

THE HISTORY OF CHARITABLE GIVING
ALONG THE SHIKOKU PILGRIMAGE ROUTE

by

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ABSTRACT

An Examination of Charitable Giving along the Shikoku Pilgrimage Route

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The following thesis examines the extensive history of charitable giving along the eighty-eight temple pilgrimage route around the island of Shikoku, Japan. The founder of this route, believed by common tradition, is Kūkai, (posthumous name, Kōbō Daishi 774-835), who established the Shingon sect in Japan, emphasizing that all people could achieve the ‘attainment of Buddhahood in this life’ (*sokushin jōbutsu*). To achieve this Buddhahood, one must participate in the Six Perfections, the first being, ‘to give’, that is through charitable giving.

Since the time of Kōbō Daishi, there has been a custom of giving to religious figures such as monks or pilgrims in Japan. The Shikoku pilgrimage, unlike other pilgrimage routes, offers a unique perspective for a study in charitable giving for at least two reasons. First, Kōbō Daishi has traditionally held a strong influence on the people who have participated as donors of charity, especially on the local people within Shikoku. Secondly, the isolation of Shikoku has allowed this pilgrimage route to preserve its original religious nature for much longer than other areas. As a result, the custom of giving remains unusually prevalent to this day.

Through the use of numerous primary sources written by both Japanese and foreign authors who offer their firsthand accounts of charitable giving, from the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) until the mid-twentieth century, I will argue that this custom of giving along the Shikoku route was a wide spread phenomenon that was

evident in a variety of forms. It will become evident that the concept of giving in Shikoku has had a strong tie with religion, specifically with the teachings and legends of Kōbō Daishi. To provide evidence for this, and to examine other reasons for people's participation in charitable giving, I will explore the origins of this custom in Japan, explain the motives for giving, and highlight the numerous ways in which people throughout Japan have provided charity to Shikoku pilgrims for such an extensive period of time.

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I feel like a pilgrim who has just successfully completed the pilgrimage route around the island of Shikoku. I am both happy and sad that this journey is over. My life during this trip has been like the four stages within the Shikoku route, that of, awakening, discipline, enlightenment and Nirvana. When I reached the point between discipline and enlightenment, I was ready to give up, but due to the assistance, support and kindness of so many people, I have been able to successfully complete this project.

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INTRODUCTION

Kōbō Daishi as Founder

Kūkai or Kōbō Daishi (774-835) is considered to be “the single most popular Buddhist saint in medieval [Japanese] society.”¹ He is accredited with such accomplishments as performing numerous miracles, inventing *kana* (the Japanese phonetic orthography), and creating the first school open to all social classes, as well as establishing the Shikoku pilgrimage route. Despite these feats his early life was quite simple. In 774, he was born near the temple, *Zentsūji* (no. 75 on the Shikoku pilgrimage route) to a noble clan, the house of Saeki, and spent his childhood years in Shikoku. At the age of eighteen, he joined the State College (*daigaku*) in Kyōto, but became disillusioned with the Confucian education that he was receiving and dropped out at the age of twenty-four to engage in Buddhist training. Before quitting the college, he had, through some circumstance, met an unknown monk who had introduced him to Esoteric Buddhist texts and sparked Kūkai’s interest in becoming a monk. Until Kūkai left for China in 804 little is known about his activities during this seven-year period. It is assumed that he acted as a wandering ascetic pursuing further religious training.

In 804, the Japanese court chose Kūkai to go to China as a student monk, and with this opportunity, he was able to study under the leadership of the Seventh Patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism, Hui-kuo (746-805). Kūkai was personally trained by Hui-kuo in “the most essential yet secret aspects of Esoteric Buddhism” and “in the mantras, Sanskrit hymns, the *mūdras* and visualization of the sacred symbols.”² However, this was only to

¹ Ryuichi Abe. *The Weaving of Mantra*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 2.

² Ibid. 123,125.

last for two years because Hui-kuo's health deteriorated and in 805, he passed away. Before his death, he told Kūkai to return to his country and spread the teachings of what would become Shingon Buddhism. Thus, after only two years in China, Kūkai returned to Japan. From 806 until his own death in 835, Kūkai worked diligently to establish this new faith and spread its teachings.³ His achievements were well known throughout the country and in 921 Emperor Daigo (r. 897-930) bestowed on him the posthumous title of Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師) or 'Great Master of Spreading the Dharma', by which he is best known.

One of the major achievements attributed to Kōbō Daishi is the founding of the Shikoku pilgrimage route, although there is no concrete evidence for whether or not he actually traveled around the entire island. What is known is that between the ages of eighteen and thirty-one, he traveled to such places in Shikoku as Ishizuri, Cape Muroto and Mt. Tairyū to participate in ascetic training. He also conducted public works by leading the people in rebuilding the dam at Mannōike (Kagawa Prefecture). One legend has it that Kōbō Daishi walked the Shikoku route in 815 at the age of forty-two. This seems unlikely due to the fact that in the same year, he is said to have launched a new initiative to spread Esoteric Buddhism from Takanosanji, his monastic headquarters located in the northwest Kyōto. Ryuichi Abe argues that in the spring of that year Kūkai sent a letter to Buddhist leaders asking for their cooperation in copying and circulating thirty-five books of scripture chosen from amongst the writings he had brought back from

³ According to Yoshito Hakeda, "Kūkai had not died but has merely entered into eternal samadhi and was still quite alive on Mt. Koya as a saviour to all suffering people..." Yoshito Hakeda. *Kūkai: Major Works*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972) 60.

China.⁴ Perhaps Kūkai traveled around Shikoku during another season, other than spring. During the years of 809- 816, he had maintained a close relationship with Emperor Saga (r. 809 - 823; 786 - 842) by frequently exchanging letters of which the contents show that Saga had asked Kūkai “to produce calligraphic works, to engage in exchanges of poems, and to submit to the court samples of poetry and calligraphy, textbooks on poetics and calligraphic technique and other related works Kūkai had acquired while in China.”⁵ None of these letters, however, make any mention of him making a trip to Shikoku during that period. It is clear that by 815, Kūkai was extremely busy with promoting Shingon Buddhism, writing materials, fulfilling the Emperor’s requests and training his increasing number of disciples that make it impossible for him to have walked the route around that period. Thus, it is unlikely that he could be the first person and founder of the Shikoku route, even though that this traditional view has come down through the centuries.

There are some other theories offering conjectures to who really was the first person to walk the route. One possibility is contained in a book about the Shikoku pilgrimage published in 1690:

It is not known by whose hand or at what time the eighty-eight places of the Shikoku pilgrimage route were established. One theory says that, after the death of the Daishi, a person called Shinzei, (800-860), a monk living on Mt Kōya and a disciple of the Daishi, began the pilgrimage by following in the Daishi’s footsteps. It is because of this that people started to do the pilgrimage.⁶

⁴ Abe 46.

⁵ Abe 43.

⁶ Iyoshi Dankai.ed. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. . “Shikoku Henro Kudokuki.” (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 213.

遍路所八十八ヶ所とさだめぬる事、いづれの時、たれの人いふ事さだかならず。一説に、大師の御弟子高雄山にましませる 本の紀僧正真濟といひし人、大師の御入定の後、大師をしたひ、御貴跡を遍路せしよりはじまり、世の人相逐て遍礼する事となれりとへり。

The author suggests that it was Shinzei, a disciple of Kōbō Daishi, who was the first person to walk the route in its entirety. It is claimed that he followed the Daishi's footsteps, yet there is no clear evidence of him walking around the present-day circuit. Perhaps he only visited those places where Kōbō Daishi had been in training, where he was born or where he had conducted public works. Yet even this theory is questionable because there is no reference in Shinzei's biography of him traveling to Shikoku. Another theory regarding the first person or founder of the route, based on a legend from the ninth century, is of a man called Emon Saburō, who is said to have walked the pilgrimage route in search of Kōbō Daishi.

Since the earliest days of the Tokugawa period, the inaccessibility of Shikoku and difficulty of traveling were two main factors that restricted pilgrimages to priests or aristocracy. Unlike the common people of the region, only these types of people would have the freedom of time, freedom from obligations and sufficient money to undertake such a journey. Was it one of these early priests or aristocrats who 'founded' the route, or can this honor be attributed to the common people who began to appear as pilgrims between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries?⁷

⁷ The earliest proof of pilgrims on the route comes from graffiti at Temple no. 69, Kannonji that is dated from 1347. (Toshiyuki Shiraaki. *Junrei- Sanpai Yōgo Jiten*. (Osaka: Shobo, 1994) 17)

There is a inscription on a small temple bell from 1471 on the Jizōdō (Jizō shrine) in the village of Motokawa in Tosa. It is heavily damaged and partially readable. However, the inscription records that it was a group of two men and two women, representatives of a Buddhist community, who were traveling at this time. There is also some scribbling on the temple, Jodoji (no. 49), dating from 1525, 1527, 1528, 1531, 1540 and at Kokubunji (no. 80) in 1528 (Shimazaki Tanaka Hiroshi. unpublished Phd. dissertation *Pilgrim Places- a study of the 88 sacred precincts of the Shikoku pilgrimage of Japan*. 1975. 48.)

It is clear that the origins and founder of the route cannot be positively determined.⁸

Growing Popularity in the Modern Period

The possibility of pilgrims to travel around Shikoku improved dramatically with social changes concerning travel in general and the distribution of guidebooks about the Shikoku pilgrimage route during the Genroku period (1688-1704). Although books had been written about the Shikoku pilgrimage as early as 1638 and 1653, it was not until the period between 1687 and 1690 that any informative document on the route was published in large quantities. Increasingly, more people came to have access to such books and could use the information contained within to help them prepare for the journey around Shikoku.

Three books written during the Genroku period on the Shikoku pilgrimage became so popular that they went through numerous reprints during the eighteenth century.⁹ The availability of such guidebooks, combined with the Bakufu's relaxed travel restrictions, allowed the Shikoku pilgrimage route to experience its first boom in popularity during the Genroku period (1688-1704). While exact numbers are not known for this first peak, there are specific numbers available for later periods. For example, during the next peak in numbers (1756-1780), records from the Tosa domain (Kōchi prefecture) dated 1764 indicate that 200 to 300 people from outside the domain were passing through daily between February and July (他国遍路二月より七月までに一日

⁸ For excellent studies in English into the life and teachings of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) see Joseph Kitagawa. *Kōbō Daishi and Shingon Buddhism* (unpublished PhD dissertation) University of Chicago, 1951; Yoshito S. Hakeda. *Kūkai: Major Works*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974); Ryuichi Abe. *The Weaving of Mantra*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999)

⁹ see Introduction p. 8 (Source Materials) for the explanations of these earliest guidebooks.

に二、三百人も取り申候).¹⁰ Extrapolation of this data could mean that 30,000 to 40,000 people made the pilgrimage in one year but estimating annual figures based on the data is hazardous because of the seasonal nature of the pilgrimage; for example, another source puts the annual number of pilgrims in the area of 10,000 to 20,000.¹¹ The third peak in the number of pilgrims in Shikoku occurred during the Bunsei-Bunka era (1804-1830), which Nathalie Kouame calls the ‘Golden Age of the Shikoku Pilgrimage’, but there are no specific references to the numbers of pilgrims.¹²

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the number of pilgrims continued to increase dramatically. For example, a former head monk of Temple 19, Tatsueji (立江寺) indicated that approximately 300 to 500 pilgrims visited his temple every day between March and May of 1894.¹³ This figure if multiplied by ninety days suggests that between 27,000 and 45,000 pilgrims passed through Tatsueji for that three-month period. A reference from the Taishō period (1912-1926), by the head priest of Temple 77, Dōryūji (道隆寺), notes that on a busy day about 1000 pilgrims visited the temple.¹⁴ Alfred Bohner who walked the route in 1907, and published his book about various aspects of the pilgrimage twenty years later, determined that there were 30,000 pilgrims

¹⁰ Takashi Maeda. *Junrei no Shakaigaku*. (Osaka: Naniwa Printing, 1972) 108.

¹¹ Constantine Nomikos Vaporis. *Breaking Barriers- Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) 247.

¹² Nathalie Kouame used the phrase ‘Golden Age of the Pilgrimage’ in her “Shikoku’s Local Authorities and Henro during the Golden Age of the Pilgrimage.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* Fall 1997. p.413-425. Studies of the numbers along the Shikoku and Saikoku routes have been examined by Takashi Maeda in *Junrei no Shakaigaku* (Osaka: Naniwa Printing, 1972)

¹³ Maeda. 108.

¹⁴ Ibid. 126.

on the route with one-third of the participants coming from outside Shikoku.¹⁵ Since then the most recent data estimates the numbers of pilgrims to be over 100,000 annually, traveling by bus, taxi, car, motorcycle, bicycle and even by helicopter!¹⁶

Examination of Charitable Giving

The Shikoku route (like other pilgrimage routes to Ise Shrine, Saikoku, Kantō, and Chichibu) provides excellent examples of what the local people did to support and assist the travelers on their demanding journey.¹⁷ Although the number of pilgrims traveling around Shikoku never reached the millions of pilgrims seen along the roads to Ise Shrine during the eighteenth century, Shikoku provides a unique perspective on charitable giving because this custom has not dissipated as it has along so many of the other routes. The ongoing strength of charitable giving in Shikoku may be a result of the fact that as other pilgrimage routes became more popular, with increased numbers of pilgrims needing food, housing and other services to survive, businesses arose more quickly to accommodate these travelers' needs. Such communities began to offer charitable giving less, and instead the same services were increasingly offered for profit. This trend towards commercialization also occurred in Shikoku but at a slower rate and to a much lesser degree. Shikoku's isolation, as well as the length and difficulty of its route and the strong religious beliefs of the people has played an important role in preserving the religious focus of the Shikoku route, including the custom of charitable giving.

¹⁵ Alfred Bohner. *Wallfahrt zu Zweien die 88 Heiligen Statten von Shikoku*. (Tokyo: Druck van Gebauer Schwetckhe AG Halle, 1931) 132.

¹⁶ *Gendai Shakai to Shikoku Henromichi*. Study by Waseda University. 1994 p.37.

¹⁷ Pilgrimages are a popular destination amongst the Japanese. *The National Dictionary of Pilgrimage of Spiritual Places* highlights 282 routes in Japan that involves over 7750 spiritual places! (Daihorinkaku Henshubu ed. *Zenkoku Reijō Junpai Jiten*. Tōkyō: Daihorinkaku, 1997)

This thesis examines the Shikoku pilgrimage over the last four hundred years, from the earliest days of the Tokugawa period until the mid-twentieth century, and investigates firsthand accounts from both Japanese and foreign documents of people who either witnessed or experienced the various forms of charity provided to pilgrims in Shikoku. This study will examine the pre-modern process of almsgiving in Shikoku, describing and accounting for the development of a pilgrimage infrastructure or support system that, initially voluntary and informal in basis, gradually took on a more formal structure.

The first chapter is a brief history of charitable giving, first within Japan and then within Shikoku. Focusing on the Shikoku pilgrimage, an attempt will be made to answer such questions as: who gave the charity, who received it, and why was such a custom carried out? One consequence that can be noted regarding this selfless action of giving is that with time, as the degree of charity increased, the number of people who took advantage of such a service also increased. An undesirable percentage of pilgrims apparently had marginal interest in the religious nature of the pilgrimage route, and instead used the charity of others as a means to sustain their own personal existence. Thus part of chapter one will also examine the response of the local people and local authorities to such pilgrims who were apparently seen as being disruptive and causing trouble.

Chapter two begins a three-part study of the various forms of charity available for free, or at a minimal cost, that have been observed since the Tokugawa period. These amenities have been organized into the following categories: temples, private homes, and other places, with each main group including sub-categories such as ‘road-side temples’

(*ekiroji*), ‘Inns to accumulate merit’ (*zenkonyado*), ‘Pilgrim Inns’ (*henroya* or *henroyado*), and huts. Further development of the motives as to why such accommodation was offered will also be examined.

Chapter three is the second part of the forms of charitable giving along the Shikoku route. This chapter will offer descriptions of such aids as lanterns, path markers, guidebooks and tour guides that were provided so that the pilgrims could safely achieve their goal of completing the pilgrimage without getting lost, without making a mistake in pilgrim etiquette and with the necessary information enabling them to prepare for and survive the journey. Finally Chapter four concludes the examination begun in Chapter two, by focusing on the forms of goods and services provided willingly for the benefit and support of the pilgrims including food and tea being offered, personal assistance, free transportation and other services.

The evidence offered through Chapters two through four supports the hypothesis that the custom of charitable giving was extremely widespread and took many forms. Moreover, this action of giving was not only voluntary, but was also at times a very well organized and formalized action. Although earlier pilgrims suffered due to restrictions and regulations implemented by local governments to control or limit ‘undesirable’ pilgrims, or due to social changes such as war, famines or other natural disasters, pilgrims would still for the most part be assured of receiving charity while traveling along the Shikoku pilgrimage route. The reasons for such charitable behaviour are many: showing sympathy to pilgrims for their difficult journey, family tradition, remembering one’s ancestors, or participating vicariously in the pilgrimage. As the numbers of pilgrims increased over time, those who had successfully completed the route were keenly aware

how much assistance was necessary to make the journey around Shikoku and they also began to actively participate in the role of charitable givers.

Probably one of the strongest motives for giving was rooted in the strong faith of the people in Kōbō Daishi and their belief in the concept of ‘do good and get rewarded or do evil and receive a punishment’ (*kanzen chōaku* 勧善懲悪). The numerous legends and tales that emerged over time became imbedded in the minds of the people and seemed to direct their actions. People also showed kindness to receive merit, an intangible reward that allowed them to achieve Buddhahood in this life (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏), and tangibly, a name-slip (*osamefuda* 納め札) to protect them and ensure that they would have a good, safe and rewarding life while on this earth and a good rebirth for the next life.

Source Materials

Since the beginning of the Tokugawa period, the Shikoku pilgrimage route has been a popular topic for many books, articles and other scholarly works in the Japanese language, but it is only since the twentieth century that some works on this route began to appear in Western languages. Within this thesis, there will be references to both Japanese and Western language sources, especially to diaries, travel records or guidebooks written by Japanese and foreign authors who have participated as pilgrims and have experienced first hand the custom of charitable giving.

In each chapter, different forms of charitable giving are highlighted. This will be presented by surveying the history of giving in Shikoku during the past four hundred years. It will become evident that this custom has endured for an extensive period of

time with its origins based firmly on faith in Kōbō Daishi. It is unfortunate that there is a lack of pilgrim diaries from the Tokugawa era largely because when a pilgrim died, the travel diary was buried with the deceased. Thus most of the books remaining today are those that were produced for wide publication to promote the pilgrimage for the general public. The observations of non-pilgrims will also be examined to highlight such aspects as who embarked on pilgrimages, what pilgrims wore, the road conditions, and the response of common people to the pilgrims.

The first books on the pilgrimage emerged during the seventeenth century. The earliest one available is from 1638, entitled, *Kūshō Hoshinō Shikoku Reijō Ojungyōki* (空性法親王四国靈場御行記) compiled by Kemmyo of Sugoan and based on the three-month pilgrim experience of the Daitakuji imperial prince, Kūshō Hoshinō (1572-1650). In 1653, the priest Chōzen (1612-1680) wrote the *Shikoku Henro Nikki* (四国遍路日記). Between 1687-1690 came the three most popular of the earliest books on the pilgrimage, which were produced for the general public. The first and third were written by Yuben Shinnen (d. 1691) and the second, on request of Shinnen, was written by a Mt. Kōya priest named Jakuhon (1631-?). These books are: *Shikoku Henro Michishirube* (四國邊路道指南 1687), *Shikoku Henro Reijōki* (四國偏禮靈場記 1689), and *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki* (四國偏礼功德記 1690). One foreign observer from the Genroku period (1688-1704), whose comments will be helpful for this study, was Englebert Kaempfer. He visited Japan for two years between 1690-1692 as a physician to the Dutch East India Company at Nagasaki. During his sojourn, he actively collected detailed information about all aspects of Japan and recorded his observations while traveling from Nagasaki to Edō.

During the eighteenth century, the people prospered between times of famine. The Kyōhō (1716-1736) and Tenmei (1781-1789) famines destroyed many lands and decreased the amount of food available. The only book available for this study is the *Shikoku Henro Nakagata Oboe Nikki* (四国辺路中方覚日記 1747) written by Saeki Fujihei, about whom little is known. However, the observations of the Dutchman Charles Peter Thunberg who visited Japan in 1775 will add interesting details to the concept of travel during that time. He, like Kaempfer, worked for the Dutch East India Company as a physician, lived on the island of Dejima and had the opportunity to accompany the Dutch ambassador on his journey to the imperial court in Edō.

For this study, there are several sources used from the early nineteenth century. One is the *Shikoku Henro Meisho Zue* (四国遍路名所図会 author unknown) from 1800 and another is the *Shikoku Jumpai Nikki* (四国巡拝日記) 1819 by Arai Raisuke (unknown). Other references are from a non-pilgrim, Jippensha Ikku, who traveled around Shikoku in 1821. In his book, the *Kanenowaraji* (金草鞋 1821), he offers descriptions of when and what he received as charity despite not being a pilgrim, as well as the activities of charity groups. The observations of Franz Siebold from 1823-29, who was also a medical officer and lived on Dejima, are helpful in realizing the popularity of pilgrimages during this time.

Numerous guidebooks from the twentieth century provide useful information. The ones used in this study are the *Shikoku Hachijuhakkasho Reijō Annaiki* (四国八十八カ所霊場案内記 1908), *Shikoku Reijō Hachijihakkasho Henro Hitori Annai* (四国霊場八十八カ所遍路独り案内 1910), *Shikoku Reijō Annaiki* (四国霊場案内記 1911) and *Shikoku Henro Dōgyō Ninin* (四国遍路同行二人 1920). These four books offer

substantial descriptions of the history of each temple, distances, nearest post offices and other factual information. They differ from the individualized day-to-day travel diary of Takamura Itsue (1894- 1964) who walked the route in 1918. After completing her journey, she published the events of the trip in a series of articles in a newspaper in Kyūshū. These articles were compiled after her death into the book, *Musume Junreiki* (娘巡礼記 1979) . Other books that she wrote relating her pilgrim experiences are *Ohenro* (御遍路 1938) and *Henro to Jinsei* (遍路与人生 1939). In 1907, Alfred Bohner, who was a teacher in Matsuyama, walked the route and wrote about his experience and the history of the pilgrimage route in his book ‘The Pilgrimage Route of Eighty-Eight Holy Stations of Shikoku’ (*Wallfahrt zu Zweien die 88 Heiligen Statten von Shikoku*). In his books, he often quotes from another guidebook, the *Shikoku Jūmpaiki* (四国巡拝記) from 1903. The author of this book was Kan Kikutaro (who also went by the name, Shikokuzaru), a professor at an agricultural school in Matsuyama.

A different type of primary source material is the *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō* (近世土佐遍路資料) published in 1966. This is a compilation of documents from the entire Tokugawa period that mostly highlight the laws and measures taken against ‘non-desirable’ pilgrims. Another document from the twentieth century is ‘The Spiritual Tales of the Temple, Tatsueji’ (*Tatsueji Reigenki* 立江寺靈験記) from 1926. This document records the aims and goals of a charity group that operated out of Tatsueji every year during the busy spring ‘charity-giving’ season.

CHAPTER ONE: Charitable Giving

PART A: History and Development

The act of charitable giving has a long history not only in Japan, but also in other Asian countries. Perhaps the most well-known and earliest story of someone receiving gifts of charity in Asia is of the Japanese priest Ennin (794-864) who traveled to China and stayed for ten years (838-847). In his record he offers a firsthand account of the frequency of the custom of charitable giving. For example, he states that along all the major roads of China there were private homes and stores catering to travelers, or at least prepared to take them in or feed them on demand; and that along the route leading to the holy center of Mt. Wu-tei, there was a well-organized system of religious hostels whose owners welcomed any passersby, offered free lodging and, if there was any food available, offered it as well. Ennin's diary also includes the account of a man who had become a believer and had long been preparing meager meals, which he offered to traveling monks, regardless of their number.¹⁸

When and how did the custom commence in Japan, what form did the charity take, what was given, to whom were such gifts given and why did people participate in such a selfless action? The purpose of this chapter is to present a short history of charitable giving in Japan, focusing first on early efforts to provide charitable service and good works, examining the situation along the pilgrimage route to Ise and finally, looking at the Shikoku pilgrimage route.

¹⁸ Edwin O. Reischauer. *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*. (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1955) 148.

Kōbō Daishi (774-835) before going to China is believed to have participated in ascetic training in various places in Shikoku. One of these was Mt. Tairyū, which would make him one of the earliest people to involve himself in mountainous training.

People who did such were called ‘mountain practitioners’ or *yamabushi*, a group that eventually banded together to form the ‘religious movement’ called *Shugendō*. It is interesting that this religious group incorporated many of the ideas and practices of esoteric Buddhism, brought into Japan by Kōbō Daishi.¹⁹ Within the early religious movement of *Shugendō*, there were various types of ascetics, many of whom roamed the country, conducted religious training and participated in charitable works for the public. The members of *Shugendō* included “unofficial monks (*ubasoku* 優婆塞), peripatetic holy men (*hijiri* 聖), pilgrimage guides (*sendatsu* 先達), blind musicians, exorcists, hermits and others.”²⁰

During the Middle Ages various religious figures engaged in charitable actions. One example is Chogen (1121-1206) who studied Shingon doctrine and made pilgrimages to sacred mountains throughout Japan. While traveling the country, he promoted public works and the religious merit of building temples, erecting statutes and holding services.²¹ Eizon (1201-1290), a priest who had studied esoteric teachings on Mount Kōya and at Daigo-ji, was well liked amongst the nobility. He also worked among members of the outcast class and journeyed throughout Japan preaching. It is said

¹⁹ Edwin Bernbaum. *Sacred Mountains of the World*. (San Francisco: Sierra Club Book, 1990.) 70.

²⁰ Paul Swanson. “Shugendō and Yoshino-Kumano Pilgrimage.” *Monumenta Nipponica*. vol.36. no.1 Spring 1981 56.

²¹ Yūsen Kashiwahara and Kōyū Sonoda. *Shapers of Japanese Buddhism* (Tōkyō: Kōsei Printing, 1994) 264.

that in his travels among the common people, he built bridges, established hostels for travelers and clinics for the ill, as well as distributed food and money to the poor.²² His disciple Ninshō (1217-1303) also participated in similar activities for public welfare, working hard at helping the poor and homeless by building two centers to care for the ill and needy.²³ These individuals worked to improve the condition of those less fortunate, but over time common people as individuals or groups became involved in offering charitable deeds such as free lodging, food and services.

The best example of the history of charitable giving, outside Shikoku, is the pilgrimage to Ise Shrine, the shrine dedicated to Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess and mythological foundress of Japan. This route was popular for most of the Tokugawa period, so much so that that between one to five million pilgrims crowded the highways and roads leading to Ise during the peak years. As early as 1585, a Catholic missionary, Luis Frois, observed the popularity of Ise as a popular travel destination. “As a pilgrimage destination from among the various countries of Japan, most gather to Ise Shrine where the extent of the numbers of people are so many that make it impossible to believe. The people, who do such, are not only low class common people, but they are also noble men and women.”²⁴ He indicates that representatives of all types of common people were seen along its path. Another foreigner, Franz von Siebold who was in Japan between 1823 and 1829, mentioned the importance of everyone doing the pilgrimage to Ise at least once in his or her lifetime. He wrote, “To make this pilgrimage to Isye [sic] at

²² Taiko Yamazaki. *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. (London: Sambhala Publishing) 50.

²³ Kashiwahara (1994) 269.

²⁴ Tsunezō Shinjo. *Shomin to Tabi no Rekishi*. (Tōkyō: Nihon Hoso Shuppan) 45.

least once is imperatively incumbent upon man, woman and child of every rank and it might almost be said of every religion.”²⁵

Acceptance of charity allowed people to survive while traveling to such sites as Ise Shrine or a pilgrimage route. One of the earliest examples of charitable giving along the road to Ise Shrine occurred during the first peak year of 1705 when many storeowners actively participated in giving because by doing so, they could become involved vicariously in the pilgrimage and feel the passion and excitement of the pilgrims.²⁶ Some sixty years later, during the second peak year of 1771, “Almsgivers, outnumbering the pilgrims in some places by as many as seven to one, stood by the roadside to drop gifts into the pilgrim’s outstretched hands and that charitable giving (*segyō* 施行) became both more generous and more highly organized.”²⁷

Some of these individuals banded together to form charity groups. For example, in the mid-eighteenth century, the ‘Confraternity of the Sacred Dance’ group, which consisted of rich families from Kyōto, provided aid along the route to Ise. They donated a number of items: umbrellas, raincoats, sandals, money, paper, fans and various kinds of goods to the passerby. The people in this charitable group also provided tobacco, dried seaweed, fish, tea, beans, rice, bamboo or reed hats, noodles, lanterns, miso soup and even bags to carry the gifts away in.²⁸ Other groups “also included a wide variety of

²⁵ Phillip Franz Siebold. *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the nineteenth century*. (New York: Harper, 1973 reprint 1841) 240.

²⁶ Michio Aoki. ed. *Ikki Seikatsu Bunka Shiso*. Vol. 4. “Okagemairi to Ee ja nai ka.” (Tōkyō: Tōkyō University Shuppankai, 1981.) 322.

²⁷ Winston Davis. “Pilgrimage and World Renewal: A Study of Religion and Social Values in Tokugawa Japan- Part 1” *History of Religion*. 23-2 (1984) 104.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

services: haircuts, hot baths, rides on horseback, in boats or palanquins and lodging for the night.”²⁹

During the third peak of 1805, an estimated five million people participated and the scale of giving intensified with even some local governments becoming involved in charitable giving. For example, in Awa (Tokushima prefecture) the local daimyō donated 3,000 koku of rice to pilgrims in Ōsaka and provided 150 palanquins for their use.³⁰

While some governments were providing support, there were indications that some local authorities were not always pleased with so many people leaving their lands to pursue such ‘leisurely’ activities. As a result, some local governments tried to implement travel restrictions, such as allowing only those of a certain economic wealth to be issued travel passports, determining when and where one could travel, who was allowed to travel, and the number of days one could travel.³¹ However, despite such measures, the numbers of pilgrims only increased.

There are certain reasons why the government did not take a more forceful stance. One was out of fear. The authorities may have been fearful of people’s reactions if prohibited from being able to travel. The seemingly supportive attitude toward pilgrimage travel in some areas acted as a guard against any possible insurrection, keeping the people happy and pacified.³² The other reason was also based in fear because

²⁹ Winston Davis. “Pilgrimage and World Renewal: A Study of Religion and Social Values in Tokugawa Japan- Part 1” *History of Religion*. 23:2 (1984) 104.

³⁰ Winston Davis. “Pilgrimage and World Renewal: A Study of Religion and Social Values in Tokugawa Japan- Part 2” *History of Religion*. 23:3 (1984) 207.

³¹ For detailed ways on how the local governments attempted to control pilgrimage travel, see Vaporis. *Breaking Barriers*. p 198-216.

³² Vaporis. *Breaking Barriers*. 204.

the authorities held some degree of belief in the spiritual belief of ‘karmic retribution.’ Therefore, if one prohibited so-called religious figures from making a spiritual journey, one would be subject to a punishment. The Shikoku pilgrimage and its strong ties with the legends of Kōbō Daishi demonstrate the official acceptance of prevalent beliefs.

Shikoku History

The word ‘charitable giving’ has been identified using a variety of different words, including *segyō* (施行), *fuse* (布施), *kanjin* (勧進), *kisha* (喜捨) or *hōsha* (報謝).

However, in Shikoku, the concept is most commonly known by the word *settai*

(接待).³³ According to one Japanese language dictionary (日本国語大辞典), *settai* has three principle meanings: 1) to entertain guests; 2) to give to monks or to give meals to pilgrims and the poor at a temple, and 3) in general, to give meals or tea. In Shikoku, *settai* is best described by the second definition. Shimazaki (Tanaka) Hiroshi, for example, adds that *settai* “refers to the practice of giving goods, money and accommodation to pilgrims in the belief that such actions will gain merit for the donor.”³⁴

In Japan this custom seems to have originated earlier in other pilgrimage routes, such as the Saikoku route, or Ise Shrine before appearing in Shikoku. The question that needs to be addressed is, did this custom transfer from the other pilgrimage routes such as the Ise

³³ Maeda Takashi argues that the difference between 接待 and 撰待 (both of which are read as *settai*) is that the former means to entertain a guest, while the latter is one kind of gift (*fuse*) namely *moncha* (gate-tea). Alfred Bohner argues that the word ‘*settai*’ is actually made up of the words ‘*se*’ meaning ‘gift’ and ‘*tai*’ meaning ‘to wait’.

³⁴ Hiroshi Tanaka. *Pilgrim Places- a study of the eighty-eight sacred precincts of the Shikoku pilgrimage of Japan*. (unpublished Phd dissertation. Simon Fraser University, 1975) 49.

Shrine or thirty-three temple Saikoku route, or did it begin in Shikoku in some other form?

Although Buddhism teaches the importance of giving alms to monks, Takeda Akira, the author of several books on the Shikoku pilgrimage route, has proposed one theory on the origins of *settai* in Shikoku. He suggests that the original form of *settai* began at shrines far away from any roads or pilgrims paths. These shrines were known by different names such as: *yotsuashidō* (四つ足堂), *yotsudō* (四堂), *daishidō* (大師堂), *ujidō* (氏堂) or *jizodō* (地藏堂) and they were small structures having a grass-thatched or tiled roof supported by four pillars. Inside each shrine was a figure that determined the different names. For example, a *Jizodō* had a *jizō* statue, an *Ujidō* had a clan's guardian god and a *Daishidō* was where a statue of Kōbō Daishi would be enshrined. It is unclear which deity was enshrined within a *yotsudō* or *yotsuashidō*; however, it is most likely they contained a guardian god as those shrines were sometimes called *ujidō*.

As the number of legends about Kōbō Daishi increased some of the non-*daishidō* shrines, despite predating Kōbō Daishi, began to forgo their original names.³⁵ One reason for this change may have been because of efforts by Shingon priests from Mt. Kōya in the Tokugawa era to expand their sect in Shikoku. In any case, the original or newly named *daishidō* (also called *odō*) fulfilled two different roles, one for the benefit of a deity, and the second for the needs of the people. The first role is apparent in that these shrines were a place where gifts were laid out for the enshrined Kōbō Daishi. For

³⁵ Sachiko Misawa Kanai. "Development of the Kobo Daishi Cult and beliefs in Japan and their connection with the Shikoku pilgrimage." *Young East*. Vol. 6. Issue 2 (Spring 1980): 25.

example, a reference in the *Shikoku Henro Meisho Zue* (1800) states: “At the hut there is also *settai* (gifts) where Kōbō Daishi is enshrined” (庵常撰待あり、大師安置).³⁶ The second role was that “the Odō or Daishidō acted as a gathering places for the villagers to conduct religious rites such as funeral and memorial rites.”³⁷ However it appears that, for example in Tosa (Kōchi prefecture), there were many *odō* which were called *chadō* (tea building) whose main function was to provide tea, but also red bean rice (*sekihan*), and other foods.³⁸ At an *odō*, it is apparent that food and tea were not being presented to a statue of a deity, but to humans. This change implies a shift over time in the recipient of *settai*, yet does not prove that people stopped offering gifts to deities.

PART B: WHY GIVE?

Faith in Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師信仰)

Kōbō Daishi (774-835), the ‘founder’ of the Shikoku pilgrimage route and of Shingon Buddhism in Japan, is one of the most respected and popular Buddhist masters of Japan. Consequently during his life, but more especially after his ‘death’, Kōbō Daishi’s fame grew with thousand of folktales emerging about his life. Within these tales there is a frequent recurring theme of rewards and punishments (*kanzen chōaku* 勸善懲惡). The message of such tales emphasized that if one did a good deed, one would be rewarded and protected or, vice versa, that if one did an evil deed, one would suffer some kind of punishment. This theme is closely connected to the belief in karma – that result is determined by one’s action and that an evil action is susceptible to ‘karmic retribution.’

³⁶ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. “Shikoku Henro Meisho Zue.” (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 261.

³⁷ Kanai (1980) 23.

These beliefs proved effective in encouraging the people to show kindness and provide charity to pilgrims.³⁹

In Shinnen's book, *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki* (四国遍路功德記 1690), there are twenty-seven tales based on the themes of *kanzen choaku* and karmic retribution. Two examples of 'good' results because of a person's belief or good action are Tale Six and Twenty-three. Tale Six states "There was a fire in the village, but only one house was left unscathed. Everyone was suspicious, but the couple had been strong believers who lent lodging to pilgrims and fed them. For this reason, people say that they were protected by Kōbō Daishi."⁴⁰ Tale Twenty-Three tells of a man who was sick and who wanted, but was unable, to do the pilgrimage. Instead, he persistently performed deeds such as providing lodging and showing hospitality to pilgrims. As a result, one day, he was suddenly cured of his sickness and could finally achieve his long awaited goal of participating as a pilgrim.⁴¹

On the other hand, there are also many stories focusing on uncharitable people and the punishment they received. In regards to the Shikoku pilgrimage, the best known of these stories is that of Emon Saburō (右衛門三郎 dates unknown), whose story is recorded in three books on the pilgrimage: Chōzen's *Henro Nikki* (1653), Jakuhon's *Reijōki* (1689) and Shinnen's *Kudokuki* (1690). Chōzen's account is the longest of the three, but Shinnen notes that Emon walked the route twenty-one times in search of Kōbō

³⁹ Similar tales are found in the *Nihon Ryōiki* of Kyōkai compiled in the ninth century. The English translation is *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*. Kyoyo Nakamura. trans. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973)

⁴⁰ Iyoshi Dankai. ed.. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. "Shikoku Henro Kudokuki." (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 218.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 229.

Daishi, and Jakuhon states that Emon's eight children were all sons. It is, however, the moral message that should be noted.

Emon is not thought of highly by the authors of the early books. Chōzen described Emon by stating, “that there was no one as wicked as he was under the heavens, someone who was so acrimonious and unkind” (天下無双ノ悪人にて慳貪放逸ノ者也).⁴² Jakuhon says that Emon was greedy, had no morals and had no respect for the gods (貪欲無道にして、神仏に背けり).⁴³ In the story, one day a priest approached Emon (actually, the priest was Kōbō Daishi in disguise) and begged for alms. Emon refused to give him anything and sent him away. The next day, the priest returned and did the same, but Emon acted in the same way. On the third day, Emon lost his temper, struck the monk with a broom and smashed the monk's begging bowl into eight pieces. Surprisingly, even Emon was shocked at the severity of his own actions and he ran home where he found that his children were acting as if they were crazy. Then he realized that the priest must have been Kōbō Daishi and that he had treated him very wickedly (吾は此れ空海なり、誠に邪陰放逸にして...).⁴⁴ As a result of his selfish behaviour, his ‘karmic retribution’ was that his eight children died over the next eight days. Feeling remorseful and wanting to seek forgiveness from Kōbō Daishi, Emon embarked on the pilgrimage to find him. After twenty-one treks around Shikoku, he fell with exhaustion near Temple 12, Shosanji. Kōbō Daishi appeared, forgave Emon and allowed him to be

⁴² Iyoshi Dankai. ed. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” 45.

⁴³ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. “Shikoku Henro Reijōji.” 195.

⁴⁴ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” 45.

reborn as a human again, thus nullifying any negative karma that Emon had incurred.⁴⁵

The punishment in the Emon Saburō and other stories of those who do not give willingly to a monk may seem overly severe. However, as seen in the case of Emon's fate, one can nullify one's bad karma, and by giving to pilgrims, not only achieve happier rebirths, but obtain good health, luck and wealth while in this world.⁴⁶

There is also a folktale involving Kōbō Daishi directly that has specific connection to the Shikoku pilgrimage route and the concept of offering free lodging. It recounts a day when Kōbō Daishi was traveling the route, arriving in a village in the evening and looking for a place to stay. No one offered him accommodation so, as an unfortunate consequence, he had to spend the night under a bridge (known as the Ten-night Bridge today). The account of this incident, documented around 1638, describes how long that night felt to him as he suffered in the bitter cold.

If you go a little further, you will reach Tokuno temple where there is a bridge that has had its name changed from Miyano Bridge to the Ten Night's bridge. In the days when Kōbō Daishi was walking the route, he came to this place requesting a place to stay, however, there was no one who would lend him such. At that bridge, he stayed throughout the darkness of night. When the people heard the story that Kōbō Daishi had suffered through the night with the cold winds penetrating his skin and where it had felt like ten nights, they shortly thereafter changed the name, placed an altar there and placed incense that would never die out throughout night or day. This became a place well known amongst all people.⁴⁷

暫し行く里徳能寺、往南の宮矢野の橋、十夜の橋とぞ名換へしは、大師行脚の頃とかに、此地へ来りて宿乞ふに、誰貸し与へん人ぞなし。闇夜を明す橋の上、寒風凜凜肌を透く一夜の寒苦、十夜にも勝り積れる言の葉は、

⁴⁵ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. "Shikoku Henro Nikki." 45.

⁴⁶ Winston Davis. "Pilgrimage and World Renewal: A Study of religion and social values in Tokugawa Japan- Part 1". *History of Religion*, 23-2. (1984) 97-116.

⁴⁷ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. "Kūseihōshinō Shikoku Reijō Ojungyōki." (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 20.

聞人感じて斯く名け、辺りに堂宇営みて、昼夜香花の絶えざるは、人皆知れる所なり。

The reaction of the villagers when they became aware of what had happened demonstrates their feelings of guilt for allowing him to suffer so much because of the lack of accommodation.⁴⁸ As a result, it seems that progressively more people offered their homes to pilgrims because the ‘unknown pilgrim’ could be Kōbō Daishi himself, and to refuse him accommodation would make one liable to a karmic punishment.

The giving of *settai* became more and more an integral part of the religious beliefs of the people related to the Shikoku pilgrimage route. Even in the twentieth century, when Oliver Statler, author of *Japanese Pilgrimage*, asked the charity groups (*settaikō*) why they provided such benefits to total strangers without any fee, they replied with a variety of responses, the most frequent being that the pilgrim might, in fact, be the still-living great saint Kūkai traveling incognito - an ancient belief associated with this particular pilgrimage. To provide for the great saint would be an unusual opportunity to perform an act of piety.⁴⁹

People also gave to obtain merit for themselves and the accumulation of merit would determine the degree to which one would be spared any misfortune. People sought to obtain such an intangible gift after they provided some form of charity to a pilgrim traveling through Shikoku. The emphasis on karma, the obtaining of merit and

⁴⁸ see Appendix 2.

NOTE: Even today while the bridge has changed to a concrete form, I found in my visit to this place on a very windy February afternoon that I could easily imagine what it might have been like to stay under that bridge for a whole night. Honestly, I just wanted to get back to the car! Interestingly, I found under the bridge, an altar with different carvings and statues of Kōbō Daishi. One particular statue even lies in a bed covered with quilts that obviously modern-day villagers have placed over him for warmth!

⁴⁹ William LaFleur. “Points of Departure: Comments on Religious Pilgrimage in Sri Lanka and Japan.” *Journal of Asian Studies*. Vol. XXXVIII no.2 (February 1979): 274.

the theme of rewards and punishments changed people's attitude toward pilgrims and as a result, they participated more in charitable giving. Sachiko Kanai suggests that, "People in the old days were not really very charitable, but as the Daishi legends grew and wishing to accumulate merit for oneself, one's family and relatives or even one's community, the custom of *settai* grew and became important in the Daishi belief."⁵⁰

Osamefuda

People gave goods and services to pilgrims to obtain intangible rewards such as merit and to receive a tangible reward of a name-slip from a pilgrim. These name-slips called '*osamefuda*' (納札) have a long history throughout Japan. According to the *Japanese Buddhism Dictionary*, they became popular between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the oldest physical examples coming from the Bandō 33-temple route (坂東) dating from 1340 and another from the Saikoku (西国) route from 1479.⁵¹ From the Shikoku pilgrimage route, the earliest known *osamefuda* are a wooden one from 1640 and a copper one from 1650.⁵² However, the earliest reference to *osamefuda* being used by a pilgrim is recorded in the Chōzen's *Henro Nikki* (1653). Chōzen describes the actions of Emon Saburō when he went in search of Kōbō Daishi around the Shikoku route. He says that Emon at Temple 12, Shōsanji: "At that time, I hung a *fuda* at the mountain of Shōsan of Awa province" (在時阿波ノ国焼山ノ札を納テ).⁵³

⁵⁰ Kanai (1980) 25.

⁵¹ Yoshio Imaizumi ed. *Nihon Bukkyōshi Jiten*. (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kobunkan) 733.

⁵² Bohner (1927) 32. The 1650 fuda was on a shrine at Temple no. 53 Emmyoji in the village of Wake in Matsuyama.

⁵³ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. "Shikoku Henro Nikki." (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 46.

Pilgrims usually carried with them many name-slips (*osamefuda*) to give away to donors of charity and to place at each temple. In 1687, Shinnen gave instructions on how to prepare both the name-slip and the container used to carry them. First of all, the *osamefuda* case should be 6x18 cm in size and one should write on one side the date and the saying, ‘Dedication of two walking together in Shikoku’ (*Hōnō Shikoku naka Henro Dōgyō ninin* 奉納四国中遍路同行二人).⁵⁴ Then on the other side of the box should be written, ‘I put my faith in Daishi’ (*Namu Daishi Hensho Kongō* 南無大師遍昭金剛) along with your name and the place where you are from.⁵⁵ A guidebook dated from 1908 gives instructions on how to prepare *osamefuda* by stating: “The *osamefuda* is to be divided into six and the date, your name and address written on it. It is good to carry a lot with you because when you receive lodging at a person’s home (*zenkonyado*) or other kinds of *settai*, you must give one name-slip away” (納札は半紙六つ切にして (何年、何月、何日) 国、所、姓名と書く、成るべく数多く所持す可し、善根宿、お撰待等を受けたる時は必ず一枚宛渡すべきものなり) .⁵⁶

These name-slips served not only as a tangible receipt of the giving and receiving relationship between donor and pilgrim, but they also had a more significant meaning for the pilgrims themselves. On a name slip, along with the name of the pilgrim, prayers

⁵⁴ NOTE: the word ‘*dōgyō ninin*’ is another key concept seen in many pilgrimage routes in Japan. For example, along the Kannon routes, if one is traveling as a pair, one writes ‘Two walking together’ (*dōgyō ninin*), if one is traveling in a group of three, one writes, ‘Three walking together’ (*dōgyō sannin*). However, in Shikoku, it is always ‘*dōgyō ninin*’ which means that ‘one is walking with Kōbō Daishi.’

⁵⁵ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. “Shikoku Henro Michishirube.” (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 71.

⁵⁶ Yasumori Chiku. *Shikoku Hachijuhakkasho Reijō Annaiki*. (Kyoto: Rokudai Shinposha, 1908) 11. NOTE: Fuda were made from *hanshi* (one type of Japanese paper) measuring 35cm in width X 25cm in length that was folded and cut into six (5-5 cm W X 25cm L) slips. (Bohner p.78)

were also inscribed and at each religious site, a pilgrim would offer one at the main shrine and *Daishidō*. Ian Reader adds that *osamefuda* are “perhaps more commonly [used] still, as a means of communicating the pilgrim’s presence to the various entities enshrined at the sites. As such they are deposited in the special boxes set out for this purpose at each pilgrimage site, as a gesture of veneration and as a means of transmitting the pilgrim’s requests to Kōbō Daishi and the Buddhas.”⁵⁷ Thus the name-slips were a part of the belief system in Kōbō Daishi. Pilgrims believed that by writing prayers and other requests on a name-slip and offering it at a temple, their wish or prayer might come true due to the benevolence and power of Kōbō Daishi.

Not only might prayers come true, but also *osamefuda* were thought to have special powers. Oliver Statler offers some examples of these beliefs from the twentieth century. He found that a common use for the name-slips was as a protective amulet. In 1971, he noticed people from a charity group collecting *osamefuda* while they operated at Temple One, Ryōzenji. “The name-slips they receive from pilgrims are carried home and distributed to the households who gave charity. Families treasure them as powerful talismans against misfortune.”⁵⁸ Statler continues with another account in which a family was protected by the *osamefuda*. “Later in our pilgrimage we hear of a family who have traditionally offered *settai* at a ferry crossing. About fifty years ago a terrible fire swept the town. That family’s house was in the middle of it but on a straw rope they

⁵⁷ Ian Reader “Pilgrimage as a Cult: The Shikoku Pilgrimage as a Window on Japanese Religion.” *Religion in Japan- Arrows to Heaven and Earth*. (England: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 273.

⁵⁸ Oliver Statler. *Japanese Pilgrimage*. (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1983) 184.

tied the hundreds of name-slips they had received that year from henro and strung them around their house; it was saved.”⁵⁹

The belief in the power of the *osamefuda* received from a Shikoku pilgrim is strong and it seems that the more charitable one was, the more name slips one would collect, and thus the greater possibility of being spared from sickness or disaster. For example, some families strove to collect numerous name-slips and store them in a straw bag, which would be hung from the ceiling and act as a protective amulet. However, if a family could not gather a lot, a few were hung in the entranceway of the house for protection from fire and evil spirits.⁶⁰ People throughout Japan, including Shikoku, believed in the protective power of the *osamefuda* and attempted to collect as many as possible. The collecting of *osamefuda* and the belief in its power has continued until the present today, yet more than quantity, people seem more interested in collecting a gold-colored nameslip, which a pilgrim uses after fifty completions of the route around Shikoku.

PART C: When to give charity?

The day of Kōbō Daishi’s demise influenced when most people gave *settai*. He is said to have died on the twenty-first day of the third month in 835. As a result, the twenty-first has become a ‘special day’ (*ennichi* 縁日) or ‘memorial day’ (*kijitsu* 忌日) of commemoration of his ‘death’ during which people participate in fairs and markets

⁵⁹ Oliver Statler. *Japanese Pilgrimage*. (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1983) 184.

⁶⁰ Eiki Hoshino, “Shikoku henro in okeru settai no imi.” *Shukyō Kenkyū*. 47:2 (Jan. 1974): 85.

and in giving charity.⁶¹ The records of Shikoku pilgrims record that most of their *settai* were received around this date, which in the modern era has been set as March 21st. One example from *Shikoku Jumpai Nikki* is found on March 21, 1819 where the author writes near Temple 84, Yashimaji (屋島寺): “Today, there was *settai* at twelve places of such things as sandals, head shaves and money for food” (今日ハ撰待十二所有めし錢月代わらぢ等).⁶² Four days later, he records receiving even more gifts and writes: “On March 25th, there were a number of people who came out to give *settai*, and there were twenty-eight places that I received *settai* in one day” (三月二十五日二ハ撰待二出ル人々夥し、一日二十八カ所撰待ノ出ル).⁶³ Another reference comes from a different travel diary from 1833. Here the pilgrim is said to have received *settai* a total of seventy-one times during the entire journey, yet received it mostly on March 21st when it was eleven times.⁶⁴ Another reference, while not specifically identifying the amount of *settai* received, does further demonstrate the abundance of *settai* given around March 21. “We received *settai* at many places for example *settai* of head shaves that were very good” (撰待も沢山数カ所月代之撰待二て相頼の奇麗也).⁶⁵ [emphasis mine] It would appear

⁶¹ Note: Thus the twenty-first of each month is Kōbō Daishi’s *ennichi* (special day) when fairs and markets such as the one at Kyōto’s Tōji temple are held. From Prof. Ian Reader: The twenty-first of the third month of the old calendar is when Iyo Oshima in the Inland Sea has its *henro ichi* (pilgrimage market) a 3-day even when the little huts on the island’s 88 stage route are manned, when locals give out *settai* and when thousand of people come from all over to participate. Because the old calendar differs from the current one, the dates vary each year. (Email: November 2000)

⁶² Kiyoshi Hiroe. *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō*. “Shikoku Jumpai Nikki.” (Kōchi: Tosa Minzoku Gakkai, 1966) 96.

⁶³ Ibid. 98.

⁶⁴ Eitoku Kiyoyoshi, *Henrobito Reiden*. (Niihama: Okada Kobunto, 1999) 216.

⁶⁵ Kiyoshi Hiroe. “Shikoku Jumpai Nikki.” 102.

that most *settai* was received during the spring season and giving was most prevalent around the twenty-first of March, the ‘memorial day’ of Kōbō Daishi. As a result, it is during the spring season that most people participated as pilgrims along the Shikoku route.

PART D: WHO GAVE

Spontaneous Activities by Individuals

As previously seen, in the case of the pilgrimage to Ise, people first acted by themselves in giving charity. The same is true for Shikoku. One can find frequent references in the travel diaries and other documents identifying by name those who freely provided food, lodging or other services. One of the earliest examples of an individual’s name being mentioned for offering food and lodging as *settai* is found in the *Shikoku Henro Nakagata Oboe Nikki* (1747) where it states: “On the same day [the eighth] it rained, and we stayed [at the house of] Yoheimon, were fed and were indebted for staying two nights and for being given such things as cooked food.” (一同八日大雨ふり、又、与兵衛門へ一宿、二ノ夜共段々御世話御馳走二罷成、料理物等被下候。).⁶⁶

The various types of lodging facilities that were made available will be examined in greater detail in Chapter two.

Other individuals would not provide lodging, but only food that they would give to the pilgrims from a fixed spot near a temple, or give to the pilgrims as they walked along the route. One example comes from fieldwork research during the early 1970s of Maeda Takashi who found an eighty-five-year old lady providing rice to pilgrims. She

⁶⁶ *Kagawa Kenshi* 9. “Shikoku Henro Nakagata Oboe Nikki.” (Kagawa: Shikoku Shimbunsha, 1987)

began this charitable service in 1921 in front Temple 18, Onzanji, apparently felt that it was her duty to do so, and that if she did not she might suffer from some misfortune or retribution. For that reason, if she was unable to carry out this daily activity, she made sure that another family member would do it on her behalf.⁶⁷ Other families who did not have the time to give hand-to-hand would provide *settai* from a box placed in front of their house. This container was called a ‘donation box’ or *kanjinbako* (勧進箱) and inside was an amount of rice, beans or barley that a pilgrim could take. Some houses had a fixed amount that they would put in it each day, so it was up to the pilgrim to wake up early and walk around to the various houses and collect these goods, to ensure an adequate supply of food for that day.⁶⁸

Semi-institutionalized activities by Confraternities/ Groups

As more individuals and families started to participate in charitable giving, they joined together to make village charity groups or confraternities. Some early references of pilgrims in Shikoku receiving *settai* from a village charity group come from the nineteenth century. For example, in the *Shikoku Henro Meisho Zue* (1800), “At the entrance of the village of Oka, there was *settai* of *hattaiko* [ground barley]. Also, at the village of Yamada, there was *settai* of *hattaiko*” (有り岡村入口に八袋の接待有り. 山田村此所も八袋の接待あり...).⁶⁹ Furthermore, the author of the *Shikoku Junrei Tōchū kiroku* (1833) wrote: “On the way to the village of Bekku, we received *settai* of rice from

⁶⁷ Takashi Maeda. *Junrei no Shakaigaku*. (Osaka: Naniwa Printing, 1972) 226.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ The village of Oka became part of Yamaminami district, which in 1871 had 440 houses and 1,689 people. The village of Yamada in 1801 had 247 homes with 1,011 people.

Tadanoumi in the Toyoda of Aki. From Ōtōmyō of Imabari [we received] *settai* of fried rice and in the same area from the village to Tokushige *settai* of fried rice” (別宮に付、芸州豊田郡忠海より強飯撰待、今治大嶋妙より焼米撰待、同領徳重村より焼米撰待).⁷⁰ Some villages choose to give objects of charity other than food. For example, in one area of Tokushima, it was common for locals to give money; another gave a small amount of rice. In Kōchi, a lot of homes gave tissue paper (*chirigami*) or paper for *shōji* doors while yet another area gave potatoes.⁷¹

There were two types of ‘charity groups’ or *settaikō* (接待講) operating in Shikoku. One came from across the Inland Sea from such places, as Wakayama, Osaka, Okayama, Hiroshima and Kyūshū. The other consisted of people within Shikoku. Both of these groups shared the same base of operation for distributing their goods that is from a temple with which they had arranged a reciprocal agreement. The group provided charity to pilgrims from a ‘charity building’ (*settaisho* 接待所) located on the temple grounds, which, in many cases, had been built by the charity group themselves. The temple then allowed the members of these groups to stay, at no cost, at the temple for the duration of their charitable-giving activities. Oliver Statler, in 1971, writes of the activities of one charity group that had traveled from the Wakayama Prefecture.

...At Number One [Temple] we were greeted with an outpouring of *settai*. Within minutes we were clutching tissues and handkerchiefs and caramels. As soon as we entered the gate, we were saluted by a beaming group of white-haired men and women; they were giving each pilgrim an orange, a coin, and wishes for a ‘good pilgrimage.’

⁷⁰ Bekku is part of Ochigun (Imabari han) and in 1871 had 96 homes and a population of 420.
The village of Toyoda (now Mishima city in Ehime) in 1868 had 45 houses and a population of 229.
The village of Tokushige (part of Imabari city), in 1871 had 52 homes and a population of 190.

⁷¹ Maeda (1972) 225.

... They crossed the same strait I had from the Kii Peninsula. (Wakayama) The priest's wife told me that they come every year on the same date, as the traditional season for pilgrimage begins, and take up residence in their own building, which years ago they constructed just inside the temple gate.⁷²

About one hundred and fifty years before Statler, there were charity groups that carried out the same sort of activities. For example, in 1821, Jippensha Ikku, in his book *Kanenowaraji* (金草鞋), describes the actions of a charity group that involved people from within Shikoku (see Appendix #5). Another charity group similar in function to that observed by Jippensha and Statler is the 'The Tatsueji Temple Charity Group' (*Tatsueji Zenkonkai* 立江寺善根会) that operated out of Temple 19, Tatsueji. The document, 'The Spiritual Tales of Tatsueji' (*Tatsueji Reigenki* 立江寺靈驗記) from 1925 identifies the aims and purposes of this group. This charity group provided such goods as free postage handling, free temple stamps, food and other necessary items for daily life. The author of this document provides the motive for this group's activities in that "the act of giving charity is something taught to us by Kōbō Daishi over one thousand years ago and those that do so should give to the pilgrims as if intending to give to Kōbō Daishi" (see Appendix 6).⁷³

Institutionalized Activities and Reaction of the Local Authorities

The groups most organized and formalized, more so than those observed by Jippensha and Statler, were the local and national authorities. Their actions, however, were mostly geared toward regulating and controlling pilgrims although, in some cases, assistance was provided. These opposing actions have puzzled scholars and it is easy to

⁷² Statler (1983) 183.

⁷³ Rinsui Hashizume. *Tatsueji Reigenki*. (Tokushima: Matsuo Printing, 1925) 24.

focus on the former. For example, during the Tokugawa period, it became increasingly easier for anyone to embark on a journey. A nation-wide highway system was created, the economy continued to grow, people prospered, farmers were allowed to travel during the non-busy times, the numbers of confraternity groups offering help increased, and the practice of alms-giving played a role in the popularity of travel. However, travelers were still forced by the government to carry a ‘travel passport’ or *ōrai tegata* (往来手形) on which was stamped such things as their name, destination and length of trip. When a person arrived at a border crossing (*sekisho* 関所) their documents were checked and, if things were not in order, that person would not be allowed to pass through. In fact, authorities in some domains strove to control the number of pilgrims entering their lands because they believed that “those desirous of becoming pilgrims were threatening the stable order of human society.”⁷⁴ In Shikoku, the strictest domain was Tosa (Kōchi prefecture) where, by 1663, the local authorities were forbidding pilgrims to enter or leave the domain except at two authorized places. Then in the eighteenth century, the local authorities made pilgrims follow a set route, allowed them to stay only one night in any one place, and prescribed the number of days allowed to cross the domain.⁷⁵ By the nineteenth century, an article appeared in the *Tosa Newspaper* (1876) calling for the entire abolition of pilgrims (*henro* 遍路). The reasons given were: 1) it was believed pilgrims would transmit disease, 2) the outbreak of thefts, 3) not knowing what to do with sick pilgrims, 4) the belief that something bad will happen unless you give food or other things to someone when they come begging, and 5) pilgrims are standing in front of

⁷⁴ Carmen Blacker. “The Religious Traveller in the Edo Period.” *Modern Asian Studies* 18,4 (1984) 605.

⁷⁵ Blacker (1984) 604.

stores and thus, disturbing businesses.⁷⁶ Such behaviour seen in Tosa could have arisen from the anti-Buddhist movement that began after the Meiji Restoration (1868).

Despite such restrictive and prohibitive measures, the local authorities were not entirely without compassion. Nathalie Kouame in her 1997 article argues that while there were various restrictions placed upon the pilgrims such as the numbers of days they could spend in each domain, or what roads they could travel on, if the aims and activities of the pilgrim were of a religious nature they were tolerated and supported by the authorities.⁷⁷ Constantine Vaporis provides a possible reason as to why pilgrims were tolerated by stating “sekisho or bansho guards were reluctant to prevent legitimate pilgrims without permits from completing their ritual act because of its sacred nature and the fear of bringing harm unto themselves.”⁷⁸ It seems that, to some degree, the authorities believed in karmic retribution and ‘tolerated and supported’ pilgrims. In Chapter four, part two, the ways in which the local authorities assisted pilgrims who were sick or who had died will be examined in detail.

⁷⁶ Kiyoshi Hiroe. *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō*. (Kochi: Tosa Minzoku Gakkai, 1966) 14-15.

⁷⁷ Nathalie Kouame. “Shikoku’s Local Authorities and Henro during the Golden Age of the Pilgrimage.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*. Fall 1997.

Nathalie Kouame’s unpublished PhD dissertation “Le Pelerinage de Shikoku Pendant L’Epoque D’Edo.” Institut National Des Langues Et Civilization Orientales (1997) discusses extensively the laws relating to pilgrims and demonstrates that there was a lot of emphasis in them on caring for pilgrims.

⁷⁸ Vaporis 177.

PART E: WHO RECEIVED CHARITY?

People who embarked as pilgrims to Shikoku came from all classes of society. There were people of nobility, religious figures, samurai and common people who traveled, perhaps to escape the pressures of their everyday lives, to explore new places, or for some religious purpose. However, pilgrims can be divided into two basic groups: those with religious or honest intentions and those without. The former category includes those, many of them women, who walked the Shikoku route in hope that a prayer would come true, that one would be healed, or for some other personal reason. In fact, one reason why so many women participated in the Shikoku pilgrimage was that, for Shikoku women, it was a requirement before getting married.⁷⁹ People in Shikoku believed that, if a woman completed the pilgrimage, Kōbō Daishi would act as a ‘Connecting God’ (*musubi no kami* 結びの神) to ensure that she would be ‘connected’ to a good partner in marriage. This belief and custom seems to have been most popular in Awa and continued as late as the early twentieth century.⁸⁰

The latter category of ‘non-religious’ or ‘non-desirable’ pilgrims who also benefited from receiving *settai* included those such as, “runaways, low ranking samurai, people pretending to be Kōya ‘holy men’ (*hijiri*) and trying to sell things, those with leprosy, those who had been expelled from home to lessen the numbers of mouths to feed, and thieves and beggars.”⁸¹ Even as early as 1690, such ‘fake’ pilgrims (*nise henro* 偽遍路) or ‘professional’ pilgrims or ‘working pilgrims’ (*shokugyō henro* 職業遍路) began to

⁷⁹ Shimazaki (1975) quoting from Akira Takeda ‘Shikokuji’ 89.

⁸⁰ Bohner 116.

⁸¹ Ninsho Miyazaki. *Shikoku Henro*. (Osaka: Toki Shobō, 1985) 175.

appear more predominantly on the roads. In 1690, Kaempfer noticed this phenomenon when traveling to the Ise Shrine:

There are also a number of slippery customers who pretend that they are on this pilgrimage (Ise Mairi), and for as long as they are doing well spend most of the year on the road begging. Others manage to perform this pilgrimage in a rather theatrical and amusing fashion, to more successfully attract people's attention and money.⁸²

He also adds a description of the situation along the Saikoku thirty-three-pilgrimage route.

“Some [pilgrims] like this pious vagabond life so much that they have no desire to earn their living by any other occupation but spend their time traveling the country in a never-ending pilgrimage.”⁸³

This latter group caused trouble not only for the local people, but also for the authorities. However, in Shikoku, any type of pilgrim could receive charity without bias, mostly from the local people and to some degree from the local governments. The authorities appeared to be more concerned with applying pressure to ‘non-desirable’ pilgrims through restrictions and control measures. For example, the Tosa provincial government during the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) periods used the police to round up (*henro gari* 遍路狩り) all the sick, professional and begging pilgrims and banish them from the domain.⁸⁴ Such restrictive actions do not prove, however, that the authorities did not provide any form of charity, assistance or support to the pilgrims.

⁸² Bodart-Bailey Beatrice M. ed. *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999) 275.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Details of such actions are recorded in the Kiyoshi Hiroe. *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō*. (Kōchi: Tosa Minzoku Gakkai, 1966)

In fact, the local authorities did help by providing lodging and foods, escorting such people back to their villages or giving them a proper burial if they died.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ This topic of how the pilgrims were sandwiched between the populace who treated them with hospitality and cordiality and the government who treated them through exclusion and regulations is discussed in Eiki Hoshino. "Kihī to Kōgū- Shikoku henrosha no tachiba." *Bukkyō Minzoku no Ryōiki*. (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankokai, 1978) 167-183.

CHAPTER 2- ACCOMMODATIONS

Pilgrims in Shikoku have had a wide range of places available for accommodation with many of them provided as *settai*. Some facilities cost money, but in many cases something was provided for free. Some local people acted out of compassion or sympathy while others acted out their belief in the importance of charitable giving and the concept of rewards and punishments. This chapter will discuss the various types of accommodations that were provided, the degree to which they were offered for free, and the reasons for the charitable actions of some of the owners. To do so, the topic of accommodation will be divided into three main categories: Temples, Houses and Lodges.

PART 1: TEMPLES

Ekioji 駅路寺

The earliest available example of free accommodation for travelers is found in the concept of ‘road-side temples’ (*Ekioji*). In the year 1598, Hachisuka Iemasa (蜂須賀家政 1558- 1638)⁸⁶ the lord of Awa province instituted a plan to ensure that eight temples were available for travelers to lodge at on the major roads leading out of Awa domain (Tokushima prefecture).⁸⁷ This system existed only in Awa and does not seem to be found elsewhere in Japan. The first article of the edict reads as follows:

⁸⁶ NOTE: Eldest son of Hachisuka Masakatsu (1526-1586) and born in Hachisuka village in Owari (Aichi prefecture). He served with Oda Nobunaga and fought under Hideyoshi Toyotomi. In 1582, he defeated Mitsuhide Azechi in the Honnōji Incident (1582) during which Nobunaga was assassinated. In 1585, he was made Lord of Awa with a fief of 173,000 koku and lived in Tokushima Castle. In the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), he refused the invitation of Mistunari Ishida, a warlord of the Toyotomi camp and sided with Ieyasu Tokugawa.

⁸⁷ These temples were Nagataniji (長谷寺)、Suiunji (瑞運寺) (which later became Anrakuji 安楽寺. This was Temple no. 6 on the Shikoku route), Fukuoji (福生寺)、Nagarakuji (長楽寺)、Aoshokuji (青色寺)、Umetaniji (梅谷寺)、Tokoshiji (打越寺) and Entonji (円頓寺)。

The matter of these temples: The article to cause the construction of lodgings for travelers coming and leaving is something very important as a form of charity. Not just, namely for pilgrims, but namely for those who have left home, samurai and farmers, but all those wanting a place to stay with the setting of the sun, you should feed them with a meal.⁸⁸

定

一、当寺の義、往帰旅人一宿の為め建立せしめ候の条、導ら慈悲肝要たるべく。或は辺路の輩、或は出家、侍、百姓によらず行き暮れ一宿を相望むにおいては似合の馳走あるべき事。

Having ordered that such temples be constructed for the benefit of all travelers and that lodging and a meal should be provided, the lord ensured that his people fulfill this mandate by providing them with financial support (*kanjinbun* 堪忍分) to the amount of ten koku each.⁸⁹

This edict also demonstrates that the Hachisuka family wished to put into action a protection policy (*hogo seisaku* 保護政策) for the pilgrims. During that time it appeared that at some facilities owners were taking advantage of poor pilgrims by stealing their property. These new designated temples would allow travelers to go about their journey knowing that they had a safe and secure place to stay, and consequently making it much easier to travel through Awa during the seventeenth century.

However, while the original intentions might have been for the benefit of travelers, there were another possible reasons for their creation and operation. These temples designated as ‘*ekiroji*’ were close to the eight castles in Awa, which guarded and watched the nearby border crossings that led to the other provinces. It is possible that “*Ekiroji*

⁸⁸ Ninsho Miyazaki, *Henro- Sono kokoro to rekishi*. (Tōkyō: Shogakkan, 1974) 145.

⁸⁹ Yoshihiro Kondo, *Shikoku Henro*. (Tōkyō: Ofusha, 1971) 203.
and <http://www.toku-moc.go.jp/douro/isisue/isisue.html>

were built to maintain strict control over the public peace and military affairs. From these temples it was possible for paid spies to watch the activities of both travelers and nearby residents.”⁹⁰

Some fifty years after their creation, Chōzen records an unfortunate experience at Entonji (円頓寺), an *Ekirōji* near Temple 23 at the border of Awa and Tosa. He wrote: “Here is a temple called *henroyado* which the lord had helped erect and when I went for accommodation, the priest treated me unkindly, said it was impossible to stay and kicked me out” (ここに太守より遍路屋とて寺あり。往て宿を借たれば、坊主慳貪第一にてわやくを伝て追い出す).⁹¹ One possible explanation for the temple priest’s non-compliance with the original intent of *Ekirōji* and for his inhospitality could be due to the increase of ‘fake’ pilgrims. Not only were priests being unreceptive to pilgrims, but also government officials were delivering stricter regulations against pilgrims. For example, after the Genroku period (1688-1704), it was declared by officials that no lodging should be provided for just one pilgrim or traveler and this could be why Chōzen was refused. In fact, one official determined that lodging should only be given to those traveling pilgrims with a travel passport (*ōrai tegata* 往来手形)⁹² which meant those without such a document would most likely have to spend the night outside.

⁹⁰ Mayumi Banzai. *A pilgrimage to the 88 Temples in Shikoku Island*. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1973) 165. The Japanese authors told Susan Tennant, co-author of the book *Awa Henro*, that the eight temples that became *Ekirōji* were mainly for the purposes of spying. However such information was not allowed to be published in the book. (Email: Oct 12, 2000)

⁹¹ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 27.

⁹² Wakako Yamamoto. *Shikoku Henro no Minshushi* (Tokyo: Kyodo Printing, 1995) 125.

Other Temple Facilities

The experience of Chōzen is an unfortunate one, but there were numerous other temples that were willingly provided as free accommodation. In fact, Chōzen later records several instances of spending the night at a temple in his journey. For example, close to the *Ekiroji* that refused lodging, he writes at Temple 20, Kakurinji (鶴林寺), “That evening, we stayed one night at the Buddhist hall of a family of the temple” (其夜ハ寺家ノ愛染院二一宿ス).⁹³ Much later at Temple 60, Yokomineji (横峰寺), he says, “That night, we stayed at that temple” (其夜ハ此寺に宿ス).⁹⁴ These references demonstrate that there were other buildings within a temple’s grounds in which a pilgrim might have stayed. These have been identified by names as the “overnight building” (*otsuyadō* お通夜堂) or “sitting in retreatment building” (*okomoriidō* お籠り堂).⁹⁵ The *otsuyadō* is said to be, “the building in which traditionally, pilgrims spent the night free of charge, though food and bath were not provided. It is perhaps the building of simplest construction within the compound.”⁹⁶ In fact, there seems to be little difference between *otsuyadō* and *okomoriidō*. At other places food as well as accommodation was provided. For example at Temple 41 Ryūkōji (龍光寺) there is a small hut with tatami mats, bedding and a place to make meals. Sometimes neighboring people would leave food in the hut as a form of charity.

⁹³ Iyoshi Dankai ed. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” 25.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 50.

⁹⁵ Sachiko Kanai. “Development of the Kobo Daishi Cult and beliefs in Japan and their connection with the Shikoku pilgrimage.” *Young East*. Vol. 6. Issue 2 (Spring 1980) 12-37.

¹¹ Hiroshi Tanaka, “Geographic Expression of Buddhist Pilgrim Places on Shikoku Island.” *The Canadian Geographer*, no.21. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) 110-130.

By the twentieth century, the number of temples offering free lodging greatly decreased. The evolution of many, from charitable hospitality to a money charging business can be seen in the operation of the temple 19, *Tatsueji*. One document from 1925 called the “The Spiritual Tales of the Temple Tatsueji” (*Tatsueji Reigenki* 立江寺 靈驗記) explains about the “Charity Group” (*zenkonkai* 善根会) that operated out of the temple providing many charitable services for travelers. One of their activities was the provision of accommodation to a limited number of people at the temple as a free place of lodging. As part of the explanation they provide concerning their goals, they state that their activities are charitable and that they expect no money as payment. However, in a contradiction of their charitable statements, a chart is presented with the prices of services available. It notes that the guest is not obliged to pay such, but if the guest were to give a donation of gratitude for a charitable service bestowed, a monetary gift of around the price on the chart would be most appreciated.⁹⁷ This document demonstrates that the temple grounds or the temples themselves were originally established as a free place for travelers to stay, the temples began to ask for donations in the early twentieth century. This in turn has evolved into a compulsory payment at all temples today (see Appendix 6).

Henroya (遍路屋)

Another form of lodging facility provided willingly for pilgrims was a ‘pilgrim hut’ or *henroya*. While exact details of these structures are not clear, it is apparent that they have a religious connection. Chōzen makes four references to this type of accommodation and in two cases, it seems that a *henroya* was a temple or shrine. When

⁹⁷ Rinsui Hashizume. *Tatsueji Reigenki*. (Tokushima: Matsuo Printing, 1925) 25-26.

Chōzen was near Temple 23, Yakuōji (薬王寺) he recorded: “Here is a temple called *henroya* which the lord had helped erect” (ここニ太守ヨリ遍路屋トテ寺在リ).⁹⁸ He also added later on while still in the vicinity of Temple 23: “Crossing from here, at the *Daishidō* (Kōbō Daishi sanctuary) of None there is a *henroya*” (是ヲ渡リテ野根ノ大師堂トテ遍路屋在リ).⁹⁹ Other references to *henroya* made by Chōzen, however, seem to place them near the mountains. He recorded near Temple 65 Sankakuji (三角寺): “And to the mountains of the north, there is a *henroya*” (又北ノ山ギワニ遍路屋在リ).¹⁰⁰ He later added this reference near Temple 69, Kannonji (観音寺): “Leaving the temple and going north for three ri (12km), we stayed the night at a *henroya* at the edge of the valley” (寺ヲ立テ北エ行事三里、弥谷ノ麓遍路屋ニ一宿ス).¹⁰¹ These examples offer a possible explanation as to where or what *henroya* were but do not present any detailed evidence to their structure or history. However, it appears that they have existed since the beginning of the Tokugawa period and could have been connected with a temple in some way.

Approximately forty years after Chōzen’s travel diary, in the postscript to Shinnen’s *Shikoku Kudokuki*, Jakuhon explains that it was Shinnen who first began constructing *henroya* and told of his reasons for constructing them. It is recorded that, “within Shikoku there were many difficult places with nowhere for the henro to lodge, Shinnen realized this and built a *henroya* to relieve some of the hardships [felt by the

⁹⁸ Iyoshi Dankai ed. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” 27.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 51.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 53.

pilgrims]” (四国のうちにて、編礼人宿なく難せる所あり。信念是をうれへ、編礼屋を立、其窮勞をやすめしむ).¹⁰² The most famous of these *henroya* is called the ‘Shinnen hermitage’ (*Shinnen-an* 信念庵) and is found between Temple 37, Iwamotoji (岩本寺) and Temple 38, Kongōfukuji (金剛福寺) in Kōchi prefecture. Although it is not known exactly when Shinnen built this particular hermitage one clue comes from the 1638 book on the Shikoku pilgrimage route where the author Kūsho Hōshinō states: “The road splits at Shinnen-an, running to the left and right of the hermitage” (信念庵の左右、別れる道の所あり).¹⁰³ About one hundred years after his death, pilgrims were still using this hermitage as a place to stay as seen in the *Shikoku Henro Meisho Zue* (1800). A pilgrim records on the seventeenth day of his journey staying at one of these places. “We stayed the night at that place called Ichinose village, where there was a ‘Shinnen hermitage’ (一ノ瀬村、此所二て一宿、此所二信念庵有り).¹⁰⁴ In 1991, Ian Reader states that when he visited this place, it was deserted and although local people clearly did just enough to make sure it did not fall down, it was not in good shape. Some years later, he learned that a young man (maybe a priest) was living in it, taking care of the facility and inviting pilgrims to stay the night.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Iyoshi Dankai ed. “Shikoku Henro Kudokuki.” 230.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 19.

¹⁰⁴ According to the Kanpō Kyōcho (1741-1744), the village of Ichinose has 26 houses and a population of 111 people. (*Nihon Rekishi Chimei Taikei: Kochiken no Chimei*. (Tokyo: Heibonsha 1979) 564.)

¹⁰⁵ Email: Professor Ian Reader (Oct 12, 2000) For a picture of the Shinnen hermitage, see Kiyoyoshi (1999) 72.

PART 2: People's homes

The local people of Shikoku also took an active role in offering their homes as free accommodation. Whether they did so out of sympathy to pilgrims making such a difficulty journey or out of fear of a possible punishment is not clear. However, their actions formed most of the charitable support system that has been present throughout the history of the Shikoku pilgrimage. The earliest references are found in Chōzen's record where he describes people's homes using the words, 'minka' (民家) or 'minya' (民屋). For example, near Temple 22, Byōdōji (平等寺) he records: "Crossing this, we stayed at a person's house near the water" (是ヲ渡リテ河 辺ノ民屋ニ一宿ス).¹⁰⁶ On another occasion, he states: "From here, we went over the hill and stayed the night at the house of a person called Takekazu" (夫ヨリ又坂ヲコエテ武知ト云所ノ民家ニ一宿ス).¹⁰⁷ Another word 'yado' is also used to describe people's homes. In the *Shikoku Henro Michishirube* (四国遍路道指南 1687), the word 'yado' is used on five occasions with one reference occurring near Temple 40, Kanjizaiji (観自在寺) where Shinnen mentions, "The man called Shōbei who dyed kimonos of that village lent out his home" (村こん屋庄兵衛宿かす).¹⁰⁸ In Shinnen's *Shikoku Kudokuki* of 1690, there are also references to homes (*yado*) being offered. For example, "There were many people of all ages who wanted to do good. It could be seen that they were doing such things as lending out their homes (*yado*) and giving *settai*" (近年分別して善を修する人おほし。

¹⁰⁶ Iyoshi Dankai. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. "Shikoku Henro Nikki." (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1994) 27.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 36.

¹⁰⁸ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. "Shikoku Henro Michishirube." 95.

接待をし、宿をかしなどこころざしあさからず見えける。惣じて他の善をなすを見聞て、随喜の功德本人にことならずとききぬ。¹⁰⁹ The different words for people's homes used by Chōzen and Shinnen demonstrate that people were offering their homes as a form of *settai* to pilgrims as early as the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, little is known as to what actual services besides lodging were provided within these homes. Chōzen does provide some evidence that such places were being provided free of charge:

That night we stayed at the place of Imanishi Densuke of Uwajima Honcho 3-chome. The benevolence was from a man of about sixty, who in prayer for life after death, lent out his place at no cost for those on the pilgrimage.¹¹⁰

其夜ハ宇和島本町三丁目今西伝介ト云人ノ所ニ宿ス。其仁ハ齡六十余ノ男也。無ニノ後生願ビ（ニ）テ、遍路修行ノ者トサエ云バ何モ宿ヲ借ル、ト也。

The homes of the people who purposefully and gratuitously lent out their homes were also identified by another term. These homes were called ‘*zenkonyado*’ (善根宿) where the term ‘good deeds’ (*zenkon* 善根) is a Buddhist term, according to the *Dictionary of Buddhism*, and means ‘good action which should invite ease of fortune.’ Thus a ‘house of good deeds’ (*zenkonyado*) would be a place where, through the owner’s good action to a traveler, one would obtain good fortune and merit. On ‘special days’

¹⁰⁹ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. “Shikoku Henro Kudokuki.” 229.

¹¹⁰ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” 40.

(*ennichi* 縁日) or on the ‘memorial day’ (*kijitsu* 忌日) of a family member, the owner of a home would go out to the pilgrim path and invite a pilgrim to stay the night.¹¹¹

Even as late as the twentieth century, there are references to pilgrims being invited to stay at a *zenkonyado*. Takamure Itsue (1894–1964) at the age of twenty-six in 1918 embarked on the pilgrimage to escape the ostracism that she had suffered from people at school and her workplace. In her memoirs, she recounts several experiences of her early life in Kumamoto prefecture. She tells of the times of when she was blamed for seeking notoriety despite giving to an orphanage anonymously, being deemed an undesirable student because she spent a lot of time in the library reading philosophy, or that her thoughts regarding Japan’s annexation of Korea in 1910 differed from the ‘norm.’ So she decided to go to Shikoku and on June 4, 1918, she left Kumamoto and began her trip by crossing the island of Kyūshū. It was during this time that she met an elderly man who gave her lodging and who dreamed that she was an incarnation of the Kannon and decided to accompany her. They traveled together throughout Shikoku and in her books Takamure records the many places they stayed at, including *zenkonyado*. For example, in one entry, she states that from “Ryūkōji to the next temple Kanjisaiji (no.40), there is thirteen ri (52km) after [the temple not consisting of one of the eighty-eight (*bangai*)] Ryūkōin. That day, we received charity (*settai*) in the form of *zenkonyado* at Uwajima” (龍光寺から次の札所観自在までは、番外龍光院を経て

¹¹¹ *Ennichi* is a day held to have a special connection with certain Shinto or Buddhist deities. It was believed that those who participated in religious services on such a day, they would receive special divine favors or acquire merit. (*Japan- An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. Tōkyō: Kodansha, 1993. 563)

十三里。その日は宇和島に善根宿の接待を受けた)。¹¹² In many cases, Takamure explains in explicit detail the deplorable conditions of the lodging facilities they stayed at, but she never apparently complained about a *zenkonyado*.

Despite the apparent abundance of the *zenkonyado* and other free lodging places between the seventeenth and twentieth century when the pilgrimage became more and more popular and easier to participate in, the number of homes being offered slowly decreased. They were replaced by facilities that charged money or were reluctant to lodge visitors. Takamure relates another experience in 1918 in which she was coming down the mountain from the temple 20, Kakurinji (鶴林寺) and since it was getting dark, she asked someone in the village if there was a place to stay. She was told there was a *zenkonyado* and after finishing her chants, she visited the farmer's house. The friendly looking elderly man said, "Lately the police have been getting picky about those who stay at *zenkonyado* and will give a penalty of detainment for those that do, so I am very sorry, but do you mind sleeping in the storage hut?"¹¹³ Some thirty years later, another pilgrim, Araki Tetsunobu also experienced the disappearance of this type of accommodation. Nowhere in his journal does he mention the word, *zenkonyado*, nor does he speak of people inviting him in to stay the night. However, he does refer to one experience when he missed the last bus and someone asked around the village and he was able to stay at someone's house for the night. He notes that the willingness of people to offer charitable accommodation is slowly decreasing in Shikoku.

¹¹²Itsue Takamure. *Ohenro*. (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1987) 51. *Bangai* is a temple not officially part of the eighty-eight, but can be included as part of the Shikoku pilgrimage route. At present, there are twenty temples that claim *bangai* status.

¹¹³ Takamure (1979) 181.

Before the twentieth century, it can be assumed that those homes, which were offered to pilgrims on a ‘special day’ or on someone’s memorial day, can be considered a *zenkonyado*. The owner of such a home, by providing this service would guarantee that the guest received a comfortable and free place to stay, but more importantly, the owner could be assured of receiving merit by being charitable to an unknown traveler, who “might be, in fact, the still-living great Saint Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) traveling incognito.”¹¹⁴

PART 3: OTHER HOUSING FACILITIES

Kichinyado

If a pilgrim could not find free accommodation at a temple, *henroya* or at a person’s home, there were other facilities available that cost money, but gave some part of the stay as *settai*. Notable among these were the ‘Wooden Money Lodges’ (*kichinyado* 木賃宿) whose origins are described as being derived, “from the fact that in older times the guest of such a hostel brought his own rice or cereal along, which he gave to the landlord or landlady; as payment for the used fire wood he had to pay a certain amount and for this he also got some tea with/on his rice and some vegetables to go with it; the overnight stay itself however was free.”¹¹⁵ It seems that a *kichinyado* offered free food along with free accommodation, yet Alfred Bohner in 1927 describes these places as not being a very luxurious place to stay despite the extras. He comments, “extras are mostly only some slices of pickled radish or eggplant, onion or salted prunes, cucumber slices with onions in vinegar are already considered as a delicacy and at best we are given

¹¹⁴ William LaFleur, “Points of Departure: Comments on Religious Pilgrimage in Sri Lanka and Japan.” *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. XXXVIII no.2 (February 1979) 271-281.

¹¹⁵ Bohner 106.

a soup with a few pieces of tofu in it, some onions and some beans.”¹¹⁶ Bohner also criticized the bedding, noting, “the futons are those that are called *sembeifuton* (rice cracker futon), namely futons which [have] become thin and hard, like the Japanese biscuits, from all the generations of guests who have slept on it.”¹¹⁷ He adds that the futons are too short for even a Japanese and full of ticks. He regrets that “the Japanese who love hygiene must consider it an insult to the body to have to stay for weeks in such dirty hostels, as an humiliation they suffer willingly for the Daishi’s sake.”¹¹⁸ Bohner seems to complain more than compliment these facilities, yet he does not discredit the worth of their existence. The bedding and food provided at a *kichinyado* might not have been of the greatest quality, but these places provided a traveler a sheltered place to stay with food where as Bohner says, “one can enjoy the peace of night.”¹¹⁹

Other similar paid accommodation facilities were ‘pilgrim inns’ or *henroyado* in which Takamure Itsue stayed. Takamure offers some idea of the costs involved and food provided, when she wrote: “To stay at a *henroyado* costs at least eight sen, but for a good one it costs twenty-five sen and they will cook any amount of rice. The food (*okazu*) to go with the rice is free, along with soup with a pickled plum. We always got the master to cook us six cups of rice each” (遍路宿は、泊りが最低八銭で、よいのが二十五銭、御飯は何合とって炊いて貰う。おかずは無料で、お汁に梅干がつきもである。。。私達は、いつも六合ずつ炊いて貰ったようである).¹²⁰ It is apparent from

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Bohner 106.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Takamure (1987) 83.

the experiences of Bohner and Takamura in the early twentieth century that such paid accommodations as *kichinyado* and *henroyado* provided some of their services as charity.

If the pilgrim had neither a *zenkonyado* or other free place to stay, nor money to afford a *kichinyado* or otherwise, there were still other options. Such ‘facilities’ consisted of barns, huts or other buildings that might be in a cemetery, or other remote place. However, these facilities do not demonstrate the charity of the local people, but of the creativity and ingenuity of the pilgrims in their search for a sheltered location to spend the night. Sometimes huts or other buildings, however, were used to house sick pilgrims who were taken care and fed by the villagers.

CHAPTER 3: WHAT TO FOLLOW

PART 1: Permanent fixtures – lanterns and path markers

For assistance to pilgrims traveling throughout Shikoku, aids such as lanterns and path markers were erected. The common people constructed lanterns, which are called “all night light stand” (*jōyatō* 常夜灯) in which a torch was set up. Usually these ‘light stands’ were situated along the roadside to illuminate the path leading to a temple or shrine, or placed at the entrance of the village for protection, allowing any strangers to be scrutinized.¹²¹ Path markers also helped in guiding pilgrims with the earliest existence of one in Shikoku said to be on a natural rock located in Matsuyama city in Ehime Prefecture dated 1685. However, these markers were not limited to Shikoku. One foreigner, Charles Thunberg, in 1776 observed while traveling from Dejima to Edo, “mile posts are set up everywhere, which not only indicate the distance, but also by means of inscription, point out the road. Similar posts are also found on the crossroads that the traveler in this country cannot easily lose his way.”¹²² This section will focus on the lives and selfless efforts of men who worked to erect path markers during different periods as a form of *settai* for the pilgrims in Shikoku.

Along the Shikoku pilgrimage route, there were four such men who erected markers between the seventeenth and twentieth century. Their names are Shinnen Yuben (信念宥弁 d. June 1691), Takeda Tokueemon (武田徳衛門 d.1814), Shōren (照連), and Nakatsuka Mohei (中司茂兵衛 1845-1922). (An example of a Shinnen and Nakatsuka marker’s can be seen in Appendix 3). These men realized the importance of

¹²¹ Vaporis. (1994) 45 and Kanai (1980) 27.

¹²² Thunberg 108.

such a physical form of support to aid travelers and worked voluntarily, willingly and diligently to provide such.

The earliest contribution was provided by Yuben Shinnen, best known as the author or co-author of the first three books on the Shikoku pilgrimage: *Shikoku Henro Michishirube*, *Kudokuki and Reijōki*. Although most of his personal life is unknown, it is known that he lived in an area of present day Osaka, walked the route more than ten times, but less than twenty times, erected *henroya* and placed more than two hundred path markers (信念は...遍礼せる事二十余度に及べり。又四国中まぎれ道おほくして、侘邦の人岐にただずむ所毎に標石を立てる事二百余石なり).¹²³ In the *Shikoku Henrei Dōshinan Zoho Dasei* (四国遍礼道指南増補大成) of 1767 it notes that Shinnen's sponsor (for the *Shikoku Henro Michishirube*) was a man named Noguchi from Osaka and that Shinnen's motive for placing such path markers was to prevent people from getting lost. Shinnen raised these path markers with indicators on both the east and west sides and when, through time, the markings became hard to see, the nearest village would rewrite the letters as a favor to the pilgrim. (一、巡礼の道すじに迷途おほき中ゆへに、十方の喜捨をはげまし標石を立ておくなり、東西左右のしるべ、並施主の名字彫刻入墨せり。年月を経て文字おちならば遍路の大徳並に其わたりの村翁再治 仰ぎ奉る所なり).¹²⁴

In the early 1800s, Takeda Tokuemon and Shōren created many path markers. Takeda was from Iyo province (Ehime) and focused his efforts between 1794 and 1807.

¹²³ Iyoshi Dankai ed. "Shikoku Henro Kudokuki." 230.

¹²⁴ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. "Shikoku Henro Michishirube." 71.

Between 1781 and 1792, he lost one son and four daughters and, in his grief, devoted himself to Buddhism and began to participate in the Shikoku pilgrimage three times a year. His first stone marker is from 1794 and on all of them is etched a statue of Kōbō Daishi, showing that one was walking the route with the beloved founder (part of the ‘Two walking together’ (*dōgyō ninin* 同行二人) belief), and the distance to the next temple.¹²⁵

Some years later, between 1804 and 1818, Shōren created and placed markers mainly in the province of Awa (Tokushima). His intent for such a service is inscribed in his stones, which state: ‘*Shinen saiken ganshu Shoren*’ (真念再建願主照連). This means that his plan was to reconstruct those path markers made by Shinnen, which had deteriorated over the past two hundred years. Not only had Shinnen’s markers faded but in many cases, the route had changed and new markers were necessary to direct the pilgrims. Shōren’s goal was to have one thousand markers around Shikoku, each inscribed with a statue of Kōbō Daishi, but this was never to be achieved. Shōren’s markers differed from Takeda’s in that they did not indicate any distances and that they contained the pointing finger of a hand indicating the direction in which to proceed.

Nakatsuka Mohei (1845- 1893) could be considered the most famous person of the Shikoku route because he completed the journey an incredible 280 times. His life changed forever when his father died in 1858 and his eldest brother, who was twelve years his senior, took over the family estate, took care of Mohei and acted as the senior

¹²⁵ It is believed that a pilgrim travels with Kōbō Daishi. The stick that one use is believed to be Kōbō Daishi and must be treated with the utmost respect and upon arrival at a lodging facility, before one washes one’s feet, the stick must washed first.

member of the family in all matters including marriage. As a result, Oliver Statler claims that:

It was over marriage for Mohei that a bitter quarrel developed between the brothers. Mohei fell in love with a village girl, a match his brother would not permit; perhaps the girl's family was not considered worthy. Mohei turned to energetic dissipation, spending night and day in the town's red light district. Just as suddenly – as we do not know who or what prompted him – he forsook these pleasures and headed for Shikoku to become a henro. He vowed that he would never return home alive.¹²⁶

However, there is one conjecture as to who prompted him to become a pilgrim. It is probable that during his visits to the red light district (*yūkaku* 遊郭), he met a woman there called Yanagii (柳井) who told him about Kōbō Daishi and Shikoku pilgrims.¹²⁷ And so, in 1866 at the age of 22, Mohei left home, never to return again and began his life as a Shikoku pilgrim.

Each year, he made numerous trips around Shikoku and in 1882 traveled around the Saikoku route three times during which he acted as ‘ascetic’ (*gyōja* 行者) and ‘guide’ (*sendatsu* 先達).¹²⁸ In the same year, he also published a guidebook called *Shikoku Reijō Ryaku Engi Dōchūki Taisei* (四国靈場略縁起道中記大成). But it was not until 1886, after twenty years of doing the pilgrimage route and after his eighty-eighth completed trip, he “resolved to erect stone guideposts to help henro find their way.”¹²⁹ Nakatsuka was fortunate to have received support from all ranks of society - large amounts from rich patrons and small amounts from poor commoners. These monetary

¹²⁶ Statler (1983) 285.

¹²⁷ Toshiyuki Shiraki. *Junrei- Sanpai Yōgo Jiten*. (Ōsaka: Toki Shobō, 1994) 93.

¹²⁸ Shinno Toshikazu and Tatsuo Hagiwara ed. *Hijiri to Minshu*. (Tōkyō: Meisho Publishing, 1986) 102.

¹²⁹ NOTE: A chart of the location and time of the post markers erected by Nakatsuka is contained in *Henrobito Reiden* (241). According to Kiyoyoshi Eitoku, Mohei erected 237 such guideposts.

contributions were used to help pay for his large guideposts which measured over a meter high. On each of these stones were inscribed the sponsor, distances and directions signified by the character for left or right. For thirty-six years until his death in 1922, Mohei carried out this selfless service and as a result of his continuous efforts he was welcomed all along the pilgrim path and people called him a living Buddha.¹³⁰

PART 2: People – sendatsu

Present day pilgrims can travel with ease along the modern roads with a guidebook and map in hand and work themselves around the route without a lot of worries. In the Tokugawa period, however, this was not the case and pilgrims relied not only on path markers but also on the charitable actions of ‘tour guides.’ These guides are called *sendatsu / sendachi* (先達) and this can have three meanings: 1) “someone who has gone ahead and progressed further along the path of knowledge.”¹³¹ 2) a leader, or 3) a guide. These definitions correspond exactly to the role of *sendatsu* as seen on Kumano Mountain, an important part in the Shugendō religion. In the book, *Kumano Shugen*, three roles are given for *sendatsu*: one, they provided information on lodging, ferries, border checkpoints and road directions for travelers; two, they worked as teachers in such things as prayer and worship at sacred places; and three, they were in charge of teaching manners for being on the road.¹³² *Sendatsu* also delivered gifts to the poor who were able to visit a temple, and gathered rice to give to the priests at Kumano Mountain, but mainly

¹³⁰ Statler. 286.

¹³¹ Ian Reader, “Sendatsu and the Development of Contemporary Japanese Pilgrimage.” *Nissan Occasional Series 17*. (1993) 8

¹³² Hitoshi Miyake. *Kumano Shugen*. (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1992) 120.

were involved in works of charity.¹³³ In the nineteenth century, Franz von Siebold observed *sendatsu* on his trip to Ise Shrine. He states: “Upon reaching the hallowed shrine, every pilgrim applies to a priest to guide him through the course of devotional exercises that he has come so far to perform.”¹³⁴ This concurs with roles of the Kumano *sendatsu* whom Toshikazu Shinno describes, “...[they] took on a practical and organizational mediating role between the site and pilgrim, providing lodgings and means of getting services there.”¹³⁵

Shikoku presents an interesting case for *sendatsu* because, unlike the Ise or Kumano pilgrimage routes, it was mainly individuals or small groups that visited the Shikoku route. One of earliest references to *sendatsu* is found in the *Shikoku Henro Nikki* (1653) where the Chōzen records near Temple 12, Shōsanji: “From the group of ten of us who traveled together, two monme of white silver were given to the guiding priest, who acted as a *sendatsu* and led us on our pilgrimage to the top of the mountain” (同行数十人ノ中ヨリ引導ノ僧ニ白銀二錢目遣シ、彼僧ヲ先達トシテ山上を巡礼ス).¹³⁶ At a later time, near Temple 21, Tairyūji he adds the following two references: 1) “This from olden times, we gave two momme of white silver to the guiding priest. He came out with a torch prepared and acted as a *sendatsu*, guiding us to a secret place” (是も古来ヨリ引道ノ僧ニ白銀二錢目遣シ、さて、引道ノ僧松明ヲ用意シテ出タリ。此僧先達セサセテ密所トモ巡礼ス); 2) “The *sendatsu* with twenty-nine priests, put pine

¹³³ Ibid., 127.

¹³⁴ Franz von Siebold. *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the nineteenth century*. (New York: Harper, 1841)

¹³⁵ Reader (1983) 10.

¹³⁶ Iyoshi Dankai. ed. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” 24.

into the fire, sang with loud voices the song of benevolent salvation and went in to the depths of the cave” (先達共二九人僧共手二松二火ヲ燃テ慈救ノ呪ヲ高声二唄テ穴ノ奥へ入).¹³⁷

These above examples not only provide evidence for the existence of *sendatsu* in the seventeenth century along the Shikoku route, but also indicate some of the roles that they filled. In the first two examples above, the *sendatsu* seem to be acting as a guide, while in the third example, they provide an example to the faithful of religious practice in action. While it does seem that the *sendatsu* from these examples were paid a nominal fee for their services, without their assistance the pilgrims clearly would not have been able to find their way up the mountain nor into the secret place.

Today, in Shikoku, the role of *sendatsu* has become institutionalized. This occurred in 1965 with the creation of the *Reijōkai* or ‘Association of Sacred Places’ whose purpose was to do such things as: coordinate the activities between the temples, attempt to regulate and promote the pilgrimage and work on increasing the number of pilgrims. They also established a formal *sendatsu* system with rank, rules, duties and a handbook for *sendatsu*. Today there is a seven rank hierarchy with requirements laid out for necessary advancement and the role of *sendatsu* continues strongly.¹³⁸ The most recent data (December, 1998) show that there are about 7,000 *sendatsu* divided amongst the seven ranks in Shikoku.

¹³⁷ Iyoshi Dankai ed. “Shikoku Henro Nikki.” 26.

¹³⁸ NOTE: for a detailed explanation of the *sendatsu* system in Shikoku today, see Ian Reader (1993) “Sendatsu and the Development of Contemporary Japanese Pilgrimage.” *Nissan Occasional Papers*, 1993; <http://www.kushima.com/henro/index.html>.

PART 3: Books – guidebooks

As travel became increasingly popular during the Tokugawa period, more and more books were published describing famous places or trips that other people had taken. “As people traveled further and further away from the security of home, wayfarers were in need of information to assist them on their journey and travel diaries and guidebooks filled this need.”¹³⁹ A traveler who had a guidebook could learn of the history and description of famous places, or receive advice on how to prepare for a trip, what to take, what to expect or how to act while on the journey. One of the best examples of such a book from the Tokugawa period is the ‘Precautions for Travelers’ (*Ryokō Yōjinshū* 旅行用心集), written by Yasumi Roan in 1810. It is considered to be “the first and only work as far as is known whose explicit purpose was to provide travelers with extensive counsel. It offers advice on practically all aspects of travel.”¹⁴⁰

In Shikoku, there are references to guidebooks being handed out as *settai*, with some of the earliest references coming from the twentieth century. In 1903, Kan Kikutaro states in *Shikoku Jūmpaiki*, “one unique manner of *settai* [in Shikoku] which stands alone in the whole world is the promise of one of the new pilgrim guidebooks to everybody who wants it...”¹⁴¹ Another example from 1911 is recorded in the Preface of the ‘Guidebook to the Sacred Sites of Shikoku’ (*Shikoku Reijō Annaiki* 四国霊場案内記):

¹³⁹ Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, “Caveat Viator: Advice to Travelers in the Edo Period” trans. of Yasumi Roan’s 1810 *Ryoko Yojinshu* (Precautions for Travelers). *Monumenta Nipponica* 44:4 (1989) 463.

¹⁴⁰ Constantine Nomikos Vaporis. *Breaking Barriers- Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) 235.

¹⁴¹ Bohner. 157.

Every year more than 50,000 copies of this book are published and are given away as charity to those people who conduct a pilgrimage on Shikoku. Those who receive numerous copies from various places send them home in packages, and as a memorial of the Shikoku pilgrimage and send them to their friends and relatives to recommend the Shikoku pilgrimage.¹⁴²

この本は毎年五万部以上出版して四国巡拝する人に接待しますれば行く先々で沢山貰ひをされば途中より小包で郷里へ送り四国巡拝の紀念として親類や友達の許へ四国土産として送り四国巡拝を勧めてください。

There are no references to free guidebooks being given out earlier than the twentieth century. However, those books that could be purchased also contained valuable information that enabled pilgrims to prepare for and to complete the Shikoku pilgrimage route.

One of earliest examples of advice provided comes from the *Michishirube* (1689) in which Shinnen highlights what a pilgrim should bring on the trip. He includes such items as: a sack, bowl, hat, walking stick, mat, cloth for protecting one's feet, half sandals, and anything else one would like to take. The book also contains instructions regarding what to do upon arriving at a temple and how to prepare name slips. He also provides practical information in the form of explicit directions. For example, he explains that when coming from Settsu Ōsaka to Tokushima by ship, one should ask for guidance from Kanzaemon of the Naniwaya in Edōbori. The distance to Tokushima is 38 ri (150km) and the cost of the boat is two white silver monme. (一、撰州大阪から徳島へ渡海の際は、江戸掘阿波屋勘左衛門方で渡り方の案内を聞く。徳島まで海上三十八里、船賃白銀二匁) Once arriving in Shikoku, the traveler can also read instructions in order to successfully reach some of the more difficult places.

¹⁴² Hirota Miyoshi. *Shikoku Reijō Annaiki*. (Tokushima: Suzue Gentarō, 1911) Preface.

Likewise, advice is given in much later books such as the 1819 book ‘Shikoku Pilgrimage Diary’ (*Shikoku Jumpai Nikki* 四国巡拝日記) written by Arai Raisuke. On the last page, he has listed six recommendations to ensure a safe and successful journey:

- 1) Don’t pay the boat fare or unnecessary guidance at a river crossing until you have crossed the river (川渡りにて舟賃等之事に付不知案内川から渡り不致事).
- 2) You shouldn’t get even a bit mad if some unfavorable comment is made, for example with those you are traveling with at a road side inn (道中宿付同行如何様、不利なる事を申すとも少しも腹立て間敷事).
- 3) Don’t use the roads after dark (the setting of the sun) (日暮道中無用) .
- 4) Eat and drink, in other words, make sure you get enough meals (飲食或は飽て食事する事) .
- 5) Be wary of those you must share the room with while you are sleeping (宿にて寝る時、行詰伏し旅の油断の事) .
- 6) Count and check your important possessions, such as walking stick, hat, baggage, sandals, and money, at resting stations and when you set out in the morning (出足の朝或は休足所にて杖笠荷物わらじすご銭夫々指を折て見る用意の品算ふる事) .¹⁴³

The first and fifth points warn a pilgrim of others who try to deceive or steal. To prevent theft or loss of goods, one should follow item six. Item two emphasizes the importance of remaining calm and not letting anger control one’s emotions. This ideal is based on a Buddhist belief that anger is a great fault and could lead to bad karma. Number three is a

¹⁴³ Kiyoshi Hiroe. *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō*. “Shikoku Jumpai Nikki.” (Kōchi: Tosa Minzoku Gakkai, 1966) 111.

recommendation for safety so that pilgrims can avoid becoming lost in the dark, to sleep outside where they could become prey to thieves. Number four stresses the importance of eating properly while journeying around Shikoku, most likely to prevent a pilgrim from being becoming weak or sick.

In the twentieth century, the number of guidebooks increased. While the degree to which authors were being charitable by publishing and distributing such books can be questioned, they continued to provide much needed advice. For example, the ‘Guidebook to the 88 Sacred Sites of Shikoku’ (*Shikoku hachijuhakkasho Reijō Annaiki* 四国八十八カ所霊場案内記) from 1908 includes a section called, ‘How to Prepare for Traveling’ (旅中用意のこと) where costs and equipment needed are described. It explains that the expense of lodging, food, sandals, boats, stamp book, etc. might be less during the busy spring season when one can receive as gifts such things as sandals, food, lodging and money. The pilgrims were advised: to have a box (which is hung around one’s neck) to put the name-slips in (納め札箱); to prepare name-slips; and to carry many of these slips and to give them to someone when you receive a gift of charity (成るべく数多く所持すべし、善根宿、お接待等を受けたる時は必ず一枚宛渡すべきものなり). The author adds that a pilgrim should have a walking stick of good yet light wood that will become something holding the power of Kōbō Daishi, which should be washed (first) upon arrival at the place of lodging (杖は軽き木よし。杖はお大師様にお縫り申す力杖なれば、宿泊に着きたる時は直に洗ひ清め床に立て置く可

し) .¹⁴⁴ There is also a list of such things as tea bowls, chopsticks, gloves, sandals and a pack that one is recommended to take.

Other words of advice pertain to actions more than equipment. For example, the author suggests not to hurry along the path or else you will get lost; to walk slowly up mountain roads; to pray when one wakes up; to make use of boats and trains to assist in one's journey; to arrive at a place of lodging early and to leave early in the morning. He adds that if one waits until dark to look for a place to stay, it will be very difficult to find one and that, if one is traveling in a large group, each person should pay any cost separately as to avoid any hard feelings. Pilgrims should also not eat meat and not get mad if someone is unkind at the stamp building (納経書く人). The author later describes appropriate behaviour at a temple. He states that while it is only natural to speed up one's pace when the next temple can be seen, it is not good to do so for one should visit a site with a calmed heart, and that after washing the hands, go and pray in front of the Buddha.

Advice provided during the last thirty years is similar to that noted above. For example, when Oliver Statler embarked on the pilgrimage in 1971, he received a pamphlet from Temple 1, entitled *Exhortations for Pilgrims to the Sacred Places of Shikoku*, in which pilgrims are advised of certain things, which are very similar to those seen in previous guidebooks:

- He [the pilgrim] should let no thought of anger rise in him.
- Do not get too far from one's baggage if there is a crowd
- Pocketbook, money and the like should under no circumstances be put down or shown to others.
- Those who set out together should assist one another lovingly and obligingly.

¹⁴⁴ Yasumori Chiku. *Shikoku Hachijuhakkasho Reijō Annaiki* (Kyōto: Rokudai Shinpōsha Insatsubu, 1908) 8-10.

- Be wary of bad people who want to cheat you
- Don't write your name and address clearly on the name slip because numerous people fall victim to swindling through the mail.
- Don't push yourself. Find an inn while it is still light.
- A hasty journey with a heart full of business does not lead to piety.
- Get the help of the temple priest if you are having some troubles.¹⁴⁵
(* The entire text can be seen in Appendix 8)

The most recent example of a book full of practical advice for pilgrims is due to the efforts of Miyazaki Tateki who developed a 2-volume guidebook called the *Shikoku Henro Hitori Aruki Dōgyō Ninin* (四国遍路ひとり歩き同行二人). These books have now become the standard texts to read, take and follow if one is preparing to walk the Shikoku pilgrimage route. Volume 1 outlines ways on how to prepare for the trip with the latter part containing information about each temple, and Volume 2 is an extremely detailed map of the entire route with a list of places to stay and the contact information for each in the Appendix. Miyazaki has included information regarding such things as: how to prevent theft; how to reserve rooms; how to properly prepare for the trip; how to wrap sore feet; etiquette at the temples. He also includes a section on the do's and don'ts of the pilgrimage and presents commandments that should be obeyed while being a pilgrim.

¹⁴⁵ Oliver Statler. *Japanese Pilgrimage*. (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1983) 182.

CHAPTER FOUR: Other charitable services

People from inside and outside Shikoku provided many other charitable services to pilgrims. These services included presenting food and drink, giving haircuts and medicine and numerous other charitable acts. The first section in this chapter will examine seven miscellaneous services and the second section will examine the ways in which the sick and dying were assisted by the local people and the authorities.

PART 1: Miscellaneous Charitable Services

Part A: Sandals

The outfit worn by pilgrims was unique in that it set pilgrims apart from the common person. Kaempfer in 1690 offers a description as to their attire. “They [Pilgrims] carry a rolled-up straw mat on their backs as a cover at night, have a walking stick in their hand, and a water ladle tucked into their belt, with which they collect alms, baring their heads in European fashion. They wear a wide-brimmed traveling hat made of plaited split reed....”¹⁴⁶ However, he makes no reference to what the pilgrims wore on their feet. In 1775, Charles Peter Thunberg, who was a surgeon for the Dutch East Indies Company and stayed at Dejima for one year, provided such details. During his stay, he recorded his observations of many matters regarding the Japanese and their way of life including footwear.

There is nothing that a traveler wears out so fast as shoes. They are made of rice straw and platted and by no means strong...on the roads, it is not unusual to see travelers who carry with them one or more pairs of shoes, to put on when those that are in use fall to pieces.... Old worn-out shoes are found lying everywhere...and they last one or two days of routine wear.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Bodart-Bailey. 118.

¹⁴⁷ Charles Peter Thunberg. *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia*. (London, 1795) Vol. 3. 152.

In 1879, a Christian missionary made similar observations. On a trip to Mt. Fuji, Julie Carrother writes, “the way was strewn with cast off sandals - the *waraji*, a very cheap style of shoe worn by coolies, describes one. They wear out quickly on Fuji.”¹⁴⁸ From these descriptions, one might assume that the pilgrims in Shikoku would wear the same type of footwear. This is not the case.

Oliver Statler learned about the footwear used by Shikoku pilgrims used when he visited Shikoku in 1971. He was told that “[Shikoku] henro did not wear regular sandals; they wore half sandals that barely covered the foot. They were cheaper, which was important, but also one slipped into them; so there were no strings to be tied and untied, dirtying the hands and making one unclean when one wanted to enter a temple hall. Henro usually carried extra pairs, for they were of course fragile.”¹⁴⁹ These ‘half-sandals’ *orashinaka* (足半), were on average 15-19 cm in length and have a long history in Japan, with the first pictorial proof of their existence from 1293 or 1309 and the first reference in a document about them occurring between 1394-1427. *Ashinaka* also seemed to be convenient when running and were used between the Kamakura and Sengoku periods in times of battle.¹⁵⁰ Even Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) is known for possessing such a pair, not worn but fastened to his waist. He gave this pair away as a reward to Kanematsu Masayoshi (also known as Masayoshi Shiro 兼松四郎 1542-1627) who returned with the head of the enemy to show Nobunaga, but whose feet had been

¹⁴⁸ Julie D. Carrothers. *The Sunrise Kingdom or Life and Scenes in Japan and Woman's Work for Women There*. (Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Education, 1879) 150.

¹⁴⁹ Statler (1983) 212.

¹⁵⁰ Kingo Imai. *Edo no Tabi Fūzoku- Dōchūgi o chūshin ni* (Tōkyō: Ozorasha, 1997) 140.

dirtied from the blood.¹⁵¹ By the Edo period, the popularity of *ashinaka* had spread to the common people, such as farmers, who were also now wearing them.

There were many other qualities, which made *ashinaka* so appealing for such a long period of time. They were easy to make (took approximately thirty minutes); easy to put on and take off; light for walking and running; did not splash up mud; did not come off in rivers and did not hurt one's feet.¹⁵² However, for Shikoku pilgrims these *ashinaka* had a meaning more significant than any practical use they provided for the pilgrims. An early reference to 'half-sandals' being given as charity is found near the beginning of Shinnen's *Shikoku Henro Michishirube* (四国遍路道指南 1687): "In the village of Noi, there was a Kannon shrine. In this village, Iemon, during the period of Enpō (1673-81), [a man] gave out 'half sandals' (*ashinaka*) and lent out lodging" (野井村、クハン音堂有。此村伊左衛門、延宝年中七とせの間、遍路に足半をほどこし、志ふかき人宿かす).¹⁵³

These *ashinaka* were also given the name of 'Sandals that could ward off snakes' (*Mamushi yoke zōri* 蝮除け草履) and were believed to have been invented by Kōbō Daishi. Such sandals would protect one's feet from being bitten by poisonous snakes (*mamushi*) or insects when traveling through the mountains. There were other beliefs that *ashinaka* would ward off bad spirits and protect one from fever and sicknesses such as whooping cough.¹⁵⁴ Many people wore *ashinaka* because they believed that Kōbō

¹⁵¹ Tsuneichi Miyamoto ed. *Tabi no Minzoku to Rekishi. Vol 6. Hakimono to Norimono.* (Tōkyō:Yasaka Shobo, 1987) 43. / Mitsutoshi Takayanagi. *Sengoku Jinmei Jiten.* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1962) 76.

¹⁵² Miyamoto (Vol. 1) 47.

¹⁵³ Iyoshi Dankai ed. "Shikoku Henro Michishirube." 96.

¹⁵⁴ Miyamoto (vol. 1) 48.

Daishi had worn them when he walked the pilgrimage. However, in other instances, instead of wearing them, people would make a miniature pair and carry them it seems when going on pilgrimages as a remembrance of Kōbō Daishi. Thus not only did these sandals have numerous practical advantages, they were closely connected to the belief in legendary figure of Kōbō Daishi.

Over time, people stopped wearing *ashinaka* and began to wear full-length sandals. It is difficult to determine exactly when the switch occurred, but pictures of pilgrims from different eras offer some clue and it is clear that by the Bunsei period (1804-1830) *ashinaka* were no longer used. This is further evidenced by an example in a travel record from 1819 which states that there were people who came from Bingo to gave money and sandals (*waraji*) (備後より撰待に来る人多し、敷錢あるいはわらじ等々).¹⁵⁵ From the twentieth century, further evidence of the disuse of ‘half-sandals’ and the need for new sandals is contained in Alfred Bohner’s book on the pilgrimage. Here he includes a picture of two pilgrims from Hokkaidō buying full-length sandals at an unmanned vendor along the route. The picture shows the store where, next to a row of hanging sandals stands a bamboo pipe, on which the price of five sen is written. The pilgrims would take a pair of sandals, put the money into the pipe, discard the old sandals, put on the new ones and continue on their journey.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Kiyoshi Hiroe. *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō*. “Shikoku Jumpai Nikki.” (Kōchi: Tosa Minzoku Gakkai, 1966) 101.

¹⁵⁶ Bohner, 1928. p. 160 (Diagram 62)

Part B: Foot care

People wearing sandals, whether full-length or half-size and with or without the supposed protection of Kōbō Daishi, still suffered from foot sores and blisters. It is obvious that with the fragility of straw sandals and the distance that one must walk to complete the Shikoku pilgrimage, daily foot care was a necessity for all travelers. Even with the best of footwear, the 1400-kilometer journey will make one's feet sore. One early example is from a 1747 travel diary of a pilgrim who walked with three others around Shikoku. After about three weeks, the entry reads: "On the eighteenth day of the same month, because Kosan said that his foot hurt, we stayed at that place until seven. But because of the difficulty of continuing with the severe pain, we split up and he said he would stay where he is" (同十八日大雨ふり、喜四殿足も痛申に付、同所に七つ程迄逗留は申候所、喜四殿 足痛強難義に付同行中わかり申様に仕逗留可仕候 ...) .¹⁵⁷

The people of Shikoku took pity upon such pilgrims and not only offered sandals, but also provided free foot care. In a document from 1928, there is an example of medicine being prepared and administered to a pilgrim who had blisters. Giving food and a bath to a pilgrim was considered usual, but for those pilgrims who were troubled by such things as boils (or blisters) on their journey, home-made medicines (*nostrum*) were made, put on for them to help it heal.¹⁵⁸ In fact, the grandmother of the Miyamoto family who ran a *zenkonyado* explains how she prepared such medicine. First, it was necessary to knead soba flour and kiwaza flour with vinegar. Then one had to rub

¹⁵⁷ *Kagawa Kenshi 9*. "Shikoku Henro Nakagata Oboe Nikki." (Kagawa: Rokudai Shinpōsha Insatsubu, 1987) 869.

¹⁵⁸ Hitsuoka Goshi Kenkyukai ed. *Settai to Zenkonyado*. (Hitsuoka Gōshi Kenkyūkai, 1987) 28.

together a Japanese cedar tree bud and a wild plant (*ōbako*) and then knead them together using vinegar. These two mixtures were combined to make the medicine. But before the medicine was put on, oil was first rubbed on the infected area.¹⁵⁹ It is apparent that a charitable service for the benefit of the pilgrims' feet was provided so that their journey would more enjoyable and less painful.

Part C: Haircuts

The head of a pilgrim was another part of the body that was taken care of by people as a form of *settai* in Shikoku. In this case, haircuts were the most common way and have a long history. A pilgrim in 1747 writes in one entry: “We arrived at lunchtime at the house of Hideemon of the village Takakan, who let us stay the night and gave us, a head shave and paper” (高磯村秀右衛門殿迄昼時分二参着、一宿仕、かみ、さかやき共仕候).¹⁶⁰ In the *Shikoku Jumpai Nikki* (1819), there are numerous references to head shaving, including one that states: “We went to the village of Nue (near Temple 19, Tatsueji) and there was *settai*, and when asked we received a head shave” (ぬへ村二行撰待有て月代を頼むわらてをもらい).¹⁶¹ Fourteen years later, a similar reference is found in *Shikoku Junrei Tōchū kiroku* (1833), where a pilgrim indicates: “From the village of Yamachi of Nokan district of Matsuyama domain, we received charity of a meal and a head shave” (松山領野間郡山地村より飯、月代撰待).¹⁶² Even in the early

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Fujihei. 868.

¹⁶¹ Raisuke. 106. The village of Nue (沼江) in 1877 had 366 houses and 1,633 people.

¹⁶² Eitoku Kiyoyoshi. *Shikoku Henro Kenkyū*. No. 3. (1993) 69.

twentieth century there are similar examples, but now the ‘head shaves’ of olden times have changed to haircuts and hair care for both men and women. The 1903 travel diary entitled ‘The Record of the Pilgrimage of Shikoku’ (*Shikoku Junpaiki*) describes a situation with men and women receiving some form of hair care.

On the porches of farmer houses one can see female pilgrims with their hair undone, while a girl or woman is kneeling down behind them to oil their hair and bind it together. On the other side there is provisional barber’s room, where the men are having their hair cut and their beards shaved.¹⁶³

What would be the motives of the people to offer such a service? First of all, the ‘head shave’ called *sakayaki* (月代) or *hitaitsuki* (月額) of the Tokugawa period was considered among the common people to be a sign of adulthood and consisted of a male’s front hair being shaved off up to the center of the head in a half moon shape (See Appendix 4). However, a head shave could also have been important for two reasons: 1) as a form of tonsure (indicating separation from this world, non-attachment - as with a Buddhist’s priest’s tonsure, or 2) because of lice and other infestations picked up in pilgrims’ lodges and the like. Bohner discusses this later reason in his book. In one section, he complains about the deplorable conditions at a *kichinyado* and adds the commentary of a student from around the early twentieth century. This student who stayed the night at such a place said, “There comes the louse, the flea and the tick to bite.” Such a reality could make anyone unwilling to stay at such a place and clearly Bohner felt the same way because the advice that he received from one pilgrim said,

¹⁶³ Bohner 107.

seemingly to reassure him, that “No one has ever died from a louse.”¹⁶⁴ In other words, while conditions at *kichinyado* were not the best, it is possible to put up with such pests.

Part D: Tea

The provision of tea to travelers has been a custom in Japan for over seven hundred years. Although the origins of giving tea are unclear, there is as early as 1296 a reference of people giving tea to priests. However, it is not until the Muromachi period (1372-1573) that the serving of tea was provided to the common people. Towards the latter half of the sixteenth century, this custom was first seen in Kyōto where pilgrims, who came to visit a temple, were given tea. As time passed, increasingly more tea buildings (*chaya*) were observed around temples or shrines and the drinking of tea became popular.¹⁶⁵ Shinjo Tsunezo proposes that along the Saikoku pilgrimage route during the Muromachi period, eighty to ninety percent of the ‘tea business stores’ (*chaten* 茶店) were not asking pilgrims to pay.¹⁶⁶ The popularity of drinking tea increased over time and by the late seventeenth century, it seems that, “a traveler rarely drinks anything else, tea is served in all inns, taverns, roadside food stalls, in many huts set up in the fields and mountains.”¹⁶⁷

In Shikoku this custom was also popular. There are frequent references throughout the documents used in this study to tea being served and given to pilgrims

¹⁶⁴ Bohner 107.

¹⁶⁵ Yasunari Maruyama. *Kinsei Shukueki no Kisoteki Kenkyū*. (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1975) 1107.

¹⁶⁶ Shinjo (1971) 178.

¹⁶⁷ Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Japan Observed*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999) 269.

who, for the most part, drank it at teahouses. An early example is in the *Shikoku Henro Michishirube* (1687), records of eight examples of ‘tea places’ that provided tea to pilgrims. That record adds that between Temple 59 and 60, there were six ‘tea houses’ (過て六軒茶屋といふ新村。).¹⁶⁸ Much later in the *Meisho Zue* (1800), there are eighteen references to ‘tea houses’ that used the Japanese words of *chaya* (茶屋) and *chadō* (茶堂) to describe them. Some of these ‘tea places’, however, seemed to be more of a business than a charitable service as seen in an example from *Shikoku Jumpai Nikki* (1819): “I went to the ‘tea store’ in the city below the castle, asked for a snack to go with the tea and ate it there” (城下にて茶店に而御つけを頼ミしたくいたし。)。¹⁶⁹

It is apparent that these ‘tea houses’ were common throughout Shikoku and, at times, were concentrated in a certain area. One hundred years later in 1909, Alfred Bohner also noticed the frequency of receiving tea and other goods as *settai*. He states:

Settai in Shikoku as it happens does not only consist of giving tea. There are temples where every pilgrim gets treated with tea. In Awa, between Temple 21 and 22 where a lot of tea is being planted, one can be treated with tea in every house in the village of Asabi, which stretches out during a half an hour walk. People take pilgrims in for a tea break. But this is only a small amount of the offerings a pilgrim can receive.¹⁷⁰ [emphasis mine]

Once again it is evident that this area had a high number of ‘tea houses’; however, these buildings had other uses such as a place to stay, a place to eat a meal and a place of rest. Examples for each of these functions are found in the *Meisho Zue*. The pilgrim writes

¹⁶⁸ The village of Shin is derived from the name of Shinichi (新市), which in 1825 had 37 houses, and a population of 158.

¹⁶⁹ Kiyoshi Hiroe. *Shikoku Henro Tosa Shiryō*. “Shikoku Jumpai Nikki.” 105.

¹⁷⁰ Bohner 95.

that near Temples 20 and 22, “At the tea shrine there is always *settai*, and when the sun set, we stayed at this shrine” (茶堂永代常接待有、日暮の時へ此堂にとめる), and “we spent the night at the teahouse in front of the gate” (門前茶屋にて一宿). Later, near Temples 23 and 24, he states: “At Hamanaka there is a tea store and at this place, we had a meal” (浜半に出茶店有、此所にて支度を致す). Then between Temples 38 and 39, “At the teahouse of the village of Ikugawa, we rested” (磯川村茶屋にて休息).¹⁷¹ Thus pilgrims benefited from receiving tea along their journey, but also had tea buildings available where they could rest or have a meal.

Part E: FOOD

Not only was tea provided in many instances, food as well was offered as *settai*. Evidence of this can be seen as early as 1690 where, in the *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki*, Shinnen admonishes the people to give lodging and food to the poor and the pilgrims. “At this place is a pilgrim inn, where one should feed those who are poor” (是は、此所にて遍礼人宿をとりしに、貧なるものにて馳走すべきもなしとて).¹⁷² One type of food provided was called *mugikogashi* (ground barley). During the Bunka period (1804-1818), it seems that there were people selling this food in Edo. During the summer, it was mixed with cold water and drunk, or sugar was added and it was eaten. However, unlike Edo, where such food was sold, people in Shikoku in certain villages in 1800 gave it away for free to pilgrims.

¹⁷¹ Iyoshi Dankai ed. “Shikoku Henro Meisho Zue.” 237,241, 256.

¹⁷² Iyoshi Dankai ed. “Shikoku Henro Kudokuki.” 225.

The traveler Jippensha Ikku who traveled around Shikoku in 1821 provides further detail as to the types of food given. He offers one of the earliest and most explicit account of the kinds of food given as *settai*. On numerous occasions he states that he received such foods as *chameshi* (tea rice), *mugikogashi/hattaiko* (ground barley), *kowameshi* (boiled pounded rice with red beans), *mochikome* (pounded rice), *miso*, *umeboshi* (pickled plum), tofu soup, red bean rice, seaweed, and fried vegetables with meat. One of his examples occurred near Temple 12, Shōsanji (焼山寺) where he various forms of charity available:

From Shōsanji on the way to Ichinomiya, there is charity and places where you can receive such things as grounded barley, meat and vegetables boiled in soya sauce, pickled plums and miso. You can also get a head shave. At the village of Hirono and Nyūta, there is a teahouse with two trees and at the place called Kawai, you can stay the night at a ‘free lodge’ called Iheida.¹⁷³

焼山寺より、一の宮へ行くに布施あり、はったいのこ、にしめ、梅干し、味噌等くれるところ有り、月代接待もあり、ひろ野村、入田村二本木茶屋あり、川井という所に、伊平犬といふ報謝に宿をする。

This example demonstrates the extent of charitable giving during the early nineteenth century. People could receive free food, a ‘haircut’ or a free place to stay. In 1883, another example of food charity is recorded in the *Shikoku Jumpai Dōchūki*. The Kishu Charity Group at Temple 23 is said to have given pilgrims a meal that consisted of rice, hijiki, chilled tofu, umeboshi and tea.¹⁷⁴ An example of a meal being provided can be seen in a menu of a zenkonyado from the early twentieth century, which highlights the foods provided to pilgrims who stayed at the inn. However, at the bottom of the menu

¹⁷³ The village of Ichinomiya in 1822 had 285 homes with a population of 1,328. Hirono village in 1813 had 548 homes and 2,400 people and Nyūta village in 1891 had 491 homes and a population of 2,175.

¹⁷⁴ Kiyoyoshi. (1999) 216.

there is a note that states that many of the prepared goods were given away as *settai* (see Appendix 7).

Part F: Transportation

For most of the pilgrimage route, walking was the main form of transportation. However, in some places it was necessary to use boats to cross rivers or if one became sick, to use rickshaws or palanquins. Once again the local people had an opportunity to offer such services for free or at some discount.

One of the earliest references to rickshaws is from the book, *Shikoku Naka Tomoni Kōya Dōchūki* (四国中共に高野道中記) where the unknown author states in 1884 near Temple 83: “On March 3rd, after worshipping at Ichinomiya temple of Narigo village, from Sakata village to Takamatsu there was a free service given of a [ride in a] rickshaw made of pine tree” (今、3月4日成合村一宮寺を拝みより坂田村より高松造人力の施奉(接待)あり).¹⁷⁵ Even fifty years later, in 1927, Bohner adds that there are still some rickshaw people in Awa province who carry old or weak pilgrims.

Boats were also made available and an early example is recorded in the *Shikoku Henro Michishirube* (1687), where it states: “At the village of Kawaru, there is marker stone and when you go over the mountain a little bit, there is a pull boat. This was made and left for the pilgrims to use by those of Nenezaki village” (かわる村、しるし石あり、此間に少山越、うしろ川、引舟あり。これハねねざき村善六遍路のためつくりおく).¹⁷⁶ In the twentieth century, there is another reference to boats in the *Shikoku Reijō Annaiki* (1911) where the author informs pilgrims that they can get a boat ride to avoid

¹⁷⁵ Kiyoshi Hiroe. *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō*. “Shikoku Naka Tomoni Koya Dōchūki.” 79.

¹⁷⁶ Iyoshi Dankai ed. “Shikoku Henro Michishirube.” 92.

walking a lengthy steep path when they travel from Temple 40, Kanjizaiji to the next temple. He includes the boat fees, but adds that sometime in the past, the price was half price for pilgrims. “To the next temple is twelve ri [48km], but on the way there, there are two difficult places on a steep path. (From Kaizuka, the steamboat is sixty sen, and from Fukaura, the boat is about forty sen, but at one time, Shikoku henro could ride for half price...)” (次へ十二里ですが、途中に急勾配の坂道の難所が2ヵ所あり (貝塚より汽船六十銭、深浦より汽船四十銭ほどですが、或時には四國巡拝者は半額で乗せることもあります)。¹⁷⁷

Part G: Post Office Services

In the twentieth century, the temples took on yet another role in assisting pilgrims. With the development of the postal system, temples were now taking on the responsibility similar to a mini-post office where letters and packages could be picked up. One of the earliest references to this is found in a 1908 guidebook on the Shikoku pilgrimage where the author writes about the temples and their role in receiving and distributing post office materials to pilgrims as they passed through. “Temples would accept money orders sent by families for pilgrims, plus keep letters and other forms of correspondence until the pilgrim arrived at that temple.”¹⁷⁸

A similar example is found in the book *The Spiritual Tales of Tatsueji* where it indicates that the charity group provided such services as: sending out notices to family and friends to each hometown about the safety of each pilgrim who comes to worship;

¹⁷⁷ Hirota. (1911) 106.

¹⁷⁸ Chiku. 14-15.

providing stamps for postcards and the temple stamp for free, holding packages, letters or telegrams to be picked up by the pilgrim at a later date (see Appendix 6).¹⁷⁹

Part 2: Taking Care of the Sick and Dying.

The unexpected perils of travel throughout the Tokugawa period did not help the pilgrims in Shikoku who were sick or became sick while on their journey. In some cases, they died. Pilgrims, who collapsed from sickness part way through their trek around the island of Shikoku, were called ‘fall on their way’ pilgrims or *yukidaore henro* (行き倒れ 遍路). This section will examine the treatment that these sick and dying pilgrims received from the local people. However, more important to study is the reaction of the domain and local authorities who seemed to have, in many cases, little regard for pilgrims and no interest in assisting them by providing *settai*.

The Shikoku pilgrimage route has never been an easy journey for anyone to accomplish. Today almost all pilgrims can enjoy nutritious food, air-conditioned and comfortable modes of transportation and an abundance of available medical facilities if they became ill. However, pilgrims during the Tokugawa period did not have such luxuries available to them. Most walked the route alone, in fragile straw sandals, exposed to the elements and in constant need of food to eat and a place to stay for the night. Such conditions resulted in them suffering from such illnesses as rheumatism, dysentery, malaria, typhoid fever, beriberi, palsy, lumbago and sunstroke, forcing many to stop part way and wait – for recovery or death.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Hashizume. 24.

¹⁸⁰ Wakako Yamamoto. *Shikoku Henro Minshushi*. (Tōkyō: Kyodo Printing, 1995) 174.

In Shikoku, there were also many pilgrims with leprosy. Such people seemed to have been attracted for many reasons: they had been ostracized from ‘normal’ society and were trying to find a place to escape; they could receive and live off of contributions of *settai*; they believed that perhaps they would be cured of their disease. In fact, in the *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki* from 1690, one of the tales tell of a leper being cured by becoming a pilgrim:

Tale 13: In the place called Itsumi in Izumi Province [modern-day Osaka area], there was a man suffering from leprosy that he was unable to keep company with other people. This caused him grave distress, and so he set out traveling for a year with a priest called Unkai and went on the Shikoku pilgrimage. After fourteen or fifteen days of pilgrimaging, a miraculous omen occurred, and from that time on his condition got better until, when he returned [to his home] all the signs of leprosy had disappeared, and everyone marveled at the divine power of the Daishi.

泉州のいづみといふ所に、癩病に染る人ありて、人のまじわりもならざりければ、うれへかなしみ、一年雲海といふ僧と同道にて四国偏礼に出で、十四五日もめぐりけるに験あり。それよりいつとなくよくなり。帰りし時はすこしのいろもなかりけり。人みな大師の神化をつづしめける。
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As the pilgrimage increased in popularity, it seemed that the numbers of sick pilgrims also increased and the local people and authorities were unsure of what to do, especially in the case of those who were living off the charity of others. However, the national government had instituted certain measures that needed to be fulfilled before one embarked on a journey. This informed the local governments, in some cases, of what to do with a ‘*yukidaore*’ traveler.

The information on the required travel passport written by the household temple or village official contained a lot of vital data. For example, it included the traveler’s

¹⁸¹ English translation from Ian Reader. “Legends, Miracles and Faith in Kobo Daishi and the Shikoku Pilgrimage.” *Religions of Japan in Practice*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999) 368. Japanese version from Iyoshi Dankai ed. *Shikoku Henroki shu*. “Shikoku Henro Kudokuki.” 223.

name, destination, the issuing authority, and most importantly, instructions and requests to the local people or government if that person were to become sick or die. These requests asked the border, city and village official for benevolent care should the bearer(s) fall ill or die on the road. Officials were to do such things as notify the traveler's next of kin, administer adequate medical care, and in the case of death, give the bearer a proper burial.¹⁸² An example of the contents of a travel passport of someone who applied to become a Shikoku pilgrim is dated 1776 from Niihama city, Ehime Prefecture.

June 25, 1776 – To the various domain officials at border crossings and to the various lodging facility owners.

From the village official, Shosuke, of Miyoshi Junichi city of Aki Province

1. The person called Katsuzo is recognized as a citizen of Junichi city of Aki province. I tell you that this person will depart as a Shikoku henro and I ask you that you let him pass with no difference amongst all border crossings. If by any chance, you are asked to provide lodging, please kindly allow that lodging be given. And also, if he were to die of sickness while in some country, that you take care of and bury him appropriate to the place. And that from this person, you will not ask for documents, but that this one passport (捨て往来 sute-orai) will be sufficient.¹⁸³ [emphasis mine]

The document asks for passage through border crossings, to provide lodging if requested and to bury this person if he were to die while participating as a Shikoku henro.

In Shikoku, all pilgrims were given the same treatment, with or without a travel passport, perhaps because of the willingness to be charitable to a 'religious figure' that might affect one's life. This has been evident from tales as early as the seventeenth century in the *Shikoku Henro Kudokuki*. Other examples from during the Tokugawa

¹⁸² Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers - Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) 144.

¹⁸³ Provided to me by Eitoku Kiyoyoshi (Feb. 2000).

period are evident in the *Kinsei Tosa Henro Shiryō* where *yukidaore* pilgrims were given rice, allowed to stay in a *henroya* or escorted back to their village. To be more precise, if a ‘fallen’ pilgrim was spotted along the route, that person was taken to the village official, allowed to rest and sleep in a ‘person’s house’ (民家 *minka*) or hut, and provided with food with all of the costs covered by the village.¹⁸⁴ Huts used for sick pilgrims were situated away from the village in order not to disturb the everyday life of the villagers. People would then take turns in providing care and meals with this system of rotating support called *mawari yashinai* (回り養い). If recovery was apparent, that pilgrim could continue the journey. However, if the situation worsened, the pilgrim could be repatriated (*mura okuri* 村送り) to their home province with the assistance of local authorities. Or if a pilgrim died, that pilgrim was provided with a proper burial. In *Shikoku Henro Minshushi*, Yamamoto highlights many specific examples of pilgrims who were provided with help if they were sick or with burials when they died. In one case, in 1831, the cost of burying the pilgrim was forty-one hachi bun silver monme (銀 4 1 匁八分) , a great cost for just one village, so the district official (大庄屋) ordered that the cost be split amongst twenty-one villages.¹⁸⁵

In most cases, the authorities obeyed the requests written on a travel passport or provided some form of assistance for a sick or dead pilgrim who didn’t have a passport. However, Nathalie Kouame argues that:

...they [the authorities] were just following the rules for common travelers that had been established by the Tokugawa Bakufu since the end of the seventeenth century...and although the authorities did seek to regulate the pilgrims closely

¹⁸⁴ Wakako Yamamoto. *Shikoku Henro no Minshushi*. (Tōkyō: Kyodo Printing, 1995) 175.

¹⁸⁵ Yamamoto. 177.

and to prescribe unruly elements, they also provided a system of support for those in need who followed the regulations.¹⁸⁶

It is evident from the actions of the authorities that they, along with the local people, did provide various forms of assistance as part of a support system to pilgrims who were sick, or who became sick or who died while traveling along the Shikoku pilgrimage route during the Tokugawa period.

¹⁸⁶ Kouame (1997) 423.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the history of charitable giving along the Shikoku pilgrimage route in Japan and the reasons for participation in this selfless activity for such a long period of time. Although the custom had a long history throughout Japan, it eventually faded away in other areas due to the increasing modernization and commercialization of the pilgrimage routes. Only in Shikoku has there been continuation of the custom in a manner that reflects its original form. This can be attributed to Shikoku's inaccessibility and to the strong religious culture of the local people who venerated Kōbō Daishi.

The power of Kōbō Daishi, and the tales and legends that were formed about him, permeated all levels of society in Shikoku. The legends, which focused on themes such as rewards and punishments or cause and effect, influenced the charitable behaviour of the local people. They were certain that their actions would determine the consequences that came to them, whether good or bad. In Shinnen's *Kudokuki* (功德記), many tales reinforced the message that a person who participated in charitable giving was ensured a reward of some sort and would not experience misfortune. Famous stories like that of Emon Saburō demonstrate the importance of treating a pilgrim kindly, who could be the Daishi in disguise, to avoid any 'karmic retribution' from the venerated founder of the pilgrimage route.

In Chapter One, the answers to the questions of who gave charity, who received charity, and why participate in charitable giving were presented. For each question, there were a variety of answers. For example, those who gave were individuals often acting spontaneously, groups of individuals acting in a semi-institutionalized fashion and the

local authorities who were extremely institutionalized. The people who received charity consisted of men and women, further divided into categories including honest, sick, professional and ‘non-desirable’ pilgrims. As a result of the increasing numbers of ‘non-desirable’ pilgrims, who seemed to flock to Shikoku because of the opportunity to live off the charity of others, the local people and authorities attempted to control and extradite such people through restrictions and regulations. However, such measures seemed to have little effect.

Most importantly for the examination of charitable giving, it is imperative to examine the motives or reasons why people engaged in such activities. This thesis has shown that the belief in merit or the obtaining of merit (*kudoku* 功德) was one of the most important factors to the people. Having merit would allow someone a good life here on earth, and a happy rebirth in the next life for oneself and one’s family. And while such an intangible reward was sought after, having a tangible token of their kindness was also treasured. This was the name-slip, or *osamefuda*, of a pilgrim. In Shikoku, these were distributed by pilgrims to the donors of charity or left at temples and shrines. The *osamefuda* seen along the Shikoku pilgrimage route were given away freely and were not the type bought from priests. These name-slips were believed to be protective amulets, which would protect one’s family and home from any disaster or misfortune. Some people even attempted to collect large numbers of them to put into a straw ball and hang from the ceiling of their homes. Obtaining a *fuda* from a pilgrim was believed to be the same as receiving a gift from the Daishi, and thus one would be protected by his benevolent grace.

The following three chapters dealt with the forms of charity given to pilgrims in Shikoku. Chapter Two looked at different types of housing – some that were entirely free and some that were only partially free. Pilgrims could stay at buildings on the grounds of a temple, a person's home or some other form of lodging. The earliest of such accommodation was the Ekiroji that originated just before 1600. Even today, places to lodge are offered for free, but their numbers have drastically decreased since the Tokugawa period. Owners of such facilities now charge money to ensure their economic survival and building upkeep. Throughout the past four hundred years, people who have offered accommodation for free have had their homes called a 'good-deeds inn' or *zenkonyado*. This meant that the owner of such a house would obtain 'good-deeds', or in other words, merit, an aspect of the Daishi faith.

Another connection to Daishi was the period during which most people offered their homes to pilgrims. This phenomenon is seen most during the spring months of March and April, which has always been the peak pilgrimage season, because Kōbō Daishi is said to have passed away on the twenty-first day of the third month, which has become March 21st in the modern day. People celebrated the Daishi's 'special day' (*ennichi*) on this date. People also opened their homes on 'memorial days' of someone who had passed away. Such action shows that the custom of charitable giving was closely connected with a belief in Kōbō Daishi. In other cases, people provided places to stay out of concern or sympathy for the pilgrims who had to suffer while traveling the 1,400 kilometers through Shikoku.

Chapter Three examined objects that pilgrims used to help themselves get safely around the pilgrimage route. First of all, there were lanterns and path markers along the

streets and the pilgrim path. In the case of the path markers, there were four men who are most well known for having placed such objects during the Tokugawa period. Then there have been the ‘guides,’ or *sendatsu*, seen as early as the Middle Ages in other areas of Japan, but later in Shikoku because the emphasis of the Shikoku route was more on traveling as individuals than in groups. However, these guides did exist and their function has grown to be an organized institution today with various ranks and qualifications needed to move up within the hierarchy. They have played an important role not only by guiding, but also by sharing the tales of Kōbō Daishi, and by promoting the religious aspects of the pilgrimage. Finally, the importance of guidebooks was highlighted and the fact that many of these books were given away for free to other people. In these books, the authors provided details on the origins of each temple, shared legends, told of personal experiences, but also provided important practical advice for potential pilgrims. The authors were certainly under no obligation to provide details such as these, but clearly their charitable action helped in making the Shikoku pilgrimage more popular and helped by guiding pilgrims before and during their trip.

In the final chapter, other forms of charitable giving were discussed. The first section testifies to the wide range of forms that charity took. For example, footwear, footcare, haircuts, the giving of food and tea, transportation and post offices services. The second section dealt with the ways in which the local people or authorities treated pilgrims who were sick or who had died. The behaviour of the authorities does at times seem to contradict their restrictive actions in attempting to prohibit, control, round up or expel pilgrims. However, pilgrims even in this desperate situation could be assured that,

if sick, they would be treated with free food and lodging, and if they died would be given a proper burial.

The motives of the Shikoku people, both at the local and authoritative level, along with those from areas such as Wakayama, Okayama, Kyūshū were also examined in this study. It appears that the reasons for charitable giving are many, with plausible explanations including: 1) to give an offering to Kōbō Daishi; 2) to remember one's ancestors on an *ennichi*, or *kijitsu*); 3) to participate vicariously in the pilgrimage or 4) to show sympathy towards the hard religious training of the pilgrim.¹⁸⁷ Others reasons include: to receive merit, to assist the Daishi in disguise and to avoid bad karma.

The custom of charitable giving has lasted in many forms over the past four hundred years in Shikoku with people from inside Shikoku and those traveling from across the Inland Sea to take part in it every year. Today such activity can still be seen and read about in the many travel diaries of modern day pilgrims. However, it must be remembered that this great phenomenon, still continuing in some forms today, was more prevalent during the Tokugawa period. The custom has continued longer in Shikoku than anywhere else in Japan because of the local people's strong faith in Kōbō Daishi. It is from his Buddhist teachings that *settai* has grown, continued and has helped to preserve the religious nature of the Shikoku pilgrimage route for such a long period of time.

¹⁸⁷ Hoshino (1978) 177; Maeda (1972) 222; Baba (1999)

Prospects for Further Studies

The amount of materials and scholarly studies on different aspects of the Shikoku pilgrimage route are severely lacking in the English language, so the number of different new studies that could be conducted by a Western scholar on this topic are seemingly numberless. Such studies could include further examination into the history of charitable giving (*settai*) based on further fieldwork or smaller topics such as: Shinnen's hermitage, lodging facilities, foreigners along the Shikoku route, women and children on the route are all worth researching. Furthermore, a closer look into the origins, development, history and motives of the local people and charity groups that served the pilgrims would be another interesting study.

The contribution of this thesis towards the study of the Shikoku pilgrimage route is that one can understand the great influence Kōbō Daishi has had on the people within Shikoku or those from such distant places as Kyūshū, Wakayama, Okayama or Hiroshima to be so charitable for so long. The stories about him or others who have suffered for not being kind have been effective in encouraging people to be charitable. However, the Buddhist concepts of obtaining merit, ofuda or Buddhahood in this life were also influential in their actions.

In the present day, charitable giving continues but with modernization and commercialization, the route is changing, walking pilgrims are disappearing and temples have to deal with bus after bus of pilgrims during the busy season. What will happen to the Shikoku pilgrimage route and the custom of giving? Will it fade out eventually as it did along other routes or will the influence of the legends of Kōbō Daishi continue to influence the people? Such questions make for other appealing research themes.

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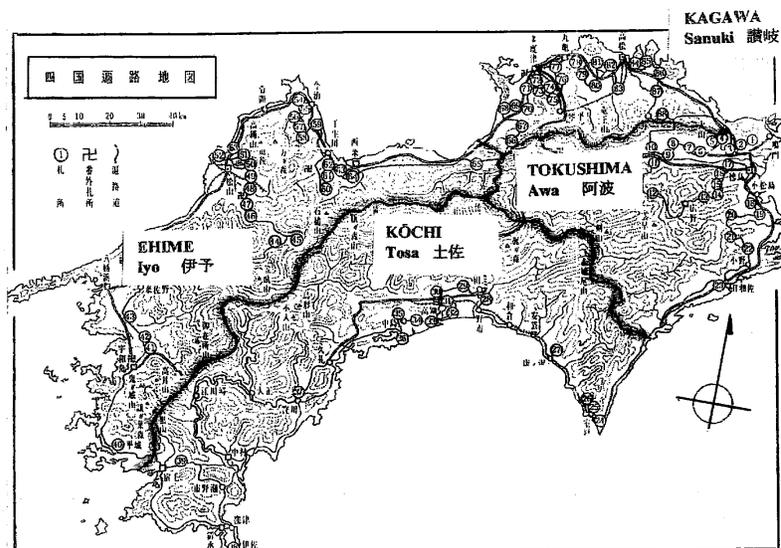
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APPENDIX 1
Map of the Shikoku pilgrimage route and the 88 temple names.

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APPENDIX 1
Map of the Shikoku pilgrimage route and the 88 temple names.



1. Ryōzenji	23. Yakuōji	45. Iwayaji	67. Daikōji
2. Gokurakuji	24. Hotsumisakiji	46. Jōruriji	68. Jinnein
3. Konzenji	25. Shinshōji	47. Yasakaji	69. Kannonji
4. Dainichiji	26. Kongōchōji	48. Sairinji	70. Motoyamaji
5. Jizōji	27. Kōnomineji	49. Jōdoji	71. Iyadaniji
6. Anrakuji	28. Dainichiji	50. Hantaji	72. Mandaraji
7. Jūrakuji	29. Kokubunji	51. Ishiteji	73. Jushhaji
8. Kumadaniji	30. Zenrakuji	52. Taisanji	74. Kōyamaji
9. Hōrinji	31. Chikurinji	53. Enmyōji	75. Zentsūji
10. Kirihataji	32. Zenjibuji	54. Enmeiji	76. Konzōji
11. Fujiidera	33. Sekkeiji	55. Nankōji	77. Dōryūji
12. Shōzanji	34. Tanemaji	56. Taisanji	78. Gōshōji
13. Dainichiji	35. Kiyotakiji	57. Eifukuji	79. Tennōji
14. Jōrakuji	36. Shōryūji	58. Senyūji	80. Kokubunji
15. Kokubunji	37. Iwamotoji	59. Kokubunji	81. Shiromineji
16. Kannonji	38. Kongōfukuji	60. Yokomineji	82. Negoroji
17. Idoji	39. Enkōji	61. Kōonji	83. Ichinomiayaji
18. Onzanji	40. Kanjizaiji	62. Hōjūji	84. Yashimaji
19. Tatsueji	41. Ryūkōji	63. Kisshōji	85. Yakuriji
20. Kakurinji	42. Butsumokuji	64. Maegamiji	86. Jidoji
21. Tairyūji	43. Meisekiji	65. Sankakuji	87. Nagaoji
22. Byōdōji	44. Taihōji	66. Unpenji	88. Ōkuboji

APPENDIX 2
Pictures of Ten-night Bridge

APPENDIX 3
Pictures of path markers

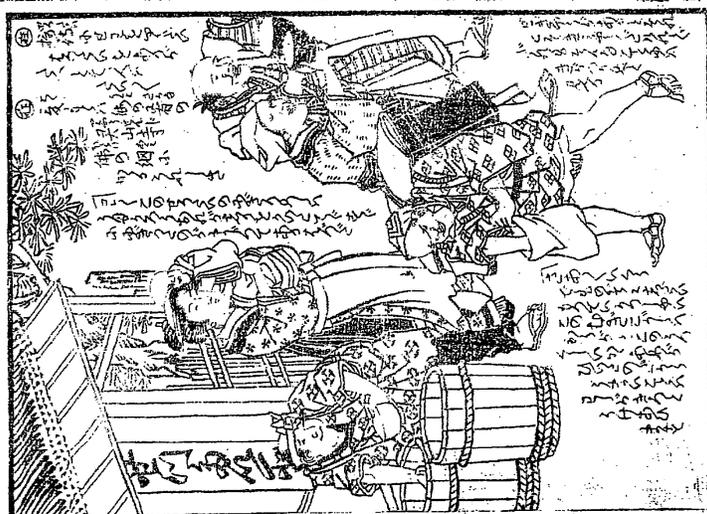
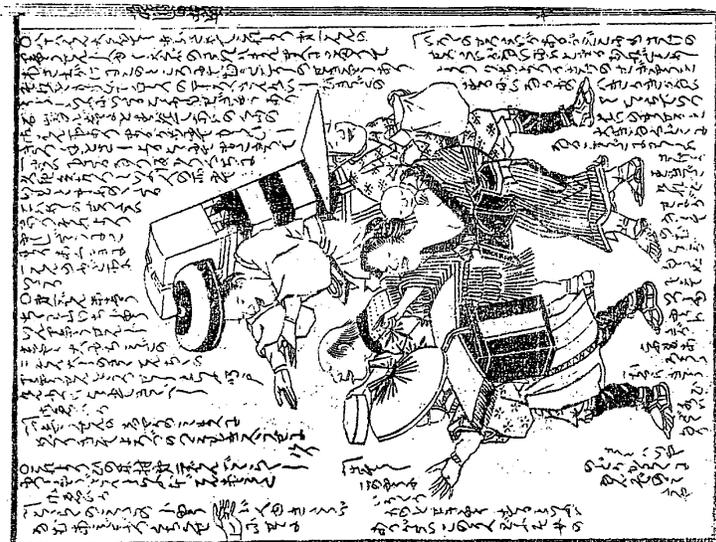
An example of a marker by Shinnen

An example of a marker by Natatsuka Mohei

APPENDIX 5
Picture of a charity group as seen by Jippensha Ikku (1821)

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APPENDIX 5
Picture of a charity group as seen by Jippensha Ikku (1821)



APPENDIX 6

The Purpose and Plan of the Tatsueji Zenkon (Charity) Group.*(Translated from Tatsueji Reigenki 1925)*

1. The Tatsueji Zenkon Group is a charitable group that gives complete preference to those doing the Shikoku pilgrimage. This group survey what is best suited for the pilgrims and gives such necessary items to them.
2. The Tatsueji Zenkon Group is a charitable group, so there are no costs such as membership fees. We ask for all 'good' men and women to be willing to help and participate in the kind service of giving charitable donations such as items and money, so that you can obtain good fortune.
3. Those people who are traveling around Shikoku and have received charity, of course, can also obtain good fortune. Those who serve Kobo Daishi are walking with him as they journey and this becomes the foremost reason to give charity. The act of giving charity is something taught to us by Kobo Daishi over one thousand years ago and those that do so should give to the pilgrim as if intending to give to Kobo Daishi.
4. The Tatsueji Zenkon Group gives out charity in five places.
 - a) The First place of charity is the 'office of communication.' Here notices are sent out to family and friends in each hometown about the safety of each pilgrim who comes to worship. Stamps for postcards are all given for free. In the case of packages that have been sent to pilgrims or telegrams or letters, they are taken care of carefully so that others will not know and then are passed to that pilgrim.
 - b) The second place of charity is the 'stamp office.' Here the fee for stamping the book is provided at no cost. (At present, because it is limited to a donation, it cannot be provided entirely for free, however, in the future with your service, I hope that we can provide this completely without charge.)
 - c) The third and fourth places of charity are the 'place of charitable donations of items.' Here, such various things necessary for daily life are given to the pilgrim. They include rice, paper, towels, candy, incense, potatoes, and beans.
 - d) The fifth place of charity is the 'places of tea' where hot tea is provided, but in the case of the guest hall, a free night's lodging is provided to a limited number.

The above is the outline of our group at the present time, but in the future, through your services, I know it will grow more and will improve.

5. Because the Tatsueji Zenkon Group is a charity group there are no 'fixed' charges for services provided. However, there is an approximate chart of service and their prices. The 'ideal donation amount' for the item received is entirely up to your discretion.

ITEM	for 1 person	for 10 people	for 100 people
Calligraphy work	3 sen	30 sen	3 yen
Stamp Book (1)	5 sen	50 sen	5 yen
Towel	15 sen	1 yen 50 sen	15 yen
Zenkonyado Stay	50 sen	5 yen	50 yen

APPENDIX 7
Menu of a Zenkonyado- 1928
 from the Miyamoto family's Zenkonyado book

Main dish: Barley Rice
 Barazushi
 Fried Tofu
 Koya Tofu
 Sliced Daikon
 Fried broad beans that have been soaked and left in water into which plain tasting boiled things are put in.

Sidedish:
 Ken's Mamba (Fried Tofu, Tofu, namako, Hyakka)
 Boiled Bamboo Shoots
 Cut and Dried Boiled Daikon
 Boiled namako (fish) and seaweed
 Beans in Soya Sauce
 Boiled Taro
 Seasonal Vegetable is the main
 River Shrimp boiled in miso
 (After boiling river shrimp pull off the head and boil in homemade miso)
 Tofu Soup
 Somen Soup
 Uchikomi Soup
 Dumpling Soup
 (Grind the smashed rice, add a little mochi rice, make dumplings, make ingredients of soup into which other things like daikon and taro are put in.)
 You can also eat the dumpling by dusting them with soybean flour or grounded browned barley flour.

From the menu like this above, some of the dishes were picked out and given as charity.

APPENDIX 8-- Exhortation for Pilgrims to the Sacred Places of Shikoku
 received by Oliver Statler in 1971 as recorded in *Japanese Pilgrimage* (p. 181)

The pilgrim is not to veil his body in impurity or harbor evil thoughts in his soul; he should enter upon the penitential journey with a cleansed body and a pure heart. In whatever difficulties and disagreeable situations he may find himself, he should let no thought of anger rise in him. He should take care, that he might attain the fulfillment of his vow.

Arriving at a temple, one should first perform one's devotions with a quiet heart, then complete the written offering without haste, not getting too far from one's baggage if there is a crowd, but being careful, since mistakes are easily made even without evil intent. Pocketbook, money and the like should under no circumstances be put down or shown to others.

Those who set out together should assist one another lovingly and obligingly. If they meet a weak pilgrim or one trouble by illness, they should spend themselves in caring for him; that is charity after the Buddha's heart. In the choice of companion met along the way one must be cautious; one must consider that there are times when it is pleasant to have a comrade to talk with, but there are also occasions when one's faith in a companion is betrayed. For there are bad people who have the most honest appearances; they approach and pretend that they want to point out a shorter way, to deliver efficacious prayers, or to teach a secret magic; they end by forcibly taking money or even violating women. Such people are to be found here and there upon the roads of Shikoku: those who wear pilgrim garb to hunt for their livelihood. It is not necessary that other people pray for one; he who merely follows the Daishi with his whole heart can have his prayer granted. Also one should not write name and address too clearly on one's pilgrim staff, nameslips, and the like, since every year numerous people fall victim to swindling through the mails.

The rule of setting out early and putting up early is as good for today as it was for earlier times. Where one is invited to spend the night one will surely not be dealt with badly: one should therefore turn in, even if the sun is still high. If one tries to go on a little farther, the way often stretches out; before one realizes it, it is late and one does not know where to stay.

Ascetic training in the form of standing before the gates of strangers and asking for alms is to be performed every day at about twenty-one houses, following the examples set by the Daishi. To do so is very good practice toward forming a pious nature. One should not think that one does it in order to receive money or other things; he who makes that this goal is only a beggar and his piety is degraded...

In the spring there are settai, gifts from the hands of pious people or free sojourn in their homes. If such favors are bestowed on one, they should be accepted in the most thankful spirit and one's name-slip given in return.

A hasty journey with a heart full of business does not lead to piety. One is only brought to shame by it. Without other intention or thought, calmly and without haste, with "Namu Daishi Henjo Kongo" upon one's lips – that is how make the true pilgrimage.

Namu Daishi Henjo Kongo

Postscript: Whoever upon the pilgrimage experiences spiritual disturbances or has other cares should turn with confidence to the priests of the pilgrimage temples.