A Religious Pilgrimage for Retired Women: a Translation and Analysis of Jippensha Ikku's Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai

Johnathan McGlory

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A RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGE FOR RETIRED WOMEN: A TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS OF JIPPENSHA IKKU’S *TOGAKUSHI ZENKŌ-JI ŌRAI*

A Thesis Presented

by

JOHNATHAN D. McGLORY

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS

May 2018

Asian Languages and Literatures
A RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGE FOR RETIRED WOMEN: A TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS OF JIPPENSHA IKKU’S *TOGAKUSHI ZENKŌ-JI ŌRAI*

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Projects of this size do not happen in isolation and I am grateful to have had the help of many. My advisor Dr. Stephen Forrest guided me along the path from a complete beginner in reading pre-modern texts to where I am today, teaching me the basics of Japanese calligraphy and helping me immensely in the production of my translation. Dr. Stephen Miller and Professor Reiko Sono have provided me vital feedback, helping me to polish this thesis to its current state. My colleague Michele Fujii, too was instrumental in this process, providing me feedback and asking very thought-provoking questions that helped me to shore up additional loose ends. Last and greatest, my husband Oliver McGlory was part cheerleader, proofreader and graphic designer, without him this would have been much more difficult.
ABSTRACT

A RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGE FOR RETIRED WOMEN: A TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS OF JIPPENSHA IKKU’S TOGAKUSHI ZENKŌ-JI ŌRAI

MAY 2018

JOHNATHAN MCGLORY, B.A., ADAMS STATE UNIVERSITY
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Directed by Stephen M. Forrest

This thesis will consider the question of the intended audience of Jippensha Ikku’s 十返舎一九, ōraimono (educational book) Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai 戸隠善光寺往来 (1822) as preface to an annotated translation completed using free online xylographic editions.

Published in the midst of rising literacy rates and a boom in religious pilgrimages, this work would have been popular among women of the late Edo era. Analysis of the ōraimono genre will reveal that this work, was intended as a practical guidebook for Zenkō-ji pilgrimages rather than for use as a classroom textbook. An experienced traveler guides a dutiful son and mother from Edo (Tōkyō) along the Nakasendō and Hokkoku Kaidō roads to Zenkō-ji Temple and Togakushi Shrine in Shinano Province (Nagano). The mother character in Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai, although not the direct recipient of the expert traveler’s knowledge, will be revealed as a sort of hidden protagonist central to the entire
narrative. Lastly, I will attempt to settle disputed publishing information, arguing that Nishimiya Shinroku 西宮新六 was the first publisher and Moriya Jihei 森屋治兵衛 printed subsequent editions. Serious in tone, this work demonstrates Ikku’s versatility as a departure from his famous slapstick travelogue, Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige (Shank’s Mare).
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

When choosing a new work for English translation, there are many considerations to keep in mind, but perhaps the most important is the question of whether the selected text will provide a good return in value for the time invested in its translation. From a certain point of view all texts, as recordings of human thought in a particular time and place, are valuable because they contain information about human experience in some form or another. However, not all such texts are good investments of time and energy because they either lack usefulness or do not teach us anything that is not already known. Early in my selection process I came across a handwritten journal entitled Suwa’s Seven Wonders: Famous Places and Historical Sites,¹ a work of personal interest because it contained information about a town I had lived in several years prior. Of course, while personal interest motivated me to translate, it was unwise to confuse this feeling with a conviction that the work in question will be considered significant to anyone else. The journal had

other problems as well, including a lack of information about the author and date of completion. Still, the penmanship was beautiful and its illustrations were charming.

*Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai* is important for several reasons. Its author, Jippensha Ikku, was a known humorist, best-known for his slapstick and irreverent travelogues that appealed to the commoners of his day. It contrasts his previous works in that it is decidedly non-humorous and primarily informational in nature. Additionally, educational books (*ōraimono*) were in high demand from around 1818 as temple schools (*terakoya*) increased in number to accommodate an increasingly literate populace. Ikku’s publication of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai* would benefit from the demand for temple school textbooks while managing to be something else entirely: a guidebook for religious pilgrimage. From 1802 to 1822 Ikku wrote *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige* and *Zoku Hizakurige*, works in which his two most iconic characters travel from their homes in Edo to Ise Shrine and back again. Religious pilgrimage by commoners was becoming a popular pastime and Zenkō-ji was a particularly popular destination. Women were especially drawn to Zenkō-ji because the Amida Buddha offered them special offers of salvation. *Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai* is a
serious, informational text which capitalized on the trends of popular literacy and religious pilgrimage, which is not the type of work that Jippensha Ikku, the famous humorist, might be expected to produce.

In chapter 2, I give a brief biography of Jippensha Ikku including what little is known about his background, his start in puppet theater in Osaka, his move to Edo and an account of his most famous work: Hizakurige. Beyond this, the breadth of genre in Ikku’s catalog and his influence as a popular author and legacy will be examined. It is my hope that learning about Ikku will help the modern reader to better appreciate his works.

Chapter 3 begins with an examination of the legitimacy of Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai’s as an ōraimono in the light of the history of the genre as a whole. There are some inconsistencies with Ikku’s presentation that do not quite fit historical genre norms, but I will make the case that Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai should nevertheless be considered an ōraimono. The work’s appeal to women will be explained through an account of trends contemporaneous Japanese culture and by the fact that the work, though ostensibly a letter shared between two men, is centered on a religious pilgrimage taken for a retired woman’s
benefit. She may, in fact, be considered a sort of hidden protagonist. The chapter ends with a reconstruction of a journey to Zenkō-ji by a fictional mother and son.

Chapter 4 is an analysis of the physical elements of the available *Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai* manuscripts. There are some inconsistencies with how the work has been catalogued due to discrepancies between title slip titles and text files, resulting in a situation where researchers have to perform multiple searches to flush out all of the available information. There is also a matter of publication to settle as there are multiple copies of this text printed by two different publishers on the same day.

Chapter 5 consists of the translation of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai*, including the first ever published transcription or translation in Japanese or English of the upper margin text (head text). Since *Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai* is a travel guide and not a narrative tale, the annotations are ample, which should allow the reader to understand how contemporary Japanese may have interacted with the original. Thesy will include information about historical figures, as well as visual elements such as maps and pictures of the original. An appendix including a complete Japanese transcription and Japanese-language summary of
this thesis will be provided. A glossary containing place names that appear in the translation will be provided, as the inclusion of such details as footnotes in the body of the translation proved to be too numerous for an organic reading experience.
Jippensha Ikku was a gesakusha, a popular author of the late Edo period whose writing style may was described as zoku, or of a worldly style, that was low-brow, simple and accessible to his readers. His name has become synonymous with Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige, his seminal work that propelled him into great success and defined the course of his entire career.

A. Early life and career

Jippensha Ikku was born in Meiwa 5 (1765) in Suruga Province, which was located in modern day Shizuoka. His childhood name was Ichiku, but because “[i]t

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2 Gesakusha 戯作者, or ‘people who write for fun’ was the moniker authors of popular fiction applied to themselves from the Edo period until the Meiji period. Kodansha, EOJ 3:28-29.


was the custom of the time to take another name on the attainment of manhood...,“5 Ikku took the name Shigeta Shichirō Sadakazu 重田七郎貞一6 upon reaching adulthood. He was the eldest son of the eighth head of the Shigeta family, Yohachirō Muchizuke 与八郎鞭助 who was a dōshin 同心, a rank subservient to the magistrate of Suruga Province. Yohachirō was also commonly known as Surugaya Tōbei 駿河屋藤兵衛.7

In 1791 at age twenty-six, Ikku moved from Suruga Province to Ōsaka 大阪 and served in the office of the city magistrate Otagiri 小田切. Ikku’s first marriage was to the daughter of a timber dealer and was adopted as a son of the house, but eventually divorced before leaving Osaka for Edo 江戸. Ikku married again around 1801 but this marriage, too, ended in divorce. Not much is known about his family or descendants, but in his third and


7 Ibid.
“most fortunate” marriage beginning in 1818, Ikku had a son, who died young, and a daughter named Mai who achieved some success as a dance master.

His career as a writer began during his time in Osaka. He was acquainted with and may have trained under the caricaturist Nichōsai 耳鳥斎, which may serve to explain how Ikku attained his skills as an illustrator. Ikku’s ability to write and illustrate would help him throughout his career to attain success as an independent author/illustrator of his own illustrated fiction. Ikku was a student of jōruri 浄瑠璃 puppet theater master Chikamatsu Tōnan 近松東南. In Kansei 1 (1789), he co-authored Konoshita kage hasama gassen 木下蔭挟間合戦 with his teacher using the pen-name Chikamatsu Yoshichi 近松与七. The shichi 七 in Yoshichi 与七 is thought to be derived from a part of Ikku’s real name.

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8 Satchell, Shank’s Mare, 13.


10 Tanahashi, “Jippensha Ikku.”

11 Jōruri 浄瑠璃 refers to the play scripts that were written for bunraku puppet theater. These texts are void of any markings relating to staging or puppeteering instructions.
A year later, Ikku co-authored another *jöruri* with Namiki Senryū 並木千柳 and Wakatake Fuemi 若竹笛躬 called *Sumiyoshi Mōde Fujo Gyōretsu 住吉詣婦女行烈* which debuted in the second month of Kansei 2 (1790). It is thought that Ikku renounced his samurai status, separated from Tosanokami Odagiri, and changed his residence to the Dōtonbori 道頓堀 district of Osaka. One of Ikku’s friends in Osaka was Kawachiya Kajirō 河内屋河四郎, a *jöruri* connoisseur whose influence would come to influence Ikku’s *gesaku* works. In 1793, after seven years in Osaka, Ikku returned to Edo via the Tōkaidō road 東海道, whose scenery and towns would come to be of central importance in his most famous work, *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige*. It is at this point that Ikku, like many samurai before him began taking up writing for profit. 

Ikku needed guidance and training as an inexperienced *gesakusha* in Edo. He

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12 Tanahashi, “Jippensha Ikku.”


become a dependent of the publisher Tsutaya Jūzaburō 麻屋重三郎 in 1794. There is some speculation about what he was doing during this time besides learning the business or writing, but one theory is that he worked as Tsutaya’s dōsabiki ドーサ引き, applying dōsa\(^{15}\) to paper, treating it in preparation for woodblock printing. Speculation aside, the pen name Jippensha Ikku 十返舎一九 makes its debut in the illustration credits of Santō Kyōden’s 山東京伝 Kansei 6 (1794) kokkeibon, Hatsbyaku Kogane No Eboshi 初役金烏帽子.

Many theories and explanations exist for the origin of the pen name name Jippensha Ikku. Ikku himself explained that Jippensha 十返舎 was derived from a term from the Shino school 志野流 of incense ōjukukō no togaeri-shi 黄熟香の十返し.\(^{16}\) Ōjukukō is an aromatic wood more well-known as ranjatai 蘭奢待 famous for maintaining its fragrance through repeated burnings, compared to other aromatics which would become useless after one burning. It was a symbol of rulers and was said to have been used by the likes of Ashikaga


\(^{16}\) Tanahashi, “Jippensha Ikku.”
Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436-1490) and Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582).  

_Togaeri-shi_ means ‘ten repeated burnings’ and Ikku claimed this as the inspiration for his name, repronouncing it as Jippensha, which is fitting because he is said to have enjoyed the incense ceremony.

The name Ikku is a little more difficult to pin down, though the most widely accepted explanation is that Ikku 一九 was derived from his childhood name Ichiku 市九. Ebara Taizō 須原退蔵 (1894-1948) thought that the name may have also been derived from gambling terminology. In _yomigaruta_ 読ガルタ and _Sanmaigaruta_ 三枚ガルタ numbers one 一 and nine 九 were said to be useful cards. Since Ikku’s own explanation

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20 A gambling game using an entire forty card karuta set wherein players are dealt three cards each with a number one through ten. The three cards are totaled and the player with the sum closes to nine is the winner. Asahi Shinbun Company/VOYAGE GROUP, inc., “Sanmaigaruta 三枚ガルタ,” Kotobanku コトバンク, accessed May 9, 2018, https://kotobank.jp/word/三枚ガルタ.
came after he became popular author, Taizō’s explanation certainly seems plausible.\footnote{21}

![Ikku’s Rake Seal](image)

**Figure 1. Ikku’s Rake Seal\footnote{22}**

Ikku is known to have signed his works with a variety of other pen-names besides Jippensha Ikku. Alongside his rake seal, the names Ryūkei 柳敬 and Sadaichi 貞弌 are seen. Among his various signature seals names such as Kengomi 兼五味, Daikōjin 大紅塵, Takasada (?) 敬貞 and Shōin 松陰. Other *gesaku* author names such as Kakumeirō Shūjin

\footnote{21 Tanahashi, “Jippensha Ikku.”}

One of his illustrations in *Hizakurige* was signed Ichirakutei Eisui 一楽亭栄水 and his name in *kyōka* poetry 狂歌 was Tōkara no Okindo 遠唐沖人.\(^{23}\)

Jippensha Ikku’s virgin work was a *kibyōshi*\(^{24}\) called *Shingaku Tokeigusa* 心学時計草 which was published in Kansei 7 (1795). From this point on he published *kibyōshi* and *gōkan*\(^{25}\) every year. Jippensha Ikku begins publishing *sharebon* 洒落本\(^{26}\) and *kokkeibon* 合巻.

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\(^{23}\) Kasuya, “Jippensha Ikku no Seikatsu to Sakuhin,” 277.

\(^{24}\) *Kibyōshi* 黄表紙, or yellow-covers, were a major form of woodblock-printed *gesaku* literature popular from the mid eighteenth century to the end of the Edo period. It was a highly illustrated genre with elements of humor, wit, parody, irony, satire and allegory. Famous Ukiyo-e artists would often produce the illustrations. Kodansha, *EOJ* 4:201.

\(^{25}\) *Gōkan* 合巻, or bound-volumes, were originally multiple *kibyōshi* bound together in order to save the expense of printing separate covers for each volume. Shikitei Sanba is said to have pioneered the technique in his 1806 *Ikazuchi Tarō Gōaku Monogatari*. The genre has strong influences from *kabuki* theater. Kodansha, *EOJ* 3:42.

\(^{26}\) *Sharebon* 洒落本, or witty book, were a popular genre of *gesaku* fiction in the 1770s and 1780s that consisted of dialogue sketches concerning life in the pleasure district led by a debonair man-about-town character, well-versed in fashion and navigating the district. The Kansei reforms of 1787-93 effectively ended this genre. Kodansha, *EOJ*, 7:80.
becoming quite prolific as an author. It is not until nearly age forty that Ikku became a truly popular gesakusha.

B. Breakaway success: Tōkaidōchū hizakurige

Jippensha Ikku gained immense popularity after the publication of his Kyōwa 2 (1802) Ukiyo Dōchū Hizakurige-Kan 浮世道中膝栗毛 完. It told the story of two bumbling and lovable characters from Edo named Yajirōbei 弥次郎兵衛 and Kitahachi 喜多八 on their travels from Edo to Kyoto along the Tōkaidō road. The series was primarily humorous,

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27 Kokkeibon 滑稽本, or funny books, were larger than kibyōshi or gōkan, but generally had fewer illustrations. They were descended from dangibon, or books of clumsy sermons using colloquial speech and many comic effects. Jippensha Ikku and Shikitei Sanba (1776-1882) are considered the masters of the genre.

28 Tanahashi, “Jippensha Ikku.”


30 Ibid., 52.

31 The popularity of this series reflects a strong interest on the part of the public in travel along this road, one of the main five highways used throughout the Edo period to expand commerce and allow processions of daimyō to and from Edo for the alternate attendance system. The Tōkaidō went from Edo to Kyōto and was very heavily-traveled. Haruno Shirane, Early Modern Japanese Literature, 732.
consisting of descriptions of local customs and slapstick dialogues\textsuperscript{32} as well as dialogue speech written in vernacular Japanese. This recorded speech from far off provinces was no doubt humorous and interesting to Edo readers and has been widely studied by historical linguists trying to track the development of modern Japanese. Though the humor is at times rather base from the perspective of a modern reader, the irreverence of the characters allowed for a wide variety of jokes and humorous situations, such as hitchhiking across rivers on the backs of blind old men, accidental relations with elderly women and, of course, toilet humor.

Still, \textit{Hizakurige} is at times quite informative, detailing river crossings, describing post town lodging and customs practiced by travelers of the day. In his introduction to \textit{Shank's Mare}, Thomas Satchell's translation of \textit{Hizakurige}, he praises the work for providing readers descriptions and illustrations\textsuperscript{33} of the conditions of the road at a time when the country was hungering for travel. Sections were capped by kyōka poetry, a humorous twist on traditional

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 732.

\textsuperscript{33} The illustrations used in \textit{Hizakurige} involved a number of famous illustrators including Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 and Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉. Kasuya, “Jippensha Ikku no Seikatsu to Sakuhin,” 285.
poetry akin to an English limerick. These poems lent a certain rhythm to *Hizakurige’s* narrative and entertained readers\(^\text{34}\) whose taste in poetry may have been far from refined. Satchell continues: “[T]he humours of the road had been touched upon before by other writers, but never with such liveliness of characterisation and imagination.”\(^\text{35}\) Ikku’s unique and humorous style of writing was something fresh and interesting to a readership who was thinking about the road.

The original title *Ukiyo Dōchū Hizakurige Kan* seems to have been intended to be a single book as indicated by *kan* 完, meaning ‘final’, in the title. However, its massive popularity propelled Ikku to pen a sequel he called *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige*, which also lacked clear signs of being a serial. Finally, from the third installment of the series, numbering of the volumes proceeds with predictable regularity. Evidently underestimating how long his audience would find the travels of Yaji and Kita interesting, Ikku planned the series to end at

\(^{34}\) Haruno Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature*, 733.

\(^{35}\) Satchell, *Shanks’ Mare*, 14.
volume five when the characters arrived in Osaka, but the public demanded more. In 1810, Ikku took Yaji and Kita on short adventures to the great temple at Konpira on Shikoku island and to Miyajima in 1811. Finally, in volume eight published in 1814, the duo bumble about Osaka and Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige ends. By this time the blocks used to print the first volume were worn from overuse, so a reprint, retroactively labeled the ‘first volume’ was produced and the series was capped with biographical details of Yaji and Kita added to the end of the eighth volume. Inconsistencies appear in this new introduction concerning the back story of the duo. Evidently since over a decade had passed, Ikku had forgotten some of the details he already provided the readers about Yaji and Kita during the flow of the narrative.

Demand for Hizakurige did not end with the completion of the eighth volume of Dōchū Hizakurige. In 1822, the same year Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige was completed, Yaji and Kita set off again on a new adventure beginning with their return to Edo from Osaka along


37 Satchell, Shanks’ Mare, 14.

the Kisokaidō. It was called *Zoku Hizakurige* 続膝栗毛 and was published serially until 1822. *Dōchū Hizakurige* was eighteen volumes, *Zoku Hizakurige* was twenty-five and a series Ikku titled *Zoku Zoku Hizakurige* had a single volume. All together Yaji and Kita’s adventures were forty-three volumes long. The reason Ikku began working on *Zoku Zoku Hizakurige* was probably financial hardship, as his home had burned in the 1830 fire in Edo.

The popularity of Yaji and Kita did not end with Ikku’s death. Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文 (1829-1894) wrote his own series *Seiyō Dōchū Hizakurige* 西洋道中膝栗毛 in 1870, which told the story of Yaji and Kita’s descendants, curiously identical to their forbears, venturing out of Japan and get into all sorts of trouble during their irreverent trek around the

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39 This road splits from the Tōkaidō and takes a northern route through the mountains of Nagano and Gifu prefectures to Edo. It is also known as Nakasendō.

40 *Zoku* 続 means continued, so the title means “*Hizakurige* continued.”

41 *Zoku zoku Hizakurige* 続々膝栗毛 (*Continuation of Hizakurige Continued*)


43 Satchell, *Shank’s Mare*, 15.
A variety of influences may be seen in *Hizakurige*. Ikku’s own travels granted him a “familiarity with the countryside, especially the region of Osaka where he had lived as a young man, [that] served him in good stead in writing about travel.” Of particular interest to this thesis are the trips Ikku completed through Nagano Prefecture, the location of much of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai*. Two trips in 1811 and 1814 along the Nakasendō (Kiso Road) were the raw materials for *Kiso Kaidō Zoku Hizakurige*. Subsequent trips in 1818 and 1819 provided him materials for *Zenkō-ji Dōchū Zoku Hizakurige* and sections of another work, *Kokkei Tabigarasu*. Information from these works would be reused and combined with other works to produce *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai*. Haruno Shirane writes in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An*

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46 Nakasendō 中山道 is one of the main five highways under direct control of the shogunate during the Edo period. It took a northern route through the mountains from Edo to Kyōto and was 500 km. It was not as heavily traveled as the Tōkaidō. Kodansha, *EOJ*, 5:318.
Anthology, 1600-1900 that Chikusai Monogatari 竹斎物語 (1621) by Tomiyama Michiya 富山道治 and Tōkaidō Meishoki 東海道名書記 (1659) by Asai Ryōi 浅井了意, bear similarities with Hizakurige. They protagonists were pairs of travelers traversing the road between Edo and Kyōto, with writing styles employing the use of kyōka poetry. Shirane also mentions that Yaji and Kita act like Tarōkaja and Jirōkaja characters, from kyōgen theater. Ikku leveraged a great variety of such materials like the play Kitsunezuka 狐塚, and perhaps even the Tōkaidō Meisho Zue 東海道名所図会 (1797) which was the definitive guide to travel on the Tōkaidō Road.

47 Shirane, Early Modern Japanese Literature, 732-733.

48 Tarōkaja 太郎冠者 and Jirōkaja 次郎冠者 were a lord’s retainer and servent who are drunkards and cowards, but nevertheless manage to get the better of their master, as in the Bōshibari (Tied to a Pole) in which two such men are punished for getting into their master’s wine by having poles tied across their shoulders and backs. Despite their physical limitations, the two cleverly manage to drink their master’s wine anyway. Kodansha, EOJ, 4:327.

49 Kyōgen 狂言 is a form of comic drama which flourished from the fourteenth century. They were typically performed between the serious and moralistic nō theater pieces. Kodansha, EOJ, 4:324.

50 Shirane, Early Modern Japanese Literature, 733.
C. Ikku’s career after Hizakurige

Thanks to the commercial success of Hizakurige, Jippensha Ikku joined the ranks of other successful gesaku authors of his day. The public’s thirst for Ikku’s works was insatiable, and he soon began branching out into more genres. In Kyōwa 2 (1802) he published ten yomihon books beginning with Shinsō Kidan 深窓奇談. Murataya Jirōbei 村田屋治郎兵衛, the publisher of Hizakurige was well-known to have hosted meetings of hanashibon authors, which Ikku attended. Clearly these meetings influenced Ikku’s entry into the hanashibon genre as he has a large number of such works in his catalog. In Bunsei 3 (1820) Ikku writes the first ever work in a new genre called ninjōbon. His book, Seidan mine no

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51 Yomihon 読本, or reading books, were “[a] genre of prose fiction characterized by historical settings, didactic and moralistic story lines blended with supernatural and by heavy reliance on Chinese prose models.” Kodansha, EOJ, 8:336.


53 Tanahashi, “Jippensha Ikku.”

54 Ninjōbon 人情本 or books about human feelings are the successor of sharebon, which focused on life in the pleasure quarters. In contrast to sharebon, which focused on the ideal behavior and customs of the pleasure district, ninjōbon focus more on the underlying human relationships. Kodansha, EOJ, 6:5.
hatsuhana 清談峯初花, began an entirely new genre widely enjoyed by a female audience. Kasuya writes that Ikku’s ninjōbon were “derivative and lacked a sense of freshness,” and indeed Ikku is hardly the exemplar of the genre, but that would not stop him from expanding further into educational genres like ōraimono.55

Around Bunsei 1 (1818) there is a rise in the number of terakoya56 schools, and therefore a sudden demand for books of an educational nature. Ikku wrote a series of twenty-one ōraimono for the publisher Yamaguchiya Tōbei 山口屋藤兵衛 to meet this need. These works were largely re-workings of the encyclopedia Wakan Sansai Zue 和漢三才図会, that cherry-picked facts and arranged them in a simpler and more accessible format for beginners. 57 Ikku also produced another series of ōraimono consisting of nine books on the topic of religious pilgrimage, published by Nishimiya Shinroku 西宮新六 and republished by

55 Ōraimono 往来物, began as textbooks for letter writing but came to encompass a great variety of topics including common knowledge and religious pilgrimage by the end of the Edo period. These books were heavily-used in terakoya schools. Kodansha, EOJ, 6:115.

56 Terakoya 寺子屋 were schools that taught writing and arithmetic with a heavy emphasis on writing. Instruction was individualized, and school attendance was higher in the cities. At one point, 40 percent of boys and 10 percent of girls were attending a terakoya school. Kodansha, EOJ, 8:11

57 Tan, Kinsei Shomin Kyōiku to Shuppan Bunka, 76.
Moriya Jihei 森屋治兵衛. Though they were travel books in function, they were ोraimono in form, with informational blurbs in the upper margins of each page (head text). This main body of the text is Chinese-style calligraphy, written in an epistolary style called sōrobo. Togakushi San Zenkō-ji Mōde is a book of religious pilgrimage and thus falls into the second category.

Jippensha Ikku’s catalog contains over 580 works, but not all of these works were very original. He was well-known to reuse material, rehashing successful works in one genre into a new title in another. Perhaps the clearest example of this is Hōgen Shugyō -Kane no Waraji 方言修行金草鞋 which was a serial gōkan published between Bunka 10 (1813) and Tenpō 5 (1834). The contents run in obvious parallel with Zoku Hizakurige, indicating that Ikku borrowed liberally from his own past works. Modern readers have a tendency to

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58 Ibid., 92.
59 Sōrobo 候文 was a style of classical Japanese used for writing letters and for official documents in the Edo period. Its distinctive feature is the frequent use of the polite auxiliary verb sōro 候, literally meaning “to serve” as a copular, rather like the modern desu. Kodansha, EOJ, 7:231.
60 Kasuya, “Jippensha Ikku no Seikatsu to Sakuhin,” 276.
61 Tanahashi, “Jippensha Ikku.”
frown on such obvious recycling and judge it as lacking originality. Donald Keene in *World Within Walls* writes that Ikku’s talents were petrified by the success of *Hizakurige*, cursing him to produce increasingly uninteresting sequels. Of course, another interpretation is that Ikku was both author and businessman, and would not hesitate to produce derivative products if he thought his customers would buy them. Lack of originality on its own is not a strong indicator of any sort of creative paralysis. However unoriginal Ikku’s writing may seem, he was hardly alone. Producing derivative works was common practice, as can be seen by the Bunsei 12 (1829) to Tenpō 13 (1842) work by Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦: *Nise Murasaki Inaka Genji* 修紫田舎源氏, a parody and reworking of *The Tale of Genji* completed more than 750 years before by Murasaki Shikibu. It is important for the modern reader to keep in mind that there was not yet a concept of copyright or intellectual property in Edo Japan. Borrowing materials from famous works by other authors or reusing materials which though previously published and still in demand was standard practice. Ikku could not have been so prolific had he insisted every work be an inspired original. He was a for-profit writer, and his

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audience clearly enjoyed his writings enough to purchase them time and time again.

D. Death and legacy

Later in his life Jippensha Ikku began to lose his will to write, a condition that Kasuya Hiroki writes may have been due to loneliness or an advanced drinking habit. Thomas Satchell reports that “[Ikku] was stricken with paralysis in [the seventh month of Tenpō 2 (1831)] and died on [the seventh day of the eighth month] in his sixty-seventh year.” His ashes were buried in the Zenryū-ji temple 善龍寺 in the Asakusa district of Tokyo. There a tombstone was erected bearing his posthumous Buddhist name: Shingetsuin Ikku Nikkoshinji 心月院一九日光信士. In 1834, his friends and family erected a monument to him near Chōmei-ji Temple in Mukōjima. It contained his rake seal with the kanji sada 真 from his real name Sadakazu 瞳一. Below is the poem on the monument stone, from Satchell’s translation:

However novel and interesting things may appear at first,

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63 Satchell used Gregorian dating in his translation, so I have edited the times to refer to them in both systems, in an effort to enable scholars to cross-reference the dates more easily. Satchell, Shanks’ Mare, 15.
When they become common they lose their interest; but things of which people never tire are a bright moonlight night and dinner, to which may be added a book and saké.

My allotted span of life has passed. Oh, give me peace and rest at last!  

Ikku’s influence continued on past his death, both through enjoyment of *Hizakurige* by generations of readers and its extension by Kanagaki Robun and its eventual translation into English by Thomas Satchell. In addition to his writings, Ikku had a number of apprentices. Kasuya says that the names: Nansenshō Somahito 南船笑楚満人, Jūjitei Sanku 十字亭三九, Nise Ikku 二世一九 and Jippensha Ippachi 十返舎一八 were likely pen names of a single apprentice. There were also two other apprentices: Ippensha Shirohira 一返舎白平 and Gohensha Hanku 五返舎半九.

Ikku was also remembered by legends about his character, which seem to have been inspired by autobiographical sections own writings. In these legends Ikku had a reputation as practical joker as may be seen by the following:

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64 Ibid., 16.

Stories were told of how [Ikku] had once carried home a bathtub on his head, confounding with his ready wit all the persons into whom he blundered on his way; how he had induced a New Year visitor to take a bath and had then appropriated his clothes and paid a round of New Year calls on his own account; how he had startled the mourners at his funeral by concealing fireworks in his death-robcs, which exploded when the body was burned.66

However, stories such as these seem to be mere fabrications, “apocryphal in nature”67 and derived from Ikku’s own retinue of jokes. It would seem that he was in all actuality a rather serious fellow. “[I]t is recorded that a person who once accompanied [Ikku] on one of his journeys, expecting to be greatly amused and enlivened by his jokes, was disappointed by Ikku’s taciturnity.”68 Satchell, extrapolating from details in Hizakurige reports that the subtext “hints” that “he was a sworn enemy of all shams. He hated priests, whom he evidently regarded as hypocrites, and he was not inclined to take the swaggering samurai at their own valuation.”69 While Satchell’s interpretation may tend to presume too much from subtext,

66 Satchell, Shanks’ Mare, 15-16.

67 Ibid., 16

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.
his view nevertheless helps to tone down the ridiculous tone of legends about Ikku. Satchell’s reasoning puts the person of Ikku was somewhat at odds with the picture of him one might glean from reading his works of fiction. This fact should come as no surprise to a modern reader familiar with the creative process as fiction is, by definition, a fabrication.

In terms of reputation as an author, the name Jippensha Ikku is irrevocably tied to *Hizakurige*, the quintessential *kokkeibon*, a humorous travelogue embraced by a wide audience which continues to be one of the famous works of the Edo period. Keene says that “[d]espite the elementary nature of the humor, the hold Hizakurige continues to exert on Japanese readers proves how perfectly Ikku caught the spirit of the common people.”

Before Ikku, many gesaku authors wrote for a common audience who may have aspired for some of the higher things of the nobler classes. “Saikaku often wrote about commoners, but they generally aspired to the riches or pleasures of their betters: Yaji and Kita aimed at nothing higher than spending a night in bed with a pretty servant girl.”

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70 Keene, *World Within Walls*, 414.

71 Ibid.
commoners at their level and gave them achievable fantasies, like traveling on a pilgrimage to Ise and joking along the way.

Ikku also contributed to the education of commoners in his later years writing in a completely different tone than his earlier works would suggest is possible. While *Hizakurige* is a charming romp through Edo Japan with a couple of nitwits, works like *Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai* are humorless, relying heavily upon factual information gathered from his experience traveling and reliable reference works. Jippensha Ikku was a man who knew how to write a book that would sell, so when booms in *terakoya* schools and religious pilgrimages increased demand for his works, Ikku, the businessman had a product ready to sell.
CHAPTER III

THE TARGET AUDIENCE OF TOGAKUSHI ZENKŌ-JI ŌRAI

A. TZŌ in the tradition of Ōraimono

As we have seen, the great success of Shank’s Mare in 1802 propelled Jippensha
Ikku into popularity making each successive original work he produced a valuable
commodity for publishers. Ōraimono, as serious works of an educational purpose, would
seem to fall outside the scope of what readers might expect Ikku to write. However, when
considering the history of Ikku’s writings on travel including Hizakurige, it is a little easier
to understand why contemporary Japanese readers would trust Ikku’s knowledge of
geography and travel enough to buy a reference work from him on the topic. After all,
Hizakurige did contain some important details of the road buried amongst the rambling
narrative, such as the price of hiring a porter and what services were available at traveling
inns (hatagoya). Ikku is well-known to have traveled as a means of research for his fiction.

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72 Nishiyama and Groemer, Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868
(USA: University of Hawai‘i Press), 108.
giving him the experience he needed to write authoritatively about travel in areas he had visited. The Azumino City (Nagano Prefecture) website indicates that Ikku is known to have visited in 1814 at the invitation of Matsumoto area publisher Takami Jinzaemon and gathered information about the Kiso and Zenkō-ji Roads for the eighth volume of *Zoku Hizakurige* which he published in 1816.\(^7\)

The visual elements of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai* (*TZŌ*) including a frontispiece, consisting of an illustrated two-page spread, illustrations in the upper margins (head text) and high-quality calligraphy contributed to its success. Beginning in the Heian period and continuing through the Kamakura period ōraimono were writing primers, but during the Edo period the term also began to be used to describe beginner textbooks in a variety of fields, with over 2000 types recorded.\(^7\) However, given the tradition of ōraimono being used as examples of fine writing, Ikku’s collaboration with the calligrapher Seishū Sanbu.\(^7\)


\(^{74}\) Kodansha, *EOJ* 6:115.

\(^{75}\) At the time of this writing, biographical information for Seishū Sanbu 青州三武 could not be
on TZŌ could only have improved its marketability. In the production of Ikku’s earliest works of pictorial fiction in the kibyōshi “yellow book” format, he was author, illustrator and calligrapher, and therefore would have been more than capable of completing TZŌ entirely on his own, but Seishū Sanbu’s probably had a finer hand and no doubt saved Ikku no small amount of time in production.

Public education was expanding greatly in the middle and late Edo period and from 1818 the number of terakoya temple schools began to increase dramatically. Öraimono were heavily associated with terakoya as de facto textbooks and as such was a genre that would experience increased demand. Between 1822 and 1825 thirty Öraimono bearing Jippensha Ikku’s name were published. The prolific nature of these writings indicates that books were selling, and publishers wanted him to produce more. It seems demand for Ikku’s Öraimono could not even be satiated by a single publisher. Three Edo publishers: found.

76 Kasuya, ‘Jippensha Ikku Seikatsu to Sakuhin.’

77 Tan, *Kinsei Shomin Kyōiku to Shuppan Bunka*, 73.
Nishimiya Shinroku (Nishimiya)\textsuperscript{78}, Moriya Jihei (Moriya)\textsuperscript{79} and Yamaguchiya Tōbei (Yamaguchiya)\textsuperscript{80} all profited from Ikku’s ōraimono. These fall generally into two themes: travel guides published by Nishimiya and Moriya and encyclopedic pamphlets published by Yamaguchiya. Though the Yamaguchiya ōraimono are beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth noting that they were written about common knowledge topics and highly derivative of *Wakan Sansai Zue*,\textsuperscript{81} which helps to explain how Ikku was able to produce so many

\textsuperscript{78} Nishimiya Shinroku 西宮新六 (?-?) was a publisher who gained notoriety by being punished along with gesakusha Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 after the publication of *Kyantai heiki Mukō Hachimaki* 侠太平記向鉢巻 in 1799, which created a stir among firefighters. His publishing names were Gangetsudō 翳月堂 and Shunshōken 春松軒. Kōdansha, “Nishimiya Shinroku 西宮新六” *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 (Japan: Kōdansha, 2001), accessed May 9, 2018, Japan Knowledge Database http://japanknowlege.com.

\textsuperscript{79} Moriya Jihei 森屋治兵衛 (?-?) was a publisher of popular fiction active from the Bunsei era (1789-1801) through the Meiji period (1868-1912). His publishing name was Kinshōdō 金松堂 and published using and address in Bakurō district, Edo 馬喰町. Yoshida Susugu, *Ukiyo-e no kiso chishiki* 浮世絵の基礎知識 (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku Inc., 1987).

\textsuperscript{80} Yamaguchiya Tōbei 山口屋藤兵衛 (?-1835) was also called Tōjutei Shōchiku 藤寿亭松竹. He was the owner of Kinkōdō 錦耕堂 bookstore in Nihonbashi and was himself prolific as a gesaku author, but it is unknown whether he wrote the books attributed to him or employed ghostwriters. *Nihon jinmei daijiten*, “Yamaguchiya Tōbei 山口屋藤兵衛,” accessed May 9, 2018, Japan Knowledge http://japanknowlege.com

\textsuperscript{81} These ōraimono were essentially simplified versions of entries found in Terashima Ryōan’s (?-?) encyclopedic 105 volume work *Wakan San Zue* 和漢三図会 of 1712. It was patterned upon the 1607 Chinese work of the same title, making Ikku’s ōraimono in this series a third generation of the same work.
books over a four-year period.\textsuperscript{82} The Nishimiya series too is derivative, recycling passages from \textit{Kane no Waraji} and \textit{Zoku Hizakurige}. This series, which centered on religious pilgrimages includes \textit{TZŌ}.\textsuperscript{83}

The Nishimiya/Moriya ōraimono are written in a narrative voice in an epistolary style. It difficult to imagine that \textit{TZŌ} would have been very useful for writing practice because it contains information about a pilgrimage to a temple in a remote province which most students would never get a chance to visit. Since most of the other Nishimiya/Moriya ōraimono similarly described religious pilgrimages, it seems more likely that these texts were produced in response to the increased popularity of travel in the late Edo period, rather than the terakoya school boom. This interpretation does require a bit of flexibility on the definition of ōraimono, but there is precedent for works titled ōrai to be more than simple writing primers. For example, Jippensha Ikku’s \textit{Shōbai Ōrai} 倡売往来 (1805), though ostensibly an ōraimono in title and format, was an instruction manual for men

\textsuperscript{82} Tan, \textit{Kinsei Shomin Kyōiku to Shuppan Bunka}, 75.

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 92.
visiting the pleasure districts, earning it the classification *sharebon*, “book of wit,” due to its racy nature.\(^8^4\) Since Ikku himself had a history of deviating from *ōraimono* norms, it is not so hard to imagine that he would have any problem marketing *TZŌ* as as informational despite it being poorly suited for *terakoya*.

*Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai* contains a great deal of information that would be useful to a traveler. The head text contains a wealth of information about famous temples, historical landmarks, famous goods. There is also poetry which utilizes a poet device called *utamakura*, pillow-words of place, that contain a set of traditionally held images or emotions associated with a particular place. The main text is a travel map disguised as narrative, consisting of a letter from an experienced traveler to a dutiful son who plans to take his mother on a pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji. It describes the course the traveler took including the names of post towns (*juku*) he passed through, various geographical information, historical facts and the history of the great temple Zenkō-ji and Togakushi.

Shrine. If a person, perhaps a mother past a certain age, was considering a pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji, she might be interested in the details that *TZŌ* offered. Through a letter, an experienced traveler guides a young man, whose mother was interested in pilgrimage, post town by post town along the Nakasendō 中山道 and Hokkoku Kaidō 北国街道 roads from Edo all the way to Zenkō-ji and beyond to Togakushi. While *TZŌ* may not have been very useful in *terakoya* except perhaps in schools local to the content of the work, it was nevertheless highly informational and would’ve been perceived as useful by those interested in undertaking such a pilgrimage.

B. Women as the intended audience of *TZŌ*

Zenkō-ji was very popular as a destination for pilgrimage in pre-modern Japan.

Donald F. McCallum in *Zenkōji and its Icon: A study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art* writes:

Throughout its history, Zenkō-ji was an important goal for pilgrims. […] Naturally, the opportunity to worship the actual Living Buddha enshrined at the Shinano [Zenkō-ji] always remained a primary goal of the devout.
Moreover, for the slightly less pious, pilgrimage was the main form of tourism during the Edo period, since it provided an acceptable justification for travel. Various sources provide information about the routes taken by pilgrims to reach [Zenkō-ji], generally following the major roads. Inns located at convenient points serviced the travelers and these inns, in turn, derived substantial portions of their incomes from such business.\footnote{Donald MacCallum, *Zenkoji and its Icon: a study in medieval Japanese religious art* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 173.}

Jippensha Ikku crafted *TZŌ* for those interested in the Zenkō-ji pilgrimage, regardless of the level of their religious fervor, as evidenced by the inclusion of religious passages detailing the origin stories (*engi*) of both Zenkō-ji and Togakushi and passages such as a *waka* poem describing a royal horse not feeling cold near “cloth-pulling mountain,” famous goods that may be bought along the Tone River, or an account of water snakes flying into a certain pine tree during a storm. However, the Tokugawa government did not recognize any concept of tourism, and only allowed certain forms of travel such as religious pilgrimage or convalescence at hot springs\footnote{Constantine Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 238.} requiring that a work such as this only
promote officially sanctioned activities, lest people use TZŌ as an excuse to engage in ‘fun travel’ (yusan tabi). Of course, the decidedly non-pious attitude of Yaji and Kita in Shank’s Mare seems to indicate that Ikku himself regarded the act of going on a pilgrimage as a sort of pageantry that allowed one to travel for ostensibly religious reasons. For TZŌ, Ikku was thus bound both by limitations of the ōraimono genre and government censorship to constrain himself to a less humorous style.

_Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai_ represents one moment in the history of pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji which can be felt in the opening lines of the main text: “I heard through various sources that you will be taking your mother on pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji temple in Shinshū, which she has wanted to visit for a great many years. I am struck by your filial piety which is impressive for one so young.”

The fact that the man’s mother dreamed of Zenkō-ji pilgrimage for a great many years is not coincidental, as this was something of a trend. During his travels to Nagano in 1814, Ikku may have even met one such mother and son

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87 This is my own translation of the opening sentence of the main text of _Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai_.

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group on their way Zenkō-ji. Thirty-three years after the publication of TZŌ, the samurai Kiyokawa Hachirō (1830-1863) likewise fulfilled his long-standing promise to his mother, taking her on pilgrimage to Ise and Zenkō-ji in 1855 which while not directly connected with TZŌ, serves to by way of historical example the popularity in the late Edo period. The pilgrimage was so popular some women even went multiple times, such as Suzuki Toyo, a farmer who completed her seventh trip to Zenkō-ji at age 72. It is possible that Kiyokawa or Suzuki may have owned a copy of TZŌ and used it as a reference for their travels.

Kiyokawa’s mother and Suzuki Toyo are a part of a larger trend of pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji. McCallum writes, “Women have always been extremely important participants in the worship of the Zenkōji Amida Triad” and that “A variety of spirited women visited or lived at Shinano Zenkōji during the Kamakura period […] This pattern of pilgrimage continued in later centuries, and during the Edo period a very substantial portion of the

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visitors was female.”

Records of the Seishinbō Inn at Zenkō-ji confirm that between 1848 and 1871 48% of its guests were female. Although there were were a great number of men who enjoyed pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji often in large confraternity groups (kō 講) it seems that “not only did a greater percentage of women go to Zenkō-ji—most of them from surrounding provinces—but evidence shows that they sometimes eschewed male companionship and traveled by themselves in groups, or else with a single male.”

Considering the popularity of this pilgrimage for women it is reasonable to assume that Ikku’s intended audience for TZO was women, despite the fact that the fictional recipient of the experienced traveler’s letter is addressed to a faithful son.

Women’s literature in the Edo period usually consisted of works which were intended to cement women’s subservient position in society. Kaibara Ekiken’s 貝原益軒

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90 MaCallum, Zenkoji and its Icon, 190.

91 Ibid., 252.

92 Ibid.
(1630-1714) Onna Daigaku\textsuperscript{93} the “Great Learning for Women” was a book of “half-dogmatized precepts”\textsuperscript{94} read throughout the latter half of the Edo period that defined women’s social role as subservient to men and taught morals such as respect, obedience, submission and self-sacrifice while discouraging such behaviors as frivolous pilgrimages to temples before the age of 40.\textsuperscript{95} It seems that “many domains were more lenient in allowing older women, who had given up their positions of responsibility within the household to travel.” Anne Walthall writes that “[o]nce a mother of a wealthy peasant family became a mother-in-law, she had the leisure to indulge in travel.”\textsuperscript{96} Ikku was likely imagining a woman over 40 who had passed over control of the household to her daughter-in-law.

Censorship was an important consideration in the publication of any work, and Ikku, as no stranger to punishment due to violations of said laws, would have been careful

\textsuperscript{93} This book was widely published in 1716 by Kaibara Ekiken but its influence persisted throughout the Edo period and into the twentieth century Kodansha, \textit{EOJ}, 6:108.

\textsuperscript{94} L. Cranmer-Byng, \textit{Women and Wisdom of Japan}, 11.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., 40.

\textsuperscript{96} Anne Walthall, “the Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan,” 66.
in drafting this narrative in such a way that would be acceptable to the authorities. In 1767 Morioka authorities reported that in recent years many women had been going on pilgrimage without permission to such places as Ise and Zenkō-ji and considered the trend reprehensible. Thus, it may seem that the promotion of a Zenkō-ji pilgrimage, so popular with women, might earn Ikku the consternation of the authorities, but TZŌ followed a the letter if not the spirit of the law. The mother described in TZŌ was of an appropriate age and traveling for an appropriate reason with the suitable male escort.

Of course, as the Morioka authorities reveal, women went on pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji legally or no. Though a Shinano magistrate declared pilgrimage to be “of no value (muyō) in 1701 and the bakufu proclaimed “women who go on pilgrimage, like women who drink a lot of tea, or who like going on outings, should be divorced” all such pronouncements were powerless to stem the tide of female pilgrimage, as women would

97 Vaporis, Breaking Barriers, 211.
98 Ibid., 215.
99 Ibid., 212.
simply leave home without permit or family permission. In some extreme cases they would
leave with no money, relying on alms to travel.  
Eventually restrictions eased and by 1849 Owari domain officials began issuing same-day permits to women because prior to this women had been using side roads so as to avoid inspection points.

Still, Ikku could hardly publish a book about a younger woman leaving on a pilgrimage, as such a portrayal would have been frowned upon by his censors and may have resulted in punishment. Ikku’s choice of an old woman seems to have been the best way to push TZō safely through the censors. Censor stamps, apparent on the copy of Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai held by Nagano Prefectural Library indicate the success of this strategy. However, in true gesaku form, in which one obeys the letter of the law but not the spirit, it is interesting to point out that it is the fictional mother’s desire for pilgrimage

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{100}} \text{Ibid., 253.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{101}} \text{Ibid., 141.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{102}} \text{Circular marks also appear on images 8 and 12, but due to a difference in size these may not be censor stamps, but marks added at a later time. Jippensha Ikku, } \text{Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai } \text{戸隠善光寺往来, Nagano Digital Archive, accessed May 9, 2018, 8, 12.} \]
that causes her son to seek information and the experienced traveler to offer his travel notes; she was the initiator of this chain of interactions. This interpretation lends further credence to the idea that Ikku’s intended audience was women, as he used his knowledge of women’s desire for information about Zenkō-ji pilgrimages to sell TZŌ. Travel literature was experiencing a boom, but peasant participation in pilgrimage goes back even to the Genroku period (1688-1704) when more had the opportunity to participate in pilgrimage.103 Englebert Kaempfere called the Japanese “very much addicted to pilgrimage.”104 In the proceeding hundred years after the Genroku era, the popularity and number of publications promoting travel trickled down to include a female audience, curious about Zenkō-ji regardless of whether their circumstances would afford them the opportunity for travel.

C. A portrait of one mother’s pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji

103 Vaporis, Breaking Barriers, 249.

104 Ibid., 236.
In this section, I will make extensive use of details about travel in the Edo period gleaned from *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan* by Constantine Vaporis. The purpose of this section is to provide a sense of what travel for a mother and son might have been like around the time that *TZŌ* was published. It is my hope that this information will complement the presentation of the translation of the work, allowing a modern reader to more easily imagine *TZŌ* through the lens of contemporary culture and travel practices.

Let us imagine a family who owns a business in Edo, whose eldest son has married and inherited responsibility for the household and whose elderly mother had retired, passing over her duties as female head of household to her daughter-in-law. The son has decided to fulfill his childhood promise to take his mother on pilgrimage to Ise via the Nakasendō and return to Edo via the Tōkaidō. Although pilgrimages to Ise and Zenkō-ji most typically took the reverse route, his mother had weak knees and he was worried that

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105 Ibid., 201.
she would be too tired on the return trip to handle the more mountainous Nakasendō.\footnote{Ibid., 3.}

His mother, had been in the habit of reading her copy of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai* in her idle time and this detail could hardly have escaped her son’s attention.

He knew he would need to bring his passport (ōrai tegata)\footnote{Ibid., 137.} and apply for a pilgrimage permit (kakikae tegata)\footnote{Ibid., 146.} for his mother. Since men’s passports could be bought from a variety of places, he already had one from years ago when he had traveled to Mt. Fuji on a pilgrimage. At the time, he had gone to his family temple and purchased one for just 100 mon (the same amount of money that Yaji and Kita famously spent on their passports).\footnote{Ibid., 137.} His passport was addressed to multiple barriers along the way (tokoro...
dokoro gosekisho)\textsuperscript{110} and had no expiration date.\textsuperscript{111} His mother’s permit was a different matter as travel restrictions on women were far stricter. He knew that he would have to take his mother and to apply to the Edo Castle Keeper apply for a transit permit for his mother since their travel route would take them through an important barrier (omoki)\textsuperscript{112} in Usui Pass.\textsuperscript{113} When they received her permit it showed that it would only remain valid for two months,\textsuperscript{114} as was the norm for women’s permits. The son hurried to apply for his mother’s permit months ahead of time because he had heard that the bakufu was trying to curtail frivolous pilgrimages by issuing a limited number of permits.\textsuperscript{115} He felt lucky that he had succeeded in getting one of the last available permits for his mother. When he returned home with it proudly in hand, his mother chuckled, assuring him that they could’ve gone

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 158.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 145.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 105.

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 100, 139.

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 146.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 201.
without a permit by using side roads to avoid *sekisho*, as such detours were not harshly punished.\footnote{Ibid., 216.} He balked, telling her about a placard in front of a crucified man near Edo castle that indicated he had been executed for unlawful passage through a barrier (*sekishoyaburi*).\footnote{Ibid., 126.} He was thus determined to go about things in the official way. Although women in such cases were simply arrested or sold into servitude (*tokei*), he and perhaps his father may be crucified for this offence.\footnote{Ibid., 126.} Though taking side roads around barriers was a lesser crime and not often enforced, he was happy to have done things above board.

Nihonbashi in Edo was the point from which all of the 5 highways (*Gokaidō*) began.\footnote{Ibid., 32.} The man and his mother, dressed appropriately in the clothes of pilgrimage: straw hats, cotton robes, thigh leggings and sandals, taking along with them some moxa treatments for their knees, which was a remedy famously used by Bashō in *Oku no Hosomichi*. The
evening before they left, various well-wishers came around and gifted the pair various dried foods such as fish and some money (senbetsu). Of course, it was expected that this kindness be repaid, and the well-wishers would be expecting gifts upon the couple’s return.\textsuperscript{120}

The total distance to Togakushi was 234.9 km\textsuperscript{121} and healthy person at that time could walk as much as 40 km in a day.\textsuperscript{122} Being that the mother had weak knees, they could only cover about half that distance in a day so made it to the Usui barrier, 140.3 km from Nihonbashi after about seven days travel. Along the way they made river crossings, de facto check points where the mother was made to show her permit. However since she didn’t look suspicious, she was allowed to cross each time.\textsuperscript{123} Having a fair amount of gold and silver for their journey, the duo would exchange one of their silver coins for strings of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 223.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Number calculated using distances provided by Kishimoto Yutaka in \textit{Nakasendo: Rōman no Tabi, Higashihen and Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata}.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Vaporis, \textit{Breaking Barriers}, 217.
\item \textsuperscript{123} Ibid., 104.
\end{itemize}
coppers at each post station\textsuperscript{124} and with their new coin, brave the lines of enthusiastic female store callers with painted faces trying to drum up business for their teahouses \textit{(Tome-onna)}.\textsuperscript{125} Though this practice, called \textit{yado hiki} was forbidden, it was rarely enforced.\textsuperscript{126} Whenever possible the son chose to book lodgings at full-service two-story inns \textit{(hatagoya)}. They provided dinner, comfortable lodgings, breakfast and information about the area all for about 130-200 mon per evening.\textsuperscript{127} While in post stations, the two would go to local shrines and stock up on supplies such as straw shoes, which wore out almost daily because of the amount of traveling they did.\textsuperscript{128}

One evening as they were nearing the treacherous Usui Pass it started to rain. Not wanting to make the climb to the sekisho in the rain, the duo stopped at the Matsuida post

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Ibid., 224.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 225.
  \item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid., 226.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Ibid., 222.
\end{itemize}
station. Unluckily, all of the hatagoya were fully booked, but there was an open firewood inn (kichin-yado) open which was a single-story building that didn’t provide meals. Instead visitors were charged by the amount of firewood and rice they used during their stay. Though much more economical than hatagoya (only 35 mon in 1711), it was a decidedly less comfortable arrangement, so the two didn’t sleep as well as usual that evening.

The following morning, they proceeded to Sakamoto post station and climbed Usui pass, making their way up the road to the sekisho which doubled back on its self, being designed to make it difficult for a large number of people to approach at once (masu kata). It was about this time that the mother’s knees began to ache and she began to complain that they

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129 Ibid., 159.

130 Ibid., 228.

131 Ibid., 35.
should have taken one of the side roads which were known princess roads (hime kaidō)\(^{132}\) around Usui Barrier.\(^{133}\)

When mother and son finally arrived at the barrier they were made to remove their hats\(^{134}\) and the son had to show his passport. Now it was the mother’s turn. Since the bakufu had a strict policy about guns being smuggled to Edo and daimyō women being smuggled out (iri deppo to de onna)\(^{135}\) the two were made to proceed to the lower guard house. There an official asked the identity of the mother to the son. The son answers that she is his mother and hands over her permit to a lower official. From here the mother sits on a wooden floor and is checked over by the Inspector of Women (aratame), in this case a male guard. The son is made to wait outside during the inspection. When he has gone away the officials pass

\(^{132}\) Ibid., 109.

\(^{133}\) One such road, the Oiwake Dōri, was not as steep as Usui pass. Although these roads also required passage through a barrier, or a guarded ferry crossing, the guards on such were purported to be less strict with female inspections. Ibid.

\(^{134}\) Ibid., 120.

\(^{135}\) Ibid., 100.
her permit back and forth several times, checking the details. At this point the inspector physically checks her clothes, eyebrows, teeth and hair, shouting out that she has pilgrim’s clothes and short hair. The information matched perfectly with her permit, which indicated she had all of these characteristics and was an adult woman (dai-onna). The mother’s permit is kept by the sekisho officials to be submitted back to Edo as a part of the report of women’s traffic through Usui Barrier, but she is allowed passage today.

Their journey becomes much simpler as they leave mountainous roads behind for easier travel in the mountain valleys towards northern Shinano Province. Eventually arriving at the Sai River, a final river crossing had to be made. The mother had been prepared visually for this experience by the opening pages of Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai, which contained a generous two-page an illustration of a cable ferry river crossing. As the two settled into the boat ferrymen consisting of two pullers and two men steering with long poles thrust in the river guided the boat across the treacherous current to the safety of the

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136 Ibid., 162.

137 Ibid., 139.
far bank. Afterrightingthemselvesandpartingwiththeferrymen,thetwocontinuetowards Zenkō-ji Town.

Mother and son soon arrive in Zenkō-ji Town, a bustling temple town whose population was mostly concerned with religious activities at the temple and the hospitality forvisitingpilgrims. Next, they had to make a decision about lodgings. While the district outside of the temple boundaries had numerous inns to choose from there were also thirty-nine sub-temples within the boundaries of the temple that offered lodging to pilgrims. The choice of which sub-temple was made for travelers on the basis of the geographical origin of the pilgrims themselves.\(^{138}\) However, on this particular occasion the sub-temple lodgings were filled by a large confraternity of pilgrims (kō) whose delegation actually contained a surprising number of women, no doubt eager to experience the benevolence of the Zenkō-ji Amida Buddha’s special guarantee of salvation to women.\(^{139}\) After settling on a moderately-priced inn, the couple rest and rise the next morning to experience some of

\(^{138}\) McCallum, Zenkōji and its Icon, 174.

\(^{139}\) Ibid., 173.
the ambiance of the town itself. To their delight, they discovered tea houses, entertainment and souvenir sellers enough to occupy their first day. The surprising breadth of entertainments revealed that the typical Zenkō-ji Amida follower was not overly philosophically inclined or ascetic and thus were not opposed to such non-religious frivolities.  

However, around dusk the atmosphere changed as the couple headed to the temple.

Joining a group of fellow travelers, including the aforementioned confraternity, from Edo mother and son filed into the main hall of Zenkō-ji at dusk for the okomori ceremony. The doors of the main hall were shut and all of the pilgrims would be plunged into near complete darkness with only the eternally-burning lamps lighting the altar where the Buddha was enshrined. Taking in the mysterious atmosphere, the son rested a while his mother engaged in some private devotions of her own. At the tolling of a

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140 Ibid., 174.

141 According to the temple origin legend, when the founder Honda Yoshimitsu moved the Amida Buddha triad from his home in Iida District to Minochi District (its present location) eternally burning oil lamps at the front of the were lit by the statue itself with a beam of radiant light. Ibid., 46.
midnight bell, a priest\textsuperscript{142} began chanting evening service. After its conclusion pilgrims were allowed to enter the inner chamber and view the alter more clearly or enter a staircase that opened into an unlit passage that wound around beneath the altar of the Buddha. This journey, called \textit{kaidan meguri} symbolizes death and resurrection. The atmosphere of the darkened temple, the solemn chanting and the symbolism of the \textit{kaidan meguri} combined to create a powerful religious experience.\textsuperscript{143}

After the \textit{okomori}, when day had begun the pair was to experience the revealing of the Amida Buddha Statue, called \textit{Kaichō}, or opening ceremony. The Zenkō-ji statue is known as the most secret of all Japanese religious iconography and is thus known as \textit{hibutsu}, or secret Buddha. If it were any other secret Buddha, the pair would have been able to see it revealed as the curtains were pulled back, but in the case of Zenkō-ji a replica of

\textsuperscript{142} Zenkōji is not affiliated with a specific sect of Buddhism, it is instead administered by two sub-temples. The Daihongan is a Jōdo sect temple, headed by an abbess, while the Daikanjin is Tendai sect and headed by an abbot. While the Daihongan was established first, Tokugawa Ieyasu granted the Daikanjin more rice domain, making the male-oriented administration the more powerful. Ibid., 68. Since Zenkō-ji lacked an official affiliation and thus lacked its own priesthood, ceremonies were performed by both priests and priestesses. Ibid., 187.

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., 175.
the actual icon is revealed rather than the original. Combined with the profound religious experience of the previous evening, mother and son must have been truly moved by seeing the object of their worship with their own eyes.

Since they were so close, and the mother had Ikku’s book in hand, the pair decided to continue their pilgrimage past Zenkō-ji and head to Togakushi Shrine. After another jaunt on the Hokkoku Kaidō, they took a side path off of the road into the mountains near Togakushi. Togakushi consists of three major shrines sites separated by some distance, but of particular interest to the mother was stopping at the Hōkōsha. In an old-growth forest of Japanese cedar they climb 270 stone stairs before approaching this temple, which is a fusion of Buddha and Shinto elements. The deity of the temple, Ame no Uwaharu no Mikoto 天表春命 is famous as the deity of learning, the arts and sewing, easy deliver and guardian of women and children.\(^{145}\)

\(^{144}\) Ibid., 169.

Continuing to the inner shrine, the couple climb a steep path that cuts up the mountain through towering cedar trees. After a time, they pass through a Niō gate and continue up the path which soon turns into another long stone staircase. After resting at several points during the climb, the couple crest the final stair and find themselves facing Kuzuryū Shrine on the left and the main shrine on the right, both built into the caves in the sheer stone face just below the mountain’s peak. The son, unfortunately afflicted with cavities buys a pear and leaves it as an offering to the 9-headed dragon deity Kuzuryū as Ikku prescribed, praying for relief.

As Ikku’s information on Togakushi was sparse in Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai the couple ask around for more information about the temple in hopes of learning its origins. A priest fills them in on the details:

Gakumon Gyōja 学問行者, the founder was a Shugen practitioner of esoteric Buddhism. In 809, he threw his Vajra, a brass talisman, towards Togakushi from

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neighboring Mt. Izuma. It flew to Mt. Togakushi and landed in a cave. Gakumon Gyōja went to the cave and began to recite the Lotus Sutra. Suddenly, from the south a warm moist breeze blew and a nine-headed dragon, Kuzuryū appeared saying: “Who is it that chants the lotus sutra? I am the previous deity of this mountain, but I was punished with this shape because I misused temple treasures. Whenever someone comes along and recites the sutra I always come to listen. However, though I have no evil intentions, these visitors are struck with my poison and die. If only I could listen to the sutra I could attain Buddhahood.” Thus saying, he flew into the cave and hid, allowing Gakumon Gyoja to seal him inside behind a stone door. Kuzuryū hiding behind the door is what gave the temple its name: “Door-hiding-Mountain” or Mt. Togakushi. After a day of climbing, the two stay in one of the 53 sub-temple lodging houses.

The couple have had quite the journey thus far and will doubtless continue on their trek towards Ise, but from this point onward the main course prescribed in Ikku’s Ōraimono

147 Ibid., 279.

148 Ibid., 283.
concludes. They return to the Nakasendō by traveling back along the Hokkoku Kaidō and turn this time towards Kyōto, picking up the last few locations mentioned in the head text, Mochizuki post town and Suwa Lake. At this point, they will doubtless turn to some other book as a guide, such as the 1805 *Kisoji Meisho Zue*, a guide to the famous places along the Kiso road (Nakasendō) to Kyōto and Ise Shrine. At the end of their journey and at the point of their eventual return, they will be greeted with a party and gift their friends and acquaintances with souvenirs picked up along the road, or some religious token purchased at Zenkō-ji.
CHAPTER IV

TEXTUAL HISTORY OF TOGAKUSHI ZENKÔ-JI ÒRAI

A. Physical characteristics and available copies

Togakushi Zenkô-ji Òrai (TZÔ) is 17.7 cm by 12.5 cm and is classified as a chûhon or a middle-sized book. It is bound in the fukuro toji style, in which the printed pages are folded with text facing outward, stacked and bound along the open end of the page, rather than along the the fold as is standard in western book binding. Binding is done with string, which allows for repair and rebinding of covers. The cover is made with two additional pieces of paper which are bound separately to the pages already bound. The cover has a small rectangle of paper glued to it, called a daisen or title slip on which the both the title and publisher information as well as some illustrations are printed.

TZÔ has two editions published, one by Nishimiya Shinroku (Nishimiya) and the other by Moriya Jihei (Moriya). Differences between the editions appear on the daisen and colophon. The Nishimiya cover, in addition to the tile, contains the text “Newly printed-

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149 The colophon is the final page serving as an advertisement which consists of a list of other works
Head text-Famous Sites-Historical Monuments” above the title, “Large characters and hiragana included” on the left and “Publisher ⊕ Nishimiya” beneath the title. The Moriya edition cover has “Culture-Newly Published” above the title and Moriya’s distinctive mori seal next to the word “Publisher.” The final page of both works is a colophon consisting of advertisements for other publications and more detailed information about the publisher and date of publication. Though they are not the same publisher, Nishimiya and Moriya advertise the same list of books and claim they published TZŌ on a fortuitous day in the third month of Bunsei 5 (1822), which raises the question of which publisher actually published it first. This question will be examined in some detail in the

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and publisher information.

150 Shinpan/Kashiragaki/Meisho/Kyūseki 新板・頭書・名所・旧跡

151 Ōji kana tsuke 大字假名附

152 Banmoto ⊕ Nishimiya 板元西宮

153 Bunka/Shinpan 文化・新板

154 This is not any particular day of the month.
following sections, but it is interesting to note that the Nishimiya version packs comparatively more text into the final box than Moriya does in his version, which has a large amount of blank space.

Beyond the contents of the printing itself, the physical blemishes and markings of individual copies should be examined. The Nagano Prefectural Library copy, a Nishimiya edition, contains censor stamps on the frontispiece indicating that this copy was once approved for sale by a bakufu official. It also contains a fair amount of writing on the covers, presumably used as penmanship practice for its owner. Lastly, the entire book shows evidence of having been folded in half which indicates that this book was carried, perhaps even on a pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji. Of course, it is impossible to speculate when the book was folded, so a fold is at best circumstantial evidence. Nonetheless, a folded book is far easier to carry and stow than an unfolded one which lends credibility to the theory that this book was read on the move.

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155 The first two pages of content are a two-page illustration with text interspersed in the blank spaces. Since the main content has not yet begun, this introductory section is referred to as a frontispiece.
There are quite a few copies of TZŌ available, though much of the work for this thesis has been completed using digital copies, I had the privilege of physically handling the Nagano Prefectural Library and Shinshū University Nishimiya copies. The following table indicates the copies used as reference

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Figure 3. List of TZŌ editions and publishing information

B. Explanation of discrepancies in title in catalog entries

_Togakushi San Zenkō-ji Mōde (TZŌ)_ has been listed in modern references under both TZŌ and _Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai (TZŌ)_ which is the title printed at the beginning of the main text. Entries of TZŌ in Ōraimono hard-copy dictionaries listings such as
Ōraimono Bunrui Mokuroku (1922), Nihon Kyōkasho Taikei Ōrai-hen vol. 10 (1967) and Ōraimono Kaidai Jiten (2001) indicate that the title of this work is TZŌ, listing TZŌ as an alternate title. However most electronic resources do the reverse, indicating that TZŌ is the main title, even major resources such as the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books at NIJL. It would seem that during the twentieth century, new naming conventions arose on the Internet, but have not yet extended their reach to reference texts.

The cover of the Shinshū University copy is particularly clean and rigid, being made of a multi-colored decorative cover, indicating that it was rebound recently and so the title on its daisen is TZŌ, perhaps due to a lack of an original cover, or inadequate access to existing copies of the work. If they had better access to an existing copy they would have been able to correctly title it TZŌ rather than TZŌ. However, it is also possible that the person titling the book did in fact check other copies, but because most catalog entries on the internet are TZŌ they ended up duplicating the text title. The cover Waseda University copy is without a daisen, so the author of the catalog similarly may have titled their work in the same way as the Shinshū University book binder. Setting the matter aside about which
title should be used for cataloging purposes, it does seem that referring to it as *TZŌ* is becoming increasingly more common. This tendency is justified as the title of the work in the advertisement page of all editions is indicated as *TZŌ*. It may simply be the case that the title card titles were not considered to be the primary means of cataloging, even in the Edo period.

Figure 4. Shinshū University cover\(^{157}\) and Waseda University cover\(^{158}\)


Beyond differences in hardcopy and electronic cataloging conventions, the variations in language between cover and text titles warrants further examination. The character san 山 in the cover title “Togakushi San 戸隠山” is absent in the text title “Togakushi 戸隠.” “Mōde 詣” in the cover title and “Ōrai 往来” in the text title are semantically unrelated. Mōde means “temple visit” and Ōrai can either be an abbreviation for ōraimono or mean “comings and goings.” In English translation, the cover title might be rendered as Worshipping at Mt. Togakushi and Zenkō-ji and the main text title would be Or Coming and Going to Togakushi and Zenkō-ji.\(^{159}\) These titles do seem to indicate that the book has two purposes: A serious book about pilgrimage to Togakushi and Zenkō-ji and/or an informational book about actually travelling there. There was nothing terribly unusual about publishing works with more than one title. Each title seems to have its own purpose and may have attracted different audiences widening readership, and therefore profits. Though TZŌ is classified as an ōraimono because of its format, style, and

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\(^{159}\) Though the title might well be A primer on Togakushi and Zenkō-ji, since it does not seem this work was intended for use in terakoya schools, it is more likely that this is a sort of pun on the term ōraimono.
informative nature its ‘Mōde’ title appeals to an entirely different readership. Perhaps eager travelers who found their wanderlust stirred up by *Hizakurige* would have been interested in purchasing this book. If this person were interested in pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji, they would be immediately attracted to a work titled *Worshipping at Togakushi and Zenkō-ji*.

C. Nishimiya or Moriya?

Perhaps one of the more curious features of *TZŌ* is the fact that it appears to be published by two different publishers on the same day. If the date in the colophon of both the Nishimiya and Moriya versions are to be believed, the two published their work on the same day. However, it seems far more likely that one publisher produced the work, and another came along later and republished it as their own with minimal changes. By examining the publication history of both publishers in the genre of pilgrimage ōraimono, as well as pointing differences between editions, I will make a case that Nishimiya was the first publisher of *TZŌ*. 
Nishimiya and Moriya have a relatively small number of publications in the genre of pilgrimage ōraimono. Hara Jun’ichirō in his essay “Books and Pilgrimage to Temples and Shrines: Based on Analysis of Oraimono Textbooks on Travel,” examines the evolution of Edo pilgrimage ōraimono in the late Edo period. TZŌ appears twice in Hara’s chronological listing of pilgrimage ōraimono, once under each publisher. He indicates that he was unsure about the proper placement of TZŌ, most likely due to the fact that all published versions have the same date in the colophon. In keeping with Hara’s chart, I will put such works in quotation marks to indicate uncertainty. I will omit Hara’s commentary where it does not pertain to the present discussion.
### Nishimiya Pilgrimage Ōraimono: Bunsei 5 (1822)-Bunsei 6 (1823)

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<tr>
<td>Bushū Ontake San Mōde~1822</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buyō Takao San Mōde~1822</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jōshū Kusatsu Onsen Ōrai 1823</td>
<td>Jippensha Ikku</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5. Nishimiya Pilgrimage Ōraimono: Bunsei 5 (1822)-Bunsei 6 (1823)

### Moriya Pilgrimage Ōraimono: Tenpō Era (1831-1845)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsukuba Mōde 1832</td>
<td>Takai Ranzan</td>
<td>Reprinted Kansei 12 (1800) Hanaya text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jōshū Kusatsu Onsen Ōrai 1832</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reprinted Bunsei 6 (1823) Nishimiya text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakone-sha Dōryōgū 1832</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shichitō Meguri Bunshō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kajima Mōde) (1831-45)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reprinted Kansei 12 (1800) Hanaya text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nikō Hanran Bunshō) (1831-45)</td>
<td>Ryūto Sanjin</td>
<td>Reprinted Kanwa 1 (1801) Hanaya text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Togakushi San Zenkō-ji Mōde) (1831-45)</td>
<td>Jippensha Ikku</td>
<td>Reprint of Bunsei 5 (1822) Nishimiya text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6. Moriya Pilgrimage Ōraimono: Tenpō Era (1831-1845)
Nishimiya published six pilgrimage ōraimono between 1832 and 1845, most being produced in 1832. The only pilgrimage ōraimono of Ikku’s that Moriya published was TZŌ, which Hara places in the Tenpō era between nine and twenty-three years after its original publication. Moriya seems to have produced only one original pilgrimage ōraimono, with all other texts being a republishing of Hanaya and Nishimiya. It would seem that Moriya acquired most of these works and republished them under his name.

Figure 7. Nagano Prefectural Library Nishimiya cover\textsuperscript{160} and Tokyo University Moriya cover\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{160} Jippensha Ikku, Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai, in the Nagano Digital Archive, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.i-repository.net/il/meta_pub/G0000307library_02BK0104162763, 1.

\textsuperscript{161} Moriya Cover, received October 31, 2017, staff photograph Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.
An inspection of image two reveals several key differences that serve to illustrate that Moriya did indeed republish *TZŌ* some years after Nishimiya. The Nagano Prefectural Library cover is brown and faded, with well-worn corners and a *daisen* whose text has been rubbed out. The title slip is packed with text and illustrations, which considering the amount of time it cost to produce a woodblock for printing made every centimeter of space

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163 *Moriya Colophon*, received October 31, 2017, staff photograph Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.
ripe for filling with some sort of text or illustration. Nishimiya surrounded the title with text, amount of information into this small space. The Moriya cover is blue and comparatively less-worn in appearance with the title card containing noticeably less text and sharper illustrations. Though there are differences in the apparent level of wear between copies, this is not sufficient evidence in itself to determine which text was older without a more definitive scientific analysis. As this is beyond my capability, the appearance of wear will not factor into my conclusion.

The colophon pages of both editions advertise an identical list of books. The lack of change or update is curious, as it is not very likely that both publishers shared identical catalogs. When Moriya republished TZŌ, it seems that he made minimal changes to the colophon page. The original woodblock would have been cut, with new pieces of wood carved with Moriya’s publishing information inserted. This doctored woodblock was then used for the reprinting. One might assume that Moriya would have profited more had he updated the book list, perhaps to include the Moriya pilgrimage ōraimono referenced above, but for whatever reason the block was only minimally changed. A comparison of the
contents of the final box should serve to illustrate the how little editing was required to get this work republished.

Nishimiya Colophon

Bunsei 5 (1822)/Water-senior/Horse, third month, a fortuitous day
Eastern Capital, Old Zaimoku Town, 1st blvd
All kinds of regional books, chanter books, playbooks, rare books
Wholesaler ⊕ Nishimiya Shinroku Publisher

Figure 9. Nishimiya Colophon

Moriya Colophon

Bunsei 5 (1822)/Water-senior/Horse, third month, a fortuitous day
Eastern Capital, Bakuro Town, 2nd blvd
Local wholesaler Moriya Jihei Publisher

Figure 10. Moriya Colophon

Moriya produces visibly less text, rather than trying to cram all of the empty spaces full of text, which makes sense if all he needed to produce were two small blocks for the daisen and another for this portion of the colophon, but less so if the entire work was his original work.
While settling the matter of who was the original publisher is beyond the scope of this thesis, radiometric dating of various copies could reveal more conclusively the older of the two. Additionally, journals written by Nishimiya, Moriya, or Ikku may settle this issue more conclusively. However, considering the fact that the contents of the majority of Moriya’s other pilgrimage ōraimono were also republished versions of older books, and how little was changed in the cover and colophon strongly suggests that TZO was published first by Nishimiya along with other Ikku pilgrimage ōraimono in Bunsei 5 (1822).
CHAPTER V

ANNOTATION AND TRANSLATION

The highly visual nature of Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai, including its illustrations and beautifully flowing calligraphy are both defining elements in this work. In an effort to maintain the charm of Ikku’s original, thumbnail images of the illustrations will be included alongside my English translation. In order to increase the amount of space on each page dedicated to the translation, footnotes will follow at the end of each section. Since TZŌ is a travel text, maps will also be provided which will provide geographic context that aid the reader in seeing TZŌ as more than a list of unfamiliar place names. Unless otherwise stated all translations are my own and all pictures are taken from the Shinshū University copy.

The head text and main text are not exactly analogous in terms of pacing: though they generally describe locations along the same course, they do so at different rates. However, since this is intended to be a faithful translation, some effort will be made to maintain the original page breaks where their presentation doesn’t interfere with an organic reading experience. To that end, head text sections will not be split across multiple pages and
pages of translation will not split sentences across pages, as this will frustrate the reader and make reading the text more troublesome than is required. Although, an endnote style of annotation might more easily facilitate an uninterrupted reading of the text, I have elected to use footnotes. In my experience, endnotes are less typically referred to by readers as it requires constant page turning.
A. Annotated Translation of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai*

1. Cover

![Images of book covers with text: New Block, head text, famous places, historical sites](image1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Togakushi San Zenkō-ji Mōde</strong></td>
<td><strong>Togakushi San Zenkō-ji Mōde</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large phonetic glosses included!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed by Nishimiya ☥</td>
<td>Printed by Moriya 森</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11. Nishimiya edition cover\(^{164}\) and Moriya edition cover\(^{165}\) with translations of their title cards

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\(^{165}\) Moriya Cover, received October 31, 2017, staff photograph Tōkyō University Library, Tōkyō.
2. Frontispiece

Figure 12. Shinshū Kawanakajima ferry crossing\textsuperscript{166} illustration

Minochi district, Imoi township, Zenkō-ji Temple

\textsuperscript{166} Throughout the Edo Era this crossing was known as a difficult crossing due to the swiftly flowing waters of the Sai River 犀川. River crossings were halted for an average of 60 days (28-122) per year. *Tanbashima No Watashi* 丹波嶋の渡し, Executive committee for the 400 year dedication of Hokkoku kaidō and Tanbashima post town 開設四百年記念行事実行委員会, Nagano city, Tanbashima-ku, dedicated 2010.
This is a ferry crossing over the Sai River. The river flows from Hida province and is called Azusa River. It merges with the Chikuma river. The river is very wide here. The crossing is achieved by pulling on cables while steering with a pole.
3. Main Text

_Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai_

I heard through various sources that you will be taking your mother on pilgrimage to Zenkō-ji temple in Shinshū, which she has wanted to visit for a great many years. I am struck by your filial piety which impressive for one so young. A few years ago, upon my pilgrimage to Mt. Togakushi I took travel notes consisting of my impressions of the road, so I will write them here for your reference.

![Image of a bird and flowers](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=31779418)

Figure 13. Bush Warbler\(^{167}\) and Deutzia\(^{168}\)

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\(^{167}\) The bush warbler is a common bird in Japan that lives in the hills and mountains. It is associated with plum blossoms and is a seasonal word in poetry that indicates early spring. Alpsdake, “Cettia diphone (crying). JPG,” Wikipedia commons, accessed May 9, 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=31779418.

\(^{168}\) Commonly known as the _utsuki_ flower in Japan. It has primarily white petals and blooms from May to July. Σ64, “Deutzia crenata 01.jpg,” Wikipedia commons, accessed May 9, 2018, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=896015.
Well, on an early morning in the beginning of the month of the Rabbit\textsuperscript{169}, as if invited by the song of the bush warbler I left my house with the deutzia in full bloom.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{nakasendo_map}
\caption{Map of the Nakasendo road from Nihonbashi to Otai\textsuperscript{170}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{169} \textit{Uzuki} 卯月, or the month of the rabbit is the fourth month in the lunar calendar falling between April and June in the modern calendar depending on moon cycles. Anonymous, “Kyūrei ki kisetsukan 旧暦と季節感,” Ano hi ha nanyōbi あの日は何曜日?: 10,000 year calendar, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www5a.biglobe.ne.jp/accent/kazeno/calendar/kisetu.htm.

\textsuperscript{170} Kishimoto Yutaka, \textit{Nakasendo rōman no tabi: higashi hen} 中山道浪漫の旅 東編, (Nagano, Japan: Shinano Mainichi Shinbun Gaisha, 2016), 4.
From the fork in the Hongō road I passed through Sugamo town and rested at the
Kōshinzuka sexagenary mound. I passed through Itabashi post town I worshiped at Haguro
Shrine at the Toda crossing. Next was Warabi post town. After I left Urawa post town I
passed the Ōmiya avatar and continued on to the Ageo and Okegawa post towns. It is four-
ri and eight-chō (about 16.5 km) from Kōnosu post town to Kumagaya post town. In
between there is a rest area called Fukiage. It is about eighteen chō (2 km) from there to
Nagadote. I passed through Kuge town. Kumagaya post town is a historical site for
Kumagai Renshō.171 Fukaya Hōjidō on the border of Musashi and Kōzuke provinces. I
crossed the Kanna river from Honjō post town, continued through Shinmachi and Kuragano
post towns. At Takasaki post town the Echigo road and a road that splits off towards Ikaho
and Kusatsu meet here. From there, Itahana post town. At Annaka post town a left branch

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171 Kumagai Naozane 熊谷直実 (1141–1208) was a military commander who joined the Minamoto
during the Taira-Minamoto War 源平合戦 (1180–1185). He took a leading part in the Minamoto victory at
Ichi no tani 一ノ谷 near Kōbe 神戸 in 1184. Naozane became a disciple of Hōnen 法然, patriarch of the
Jōdo sect 浄土宗 of Buddhism. In 1192 Naozane became a priest, taking the Buddhist name Renshō 蓮生.
Kodansha, EOI, 4:305.
of the road splits off towards Myōgi. Then Matsuida post town. The Sakamoto post town is in the foothills of Usui Pass. The Kumano Avatar Shrine in the pass marks the border of Shinshū and Jōshū. Then Karuizawa post town, Hiraba plain, and Kutsukake post town.

Figure 15. Hokkoku Kaidō from Oiwake to Nojiri

172 Kishimoto Yutaka, Hokkoku kaidō wo aruku: kyūkyoku no arukikata 北国街道を歩く：究極

85
Oiwake post town is on the foot of Mt. Asama made famous by the poem

“Shinano’s Mt. Asama.” If you continue straight ahead, you will take the Capital/Kiso road, and if you go right towards Komoro post town you will head towards Zenkō-ji on the Hokkoku road. From there pass through Tanaka and Unno post towns. From Ueda Town pass through Sakaki and Togura post towns. From the Yashiro crossing you can see Mt. Obasute Chōraku-ji and also Mt. Kafuriki. It is difficult to express the beauty of this scenery in words. Tanbashima is the site of the old battlefield of Takeda of Kai and Uesugi of Echigo.

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Ikku references this *Ise Monogatari* poem here, but the entire poem is included in the head text alongside an illustration of Mt. Asama with volcanic clouds around its summit.

The Battles of Kawanakajima 川中島の合戦 were a series of five clashes in the Sengoku period (1467-1568) between two daimyō: Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530-1578) of Echigo province 越後国 and Takeda Shingen 武田信しゃ (1521–1573) of Kai province 甲斐国 between 1553 and 1564 between the Sai 犬川 and Chikuma Rivers 千曲川 in Shinano province 信濃国. Kodansha, EOJ, 4:182.
Cross over the Sai River to arrive in Zenkō-ji Town. If you look around you will see the stores and travelers’ lodgings tightly packed, not only are they flourishing, the fact that a Buddhist town can be such a spectacle is quite surprising. Now as to the origin of Zenkō-ji: the Amida triad crossed to Japan from Hyakusai, in Kinmei 13 (552) but there were not yet any who would be worshippers. A temple was first built in the tenth year of

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176 Donald McCallum writes in Zenkōji and its Icon: “We should not conceive of Zenkoji-machi and of the temple itself in overly pious terms. While the principle aim of most of the pilgrims was undoubtedly to worship the Living Buddha, this did not preclude other, less elevated, activities. Tea houses and drinking establishments, shops selling various goods, and entertainers of all types, catered to the desires of the visitors.” (McCallum, 174)

the reign of empress Suiko (603)\textsuperscript{178} in Ina District Omi village, Unuma town. During the first year of the reign of emperor Kōgyoku (642)\textsuperscript{179} the temple was erected in Minochi district according to the will of the Buddha. Since Honda Yoshimitsu first desired a temple be built, this temple was named after him.\textsuperscript{180} This Buddha is mysterious beyond the limits of human knowledge, so its blessings are quite good. It is written in works like \textit{Fūga Wakashū}\textsuperscript{181} and \textit{Ainōshō}\textsuperscript{182} that Prince Shōtoku\textsuperscript{183} exchanged letters and waka poetry

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{178} Empress Suiko 推古天皇 reigned from 593-628 and was the thirty-third in the traditional imperial succession. She ruled with the help of her nephew Prince Shōtoku. Kodansha, \textit{EOJ}, 7:264.

\textsuperscript{179} Empress Kōgyoku 皇極天皇 reigned from 642-645 and was thirty-fifth in the traditional imperial succession. According to the Zenkō-ji temple legend, the Empress was resurrected from hell where she was being tortured on a mountain of needles by the Amida Buddha, who had entered hell to recover Yoshimitsu’s dead son, Yoshisuke. She was so grateful to the Honda’s that she gave them rank and title, and so grateful to the Buddha that she had Zenkō-ji built. MacCallum, \textit{Zenkoji and its Icon}, 49.

\textsuperscript{180} The founder, Honda Yoshimitsu’s 本田善光 name was used in the temple name, “Yoshimitsu” 善光 being read “Zenkō.”

\textsuperscript{181} \textit{Fūga wakashū} 風雅和歌集 is the seventeenth imperial poetry anthology containing 2211 poems initially compiled by the Emperor Hanazono 花園天皇 (1297-1348). Kodansha, “\textit{Fūga wakashū}.”

\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Ainōshō} 塯囊钞 was written by Gyōyo 著者 between 1445 and 1446. It contains explanations about the origins of various words and their origins for beginning learners. It is useful today for those studying medieval customs and language. Shōgakukan, “\textit{Ainōshō} 塯囊钞,” \textit{Nippon hyakka zensho (Nipponika) 日本大百科全書 (ニッポンニカ)} (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan Inc., 1994), accessed May 9, 2018, Japan Knowledge Database http://japanknowledge.com.

\textsuperscript{183} Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (574-622) was regent for empress Suiko 推古天皇 in the Asuka period (593-710). He was an avid supporter of Buddhism, calling for the promotion of Buddhism by imperial edict in 594. Shōtoku is well-known for his institution the twelve-cap rank system 冠位十二階 system for courtiers
with the Zenkō-ji Buddha. There can be no comparison for the temple’s magnificent pavilions, surely there is no more holy place in all the world. All the pilgrims have a great faith, and their devotion is unwavering. The temple stairs are strangely marvelous and are unparalleled. Beyond that, the holy images are revealed every dawn. The visitors who stayed the previous night fill the inside of the main hall and chant the *nenbutsu* like a rippling lake. Surely, even the simplest of fools would even be unable to hold back their tears, there is no way to express how marvelous the occasion is.

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184 Those who are devoted to the Zenko-ji Amida triad believe that they will be saved from hell insuring their rebirth in paradise. MacCallum, *Zenkoji and its Icon*, 182.

185 This could refer to the *kaichō* 開帳 or opening of the curtain where the representation of the secret Amida triad, another Amida triad is revealed. (McCallum, 169) Today this ceremony is only held once every seven years. Zenkoji Gokaicho Housankai, “Zenkoji Gokaicho,” accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.gokaicho.com/english/.

186 *Nembutsu* 念仏 is the practice of invoking the Amida Buddha by saying “*Namu Amida Butsu*” (I take my refuge in the Buddha Amida in the hopes of being rebirth into Amida’s Pure Land). Kodansha, *EOT* “*Nembutsu.*”.
After seeing Zenkō-ji I wanted to worship at Togakushi, so I passed through Aramachi and Murei. The road going straight out of Kashiwabara is the Hokkoku Road, the road to Mt. Togakushi exits on the left. Grabbing a cane, I began to climb. I worshipped before the temple and then asked an old cleaning man for information. He told me “The patron deity of Togakushi is Tajikara, and that he is also enshrined at on the left side of the inner Ise shrine. In ancient times, Tajikara pushed open the rock door hiding Amaterasu and

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threw it away, and it landed on this mountain.\textsuperscript{188} The Kuzuryū has nine heads and is
enshrined inside the cave. You offer it pears. Because of that it is said that if people who
refuse to eat pears and say a prayer they will doubtless receive relief.\textsuperscript{189} This is this
mountain deity’s strange power.\textsuperscript{190} These are my travel notes exactly. Salutations.

\begin{flushright}
Written by: Jippensha Ikku
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
Calligraphy by: Aoshū Sanbu
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{188} Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大神, the goddess in charge of the skies, hid herself in a cave following
the heinous actions of her brother Susano onomikoto 須佐之男命, plunging the world into darkness. The
other gods gathered to coax her out and when Amanouzu menomikoto’s 天鈿女命 obscene dance caused
everyone to laugh, Amaterasu opened the door to have a peek. At that moment, Tajikara onomikoto 手力男
命, or strong-armed god, hurled away the stone door that Amaterasu was hiding behind. Kodansha, \textit{EOJ}, 1:51.

\textsuperscript{189} In the rakugo play \textit{Tsukuda Matsuri} 佃祭, Kuzuryū is described as being able to cure cavities. The
believer was to write the number of bad teeth on a pear, say a prayer and throw that into a river from a bridge
and give up eating pears until they felt better. Tanigawa, Kenichi, ed. \textit{Nihon no Kamigami Jinja to Seichi: 9
Mino/Hida/Shinano} 日本の神々神社と聖地: 9美濃・飛騨・信濃. (Tōkyō, Japan: Hakusuisha, 2001),
286.

\textsuperscript{190} Ikku says that he heard this information from an old man, but his actual source was \textit{Wakan Sansai
Zue} 和漢三才図会. ADEAC Digital Archive system, “\textit{Togakushi Zenko-ji ōrai: Kaisetsu 戸隠善光寺往来：解説},” accessed May 9, 2018, https://trc-adeac.trc.co.jp/WJ11E0/WJJS06U/2000515100/
2000515100100020/ht019015.
4. Head Text

Jōshū Buddhist Pavilions and Shrines

The greatest of these is more important to know than (details of) the road.

Akagi three-site shine

This temple in Kanra district near Mt. Akagi has a 50-koku (9019.53 liter) rice domain\(^{191}\) and is dedicated to Iwazutsuo.\(^{192}\) He is said to have appeared during the reign of Emperor Ingyō.\(^{193}\)

Mt. Myōgi Manifestation

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\(^{191}\) *Koku* 石 is a unit of measurement for rice. One *koku* of rice (180.39 liters or 39.7 gallons) of dry rice and was considered to be enough to feed one man for a year. Temples and shrines as well as daimyō domains were paid in rice allotment. Larger or more important temples generally received larger amounts of rice.

\(^{192}\) In the *Kojiki* 古事記, Iwazutsuo is written 石筒之男神, it is likely Ikku used *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 or some other contemporary source, since he uses the characters 磐筒男神.

\(^{193}\) Emperor Ingyō 允恭天皇 (ca 400) is nineteenth in the traditional imperial succession and was considered a legendary emperor.
Called Sekitō-ji’s Kōken-in of Mt. Hakūn’i. Mt. Myōgi was dedicated during the reign of Emperor Kōnin in the Hōki Era (770-781).

Mt. Haruna

This shrine has a 50-*koku* (9019.53 liter) rice domain, but an enshrined deity has yet to determined.

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194 There is a discrepancy in dates here as official temple records of Myōgi Shrine indicate the it was built in 537 during the reign of Emperor Senka. *Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken*, Myōgi Shrine: 妙義神社.”

195 Emperor Kōnin 光仁天皇 (709-781) was the forty-ninth emperor according to the traditional imperial order of succession.
The Nitta Manifestation

It is in Nitta. The spirit of Yoshioki is enshrined here. Nitta Yoshioki was the son of Yoshisada. During his travels through the northern provinces Yoshisada battled Minamoto no Aki-ie in this country. He later marched on Kamakura, overthrowing Yoshinori. After Yoshisada died Yoshioki was forced to live in

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196 Nitta Yoshioki 新田義興 (1331-1358), son of Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞 (1301-1338), was a samurai of the Southern imperial court during the Nanbokuchō era (1336-1392). In 1352, Yoshioki aided his father in raising an army in Kōzuke province 上野国 for a successful siege on Kamakura 鎌倉, temporarily chasing off Ashikaga Motouji 足利基氏 (1340-1367). However, they were eventually defeated and forced to retreat to Kōzuke province. He was later killed in Musashi province 武蔵国 at age 28. Nipponika, “Nitta Yoshioki 新田義興.”

197 Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞 (1301-1338) was dispatched by Hōjō clan 北条氏 to suppress the revolting Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339) in 1331. However, instead of attacking Go-Daigo, Yoshisada embraced the emperor’s cause and turned on the shogun, sacking Kamakura 鎌倉 and restoring Go-Daigo in 1333. Kodansha, EOJ, 1:22.

198 Kitabatake Aki-ie 北畠顕家 (1318-1338) was the governor of northern Japan under emperor Go-Daigo in 1333. When Ashikaga Takaui 足利尊氏 (1305-1358) revolted against Go-Daigo in 1835, Aki-ie thwarted this attempt and succeeded in expelling Takaui from Kyōto 京都. However, when Aki-ie returned home Takaui defeated Go-Daigo and installed Emperor Kōmyō 光明天皇 (1332-1380). After Takaui formed the Muromachi shogunate in 1337, emperor Go-Daigo fled to the northern court. Aki-ie was defeated in battle in 1338 by Takaui’s general Kō no Moronao 高師直 (-1351). Kodansha, EOJ, 4:224.

199 Ashikaga Yoshiakira (Yoshinori) 足利義詮 (1330-1367) was the second Shogun of the Muromachi Shogunate and the son of Ashikaga Takaui 足利尊氏 (1305-1358). In 1333, he participated in the attack on Kamakura 鎌倉. Nipponika, “Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮.”
fear. Yoshioki fought Takauiji on the Musashi plain and later invaded Kamakura, overthrowing Motouji. He tried to restore his family’s fortunes, but he was assassinated during a crossing at Yaguchi in 1358 by his family member Takezawa Ukon. Yoshioki’s spirit was enshrined to prevent him from returning as a vengeful spirit.

Chōraku-ji

It is in Serada. It has a 300-koku domain.

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200 Ashikaga Motouji 足利基氏 (1340-1367)

201 Takezawa Ukon 竹沢右近 (dates unknown)

202 Ikku’s source for this passage seems to be the kabuki play Shinrei yaguchi no watashi 神霊矢口渡 by Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728-1780). Ikku seems to have been interested in the topic as he published the Hastsushigure Yaguchi no Watashi 初時雨矢口渡 in 1828. The narrative centers on Nitta Yoshimune 新田義宗 (1335-1368), who has returned to the crossing seeking to recover his family’s magical arrows. When he is revealed to be a Nitta, he is pursued but eventually rescued by the woman Ofuna. One of the magical arrows slays Yoshimune’s pursuer enabling him and his wife to escape. Shōriya Aragorō ed., “Yaguchi no watashi,” Kabuki 21: All about Japan’s traditional theatre art of Kabuki, accessed May 9, 2018, https://www.kabuki21.com/yaguchi_no_watashi.php.
The temple was founded by Eichō.\textsuperscript{203} He picked up the basics of zen after completing his mystical studies as a disciple of Eisai\textsuperscript{204} of Kennin-ji. When Eichō died after dark on the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month in Höji 1 (1247).

It is said the temple shone like torchlight.

\textbf{Shiraiwa-ji}

An eleven-faced Kannon\textsuperscript{205} is the patron deity of this temple. It is the fifteenth stop on the Bandō Pilgrimage.

\textbf{Suitaku-ji}

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\textsuperscript{203} Shakuen Eichō 釈円栄朝 (1165-1247) was a monk of the Rinzai Sect 臨済宗 who lived in Kōzuke province 上野国 and studied under Myōan Eisai 明庵栄西 (1141-1215). Eichō opened Chōraku-ji 長楽寺 and spread zen teachings throughout the Kantō region 関東地方. \textit{Nihon jinmei daijiten}, “Shakuen Eichō 釈円栄朝.”

\textsuperscript{204} Myōan Eisai 明庵栄西 (1141-1215) learned Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism at Mt. Hiei 比叡山. He went to China twice starting in 1168. He passed on the Rinzai Zen teachings in Japan and founded many temples including Kennin Temple 建仁寺 in Kyōto 京都. Kodansha, \textit{EOJ}, 2:187

\textsuperscript{205} The eleven-headed Kannon 十一面観世音 has eleven additional heads above its head. Ten of these take the form of bodhisattvas 菩薩 and represent the ten stages of enlightenment. The topmost head is that of Amida Buddha 阿弥陀仏 from whom Kannon is said to emanate. Metropolitan Museum of Art, “The eleven-headed Kannon 十一面観世音,” accessed May 9, 2018, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/44893.
This temple is five-ri (15 km) further along the road to Ikaho. This is another stop on the Bandō pilgrimage circuit where you can see a thousand-handed Kannon.206

**Seisui-ji**

It is in Shiraiwa. There is a kannon.207

**Famous sites in Jōshū**

**Mt. Ikazuchi**

There is a pond at the base of this mountain. When it rains lightly, many dragon-snakes gather in the branches of the pine trees. This phenomenon is called Ryūtōmatsu.208

**Mt. Kurokami**

---

206 The thousand-handed Kannon 千手観世音 has a large number of hands radiating out from the figure in a circular pattern. It is also known as the thousand-handed, thousand-eyed Kannon 千手千眼観世音 because of its thousand merciful eyes and the movements of its hands, which are said to offer salvation to all living creatures. *Nipponika*, “Thousand-Handed Kannon 千手観世音.”

207 In 808, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro 坂上田村麻呂 (758-811) installed a thousand-handed Kanon 千手観世音 made by a monk who founded Kiyomizudera 清水寺 in Kyōto 京都. *Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken*, 354.

208 Ryūtōmatsu 龍蛇松 (Dragon-snake-pine)
There is another mountain of the same name in Bitchū. *Man’yoshū*:

The Kurokami mountain

When I crossed it in the morning,

By the dew [under the trees]

ah, I have become wet!

The Sano Boat-Bridge

There is another place with this name in Ōmi. Long ago, a man used to call on a woman across the river, but their parents were not pleased with this. They secretly removed four or five boards from the bridge. When the man unwittingly

---

209 Kurokami mountain 黒髪山 is an *utamakura* 歌枕, a poetic place reference originally seen in the *Man’yōshū* 万葉集 that typically referred to a mountain in Nara prefecture 奈良県. However, there are examples of it being used to refer to mountains in Tochigi 栃木県 and Okayama Prefectures 岡山県 (CMUM 1430). Ikku borrows this poem to describe a mountain in Gunma Prefecture 群馬県. Yoshiwara Eitoku. *Waka no Utamakura Chimei Daijiten* 和歌の歌枕地名大辞典 (Japan: Ōfū Publishing, 2008), 1430.

210 Ikku modified the original poem (*Man’yōshū* 万葉集 7/1241), changing “of the lower slopes 山下露” to “under the trees 木の下.”

crososed the bridge in the darkness, he fell into the river and drowned. The parents regretted their actions.\textsuperscript{212} There is an old poem:\textsuperscript{213}

\begin{quote}
At Sano\textsuperscript{214}

On the Eastland Way

The boat bridge lies broken now,

By parents parted:

I’lI see my love no more\textsuperscript{215}
\end{quote}

\textit{Ikaho Marsh}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{212} In Sano no Funabashi no Minwa 佐野の船橋の民話 Shōjirō 小治郎 and Nami ナミ were children of the daytime and nighttime bridge attendants who had been secretly meeting at night. Their parents conspired to make the bridge un-crossable, resulting in the unintended drowning of both Shōjirō and Nami. Anonymous, “Sano no funabashi kahi 佐野の船橋歌碑,” Takasaki City website, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.city.takasaki.gunma.jp/docs/2013121700481.

\textsuperscript{213} \textit{Man’yoshū} 万葉集 poem 3420.

\textsuperscript{214} “Sano boat bridge 佐野の舟橋” is an utamakura 歌枕, a poetic place reference to Sano in modern day Takasaki City 高崎市. It was used in love poetry where a feeling of longing is desired and often paired with engo (two words related in meaning) wataru (cross) and kakeru (span). Katagiri Yōichi, “Sano boat bridge 佐野の舟橋,” \textit{Utamakura Kotoba Jiten} 歌枕詞辞典. (Tōkyō: Kadokawa, 1983).

\end{footnotesize}
In the Shūishū:216

The plain of Ikaho

And Marshes of the same217

Somehow find a way

Oh, person that I long for

I will gaze upon you once more218

Iwagaki Marsh

Same collection:219

Far in deep mountains,

Walled around by Rock, a marsh—220

216 Shūi Waka Shū は拾遺和歌集 was the third imperial anthology of classical Japanese poetry. It consists of 20 scrolls containing 1,351 poems. Completed between 1005 and 1007 at the order of Emperor Kazan 花山天皇 (968-1008). This is poem number 859. Kodansha, EJO, 7:184.

217 “Ikaho Marsh” is an utamakura 歌枕, a poetic place reference to the volcanic lake above Mt. Haruna 榛名山 in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Katagiri, Utamakura kotoba jiten, 45.


219 Shūishū 934.

220 In Cranston’s translation, the phrase “Iwagaki Marsh” does not appear but is translated as “walled
Whose water hides

Nothing murky as a love

That stretches through years of no meeting

---

Figure 19. River fishing by torchlight

Tone River

around around by Rock 岩垣, a marsh 濯。”

221 Cranston, *Grasses of Remembrance*, 331, 332.
The upper stretches of Tone river are called the eastern river. It is a large river. Its waters are swift. In the *Shinchoku Senshū*:222

If I push my way through bamboo grass

my sleeves will get ripped—

even if I tread on stones

at Tone River,223

I shall travel along the riverbed

Mt. Niita

In the *Fubokushū*:224

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222 *Shinchoku Waka Senshu* 新勅撰和歌集 is an imperial poetry anthology compiled between 1232 and 1235 by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241) under the order of Emperor Go-Horikawa 後堀河天皇 (1212-1234). It contains 1374 poems in twenty scrolls divided into categories including seasons and love poetry. *Nipponika*, “*Shinchoku Waka Senshu* 新勅撰和歌集.”

223 This poem 新勅撰集 (#661) by Hitomaro 人麻呂 (ca 650s- ca709) contains an *utamakura* 歌枕, poetic place reference for the Tone River 利根川 in modern day Gunma Prefecture 群馬県 first seen in the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集. It evokes the feeling of a secret tryst. Yoshiwara, *Waka no utamakura chimei daijiten*, “*Tonegawa* 利根川.”

224 *Fuboku Wakashō* 夫木和歌抄, often abbreviated as *Fubokushū* 夫木集 and *Fubokushō* 夫木抄 was a privately selected poetry collection of poems compiled by Reizei Tamesuke 冷泉為相 (1263-1328) around Enkyō 3 (1310). *Nipponika*, “*Fuboku Wakashō* 夫木和歌抄.”
If I were to inform her

Would she scold me?

I shared my bed, upon the stones

With some girl or another

On Niita Mountain

Mt. Monokiki

It’s in Ikaho.

Usui Pass

---

225 Mt. Niita is an *utamakura* 楠枕, poetic place reference to an area in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. In an earlier *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 poem (3408), a lonely, but faithful poet pines for his distant lover during a visit to Mt. Niita. This *Fubokusho* 背木抄 poem is somewhat less faithful in tone. *Man'yō kai*, “Gunma-ken Ōta-shi Kanayama fumoto no Man’yō kahi 群馬県太田市金山麓の万葉歌碑,” *Man’yō kahi meguri* 万葉歌碑巡り, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www5a.biglobe.ne.jp/hpkoto/ara/manyou/gunmaotakanayamafumoto.html.
This pass marks the border between Jōshū and Shinshū. It is said that Yamato Takeru’s wife was Princess Ototachibana. During the time Takeru was placating the eastern lands, his boat was adrift on the ocean and in danger. Princess Ototachibana gave her life for Takeru’s. She jumped into the sea, then the wind ceased. When Takeru reached Usui slope he remembered his love for the princess, gazing out toward the southeast he lamented her shouting azumahaya “Oh, my wife.” From then on, the countries to the east of the mountain began to be known as Azuma.

Jōshū Famous Goods

---

226 Yamatotakeru no Mikoto 日本武尊 was a legendary hero, the son of the legendary 12th emperor Keikō 景行天皇 recorded in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712) and *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (720). As a violent youth he was feared by his own father who sent him out twice on subjugation campaigns, hoping he might perish. Kodansha, *EJO*, 8:311.

227 Princess Ototachibana 弟橘媛 was the wife of Yamato Takeru 日本武 who sacrificed herself to an angry water deity which had blocked passages of Yamato Takeru’s boats. Ototachibana’s sacrifice satisfied the deity and enabled Yamato Takeru to continue his campaign. Ibid.
Hino silk, woven-goods, Sano white ramie, Lacquer, Tobacco, Rocks used for Bonkei, and carp are all famous goods from the Tone river.

**Famous Sites in Shinshū**

**Mt. Sarashina**

It is in Sarashina district. In the Senzaishū:

Since the moon is identical

From province to province

Why is it then, that

moonlight seems so bright

on Mt. Sarashina?

---

228 Ramie is a member of the nettle family native to Eastern Asia used as a fiber in fabric production.

229 *Bonkei* 盆景 is a type of miniature landscape arranged on a tray or shallow bowl. Kodansha, *EOJ*, 1:161.

230 *Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集 (abbreviated to *Senzaishū*) is the seventh of Imperial anthology Japanese poetry. It was commissioned in 1183 by former Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192) and was completed in 1187 or 1188. Its twenty books contain 1,288 poems. Kodansha, *EOJ*, 7:68.

231 Mt. Sarashina is an *utamakura* 歌枕, poetic place reference with two uses. The moonlight at Mt.
Mt. Obasute-Same Location

Cross over the Chikuma River between Yashiro and Togura. Throw your aunt away and go. Kokinshū:232

Above the mountains

Forsaken Old Woman of

Sarashina shines233

The melancholy moon and

my heart is inconsolable234

Sarashina was revered for its beauty as far back as the Kokinshū 古今集 (905). Katagiri, Utamakura kotoba jiten, 185-186. Poet and essayist Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) wrote about the phenomenon called tagoto no tsuki 田毎の月 (a moon in every field) wherein the moon would reflect in flooded rice terraces, creating a vista filled with moons. anonymous, “Obasute no tanada おばすての棚田,” Welcome Shinano Chikuma-shi 信濃千曲市, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.geocities.jp/chikumacity/tanatop.html.

232 Kokin Waka Shū 古今和歌集 (abbreviated as Kokinshū) was commissioned under Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (897-930) and completed about 905 making it the first official poetry anthology. It contains 1111 poems. Kodansha, EOJ, “Kokin Wakashū.”

233 Sarashina 更科, the place is paired with a feeling misery and melancholy akin to the feelings felt by the Sarashina man after abandoning his helpless aunt on the mountain. Katagiri, Utamakura kotoba jiten, 185.

Otai

It is an open plain. There are circles in the grass\textsuperscript{235} where grass doesn’t grow and snow doesn’t accumulate. The ring forms to about 20 shaku (6 meters). Their origins are unknown by residents.

Mt. Ariake

Shoku Kokinshū:\textsuperscript{236}

Chilly, solitary slumber:

This cuff my lonely bedroll,

Ah, the autumn rains relentless

Clusters of clouds move in to darken

The brightness of Ariake Mountain\textsuperscript{237}

\textsuperscript{235} Ikku is likely referring to fairy rings, a phenomenon in which mushrooms or other fungus grow in a ring pattern up to about 10 meters in diameter. This is seen most often in forested areas but is sometimes seen in grass lands.


\textsuperscript{237} Ariake mountain 有明山 as an utamakura 歌枕, poetic place reference refers to the feeling of lonliness felt during the waning three-quarter moon which rises after 10 pm in autumn. After winning a
Chikuma River

The spring currents

of Chikuma River\textsuperscript{238}

so pure and clear—

were the snowcapped peaks

vanished so soon these days\textsuperscript{239}

Kirihara, Mochizuki

There are pastures in both places. These are sites famous for horses.

I think the royal horses

Of the stables at Mochizuki

Mussn’t feel winters chill

\footnotesize{woman’s affections and spending the early evening together, a man leaving under this moon might feel melancholy, lauding the fact that he had to leave when it was still so bright. Katagiri, \textit{Utamakura kotoba jiten}, 40.}

\textsuperscript{238} Chikuma River 千曲川 as an \textit{utamakura} 歌枕, poetic place reference evokes images of depth. Yōichi, \textit{Waka no utamakura chimei jiten}, 2325.

\textsuperscript{239} Ikku did not cite his source for this poem as he has up until this point, however this poem appears to be from the \textit{Fūga Wakashū} 風雅和歌集 (Scroll 3, poem 795).
At the foot Mt. Nunobiki,
Warmth blankets the place\(^{240}\)

**Mt. Takai**

Nayoshū.\(^{241}\)

If it ends like this
It will be unbearable:
merely glimpsing from afar:
clouds encircling Mt. Takai\(^{242}\)
from Shinano Road

---

\(^{240}\) This poem is attributed to Shakuson-ji 釈尊寺. Winter wind would blow from the north towards the pastures, but the construction of this temple shielded the horses somewhat from the wind, making the horses warmth a miracle of Kannon 観音, the merciful. Jūshoku Nikki, “Shinano Kannon meguri (pilgrimage) 信濃観音めぐり [巡礼],” Chōkoku-ji temple website, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.hasedera.net/m/index.cgi?mode=individual&eid=272.

\(^{241}\) *Utamakura Nayose* 歌枕名寄, published in *Kagen* 1(1303), is a list of *utamakura* 歌枕, poetic place references with 6000 example poems *Kotobanku*, “Utamakura Nayose 歌枕名寄.”

\(^{242}\) Mt. Takai 高井山, (high-mountain) as an *utamakura* 歌枕, poetic place reference is very straightforward evoking images of heighth. Yoshiwara, *Waka no utamakura chimei jiten*, #2127.
Mt. Urami

I wish to inquire

Though I do not know

The limit of your feelings

Oh, Resenting a lover

Is like the road to Urami Mountain²⁴³ ²⁴⁴

Aisome River

Shun’ushō:²⁴⁵

In Shinano Province,

the one who joins

threads of past lives,

²⁴³ While it is not clear if all appearances of Mt. Urami indicate a feeling of resentment towards a former lover, urami 恨み a homophone meaning ‘a grudge’ seems the most obvious homophone to provide a double-meaning to this utamakura 歌枕, poetic place reference.

²⁴⁴ Ikku did not cite his source, but it seems to be the Fūbokushō 夫木抄.

²⁴⁵ Suzuki Shigetsune 鰺重常, Shun’ushō 春雨抄 (1657).
that fearful god is there
at the edge of Aisome river

Kazagoshi Peak

Shikashū: When I see the windswept peak,
of Kazagoshi mountain from afar
I realize that the clouds
are gathered like possessions
hoarded among its slopes

---

246 This *utamakura* 歌枕, poetic place reference seems to evoke a feeling of danger, however other poems should be compared to confirm that this was actually a conventional usage.

247 *Shika Waka Shū* 詞花和歌集 is the sixth imperial poetry collection commissioned by emperor Sutoku 崇徳天皇 (1119-1164) between Tenyō 1 (1144) and Ninpei 1 (1151). *Nipponika*, “Shika Waka Shū 詞花和歌集.”

248 Kazagoshi Peak, 風越の嶺 (windblown peak) evokes strong wind imagery, making this a rather literal *utamakura* 歌枕, poetic place reference. It is often paired with a blown object, in this case clouds. Yoshiwara, *Waka no utamakura chimei jiten*, #998.
Figure 20. Volcano billowing smoke

**Mt. Asama**

It is located in the northeast of this country. Smoke billows from its peak.

*Ise Monogatari:*\textsuperscript{249}

---

There in Shinano

Smoke from Mount Asama\textsuperscript{250}

---

\textsuperscript{249} *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 is a Heian era (794-1185) classic of anonymous authorship. It is a collection of tales built around poetry and familiarity with it was considered indispensable for courtiers of the time.

\textsuperscript{250} Mt. Asama 浅間山 is an active volcano and as an *utamakura* 歌枕, poetic place reference is used to evoke a sense of burning infatuation. Katagiri, *Utakura kotoba jiten*, 14.
Rises to the sky:

A towering spectacle

No one near or far could miss.\textsuperscript{251}

\textbf{Kawanakajima}

The site of the battle of the Kōshin.

\textbf{Mt. Inukai}

In the \textit{Fubokushū}:

The snow billows

Scattered by the draft

Of my hunting falcon’s wing\textsuperscript{252}

The morning wind is cold

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{251} Tyler Mostow, \textit{The Ise Stories: Ise Monogatari} (Hawaii: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010), 30-31.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{252} Hashitaka 筆鷹 refers to the practice of burning an old chopstick in the cage of a recently caught hawking bird before placing a wild bird inside. The smoke was said to calm the animal, though this claim is dubious as small amounts of smoke can be fatal to birds, making it more likely that the bird was cowed rather than calmed. It also is an alternate name for the Eurasian Sparrowhawk typically pronounced \textit{haitaka 鶘}. Nichigai, “\textit{hashitaka はし鷹},” \textit{Kigo/kidai jiten 季語・季題辞典}, accessed May 9, 2018, https://www.weblio.jp/content/ハシタカ.
\end{flushright}
On Mt. Inukai^253

Kume Road Bridge

Shūishū:

Wood that lies buried^254

Will be eaten out by worms—

So it seems, they say;

Have a care when you go

Across that bridge on Kume Road^255 256

---

^253 Mt. Inukai 犬養の山 as an utamakura 歌枕, poetic place reference does not seem to flavor the poem beyond what reference to that area alone would achieve. Yoshiwara, Waka no utamakura chimei jiten, #518.

^254 That is, the buried portion of wooden support beams of the bridge.


^256 Kume Road Bridge as an utamakura 歌枕, poetic place reference seems to evoke feelings of danger. The Nagano prefectural anthem Shinano no kuni 信濃の国 quotes this poem “Be careful when you cross the Kume Road Bridge” 心してゆけ久米路橋. Takeuchi Rizō, ed. Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Daijiten: 20 Nagano-ken 角川日本地名大辞典: 20 長野県 (Tokyo, Japan: Kadokawa, 1990), 434.
The Ōchi Barrier

Nayose:

Ah, though I am of a mind

To come and go along

The Shinano Road!

The meeting road is steep

at Ōchi Barrier\(^{257}\)

Narai

The bush warblers\(^{258}\) of this valley sing well. There are many famous birds who

sing of the three heavenly lights “tsuki-hi-hoshi.”\(^{259}\)

\(^{257}\) Ōchi 会地 has the same pronunciation as ‘meeting road’ 逢う路 making this an utamakura 歌枕, poetic place reference that expresses a feeling of longing for reunion. Yoshiwara, Waka no utamakura chimei jiten, #234.

\(^{258}\) Ikku seems to be using bush warbler here as an umbrella term for singing birds.

\(^{259}\) The Japanese Paradise Flycatcher is a long-tailed bird summer called sankōchō 三光鳥 (three- heavenly-light-bird). They have dark green heads with cobalt-colored markings around the beak and eyes, green backs and white bellies. Males have 28 cm tails and the female 17 cm. Their call sounds like “tsuki-hi-hoshi.” 月日星 (moon, sun and stars). (Shōgakukan, “Sankōchō 三光鳥” Daijisen dai ni han 大辞泉第二版, accessed May 9, 2018, Japan Knowledge Database http://japanknowledge.com.)
The Waters of Lake Suwa

It is 3 ri (11.8km) around the lake beginning in Kamisuwa. After the lesser-cold,\textsuperscript{261} thick, hard ice covers the waters. After the divine fox crosses the ice, it is said to be as solid as land,\textsuperscript{262} and horses and people can come and go across it.


\textsuperscript{261} \textit{Shōkan} 小寒 (lesser cold) is around January fifth on the modern calendar.

\textsuperscript{262} Ikku’s source may have been the Meiwa 3 (1766) \textit{jōruri} 浄瑠璃 and \textit{kabuki} 歌舞伎 play \textit{Honchō Nijūshi Kō} 本朝廿四孝. Katsuyori 勝頼, the son of Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521−1573) and Yaegaki, daughter of Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530−1578) marry to heal the enmity between the two daimyō of the Kawanakajima Battles 川中島の合戦. However, when Shingen is assassinated, Katsuyori goes into hiding as a common gardener. However, Yaegaki discovers him and they reunite. Just then Kenshin appears and sends samurai to kill Katsuyori. Yaegaki prays with a magical helmet and a fox is sent that runs out over Lake Suwa, freezing it and allowing her to cross to save Katsuyori. Honchō Nijūshikō,
After the fox crosses again\textsuperscript{263} in the spring-dawning,\textsuperscript{264} the ice thaws and people may no longer cross. Foxes are said to understand ice well.

\textsuperscript{263} This second crossing is also visible as sheets of cracked ice in lines across the frozen lake. Both the initial freeze lines and the jagged ice lines are known as \textit{o-miwatari} 御神渡り.

\textsuperscript{264} \textit{Risshun} 立春 \,(spring-dawning) is around February fourth on the modern calendar.
Bunsei 5 (1822) Water-senior/Horse, \textsuperscript{265} third month, a fortuitous day

Moto Zaimoku-chō 1 chō-me

\textsuperscript{265} The Sexagenary cycle is a base-60 calendar system made by cycling 10 characters called heavenly stems with twelve characters called earthly branches. This year is nineteenth in the rotation. 1822 is one rotation of Water-senior/horse, and the next was 1882. TaoistStudy ed., “Sexagenary Cycle: Ten Heaveanly Stems and Twelve Earthly Brances,” Taoism and Taoist Study, accessed May 9, 2018, http://www.taoiststudy.com/chinese_astrology/sexagenary-cycle.
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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The translation and annotation *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai* was particularly rewarding as the research process revealed satisfying answers to many of my initial questions about the work. Why did a humorist write a guidebook for a religious pilgrimage? Jippensha Ikku was amazingly prolific across many genres and would write anything if there was an audience, including a straight-laced guidebook for religious pilgrimage. Why was *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai* classified as an ōraimono rather than a *dōchūki* (travel journal)? Purposely blurring the lines between genres or writing crossover works was a technique Ikku employed to great effect throughout his career. How did Ikku pump out thirty ōraimono in just four years? Ikku was an avid borrower and recycler, quote-mining famous works, repurposing materials all in an effort to keep publishing on a regular schedule. Ikku’s audience was the common people and he wrote what sold, in the case of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai* a book that women of a certain age might enjoy, dreaming
of their own pilgrimage. As much as I was unable to uncover and piece together, there is still a great amount of research left to do.

The dearth of transcription of head texts for ōraimono texts is a subject that I believe deserves further attention. Though I was able to find two different transcriptions of the main body of Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai and several volumes that summarized said contents, the head text were systematically ignored. I believe that this has to do with the goals of the researchers who catalogued these works, most of whom study ōraimono from the perspective of the history of education. It would seem that their main goal was more to catalogue examples of such works and summarize their contents quickly. It’s true, the gist of Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai is well enough understood without an examination of the head text, but these provide additional details that are vital for deeper study of individual works. For instance, what was the criteria that Jippensha Ikku used to select the temples he describes? Why are so many famous utamakura poems borrowed from other places to describe local landmarks? What sources did Ikku use tp come up with each of the head text? What was his intention in including this added information in the first place? To
answer these questions, it would be beneficial to examine the head text Ikku’s other ōraimono and compare them with similar works by his contemporaries. It would be interesting to track down all of Ikku’s sources (including his own past works) and use perform textual analysis of this work in order to figure out what his process was. Knowing this can tell us more about Ikku as it would give us some idea as to the books that he owned and referenced during certain creative periods.

Lastly, working to track down and catalogue extant copies of Ikku’s ōraimono will aid future research. It was no small task simply to find the four primary sources that I referenced for this project and I believe there are many more copies out there. However, lack of local cataloguing, outdated collection listings and other problems abound making the electronic consolidation of these works into one centrally available and regularly updated database a most worthy project. However, I do realize that this suggestion is less research proposal than a most expensive project which will require massive funding and cooperation by libraries and collectors.
APPENDIX

JAPANESE TRANSCRIPTION

A. Introduction to transcription

_Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai_ as a woodblock-printed text does not have easily readable characters written in recognizable fonts but is instead printed in penmanship unique to its calligrapher Seishū Sanbu. The nature of calligraphy makes _TZŌ_ somewhat inaccessible to the modern reader, as one cannot simply read it without first spending some time internalizing the conventions of calligraphy in classical Japanese. As such, even most Japanese readers today cannot simply read a text like this without investing some time and energy in deliberate practice. However, transcriptions of the main text\textsuperscript{266} have been published and while there are discrepancies between these transcriptions, they have been instrumental in making my own judgments about the methodology I would chose for my own transcription.

I have elected to transcribe the text as faithfully as possible to create an authoritative version which future researchers may make use of and to enable readers

\textsuperscript{266} As of the time of this publication, no transcription of the head text has been completed.
unpracticed in reading Japanese calligraphy to access the text in a more readable format than the original calligraphy. Older forms of Chinese characters will be used only when the calligraphy seems to suggest them, and alternate forms of characters will be included insofar as they exist in typeset.

The main body of the text is written in a grammatical style called sōrobun, with few phonetic character glosses included when compared to the exhaustive glosses included in the head text, which were written in standard classical Japanese grammar. Previous transcriptions contain a fair number of discrepancies in terms of Chinese character choice (old forms, alternate forms, or modern forms) which I will seek to harmonize in my own transcription. For instance, the first line of the main text in the original contains the characters 候得者 sōraeba.

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267 Sōrobun (候文) is a style of writing mostly used for letters and documents. It is grammatically similar to classical Japanese but its orthography makes extensive use of Chinese character and word order, omitting Japanese particles and conjugational suffixes wherever possible. This required the reader to perform a rather complex decoding operation to read sōrobun as Japanese. (kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan Japan Knowledge Database, January 15)
The *Nihon Kyōkasho Taikei Ōraihen* transcription rendered it 候得者 with the final character being an older form of the modern 者. Meanwhile the ADEAC transcription renders this same passage 候得は with the final character being the phonetic character ha は. My transcription of this passage will be 候得者 using the modern character 者 rather than the older form 者 because the original calligraphy is rather abbreviated and as such does not clearly indicate the older form. *Nihon Kyōkasho Taikei Ōraihen* states in its introduction that it uses older character forms as a matter of course unless a modern form is clearly used. I disagree with this methodology because the calligraphy itself seems to disagree with their transcription at several points. In my transcription, I will err towards simplified characters when in doubt, which aids modern readers who are more familiar with

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*Nihon Kyōkasho Taikei: Ōraihen, Volume 9: Chiri (1). (Page 1)*

126
the forms in use today.

The ADEAC may have indicated that the final character as は due the fact that an abbreviated version of the character 者 was commonly used and understood as a phonetic character rather than a character in certain contexts. This transcription style seems to fly in the face of what the sōrōbun style was intended to be: a form of written communication using primarily Chinese characters, minimizing the use of glosses. For this reason, I have decided to write more of the text in characters than the ADEAC edition.

While not exhaustive, TZŌ contains ample phonetic glosses alongside the characters that aid the reader, both in deciphering character readings and determining the order in which they are to be read. Though it may be jarring to readers of modern Japanese, I will maintain the original position of these glosses, which do not always stay next to their corresponding character as would be the case in modern Japanese. One of the advantages of the original position is that it served as a signal to the reader places where sōrōbun grammar
dictates that characters be read out of order. Take for instance the characters 不似合 which are to be read in the order: 似合不 as indicated by the phonetic gloss niawazu.

Though phonetic glosses would have been sufficient for contemporary readers to learn the proper reading order, modern readers unfamiliar with both classical Japanese in general and sōrōbun in particular may find themselves struggling. In order to assist the modern reader in parsing the sōrōbun text, punctuation such as “・” and reading-order markings such as “レ一” that aid in reading in the proper order will be included.

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269 Niawazu (不似合), “unbefitting,” appears in the first line of the second page of the main text.

270 These markings are known as kaeriten 返り点 and help to indicate reading order of characters. For instance the previous note’s text might be rendered as 不一似合一, indicating that characters to the left of 一 are read in order, followed by the character to the left of 二, indicating the order 似合不.
1. Japanese Transcription

a. Cover

Figure 24. Nishimiya cover transcription and Moriya cover transcription

b. Frontispiece
舟渡しは
斎（犀）川といふ。
水上は
飛騨の
国より
出て、
水上は
梓川と
いふ。筑广（摩）
川と

落合。此所にてハ
大河となり、
舟の棹
たづ、
綱にて
向ふへ
わたる
川なり

4a. Head text

上州神社佛閣
かいだうより
もよりよきとこ
ろばかりをしりす

赤城
あかぎ
三所社
かんら
都
ごほり
赤城山
にあり
社領五十石
の子也義貞

4b.妙義山権現

4c.榛名
はるな
山
社
しや
領五十石
別當
の子也義貞

4d.新田大明神

新田にあり義

新田大明神

4e.榛名山

4d.新田義興義貞

義
よし
興
おき
の
霊
を
祀
る

祭神

4d.新田義興義貞

義
貞
北国

4e.榛名山

光仁帝宝亀

新田義興義貞

磐筒雄の大神

4e.榛名山

の子也義貞

社領五十石別當

経巡りし時義興

新田義興

妙義山権現

いまだ考へず

赤城三所社

甘楽 都 赤城山

寺高顕院と云

にあり

光仁帝宝亀

興の霊を祀る

が出現

4a赤城三所社

白雲衣山石塔

4d新田大明神

新田にあり義

にあり社領五十石

光仁帝宝亀

興の霊を祀る

社主宮内祭神

年中の草造

○新田義興義貞

磐筒雄の大神

4e.榛名山

の子也義貞

允恭天皇之朝

社領五十石別當

経巡りし時義興

新田義興

妙義山権現

いまだ考へず

赤城三所社

白雲衣山石塔

4d新田大明神

新田にあり義

にあり社領五十石

光仁帝宝亀

興の霊を祀る

社主宮内祭神

年中の草造

○新田義興義貞

磐筒雄の大神

4e.榛名山

の子也義貞

允恭天皇之朝

社領五十石別當

経巡りし時義興

新田義興

妙義山権現

いまだ考へず

赤城三所社

白雲衣山石塔

4d新田大明神

新田にあり義

にあり社領五十石

光仁帝宝亀

興の霊を祀る

社主宮内祭神

年中的草造

○新田義興義貞

磐筒雄の大神

4e.榛名山

の子也義貞

允恭天皇之朝

社領五十石別當

経巡りし時義興

新田義興

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白雲衣山石塔

4d新田大明神

新田にあり義

にあり社領五十石

光仁帝宝亀

興の霊を祀る

社主宮内祭神

年中の草造

○新田義興義貞

磐筒雄の大神

4e.榛名山

の子也義貞

允恭天皇之朝

社領五十石別當

経巡りし時義興

新田義興
当国にありて 源の祟をなし 仍面神音坂東順礼十

顕家と合戦し に祀らる 五番の札所

鎌倉を攻て義 6a 長楽寺

詰を破る義貞 世良田にあり寺

没して後は膝踏 領三百石

おること年あり 正 〇開山栄朝ははじめ

平年中尊氏と 密学にくはしく後に

むさし野に戦ひ 建仁寺栄西和尚

たちに鎌倉に入り にしてがひ禅宗の

基氏を破破り 要旨を受宝治

又再挙を謀る 元年九月廿六日

然るに延文三年 戊時に滅す時に

矢口の渡しにて 寺内 明かなること

家人竹沢右近が 蝦蟶の如しと云

為に 弁れ其を 6b白岩寺

本尊十一面観
龍蛇の松と云
中に橋より堕て
水上を 東 河といふ

黒髪山
溺死す父母後 悔
大河なり水早し

備中に同名あり
して嘆きしなり
新勅撰集に

万葉集
古歌に日
筬分は袖こそやれめ

うは玉の黒髪山
取はなし親さくれば
とね川の石はふめ

を朝こへて木の下
妹にあはむかも
ともいさかはらより

露に鴨にけるかな

伊香保の沼
拾遺集に

近江に同名あり茜
いかほのやいかほの沼
とね川の石はふめ

何某の 男 川向ふの
いかにして恋しき人
むにみた山岩根の

女に通ふを父母よ
を今ひとめ見む
枕 たれにかはすと

ろこびずして 秘 には

板の中四五枚を放つ

彼 男さとらず閣

笛吹峠

上信の国 城也
日本武尊の妻を
弟橘姫と云尊
多葉粉盆山石

東征の時王子の舟
鯉とね川の名ぶつな

海中に漂蕩へうとうして
危したちばな姫

王子の命にかいり海
更科郡にあり

に入風やむ其後尊
千載集に

碓臼日の坂にいたりて
何国とも月は分しを

姫の情を思い出し
いかねれはさやけかる

東南を望み吾
更科山にあり

嬬者耶と嘆
屋代と戸倉の間

絹ふ故に山東の諸
筑摩川をわたり

国を吾妻の国と
おばすててゆく

いふとぞ
古今集

上州土産

日野絹織物

佐野白茶 漆

柚木はやと

10a更科山

11a有明山

小田井

10c

11b筑摩川

片敷の衣手寒く

時雨つあり明の山に

かいるむらくも

すみにけり消てと幾
日の嶺のしら雪

春雨抄

甲信合戦の地

しのなる相初川の

はたにこそすくぜ

結ぶの神は在せ

12c風越の嶺

詞花集

風越しの嶺を遠

見る時は雲は麓の

ものにぞありける

12d浅間が嶽

雷国の 長 にあり

頂上毎に煙出る

伊世物語に

信濃なるあさまの

だけにたつ煙遠近

人のみやはとめむ

13a川中嶼
奈良井

此谷の鶯よくさへ
づる三光の名鶯多し

諏訪の湖水
上諏訪めぐり三里
毎年小寒の後堅

d. Main Text
本郷通追分方広

5L鶴町を過ぎ、庚申塚より

休足いたし、板橋の駅

を経て、戸田の辻に羽

黒之社を金一遥拝し、蔵、

浦和より大宮権現を

6R打過、上尾宿、桶川宿、

鴨巢より熊谷迄は四

里八町之間ニ而、当中に

吹上之建場有し之。土手

之内十八町、久下村を過、

6L熊谷蓮生之旧跡、

深谷傍示堂ハ武士

両国之境之由。奉庄、

神奈川打涉、新町、

倉賀野を経候而、高崎

7R宿は越後路又者伊

香保、草津之別れ道

有し之。自後板鼻、安中

駅ニ者妙義道右之方ニ而、

松井田、坂本ハ白井崎之

7L廃、熊野権現の社は

信上之境ニ鎮座有。軽

井沢、平倉之原、沓掛、

追分は、信濃なる浅間

山与詠し潤野之駅ニ而、

8R直に行は京街道木

曽道、左之方小諸江

出候得者、善光寺其
外北国恵還也。田中、海

野を打過、上田の町、

夫ヶ坂、戸倉、屋代之涉

より姨捨山長楽寺、

冠山杯被、見渡、絶景

徃時甲越之戦場、斎

川を打越、善光寺町ニ

杖を止見候得ハ、商家旅

泊軒を交、殊ニ繁昌の

地、金、驚歎、佛都之光

景左茂可有敵。夫善

光寺之来由ハ、欽明

天皇十三年、本尊

来従、百済、難、渡来、

敢信無之。推古天皇

三海利評之。伊奈郡

麻績里宇沼村ニ建

寺。其後皇極

元年、仍而、佛勅、水内

郡ニ建立有。本願者本

田善光。因兹為、寺号

寔、天然

霊佛、利益、著明

聖徳太子、如来与徃

復之書通、詩哥之応

答有之事、風雅集

埃嚢抄之小史ニ茂

天皇十三年、本尊如

有之。堂塔之荘厳ハ
靈場、詣人挙而垂渴

仰之頭、信念不怠、戒

壇之玄妙又絶絵也。

壇之玄妙又絶絵也。

且、未明毎尊開扉

有し、旅泊反人堂中ニ

充滿而、称名念誦如

潮涌、雖-無智短才之

卑俗、不催感淚は無

之様被、思、實-難-有申計

者無之候、侯自後戸隠へ

参詣之志願候而、荒町、

牟礼井を打過、従-柏原-

直道者北国街道、左之

方戸隠山之道漸投

杖-合-登山、広前-奉

伊勢内宮相殿之左

伊勢内宮相殿之左

九頭竜権現八、伝日、神

九頭竜権現八、伝日、神

坊主きたる、もよよさる

鎮座有。以-梨-為-神供。

汝、応はく-諸々

者無-之候、侯自後戸隠へ

参詣之志願候而、荒町、

牟礼井を打過、従-柏原-

直道者北国街道、左之

方戸隠山之道漸投

杖-合-登山、広前-奉

則-當山地主神-而、神

則-當山地主神-而、神

伊勢内宮相殿之左

伊勢内宮相殿之左

九頭竜権現八、伝日、神

九頭竜権現八、伝日、神
十辺舎一九著
青洲三武敬書
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>東都</th>
<th>地本間屋</th>
<th>森屋治兵衛板</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>七不思議越後往来</td>
<td>奥羽名所往来</td>
<td>肥前長崎往来</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>浪花名所文章</td>
<td>金花山塩竃寺説文</td>
<td>越中立山加賀自山北國往来</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>小本懷宝初心塵劫記</td>
<td>越中立山加賀自山北國往来</td>
<td>熊野那智玉津岡文章</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>《秋葉風来寺説文》</td>
<td>《金州金毘羅往来》</td>
<td>《馬喰町二丁目》</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>《文政五壬午年三月吉日》</td>
<td>《文政五月丁年三月吉日》</td>
<td>《文政五壬午年三月吉日》</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 25 Nishimiya colophon tand Moriya colophon contents
B. PLACE NAME GLOSSARY

**Ageo Post town 上尾宿**- located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Ageo is the fifth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. It was popular as the first place to rent lodgings after starting travel from Edo 江戸. Due to mixed Plateaus and lowlands close by, this was also a popular destination for falconers. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen)* Nakasendō (Nagano, Japan: Shinano Mainichi Shunbunsha, 2016), 28.

**Aisome river 相初/会染の川**- is a district name in the west central part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県 found in the *Shungashō* 春雨抄. Since the Sai river 犀川 runs nearby the district, it is likely that Aisome river could be a popular name for the Sai river in Ikku’s day.

**Akagi Sansho-sha 赤城三所社, ‘Akagi Three-site Shrine’**- A reference is found in the Nanboku-chō era (1336-1392) *Shintō Shū* 神道集, a book detailing the legendary and/or historical origins of temples and shrines. Originally, only the two lakes of Mt. Akagi were indicated as manifestations known collectively as *Nisho Meijin* 二所明神, or “two-site kami.” It became “three-site” with the addition of Mt. Akagi 赤城山. There are shrines that correspond with each of the locales.

**Akiha, Hōrai-ji temple pilgrimage 秋葉鳳來寺詣**- Akiha refers to Akihasan Hongū Akiha shrine 秋葉山本宮秋葉神社 in Tōtōmi province 遠江国 in the eastern part of modern day Shizuoka prefecture 静岡県. Hōrai-ji temple is located in Mikawa province 三河国 in the eastern part of modern day Aichi prefecture 愛知県. Although they are located in different provinces, the two locations are only 50.7 km apart on foot. Google Maps, accessed May 10, 2018. https://maps.google.com.

**Annaka post town 安中宿**- located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Annaka is the fifteenth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. It has two natural terraces, the
upper has Annaka Castle 安中城 and samurai mansions and the lower has the post town. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō*, 74.

*Aramachi 新町* - located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Aramachi is the first post town after Zenkō-ji post town 善光寺宿 on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. It was originally three separate towns but eventually incorporated to a single post town. Wholesalers from each of the former three villages divided up the business. Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidou wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata* (Nagano City, Japan: Shinano Mainichi Shinbun, 2015), 102.

*Azuma 吾妻* - located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県 north of Mt. Asama 浅間山.

*Azusa River 梓川* - originates at Mt. Yarigatake 槍ヶ岳, the second highest peak in the mountains of modern day Gifu prefecture 岐阜県. It flows through the Kamikōchi valley 上高地の谷 in modern day western Nagano Prefecture 長野県, and joins the Narai River 奈良井川 near Matsumoto city 松本市 to form the Sai river 犀川. Kodansha, EOJ, “Azusa River.

*Bandō 33 Kannon Pilgrimage 坂東三十三箇所* - is a circuit of thirty-three temples, each with a sculpture of a different form of the Kannon Bodhisattva enshrined in modern day Kantō region (Bandō). Although the Bandō circuit was originally male-oriented, women nonetheless prayed at many of the individual temples. Donald Richie, “Pilgrimage for the 21st century,” Japan Times News, February 29, 2000, accessed April 28, 2018,
https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2000/02/29/culture/pilgrimage-for-the-21st-century/#.WmJHmSNjYmw.

*Bicchū province 備中国* - located in the eastern part of modern day Okayama Prefecture 岡山県.
Capital 京街道 and Kiso roads 木曽路 both refer to the Nakasendō road 中山道.

Chikuma River 千曲川 originates at Mt. Kobushigatake 甲武信ヶ岳 in the modern day Kantō region 関東地方. It flows through the Saku 佐久盆地, Ueda 上田盆地, Nagano 長野盆地 and Ōyama river basins 飯山盆地 before entering Niigata Prefecture 新潟県 where it becomes the Shinano River 信濃川. Kodansha, EOJ, “Chikuma River.”

Chōraku-ji 長楽寺 is located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Tokugawa Yoshisue 徳川義季 (dates unknown) of the Nitta clan 新田氏 had the temple built in Jōkyū 3 (1221). During the Edo Period (1600-1868) it came under the protection of Tokugawa Ieyasu when he claimed that he was a descendent of the Nitta Family and it should therefore be considered a Tokugawa family temple.

Echigo province 越後国 refers to an area mostly congruous with modern day Niigata prefecture 越後国, minus Sado island 佐渡島.

Echigo road 越後路 more often refered to as Mikuni road 三国街道, branched off of the Nakasendō road 中山道 at Takasaki post town 高崎宿 and went north to Echigo province 越後国 over Mikuni pass 三国峠. It had 25 Post towns. Nipponika, “Echigo road 越後路.”

Etchū Mt. Tateyama 越中立山/Kaga Mt. Shira 加賀白山 refers to a mountain in the eastern part of Etchū province which is mostly congruous with modern day Toyama prefecture 富山県. Mt. Shira may refer to Shirayama hime shrine 白山比咩神社 in Kaga province 加賀国, the southern area of modern day Ishikawa prefecture 石川県.

Fukaya Hōjidō深谷傍示堂 located on the border of Musashi武蔵国 and Kōzuke provinces 上野国. There was a rest area and tea shop here. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 55.
Fukaya post town 深谷宿 - located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Fukaya is the ninth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Although Ikku mentions Fukaya Höjidō 深谷傍示堂, he write the post town. This post town was renowned for employing large numbers of meshimori onna 飯盛女 (prostitutes) for inns. It may be that omitting the post town name and instead opting to mention a religious site in the area was a calculated decision by Ikku to comply with censorship rules. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 48.


Haguro shrine 羽黒の社 - the shine to the Haguro Avatar 羽黒権現 at the Toda Crossing is a famous site that was described in the Edo Meisho Zue 江戸名所図会, that no longer exists. ADEAC Digital Archive system, “Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai (Naiyō).”

Hida province 飛騨国 - refers to the northern area of modern day Gifu Prefecture 岐阜県.


Hizen province 肥前国 - refers to area of modern day Saga 佐賀県 and Nagasaki prefectures 長崎県.

Hokkoku road 北国街道 - describes a network of roads that connect central Honshū 本州 with Nīgata 新潟県 and three other prefectures. The branch Ikku describes begins at
Oiwake post town 追分宿 on the Nakasendō road 中山道 and continues to Zenkō-ji Temple 善光寺 and beyond to Kashiwabara post town 柏原宿. The Shogunate used this road for Daimyō processions and to transport gold from Sado 佐渡, making it the next most important road after the 5 highways 五街道.

Honjō post town 本庄宿- located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Honjō is the tenth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Its position on an alluvial fan gave the area a good water supply. The population of Honjō post town exceeded 4500 people, making it second in population to Ōtsu post town 大津宿 in modern day Shiga Prefecture 滋賀県. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 52.

Hyakusai 百済- more commonly pronounced kudara, it refers to the ancient Baekje Kingdom of the Korean Peninsula.

Ikaho Marsh 伊香保の沼- refers to the volcanic lake Haruna which surrounds Haruna Fuji in the Mt. Haruna cluster in modern day Gunma prefecture.

Ikaho 伊香保- located in the central part of modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. References to Ikaho are first seen as a place name in the love poems of fourteenth scroll of the Man’yōshū 万葉集. Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken, 115.

Ina district, Omi village, Unuma town 伊那郡麻績村宇沼- is located in modern day Ina City 伊那市 in southern Nagano prefecture 長野県. Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken, 206.

Ise shrine 伊勢神宮- located in modern day Mie prefecture 三重県, it is one of Japan’s oldest and most holy shrines dedicated to the Sun goddess Amaterasu 天照大神. In the Edo period religious pilgrimage to Ise and Osaka 大阪 along the Tōkaidō road 東海道 were very popular.
Itabashi post town 板橋の駅 - located in modern day Tōkyō prefecture 東京都. Itabashi is the first post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. It was named for a wooden bridge 板橋 that spanned the Shakujī River 石神井川. Itabashi prospered due to the large number of people that would travel in parties as far as this post town before well-wishers wished travelers well and returned home. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 11.

Itahana post town 板鼻宿 - located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Itahana is the fourteenth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Bridges were forbidden on the Usui river �碓氷川 and crossings were sometimes halted due to dangerous conditions. Out of the seven post towns in the area, Itahana had the greatest number of Hatagoya 旅籠屋 (inns for travelers) (54). Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashihen)Nakasendō, 70.

Iwagaki marsh 岩垣の沼 - Although one popular explanation says ‘Iwagaki’ refers to the volcanic lake on Mt. Akagi 赤城山 in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県, another explanation says it was merely a noun phrase meaning ‘fence of boulders.’ Yoshiwara, Waka no Utamakura Chimei Daijiten, 521.

Jōshū 上州 - refers to Közuke Province 上野国, an area mostly congruous with modern day Gunma Prefecture 群馬県.

Kamisuwa 上諏訪- the portion of modern day Suwa city 諏訪市 located on the southeastern side of lake Suwa 諏訪湖 in central Nagano prefecture 長野県.

Kanna river 神流川- runs through modern day southwest Gunma Prefecture 群馬県. It originates on the northern face of Mt. Mikuni 三国山 in the modern day Kantō region 関東地方. It flows north and east. When it reaches the border of modern day Saitama Prefecture 埼玉県 it joins the Karasu River 鳥川 which in turn joins the Tone River 利根川. Nipponika, “Kanna river 神流川.”
Kanra district 甘楽郡- located in southwest Kōzue province 上野国, which is mostly congruous with modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県.

Karuizawa post town 軽井沢宿 (elevation 690 m)- located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Karuizawa is the eighteenth and northernmost post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Cool summer temperatures made this a popular destination. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 88.

Kashiwabara柏原- located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Kashiwabara is the third post town after Zenkō-ji post town善光寺宿 on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. Kashiwabara and neighboring Furuma post town 古間宿 were treated as a single post town. Businesses was shared by dividing up the month but the honjin 本陣 (inn for government officials) were in Kashiwabara. This place was famous as the home town of the poet Kobayashi Issa 小林一茶 (1763-1827). Kishimoto, Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata, 110.

Kawanakajima 川中島, ‘island in two rivers’- refers to an area of land near modern Nagano city 長野市 enclosed by the Sai 犀川 and Chikuma rivers 千曲川. Nipponika, “Kawanakajima 川中島.”

Kirihara 桐原, Mochizuki 望月- located on the northern slopes of Mt. Tateshina 蓼科山 in the central part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Mochizuki 望月 refers to stabled horses that were presented to the emperor on the full moon of the eighth lunar month 望の月. Mochizuki is the twenty-fifth stop on the Nakasendō road 中山道 and outside of course prescribed by Ikku. Kadokawa Nihon chimeidaijiten: Nagano-ken, 420, 1105.

Komoro Post town 小諸宿- located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Komoro is the second post town of the Hokkoku road 北国街道. Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 (1872-1943) drew attention in poetry to the oddity that Komoro Castle 小諸城, often
referred to as a hole castle due to its being built below the surrounding plain, is below its own lower castle city. The approach of the Hokkoku road turns sharply in seven places before entering the post town, in an effort to slow a potential enemy invasion. Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata*, 10.

**Kōnosu post town 鴻巣宿** - located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Kōnosu is the seventh post town on the Nakasendo road 中山道. Many would rent lodgings for the second time. There was a doll district in the southern and outer parts of Kōnosu. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendo*, 36.

**Kōshin no tatakai 甲信の戦い, Battle of Kōshin** - Kōshin is a compound of the first characters of Kai province 甲斐国 and Shinano province 信濃国 that refers to the Battle of Kawanakajima. Although the conflict was between the lords of neighboring Echigo 越後国 and Kai provinces, it was fought in Shinano province. Interestingly, the word Kōshin 甲信 (Kai-Shinano) makes no direct reference to Echigo.

**Kōshinzuka sexagenary mound庚申塚** - was erected in 1657. Its proximity to the road made it an ideal place for travelers to rest. On the night of Kōshin in the Sexegenary cycle, believers gather here. This custom originated in the Muromachi Era. Taoists teachings say that the three corpses (Demonic beings that enter their host at birth and hasten to bring about their death) leave the bodies on this night to confess their sins to the supreme deity. During the Edo Era both Buddhists and shintō priests preach this faith, spreading it to the commoners. Many are seen as stone images of the Buddha. Japan Knowledge, *Edo Meisho Zue* 江戸名所図会, accessed May 10, 2018, http://japanknowledge.com.

**Kōzuke province 上野国** - refers to an area mostly congruous with modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県.

**Kuge Town 久下村** - located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県.
Kumagaya post town 熊谷宿- located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県.
Kumagaya is the eighth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Oshi-Han忍藩 policy limited the number of *mushi onna*飯女(working women) allowed resulting in fewer travelers interested in renting lodgings. Kumagaya is hot in the summer time and holds the record for Japan’s highest temperature. *Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen)* Nakasendō, 42.

Kumano Gongen Shrine 熊野権現の社- was a *jingū-ji*神宮寺 (temple enshrining both Buddhist and Shintō deities) known today as Kumano Kōdai Shrine 熊野皇太神社. There were tea houses in this area for travelers. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken*, 433.

Kumano Nachi 那智熊野/Tamatsushima 玉津嶌- Kumano Nachi shrine 熊野那智大社 is located in the eastern part of modern day Wakayama prefecture 和歌山県. Tamatsushima shine 玉津島神社 is located in the western part of the same prefecture.

Kume Road bridge 粂路のはし- is a bridge that spans the Sai river 犀川 canyon in the mountains near modern day Nagano city 長野市.

Kuragano post town 倉賀野宿- located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県.
Kuragano is the twelfth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. A road used to transport annual imperial offerings branched off of the Nakasendō road. Kuragano was the largest river harbor in the Tone river valley利根盆地. *Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen)* Nakasendō, 62.

Kusatsu 草津- located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県, on the southeastern foothills of Mt. Kusatsu-shirane 草津白根山. Known for its hot springs since the 12th century, Kusatsu holds a hot-spring festival every August. *Kodansha, EOJ, 4:319.*

Kutsukake post town 杏掛宿- located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県.
Kutsukake is the nineteenth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Kutsukake,
Karuizawa 軽井沢 and Oiwake post towns 追分宿 were the closest post towns to Mt. Asama 浅間山. Kutsukake is a place name seen across Japan, but here it refers to the custom of travelers changing into new straw sandals after Usui Pass 碓氷関所 and hanging their old ones up for good luck. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashihen)* Nakasendō, 92.

Lake Suwa 諏訪湖 - located in the central part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. The forming and cracking of surface ice is the inspiration for the legend of foxes being an indicator of safe times to travel on the ice. When the ice cracks, fissures form in long lines along the surface. This phenomenon is called o-miwatari 御神渡り.

Matsuida post town 松井田宿 - located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Matsuida is the sixteenth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Mt. Myōgi 妙義山 and Matsuida Castle 松井田城 are visible to the south. Shinshū Han 信州藩 used Matsuida as a relay point for the annual shipment of rice taxes to Edo 江戸, earning it the monicker “rice town” 米宿 Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen)* Nakasendō, 80.

Meguro Ikehama pilgrimage 目黒池上参詣 - may refer to a pilgrimage to Ikehama Honmon-ji 池上本門寺 where Nichiren 日蓮 (1222-1282) is said to have died. The temple is located in modern day Tōkyō prefecture 東京都.

Minochi district, Imoi township 水内郡芋井郷 - is located in the northern part of modern Nagano city 長野市. The origin of the name ‘minochi’ comes from the twisting banks between the mountains and the Sai river 犀川 giving the impression of standing on an island. Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken, 1078.

Minochi 水内 - refers to an area located in the northern areas of modern day Nagano City 長野市.
Mt. Akagi 赤城山 (elevation 1828m) - located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県 is one of the ‘three mountains of Jōmō’ 上毛三山, along with Mt. Myōgi 妙義山 and Mt. Haruna 榛名山. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken*, 302.

Mt. Ariake 有明山 (652m) - There are two Mt. Ariake in modern day Nagano Prefecture 長野県, one in the central area near Azumino city 安曇野市 and the other near Chikuma city 千曲市 in the north. Central Mt. Ariake (2268.3 m) is the more famous of the two, but since it is not a visible landmark along the course prescribed by *Togakushi San Zenkō-ji Mōde*, it is likely Ikku borrowed poetry intended for that mountain to refer to Northern Mt. Ariake (652 m). *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken*, 114.

Mt. Asama 浅間山 (2568m) - an active volcano on the border of modern day Gunma 群馬県 and Nagano prefectures 長野県. It has erupted 50 times in recorded history. Kodansha, *EOJ*, 1:95.

Mt. Hakūn 白雲山 (1103.8 m) - is a sub-peak of Mt. Myōgi 妙義山 in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken*, 916.


Mt. Haruna 榛名山 (1448m) - located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県 is one of the ‘Jōmō Three Peaks’ 上毛三山. It is referred to as Ikahone 伊香保嶺 in the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集. In the middle of Edo era, pilgrimage to this mountain was popular amongst farmers. There are two shrines on this mountain: Ikaho 伊香保神社 and Haruna 榛名神社. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken*, 788.
Mt. Ikazuchi いかづち山- There is no mountain called Ikazuchi (lighting) in modern day Gunma Prefecture 群馬県. It may have been a popular name for Mt. Haruna 榛名山. Gunma prefectural website, “Gunma no fūbutsu, natsu no kaminari to fuyu no karatsukaze 群馬の風物、夏の雷と冬の空っ風,” accessed May 10, 2018, https://www.pref.gunma.jp/contents/000326174.pdf.

Mt. Inukai 犬養の山- usually refers to Mt. Inukai in the central part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Ikku could be referring to Mt. Manbutsu 万仏山 in northern Nagano prefecture, where a mountain castle named Inukai is located. Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken, 166.

Mt. Kaburiki 冠着山 (1252 m)- a mountain in modern day Nagano Prefecture 長野県 commonly referred to as Mt. Obasute 姨捨山. The mountain is associated with the legend of a man who abandoned his aging aunt in the mountains at the behest of his wife. It is recounted in Yamato Monogatari 大和物語 and Konjaku Monogatari 今昔物語.” Kodansha, EOJ, 6:48.

Mt. Kazagoshi 風越山 (1535 m)- is a mountain in the southern part of modern day Nagano Prefecture 長野県. (Digital Daijisen Shogakukan) It would seem that Ikku is repurposing this utamakura poetic place reference for mountain in the Zenkō-ji temple 善光寺 area, but it is unclear if this is a conventional usage.

Mt. Kinka 金花山/Shiogama 塩竈- may refer to to Koganeyama Shrine 黄金山神社 on Mt. Kinka 金華山, an island off of the Oshika peninsula 牡鹿半島 in modern day Miyagi prefecture 宮城県. Shiogama refers to Shiogama city off of Matsushima bay 松島湾 in the same prefecture.

Mt. Kurokami 黒髪山 (1411 m)- a mountain in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県 more commonly known as Mt. Sōma 相馬山. It is a mountain of the Mt. Haruna 榛名山


Mt. Myōgi 妙義山 (1103m)- located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県, it is one of ‘Jōmō Three Peaks’ 上毛三山.


Mt. Nunobiki 布引山- is the mountain name 山号 of the Shakuson-ji temple 釈尊寺 located in the eastern part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. It that was built into a cliff just to the north Mochizuki horse stables. Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken, 601.

Mt. Obasute 姨捨山- See Mt. Kamuriki 冠着山.

Mt. Sarashina 更科の山 (see Mt. Kaburiki 冠着山)- The etymology is derived from a story from Yamato Monogatari 大和物語 wherein a Sarashina man gives in to his nagging wife’s request to abandon his elder aunt on Mt. Kafuriki 冠着山/Obasute 姨捨山 (aunt-toss out-mountain). Katagiri, Utamakura Kotoba Jiten, 185-186.

Mt. Takai 高井山- refers to a mountain located in the northern part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. It is also the sangō 山号 (mountain name) of Kōsei-ji 高井寺 in the same area. Yoshiwara, Waka no Utamakura Chimei Daijiten, 2127.
Mt. Togakushi 戸隠山 (1904 m)- located in the northern part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県.


Murei 南礼井- located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Murei is the second post town after Zenkō-ji post town善光寺宿 on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. This area is famous for their snowfall and as the halfway point in the procession of the Kaga-Han 加賀藩 daimyō to Edo 江戸. Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata*, 106.

Musashi province 武蔵国- refers to an area covered by modern day Tōkyō prefecture 東京都 and parts of Saitama 埼玉県 and Kanagawa prefectures 神奈川県.


Myōgi 妙義- located in the eastern part of modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県.


Nakasendō road 中山道- connects Edo 江戸 to Kyōto 京都 along a mountainous northern route that eventually traverses the Kiso Valley 木曽谷. For this reason it is called both the Capital and Kiso Road 木曽路.
Naniwa 浪花 - an old name for modern day Ōsaka city 大阪市.

Narai 奈良井 - located in the central part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県．

Nitta district 新田郡 - located in the southeast of Közue province 上野国, which is mostly congruous with modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県．

Ōchi barrier 会地の関 - located in the southern part of modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県 during the Wadō era (708-715). Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken, 100.

Oiwake post town 追分宿 (elevation 980 m) - located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Oiwake is the twentieth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道 and the first post town on of the Hokkoku road 北国街道. Oiwake literally means ‘branch in the road’, in this case of the Nakasendō road and Hokkoku road. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 96.

Okegawa post town 桶川宿 - located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Okegawa is the sixth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Safflower trade was a major industry in the town and stone lanterns commemorating the contributions of safflower merchants during the Tenpō famine 天保の飢饉 (1833-1837) can still be seen. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 32.

Ōmi province 近江国 - refers to an area ostly congruous with modern Shiga Prefecture 滋賀県.

Ōmiya Avatar 大宮権現 - refers to the avatar of Hikawa Shrine 氷川神社 in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. ADEAC, Togakushi Zenkō-ji ōrai, “gendai yaku”, accessed
Ōmiya post town 大宮宿- located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Ōmiya is the fourth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Despite the fact that it had the most subsidiary honjin 脇本陣 (inn for government officials, or commoners of sufficient wealth) of all of the post towns on the five great roads 五街道, the post town was relatively small. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō*, 24.

Otai 小田井- located on the southern slopes of Mt. Asama 浅間山, it descends steeply southward to the Sakudaira plain 佐久平盆地. It was the next post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道 after Oiwake post town 追分宿, where the course of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai* follows the Hokkoku road 北国街道. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Nagano-ken*, 282.

Ōu 奥羽- refers to the region of northern Japan occupied by modern day Fukushima 福島県, Yamagata 山形県, Miyagi 宮城県, Akita 秋田県 and Aomori prefectures 青森県.

Sai River 犀川- originates at the confluence of the Azusa梓川 and Narai Rivers 奈良井川 near modern day Matsumoto city 松本市 in central Nagano prefecture 長野県 and flows into the Chikuma River 千曲川 in Nagano City 長野市. Kodansha, *EOJ*, “Sai River.”

Sakaki post town 坂木宿- located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Sakaki is the sixth post town on the Hokkoku 北国街道. Originally the location of Murakami clan 村上氏 it slowly became a bakufu administrative town. The kanji used to write ‘Sakaki’ 坂木 were changed in Meiji 19 (1886) to 坂城 to avoid confusion with kanji in Sakamoto post town 坂本宿 on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata*, 26.
Sakamoto post town  坂本宿- located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Sakamot is the seventeenth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. The construction of this post town at a right angle to the road in the foothills of the Usui pass 碓氷峠 was ordered by bakufu officials. Mt. Haneishi 剱石山 towers over the town. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō*, 84.

Sano boat-bridge  佐野の船橋- refers to a crossing over the Karasu river 鳥川 in modern day Takasaki city 高崎市 in Gunma Prefecture 群馬県. Boat-bridges were temporary constructions made by lining up boats and running boards along them, similar to a pontoon bridge.

Sanshū Konpira Ōrai 讃州金比羅- Sanshū is another name for Sanuki province 讃岐国 located in an area mostly congruous with modern day Kagawa prefecture 香川県. Konpira refers to Kotohira-gū shrine 金刀比羅宮 in the same prefecture.

Sarashina district  更級郡- was located in northern Shinano province 信濃国, an area mostly congruous with modern day Nagano Prefecture 長野県.

Seisui-ji temple 清水寺- located in central modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Its principal deity is a thousand-handed Kannon Bodhisattva 千手観世音菩薩. This temple is made in the style of Kiyomizudera 清水寺 in Kyōto 京都, and is written using the same name characters. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken*, 354.

Sekitō-ji 石塔寺- Myōgi shrine 妙義神社 had a Sekitō-ji temple which functioned as a village temple. It was a branch temple of Nitta Chōraku-ji 新田長楽寺. The peaks of Mt. Myōgi 妙義山 are its enshrined deities. *Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken*, “Myōgi Shrine 妙義神.”

Serada  世良田- located in eastern part of modern day Gunma Prefecture 群馬県.
Shinano province 信濃国- refers to an area mostly congruous with modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県.

Shinano road 信濃路- is an alternate name for the Nakasendō road 中山道.

Shinmachi post town 新町宿- located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Shinmachi is the eleventh post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. This post town was established fifty years later than its neighbors due to a change in the course of the Nakasendō road to the opposite bank of the Karasu river 鳥川. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 58.

Shinshū 信州- refers to Shinano province 信濃国, an area mostly congruous with modern day Nagano Prefecture 長野県.

Shira-iwa 白岩- located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. There are two theories for the etymology of Shira-iwa (white boulders). One says that it gets its name from white boulders found under the cultivatable land. The other says that there was at one time a temple in the area named Shira-iwa. Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten:Gunma-ken, “Shira-iwa 白岩.”

Shiraiwa-ji白岩寺- refers to Chōkoku-ji 長谷寺 in modern day Gunma prefecture as evidenced by its mountain name 山号 Mt. Shiraiwa 白岩山 and its status as the fifteenth stop on the Bandō 33 Kannon Pilgrimage坂東三十三箇所. Chōkoku-ji is said to have been established by En no Gyōja 役行者 (634-701). Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken, “Shira-iwa 白岩.”

Sugamo town 巣鴨宿- located in modern day Tōkyō prefecture 東京都.

Suitaku-ji水沢寺- Located in modern day northern Gunma prefecture, Suitaku-ji is also called Mizusawa-dera. Kadokawa Nihon chimei daijiten: Gunma-ken, “Suitaku-ji
Takasaki post town 高崎宿 - located in modern day Gunma prefecture 群馬県. Takasaki is the thirteenth post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. This post town followed the road a greater distance than any other post town on the Nakasendō road. Ii Naomasa 井伊直政(1561-1602), one of the four celebrated generals 徳川四天王 of the Tokugawa Shogunate, built his castle here and as a result other daimyō were forbidden to lodge here. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 66.

Tanaka post town 田中宿 - located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Tanaka is the third post station on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. A massive flood in 1742 caused catastrophic damage to the post town. Kishimoto, Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata, 14.

Tanbashima post town 丹波島宿 - located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Tanbashima is the ninth post town on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. It is surrounded by mountains, the Chikuma river 千曲川 and Tanba river 丹波川, making it a sort of land-bound island. When the Zenkō-ji road 善光寺街道 became the Hokkoku road in Keichō 16 (1611) it became a post town. Kishimoto, Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata, 94.

Toda crossing 戸田の渉 - In the Edo Era, the average width of the river was 100m, which is actually narrower than today (160m) so the ferry crossing at Toda would have been relatively short. Samurai and priests crossed for free. Kishimoto, Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō, 11.

Togakushi road 戸隠山の道 - diverges from the Hokkoku road 北国街道 in Kashiwabara Post town 柏原宿. Kishimoto, Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata, 112.
Togakushi shrine 戸隠神社 - is located near Mt. Ōzuna 飯綱山 northwest of Zenkō-ji temple 善光寺 near modern day Nagano city 長野市.

Togura post town 戸倉宿 - located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Togura is the seventh post town on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. Upper and lower Togura were separated by 2 km. All trade activities took place in Lower Togura until the twenty-first of the month and moved to Upper Togura the remainder of the month, effectively splitting the fruits of commerce and trade between both towns. Kishimoto, Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata, 30.

Tone river 利根川 (322 km) - is the second longest river in Japan originating in the mountains in modern day Niigata prefecture 新潟県 mountains and terminating in Tōkyō prefecture 東京都. Kodansha, EOI, 8:74.

Tōto, Bakuro-chō 2 chō-me 東都馬喰町二丁目 - location of the Moriya Jihei 森屋治兵衛 publishing house. Tōto, Bakuro-chō 2 chō-me is located in the Nihonbashi district 日本橋区 of modern day Tōkyō. The publishing house of Nishimiya Shinroku 西宮真六 was only about 8 km away in Moto Zaimoku-chō 本材木町. Google maps, accessed May 10, 2018, https://maps.google.com.

Tōto, Moto Zaimoku-chō 1 chō-me 東都本材木町一丁目 - location of the Nishimiya Shinroku 西宮真六 publishing house. Tōto Moto Zaimoku- chō is located in the Nihonbashi district 日本橋区 of modern day Tōkyō. The publishing house of Moriya Jihei 森屋治兵衛 was only about 8 km away in Bakuro-chō 馬喰町. Google maps, accessed May 10, 2018, https://maps.google.com.

Ueda post town 上田町 - located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Ueda was the fifth post town on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. Ueda was a castle town 城下町 under the Sanada clan 真田氏 that later under the control of Matsushiro-han 松代藩. Though Ueda’s political allegiances changed, its residents loved the Sanada symbol of six coins.
which is displayed prominently around Ueda city to this day. Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata*, 22.

**Unno post town** 海野宿—located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Unno is the fourth post town on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. In medieval times this post town contained Unno clan mansions. After the Edo period Unno became a Silk-production town— to this day Unno shows signs of its post town and silk production past. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō*, 18.

**Urawa post town** 浦和宿—located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Urawa is the third post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. It was a busy marketplace and today there are stone monuments to commemorate its twenty-seven markets.” Kabayaki 蒲焼 (sweet soy sauce fish skewers) were invented here and enjoyed by many travelers. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō*, 20.

**Usui Pass** 碓氷峠—located on the border of modern day Gunma 群馬 and Nagano 長野 prefectures, it was the steepest stretch of the Nakasendō road 中山道. Kodansha, *EOJ*, 8:182.

**Warabi post town** 蕨宿宿—located in modern day Saitama prefecture 埼玉県. Warabi is the second post town on the Nakasendō road 中山道. Occasionally crossing the Toda River 戸田川 was impossible due to unsafe conditions, so two large honjin 本陣 (inn for government officials) were built for government officials. Kishimoto, *Roman no tabi (higashi-hen) Nakasendō*, 19.

**Yashiro Crossing** 矢代之渉—a cable-pull river crossing similar to Tanbashima crossing 丹波島の渡し (see opening illustration of *Togakushi Zenkō-ji Ōrai*). Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata*, 36.

**Yashiro post town** 矢代宿—located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Yashiro is
the eighth post town on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. Located on the flood plain of the Chikuma River千曲川. A road bound for Matsushiro han松代藩 converged with the Hokkoku road making Yashiro a particularly bustling post town. Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata*, 34.

**Zenkō-ji post town** 善光寺宿 - located in modern day Nagano prefecture 長野県. Zenkō-ji is the tenth post town on the Hokkoku road 北国街道. The town outside of the Zenkō-ji temple gates served both as commercial district and post town. There were over thirty honjin 本陣 (inn for government officials) that served processions to Edo as well as common inns for those on pilgrimage including thirty-nine pilgrim lodging mini-temples 宿坊. This post town was crowded with pilgrims hailing from all corners of Japan. Kishimoto, *Hokkoku Kaidō wo Aruku: Kyūkyoku no Arukikata*, 98.
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