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日蘭評論

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Portret of the Daishi, by Shinnyo. Photograph by Hendrik van der Veere

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From the article of Mariëlla Beukers; Count van Bijlandt took photographs of his hosts at the hotels during his travels in Japan.

Preface

The two main articles in the present issue of *The Netherlands-Japan Review* are both about travel. The first, an article by Ms Mariëlla Beukers, reconstructs the journey that Jules Count Van Bylandt undertook through Japan in the beginning of 1890. The Count bought the usual postcards, but, as the proud possessor of the newest Kodak equipment, he also made photographs himself, which are by this very fact unique. The whole collection (purchased photographs, own photographs, and a summary diary) is presently kept at the Archive of Utrecht, where it was discovered and analysed by Ms Beukers. A number of the photographs are reproduced in the present article. It has its importance in the history of photography, in the history of Dutchmen travelling to Japan, and in the visualization of Meiji Japan. The editors gratefully thank Ms Beukers for her contribution, and the Archive of Utrecht for its permission to reproduce its materials.

The second long article is a study of two maps, presently in the care of the University Library in Leiden, that form part of the Siebold Collection and were printed in Osaka in the early nineteenth century. The maps show Shikoku, as it looked to the pilgrims who had come to tour the eighty-eight sacred spots on the island - a journey, on foot, of ca 1,400 km. The authors of the article, Dr Hendrik van der Veere and Drs Bas Valckx, have themselves made the pilgrimage more than once. Hence, the article is not merely an analysis of the maps, but also a confrontation of ancient and modern practice, and of the directions and legends on the maps with the present situation, illustrated with photographs made by the authors themselves. The article may be enjoyed for its text, but it contains all the necessary characters and bibliographical wherewithal to serve as a basis for further research into this most famous of Japan's pilgrim routes. Mr Witteveen's calligraphy commemorates Shikoku's most famous son, the monk Kūkai (Kōbō-daishi), who travelled a lot during his life, and whose presence hovers over the whole of the pilgrimage.

With an eye on the forthcoming Hokusai exhibitions to be held at the Sieboldhuis in Leiden from December 10 to February 27, Prof. Matthi Forrer has contributed an article that reflects the latest stage in Hokusai research, on which he is an authority. The article is compulsory reading for everyone who shall want to visit the exhibitions. It is illustrated with *The Wave*, and with a self-portrait of Hokusai that is compulsory viewing for everyone over sixty.

Finally, Frans Verwayen contributed a new translation of a poem by Isaka Yūko, again from her collection *Chōrei*. *Chōrei*, best translated as “morning parade” (“ochtend-appel”), is the ritual with which Japanese schools commence each morning. Fittingly, the poem is called “Ochtendgymnastiek.”

On behalf of the Editorial Board

W.J. Boot

Katsushika Hokusai turns 250 on October 30th, 2010

Matthi Forrer

Hokusai, the Japanese artist who would gain worldwide renown as the designer of the iconic *Great Wave*, was born in Honjō Warigesui, a suburban district of Edo (present-day Tokyo), on the twenty-third day of the Ninth Lunar Month of Hōreki 10 – or on 30 October 1760 in the Western calendar.

Popular belief has it that Hokusai was an unrecognized designer of Japanese prints, at least in his times, who used thirty or even fifty different names, creating an oeuvre of more than 30 or 50 thousand designs, and who lived at ninety different addresses – the latter obviously, so we are made to believe, to evade creditors, or even, as is also maintained, since he preferred moving to another place rather than cleaning the house. The image of an unrecognized artist is also corroborated by the fact that he, on his deathbed, begged to be given ‘only ten, only five more years’ to achieve what he really wanted most: to become a great artist. And thus, this Hokusai came to perfectly match the popular and highly romantic image of a ‘real artist’ and for us, knowing better, of course, it is hard to understand why he was not appreciated in his days. But times have changed and nowadays a search for ‘Hokusai *Great Wave*’ on Google yields 53 million hits, the same search on Google Images yielding 22.1 million hits (for comparison, Picasso *Guernica* gives 499 thousand hits, idem images 71 thousand, and Van Gogh *Sunflowers* 331 and 43.6 thousand respectively – 2010/X/1).

Although we probably have to be grateful for what the myth contributed to the world-wide appreciation of Hokusai, yet the sober truth is that he was one of the most successful designers of his time, highly appreciated for his prints of various kinds, for his innovative illustrations to popular novels, as well as for his albums of drawings, even being appreciated for his paintings, that is, after he, in 1793, took the wise – and highly risky, we should add – decision to leave the prestigious Katsukawa atelier headed by Katsukawa Shunshō (1726, active 1762-93) which specialized in prints of actors of the kabuki theatre, determined to start a career as an independent artist. And so, after having worked in the B-ranks of this atelier since 1779 as Katsukawa Shunrō, and ignoring incidental moments of appreciation by such influential publishers as Nishimuraya Yohachi in the late 1780s – designing a series of perspective prints – or also Tsutaya Jūsaburō (1751, active 1774-97) in the early 1790s – for whom he designed a number of prints of actors as well as some series of prints on various themes, he first established as Sōri in 1795, adding the name of Hokusai already the following year. As Hokusai Sōri he mostly worked with wealthy amateur poets, designing the images to accompany their poetry, issued either as single prints, the so-called *kyōka surimono*, or as publications in the format of books and albums, *kyōkaban*. These were distributed among their friends and other members of *kyōka*-clubs, of which there were quite a few, organizing poetry sessions with acknowledged judges. Within the next ten years, Hokusai Sōri established himself as the foremost designer of these, catering to both individual poets making designs for *kyōka surimono*, and to *kyōka*-clubs making plates for *kyōkaban*. With at least fifteen plates in the most luxurious *kyōkaban* of the Kansei period, Hokusai ranked first. A second place was held by Tsutsumi Tōrin with ten plates,

the third place being held by Kubo Shunman (1757-1820) with nine plates in such albums. Moreover, ever since Utamaro (1754, active from 1777-1806) had designed all the plates to quite a few *kyōkaban* in the late 1780s and early 1790s, e.g. in the famous *Insect* (1788), *Shell* (1789) and *Bird* (c. 1790) books, most such albums were illustrated by three to six different artists in the 1790s. However, from the late 1790s Hokusai was the first to act as the only illustrator again, mostly focusing on views in Edo, e.g. in his *Azuma asobi* (1799), *Tōto meisho ichiran* (1800), *Miyakodori* (c. 1802), *Ehon kyōka – Sumidagawa ryōgan ichiran* (c.1803), and *Kyōka ehon – Yama mata yama* (1804) albums. Moreover, in 1799, he also was the first to introduce the concept of *kyōka surimono* issued as a series of prints. This was quite a different position from working in a mere corner of the Katsukawa atelier. Indeed, this position and production also suggest a successful entrepreneur rather than an unrecognized artist. Becoming established, appreciated, and even famous in these circles, he also began to receive commissions for paintings and was, indeed, recognized as an independent artist in the world of Japanese prints in the *ukiyo* tradition – as is testified in a ‘map of the *ukiyo* world’ drawn by Shikitei Sanba (1776-1822) and published in 1802 in his *Chronology of a Farfetched Historiography* (*Haishi kojitsuke nendaiki*).

Hokusai held on to this well-deserved position of an independent artist for the rest of his life, so we can only wonder whether he would have followed the same course if he would have made a different choice in his late teens, for example seeking training with Kitao Shigemasa (1739-1820, active 1764-c. 1810), or Isoda Koryūsai (1735, active 1769-91), or even with Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815, active 1769-1811), then the three foremost designers of prints of fashionable women, often courtesans from the licensed quarters of the New Yoshiwara.

Dropping the name of Sōri altogether from 1800, he then continued working as Hokusai, as he is now most commonly known. He kept working for the world of *kyōka* poets, designing well over 300 *kyōka surimono* prints, many of which were issued in series, and illustrations to more than ten *kyōka* albums, but he gradually left this niche in the market to his pupils, such as Teisai Hokuba and Totoya Hokkei (both from 1802), Hokutai (from 1806), Hokuga, Hokujū and Hokusū (all from 1808), and to his earlier pupils Hishikawa Sōri III and Ryūryūkyō Shinsai, who had already established independently from 1798 and 1800 respectively. However, under the name of Hokusai, he also expanded his activities; returning to the world of commercial publishing, he designed more than 700 rather cheap prints as well as around fifty medium-priced ones. Among the latter are some series of smaller size prints in a marked Western style, provided with borders in imitation of Western picture frames, the titles and signatures written horizontally in imitation of Western writing, and displaying *chiaroscuro* and, above all, a sense of Western linear perspective that would keep intriguing him for the rest of his life.

Yet probably Hokusai’s greatest accomplishment in the period from 1804 to 1815 were his well over 1,000 illustrations to almost fifty popular novels – amounting to 235 volumes, each volume having an average of five or six double-page plates. In numbers, Hokusai illustrated more such novels than all designers of the Utagawa tradition together – forty-nine as opposed to forty-five. And neither Utagawa Toyohiro (with twenty-one titles) nor Utagawa Toyokuni (sixteen) would even equal the production of the number two of the Katsushika tradition, Teisai Hokuba (with twenty-seven titles). Indeed, at least in the period from 1804 to 1815, the Katsushika tradition dominated the genre with illustrations to ninety-six novels, the Utagawa tradition taking secondary place with illustrations to forty-five novels, while some designers from various other traditions were responsible for the illustrations to a further seventeen novels. It is especially remarkable that designers such as Toyohiro and Toyokuni, who dominated this field in the 1790s, would be surpassed to this extent by both Hokusai and Hokuba in the early nineteenth century.



The Great Wave Off the Coast of Kanagawa from the series Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

In all these various genres Hokusai became both the most prolific and most busily engaged artist of the period; there can be no doubt that he could afford to live in relative wealth. He also maintained quite a large atelier of some ten to fifteen students, some of whom would establish as highly successful artists, such as Hokuba and Hokkei. Both in the fields of illustrations to popular novels and to *kyōka* albums, these pupils would gain important positions. In the genre of *kyōka* albums, Hokuba mostly worked with the Tsubogawa club of *kyōka* poets, or the Asakusaren, led by Asakusaan Ichindo (1755-1821), whereas Hokkei developed a good relation with Yadoya no Meshimori (1753-1830), better known as Rokujuen.

In his fifties, Hokusai came to realize that old age was approaching and that time had come to ensure he left a legacy. Adopting the name of Taito from 1814, he started a series of manuals, so that anybody could learn and master by himself the Katsushika Hokusai style of drawing, by simply copying the various illustrations. The *Hokusai manga* (10 vols., 1814-19; vols. 11 and 12 dating from the late 1820s and c.1834 respectively; vols. 13-15 issued posthumously) are probably the best-known among these. As a publicity stunt to promote sales of the *Hokusai manga*, Hokusai Taito in 1817 painted a portrait of Daruma, the founder of the Zen sect of Buddhism, measuring the equivalent of 120 *tatami* mats – one of which measures about 180 x 90 cms. – at the Nishikakesho by the Nishi Honganji Temple at Nagoya, the city where his publisher Eirakuya Tōshirō was located. The event was advertised through broadsheets distributed all over the city, indeed attracting many thousands of people to watch the celebrity he then was.

When Hokusai turned 61, in 1820, he adopted a new name, Iitsu, 'One Year Old Again', to celebrate his *kanreki*. However, the first ten years only saw a quite modest production. He would mostly indulge in meetings of *senryū* poets, the comical variant of the 17-syllabary *haiku*



Self-portrait at the Age of Eighty-Three, at the end of a letter to one of his publishers (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden)

poems, while mourning one of his daughters who died in 1821, as well as attending to another daughter who divorced in 1822 from his pupil Yanagawa Shigenobu, and to his wife, who died in 1828. Moreover, he had to spend most of his earnings and savings to pay the gambling debts made by his grandson in the late 1820s. This was not a particularly happy decade.

For the first time in many, many years, he had to admit that he was living in poverty: as he writes early 1830 in a letter to his publisher Hanabusaya Heikichi, he had ‘this New Year not a penny to spend, no clothes to put on, nor anything to eat.’ Asking for payment and work – most of the latter being postponed – he then starts working on a completely new project: the series of Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji, which includes his three best-known prints, the Great Wave, Mount Fuji in Fine Weather, and Shower below the Summit (1830/34). The series would, in spite of its title, comprise 46 prints in total, and was issued simultaneously with his other great series, such as the Waterfalls (1831/32), the Large Flowers (1832), the Snow, Moon, and Flowers series (1832/33), five designs of nature subjects (1832/33), the One Hundred Ghost Stories (1832/33), the Bridges (1833), the Small Flowers (1833/34), the Poets from China and Japan (1833/34), the Thousand Views of the Ocean (1834), and some more. It is primarily on these (in fact only 137) prints, all designed in the brief period from 1830 to 1834, that his fame largely rests. What is more, they were all designed when Hokusai Iitsu was in his seventies.

And yet, changing his name again to Manji, he would in 1834 look back on his career, concluding, as he wrote in his autobiography, that ‘none of my works done before my seventieth year is really worth counting.’ As Hokusai Manji, he would still design quite a number of prints and one of his most important picture books, the One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji, complete in three volumes. Yet, these and a few other projects were impeded by the serious economic crisis that hit Japan in the years 1833-36, from which it would only recover in the 1840s. This was a difficult period for anybody, including Hokusai Manji. In these years he mostly focused on paintings, receiving numerous commissions. Especially in his later years, the execution of these paintings was largely supported by two of his daughters who were skilled painters as well: Oei and Otatsu.

His autobiography, published in 1834 at the end of the first volume of the One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji, reads (in full):

From the age of six I was in the habit of drawing all kinds of things. Although I had produced numerous designs by my fiftieth year, none of my works done before my seventieth is really worth counting. At the age of seventy-three I have come to understand the true form of animals, insects and fish and the nature of plants and trees. Consequently, by the age of eighty-five I will have made more and more progress, and at ninety I will have got closer to the essence of art. At the age of one hundred I will have reached a magnificent level and at one hundred and ten each dot and each line will be alive. I would like to ask those who outlive me to observe that I have not spoken without reason.

Gakyōrōjin Manji (Manji, The Old Man Mad About Painting)

Leaving us, finally, some treasured advice in his Treatise on the Use of Colours (2 vols., 1848), Hokusai died in 1849 at the age of 90.

And then, in spite of the great fame he enjoyed during his lifetime, Hokusai was quickly forgotten and for a long period largely ignored in Japan, and first recognized as a real and great artist in the Western world. The earliest reproductions of his works, mostly taken from the *Hokusai manga* volumes, are lithograph plates in Ph. F. von Siebold’s *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung[...]*, Leiden 1833-58. The first monograph devoted to Hokusai is probably Frederick V. Dickins’s *Fugaku hyaku-kei*, or A Hundred Views of Fuji (Fusiyama), London, 1880; providing a brief

sketch of his life and works as well as extensive descriptions of all the plates in the three volumes. The first exhibition of Hokusai drawings and woodcuts was organized in London in 1890 by Marcus B. Huish, who also compiled the *Catalogue of a collection of drawings and engravings by Hokusai exhibited at the Fine Art Society*, and the first exhibition of his paintings, held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1893, was organized by Ernest F. Fenollosa¹. This was also the year that, almost fifty years after Hokusai Manji published his autobiography, the first Japanese biography appeared, Iijima Kyoshin's *Katsushika Hokusai den* (Biography of Katsushika Hokusai) of 1893, partially based on oral history. Fenollosa would also, together with Kobayashi Bunshichi, curate the first exhibition of Hokusai paintings in Japan, held in 1900 at the Ueno Park, Tokyo². After Iijima's biography, more monograph studies gradually came out, such as those by Edmond de Goncourt and Michel Revon, both published in French, in 1896³. Then followed monographs in English, by C.J. Holmes (1899), M. Tomkinson (1904) and Edward Strange (1906); in German by Friedrich Perzynski (1904); in French again by Henri Focillon (1914); and, finally, also in Japanese, by Narazaki Muneshige (1944)⁴.

In regard to the reason for the late appreciation in his own country, it may be best to cite Ernest Fenollosa in his Preface to the 1900 exhibition catalogue:

The present exhibition of the collected paintings and studies of Hokusai and his pupils is the first that has ever been held in Japan. Known and honoured in western countries for forty years, as one of the world's great masters of draughtmanship, it would seem strange that Hokusai had never been considered worthy of study in his native land, were we not aware of that fatal social cleavage between aristocrats and plebeians during the Tokugawa age which has cast its sinister shadow so far into the present.

But even in the 1970s and 1980s, Japanese colleagues would be willing to readily understand my fascination with Hokusai – 'since he is so Western', often adding that foreigners cannot, however, understand Hiroshige, 'since he is so Japanese.'

1 [Ernest F. Fenollosa], *Hokusai and his school*. Special exhibition of the pictorial art of Japan and China, No. 1). Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1893.

2 Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Catalogue of the exhibition of paintings of Hokusai held at the Japan Fine Art Association, Ueno Park, Tokio*. Tokyo: Kobayashi Bunshichi, 1901 (Reprint: Geneva, 1973).

3 Edmond de Goncourt, *Hokousai*. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1896 (various reprints, more recently 1984 and, edited by this writer, 1988); Michel Revon, *Etude sur Hok'sai*. Paris: Lecène, Oudin et Cie., 1896.

4 C.J. Holmes, *Hokusai*. London: At the Sign of the Unicorn, 1898/9 (1900, 1901); M. Tomkinson, *Hokusai: Master of the Japanese Ukiyo-ye school of painting*. Privately printed, 1904; Edward Strange, *Hokusai. The Old Man Mad with Painting*. London: Siegel, Hill & Co., 1906; Fr. Perzynski, *Hokusai*. (Künstler Monographien, No. 68). Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen and Klasing, 1904 (1908); Henri Focillon, *Hokusai*. Paris, 1914 (1925); Narazaki Muneshige, *Hokusai ron* (Treatise on Hokusai). Tokyo: Atoriesha, 1944 (1998).

Kōbō Daishi

by Arthur Witteveen

The calligraphy reads “Kōbō Daishi” (弘法大師). This is the posthumous name of Kūkai (空海), a Japanese monk who lived from 774 to 835, and was the founder of the esoteric Shingon school of Buddhism. He was born on the island of Shikoku and stayed there for long periods; the main article in this issue of the journal treats of the very popular pilgrimage great numbers of Japanese undertake on this island, seeking for his inspiration. From 804 to 806 he visited China, seeking instruction on the teaching of the Mahavairocana sutra, which he hoped would bring him further enlightenment. From the Buddhist master Hui-kuo (746-805) he received his initiation in the esoteric form of Buddhism laid down in that sutra. In 816 Kūkai withdrew to a mountain retreat at Mount Kōya in Wakayama prefecture; in 824 he was called back to the capital of Kyōto, becoming the head of the Tōji, the Eastern Temple.

His mausoleum is at Mount Kōya.

I have written the name of Kōbō Daishi in a fat script often used by Buddhist monks; a calligraphy written by a monk of the Tōji, found in a pilgrim’s book of the 1930’s, has actually served me as an example. Kōbō Daishi himself was not only a monk of great fame; he also was, together with Emperor Saga (786-842) and Tachibana no Hayanari (782?-842), one of the *Sampitsu* (“The three brushes”), the three most important calligraphers of the Early Heian period (784-967). Especially interesting is his fame in the writing of *Zattaisho*, an ornamental script style using very old character forms. The lines of Kūkai’s writings in that style are very rounded and wavy; probably inspired by the *Siddham* script (the “perfected” script used to write Sanskrit) in which his beloved Mahavairocana Sutra was written.

Literature:

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New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972.

-Nakata, Yujiro. *The Art of Japanese Calligraphy* (Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art, vol. 27). New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1973.

-Yamasaki, Taikō. *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. Boston & London: Shambala, 1988.

A.Th. Witteveen LLM BA is currently a Research Master student of Chinese Studies at Leyden University. He started his study of Sinology after his retirement as a First Secretary of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. He has been practising Chinese calligraphy for some thirty years; in 2002 he wrote, at the request of the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Druk- en Boekkunst (Dutch association for printing art and book art), De dans van het penseel. Een korte inleiding tot de Chinese Calligrafie ('The Dance of the Brush: A Short Introduction to Chinese Calligraphy). He has the 10th dan in his Japanese school of calligraphy, the Nihon Shodō Bijutsu-in.

弘法大師



Jules van Bylandt, een Nederlandse graaf op reis in Japan, 1890

Mariëlla Beukers

Summary

In the first three months of 1890, as part of his trip around the world, the Dutch count Jules van Bylandt visited Japan. Since the count was an amateur photographer, using the newest Kodak equipment, he not only bought the usual ready-made photographs, but also took a great number of photographs himself. After his death, these photographs and related materials went to his sister, and eventually they ended up in the Archive of Utrecht. In the present article, I try to reconstruct Van Bylandt's journey through Japan and I introduce a number of the photographs that he took at that occasion. The photographs are unique, and Van Bylandt himself seems a worthwhile addition to the list of Dutch visitors of Meiji Japan.

I thank the staff of the Archive of Utrecht for their help, and for the permission to reproduce the photographs.

Voor de toerist anno 2010 is Japan geen hoog genoteerde bestemming. Bij een bezoek aan het land tref je over het algemeen veel meer binnenlandse toeristen dan buitenlandse. De bekende toeristische attracties van het land worden druk bezocht, maar vooral door de Japanners zelf. Toch is het buitenlandse toerisme in Japan al zo'n anderhalve eeuw oud. Al snel nadat Japan in 1854 toegankelijk werd voor handelaren uit het buitenland, stroomden ook de avontuurlijk ingestelde reizigers toe. Eén van die reizigers was de Nederlander Jules van Bylandt, telg uit een adellijk geslacht en familie van de graven van Bentinck, van kasteel Amerongen. Van Bylandt bezocht het land van de rijzende zon van januari tot maart 1890.

In Het Utrechts Archief wordt het archief van het Huis Amerongen bewaard, waarin zich ook een collectie persoonlijke documenten van Jules van Bylandt bevindt. Een belangrijk onderdeel van die documenten vormen zijn grote fotocollecties. Jules van Bylandt reisde vanaf 1888 naar alle uithoeken van de wereld. Tijdens veel van die reizen maakte en kocht hij foto's, die hij thuis in Nederland opplakte in dikke fotoalbums. Het Utrechts Archief heeft al diverse malen aandacht aan deze foto's besteed.

Helaas zijn we niet geïnformeerd over de wijze waarop Van Bylandt deze reizen organiseerde, noch over zijn ondervindingen in die landen. Er moeten ergens nog brieven en aantekeningen van Van Bylandt bestaan, die echter niet in bewaring gegeven zijn aan het archief. Alleen bundels van aldaar bewaarde kwitanties werpen enig licht op de voorbereiding voor zijn reizen.¹ Toch kunnen we uit de zelfgemaakte foto's, gecombineerd met de geschiedenis van het toerisme in de betrokken landen, wel een beeld krijgen van de interesses van deze adellijke reiziger.

1 Een opgave van de belangrijkste gebruikte archiefstukken staat aan het einde van dit artikel.



Portret van Jules van Bylandt, datum onbekend.

Reis om de wereld

Dit artikel is gewijd aan een deel van de eerste grote reis die Jules van Bylandt maakte, van 1888 tot 1890. Volgens een brief aan zijn zwager Godard Bentinck, gedateerd 26 oktober 1888, vertrok de boot waarop zijn reis begon op 23 november 1888 uit Venetië. Van Bylandt dacht rond 15 november uit Nederland te vertrekken.² De reis ging letterlijk om de wereld, van Venetië via Brindisi, Port Said en het Suezkanaal naar Bombay in India, vervolgens naar Nederlands-Indië en vandaar met de boot naar Japan. In april 1890 stak hij vanaf Hakodate op het eiland Hokkaidō de Stille Oceaan over naar Californië. Hoe hij vervolgens naar de oostkust van de Verenigde Staten reisde, is niet te achterhalen, maar hij bezocht daar onder andere New York en Coney Island. In de zomer van 1890 was Van Bylandt weer in Europa: een map met overgeleverde kwitanties toont dan aankopen aan van, onder andere, fotoalbums en uitgaven voor reparaties aan koffers.

2 HUA, archief Huis Amerongen (toegang 1001), inv.nr. 4332.

Foto's

Tijdens deze reis maakte Van Bylandt foto's met een eigen camera. Hiervan zijn zowel afdrukken als negatieven overgeleverd. De afdrukken heb ik voor dit artikel allemaal bestudeerd; de negatieven waren helaas te kwetsbaar om aan een nader onderzoek te onderwerpen. Van Bylandt noteerde in kleine notitieboekjes, behorend bij de camera, het onderwerp van de foto's. Aan de hand van de data en de plaatsnamen in deze boekjes kon een groot deel van de route van de reis gereconstrueerd worden. Niet alle boekjes zijn overgeleverd, maar gelukkig wel die van het Japanse deel van deze wereldreis.

Daarnaast kocht Van Bylandt in Japan een fors aantal souvenirfoto's, die hij thuis apart inplakte in een stevig album. Het unieke karakter van dit tweeledige fotoverslag en mijn interesse voor Japanse geschiedenis is en de negentiende-eeuwse fotografie hebben geleid tot dit artikel.



Pagina uit de notitie-boekjes (let op het tekeningetje van een tempel rechtsonder) met daarbij een van zijn losse foto's, mogelijk met een afbeelding van Helena Kok, op de boot naar (of van) Japan.

Jules van Bylandt: een korte biografie

Jules Ernest Othon Anne Adrien Graaf van Bylandt van Benthorn werd geboren op 24 augustus 1863 in Brussel en overleed ten gevolge van een skiongeluk in Sankt Moritz op 18 februari 1907. Tijdens zijn 43-jarige leven zou hij vooral grote en exotische reizen maken, naar ‘Hindostan, Ned. Indië, China, Japan, Amerika, Pamirs, Afghanistan, Perzië, Franz Josephland, Somaliland, Britisch en Portugeesch Oost-Afrika, Congo, enz...’ (zoals in zijn lijkrede vermeld werd.)

De ouders van Jules waren Jules Auguste graaf van Bylandt (1818-1873) en Frederique Julie barones van der Duyn, vrouwe van Benthorn (1823-1878). Zij overleden toen hij nog vrij jong was: hij verloor zijn vader op 13-jarige leeftijd en zijn moeder vijf jaar later. Als voogd voor de minderjarige Jules werd het familielid C.R.A. van Bylandt aangesteld. Deze voogd was tot 1886 verantwoordelijk voor onder andere het beheer van Jules’ vermogen.

De vader van Jules, J.A., was werkzaam bij de registratie in Zuid-Holland als ontvanger van de domeinen. De familie woonde in Brussel, te Ukkel, waar zij ook diverse goederen bezat. Zij behoorden tot de protestantse elite; zo was J.A. onder andere lid van de kerkraad van de evangelische Franse en Duitse gemeente te Brussel. Daarnaast was hij lid van de vrijmetselaars. In 1860 werd hij door koning Willem III (als groothertog van Luxemburg) benoemd tot ridder in de Orde van de Eikenkroon. Tot het familiebezit, later in het bezit van Jules, behoorden behalve de goederen rond Ukkel verschillende goederencomplexen ten zuiden van de grote rivieren. Eén ervan lag in de Betuwe en had veel boomgaarden. In Zeeland en westelijk Noord-Brabant bezatten de Van Bylandts voornamelijk polders in de buurt van Woensdrecht en aan de Westerschelde. Kleiner van omvang waren enkele bezittingen in Vianen en Hazerswoude. Jules’ inkomen bestond voornamelijk uit de opbrengsten van deze landerijen en goederen.

Kasteel Amerongen

Jules had een oudere zuster, Louise, geboren in 1861 en overleden in 1916. Een jonger zusje overleed als baby. Louise trouwde met graaf Godard van Aldenburg Bentinck, en woonde een groot deel van het jaar op kasteel Amerongen. De band met zijn zus en haar familie was erg goed; Jules verbleef regelmatig in Amerongen. Hij kocht voor zijn neefjes en nichtjes graag speelgoed, en in zijn fotoalbums komen het kasteel en de inwoners veel voor. Ook ds. J.C. Schuler, Nederlands-hervormd predikant te Goes, memoreerde die warme familieband in zijn lijkrede in februari 1907. Bij de dood van Jules was Louise zijn enige erfgenaam, waardoor de bezittingen van de Van Bylandts in bezit van de Bentincks kwamen.

Jules ging in 1881 studeren in Leiden en wonen in Den Haag, waar hij een huis betrok op Hooigracht 1c. Aan dit huis werd heel wat opgeknapt en vertimmerd, zoals blijkt uit de kwitanties die over de jaren 1881-1891 zijn overgeleverd. In 1882 werd Jules ingeschreven als lidmaat van de Waalse gemeente in Den Haag. Hij werd uitgeloot en vrijgesteld voor de Nationale Militie, maar was wel lid van diverse ruiters- en schietverenigingen.

Zijn uitgaven hadden betrekking op de kleermaker, de wasvrouw, de kapper en een repetitor wiskunde. Hij betaalde contributies aan de kerk, de ijsclub, de manege en de tennisvereniging. Er waren rekeningen voor brandstof en aardappelen. Hij was een liefhebber van champagne en goede wijn, las graag romans en speelde de altviool. En Jules was blijkbaar dol op hopjes: vanaf het najaar 1890 kocht hij regelmatig een blik bij de firma P. Nieuwerkerk & Zoon op Voorhout 92.

Ambteloos burger

Na zijn studie was Jules ampteloos burger; in 1896 ontving hij een benoeming tot honorair attaché voor het Nederlandse gezantschap in St. Petersburg. Op zijn reizen had hij Rusland en St. Petersburg inmiddels ook aangedaan, zo blijkt uit overgeleverde foto's en negatieven. Jules werd verder onderscheiden met de Orde van de Leeuw en de Zon van Perzië in 1895 en de Orde van Sint Anna van Rusland in 1896. Hij verkeerde in de hoogste kringen en kreeg uitnodigingen aan het hof.³

Bij aanvang van zijn eerste grote reis, in 1888, was Jules 25 jaar. Hij reisde met een klein gezelschap. Op de foto's die hij in Japan maakte, is naast een tweetal mannen ook een vrouw zichtbaar. Mogelijk was dit Helena Kok, de vrouw aan wie hij na zijn overlijden in een legaat een jaarlijkse som geld naliet. Dat Helena niet in goede aarde viel bij zijn familie, blijkt uit de moeite die zij iedere paar maanden moest doen om het geld van graaf Bentinck of zijn rentmeester los te krijgen. In de eerste jaren na Jules' overlijden woonde Helena samen met haar moeder onder andere in Utrecht en Nice; later woonde ze enige tijd in Parijs. Helena's broer, William C.A. Kok, werd in 1920 aangesteld als vice-consul voor Nederland in Nice. Helena zelf voorzag in haar onderhoud door zich onder andere als gezelschapsdame aan te bieden aan rijke families. Zo verbleef zij in 1921 twee maanden in Marokko en Algerije. Helaas zijn we noch over Helena Kok, noch over de mannelijke reisgenoten van Jules nader geïnformeerd.⁴



Van Bylandt nam in Hakodate diverse foto's van Aimu.



Reizigers naar Japan

Jules van Bylandt bezocht Japan in de maanden januari-maart 1890. Dat was niet bepaald het toeristenseizoen - op sommige foto's komt sneeuw voor! - en Japan was niet bepaald een toeristenbestemming. Toch was Jules met zijn bezoek aan Japan in 1890 geen pionier of trendsetter. Sinds het midden van negentiende eeuw waren al vele - uiteraard rijke - westerlingen hem voorgedaan en velen zouden hem nog volgen. In april-mei 1890 bijvoorbeeld arriveerden de hertog en hertogin van Connaught in de Engelse legatie in Tokyo voor een toeristisch bezoek aan Japan.

Reisverslagen en boeken over het land begonnen vanaf 1855 steeds meer te verschijnen in

3 De biografische gegevens zijn samengesteld uit de Inleiding van E.P. de Booy op het *Inventaris van het archief van het huis Amerongen 1405-1979*, Utrecht 2000; en uit de vele inventarisnummers die geraadpleegd zijn of waarvan de beschrijving in de toegang is gelezen.

4 Idem, en informatie uit correspondentie in inv.nr. 4753.

het Westen, en de Japanse cultuur en kunst bereikten in Amerika en West-Europa een ongeken- de populariteit. Dit had alles te maken met de zeer recente openstelling van het land: pas sinds 1854 was het aan andere westerlingen dan Nederlanders toegestaan het land te bezoeken. In het voetspoor van westerse handelaren kwamen - zeker vanaf 1880 - steeds groeiende stromen reizigers naar het land, eerst alleen naar de verdragshaven, zoals Shimoda, Hakodate, Nagasaki, Kobe en Yokohama, later ook steeds dieper het binnenland in. Het land was relatief veilig voor toeristen, al rommelde het wel een enkele keer tussen diverse politieke groeperingen.

Voor de 'globetrotter' die in 1890 Japan aandeed, bestonden er diverse reisgidsen en reisverslagen. Sommigen werden uitgegeven in het Westen en andere waren te koop in Yokohama, hét centrum van de Westerse aanwezigheid in Japan. Eén daarvan was bijvoorbeeld de *Guide to the Japanese Islands* uit 1888, die excursies classificeerde naar de gezondheidstoestand en mate van avontuurlijkheid van de toerist.

Een van de eerste reisverslagen die voor een groter publiek verschenen, was het boek *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* van Isabella Bird, in 1880. Miss Bird reisde slechts vergezeld van een Japanse bediende door het land, en deed ook vrij onherbergzame streken aan, waaronder het eiland Ezo (nu: Hokkaidō) in het noorden, waar de verdragshaven Hakodate zich bevond. Zij schreef vrij veel over de Ainu, de inheemse bevolking van Hokkaidō. Het is mogelijk dat Van Bylandt het boek gelezen had; ook hij besteedde in zijn foto's vrij veel aandacht aan de Ainu.

Van invloed op de westerse bezoekers aan Japan was ongetwijfeld ook Gilbert and Sullivan's Opera *The Mikado*, voor het eerst opgevoerd in 1885. Uit deze opera kwam een sprookjesachtige sfeer naar voren, die vele avonturiers met geld naar het land gelokt moet hebben. Van Bylandt kwam regelmatig in Londen en het ligt zeker in de lijn der verwachtingen dat hij deze opera bezocht heeft.

Een boek dat hij in ieder geval had gelezen, is de roman van Pierre Loti, *Madame Chrysanthème*, verschenen in Parijs in 1887. Hij kocht het boek begin 1888 bij boekhandel Van Stockum voor f 5,50. Loti,

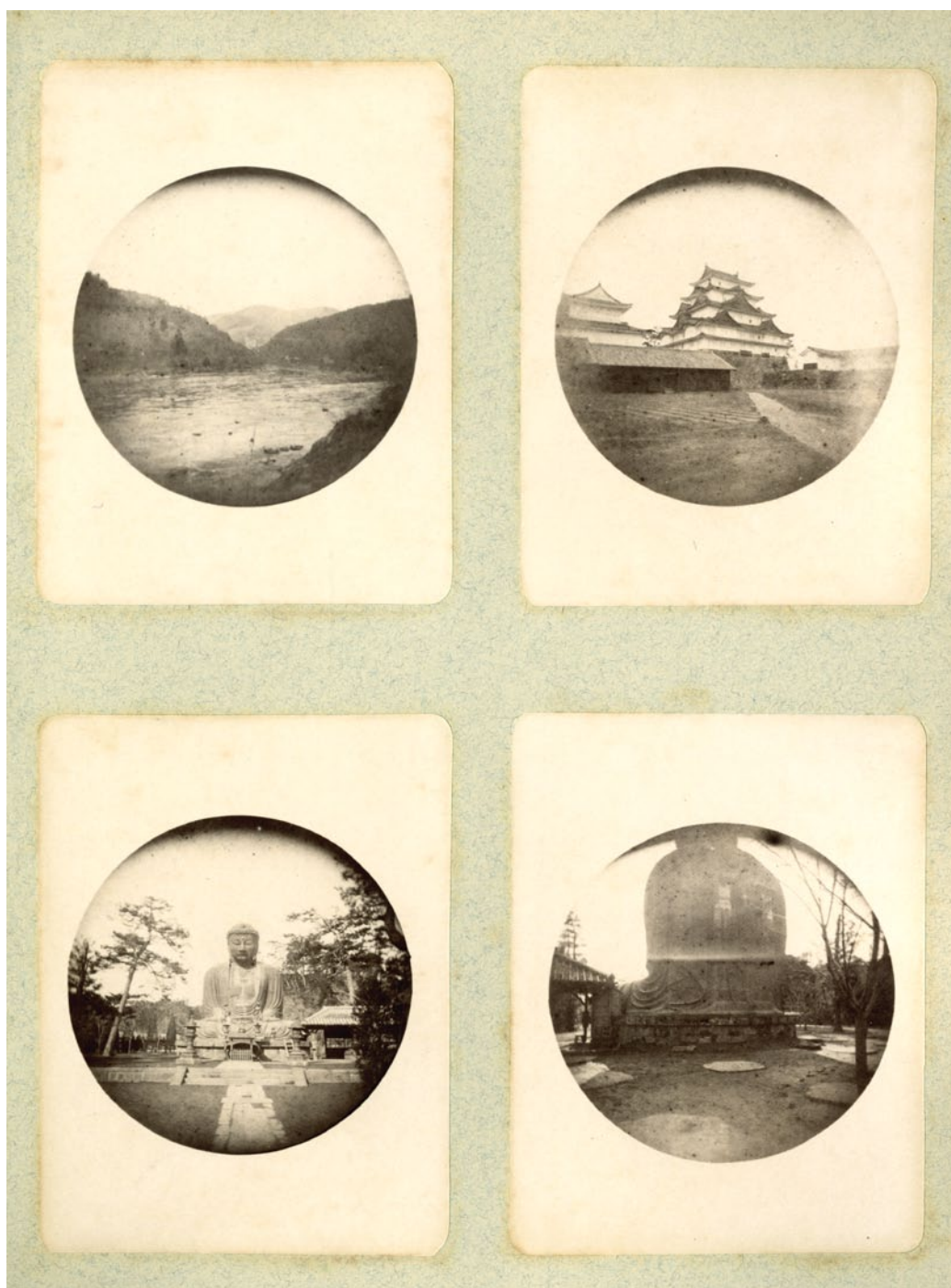


Van Bylandt fotografeerde regelmatig het vrouwelijke hotelpersoneel.

een Franse marineofficier en romancier, beschrijft in het boek zijn verblijf in Japan en zijn kortstondige huwelijk met een Japanse 'nachtvlinder', een meisje uit de theehuizen. Loti's boek ligt aan de basis van Puccini's opera *Madame Butterfly*.

Een deel van de fascinatie van westerse (mannelijke) reizigers ging uit naar deze kant van Japan: het vrouwelijk schoon in de theehuizen en de bordelen, de geisha's en de prostituees. In de foto's van Van Bylandt zien we deze fascinatie zeker terug.

Van Bylandt deed voorafgaand aan zijn reis uitgebreid inkopen in Londen, voornamelijk kleding, schoenen en koffers. Een viertalig woordenboek kocht hij echter, samen met het boek van Loti, in Den Haag, evenals een 'Taschenatlas'. Ik vermoed dat hij toch zeker ook een reisgids zal hebben geraadpleegd, misschien wel de al genoemde *Guide to the Japanese Islands*.



Serie foto's gemaakt met de Kodak-camera, met onder andere het boeddhabeeld in Kamakura.

Kiekjes van de Kodakcamera

Op 7 november 1888, slechts een week voor zijn vertrek rond 15 november, kocht Jules in Londen een spiksplinternieuwe Kodak-camera, samen met '4 spools and 4 tin boxes for the above' bij de Eastman Dry Plate & Film Company in Oxford Street. George Eastman had net dat jaar de naam Kodak vastgelegd, en het type camera dat Jules kocht was een absolute vernieuwing in de fotografie. Het was de eerste camera die in de hand gehouden kon worden en waarmee ook 'leken' aan de slag konden; een zogenaamd consumentenmodel. Het is ook de eerste camera met film op een rol. Eastman had eerder het patent op deze filmrollen verkregen. De films konden honderden foto's bevatten en gingen vergezeld van notitieboekjes, om aantekeningen over de foto's en bijvoorbeeld de belichtingsomstandigheden te kunnen maken. Voor de ontwikkeling en de afdrucken moesten de rollen opgestuurd worden naar de firma. Waar Jules zijn foto's liet ontwikkelen is niet helemaal duidelijk. Wel bevindt zich tussen het archiefmateriaal een zakje dat gericht is aan de 'Count De Bylandt' in een New Yorks hotel, waarin negatieven van rol tien hebben gezeten. Rol tien bevatte foto's uit Amerika, sommige nog los afgedrukt aanwezig in een doos in het archief. Mogelijk dus dat ook de foto's van de rollen zes tot en met negen, de foto's uit Japan, al in New York zijn ontwikkeld en/of afgedrukt.

De foto's die Jules op deze eerste reis maakte, zijn niet erg bijzonder van kwaliteit. We zouden het tegenwoordig als 'kiekjes' omschrijven. Alle foto's bestaan uit een ronde afbeelding op een vierkant stukje fotopapier. Deze afdrucken zijn vervolgens geplakt op stevige stukken karton of ingeplakt in een album. Mogelijk kreeg de klant alleen de dunne, papieren afdrucken en kon hij er apart de stevige kartonnen ondergrond bij kopen.

Van Bylandt's zelf-gemaakte foto's van de Japanreis zijn te vinden in twee fotoalbums.



Een terras, uitstekend boven een rivier (nōryōdai). De plaats hiervan is onbekend. In Kyoto komen dit soort terrassen nog voor, maar gezien de plaats in het album zou dit eerder Tokyo moeten zijn.

Album I begint met foto's van Venetië, Port Said en Bombay en eindigt met het eerste deel van de Japanreis. Album II begint met het vervolg van de Japanreis. De laatste Japanse foto's in album II zijn van Hakodate op Hokkaidō en van diverse Ainu. Daarna zijn er nog wat foto's van het gezelschap op een stoomboot, afgesloten met foto's van kasteel Amerongen. Het hele Amerikaanse deel van de reis is niet ingeplakt en er zijn slechts zeer beperkt losse foto's van aanwezig.

Daarnaast zijn er nog losse kiekjes op karton over. Een aantal daarvan is met de hand achterop genummerd. Op grond hiervan, en met behulp van de notitieboekjes, kon een redelijk betrouwbare volgorde van de foto's en dus van de reis gereconstrueerd worden. Waarom Jules de ene foto inplakte en de andere op karton bewaarde, is onduidelijk.

Souvenirfoto's

De souvenirfoto's die Van Bylandt kocht, zijn ingeplakt in een veel groter album en hebben een heel ander formaat dan de zelfgemaakte foto's. Deze foto's zijn voornamelijk rechthoekig, 18x24 cm en liggend. Daarnaast zijn er nog een aantal kleinere rechthoekige foto's, soms met zes of acht tegelijk op een vel in hetzelfde album geplakt. De foto's zijn ingeplakt na terugkomst in Nederland.

De souvenirfoto's waren de voorlopers van de twintigste-eeuwse ansichtkaarten; zij laten het toeristische Japan zien. Reizigers konden ze op diverse plekken kopen, als aandenken aan hun reis. Ze waren los te koop, maar ook kon de reiziger zijn selectie ter plekke al in een album laten plakken en zo meenemen.

Fotografie genoot al vroeg een grote populariteit in Japan. Vooral de Nederlandse artsen Van den Broek, Pompe van Meerdervoort en Bauduin speelden hierin een belangrijke rol.⁵ Vanaf de eerste daguerrotype-camera die in 1848 het land binnenkwam, zijn de ontwikkelingen snel gegaan. Vooral in de tweede helft van de negentiende eeuw steeg het aantal foto-ateliers enorm. Het gaat te ver om hier de geschiedenis van de fotografie in Japan uit de doeken te doen, maar de souvenirfotografie speelde hierin een zeer belangrijke rol. Fotografie sloot bijvoorbeeld goed aan bij de traditie van de *ukiyo-e*, de houtsnedes die de 'drijvende wereld' illustreerden, en nam ten dele ook de plaats daarvan in.⁶

Die souvenirfoto's zijn in belangrijke mate bepalend voor ons beeld van het negentiende-eeuwse Japan. Ze zijn aanwezig in museumcollecties over de hele wereld en er zijn diverse publicaties over verschenen.⁷ Voor zover ik dat heb na kunnen gaan, wijken de foto's die Van Bylandt aanschafte in hun thematiek niet af van die in de museale collecties, die soms ook afkomstig zijn uit de nalatenschap van gefortuneerde reizigers.

De foto's tonen vooral het romantische, traditionele, pittoreske Japan, het Japan dat in het westen bekend was geworden door onder andere de roman van Loti en de opera van Gilbert en Sullivan. Japanners in westerse kleding tref je er niet op aan, evenmin als spoorwegen, moderne gebouwen of industriële complexen.

Van Bylandt kocht zowel foto's van landschappen en karakteristieke oude houten gebouwen als van mensen. Vooral van vrouwen is heel wat materiaal aanwezig, zowel bij de souvenirfoto's als bij de eigen gemaakte foto's. Waar hij de foto's kocht, is niet na te gaan. Heel waarschijnlijk zijn er veel in Yokohama aangeschaft, in die tijd hét centrum van de souvenirfotografie. Sommige souvenirfoto's werden zelfs aangeduid met de term *Yokohama sashin*, Yokohama-foto's.

5 Zie bijvoorbeeld in Winkel, *Souvenirs from Japan*, p. 21 en de biografie van de arts J.K. van den Broek, *Een miskend geneesheer: Dr. J.K. van den Broek en de overdracht van kennis van westerse technologie in Japan, 1853-1857*, door H.J. Moeshart, verschenen in 2003.

6 Winkel, *Souvenirs from Japan*, pp. 36-38.

7 Zie de bibliografie voor relevante publicaties.



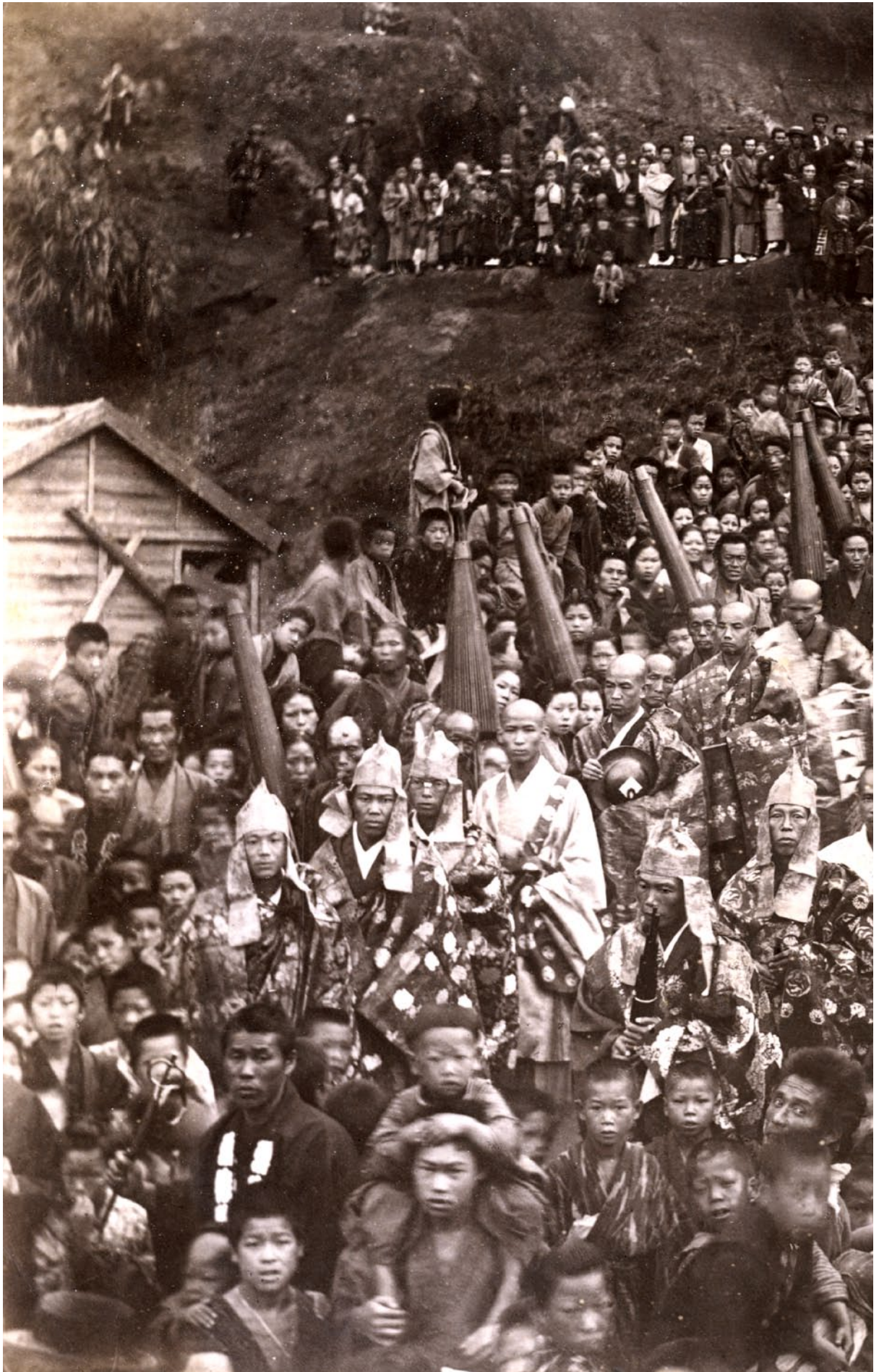
De Bund, de kade in Yokohama.

Toeschrijven van een bepaalde foto aan een bepaald fotoatelier is voor deze foto's en voor dit artikel onbegonnen werk: veel ateliers kochten bijvoorbeeld negatieven van elkaar. Vaak kan wel iets afgeleid worden uit de bijschriften op de foto's. Van Bylandt lijkt zijn foto's bij een beperkt aantal ateliers gekocht te hebben, misschien zelfs wel bij één. De bijschriften variëren namelijk erg weinig in lettertype en positie.

Ingekleurde foto's

Er is één foto, een processie van boeddhistische priesters, mannen en kinderen, die wel toegeschreven kan worden zonder al te veel onderzoek. Het is een foto van het atelier van Kusakabe Kinbei, oorspronkelijk genomen rond 1880. Opvallend is echter dat Van Bylandt deze foto in zwart-wit aanschafte, terwijl de inkleurde versie zeer spectaculair is. In Van Bylandts album komen maar twee grote ingekleurde foto's voor, op een totaal van 102, terwijl de foto's in museale collecties bijna allemaal ingekleurd zijn. Had Van Bylandt toch wat minder geld te besteden?

De gekleurde foto's betreffen enerzijds een afbeelding van de kersenbloesem, iets dat Van Bylandt niet gezien kan hebben op zijn reis (hij was er van januari tot maart en het kersenbloesemseizoen begint pas eind maart in het zuiden van Japan), en van twee boeddhistische priesters in prachtige zijden gewaden. Wel zijn er een groot aantal kleinere ingekleurde foto's, vooral van vrouwen, maar deze zijn niet van de beste kwaliteiten en de inkleuring is zeer simpel.



Deze foto van een processie kan worden toegeschreven aan Kusakabe Kinbei.



Opvallend is dat Van Bylandt een niet-ingekleurde versie aanschafte.



Kersenbloesem in volle bloei: Van Bylandt heeft dit zelf niet kunnen bewonderen, hij reisde in februari en maart, van zuid naar noord.

Een van de weinige kleurenafbeeldingen die Van Bylandt kocht: twee boeddhistische priesters in vol ornaat.



Een Nederlandse graaf in Japan

De al genoemde bijschriften bieden de mogelijkheid van Bylandts route door Japan te reconstrueren. Hij heeft de foto's strikt in volgorde van de reis opgeplakt; bovendien wordt de 'opgeplakte' route bevestigd door de route die uit de opschrijfboekjes te reconstrueren valt.

De reis van Jules van Bylandt ging van zuid naar noord, waarbij hij bezienswaardigheden opzocht die ook nu nog heel gangbaar zijn als toeristische bestemming. De Baai van Nagasaki, het kasteel van Osaka, grote boeddhabeelden van Nara en Kamakura, de tempels van Kyoto, het landschap rond Hakone, aan de voet van de berg Fuji, het Tokugawa-heiligdom in Nikkō: het zijn allemaal 'sights' die de toerist van nu ook in zijn reisgids vindt.

Volgens de opschrijfboekjes was Van Bylandt op 5 november 1889 in Singapore en op 9 januari bij Fort Blue River. Op 20 januari arriveerde het schip waarop hij reisde in het zicht van de haven van Nagasaki. Waarschijnlijk is hij daar niet aan land gegaan, want alle zelfgemaakte foto's omschrijft hij als 'zicht op haven,' 'zicht op shintō tempel,' 'zicht op Russian Man of War' (een Russische oorlogsschip in de haven van Nagasaki). Twee dagen later, op 22 januari, voer het gezelschap al in de Inland Sea, tussen het eiland Shikoku en het hoofdeiland Honshū. Wel kocht Van Bylandt later foto's van Nagasaki; de eerste vier foto's in het grote album zijn van de bekende Papenberg in de havenmonding, van de stad Nagasaki vanaf de heuvels gezien, en waarschijnlijk van de toegangspoort tot Deshima.

De vijfde foto in het souveniralbum is van de omgeving van Kōbe, waar het gezelschap waarschijnlijk voor het eerst aan land ging in Japan, op 24 januari 1890. Een van de losse foto's toont een waterval in de buurt van Kōbe, die op 24 januari is genomen. Dezelfde foto, met ongeveer hetzelfde camerastandpunt, vind je ook in het album met souvenirfoto's. Het onderschrift van de foto luidt 'Nunobiki.' Ook nu nog zijn de vier watervallen van Nunobiki te bewonderen.

Hoe er vervolgens gereisd werd tussen bestemmingen in Japan is niet helemaal duidelijk. Er is een foto van het gezelschap in en om een koets, maar ook één van het gezelschap hangend

uit het raam van een treinwagon. Waarschijnlijk is deze genomen op een van de tochtjes vanuit Yokohama naar Hakone en de Fujiyama. In 1890 waren er al diverse belangrijke spoorverbindingen gereed, onder andere tussen Tokyo en Kyoto, langs de oude Tokaidō-route en vooral in het gebied tussen Tokyo, Yokohama en Hakone. De meeste excursies zullen bovendien onder-nomen zijn vanuit een centraal punt: vanuit Kyoto, waar in hotel Yaami werd gelogeed, vanuit Yokohama en vanuit Miyanoshita in het Hakonegebied, waar het gezelschap verbleef in het beroemde Hotel Fujiya, dat ook nu nog bestaat. Van By-landt fotografeerde er uitgebreid het



De derde foto in het grote album met souvenirfoto's: de toegang tot Deshima?



Nunobiki, watervallen in de omgeving van Kōbe.

vrouwelijke personeel: zij staan op vele foto's, soms in een groepje, soms alleen. Ze worden vermeld in de notities met naam: Ohatosan, O Mui san, O Matosan. Ook de hoteleigenaar Mr. Yamaguchi komt op de foto's voor.

Vanuit Kōbe reisde het gezelschap naar Osaka. Zij arriveerden daar op 26 januari en bekeken uiteraard het kasteel en de Tennōji. Vervolgens stond Kyoto op het programma. Hier werden alle bekende tempels bezocht: Kiyomizudera, Sanjusangendō, het Gouden en het Zilveren Paviljoen. Op 30 januari was het gezelschap in Ōtsu aan het Biwa-meer. Van Bylandt bezocht er onder ander de Ishiyamadera, genoemd in Murasaki Shikubu's *Verhaal van Genji* (*Genji monogatari*). Zij zou in deze tempel begonnen zijn met het schrijven van het verhaal.



The Yaami, een hotel in de buurt van Kyoto.



Hoog op houten palen: Kiyomizudera in Kyoto.



Stroomversnellingen in de buurt van Kyoto.



Herten in het park in Nara. De herten zijn waarschijnlijk later in de foto 'geplakt'.

Van Nara naar Yokohama

Op 2 februari was Van Bylandt in Nara, waar het gezelschap het hertenpark en de Daibutsuden, met het enorme Boeddhabeeld, bekeek. In Nara bleef men een nachtje over: er zijn weer foto's van een hotel en het vrouwelijke personeel.

Terug in Kyoto werd een bezoek gebracht aan professor Sharp en zijn vrouw en kleinzoon; ik heb niet kunnen achterhalen wie dit was. Verder bezocht men onder andere een theehuis in Arashiyama, langs de rivier. Rond 6 of 7 februari ging de reis via Nagoya en Kamakura, waar het tweede grote Boeddhabeeld staat, naar Yokohama. In Nagoya werd overnacht; van het vrouwelijke hotelpersoneel werden weer diverse foto's gemaakt.

Op 14 februari kwam het gezelschap aan in Yokohama. Yokohama was 'the place to be' voor toeristen. Hier vond je de buitenlandse legaten, de souvenirwinkels in Curio Street (Van Bylandt maakte er foto's van, die we helaas niet in afdruk hebben), het nachtleven, de Engelstalige kranten, en uiteraard andere reizigers. Van Bylandt verbleef er zeker drie weken, en maakte hiervandaan diverse langere trips, onder andere naar Tokyo, de Fuji en het merengebied bij Hakone. In Tokyo bekeek het gezelschap de wallen van het paleis van de mikado, maar bezocht ook een *sumō*-wedstrijd. Een andere tocht ging naar Minobu, waar men de tombe bezocht van Nichiren, de grondlegger van één van de belangrijkste stromingen in het boeddhisme.



Een groep dames van lichte zeden, waarschijnlijk werkzaam in The Nectarine.

Nachtleven

In Yokohama zelf had Van Bylandt ook belangstelling voor het fascinerende Japanse nachtleven. Helemaal achter in het album, buiten de logica van de reisroute om, is een souvenirfoto ingeplakt van The Nectarine, een bekend bordeel in Yokohama; de foto wordt gevolgd door een foto van prostituees, herkenbaar aan de kimono's met de strik aan de voorkant. Niet ingeplakt, maar los in het archief van Huis Amerongen aanwezig is een afbeelding van een badhuis. Daarop zien we ontblote mannen en vrouwen die zich aan het wassen zijn.⁸

Grote indruk moet het bezoek aan Nikkō hebben gemaakt, waar Van Bylandt op 20 maart aankwam. Nikkō, gelegen ten noorden van Tokyo, is de laatste rustplaats van de eerste en de derde shōgun van de Tokugawa-dynastie. Ook nu nog is het enorme tempelcomplex, omgeven door hoge ceders, één van de belangrijkste toeristische bestemmingen in Oost-Japan. Van Bylandt kocht 23 grote foto's van Nikkō, bijna een kwart van het totaal. Daarnaast fotografeerde hij er



The Nectarine, een bekend bordeel in Yokohama.

⁸ HUA, Archief Huis Amerongen, inv.nr. 4726.



Deze afbeelding van een badhuis plakte Van Bylandt niet in één van zijn albums; hij is als losse foto in het archief aanwezig.



De beroemde toegangsbruggen tot het heiligdom in Nikkō.



Een stenen torii op het terrein van het grote tempel complex in Nikkō.



Nikkō, Yōmeimon.



De lantaarn die door de VOC aan de shōgun werd geschonken.

zelf ook lustig op los. Onder de foto's bevinden zich alle bekende gebouwen, en uiteraard de beroemde koperen lantaarn die door de Nederlanders cadeau is gegeven aan de shōgun.

Hoe Van Bylandt naar Nikkō reisde en hoe lang hij er verbleef, blijft helaas onduidelijk. De spoorlijn van Utsunomiya naar Nikkō was nog niet helemaal gereed begin 1890, maar Tokyo en Utsunomyia waren al sinds 1886 door een spoorlijn verbonden. Per trein en koets is daarom een goede mogelijkheid. Waarschijnlijk was het een meerdaagse excursie: Van Bylandt zag behalve Yumoto en Nikkō zelf ook de watervallen van Chūzenji. Om dat alles in één dag te doen en ook nog op en neer naar Tokyo of Yokohama te reizen, lijkt ondoenlijk. Het was zeker een koude excursie: op de foto's die Van Bylandt bij Yumoto maakte, zijn sneeuwvelden te zien. Overnacht zou hij kunnen hebben in het Nikkō Kanaya Hotel, een van de oudste westerse hotels van Japan en in 1890 al enige jaren open.⁹

Na de foto's van Nikkō volgt nog slechts één souvenirfoto. Ook de aantekeningen in de opschrijfboekjes van zijn eigen camera stoppen. Pas op 31 maart noteert Van Bylandt weer gegevens met plaatsaanduiding, in Hakodate. Tussen 21 en 30 maart is het gezelschap van Nikkō, waarschijnlijk via Tokyo of Yokohama, doorgereisd naar Hokkaidō, waar zijn Japanse avontuur eindigde.¹⁰ Waarschijnlijk ging dit stuk van de reis per boot; de Tōhoku Main Line van Tokyo naar Aomori in het noorden van Honshū was pas in 1891 helemaal gereed.¹¹

Hakodate was, net als Kōbe en Yokohama, één van de oorspronkelijke verdragshavens. Van deze bestemming kocht Van Bylandt slechts één foto, maar hij maakte er des te meer zelf. Op deze foto's staan veel mensen, vooral vrouwen (*musume*) en kinderen. Een deel van deze

9 Volgens de website van het hotel www.kanayahotel.co.jp werd het hotel in 1873 gebouwd; in 1878 werd het hotel bezocht door Isabella Bird. Zelf sliep ik er in 1990.

10 Ik heb geprobeerd via de edities van een Engelstalige krant uit Yokohama, *The Japan Weekly Mail*, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van de Universiteit Leiden, de aankomst en het vertrek van de graaf van Bylandt in Yokohama te achterhalen. In deze krant werd namelijk vermeld welke reizigers per boot in Yokohama aankwamen en vertrokken. Helaas wordt zijn gezelschap in de overgeleverde kranten uit 1890 niet genoemd. Met veel dank aan drs. Paul Wijsman van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek.

11 Gegevens over de geschiedenis van de Japanse spoorwegen zijn afkomstig van Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Japan_Railway_Company



Gezicht op Hakodate, de laatste foto in het souveniralbum die de reisroute illustreert.

foto's is ingeplakt, terwijl een ander deel nog los aanwezig is in het archief.

In het album met eigen foto's worden de foto's van Hokkaidō gevolgd door foto's van het gezelschap in luie dekstoelen op een stoomboot. Bij de losse foto's zijn er nog enkele van Californië en New York. Daarna zijn we ineens weer op kasteel Amerongen, waar we een jonge vrouw en een jonge man – zeer waarschijnlijk Jules en zijn zus Louise - zien, buiten bij een ingang van het kasteel, staande voor een Japans kamerscherm en gekleed in kimono. Aan hun voeten zijn snuisterijen uitgestald die Jules had meegenomen uit Japan. Het is voor mij de leukste foto van allemaal: zelf maakten wij ook dergelijke foto's na terugkomst van onze reizen naar Japan, foto's vol lakwerk, rijstkommetjes, eetstokjes en zijden sjaaltjes. Ik vond het ontroerend te constateren dat ook een Nederlandse graaf meer dan honderd jaar geleden dezelfde neiging had om een prachtige reis vast te willen houden, door niet alleen souvenirs mee te nemen, maar deze ook nog eens op de foto vast te leggen. Na deze eerste grote wereldreis zouden nog vele exotische bestemmingen volgen, vooral in Afrika en het Nabije Oosten, maar naar Japan reisde Van Bylandt niet meer.

Over de auteur

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N.B.

Voor de totstandkoming van dit artikel en de reproductie van de afbeeldingen ben ik diverse medewerkers van Het Utrechts Archief veel dank verschuldigd. Meer informatie over het archief vindt u op www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl.

Archiefstukken

De fotoalbums van Jules van Bylandt zijn te vinden in Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van het Huis Amerongen, toegang 1001. Belangrijkste gebruikte inventarisnummers:

inv.nr. 4681: persoonlijke kwitanties over de jaren 1887-1891

inv.nr. 4749: aantekeningen over de door Van Bylandt gemaakte foto's 1890-1905

inv.nr. 4707: Fotoalbum Japan 1890 (souvenirfoto's)

inv.nr. 4724: Fotoalbum I

inv.nr. 4725: Fotoalbum II

inv.nr. 4751: Lijkrede voor Jules van Bylandt

Literatuur

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Pat Barr, *The Deer Cry Pavilion. A Story of Westerners in Japan 1868-1905*, Penquin Books 1988

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Pre-modern Maps of the Shikoku Pilgrimage

Hendrik van der Veere and Bas Valckx

Introduction

Since times immemorial the island of Shikoku has constituted an environment conducive for the practice of austerities by its geographical location away from the main centres of dominant culture and by the challenging ruggedness of its mountainous terrain. In the cultural imagination the island was equated with the realm where the souls of the dead resided and regarded as a realm of non-contamination eminently fitted for meritorious practice. The island's status derived from its association with religious figures such as Kūkai and Ippen, who ascended to its peaks for their ascetic practice, but, as time moved on and economic circumstances for a larger part of the population changed, it became possible for ever larger groups to travel to this sacred domain and make pilgrimages along its numerous “mystic sites”.

For four centuries by now, the pilgrimage around eighty-eight temples on the island has enjoyed great popularity; it is probably the best-known pilgrimage in Japan. It is called “Shikoku *henro*” 四国遍路 or *hachijūhakkasho* 八十八箇所 in more colloquial Japanese. It is the only Japanese pilgrimage that is called “*henro*”. Ideally, pilgrims visit all eighty-eight sites, or *fudasho* 札所¹ as they are called, in order to obtain religious merit, *kudoku* 功德². Since the motorization after World War II, most pilgrims use transport facilities to visit the sites, but a minority still travels the estimated 1400 km of the circuit on foot. For various motives they choose to enter the world of the *henro* in the conviction that this pilgrimage should be undertaken as both a mental and a physical religious exercise within a realm outside the confines of day-to-day conceptions of time and space.

Although the admitted goal of both groups, motorized as well as pedestrian, is to obtain *kudoku* by visiting the temples, it is clear that their experiential worlds are far apart. A pilgrim who visits the “mystical places” (*reijō* 霊場³) by bus or motor-car can complete the circuit in about ten days or even one week, but is bound to a schedule prescribed by his mode of travel, bus-companies etc. His route is also determined for him by others, not by himself. The average walking pilgrim, on the other hand, will need forty days or more to make the round of the temples. Among them we find people who take pride in racing the course as fast as possible, but most of the walking *henro*, especially those over sixty years old, who probably make up for the

1 The name *fudasho* derives from the old custom among pilgrims to nail or glue their nameplate to the temple-buildings to which end they used to bring their own equipment. Although the temples explicitly forbid this nowadays, some pilgrims can still be observed to do so. Many pilgrims nowadays have the name of the temple and the syllables representing the main deity written by brush in a special book they carry. To these are added the stamps of the temple that confirm the visit to this place. To visit a temple is still expressed by the phrase “to hit a temple” (*fudasho o utsu* 札所を打つ).

2 Pilgrims on the circuit seem to prefer the term “*riyaku*” 利益, mostly in the meaning “*genze riyaku*” 現世利益, ‘worldly benefits’.

3 The eighty-eight temples and other religious sites are denominated in several ways, depending on whether their function (*fudasho*) or quality (*reijō*) is referred to.

majority of the walking pilgrims, will have to walk for forty-five to fifty days. Importantly, they decide for themselves how long their practice takes and which way they will take to reach the same goals. As a consequence, their interaction and relationship with the temples themselves become different from the non-walkers. A simple calculation indicates that if we allow (a high estimate) that it takes thirty minutes to visit a temple, perform the service (*otsutome* お勤め) at the main hall (*hondō* 本堂) and the Daishi-hall (*daishidō* 大師堂), and receive the stamps and calligraphy from the temple in the pilgrim's book (*nōkyōchō* 納経帖⁴), the total time spent at the eighty-eight temples amounts to approximately forty-four hours. Motorized *henro* will thus spend on average about four hours a day at temples, but walking pilgrims will be within temple compounds for less than one hour a day. Moreover, there are many days without any temples within walking distance.

The inevitable result is that the universe of the walking pilgrim and the psychological development he experiences during his practice are completely different from those of motorized *henro*. Additionally, the physical exertions required to travel over all kinds of roads, from highways to mountain trails, focus his attention and practice more on experiences on the roads and the spiritual relationship he eventually develops with the figure of Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 than on his interaction with the temples.

A recurring question for the walking *henro* is the nature of pilgrim's paths, *henromichi* 遍路道, within this imagined sacred realm. What exactly constitutes a *henromichi*? Does it refer to the shortest way between one place of power and the next? Should they emulate Kōbō Daishi and progress along the same roads and paths he is supposed to have walked in the past when he founded the temples of the pilgrimage? Or, does the term *henromichi* refer to traditional trails over which the predecessors of the contemporary pilgrims completed the walk in ages past? Some people even hold the opinion that the term *henromichi* can be used for any path on which a *henro* walks, which, of course, is true in a certain restricted sense and admitted by most walkers.

This article will not try to provide a conclusive answer to the problem of what a real *henromichi* is. The personal opinion and the individual outlook of the pilgrims themselves play a major role in this discussion. In addition, the pilgrims and the pilgrimage have changed much over the centuries, and ways of travelling as well as the facilities provided for pilgrims have changed in character. What has not changed, however, is that the pilgrimage itself consists, partly, of a continuous series of momentary interactions between the individual pilgrim and the road.

The research group of social studies at Waseda University has formulated a theory that describes the road as a place where "pilgrimage society" (*junreishakai* 巡礼社会) is waiting for the pilgrim, who transforms the road into a *henromichi*.⁵ They introduce the normative concept of a *junreishakai*, which implicitly would be a counter-*shakai*. We are not convinced that such a dichotomy exists between society and pilgrim-society. We rather believe that pilgrimage is an embedded feature within Japanese culture and religious sub-culture and, consequently, that Japanese patterns of pilgrimage are cogently determined by a variety of aspects pervasive through the whole of Japanese culture. An important aspect for our study is the postulation of sacred domains and non-geographical space. The series of momentary interactions between the pilgrim and the roads that make up the pilgrimage takes place within the same sets of values that determine Japanese culture. In the same way this culture produces ideal realms some of which are projected on the landscape.

To understand these processes it may be useful to see how over the centuries the area of

4 The calligraphies and stamps in the pilgrim's book called *nōkyōchō* originally served as proof of a visit to a temple and the offering of a hand-copied (Heart-) sūtra. Nowadays, pilgrims often refer to this book as *shuinchō* 朱印帳, 'book of stamps'.

5 See Osada Kōichi, Sakata Masa'aki, Seki Mitsuo (Waseda) 2003.

Shikoku was “religiously” mapped. Because mapping, on the one hand, is done to get a grasp of the abstract idea of the sacred area and, on the other hand, supplies practical information for the would-be pilgrim on his journey through the other realm, we have to take both these functions into account. Thus we will investigate the twofold question of how the roads and the circuit of the pilgrimage changed over the centuries and of how the information provided to the would-be pilgrim changed over the same period.

Our answer to both questions is based on the study of pilgrimage-maps that came into use in the second half of the eighteenth century. We think we can learn from these maps how the pilgrimage as a concept was offered to the pilgrim, and what kind of roads and circuit formed the pilgrimage in the pre-modern period. These data will provide the information we need in order to compare perspectives of the Edo-period with contemporary pilgrimage patterns, and thus may yield some interesting insights into the historical development of the pilgrimage.

For our description and analysis of circumstances in the middle of the Edo-period we make use of two maps of the Shikoku-pilgrimage that are now in the possession of the library of Leiden University. They were brought to the Netherlands by Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796-1866), the German collector of things Japanese. Through the study of these maps we will first determine which courses were open to a *henro*, i.e. a pilgrim who walks the Shikoku pilgrimage⁶, in that period of time. After comparing these courses with the contemporary situation we will then analyze patterns of change as well as points of difference between the pre-modern situation and the contemporary perception of the Shikoku *henro*.

There are other sources such as diaries, travelogues and temple-histories that contain (pseudo-)historical information on the circuit. Here, however, we will concentrate on the maps, which belong to the oldest sources available. We have chosen to discuss these sources not merely descriptively, which has already been done by Japanese authors, but to add a comparative analysis. Our information about the present-day situation is partly based on literature, which has become widely available since the start of the *henro*-boom in the nineties of last century, but we have supplemented many details from own experience gathered by participating in the pilgrimage ourselves a number of times⁷. We find that such actual experience is often lacking in the descriptive discussions of the maps that we will discuss below, and we hope to show that experience of the actual situation is indispensable for a thorough analysis and understanding of the contents of the maps.

6 The word *henro* is used both for the pilgrimage as such and for the pilgrim who undertakes the pilgrimage.

7 At the time of writing this article, Van der Veere had walked the pilgrimage twelve times and Valckx had walked the complete circuit once and parts of it several times.

The maps

The Serrurier catalogue⁸ describes the two maps preserved in the library of Leiden University as follows:

四國徧禮之圖 Si-ko-ku hen-rei no dzu

Carte routière de l'île de Sikok' à l'usage de pèlerins. Caractères chinois classiques et katakana. En noir. 1 feuille pliée in-8°. s.l. 1807 – Une édition pet. in-8°. date de l'an 1763.⁹

The catalogue numbers of the maps are no 417 and no 417a; we will use these numbers to refer to them. Earlier research on the maps has been done by Matsuo Kenji¹⁰, who described them and compared them with similar maps of Shikoku, but provided no analysis of the information on the maps, nor of their function. Tanaka Tomohiko¹¹ in his discussion of similar maps that are extant in Japan offers a categorization based on his own descriptions, but he, too, refrains from an in-depth analysis. In his categorization Tanaka distinguishes two main groups of maps for the Shikoku *henro*, which he calls type A and type B. Our map 417 (ill. 1) corresponds to his type A, which has the south at the top, while map 417a (ill. 2) would correspond to example no. 2 in his type B group, which has the west at the top. In his diagram of the different maps¹² Tanaka supplies no date for map 417, but he dates 417a to Bunka 4 (1807). As the author of 417 he gives Hosoda Shūei Keifu 細田周英敬豊 (no dates known), but he suggests no author for 417a. We will discuss the problems of the date and authorship below. Tanaka further postulates that map 417 would be the oldest map of the circuit and that it functioned as a model for most of the later maps, such as 417a. Our analysis will show that this is only partly true.

In 2004 the Kōchi-based research group of the Shikoku *henro* (*Shikoku henro kenkyūkai*) published a study¹³ in which two maps similar to our map are introduced and described in detail. One of these maps, preserved in the Museum of History and Culture of Ehime Prefecture (Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan), is dated Hōreki 13 (1763). Their findings were checked against another copy of this map preserved in the Museum of History of Kagawa Prefecture (Kagawa-ken Rekishi Hakubutsukan) to avoid errors in reading and interpretation.

The second map, preserved in the Community Salon for the Pilgrim[age] in Maeyama (Maeyama ohenro kōryū saron), is a reprint of the first map and dated Bunka 4 (1807). We will refer to these maps in our analysis of the Leiden maps and discuss their relationship in our conclusion. All evidence seems to point out that map 417 is indeed the oldest and therefore we will start our discussion with a description of this map.

Map 417

Map 417 (reproduced on pp. 174-175) is 630 mm in length and 980 mm in width and is thus somewhat larger than the copy in the Kobe City Museum discussed by Matsuo and Tanaka, which measures 583 x 930 mm. The Ehime map measures 595 by 951 mm while the Maeyama map measures 633 x 988. A text-frame in the form of an unfolded scroll in the middle of the map

8 Serrurier 1896. See also Kerlen 1996.

9 “Maps of the Shikoku pilgrimage; Road-map of the island of Shikoku for the use of pilgrims. Classic Chinese characters and *katakana*. In black. One sheet folded in eight dated 1807 – one small edition folded in eight dated 1763.” However, *katakana* should be *hiragana*.

10 Matsuo 2001.

11 Tanaka 1989.

12 *ibidem*, p. 244.

13 SHK 2004.

bears the title “Shikoku *henro*¹⁴ no jo” 四國徧禮之序, “a preface to the Shikoku pilgrimage”. This text is called the *kudokumon* 功德文 (“text on the religious merit [of the pilgrimage]”). Next to the text is a portrait of Kōbō Daishi and behind him a Buddha figure who, we think, is Shaka Butsu.¹⁵ One of the reasons is that although the Buddha described in the text of the scroll is Dainichi Nyorai in the centre of the Taizō *mandara*, the appearance of this Buddha figure is that of a monk without the ornaments, crown and so on which are usual in representations of Dainichi Nyorai. Secondly, the hand-posture appears to be the teaching *mudrā*, which would suggest the historical Buddha Shaka and not Dainichi Nyorai of the Taizō *mandara*; he would be represented with the meditation *mudrā*.

The information on map 417 can be divided into textual information on the one hand, i.e. the *kudokumon*, the legend or key to the symbols, travel directions and lists of notable sites and places, and on the other hand, the map of Shikoku with the temples and the circuit of the pilgrimage as such. The textual information on map 417 is spread over five text-frames that supply the pilgrim with overall information for his undertaking; these frames are numbered hereafter A to E.

夫レ四國徧禮ノ密意を云ハバ四國ハ大悲
 胎藏ノ四重圓壇ニ擬シ數多ノ佛閣八十界
 皆成ノ曼荼羅ヲ示ス所謂四重ノ曼荼羅ハ
 十界其身平等ニ各々八葉數開ノ蓮臺ニ坐
 シ光明常ニ法界ヲ照ス本ヨリ不生ノ佛ナ
 レ八十界皆成ノ曼荼羅ト冊ツク仍テ八十
 ノ佛閣此レニ況ス衆生痴暗ニシテ此ノ理
 ヲ知ラス蓮華萎ンテ合蓮ト成リ佛光カク
 レテ闇夜ニ迷ウ今徧禮ノ功德ニ依テ合蓮
 開ケテ佛光現レ再ビ八葉ノ花臺ニ坐シ無
 明ノ闇暗レテ本佛ヲ覺ル本修並ベ示スカ
 故ニ更ニ八箇ノ佛閣ヲ加ヘ八十八ト定メ
 給ウ是レ併高祖大師ノ神變加持衆生頓覺
 ノ直道ナリ各早ク圓壇ニ入り自己ノ心蓮
 ヲ開覺シ自心ノ本佛ヲ澄知シ玉ウト云爾

崑寶曆第十三孟春念八日
 野山前寺務八十四翁弘範記

Text frame A

The largest, central text-frame (A) is the *kudokumon*, which explains the spiritual background of the pilgrimage as a religious exercise. It reads:

Well now, if I explain the esoteric meaning of the Shikoku *henro*, then Shikoku is a projection of¹⁶ the perfect *mandara*¹⁷ in four layers¹⁸ of the Womb *Mandara* of Great Compassion (*Taihi Taizō* 大悲胎藏), and the numerous Buddhist temples [of Shikoku] show us a *mandara* 曼荼羅 that comprises the ten worlds. That is to say, the [Buddha Dainichi of the] four-layered

14 Although it is uncertain when the compound 徧禮 became pronounced as *henro*, it was in common use at least since the end of the seventeenth century as can be seen in travelogues and guidebooks.

15 Matsuo, p. 2: Dainichi Nyorai.

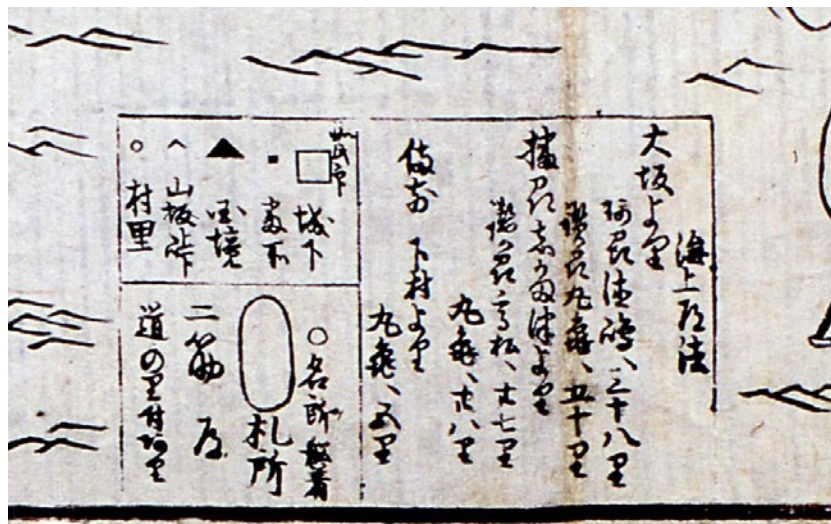
16 Gisuru, 擬する also: to compare; to model after.

17 *Endan* 円壇, literally, the perfectly round ritual altar, an expression used to indicate a *mandara* depiction as well as a place of practice.

18 The four layers refer to the layout of the Taizō-*mandara*: 1. Hachiyō Chūin 八葉中院; the central Hall. Dainichi Nyorai occupies the centre and resides on the dais of a lotus with eight petals on which the four Buddha's and four Bodhisattvas take place; 2. the Buddha-, Lotus-, and Vajra- sections (Butsubu, Rengebu and Kongōbu 仏部, 蓮華部, and 金剛部); 3. the Halls of the Bodhisattva's Monju 文殊, Jizō 地藏 and Kokūzō 虚空藏; 4. the Hall of Shaka 釈迦 and the Gekongō-in 外金剛院. See Tajima 1959 (pp. 61) for the problems involved in this description compared to the division of the *mandara* in three layers.

mandara is equally present in the ten worlds as well as in our own body and resides on the dais of an unfolded lotus with eight petals, while his bright wisdom (*kōmyō* 光明) is continuously illuminating the Dharma world. Because this Buddha is originally unborn, this [Shikoku] is called a *mandara* that encompasses all the ten worlds and thus the eighty temples of Shikoku are compared to this. However, sentient beings are blinded and do not know this truth. Because their lotus has shrivelled and turned into a closed lotus, the light of the Buddha is concealed and they err in a dark night. Now, through the merit of the *henro*, the closed lotus unfolds itself and the light of the Buddha appears; he sits once again on the dais of the eight-petal (lotus) flower and the darkness of ignorance has cleared. In order to incorporate the practice into one's own nature¹⁹, which [is the way to] perceive the original Buddha [within oneself], he [=Kōbō Daishi] added another eight Buddhist temples and determined the total number at eighty-eight. This, then, is our Great Founder-Teacher's 高祖大師 direct way of the sudden enlightenment of all sentient beings by means of his subtly transforming mystical support²⁰ (*kaji* 加持). Everybody should quickly enter the perfect *mandara* [circuit], open and perceive his own mind-lotus and realize and know the original Buddha [present] in his own mind.

Hōreki 13 (1763), First month, twenty-eighth day.²¹



1. Text-frame B

The former 84th holder of office at Kōya-san, the reverend 翁 Kōhan 弘範 recorded this.

Text-frame B (Plate 01), lower right-hand corner, contains the following information:

Means of naval transport

From Ōsaka

19 “Practice [to attain insight] into one’s own nature”: *honshu* 本修: Hoshino Eiki (Hoshino 2001, p. 328) explains this as *honshō* 本生 and *shushō* 修生, but we think it makes more sense to interpret “practice into one’s own nature”, since Dainichi Nyorai is also visualized in the own mind as residing in the central hall of the *mandara* on the dais of an eight-petalled lotus (Hachiyō Chūin). The text thus mentions the ten worlds each containing eight Buddha’s to which the eight Buddha’s on the lotus petals within the practitioner are added to arrive at the number eighty-eight. This way of thinking is related to the explanation of the number of heads of the Jūichimen Kannon.

20 The term *kaji* is translated in various ways, such as ‘grace’, ‘blessing’, ‘consecration’ etc, but we have opted here for a translation in context.

21 宝曆第十三孟春念八日: we have chosen to translate *mōshun* as “the first month” and *nen* in the old way as 廿, *nijū*.

To Tokushima in Awa: 38 *ri* 里²²

To Marugame in Sanuki: 50 *ri*

From Shirutsu 誌留津 in Banshū (Harima) to Takamatsu in Sanuki: 27 *ri*

From Shimomura 下村 in Bizen to Marugame: 5 *ri*

Legend

□ *jōka* 城下 Castle Town

▪ *bansho* 番所 Check-point

▲ *kokkyō* 国境 Border of provinces

^ *yama-saka-tōge* 山坂峠 Mountains, inclines and passes

◦ *sonri* 村里 Villages and hamlets

○ *meisho* 名所 Famous spots

○ *fudasho* 札所: Temple or shrine of the Shikoku pilgrimage.

二 *sujimichi* 筋道: the course; with its length indicated in *ri*.

(C) The left bottom corner:

文化四年卯五月求版一 心齋橋南へ五丁目 大坂書林 佐々井治郎右衛門板	冊 四國邊路道志るべ 小本 全一 同 細見大ノ図折本 同 細見小ノ頭折本	但陰 細田周英敬豊 宝曆十三三ひつじの春 の細見圖となし普く徧礼の手引 にもなれかしと願ふものぞかし とを惜しんで畧圖となし覚峰閣 梨の徧礼にかたらひ改めて一 圖あれとも四国徧礼にはなきこ 礼せしに西國卅三所巡礼等は繪 べを手鏡として大師の遺蹤を拜 周英延享四年の春信念の道しる 著しき事悲情の木石にも餘れり り讚阿土豫一洲の四國に法化の 高野大師讚州に御降誕在し二よ
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Text frame C

Since Kōya Daishi was born in the province of Sanuki, the expressions of his enlightenment are still present even in the insentient trees and stones in each of the four provinces of Shikoku, namely Sanuki, Awa, Tosa, and Iyo. When [I.] Shūei, in the spring²³ of Enkyō 4 (1747) made a pilgrimage to the vestiges of the Daishi with Shinnen's *Michishirube*²⁴ as a guidebook, I lamented the fact that although illustrated maps exist for the pilgrimage of the thirty-three temples of Saikoku, there were none [for the pilgrimage of Shikoku] and therefore made a rough chart. On the basis of discussion with the pilgrim Master Kakuho 覚峰, I revised it and made detailed maps of all the places [along the road]. I hope this will become a guide widely used for the *henro*. Hōreki 13 (1763), (spring of the year of the sheep)

Reverently

Hosoda Shūei Keifu

Shikoku Henro Michishirube booklet, one volume in all

22 Approximately 152 km. One *ri* was 3,9273 km or 2,44 miles. It is also calculated as the distance an adult could walk in one hour.

23 By spring, again, the first month is meant.

24 *Shikoku Henro Michishirube* 四国邊路道指南 is the oldest guidebook for the Shikoku pilgrimage known at present. It was written by the monk Shinnen 真念 and published for the first time in 1687. This guidebook was to become the blueprint for many other guidebooks and was republished in a revised edition mid-eighteenth century as the *Shikoku henro Michishirube zōho taisei* 南四国徧禮道指増補大成 (1767).

5. *Kame no de'iri* 亀ノ出入り: gateway for the tortoises.
6. *Gokuraku no ana* 極楽穴: hole to paradise.
7. *Kane ishi* 鉦石: bell-stone.

Apart from these:

Ushidoki ryōma 丑時龍馬: at the hour of the ox (02.00 hrs.) the dragon-horse is visible in the moon.

Goji ame 午時雨: the rain at noon.

Fuzō fumetsu mizu 不増不減水: the water that neither increases nor decreases.

Sanko ishi 三股石: the three-pronged *vajra* stone.

Analysis

A) The *kudokumon* is an attempt to chart the meanings attributed to the realm of Shikoku in an esoteric vocabulary. Essentially it is an advertisement of the merits of the pilgrimage, but whether the author was consciously imposing an esoteric set of values on the practices or possibly even appropriating the practices for the benefit of institutional esoteric Buddhism is not clear. This central text can be read straightforwardly, but we find enough hints to assume there is a secondary level of interpretation.

The first level makes use of esoteric terms such as the *Taizō mandara* as the ideal world and its projection on the landscape, the place of practice (*dōjō* 道場) where everyone can return to his original, enlightened state. This is an interpretation understandable for monks as well as laymen. Ordinary pilgrims, however, will hardly have known esoteric practice and meaning. Our assumption of a secondary level of meaning is reinforced by the authority invested in the name *Kōhan* as found at the end of the text. *Jigenbō Kōhan* 慈嚴房弘範 (?1680-1768)²⁶ was a high official on *Kōya-san*, the famous mountain centre of Shingon Buddhism where *Kōbō Daishi* is said to remain in eternal meditation. It is possible to read his words as instructions from an esoteric master.

When *Kōhan* speaks of the island of Shikoku a four-layered *mandara*, he may have known that there are a number of precedents in the traditions of the *Kumano hijiri* 熊野聖, where such a comparison was used for ascetic practices.²⁷ We have followed this opinion in our translation, but another interpretation will have forced itself on the mind of esoteric initiates. When the *Taizō taihi mandara* is discussed, the development of *Taihi* 大悲, great compassion, is the central subject. *Dainichikyō* 大日經 describes the development of the pure mind of enlightenment in a scheme called the triple formula. This formula states that the aspiration to enlightenment, *hosshin* 發心, is the cause leading to enlightenment, that great compassion is the root and that the use of skillful means is the ultimate goal to strive for. *Bodaishinron* 菩提心論²⁸ distinguishes three requirements for realization (*nehan* 涅槃) that is, to raise the mind of insight (*hotsubodaishin* 發菩提心 i.e. *hosshin*), to cultivate this by means of the practice of compassion, *shugyō* 修行 and to engage in deep concentration *bodai*. Now the constituent parts of the *henro*, which are the four *kuni* or prefectures, are compared to the four stages of *hosshin*, *shugyō*, *bodai* and *nehan*. Effectively, this makes the island of Shikoku a place of practice (*dōjō*) and a *Taizō mandara*.

This scheme we also find represented in *mandara* scrolls of which an example is

26 Yoritomi and Shiraki, pp. 136-143.

27 ibidem, pp. 155-156.

28 T 32 no. 1665, p. 572.

preserved in the Maeyama Henro Kōryū Salon. This representation shows the island of Shikoku with Dainichi Nyorai in the centre, while the names of the other four central Buddha's of the *Taizō mandara* are distributed over the four provinces. Ashuku, representing *hosshin*, is drawn in the east, Hōshō, representing *shugyō*, in the south, Amita, representing *bodai*, in the west, and Fukujōju, representing *nehan*, in the north.

Whatever Kōhan had in mind when he wrote his text, he must have been aware of the progressive practice that takes place on a *dōjō*, whether this *dōjō* is an altar in a temple or the *mandara* of Shikoku. The message is literally encrypted in the following sentence: "Everybody should quickly enter the perfect *mandara* [circuit], open and perceive his own mind-lotus, and realize and know the original Buddha [present] in his own mind." We may even assume that the idea of *hosshin*, *shugyō*, *bodai* and *nehan* may have been too obvious to state explicitly. It is clear that this is an esoteric interpretation. As far as we know, there is no Dharma transmission, *denju* 伝授, concerning the pilgrimage any more. Nevertheless, we think that the two levels in the *kudokumon* should be separated into a primary level providing meaning for the ordinary pilgrim and a secondary level for monks who have received initiation into *mikkyō* practices.

B) The travel directions in text-frame B are straightforward. We know from text-box C that the map was published in Ōsaka, and the map in its orientation is drawn from the direction of Ōsaka. The places of access to Shikoku are all on the main island Honshū, and the means of naval transport, indicated by sailboats on the map, were the regular ferries. No mention is made of a route from Ōsaka to Mt. Kōya in Wakayama Prefecture, where the mausoleum of Kōbō Daishi, the Oku-no-in (Plate 03), is situated. A visit to this shrine is regarded as part of the pilgrimage. Nowadays, pilgrims often conclude their tour with a visit to the Oku-no-in to thank the Daishi for his protection and their safe return, while the older custom is to visit the mausoleum before the pilgrimage was undertaken. The map contains no reference to this custom.



3: Oku-no-in on Mt. Kōya

C) Text-frame C provides more information on the making of the map. The author, Hosoda Shūei, tells us that he walked the pilgrimage without a map, and with *Shikoku Michishirube* 四国道指南, written by Shinnen 真念, as his guidebook. This work was written in 1686 and published in Ōsaka in 1687. Shinnen also authored *Shikoku reijō henro kudokuki* 四国霊場徧礼功德記, which is a collection of tales about the religious merit (*kudoku*) the pilgrim can acquire, and about the faith in Kōbō Daishi.

Text C explains that Shūei made a sketch after his pilgrimage in 1747 and asked advice before he drew the detailed map, which was finished in or after 1763, if we accept that the date at the end of the *kudokumon* means that Kōhan finished his text in this year. The map was printed the same year. This would make this map the oldest documented example.

The two following pieces of information concern the actual publication of Leiden map 417. It appears that the map was published or sold as a set with Shinnen's *Michishirube*. The year of publication, Bunka 4 (1807), rules out that this is the first edition. When comparing our map with the two maps discussed by the research group from Kōchi²⁹, the information about publisher and publishing of the Leiden map tallies with the Maeyama map and differs from the older Ehime map. This latter map dates from 1763 and printer's colophon records that it was published in Ōsaka Shinzaibashi 大阪心斎橋 by Kashiwaraya Shōemon 柏原屋清右衛門 and Tawaraya Heibei 田原屋平兵衛. The only difference between the older and newer map is the date of publishing, which makes it likely that our Leiden University map and the Maeyama map are later editions from the same basic wood block.

D) Text-frame D appears to be an advertisement of Shinnen's *Shikoku henro Michishirube*. Another famous guidebook is advertised as well: *Shikoku (henrei) reijōki* 四国(徧礼)霊場記. This work was compiled by Jakubon, who used the notes made by Shinnen on his numerous tours around the island, and published it in 1689.

E) We have not been able to trace the seven miracles (*nana-fushigi*) with certainty, so the following explanation is tentative:

1. *Tentō Ryūtō (no matsu)*: In *Legend of Ashizuri (Ashizuri-engi)* by the Imperial Prince-abbot Sonkai 尊海法親王, which dates from the Muromachi Period, mention is made of phosphorescent trees and their reflection in the sea. Furthermore, in *Nanroshi* 南路志 (1815)³⁰ the phenomenon of *tentō* appearing in two trees at Temple 38 is mentioned. The text explains that a *tentō* is a ball of fire that arises from the sea and lingers on land. In the middle of the night two balls of fire approached from the sea and perched on two pine-trees near the temple. In his study of the dragon in Chinese and Japanese culture, De Visser³¹ mentions a source for the description of the seven miracles of Ashizuri, *Shokoku rijindan* 諸国里人談³². This work was written by Kikuoka Senryō 菊岡沾涼 and published in 1746, which places this work very close to the time the map was made; it may, therefore, have been one of its primary sources. In the same way as the later *Nanroshi*, it describes the event of a dragon-lantern appearing simultaneously with a heavenly light near the temple of Ashizuri Myōjin 蹉蛇明神. Further, the text connects the dragon-lanterns to tidal stones and the appearance of the dragon-horse (see below).

2. *Yurugi ishi*: legend has it that when Kōbō Daishi "opened" this mountain, he found a swaying stone. The way the stone swayed was regarded as the measure of a person's moral fibre. Current popular belief still holds that when you place a pebble on top of the stone and rock the

29 SHK 2004, 90-91.

30 *Nanroshi* 1, pp. 1-13

31 De Visser 1913, p. 209

32 *Shokoku rijindan*, p. 471

stone, you are of outstanding filial piety when the pebble falls off. The stone can be rocked with one hand in spite of its large size of 1.5 cubic meters.

3. The tidal stone was a water-basin in which the visitor of the temple washed his hands before going up to the main hall of a temple. The water in this particular basin increases and decreases with the incoming and outgoing tide. This is one of the miracles mentioned in *Shokoku rijindan*.

4. There is a legend that Kōbō Daishi pledged to build a *torii* for the three deities of Kumano and to complete this in one night, but because of the harmful influence of a heavenly dragon, *tenryū* 天龍, he did not succeed.

5. In the camellia (*tsubaki*) grove near the temple, a natural rock in the form of a tortoise can be found. One story tells that Kōbō Daishi seated himself on a rock in the sea to perform religious practices there and that afterwards this rock was called the “tortoise-calling-place”. It was said that when you called out for tortoises from this spot, they would float up to the surface of the sea.

6. In other lists of the miracles of Ashizuri, a hellhole (*jigoku-no-ana* 地獄の穴) is recorded, but we could not retrieve any details on a hole to paradise. When one throws a coin into the hellhole at Ashizuri, a tinkling echo can be heard for a long time. It is said that the hole ends right under the main hall of Temple 38. There are, however, also versions that tell the opposite: a hole so deep that when you throw in a coin, no sound is heard because the stone falls straight into hell.

7. The bell-stone is not typical for Ashizuri as there is also one indicated on the map at Temple 24 on Cape Muroto (Plate 04). When you hit such a boulder with a small stone, it makes the sound of a bell.



04. Kane-ishi of Temple 24 on Cape Muroto

The other phenomena are:

- At 2 o' clock in the night, the dragon-horse is visible in the moon. There is a description of this wonder in the same *Shokoku rijindan* we mentioned before. The source tells us that this dragon-horse used to come to the temple at the hour of the ox (1-3 a.m.) to eat small bamboo. This was seen as the cause of the disappearance of small bamboo in the vicinity of the temple.³³

We are here also reminded of the story of the father of Sakamoto

Ryōma (1835-1867) 坂本竜馬, who supposedly decided on his newborn son's name after he saw a dragon-horse in the moon, which was interpreted by him as an auspicious omen.

- At noon it rains: There is a big rock rising out of the water beneath the cape and a waterfall crashes on this rock. Due to the spray caused by this it is said that "it rains at midday".

- The basin to wash the hands of which the water does neither increase nor decrease. This miracle is connected – as it says on the sign next to the stone – to a story from the Heian Period (*Sadasan Engi* 蹉跎山縁起). The saints Gatō Shōnin 賀登上人 and his disciple Nichien Shōnin 日円上人 came to Ashizuri because Nichien intended to cross the sea to reach the paradise of the Bodhisattva Kannon, Fudaraku 補陀落. When Gatō saw that his disciple undertook his third attempt to cross the sea, he took so much pity on him that he threw his body against the rocks. The tears that he shed on the rocks fell into a basin and the water in this basin has never changed in quantity.

- The *sanko* stone, we assume, would refer to the ritual instrument of esoteric Buddhism called a three-pronged *vajra*, but we have found as yet no explanation of this miracle. It may refer to the *Kōbō Daishi tsumegaki ishi* 弘法大師爪書き石, the stone into which Kōbō Daishi carved an image with his nails, although the image is too faint to make out what it is or means.

At present there are many different 'wonders' known – some even contradicting each other - around the Cape of Ashizuri (Plate 05) (Plate 06) and within the compounds of its temple. In guidebooks and on internet-pages the lists of *fushigi* all differ from each other. The term *nana-fushigi* is, however, undisputed and has come to denote all the 'wonders'.



5. the Cape of Ashizuri



6. Rock formation at Cape Ashizuri

33 De Visser 1913, p. 209.



Map 417a

The textual information on Map 417a

The other map in the Leiden collection (ill. 2) only has three text-frames, which we have labelled Aa, Ba and Ca.

Aa) This text-box is identical in contents to the *kudokubun* (text-box A) of map 417, except for the attribution of the text to Kōhan and the date of 1763, which are missing.

Ba) This text-box contains the same travel-directions as on map 417.

Ca) This text-box displays the legend but there are fewer symbols than in map 417. In addition to map 417, however, the map explains that there are twenty-three temples in the province of Awa and that the total distance of the *henromichi* in this province (*kuni* 国) is 57.5 *ri*, that there are sixteen temples in the province of Tosa and the distance adds up to 91.5 *ri*, that there are twenty-six temples in the province of Iyo with a distance amounting to 101.5 *ri* and that there are twenty-three temples in the province of Sanuki with a distance of 36 *ri*. This accounts for the eighty-eight temples and a circuit of 286.5 *ri*.

The temples and paths in the early 19th century

On both maps the eighty-eight temples of the pilgrimage circuit correspond to the locations of the present eighty-eight temples. Map 417 includes an additional eight temples connected to these temples by the same sort of roads and thus makes them appear as part of the circuit. These sacred places bear the following names: Shushōji 取星寺, Hoshinotani 星の谷, Oku-no-in 奥の院 (= Jigenji, Oku-no-in of Kakurinji, Temple 20), Tsukiyama 月山, Sasayama 篠山, Manganji 満願寺, Oku-no-in of Temple 65 Sankakuji (= Senryūji 仙龍寺), and Busshōsan 仏性山. Further, the cult-place of Konpira 金毘羅 is recorded and marked by a *torii*. Some other places are noted alongside the roads but are not marked in the same way. Map 417a includes a number of places for religious practice, which are not on 417. We will discuss these below.

When we compare the contemporary names of the eighty-eight temples with the names on this map we find that twenty-one of these are different. Some of the differences can be easily explained since they are due to the shift in the religious situation that took place after the Meiji Restoration. The forced separation of Buddhism and - what was considered to be - Shintō, the process of *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離, took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, more than a century after our map was presumably made, and during this forced separation many cult-places were renamed. The changes in the names of the temples on Shikoku also reflect this process.



7. the Ichinomiya no Awa

1. The “Ichinomiya” temples were the most important state sponsored cult-places of a province. Each of the four provinces of Shikoku had its own Ichinomiya, which were large complexes that combined both shrines of the indigenous cults and Buddhist halls. For the pilgrim, the sanctity of the site formed the attraction; it need not necessarily be a Buddhist temple. Obviously,

awareness of a distinction between Buddhism and the native religion was not highly developed in the eighteenth century. After the order to separate the native religion from Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri*) was issued in 1868, a movement to “abolish Buddhism and destroy the Buddha” (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈) was set in motion which resulted in an increase of power for the larger shrines, while the Buddhist halls which used to occupy the same grounds lost their wealth and influence or disappeared altogether, as in the case of Temple 30, which was later revived under the name Zenrakuji. The four Ichinomiya of Shikoku appear on our maps as Temples 13 (Awa) (Plate 07), 30 (Tosa), and 62 (Iyo) and 83 (Sanuki). The name Ichinomiya is nowadays only preserved in the name of Temple 83. Other Ichinomiyas have appeared after the Meiji Restoration, such as the Ōasahiko Jinja 大麻比古神社 close to Temple 1, but their existence as an Ichinomiya is rather new. Still, we know that e.g. the famous pilgrim Nakatsukasa Mōhei 中務茂兵衛 (1845-1922) strongly urged the readers of his book to visit this cult-site.³⁴ At present the four Buddhist temples that were formerly part of an Ichinomiya complex are still found next door or separated by a road from the Shintō-shrine, which became independent after the forced separation. The main official Buddhist temples of the provinces, the Kokubunji, did not change their names. They can still be found near the Ichinomiya and are respectively Temples 15, 29, 59 and 80.

2. A number of other temples changed their names in the same period for much the same reasons:

* The site of Temple 37 is a sacred place where originally five *kami* were venerated. Therefore, it used to be called Gosha 五社, the Five Shrines. These five *kami* have been replaced by five figures of Buddhist provenance as the main deities and the temple is now known as Iwamotoji.

* Temple 41 (Plate 08) is still located next to a shrine dedicated to the fertility deity Inari. This mountain used to be one of the centres for Inari-worship. The name Inari is still used as the “mountain-name” (*sangō* 山号) for this temple, but the temple itself is now called Ryūkōin.

* The same change occurred at the site of Temple 55, which is now called Nankōbō, but whose old name, Bekku, is reflected in its mountain-name Bekku-san.

3. Two temples testify to the importance of the figure of Hachiman 八幡 in local cults: Temple 57, presently called Eifukuji, and Temple 68, nowadays called Jinne'in. According to the temple



8. Temple 41 as Inarisan

³⁴ *Shikoku reijō ryakuengi*, p. 6. Nakatsukasa remarks that this shrine is 5 *ri* 3 *chō* (approximately 20 km) from Temple 1. This is obviously a mistake as the temple is situated less than one km from the Ryōzenji.

history (*engi* 縁起) Temple 57 was founded by Kōbō Daishi on an imperial decree Emperor Saga. When Kōbō Daishi prayed here for safety at sea, the Buddha Amida appeared before him from the ocean waves, whereupon he carved an image of this Buddha and enshrined it in a hall he built on Mt. Futō 府頭山. In 861 Emperor Seiwa dispatched the monk Gyōkō 行教 of the Daianji 大安寺 (Nara) once again to Usa 宇佐 in North Kyūshū to consult the oracle of the god Hachiman. Gyōkō met with a storm and was shipwrecked in the vicinity of this temple. He climbed Mt. Futō, which was said to resemble Usa, and was able to receive the oracle from Hachiman here, since Hachiman was one of the manifestations (*suijaku*) of the main Buddha (*honji*) Amida. At present the temple is often called Katsuoka-Hachiman 勝岡八幡. It is still famous for the fulfilment of prayers offered here for safety at sea. The present Daishidō used to be the site of the Hachiman shrine visited by Gyōkō.

Hachiman also appears in the *engi* of Temple 68. In 703, Nisshō 日証, a monk of the Hossō School, had a vision in which he saw seven colourful clouds arise on the western horizon and hover over this mountain. At the same time he heard the playing of a harp. A miraculous ship suddenly was seen floating in the air over the sea, with a figure seated in it who was playing the harp. The figure explained to Nisshō: “I am the god Hachiman in person and I shall stay here to protect the Buddhist Dharma and the ruler’s law.” Nisshō took the ship and its secret harp and enshrined them in the Jinne’in. Later, Kōbō Daishi painted the Kotobiki 琴弾 (“harp-playing”) Hachiman in the form of Amida and made it the main deity of the temple.

4. Like Temples 41 and 55, other temples, too, appear on this map under their mountain-name, e.g. Temples 31, 38, 44, 58, and 67.

5. Popular names:

* Temples 24, 25 and 26, situated around Cape Muroto, are indicated by popular names still in use locally, i.e. the East-, Harbour-, and West-temple.

* This is also the case for the Tennōji (no. 79), which owes this popular name “Emperor Temple” to the fact that the remains of the exiled Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164) were temporarily enshrined here after he died in the vicinity. His mausoleum is situated within the compound of



9. Shrine next to Temple 79, the Tennōji

Temple 81, Shiromineji; it is presently under restoration in preparation of the commemoration year 2014. The Shiromine Shrine lies next to Temple 79 (Plate 09).

6. Other reasons:

* According to its temple history, Temple 33 was founded by Kōbō Daishi as Shorinzan Kōfukuji. Later, the name was changed to Keiunji 慶雲寺, because images made by the famous sculptors Unkei 運慶 (died 1223) and his son Tankei 湛慶 (1173-1256) were enshrined here. The Keiunji later declined but was restored by the monk Geppō 月峰 at the request of the local feudal lord Chōsokabe Motochika 長曾我部元親 (1539-1599), who wanted to make it into his family temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺). After Motochika's death Geppō turned it into a Zen temple and named it Kōfukuzan Sekkeiji. On the maps we find the name that Kōbō Daishi originally gave to this temple.

* Temple 39 is recorded under its “cloister name” (*ingō* 院号), a specific name of a temple added to its mountain-name. Such a name was bestowed to indicate that the temple was built by imperial decree or on the orders of an important general. The name Terayama-in is still in use among the local population.

* Temple 78 was originally named Dōjōji 道場寺. According to the temple legend it was founded by Gyōgi, and rebuilt by Kōbō Daishi. In the thirteenth century Ippen 一遍 (1239-1289) rebuilt it again, expanded it, converted it to his own Ji-school 時宗 (one of the Pure Land schools), and changed its name to Gōshōji. It became a place of practice (*dōjō*) for *nenbutsu* practitioners.

Bangai 番外

In view of the fact they are indicated and connected by the same kinds of lines as the pilgrimage roads that lead to the eighty-eight *reijō*, we may assume that the remaining cult-sites of the pilgrimage recorded on map 417 were considered important enough to warrant a visit, or were at least famous for their spiritual powers. The popularity of Shushōji and Hoshinotani can be explained with reference to the legend of the Daishi and the appearance of a comet believed to bring disaster (*yōsei* 妖星). These legends, as well as the legend of the foundation of the Shushōji, tell us that, when Kōbō Daishi was engaged in his ascetic practice of the *gumonjihō*³⁵ on Mt. Tairyū (no. 21), a comet appeared. Kōbō Daishi brought down this star of ill omen by means of an esoteric ritual. The comet fell down and remained stuck between the branches of a pine-tree on top of this mountain. He collected the star, carved two images of the bodhisattvas Myōken and Kokūzō and founded the present temple with these two figures as its main deities (*honzon*). The Hoshi-no-iwaya (“Grotto of the Star”), which is a rocky mountain above the Katsuura River, has remained a place of practice (*gyōba* 行場) where mountain-practitioners (*shugenja* 修験者) still visit and practice austerities under the waterfall (*taki-gyō* 滝行). It is also one of the places on Shikoku where non-affiliated roaming practitioners concentrate on their devotions.

The Jigenji may have been included in the pilgrimage for the same reason as the above-mentioned two temples, namely as a centre of practice and as a place of special miraculous efficacy (*reigen* 靈驗). Both the Jigenji and the Senryūji (the Oku-no-in of Temple 65) are at present included in the list of twenty *bangai* or *bekkaku-in* 別格院. Especially the last one used to be an impressive mountain retreat for *shugenja*.

35 Kūkai describes his practice of the *gumonjihō* in the introduction of his youth-work *Sangō Shitki* 三教指帰, see *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū I*. The practice is centred on the Bodhisattva Kokūzō Bosatsu. In later biographies, we find a description of Kūkai's enlightenment as the culmination of this practice. There the Bodhisattva Kokūzō appears in the form of the morning star that entered the mouth of Kūkai.

In recent times Tsukiyama Shrine has drawn little attention from walking *henro*, but the old *henromichi* towards the shrine, which starts at the village of Ōura 大浦, and the road from the shrine towards Akadomari beach was recently (2004) thoroughly restored by the local - so-called - “Association for the preservation of old pilgrimage roads” (*Henromichi-hozonkai*, へんろ道保存会). Most of the stones that indicate how many *chō* (measure of 109 m) it is to the temple are still in place.

The Manganji possibly appears in the list because the writer of *Kudokuki*, Shinnen, had a special interest in its restoration. Since the map is based on his work, it seems only natural that the temple is listed. A study of the actual roads on the map shows that all routes passed this temple, although it is not a part of the present circuit any more. We will discuss the Manganji and the problems connected to its status and the roads below.

A spot that attracts almost no attention at all these days is Mt. Sasayama. There are still some remains of the former temple-complex, a Kannon temple that functioned as the Oku-no-in of Temple 40, Kanjizaiji, but the Shintō Shrine took over the administration of the mountain after the persecution of Buddhism. It is one of the most isolated places on the map and used to be the highest place of the circuit. Even in the old days many pilgrims would not bother to climb to the top, but would receive their stamps and present their Sutra copies and name-plates at a special place called Hiromi, some distance away from the Kanjizaiji, at the foot of Mt. Sasayama. We will come back to Sasayama and its relationship with the Manganji below in our discussion of the actual pilgrim's paths.

The famous and popular cult place of Konpira, the god of wealth and safety at sea, is included on the map. There is no special connection with the *henro*, but we assume that in the Edo Period pilgrims took the opportunity to visit this famous site in the same way as the present-day *henro*. It is situated only six kilometres from the Zentsūji (no. 75), so the trip would hardly have cost one day of walking. Pilgrimages to Konpira were very popular, which is attested by extant maps of the road e.g. from Mt. Kōya to Konpira and by the numerous stone markers still visible all over Shikoku. The pilgrims to Konpira and the *henro* travelled the same stretches for parts of the way. Konpira is now stripped of its Buddhist connections, but this does not matter much for modern pilgrims, it would seem.

*The actual roads and information on the maps
compared to the contemporary situation*

From the information in the text-frames we may assume that map 417 is likely to be the older map, and that map 417a was modelled on it, although there is no solid evidence we can present. Still, we will describe and analyze the circuit on the basis of the information found on map 417 and thereafter supplement different and additional information from map 417a. It may, however, be practical to mention first some differences between these maps as an initial description.

Map 417 indicates the distances between the various temples by writing these inside the double line that represents the roads. The distances are expressed in either *ri* or *chō*. The map includes some major landmarks, such as the contours of mountain ranges, e.g. Goken-san 五剣(劍)山, and of the islands around Shikoku, e.g. *Shōdo-shima* 小豆島, but the major information is presented by means of symbols that are explained in the legend we introduced above. There are rough indications of large rivers, of which the Yoshino and Shimanto are the most clearly depicted. Apart from the symbols, small rivers, fields and mountain slopes are indicated alongside the road in writing.

The names of the *fudasho* on map 417 are given in characters, while map 417a uses mostly *hiragana*; only temple names that easily fit the textboxes, such as Dainichiji 大日寺 (no. 4) are given in characters. In the following we will not concern us with minor differences

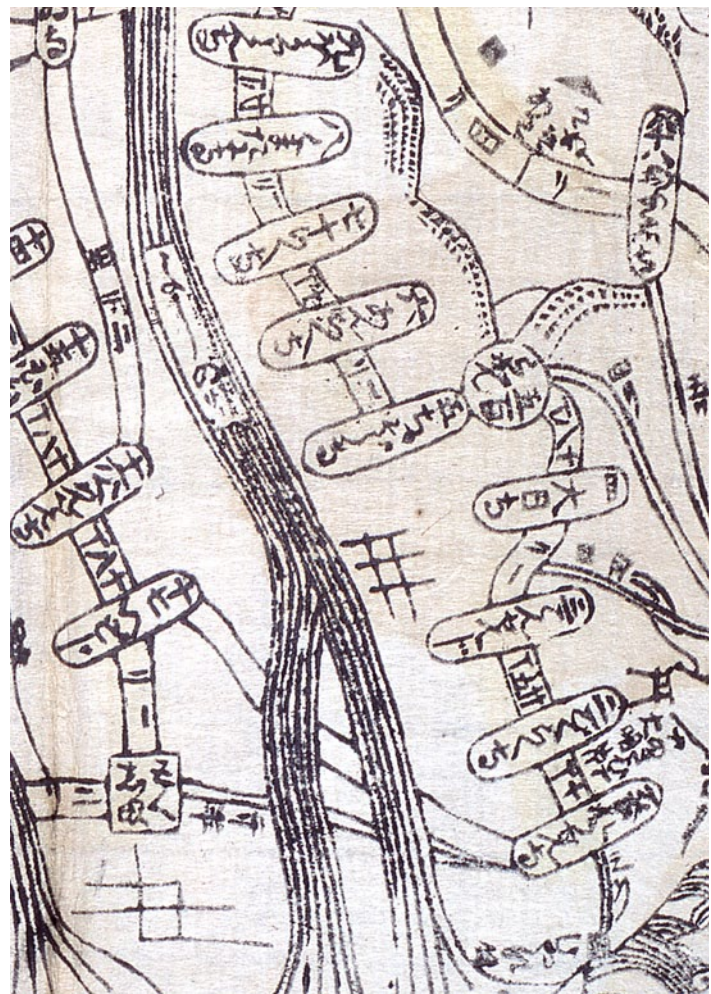
between the maps, such as an old stone road-indicator between Temples 1 and 2 on map 417 that does not appear on map 417a, but discuss the cases that seem interesting in view of the contemporary situation. Moreover, we will consider how the pilgrim in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was informed by the maps and compare this information with the knowledge and experience we have of the present-day situation. This analysis will provide us with some clues to the function and use of the maps.



10. Temple no. 1, Ryōzenji

Awa

* As we said before, the *fudasho* are numbered in the same way on the two maps. Map 417 shows that the first temple of the pilgrimage (Plate 10) was reached through a road from the castle-town Tokushima and was connected by another road to Temple 17. Ships are drawn before the harbour of Tokushima, but none are indicated near the Naruto Straights; we only find a drawing of their swirling waves. A tip of the island of Awaji is visible. Map 417a, on the other hand, shows an additional ferry to Naruto and a road from a place called Hiyasaki near Naruto harbour to Temple 1 (Plate 11). It further mentions Ōsahiko Daimyōjin 大麻比古大明神, who is the same as Ama no futodama no mikoto 天太玉命. This is the important Shintō Shrine behind Temple 1 that we mentioned before, which competes for the name of Ichinomiya with the Shintō Shrine opposite Temple 13 (Plate 12).



11. Map 417a. From Naruto to Temple 1



12. Gate of the Ichinomiya of Awa

that this Rakandō was built in the An'ei and Tenmei periods (1772-89) by the brothers Jitsumon and Jitsumyō, who were both priests. It may be that this important landmark is not indicated on map 417 because it was not built yet when this map was drawn. On the other hand, other places of equal interest are not recorded on map 417, which disqualifies this as corroborating evidence for the fact that map 417 is older than map 417a.

* A further noteworthy addition on map 417a is a road that branches off from the course between Temples 3 and 4, running north to a temple complex in the mountains called Shiratori Daijingū 白鳥大神宮. Two other roads convene there, one starting from Temple 5, the other from Temple 88 on the other side of the mountains. This route has a distance of five *ri* (ca. 20 km). In view of the fact that 417a adds a number of sacred places and scenic spots, this might be seen as information for the pilgrim as a tourist, but it is more likely, in our view, that these roads indicate



13. Route indicator from Temple 88, Okuboji to Shiratori Shrine

* This is not the only instance in which 417a offers more information to the pilgrim than 417. The next example is 'the hall of the [500] Arhats' (Rakandō 羅漢堂), which is located just before Temple 5 and is the Oku-no-in of this temple. The name of this sacred place is written inside a circle to distinguish it from the eighty-eight *fudasho* as map 417a consistently does for the many similar places that follow. It is said

the *o-rei-mairi* お礼参り, the visit to Temple 1 at the conclusion of the pilgrimage after the eighty-eight *fudasho* have been visited, in order to come full circle. Map 417 has only a road running from Temple 88 to Temple 10; the other possible roads are not depicted. Although nowadays most pilgrims prefer the course via Temple 10 for returning to Temple 1 for their *o-rei-mairi*, two other courses still exist.

Both run into the direction of Shiratori Shrine and pass a few *bangai* and Shiratori Shrine before reaching the coast. From there one road climbs the Ōsaka Pass to reach the road behind Temple 3 (Plate 13), while the other takes a more round-about way to pass the mountains behind Temple 1. None of these corresponds to the road on 417a. The road to Temple 10 on map 417 may also be an indication for those pilgrims who started somewhere along the circuit and not at Temple 1.



14. the Shozanji Trail

We think we may conclude from this evidence that the practice of *o-rei-mairi* already existed in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The opinion that the *o-rei-mairi* is a recent invention inspired by commercial interests, which is advocated by some pilgrims and priests belonging to other *fudasho* on the circuit, seems to be incorrect.

* The course that leads the pilgrim from Temple 11, the Fujiidera, to Temple 12, the Shōzanji, is generally considered the most difficult part of the whole pilgrimage (Plate 14). Even nowadays the trail runs over several mountain passes and encounters no human habitation worth mentioning. This may explain why a road leading to Temple 17 is included that provides a roundabout way to Temple 12. Along the trail from Temple 11 to 12 the chart shows a Yanagi no mizu Daishidō 柳ノ水大師堂. This Daishidō was built next to a well that provides water to this day. This would have been important information for the pilgrims because it is almost exactly halfway to the Shōzanji on a trail of about three ri. Because of the mountainous terrain and the four passes that have to be crossed, this trail is still considered the first *nansho* 難所, a spot difficult to cross, on the route and is said to function as a mental barrier-gate 関所, a point of selection, from where upright pilgrims may continue and others would have to start all over again.³⁶ We will meet other such mental barrier-gates below.

Map 417a again shows an additional road to the Jigenji, Oku-no-in of temple 20, which is an important *bekkaku-in* at present (see above). This would have been a path in use by mountain-ascetics (*shugenja*) and this reinforces our overall impression that map 417a is much more concerned with ascetic practices than 417. We will produce further evidence hereafter.

* Map 417 includes sites that appear in the legend of the layman Emon Saburō 右衛門三郎, the first person to walk the *henro* when he went in search of Kōbō Daishi. Descending from Temple 12, we find the note “Here is the grave of Emon Saburō³⁷. From the Great Gate [of the Shōzanji] to this place is eleven *chō*”. Emon Saburō was a rich man who lived in the vicinity of Matsuyama. Once he insulted an unknown mendicant monk who came begging at

36 There is no “official” list of these *sekisho*, or barrier-gates. Some lists consider Temples 19, 27, 60, 66 as such checkpoints, but Temple 24, and the last but one Temple, Nagaoji (no. 87), appear in literature and folklore as well. The list would seem to be a combination of points on the trail that are either physically or mentally difficult to pass.

37 The name of Emon Saburō often appears without the initial character of “right” 右. This may be a consequence of the fact that the character is not pronounced in the reading of the name. The version without the character “right” can be found in *Emon Saburō kōki* 衛門三郎行記, which functions as the foundational legend of the Monjuin 文殊院. This *bangai*-temple claims to be standing on the grounds of the former mansion of Emon. The other version of the name contains the same characters as *Reijōki* and *Michishirube* (右衛門三郎).



15. Emon Saburo meets Kukai

his door. With a staff he struck out and hit the begging-bowl of the monk, which broke down in eight pieces. Soon after, his eight children died one after the other. Realizing that the monk must have been Kōbō Daishi he travelled after him to make amends. He circled the island of Shikoku twenty times clock-wise before he decided to walk anti-clockwise to meet the Daishi. He was near death before he finally caught up with him at the foot of the Shōzanji. Here Kōbō Daishi instructed him in Buddhism (Plate 15, 16). This legend explains the origins of several customs of the pilgrimage, but also symbolizes the origin of the *henro* for laymen, while Kūkai's founding of the circuit of eighty-eight temples is seen as the origin for Buddhist practice. Other places connected to the story of Emon Saburō are recorded near Matsuyama.

* Nowadays, pilgrims have a choice of two courses after the descent from the Shōzanji, one climbing up to the Tama Pass (Tamagatōge 玉ヶ峠), the other following the course of the river Ano 阿野川 downstream. The map makes it clear that in the old days the northern route over the mountains was taken. Map 417 clearly shows the Tamagatōge pass (Plate 17) and the crossing-point of the river Ano, although we do not find these on 417a.

* From Temple 17 the road passes through the castle town of Tokushima and then turns to Temple 18. Between temples 18 and 19 both maps indicate the Shaka-an 釈迦庵, nowadays a small, deserted temple. It is famous for a stone showing the imprints of the feet of the Buddha. There is an inscription (*meibun* 銘文) considered to be more than four hundred years old, which records that these footprints have the same beneficial effect as those of the Yakushiji in Nara. Map 417a notes above the Shaka-an: "sixth month, fifteenth day, birth of the Daishi". Now, it



16. Tomb of Emon Saburo



17. the Tama Pass

may have been taken from *Reijōki* and *Michishirube*. Both sources record that Kūkai's *mutsuki* was left here in a bamboo thicket after his birth.⁴⁰ It is not clear why the garment was left here since Kūkai was born near the Zentsūji (no. 75) in Sanuki. A possible reason may be an association with the story that Kūkai's mother came to Temple 18 to visit her son and eventually took the tonsure here. The temple still preserves her hair.

* After the barrier of Temple 19 we find on both maps the sacred places of Shushōji, Hoshinotani and the Jigenji that were discussed above. We find an interesting – and maybe practical – note on map 417 along the road leading to the Oku-no-in, which incidentally, appears under its present name Jigenji on map 417a. It states: "Sakamoto; it is said that in this village there is no frost and there are no leeches." In *Reijōki*⁴¹ and *Michishirube*⁴² we can find the explanation of one part of this comment: the villagers were once distressed by frost and the Daishi solved their problem by performing a ritual; the leeches are not explained. This could lead us to the tentative statement that Shūei, although leaning heavily on the information in *Michishirube* and *Reijōki*, also added his own experiences and stories he had heard on the road. Both maps show the famous waterfall on the way to the Jigenji, which takes two *ri* to reach. Map 417 pays special attention to

is recorded in *Michishirube*³⁸ that in the Shaka-an a birth-statue of Kūkai, who was believed to have been born on the fifteenth day of the sixth month in the fifth year of Hōki (774)³⁹, is enshrined. A little bit further down the road there is a spot called *mutsuki-tsuka* むつきつか (417a) and on 417 there is an explanation next to a place called Ta-nomura that Kūkai's *mutsuki*, the first garment a child used to wear, is preserved here (Plate 18). This information



18. the Mutsuki-tsuka

38 *Michishirube*, p. 67

39 This is the date accepted by the Shingon School. As a matter of fact, the oldest biographies do not mention a specific day.

40 *Reijōki*, p. 214

41 *Reijōki*, 218, 219

42 *Michishirube*, pp. 74, 75

this site and writes: “The Initiation cascade (*kanjō no taki* 灌頂瀧); when the sky is bright and the sun moves, fiery flames will rise [from it]; at that time Fudō Myōō has descended and is present there; that is why it is called the Cascade of Fudō” (Plate 19).

* Map 417a records a Tsuwa no Iwaya after Temple 21. We have found no information but this may well be a reference to the place where Kōbō Daishi practiced. The spot is known as Shashingadake 捨身ヶ嶽 on Mt. Fudaraku. Legend has it that Kūkai threw himself from a rock saying that if his life was worth anything, the Buddhas should protect and catch him. The site is presently also known as *Nanshashin* 南捨身, the “southern place [from where Kūkai] threw away his body”.

* When studying the way to travel from Temple 22 to 23, we find that map 417 mentions the names of several villages and hot springs and further notes at several hills

that there is water to be had or that a well can be found. Tsukiyo-saka 月夜坂, corresponding to the present Tsukiyo o-mizu-an 月夜御水庵, is one of the places where, according to legend, Kōbō Daishi drilled a well for the local people to alleviate water shortages. Near the coast map 417 includes another note: “The cape of Kumano in Kii is faintly visible on one’s left side”. It gives the travel direction that one should continue to the south following the coast of Tosa. The note just before reads Yuki-no-hama. This would mean that map 417 preferred the coastal road and not the road across the mountains. Nowadays, pilgrims mostly travel straight through the mountains since the course has become easier thanks to a series of tunnels. Map 417a mentions the same Tsukiyoji, but from there it includes the road across the mountains, although this road is drawn somewhat smaller than the coastal road. Here again it would seem that map 417 prefers the easier, more touristy route while map 417a records the traditional, but harder route. We think that such facts also give us an idea of the different target groups for the two maps, the general populace that was interested in “doing” the eighty-eight sites and a group of people who regarded the *henro* as a religious exercise. This same distinction is apparent among modern pilgrims as well.



19. Cascade of Fudo

Tosa

* The long haul from Temple 23 to Temple 24 is again dotted with the names of villages, rivers and climbs, but it does not appear to be much different from the present route. When the road approaches Temple 24, the descriptions become more detailed. Cape Muroto 室生門崎, where the Temples 24, 25 and 26 were built, is an environment especially suited for the performance of ascetic practices. Both maps include a warning in writing, near the foot of the mountain on which Temple 24 is situated, that women were not allowed to enter the premises. Map 417 records a number of places of interest on the last stretch to Cape Muroto,

all of which are described in detail in *Reijōki*⁴³ and *Michishirube*⁴⁴. These include three caves with three different main deities. Firstly, there was the cave where *Aiman-gongen* 愛満権現 was worshipped. A poisonous snake that attacked people and cattle used to live in the cave, but was driven out by the Daishi. In a second cave at the foot of the mountain of Temple 24 there was a seated statue of Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音 holding the wish-fulfilling jewel described as coming from the Palace of the Dragon King (*ryūgu* 龍宮). Both in the two sources mentioned and on the map it is recorded that women should leave their *osamefuda* here, since to them the mountain was off-limits. In the third cave a shrine dedicated to *Tenshō-taijin* 天照太神 could be visited. Next to these holy places inedible potatoes, a hall for the practice of the *gumonjihō* called *monji-dō* 聞持堂, and a well containing water used to make offerings to the dead are described in the two sources, and they appear on map 417 as well.

* Off the coast between Temples 25 and 26 map 417 has a note stating that here are the stones that resemble ink-stones and are called “Clothing Stones” (*koromo ishi* 衣石) after the islet Koromogashima just off the coast of Suzurigaura 硯ヶ浦 below Temple 26. Legend has it that, after Kūkai had founded *fudasho* 26, he used these stones as rubbing stones to make the ink he needed to write in his diary. *Michishirube* adds that these stones cannot be lifted⁴⁵. Map 417 further notes that these stones appear on the tide on the third day of the third month. Such information for the tourist is not found on map 417a. In the inlet from where these stones can be seen is a Fudō temple where women could get their stamps.

* After visiting Temple 30, the pilgrim had to pass the guardhouse (*bansho*) of Yamada and then walk through the city of Kōchi. Once inside the city he had to cross the inlets by boat to reach the Chikurinji (Temple 31). The map shows that the pilgrims needed boats and ferries to cross the inlets of the Bay of Kōchi by recording *funawatari* 船渡り (“crossing by boat”) a number of times. This does not agree with a good number of the guidebooks, which state that there is only one place, near Nakamura, where it is allowed to use such means of transportation. It would seem that this claim is a newly invented tradition.

The Godaizan Chikurinji was a temple much favoured by the *daimyō* of Tosa. Map 417 reflects this fact by recording “garden for the lord to walk in” (*taishu-yūho-tei* 太守遊歩亭). The maps further mentions the Kyūkōji 吸江寺 at the foot of Godaizan, a temple famous as the abode of the Zen monk Shōnan Sōke 湘南宗化 (1586-1637). From there the pilgrim had to cross a number of waterways again to reach Temple 32. In order to reach Nagahama Miyase, which is near Katsura-hama, he had to cross the Bay of Kōchi once more from Tanezaki. Although the two sides of the bay are connected by a bridge nowadays, many pilgrims still use the free ferry.

* When travelling from Temple 33 to 34 (the Sekkeiji to the Tanemaji), one would expect a reference to the old legend that Kōbō Daishi planted the seeds of the five grains here when he came back from China. The temple was named Tanema(ki)ji 種間寺. Nowadays the Oku-no-in is situated on the coast, but nothing is recorded on the maps. The maps are very sparingly with information for this part of the circuit and record almost no temples or sacred spots outside the *fudasho*. One reason for the scarcity of details may be that pilgrims had to travel through the domain of Tosa in a set number of days, which was written on their through-pass (*ōrai tegata* 往來手形). There would be little time for tourist outings. Another reason for the scarcity is proposed by Tanaka⁴⁶, who suggests that the abundance of detail in Sanuki and Awa as opposed to Tosa and Iyo is due to the fact that these are the two provinces farthest removed from Ōsaka, the city on which this map is orientated.

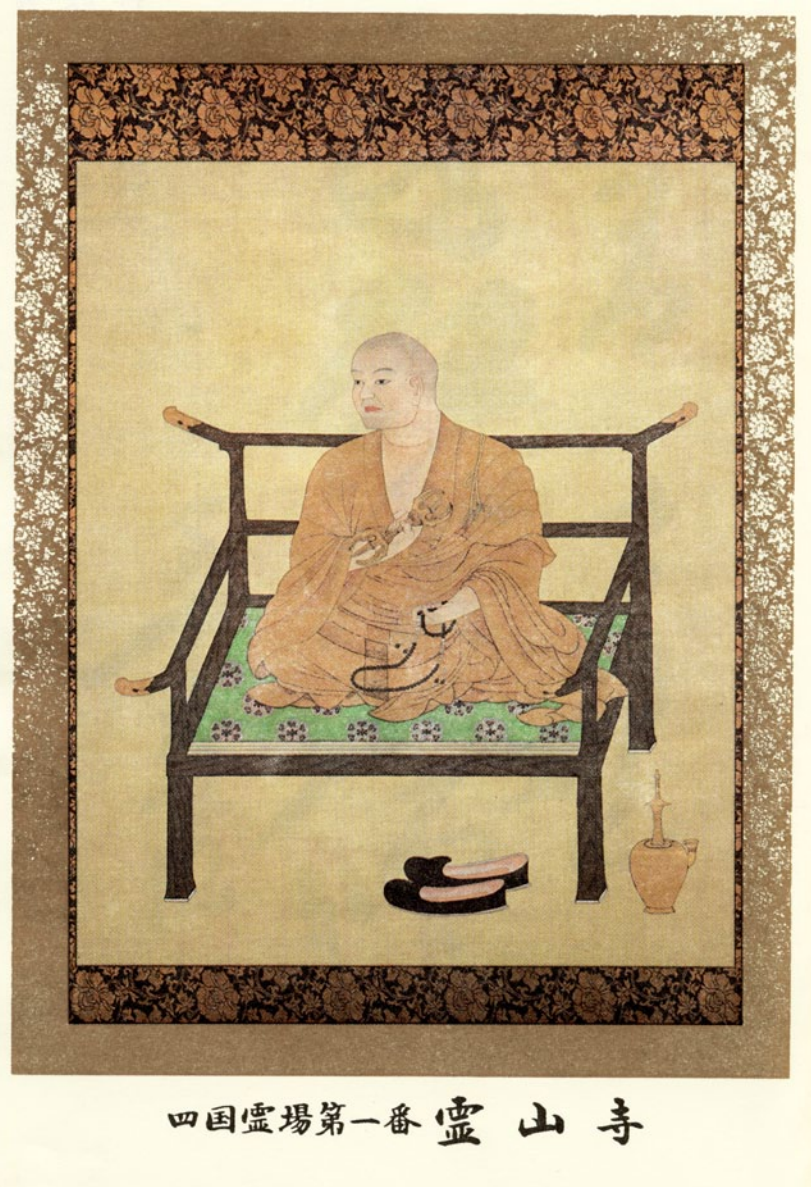
* The road then crosses the river Niyodo to reach Temple 35, the Kiyotakiji. Here map

43 *Reijōki*, pp. 253-257

44 *Michishirube*, pp. 106-110

45 *Michishirube*, p. 115

46 Tanaka 1996, p.242.



20. Portrait of the Daishi by Shinnyo

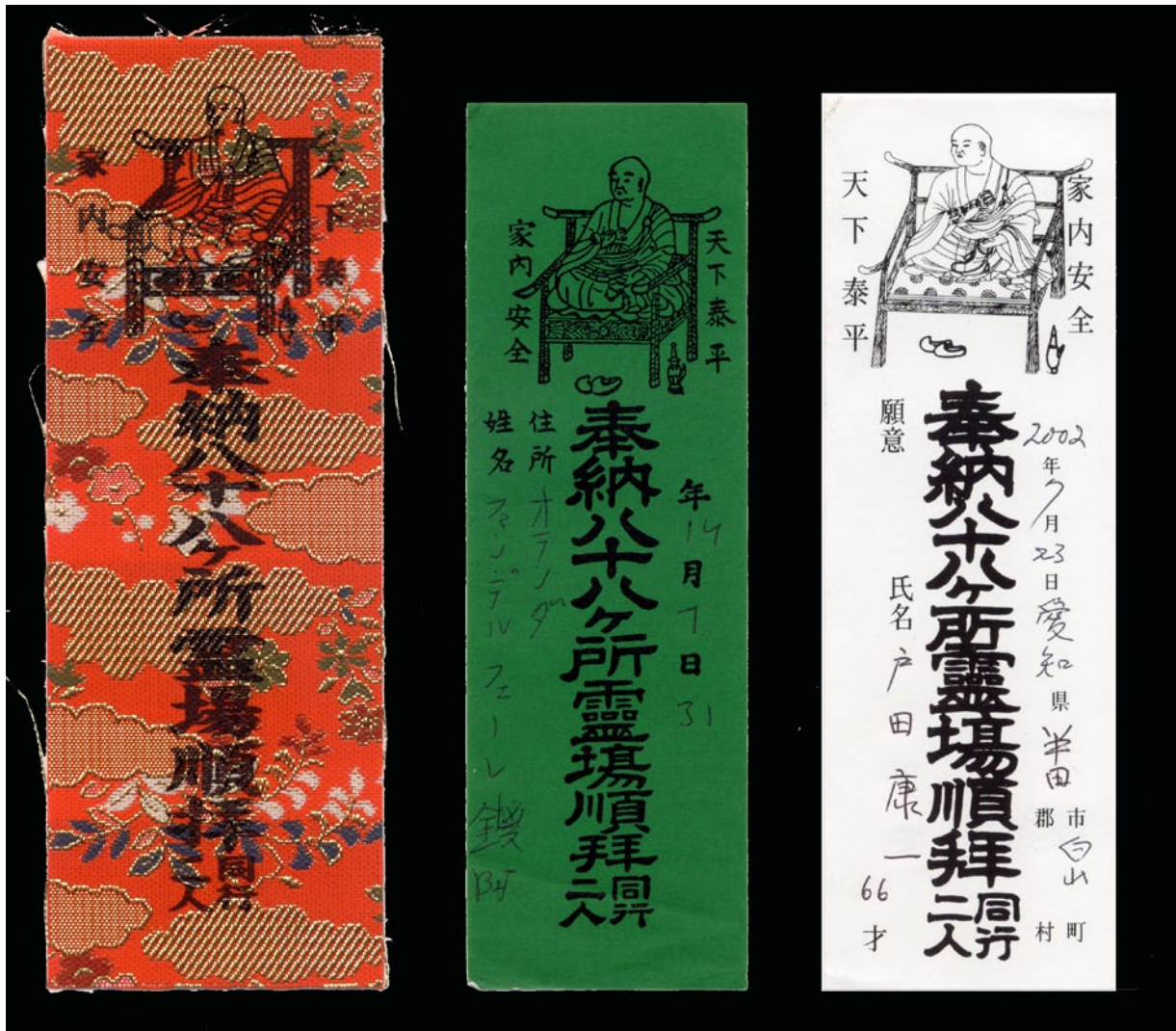
417 situates the tomb of Imperial Prince Shinnyo 真如親王 (dates unknown). This prince became a disciple of Kūkai in the Tōji and is credited with drawing a portrait of the Daishi (Plate 20) that became the standard representation of the master. It is found on the *osamefuda* (Plate 21) and in the centre of the scrolls (*kakejiku*) the pilgrims carry. The same picture is found in the centre of our two maps. Shinnyo made pilgrimages to the western part of Honshū, Kyūshū and Shikoku, and behind the Kiyotakiji he constructed a *gyakushūtō* 逆修塔, a memorial *stūpa* people built during their lives in order to gain salvation after death. Thereafter the prince engaged in religious practice at this place. The *stūpa* is said to symbolize his resolve to cross to China and go on from there to India in search of the Dharma. It is known that he went to China and received

permission in 864 while in the Chinese capital Changan to go on to India, but after this nothing was heard from him. Later reports tell that he died, probably in 866, in Laos, crossing a river or, according to another version, was eaten by a tiger somewhere near Malaysia.

* The old trail that leads from Temple 35 to 36 over the pass of Usa is still there, but most pilgrims now prefer the new tunnel.⁴⁷ An old stone indicator remains at the end of the traditional road and shows that the distance to Temple 36, the Shōryūji, is one ri. Formerly, after visiting Temple 36, the pilgrim had to return to Usa by ferry to continue to Temple 37, and he had to follow the contours of the bays that stretch out in what appears to be one straight coast on the map but in fact consists of a sequence of bays and inlets. Map 417 mentions the Senkōji 千光寺 at Izumi, with the note that this is the old spot (*kyūseki* 旧跡) of the Ex-emperor Kazan (院; 968-1008). *Nanroshi* records that the mortuary tablet (*ihai*) of Kazan-in was enshrined here. In *Michishirube*⁴⁸ the sad story of Kazan-in is retold. After he was deceived by Fujiwara no Kane'ie 藤原兼家 (929-990) and exiled to this far away and isolated place, he had the habit of

47 When van der Veere walked the pilgrimage in 1994, the tunnel was not finished yet and all walking pilgrims had to take the way over the mountains.

48 *Michishirube*, pp. 150-152.



21. Osamefuda

going outside the gates of his dwelling and stare out over the sea (hence the name, *izumi* イズミ・出見). Kazan-in died here and his mausoleum was in the Senkōji. Nowadays, there is an Amida Hall there and a Kazan Jinja.

* To reach the city of Susaki on the way to Temple 37 the pilgrim can nowadays choose between two courses, the lower, southern one which runs through the Torisaka Tunnel and the northern one which passes over the Hotoke Slope 仏坂, which also appears on map 417. The *bangai* of Iwaya Fudō on the descent after the climb is not shown on the maps. The road to temple 37 continues on map 417 over the passes of Yake Slope and Soemimizu, which is a trail still in existence today, but is used by few pilgrims.

* The longest distance between two temples is between the Iwamotoji (37) and the temple on the Cape of Ashizuri (38). Most of the places on this part of the route on map 417 are easily recognizable and still exist. Although the city of Nakamura (in 2005 re-named Shimanto-shi 四万十市) is not mentioned we find directions on where to cross the delta of the Shimanto-gawa by boat. The Shinnen-an 真念庵, the hermitage of the writer of *Michishirube*, Shinnen, is situated on both maps at the junction of two roads, one leading to Temple 38 and the other across the mountains to Temple 39. As in the present day, some pilgrims preferred to backtrack to Ashizuri from here and then continue to the village of Shūga 宗賀, where the road joins the Mihara 三原 course (Plate 22). At this point the road intersects with another road that is a continuation of another possible back-track starting somewhat more to the south of the Shinnen-an. On map 417a the Shinnen-Mihara course is represented as a road wider than the other course, which

passes the Cape of Ashizuri and leads to the sacred spot of Tsukiyama. Both maps mention the beach of Tatsukushi, which is still a resort famous for its impressive volcanic rock formations.

* As discussed above, both maps show that pilgrims had the choice between a backtrack via the Shinnen-an and the longer course that passes Tsukiyama, which is a *jinja* nowadays. Passing Himeno'i, this road continues to the city of Sukumo. Because of the lack of facilities on the way and the greater distance, hardly any pilgrims use it nowadays. In the old days it must have been even harder, as the coastal roads go through a number of tunnels, which obviously did not exist in the eighteenth century.



22. The back-track course

Iyo

* From Temple 39, the Terayama-in, to Temple 40 the course runs through the city of Sukumo and then over the pass of Matsuo, which used to form the border between the provinces of Tosa and Iyo. At this strategic position, two checkpoints (*bansho*) were set up to control the flow of trade en travellers: Ōbukaura guarded the border on the Tosa side, while the Koyama-*bansho* was found on the other side of the pass in the domain of Uwajima. This *bansho* was significant for the pilgrims in several respects; it marked that he was about to finish the second stage of the pilgrimage, that of difficult practice (*shugyō*) in Tosa, and it also marked that he was leaving behind the unfriendly attitude of the authorities of Tosa and their harsh treatment. The border area was claimed by both the domain of Tosa and that of Uwajima. In their territorial disputes Mt. Sasayama remained a bone of contention; skirmishes occurred until well into the Edo-period.

On map 417 (ill. 3) we find a road running from Temple 39, the present Enkōji, leading to Temple 40, the Kanjizaiji. From there, two roads lead to the Manganji. It would seem that the pilgrims first visited Temple 40 and from there started out up the mountain of Sasayama. They could also choose an alternative route and go on to Temple 41. In this way they would

avoid the climb up Mt. Sasayama but still visit the Manganji on the way.

There are several notes next to the drawing of Sasayama on map 417. One of these mentions a *yahazu ishi* 矢筈石. The position of this marker-stone, which stood in the middle of the pond on the top of the mountain, played an important role in the territorial disputes between the domains of Uwajima and Tosa. A difference in the interpretation of the exact position of the border caused a longstanding conflict that was only resolved 200 years later, in 1873. Furthermore, the map records that there is a *sansho-gongen-sha*



Illustration 3: Detail of Map 417

三所権現社, a shrine dedicated to the three deities (*Gongen*) of Kumano. This name was also used to refer to the present Sasayama Shrine. The view from Mt. Sasayama (1065m), which was the highest place of the pilgrimage, must have been commanding. The map records that even Hyūga (present Miyazaki Prefecture) and Bungo (present Ōita Prefecture), both on (Kyūshū), are visible from Sasayama.

Both maps show that a pilgrim could visit Temple 40 and then retrace his steps to climb Mt. Sasayama. From there he would descend to continue to the city of Uwajima. Although Map 417 singles out the Iwabuchi Manganji on the way, map 417a does not refer to this temple at all. Both maps also shows that two different minor roads could be travelled to avoid the highest place of the pilgrimage, but only map 417 has it lead to the Manganji. Thus, on map 417 all roads pass the Manganji and continue from there to the castle-town of Uwajima.

The reason for the existence of three roads at this juncture and the prominent position of the Manganji on map 417 may be found in local circumstances⁴⁹. The route descending from Sasayama to the Manganji still exists, although it is seldom used and the mountain-paths are difficult to find. It used to be a local trail of the mountain-ascetics (*yamabushi* 山伏) that ran from Sasayama to Mt. Dake and was known as the *nakamichi*. One path from Temple 40 to the Manganji runs straight over the mountains and was used by couriers, while the other path corresponds to the present *henromichi*, which passes over the slope of Kashiwa. This climb is mentioned on the map. The Manganji, for reasons that are not quite clear but may have been political, was especially promoted by Shinnen. It turns out that the Date Family, who controlled Tsushima 津島 after Date Hidemune 伊達秀宗 (1591-1658) was granted the fief in 1614, accorded the temple an important role in their attempts to control and subdue the pirates who infested the coast and impeded trade with the Ryūkyū Islands. Be that as it may, the temple was situated on the old road leading to the city of Uwajima. Until the Meiji Period pilgrims used this road which runs somewhat to the east of the newer roads of which there are two, one on the western side of the pass, also called Matsuo, and the modern one, which is a tunnel through the mountains. A village along the old road from the Manganji to Uwajima, Noi 野井, is mentioned in *Kudokuki*.

* As in other instances map 417 provides more information for the tourist-pilgrim. It records that at the foot of the road leading up to Sasayama on the slope of Sarukoe a chestnut-tree can be found which bears fruit seven times per year (サルコエ 年ニ七度ミノル栗アリ).

* The map also informed the pilgrim about a number of temples in the vicinity of Uwajima, first a Ganjōji 願成寺 before he entered the castle-city and then the temple-complex of Warei Daimyōjin 和靈大明神 after he left the city. On map 417a this second temple is displayed as well,

49 For much of the following information we would like to thank the present abbot of the Manganji for his personal communications to van der Veere during his pilgrimage in the summer of 2005.

as われい大明神. The Ganjōji corresponds to the present *bangai* number six, the Ryūkō-in 龍光院. It is mentioned in *Michishirube*⁵⁰ as a famous site that has the Daishi as its *honzon*. The Ganjōji was moved from its original place, still shown on map 417, and rebuilt on its present location in the northern part of the city in 1668. The map is obviously based on older information as it situates the temple on the road before the castle and not after.



23. Hakuō gongen

The main deity of the Warei Shrine is a local guardian deity for fishermen. The present-day shrine is still known for its impressive buildings and it gave its name to a ward of the city that is located just a little further than the Ryūkō-in. It was founded in the first half of the seventeenth century by the populace that feared the grudge of Yanbe Seibe'e. This activist was assassinated by the feudal lord after his attempts to increase the standard of living of the local populace. Yanbe had secretly erected a small shrine within the compounds of another shrine, but its popularity became so great that it could not remain hidden and the fame of this complex spread widely among the local population. This popularity may well explain the appearance of its name and the drawing of its buildings on both maps.

* On map 417 we find next to Temple 43, the Meisekiji or the Akeishidera, a reference to the site of Hakuō-gongen 白王権現, which is known as the Oku-no-in of this temple. Once upon a time, according to the legend, eighteen or nineteen girls came to this region bringing huge stones with them needed for the construction of the Akeishidera. When they reached this site, night fell and they left the stones behind. These girls are regarded as incarnations of the Bodhisattva Kannon or of the daughter of the Dragon king. The stones are venerated as Hakuō-gongen. There is not much left of this site nowadays (Plate 23). Map 417a only records some geographical details of the region such as Yahata Beach and Cape Sada. These were important



24. Toyagahashi

50 *Michishirube*, p. 184.



25. Entrance to Ippen's place of practice

places because it was from here that many pilgrims from Kyūshū started on their pilgrimage reaching Shikoku by ferry.

* On the road to Ōzu from Temple 43, map 417 shows the checkpoint, the climb over the Tosaka 鳥坂 Pass, where pilgrims now can, and most will, venture into a 1.2 km long tunnel. Before descending to the city of Ōzu we find a hermitage (*an*) associated with Bukkai 仏海, a recluse from Mt. Kōya who mummified himself. In view of its location, this hermitage is close to or the same as the present Fudakake Daishidō 札掛大師堂. According to communications from local residents, pilgrims used to stick their *osamefuda* to the bridge below this Daishidō to inform others that they had passed here. The better-known story is that Kōbō Daishi stuck an image of Shakuson to a pine-tree after he meditated here for some time.

* Map 417 mentions Toyagahashi 十夜ヶ橋, the bridge that became famous because during the whole period of Kōbō Daishi's practice under it, namely ten days and nights, the temperature remained the same. On the map the place is recorded

as just one spot alongside the route with the note that “this is the place where the Daishi spent one [sic] night” 大師一夜上リナサレシ所. Nowadays, many people with various illnesses and diseases visit this spot to be cured (Plate 24). Another custom that sprouted from the legend that Kūkai meditated under this bridge is that pilgrims will always lift their staff when passing over a bridge so as not to wake the Daishi who may still be meditating, or sleeping, under the bridge. Map 417a, however, does not mention the site. *Reijōki* does not mention it either and *Michishirube*⁵¹ only says it is a famous place.

Our mapmaker Shūei must have taken his extra information from another source. Most probably, he heard the story along the way. Its absence on map 417a may be due to the fact that this map was made for a different purpose, and was intended to show the many places where people could still practice themselves. It may also be that Toyagahashi was locally known but not that famous, because the belief in Kōbō Daishi as a saint (Daishi-*shinkō*) had not developed to the degree it has nowadays. Typically, map 417 records somewhat further on the circuit that there are markets in the town of Uchiko on the sixth, eighth and twentieth day of the month. These dates still remain preserved in the name of quarters of the town: Yōka-ichi 八日市, Muika-ichi 六日市, Hatsuka-ichi 廿日市.

* Nowadays Temples 44 and 45 are often visited in reverse order or pilgrims go to Temple 44, make a return trip to Temple 45 and continue in the direction of the city of Matsuyama over the Misaka pass. Map 417 shows that the road used to lead to Temple 44 first and then, after climbing the hill behind this temple, continued to the village of Kawai. From Kawai, there are two roads, one into the hills leading up the Yachō Slope 八丁坂 (now also pronounced as Hatchōsaka). This trail descends from the mountain to emerge at the foot of Ippen's place of practice (*dōjō*) (Plate 25) and approaches Temple 45 from the back. The relationship of this site

51 *Michishirube*, p. 193.

with the practices of Ippen is nowadays obscured by the emphasis on the veneration of Hakusan Myōri Daibosatsu 白山妙理大菩薩.

The other route passes Kuroiwaya, leads through the Meditation Forest (*Meisōnomori* 瞑想の森) (Plate 26) and emerges at the foot of the long stairs that lead up to the temple. This latter road is now often used as the return road to Kawai and Temple 44. Temple 45 was well



26. *The Meditation Forest*

known as a place of religious practice. This is indicated on both maps as “Ladder Meditation Place” (*Hashigo-zenjō*), high places reached by ladders. From the shape of the rock we may infer that the maps refer to the place of practice of Ippen Shōnin (1239-1289), which is indeed a steep rock and can only be climbed by using a ladder (*hashigo*). Map 417a shows both the higher trail over the Yachō Slope and the lower one passing Furuiwaya. From Kawai a row of hills indicate the route via Senbonsaka 千本坂 and Takano 高野, which makes it clear that the traditional course did not return to Temple 44, but led via Tanokawa over the Misaka Pass 三坂峠.

Halfway through the descent from the Misaka Pass, which in the old days was the main road (*kaidō* 街道) to Matsuyama and an important trade route, we find on map 417 the Sakurayasumiba, a place to rest that still exists. Somewhat further we find the *bangai* of Amikaki

Daishi 網かき大師 which is indicated as Awaraishi Daishi アワラ石大師.

* Map 417 shows that after Temple 47, appropriately called Yasakaji 八坂寺, there are eight grave-hills in Ebara, which are supposed to be those of the unfortunate children of Emon Saburō.

* On Map 417 we find above Temple 49 and 50 a Hachiman-no-miya. On map 417a this is situated on a slightly different location, just above Temple 51, the Ishiteji. At present there is a Hachiman Mishima Shrine near Temple 50.

* From Temple 51, the Ishiteji, the road passes the famous hot spring resort, of Dōgo, referred to as Dōgo-yu 道後湯 (Plate 27). Map 417a also records the hot spring resort, but no road through the town of Matsuyama. On map 417 the road branches off with one road going through the centre of the town and the other north of it, just as is explained in *Michishirube*⁵².

* Map 417 records a Kusunoki Usui no mizu クスノキウスイノ水 between Temples 59 and 60, which map 417a writes on a mountain above 58 and 59 as Usui no mizu ウスイノミズ. This would be the famous, and old, Usui no mizu 臼井ノ水, which is about nine kilometres from the Kokubunji (no. 59). Near to the same temple a grave is mentioned, almost illegible on the Leiden map. Checking with other maps and *Reijōki*⁵³ and *Michishirube*⁵⁴, we find that both sources note that near the Kokubunji there is the grave of Nitta Yoshisuke 新田義助 (dates unknown), the brother of Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞 (1301-1338). Yoshisuke was sent to Imabari by the Southern Court during the *Nanbokuchō* Period to gain influence at the provincial office (*kokufu* 国府), but he died soon after he arrived with his troops.

* Somewhat further on the road from Temple 59 to 60 both maps show the *bangai* of Ikigi Jizō 生木地蔵, now one of the twenty *bekkaku-in*, and known for its ‘hard to count (the number of) wondrous happenings.’ (*Michishirube*⁵⁵)

* The next point of interest of the maps is the road to Temple 60, the Yokomineji, a temple situated at an altitude of around 700 meters on the climb to the top of Mt. Ishizuchi. In this region the belief in the mountain-god of Ishizuchi (*Ishizuchi-shinkō* 石鎚信仰) is ardent. The maps show only one road leading towards Yokomineji, which would indicate that pilgrims had to descend the mountain along the same path as they had climbed. At present, pilgrims often take the trail that passes the Okuno-in of temple 61, which leads almost directly to Temple 61. Map 417 has a note next to Mt. Ishizuchi stating that meditation (*zenjō* 禅定) is possible from



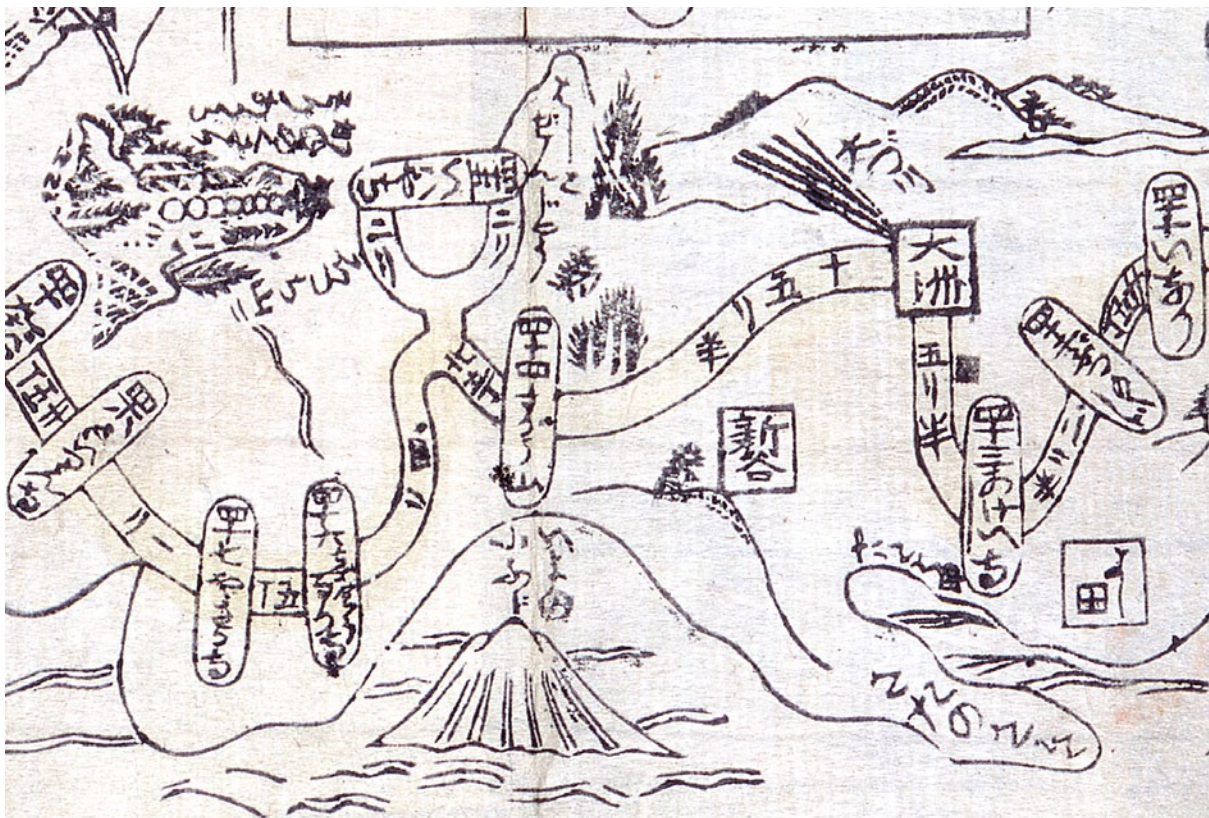
27. Dōgo Onsen

52 *Michishirube*, pp. 222-223

53 *Reijōki*, p. 386

54 *Michishirube*, p. 237

55 *Michishirube*, p. 241



28. the Chains of Ishizuchi

the first to third day of the sixth month. In *Michishirube*⁵⁶ it is explained that if you go up two *chō* from Yokomineji, you will reach an iron *torii*, and that on prescribed days only it is allowed to climb Mt. Ishizuchi.

* The distance to the shrine on top of Mt. Ishizuchi is recorded near the temple of Yokomineji as about twenty-five km 是ヨリ石ツチ山エ六リ八丁, which seems rather far in view of the present paths. *Michishirube*⁵⁷ even records it as nine *ri*, approximately 37 km.⁵⁸ A nice contribution of map 417a is that it displays the chains that are still in use to climb to the top of the mountain (Plate 28). It also shows another path from the top straight to Temple 64 with a distance of nine *ri* and eight *chō* (approximately 36 km).

This temple, the Ishizuchi-san Maegamiji has a long history of *yamabushi* practices centring on the mountain and is closely related with the belief in the mountain-god of Ishizuchi. The Shintō Shrine next door has a large *torii* and is seen as the gateway to the mountains. The song (*go'eika* 詠歌) of this temple alludes to the literal meaning of *ishizuchi* “stone hammer”; it runs as follows:

In front, the *kami*, behind you, the Buddhas
Ishizuchi [is a stone hammer that] smashes
the myriad sins [that prevent you from
entering] the Land of Highest Bliss.

(*mae wa kami / ushiro wa hotoke / gokuraku no / yorozu no tsumi o / kudaku ishizuchi*)

* From Temple 65 we find two roads, one to the Senryūji, which is the Oku-no-in of Temple 65 and an important *bangai* as we mentioned above, and another heading straight for

56 *Michishirube*, p. 243

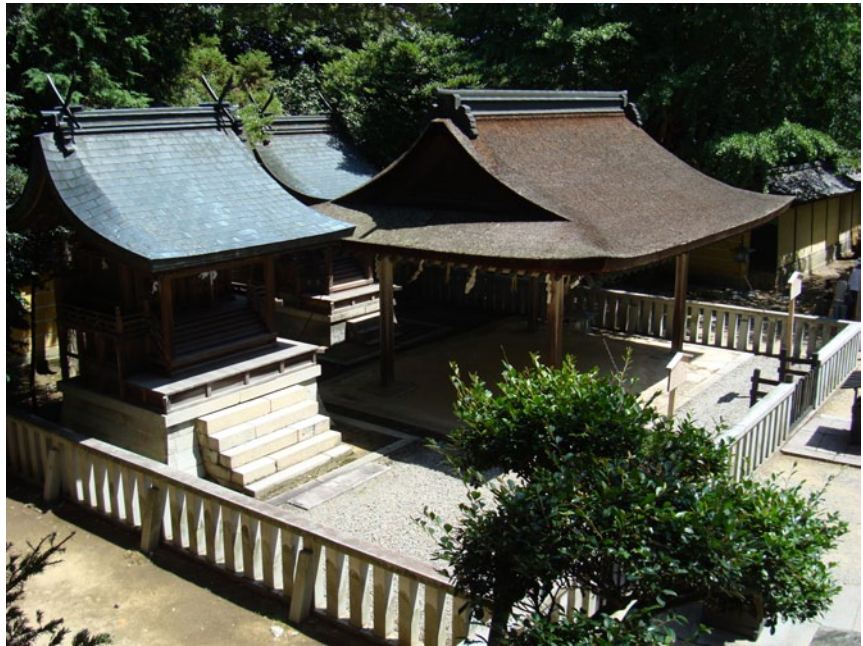
57 *Michishirube*, p. 244

58 The map of Miyazaki records the distance from Yokomineji to Ishizuchi Shrine as 13.1 kilometres. Miyazaki 1997, page 161.

the Unpenji, Temple 66. Map 417a also shows a short cut from the Oku-no-in, indicated by means of its mountain-name, Konkōsan 金光山, to this road. This looks slightly different from the present situation since there is no *henromichi* anymore but a modern paved road that takes a different route, joining the main road in Hirayama just as in map 417. Interestingly, Map 417a shows the mountain-paths to Konpira-san, one of the great centres of mountain-ascetics in this vicinity (Plate 29). Konpira pilgrims used to travel the same roads in some parts of Shikoku as the *henro*. This is documented e.g. by pre-modern maps that show the course from the direction of Mt. Kōya. Even nowadays an observant traveller will find old direction-stones on the side of the roads which far before Temple 65 already indicate the distance and road to Konpira, testifying to the great attraction the site had.

* On the road from Temple 65 to Temple 66, the Unpenji, the border between Iyo and Awa is indicated. The temple itself is at the border point of the three provinces of Awa, Iyo and Sanuki, which map 417a records as such. The pilgrim thus returns to the first

* From Temple 67 to Temples 68 and 69, which are located in the same temple-grounds nowadays, the old road follows the same route as it does today. The two temples are both mentioned on the maps with a distance of two *chō* separating them. Between Temple 69 and

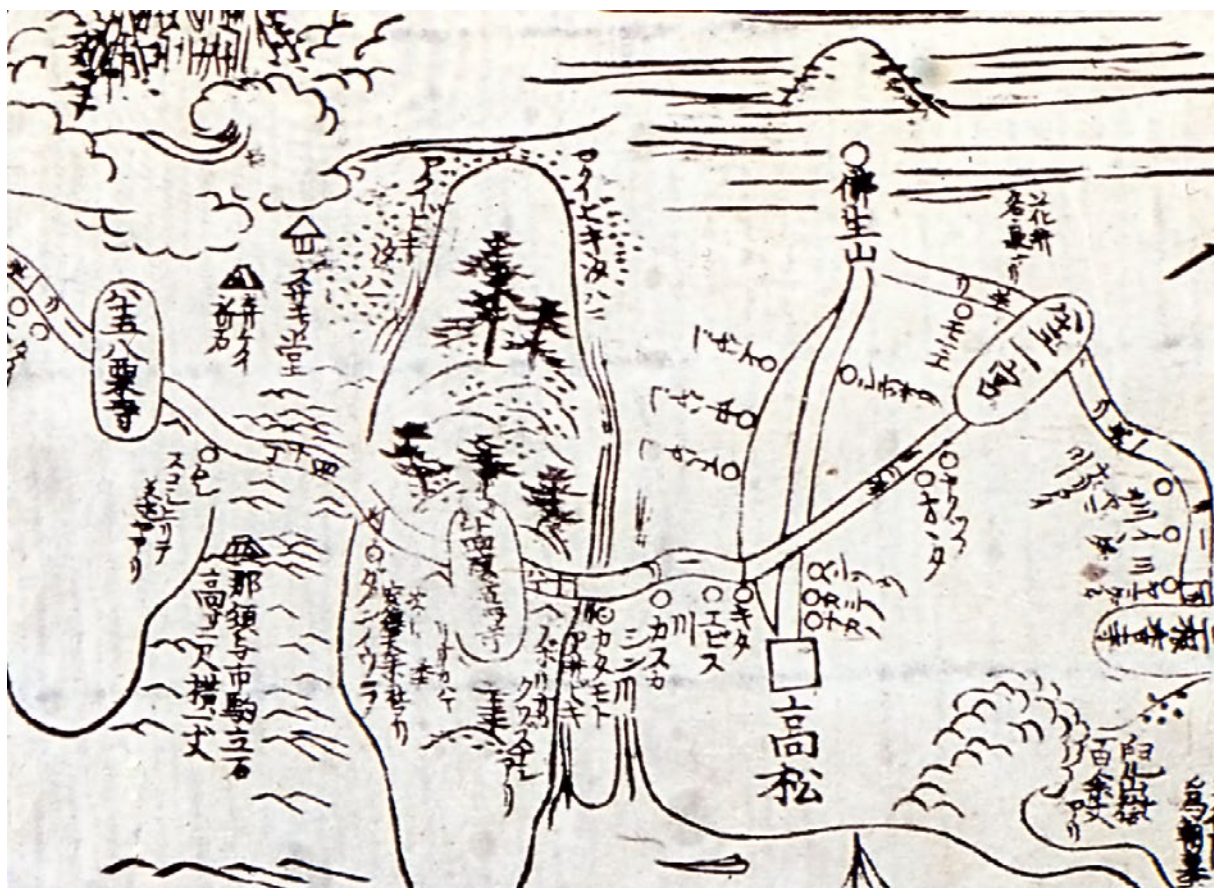


29. The Shrine of Konpira

70, Motoyamaji, the road curves and in this curve we find some descriptions that are somewhat puzzling. First, there is on map 417 the place-name Ueda with a *torii*. Next to it, there is a temple called Shinshōmitsuji 神照密寺. The place name probably refers to the present Ueda-chō 植田町 (Kan'onji City) where the two temples 68 and 69 are located. Next to the name Shinshōmitsuji information is given about a big pine-tree called *jotei-matsu* 助鼎松, a pine-tree that had branches so heavy they had to be supported. According to the text the tree was three *jō* (nine meter) high and measured one *jō* and 5 *shaku* (4.5 meter) around. Detailed information on the branches is added: "From east to west the branches [are supported] in twenty-six places, from south to north in twenty places" (Plate 30). On map 417a we find a similar drawing but without the detailed information and the *torii* is drawn on the route between Temple 70 and 71. We cannot be sure whether the information on the Shinshōmitsuji and the pine-tree should be read together, but we know that Reijōki⁵⁹ reports that there was an old pine-tree on the premises of the temple. It is equally possible that the Shinshōmitsuji and the pine-tree were depicted next to each other due to the limitation of available space. Furthermore, it is noted in *Michishirube*⁶⁰ that the left and right side of the road from Kan'onji is lined with pine-trees. We could not find any more data to connect the pine-tree with the Shinshōmitsuji, but when we think of such a great pine-tree, we are immediately reminded of the famous pine-tree of the Mandaraji, Temple

59 *Reijōki*, p. 49

60 *Michishirube*, p. 270



30. The great pine-tree

72, that partly fits the description. This tree was known as the western *yokozuna*, while the pine-tree in the Zen'yōji 善養寺 in Edo (present Koiba, Tokyo) was known as the eastern *yokozuna*. The tree of the Mandaraji withered only recently and was seen by one of the authors some years ago. We give the identification of the pine-tree of the Mandaraji and the tree on the map as a tentative solution.

* Near the Shusshakaji, Temple 73, we find a place called *Mizuguki-oka* 水茎岡. Map 417 states that this is *Miyai-no-ike* 宮居の池 of Saigyō-hōshi 西行法師 i.e. the pond of the residence of Priest Saigyō (1118-1190), the famous poet. Both *Reijōki*⁶¹ and *Michishirube*⁶² record that Saigyō dwelled here for some time. The *Mizuguki-oka* is said to be three chō to the west of the *Mandaraji*. In the same area, between temples 72 and 74, we also find a stone on which, it was believed, Saigyō had sat (*Saigyō-koshikakeishi* 西行コシカケイシ). A similar stone can be found at Temple 81, the *Shiromineji*. We will discuss the pilgrimage of the poet Saigyō under Temple 81.

Map 417a depicts the mountain-cliff above the Shusshakaji from which the young Kūkai supposedly jumped asking the Buddhas to save him if he could be of any use. This place used to be a mountain-retreat for ascetics. We can see this as supporting our impression that map 417a was more interested in introducing places of religious exercise (*gyōba*) than map 417.

* On map 417 the environments of the Zentsūji (no. 75), the supposed birthplace of Kōbō Daishi, are depicted in somewhat more detail than is the case with other temples. As Tanaka points out, the space Sanuki occupies on the map is proportionally much too large relative to the other provinces.⁶³ We do not think this is due only to the fact that the Daishi was born in

61 *Reijōki*, p. 46.

62 *Michishirube*, p. 273-275.

63 Tanaka 1996, p. 242.

this province, though this fact is pointed out by both maps. This area also has numerous scenic spots that were of interest to pilgrims and tourists coming from the direction of Ōsaka. The temple itself is drawn on map 417 as the large complex we find described in *Reijōki*⁶⁴. Above the temple-buildings the guide shows the mausoleums of the retired emperors Kameyama, Go-Saga and Go-Uda, while below them there is a comment that states that here is the birthplace of Kōbō Daishi. At the coast nearby, near Tadotsu, the name Byōbu-ga-ura 屏風が浦 is written, which place is mentioned in the Kūkai-biographies as the birthplace of the Daishi. Map 417a is much less detailed in its information for this site. It records “Daishi no tanjō” (“Daishi born here”) on the spot of Byōbu-ga-ura and not near the Zentsūji. The difference between the two indications of the birth-place may be a reflection of the dispute that went on between the Zentsūji and the temple near the coast, the Kaiganji, about the actual place of Kūkai’s birth, but we have insufficient evidence to state that the two maps took different sides in these polemics. We already mentioned that map 417a recorded the date of the Daishi’s birth as the fifteenth day of the sixth month in the vicinity of Temple 18.

* Both maps show two roads leading away from the Zentsūji, one to the popular cult-centre of Konpira, which is indicated by a large *torii*. Above the *torii* up Mt. Shōtōzan 象頭山 we find a note referring to Konpira Daigongen. The other road runs in the direction of Temples 76 and 77. A note next to Temple 76 states that here is the birthplace of Chishō Daishi Ennin (814-891), Kūkai’s younger nephew and one of the great patriarchs of the Tendai School. Another note near Temple 77 tells us that here is the grave of Dōryū *shinnō* 道隆親王, which refers to Wake no Michitaka, who founded this temple in 749. Both roads merge at the castle-town of Marugame and then continue to Temple 78.

* Before the coast near Temple 78 an island called Sami is noted as the birthplace of Daigo Shōbō Sonshi 醍醐正法尊師. Shōbō or Rigen Daishi 理源大師 is the famous founder of the Daigoji, one of the most important *yamabushi* centres, and someone who did much to propagate the mountain-retreats in Kumano. Associations with Kumano and its three divinities are also found on other places on the circuit and the map, such as Sasayama.

* Half a *ri* before Temple 79 there is a spot named *nozawa-no-mizu* ノザワノ水 and very close to it a stone Buddha (*sekibutsu* 石仏) is to be found, according to map 417. The two spots are explained in detail in *Reijōki*⁶⁵ and mentioned in *Michishirube*⁶⁶. *Nozawa-no-mizu* is described as *reisui* 霊水, efficacious water, which cures diseases. Nowadays this place is known as Yasoba-no-mizu. There is a Yasoba-no-Daishi-dō and 3 *chō* further up the hill there is a statue of Yakushi Nyorai. This statue ensures the continued flow of water from the well of Yasoba-no-mizu, on condition that it is enshrined upon a stone-dais, and not on a wooden dais, for that will cause the well to dry up. It is said that Emperor Sutoku’s body was preserved in the water for some time after his demise, until a court-official arrived for the identification of the body. Legend has it that in the era of the legendary Emperor Keikō an evil fish ran amok in the inland sea. The emperor dispatched Sarurei, 佐(讚)留靈, variously called a duke or a prince, but he and eighty of his retainers fell victim to the poison of the fish. One boy-servant brought them water from this well and they came back to life. The name of the well is taken from the number of retainers (*yaso*= eighty).

* In the region of temples 79-83, close to the present city of Takamatsu, Map 417 only shows roads connecting the temples in order of their number, but map 417a also presents some other roads, which may have been more practical for some of the pilgrims. From temple 79 it indicates a road straight to Shiromineji, Temple 81. In fact, this road still exists. The pilgrim would travel from there over the Goshikidai-五色台 plateau from Temple 81 to 82 and could

64 *Reijōki*, pp. 26, 27.

65 *Reijōki*, pp. 105-107.

66 *Michishirube*, pp. 287-288.

descend about halfway down the trail to visit Temple 80, the Kokubunji. This path is indicated as a *henromichi* of fifty *chō*. It was also possible to go directly from Temple 80 to Temple 82 or from Temple 80 to Temple 83. Thus, there were a number of alternatives open to the pilgrim or practitioner.

* Near Temple 81, Shiromineji, we find references to the stories of the unfortunate Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164) and the pilgrimage of the poet Saigyō (1118-1190) to the place connected with the story of this Emperor. Sutoku was exiled to Sanuki, now Kagawa Prefecture, after his party was defeated during the Hōgen Disturbance (1156). After his demise his body was brought from temple 79, also called the Tennōji, to Shiromineji, where a mausoleum was built. Later, the poet Saigyō in his wanderings visited the places connected to this Emperor and the sites appear in his poems as well as in several *Nō*-plays. On the map we find notes of “Sutoku-tennō gongen” (Emperor Sutoku, the avatar), and another stone, which is said to be the place where Saigyō sat down when he talked with the ghost of Sutoku. In addition we find the graves of Minamoto no Tametomo 源為朝 (1139-1170) and Minamoto no Tameyoshi 源為義 (1096-1156), who supported the faction of Sutoku during the uprising. Furthermore, there are graves of the two feudal lords Matsudaira Yoritane and Yoritane who rebuilt the temple. Near this temple both maps record the scenic spot of Chigo Peak 兒嶽, which is more than a hundred *jō* high, according to map 417.

* Map 417 continues its tourist information by mentioning a famous spa called Hana-no-i (flower-well) near the *fidasho* of Temple 83. This well is also mentioned in *Reijōki*. Nowadays we find a hot spring in this neighbourhood.

* Map 417 explains that Iinoyama is also known as Sanuki no Fuji. Map 417a only mentions Sanuki-no-Fuji.

* From Temple 83 both maps show a road running straight to Yashimaji 八島寺, avoiding the city of Takamatsu and another which visits Busshōsan Hōnenji 仏性山法然寺. This large temple complex, which included the shrines that now lie outside its compounds, was especially favoured by the Lords of Takamatsu, the Matsudaira, who travelled over the road depicted on the map from their castle in Takamatsu to the temple.

* In the vicinity of Temple 84, the Yashimaji, we find a number of allusions to the battle of Yashima, which took place during the wars between the Minamoto and the Taira in the twelfth century. The Taira were defeated at Yashima by Minamoto Yoshitsune, who also defeated the Taira at Dannoura near Shimonoseki. Map 417 calls the beach below the temple on the northern side Dannoura, apparently confusing this location with the site of the Taira’s final defeat at Dannoura near Shimonoseki.

Ascending the hill on the road that leads to the temple, the pilgrim would first pass a place where the pears are inedible. This is a reference to the story of the punishment meted out by the Daishi when he was refused a pear by a local farmer on the grounds that it was too sour to eat. The Daishi turned all the pears in the vicinity inedible.

Descending from the Yashimaji the tourist would



31. The tomb of Satō Tsugunobu

find a number of spots of historical interest. First he would pass the grave of Minamoto no Yoshitsune's loyal retainer Satō Tsugunobu 佐藤継信 (1158-1185). The monument for Tsugunobu (Plate 31), who intercepted with his body an arrow aimed at Yoshitsune and died from the consequences, was only moved to the present spot in the seventeenth century by the Matsudaira's of Takamatsu. We may assume that the pilgrim's route already ran over this trail at that time, and that the spot was seen as auspicious because of the merit (*kudoku*) a passing pilgrim provided. A little further on, the road passes the shrine dedicated to the unfortunate Emperor Antoku 安徳天皇 (1178-1185) (Plate 32). These sites are still preserved even though the surroundings have changed quite a bit because of landfills. More historical places can be "identified" nowadays through the offices of local tourist agencies. Road-signs are set up indicating where Yoshitsune crossed the bay on cows which had torches tied to their horns to attack the Heike from behind; this is called Akabazaka.



32. The shrine of Emperor Antoku

Not all these places, which in a way form part of the modern route, are mentioned on the maps. Map 417 draws a stone where Yoshitsune's comrade in arms, the monk Benkei, once prayed, but does not record the graves of other famous warriors near Temple 85. The observant modern pilgrim will find more places that are associated with the war between the Minamoto

and the Taira. Temple 87, for example, has a grave-mound (*tsuka* 塚) on its premises of which it is said that it contains the hair of Shizuka Gozen, Yoshitsune's mistress, shaven off when she was made to take the tonsure. A little further on the way to Temple 88 one can find the grave-monument erected for Benkei's horse (Plate 33).



33. The grave of Benkei's horse

* Other landmarks on map 417 in this vicinity are a rock off the coast described as Nasu Yoichi's horse 那須与一駒 and somewhat more to the south of the road to Temple 85 we find in the village of Mure the praying-stone of Benkei and the Susakidō, which has grown into the present temple complex of Susakiji. The rock is the place where Nasu Yoichi drew up his horse during the battle of Yashima (1185) and shot his bow. He hit a target on a boat, which was considered to be impossible. The imprints of the horse's hooves were said to be still on the stone. Before this display of excellent archery he

went to pray at the praying stone (*Reijōki*). On map 417a we find none of these references to historical sites, but only the name of Shōdo-shima, before the coast.

* Near temple 86 we find somewhat off the coast the island of Takashima and somewhat closer Shinju-shima シンジュ(真珠)島, the “Pearl Island”. Near temple 86 is written: “Ōmi-kō kyōzuka ari; Kaishi no haka ari” 淡海公経塚アリ海土ノ墓アリ. The maker of the map here refers to the legend about one of Fujiwara Kamatari’s daughters who went to China to become the concubine of the Tang Emperor Taizong (reigned 627-649). She sent back three precious pearls by boat, but these were stolen by the Dragon King when the boat was wrecked near Shido Bay. Her brother Fubito came here in disguise to marry a female diver (*ama* 海女) to retrieve the pearls. She bore him a son and promised to return the pearls if this son was made his heir. She succeeded in diving up the gems but died in the attempt. Her son Fusasaki 房前 became the ancestor of the Northern branch of the Fujiwara. It is said that the temple was built as a memorial to her by her son and his companion, the monk Gyōki 行基 (668-749). The temple was probably founded even earlier. The image of the main deity is thought to date back to the time of Empress Suiko in the sixth century and is a National Treasure. The above legend became famous as the plot of the *Nō*-play *Ama*.

The version of the story as it is told in *Reijōki*⁶⁷ is a little different. It relates that, according to Gyōki’s biography (*Gyōki denki*⁶⁸ 行基伝記), a boat transporting one or more jewel that were sent from China to Fujiwara no Takamara was shipwrecked in bad weather at Fusasaki-ga-ura 房前浦. Fujiwara no Fubito came down from the capital to retrieve the jewels and spent three years trying, but to no avail. During this period he fell in love with a pearl fisher, who dived to the palace of the Dragon King and retrieved the treasure. The son of Fubito, Fusasaki found out that he was the son of the pearl fisher when he was thirteen. Upon learning this, he went to Fusasaki-ga-ura taking the monk Gyōki with him. Gyōki performed the ritual of *hokke-hakkō* 法華八講 in commemoration of his companion’s mother. Shinju-shima is known as the place where the pearl fisher surfaced with the pearl. The name originates from the legend that big pearls were found there, but Shinnen himself adds that there are doubts about the authenticity of the story⁶⁹.

* The road between Temples 87 and 88 on map 417 first leads to a place called Maeyama, which is one *ri* from Temple 87. Nowadays we find the Maeyama-dam here. From this point onwards, three possible trails could be chosen. On map 417 we find a slope (*saka*), a village called Gaku-mura, *henro-saka* (pilgrim’s slope), a Makikawa-mura and then it is written that: ‘from here a sloping road of eight *chō*’. This slope leads to the village Kanewari-mura. There is now a place called Kanewari to the southwest of Temple 88, so it would seem that of the three possibilities the map indicates the roundabout way. The other two trails lead over the mountain Nyotai-san 如体山, which has the form of two breasts as a woman’s body, and then descends to Taizō-mine, which is the Oku-no-in of the last Temple 88. According to *Reijōki*⁷⁰ this is the place of *Aka no mizu* 阿伽の水, a famous well drilled by Kōbō Daishi which never runs dry. Although local informants consider this the more traditional road, maps 417 as well as the people at the new museum near the Maeyama-dam consider the other course the true pilgrim’s path.⁷¹ We have no means of knowing what numbers took the high road over the summit of Nyotai-san and how many went the other way. In view of the many Buddhist images and shrines on the

67 *Reijōki*, pp. 140-142.

68 Full title: 玉贈玉取淡海房前行基伝記一卷.

69 *Reijōki*, p. 144.

70 *Reijōki*, p. 149.

71 The reliability of these informants is questionable. A new road was cleared through the mountains in 2006 and this is now also recommended as the *henromichi*. It is clear that this is in no way an old road. It completely lacks the atmosphere and the usual images and *henro*-signs that distinguish old pilgrim’s trails from other roads. However, we suppose that within a few years this road will count as a real, i.e. traditional *henromichi*.

road to Nyotai-san this would appear more of a *henromichi* than the other one, where almost no reminders of passing pilgrims can be found. Map 417a is of no use here as it only gives a distance of four *ri* for the course between Temples 87 and 88, the same distance as map 417.

* For the last part of the pilgrimage, *the o-rei-mairi* and for people who did not start at Temple 1, map 417 indicates the course from Temple 88 to Temple 10, while as we have seen above, map 417a includes a number of mountain-trails to reach Temple 1.

Concluding remarks

Having analyzed the information on the two maps, we will now formulate a number of conclusions, some of which inevitably will have to remain tentative.

First of all, we may accept on the basis of the information Hosoda Shūei himself included on the map (text-box C of map 417) that he made a rough version of a Shikoku map in 1747. After he had consulted a Shingon monk, Kakuhō, this map was first published in Ōsaka in 1763 with an introduction by Kōhan, which has become known as the *kudokumon*. The map preserved in Ehime is a copy of this edition. A new edition, in all probability the second edition, was made in 1807; maps 417 in the Leiden library as well as the Maeyama map are copies of this edition.

We have no information why it took sixteen years from the first drawing of the map in 1747 to the actual publication in 1763. Since the second half of the seventeenth century the pilgrimage enjoyed considerable popularity and attracted large numbers of pilgrims, so it should not have been too difficult to find a publisher for his map. Moreover, as Hosoda states himself, there was no map available for the Shikoku pilgrimage. The map itself offers more information than just the route of the pilgrimage; it also mentions many scenic spots and places of historical interest in Sanuki, the province of Shikoku closest to Ōsaka. This additional information may also have persuaded the publisher to undertake the publication of the map.

When we turn our attention to the information the maps provide, we find that map 417 introduces not only the eighty-eight temples which constitute the pilgrimage in its basic form, but also the most famous *bangai* temples which were considered mystical places by a large part of the population. It is indeed a travel guide and partly a tourist map. However, when we compare map 417 to map 417a we find that the latter contains much more information on places for religious exercise (*gyōba*) and roads and paths used by wandering practitioners and mountain-ascetics. It may be that map 417 served as a model, but that extra and new information was added to improve map 417, which may be an indication that it was intended for a different group of pilgrims. The main reasons we consider 417a to be made for a different purpose and a different group of people are:

1. It presents considerably more places of practice and roads that lead to them. Examples are Shiratori Shrine, the Jigenji, the roads to Mt. Ishizuchi, and the paths to Konpira.
2. It presents added courses for the *o-rei-mairi*.
3. The map makes no mention of Emon Saburō and the supposed lay-origins of the pilgrimage.
4. Pivotal temples on map 417, such as the Manganji, and places connected with the folk-belief in Kōbō Daishi, such as Toyogahashi, are not mentioned on map 417a.
5. Map 417a does not use *Michishirube* and *Reijōki* as much as map 417.
6. Map 417a provides more practical information for the pilgrim such as additional roads in the vicinity of temple 81.

In view of the above we assume that although map 417 may have served as a model for map

417a, this last one certainly is no mere copy, but provides information beyond the scope of both map 417 and the two travel guidebooks.

A further point of interest is that the maps give us insight into the universe of the pilgrims who travelled around Shikoku in a period of time when the forced separation of Buddhism and the native religion had not yet taken place. This means that the pilgrimage would be enacted in a religious universe which was much broader and inclusive than nowadays, and that the observances of most pilgrims were not limited to Buddhist sites and deities, but would be directed towards a pantheon that included deities from the native cults and of folk origin. The attitude of most writers of modern guidebooks, who ignore the role of the native religion and omit important shrines in their maps, is different from the makers of the maps we discussed and is even contrary to the intentions and feelings of many modern walking pilgrims, who still visit shrines or pause for a moment to pay respect. The shrine of Konpira may serve as an example. Konpira is now a Shintō shrine, but it used to harbour Shintō as well as Buddhist deities. The fact that many *henro* visit Konpira and include its site, as it were, in their pilgrimage, is a good example of the attitude towards *reijō* in general that is observable in many modern pilgrims.

Next, the figure of Kōbō Daishi is described in the central text (*kudokumon*) as the founder of the pilgrimage and belief in the Daishi as a saviour-like figure permeates the maps. They record many spots at the sides of the road that are related to the Daishi's life and to his supposed activities. Inedible pears, shells or potatoes and trees that bear fruit several times a year are mentioned as miracles he worked. Besides this religious information, the pilgrim is also informed about scenic spots, famous wells and historical facts, stock-information for the tourist. Effectively, the magical and mystical nature of the sites on the island is enhanced by recording two kinds of information, religious and touristic. It is, of course, not unthinkable that this strategy was used to interest the potential publisher of the map.

Additionally, these maps give us an idea of what the circuit used to look like and how it changed over the years. The general opinion of the literature seems to be that in the course of time, through processes such as the motorization of society, some places and spots have become more and more isolated and are not visited anymore. The average walking pilgrim is limited by time and money and is prone to take the shorter and easier roads, even though these were not used as *henromichi* before. This reduction in the time and the energy invested might be ascribed to motorization or a changed attitude towards the pilgrimage in recent years. A comparison of the maps and the present-day situation, however, seems to suggest that in former days, too, some pilgrims preferred to take the easy roads, bypassing out of the way places like Tsukiyama. Map 417, e.g., indicates an easy coastal way to Temple 23 in Hiwasa, while map 417a depicts the more difficult way over the mountains. This is not an isolated example, but a pattern that distinguishes the two maps.

In our opinion, we could arrive at our conclusions only because we combined a deeper level of analysis with the experience of walking the paths ourselves. During our investigation of the maps we noticed that the experience of present-day pilgrimage was an invaluable aid in the interpretation of the texts on the maps and the comparison of the roads on the maps and the modern route. It is regrettable that much research on the Shikoku pilgrimage is carried out without this actual experience.

In the last few years we have noticed that the number of walking pilgrims who are convinced that they must walk the old *henromichi* has decreased steadily. On the other hand, contrary to the bus-pilgrims who are chained to the highways on which the buses can travel, the walking pilgrim still has the freedom to choose his own path between the temples. In popular parlance the word *henromichi* is often used to distinguish a path from a concrete or asphalt road. In the universe of the present-day pilgrim only walkers can pass over these traditional paths. Most of them are unaware of the fact that over time these paths changed and that they

themselves are changing the circuit by taking the easier paths.

These changes occur within an overall conceptual framework that appears not to be challenged. This framework is composed of the image of an ideal, other world where the self is challenged and daily meanings contested and changed, yet a space that can freely be entered by everyone. Attempts are made to chart this space and these charts in the form of maps provide us with insights into historical processes as well as into representations of the sacred.

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OCHTENDGYMNASTIEK

Isaka Yōko (1949-)

als het nat wordt van de regen
ruikt het naar strijkijzer
van het rokje waar nog stoom in zit
leg ik ook de losse draadjes
gekronkeld in de plooiën
met ware vakbekwaamheid op een rijtje

op het schoolplein in de ochtend
enige spieren
met het idee een marineblauwe rivier te doen stromen
lijkleke armen en benen gestrekt
de bloedarme lippen onveranderlijk gesloten

Yasuda is er nog niet
Nakahashi ook niet

de gymles begint
op het commando van de gecommitteerde
de voortplantingsorganen ingevouwen en
telkens als de nagels een voorsprong nemen
zakken de sokken om de enkels heen
in een zonnestraal uit een bewolkte hemel
van omtrent de borst waar de dienstdoende het logboek tegen klemt
bestijgen ze rustig de helling
die mensen

de rivier wordt wild
de huid die net een beetje bloosde
in marineblauw gesust
we gaan door een donkere gang
en dan iets zachts tegengekomen bij het raam
de wangen gonzen er nog van
waarom de gemoederen wat in beroering zijn
horen wij niet
het kwam immers van ver

Uit *Chōrei* (Ochtendceremonie)

Isaka Yōko werd in 1949 in Tokyo geboren. Zij behoort tot de groep vrouwelijke dichters, spraakmakend in de jaren tachtig van de vorige eeuw, waar ook Itō Hiromi, van wie een vertaald gedicht in het vorige nummer van dit tijdschrift verscheen, deel van uitmaakt. Naast dichtbundels zoals *Chōrei* (Ochtendceremonie, 1979), waaruit bovenstaand gedicht afkomstig is, en *Gigi* (1982) publiceerde zij ook verhalend proza, essays en kritieken.

De vertaler, Frans B. Verwayen, studeerde achtereenvolgens Rechten en Japans aan de Universiteit Leiden. Van 1984 tot 2005 werkte hij als universitair docent bij de opleiding Talen en Culturen van Japan en Korea van deze universiteit. In 1987-'88 was hij een jaar lang als visiting scholar verbonden aan de juridische faculteit van de Universiteit Tokyo. Hij is in 1996 gepromoveerd op zijn proefschrift Early Reception of Western Legal Thought in Japan. Verder schreef hij Recht en rechtvaardigheid in Japan (Salomé-Amsterdam University Press, 2004).