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Osaka University
Saikoku Pilgrimage and the Tradition of Omiyage

Mihaela Lacramioara Sighinas

Travel in the Edo period

The phenomenon of Edo-period pilgrimage has been said to be, in recent years, a forerunner of modern Japanese tourism, in the sense that travel patterns that apply to the Japanese people can be traced back to this period, when pilgrimage to famous religious places such as the Ise Shrine and the 33 temples on the Saikoku circuit flourished. During this time, ordinary people started to travel widely, thus leading to an overall increasing mobility in early modern Japanese society. The travel practices that developed in the context of the Tokugawa period pilgrimage are said to account for the characteristics of present-day Japanese tourism, such as the preference for group travel organized by a professional guide, the desire to visit well-known places, the importance of memorial photographs, and souvenirs, and the custom of purchasing miyage (gifts) for family and friends.

Travel in the Edo period increased due to the creation of an extended road system that enabled people in all walks of life to travel to the big religious centres, for religious and recreational purposes. Alongside this pilgrimage boom, commercial transport flourished and the system of alternative attendance by a feudal lord in the capital (sankin kōtai) became possible. Nevertheless, the number of people travelling on the roads became so large that especially from the late seventeenth century onwards, the authorities found it hard to control who and where was travelling. Thus, the phenomenon of nukemairi (the custom of making pilgrimages to the Grand Shrine of Ise by young men and women
who could not receive permission from their masters and parents, without making the necessary notification to the officials) became the practice of the day. The German physician Englebert Kaempfer, who was employed by the Dutch traders residing on Deshima in Nagasaki, was also startled by the heavy traffic. In 1696, he remarked, “It is scarce credible, what numbers of people daily travel on the roads in this country, and I can assure the reader from my own experience, having pass’d it four times, that [the] Tōkaidō … is upon some days more crowded, than the publick streets in any [of] the most populous town[s] in Europe.” From this kind of description, it is very easy to imagine that Japanese people in the Edo period travelled widely. Under a feudal system that didn’t allow people to travel freely, unless ostensibly for religious or medical purposes, people enjoyed travelling for pleasure at the destination and on their way to the destination. Leaving home was a big event, celebrated with a farewell party where relatives and friends presented the traveller with farewell gifts: “On the day of the departure, friends and relatives accompany the travelers to the town limits, where they throw a farewell party for them. The well-wishers kindly give the travelers advice for the road - and is this not an enviable thing? In addition, those who travel on business or other mundane matters every year to all parts of the country, whether they are young or old, feel tense and are full of nervous energy before setting out.”

There are three times in the history of Tokugawa pilgrimage when a travel boom takes place due to a very large increase in the number of people engaged in the nukemairi practice: the first one takes place in 1705, the second one in 1771, and the third one in 1830. Vaporis mentions that “with as many as an estimated five million (out of a population of about 30 million) converging on the sacred Ise Shrine in 1830, by the beginning of the nineteenth century we can speak of a veritable “travel boom” taking place.” Therefore, the practice of making a pilgrimage in groups (the origin of the current guided tours) had already been established during this time.

As Kaempfer noted, many people moving from one place to another, either on official duty (the feudal lords made to travel to the capital city every other year) or on commercial business (the merchants whose increasing thrive can be said to have been
brought about by the increasing number of ordinary people taking the roads) had made the Tōkaidō even more crowded than any European public street. Yet the real reason for this outburst of people on the roads was the number of laymen travelling after having obtained the officials’ permission to visit sacred places. Although the official reason for travelling was pilgrimage, stepping outside of one’s own village brought about a new world that needed to be discovered, a world as much entertaining as religious. In the *Saikoku Sanjūsansho Meisho Zue* (Illustrated Guide to the Famous Places of the Thirty-Three Stations of Saikoku), by Akatsuki Kanenari (1793 or 4-1861)\(^5\), originally published in 1853, we find illustrations describing places of entertainment (tea houses, street performances) always filled with people the majority of which are pilgrims\(^6\). These strong features of entertainment are indicated by the fact that in the Tokugawa period the length of the journey increases, and the number of stops pilgrims make while journeying also grows considerably. Ordinary people’s travel purpose is no longer the mere visit to temples and shrines alone, but also famous places (*meisho*), historical sites (*kyūseki*), and other attraction spots. A clear example is the fact that people living in the capital would pay a visit to the sacred Ise Shrine, and instead of returning home immediately after, they would travel further west to complete the Saikoku pilgrimage circuit which requires the visit to 33 temples enshrining the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kannon. Moreover, on the way home a different route would very often be preferred, as it allowed people to enjoy different sights and experience new things. On their way home pilgrims would stop at different places of interest, therefore delaying their arrival even further.

**Saikoku Pilgrimage and illustrated road guides**

In response to the needs of ordinary pilgrims, individual temples as well as commercial publishing houses began to publish pilgrimage-related books. Among these were road guides (*junrei annaiki, dōchuki*), lavish pictorial guides to famous places (*meisho zue*), and pocket prayer-books (*goeikashū*). Such works provided pilgrims with a common matrix of stories, images, ritual incantations, and directions to help them on the road.
Vaporis states that “the physical evidence of a culture of movement (an adaptation of Nishiyama Matsunosuke’s “kōdō bunka”) is enough to indicate that travel during the Tokugawa period had become a form of recreation, or yusan tabi (“pleasure-seeking travel”), an escape from the rigid pattern governing day-to-day living, a time when, according to the early-eighteenth-century author Jippensha Ikku, one could flee from the bill collectors at the end of the month and cleanse one’s life of care.”

Moreover, according to James Foard, there is some evidence to suggest that the feudal authorities in Tokugawa Japan encouraged people from Edo and its environs to go on pilgrimages to Saikoku because this helped develop a sense of national identity, opening their eyes to the cultural and historical splendours of Japan.

In order to accommodate these huge numbers of travellers, towns and pleasure quarters developed near major religious sites, most of them found on the Saikoku pilgrimage. The Pilgrimage to the Thirty-three Holy Places of Kannon in the Western Provinces of Japan (Saikoku pilgrimage) is a circuit pilgrimage including 33 temples dedicated to the Kannon bodhisattva that starts at Seigantoji temple in Kumano and ends at Kegonji temple on Mount Tanigumi, in Mino Province. Most of the pilgrims starting their journey from Edo visited Ise first before moving on to the Saikoku pilgrimage that could be reached easily from Ise to the first stop along the circuit, at Kumano.

Monzen machi - literally “town in front of the gate” - were commercial areas which developed around shrines or temples, offering accommodation, food, gift shopping and brothels. These towns developed to serve the pilgrims they attracted.

The types of establishments in post stations give evidence of the commercialization of pilgrimage. The entrance to the stations were lined with eating and drinking establishments catering to travellers. Walking through the settlement, the weary traveller was assaulted by the sales pitches of women from the inns and teahouses, who sometimes forcibly tried to drag prospective patrons into their establishments. In deciding at which inn to stop for the night the traveller had quite a selection, and to a certain extent the type of lodging he would choose was determined by the amount of cash he had.

While the ostensible purpose of many travellers was a pilgrimage to Ise or the Saikoku
circuit, generally the pilgrims were in no hurry to get there, taking a very leisurely 38 days or up to 3-4 months to make the trip. In the case of Ise, once the obligatory stop at the shrine was completed, many travellers headed for the temple-front town (monzen machi) of Ise known as Furuichi, where many teahouses, brothels and play houses were concentrated. For those not seeking carnal pleasure, taking in a performance of Ise ondo, a type of dance that could not be seen in the three metropolises, was something that could not be missed; kabuki and kyogen were among the other types of entertainment available there. After the pilgrimage was completed, travellers continued on their journey for several more months, visiting most of the major tourist sites in the land. For Tokugawa travellers, the pleasures of the trip, the local delicacies, the entertainments, and the prostitutes made the trip as much as the actual pilgrimage did. The Saikoku Sanjūsansho Meisho Zue (Illustrated Guide to the Famous Places of the Thirty-Three Stations of Saikoku) illustrates an inn (hatagoya) in the Kumano region, where samurai, merchants and mainly pilgrims are seeking shelter⁹, and also the Mikka-ichi Station in Kawachi Province, where two women from the inn can be seen grabbing the pilgrims’ hat and sleeve in their attempt to persuade them spend the night there¹⁰.

This illustrated guide also includes many illustrations of hot spring resorts, for example the Hongu Hot Spring Resort in Kumano and Moto no Yu (hot spring resort between Tanabe and Yuzaki), famous for equally curing all sorts of diseases, including smallpox, penile fracture, wounds from swords, postmoxibustion, prickly heat and skin eruptions. A trip to such hot springs was often included in the itinerary of pilgrims who were not in a hurry to get home; others made special trips to hot springs.

According to James Foard, in the Saikoku Sanjūsansho Meisho Zue (Illustrated Guide to the Famous Places of the Thirty-Three Stations of Saikoku) “the pleasures of the trip have come to the fore, and we seem to have crossed the threshold to tourism¹¹.” This heavily illustrated text takes the reader only to the eighth station, Hasedera, but still requires ten volumes. Although the author includes the necessary temple legends, there are no pilgrim songs, no list of benefits, no list of Kannon types, and no ritual prescriptions mentioned. Instead we have useful maps and directions, discussions of
inscriptions and epitaphs, quotations of battle epics and poetry collections, measurements and even cutaway diagrams of temple treasures and oddities (like the remains of Masuda Pond and the mysterious stone Sakafune-iwa in Asuka Village, nowadays Nara Prefecture) - in short, everything to make the trip a pleasure.

The tradition of meibutsu and omiyage

An important concept to develop from the pilgrimage era is that of meibutsu and omiyage. Vaporis notes that very early in the Tokugawa period, Hayashi Razan’s travel diary titled Heishin Kiko (A Journey of 1616) mentions the various souvenirs available to travellers at the different post stations along the Tōkaidō and that each station had its own “famous product” (meibutsu), like pounded rice cakes (Abegawa mochi), a cultural product (Narumi tie-dyed cloth, Nishijin silk, Bizen pottery, religious charms or talismans [oharai]), or wood-block prints (ukiyo-e or nishiki-e).

A Journey of 1616 was perhaps the first travel diary to mention the souvenirs sold to travellers at the different stages along the Tōkaidō. For example, at Shōno, a region located in the northern part of Mie Prefecture, he mentioned “In the private houses of this place they stuff parched rice into little ‘bales’, which they set out at every door. The ‘bales’ are about fist-size; there are also some that look like hammers. They wrap them in the shape of hourglasses and tie them at the ends. Travellers buy them and take them home as souvenirs.”

The word tsuto or iedzuto appears for the first time in the Manyoshu Collection to refer to a present brought home after a journey. The word is still used in modern Japanese language to refer to bracts used for wrapping up natto. Needless to say, back then the word didn’t have the connotation of famous local product. Moreover, since most journeys were done by sea, it was often a marine product, either shells or seaweed. Below are three examples of poems that use the word tsuto or iedzuto.
I’ll cull the salt tamamo at ebb tide
to take home to my darling wife (No. 360)\(^1\)
(潮干なば玉藻刈りつめ家の妹が浜づと乞はば何を示さむ)\(^2\)

This poem was written by Yamabeno Akahito, and it describes a time when the husband would bring back seaweed to his wife as a souvenir or gift from the sea.

Gathering seashells for remembrance,
I am caught unawares by crawling waves (No. 3709)\(^3\)
(家づとに貝を拾ふと沖辺より寄せ来る波に衣手濡れぬ)

This poem was written by an envoy sent on a mission to Silla (a kingdom located in southern and central parts of the Korean Peninsula) at Takeshiki Bay in Tsushima Island, and the product that he is gathering for remembrance is seashells. A distinct feeling of homesickness comes about from this scene, where the man gathering the seashells gets his sleeves soaked in water as his thoughts fly to the dear people he has left at home.

Every morning driftwood lies along Naniwa’s shore:
no pretty shells for souvenir when I go home once more (No. 4396)\(^4\)
(独り江水に浮かび漂ふ糞を見、貝の玉の依らざることを怨恨て作りし歌一首堀江より朝潮満ちに寄るこつみ貝にありせばととにせましを)

This poem was written by Ōtomo no Yakamochi, a junior assistant minister of the Hyobusho Ministry of Military, and it is also included in Book Twenty, which is made up of a lot of famous poems written in extreme conditions far from home. The heart of the man seeing the splinters drifting towards the shore, and wishing they were seashells he could take home as souvenir discloses a mixed feeling of love, sadness and loneliness.

All these poems were written by men, as men were the only ones who could endure the hardships of travel in an age when there were no inns, therefore the nights had to be spent...
in the open, and the perils encountered on the road were many. Instead of the famous local product that people think about as a souvenir nowadays, in the age of the Manyoshu the souvenir comes as a natural feeling of the person travelling to bring something home to his family or beloved ones. The souvenir is a food ingredient, a product of the sea, which all Japanese people, and especially those living in the mountainous areas without an opening to the sea, would have been delighted to receive.

In the Japanese dictionaries of archaisms, miyage is phonologically explained as a word that might have three possible roots and meanings: miyage could come from miyake (a container that people took with them on the occasion of their visit to a shrine, in order to transport the offerings to the shrine; the offerings were local products that people presented to the gods as gifts, hence the broader meaning that was later attached to the word). Miyage could also come from miyake (small storehouses spread throughout Japan used to keep grains, salt and other local products that were used by the imperial family, and transported regularly to the capital). And the third possible root, miyage could come from mi-age, literally meaning to raise your eyes, to look up, in the sense of being a product that you look at carefully, choose and then give to someone dear. If we are to take into consideration this last word root, miyage is not just a tsuto or iedzuto, a product that you take back home with you after a journey, it also includes a selection based on a sense of value. From the Muromachi period onwards, local specialities began to appear in each region, and therefore a shift from the products that were very familiar to all people in the Manyoshu period, to miyage took place; this shift enabled a value judgement brought about by the variety of options to choose from.

With the appearance of the system of alternative attendance once every year by all feudal lords in the capital (sankin kōtai), Edo souvenirs started to thrive, answering the need of the feudal lords to take back products of Edo to their wife, children and parents. The products soon took on the role of material proofs that helped the feudal lords when talking about the lavish life in the capital and the things people surrounded themselves with in their everyday life. Therefore, the products started to include nishiki-e, famous food ingredients and sweets, medication, pottery and other. Shops selling souvenirs
started to appear first in Edo, and people all over the country became aware of the urban lifestyle and strived to imitate it. Souvenirs thus appeared in other major cities and along the main roads of Japan.

The Tōkaidō had already assumed the role it would play throughout the Tokugawa period, with “famous products” (meibutsu) and literary associations for each of the fifty-three stages. A Journey of 1616 is also the ancestor of the many works of fiction that would describe travel between Edo and Kyōto.

In the Edo period, stores or young pedlars sold a variety of goods to travellers, such as straw sandals and fans (some of which doubled as travel guides appeared). Post stations and urban centres all had specialty products (meibutsu) that provided nourishment to travellers or served as souvenirs and gifts. By the late seventeenth century, this in itself had grown to be an important industry, further encouraging a more commercialized and secularized type of travel, as can be seen from a shop near Hasedera advertising its specialty product on the signboard.

This illustration in the Saikoku Sanjūsansho Meisho Zue (Illustrated Guide to the Famous Places of the Thirty-Three Stations of Saikoku) shows Yoryū-tei in Kurozaki village, near Hasedera Temple, selling manju, buns filled with sweet bean paste, the local famous product (meibutsu), catching the interest of the passers-by among whom the figure of pilgrims can also be seen.

As stated above, meibutsu is considered to be a key part of the on-site markers, and may consist of natural products, such as rocks, seashells, vegetables, fruits, kinds of wood, or they may be cultural products, such as silk in Nishijin, pottery in Mashiko, wooden bears in Ainu-land, fuda (vows written on paper) and omamori (charms and talismans) as souvenirs from temples and shrines respectively, and more - all portable objects. Meibutsu also includes such stationary items as buildings, scenery, and statues.

Since many of the pilgrims in the Edo period were villagers who could not afford the expense of the journey, groups called kō had developed, which would raise money from all its members and then determine by lot the members that were sent on the journey to the holy site to pray for all kō members. The journey would usually take place in early
spring, before work on the rice fields began. When time came to return home, it became important that he brought back material proof that he had been to the sacred place initially chosen to visit, since the costs of his journey had been borne by everyone who was a member of that kō. This is the reason why omiyage nowadays include fuda (vows written on paper) and omamori (charms and talismans).

Conclusion

The large number of souvenir dealers at Ise caught Saikaku’s attention, leading him to remark that, “Souvenir dealers, making their livings by selling their whistles, sea-shell spoons, and edible seaweed, are as countless as the grains of sand on the seashore.”

The Saikoku souvenirs in the Edo period were made up of Miwa-somen, mugwort rice cakes, Izumo dolls, green tea-flavoured dumplings, dolls made of tea trees, Otsu paintings, crucian carp sushi, things that anyone living in the Kansai region still buys today as souvenirs.

According to scholar Mariko Ikkai, features of Japanese pilgrimage like the kō (village or religious groups) and the giving of miyage (gifts) are still such an important part of Japanese travel culture today.

Graburn believes miyage to be an important legitimizing onsite marker, symbolizing the link between the traveller and those of their group left behind. In modern travel, money and senbetsu (other gifts) are still given to friends and family preparing to travel.

Like modern tourists, it appears that Tokugawa travellers could be more concerned with such “onsite markers” as placards, plans, and appropriate souvenirs than with the sites themselves, “as though they were checking off a list of having truly visited the approved sights by the mere recognition of the markers”, as Nelson Graburn puts it.

For the Japanese people, when you say the word travel you say souvenir (omiyage), and this thought grows naturally by reflex. When away on a business trip or just going on a one day sightseeing trip, people buy souvenirs for their colleagues at work or for their family at home. The relation between the traveller and the persons left at home is
reconfirmed through this act of buying and receiving a souvenir that has been chosen after making a value judgment so as to suit and bring joy to the person who receives it.

A brief look at the development and style of the Saikoku pilgrimage in Japan, and of the *omiyage* custom especially in the Edo period, has helped to identify that certain cultural perceptions on pilgrimage continue to exist and still represent a major element in the pilgrimage practice today. Although a lot of the *omiyage* have disappeared in time, a fair amount can still be recognized today, especially in the Kyoto-Nara-Shiga region, making the link from past to present.

*Miyage* (gifts) in Japanese culture are material symbols, part of a movable material culture brought about by the pilgrimage phenomenon that started at the middle of the seventeenth century. They are material statements of the pilgrimage tradition that deserve a better study and acknowledgement to be transmitted outside Japan.

Although the Saikoku pilgrimage is only an example of the pilgrimage culture that developed during the Edo period, it is a window towards the other sacred places that people visited across Japan; visiting the 33 sacred temples on the Saikoku pilgrimage circuit allowed pilgrims to have access to other sceneries, entertainments and pleasures that wouldn’t have been accessible otherwise.

Taking into consideration the relation between pilgrimage, commercialized tourism and the tradition of *meibutsu* and *omiyage*, this paper is only the first step towards analysing the role of these material symbols and how they shaped the culture of movement illustrated in the travel guidebooks of the time.

**Notes**


The same argument can be found in Akinori Kato, “Package Tours, Pilgrimages, and Pleasure Trips” (Ueda Atsushi ed., *The Electric Geisha: Exploring Japan’s Popular Culture*, Kodansha
USA Inc, 1994), pp.51-59


4 Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*, Harvard University Asia Center, 1995, p.15

5 The author of several guidebooks, including the *Konpira sankei meisho zue*, originally published in 1847.


10 Ibid, p. 452


12 Constantine Nomikos Vaporis, *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*, Harvard University Asia Center, 1995, p.224


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and Buying Behaviour”), The Kandai Syougaku Ronkyu (The Journal of Hakodate University), Vol.9, pp.69-91
西国巡礼と土産文化

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要旨:
西国三十三所は観音菩薩の仏像を安置し、ありとあらゆる現世の災禍を救い、神通自在の能力をもって安穏な「来世」への導きをする仏として存在する。そして、人々は昔から各地の観音菩薩を祀る寺院へ参拝した。霊場の寺々には、仏の救いを約束するために、さまざまな霊験譚が語られ、庶民の文化交流のうえでも、重要な役割を果たしている。霊場に伝わる霊験譚や、仏前で歌う御詠歌は、観音に寄せる庶民の期待を物語っている。

江戸時代になると各札所を巡るだけではなく、名所巡りが盛んに行われるようになった。それに従い、縁起・霊場記・霊験記、道中記（案内記）・道中日記（巡拝記）、御詠歌集及びその評釈書、絵図・地図、名所図会が出版される。この出版物の中特に図絵を通して巡礼者は視覚的にも巡礼の道を楽しむことが出来るようになった。

地図以外にも、道中に持って行く必要なもの、道中に買わないとけない名物や家に残っている家族に持って帰り土産を描かれている。土産は巡礼文化の一つの重要な要素であり、現代にいたっても変わりがない。その上、江戸時代に出回り始めたお土産（名物）の中で今日まで残っているものがある。

本論文ではお土産に焦点を当て、その歴史と文化巡って論じると同時に、お土産は未だに現代の巡礼文化の重要な役割を果たしていることについて考察していく。

Keywords: pilgrimage, road guides, souvenirs, omiyage