *shugenja*.
[77] Miyake (1992), 297-298.

assume, that they would have had interests other than acting as agents of the Kumano shrines, as they sought new ways to subsist and prosper in the changing environment. There are many questions that need to be answered.

Third, the sixteenth century was also a time of change in the power structure of Iyo province. The Kōno house began to decline in the mid-sixteenth century, with intra-clan power struggles and incessant warfare with Chōsokabe of Tosa and with Ōtomo of Bungo, finally surrendering to the Toyotomi force in 1585. This political development inevitably affected the administration of Ishiteji because, as its primary patron weakened, so did its economic base. The temple needed to expand its base of support to maintain economic viability; its affiliates likely looked to the laypeople to replace the Kōno as their major source of income.

And fourth, amidst these changes surrounding Ishiteji, there was a fire in 1566 that destroyed many halls in the precinct, including the main hall of Yakushi. The year after the fire was when the temple document was compiled, containing a detailed genealogy and the earliest known version of the Saburō legend. Kawaoka notes that the motivation behind the production of this document was to list the treasures that were lost in the fire.[78] Another pragmatic concern would have been to reconstruct the lost buildings. The reconstruction, of course, would require a large sum of money, which may have been more difficult to source than before because of the Kōno's waning patronage.

In this context, it is likely that those affiliated with Ishiteji were mobilized in a fundraising campaign to raise money for the reconstruction project by soliciting alms from

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[78] Kawaoka (2007), 63.

the public, or *kanjin* (勧進), and to this end *shugenja* may have been involved. In my view, the Saburō legend was a type of proselytizing literature (*shōdō bungaku* 唱導文学 or *shōdō bungei* 唱導文芸), closely related to the *kanjin* activity to finance the reconstruction. As the temple went through a series of renovations throughout the Tokugawa period, with the main hall being rebuilt in the Keichō era (1596-1615), and becoming the "grandest monastery" in 1653, the reconstruction was eventually successfully completed.[79] The legend may have been an effective pitch when soliciting alms from the public. The success in raising money through this legend may have yielded more power to those within the temple who undertook the fundraising, and who also advocated the name, Ishiteji.

The Saburō legend emerged at a time of crisis of this temple. Considering the circumstances, it was disseminated more out of the institutional needs of the temple than as a promotion of *henro*. To reiterate, it was not a founding legend of *henro* in its 1567 version. And it may have also been the key to the temple's surviving the turbulent years from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. It is curious, then, that this legend included Shōsanji. Perhaps it was the *shugenja* at Ishiteji who first spread the legend. They could have, with the network that they had with other *shugenja* in Shikoku, chosen Shōsanji as the climatic location, rather than selecting another random place. It is possible that the *shugenja* at Ishiteji were heavily involved in the fundraising campaign, and in disseminating the Saburō legend. It would be beneficial to pursue this point further by examining temple documents.

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[79] Ehimeken no chimei, 391; Kawaoka (2007), 72.

In Shikoku *henro*, the symbolic dimensions of legends have been well discussed. For example, Reader notes that legends were central to the "belief structure" and the "emotional and physical landscape of the pilgrimage,"[80] while Hoshino deliberates the symbols of death and rebirth embedded in the Saburō legend.[81] Doubtless these are critical points that shed light on the religious ideas and sacred appeal in this pilgrimage. But we could also draw from legends the historical circumstances that triggered the circulation of these tales, to answer such questions as which institutions actively promoted legends and why? The analysis above has shown that in the case of the Saburō legend, it was Ishiteji that disseminated it. I have suggested that it was likely prompted by the need to undertake the reconstruction of the temple. Moreover, in the background of this development was a shift in the support base of the temple, from the powerful ruling class in the medieval period to the masses in the early modern period.

2.1.4. Evolving Legend

Legends can transform over time to maintain viability in the changing environment. In Shikoku, one example of such a transformation can be observed in the legend of Saba Daishi (mackerel Daishi) that takes place near Yakuōji (no. 23) in Awa.[82] In this story, a fisherman, carrying a load of dried mackerel (saba) to the market, was approached by Kōbō Daishi in the disguise of a mendicant, who asked him to spare one fish. The fisherman, not knowing who the mendicant was, refused to give him any fish. Then Daishi, to teach him a lesson, worked a miracle and brought a dead fish to life, which swam away in the water to the astonishment of the fisherman. As a result, the fisherman became a believer. This legend

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[80] Reader (2005), 61.
[81] Hoshino (2001), 121-122.
[82] Reader (2005), 44, 110.

was originally attributed to Gyōki (行基 668-749),[83] referred to as *Saba Gyōki* in a seventeenth century text.[84] However, in the eighteenth century, as the cult of Kōbō Daishi became predominant in the pilgrimage culture, it transformed from a Gyōki legend to a Kōbō Daishi legend. This shows that legends are not static but dynamic, being remade in response to the changes that take place in its surrounding environment. They are reflective of the broader pilgrimage culture that evolves over time. Hence, by observing the changes in the legends, we can come to better understand the development in the pilgrimage culture itself.

The Saburō legend incurred changes as well. The story above was the legend as it appeared in the 1567 Ishiteji document. As Kawaoka notes, this was the simplest known version of the legend.[85] As time passed, it evolved, absorbing different elements of the pilgrimage that became eminent as time passed. Hence, the updated version of this legend, which Chōzen recorded in 1653, included the following additional themes:

1. Saburō was a cleaner of *nagatoko* at Yasakaji (no. 47);
2. Saburō incurred the divine punishment when he struck a mendicant who came to beg for alms, shattering his begging bowl into eight pieces. The mendicant was Kōbō Daishi in disguise, who had purposely come to Saburō to guide him in the right way;
3. Saburō did the pilgrimage repeatedly, while Kōbō Daishi watched over him in different disguises. (i.e., without Saburō knowing). Daishi was happy to see him become a compassionate soul;
4. Saburō's final moment at Shōsanji was on his twenty-first *henro*.

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[83] Gyōki also contributed to the sacred landscape of *Henro*, considered responsible for the "founding" of the *fudasho* and the curving of the Buddha icons. Of the eighty-eight *fudasho*, thirty-seven claim legendary roots to Gyōki. See Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 13-15.
[84] Shinnen (1687).
[85] Kawaoka (2007), 76.

First, Yasakaji was now involved. In fact, Chōzen may have heard the version of the legend produced by Yasakaji, not Ishiteji, as this temple also disseminated this legend. Second, Kōbō Daishi was represented as a powerful divinity who was present in Shikoku in the disguise of a mendicant monk, proactively punishing the wicked with the intent to guide them to the correct path, while rewarding the pilgrims by granting absolution (or happy rebirth in this case). Moreover, Daishi is said to have watched over Saburō throughout his pilgrimage in various disguise. And third, Saburō did the *henro* twenty-one times before his encounter with Kōbō Daishi, indicating that: (1) it was thought meritorious to do the *henro* multiple times, and (2) the number twenty-one was considered valuable, associated with the day when Kūkai is said to have entered nirvana (*ennichi* 縁日).

What Chōzen does not say, however, is that Saburō "founded" the pilgrimage. Also, he was not said to have gone on the pilgrimage to "search for" Kōbō Daishi as some other versions have it. Instead, he went on the pilgrimage to repent the sin and to memorialize his children. It is in *Emon Saburō Shikōki* (衛門三郎四行記) that Saburō is treated as the founder of *henro*. According to this version, *henro* was actually first established by Kōbō Daishi, but the original pilgrim was Saburō, who went on *henro* not only to repent his sins, but to look for Kōbō Daishi to ask for his forgiveness.[86] In so doing, he struck *osamefuda*, bearing his name onto a column at each *fudasho*, so that Daishi would know that Saburō had been there. This was the beginning of the practice of offering *osamefuda* at *fudasho*, it says. It is also in *Emon Saburō Shikōki* that Saburō is said to have done the *henro* twenty times the "regular way" (*jun-uchi* 順打ち) or in clockwise direction without success in finding Daishi. On his twenty-first time, however, he did it in "reverse order" (*gyaku-uchi*

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[86] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 38-39.

逆打ち), which is sometimes regarded as a way of bettering the chance of the encounter with Kōbō Daishi.

The legend clearly accumulated changes over time and eventually became a founding legend of *henro*. Revisions were made to accommodate the developments around the pilgrimage, to effectively locate it in to the context of the evolving pilgrimage culture. Chōzen's version shows that by the mid-seventeenth century, the presence of Daishi and his purported interaction with the people in Shikoku had become an important theme in the pilgrimage. Attributing the founding of *henro* to Saburō in *Emon Saburō Shikōki* suggests that *henro* had become distinguished enough, attracting a large number of pilgrims and being so renowned as a sacred pilgrimage, that someone would claim its founding.

In fact, *Emon Saburō Shikōki* was circulated not by Ishiteji but by Monjuin, a sub-temple of Yasakaji (no. 47), which claims to be the funerary temple of Saburō (*bodaiji* 菩提寺). Thus, attributing the founding of *henro* to Saburō was likely closely connected with the interests of Monjuin and Yasakaji.

What had began as a simple story of Saburō incurring diving punishment had become fully incorporated into the *henro* culture that showed remarkable transformations throughout the seventeenth century. The legend grew alongside the developments around *henro*.

2.1.5. Reconsidering Kumano's Role in *Henro*

How then, should the role of Kumano in the development of Shikoku *henro* be assessed? Surely, Kumano *shugenja* were active in the medieval period and contributed immensely to the developments of sacred places in Shikoku. However, sufficient evidence is lacking to

show that they were involved in any way in organizing the eighty-eight-site *henro* circuit.
As demonstrated above, Kumano *shugenja* in the medieval times were in Shikoku to
advance the interests of the Kumano shrines, to proselytize and cultivate parishes, not to
organize or promote a pilgrimage in Shikoku, especially one dedicated to Kōbō Daishi. It
has also been shown, through historical analysis, that a legend that appears to have
evidenced Kumano *shugenja's* involvement in developing the pilgrimage does not
adequately show that they were indeed involved in that fashion. Moreover, considering the
reorganization of Kumano *shugenja* under the *Honzanha* order in the late sixteenth century,
it is questionable if the *shugenja* at Ishiteji could be correctly called Kumano *shugenja*,
when Shikoku *henro* was transforming into a thriving popular pilgrimage in the seventeenth
century. It may be more appropriate to refer to them as stationary *shugenja* without
affiliation with Kumano.

A truly meaningful addition to the historical study of Shikoku *henro* would be to
systematically examine Ishiteji in the medieval and early modern periods, with particular
attention paid to the *shugenja* and how they may have related to the temple and to the
pilgrimage. Ishiteji offers a fascinating prospect for future studies because it was a place
where Kumano *shugenja*, domanial ruler, local people, and the emerging pilgrimage culture
converged in a temple complex as it went through a shift from the medieval to the early
modern period. For now, it can be said that there is nothing to suggest that Kumano or their
affiliates ever provided institutional support to the development of *henro*. The Saburō
legend, which seemingly suggests that *henro* was linked to the Kumano *shugenja*, through
the Ishiteji/Shōsanji/Yasakaji connection, does not appear to have contributed to the
organization of the pilgrimage. Rather, it is more likely that the legend was spread in

connection to the independent interests of the *fudasho* institutions, and evolved over time alongside the developing culture of *henro*. In other words, the Saburō legend rode the wave of *henro*, but the wave was created elsewhere by other actors.

2.2. Organizing the Eighty-Eight

The question of when *henro* was organized into an eighty-eight-site pilgrimage has been a subject of debate. In fact, Yūben Shinnen (宥弁真念 ? - 1691), a key person in the popularization of *henro*, wrote in his 1690 *Shikoku henro Kudokuki* (hereafter, *Kudokuki*) that it was not certain when or by whom the number was established.[87]

The first appearance of the number had been thought to have been in the late fifteenth century. There is a temple bell in Tosa which was inscribed with "village eighty-eight-places" (村所八十八ヶ所), with a date that *could be* read as Bunmei 3 (1471). This has been suggested as evidence of a "replicated" *henro*[88] in this village at this time. Thus, the "real" *henro* must have had eighty-eight sites before this time.[89] Recently, however, this inscription was put under digital scrutiny by Uchida Kusuo who concludes that the hardly-legible inscription does not say Bunmei, and thus it does not serve as an evidence of the eighty-eight-site pilgrimage in this period.[90] The earliest verifiable reference to the number, according to Uchida, is a 1631 *Jōruri* play, *Sekkyō Karukaya - Chapter on Kōya* (せつきや

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[87] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 5.

[88] Shikoku *Henro*, like the Kannon pilgrimage, has been replicated and reproduced in many places. They range in size from being small enough to fit within a single temple hall, to a larger circuit that takes about a week by foot, but all have eighty-eight stops or *fudasho*, and the chief object of worship is Kōbō Daishi. One of the most well known, replicated *Henro* is on the island of Shōdoshima on the Inland Sea, which, along with other replicated *Henro* on islands, is sometimes referred to as "Island Shikoku"(shima Shikoku)島四国. For studies on these replicated pilgrimages, see Shinno (1996).

[89] For example, see Kondō (1971), 132-133.

[90] Uchida (2007), 94.

うかるかや 高野の巻き), a drama in which there is a mention that Shikoku "*hento*" had eighty-eight places.[91]

By the mid-seventeenth century, eighty-eight *fudasho* were clearly built into the pilgrimage, as seen in a 1653 pilgrimage diary, *Shikoku henro Nikki,* by the monk, Chōzen. In this diary, Chōzen notes that Kōbō Daishi, the "founder" of the pilgrimage, began his pilgrimage with the "ten *fudasho* within ten *ri* in northern Awa,"[92] starting with Ryōzenji (no. 1), and proceeding in the order of Awa, Tosa, Iyo, and Sanuki, which is what is now called the "regular" order of the pilgrimage. (大師ハ阿波ノ北分十里十ヶ所、霊山寺ヲ 最初ニシテ、阿波・土佐・伊予・讃岐ト順二御修行也).[93] Further, as he travels through Shikoku, he records having completed twenty-three *fudasho* in Awa,[94] sixteen in Tosa,[95] twenty-six in Iyo,[96] and twenty-three in Sanuki,[97] totaling eighty-eight and corresponding to the distribution of *fudasho* in the four prefectures as seen today. Evidently, he did the *henro* with the aim of completing the designated *fudasho,* because, at the end of each province, he proclaimed the completion of all *fudasho* in the province. For example, as he entered Iyo from Tosa, he wrote that he had "completed all sixteen *fudasho* of Tosa" (以 上土州ノ分、十六ヶ所成就ス). Therefore, by this time, *henro* had clearly marked eighty-eight *fudasho*.

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[91] Note it refers to the pilgrimage as *hento*, not as *henro*. Uchida (2007), 102.
[92] *Ri* is a unit of distance used in pre-modern Japan, of about 3.6 to 4.2 km.
[93] Chōzen (1653), 313. Note Chōzen does not start at Ryōzenji himself, but he writes of this tradition.
[94] Chōzen (1653), 319,362.
[95] Chōzen (1653), 331.
[96] Chōzen (1653), 345.
[97] Chōzen (1653), 360.

Chōzen purchased what was essentially a guidebook of *henro* near Yakuōji (no. 23) in Awa.[98] According to him, all pilgrims bought this book, which said that *henro* had eighty-eight *fudasho*. The total distance of travel was said to be four-hundred-and-eighty-eight *ri*, and the rivers and hills along the way numbered four-hundred-and–eighty-eight each.[99] Chōzen records that his actual pilgrimage measured, contrary to what the guide said, a little over two hundred and ninety nine *ri*. The number four-hundred-and-eighty-eight may have been more symbolic than actual. It is curious, nevertheless, that the number eighty-eight was attributed to four aspects of the pilgrimage. Clearly, the number was deliberately chosen.

Unfortunately, we do not know with certainty the rationale behind the selection of this number, however, there is no shortage of explanations.[100] One theory that has been influential is that eighty-eight represents the number of evil passions (*bonnō* 煩悩), in Buddhist terms, which must be eradicated before one can attain salvation. This theory was offered in *Kudokuki* as a possible explanation.[101] Reader suggests that this theory, along with the explanation based on Buddhist cosmology, which will be discussed below, were the most probable reasons for the selection, and that it likely emerged with the impetus from

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[98] Chōzen (1653), 319, 362. The title of the text was "a diary of the *Henro fudasho*" (辺路札所ノ日記), which was circulated to the public (世間流布). Although the text has not been found, it can be surmised that it functioned as a guidebook as Chōzen periodically refers to it as he travels from *fudasho* to *fudasho*. On one occasion, he criticizes what he perceives to be an error of the guidebook. According to him, Sūtoku Tennō (Tennōji/Kōshōji: no. 79) was mistakenly designated as a *fudasho*. He states that the actual *fudasho*, that is the place where Kōbō Daishi trained, was a temple of the Yakushi. (世間流布ノ日記ニハ如此ナレトモ、大師御定ノ札所ハ、彼全山薬師也) See Chōzen (1653), 352.
[99] Chōzen (1653), *362*.
[100] See Reader (2005), 277-278.
[101] See Shinnen (1690) (trans), 6.

Kōyasan and esoteric Buddhism.[102] Whatever the reason, the number was an important theme in the pilgrimage by the mid-seventeenth century.

2.2.1. Texts, Numbering System, and Arguments

The pilgrimage circuit became more tightly organized under the number eighty-eight with the publication of *Shikoku Henro Michishirube* (hereafter *Michishirube*) in 1687, the first known mass-produced text on the pilgrimage; it became the most authoritative guidebook throughout the Tokugawa period.[103] It was a concise guidebook listing all the *fudasho* with their chief deities (*honzon* 本尊), pilgrimage songs (*goeika* ご詠歌), and directions on getting around the pilgrimage routes. Moreover, it instituted the numbering system of *fudasho*, as it listed the eighty-eight *fudasho* in numerical order, from Ryōzenji (no.1) to Ōkuboji (no.88), the order prescribed to the present day.[104] With this guidebook, the pilgrimage circuit became more clearly defined and associated with the number eighty-eight. This number had become, as Reader says, the "framing device" of *henro*.[105] It should be noted, however, that despite the guidebook instituting the numbering system, it did not suggest that the numerical order must be followed when actually doing the pilgrimage. Instead, it left it up to the pilgrims to begin the pilgrimage at whatever *fudasho* was convenient to them. They could also venture out in whichever direction that they wished,

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[102] Reader (2005), 278.

[103] Shinno Toshikazu considers the publishing of this book as a major milestone in the history of *henro*, since it was the first time that Shikoku *henro* as an organized pilgrimage was represented to the public through a mass-produced medium. Previous *henro* texts such as Chōzen's *Shikoku Henro Nikki* were personal accounts, not intended to reach the mass readership. See Shinno (1991). This book was evidently vastly popular, going through as many as three reprints in a year. (Kondō 1982).

[104] For example, the first *fudasho,* Ryōzenji, is listed as "number one Ryōzenji" (壱番霊山寺), the second *fudasho,* Gokurakuji, is shown as "number two Gokurakuji" (二の極楽寺), and so on.

[105] Reader (2005), 112.

regular, clockwise (*junuchi* 順打ち), or counter-clockwise (*gyaku uchi* (逆打ち).[106] Therefore, the numbering system had more to do with the organization of the pilgrimage route than with the actual practice of the pilgrimage. Nevertheless, it has made a lasting impact on the pilgrimage culture, since, even in the present era, it is common for the pilgrims to refer to the *fudasho* simply by their designated number rather than by the actual name of the *fudasho* institution.[107]

There are other arguments pertaining to the establishment of the eighty-eight-site pilgrimage in Shikoku. Matsuo Kenji argues that Shikoku *henro* as an eighty-eight-site pilgrimage was "established" in 1763 when Kōhan, a high-ranking monk of Kōyasan, "authenticated" the pilgrimage by writing a commentary on *Shikoku Henro Ezu*, the first map of *henro*. It is in this commentary that the number, eighty–eight, was signified in esoteric terms (密教的意味付け).[108] Kōhan explains that *henro* represented a *mandala*, and that there were eight lotus petals in each of the ten Buddhist cosmos, totaling eighty. To this, eight was added, because when the Buddha would make an advent—by the merits of *henro*—he would manifest in the eight petals. Thus *henro* had eighty-eight *fudasho*. Matsuo's thesis is that *henro*, while developed in part through effort by wayfaring religious practitioners such as Shinnen, it required the authority of the "official" monks of Kōyasan to become firmly established.

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[106] In *Michishirube*, Shinnen suggests to pilgrims entering Shikoku at Tokushima that although Kōbō Daishi began his pilgrimage at Ryōzenji, it was up to the pilgrim to begin at Idoji (no.17), and to those entering Shikoku at Marugame in Sanuki, they could start the pilgrimage at Gōshōji (no.78).
[107] Hoshino (1997).
[108] Matsuo (2002), 129-130.

Like Matsuo, Maeda Takashi suggests that *henro* established in the eighteenth century, but he contends it was earlier, in the 1710s.[109] He bases this argument on the fact that the pilgrimage texts circulated after the Shōtoku era (1711-1716) all have the *fudasho* listed with the numbering system practiced today.

Both Matsuo and Maeda stress that *henro* was not established in the seventeenth century because *Shikoku Reijōki* (hereafter *Reijōki*), a detailed guide to the "sacred places" of Shikoku *henro* published in 1689, features more than eighty-eight places (Maeda says ninety-four, while Matsuo says ninety-three), and because it did not follow the numbering system seen in *Michishirube*.[110] Indeed *Reijōki* did not represent Shikoku *henro* as an eighty-eight-site pilgrimage as *Michishirube* had done two years prior. Nevertheless, as Uchida demonstrates, a careful analysis of *Reijōki* shows that it did indeed list eighty-eight *fudasho* as designated *fudasho*, and other sacred places such as Konpira shrine were listed as "extra" to the official *fudasho*.[111] It also noted the numerical order of *fudasho*, beginning with Ryōzenji, but instead of following that order, it began with Zentsūji (no. 75), because this was the place associated with the birth of Kōbō Daishi, to whom the pilgrimage was devoted. Clearly, Jakuhon was aware of the number eighty-eight and of the numbering system starting with Ryōzenji. Then why did he not advocate them in this book?

The reason for this is the difference the background of the writers of *Michishirube* and *Reijōki*. *Michishirube* was written by Shinnen, a mendicant devotee of Kōbō Daishi based in Terashima, Osaka. Shinnen dedicated much of his life to Shikoku *henro*, doing the

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[109] Maeda (1971), 39.
[110] Note *Shikoku Reijōki* is also called *Shikoku Henro Reijōki*. The cover of the book has the former title whereas in the text, the latter title is used. For the sake of consistency, I will refer to this book as *Shikoku Reijōki* throughout this thesis.
[111] Uchida (2007).

pilgrimage himself about twenty times and making tremendous contributions to the popularization of the pilgrimage before passing away on his final *henro* in 1691.[112] Although his formal religious affiliation is not clear, he did have some ties to Kōyasan. But he spent much of his time on the field in Shikoku, doing the pilgrimage and soliciting alms for the development of the pilgrimage infrastructures, as will be discussed later, resembling the wayfaring proselytizers of the medieval period such as *Kōya hijiri*.[113] He has been dubbed as the "father" of *henro*, and is thought to have been the instigator in the organization of the pilgrimage route as seen in *Michishirube*.[114] He also initiated the writing of *Reijōki*, but the actual writing of this book was done by a scholar monk of Kōyasan by the name of Jakuhon, who agreed to write upon Shinnen's request. The difference between the propensities of the two figures, Shinnen and Jakuhon, has been deliberated in length by Shinno.[115] For the current analysis however, suffice it to say that Shinnen was a wayfaring proselytizer who interacted with the laypeople on the field. He was actively engaged in the pilgrimage in Shikoku, while Jakuhon was a scholarly monk at Kōyasan, who was relatively isolated from the lay communities, as he focused on academic Buddhism, and never once stepped on the soil of Shikoku.

When Shinnen approached Jakuhon, he was seeking an authority to sanction the pilgrimage. He was involved in shaping its raw beginnings, but he recognized that he lacked the recognition from a reputable religious institution. Jakuhon agreed to write the book, because, like Shinnen, he had a strong devotion to Kōbō Daishi. Jakuhon, however, was not

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[112] In *Kudokuki*, he was self-titled as Mendicant Shinnen of Terashima, Osaka(大坂寺島頭陀真念). See Shinnen (1690), 508.
[113] Shinno (1991).
[114] Reader (2005), 116; Ehime-ken (2001), 223.
[115] Shinno (1991), 128-142.

interested in the number eighty-eight or in the numerical order; he was not involved in developing the pilgrimage practice. To him it was a pilgrimage dedicated to Kōbō Daishi, and as such it was appropriate to begin at Zentsūji, a temple associated with Daishi's birth. For these reasons, he disregarded the then-current practice of starting the pilgrimage at Ryōzenji. Indeed, he was quite critical of some elements of the popular pilgrimage. For instance, he dismissed the miracle stories that he perceived to be irrational and superstitious.[116] He was also critical of the *goeika* of each *fudasho*. He thought these were mindless words composed by foolish people, and, as such, should not be recited by good people (lit. should not come in contact with the mouths of good people).[117]

I do agree with Matsuo's main point that the authority of Kōyasan was an important factor in the shaping of *henro* in pre-modern times. Certainly, the sanctification of the number eighty-eight by Kōhan in *Shikoku Henro Ezu* was a major event in the history of the pilgrimage, particularly when Jakuhon had ignored the numbering system about seventy years prior. It shows that, by this time, the number had been firmly set into the pilgrimage landscape and was widely accepted.

However, as we have seen, it should be recognized that a pilgrimage of eighty-eight *fudasho* was indeed formed and *practiced* before Kōyasan authorities sanctioned it. In my view, there were a number of developments around the pilgrimage during the seventeenth century, but the most important was in the late seventeenth century when the mechanism of a popular pilgrimage was set in place. That Jakuhon did not follow the numbering system of the *fudasho* in *Reijōki*, and that Kōhan signified *henro* in esoteric terms were their ways of

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[116] This was one of Jakuhon's policy when writing the *Reijōki*. Jakuhon (1689), 19-24.
[117] Jakukhon (1689), 288.

appropriating the pilgrimage, which was developing outside the grasp of the mainstream

Shingon order. Nonetheless, they had interests as it developed out of the worship of Kōbō

Daishi, the founder of the Shingon order. The development of *henro* as a process

incorporated these stimulations from Kōyasan. But as Hoshino emphasizes, it was never

fully appropriated or institutionalized by the Shingon sect or any other organized religion.[118]

2.2.2. Kōyasan Affiliates

Since 1690, it has never been satisfactorily explained just who it was who was the

driving force behind the development of the eighty-eight-site pilgrimage route. But there is

one group of religious specialists who have not received sufficient attention—ascetics from

Kōyasan. To be sure, their influence on the pilgrimage has been noted by many scholars.

For instance, Shinjō notes that the *Kōya hijiri*, the itinerant proselytizers from Kōyasan,

played important roles in the diffusion of the Kōbō Daishi worship and the Shikoku *henro*

to the regioins of Japan.[119] Takeda Akira, a local folk scholar of Shikoku, argues that *Kōya*

hijiri initiated the practice of Shikoku *henro*.[120] However, neither provides evidence of

these arguments. Therefore, in this section, I will investigate the activities of the ascetics

from Kōyasan to elucidate how they contributed to the development of the pilgrimage.

Evidently, in the early Tokugawa period, there were Kōyasan affiliates in Shikoku who

conducted ascetical training and cultivated parishioners for the temple that they affiliated

with at Kōyasan. Chōzen, in his 1653 pilgrimage, recorded several encounters with the

ascetics from Kōyasan, who were doing the *henro*. First, at the onset of his pilgrimage, on

the ferry from Wakayama to Tokushima in Shikoku, there were several ascetics of

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[118] Hoshino (2005).
[119] Shinjō (1982), 489.
[120] Takeda (1969), 17.

Odawara in Kōyasan (*Odawara gyōnin* 小田原行人).[121] He then encountered another

group of *Odawara gyōnin* at Shōsanji (no. 12), with whom he shared a lodge at the temple.

And about halfway through his pilgrimage, near Terayama (Enkōji: no. 39), coincidentally

he runs into the same *Odawara gyōnin* group that were on the boat with him in the

beginning. Although this group arrived to Tokushima with Chōzen, they went the other way,

doing the pilgrimage in "reverse order" (逆にめくるに),[122] which suggests that they were

fairly accustomed with the pilgrimage. Then, near Butsumokuji (no. 42), in Iyo, he meets a

patron of a Kōyasan temple, a village head (*shōya* 庄屋) named Seiuemon, who offers him

a night's stay.[123] According to Chōzen, he was a devout "afterlife wisher" (*goshō negai* 後

生願い) who had done the pilgrimage several times.[124] This Seiuemon highlights two

points. First, if he was a patron of Kōyasan, there were likely agent monks from Kōyasan in

this region who had succeeded in proselytizing—that is, cultivating a parish of the temple

that he affiliated with. Second, that he did the *henro* more than once suggests that the

practice of *henro* and the worship of Kōyasan appear to have been closely linked, likely

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[121] Chōzen (1653), 313.

[122] Chōzen (1653), 330.

[123] The term "patron" is a translation of the word "danna" (旦那), which refers to those who had established an economic relationship with a temple in Kōyasan. In this relationship, the temple performed certain religious services, such as memorializing the ancestors, in return of fees. The temples also sent agent-monks (shisō 使僧) with gifts to the patrons on a regular basis and collected annual fees (hatsuho 初穂). When the patrons made pilgrimage to Kōyasan, it provided lodging (shukubō 宿坊). See Murakami (2006) and Yamamoto (2006). Although the term "danna" is also used in the official danka system of the Tokugawa regime, in which the danka temple certified the "non-Christian identity" of the danna patrons and exercised monopoly in conducting his/her death rituals, the danna relationship with Kōyasan temples was different. Whereas the temple-patron relationship in the danka system was implemented universally by the policy of the state, the relationship with Kōyasan temples was voluntary, and without exception, "extra" to the temple affiliation in the danka system. For danka system, see Hur (2007).

[124] Chōzen (1653), 334. The expression "afterlife wishers" may sound unnatural in English, as it is the direct translation of the Japanese term *goshō negai*. It refers to those who believe in the afterlife, and that one's afterlife could be enhanced substantially by performing certain meritorious activities the current life. In a sense, these afterlife wishers providing alms to Chōzen was a means to prepare themselves for a better afterlife. It may have also implied the betterment of the afterlife of their household members or other associates.

through the shared worship of Kōbō Daishi and concerns for post-death salvation.[125] *Henro*, as well as the worship of Kōyasan, could have been promoted by the agent monks from Kōyasan who maintained a parish in Shikoku, as well as in other parts of Japan. In addition, there were others, who may have sought to recruit new souls to the temple, ascetics from Kōyasan, such as *Odawara gyōnin*, who were in Shikoku to do the *henro* as a form of ascetical training.

Another sign of the involvement of the Kōya affiliates is the 1631 *Jōruri* text already mentioned. The story of *Sekkyō Karukaya Kōya no Maki* was likely developed as a preaching tool by the affiliates of Kaya hall (*Kayadō* 萱堂), a temple within Kōyasan where Jishū sect *hijiri* practiced the "dancing nenbutsu."[126] In this story, the pilgrimage is said to have begun when Akoya Gozen, the mother of Kōbō Daishi, was kicked out of her village in Byōbuga-ura in Sanuki with her infant son because the son would not stop crying. Akoya wandered through Shikoku, stopping at eighty-eight places along the way.[127] Shinno notes that this story differs from what had become the "mainstream" of the Kōbō Daishi legend in that the backgrounds of Daishi's parents are radically different.[128] In other words, it was a different version of Kōbō Daishi's legend. In fact Shinnen, who supported the mainstream Kōbō Daishi legend, was aware of this story but sharply rebuked it as a despicable and

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[125] Like Shikoku, Kōyasan was a sacred place closely associated with death. It was known at the time as the "Pure Land on this earth," and people from all over Japan made pilgrimage to this mountain monastic complex to pray for post-death salvation, for themselves and their household members. Kōyasan commanded patrons from all over Japan, to whom it offered various memorializing services, through the parish system mentioned above. For this reason, it is sometimes referred to as the "national funerary temple of Japan." See Gorai (1975), Tamamuro (1994), Murakami (2005).

[126] The name Karukaya is from one of the protagonists of the play, Karukaya Dōshin 刈萱道心, who renounced the world of men and came to Kayadō in Kōyasan. See Shinno (1988), 94; Murakami (2005), 72.

[127] Note that in this story, Akoya Gozen was born to the royal family of China, but was exiled to Japan on a boat, arriving to Byōbuga-ura in Sanuki, the present day Tadotsu.

[128] Shinno (1988). In the mainstream view, Daishi's father was from the Saeki clan (佐伯氏), and the mother from Ato clan (阿刀氏), but this version has it that the father was named 藤新太夫, and a mother Akoya, who came adrift from China. See also Shinnen (1690) (trans), 17-18. Here, Shinnen offers his critique of this version.

corrupt fiction in 1690.[129] As Shinno argues, this story was likely spread by a group of proselytizers from Kayadō who promoted *henro*. It is most probable that they were not affiliated with the other proselytizing groups based in Kōyasan which had somehow become the mainstream force spreading the official version of the Kōbō Daishi legend.

What is evident from above is that the affiliates of Kōyasan were widely engaged in *henro* during its formative phase. It appears that within the broad category of groups that contained "Kōyasan affiliates," there were different factions that promoted *henro* in different ways, based on the specific institution (i.e., Kayadō) they belonged to.

2.2.3. Sea Route, Location, and Numbers

The numbering system of the *fudasho*, beginning with Ryōzenji in northeastern Awa, hints that the pilgrimage circuit was likely initially designed by those who entered Shikoku from Kii Peninsula, because the port of Muya (撫養 present day Naruto), near Ryōzenji, was a convenient entry point to Shikoku from Kii Peninsula, where Kōyasan is located. Since ancient days, the main sea route that connected Kinai area to Awa was the route from Kada (加太) in Kii to Muya, connecting in between at Yura (由良) in Awaji.[130] There was a great enough inflow of travelers at Muya around the turn of the seventeenth century, (1598, to be exact), that Awa daimyō Hachisuka Iemasa ordered the construction of Chōkokuji (長谷寺), one of the eight "roadside temples" (*ekiroji* 駅路寺) built primarily to provide free lodging for *henro* and other travelers, and to monitor the flow of people.[131]

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[129] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 18.

[130] Ishiodori (2006), 8.

[131] Ishiodori (2006), 11. For the Hachisuka edict on constructing the *ekiroji*, see Maeda (1971), 36. For English translation of this edict, see Moreton (2001), 46. Another function of these *ekiroji* was for the security interest of the domain. See Moreton (2001), 46-47.

If *henro* pilgrims used this route to enter Shikoku, it would be most convenient for them to begin the pilgrimage someplace near Muya, such as Ryōzenji, for if the starting point of the pilgrimage was designated far away from Muya, they would need to make an extra trip to begin their pilgrimage. For example, if Zentsūji in Sanuki was the first *fudasho*, they would have to walk about eighty-five kilometers from Muya to get there.[132] And the pilgrimage circuit, being a loop, is laid out in such a way that, once completed, a pilgrim would be back near where he had begun.[133] Thus a pilgrim coming from Kii could start the circuit near their point of entry to Shikoku, and end the pilgrimage near the point of departure from Shikoku. As such, the numbering system catered to the convenience of the pilgrims coming from Kii.

However, seventeenth century sources on *henro* indicate that this logic did not necessarily apply to the pilgrimage. Chōzen, who did the *henro* in 1653, actually made a visit to Kōyasan before going to Shikoku. His route from Kōyasan to Shikoku consisted of a land path from Kōyasan to Wakayama, slightly south of Kada, followed by a sea route from Wakayama to Tokushima in Awa, which again is slightly south of Muya. He did not travel the traditional Kada-Yura-Muya route, and, as a matter of fact, he did not begin his pilgrimage at Ryōzenji, but at Idoji (no. 17). Why was this the case?

As I see it, there were two reasons for this. First, the Kada-Yura-Muya route likely lost its momentum after 1631. This was when Awa daimyō Hachisuka, who also ruled over Awaji since 1615 when the Tokugawa conferred the island to them, moved their base in

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[132] Distance according to road used today, courtesy of Google Maps website. http://maps.google.co.jp/
Note distances are measured from the city of Naruto and not its port where *henro* would have disembarked a ferry from Kii.
[133] From the last *fudasho*, Ōkuboji, it is about a day's walk to Muya where they can aboard a ferry to get back to Kii. Reader (2005), 13.

Awaji from Yura to a castle in Sumoto (洲本), in an event known as *Yurahike* (由良引

け).[134] With this, Yura, which had hitherto been a thriving connection port between Kada

and Muya, soon become deserted. Therefore, it is possible that by the time of Chōzen's

travel, the Wakayama-Tokushima route had replaced the traditional Kada-Yura-Muya route

as the main sea route to Awa from Kii. And since the *Odawara gyōnin* from Kōyasan also

took the Wakayama-Tokushima route,[135] this route may have been the standard one to

Shikoku from Kōyasan at the time. This is not to suggest that Yura permanently lost its

function as a port. In fact, it is known that it once again became a thriving port, particularly

after its renovation instigated by the Awa domain in 1764.[136] Nevertheless, the *Yurahike*

incident likely brought a change to the pattern of access to Shikoku from Kii in the

seventeenth century, which necessarily affected the itinerary of the pilgrims.

Secondly, he did not start at Ryōzenji, because from Tokushima, it was more convenient

to start at Idoji than at Ryōzenji. In fact, it was suggested to him by a person at Jimyōin

Ganjōji (持明院願成寺), a local Shingon temple in Tokushima, that although Daishi began

his pilgrimage at Ryōzenji, the route to Ryōzenji from Tokushima was rough. Since the

olden days, it had become the norm to start at Idoji, then come back to do the "ten *fudasho*

within ten *ri* in northern Awa" at the end of the pilgrimage.[137] What this implies is that the

circuit beginning with Ryōzenji was initially laid out by early pilgrims who came to

Shikoku via Kada-Yura-Muya route. However, as the main sea route between Kii and Awa

shifted to the Wakayama-Tokushima route, having been triggered by the *Yurahike* incident,

it became common to disregard the numbering system in practice and begin the pilgrimage

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[134] Yunoki (1979), 281; Ishiodori (2006), 9.
[135] They were aboard the same ferry as Chōzen. See Chōzen (1653), 313.
[136] Yunoki (1979), 281.
[137] Chōzen (1653), 313.

at Idoji, as Chōzen had. Later, in the seventeenth century, Shinnen suggests two sea routes from Osaka to Shikoku in *Michirhirube*; to Tokushima and to Marugame in Sanuki.[138] From Tokushima, Shinnen says, one could either begin the circuit at Ryōzenji as Daishi had done, or at Idoji—whichever the pilgrim preferred. This clearly indicates that starting at Idoji had become a fairly common practice.

Also, in the mid-seventeenth century, Jimyōin, the Shingon temple in Tokushima mentioned above, issued a "passport of Shikoku *henro*" (*Shikoku henro no meguri tegata* 四国辺路ノ廻リ手形), which appears to have been a travel document required to pass checkpoints along the *henro* route. In 1653, when Chōzen did his pilgrimage, he brought a letter from Hōkiin (宝亀院), a temple in Kōyasan, to obtain this document.[139] This suggests that (1) there was enough *henro* arriving to Shikoku at Tokushima for a local temple to assume the semi-official role of issuing the "passport," and (2) the "passport" was not issued to just any traveler. It required a kind of a referral letter from reputable religious institutions such as Kōyasan temples. The authority of Kōyasan was, in fact, exercised in *henro* from at least the mid-seventeenth century, and Shikoku *henro* was indeed recognized as a legitimate form of religious training by some Kōyasan temples. It also reinforces what has been evident from the above analysis; there were droves of *henro* from Kōyasan.

Thus, I suggest that the eighty-eight-site pilgrimage in Shikoku was initially established by ascetics with affiliations with Kōyasan. They were the ilk of *Odawara gyōnin* that Chōzen spotted in Shikoku, who may have been of the *gyōnin-gata* (ascetic faction) group

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[138] Shinnen (1687), 28-29.
[139] Chōzen (1653), 313.

that formed one of the three major factions of pre-modern Kōyasan.[140] They likely had been going to Shikoku, via the Kada-Yura-Muya route, to make homage to Kōbō Daishi's birthplace and to conduct a loosely organized pilgrimage that I referred to as medieval *henro*, as a part of their ascetical training. We have seen that there were affiliates of Kōyasan who had left pilgrimage graffiti in the sixteenth century. Gradually, such pilgrimages incorporated various sacred places spread throughout Shikoku, eventually becoming organized into a route connecting eighty-eight sacred places. They also claimed this circuit as having been "established" by Kōbō Daishi, who, in legend, began his pilgrimage at Ryōzenji, because this was the very order that they themselves engaged in this pilgrimage. The timing of this formulation is not certain, but it was likely in the early 1600s. One hint of the date is Anrakuji (no. 6), which, being one of the "roadside temples" like Chōkokuji in Muya, mentioned above, was built by the 1598 Hachisuka edict.[141] Therefore, at the least we can discern that the "ten *fudasho* within ten *ri* in northern Awa" were determined after that year.

There are no surviving records to show if or how the institutions of the sacred places were involved in the formulation of this pilgrimage. However, it may have been formed without much input from the *fudasho* side, since, as Chōzen noted in 1653, many of the *fudasho*, particularly in Awa, were in a deplorable state; some were even deserted. The

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[140] There were *gyōnin-gata* (ascetics), *gakuryo-gata* (scholastic), and *hijiri-gata* (*Jishū, nenbutsu*) factions in pre-modern Kōyasan. The *gyōnin-gata* was particularly powerful at the onset of the Tokugawa period, while the looser association around the *hijiri-gata* engraved the worship of Pure Land at Kōyasan. The Tokugawa shogunate took measures throughout the seventeenth century to remake Kōyasan into a centre of Shingon sect, and also to reorganize it under the authority of *gakuryo-gata*. As a result, the *gyōnin-gata* faction waned in the Genroku era (1688-1704). See Murakami (2005) 71-80.

[141] As a side note, Anrakuji was one of the eight *ekiroji*, or road-side temples, built by the domain to provide lodging for travelers, including *Henro*. See Maeda (1971), 36, for the 1598 domain edict. However, *Henro* at that time was likely not organized into eighty-eight *fudasho*.

fudasho were likely passively incorporated into the pilgrimage circuit, which was organized by those who may have had no affiliations with the *fudasho* themselves, such as ascetics from Kōyasan.

2.3. Theorizing the Sacred Space

Allan Grapard has deliberated on the successive stages in the process of sacralizing a space in pre-modern Japan, which partly explains the formulation of the sacred space of Shikoku *henro*.[142] First, there is a well-defined and delimited "sacred site" considered as the "residence of the divinity." Then, the sacredness expands to cover a wider territory, namely the entire space involved in a pilgrimage, or a "sacred area." This process of expansion, according to Grapard, was the result of a complex interaction between Shintō and Buddhism. In particular, the Buddhist concept that the experience of pilgrimage was a process toward Buddha-hood rather than a finite goal in its own right, and the transposing of Buddhist *mandala* onto the sacred space, were crucial driving forces in the expansion of the sacredness from a specific site to a larger area.

There were some similarities to Shikoku. First, there were clearly delimited sacred sites associated with the life and legends of Kōbō Daishi, such as Mount Tairyū, Cape Muroto and Zentsūji, which attracted devotees of Daishi. Then, the sanctity expanded to a larger area covered in pilgrimage, because: (1) as Grapard notes, the act of the pilgrimage itself sacralized the pilgrimage space, and (2) it was a multi-site pilgrimage that covered the entire island of Shikoku. The difference with Shikoku from Grapard's model was that the sacred space of the pilgrimage overlapped with extant pilgrimage traditions. As we have seen, the pilgrimage space (i.e., the island of Shikoku) was already rendered as sacred in

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[142] Grapard (1982), 196.

some religious traditions. What took place in this period was that the existing perceptions and ideas that rendered Shikoku sacred fused with the worship of Kōbō Daishi, which was at the core of this pilgrimage on the rise. In Shikoku, formulating a sacred space for *henro* was not only the result of a "complex interaction of Shintō and Buddhism," but further complicated by the interactions with those current pilgrimage traditions, which have been discussed in detail above. This resembles what D. Moerman has noted about the Kumano pilgrimage in the medieval period. According to him, there was "a surplus of religious meanings (that) rendered Kumano a paradise of both the past and the future."[143]

Hence, the pilgrimage incorporated places that: (1) had *gyōja* roots, including *heji* tradition such as Hotsumisakiji, Kongōfukuji and Daihōji, (2) associated with Kumano such as Ishiteji, and (3) had no links to either tradition, such as the four Kokubunji temples and Ichinomiya shrines in each province. This mix of sacred places suggests that it was not organized by *shugenja* or Kumano affiliates, because it does not appear to be partial to either one of these traditions. Instead, the rationale behind the selection was to assemble a circuit of "sacred places" in Shikoku appropriate for a pilgrimage dedicated to Kōbō Daishi. Under this rationale, the eighty-eight religious institutions with diverse backgrounds came together in a "cumulative process."[144]

It was also a process that has been dubbed as the "monotheising of Kōbō Daishi" (*Kongō ichizonka* 金剛一尊化) by Kondō. The term "monotheist" requires qualification here as it does not connote the sense of the word in the Judeo-Christian tradition, of the one and only sacred authority. Instead it merely means that in this pilgrimage, Daishi was designated as

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[143] Moerman (2005), 178.

[144] As Maeda suggests, smaller local pilgrimage circuits, such as the ten *fudasho* in Awa, may have been incorporated to form a greater circuit around the entire island of Shikoku. See Maeda (1971), 61.

the central figure of worship, who existed along with other deities associated with the pilgrimage space, such as the main deity (*honzon* 本尊) of the *fudasho* temples. The pilgrimage was organized around the piety of Daishi. This was seminal in hindsight—when we consider the popularization of the pilgrimage in the subsequent period—because Daishi was an acclaimed figure of worship among the common people, and the association of the pilgrimage with him was the most important sacred appeal of this pilgrimage.

Mandalization, one of the key concepts in Grapard's model, has limited applicability to Shikoku. In the formative phase of the pilgrimage, there is not sufficient evidence to show that it played any part. The first clear example of *mandalization* is *Shikoku Henro Ezu* discussed above, which, as Matsuo demonstrates, signified the pilgrimage space in esoteric terms. However, *henro* texts from the seventeenth century do not mention *mandala* in the pilgrimage space. In particular, the leading advocate of the pilgrimage of the time, Shinnen, does not mention the *mandala* concept at all in the three *henro* books that he was involved with. It is not known either to what extent the *mandalization* seen in *Shikoku Henro Ezu* had influenced the consciousness of the commoner pilgrims. Such abstruse ideas may not have been fully appreciated by the commoners who were not trained in esoteric Buddhism. The *mandalization* that can be said to have left a significant impact on the pilgrimage space of Shikoku is the one that we see today, endorsed by the *Reijōkai*. The four stages in the process toward Buddha-hood morphed onto the four prefectures covered in the pilgrimage. This *mandala* is commonly seen in recent *henro* guidebooks, and is a potent source of sanctity of the pilgrimage.[145] However, it is difficult to see how *mandala* may have

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[145] For example, see Miyazaki Tateki (2007).

sanctified Shikoku, as the pilgrimage was actually organized without apparent consideration of it.

Chapter 3: Becoming a Popular Pilgrimage[146]

The analysis above has shown that the pilgrimage of Shikoku was organized into an eighty-eight-site pilgrimage in the early seventeenth century. We have seen that the pilgrimage attracted some common people since the medieval period. Nevertheless, the number of commoner pilgrims is known to have increased dramatically after the late seventeenth century. Maeda, who has made valuable contributions to the understanding of early modern *henro* by examining death registers kept at *fudasho* temples (*kakochō* 過去帳), notes that the Genroku and Hōei eras (1688-1711) were the "starting point of popular *henro*" (庶民辺路の出発点) when the commoner *henro* begin to appear on the death registers on consistent basis.[147] Although there are limitations in assessing the number of pilgrimage from death records alone, since it is biased to the weak and sick pilgrims who expired while on the pilgrimage, it does reflect a general pattern in the growth of the pilgrimage from the end of the seventeenth century onwards.[148]

In a larger perspective, Shikoku *henro* was one of many popular pilgrimages that flourished in the early modern period. Pilgrimages in Japan had hitherto been generally reserved for those in the upper echelon of the society, such as aristocrats and religious specialists such as monks and *shugenja*. It had now opened up to the commoners, expanding the base of participants, triggering unprecedented growth.[149] In this period,

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[146] The term "popular" here does not imply the socio-political connotations—the ilk of "elite" versus "popular." Instead, it simply means that the pilgrimage attracted a large number of non-specialists from the general public, who replaced the religious specialists as the primary participants of the pilgrimage.

[147] Maeda (1971), 104.

[148] Maeda (1971), 99-112.

[149] In his monumental work on the socio-economical history of Japanese pilgrimage, Shinjō attributes this boom in pilgrimage culture in this period to the following reasons.

> 1. The general enhancement in the economic welfare of the commoners, both in rural and urban societies;

innumerable pilgrimage sites boomed. Some of the most well-known ones were the Ise, Ōyama, Zenkōji, Kōyasan, Saigoku, Konpira and Shikoku *henro*.

3.1. Framework of Popular *Henro*

Asakawa Yasuhiro provides a useful model in analyzing this development. He explains the popularization of *henro* (*minshūka* 民衆化) as a two-fold process involving developments in the hardware and software components which were integral parts of the "popular pilgrimage system" of Shikoku *henro*.[150] By hardware, he means the physical pilgrimage route as expressed in *Michishirube*, which was more organized than in the preceding period. And by software, he refers to the establishment of a sacred appeal that pulled the pilgrims to Shikoku, which was based on legends and miracle stories (*kudokutan* 功徳譚) that propagated the sacredness and the efficacies of Shikoku *henro*. These developments did not occur suddenly, but gradually, drawing from the repertoire of traditions that had accumulated in Shikoku. Nor did it yield a fixed final product, for the pilgrimage continuously responded to social, economical, and historical forces as it maintained itself as a thriving pilgrimage.[151] Nevertheless, the significance of this period was that this was the time when the framework that sustained the pilgrimage well into the modern era was firmly set in place.

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2. Incorporation of leisurely elements in pilgrimage, such as the rise of entertainment sector at pilgrimage sites (*monzen machi* 門前町) and the idea of sight-seeing (*monomi yusan* 物見遊山);
3. Development of travel infrastructure, triggered by the daimyō's compulsory travels to Edo (*sankin kōtai* 参勤交代) and expanding commercial activities;
4. The relative laxity in the authority to restrict pilgrimage. See Shinjō (1982), 699-853. Also Hoshino (2001), 182-183.

[150] Asakawa (2008), 82. Note hardware/software analogy was first used on *Henro* by Hoshino, who explains that the attribution of Buddhist concepts to *Henro* in the modern period was a development in the software element of the pilgrimage. This contrasts with the hardware element, such as the maintenance of the pilgrimage route. See Hoshino (2001), 385.
[151] For case studies of *henro* responding to various social, economical, and historical forces, see Mori (2005).

3.2. The Development in Travel Infrastructure

The travel infrastructures in Shikoku saw notable improvements in this period. As Shinjō argues, a major issue that hindered the travel in Shikoku and, by extension—inhibited the growth of *henro*—was the inability of travelers to cross rivers, particularly in Awa and Tosa.[152] The problem is clearly expressed by Chōzen in his 1653 diary, which records three occasions when he had to beg randomly of passing boats to get a ride across a river, and numerous other instances where he was troubled by rivers.[153] This issue was addressed by *Michishirube,* which provides specific directions in river crossing, including eleven places in Awa and Tosa where boats were readily available for *henro*s crossing the river. Cross referencing Chōzen's diary and *Michishirube* indicates that there were boats available in 1687 at rivers where Chōzen struggled to find a boat three decades prior. This included rivers such as the Nakagawa between Kakurinji (no. 20) and Tairyūji (no. 21). There are also other helpful river crossing tips found throughout the guidebook. For example, the river between Dainichiji (no. 28) and Tosa Kokubunji (no. 29) could be crossed by foot when the water level was low, according to the guidebook, but when it was high it was best to backtrack to a town called Noichi and take a boat available there.[154]

Thus, by following this guidebook, *henro* could make the pilgrimage without the trouble that Chōzen had experienced. Moreover, Shinnen was evidently aware of the problems

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[152] Shinjō (1982), 1023-1025.

[153] He begged to cross rivers at Nakagawa, between Kakurinji (no. 20) and Tairyūji (no. 21), between Yakuōji (no. 34) and Hotsumisakiji (no. 24), and between Gosha (no. 37) and Kongōchōji (no. 38). (*Chōzen (1653),* 317,319,328) However, a closer look at Chōzen's diary reveals that there were some river crossing boats available to him in Tosa, where he records, on at least two occasions, riding a boat stationed at riverside for the free use of travelers. One of these was built by the Tosa daimyō (*Chōzen (1653),* 324-325). On two other occasions, we find him taking a privately-operated ferry that collected fees (*Chōzen (1653),* 326-327).

[154] Shinnen (1687), 126.

caused by rivers. In writing *Michishirube*, he addressed that topic by listing all the river crossing options he was aware of.

Shinnen also spearheaded the project to station route markers along the pilgrimage circuit to guide the pilgrims along the right path. Late seventeenth century sources say that because so many *henro* were getting lost, Shinnen stationed over two hundred markers, which were funded by the donations that he solicited from the "ten corners."[155] It is not difficult to imagine that without adequate knowledge of the route, it would be a daunting task to navigate along a pilgrimage circuit of approximately 1,400 kilometers. This would take the pilgrim a solid month-and-a-half to walk. It was comprised of eighty-eight stops located variously in towns, villages and mountains. Without a doubt, navigation persisted as a problem for *henro* throughout the early modern and modern periods. Even in the present era, there are ongoing projects to reduce the chances of getting lost while walking the route—by placing more signs.[156] However, it is noteworthy that the effort to mark the route indeed began in the late seventeenth century when the pilgrimage was beginning to attract a large number of commoner pilgrims. Recently, Kiyoyoshi Eitoku located thirty-three markers that are believed to have been stationed by Shinnen.[157]

There were two other aspects of travel that *Michishirube* dealt with: the access to Shikoku and available accommodations while in Shikoku. Near the beginning of this guidebook, Shinnnen lists two sea routes to Shikoku from Osaka, to Tokushima and to Marugame. He also lists the addresses and names of the persons who operated the ferries,

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[155] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 17; Shinnen (1687), 12-13.

[156] For individuals involved in the installation of route markers in the Tokugawa and Meiji periods, see Mori (1986). In the present era, a project to install signs to mark the route for walking *Henro* was spearheaded by Miyazaki Tateki, who founded the Association to Preserve the *Henro* Route (*Henromichi hozonkyōkai* へんろ みち保存協会), see Reader (2005), 259-262.

[157] Ehime-ken (2001), 228.

and the price and distance of the ferry ride, enabling the *henro* from the Kansai area to more easily find his/her way to Shikoku.[158]

Regarding accommodations, the most prevalent type in the guidebook was not the commercial lodging where travelers paid fees to stay (although one such inn, *hatago* 旅籠, is listed in Iyo), but the homes where local people provided lodgings out of compassion or in charity toward the *henro*. This suggests that they were likely *zenkonyado* (善根宿) or free lodging for *henro*. For example, he says that a person named Yazaemon in a village between Kanonji (no.16) and Idoji (no. 17) was compassionate toward *henro* and offered lodgings.[159] In total, Shinnen gives the names of twenty-three people along the *henro* route who provided lodgings for *henro*.[160]

This information made the *henro* experience more accessible because it alleviated many travel concerns. It also demonstrates that Shinnen knew people along the *henro* route who supported the crucial travel infrastructure in Shikoku. His mentioning their names suggest that he knew them personally, which is not surprising, considering that he did the *henro* about twenty times himself.[161]

What made *Michishirube* stand out as a practical guidebook was that it was not merely a guide about the *fudasho* temples and shrines, but a guide to travel in Shikoku, which was enabled by the network of people cultivated by Shinnen.

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[158] Note the guidebook says that for routes to Shikoku other than from Osaka, inquiry should be made at the place of departure to Shikoku. In other words, there were no other sea routes to Shikoku, other than those from Osaka. Shinnen (1687), 27-29.
[159] Shinnen (1687), 63.
[160] Ehime-ken (2001), 230.
[161] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 17.

In sum, the travel infrastructure was notably improved toward the end of the seventeenth century, which enabled *henro* to make the pilgrimage with less hardship than in preceding periods. In particular, Shinnen and his *Michishirube* were instrumental in alleviating barriers which, in turn, accelerated the popularization of *henro*.

3.2. The Sacred Appeal of Shikoku

Even if the development in the travel infrastructure made Shikoku *henro* more accessible to the commoners, the pilgrimage would not attract a large number of people without what James Preston calls "spiritual magnetism." This refers to the power of a sacred place to attract devotees. This power was not intrinsic to the place but derived from human concepts and values and are developed through historical and social forces.[162] It is well known that *henro* was a pilgrimage associated with the worship of Kōbō Daishi. But in what ways was Shikoku considered a sacred place connected to Kōbō Daishi, and how was that sanctity developed? What did the pilgrims expect to achieve by doing this pilgrimage? How did the belief system of *henro* influence the host society of Shikoku?

In Shikoku, there were three major sanctifying themes: (1) Shikoku as an abode of Kōbō Daishi, (2) the pilgrimage as efficacious in delivering this and other worldly merits, and (3) the pilgrims as sacred and powerful. These themes are interconnected and formed the belief system of *henro* that not only attracted people from in and out of Shikoku to do the pilgrimage, but also triggered the development of a unique pilgrimage culture that integrated the local people of Shikoku, and functioned as the driving force of the pilgrimage from the mid-Tokugawa to the modern era.

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[162] Preston (1992), 33.

In assessing the development of these ideas, the aforementioned *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki* (*Kudokuki*) published in 1690, is particularly useful. This book was similar to promotional texts produced by other pilgrimage centres. It contained a collection of miracle stories that demonstrated the efficacies of Shikoku *henro*, and as such, is an expression of the belief system associated with this pilgrimage.

3.2.1. Sacralizing a Pilgrimage Space in Early Modern Japan

We will delve into the above in some detail, but first, since Shikoku *henro* was one of the many thriving pilgrimages at the time, I will begin by examining the general process of sacralizing a pilgrimage space in early modern Japan. Then we will look at some salient features of Shikoku.

Many sacred places in early modern Japan lured a large number of pilgrims from near and far by claiming that they were sanctuaries where familiar deities manifested to the human world. By extension, these were deemed access points of the merits dispensed by those deities. In many respects, the success of a pilgrimage centre depended on the ability of its managing institutions (i.e., temples and shrines) to stir a public discourse on the potency of its deity in delivering practical merits that resonated with the concerns of the people.[163] To this end, they would weave legends and miracle stories that highlighted the deity's value in dispensing merits to the pilgrims at the pilgrimage space. This is what anthropologist, Alan Morinis, refers to as "image making" of a pilgrimage centre.[164] Such miracle stories were publicized by the administrators of the pilgrimage places; they were burnished and circulated textually and orally.

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[163] For instance, Asakawa discusses the "arena of discourse" that was formulated by the miracle stories in Kudokuki. Asakawa (2008), 80.

[164] Morinis (1992), 22.

For example, as Miyazaki Fumiko and Duncan Williams demonstrate, the pilgrimage to Osorezan, in northern Japan, was associated with Jizō worship. This thrived in the late eighteenth century when Jizō worship was widespread.[165] At Osorezan, the images of hells associated with Jizō's salvific activities, as they appear in Buddhist scriptures, were transposed to the physical landscape of this mountainous site to demonstrate that it was indeed a place where Jizō revealed himself to humanity. The benefits of visiting Osorezan, included this sense of entering the realm of the gods as well as the promise of healing of illnesses, salvation from hell and safety at sea. The promises and lures were publicized in texts compiled by the managing temple of the pilgrimage site, Entsūji, and through word of mouth to the pilgrims.

Likewise, as Mark MacWilliams shows, the Bandō Kannon pilgrimage thrived in the eighteenth century when the "promise of salvation given in the *Kannon-gyō* (Kannon sutra 観音経) was accepted as a spiritual fact."[166] A major means through which this circuit publicized its sacredness was a compilation of legendary chronicles of temples (*engi* 縁起), which MacWilliams calls "propagandistic tracts." These localized the saving presence of Kannon to the temple precinct and fostered a new "mode of contact" between the Bodhisattva and pilgrims. It was suggested that the latter could expect to receive blessings from the former.

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[165] Miyazaki Fumiko (2007); Miyazaki Fumiko and Williams (2001), 407.
[166] MacWilliams (1997), 375. Parenthesis by author.

Of all the impressive practical merits that popular pilgrimage sites claimed to deliver, the cure of illnesses was the most popular one. It was shared among many places, such as at Ōyama in Sagami, Ise, and Osorezan.[167]

We can conclude that a general formula existed in order to create a sacred appeal to draw pilgrims. First, a well-known deity was localized to the precinct. Second, the benefits that were conferred by the deities of the pilgrimage sites were widely circulated as fact, through the printed texts and word of mouth. Third, the healing of illness was the most common benefit to be bruited about. Indeed, the sacred appeal of Shikoku fits such a generalized framework, but there were certain peculiarities, as discussed below.

3.2.2. Shikoku as Abode of Kōbō Daishi

The presence of the deified Kōbō Daishi was effectively localized to Shikoku to create a powerful sacred appeal to draw pilgrims. The notion that Daishi was in Shikoku is thought to have derived from the belief that he was not really dead. No—he had merely entered nirvana at Kōyasan with the promise that he would come back to the humanly world with Bodhisattva Maitreya (*Miroku bosatsu* 弥勒菩薩) in some fifty-six-hundred-million years (*nyūjō densetsu* 入定伝説).[168] Based on this belief, innumerable legends of Kōbō Daishi developed, instigated by wayfaring proselytizers from Kōyasan, such as Kōya *hijiri* in the medieval period. This rendered a widely-held folk belief that Daishi was a "living messiah"

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[167] Tamamuro (1987), 295; Miyazaki Fumiko and Williams (2001); Davis (1992).

[168] This belief is represented in the *goeika* (pilgrimage song) for Kōyasan which reads, "oh, how grateful, Daishi is still present today, in the shade of the rocks on mount Kōya"ありがたや、たかののやまのいわかげに、大師はいまに、おわしまします.

who traveled around the country in the guise of a monk, delivering practical benefits to the people.[169]

It must be noted here that this folk worship of Kōbō Daishi was not limited to Shikoku or to the followers/affiliates of the Shingon sect. Rather, it extended beyond sectarian boundaries, and by the time *henro* became a popular pilgrimage, Kōbō Daishi was an almost universal figure of worship prevalent throughout much of Japan.[170] For the majority of the early modern Japanese, Daishi was much more than the historical monk who founded the Shingon sect of Buddhism in the ninth century. He was one of the most highly regarded and powerful deities in the Japanese pantheon of gods.

Kudokuki indeed speaks of Daishi as a living messiah, saying that physically he was under the trees at Kōyasan (i.e., in meditation, not dead), but spiritually, he was in *Tosotsu* paradise above the clouds (兜率・都卒), the realm of Bodhisattva *Maitreya*, making advents at numinous places associated with his life. Further, in this book, the presence of Daishi was localized to Shikoku as it stressed that the eighty-eight places of Shikoku were among the places where he made daily advents (!).[171] It also gave concrete examples of his sightings in Shikoku to reinforce that he could actually be found in Shikoku. A *henro* from Edo, *Kudokuki* says, who had heard that one was sure to meet Daishi in Shikoku, indeed saw him on the twenty-first day, dressed in a black monk's robe and chanting *nenbutsu* along the *henro* route.[172]

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[169] Miyata (1975)

[170] Kōbō Daishi is among the most popular divinities in Japanese folk lore, with more than three thousand known legends attributed to him. See Saitō (1988), 49.

[171] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 5-6.

[172] The twenty-first day is significant in Daishi lore as it was the day when he is said to have entered nirvana; thought of as an especially efficacious day to receive his blessings (*ennichi* 縁日).

Shikoku, then, was a sacred place where Daishi was present and where one could hope to encounter him. This is manifested in the concept of *dōgyō ninin* (同行二人), an idea that— in Shikoku—a pilgrim was in symbolic unity with Kōbō Daishi, who traveled along the route and provided his protection to pilgrims throughout the pilgrimage. As Shinno argues, this concept was the organizing principle that brought the disparate eighty-eight *fudasho* together to form a sacred pilgrimage circuit.[173]

To this day, this concept is one of the most important and sacred leitmotifs of this pilgrimage. A standard inscription on the *osamefuda*, the pilgrims' white-robe (*hakue* 白衣) and hanging bag (*zudabukuro* 頭陀袋), symbolizes that all pilgrims, even if physically alone, are accompanied spiritually by Daishi, himself.[174]

These ideas were the key to the sacred appeal of Shikoku that lured many commoner pilgrims. We learned earlier that the pilgrimage was first formed by ascetics who had come to Shikoku, since that location was associated with Kōbō Daishi. However, for the pilgrimage to attract a large number of the common people, such an association was not enough. It required the tangible presence of the deity in the pilgrimage space, and the presence of a living deity was very effective in formulating a powerful spiritual lure.

3.2.3. Dispersed Sanctity

The concept of *dōgyō ninin* also alludes to another sacred feature that was more pronounced in Shikoku than at other pilgrimages in the early modern period. This refers to a sacredness that was dispersed throughout the entire pilgrimage route rather than being confined to the *fudasho*. This was because, in Shikoku, Daishi was thought to be present at

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[173] Shinno (1981).
[174] See recent *henro* guidebooks, for example, Miyazaki Tateki (2007).

undisclosed locations rather than at the specified places such as the precinct of the *fudasho*. He was (and still is, to many believers) a dynamic deity who traveled on the *henro* route and interacted with the lucky pilgrims and the local people. As seen in the previous chapter, the Saburō legend in *Emon Saburō Shikōki* clearly expressed this idea. Here, Daishi first interacted with Saburō at Yasakaji, then watched over him in various disguises throughout his twenty-one pilgrimages, then presented himself to Saburo again at Shōsanji. The entire *henro* route was indeed considered the haunt of Daishi, where pilgrims could hope to encounter him and receive his grace. This is why Taniguchi Hiroyuki notes that in Shikoku *henro*, the most significant space is the pilgrimage route that links the *fudasho*, not the *fudasho* themselves. According to Reader, Miyazaki Tateki, a leading advocate of the walking pilgrimage in the present day, also embraces this view.[175]

To be sure, Shikoku *henro* was not the only pilgrimage with a widespread sacred area. The Kannon pilgrimages of Saigoku and its replications, such as Bandō, also had dispersed sanctity by virtue of being a multi-site pilgrimage spread over a wide geographical area. Yet, the Kannon pilgrimages focused the sanctity on the *fudasho* precinct, not on the pilgrimage route. For instance, MacWilliams cites two miracle stories of Ōyaji, the nineteenth *fudasho* on the Bandō Kannon pilgrimage, which exemplify a pilgrims's encounter with the Bodhisattva in its precinct.[176] To be sure, there were marked differences between the Kannon pilgrimages and Shikoku *henro*, which has to do with the nature of the main objects of the pilgrimages, and their relationships to the *fudasho*.

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[175] Reader (2005), 261.
[176] MacWilliams (1997), 399-400.

First, both Kannon and Kōbō Daishi were pan-sectarian deities since pre-modern times. However, as Hoshino notes, Kannon largely remained a transcendental figure who dwelled in the "realm of the Buddhas,"[177] only manifesting on the human plane at select sacred places such as the *fudasho* of the Kannon pilgrimages. The worship of Kannon was even more universal than that of Daishi; it also had a longer lineage. It had arrived during ancient times when Buddhism was first imported to Japan. Indeed, Kannon was one of the most influential imported Buddhas.

Daishi, on the other hand, was born in Japan as a human child and was thought to have achieved Buddha-hood as a human being. He was thus perceived as a figure existing on the "boundaries of human and Buddha worlds."[178] This is precisely how Daishi is represented in *Kudokuki* when it says that after entering nirvana, he was spiritually in *Tosotsu* paradise, but made sorties into the humanly world on daily basis. Daishi was not entirely a divinity; he was part human and thus more accessible to the people.

Second, Kannon was the main deity of the temples that were on the pilgrimage circuit, enshrined at the main hall of the temple (*hondō* 本堂). It is for this reason that these pilgrimages have been classified as multi-site pilgrimages, organized around the temples' main figure of worship (*honzon junrei* 本尊巡礼). As a corollary, the focus of the sacredness was on the *fudasho*.

On the other hand, Shikoku *henro* is categorized as a multi-site pilgrimage of places associated with a sacred figure (*seiseki junrei* 聖跡巡礼), which is not necessarily the main object of worship at the aforementioned pilgrimage sites. In Shikoku, although the

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[177] Hoshino (1997).
[178] Hoshino (1997), 296.

pilgrimage is centered upon the belief that Kōbō Daishi had founded the pilgrimage, Daishi

is not the main figure of worship at *fudasho*. At each *fudasho*, there is a main hall for the

prime deity of the temple or shrine, which ranges from Kannon, Yakushi, Amida, Dainichi

and others; there is a separate *Daishi* hall (*Daishidō* 大師堂) for Kōbō Daishi on the side.[179]

Thus, Kōbō Daishi is not the focal point of worship at *fudasho*. He is an additional figure

who coexists with the main deity of the *fudasho*, and who is especially important for the

pilgrimage tradition, if less so for the "mundane" operations of the *fudasho*. Furthermore,

although there is *Daishidō* at every *fudasho* in the present day, in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, this was not the case. Records show that there was *Daishidō* at twelve

of the eighty-eight *fudasho* in 1653. This increased to thirty-five in 1689. In fact, the

proliferation of *Dashidō* at the *fudasho* in the Tokugawa period corresponds with the

increase in the number of pilgrims. This suggests that they were built in response to the

growing demands from the pilgrims.[180] It appears that the position of Kōbō Daishi in the

fudasho during this period was ambiguous.[181]

Kōbō Daishi was an important figure for many of the *fudasho* because they belonged to

the Shingon sect, in which Daishi was venerated as the founder and a figure of worship.[182]

However, the belief system of Shikoku *henro*, and particularly its perception of Kōbō

Daishi, was not fully institutionalized by the *fudasho* in the formative phase of this

pilgrimage. The belief system of *henro* emanated more from an unorganized folkloric belief

that Daishi was a "living deity" than from organized religious sects such as Shingon, with

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[179] The standard procedure for pilgrims is to conduct rituals such as reciting an invocation for the deity three times and then offer a *fuda* at the main hall first. They would then proceed to do the same at Daishidō, of course with an invocation for Daishi.

[180] Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 135.

[181] Note that many scholars describe features of Shikoku *henro* in a similar tone, with the word "ambivalence." See for example, Asakawa (2008), Hoshino (2001) and Reader (2005).

[182] In the present day, eighty of the eighty-eight *fudasho* are of Shingon sect. See Hoshino (1997).

which most *fudasho* affiliated. It should not be thought, however, that such "folkloric" belief was incompatible with the religious institutions of the *fudasho*, for they did fuse together to buttress the practices and the belief system of this pilgrimage. But it is important to note, as Hoshino stresses, that the practices and the belief system of *henro* largely developed outside the grasp of the *fudasho*.[183] Hence the sacredness of Shikoku *henro* was not focused on the *fudasho* as it was in the Kannon pilgrimage.

With these factors in the backdrop, it is not surprising that majority of the miracle stories listed in *Kudokuki* occurred outside the *fudasho* compound, in the "secular domain" such as in the homes of the local residents and roadside rivers and streams. For example, there is a famous story of the *Sakase* river in Awa, between Byōdōji (no. 22) and Yakuōji (no. 23), which was crossed by foot. Pilgrims were much troubled, however, because on the river bed there were snails with a hone on their backs that punctured their feet.[184] One day, a monk came and worked a miracle to "round" the hone of the snails, but only at the section of the river where the pilgrims crossed. From then onwards, the pilgrims were no longer troubled by the snails, and the monk, according to the story, was actually Kōbō Daishi, the protector of *henro*.[185] In this story the focus was not on the *fudasho* but the route between *fudasho*,[186] and, as such, it was not a promotional tract disseminated by *fudasho*. It was likely folklore of the area, transmitted in the pilgrimage community and the local laypeople.

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[183] Hoshino (2001), 93.

[184] *Henro*, in the early modern times, typically wore what is called *ashinaka* straw sandals that only covered a part of the sole of a foot, thus making their feet susceptible to puncture by the hone. For a history of the footwear of *Henro*, see Moreton (2001), 72-75.

[185] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 11. For an illustration from *Kudokuki* of this story, see Figure 6 at the end of this thesis.

[186] Asakawa (2008), 98-99.

Another story is of a family in Aizu in northern Japan. One day a mendicant came to their house and asked for a night's stay. The family happily accommodated him, but, being poor, they did not have much food to offer. Thus, they resorted to using a tiny amount of salt that they had kept in the attic, but when they opened the container of salt, they found that it was empty. The mendicant, seeing the sincerity of the family, performed a miracle and made a well of salt in their yard. (Salt was a precious commodity at the time. This meant that the mendicant gave them a source of wealth.) Astonished, the family asked the mendicant for his identity. He simply replied that he was from Shikoku *hen* (i.e., on the periphery of Shikoku and the route of *henro*). Realizing that they were in the presence of Kōbō Daishi, the family became devotees and went on *henro* to express their gratitude. And upon return from the pilgrimage, their well of salt gushed out even more salt than ever before.[187] Here, too, there is no *fudasho* that will benefit from the association in the story. Rather than having a specific sacred place in Shikoku, the entire Shikoku is treated as a sanctuary of Daishi, and an object of pilgrimage.

As these two stories demonstrate, the sacredness of Shikoku was not limited to the *fudasho*. Whereas most other pilgrimages have the deity localized to the precinct of a pilgrimage place, in Shikoku, the entire island was considered the abode of Daishi. Even in multi-site Kannon pilgrimages, as MacWilliams has shown, the exemplary meetings with Kannon took place at the precinct of the *fudasho*.[188] In *Kudokuki*, to be sure, three of the twenty-four stories had direct linkage to *fudasho* institutions.[189] These stories were likely

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[187] Shinnen (1690), 7.

[188] MacWilliams (1997), 400.

[189] One was the Saburō legend of Ishiteji. The other was a story of a woman named Myōnin from Shido in Sanuki, who experienced a miraculous cure of her strange illness that caused her belly to swell to the size of a rice barrel. In this story she was cured when she made homage to Zentsūji, petitioned to Daishi for a cure, and vowed to go on *henro* once the wish was granted. Another was of a young monk from Bigo province who was saved by the miraculous grace of Daishi at Shiromineji (no. 81).

circulated by the respective *fudasho* to propagate their sacred appeal to attract pilgrims, solicit alms and encourage devotion. Nevertheless, they constituted a mere fraction of the stories in the book; most miracles occurred outside *fudasho*. This is a further indication that *fudasho* were not actively involved in producing or circulating miracle stories to promote the pilgrimage. One reason that this book did not list many tales related to *fudasho* was because the *engi* genre stories of the *fudasho* had already been recorded in Reijōki, published a year prior. However, it does not mean that *Reijōki* had featured stories about *fudasho* which directly promoted the pilgrimage. The stories in *Reijōki* focused on the sacred founding of the *fudasho,* but not on the pilgrimage, and it was the lack of propagation of the merits of the pilgrimage that was the main motivation behind the writing of the *Kudokuki*.[190]

It appears that there were not many stories at *fudasho* that promoted the pilgrimage at the time; the Saburō legend was an exception. This suggests that the *fudasho* was not directly involved in promoting the pilgrimage, and that it had minimal interests in the emerging culture of the popular pilgrimage and in the activities of Shinnen to promote the pilgrimage.

In the modern era, as David Moreton shows, some *fudasho* actively circulated their own miracle stories to showcase its efficacies in relation to *henro*.[191] For example, at Tastueji (no. 19), many miracle stories were publicized through texts by the early twentieth century. The most famous was the story of Okyō, a pilgrim with a sinful past who met due

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[190] The forward was written by Jakuhon, who authored *Reijōki* upon Shinnen's request. It says that Shinnen had grieved that *Reijōki* did not mention the miracle stories associated with the pilgrimage. The reason why they were excluded was, as Jakuhon clearly stated, because he did not list stories that he perceived to be irrational. In fact, even in Kudokuki, his commentaries criticize the idea that Kōbō Daishi would deliver punishment to those who mistreated him. For Shinnen though, these miracle stories that highlighted the tangible merits of the pilgrimage were the most important propagation of the pilgrimage (Shinno 1991), thus he pushed to publish this book. See also Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 127.
[191] Moreton (2008).

punishment at the temple when the rope hanging from the temple bell entangled her hair and pulled her above the ground, releasing her only after she repented her sins.[192]

Such miracle tales may have been circulated since the Tokugawa period, but with the exception of the Saburō legend, there is scant evidence of them being disseminated by *fudasho* institutions before the Meiji period.

3.2.4. The Pilgrimage as Meritorious

Similar to other pilgrimages, the popular notion that Daishi was present in Shikoku was consistent with the idea that in Shikoku, one could contact his grace and receive practical benefits that he was believed capable of dispensing. That is, people would go on the pilgrimage in part to have their pragmatic concerns addressed by the powers of Daishi. Here the concept of *okage* (御陰・おかげ), meaning divine help or protection, is fitting to explain the phenomenon. According to Yasumaru Yoshio, *okage* was a universal religious concept in what has usually been translated as "popular religions" of Japan.[193] Making pilgrimages was considered an especially efficacious way to receive the *okage* of certain divinities, which would manifest in various practical benefits to better the lives or afterlives of the pilgrims or their associates.[194] The pilgrimage sites were considered to be what Hoshino calls efficacious or wondrous place (*arigatai basho*)[195] where the *okage* of a deity was channeled to the pilgrims.

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[192] Moreton (2008), 51-52.

[193] Yasumaru (2007), 12. The term "popular religion" refers to *minshū shūkyō* (民衆宗教). There are problems with this translation, however, which have prompted Ian Reader and George Tanabe to use the term "common religions" instead. See Reader and Tanabe (1998).

[194] For instance, their ancestors, household members, or in the case of intercessory pilgrimage (*daisan* 代参), those who have requested the pilgrimage be done on their behalf.

[195] Hoshino (1997), 291.

The types of *okage* that could be realized by making the pilgrimage are listed in *Kudokuki*. As we have mentioned earlier and as Tamamuro Fumio noted with Ōyama, the most prevalent miracle that recurs throughout the book was the healing of illnesses.[196] Ten of the twenty-four tales follow this pattern, emphasizing that any illness could be cured by having a deep faith in Kōbō Daishi and going on the pilgrimage.

One such story is the story of a daughter of a man named Hichiuemon in Tosa, who was born with a wart on her neck. The wart enlarged as time passed, reaching the size of a peach by the time she was five or six years old. The parents tried various treatments but to no avail. Desperate, they realized that it was a curse of bad karma in the previous life, and that the only hope for cure was the grace of Daishi. Then, one day, a monk-*henro* came to their house, to whom they offered a night's stay. Together they discussed the situation. The parents made a vow that once the girl reached the age fifteen, they would take her on *henro*, but until then, they asked the monk to do the pilgrimage every year on their behalf. The monk agreed, and reiterated that they must devote themselves unquestionably to Daishi. Then he left to do the pilgrimage. From that time on, the wart began to subside, eventually disappearing within the year.[197] In this particular story, in addition to the healing motif, there is the idea that the merit of *henro* was thought to be transferrable from one person to another.

Another story of a young woman from Sanuki not only highlights the healing motif but also the prevalent discourse at the time that female bodies were "polluted" because of the menstruation cycle. This discourse was related to the idea that females, because of their

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[196] Tamamuro (1987), 295.
[197] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 11. For a picture of this family, see Figure 7 at the end of the thesis.

biological function, were considered hapless sinners condemned to an especially gruesome hell, called the Blood Pool Hell (*chi no ike jigoku* 血の池地獄). The Buddhist apocryphal explained that the menstrual blood or "red pollution" would contaminate the earth to the indignation of the deities of the earth, and the blood that entered the river water when they washed their garment would be consumed by "innocent" followers of the Buddha and Kami—an unforgivable sin.[198]

Women were also restricted from entering some sacred places, as doing so would "foul" the precinct. There were even cases in which a Buddhist sutra, called *Ketsubonkyō*, considered effective in cancelling out the female sins, was carried by females as a protective amulet against menstrual pollution.[199] With this background, we can begin to understand the dilemma that this girl from Sanuki faced when she fell seriously ill. When it appeared that she had no chance of recovery, she prayed to Daishi and made a vow that if she did recover, she would do the pilgrimage to thank him. Of course, she was cured. When she considered going on the thanks-pilgrimage, however, she worried of the pollution and of the long journey. Because of this, she needed to find a person to do the pilgrimage on her behalf. But she could not find a suitable surrogate. Finally, she had no choice but to go on her own. Miraculously, however, during her pilgrimage, the menstruation cycle was suspended so that there was no longer a concern of polluting the precinct. In addition, she managed a good pace (i.e., had divine assistance which made her legs strong!), all of which enabled her

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[198] Williams (2005), 125.
[199] Glassman (2008), 185.

to complete the pilgrimage. It concludes that even young women were free of pollution while on their pilgrimage.[200]

This story shows that both the veneration of Daishi and doing the pilgrimage went hand-in-hand to yield tremendous benefits for believer-pilgrims. Moreover, the story was essentially an encouragement to young females to do the pilgrimage, assuring them that they need not worry about the feared "female pollution" while on this pilgrimage. Shikoku *henro* was indeed open to females and is thought to have attracted a large number of female pilgrims, as we also find in the present day. This contrasts from some pilgrimage sites, namely Kōyasan, that proclaimed to restrict the participation of women.[201]

Another miracle story that was especially relevant for Shikoku *henro* was the cure of the leprosy. A leper from Waizumi, present-day Osaka, lamented that he/she could not mingle with others in public due to their illness. But he was miraculously cured when he went on Shikoku *henro* with a Buddhist monk.[202] Shikoku *henro* is known to have attracted many lepers up to the modern era, because, for one thing, it was believed that their unfortunate illness would be cured by the power of Daishi, as demonstrated in this miracle story. And, second, for social reasons peculiar to pre-modern Japan, where leprosy disease was feared as dangerous and contagious, sufferers were stigmatized in communities to the extent that families could not keep a leper in their household. Otherwise, they risked being ostracized.

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[200] Shinnen (1690), 14-15.

[201] However, it has been demonstrated by Tamamuro that this restriction was not always enforced in practice. For instance, a document from Jiganin (慈眼院), a sub-temple in Kōyasan, which lists the pilgrims who stayed at its temple-lodging, includes the names of many women. Among them, was a girl named Iku, from the present Atsugi city in Kanagawa prefecture, who had visited Kōyasan at the age of eighteen in 1850. The document, written by a temple staff, notes that she was the most beautiful woman under the heaven. (年 18 才、天下一之美人二御座候) See Tamamuro (1996), 15.

[202] Shinnen (1690), 12.

The stories in *Kudokuki* were concrete examples of the *okage* that was delivered to the people who either made the pilgrimage or had a third party do a pilgrimage for them. Most stories specified the name and the place of origin of the pilgrim, and the year when the miracle occurred; this detail made them seem like real stories. In effect, these stories were a crucial promotion of the pilgrimage, giving the people concrete incentives to go to Shikoku. And as Asakawa notes, the publication of *Kudokuki* was important for this pilgrimage, because it meant that these stories were exposed to the mass population through a medium of text, stirring an "arena of discourse" on the efficacies of the pilgrimage, and thus drawing a large number of pilgrims.[203]

Thus, Shikoku *henro* was effectively sanctified by a combination of ideas that localized the sacred attributes to the pilgrimage space in Shikoku. In many respects, there was a pattern shared with other pilgrimage places in the process of sacralizing the pilgrimage, such as localizing the presence of a powerful deity in the precinct. By extension, this propagated the pilgrimage place as an access point to the merits dispensed by that deity. As in other pilgrimages, Shikoku *henro* began to attract a large number of the commoner pilgrims in the early modern period as its reputation as an efficacious pilgrimage had circulated to the greater public through miracle stories that publicized its wondrous effects. But there were qualities unique to Shikoku as well, most notably the dispersed sanctity that came from the ambiguous position Kōbō Daishi occupied in relation to the *fudasho* institutions. This ambiguity has created an interesting dynamic to the pilgrimage culture, as will be examined next.

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[203] Asakawa (2008), 80.

3.3. The Sacralizing of the Pilgrims and the Practice of Alms-Giving

As Yanagita Kunio once noted, Kōbō Daishi, as he appeared in folk legends, tended to be easily irritated but also equally easily appeasable. This reflected the folk perception that *kami* (divinities) will bestow blessings to those who treat them with deference, but will punish those who show no respect.[204] In Shikoku, this characteristic of Daishi was conflated with the image of *henro* to form a distinctive Daishi lore. Because Daishi was thought to be in Shikoku incognito, dispensing merits to the pious and administering punishments to the selfish and evil (*kanzenchōzku* 勧善懲悪), it was also thought that any *henro,* in turn, could be Daishi. Thus, all ought to be graciously treated, or else face potential punishment. This notion was reinforced in *Kudokuki,* which listed anecdotes of Shikoku residents who mistreated a *henro* not knowing that he was actually Daishi in disguise. They received suitable punishments, the classic example being Saburō, whose eight children died after he struck a mendicant who turned out to be Daishi.

On the contrary, there are also stories of those who treat *henro* graciously with pure intentions and receive practical rewards. *Kudokuki,* as Shinno argues, was not only a collection of miracle stories that spoke of the benefits of doing the *henro* but also propaganda that highlighted the sacredness of the pilgrims and encouraged the practice of

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[204] Yanagita (1988), 10. Similar idea is manifest in the Japanese idiom "the kami that you do not 'touch' will not haunt you." (触らぬ神に祟りなし) This idiom is typically considered the equivalent to the English "let sleeping dogs lie." The two idioms may have similar connotations. However, a striking difference is that whereas the subject in the English version is an animal, in the Japanese version it is a divinity (*kami*). This is an interesting testimony to the Japanese perception that divinities are considered as potential hazards who, by virtue of their awesome powers, can deliver fearsome punishments to those who interact with them in a wrong way.

almsgiving to *henro*. This is all clearly expressed in the following passage near the end of the book:[205]

> *As seen above (referring to twenty-four miracle stories in the book), those who mistreat henro are immediately punished, while those who venerate them are rewarded with fortune. Such cases are often seen and heard in Shikoku, thus those with heart have been kind to henro. Especially in the recent years there are many who perform the good deeds of offering settai including lodging for henro...the merits of venerating the henro and giving offerings to them are beyond words.*[206]

The identification of the pilgrims to Daishi is thought to be the most important motivations of *settai* (接待), the practice of almsgiving to the *henro*.[207] Even in the twentieth century, according to Oliver Statler's survey, the most common motive for providing *settai* was the idea that Daishi was still present in Shikoku in the disguise of a *henro*.[208] As Reader notes, *henro* were perceived as a "specially efficacious conduit to the sacred" who dwelled on the margin of the human and sacred realm, empowered by the association with Daishi; they were venerably treated by the people of Shikoku. The pilgrims themselves were effectively sacralized.

To the present day, the notion that *henro* were able to dispense merits through sacred association is preserved. In a 2007 *henro* guidebook, there is a manual for doing the alms-soliciting-training (*takuhatsu shugyō* 托鉢修行 or *tenouchi shugyō* 手の内修行), a mendicant exercise that is considered by some as a mandatory part of the walking pilgrimage.[209] In this exercise, the pilgrims would walk from door-to-door at peoples'

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[205] Shinno (1991), 140-141.

[206] Chōzen (1653), 16.

[207] See for example, Reader (2005), 125.

[208] Statler (1983).

[209] For the manual of *takuhatsu* exercise, see Miyazaki Tateki (2007A), 36. Some consider mendicancy a mandatory exercise, see Reader (2005), 125.

homes and businesses in Shikoku, to offer a recitation of a *sutra* to them, commonly the

Heart Sutra (*hannya shingyō* 般若心経). They did this with the idea that it would yield

religious benefits to the "recipient"—that is, to those who agree to have the *henro* perform

this exercise with them. The recipient would then be expected to provide alms to the pilgrim

at the end of the ritual. Before commencing with this ritual, the guidebook says, a pilgrim

should state to the recipient that his/her act was in wishing for the happiness, traffic safety

or other practical benefits of their family members, and to memorialize their ancestors.

Then, at the completion of the ritual, an earnest wish should be stated that the merits from

the Buddha and Daishi would be bestowed upon the recipients' family. This shows that the

idea of practical benefits, both this-worldly benefits such as traffic safety and the other-

worldly benefits such as offering services to the ancestors, are still integral parts of the

practice of *settai* in Shikoku. It also exemplifies Maeda's analysis that *settai* was not only

an act of selfless-giving on the part of the provider, but a "give and take" transaction based

on the idea that giving alms to the *henro* yielded religious merits in return.[210]

Settai was widespread throughout much of Shikoku, and involved making charitable

donations such as food, money, lodging, travel provisions such as footwear, and in some

amusing cases, even haircuts and foot care. In effect, this supported the *henro* travel and

contributed immensely to the growth of the pilgrimage.[211]

To demonstrate the pervasiveness of this practice, as Shinjō notes, a pilgrim from

Musashi province in Kantō recorded fifty occasions of receiving *settai* in 1836. Also, a

family of four with no travel funds spent eleven month on the *henro* route, relying on *settai*

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[210] Maeda (1971), 224, 238.
[211] Moreton (2001), 76-69.

for provisions.[212] As this practice became embedded in the communities in Shikoku, it not only enabled the pilgrims to make the pilgrimage with less expense, but also attracted pilgrims who made a living by doing the pilgrimage, permanently. Many such pilgrims were those who could not live in the mainstream society, such as fugitives from the law, the impoverished or homeless, and as mentioned above, lepers. They came to Shikoku and lived as "professional" *henro*, subsisting on the alms provided by the local people.[213]

To be sure, the sacralizing of the pilgrims and providing alms for them were not entirely unique to Shikoku. In pre-modern Japan, similar almsgiving practices were seen at other pilgrimages. In particular, as Winston Davis shows, it was pronounced in the Ise pilgrimage, in which the wealthy merchants and peasants, and the local authorities along the pilgrimage route provided alms for the rush of pilgrims who flooded the roads during the four peaks of the pilgrimage typically known as *okage mairi* (御陰参り).[214] Here, as in *Kudokuki* of Shikoku, the *oshi*, priest-agents affiliated with the Ise shrine, spread stories emphasizing the merits of giving to the pilgrims and the what one could expect if they were treated poorly. Fujitani Toshio and Davis point out, however, that the real incentive behind the practice of giving to those in the Ise pilgrimage was not so much out of the fear of sacred retribution, but a fear of social unrest that neglecting the herd of popular pilgrims might engender. They suggest that there was a socio-political factor working behind the practice of giving in the Ise pilgrimage. In the Saigoku pilgrimage, *settai* is thought to have been prevalent from medieval times, but in the early modern period it declined, due to the increase in the

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[212] Shinjō (1982), 1080, 1084. Note the family's *henro* was prolonged as one fell ill en route.
[213] These *henro* have received much attention by scholars. See for example, Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 173-175;183-184; Maeda (1971).
[214] Laura Nenzi has produced a chart outlining the four peaks. See Nenzi (2006), 77.

leisurely elements in the pilgrimage, which rendered the pilgrims more secular than sacred, and the commercialization in the communities along the pilgrimage route.[215]

In Shikoku too, the practice of *settai* and the host society's perception of *henro* were complicated by social factors. As Reader shows, because the pilgrimage attracted those purged from mainstream society—such as fugitives from the law, sufferers of diseases, and the impoverished—they were seen to dwell on the margins of not only this and other realms, but also of society; many pilgrims were potentially disruptive and dangerous.[216] Some manipulated their sacred associations to extract as much as they could from the residents through *settai*. They also resorted to theft and/or forced-selling of sketchy medicines or other unwanted items, stressing that not buying them would result in a divine curse. For these "corrupt" pilgrims, *henro* was a means of living a better life than would otherwise be the case, without *henro*.[217] These negative characteristics of unsavory pilgrims caused the people of Shikoku to perceive them as "sacred thieves and contagious saints," as summed brilliantly by Reader.[218]

Recent studies have shed much light to the practice of *settai*, highlighting important social factors that contributed to the perseverance of this practice. Asakawa argues that *settai*, as a daily practice of the Shikoku people, was not only motivated by the idea that *henro* might be Daishi in disguise. He reminds us that it was done periodically—more with the intent to drive away undesirable pilgrims than in expectation of merits.[219] Thus, he shows that Maeda's analogy of "give and take" was not the only motivation behind this

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[215] Maeda (1971), 219; Shinjō (1982), 1094.
[216] Reader (2005), 132.
[217] Asakawa (2008), i.
[218] Reader (2005), 134.
[219] Asakawa (2008), 370-375.

practice. According to him, *settai* fits Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* as it was a durable and malleable practice based on accumulated experience of the people of Shikoku, who internalized it and carried it out perfunctorily. Moreover, he deliberates on the epistemological distinction made by the people of Shikoku between the "sincere" *henro* who are typically referred with an honorific *ohenrosan* (お遍路さん), and "undesirable" or "beggar" *henro* who were labeled in many communities in Shikoku as *hendo* (へんど). The distinction, Asakawa tells us, was based on "folk knowledge" accumulated over time in the host communities of the pilgrimage. Likewise, Kouamé argues that *settai* was embedded in the social structure of Shikoku, often conducted as planned and organized activity in the village communities. As such, it was not necessarily premised on the belief in the merit of giving and the fear of retribution that may otherwise befall, but was a practice integrated into the communal life of the Shikoku residents.[220] As these scholars show, *settai* was not only based on the belief system that was propagated by Shinnen in *Kudokuki*.

Nonetheless, I would maintain that sacralizing the pilgrims was a vital driving force in the prevalence and perseverance of *settai* in Shikoku. This is most apparent in the standardized practice, evident to this day, in which the pilgrims give a *fuda* in return for the alms received, which is emphasized in Maeda's "give and take" analogy.[221] The *fuda* would be kept by those who provided the alms as a protective amulet, and in some cases, even ground up and consumed as medicine. The idea that *henro* channeled merits from the sacred realm had indeed taken root in Shikoku. It was also closely related, as Moreton shows, to the widespread piety of Kōbō Daishi in Shikoku. Daishi is commonly referred to as *odaishi-*

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[220] Reader (2005) 125.
[221] According to Asakawa, this resembles Marshall Sahlins's model of transactions of "balanced reciprocities." Asakawa (2008), 212.

san or its abbreviated form, *odaissan* in Shikoku, and is the most accessible and familiar of the deities, which was doubtless not unrelated to the image of Daishi wandering on the pilgrimage route in the disguise of a *henro*. Even in the present period, people of Shikoku are heard to say that *odaissan* tests them, referring to the undesirable *henro* who beg at their doorstep, one of whom might just be Kōbō Daishi in disguise.[222]

Although *settai* was practiced in other pre-modern pilgrimages as well, what stood out in Shikoku was the extent to which it was buttressed by the communities of Shikoku, and its persistence to the modern period. As we have seen, this practice was sustained by the folk perception that rendered *henro* sacred, which had been firmly set in place by the late seventeenth century when the pilgrimage began to attract a large number of people.[223] Sacralizing of the pilgrims was indeed a crucial part of the pilgrimage mechanism of Shikoku *henro*, as it was inseparable from the widespread practice of *settai* that supported the pilgrimage. Moreover, the practice had become interwoven into the daily lives of the Shikoku residents.

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[222] Asakawa (2008), 435.

[223] This was not the only factor in the longevity of *settai*. Satō Hisamitsu lists other factors as follows: (1) the relative underdevelopment of the travel infrastructure made the pilgrimage physically demanding, which prompted people to give alms to assist the *henro*; (2) many *henro* were poor and ill, who were prone to "collapse en route" (*yukidaore* 行き倒れ), in many cases even dying en route. This would be a great inconvenience to the host communities as they would be obliged to provide care for them or assist their repatriation to their place of origin (see Kouamé {1997}). To minimize this, the people gave them alms to assist their travel; (3) *settai* was a vicarious means to receive benefits from the pilgrimage. When one could not go on the pilgrimage himself/herself, he/she could give alms to the *henro* and expect similar benefits. See Satō (2006), 78.

Chapter 4: The Actors in the Popularization Process

We have seen above that the sanctity in Shikoku *henro* was dispersed to the entire island,
rather than being focused solely on the *fudasho*, and that this was, in part, the result of the
relative lack of invovement of the *fudasho* in the pilgrimage. Then, this begs the question—
who was it who facilitated the popularization of the pilgrimage? I have touched on the
involvement of Shinnen in the pilgrimage and noted that he has been dubbed as the "father
of *henro*." In this section, I will further examine the involvement or lack thereof of the
fudasho in the pilgrimage, and discuss the activities of Shinnen, as it related to the
pilgrimage, with the aim of highlighting the people involved in its popularization process.

It seems inescapable that Shinnen was the leader in the movement to popularize *henro*.
He commanded various projects that promoted the pilgrimage, and, in effect, he triggered
its tremendous growth from the late seventeenth century onwards. To recap, there were
three parts in his involvement with the pilgrimage, which in the following discussion I will
refer to as his *henro* project. First, through his own extensive time spent in Shikoku, he
consolidated the physical pilgrimage route and contributed to building the infrastructure of
the pilgrimage. These efforts were manifest in the guidebook, *Michishirube,* and in the
route markers he erected along the pilgrimage route. Second, he was the driver behind the
publication of three seminal texts on *henro, Michishirube* (1687), *Reijōki* (1689), and
Kudokuki (1690), together dubbed the "Shinnen series" by Asakawa. This served to
publicize the pilgrimage to the public at large, catalyzing its unprecedented boom. Third, he
solicited support for *henro* from the public. One way that he did this was by encouraging
the practice of *settai* to assist the pilgrims. Another method was rallying support from the
public to carry out his *henro* projects. He also showed the way personally by doing the

pilgrimage about twenty times himself and actually dying on the pilgrimage; it is clear that *henro* had become his lifework. He also provided a wealth of data in his three books, from which we can discern the people who supported his projects and, by extension, those who contributed to the development of the pilgrimage.

4.1. The Making of *Shikoku Reijōki*

Reijōki, as mentioned above, was a collection of detailed *engi* of each *fudasho*. Thus, the book was essentially a promotion of the *fudasho* institutions, although it generally did not list the miracle stories associated with the pilgrimage. And, as such, it appears as though it reflected the interests of the *fudasho*. But even here, the involvements of the *fudasho* appear to have had been limited.

Consider, for example, the process by which this book came into being. This was a book not written by the representatives of the *fudasho* but by a third party group organized by Shinnen. In the afterword to the book, an affiliate of the *Gomadō* hermitage at Koyasan *Okunoin* (高野山奥院護摩堂), by the name of Kōtaku, said that he and Shinnen conducted fieldwork in Shikoku to collect data to write the book. Then this data was presented to Jakuhon at Kōyasan, who agreed to write the book.[224] The book was the result of a joint effort by Shinnen, Kōtaku, and Jakuhon, none of whom were affiliated with any of the *fudasho*. To the extent that the *engi* of the *fudasho* was provided, the *fudasho* did contribute to the book, but the actual planning and the production of the book came from elsewhere. Hence, *Reijōki* does not represent an effort by the *fudasho* to promote themselves or the pilgrimage.

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[224] Jakuhon (1689), 407; Yoritomi and Shiraki (2001), 123.

4.2. Selling Pilgrimage Books

It is also interesting to learn where *Michishirube*, *Reijōki*, and *Kudokuki* were sold. Unlike the guidebooks and books on miracle stories of other pilgrimages such as the Kannon pilgrimages, they were not sold at any of the *fudasho* but at merchants' establishment in Osaka and Shikoku.[225] When *Michishirube* was first published, it was sold at two merchant houses in Osaka, one merchant house each in Awa and Sanuki, and at a temple in Uwajima of Iyo called Manganji.[226] The involvement of Manganji is particularly curious, as it was not a *fudasho*, but evidently Shinnen was well acquainted with it. In fact, Shinnen sought to help the temple by selling *Michishirube* and *Reijōki* here, allocating the revenue toward the necessary repairs of the temple.[227] Then, three years later, when *Kudokuki* was published, there were two additional sales outlets of the books: a merchant house at Kōyasan Odawara, and a merchant house in Tosa.[228] With this, the books were available at all four provinces in Shikoku, and in Osaka and Kōyasan, but not at any of the *fudasho*. That Kōyasan has been included here was indicative of the fact that *henro* developed in close connection with the worship and pilgrimage to Kōyasan, which flourished in the Tokugawa period.[229]

Why were these books not sold at *fudasho*? One reason for this is that Shinnen, despite his extensive time spent in Shikoku and his thorough knowledge of each *fudasho*, does not appear to have developed a formal relationship with the *fudasho*. For instance, even though

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[225] For example, according to MacWilliams, the *engi* that propagated the efficacies of the Bandō Kannon pilgrimage were sold at *fudasho*. MacWilliams (1997), 381.

[226] Shinnen (1687), 21.

[227] Shinnen (1687), 182.

[228] Shinnen (1690) (trans), 9. There were slight changes in where the books were sold at this time. For example, Manganji no longer sold them, as a merchant house in Uwajima replaced it as a sales outlet in Iyo, and in Osaka, one of the two sales outlets changed.

[229] Reader notes that Shinnen helped "intensify the link" between Kōyasan, Kōbō Daishi, and *Henro*. Reader (2005), 119.

he mentions the names of innumerable individuals who supported the *henro* in *Michishirube,* he does not mention even one person affiliated with a *fudasho.* And not one *fudasho* was listed as a possible accommodation for *henro,* when he listed other hermitages and some non-*fudasho* temples as available accommodations in Shikoku.[230] It appears that there was some distance between Shinnen and *fudasho.*

4.3. *Fudasho* and the Pilgrimage

Then a bigger question is why were *fudasho* not involved in Shinnen's *henro* project and by extension—the movement to popularize the pilgrimage? One possible reason is that Shinnen was not interested in an association with the *fudasho.* It is possible that he, like Miyazaki who is among the leading advocates of the pilgrimage in the present day, emphasize the act and the "path" of the pilgrimage more than its designated stops. And since there are eighty-eight *fudasho,* it would have been a challenge to form associations with all *fudasho.* Nevertheless, the lack of influence of any *fudasho* affiliates in his projects is striking, particularly in comparison with other pilgrimages of the period. For instance, while he approached monks at Kōyasan to write the foreword, afterword, and even the body of *henro* books, none of the affiliates of the *fudasho* were involved in producing any part of the three books.[231] Could not a monk at Zentsūji, for instance, have been approached by Shinnen to contribute to the book? We may never know if Shinnen ever sought support from the *fudasho,* but we can see from surviving records that the activity of the *fudasho* in Shinnen's projects was quite limited.

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[230] Hermitages here are to what Shinnen refers to as Daishidō, which provided shelter for *Henro.* He also lists a non-*fudasho* temple near Yakuōji which was one of the *ekiroji* built by Awa daimyō to provide accommodation for *Henro.* Shinnen (1687).

[231] The foreword to *Michishirube* was written by Kōtaku, a monk at Kōyasan Okunoin; Reijōki was written by Jakuhon as described above, and its afterword was written by Kōtaku; and the foreword of *Kudokuki* was written by Jakuhon.

In this section, I will attempt to solve this riddle, which, in my view, is related to the "ambivalent" characteristics of this pilgrimage that many scholars talk about.[232] There are three factors that can be analyzed to discover the lack of involvement of the *fudasho:* (1) the ambiguity of the pilgrimage, (2) the religious policy of the state, and (3) economic implications.

First, as discussed above, the pilgrimage was centered upon the worship of Kōbō Daishi, who was not the main figure of worship at the *fudasho*. This worship was integral to many *fudasho* institutions, particularly to those that belonged to the Shingon sect. Just the same, the worship of Daishi as seen in the pilgrimage culture—namely that Daishi was a "living deity" present in Shikoku—was based more on folk belief than on the doctrines of the organized Shingon sect. By extension, the popular pilgrimage culture spearheaded by Shinnen was an expression of popular beliefs that incorporated the religious institutions of *fudasho*, but was not limited to them. Hence *henro* was an ambiguous phenomenon from the perspective of the *fudasho*, which is related to the next point.

Second, the religious policy implemented by the Tokugawa *bakufu*, the central government of early modern Japan, had tightly organized Buddhist institutions based on the hierarchical head-branch system (*honmatsu seido* 本末制度), and subjected them to the codes issued on sectarian basis (*hatto* 法度), which enabled the *bakufu*, though with some limitations, to subjugate religious organizations under its authority.[233] The pilgrimage, then, was comprised of eighty-eight independent religious institutions, which overstepped boundaries in both the sectarian and head-branch affiliations. It also was located over a

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[232] For instance, Asakawa, Hoshino, and Reader use this term. See Asakawa (2008), Hoshino (2001), and Reader (2005).

[233] Tamamuro (1987).

wide geographical area, extending beyond the framework of religious organizations as set forth by the *bakufu*.[234] Further, the *fudasho,* which were for the most part, branch temples, could not freely associate with other temples, for they submitted to the authority of the head temples, which reserved the right to appoint and dismiss monks at the branch temples.[235] Under this circumstance, the *fudasho* may have been disinclined to officially engage in the pilgrimage.

Moreover, religious professionals (i.e., monks and nuns) fit into *bakufu's* religious policy within the framework of the head-branch system, and performed the quasi-official function of certifying the non-Christian identity of the *danna* patrons. They were fully recognized, while those outside of the framework, namely mobile religious professionals who wayfared to proselytize and solicit alms, were generally banned.[236] Thus, the policy-makers made a distinction between "official" and "marginal" religious professionals, and the *bakufu* took measures to contain the latter. Shinnen was a "marginal" religious professional, and *fudasho,* as an "official" religious institution, could have been constrained politically from openly supporting his activities.

And third, it was likely relevant that the designation as a *fudasho* brought little or no economic benefit to the *fudasho*. Neither Chōzen's diary nor Shinnen's books indicate any economic transaction in which *henro* paid fees to *fudasho*.[237] One source of income that *henro* brought to *fudasho* was the fees collected for stamping the pilgrim's stamp-book

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[234] Hoshino emphasizes that the disparity of the sectarian affiliations of the *fudasho* and the wide geographical area that separated the *fudasho* was the key reason why Shikoku *Henro* never developed an effective central organization. See Hoshino (2001), 91-92..

[235] Tamamuro (1987), 46.

[236] Tamamuro (1987), 100-101.

[237] The exception to this would be Chōzen's hiring of a pilgrimage guide (*sendatsu*) at Shōsanji and Tairyūji, who took him on an ascetic tour of hidden places of worship and austerity sites around the precinct. However, the fee was paid to the guide, not to the temple. See Chōzen (1653), 315, 317.

(*nōkyōchō* 納経帳). Maeda notes that the oldest surviving *nōkyōchō* in Shikoku is dated from the Genroku era (1688-1704). [238] It appears, however, that *nōkyōchō* became widespread later, from around the Hōreki era (1751-1764), when the standardized inscriptions in the *nōkyōchō* were simplified and the number of surviving books increased. [239] Shinnen emphasized the offering of *fuda*, but not the stamping of the *nōkyōchō*. [240] Since offering of the *fuda* does not involve an economic transaction, it is likely that the pilgrims did not spend much money at *fudasho* until the later Tokugawa period.

Another historically contingent factor is the relative economic stability of the Buddhist temples in this period, resulting from the proliferation of the *danka* system. In this system, the draconian anti-Christian policy of the *bakufu*, "in alliance with Buddhism" turned the entire population of Japan into loyal Buddhists, who not only had their annual anti-Christian inspection run by their affiliated Buddhist temples but also had the death rituals monopolized by that temple. [241] This meant that the temples generally had a sound foundation of income and did not need to proselytize to cultivate new followers. [242] The *fudasho* in Shikoku, for the most part, were *danka* temples that had stabilized their operations by the late seventeenth century, when Shinnen was fervent in promoting the pilgrimage.

It is no wonder that the *fudasho* were not excessively thrilled about the pilgrimage, which brought them only minor economic benefits.

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[238] Maeda (1971), 55-56.
[239] Shikoku Henro kenkyū-kai (2004a), 7.
[240] Shikoku Henro kenkyūkai (2004b), 8.
[241] Hur (2007), 103.
[242] Tamamuro (1987), 62.

In sum, the pilgrimage was far from being central to the operation of the *fudasho* institutions. The practice was neither formulated nor endorsed by them. As we have seen, it was the ascetics from outside Shikoku who initiated the pilgrimage practice. Even when it became a highly popular pilgrimage, it was still of minor interest for them. In fact, Mori Masato points out that the *fudasho* tended to be indifferent to the pilgrimage—even in the modern era.[243] For instance, one *henro* book from the post-war period criticized the *fudasho* as being inconsiderate to the *henro*. According to Mori, only in the late 1980s, after the pilgrimage has been "commodified," did *Reijōkai*, the association of the *fudasho*, begin to develop a "host consciousness" and undertake measures to enhance the pilgrims' experience of Shikoku *henro*.

The movement to popularize the pilgrimage was initiated and carried out outside the main offices of the *fudasho* institutions. A similar pattern has been noted for the Saigoku pilgrimage by Yoshii Toshiyuki, who demonstrated that in Saigoku, only low-ranking monastic personnel actively promoted the pilgrimage in the late medieval period.[244] They are called *kanjin hijiri* (勧進聖), consisting mostly of *bikuni* and *yamabushi*, who raised funds from the public to finance various temple projects such as renovation. According to Yoshii, when soliciting for funds, it was effective to stress the temples' designation as the *fudasho* of the Kannon pilgrimage. These *kanjin hijiri* also acted as *sendatsu*, taking laypeople along the Saigoku pilgrimage, which of course, contributed to the spread of the pilgrimage. On the other hand, however, the main offices of the Saigoku *fudasho* were generally indifferent to being a *fudasho*, and had little or no part in spreading the pilgrimage. Yoshii argues that it was the low-ranking *kanjin hijiri* who advocated the Kannon

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[243] Mori (2005), 183.
[244] Yoshii (1996).

pilgrimage and facilitated its popularization. He further stressed that it was only later in the early modern period—after the *kanjin hijiri* had been eliminated—that the main offices of *fudasho* became engaged in promoting the pilgrimage, largely for financial reasons. A notable difference with Shikoku is that whereas the *kanjin hijiri* in Saigoku were directly affiliated with the *fudasho* institutions, Shinnen in Shikoku had no such affiliations. He appears to have been relatively independent from religious orders and based his activities on mendicancy and itinerant proselytizing. Hence, his involvement in the pilgrimage was voluntary.

Why then did he go so far as to dedicate so much time and energy in the development of the pilgrimage? For one thing, he was a mendicant who based his life on itinerant religious practices, proselytizing and soliciting alms from the people in the communities that he visited. Second, he was a devotee of Kōbō Daishi. This was important because it served as common ground between his activities and those of the Kōyasan monks, such as Jakuhon, who contributed to producing momentous *henro* texts. This collaboration "authenticated" the pilgrimage with Kōyasan's stamp of approval.[245] And most fascinatingly, he had dedicated his life to the pilgrimage.

As Reader notes, there is an "addictive" element to the pilgrimage that impels some people: (1) to keep coming back to do the pilgrimage, in what is sometimes labeled "Shikoku sickness" (*Shikoku byō* 四国病), or (2) to make the pilgrimage a way of life. That is, as opposed to the pilgrimage being an ephemeral experience away from daily life, it

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[245] Reader (2005), 119. To be sure, Jakuhon was "selective" in approving certain aspects of the pilgrimage. He did not, for example, recognize the numbering system, as mentioned above. He also dismissed as nonsense the *goeika* (pilgrimage songs) that were an important aspect of the popular pilgrimage. However, he did acknowledge the validity of the pilgrimage itself and acclaimed it as an efficacious means to practice Buddhism.

becomes the central part of their lives.[246] Shinnen would fit into (2) here, since, for him, *henro* was the "*raison d'être*" of his life. His commitment extended to the development of the pilgrimage, rallying support from the public to build infrastructure such as route markers, encouraging the practice of *settai*, and producing texts to publicize the pilgrimage.

As Reader shows, historically, Shinnen was not the only person who had made the pilgrimage the centre of his/her life. Most notable of other *henro* devotees was Nakatsuka Mōhei, who did the pilgrimage 282 times in the Meiji and Taishō periods, erected 237 route markers, and produced a guidebook.[247] In the present day, there is Miyazaki, the founder of the *Henro Michi Hozon Kyōryokukai* (Association of Helping to Preserve the *Henro* Route) who placed 2,000 route markers and published a seminal guidebook for the modern walking *henro* in 1990, which has been popular and meticulously updated; it was reprinted in a seventh edition in 2007.[248]

These individuals have made tremendous contributions to the pilgrimage culture through their devotion to the pilgrimage. In the present era, we do see more direct engagements of the *fudasho* with the Shikoku *Reijōkai* (Association of the Sacred Places of Shikoku) formed by the representatives of the *fudasho*. Historically, among the most significant stimulations to the pilgrimage came from the devotees who were not directly affiliated with the *fudasho*.

4.4. Networking for Sponsors

Shinnen was doubtless a seminal figure in the popularization of the pilgrimage. However, his various *henro* projects could not have been achieved on his own. They were made

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[246] Reader (2005), 249-262.
[247] Reader (2005), 121-122.
[248] Miyazaki (2007A) and (2007B).

possible by the network of supporters that he had cultivated in and out of Shikoku who provided the economic and other support for his activities. Who were his supporters and why did they aid him so faithfully? One group of supporters was the local people of Shikoku who provided lodging and other services for *henro*, as listed in *Michishirube*. But there were others. Fortunately, he left us lists of sponsors who provided the funding to publish the three books. These offer a glimpse of the people who were involved in Shinnen's project to spread the pilgrimage.

Shinnen gathered a diverse array of sponsors in his book projects; they are credited at the end of the each volume, which allows us to analyze who they were and how they may have related to *henro*, and to Shinnen. For example, the printing of *Michishirube* was funded by Noguchi Han'emon of Terashima in Osaka, where Shinnen had his hermitage.[249] While *Michishirube* only lists one sponsor, the other two books list multiple sponsors. Shinno examines the sponsors of the two-volume *Kudokuki*, and points out that of the twenty-five donors, seventeen were female, again with a notable portion from Terashima, but also many from Awaji Island, Awa, Tosa and Iyo.[250] The gender distribution of the sponsors is a striking indication that *henro* had a strong following among women, and that, as Nathalie Kouamé notes, the idea that female pilgrims were somehow impoverished should be altogether reconsidered.[251] As a matter of fact, it was predominantly women who provided the funds to publish this influential book.

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[249] Shinnen (1687), 327.
[250] Shinno (1991), 127.
[251] Reader (2003), 124.

Reijōki has the most expansive list of sponsors. There are names of sixty-five individuals or groups that contributed toward this seven volume work.[252] Many of the sponsors of *Reijōki* were also from Osaka, Awaji Island and Shikoku, and all but a few were laypeople. A closer look reveals that there were three major categories of sponsors: merchants, seafarers, and the people who provided sponsorship as a means to memorialize the deceased members of their household.

4.4.1. Merchants and Seafarers

Reijōki was, in part, funded by merchants involved in the thriving commercial activities of the late seventeenth century. In the list of sponsors, the status as a merchant is marked by the suffix *ya* (屋), which follows the name of the business that they were engaged in. Most merchant sponsors were based in Osaka, notably in Terashima and Dōtonbori, but among them, many were from Awa, or were affiliated with commercial activity involving Awa. This is indicated by their title Awaya (阿波屋) or Komatsuya (小松屋).[253] Of the fourteen sponsors in volume two, five had either one of these two titles,[254] and they appear consistently in other volumes as well.

What were these merchants doing in Osaka? According to Yasuoka Shigeaki, the late seventeenth century was when specialty commodities from the regions were being distributed into Osaka, the hub of the early modern economic system, by certain merchant

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[252] Sponsors are listed in all but volume six of the seven volume series.
[253] Komatsu is present-day Komatsushima in Tokushima, where Onzanji (no. 18) and Tatsueji (no. 19) are located.
[254] Jakuhon (1689), 150. Of the four, two were definitely based in Osaka, as they are listed as Awaya Denkichi of Dōtonbori, and Awaya Mohé of the same place (道頓堀阿波屋傳吉　同所阿波屋茂兵衛). The two others appear to be from Osaka as well. Their names, Awaya Jōkō and Awaya Kyūbé (阿波屋浄光　阿波屋九兵衛) appear without the indicator of their location. However, since they follow the listing of sponsors from Dōtonbori, they too were likely from Dōtonbori in Osaka.

households that handled commodities from a particular region.[255] In Awa, indigo, salt, sugar and lumber were been shipped out of Muya port in the early modern period,[256] and indigo, specifically, was known to have been distributed in Osaka by the mid- to late seventeenth century.[257] These merchant-sponsors were likely involved in this growing commercial link between Awa and Osaka,[258] and Shinnen was successful in tapping into this commercial network to seek patrons who supported his publishing projects.

Another prominent group of sponsors were from the Shiwaku Islands, a group of islands in the Inland Sea between Sanuki and Bizen. The people of Shiwaku were known for their exceptional skills in maritime navigation and in shipbuilding. When *Reijōki* was written, it was the "golden age" of the Shiwaku seafarers. They served the official function for the *bakufu* in transporting rice, the key commodity in the early modern economy. The ships went from Dewa in northern Honshu to the capital in Edo, by a shipping route known as the western shipping route (*nishimawari kōro* 西廻り航路).[259] This route involved navigating down along the western coast of Honshū from the northern domains to Shimonoseki, then turning into the Inland Sea toward Osaka, and then to Edo. Volume one of *Reijōki* appears to have been funded primarily by the people involved along this shipping route. In fact, five of the ten sponsors were from Ushijima in Shiwaku, which was one of the bases of their seafaring operation.[260] Two more sponsors to this volume were from Dewa, one of whom,

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[255] Yasuoka (1975), 277.
[256] Ishiodori (2006), 135.
[257] Miyoshi (1975), 140.
[258] Hoshino notes this also. Hoshino (2001).
[259] Yukino (1979), 255.
[260] Maruya Gozaemon, of Ushijima, who is said to have been a warrior of Bizen and who fought in Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, was a leading figure among the seafarers of Ushijima, see Yukino (1979), 260. For the development of the "official" seafarers of Shiwaku, that is, those "hired" by the *bakufu* (*kansen* 官船), see Seto (1982), 114-115.

Itoya Sōhichi, was also a sponsor of *Kudokuki*.[261] As Kondō Yoshihiro mentions, it proves that the worship of Shikoku *henro* had diffused as far north as Dewa.[262] But more specifically, the worship had diffused along the sea lane, which was a pattern also shared with other notable pilgrimage sites such as Konpira and Osorezan.[263]

The sponsors that Shinnen acquired for *Reijōki* were naturally contingent on the economic developments of his time. The sacred pilgrimage of Shikoku spread partially through the channels provided by the markets of early modern period.

4.4.2. In Commemoration of the Deceased

Another notable category of sponsors were those who sought the sponsorship to memorialize the deceased members of the household. This type of sponsor is easily distinguishable, because in the list of sponsors, their names are followed by the word "for" (*tame* 為) and the posthumous Buddhist title of the deceased (*kaimyō* 戒名). For example, Awaya Mohei of Dōtonbori in Osaka dedicated his donation to four deceased individuals, Jōun, Kyōu, Eiho, and Kazen (浄雲, 教宥, 永保, 可善).[264] In *Reijōki*, ten of the sixty five sponsors fell into this category.

In fact, Shinnen successfully rallied sponsors to his *henro* projects by emphasizing the merits it would bring for the family members in the afterlife. Salvation of the "six types of kin" (六親) was a key word that he used to obtain financial support, not only in the printing of books but also in erecting route markers along the *henro* route. The names of twenty-five sponsors of *Kudokuki* are listed following the phrase, "for salvation of all kindred for seven

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[261] Jakuhon (1689), 79, Shinnen (1690), 518.
[262] Kondō (1982), 266.
[263] For the analysis of Konpira worship in relation to the developments in maritime navigation, see Thal (2005). For Osorezan, see Miyazaki and Williams (2001).
[264] Jakuhon (1689), 150.

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generations" (為六親眷属七世父母菩提也), indicating that the donation had been given in the name of post-death salvation for all family members.[265] In addition, thirty-three of his path markers have been identified by Kiyoyoshi Eitoku. Each have a standard inscription above the name and address of the sponsor that says, "for father, mother, and six types of kin" (為父母六親).[266]

There are different conclusions that can be drawn from this. First, since the deceased had a *kaimyō*, we can determine that a Buddhist death ritual had already been performed for them by a *bodaiji* (菩提寺), a funerary temple that came hand in hand with the *danka* system,[267] and as such, the memorializing here was done in addition to the standard Buddhist death rituals conducted in what has been dubbed "funerary Buddhism."[268] Second, making offerings to the deceased household members indicate that the sponsors had a "household consciousness" characteristic of this period, in which the welfare of the household was thought to be dependent on the care provided for the dead members of the household by its living members.[269] Third, sponsoring *henro* was believed to be efficacious for post-death salvation. This notion provided a way in which people could relate to *henro*, and by the same token, it enabled Shinnen to solicit charity from them to finance his *henro* projects. It also shows that the concern for the afterlife was paramount for the people in the late seventeenth century.

Death had become one of the sources of meaning for this pilgrimage. It was nothing new. We have seen that when Chōzen did his pilgrimage in 1653, there were fervent "afterlife

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[265] Shinnen (1690), 518.
[266] Ehime-ken (2001), 229.
[267] Hur (2007).
[268] The term coined by Tamamuro Taijō. See Hur (2007), 20-21.
[269] Hur (2007), 201-205.

wishers" who provided him general hospitality. This continues to be an important theme in the pilgrimage. For Shinnen, the notion of salvation in the afterlife not only allowed him to raise funds to promote *henro* but also served to create a wider appeal of the pilgrimage by catering to the universal concern that people had for death. In soliciting for funds, he tailored this association to the "household consciousness" and the practice of ancestral veneration that became prominent at the time. It was by such an interactive process that death became firmly incorporated into the belief system of *henro*.

4.4.3. Other Sponsors

Of the sixty-five sponsors, only two were religious institutions. This included one temple in Awa called Amidaji, and one hermitage (*tsujidō* 辻堂) in Iyo, both of which were represented by a monk. [270] There was also one nun, although her whereabouts and institutional affiliation were not specified. [271] Moreover, *fudasho* institutions or their affiliates do not appear as sponsors or benefactors in any of Shinnen's undertakings.

In sum, the majority of the sponsors of Shinnen were laypeople, and a sizable portion were merchants. Shinnen likely targeted this group when he solicited sponsorship, and emphasized that sponsorship would be meritorious to the afterlife. The popularization of *henro* was facilitated by Shinnen and his sponsors who provided the necessary resource to commence his projects. Instead of the *fudasho*, it was the network that Shinnen cultivated that assembled the framework of popular *henro*.

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[270] Jakuhon (1689), 201, 408.
[271] Jakuhon (1689), 408.

4.5. Un-Systematized Pilgrimage

Another characteristic of Shikoku *henro* that contrasted from many other popular pilgrimages was that it never developed a system of facilitating and managing pilgrims. The "system of pilgrimage management," to borrow Barbara Ambros' expression,[272] here refers to the system in which the institutions of a pilgrimage site, such as temples and shrines, dispatch agents to various areas in the country to promote the pilgrimage to the laypeople. These agents, usually called to as *oshi, shisō* or *sendatsu,* depending on the pilgrimage site, were usually assigned a particular territory for their proselytizing activity, where they preached the merits of the pilgrimage, brought gifts and established relationship with the laypeople, to patronize them and drive them to perform the pilgrimage. This system was closely connected to the economic interests of the pilgrimage site as pilgrims were an important source of income. The agents were typically affiliated with a particular establishment within the pilgrimage site, such as a sub-temple. They sought to patronize potential pilgrims to monopolize services offered to them at the pilgrimage site. These services included accommodations and religious services. As such, this system was managed by the institution of the pilgrimage site which sought to expand its economic base by attracting more pilgrims. It was a systematic management of the pilgrimage that formed the link between the potential pilgrims and the sacred place, and a critical component of many thriving pilgrimages in pre-modern Japan such as Ise, Kōyasan, Kumano, and Ōyama.

The lack of such systematized pilgrimage management in Shikoku meant that the pilgrimage did not have the direct link with the potential pilgrims that many other

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[272] Ambros (2001), 369.

pilgrimages had.[273] On a related note, there was also no pilgrimage guide (*sendatsu* 先達) in pre-modern Shikoku that took the pilgrims on the *henro* route,[274] who were seen in Kumano and Saigoku in medieval times, and at some mountain pilgrimage sites in the early modern times. There are records that show that individual *fudasho* did take measures to attract pilgrims. This included staging venues to display their otherwise "hidden" chief deities to the public (*kaichō* 開帳). However, such efforts did not include developing a system of dispatching agents to attract pilgrims.

That the pilgrimage did not develop these systems show that *fudasho* institutions were limited in diversifying the scope of economic activity in response to the growing pilgrimage, and that the degree of commercialization in *henro* remained modest in comparison to other pilgrimage sites. For instance, until the 1960's, *fudasho* in Shikoku generally did not provide commercial lodging for the pilgrims,[275] and, as Reader and Constantine Vaporis note, there was a "relative lack of brothels" and other paying avenues for entertainment on the *henro* route.[276]

To be sure, there are two tiers when analyzing the commercialization of a pilgrimage site. One is the diversification of the activities of the actual temples and shrines, such as their directing a pilgrimage management system and temple lodging. Second is the development

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[273] Hoshino (2001), 91.

[274] There are records of localized *sendatsu* pilgrimage guides within a *fudasho* in the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, Chōzen was guided by a *shugenja*-like *sendatsu* at Shōsanji (no. 12) and Tairyūji (no. 21), who took him to various hidden places in the precinct and led ascetical liturgies. These *sendatsu*, however, do not appear to have drawn potential pilgrims to the pilgrimage sites. Rather, they provided guide service for the pilgrims who were already at the pilgrimage site. See Chōzen (1653).

[275] Mori (2005), 167. From surviving pilgrimage diaries from the Tokugawa period, there were indeed cases where the pilgrims stayed a night at a temple. For instance, Kanetarō from Tosa who did the *Henro* in 1805 stayed at Iyadaniji (no. 71). However, this temple appears to have offered near-free lodging for the *Henro*. Whereas he often paid the "firewood fees" (*kichin* 木賃) at most other accommodations, there was no such fees here and he only paid the "rice fee," or cost for a meal. (Shikoku *Henro kenkyūkai* {2003}, 36). However, these instances are quite rare.

[276] Reader (2005), 130.

of a temple town (*monzenmachi* 門前町) where commercial establishments offered various forms of entertainment for the pilgrims; this became an important feature for pilgrimage culture in the early modern period.[277] By and large, the boom in pilgrimage had fewer economic implications in Shikoku in comparison to other pilgrimage sites. This is partly why Shikoku *henro* never developed a system to manage and deal with the pilgrims.

4.6. Information

The key in understanding the spread of Shikoku *henro* to a mass population is information. By information, we refer to the dissemination of the sacred image of Shikoku, which circulated to the public through texts, word of mouth, and entertainment. This was particularly important for Shikoku, because unlike other major pilgrimage sites, it lacked the direct contacts between the pilgrimage site and the potential pilgrims; there was no pilgrimage management system. We have seen that the sacred image of Shikoku was first publicized on a mass scale by the publication of *Michishirube*, *Reijōki*, and *Kudokuki* in the late seventeenth century. This was a major event in the development of the pilgrimage, facilitating the flow of information to the undisclosed readership in early modern Japan. The commercial publishing industry was just beginning to boom, and, in particular, the travel-oriented literature.[278] During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, more material on *henro* was produced, including *Shikoku Henro Ezu*, the first map of *henro* produced in 1763, and *Shikoku Henro Meishozue* of 1800. Like the three books above, these texts were detailed guides for the pilgrim. Again, these were not produced by *fudasho* or their affiliates. They boosted the awareness of *henro* in the public and likely contributed to the boom in the

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[277] For instance, according to Foard, the 1848 guide of the Saigoku pilgrimage called *Saikoku Sanjūsankasho Meisho Zue* provides a detailed account of the pleasure elements available at the temple town of Hasedera, the eighth temple on the circuit; it was so thorough that it required ten heavily illustrated volumes! See Forward (1982), 238.

[278] Berry (2006).

pilgrimage population in the mid to late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These texts were a major factor in publicizing and exposing the pilgrimage to the public and thereby encouraging them to do the pilgrimage.

The sacred image of Shikoku was also spread informally, based on oral communication through commercial, personal and other relationships in the early modern Japanese society. The commercial network between Awa and Osaka and the shipping route between Dewa and Osaka, for example, provided an arena where people could exchange not only trade commodities but also information such as the wondrous cure of illness promised at an efficacious pilgrimage place. Also, as more pilgrims came to Shikoku, they, too, would be important source of information about the Shikoku *henro* upon their return home. They would tell others about their experiences and the stories that they had heard in Shikoku, thus reproducing the sacred images of Shikoku in their home communities. Some of these experiences were recorded in the form of travelogues that survive to the present day, but naturally, there would have been many more pilgrims who did not write about their experience in Shikoku but shared their pilgrimage experience orally with others.

Entertainment also helped to spread the sacredness of Shikoku to the greater public. One of the theatrical representations of Shikoku *henro* was a Kabuki play in 1691 titled *Shikoku henro*. In this play, the merits of the pilgrimage are announced in the introduction. Although the main storyline of the play is the vengeance exacted by a widow for a murdered husband, there are incidents in the play that highlight the miraculous powers of the pilgrimage, such as the pilgrimage robe, which provides miraculous protection for one of the protagonists.[279] And in the early nineteenth century, a prolific, popular writer, Jippensha Ikku, covered

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[279] Kawai (2007), 105,110.

Shikoku *henro* in the fourteenth volume of his vastly popular *Kaneno Waraji* series, which mentioned, among other things, the practice of *settai* that was prevalent in Shikoku.[280] These representations in various mediums not only forged the image of Shikoku as a very special pilgrimage place, but also spread that image to the urban and rural societies in early modern Japan. The image of Shikoku *henro,* circulated as information, created a powerful attraction for Shikoku, even without any systematic effort by the pilgrimage sites.

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[280] Maeda (1971), 220-221.

Concluding Remarks

This thesis has focused on how the pilgrimage that we now know as Shikoku *henro* had evolved. In doing so, particular attention was paid to the activities of the people involved in the pilgrimage, the religious ideas associated with their activities, and, where relevant, the historical circumstances during a particular period. It has demonstrated that the development of the pilgrimage culture in Shikoku was indeed a complicated process that incorporated the practices and ideas emanating from diverse categories of religious traditions.

In the first chapter, I have shown that the pilgrimage practices of the religious specialists in the ancient to medieval period were relevant for the development of the popular pilgrimage that emerged much later. Themes such as death and afterlife, asceticism, and the piety of Kōbō Daishi have been carried over to the present day.

The second chapter dealt with the transformation of the loosely organized medieval pilgrimage into an organized pilgrimage of eighty-eight sites. The involvement of the Kumano *shugenja* was discussed, since they have been considered one of the major contributors to the pilgrimage in the medieval period. Their possible involvement in Shikoku was analyzed in relation to the larger changes that were taking place around the affiliates of the Kumano shrines at the time. The legend of Emon Saburō was examined to show that it was not necessarily an endorsement of the pilgrimage, but a story that emanated from the need of a religious institution to overcome a time of crisis. Saburo's story has been regarded as the founding legend of the pilgrimage and as evidence of Kumano *shugenja* involvement in the pilgrimage.

Following this analysis, I concluded that the Kumano *shugenja* were not, in fact, the major contributors of the formation of the pilgrimage as had been previously believed. By taking into account the historical records, the pilgrimage route, and the sea navigation to Shikoku, I have suggested that the pilgrimage was most extensively practiced among the ascetics of Kōyasan, who had transformed it into an eighty-eight-site pilgrimage in the early seventeenth century.

The third chapter investigated how the pilgrimage attracted a large number of the common people, and became a thriving, popular pilgrimage in the early modern period. Here, I focused on the developments in the late seventeenth century, particularly on the activities of a devotee of the pilgrimage, Shinnen, and analyzed how the mechanism of popular pilgrimage was set in place around this time. Two key factors in this transformation were the development of the travel infrastructure, and the formulation of a powerful sacred appeal of Shikoku that effectively lured people to do the pilgrimage. The sacred appeal of Shikoku was examined in comparison to that of other contemporaneous pilgrimages; we observed a common pattern of sacred images in early modern pilgrimages. A commonality shared with other pilgrimages was the localization of a deity to the pilgrimage space, which was considered an access point to the practical benefits dispensed by that deity. There were unique qualities to the Shikoku *henro* also. For instance, the dispersed sanctity and the sacralization of pilgrims—the latter being the impetus to the development of a distinctive and enduring culture of alms giving—both of which were related to the ambiguous sanctity associated with the folk worship of Kōbō Daishi.

The final chapter explored another peculiarity of Shikoku: the lack of involvement of the *fudasho* in the pilgrimage during its formative phase. In so doing, I have outlined the

reasons why organized religion was curiously absent from the organization and promotion of the pilgrimage: (1) the fact that the pilgrimage was based more on folk belief and practice than on the organized religions that the *fudasho* officially affiliated with, (2) the religious policy of the *bakufu* discouraged *fudasho* involvement in the pilgrimage, and (3) the pilgrims in the late seventeenth century brought only miniscule economic benefits to the *fudasho*.

I have also demonstrated that even without the direct efforts of the *fudasho*, the pilgrimage succeeded because the sacred image of Shikoku was disseminated effectively to attract pilgrims. Major factors in the popularization were Shinnen's *henro* projects and the support he gathered from the laypeople in and out of Shikoku.

Most strikingly, the pilgrimage's attraction hinged on the folk piety of Kōbō Daishi, but nevertheless it incorporated the established religious institutions represented by the *fudasho*, and also had input from Kōyasan. It was a product of the interactions between folk piety, itinerant proselytizers, religious authorities, the common people of Shikoku as the hosting society, and the countless pilgrims who walked the sacred pilgrimage route in Shikoku.

The pilgrims were unified in the pilgrimage through the piety of Kōbō Daishi and historically-determined social, economic, and political factors. In sum, Shikoku *henro* was a crossroad where various traditions converged, both diachronically through historical processes, and synchronically through the dynamic interaction between actors from different places on the social spectrum of a given period.

Prospects for Future Studies

There are a vast number of studies on Shikoku *henro* conducted from a diverse range of academic disciples. In particular, there have been numerous studies on *henro* in recent years that have made tremendous contributions to our understanding, not only of this culturally-rich phenomenon, but also of the broader phenomenon of pilgrimage which is shared by cultures and religious traditions in many parts of the world.[281] However, there might be room left to pursue historical inquiries further. This could be done by conducting research at *fudasho* that may yet have records to be unearthed, and through the investigation of local histories of the regions of Japan, where people who had done the Shikoku *henro* in pre-modern times may have left undiscovered records.

There are three specific areas that await further investigation.

First, Ishiteji incurred drastic changes from the mid-sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. It was the time when the *shugenja* affiliated with the Kumano shrines, who had settled at this temple, dissolved their ties to Kumano. As well, the patronage of the ruling Kōno clan disintegrated, shifting the temple's base of support to the common people. In addition, a fire destroyed many halls in the precinct in 1566. Most importantly, it was the time when the pilgrimage was beginning to attract more attention. A closer examination of the temple records would enable a more detailed analysis of how this religious institution responded to the changing dynamics to maintain viability, as a period shifted from what historians generally refer to as "medieval" to what is labeled "early modern" period. Ishiteji is particularly interesting in the early modern period also because it was one of the few

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[281] See for example, Asakawa (2008), Hoshino (2001), and Reader (2005).

fudasho in Shikoku that developed a large commercialized temple town (*monzenmachi* 門

前町), which may have been related to the Dōgo hot springs in close proximity.

Second, it has been thought that Shikoku *henro* was largely conducted on an

individual basis and not on confraternities as with many other popular pilgrimages in early

modern Japan.[282] However, Kiyoyoshi Eitoku has discovered a pilgrimage travelogue that

appears to have been based on a group pilgrimage.[283] More accounts may be found of

pilgrimages that were conducted on a confraternity basis; this could open up a new

perspective on *henro*.

Third, there appears to have been a close connection of the people of Tajima

province to the pilgrimage. Chōzen noted in 1653 that in Byōbugaura, the site of Kaiganji,

which is claimed to be the birthplace of Kōbō Daishi, there was a hall built by a merchant

from Tajima who was a devotee of Daishi. Then the first map of the pilgrimage, *Shikoku*

Henro Ezu of 1763 was produced by Hosoda Shūei from Tajima. The replicated *henro* in

Shōdoshima on the Inland Sea, presently part of Kagawa prefecture in Shikoku, has

historically drawn pilgrims from Tajima area. Could it have been that the people of Tajima

were fervent devotees of Daishi? Was their coming to Shikoku related to the western

shipping routes that have connected the regions in the western shore of Honshū to Osaka?

Exploring these points further will surely benefit our understandings of the historical

aspects of this pilgrimage tradition.

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[282] For instance, Shinjō notes this. Shinjō (1982), 724.
[283] Shikoku Junpai Hizuke-chō, from 1828, indicated that it was a record of the Suehiro confraternity
(*Suehiro-kō* 末広講) from Harima province. See Kiyoyoshi (2007), 3.

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Appendices

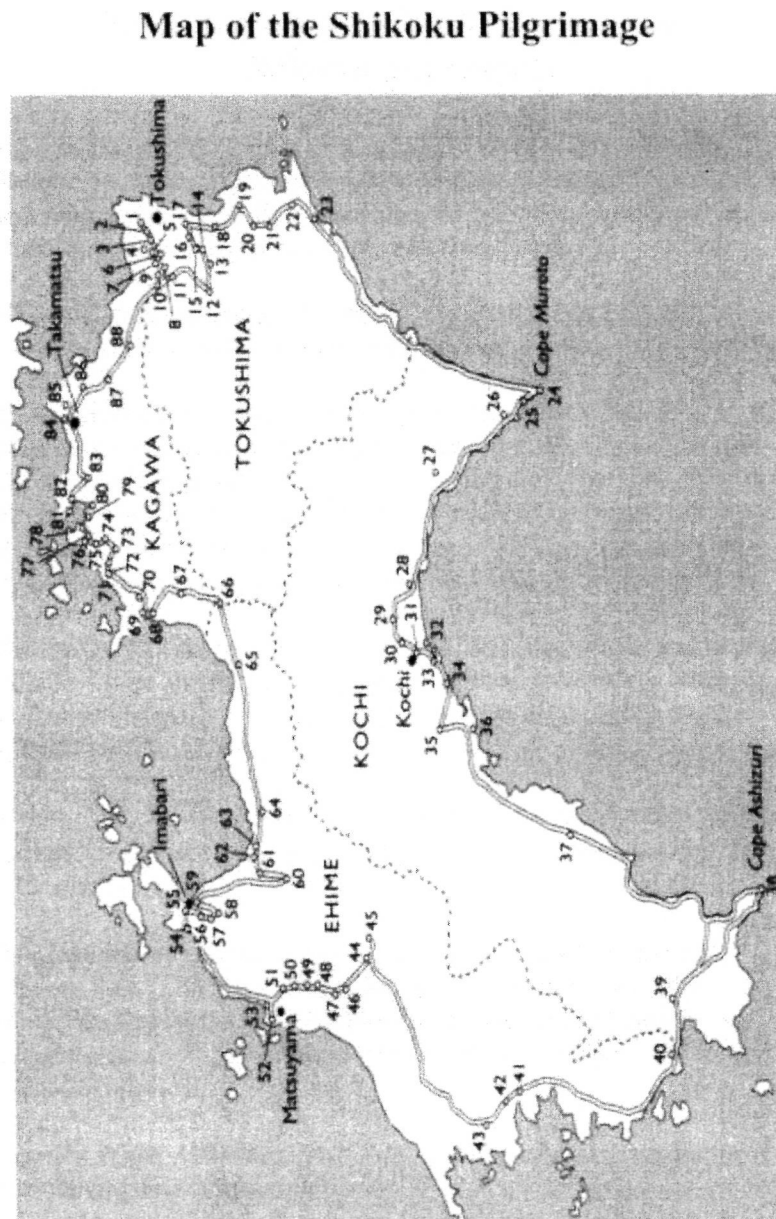Figure 1 Kōbō Daishi from *Shikoku Henro Michishirube*

Figure 2. Seventeenth Century *Henro*

From *Shikoku Henro Michishirube.*

Figure 3. The Map of Shikoku *Henro*

Map of the Shikoku Pilgrimage

From Muro and Moreton (2008).

Figure 4. The Current Names of the *Fudasho*

Tokushima prefecture

1 Ryōzenji	2 Gokurakuji	3 Konsenji	4 Dainichiji	5 Jizōji	6 Anrakuji	7 Jūrakuji
8 Kumadaniji	9 Hōrinji	10 Kirihataji	11 Fujiidera	12 Shōsanji	13 Dainichiji	14 Jōrakuji
15 Kokubunji	16 Kannonji	17 Idoji	18 Onzanji	19 Tatsueji	20 Kakurinji	21 Tairyūji
22 Byōdōji	23 Yakuoji					

Kōchi Prefecture

24 Hotsumisakiji	25 Shinshōji	26 Kongōchōji	27 Konomineji	28 Dainichiji	29 Kokubunji	30 Zenrakuji
31 Chikurinji	32 Zenjibuji	33 Sekkeiji	34 Tanemaji	35 Kiyotakiji	36 Shōryūji	37 Iwamotoji
38 Kongōfukuji	39 Enkōji					

Ehime Prefecture

40 Kanjizaiji	41 Ryūkoji	42 Butsumokuji	43 Meisekiji	44 Taihōji	45 Iwayaji	46 Jōruji
47 Yasakaji	48 Sairinji	49 Jōdoji	50 Hantaji	51 Ishiteji	52 Taisanji	53 Enmyōji
54 Enmeiji	55 Nankōbo	56 Taisanji	57 Eifukuji	58 Senyūji	59 Kokubunji	60 Yokomineji
61 Kōonji	62 Hōjuji	63 Kichijoji	64 Maegamiji	65 Sankakuji		

Kagawa Prefecture

66 Unpenji	67 Daikōji	68 Jinnein	69 Kannonji	70 Motoyamaji	71 Iyadaniji	72 Mandaraji
73 Shusshakuji	74 Koyamaji	75 Zentsūji	76 Konzōji	77 Dōryūji	78 Goshoji	79 Tennōji
80 Kokubunji	81 Shiromineji	82 Negoroji	83 Ichinomiyaji	84 Yashimaji	85 Yakuriji	86 Shidoji
87 Nagaoji	88 Ōkuboji					

From Muro and Moreton (2008).

Figure 5. Illustration of the Ishiteji Precinct from the *Shikoku Henro Reijōki*

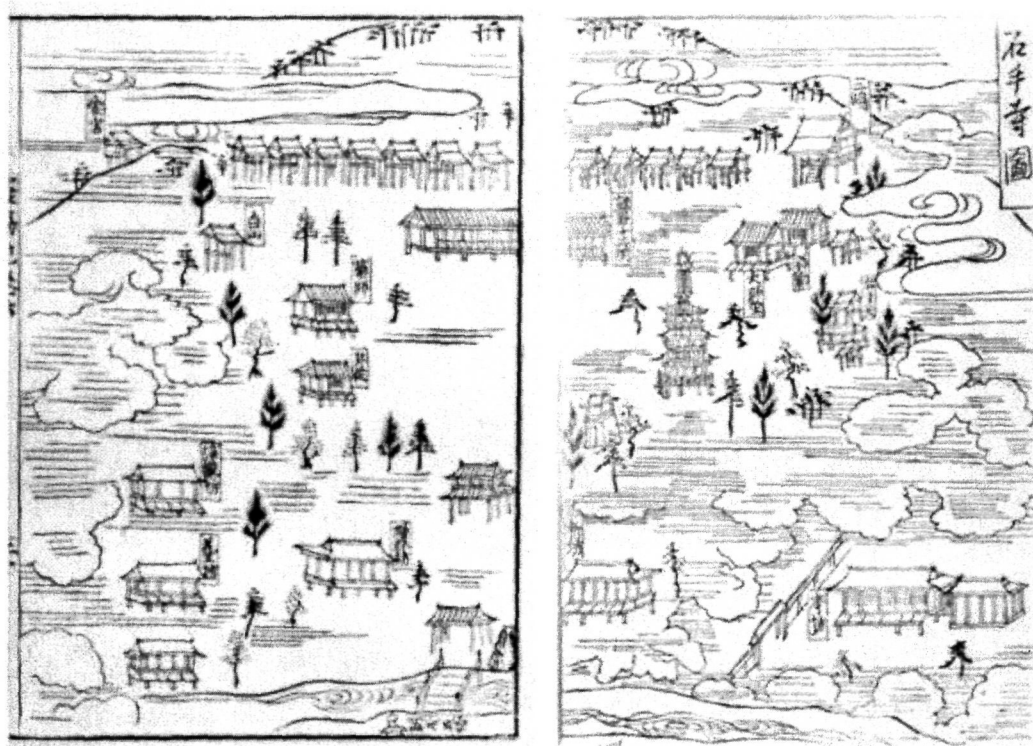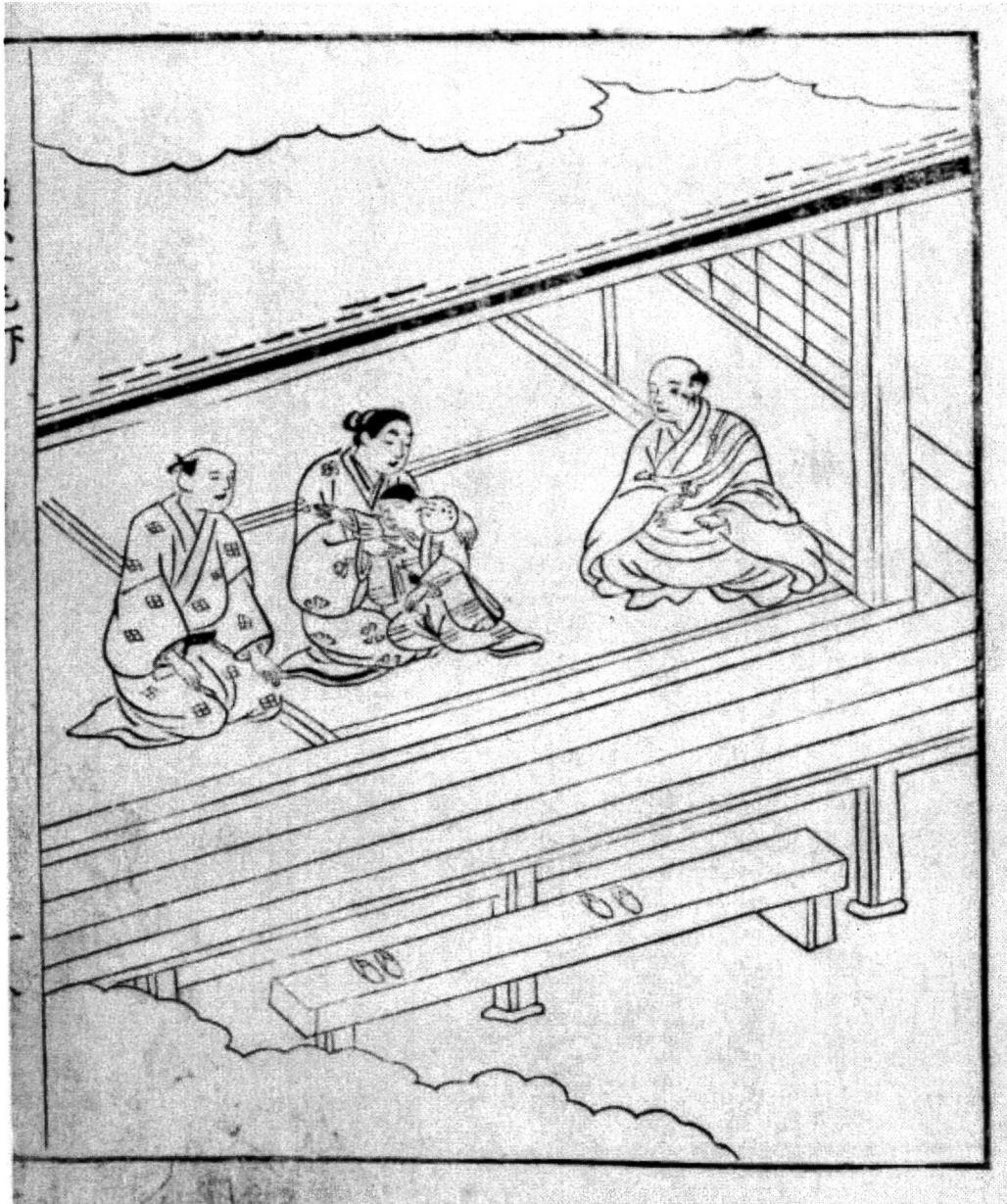Figure 6. Kōbō Daishi at River *Sakase*

From *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki.*

Figure 7. A Girl with a Wart on Her Neck

From *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki.*