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Contents

VOLUME 7, SPRING 2022

Contributors and Article Summaries

Inter-Changeable Religions: A Style of Japanese Religious Pluralism in Hirado Island Villages, Northwestern Kyushu

SATOSHI IMAZATO

NAGOYA UNIVERSITY
PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY

This article posits an explanation for Japanese religious pluralism from a geographical perspective through the study of villages on Hirado Island in Nagasaki Prefecture, including former Hidden Christian villages. In these villages, different religions assume limited roles to meet the residents' basic ritual demands. The latter are based on a spatially structured worldview of the village as a unified arrangement according to the specific situation of each village. For such demands the entire community and all households are regarded as "customers." In contrast, priests as "business professionals" have their own "customer areas" and skillfully maintain their livelihood through competition and negotiation among themselves. For the residents, these priests or religions are inter-changeable for the rituals of shrines and other religious sites. Both residents and priests are tolerant of this coexistence of multiple religions within the villages, households, and even for individuals, insofar as the priests sufficiently meet the residents' basic demands, with both residents and priests maintaining smooth relationships on the island.

The Power of Concealment: Tōdaiji Objects and the Effects of Their Burial in an Early Japanese Devotional Context

AKIKO WALLEY

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
MAUDE I. KERNS ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF JAPANESE ART

This study is the first comprehensive reconsideration of the "Tōdaiji objects," the set of eighth-century offerings buried in cavities beneath the edge of the bronze pedestal of the centrally seated Vairocana Buddha in the temple's Great Buddha Hall. Presently, the Tōdaiji objects are designated collectively as *chindangu* (platform pacifying objects). Despite significant scholarly attention, the debate over the original function of the Tōdaiji objects is at a standstill. Insufficient records from the time of their discovery make analysis challenging. This article first reassesses the foundational evidence and establishes that the diagrams produced during the 1907–1908 restoration can be used to recreate the initial arrangement of at least some of the Tōdaiji objects. It then argues that contrary to the present designation that was made following their discovery in 1907–1908, the Tōdaiji objects intimately interact with the Vairocana statue but not the platform in a way comparable to later *tainai nōnyūhin* (caches within the "womb" of a statue). The article demonstrates the mechanism by which the act of concealment, which effectively strips the objects of any utilitarian potential, allows donors to harness the symbolic potency inherent in the offering for the expression of their prayers and wishes.

Structural Analysis of the Dance Within the Odaidai Cermemony of Kawaguchi Asama Shrine: Choreography, Music, and Meaning

AKIKO HIRAI

PARIS 8 UNIVERSITY VINCENNES-SAINT-DENIS
TEMPORARY LECTURER OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

This paper provides a choreographical-musical analysis of the function of the Odaidai, an annual Shinto ceremony held at Kawaguchi Asama Jinja (shrine) in Fujikawaguchiko-machi, Yamanashi Prefecture. The Odaidai is one example of *kagura*, dance performances

preceded by music during Shinto events (note that in the Odaidai there is no theater). Research on this particular dance performance is of interest because it has repetitious sections that facilitate an analysis of the music and gestures and because, as an important part of the ceremony to prevent the eruption of Mt. Fuji, it has been transmitted locally at this shrine for generations—an unusual circumstance for such dances. In general terms, the research addresses the religious connotations of the *kagura* performed in the Odaidai and explores the conditions that make the dance effective.

A comparative analysis of the function of sounds in *kagura* has enabled a reevaluation of existing definitions. The choreographic movements in the Odaidai ceremony can be connected with religio-ritualistic meaning in the choreography. Although the Odaidai *kagura* today functions primarily as entertainment during a local Shinto ceremony it is, in fact, performed for ritual purification. I argue that although the ritual meaning has been lost in the oral transmission of the dance, as long as the dance is performed correctly, its ritual connotations remain embedded in the practice.

A Short Visual History of Abstraction in Early Modern Japanese *Karuta*: Simplification, Reinterpretation, and Localization

MEW LINGJUN JIANG

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
PHD STUDENT, DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE

This article examines designs and depictions of *Tenshō karuta*, the Latin/Italo-Portuguese-patterned playing cards introduced to Japan between the mid-sixteenth century and the Tenshō era (1573–1592). In the early Edo period (1603–1868) the elaborate designs of these playing cards were gradually simplified into expressive and abstract images and were eventually localized, serving as a basis for a variety of playing cards in the modern era. While such changes can be attributed in part to the producers' motivation for a more economical mode of production of card games, this study analyzes the reinterpretation and adaptation of images using a semiotic approach. It presents a brief visual history of *Tenshō karuta*, demonstrating an exemplary case of the localization of foreign images and the creation of meaning in early modern Japan.

REPORT

KYUSHU, ASIA, AND BEYOND

Book Collecting by a Literati Daimyo in Early Modern Japan, and the Exchange of Information: An Investigation into Catalogues of the Rakusaidō Collection in Hirado Domain

YOSHINORI IWASAKI

KYUSHU UNIVERSITY
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, JAPANESE HISTORY

REVIEWS

KYUSHU AND THE WORLD, ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNATIONAL AWARENESS OF MINAMATA DISEASE

W. Eugene Smith and Aileen Mioko Smith. *Minamata* (in Japanese). Trans. Nakao Hajime 中尾ハジメ. With contributions by Ishikawa Takeshi 石川武志, Yamagami Tetsujirō 山上徹二郎, Saitō Yasushi 斉藤靖史, and Yorifuji Takashi 頼藤貴志. Crevis, 2021.

Seán Michael Wilson (text) and Akiko Shimojima (illustrations). *The Minamata Story: An EcoTragedy*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2021.

MULTIPLE BOOK REVIEW BY TIMOTHY S. GEORGE

THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND
PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF HISTORY

Reiko Sudo. *NUNO: Visionary Japanese Textiles*. Edited by Naomi Pollock.

BOOK REVIEW BY MARILYN ROBERT

INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR OF TEXTILE AND FIBER RESEARCH, TEXTILE DESIGNER, AND VISUAL ARTIST

Inter-Changeable Religions: A Style of Japanese Religious Pluralism in Hirado Island Villages, Northwestern Kyushu

SATOSHI IMAZATO

The Japanese till this day have never had the concept of God; and they never will.
Shūsaku Endō, *Silence*[1]

Introduction

The novel titled *Silence* (*Chinmoku* 沈黙), written in 1966 by Shūsaku Endō,[2] a Japanese Christian author,[3] portrayed religious agonies for a Jesuit priest and the Japanese "Hidden Christians" (*kakure kirishitan* 隠れキリシタン) in the early modern period. A dialogue in this novel between this priest, upon his arrest, and a samurai magistrate referred to the port and castle town of Hirado 平戸, where Francis Xavier established his Christian mission in 1550.[4]

This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI grants (JP15K03011, JP16H01963, and JP19K01171). I am deeply grateful to the gentle persons of Hirado Island, including Hagiwara Hirofumi, Matsuda Takaya, Ueno Kenji (Hirado City Board of Education at that time), Nakazono Shigeo (Hirado City Ikitsuki Museum), Miwa Hirotaka (Miwa Shrine), Hidaka Takayasu (Myōkanji Temple), Tsukamoto Akio (Eijuin Temple), Onoue Taneji (Aburamizu), Terada Kazuo, Yamaguchi Zensaku, Masuda Sadako (Kasuga), Yamaura Tsuruyasu (Takagoe), Kawakami Shigetsugu (Neshiko), Ishida Sadanobu, Ishida Shinzaburō (Hōki), Katō Motosaku, Fujita Tsutae (Koba), and Yasunaga Hideaki (Ōshijiki) for their help, advice, and assistance during my fieldwork. I also sincerely appreciate the constructive and insightful comments by an anonymous reviewer.

1 Endō, *Silence*, p. 202.
2 Ibid.
3 Williams, "Crossing," p. 132.
4 Endō, *Silence*, pp. 162–66.

The forms of Hidden Christianity practiced on Hirado Island and neighboring Ikitsuki 生月 Island together constitute one of two main branches of the tradition in present-day Nagasaki Prefecture.[5] Furuno Kiyoto has pointed out that Hidden Christianity presents an interesting case of "syncretism" (*konseikyō* 混成教) in the history of world religions.[6] Namely, it has merged ritual content and style containing Shinto practices, Buddhism, and indigenous folk elements without affiliation to any Christian church, or without relying on professional priests, since as early as the first decades of the seventeenth century.[7] Miyazaki Kentarō has demonstrated that this syncretized religion should be regarded as typical "Japanese folk religion" (*minzoku shūkyō* 民俗宗教).[8] Moreover, the religious sites and rituals of various saints originating from Catholic martyrs and those for multiple gods of Shinto and Buddhism, along with folk elements, have coexisted within village spaces in which people have believed simultaneously

5 Nakazono, *Kakure kirishitan*, pp. 53–55. Another branch has been expanded mainly in the Sotome 外海 region and the Gotō 五島 islands.
6 Furuno, *Kakure kirishitan*, p. 241.
7 Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*; Miyazaki, "Hirado kakure kirishitan"; Miyazaki, *Jitsuzō*, pp. 54–201; Harrington, *Japan's Hidden Christians*, pp. 35–95.
8 Miyazaki, *Jitsuzō*, p. 9.

in both this transformed Hidden Christianity and the predominant traditional combination of Shinto and Buddhism.[9] This article focuses on religious pluralism in Japanese folk religion, which is also underpinned by syncretism, based on examples of villages on Hirado Island, where a tradition of Hidden Christianity survived up to the late twentieth century.

As many scholars of religion have observed, Japanese religiosity is an interwoven mixture of Shinto and Buddhism as the basic framework, with other elements drawn from Confucianism, Daoism, and folk religion.[10] Each of these "five major strands"[11] has been historically layered, transformed, and syncretized in complicated political, social, and economic contexts.[12] In particular, various phenomena later called the "syncretism of Shinto and Buddhism" (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 or, in present scholarship, *shinbutsu yūgō* 神仏融合) arose in the eighth century, but more fully in the late tenth century, and Buddhism was placed in a highly predominant position over Shinto.[13] However, the "separation of kami and Buddhas" (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離) and State Shinto (Kokka Shintō 国家神道) were politically established by the Meiji government in the nineteenth century.[14] Shinto was closely associated with the national regime, while other religions such as Buddhism and folk religions (including Shugendō 修験道, mountain asceticism or spiritual training in the mountains) were fiercely reorganized.[15] This State Shinto itself was finally abolished after the country's defeat in World War II.

In such a political and social context, Japanese folk religion as a strand has been followed by ordinary people,[16] most of whom lived in rural communities up to the 1950s and some of whom still sustain various folk religions in rural areas. This folk religion is situated between institutionalized religions (e.g., Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity) and indigenous beliefs, including naturism and spirit worship.[17] Moreover, Japanese folk religion itself has been historically affected by and syncretized with various religious strands.[18] Miyazaki, as a researcher of Hidden Christians, proposes that the structure of Japanese folk religion maintains ancestor worship as the basic faith, grounded in naturism and belief in the soul, but also adopts Shinto, Buddhism, Christianity (cases of Hidden Christians), and New Religions as institutionalized religions.[19] As a result, we have routinely witnessed a sort of "religious pluralism," in which various different religions (each of which has been historically syncretized) coexist in one Japanese family (household) and even within a single individual.[20] Such coexistence, of course, is also observed in the village community.

This Japanese religious sense of pluralism, including polytheism, tolerance of the coexistence and merging of multiple religions, and belief in "this-worldly benefits" (*genze riyaku* 現世利益) from various gods and ancestors' souls, has been enthusiastically studied by Japanese themselves in such disciplines as religious studies,[21] folklore studies,[22] social psychology,[23] and theology.[24] However, religious studies scholars have recently contended that religious pluralism in Japan clearly differs from the original European concept described by John Hick, who argued that there is not

9 Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*, pp. 189–91, 199; Nagasaki-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, *Nagasaki-ken*, pp. 81–206; Hirado-shi Ikitsuki-chō Hakubutsukan, *Ikitsuki-shima*, pp. 8–17; Imazato, "Territoriality," pp. 61–64.

10 Earhart, *Japanese Religion*, pp. 2–3; Yusa, *Japanese Religions*, p. 16. Contemporary Japanese religions further include Christianity and New Religions 新宗教 (new religious movements, such as Tenrikyō 天理教 and Konkōkyō 金光教) as major strands in addition to the five strands. See Hori, *Japanese Religion*, p. 11; Earhart, *Japanese Religion*, pp. 2, 187.

11 Ibid., pp. 2–3.

12 Hori, "Sho shūkyō," pp. 309–12; Thal, *Rearranging*, pp. 1–10, 314–19.

13 Yoshie, *Shinbutsu*, pp. 11–27; Yoshida, "Kodai," p. 455; Uejima, "Chūsei," pp. 630–31.

14 Toki, "Jingi," pp. 245–47; Hardacre, *Shinto*, pp. 368–71. These concepts of "syncretism" and "separation" have been criticized, especially in English scholarly literature, in that they assume preexisting and original "pure" religious traditions. See for example Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan*, pp. 2–4; Hardacre, *Shinto*, pp. 143–44. This article, however, deals with each religion (e.g., Shinto and Buddhism) expediently as "relatively independent," such that each can merge and separate, and from a retrospective perspective that presupposes that each living priest is affiliated with contemporary "individual" religions.

15 Yasumaru, *Kamigami*, pp. 119–79.

16 Hori, *Japanese Religion*, p. 137; Sakurai, "Minkan shinkō," p. 700. As does Sakurai, some Japanese scholars have referred to such folk religions as *minkan shinkō* 民間信仰.

17 Araki, "Sōron," p. 596; Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*, pp. 186–87.

18 Hori, *Japanese Religion*, p. 121; Sakurai, "Minkan shinkō"; Miyake, *Mandala*, p. 25. Shugendō is typical of such syncretized folk religions. See Earhart, "Unified Interpretation," p. 215.

19 Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*, pp. 184–94.

20 Hori, *Folk Religion*, pp. 10–13.

21 Hori, *Minkan shinkō shi*, pp. 13–18; Nieda, "Shūkyō ishiki"; Miyake, *Nihon shūkyō*, pp. 129–48; Yamaori, "Gendai," pp. 336–40.

22 Wakamori, *Kami to hotoke*; Sakurai, *Minkan shinkō no kenkyū*, pp. 3–141; Nakazono, *Kakure kirishitan*, pp. 437–44.

23 Kaneko, *Shūkyōsei*, pp. 189–274.

24 Ueda, *Nihonjin*, pp. 57–83.

merely one way but a variety of ways of salvation or liberation within the contexts of all the great religious traditions.[25] Horo Atsuhiko notes that, historically, Japanese pluralistic religions have merely coexisted and merged with one another, while each religion has not clearly recognized the differences between itself and other religions to proactively determine how it relates to the others.[26] Moreover, Nishitani Kōsuke argues that such different religions have, in fact, been integrated by Shintoism as henotheism, which reached its climax as State Shintoism during the Meiji Restoration in the nineteenth century.[27] He further underscores that the concept of religious pluralism should not be arbitrarily used to support inveterate Japanese irreligiosity—the crusted and inert syncretism of sundry religions.[28] However, these perspectives on religious studies are based principally on the viewpoint of religious bodies and national rulers as "makers of religion," not that of ordinary people as "users of religion" who receive and believe in individual religions.[29] This article, therefore, focuses on such ordinary people, who can also be regarded as "makers of folk religion," in addition to non-managerial priests as "mediators of religion."[30]

On the other hand, Western religious scholars, for example William Woodard and Jan Swyngedouw, have recognized such Japanese religiosity (or non-religiosity and secularity) as a pluralism that is not easily understood from Western viewpoints based on Christianity.[31] Moreover, this situation of multiple religions, most of which originated in foreign countries, has been recognized in English-language scholarship or by Western persons themselves not as a mere coexistence but as one unified faith or one entity[32]—"unity and diversity" or "unity in diversity and diversity in unity."[33] In addition, it has been pointed out that these multiple religions adapt to the role differentiation and functional specialization within Japanese religion, or a kind of division of labor,[34] in which different religions or gods satisfy a single person's various specific demands. Such demands for this-worldly benefits are not simply material concerns but also mental ones that underpin people's search for peace of mind and salvation.[35] Miyazaki points out that the Japanese people's broad-minded acceptance of the new appearance of strange gods, without renouncing their existing religions or causing any conflict between new and old beliefs, lies at the base of such pluralism.[36]

Certainly, these previous studies by Western scholars have underscored the unity and differentiation of roles of the multiple religions in Japan. Few scholars, however, including the abovementioned Japanese researchers, have systematically and empirically demonstrated how on a practical level such different religions function in their allotted roles and are unified in people's daily lives. Nor have they sufficiently shown why Japanese people have maintained such a broad-minded attitude to different religious elements and accepted the coexistence and merging of multiple religions within themselves in their daily lives. Among such scholars, Byron Earhart has presented the most systematic and detailed structure of Japanese religious pluralism in four dimensions (society, space, time, and life), as well as integrated explanatory schemes to express a unified worldview, or an arrangement of meanings assigned to each entity in a lived space by residents.[37] However, his concise description is mostly restricted to Shinto and Buddhism, especially concerning the dimension of space where ordinary people experience daily life.

In this way, the fundamental questions of this study are interrelated: How are such different religious elements situated to assume their own roles in the division of labor under the religious unity of Japanese rural societies? How are various religions practically unified to a structured worldview in a folk religion within society? Why are Japanese people tolerant of the coexistence and merging of different religions in their lives? To answer these three questions, this article focuses on Hirado Island as a "treasury of religions" or a "living

25 Hick, *Religious Pluralism*, p. 34.
26 Horo, "Gendai no yōsei," pp. 14–16.
27 Nishitani, "Shūkyō tagenshugi," pp. 67–68.
28 Ibid., pp. 57–58.
29 Umesao, *Nihonjin*, pp. 105–7.
30 This approach is in accord with Sakurai's opinion that emphasizes actual religions for ordinary Japanese people rather than religious bodies, as well as Miyake's perspective that focuses on ordinary people and the priests of folk religions for comprehensively understanding Japanese religion. See Sakurai, *Shinbutsu*, p. 40; Miyake, *Shintō*, p. i.
31 Woodard, "Religious World"; Swyngedouw, "Secularization," pp. 293–95.
32 Woodard, "Religious World," p. 82; Hori, *Folk Religion*, p. 10.
33 Earhart, *Japanese Religion*, p. 4; Swyngedouw, "Secularization," p. 294.
34 Ibid., pp. 297, 300; Swanson, "Japanese Religiosity," p. 4; Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*, p. 184.
35 Reader and Tanabe, *Practically Religious*, pp. 14–17.
36 Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*, p. 184.
37 Earhart, *Nihon shūkyō*, pp. 126–72, 238–39.

Figure 1. Map showing case-study villages examined in detail in the article (black dots), other villages mentioned (white dots), and two local mountains as triangles. Created by author.

museum of religions"[38] that is suitable for examining the coexistence of multiple religions (figure 1). In addition, priests of several strands of "Buddhism" strongly based on folk religions still survive on the island, garnering the attention of Japanese folklore scholars.[39] Although this island's numerous rituals have been reduced or reorganized generally following Japan's rapid economic growth period (1955–1973), this study was able to observe an abundance of rituals that have managed to survive.

Methodologically, this analysis adopts a geographical or spatial perspective based on three significant points. First, it considers multiple spatial "scales" to accurately comprehend the religions. These scales are the entire Hirado Island, the villages as the basic community, and households (including individuals as household members) as the principal daily (re)production unit. The notion of "scale" as used here aids our understanding of the beliefs and practices in religious pluralism. Sec-

38 Hori, "Sho shūkyō," p. 309; Swanson, "Japanese Religiosity," p. 4.
39 Inokuchi, "jō"; "ge"; Sakurai, *Nihon no shama'nizumu*, pp. 193–206; Miyamoto, *Sato shugen*, pp. 156–79; Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, pp. 27–162.

ond, it extensively surveys different villages comparatively to find common features among different villages in a single region. Third, it intensively focuses on interiors of village and household spaces such as religious sites by adopting a spatial-structural approach that has been regarded in Japanese folklore studies as a useful method for grasping the totality of village people's daily lives.[40] It is not until we consider the concrete spaces for daily life that we can appropriately understand how the structure of Japanese religion is constituted. From such a geographical perspective, this article reveals the detailed conditions of the coexistence of different religions in several villages, including former Hidden Christian villages, and their residents' households on Hirado Island. It also focuses on individual priests (as ritual performers) and residents (as members of a household) as important actors in religious phenomena, while considering religious pluralism as the result of contact, such as negotiations, among these different actors.

First, this study describes typical examples of both priests and residents as actors to show how multiple religions, which have often merged with each other and today independently coexist, are embodied even within individuals. Next, it attempts to identify common basic demands met by each religion's role in villages and households based on comparisons. Finally, it reveals the religious competencies and negotiations found among priests on the island. The principal sources are interviews with priests of different religions and village residents, as well as observations of the landscapes and rituals. These sources are complemented by the results of previous research studies. The fieldwork was conducted mainly from August 2010 to March 2012.[41] The key questions in this procedure are the division of labor by multiple religions and their negotiations in each village and household, the unified structure commonly abstracted from case studies, and a logical explanation for the religious broad-mindedness of villagers on the island.

Priests Embodying Multiple Religions

In the Hirado Island villages, most residents can be classified into the following three categories: Shinto-Buddhists, former Hidden Christians, and Catholics.[42] Shinto-Buddhism in this sense is a typical style of Japanese folk religion, weaving together Shinto, Buddhism, and other religions including indigenous elements. The Hidden Christians, descendants of converts to Catholicism through missionary work by the Society of Jesus in the mid-sixteenth century, have simultaneously retained their Shinto-Buddhist devotions in addition to Hidden Christianity, whose Christian rituals were secretly conducted only within adherents' homes.[43] However, in most of the Hirado Hidden Christian villages, Hidden Christian rituals ceased during the twentieth century and only the Shinto-Buddhist beliefs survive at present.[44] The Catholics believe in only Christianity (except for a very rare case discussed later) and are descendants of converts. After the beginning of missionary activity by the Paris Foreign Mission Society in the mid-nineteenth century, ancestors of these Catholics converted from the native Hirado Shinto-Buddhism or Hidden Christians (namely, "returned" Catholic believers over several hundred years), most of whom migrated from outside of Hirado Island.[45] Most of the

40 Matsuzaki, "Sonraku," p. 1. Although the spatial structures of religious sites in Japanese villages have been studied by many scholars in such fields as cultural anthropology, religious studies, and geography, their principal interests are in the villagers' spatial recognition, including cosmology and spatial folk classifications for religious and subsistence activities, rather than the coexistence of multiple religions and priests. See Muratake, *Saishi kūkan*, pp. 80–114; Miyake, *Shūkyō minzokugaku*, pp. 324–33; Suzuki, *Saishi to kūkan*; Imazato, *Nōsan gyoson*.

41 In most cases, fieldwork was conducted with either Hagiwara Hirofumi, Matsuda Takaya, or Ueno Kenji of the Hirado City Board of Education at that time. Information on religious and social affairs in each village was obtained from interviews with one or a few male elders, each with experience as the head official of the self-governing organization in the villages. The dates of fieldwork, including interviews and observations, in each village and with priests, were as follows: Aburamizu on August 5 and 20, November 26 (2014); Kasuga on May 26 and 27, July 8 and 9, August 5 and 6, September 4, December 14 (2011); Takagoe on December 15 (2011), March 14 (2012); Koba on October 12 (2010), March 15 (2012); Ōshijiki on September 22, November 5, December 14 (2011), March 14 (2012); Neshiko on September 1 and 24, October 14 and 15 (2010), September 21 (2011), April 12 (2015); Hōki on August 31, September 22, October 11 (2010), January 11, November 3 (2011); Īra on March 15 (2012); Miwa Shinto priest on August 5 (2011); Myōkanji Buddhist priest on November 4 (2011); and Fukagawa *yanboshi* priest on November 4 (2011).

42 Imazato, "Territoriality," p. 53.

43 This situation is different from Ikitsuki Hidden Christians, who have conducted rituals not only within homes, but also outdoors. Nagasaki-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, *Nagasaki-ken*, pp. 109–206.

44 Miyazaki, "Hirado kakure kirishitan," p. 204; Imazato, "Hirado-shima ni okeru kirishitan to katorikku," pp. 139–42.

45 Ibid., p. 157.

Hirado Hidden Christians, who accepted the sixteenth century's Christian missionary works of Francis Xavier, occupied a single village facing the mid-western coastline. In contrast, most Catholics, who have adhered to the nineteenth century's Christian missionary message of Bernard Petitjean, were dispersed to the mid-eastern and northern parts of the island, as well as often coexisting among Shinto-Buddhists within a single village.[46]

In the Shinto-Buddhist and former Hidden Christian villages, this study found five main folk categories of priests: *shinkan* 神官 in Shinto, *bonsan* 坊さん (in local dialect) in orthodox Buddhism, *yanboshi* ヤンボシ, *biwahiki* 琵琶弾き, and *hōnin* 法人.[47] Among them, *yanboshi*, written in standard Japanese as *yamabushi* 山伏 or *yamahōshi* 山法師, are male priests of Shugendō, most of whom officially belong to the Daigo branch (Daigo-ha 醍醐派) of the Buddhist Shingon school (Shingon-shū 真言宗) and live in the villages, not in the mountains.[48] Shugendō is a Japanese syncretic religion based on traditional belief in the mountains and influenced by Buddhism, Daoism, shamanism, and Shinto.[49] In addition, *biwahiki*, written as *biwahōshi* 琵琶法師 in standard Japanese, are male folk "prayers" who also play traditional Japanese lutes (*biwa*) and formally belong to the Gensei branch (Gensei-hōryū 玄清法流) of the Buddhist Tendai school (Tendai-shū 天台宗). Although the Hirado people refer to them in a friendly manner as *mekura-san* (literally, "blind person"), most current *biwahiki* priests are not visually impaired. These *yanboshi* and *biwahiki* can be categorized as minor Buddhists strongly rooted in folk religion. This study addresses only well-established major schools, sects, and branches of Buddhism as "Buddhism," excluding these minor Buddhist priests. The distinctions, however, between such categories as *yanboshi*, *biwahiki*, and *hōnin* are often blurred by scholars and sometimes even by residents.

Among these five categories, this section focuses on a *yanboshi* priest, Mr. W., as a practitioner of Shugendō, living in Fukagawa 深川 village[50] in the central part of the island, who clearly embodies a feature of Hirado Island's religious pluralism and syncretism.[51] Mr. W.'s grandfather was also a *yanboshi* and the founder of his small informal temple, which is apparently just a private house. Mr. W. began training for the priesthood at the age of twenty-two at Saikyōji 最教寺 Temple in Hirado.[52] He later trained at the well-known monastery of Daigoji 醍醐寺 Temple in Kyoto, which was the center of the Tōzan branch (Tōzan-ha 当山派) within Shugendō,[53] and studied for more than thirty-five years at Myōkanji 妙観寺 Temple on the island.[54] He also repeatedly stayed in a shrine at the top of Hirado Island's Yasuman-dake 安満岳,[55] a center of Shugendō mixed with Shinto and Buddhism since the medieval period. He trained in the mountain woods at night to acquire miraculous powers, smoking cigarettes in order to ward off evil spirits who interfered with his training. As part of his training, he underwent the long pilgrimage to eighty-eight Buddhist and Shinto shrines throughout Hirado Island (*Hirado hachijū-hakkasho meguri* 平戸八十八ヶ所巡り), which mirrors the famous Shikoku Buddhist pilgrimage related to Kūkai 空海 (known posthumously as Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師) but uniquely also includes Shinto shrines.

As a Fukagawa village resident, Mr. W. is a supporter of Fukumanji 福満寺 Temple of the Buddhist Chisan branch in Mukae-Himosashi 迎紐差 village[56] and worships at Susanoo Jinja 素盞嗚神社 (shrine), which enshrines the village Shinto tutelary deity of Fukagawa. On

46 Ibid., pp. 155–58.

47 *Hōnin* are female faith healers or shamans who attempt to cure illness through communication with supernatural entities. See Inokuchi, "ge," pp. 50–51; Sakurai, *Nihon no shama'nizumu*, pp. 202–3; Miyamoto, *Sato shugen*, p. 169; Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, pp. 35–42. *Hōnin* meet the demands of villagers at their homes, even making decisions on important ritual affairs of Hidden Christian beliefs in the Ikitsuki Island villages. See Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*, pp. 56–58.

48 *Hōin* 法印, male Shugendō priests of Shijiki-san 志々伎山 in the southern part of the island, are broadly included in this category of *yanboshi*. See Miyata, "Bukkyō minzoku," p. 25.

49 Miyake, "Sōron," p. 448; Earhart, "Introduction," p. 3.

50 Although the official designation for all of these Hirado villages is *chō* 町 ("town"—in this case, Fukagawa-chō), this article prefers "village" (lower case) in recognition of their rural landscapes and traditional modes of community self-government.

51 This article uses pseudonyms for interviewees. Mr. W.'s profile and life history were concisely described by Takami Hirotaka, although Takami reported that he lived in Himosashi 紐差 village on the island at that time. See Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, pp. 30–33.

52 Saikyōji is a Shingon Buddhist temple of the Chisan branch (Chisan-ha 智山派), located in Hirado's urban district. This branch has been closely related to Shugendō.

53 Miyake, *Mandala*, pp. 56–58.

54 This temple is also in the Chisan branch; it is located in Hirado's Yamanaka 山中 village.

55 The mountain Yasuman-dake has been widely worshipped by the people on and around Hirado Island, including even the Hidden Christians in the western part of the island. See Miyazaki, "Hirado kakure kirishitan," pp. 251–52; Hirado-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Hirado-shima*, pp. 282–84.

56 Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, p. 30.

Figure 2. Okimatsu Inari Dai Myōjin Shrine, Yamanaka village. Photograph by author.

the first day of the Horse in February (*hatsuuma* 初午), generally the most important day of rituals for Inari 稲荷 (folk gods of subsistence such as agriculture, fishing, and commerce, whose envoys are foxes), he worships with a *biwahiki* priest from Kawachi 川内 village before Okimatsu Inari Dai Myōjin 起松稲荷大明神 Shrine (henceforth "Okimatsu Shrine") in Yamanaka village (figure 2).[57] Okimatsu Shrine was established in 1963 by a Buddhist priest from Myōkanji Temple, presenting a typical case of a surviving syncretic fusion of Shinto and Buddhism. This example of Mr. W.'s religiosity, including his life history, illustrates that individual priests, as "actors and laborers" of the religious roles on this island, are grounded in various religions. Based on this example, priests on Hirado Island can be seen as the embodiment of Japanese religious pluralism and syncretism as well as the embodiment of tolerance for the coexistence and merging of different religions.

Residents Embodying Multiple Religions

These different religions are embodied not only within individual priests but also within individual residents. This section first focuses on Kasuga 春日 village, formerly a small Hidden Christian community.[58] There were only seventeen households in the village in 2014. The Kasuga people, especially the elders, devoutly worship various entities in Shinto, Buddhism, and folk religions, as well as pray to them early every morning.

The first case is Ms. X., an older female farmer, who embodies an example of religious beliefs held by a woman of the village. Every morning, she prays at home in the following order: (1) Yasuman-dake, commonly called *takagami-sama* 高神様 (a mountain god enshrined on a higher site and honored as a high-ranking deity), which can be clearly seen from her home; (2) Kasuga Jinja 春日神社 (henceforth "Kasuga Shrine"), which enshrines the village Shinto tutelary deity (*omiya-sama* 御宮様, as she refers to it); (3) a small Inari shrine (*okami-sama* 御神様), which was established as a village deity by a female *hōnin* shaman of Shinrikyō 神理教 (namely, belief in divine doctrine) at the mid-slope point of a hill behind the shaman's home in Kasuga;[59] (4) her parents' home in distant Kawatana 川棚 Town on the Kyushu mainland; and (5) a Buddhist altar within the head family's home of her lineage group (*honke no hotoke-sama* 本家の仏様) of Kasuga. Female *hōnin* for Inari gods are often called *okami-san* 御神さん (goddess), *ogami-san* 拝みさん (prayer), or *dainin* 代人 (deputy) on the island. They are usually members of Shinrikyō, a New Religion, which was established at the end of the nineteenth century in order to revitalize and systematize the old legitimate Shinto, but is also influenced by Daoism and Confucianism.[60] This series of prayers is given in order of importance to her. It shows that worshipping great nature, symbolized by the mountain Yasuman-dake, and worshipping her ancestors are indispensable to her faith, as well as her tolerance of or indifference to the coexistence and merging of different religions.

The second case focuses on Mr. Y., a middle-aged fisherman, the head of a household in Kasuga.[61] After rising in the early morning, he first prays within a sacred room of his home, turning his body toward sites and objects of worship in the following order (figure 3): (1) a Buddhist altar (*butsudan* 仏壇); (2) Shinto household shrines on a shelf (*kamidana* 神棚); (3) the home

57 Myōjin are Shinto gods from the Buddhist perspective in Shinto-Buddhist syncretism.

58 Miyazaki, "Hirado kakure kirishitan," pp. 234–37; Imazato, "Spatial Structures," pp. 261–65.

59 This shaman's brother was the last baptizer in Hidden Christian history in Kasuga.

60 Inoue, "Shinrikyō."

61 Only his household in Kasuga, which newly migrated from outside the village in the modern period, did not believe in the Hidden Christianity worshipped from the early modern period.

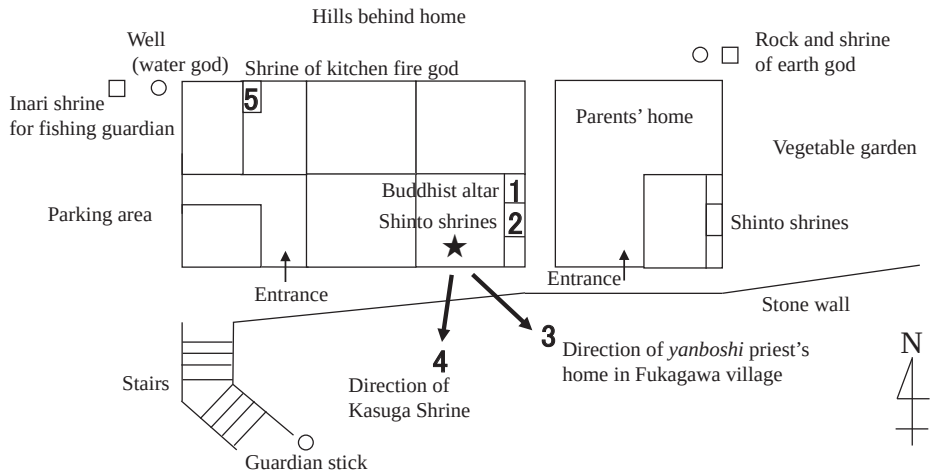

Figure 3. Worship sites and objects within a Kasuga home. In both figures 3 and 4, numbers indicate sites for morning prayer offered by the household master (location denoted by a star). Source: Interview with the household master and observations.

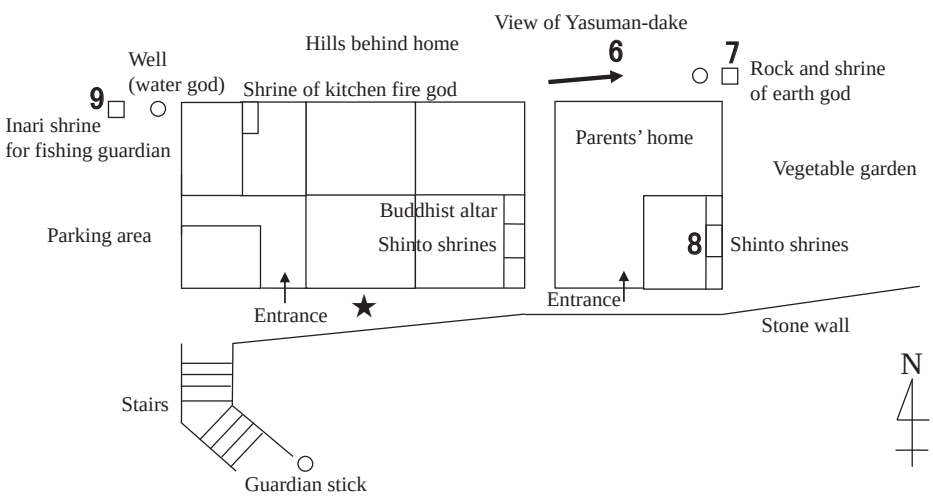

Figure 4. Worship sites and objects outside a Kasuga home.

of the *yanboshi* priest (the abovementioned Mr. W.), who is his most reliable priest, and this priest's god in distant Fukagawa village; (4) Kasuga Shrine; and (5) the household shrine of the god Kōjin 荒神 for safe cooking when using fire in the kitchen. He then goes outside of the home (figure 4) to pray in the following order while facing (6) Yasuman-dake; (7) the set of a rock and a shrine of an earth god (*ji no kami* 地の神, which is also an agricultural god);[62] (8) Shinto household shrines on a shelf within his parents' adjacent home; and (9) a small shrine to the god Inari for successful fishing and safety as his principal means of subsistence. According to his explanation, he prays in this series in order of geographical direction from the east, which is the direction of the sunrise, and through the south to the west. This practice shows his gratitude to nature

62 Most shrines for village and household gods on Hirado Island, excluding the main Shinto shrines of the villages, are exceedingly small ones made of stone and placed on a stone dais.

ruled by the sun. It is presumed that such an attitude is based on his arrangement of the meanings given to entities in his living world, similar to the case of Ms. X. in this village.

Early every morning, Mr. Y. offers a cup filled with water, salt, and uncooked rice to the kitchen fire god, while his wife places cooked rice and a cup of tea at the Buddhist altar for their ancestors. He prays before the Buddhist altar four times a day: after rising, before going fishing, after coming back from fishing, and before sleeping. He also offers rice wine (*sake* 酒) and Japanese cleyera (*sakaki* 榊) leaves on the Shinto household shrines on the first and fifteenth days of every month. Before going fishing, he offers cups of tea, water, and rice wine to the fishing god of Inari outside his home and prays to this god for his safety. On the way to and from the Kasuga fishing port, he bows before his ancestors' gravestone in a cemetery to pray for safety when fishing. On his fishing boat, he prays again for his safety to sacred paper sheets representing a boating god (*funagami* 船神) and to another Inari god as the fishing deity. During his son's departure on long fishing trips, he and his wife pray for their son's security before Kasuga Shrine, the Inari shrine of Shinrikyō in Kasuga, and the Okimatsu Shrine as a fishing deity in Yamanaka village. The worship practices of both Ms. X. and Mr. Y. show that their desire for family safety and happiness are always supported by multiple gods and ancestors, all of whom contribute to the religious division of labor in village life.

The most extreme case of the coexistence of multiple religions is that of Mr. Z., the male head of a household and a Catholic believer in Neshiko 根獅子. This village, where the number of households was 178 in 2014, is also a former Hidden Christian village on Hirado Island.[63] After the missionary work of the Paris Foreign Mission Society in the mid-nineteenth century Japanese Hidden Christians either converted (returned) to the Roman Catholic fold or continued as Hidden Christians, maintaining the same pious devotion to the Jesus Society (also known as the Jesuits, formally founded in 1540) as that espoused by their ancestors during the sixteenth century. Although the latter type of Christianity has since declined in contemporary Hirado Island villages, Hidden Christians continued their devout belief in other religions such as Shinto and Buddhism.[64] In contrast, Catholic churches, at least those established by the French missionaries from the mid-nineteenth century, never permitted their believers to worship any religion other than Christianity, demonstrating an insistence on monotheism rather than an acceptance of pluralism.

Mr. Z., however, is a Shinto-Buddhist *and* a Catholic. In Neshiko, several people have been baptized by the Himosashi Church on Hirado Island since the arrival of the French missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century.[65] They were persuaded by missionary nuns of the church to join the Catholic fold. However, Mr. Z. does not go to church at all, while both he and his household have retained their belief in Shinto-Buddhism. No Catholic altar and no Catholic-style cemetery gravestone have been constructed, whereas the Shinto household shrines and the Buddhist altar are still enshrined within his home. The Neshiko village community has maintained strong social integration, with an overwhelming number of regular Shinto rituals within the regional parish of Himosashi's Miwa Jinja 三輪神社 (henceforth "Miwa Shrine"). It is natural for the Neshiko people to sustain their membership in Shinto and Buddhist associations, especially the Hachiman Jinja 八幡神社 (shrine), since they have been established for the community's members and represent historically deep-rooted religions of the village.[66] If Mr. Z. is or will be a devout believer in Christianity, he probably has conflicting feelings about whether he and his household, as Neshiko residents, actually *converted* (returned) to Catholicism.

This example of Mr. Z. suggests how the Hirado people carefully treat human relationships both within and outside the village (in this particular case, his community colleagues and a Catholic nun). This case shows how extremely broad-minded they are about the coexistence of different religions, including Christianity, as an element of their religiosity. In similar cases, some scholars reported that Catholicism, Buddhism, Shinto, and indigenous elements coexist in some single households and individuals in other regions in Japan.[67]

63 Miyazaki, "Hirado kakure kirishitan," pp. 205–33; Imazato, "Spatial Structures," pp. 259–61; Imazato, "Territoriality," pp. 61–64.

64 Miyazaki, *Shinkō sekai*, pp. 184–242; *Jitsuzō*, pp. 179–201.

65 Naganuma, *Nihon shūkyō shi*, p. 946; Imazato, "Hirado-shima ni okeru kirishitan to katorikku," p. 148.

66 Imazato, "Territoriality," pp. 61–64.

67 Itō, *Shūkyō to shakai kōzō*, pp. 199–203; Suyama, *Amami Ōshima*, pp. 220–26.

This Neshiko case, therefore, is not an isolated regional practice.

Basic Demands of Religious Rituals

This section moves from the "scale" of the individual to the two different scales of household and village, considering the relationships between priests and residents as well as the roles that each priest assumes in annual rituals. Takagoe 高越 village is a former Hidden Christian community facing the western shoreline of the island (figure 5)[68] that had twenty-six households, including one Catholic household, in 2014. Table 1 (p. 12) and figure 6 show the present-day principal rituals and their sites, including Yasaka Jinja 八坂神社 (henceforth "Yasaka Shrine") as the main religious site, for both the village and household scales. Several rituals were abolished and others were unified from formerly discrete rituals in order to simplify the ritual system and maintain only the more basic ceremonies. One Shinto, one *biwahiki*, and two *yanboshi* priests participate in one or more of these rituals, while a Buddhist priest performs funerals and the summer Bon prayers (*tanagyō* 棚経) at residents' homes. This Takagoe case shows how various priests of different religions engage in the division of labor in village rituals in response to basic religious demands.

In addition, table 2 (p. 12) lists the religions of the priests who perform rituals before principal worship sites and objects which are generally observed in common among the case study villages in different parts of Hirado Island: Aburamizu 油水 in the north, Kasuga and Takagoe in the west, Koba 木場 in the east,[69] and Ōshijiki 大志々伎 and Noko 野子 in the south. Interviews with priests and residents are partially complemented by the works of Miyamoto, Miyazaki, and Takami.[70]

In particular, Aburamizu residents are descendants of Hidden Christians who migrated from the Gotō Islands from around the late nineteenth century.[71] Approximately one quarter of the Aburamizu Hidden Christian households converted (returned) to the Catholic fold, whereas the rest are Shinto households that ceased to be Hidden Christians in the 1950s and are not supporters of any Buddhist temple. Such Aburamizu Shinto households are similar to typical Catholic villagers on Hirado Island, who maintain few restricted religious sites, such as a church (generally located only in larger or neighboring villages), a cemetery within the village, or an altar within the home.[72] However, this simple Aburamizu-migrant style is an exception on the island. Most villages, including former Hidden Christian villages and excluding Catholic communities, have sustained similar basic shrines and ritual objects before which different Shinto, Buddhist, *yanboshi*, and *biwahiki* priests perform rituals, both within the village and in each home. Such tendencies imply that the religiosity of Hidden Christians more closely resembles that of Shinto-Buddhists than Catholics, at least on Hirado Island though not on the Gotō Islands.

Furthermore, the spatial composition of Takagoe's ritual sites also shows the spatial division of labor by multiple gods and ritual objects within the village space, which derives from the resident's worldview based on their engagement with nature and ancestors (figure 6 and table 2): (1) Yasaka Shrine; (2) a Buddhist hall (*odō-sama* 御堂様, a structure but with no priest in residence) with Jizō 地蔵 (a bodhisattva) guardians; (3) a Buddhist guardian stone (*sangai-banreitō* 三界万霊塔); (4) four cemeteries (one of which is for a Catholic household); (5) a *saruboya* サルボヤ tree (*isunoki* in standard Japanese, *Distylium racemosum*) and another small shrine beside the main brook representing water gods (*kawa no kami* 川の神); (6) the Gotō-sama 五島様 (the proper name for a local shrine) for an ancient castaway from the Gotō Islands; (7) the Yorazu-sama 寄らず様 (the proper name for a local shrine) watching over rice paddy fields as an agricultural god (*ta no kami* 田の神); (8) a pond god (*ike no kami* 池の神) as a water god beside an agricultural pond; (9) small shrines such as guardian gods for cow and oxen as agricultural cattle (*ushigami* 牛神) within the Yasaka Shrine site and beside the Gotō-sama shrine; (10)

68 Tagita, *Shōwa jidai*, p. 259.

69 Miyamoto studied the folk religion of Koba village. See Miyamoto, *Sato shugen*, pp. 171–76.

70 Miyamoto, "Hirado-shima," pp. 21–22; Miyamoto, *Sato shugen*, pp. 171–76; Miyazaki, "Kawa-matsuri," p. 329; Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, pp. 113–15. For Noko, the data were obtained in 1976 by Honda and Nomoto. Honda, "Seisan," p. 32; Honda, "Shinkō"; Nomoto, "Nenchū gyōji."

71 Miyazaki, "Hirado kakure kirishitan," p. 202; Imazato, "Spatial Structures," pp. 265–68.

72 Imazato, "Territoriality," pp. 58–61.

Figure 5. Landscape of Takagoe village showing several clusters of houses, terraced rice paddies, and scattered woods. Photograph by author.

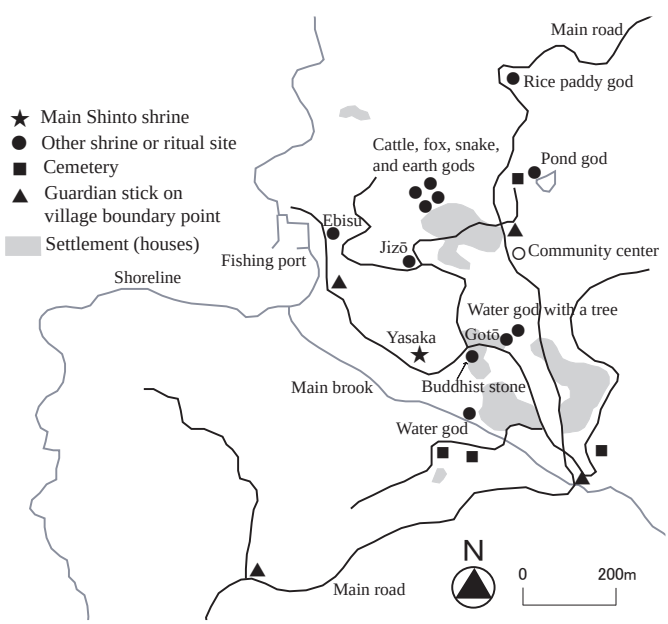

Figure 6. Main religious sites in Takagoe village, with key. Source: Interviews, observations, and topographic maps.

Table 1. Annual rituals of Takagoe village. Most rituals are held on the Sunday closest to the original ritual date. Source: Interviews with priests.

Village scale

Month	Ritual content	Priest	Site or object
Jan.	New Year prayers for village peace	○	Yasaka and village boundaries
Mar.	Water gods and fishing god rites	○	Water gods and Ebisu shrine
Apr.	Spring prayers for a good harvest	○	Yasaka Shrine
Jun.	Gion purification	○	Yasaka Shrine
Aug.	Prayers for the dead	■	Jizō hall and Buddhist stone
Sep.	Water gods and fishing god rites	○	Water gods and Ebisu shrine
Oct.	Grand ceremony for autumn harvest	○	Yasaka Shrine and small shrines
Nov.	November ceremony for harvest	○	Yasaka Shrine
Nov.	Thanks to gods of agricultural cattle	■	Cattle god shrines
Nov.	Thanks to the rice paddy god	■	Rice paddy god shrine
Dec.	Memorial for a dead person from the Gotō Islands	■	Shrine for a Gotō castaway

Household scale

Month	Ritual content	Priests
Jan.	New Year prayers	○
Jul.	Midsummer purification of homes	○■
Aug.	Summer prayers for ancestors' souls	●
Oct.	Prayers before household gods	◆

Key: Religious affiliation of ritual priests: ○Shinto ●Buddhist ■*yanboshi* ◆*biwahiki*

Table 2. Priests performing principal rituals of villages and households. Cases of Catholic households in the villages are excluded in this table. Source: Interviews with priests and residents, and in part using publications by Honda ("Seisan," "Shinkō"), Miyamoto ("Hirado-shima," *Sato shugen*), Miyazaki ("Kawa-matsuri"), Nomoto ("Nenchū gyōji"), and Takami (*Kōjin shinkō*).

Basic site or object	Aburamizu	Kasuga	Takagoe	Koba	Ōshiziki	Noko
Village scale						
Main Shinto shrine	—	○	○	○	○	○
Buddhist hall (not a temple)	—	■	■	■●	●	△
Cemetery (for funeral rites)	○	●	●	●●■	●●	●
Water gods	—	○	○	○	○	○◆
Agricultural gods	—	○	■	—	○	○◆
Cattle gods	—	○	○■	■	○	◆
Fishing gods	—	△	○	—	○	○
Set of guardian sticks	—	●■	○	—	○	◆
Household scale						
Shinto shrines on shelf	○	○■	○■	■	○	○
Buddhist altar	—	■	●	●●■	●●	●
Earth god	—	○	◆■	◆■	○	○
Kitchen fire god	○	○◆	◆	◆■	●◆	◆
Water god of the well	—	○■	◆	■○	○●	◆
God of agriculture or fishing	—	○■	◆■	■	○●◆	○◆
Guardian stick	—	■	○	◆	—	—
Priest's dwelling						
Within village	—	—	—	■	—	○●◆
Outside village	○	○●■◆	○●■■◆	○●●◆	○●●◆	—
Number of households in 2014	30	17	26	37	48	85

Key: Religious affiliation of ritual priests: ○Shinto ●Buddhist ■*yanboshi* ◆*biwahiki* △residents performing rituals themselves with no priest

Figure 7. A guardian stick for Takagoe village. The incantation in Chinese characters is written by a Shinto priest. Photograph by author.

Figure 8. A boundary stone in the contemporary Hidden Christian style of an Ikitsuki Island village. Photograph by author.

an Ebisu (恵比寿, fishing god) shrine; and (11) a set of four guardian sticks (*tsujifuda* 辻札, literally "junction tablet").

These guardian sticks surround the settlement as village boundary protectors beside the main road and at the fishing port to protect against evil spirits or demons from the outside world (figure 7). In the unique case of a Hidden Christian village on neighboring Ikitsuki Island, village boundary rituals (*nodachi* 野立ち) that are equivalent to such guardian stick rituals in Takagoe have been performed in the Christian style. A contemporary village, for example, relies on permanent boundary stones (figure 8), although the traditional style on Ikitsuki has been a temporary arrangement of small white crossed papers (*omaburi* オマブリ).[73] This shows an explicit example of syncretism between Japanese folk religion and Christianity. In addition, Takagoe has small stone shrines of such deities as the cattle (*ushigami*), fox (Inari), snake (*hebigami* 蛇神), and earth (*ji no kami*) gods, who receive the prayers of *yanboshi*. Takagoe's variety of gods and religious sites reflects the human relationships, including those observed at the household scale, maintained for many years between the residents and different priests, especially *yanboshi* and *biwahiki*.

At the household scale, this section also takes up the case of ritual sites for the abovementioned Kasuga household of Mr. Y. (figure 3 and table 2) with several observations: (1) the set of Shinto household shrines and the Buddhist altar in the sacred room; (2) the small rock and shrine of the earth god (*ji no kami*) behind the home; (3) the household shrine for Kōjin, the kitchen fire god; (4) a water god of the well (*kawa no kami*) outside the house; (5) the Inari shrine for successful fishing

73 Nagasaki-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, *Nagasaki-ken*, pp. 121–22, 144, 165. This ritual is conducted by the residents themselves without the involvement of any professional priest, whereas the Hidden Christians have conducted all of their rituals by themselves since the seventeenth century.

and safety located near the well; and (6) a guardian stick (*kadofuda* 門札, literally, "gate tablet") in front of the home. Such spatial composition reflects his family's engagement with nature and their ancestors, similar to cases at the village scale.

In addition to Takagoe and Kasuga, similar religious sites both at the village and household scale can be observed in Koba, Ōshiziki, and Noko. These five villages also maintain their own gods as a result of their own history and negotiations with various past and present priests, especially *yanboshi* and *biwahiki*, in order to meet the basic demands for shrines and other ritual sites. Moreover, table 2 illustrates a key finding: for both the village and household scale, the same kinds of rituals among different villages are performed by various priests of different religions. For example, the guardian stick ritual in Kasuga is performed both by a Buddhist priest from Yamanaka and the *yanboshi* priest from Fukagawa,[74] while in Takagoe, this is performed by the Shinto priest of Himosashi's Miwa Shrine. In sum, a specific ritual corresponding to a specific site does not need to be exclusively performed by a specific religion's priest. This fact implies that each priest maintains his own "customer area" for each specific ritual.

As an overview of all of the rituals shown in table 2, this analysis finds that the Shinto and *yanboshi* priests conduct most of the Kasuga rituals, whereas the *yanboshi* and *biwahiki* priests sustain their importance in the Takagoe rituals. The rituals of Koba, in which half of the residents are Catholics and the other half are Shinto-Buddhists who are further divided into two parishioner groups,[75] are mainly performed by a *yanboshi* priest living within the village and a *biwahiki* priest from distant Kawachi village, whereas the Miwa Shinto priest is responsible for only a few rituals. Ōshiziki is a typical case for Hirado Island, in which a Shinto priest conducts most of the village rituals, whereas various priests, including *yanboshi* or *biwahiki*, perform household-scale rituals. This shows a similar pattern to the Hōki 宝亀 and Neshiko villages.[76] Noko in the 1970s was partially similar to the Ōshiziki case, although the presence of a *biwahiki* living within the village was remarkable both for the village and households. In sum, from these examples, rituals in the household scale are principally conducted by *yanboshi* and *biwahiki* priests, who have sought to create new demands for rituals and ensure their means of sustenance, avoiding conflicts with well-established Shinto and Buddhist priests who predominantly conduct rituals at the village scale.

Priests as Business Professionals and Residents as Customers

The above section noted common basic demands for ritual performances corresponding to each shrine and ritual object, both at the village and household scale in every village except for Aburamizu. However, the responsibilities for these ritual performances are changeable. Table 3 shows some recent changes in priests for the guardian stick rituals at the village and household scale. Priests write an incantation in Chinese characters on the front of each wooden stick and purify them in the prayer ceremony during the New Year (figure 7), while village residents put the sticks into the ground themselves at village boundaries based on their mental images of these boundaries.[77] Generally, a change in priest directly follows the death of the former priest; in most cases, when a *yanboshi* or *biwahiki* priest of Buddhism that is not well-established dies and has no successor, his ritual responsibilities are passed to a Shinto priest,[78] although the villagers themselves decide which priest should be the successor.[79]

Such flexible partnerships remind us of the contemporary relationships, as it were, between "business professionals" and "customers" in daily life. Namely, priests as business professionals pursue their means of livelihood and try to gain new customers, whereas village residents as customers fufill their own religious

74 The Kasuga people simultaneously place two sticks prepared independently by the Buddhist priest and the *yanboshi* priest at the same point, as mentioned later.

75 Imazato, "Territoriality," p. 60.

76 This is based on the author's fieldwork in Hōki and Neshiko.

77 The number of sticks is different among villages; for example, there are four in Takagoe, five in Kasuga, seven in Neshiko, and ten in Hōki. See Imazato, "Hirado-shima ni okeru shūkyō bunpu," p. 119; Imazato, "Territoriality," pp. 56, 62.

78 Generally, in well-established Buddhism in Japan, one of the neighboring priests (often a long distance away in depopulated areas) of the same sect inherits ritual responsibility. Aizawa, "Kaso chiiki," p. 184; Sakahara, "Haiji," pp. 314–21.

79 Miyamoto, whose work is based on Koba village cases, and Takami, who studied folk religions in Itoya 猪渡谷 village, report that Hirado people request another priest of the same religion or other religions for household rituals upon the death of the former priest such as *yanboshi* and *biwahiki*. See Miyamoto, *Sato shugen*, pp. 175–76; Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, pp. 114–15.

Table 3. Examples of recent changes in priests for guardian stick rituals. Īra village recently ceased performing the guardian stick ritual. Source: Interviews with priests.

Village	Scale	Ritual object	Change
Takagoe	Village	Set of guardian sticks	■→○
Takagoe	Households	Guardian stick	■→○
Shishi	Households	Guardian stick	■→◆
Īra	Village	Set of guardian sticks	○→—
Kigatsu	Village	Set of guardian sticks	■→○
Akamatsu	Village	Set of guardian sticks	■→○

Key: Religious affiliation of ritual priests: ○Shinto ■*yanboshi* ◆*biwahiki*

demands. Such a situation indicates the existence of competition and complement among Shinto, Buddhist, *yanboshi*, and *biwahiki* priests in villages as their business areas.[80] Table 2 shows that different priests, most of whom live outside the village, participate in various village rituals.

Figure 9 (p.16) shows the "customer areas" of each priest for the guardian stick rituals at the village scale. Areas A and D–H are Shinto priests' territories, in which all villages generally request a Shinto priest who, as a priest on the island, typically has the highest authority. For example, area D is the customer area of the Miwa Shinto priest, who lives in Himosashi. Although he solidly serves his own parishioners in fifteen villages, he performs the guardian stick rituals in only ten villages. The remaining five villages are Koba and Īra 飯良, which ceased to hold this ritual, Fukagawa and Ōishiwaki 大石脇 (area C), where the Fukagawa *yanboshi* priest (the abovementioned Mr. W.) performs the ritual, and Kasuga (area B), in which both the Myōkanji Buddhist priest in Yamanaka and the Fukagawa *yanboshi* perform the ritual (tables 2 and 3). Area B has a somewhat complicated arrangement: the Myōkanji Buddhist priest, the Fukagawa *yanboshi*, and two Shinto priests serve their own customer villages. However, the customer areas of this ritual have actually changed priests and can always change them again in the future, as indicated in table 3, which shows some examples of several villages on the island.[81]

Moreover, even for the same rituals in a village, competitive or rival activities take place. It is common to find within a single village, such as Koba and Ōshijiki (table 2), two or more supporter groups of different Buddhist temples (always different schools or sects) located within and outside the village.[82] In Neshiko, even the *yanboshi* priest living within the village has acquired some of the households as supporters for funeral rituals and memorial services,[83] which are generally performed in Japan not by Shugendō priests but by Buddhist priests of well-established denominations.[84] Moreover, typically in Koba and Ōshijiki, priests of different religions retain their own customers in rituals for household gods. At the Kasuga household scale, most water gods of wells and Inari shrines are purified by the Miwa Shinto priest, whereas only one household (that of Mr. Y.) requested the Fukagawa *yanboshi* (Mr. W.). The *yanboshi* priest is followed passionately and respectfully in a close relationship by the household head, in which the priest as a business professional seems to deepen such personal relationships to gain more authority for performing religious rituals.

In such competitive cases, Shinto priests hold an advantage over the others, especially at the village scale, as shown in table 2. An exception is Mukae-Himosashi village, although Shinto has generally sustained its superior authority among religions in Japanese villages since the Meiji Restoration. The Buddhist priest of Fukumanji Temple of the Chisan branch of the Shingon school, which is closely related to Shugendō, performs most of the Shinto rituals for Kumano Gongen-sha 熊野権現社 (shrine),[85] which enshrines a mountain god and is attached to this Buddhist temple. This unusual situation shows how the "syncretism of Shinto and Buddhism" still strongly persists in this village, while the "separation of kami and Buddhas" was not strongly influential here.[86] As a result, although Mukae-

80 Takami notes that Hirado Island has witnessed such competition among various priests. See Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, p. 80.

81 Takagoe, Shishi 獅子, and Īra are former Hidden Christian villages that believe in Shinto-Buddhism, while Kigatsu 木ヶ津 and Akamatsu 赤松 are Shinto-Buddhist villages. Kigatsu includes a Catholic community.

82 A similar situation can also be witnessed in Hōki village. See Imazato, "Territoriality," pp. 55–56.

83 This information is based on the author's fieldwork in Neshiko.

84 Funeral rituals and memorial services can be performed even by Shinto priests (who do not normally perform them), as shown in the case of the former Hidden Christians in present-day Aburamizu (see table 2).

85 *Gongen* are manifestations of Buddhist divinities as Shinto gods (*kami*).

86 The reasons for this exception are not known.

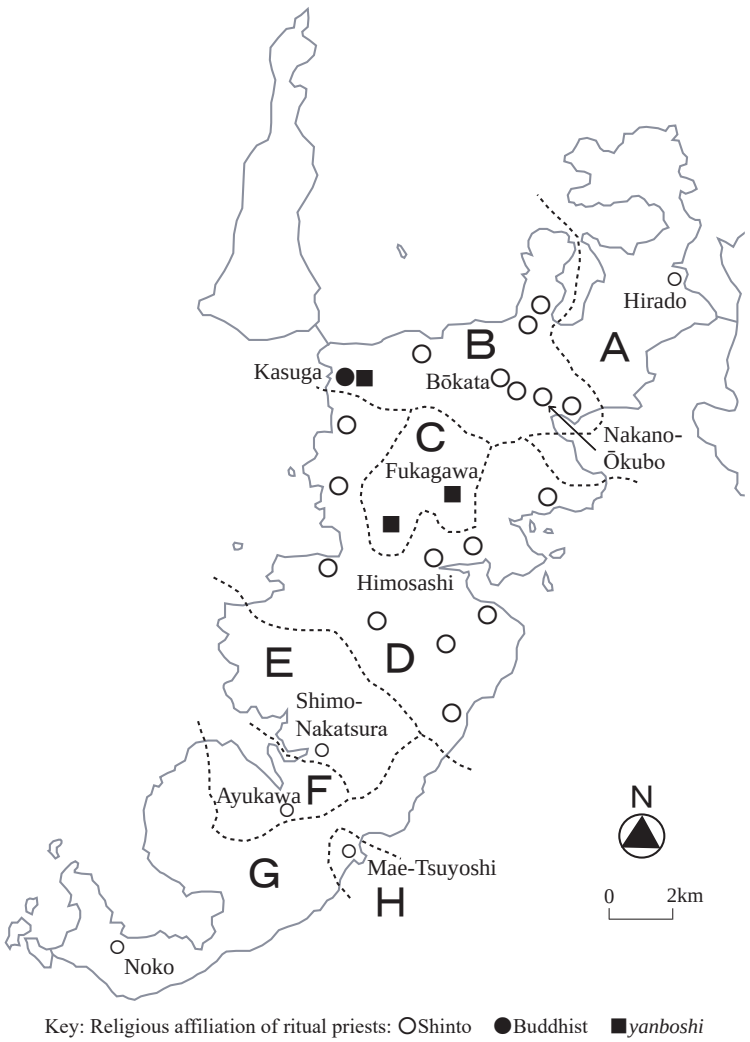

Figure 9. Priests' "customer areas" for the village guardian stick (*tsujifuda*) rituals. Except for the center island examples (areas B–D), which denote information on individual villages, only the priests' dwellings are shown (areas A and E–H). Source: Interviews with priests.

Himosashi residents are parishioners of the Miwa Shrine in Himosashi, the Shinto priest engages in only a few rituals such as those for the village guardian sticks, religious duties at an Inari shrine, and home purifications (*yabarai* 家祓い) during the New Year. In this village, the power of the Buddhist temple has historically been too great for the Shinto priest to conduct most rituals.

In addition, priests endeavor to create and acquire new religious responsibilities without invading the "customer areas" of other priests, avoiding any conflict if possible. In Kasuga, ceremonies for Kōjin in each household are performed by both the Miwa Shinto priest and a *biwahiki* priest living in Shishi village. These rituals are performed by the Shinto priest in July (*doyō-matsuri* 土用祭, midsummer ritual) and November (*shimotsuki-matsuri* 霜月祭, literally "the ritual in the frost month"), as well as by the *biwahiki* priest in September.[87] Moreover, ceremonies for the set of three Shinto gods on the single shelf of Mr. Y. are performed by two priests: invocation of the Kasuga Shrine god, as

87 This is based on work by Takami and the author's interviews with residents. See Takami, *Kōjin shinkō*, p. 114.

the village's tutelary deity, is done by the Miwa Shinto priest, whereas prayers to the popular gods of Yūtoku Inari 祐徳稲荷 and Itsukushima 厳島 shrines from the distant regions of Saga and Hiroshima prefectures are given by the Fukagawa *yanboshi* (Mr. W.).

On the other hand, priests negotiate with each other in order to coexist and survive on the island. In Ōshijiki village, two Buddhist priests of different temples negotiated for ritual authority over the animal cemetery (*ushibaka* 牛墓, literally, "cemetery for cattle") in the village.[88] The supporter households of Jōonji 長遠寺 Temple of the Nichiren sect (Nichiren-shū 日蓮宗) in Nakayama 中山 village had drastically decreased (seventeen households in Ōshijiki village in 2011), compared with those following Chōsenji 長泉寺 Temple of the Sotō sect (Sotō-shū 曹洞宗) in Mae-Tsuyoshi 前津吉 village (thirty-one households). Thus, the Jōonji priest, carefully mediated by the Ōshijiki representative resident of Chōsenji supporters to avoid a direct conflict with the Chōsenji priest, requested the Chōsenji priest to transfer the ritual authority over the animal cemetery in order to keep his income from the Ōshijiki households. The Chōsenji priest finally accepted the Jōonji priest's request without destroying any relationship among the priests and residents within the village.

As a further example, in Hōki village, ten ritual sites of Gion-sai 祇園祭 (a purification rite) in July are divided into six administered by the Miwa Shinto priest and four by two Buddhist priests.[89] The two Buddhist priests, one from Hōjuji 法樹寺 Temple of the Jōdo sect (Jōdo-shū 浄土宗) and the other from Myōenji 妙圓寺 Temple of the Nichiren sect, live within the village but simultaneously pray before the same ritual sites.[90] This case shows coexistence through compromise among different priests regarding the same rituals as well as the careful consideration given by the residents to the three different priests.

Another case is the village guardian stick ritual of Kasuga, in which two different sticks are respectively prepared by both the Myōkanji Buddhist priest and the Fukagawa *yanboshi* (Mr. W.) at each settled point during the New Year. These two priests have maintained a close personal relationship. Myōkanji Temple, at the foot of Yasuman-dake, was originally the advance base of Saizenji 西禅寺 Temple, which was located very near the top of the mountain. The Kasuga people, as former Hidden Christians, have long worshipped this mountain. Saizenji prospered as a center of Shingon esoteric Buddhism and Shugendō on Hirado Island before being abolished in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[91] The Fukagawa *yanboshi* has studied the discipline of Shugendō at Myōkanji Temple for many years, as already mentioned. Moreover, the current priest of Myōkanji usually subcontracts his ceremonies in Kasuga, such as chanting the summer Bon sutra (*tanagyō*) before Buddhist household altars, to the Fukagawa *yanboshi*. In sum, the coexistence of the two different series of guardian sticks is underpinned by the personal relationship and negotiations between these Buddhist and *yanboshi* priests themselves.[92]

The above cases on the island show various forms of negotiation, which are often mediated by residents, between priests (Shinto and *yanboshi* or *biwahiki* in Kasuga; two different sects of Buddhism in Ōshijiki; Shinto and Buddhism in Hōki; Buddhism and *yanboshi* also in Kasuga) for a single ritual, the identical god, or the same sort of religious objects. According to socioeconomic needs, each priest as a business professional seeks to gain certain positions in human relationships with residents and the division of religious labor regarding prayers for villages and households. Their activities rely on the residents' tolerance of or indifference to coexisting multiple religions.

Conclusion

This article has endeavored to consider Japanese religious pluralism from a geographical perspective as a phenomenon underpinned partially by syncretism. Such a perspective considers what the author refers

88 Although originally this cemetery was for agricultural cattle such as cows and oxen, pet dogs and cats are now buried there. See Imazato, "Keikan shi," p. 311.

89 These ten ritual sites include the main Sarutahiko Jinja 猿田彦神社 (shrine), a Buddhist bodhisattva hall (Kannon-dō 観音堂), various other sacred places, and the sides of rivers and an agricultural pond. See Imazato, "Territoriality," pp. 56–57.

90 However, the Myōenji priest does not pray before one of the four sites, a cemetery containing only the gravestones of Hōjuji supporters; thus, he has three ceremony sites. Myōenji was established in 1909, a founding date later than that of Hōjuji, which already existed in the early modern period. See Hirado-shi Shichōshitsu, *Hirado-shi shi*, p. 377.

91 Ibid., pp. 370–71; Hirado-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, *Hirado-shima*, pp. 282–84.

92 Their relationship is not based on a formal head-branch relationship within a particular Buddhist school or branch.

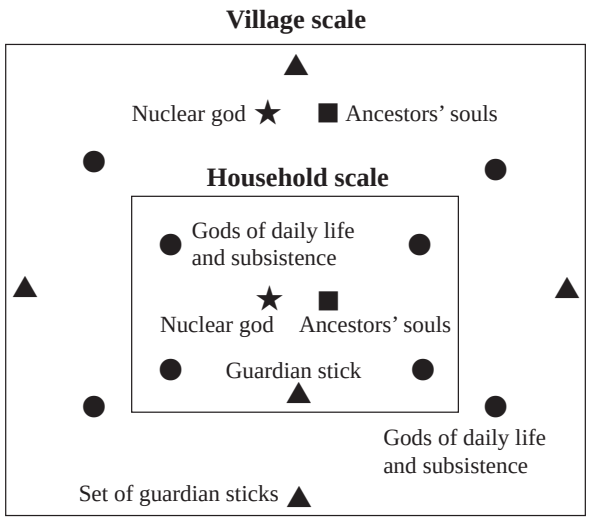

Figure 10. The basic structure of religious space in Hirado Island villages. Created by author.

to as multiple "scales"; it compares different villages on Hirado Island and focuses on specific village and household spaces to better understand Japan's folk religion. The three key areas of focus are role differentiation or the division of labor by multiple religions at the village and household scale; the unified structure of the different religions within the village and household scale; and the broad-mindedness of village residents toward different religions.

First, this study clearly established that various religions coexist not only in single villages but also at the smaller scale of households including each individual, for both the priests and residents of Hirado Island. Each of these religions is, in that sense, fluid, and has historically experienced merging and, at times, separation. Through various personal relationships, including familiar "professional/customer" relationships between priests and residents, Hirado Island's priests of different religions mutually compete, complement, and negotiate with careful consideration in order to skillfully survive. Such consideration for human relationships driven by socioeconomic needs can be cited as the basis of the coexistence of multiple religions on each of the three spatial scales. In particular, with the relative advantages held by priests of the well-established Shinto and Buddhist traditions, priests such as the *yanboshi* and *biwahiki*, who themselves are embodiments of pluralism and syncretism, have often strived to participate in the island's religious market and create new demand, especially at the household scale. As a result, the same priest may engage in different rituals among villages, while the same kinds of rituals in different villages are often performed by priests of various religions, both at the village and household scale. This division of religious labor is not firmly fixed but rather flexible in accordance with residents' demands. In sum, the island's priests assume their own roles in fluid situations for each village and household, being "inter-changeable" in complementary processes through competition and negotiation often mediated by residents.

Second, beneath this surface appearance, most of the Hirado Island villages maintain the common basic structure of a religious space as a unified entity from which this study abstracts two similar compositions in the village scale and the household scale within a single village (figure 10). As the religious loci in spaces, people address the nuclear god (usually enshrined in both the village and the household Shinto shrines) and ancestors' souls, including deceased children (usually worshipped at the Buddhist temple, hall, cemetery, and altar). Furthermore, this god and those souls are surrounded by the various gods of daily life who protect persons utilizing fire and water, as well as gods for subsistence, such as agriculture and fishing. All of these gods and souls are believed to bring the village people this-worldly benefits. These spatial elements, along with guardian sticks that watch over the main entrance points of the spaces, maintain the health and safety of the villagers (in their belief) and sustain the villagers' peace of mind. People give thanks to nature for their daily subsistence and to their ancestors who in the past diligently prepared the living space. This unified worldview, which reflects the resident's arrangement of meaning, is founded on animistic worship of the natural elements and ancestors in Japanese folk religion.[93] Furthermore, the Hirado Hidden Christian villages have shared the basic spatial structure shown in figure 10. Catholic villages at least since the mid-nineteenth century have not, however, considered this spatial structure at all since their devotees believe in Christianity only, unlike the Hidden Christian villages on this island.[94]

Third, except for these Catholics, the individual religions themselves are not necessarily irreplaceable

93 Hori, *Japanese Religion*, pp. 122–25.

94 Catholic churches in rural Japan, at least in northwestern Kyushu, have instead emphasized ethical education for believers. See for example Nomura, *Shūkyō*, pp. 139–84.

for the Hirado Island villagers—only the basic spatial structure is essential. These multiple religions are inter-changeable insofar as their roles comfortably fit the functions of each religious site and the basic structure of the villagers' worldview. In addition, for the contemporary Hidden Christians on Ikitsuki Island, even Christianity can be transformed into an element of such a spatial structure, as shown by the village boundary stones. In other words, Hirado and Ikitsuki residents are tolerant of or indifferent to the coexistence and merging of multiple religions in their lives insofar as those religions sufficiently satisfy their demands based on their worldview and do not disturb this order. This may also explain why Japan's religious pluralism and syncretism have developed, at least for ordinary persons. In addition, priests are tolerant of such pluralism insofar as their livelihood is secured.

Japanese folk religions, at least in rural villages, are integrated by a structured worldview based on ordinary people's own geographical knowledge, as accumulated through oral traditions and daily experiences in specific living spaces. The religious life of the Japanese people places great importance on careful respect for the living space favored by nature and ancestors, as well as for their neighboring humans, including priests: this is their "religion." Most Japanese people, especially those living in rural areas, should not be considered irreligious, although this may not yet be fully understood from the more common Western views of "religion." Many Japanese, in the author's view, do not presuppose the exclusive worship of a one-and-only God, strict ethical doctrine given in scripture, or an absolute founder devoutly revered by a strongly unified organization.[95] The conclusions of this article can be further compared with folk religions in other regions in Japan, as well as some East and Southeast Asian countries, whose detailed conditions of religious syncretism have recently been studied in greater detail.[96]

95 An exception is the Jōdo Shin sect (Jōdo Shin-shū 浄土真宗) of Buddhism.

96 Yoshida, *Shinbutsu yūgō*.

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The Power of Concealment: Tōdaiji Objects and the Effects of Their Burial in an Early Japanese Devotional Context

AKIKO WALLEY

Introduction

During its restoration in 1907, workers who were placing scaffolding on top of the raised dais of the colossal seated Vairocana Buddha in the Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden 大仏殿) of Tōdaiji 東大寺 (Nara City, Nara Prefecture; figure 1) accidentally unearthed three sets of eighth-century objects (hereafter "Tōdaiji objects"; figure 2). In 1927, Ueda Sanpei 上田三平 (1881–1950) tentatively characterized these artifacts as "platform pacifying objects" or *chindangu* 鎮壇具. In the article, Ueda carefully states:

> We cannot draw any conclusions on the religious purpose of the objects based only on the treasures discovered thus far.… However, since we know for certain that these objects were found inside the central dais of the Great Buddha Hall, it might be safe to assume that they were for platform pacification rites [*chindan hō ni mochiitaru ihō* 鎮壇法に用ゐたる遺寶], though it is probably difficult to garner what this "platform pacification rite" entailed from the Buddhist scriptures and teachings of the Tenpyō period.[1]

Despite his qualification, Ueda's identification stuck. In 1957, the artifacts were collectively designated as a National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) under the descriptive title, "Tōdaiji Golden Hall Platform Pacifying Objects" (*Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu* 東大寺金堂鎮壇具).[2] Due in no small part to this formal designation, the Tōdaiji objects continue to be called *chindangu*, even after Okumura Hideo raised compelling questions regarding their function in 1976.[3] Over time, scholars have

The material herein was presented at several venues, including Ewha Womans University; University of Southern California; University of California, Los Angeles; and the College Art Association's Annual Conference, Los Angeles Convention Center, 21–24 February, 2018. I am grateful to the organizers and participants for their interest in this material and their invaluable comments. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewer for the meticulous reading of the manuscript and suggested revisions.

1 Ueda, "Tōdaiji Daibutsuden," p. 68. Ueda was not present at the time of discovery, and when he wrote his article, he did not have access to details regarding the arrangement of the objects within each cavity. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

2 The set of objects was first designated as a National Treasure in 1930, then re-designated in 1957 under the revised Act of Protection of Cultural Properties. Morimoto, "Kondō chindangu," pp. 8–9.

3 Okumura, "Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu." The Tōdaiji objects were introduced to a United States audience for the first time in 1986 when select pieces appeared in the exhibition, *The Great Eastern Temple*. Organized by the Art Institute of Chicago, this exhibition marked the first large-scale presentation of Tōdaiji treasures in the West. The catalogue entry for the Tōdaiji objects—which was adapted from the preceding 1980 traveling exhibition in Japan—also followed the convention and characterized the artifacts as "'*chindan-gu*,' literally, 'instruments to charm the spirits of the dais.'" Mino, *The Great Eastern Temple*, p. 151.

Figure 1. Seated Vairocana Buddha. Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden), Tōdaiji, Nara Prefecture. Gilt bronze. Nara period, mid-8th c. Reproduced from Ōtsuka, *Nihon no kokuhō*, vol. 5, p. 10.

Figure 2. Sample of objects unearthed from beneath the seated Vairocana, Daibutsuden, Tōdaiji, Nara Prefecture. Nara period, latter half of 8th c. In the collection of Tōdaiji. Courtesy of Nara National Museum.

categorized the objects as *chindangu* while emphasizing their differences from other examples—even questioning their effectiveness or, conversely, proposing other provisional defining categories such as "caches inside a statue," or *zōnai nōnyūhin* 像内納入品, but using the term "*chindangu*" nevertheless for convenience.[4]

The debate over the original function of the Tōdaiji objects is presently at a standstill. Insufficient records from the time of their discovery make analysis challenging. The general placement of objects was diagramed as they were unearthed, but certain details an archaeologist would have thought important—such as whether the objects were discovered from the same layer of compounded earth, or the distribution of the glass beads—were never recorded. No systematic excavation was ever conducted. No scholar has yet presented a detailed review of how much of what was unearthed in 1907–1908 actually reflects the original Nara 奈良 period (710–784) arrangement: the fact that the restoration project also unearthed a few items of later periods is a subject largely neglected in the present discourse on the Tōdaiji objects. The Great Buddha Hall of Tōdaiji was completed in the latter half of the eighth century, but it burned down time and again through its long history. The central icon also did not survive the test of time completely unscathed; it went through repairs to the Buddha head and much of its torso, and part of its bronze pedestal, including around where the artifacts were discovered. For this reason, a comprehensive reexamination of the Tōdaiji objects as they were at the time of their discovery is key to any further debate of the circumstances surrounding their initial emplacement.

Tōdaiji was the most extravagant and complex Buddhist endeavor undertaken on the Japanese archipelago since the establishment of the first fully-fledged Buddhist monastery, Asukadera 飛鳥寺 (Takaichi-gun 高市郡, Nara Prefecture), in the late sixth century. The Tōdaiji objects are believed to have been emplaced almost immediately following the completion of the central icon. Elsewhere, I propose that the Tōdaiji objects could be thought of as "proto-*tainai nōnyūhin*" (胎内納入品) and the space below the statue of Vairocana Buddha as the extension of its "womb" (*tainai* 胎内).[5] To further consider this hypothesis, this study reassesses the foundational evidence presently used to scaffold any argument on the function of the Tōdaiji objects in the eighth century. First, it establishes that the diagrams produced during the 1907–1908 restoration can be used to recreate the initial arrangement of at least some of the Tōdaiji objects. Then it will argue that in a comparable way to later *tainai nōnyūhin*, the act of concealment enabled the devotees to harness the symbolic potency already inherent in these objects to use them as their expression of prayers and wishes.

What We Know: Tōdaiji, Vairocana Buddha, and Finding the Tōdaiji Objects

Tōdaiji, more formally known as Kin[Kon]kōmyō Shitennō Gokoku no Tera 金光明四天王護国之寺 (Temple of the Golden Light and Protection of the State by the Four Heavenly Kings), stands on a northeastern hill of present-day Nara City.[6] Its construction within Heijōkyō 平城京 began in 745, following Sovereign Shōmu's 聖武 (701–759; r. 724–749) edict issued in 741 that ordered the establishment of state-maintained temples (*kokubunji* 国分寺) and nunneries (*kokubun niji* 国分尼寺) across the Yamato domain.[7] Tōdaiji

4 An intriguing example that encapsulates this twist in the discourse surrounding the Tōdaiji objects is found in Aoki Atsushi's introduction to the practice of inserting *zōnai nōnyūhin*. In this work, Aoki explains that he thought of the Tōdaiji objects as he "traced the root of *zōnai nōnyūhin*." In his explanation, however, he continues to use the term *chindangu*, following his agreement with the generally shared understanding of their function. Aoki, *Butsuzō*, pp. 34–35.

5 Walley, "Sheltered by the Buddha," pp. 67–71. This study was inspired by Aoki Atsushi's proposition to view the Tōdaiji objects as a "root" of *zōnai nōnyūhin*. Aoki's work was aimed at a general readership, so he had no room to elaborate on his meaning, and his introduction to the Tōdaiji objects was problematically overdetermined. In addition, it is clear from his discussion that as a scholar of medieval Japanese Buddhist art, Aoki's interest lay in introducing the practice of inserting caches from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries. Thus, he applies the definition of *zōnai nōnyūhin* of the later practices to the Nara period, resulting in the exclusion of few contemporaneous instances where objects were discovered inside a statue. The article explored Aoki's proposition within the context of Nara-period Buddhist and other ritual offerings. Aoki, *Butsuzō*, pp. 34–35. For the choice to use *tainai nōnyūhin* instead of the presently more common *zōnai nōnyūhin*, see Walley, "Sheltered by the Buddha," p. 71, n. 3.

6 Regarding Tōdaiji's formal name, two readings of 金光明 (which is based on the title of the sutra, *Konkōmyō saishōō kyō* 金光明最勝王経) circulate. In English transliteration, the more prevalent reading seems to be *konkōmyō*. The official name according to Tōdaiji, however, is "Kinkōmyō."

7 Tenpyō 天平 13 (741).3.24. SN 2: 386–91. The process of building Tōdaiji was complicated because Shōmu was also

was to be the largest *kokubunji*, most intimately tied to royal rule.[8] The casting of its central statue—a colossal fifteen-meter gilt bronze seated Vairocana Buddha—began on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of 747 (figure 1). In 749, after the body of the statue was cast, the construction of the Great Buddha Hall began.[9] The Eye-Opening Ceremony (Kaigen'e 開眼会) took place on the fourteenth day of the third month of 752, though at this point the statue was probably only partially gilded and still lacked its lotus pedestal and mandorla. The monumental project continued for another couple of decades.[10]

Vairocana Buddha sits cross-legged on a lotus pedestal. His right hand is raised in a "no-fear" gesture (*semui-in* 施無畏印), while his left hand, in a "wish-granting" gesture (*yogan-in* 与願印 or *segan-in* 施願印), rests on his knee. There were multiple conflagrations at Tōdaiji that significantly damaged the statue, including its head, torso, and entire mandorla. Fortuitously, the lower half of the torso at the front and the pedestal still retain a large portion of the eighth-century original. In the early part of the twentieth century, the Great Buddha Hall went through a government-sponsored restoration.[11] The Tōdaiji objects were discovered between 1907 and 1908 from about forty-five centimeters below the surface of the raised dais at south, southwest, and north locations around the lotus pedestal.

In 1976, Okumura Hideo published a diagram titled, "Layout of the Objects Discovered during the Restoration of the Great Buddha Hall" (*Daibutsuden shūzen kōji ni tsuki hakkutsu-butsu ichi mitorizu* 大仏殿修繕工事ニ付キ発掘物位置見取図; hereafter *Layout*) which he found among the private possessions of renowned art historian, sinologist, and Buddhologist, Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868–1927) (figure 3).[12] Most likely prepared around 1908, the *Layout* recorded not only the three locations of the unearthed Tōdaiji objects, but also their general arrangements, giving scholars for the first time a fighting chance to understand the original intent of the ensemble. Included at the bottom right corner of the diagram is an inventory of discovered objects. Below the title and next to the official seal of the Daibutsuden Restoration Office, one finds a notation in red ink clarifying that this is a "copy" of some original.

In 2011, what may have been the original drawing to this "copy" was found among nearly one thousand diagrams and photographs documenting the restoration project that were stored in a "cabinet" (*tansu* タンス) inside Tōdaiji storage (figure 4).[13] Titled, "Diagram

considering moving the imperial capital. The initial edict to construct Vairocana Buddha was issued in 743, and the preparation first went underway in Shigaraki 紫香楽 (present-day Shiga Prefecture), one of the short-lived potential sites for Shōmu's new capital. Shōmu ultimately remained in Heijōkyō, established by Sovereign Genmei 元明 (661–721) in 710. The construction of Vairocana Buddha was resumed at the present Tōdaiji location in 745. For an accessible English introduction to the building of Tōdaiji, see Rosenfield, "Introduction," pp. 20–24. An introduction to the original Great Buddha Hall and subsequent major restoration campaigns can be found in Coaldrake, "Architecture of Todai-ji." There is a large body of scholarship in Japanese on the construction of Tōdaiji. For an accessible introduction to Shōmu's attempts to establish a new capital, his eventual return to Heijōkyō, and the subsequent construction of Tōdaiji, see Shigaken Bunkazai Hogo Kyōkai et al., *Shōmu Tennō to sono jidai*.

8 Presently, it is popularly perceived that Shōmu established Tōdaiji to serve as the umbrella institution (*sō kokubunji* 総国分寺) overseeing all *kokubunji*. Yoshikawa Shinji, however, cautions that as far as we can trace from documentary evidence, the concept of *sō kokubunji* only came about in the medieval period. Yoshikawa, "Kokunbunji," p. 88.

9 The exact date of completion of the Great Buddha Hall is unclear. According to the *Essential Record of Tōdaiji* (*Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録), compiled in the twelfth century, the Great Buddha Hall was completed by 751, a year prior to the Eye-Opening Ceremony. However, the *Chronicles of Japan, Continued* (*Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀; completed in 797) records that in the fourth month of 754, Shōmu, Kōmyō 光明, and Kōken 孝謙 (770-718) received the Bodhisattva Precepts "in front of" the Great Buddha Hall, suggesting that the hall was still under construction. The fact that the commemoration for the forty-ninth-day anniversary of Shōmu's death in 756 took place in nearby Kōfukuji 興福寺, but the one-year anniversary the following year was celebrated in Tōdaiji, most likely means that the Great Buddha Hall was completed sometime between the sixth month of 756 and the fifth month of 757. Okumura, "Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu," pp. 10–11.

10 Yoshimura Rei argues that Shōmu was determined to carry out the Eye-Opening Ceremony in 752 because it marked the two-hundredth anniversary of the formal introduction of Buddhism in 552 as it is recorded in the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki* 日本書紀). The construction was delayed significantly due to the change of venue, and the Great Buddha Hall was not yet fully done when Shōmu passed away in 756. The construction of the mandorla for Vairocana Buddha did not commence until 763. Yoshimura, "Tōdaiji Daibutsu kaigen-e." For a concise timeline of key events surrounding the initial building of Tōdaiji, see Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Daibutsu kaigen*, p. 71.

11 There are conflicting records regarding when this restoration project began, but the general consensus is that the actual work was underway by the first few years of the twentieth century. Tsukamoto, "Konkai no hozon shūri," p. 3.

12 Okumura, "Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu."

13 According to Bandō Toshihiko, it is unclear when the documentation concerning the restoration project were placed in the

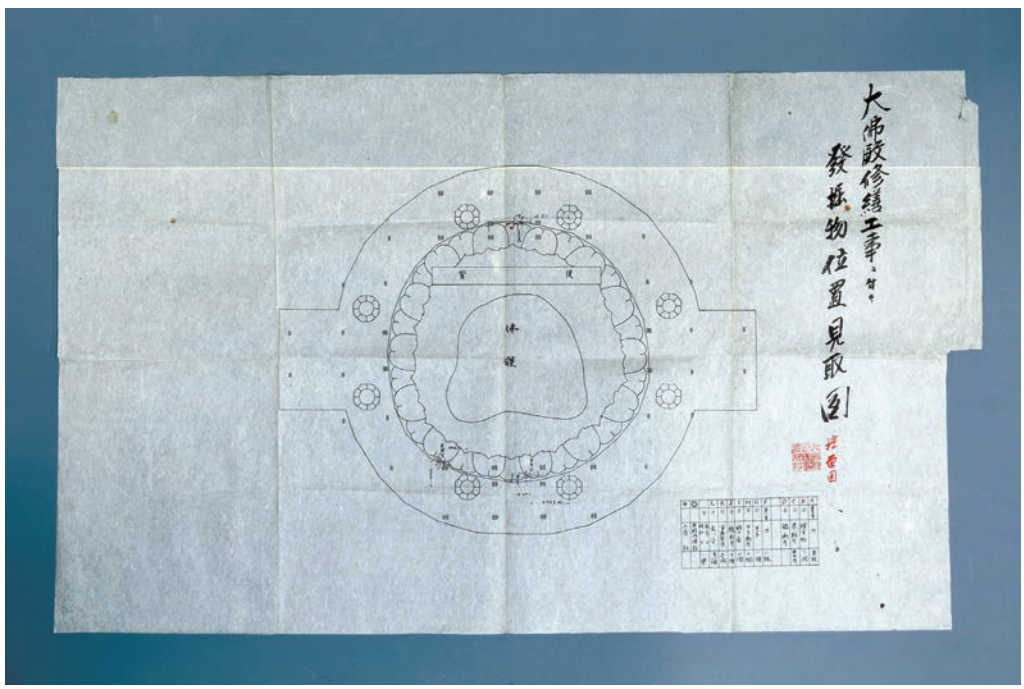


Figure 3. Layout of the objects discovered during the restoration of the Great Buddha Hall. Meiji period, 1907 or 1908. In the collection of Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku Bijutsu Gakubu Kingendai Bijutsushi Daigaku-shi Kenkyū Sentā. Courtesy of Geidai Archives Center of Modern Art.

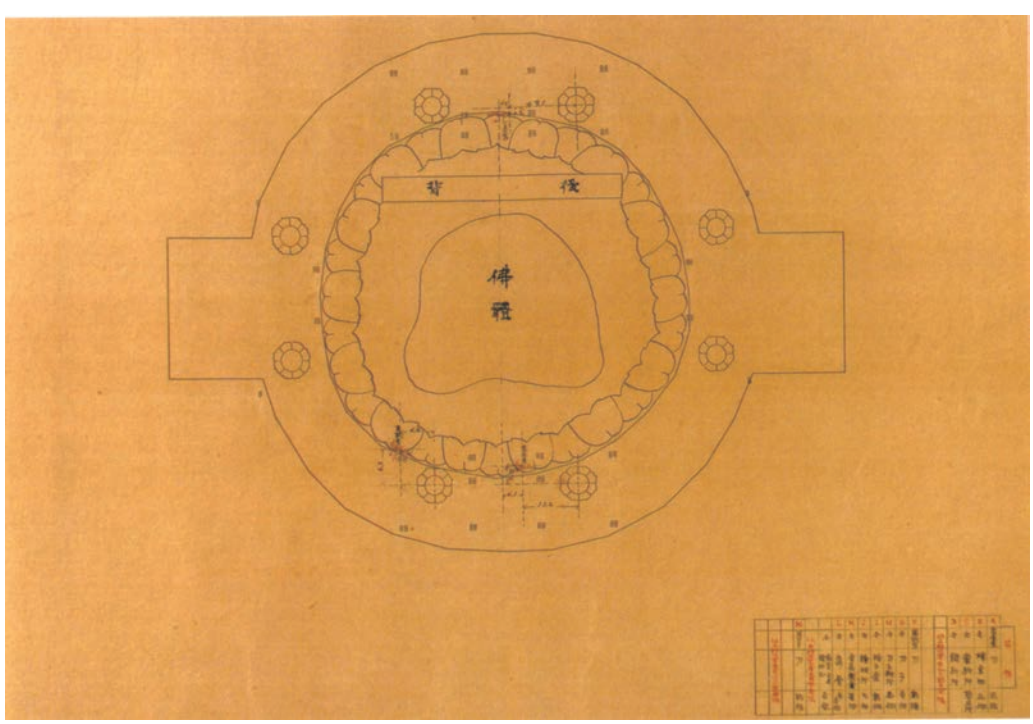


Figure 4. Diagram with the locations where the ancient swords were discovered (detail). Meiji period, 1907 or 1908. In the collection of Tōdaiji. Reproduced from Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu*, p. 311.

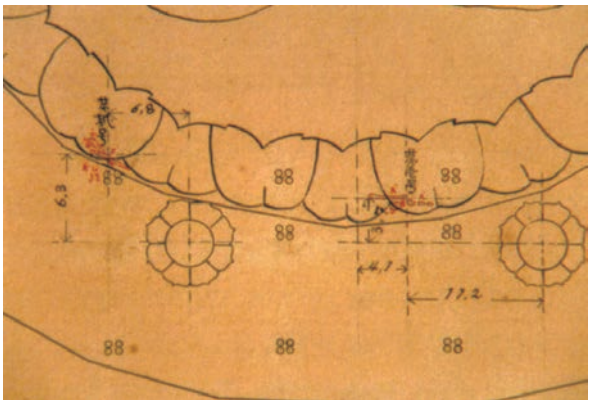


Figure 5. The location and state of swords discovered from the south and southwest cavities. Diagram with the locations where the ancient swords were discovered (detail). Reproduced from Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Kokuhō Tōdaiji kondō chindangu*, p. 311.

with the Locations Where the Ancient Swords Were Discovered" (*Kotō hakkutsu ichi no zu* 古刀発掘位置之図; hereafter *Locations*), this drawing also includes an inventory of objects at the bottom right corner. But unlike the *Layout*, this inventory shows modifications in different ink, relaying that the diagram itself was likely prepared immediately following the first discovery in 1907, then expanded as more artifacts were unearthed.[14] The drawing of the three cavities on the *Locations* and *Layout* are nearly identical, and they are consistent with the brief written accounts of the discovery. The items listed on the two inventories also match the content of the remaining Tōdaiji objects.[15] For this reason, it is safe to conclude that *Locations* and *Layout* present us with reliable documentation of the Tōdaiji objects at the time of their discovery.

The *Locations* and *Layout* present a birds-eye view of Vairocana Buddha and its pedestal in black ink. The large circle with the square left and right protrusions indicates the stone dais. The central portion of this dais originally constituted the core of the stone outer lotus pedestal for the Vairocana statue but was damaged in the 1180 conflagration that decimated the Great Buddha Hall. The eight large lotus symbols show the location of the wooden posts on the dais. The smaller symbols with a cluster of four circles represent the scaffolding put up during the 1907–1908 restoration that led to the discovery of the deposits. In both diagrams, the locations of the deposits are labeled in red ink using the alphabetic letters A through M, corresponding to the inventory. The location of each cavity is given as a distance from the nearest dais posts.

The outline of Vairocana Buddha and its surroundings in the two diagrams are nearly identical but there are differences. Based on the title of the *Locations*, the main concern of those who prepared it was the six swords discovered at the three cavities. They carefully record the exact placement of the swords within the cavity (letters A, F, and M) and their state of preservation (figure 5). On the other hand, the *Layout*'s interest lies in recording all of the objects and not just the swords. Consequently, the *Layout* indicates the distance of the cavities from the nearest posts in light blue—as opposed to black ink used for the *Locations*—allowing the viewers to read the arrangement of each object more easily. Finally, at the southwest cavity, the *Layout* indicates more carefully the locations where the silver jar and crystal containers were unearthed (I through K).[16]

According to the *Layout*, in all three locations, some or all of the artifacts were buried just beneath the edge of the bronze pedestal (figure 6). The types of objects included differ from one location to the next with the exception of the swords. In addition to the pair of swords, from the south side also found were a metal lock in the shape of a cicada, fragments of a lacquered

cabinet or when the cabinet was placed in storage. Bandō, "Daibutsuden," p. 309. Katori Tadahiko first introduced this drawing in 1976 as an appendix to his article. See Katori, "Tōdaiji Daibutsu no sōzō-ji," pp. 99–102.

14 Bandō, "Daibutsuden," p. 310.

15 A discrepancy exists between the *Locations* and the inventory of artifacts Ueda Sanpei reproduces in his article regarding the location of discovery for some of the glass beads. Ueda's article also fails to mention where the scales of the armor were found. Because Ueda was not present at the time of discovery, he had no means to confirm the accuracy of the inventory in his possession. This discrepancy does not affect the argument of this essay, but it is worth noting that for the above reasons I believe the *Locations* and *Layout* are more reliable documentation of the discovery. Ueda, "Tōdaiji Daibutsuden," pp. 68–70. A convenient comparative chart of how the Tōdaiji objects are listed in primary sources and seminal works can be found in Tsukamoto, "Konkai no hozon shūri," pp. 6–7.

16 The fact that the *Layout* is noted to be a "copy" may mean that at least two diagrams were produced at the time of the discovery, possibly for different reasons. Notably, when Katori first discovered the *Locations*, it was accompanied by three colored life-size drawings of select swords from the Tōdaiji objects. This indicates that the *Locations* was prepared specifically to mark where the swords in the drawings were unearthed. Katori, "Tōdaiji Daibutsu no sōzō-ji," pp. 101–2.

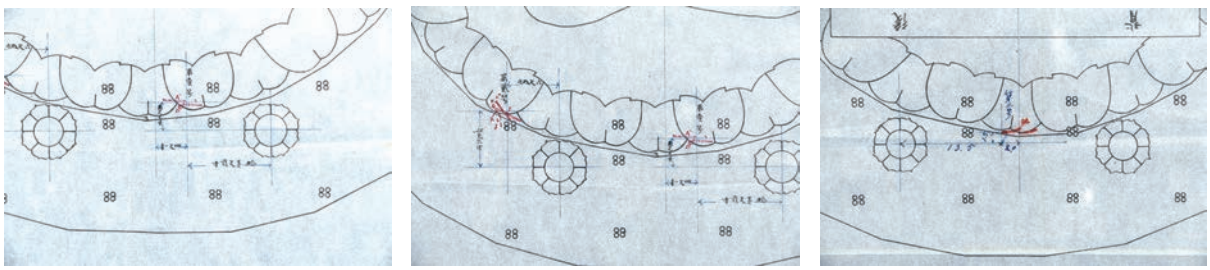


Figure 6. (From left to right) South, southwest, and north cavities. Layout of the objects discovered during the restoration of the Great Buddha Hall (detail). Courtesy of Geidai Archives Center of Modern Art.

box, and scales from armor (figure 6, left).[17] The southwest cavity yielded the greatest number of objects. Beyond the swords, there were fragments of small knives; a silver-lidded jar, which included sixteen crystals and two small crystal containers that held a total of twelve pearls; a small flower-shaped mirror; glass beads and precious jewels of different sizes; and a human tooth and bone-like fragment (figure 6, center). The only artifacts discovered from the north side (figure 6, right) were the two swords.

No record of these objects has yet been found, creating a significant challenge to understanding the circumstances surrounding their emplacement. Stylistically and scientifically, however, the Tōdaiji objects belong to the mid-eighth century, contemporaneous with the initial construction of Vairocana Buddha, with the exception of the glass beads found from the southwest cavity.[18] According to the 2011 analysis, the 155 glass beads include pieces that may have been produced sometime after the late Heian 平安 period (794–1195).[19] Ōga Katsuhiko hypothesizes that these later beads were buried or scattered onto the dais after a restoration. Unfortunately, the inventories on both the *Locations* and *Layout* only list the glass beads as "one-bag full," bundling them together with Nara-period amber pieces also unearthed from the same general location (letter L; figure 6, center).[20] On the *Layout*, location L seems slightly away from the bronze pedestal instead of directly underneath it, making Ōga's hypothesis compelling. The conflagration in the twelfth century damaged the stone outer dais. New objects could have been emplaced for the purpose of commemorating its restoration. Neither the *Locations* nor *Layout* include enough detail, however, concerning how the beads were arranged at the time of discovery, nor whether there was a difference in depth between the layers of compounded earth of the dais from where each of the artifacts was found.

State of the Field: The Mystery of Two Swords and the Function of the Tōdaiji Objects

Okumura Hideo's 1976 article that questioned the validity of the identification as *chindangu* is the landmark study on the Tōdaiji objects after Ueda Sanpei's initial introduction. Commonly, *chindangu* were emplaced into the platform (*kidan* 基壇) for an architectural structure either during its construction or after its completion, but prior to the building of the structure itself. The Tōdaiji objects, however, were less than a meter below the surface of the dais, placing them about two meters above the actual platform for the Great Buddha Hall. In addition, what is presently the surface of the "dais" was originally not the dais at all but the core of the stone outer lotus pedestal that rose 2.5 meters above the floor of the building (figure 7).[21] Okumura

17 At the time of discovery, the lacquered box fragments were recorded as "leather box," but the 2015 analysis did not find any traces of leather. Eno, "Urushi seihin," pp. 172–74.

18 For a recent assessment of when each item in the Tōdaiji objects was created, see the essays included in Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu*.

19 Due to a lack of sufficient samples, presently it is inconclusive whether or not the beads exhibiting chemical composition comparable to glass from the Heian period or later are actually from the later period. See Ōga, "Tōdaiji Kondō shutsudo gyokurui." For a more detailed data analysis, see Tamura, "Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu no garasu kodama," pp. 109–24.

20 Ueda, "Kagaku bunseki."

21 Okumura, "Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu," p. 7. A scene from the twelfth-century *Picture Scroll of the Cause and Effect of Mt. Shigi* (*Shigisan engi emaki* 信貴山縁起絵巻) portrays an additional stone lotus pedestal on an octagonal base surrounding

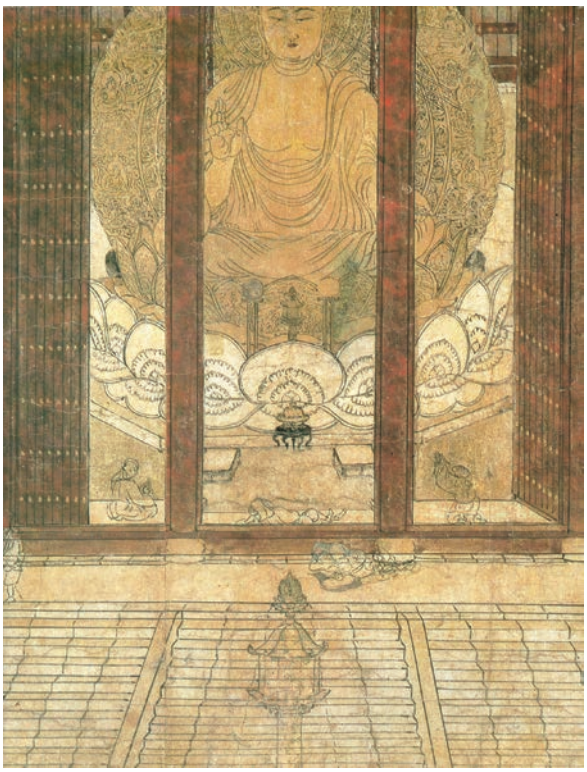
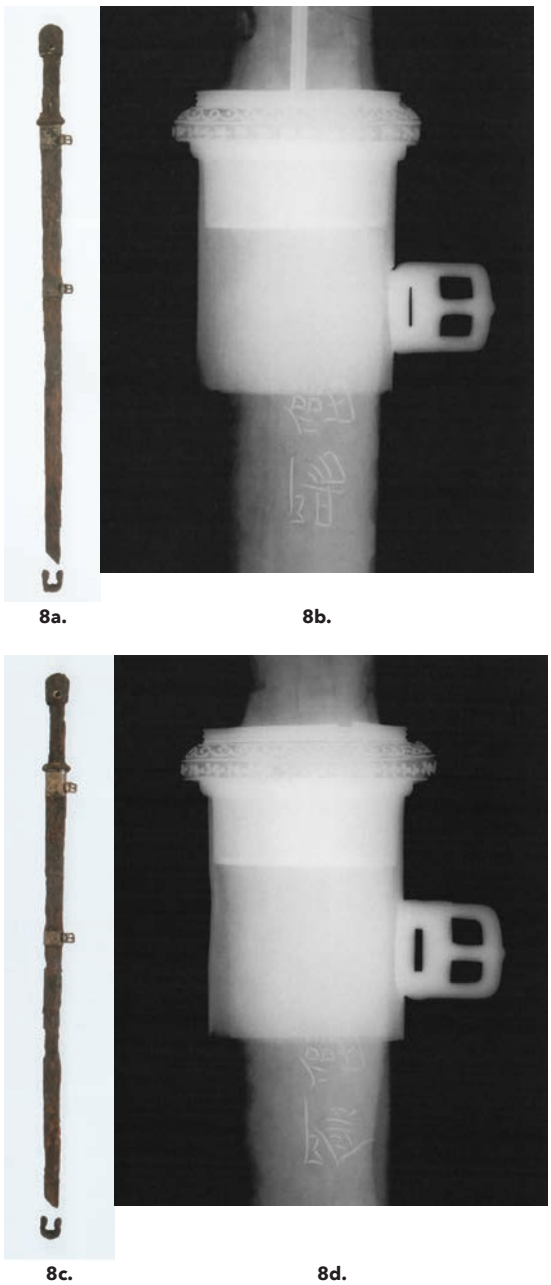


Figure 7. The original bronze inner and stone outer lotus pedestals. Picture scroll of the *Cause and Effect of Mt. Shigi (Shigisan engi emaki)*, scroll 3. Chōgosonshiji, Nara Prefecture. Heian period, 12th c. Reproduced from Murashige, *Shigisan*, figure 9.

instead reviewed the milestone events in the construction of Vairocana Buddha and its hall, concluding that the deposits were likely made either at the first-year anniversary of Shōmu's death in 757, or sometime after Kōmyō's 光明 (701–760) death in 760.[22]

In 2011, an x-ray analysis of the Tōdaiji objects revealed the inscriptions on the two swords unearthed from the southwest cavity, one reading "Yang Sword" (*yōken* 陽劔; figures 8a and 8b), and the other, "Yin Sword" (*inken* 陰劔; figures 8c and 8d).[23] The Yang Sword is 98.5 centimeters with the blade measuring 79.2 centimeters in length. The Yin Sword is overall slightly shorter than the Yang Sword, measuring 97.8



8a. **8b.** **8c.** **8d.**

Figure 8a. Yang Sword (*yōken*) and **8c**. Yin Sword (*inken)* paired with **8b and 8d**, their respective inscriptions (x-ray). Discovered from southwest side (figure **6 center**, F^{I} and F^{II}) from beneath the Seated Vairocana Buddha. Daibutsuden, Tōdaiji. Nara period, mid-8th c. Presently in the collection of Tōdaiji. Reproduced from Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu*, pp. 210, 213, 216, and 219.

the bronze pedestal. The stone pedestal was remodeled during the Kamakura 鎌倉 (1185–1333) and Edo 江戸 (1603–1867) periods, and became the stone "platform" that we see today. Kawamura, *Tōdaiji*, p. 58.

22 Okumura, "Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu," pp. 17–18.

23 For a summary regarding the finding of the inscriptions, see Tsukamoto, "Konkai no hozon shūri."

Figure 9. Entry on *in hōken* and *yō hōken*. *Kokka chinpōchō* (detail). Nara period, 756. Reproduced from Tōdaiji Myūjiamu, *Kokuhō*, p. 20.

centimeters, but the blade itself is virtually identical in length, measuring 79.0 centimeters (figure 8 b). On each sword, the inscription was incised on the blade (possibly with gold inlay). Their discovery caused a sensation because *inken* and *yōken* closely resemble the names given to a pair of swords on the *List of the Nation's Rare Treasures* (*Kokka chinpōchō* 国家珍宝帳; hereafter *Chinpōchō*). *Chinpōchō* is the inventory of over six hundred artifacts offered to Tōdaiji's Vairocana Buddha upon Shōmu's death in 756 (hereafter "756 offering"). The donated items were subsequently stored in the temple's repository, Shōsōin 正倉院.[24] The named swords in question appear under the category of "one hundred swords": one listed as the "Yin Precious Sword" (*in hōken* or *in no hōken* 陰寶劔), and the other, "Yang Precious Sword" (*yō hōken* or *yō no hōken* 陽寶劔) (figure 9).

The physical swords that correspond to this entry no longer exist, but we can trace their removal through

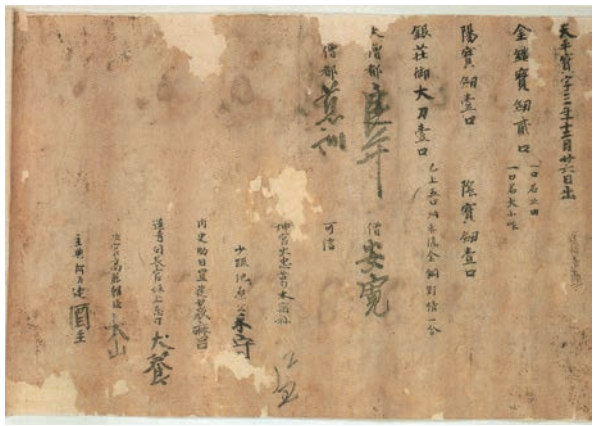


Figure 10. *Shutsuzōchō* record concerning removal of five swords. Nara period, 759. Reproduced from Tōdaiji Myūjiamu, *Kokuhō*, p. 21.

documentation. The entry for the Precious Swords in *Chinpōchō* comes with small rectangular addenda pasted immediately above the main headings, noting that they were "removed items" (*jomotsu* 除物). The "record of removal" (*shutsuzōchō* 出蔵帳) dated to the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month of 759 corroborates the addenda (figure 10). The record (hereafter *Shutsuzōchō-1*), which documents the monastery's permission to extract select items from the repository, lists five swords, including the Precious Swords. If the Yin/Yang Swords in the Tōdaiji objects were indeed the very swords listed on *Chinpōchō*—and subsequently retrieved from the repository in 759—the two documents can provide a much-needed historical context. Furthermore, if the Tōdaiji objects were buried at the same time, *Shutsuzōchō-1* may also determine the timing of dedication for all the deposits by association. Based on this discovery, some scholars have attempted to connect other items in the Tōdaiji objects to pieces noted "removed" in *Chinpōchō*.[25]

The matter, however, is not so simple. Despite the compelling similarity in the names, the physical traits of the two sets of swords do not fully match each other.[26] *Chinpōchō* states:

24 The most comprehensive study of the Shōsōin arms and armor is Kondō, *Nihon kodai no bugu*.

25 For example, see Morimoto, "Kondō chindangu'"; Tsukamoto, "Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu no hozon shūri"; Tsukamoto, "Konkai no hozon shūri ni itaru," pp. 6–16; Hashimoto, "Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu."

26 Yoshizawa, "'Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu' no chōsa kenkyū," p. 117. See also Kondō, "*Kokka chinpōchō*."

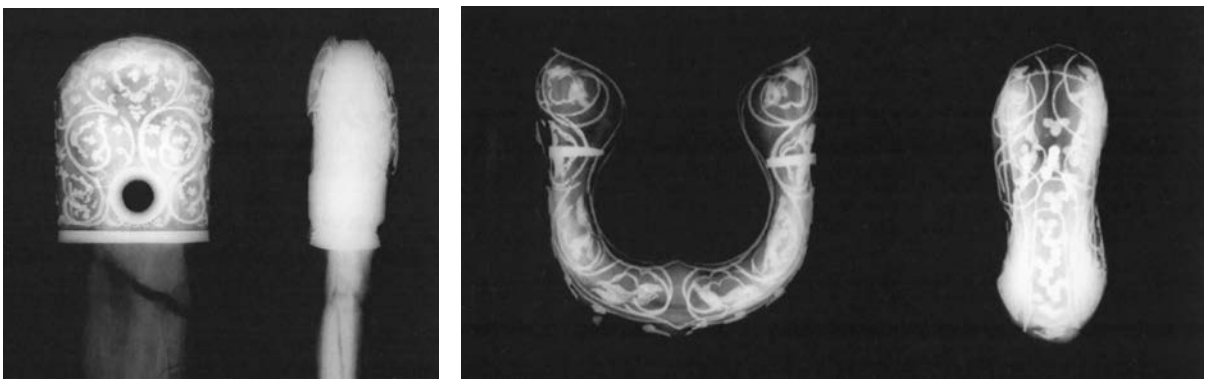


Figure 11. Ivy motif done in gold inlay on the hilt (left) and at the end cap for the scabbard (right). *Yōken* (detail). Reproduced from Gangōji Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu*, p. 213.

> *Yō no Hōken* (one item), *In no Hōken* (one item)
> The blades for both swords measure 2-*shaku* 6-*sun* 9-*bu* [about 79.6 cm]; single edge; each comes with the characters "treasure sword" [*hōken*] inscribed; rosewood pommel; ray skin hilt; circular strap hold, scabbard mouth, cord knobs, and end cap are lined with gold; cord knobs and end cap are painted in gold lacquer and gilt; purple braded cord; purple leather cord for strap hold; blackish-purple twill cord for strap; crimson ground brocade bag with scarlet twill backing.[27]

The description does overlap with some details we can observe on the Tōdaiji swords. The Yin/Yang Swords come with single-edged blades of about 79 centimeters. Fragments of ray skin remain on their hilts. Although their colors are unknown, each sword had pieces of leather and twill silk still on them. On the other hand, critical differences include the material used for the pommels and surface ornamentations.[28] According to *Chinpōchō*, the pommels of the two Precious Swords were made of rosewood, while those of the Yin/Yang Swords are iron. Unlike the pair in *Chinpōchō*, which apparently did not have any notable inlayed motif on the surface, the Tōdaiji counterparts are adorned with a delicate ivy motif in gold inlay on the pommel and end cap of the scabbard (figure 11). The lining and gilding on the Shōsōin pair were done in gold, while the Yin/Yang Swords are adorned with silver lining around the scabbard mouth and on at least one of the cord knobs. Finally, the Tōdaiji pair used braided cords with gold threads for their strap holds, not purple leather, and one of the textiles used for the bag was not brocade but most likely a type of plain-weave *kasuri* 絣 fabric known as *higon* 秘錦 imported from Silla.[29]

Only a handful of swords listed in *Chinpōchō* remain in Shōsōin, making it difficult to determine if the differences between the two sets of swords are within acceptable variations or significant enough to disregard their connection. Compilers of *Chinpōchō* did make mistakes, but the inventory uses notable physical traits to distinguish items within the same category.[30] The Precious Swords are the first items under its category, meaning they were the most treasured among the hundred swords dedicated during the 756 offering. It is difficult to imagine, therefore, that the compilers misidentified something so readily recognizable as the material of the pommels, presence of ornamental motifs, or types of threads, fabrics, and precious metals used.

27 For the transcription, see *Tōdaiji kenmotsuchō*, p. 438.

28 Kondō also notes the subtle discrepancies between the names of the swords (*inken* and *yōken*) and the counterparts recorded in *Chinpōchō* and *Shutsuzōchō-1* (*in no hōken* and *yō no hōken*), arguing that "yin" and "yang" were used in the inventory simply to distinguish the two swords that were virtually identical. Though Kondō's meticulous categorization of Shōsōin weapons is significant, I agree with scholars such as Hashimoto Hidemasa and Tōno Haruyuki who argue for caution against ascribing too much meaning into the difference in the names. Kondō, "*Kokka chinpōchō*," pp. 13–14; Hashimoto, "Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu," pp. 103–4; Tōno, "Yōken, inken," p. 285.

29 Yamada and Komura, "Keikō zanketsu," pp. 294–95. Concerning *higon*, see Tōno, *Kentōshi*, pp. 141–60.

30 For instance, there are three entries in *Chinpōchō* that are accompanied by later notations on the margin stating, "No object found. Suspected duplicate entry" (*jitsu nashi jūsai utagau* 无實疑重載). *Tōdaiji kenmotsuchō*, pp. 436–37. For a detailed examination of all the addenda to *Chinpōchō*, see Yoneda, "'Kokka chinpōchō' no fusen."

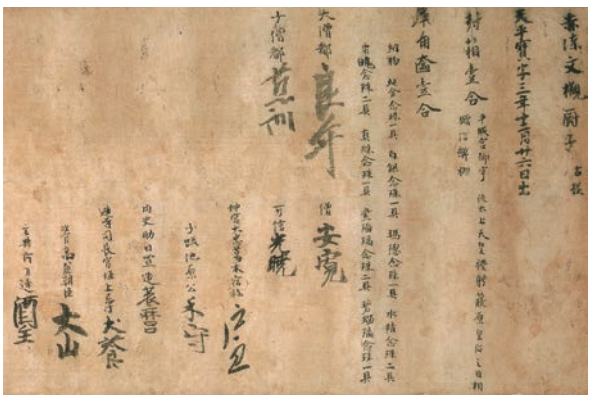


Figure 12. *Shutsuzōchō* record concerning the removal of items from the Zelkova cabinet (*Shutsuzōchō-2*). Nara period, 759. Reproduced from Tōdaiji Myūjiamu, *Kokuhō*, p. 21.

Shutsuzōchō-1 also warrants reconsideration as evidence to connect the *Chinpōchō* pair to the Tōdaiji counterparts. *Shutsuzōchō-1* lists three other swords removed at this time: another pair of "precious swords" (*hōken*) with gold inlay ornamentation named "Sukita" 次田 and "Daishōgui" 大小咋, and a straight sword with silver decoration. But *Chinpōchō* does not list any swords that fully match them.[31] This means that by 759, Shōsōin had already stored items other than the 756 offering.[32]

Shutsuzōchō-1 is typically considered in tandem with another record of removal that comes with the identical date of issue (hereafter *Shutsuzōchō-2*; figure 12). *Shutsuzōchō-2* records the discharge of two sets of items: a "locked box" containing personal documents exchanged between Shōmu and Queen Consort Kōmyō, and another box made of rhinoceros horn with eleven Buddhist prayer beads (*nenju* 念珠). The two *shutsuzōchō* have been used as key justifications to consider the Yin/Yang Swords within the eighth-century religiopolitical circumstances and to connect other pieces in the Tōdaiji objects to items listed as "removed" in *Chinpōchō*.[33] Tantalizingly, some of the beads found from the southwest cavity come with holes, indicating that they were strung together possibly as Buddhist prayer beads. The cicada-shaped lock and fragments of ornate lacquered box seem precious enough to have held the personal exchanges between the royal couple.

Once again, however, the issue is not so simple. Although the two *shutsuzōchō* share the same date, there are differences in detail. At the right edge of *Shutsuzōchō-2* appears a notation of an imperial heirloom called the "Red-Lacquered Zelkova Cabinet with Fine-Grain Pattern" (*Sekishitsu bunkanboku no onzushi* 赤漆文槻木御厨子) also included in the 756 offering, clarifying that two boxes were removed from this cabinet.[34] The discharge is again confirmed in *Chinpōchō* by the addenda, *jomotsu*. We have no information on why these sets of objects required separate approval forms. Yet the two *shutsuzōchō* seem to at least reveal a difference in bureaucratic procedures for removing items particularly important to the imperial lineage and those that were less dear to the imperial family or not as politically significant, albeit precious. At the end of both *shutsuzōchō*, autographs of Tōdaiji officials are included immediately below their titles. Intriguingly, a cleric named Kōgyō 光暁 autographed *Shutsuzōchō-2* but not *-1*. Apparently for the swords, it was not necessary for all ten members to approve.

Beyond this potential procedural difference, the existence of two *shutsuzōchō* with the same date could also mean that the sets of items were retrieved for a different occasion. Neither *shutsuzōchō* includes any information regarding the purpose of removal. However, *Shutsuzōchō-1* has a note stating that the swords were "placed in a red-lacquered lidded box with gilt-bronze nails" (*ijō gokō o sekishitsu kondō-tei no hitsu ichigō ni osamu* 已上五口納赤漆金銅釘櫃一合). This tells that

31 Scholars, including Kondō Yoshikazu, hypothesize that one of the other pair of named swords (Sukita and Daishōgui) may match the shorter *tachi* 横刀 sword in *Chinpōchō* noted as *jomotsu*. This identification, however, is problematic because the name of the sword, included as the singular identifying trait in the *Shutsuzōchō-1*, does not appear in *Chinpōchō*. In addition, the description of the three swords in *shutsuzōchō* does not match any of the *Chinpōchō* headings. *Shutsuzōchō* seems to mirror the exact phrasing in *Chinpōchō*. If so, it is more reasonable to consider that the pair of swords with gold inlay is also an example of items stored in the Shōsōin repository but not part of Kōmyō and Kōken's initial donation. For Kondō's discussion on this matter, see *Nihon kodai no bugu*, pp. 79–82.

32 In addition to the 756 offering, the Shōsōin repository stored ritual implements and objects donated during notable ceremonies, including the Eye-Opening Ceremony in 752, the one-year death anniversary for Shōmu's mother in 755, the funeral for Shōmu in 756, and the one-year anniversary of Shōmu's death in 757. Hashimoto, *Shōsōin no rekishi*, pp. 17–18, 64–65.

33 For studies that explore the function of the Tōdaiji objects on the premise that they were initially part of the Shōsōin treasures, see Sugimoto, "Kōmyō Kōgō to Shōsōin hōmotsu"; Okumura, "Todaiji Kondō chindangu."

34 For a recent study on the Zelkova Cabinet, see Yoneda, *Shōsōin hōmotsu*, pp. 111–62.

the five swords were removed at least to be stored together in a new container, if not used at the same occasion.[35] Only five swords (not six) were removed and none of the items included in either *shutsuzōchō* is an exact match to the Tōdaiji objects. In short, without additional collaborating evidence, we cannot unequivocally conclude that the Yin/Yang Swords in the Tōdaiji objects are indeed the Precious Swords from the 756 offering. Because the comparative studies between the remaining Tōdaiji objects and items listed as *jomotsu* in *Chinpōchō* rely on the provenance of Yin/Yang Swords as their justification, much of their claims are also critically undermined.

A Complication: The Timing of the Deposit of the Southwest Objects

In sum, presently we do not know if there are other objects buried into the dais of Vairocana Buddha.[36] Despite scholars' efforts, it is not possible to place the Tōdaiji objects into a historical context in any certain terms. Furthermore, it is possible that the glass beads discovered from the southwest cavity include pieces from a later period. Tōdaiji retained its centrality within Japanese Buddhism even after the political center moved away from the Nara basin in 784. The Shōsōin treasures attest that devotees continued to make offerings to the monastery. Given the scientific evidence, we must entertain the possibility that there might have been additional offerings deposited around Vairocana Buddha at some point in the history of the Great Buddha Hall. The possible inclusion of later glass beads, therefore, warrants additional discussion to move any further with our investigation into the devotional function of the Tōdaiji objects.

Notably, the 1907–1908 restoration also unearthed a few other later pieces from somewhere on the dais, including a fragment of a mirror from the Heian period (or later), a small block of bronze, and iron nails, making clear that deposits were made onto the dais later than the Nara period.[37] If so, does the fact that the glass beads may include later pieces mean all the Tōdaiji objects were deposited sometime after the Heian period? Not necessarily. Returning to the *Layout*, the distribution of the alphabetic letters for the southwest cavity shows two clusters of items: those discovered from directly underneath the pedestal (F, G, H, I, and K) and others from locations slightly further away (J and L). The accounts of discovery provide no insight on this matter, but based on this pattern of scattering, it is possible that the southwest cavity included deposits from two different periods.

The convention of devotional deposit in East Asian Buddhism dictates that objects from past offerings when discovered were either removed from the site or re-emplaced. New deposits were often prepared either to replace, or be offered alongside, the older ones as part of merit-making for donors involved in the re-emplacement.[38] If the glass beads at location L were unearthed together with pieces of eighth-century amber, then

35 Interestingly, on the fourth day of the first month of 760, Emi no Oshikatsu 恵美押勝 (a.k.a. Fujiwara no Nakamaro 藤原仲麻呂, 706–764) was promoted to the highest official rank of Daishi 大師, an equivalent to the earlier Dajō Daijin 太政大臣, which had been vacant since the death of his grandfather, Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659–720). Prestigious swords, including the pair of Yin and Yang Treasure Swords, named after the binary forces (*qi* 気) that constitute the universe itself, would have been an appropriate imperial gift commemorating Oshikatsu's promotion. *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Hōji 3 (759).11.30 and Tenpyō Hōji 4 (760).1.4. SN 3: 334–35, 340–41. As an alternate theory, Yoneda Yūsuke hypothesizes that the swords may have been worn by Junnin 淳仁 (733–765; r. 758–764) during the New Year's rite in 760. Yoneda, "'Kokka chinpōchō' no fusen," pp. 18–20.

36 Yoshizawa Satoru comments that enough scaffolding was set up during the restoration so that if there were more objects the workers would most likely have found them. Naturally, this does not mean that no other object was interned initially. However, given the amount of damage the Great Buddha Hall sustained, if there were any, they might have been lost over the centuries. Yoshizawa, "'Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu' no chōsa kenkyū," p. 146.

37 Ibid., pp. 140–45.

38 A latter example would be the reliquary discovered from the heart pillar for the west pagoda at Taimadera 當麻寺 (Nara Prefecture), which included the initial seventh-century nested containers surrounded by offerings from the seventh century, Heian period, 1219, 1767, and 1914. In China, the famed underground crypt at Famensi 法門寺 (Shaanxi Province), which received an imperial veneration roughly every thirty years during the Tang dynasty, retained few items donated by earlier emperors alongside offerings made in 873 by Emperor Yizong 懿宗 (r. 859–873). In addition, Sonya S. Lee discusses the case of Jingzhi Monastery (Jingzhisi 靜志寺), which at the time of discovery in 1969 held items from five distinct relic burials in 453, 606, 858, 889, and 977. On the Korean Peninsula, although the exact layout of the objects is unclear due to looting in 1964, the former nine-story pagoda at Hwangnyongsa 황룡사 (皇龍寺), Gyeongju, most likely held offerings from at least two (and possibly three) periods: first, its initial completion in 645; and at the time of its restoration completed in 871. For Taimadera reliquary, see Yamashita and Naitō, Taimadera. See also Lee, *Surviving*, pp. 202–63; Gukrib Jungang Bakmulgwan, *Bulsari jangeom*, p. 112; Choi, "Early Korean and Japanese Reliquaries," p. 183.

one could surmise that Tōdaiji also followed this re-emplacement custom during subsequent restorations.

Location L is slightly away from the bronze pedestal. Considering the shallowness of the cavities, one could easily imagine that the conversion of the outer stone pedestal into the dais we see today disturbed the Nara-period deposits.[39] Then upon completion of the circular dais, the pieces that were accidentally unearthed may have been buried back together with new pieces. This means the amber pieces, tooth, and bone-like fragment found together with the glass beads in location L, as well as the eighth-century bronze mirror discovered from location J—even further away from the bronze pedestal—may reflect an arrangement of some later deposit, although stylistically and scientifically they date from the eighth century.

Conversely, the same convention also allows us to estimate the original moment of emplacement: if all the objects that were unearthed together date from just one period, then we can reasonably deduce the timing of their burial based on the timing of their production. The south and north cavities show no sign of the scattering of objects, and all of the pieces discovered from these two locations are from the Nara period. In addition, the tips of *kaeribana* 反花—the upturned lotus petals around the bottom of a pedestal—directly above the south and north cavities retain much or all of the eighth-century original.[40] If the petals had needed no significant repairs, there would have been little reason to disturb the earth immediately below them, thus making it likely that the objects at these two locations survived intact. The bronze pedestal was completed by circa 756, which provides the earliest possible timing of the initial burial.

In contrast, the tip of *kaeribana* above the southwest cavity shows signs of repair from a restoration sometime prior to the eighteenth century, and *kaeribana* immediately to the left (west) was also repaired during the restoration of Vairocana Buddha in 1686–1692.[41] If repairing *kaeribana* disturbed the surface of the dais underneath, it could have exposed the buried artifacts at locations F through K. Does this mean that even the contents of the southwest cavity immediately below the pedestal—which include the Yin/Yang Swords and the silver jar with crystal containers—must be excluded from a discussion of the Tōdaiji objects in the eighth century? Once again, not necessarily so.

Yin/Yang Swords and the silver jar are contemporaneous to pieces discovered from the south and north cavities.[42] The *Layout* shows that the arrangement of the objects discovered from below the pedestal at the southwest cavity (F through K) shares similarities to the south and north locations, suggestive of a coherent program. The two swords at each location were placed side by side aligned horizontally to the edge of the pedestal. Other items at the south (B, C, and D) and southwest (G, H, I, and K) cavities were found just next to where the pair of swords meet one another to the side further away from the statue. It is noteworthy that although at first glance the three sets of swords seem almost identical in their arrangement, there is one key difference. As opposed to the southwest swords, F^{I} and F^{II}, which were discovered clearly crisscrossing each other in an X, the A^{I} and A^{II} (south) and M (north) swords were positioned side by side with one sword slightly closer to the center of the pedestal than its counterpart, but not actually crossing each other. Given the likelihood that the south and north cavities survive from their initial emplacement, one can deduce that A^{I} and A^{II}, and M, reflect the intended arrangement of the eighth-century donors. If so, the similarities and the subtle difference in the positioning of the F^{I} and F^{II} swords could evidence an effort by someone who was not cognizant of the coherent program of the original donation to rebury the most significant pieces unearthed from the southwest location as close as possible to the arrangement in which they were discovered.

39 After the Meiji-period restoration, the area immediately surrounding the bronze pedestal was sealed using mortar, making it impossible to confirm the cavities by sight. Regarding the present condition of the area surrounding the pedestal, see Okumura, "Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu," pp. 169–70.

40 Maeda, "Tōdaiji Daibutsu no chūzō," pp. 35, 41–42, 48.

41 In 1968, a team of scholars examined the twenty-eight *kaeribana* of the bronze pedestal. They found clear differences between the areas that retain the original and those with repairs. The team reserved judgment on the exact timing of repairs, however, except for the ones carried out at the end of the seventeenth century. Ibid., pp. 29–31, 36–37.

42 Tōno Haruyuki argues that the calligraphic style of the incised inscriptions on the Yin and Yang Swords (F^{I} and F^{II}) is contemporary with that of *Chinpōchō*, placing them around the mid-eighth century. The silver jar is also identified to be from the eighth century through its shape and the technique used to secure the handle on the lid. See Tōno, "Yōken, inken," p. 286; and Yoshizawa, "'Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu' no chōsa kenkyū," p. 55.

The Efficacy of Concealment in the Tōdaiji Objects

Conclusions about the Tōdaiji objects based on the available partial information are these: at the time of the 1907–1908 discovery, the objects at the south and north locations were in their original arrangement; the objects at the southwest location may have been reburied sometime prior to the twentieth century, but at least the items from immediately underneath the pedestal generally retained their arrangement from the initial emplacement; the most likely timing of the initial emplacement is the latter half of the eighth century sometime after 756. According to Tōno Haruyuki, the calligraphic style used in *Chinpōchō* and the inscriptions on the Yin/Yang Swords were newly popularized in the Tenpyō Shōhō 天平勝宝 era (749–757), placing the initial deposit closer to 756 than later.[43]

As offerings worthy of Vairocana Buddha, the Tōdaiji objects match in quality to the items from the 756 offering. Tōdaiji's status as the apex of all state-maintained temples meant that the access to the central statue was limited to the imperial family, clerics of the temple, and courtiers within the inner circle of the Yamato rulership. In other words, burying an offering underneath its pedestal could not have been possible without the approval of—if not an active instigation from—the reigning sovereign or the Queen Dowager Kōmyō. Thus, although it is not possible to tie any of the Tōdaiji objects to the 756 offering, the two sets can still be considered as the twin pinnacles of the eighth-century gifts to Tōdaiji. The types of artifacts in the Tōdaiji objects, in fact, overlap with the 756 offering in a significant way. If they were made around the same period by the same group of people to be offered to the same deity, why did the Tōdaiji objects need to be buried in the first place instead of simply being offered to the Buddha to be stored in the temple's repository? What was the difference in nuance of expected devotional efficacy between the two types of offerings? To inquire further, we must now reconsider the hypothesis that the Tōdaiji objects were *chindangu*.

Chindan 鎮壇 (platform pacification) is often discussed in tandem with a similar practice of *jichin* 地鎮 (ground pacification). The earliest use of the term *chindan* appears in *Mizukagami* 水鏡 compiled between 1170–1195.[44] However, examples from sites such as Sakatadera 坂田寺, Kōfukuji 興福寺, and Hokkeji 法華寺 attest that this ritual was already performed by the Nara period.[45] Strictly speaking, a *jichin* ceremony takes place prior to breaking the ground to celebrate the earth spirit and receive divine blessing for the construction, while *chindan* sanctified the foundation for a building.[46] Items such as swords and small knives included in the Tōdaiji objects appear in other instances of *chindan* deposits, but as Okumura Hideo already observed, unlike typical *chindangu*, the Tōdaiji objects were buried after the completion of the Great Buddha Hall and central deity.[47] Pragmatic concerns probably had an impact on the location and timing of the burial. The combined height of the present statue and its pedestal is about eighteen meters with an estimated weight of roughly three hundred and seventy tons. The statue was so colossal that it had to be constructed first, and its pedestals, platform, and the Buddha Hall built around it. The process, thus, had to be different from a typical construction of a Buddhist monastery, where the central deity was built concurrently with, or after, the structure that housed it. The logistical complexity of its casting must also have restricted when and where one could have made a deposit. Yet, the cavities for the Tōdaiji objects were small enough (each hole dug at the time of the restoration was about 2 meters in diameter) that it would have been possible to carry out a more conventional *chindan* deposit if that had indeed been what was desired.

Broadening our scope, the Tōdaiji objects overlap with other ritual burials in the kind of items offered. Kang Woo-bang observes that the types of artifacts for

43 Tōno, "Yōken, inken," p. 286.

44 Ishida, *Reibun bukkyōgo daijiten*, s.v. "chindan."

45 In the Asuka 飛鳥 (ca. first half of sixth century–710) and Nara periods, *jichin* and *chindan* rites were called *chinsai* 鎮祭, *shizume matsuru* 鎮め祭る ("pacification ceremony"), or simply *shizume* 鎮め ("pacification"). For a concise discussion of the documented instances of *chinsai* during the seventh and eighth centuries, see Mori and Yabunaka, *Chindangu kara miru kodai*, pp. 49–52.

46 In the Nara period, it is unclear whether or not the two ceremonies were distinguished so strictly. The practice was more formalized through the spread of esoteric Buddhism, particularly after the tenth century. For a general introduction to pacification practices, see, for example, Mori, "Jiin no jichin, chindan."

47 For other notable examples of *chindangu*, see Mori and Yabunaka, *Chindangu kara miru kodai*, pp. 33–35. Although they are outside of the scope of this investigation, mirrors and glass beads are also usual suspects among the objects offered during a *chindan* ceremony.

Figure 13. Seated Vairocana Buddha. Seoknameomsa 석남엄사 (石南巖寺), Gyeongsangnam-do, South Korea. Stone. Unified Silla, 766. Reproduced from Gukrib Jungang Bakmulgwan, *Bulsari jangeom*, p. 38.

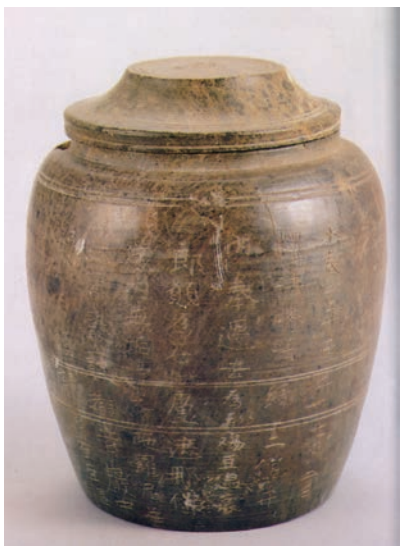


Figure 14. Reliquary. Seoknameomsa 석남엄사 (石南巖寺), Gyeongsangnam-do, South Korea. Stone. Unified Silla, 766. Reproduced from Gukrib Jungang Bakmulgwan, *Bulsari jangeom*, p. 38.

chindan and *jichin* were often indistinguishable from funeral burials or the enshrinement of Buddhist relics.[48] The same can be said of the Tōdaiji objects. The nesting of the crystal containers inside the silver lidded jar is more reminiscent of a reliquary ensemble than of any other type of ritual burial of the period, further depriving us of the reason to consider the Tōdaiji objects necessarily as *chindangu*.[49] A key question that has not yet been raised in the discussion of the Tōdaiji objects is how the space inside of a Buddhist pedestal was perceived during the Nara period.

No comparable examples to the Tōdaiji objects are found from the Nara period. Deposits had been found from inside the pedestals of the central Medicine Buddha (Yakushi 薬師; Sk. Bhaiṣajya-guru) and Bodhisattva Sun Light (Nikkō Bosatsu 日光菩薩) of the eighth-century Yakushi triad in the Golden Hall of Yakushiji 薬師寺 (Nara City), but due to the evidence of fire damage, scholars speculate that they were deposited after a conflagration at the monastery and not when the statues were cast.[50] Elsewhere, however, we can find instances of objects inserted into the pedestal of a statue. Juhyung Rhi reports a statue at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Andhra Pradesh, India) stood on a pedestal with a cavity for a reliquary between its feet.[51] The stone seated Vairocana Buddha at the

48 Kang, "Kankoku kodai no shari kuyōgu, jichingu, chindangu." The central concern of Kang's article is to compare the offerings discovered on the seventh- and eighth-century Korean Peninsula and Japanese archipelago, focusing on two sets of sites (Bunhwangsa 분황사 [芬皇寺] and Asukadera, and Hwangnyongsa and Kōfukuji).

49 If they were buried at the same time as the other objects, then the inclusion of the tooth and bone-like fragment will naturally be the most direct connection to relic veneration. Okumura Hideo comments that the tooth and bone-like fragment may have been those of Shōmu. Morimoto Kōsei argues that the silver jar could correspond to a Buddhist reliquary, where the two crystal containers nested inside it symbolically held the "relics" of Shōmu and Kōmyō. The bodily fragments were discovered in the vicinity of the glass beads (some of which were emplaced later), suggesting caution is warranted before we associate them with the Nara period. Okumura, "Kokuhō Tōdaiji Kondō chindangu," pp. 11–12; Morimoto, "Kondō chindangu," pp. 14–15.

50 The items emplaced inside the pedestal of the seated central Buddha include bronze plates with vine motifs and "fish-roe" (*nanako* 魚々子) patterns, mirrors, and coins datable to circa 720. A small seventh-century statue of the "Buddha at Birth" (*tanjōbutsu* 誕生仏) was found in the lotus-shaped pedestal of the Bodhisattva Sun Light. Machida, "Yakushi sanzonzō," pp. 50 and 53. For a brief introduction in English, see Kuno and Inoue, "Study of the Yakushi Triad," p. 102.

51 Rhi, "Images, Relics, and Jewels," p. 175, n. 28. There are Chinese examples with cavities for inserting caches but primarily somewhere on the statue's body and not the pedestal. For a

former site of Seoknameomsa 석남엄사 (石南巖寺; Gyeongsangnam-do, South Korea) originally held a nested reliquary that contained a copy of the "Great Dhāraṇī of Pure Unsullied Light" (*Muku jōkō dai darani* 無垢浄光大陀羅尼) datable to 766 CE (figures 13 and 14).[52]

The Tōdaiji Buddha was not fully finished until circa 771, so the Seoknameomsa statue can be considered contemporaneous though it postdates the Eye-Opening Ceremony of the former. Significantly, the outer urn of the Seoknameomsa reliquary has an incised inscription stating that the great *dhāraṇī* was placed "inside" (*nae* 内) the stone Vairocana Buddha.[53] Unlike Tōdaiji's colossal Buddha, this statue is independent from any architectural foundation, and its deposit did not contain any artifact that one might associate with pacification rituals.[54] This allows us to surmise that at least in Unified Silla (668–935), the space within the pedestal was perceived as an extension of the interior of a Buddhist image. During the Nara and Unified Silla eras the two entities had a rocky diplomatic relationship but objects and people arriving from Silla impacted Buddhist culture within the Yamato imperial court. Related to Tōdaiji, an envoy headed by Gim Taeryeom 김태렴 (金泰廉) arrived in Yamato in 752, whose stay included a visit to the newly consecrated Tōdaiji Great Buddha.[55] In short, although the evidence is circumstantial, it is plausible that the devotees in the Nara-period Yamato court perceived the space within a pedestal as part of the statue's *tainai*, making the Tōdaiji objects comparable to *tainai nōnyūhin* of the later period.

If we can accept that Tōdaiji objects were indeed (proto-)*tainai nōnyūhin*, then their initial function must be considered in connection to the statue. Notably, one can draw an axis connecting the north and south cavities which will run straight through the central Buddha, and a sword discovered from the north cavity has a motif of the Northern Dipper, also suggesting that the directionality of the deposits vis-à-vis the statue was a concern.[56] Beginning in the seventh century, Yamato authorities acknowledged the political importance of astronomy and astrology. The main chamber of Takamatsuzuka Kofun 高松塚古墳 (Taka-ichi-gun, Nara Prefecture) adorned its ceiling with the map of the "Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions" (*nijū hasshuku* 二十八宿) based on a Chinese template. The Northern Dipper held a key status within East Asian astronomy as the one constellation always in sync with, and pointing towards, the Polar Star. Known as the "imperial star" (*tentei* 天帝), the Polar Star was identified with the emperor as the ruler of the heavens.[57] The colossal Buddha is seated facing south inside the Great Buddha Hall, which stands on a north-south axis. To place a Northern-Dipper motif at the northern edge of the pedestal effectively doubled the central Vairocana Buddha with the Polar Star/imperial body at the center of the heavens.

This example of the sword underscores the transformation the act of concealment brings to an object.[58] Each artifact in the Tōdaiji objects, including the swords, had quotidian utility and preestablished symbolic connotations attributed through its use in contemporaneous ceremonial or devotional customs.[59] It

recent summary of studies on the practice of inserting caches into East Asian devotional statues, see Robson, Lee and Kim, "Introduction."

52 Gukrib Jungang Bakmulgwan, *Bulsari jangeom*, pp. 38, 114.

53 "為石毘盧遮那仏成内無垢浄光陀羅尼." Inscription left in original as it was written in Chinese on a Korean-made statue. For circumstances surrounding the identification of this reliquary, see Park, "Yeongtae 2-yeon," pp. 13–14.

54 Jeong Won-Gyeong comments that the Seoknameomsa reliquary may be the earliest format of "caches inside a statue" (*bokjang* 복장; 腹蔵). Ibid., p. 13.

55 *Shoku Nihongi*, Tenpyō Shōhō 4 (752). 6.22. SN 3: 124–25.

56 For more detail on the discovery of this incised ornamentation, see Tsukamoto, "Konkai no hozon shūri," pp. 5, 12. Details regarding the present condition of the sword can be found in Hashimoto, Komura, and Yamada, "Tachi rui," p. 150.

57 The regularity with which the Northern Dipper revolves around the Polar Star was recognized in China early in the history of astrology and became the central attribute of this constellation as the overseer of time and season. There are many studies on the Northern Dipper cult in East Asia. See for instance Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, pp. 42–53. An accessible introduction to early worship of the Northern Dipper in Japanese can be found in Hayashi, *Myōken Bosatsu*, pp. 18–29. On the Northern Dipper iconography in China, see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, pp. 40–52. For a discussion of the Northern Dipper in the context of the Myōken cult (deification of the Polar Star) in Japan, see Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, pp. 64–71. For an extensive discussion of the Northern Dipper motifs on swords, see Sugihara, "Shichi-sei ken no zuyō to sono shisō."

58 The role of concealment proposed here overlaps with Wei-Cheng Lin's characterization of the underground crypt as a space for the ontological transformation of broken icons into relics. Lin, "Broken Bodies," pp. 90–97.

59 It is important to note that during the Nara period, swords were made for pragmatic use in combat and for ceremonial purposes. Presently, Shōsōin holds a total of fifty-five Nara-period swords. Most of them do not match the descriptions in *Chinpōchō*, and thus it is unclear when they entered the repository. Nevertheless, the examples make clear that swords for combat were

would have evoked a significance beyond what one might universally associate with a well-crafted luxurious object (such as taste, intellect, financial and worldly authority, etc.). However, the act of concealment inevitably depleted the Tōdaiji objects of their quotidian function and instead amplified their symbolic presence.[60] Indeed, conceivably, the devotional potency of the Tōdaiji objects—not just as the avatars of the donors, but also as the embodiment of Vairocana's spiritual presence—hinged on the very relinquishing of their value within the everyday lives of the devotees who offered them through burial.[61]

In the 756 offering, the existence of *Chinpōchō* alone evidences that this was an event to be recorded and remembered. The preface elucidates when and for whom the offering was made and what wishes devotees hoped to fulfill through their good deeds. The notations on the margin also relay that the items on *Chinpōchō* remained in use after the donation—a fact easily substantiated by records of temporary and permanent removal of treasures.[62] The weapons and armor from the 756 offering, for instance, were deployed to quell Fujiwara no Nakamaro's 藤原仲麻呂 (706–764) rebellion in 764.[63] Other artworks and musical instruments were also lent out to imperial projects or the members of the imperial court.[64] It is true that, as *chokufūsō* 勅封倉 (imperially sealed storehouses), only a select group of people on limited occasions were ever allowed physical access to the Shōsōin pieces, and over time, the nature of their use became more purely ceremonial than utilitarian. Nevertheless, the Shōsōin objects maintained their relevance and utility through history, eventually reaching societal groups beyond the imperial court. The most famous case in point is the log of agarwood, named Ranjatai 蘭奢待, which joined the Shōsōin collection sometime by the fifteenth century (thus not part of the eighth-century imperial offering).[65]

In 1019, Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966–1027)—recently retired from his political post as the regent—received the precepts (*jukai* 受戒) at Tōdaiji. At this time, Michinaga sent for the key to the Shōsōin repository safeguarded in the Heian court for a special viewing of the treasures stored within. Henceforth, it became customary for emperors and high-ranking court officials who took priesthood upon retirement to be allowed a viewing of the Shōsōin treasures, which was then adapted by Ashikaga shoguns and powerful warrior lords (who had not yet renounced the world) as a method to confirm their secular authority. Reflecting his passion for the increasingly popular art of tea drinking and *kōdō* 香道 (incense appreciation), Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1439–1490) further expanded this custom by requesting the temple for a gift of the fragment of Ranjatai. Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) followed suit about a century later, making the identical demand to Tōdaiji in 1574. The gifting of Ranjatai came to be known widely during the Edo period across the social strata through printed guidebooks to the Nara region.[66] With regard to items within the 756 offering, a set of "folding screens with

constructed sturdier, with minimal adornment on both hilts and scabbards, and easily distinguishable from lavishly ornate swords designed for ceremonial use. According to the descriptions in *Chinpōchō*, the 756 offering included forty combat swords and sixty ceremonial swords. Yet all but one ceremonial sword were deployed to quell a rebellion in 764, indicating that the "ceremonial" swords never lost their pragmatic "use-potential" as weapons. Kondō, *Nihon kodai no bugu*, pp. 26–29. See also Nishikawa, "Shōsōin no buki, bugu," pp. 130–31. For this reason, this study proceeds from the assertion that the six swords in the Tōdaiji objects, which were most likely made for ceremonial use based on their ornamentation, also retained their presence as weapons.

60 A similar case is made of later practices of inserting caches within Buddhist statues. For instance, in her analysis of the inclusion of used garments as part of *bokjang* (or *pokchang*) during the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), Korea, Youn-mi Kim states, "the ontological status of a donor's garment also changes when enshrined within a Buddhist statue… it is the spatial framing that changes the object's status." See Kim, "Surrogate Body," p. 122.

61 The fact that this transformation necessarily involved a death of sorts for an object's utilitarian life resonates with what Fabio Rambelli describes as the "re-enchantment" of objects through memorial services for inanimate objects, one method of which was burial. Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*, pp. 211–58.

62 Yoneda, *Shōsōin to Nihon bunka*, pp. 69–110.

63 Kondō, *Nihon kodai no bugu*, pp. 26–29.

64 The items from the Shōsōin repository were lent out for varying reasons. In 759, sixty-seven rugs were temporarily discharged to be used in a Buddhist ceremony. In 770, three folding screens were taken out to be used as templates for new works. Especially during the Heian period, the imperial family and courtiers frequently borrowed notable calligraphy and musical instruments for their appreciation. Some of these borrowed items were never returned. Hashimoto, *Shōshōin no rekishi*, pp. 189–96.

65 Unless otherwise noted, the discussion of Ranjatai in this paragraph is based on Hashimoto, *Shōshōin no rekishi*, pp. 210–12.

66 Examples include the ten-volume *Nanto meishoshū* 南都名所集 (Collection of the Famous Sites Around the Southern Capital) by Ōta Nobuchika 太田叙親 (fl. ca. 1670s) and Murai Michihiro 村井道弘 (1652–1716), and Akisato Ritō's 秋里籬島 (d. ca. 1830) *Yamato meisho zue* 大和名所図会 (Illustrated Guide to Famous

bird feathers" (what are presently called *torige byōbu* 鳥毛屏風) was displayed during the special public viewing (*kaichō* 開帳) at Tōdaiji in 1847, commemorating the eleven hundredth anniversary of the monk Gyōki's 行基 (668–749) death.[67] Thus, although their actual use may have shifted over time from the originally intended mundane functions, the objects stored in Shōsōin repository—including the 756 offering—retained their utility within the secular world long after the donation, and to a certain degree their karmic merit was predicated upon such potential future use.

What this means, then, is that there is something fundamentally extroverted about the Shōsōin objects: the very use potential of these items allowed them to function effectively as the embodiment and expression of the ubiquity of Vairocana's presence. Instead, what Tōdaiji objects present to us is the possibility that the act of concealment functioned as its own mechanism to direct spiritual potency of an offering. The concealed offerings could enliven their divine recipient in the devotees' minds most effectively if the devotees knew of their presence. Thus, in the later practices, the *tainai nōnyūhin* were prepared as a communal event, often involving large-scale fundraising and sutra-copying, and the priests continued to remind the devotees of their presence through ceremonies and written accounts long after the initial dedication.[68] Such promotion of concealed caches was not yet common during the Nara period. For the Tōdaiji objects, no evidence remains of a rigorous effort made to maintain or even remember the deposits buried under Vairocana Buddha. It is true that one cannot rule out the possibility that documentation regarding their emplacement was lost over time, or the lacquered box discovered from the south cavity (location C) initially held a record or inventory of this offering.[69] On the other hand, the Great Buddha is one of the most documented projects of this period. That we are unable to find any recorded dedicatory ceremony for the Tōdaiji objects or any subsequent anecdotes or legends of their later discovery—especially when we can reasonably surmise that some of the items were unearthed prior to the twentieth century—at least underscores the difference in attitude to the close tracking of the items in the Shōsōin repository.[70] Whether or not documentation was initially buried with the Tōdaiji objects, it is safe to extrapolate that keeping the memory of this event alive was not a significant concern at least for the temple. The idea that offerings could continue to impact their divine recipient under concealment even after their existence is long forgotten differs fundamentally from what Paula M. Varsano terms the "rhetoric of hiddenness," and others the effect of "secrecy," which are both predicated upon the idea of visibility (or at least partial visibility), revelation, or remembering. Varsano explains that a primary role of the "rhetoric of hiddenness" is "not just to convey meaning, but to signal what is meaningful." In order for the "hiddenness" to serve this role, it is necessary for the "hider" and "seeker" to at least remember that something is hidden.[71]

Nara-period ritual implements and items of offering included object types with utility also in the secular world, such as mirrors, arms and armor, small knives, boxes and jars, etc. For these items, their familiar functions in daily lives provided inspiration for their believed spiritual or talismanic efficacies.[72] The

Sites around the Yamato Region), first published in 1675 and 1791, respectively.

67 Morimoto, "'Tōdaiji hōmotsuroku' (Kōka 4 nen)," pp. 39–40. According to Morimoto, the screens happened to be removed from the repository in 1833 for repairs and were never returned, providing the opportunity for the temple to exhibit them as part of Tōdaiji's legacy.

68 For a discussion of efforts made by priests in the Saidaiji Order during the medieval period to guide their devotees to perceive the statues with deposits as *shōjin* 生身 (living bodies), see Wu, "Wooden Statues as Living Bodies", pp. 89–92.

69 A stone-carved inventory accompanied the imperial offering to the relics at Famensi (Shaanxi Province, China) datable to 874. The cache inside the wooden Śākyamuni Buddha at Seiryōji 清凉寺 (Kyoto; 985 CE) also included an inventory. However, no example from the Nara period has yet been found. Alternately, Eno suggests the lacquered box may have been the container for the armor, the scales of which were discovered from the same cavity, drawing on an example from *Chinpōchō*. Eno, "Urushi seihin," p. 174.

70 Not all the offerings stored in the Shōsōin are as carefully tracked as the items in *Chinpōchō*. However, *Shutsuzōchō-1* alone demonstrates that even pieces that did not belong to the initial imperial donation were noted when removed from the repository.

71 Varsano, "Lowered Curtains," p. 3. Varsano refrains from concretely defining the "rhetoric of hiddenness," but comments, "the rhetoric of hiddenness, by virtue of its belonging to the domain of rhetoric, is never unilaterally imposed by a hider on a seeker, but creates and then thrives on their unspoken complicity," indicating that whatever was hidden was meant to be sought out. For a summary of recent discussions concerning "secrecy" in devotional context, see Robson, "Hidden in Plain View," pp. 179–80.

72 Cynthea J. Bogel terms this effect in ritual context "residual emplacement," which she defines as "multiple meanings that adhere to the object of ritual or to the viewer-participant in ritual,

very reflective nature of mirrors imbued them with the power to repel evil and turned them into the embodiment of the divine light itself. Small knives used to scrape the wooden surfaces while writing tied them to the life of a bureaucrat intellect, making them effective as avatars for devout officials in ritual offerings or reflections of parents' wishes for their sons' success in placenta burials.[73] These items of offerings differ from, for instance, Buddhist scepters (*nyoi* 如意; Ch. *ruyi*) or flywhisks (*hossu* 払子) that all but lost their original profane use in the course of transmission to perform solely within a ritual context.[74] In *nyoi* and *hossu*, their singularity of ceremonial function also restricted their symbolic utility, while objects such as mirrors, swords, and small knives were far more versatile, able to manifest a broader array of supernatural forces and express more nuanced and layered relationships among the devotees, their wishes, and the divinity's spiritual power to respond to its followers. If a mirror was used as the receptacle to embody and project *kami* in a shrine, a funerary good to repel evil spirits, or a symbolic reflection of the divine light within a Buddha hall, it would have been perceived appropriate for the occasion due to the same reflective quality of the object, but naturally what it would have been tasked to "reflect" differed according to the context of use.[75] This versatility, on the other hand, also meant that for an artifact with both common daily use and symbolic potential, a change in circumstances or fluctuation in the mindset of those who engage with it could have had a critical impact on the nature of its presence.[76] The fear of unexpectedly witnessing the transcendent ability of a mundane object is best exemplified by mirrors that are associated with taboos even today (never place a mirror facing up; cover a mirror at night; never look into a pair of facing mirrors, etc.).[77]

In the 756 offering, where the future use of the artifacts was expected but open-ended, a possibility remained for any piece to resume its secular utilitarian function, or if occasion arose, to jog its spiritual potency. In contrast, the act of concealment, in essence, worked to shut down all other possible "use-potentials" of an object, so that its innate spiritual power could be harnessed for a specific effect or efficacy. A concrete eighth-century example of this phenomenon is the dry-lacquer seated Vairocana Buddha from the Golden Hall at Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 (Nara City), which comes with small beads embedded into its hands and eyes, making it the one definitive case of *tainai nōnyūhin* from this early period (figure 15).[78] The beads serve as the stand-in for the relics of the Buddha that animate the image and ensure the icon's salvific perfor-

and which then figure in subsequent interpretation regardless of ritual enactment." Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, p. 55.

73 In placenta burial during the Nara period, the placenta of a boy was placed in a jar with writing utensils, such as brushes, ink stones, or small knives, then buried at the entrance to one's residence. Mori and Yabunaka, *Chindangu kara miru kodai*, pp. 94–96.

74 In China, scepters had symbolic connotations in both secular and Buddhist contexts, but in Japan, they appear exclusively in a Buddhist context. *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典, s.v. *nyoi*. http://japanknowledge.com/. For *ruyi* scepters in China, see Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism*, pp. 138–52.

75 Osaka Furitsu Chikatsu Asuka Hakubutsukan, *Mitōkutsu kofun no sekai*.

76 The relationship between the mundane use and symbolic presence of an object in the daily lives of its users is far more complex, but outside of the scope of this article. For a thoughtful discussion on this topic, see for instance Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*, pp. 172–210.

77 Although it postdates the Nara period, a related sentiment of anxiety and anticipation for a surprise transformation also appears in Sei Shōnagon's 清少納言 (ca. 966–1025) *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (*The Pillow Book*), compiled at the end of the tenth and into the early eleventh century. The passage (*dan* 段) on "things that make your heart beat fast" (*kokoro tokimeki suru mono* 心ときめきするもの), includes "looking into a Chinese mirror that's a little clouded" (*kara kagami no sukoshi kuraki o mitaru* 唐鏡の少し暗きを見たる). No consensus is reached as to why a "clouded" (more literally "darkened") Chinese mirror should make one excited or anxious. Given Sei Shōnagon's famed erudition, the interpretation that Zhang Peihua proposes seems most plausible, as it connects the "Chinese mirror" to the magical "treasure mirror" (*baojing* 寶鏡). This *baojing* is featured in an early Tang-dynasty *changqi* 傳奇 (marvel tale) called *Gujing ji* 古鏡記 (Record of an Ancient Mirror; compiled sometime in the seventh or eighth century), which describes its supernatural quality to cloud during solar and lunar eclipses. According to Zhang's reading, Sei Shōnagon is musing that her heart leaps when a Chinese mirror begins to cloud for it could be a sign that it is the very "treasure mirror" revealing its true nature. The exact passage number differs from version to version. This study referenced Passage 27 in Matsuo and Nagai, *Makura no sōshi*, p. 69. For an English translation, see Sei Shōnagon, *The Pillow Book*, p. 30; Zhang, "*Makura no sōshi*," pp. 28–29. For an English summary of hypotheses regarding *Gujing ji*'s author and its production date, see Chen, "History and Fiction," pp. 161–72.

78 Bunkachō Bunkazai Hogobu Bijutsu Gakugeika, *Tōshōdaiji*. Two additional standing wood-core-dry-lacquer statues from Tōshōdaiji, dating from either the late Nara or early Heian period, also come with beads embedded into their hands. In China, there are recorded instances of inserting beads either between the eyes or into the chest of a statue. See also Oku, *Seiryōji Shaka nyorai zō*, pp. 47–48.

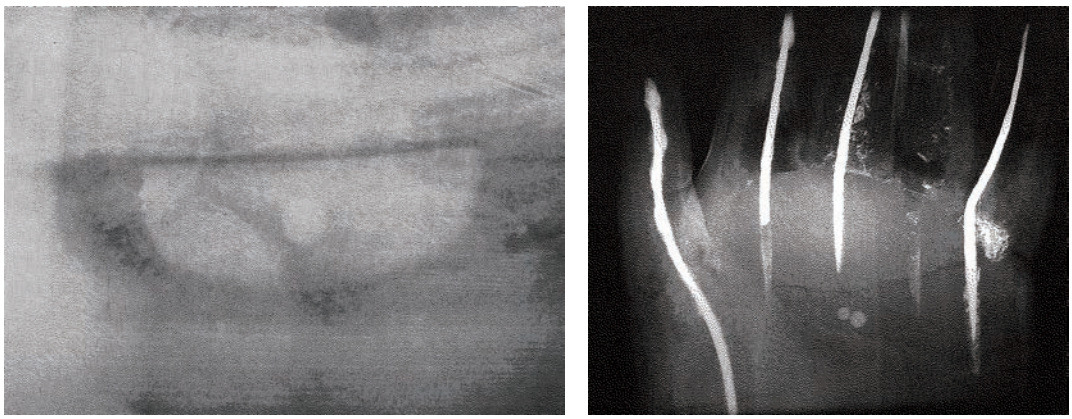


Figure 15. Beads inside right eye (left) and left hand (right). Seated Vairocana Buddha (detail). Tōshōdaiji, Nara Prefecture. Nara period, latter half of 8th c. Reproduced from Bunkachō Bunkazai Hogobu Bijutsu Gakugeika, *Tōshōdaiji Kondō kokuhō kanshitsu Rushanabutsu zazō*.

mance.[79] The fact that the beads are not on the surface as part of the statue's materiality, but within, is what allows them to serve in this role. The beads within the eyes are not part of the representation of the statue's pupils but the essence of Vairocana's vision, and those embedded into the palms energized the divine hands.[80]

Returning to the Tōdaiji objects, we can observe the same mechanism at work in other items. For instance, the conventional use of the small knives in other rituals informs that the ones discovered from the southwest cavity (location G) served as the surrogates of the donors. The cicada-shaped metal lock at the south cavity, which may have sealed the lacquer box found nearby going into the ground, was freed of its practical duty as the box was permanently removed from use. In China, the cicada had been an auspicious motif since the Han dynasty, denoting rebirth or rejuvenation in a funerary context, or within the court, a hope for attaining high official ranks.[81] The association with rebirth or rejuvenation corresponds well to the vine motif adorning the swords discovered from the south and southwest cavities, as well as the floral pattern on the lacquered box, both of which express life force, particularly in a Buddhist context.[82] A full investigation of Tōdaiji objects in the context of eighth-century politics and devotion is outside of the purview of this essay. The above examples, however, reveal the presence of an underground web of relationships and effects of devotionally charged objects connected through the central Vairocana Buddha, serving to enhance the statue's spiritual efficacy. What made this web possible was the act of concealment itself that eliminated the mundane use of the items, distilling them down to their essential symbolic presence.

Conclusion

Analyzing the two diagrams produced in 1907–1908, this study argues that although some of the Tōdaiji objects may have been mixed with artifacts deposited in the Heian period or later, it is plausible that at least the pieces discovered from under the bronze pedestal retained their original arrangement into the twentieth century. The comparison between the Tōdaiji objects and the 756 offering underscore a mechanism by which utilitarian items offered in concealment exuded potent symbolic power, manifesting the donors' intentions.

Returning to the consideration of the relationship between one's awareness of a secret and the secret's effi-

79 Helmut Brinker also discusses the role of concealed deposits to the transformation of an image into an icon, stating that while what gave an image meaning as an icon was faith, the "secret and sacred caches incorporated for animation functioned to establish a response to the quest for intimacy with the unseen sacred." Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred*, pp. 6–7, 10–12.

80 This idea of concealment as a key condition to focus the spiritual potency of an object coincides with Helmut Brinker's observation concerning the concealed metal coil behind the forehead of the portrait statue of Eizon 叡尊 (Saidaiji 西大寺, Nara; 1280) as a "kind of charismatic focus loaded with spiritual energy." Brinker, "Facing the Unseen," pp. 52–56.

81 Takahama, "Chūgoku kodai no kisshōmon," pp.16-17.

82 For more on the vine motif in seventh- and eighth-century Japanese Buddhist art, see Walley, "Instant Bliss," pp. 154–55.

cacy, Elliot R. Wolfson comments, "the knowing of the secret invests power upon the individual."[83] Although propositions such as Wolfson's seem to primarily be concerned with human agency, they can also be applied to forgotten caches, as is suspected to have been the case with the Tōdaiji objects through much of their history. An extroverted offering intended for use kept the donors' initial vow alive through continuous engagement. In the 756 offering, the items continued to generate spiritual merit for the donors and dedicatee through use, but even when an item was used up, lost, or replaced, the survival of the *Chinpōchō* ensured that the memory of the initial benevolent act survived. In contrast, for Tōdaiji objects, an introverted offering existed in concealment, and the very efficacy of the gift relied on the relinquishing of its engagement with the hands and minds of people. Arguably, the act of burying ensured the offerings under Vairocana Buddha would continue imbuing the icon with spiritual power in secret because once the memory of the offerings faded among the living, the icon remained as the only agent left that "knew" of their presence.

Strictly speaking, with Vairocana Buddha at Tōshōdaiji noted above, in addition to the act of concealment, what restricted the devotional function of the beads as relics was their strategic placement within the statue that made the intent of the makers unmistakable. Due to the variety of items included, the devotional connotations expressed through the Tōdaiji objects as an ensemble would have been richer and more complex than the Tōshōdaiji counterpart. A contextual analysis placing the Tōdaiji objects in the eighth-century religiopolitical circumstances would make clearer the range of symbolic potential available at the donors' disposal.

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Structural Analysis of the Dance Within the Odaidai Ceremony of Kawaguchi Asama Shrine: Choreography, Music, and Meaning

AKIKO HIRAI

Introduction

Dance performances are common to many religious ceremonies in Japan. Those preceded by music during Shinto events are typically called *kagura* 神楽. Despite the religio-ritual importance of *kagura*, much of the current musicological research focuses only on its sonic properties separate from its ritual significance. *Kagura*, in short, is ritual entertainment within a Shinto "ritual" (or "ceremony"). Its specific characteristics are different in each case—sometimes it is performed for ritual purposes and at other times it functions as entertainment based on religious stories. It can be considered a series of ritual actions or a ritual technique. This research aims to examine the religio-ritual connotations of *kagura* dance through choreographical-musical analysis of the function of sounds. The article focuses on a particular *kagura* dance performed during the Hōshachinsai 奉謝鎮祭, an annual Shinto ceremony held at Kawaguchi Asama Jinja (shrine) 河口浅間神社 in Fujikawaguchiko-machi 富士河口湖町, Yamanashi Prefecture. The name Hōshachinsai is hardly used; instead, the ceremony is usually referred to as Odaidai お太々, and this is the name used here. Odaidai is the name of a ceremony; the dance performed within it will be referred to as the "Odaidai *kagura*" or "Odaidai dance" or the "dance within Odaidai" even though conceptually and practically speaking it is not inappropriate to refer to the dance itself as Odaidai.

The academic classification of *kagura* was created by one of the founders of Japanese folkloric studies, Honda Yasuji 本田安次 (1906–2001), but his classification implies that various factors such as style, the nature of the pieces, and the different genres, are all equal.[1] In Honda's classification, dance pieces are sometimes distinguished by their ritual characteristics and at other times by the characters in the pieces. For example, if a female character is played by a male dancer, he classifies it as *onnamai* 女舞 (*onna*, meaning woman, and *mai*, meaning dance); however, if young female dancers wear priestess costumes, the piece is classified as a ritual dance. His system, therefore, is based on several arbitrary factors. Despite the system's shortcomings, it is still commonly used.

Several contemporary specialists discussed the nature of *kagura*, including Honda's classification system and its drawbacks, at a 2014 symposium entitled "Kagura's Nature and Acculturation."[2] The symposium,

1 Honda, *Zuroku: Nihon no minzoku geinō*, p. 7.

2 The symposium included specialists such as Misumi Haruo 三隅治雄, Hyōki Satoru 俵木悟, and Honda Yoriko 本田より子; for details, see Minzoku Geinō Gakkai, *Minzoku geinō*.

however, did not reach an adequate conclusion regarding a more appropriate method of classifying *kagura* within existing systems of folklore studies. Part of the difficulty of defining *kagura* is that it serves both ritualistic and entertainment functions. In addition, the objective of the *kagura* performance differs according to the "spectator"—whether deities or humans. Significantly, however, no classification mentions human viewers.

Kagura encompasses several performing arts that usually take place during Shinto events. It includes both lyrical and instrumental songs. In some ceremonies only a dance piece is performed as *kagura*, but other ceremonies also employ alternative medieval theatrical genres. The most significant example is the series of three ritualistic pieces, *shikisanban* 式三番, that are performed today in *noh* 能. During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, actor, playwright, and theater director Kan'ami 観阿弥 (1333–1384) and his son and successor—who was also an actor, playwright, and theater director—Zeami 世阿弥 (1363–1443), added entertainment pieces to *sarugaku* 猿楽, a genre of popular theater involving juggling, mime, and ritual dance pieces practiced from the ancient to the medieval period, and systematized it as a performing art. Noh theater was patronized by aristocrats in the capital of Kyoto, but in other areas ritual pieces of *sarugaku* were performed by officiants of popular ceremonies, such as practitioners of Shugendō 修験道 (Japanese mountain asceticism, worship, and other practices at sacred mountains). Thus, certain types of *kagura* descended from *sarugaku*, and these have *shikisanban* pieces in their repertory. The *shikisanban* series is also performed in other theatrical genres, such as *kabuki* 歌舞伎 (a form of Japanese traditional dance and drama that began in the early eighteenth century, and developed during the Edo 江戸 period [1600–1868]) and *bunraku* 文楽 (Japanese marionette theater which began during the Edo period), which demonstrates clearly that *kagura* cannot be defined solely nor precisely by its entertainment characteristics. Furthermore, sometimes *kagura* has little ritualistic meaning but at other times it has significant meaning.

Terence Lancashire defines *kagura* as "a combination of song, dance, and/or theater, usually performed on the site of a Shinto shrine."[3] *Kagura* is generally performed on a special stage (*kaguraden* 神楽殿), and many Shinto shrines have made permanent structures for rituals and entertainment that must be specially prepared by officiants or worshippers. I make a distinction here between Shinto priests and officiants of religious ceremonies. Officiants are usually local parishioners who take on this role, but in some cases, officiants are professionals commissioned by local parishioners to direct both dance and ritual performances, such as purifications, divinations (including trance and possession), and prayers, along with dance and theatrical pieces. Such performances are often classified by musicologists and folklorists as a folkloric performing art and treated as music. All these variations make it difficult to explain *kagura* simply. As for its music, it is impossible to classify the music of *kagura* by its melodic or rhythmical character because each piece has different melodies and rhythm patterns for the dance accompaniment.

At the beginning of the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912), the government promulgated two acts: Prohibitions Against Spirit Possession (Kamigakari Kinshi Rei 神懸り禁止令) and Prohibitions Against Dance Performances for Shinto Priests (Shinshoku Enbu Kinshi Rei 神職演舞禁止令). To construct a modern theocratic state under an emperor, the Meiji government utilized religion as a political tool. In 1868 (Keiō 慶応 4), the government issued an edict to unify religion and politics, and because divination was considered unsuitable for a modern state, *kagura* performances were forbidden during Shinto ceremonies. It is not my intention to discuss the history of Kokka Shintō 国家神道 (State Shinto) in detail here, nor its relationship to the development of *kagura*; rather, I will focus on musical analysis, noting historical context where relevant.

After the Meiji reforms, dancers and musicians in *kagura* performances changed from officiants to villagers, largely because of the prohibitions of certain musical/dance practices stated in the two acts mentioned above. Specifically, divinations were removed from *kagura* rites. Although removed from most Japanese traditions, the act of divination maintains a very important role in religious ceremonies because the series of preparations for divination, including purification of the officiant's body, purification of the ritual space, and possession, are necessary to communicate with the deities. Therefore, I believe that one of the most essential functions of *kagura* is as a tool for divination, possession, or receiving the deity's message in a much more "abstract" way. Although today *kagura* may seem to be

3 Lancashire, "Music for the Gods," p. 87.

devoid of spiritual significance and understood to be a form of entertainment, during my fieldwork, I noticed that although dancers and musicians had no particular religious belief in the local divinity to whom they dedicate the dance performance, and did not understand the meanings behind their movements and gestures, worshippers considered the ceremony to be religiously effective. This led me to two main questions: What are the religious connotations of *kagura*, and under what conditions may the dance be considered effective?

To answer these questions, I conducted choreographical-musical analysis to examine the function of sounds in *kagura*. I then compared the results of the analyses with existing definitions of *kagura* dance. In this article I use this methodology to analyze *kagura* performed in the context of the Odaidai ceremony. To find movements imbued with religio-ritualistic meaning in the choreography, it is useful to closely analyze the dance piece. I have chosen to examine the Odaidai ceremony for several reasons. Unlike many other *kagura*, the dance pieces of the Odaidai ceremony are not based on a specific historical or mythical text. Additionally, the dance scenes tend to be more repetitious, making it easier to delineate sections and gestures. Most important for the purposes of this article, however, is that the performance of the Odaidai serves an important ritual purpose—the prevention of the eruption of Mt. Fuji—that has perpetuated its local transmission over generations.

Fieldwork Rubric and Participants

My first visit to Kawaguchi Asama Shrine was on 28 July 2011. Before my visit, I contacted the Kawaguchi Tourism branch of Fujikawaguchiko-machi to request access to the ceremony, talk with priests, dancers, and musicians, and to record and film the dance. On site, I was able to have a short conversation with the priest Nakata Susumu 中田進, musicians Miyashita Takeharu 宮下武治, Nakamura Yoshio 中村義朗, Takahashi Noriyoshi 高橋徳義, Miyashita Genki 宮下元気, and the dance teacher that year, Miyashita Emiko 宮下恵美子. I returned to the site again in 2012 and 2015. By my second visit on 28 July 2012, my structural analysis of the music was already complete. Hence, I concentrated on noting the structure of each piece performed during the day. I carefully listened to the musicians and noted the order of all of the motifs. In 2015, I was able to have a short interview during the ceremony with the musicians mentioned above, and a one-hour interview with the new dance teacher, Kikuchi Keiko 菊池佳子, who had been a dancer during her childhood. Also, I was able to observe several rehearsals that were held evenings in the week before the ceremony. Mrs. Kikuchi explained to me how important the dance was to the residents of the Kawaguchi 河口 district, from one generation to the next, and that this dance is considered a secret that the inhabitants of other villages are not permitted to see, so that they cannot copy the choreography. For these reasons, she was extremely prudent in explaining the dance to me, and I respect her efforts to keep their traditions secret. This is why I avoid showing both musical and choreographical transcriptions, and mention only the choreography in detail in this article.

The Odaidai and other cultural practices surrounding Mt. Fuji were registered as UNESCO World's Heritage Culture in 2013 as part of the UNESCO designation "Fujisan, sacred place and source of artistic inspiration."[4] The dance performance of the Odaidai was registered as *Kawaguchi no chigo no mai* 河口の稚児の舞, literally "Kawaguchi's Dance of the Young," as it is locally called on Japan's National Intangible Heritage list, in 2017. The dance is today—and was often in the past—performed before Fujikō 富士講, *kō* 講 being in this case members of an association or group who climb Mt. Fuji for religious purposes. Today, many tourists also gather to see the ceremony.

The Odaidai Ceremony

This section explores the Odaidai ceremony performed at Kawaguchi Asama Shrine and its associated *kagura* dance.[5]

The map of Japan pictured in figure 1 includes an enlarged section showing the location of the shrine. The shrine is located north of Mt. Fuji and south of Lake Kawaguchi 河口湖. Mt. Fuji, the largest mountain in Japan and also a very active volcano, lies at the center of

4 UNESCO World Heritage List, "Fujisan, sacred place and source of artistic inspiration." For the Nomination file, Advisory Board Evaluation, and Map, see the UNESCO World Heritage List online: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1418/.

5 This data is drawn from my fieldwork during the summers of 2011 and 2012.

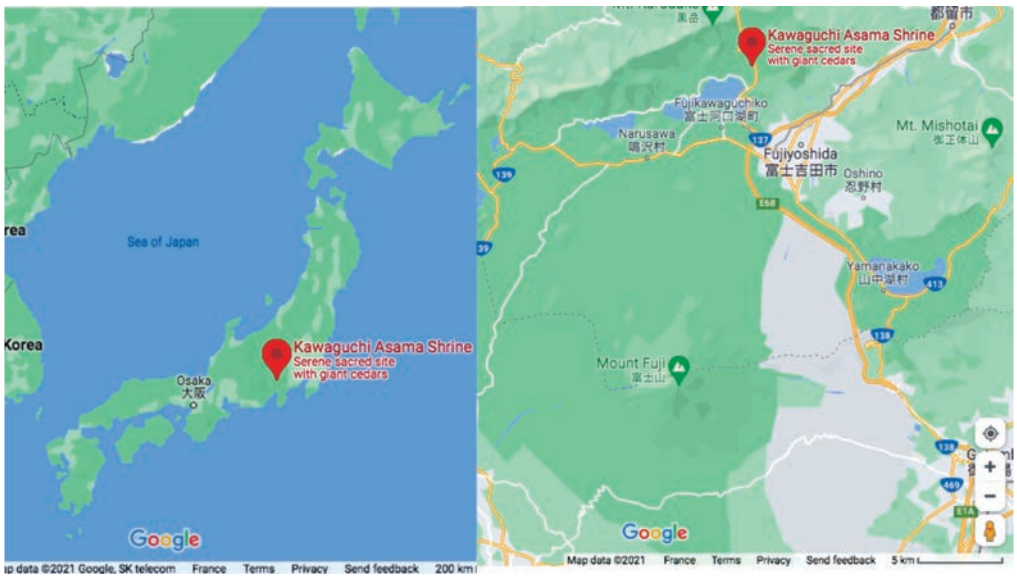

Figure 1. Maps showing Kawaguchi Asama Shrine, the right in detail. From Google Maps.

the largest island, Honshu. Lake Kawaguchi is situated between the mountain and the village, providing a natural barrier from lava flows.[6] Because of this, the lake is perceived as a sign of supernatural protection by a divine guardian, the goddess of Mt. Fuji. The residents believe that they must worship the Mt. Fuji goddess so that she will continue to protect them. Traditionally, people in Japan have looked to divine beings for protection from natural disasters. Hence, there are several historical shrines near Mt. Fuji that are dedicated to certain divine beings believed to provide protection from eruptions and other natural occurrences. In order to communicate with these divine beings, ceremonies have developed in which people dedicate various ritual dance performances to local deities, such as the one that inhabits Mt. Fuji. The ceremony is intended to appease the deity of Mt. Fuji.

The dance is performed by youths, known as *chigomai* 稚児舞; here it is a dance performed by local girls around the ages of 8 to 12. In this article, however, I refer to it as the Odaidai for two reasons. First, the appellation *chigomai* is confusing because it can refer to both a boy's or girl's dance. Considering that the dancers wear priestess costumes, it is, perhaps, more correct to refer to it as a *mikomai* 巫女舞, or dance of priestesses, a distinction made in the Honda classification system. Second, this dance, which is actually comprised of five pieces, is just one part of the larger ceremony, so as noted in the introduction, it can be understood as part of an ensemble of ritual actions.

The Odaidai ceremony is held annually on 28 July at Kawaguchi Asama Shrine. It is performed only at this shrine, and it has historically been transmitted by descendants of the families of low-ranking priests called *oshi* 御師. *Oshi* were officiants and tour guides who supported pilgrims visiting Mt. Fuji by offering them accommodation and food, and by assisting them with prayers. When worshippers visited the shrine, they requested a dance performance. This was the most important *oshi* activity, in no small part because it earned them a significant portion of their income. For that reason the priests kept the Odaidai choreography secret by only teaching it to *oshi* descendants and the *oshi* families guarded the dissemination of its music and choreography to outsiders. The *oshi* were abolished by law in 1871 (Meiji 4) during the reforms of the era.

The local deity is associated with Princess Konohanasakuya Hime no Mikoto 木花開耶姫命, a character featured in the *Kojiki.* According to the tale, the princess became pregnant after just one night of marriage, and her fidelity to her husband, Ninigi no Mikoto 瓊瓊杵命, was called into question. To prove her fidelity, she performed a test. While in labor, she set fire to

6 Asama Shrine is not a unique name and several shrines with this name exist around Mt. Fuji. "Asama" means "volcano" in ancient Japanese, so Asama shrines relate to the worship of Mt. Fuji. Asama can also be read as *sengen*.

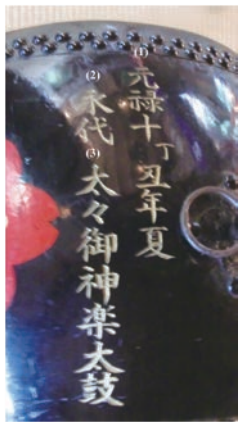

Figure 2. Detail of figure 6. Inscriptions engraved on the body of an *ōdaiko* (large wooden drum), meaning: (1) "Genroku 10, year of the fire ox, summer"; (2) "For all eternity"; (3) "Drum of Daidai [Odaidai] *kagura*." Photograph by author.

the birthing room, and then gave birth to three gods in the fire. She proved her innocence by performing a miracle that demonstrated her divine presence. Because of this myth, people believed that she would protect them from the eruptions of Mt. Fuji.

Historical Background

According to legend, a dance ceremony was performed in 865 AD, but we have no proof that it was the same dance that is performed during the Odaidai ceremony today. In the Japanese imperial official history, *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録, it is written that Mt. Fuji erupted in 864 AD and that a shrine was constructed the following year after a divination by the local priest, Tomo no Naosada 伴直真 of Kai 甲斐 Province, the ancient name of Yamanashi Prefecture.[7] There is no evidence to support the legend; the cinnabar red shrine that can be seen at the back of the hall of worship is the main shrine. A wooden plaque on the main shrine in the main hall of Kawaguchi Asama Shrine bears the calligraphy "Omoto-dama" 大元霊 (primordial soul) handwritten by Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (r. 897–930). It is designated as a tangible cultual property of Fujikawaguchiko-machi along with the main shrine.

In the fifteenth century the shrine and the *oshi* priests were patronized by local lords. Throughout the Edo period, and especially during the seventeenth century, the shrine was a popular pilgrimage site, as Mt. Fuji was considered a sacred place. A large drum (*ōdaiko* 大太鼓) was dedicated to the shrine in 1698 (Genroku 元禄 10).[8] Figure 2 shows the inscription on the body of the drum (see figure 6 for an image of the whole drum).

The first evidence of an Odaidai ritual dance ceremony appears in an official record dated 1759 (Hōreki 宝暦 9).[9] It records litigation wherein a number of elders sued newcomers over the right to perform *kagura*. It is possible that since, as stated previously, *kagura* performances were a major source of income for *oshi*, this litigation was one impetus for the continuing secrecy surrounding its performance.

Regardless of the secrecy surrounding the ceremony, the Odaidai has undergone significant changes. In 2013, it was registered with UNESCO as mentioned above, and in 2016 an academic report entitled *Kawaguchi no chigo no mai: Kuni kiroku sentaku mukei minzoku bunkazai chōsa hōkokusho* 河口の稚児の舞: 国記録選択無形民俗文化財調査報告書 included a DVD that featured all the dance pieces.[10] Since the ritual's registration under UNESCO, there has been an increase in both Japanese and foreign tourists visiting the shrine to see the dance, with many images and videos now online. The dance can no longer be hidden. It is now public in a way that goes against the wishes of certain worshippers because the dance risks losing its religio-ritual meaning and significance as its main performance transitions into entertainment for tourists. This is a common effect for UNESCO cultural heritage designations.[11]

7 Kyoto Daigaku Kichō Shiryō Dejitaru Ākaibu, *Sandai jitsuroku*.

8 This date was confirmed during my fieldwork on 28 July 2011.

9 Nishida, "Kawaguchimura ni okeru Fujisan oshi," pp. 81–91.

10 Fujikawaguchiko-machi Kyōiku linkai, *Kawaguchi no chigo no mai*.

11 Brumann and Berliner, *World Heritage on the Ground,* and Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value*.

Ritual Components

▪ Participants

The participants can be classified into five groups according to their roles: priests, delegates of villager groups, two villager groups, dancers, and musicians.

Group 1 (priests): There are three to five priests who participate in the ceremony and all of them are from only one licensed village family. In 2011, I observed only two priests. In the following years, the number of priests was increased because of the campaign for UNESCO registration.

Group 2 (delegates): There are eight delegates of villagers, generally called *ujiko sōdai* 氏子総代. Three groups of parishioners choose two delegates each for a total of eight. Serving delegates choose two more members from former members, totaling eight delegates. These delegates oversee the administrative work, organization, preparation, selection of dancers, and communication with the city. They also work with all the groups and facilitate communications between them.

Group 3 (villagers): This group consists of the rest of the villagers. All residents, except those who identify as belonging to a different religion, are automatically counted as worshippers and they are divided into four groups according to where they live. The participants from each group support all material preparation under the delegates. Each of the four groups is further divided into men and women. The women mainly work in the kitchen in the shrine office (*shamusho* 社務所) to prepare the meals for participants. They do not participate in any of the rites, which are held in the worship hall (*haiden* 拝殿). The men mainly work outdoors—decorating, cleaning the site of the shrine, and participating in certain rites.

Group 4 (dancers): The dancers are selected by the eight delegates of group 2. To be a dancer, girls must meet certain conditions. These include having married parents who are still alive, not being in mourning, not having experienced their first menstruation, and hailing from one of the "superior families" (defined in local Japanese as *ii ie* 良い家) of the village. Once selected, a dancer can continue until the age of twelve, as long as these conditions are met. Most of these conditions are to assure the dancer's ritual purity. Blood, death, and sickness are considered impurities; there also used to be religious abstinences required of the musicians, such as purifying themselves with sacred water before the ceremony. According to the musicians, nowadays no religious abstinence is officially performed. However, some of them voluntarily do not eat meat for one week before the ceremony. Regarding the girl dancers, it is thought that deities appear in the form of children, so children disguised as officiants or mediums have been worshipped. In the case of the Odaidai, local people used to call dancers *oichīsan* オイチーサン. Now they call dancers *ochigosan* お稚児さん, which means "youth" with an honorific "o" and "san," and they take the role of officiant-dancers in folkloric ceremonies and are considered a medium of the deities.[12] There seems to be confusion between the ancient local appellation *oichīsan* and the general appellation *ochigosan*. The phoneme *ichi* of *oichīsan* means priestess, possibly transcribed as お市さん, while the "chigo" of *ochigosan* means children. Both words imply a pure presence, into which the deity prefers to incarnate.

Group 5 (musicians): There are few official conditions for the musicians. The main one is that the role of the musician can only be passed on to the first son of certain families. When the current musician dies, however, the son is prohibited from participating during the mourning period.

There are three official rites within the program: purification, the precautionary rite of fire, and the rite of offerings. The dance pieces are performed between these rites, and the ceremony lasts all day.

▪ Official Rites

Purification: Purification is accomplished by a lower-level priest. After the incantation of ritualized texts for purification (*harae kotoba* 祓詞), the priest publicly purifies all dance accessories, all participants, and the audience.

Precautionary rite of fire: The precautionary rite of fire, *hibuse no shinji* 火伏せの神事, is held separately from the other rites, outside of the shrine. A lower-ranking priest directs this rite with or without the participation of guests and/or other priests. According to the priest, the rite is historically held in a small court between the main hall (*honden* 本殿) and the worship hall (*haiden*). Currently, it is held outside in front of the worship hall for security reasons. The area for the rite is defined by

12 Minzokugaku Kenkyūjo, *Minzokugaku jiten*, p. 366; Nakai, *Minzoku geinō jiten*, pp. 285–86.

four bamboo posts located in the four corners connected by sacred straw cords and zigzag white folded papers (*shide* 紙垂). After reading the ritualized text, the priests make a fire in front of the sacred area.

Rite of Offerings: These are performed with the participation of all of the priests (group 1), delegates (group 2), the chief of the groups of neighbors (*tonari gumi* 隣組, from group 3), and guests. The participants are all men, and women can only participate if officially invited by the town. This rite is private, although tourists can watch it from outside of the worship hall. It is the chief priest who directs this rite. First, lower-level priests present all of the offerings, then the head priest reads a ritualized text, which is specially written by him. Thus, the text is different every time. Later, all delegates (group 2), and one delegate from the three local groups (group 3), and all the guests offer sacred *sakaki* 榊 branches and chant prayers, one by one, in front of the altar.[13]

Sharing divine food: This is a public event where all participants and visitors can take part. This moment constitutes a break for the dancers and musicians. During this time, a woman from group 3 distributes rice balls to everyone. This action is not exclusive to this ceremony and can be found in many Japanese religious events. It is believed that to share divine food is to distribute divine power to humans. Those who eat a rice ball will have good health for one year. The purpose of this ritual in Shinto ceremonies is often to bring people material benefits.

Feast (*naorai* 直会): This is a private feast held for the main participants, namely the dancers, delegates, priests, and musicians. The purpose of *naorai* is to return to secular time. While this ritual event is not part of the official ritual program, I include it here because it divides the ceremony into sacred and secular time.

Dance: Dance performances occur between these rites, except during the rite of *hibuse no shinji* (precautionary rite of fire), which is held at the same time as the dance performance. The beginning and the end of the ceremony are announced by the large drum's accelerated tremolo rhythm.

13 Apart from *ujiko sōdai* delegates, members of local groups participate in this ritual. All *ujiko sōdai* offer *sakaki* (*cleyera japonica*) branches, a sacred type of tree in Shinto rites. Also, one additional member from the local groups represents all the other members and offers *sakaki*. During the ceremony, delegates and local groups are physically separated and distinguished from each other by different costumes and by performing different tasks. Thus, even if the delegates are from local groups, they do not act as representatives of the local group when performing the rituals.

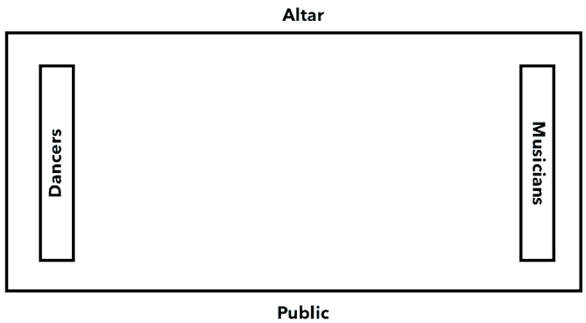

Figure 3. Position of dancers and musicians at the center of the hall of worship (*haiden*) where they perform. When a dancer begins, she faces the altar and the public sees her back. Created by author.

Shitakata: Instrumental Ensemble

Before beginning my musical analysis, I will introduce the musical instruments used for the Odaidai. The musical ensemble for Odaidai is called *shitakata* 下方. As shown in figure 3, musicians take up positions on the left side of the stage proper, and face the dancers on the right side. The seating arrangement from left to right is the *ōdaiko* drummer, *daibyōshi* 大拍子 drummer, chief flutist, and others. An additional drummer who does not play sits behind those who are playing.

The *shitakata* ensemble consists only of men, usually firstborn sons in the family. Although there is no fixed minimum or maximum age required to play, many musicians join the ensemble around the age of twenty. The oldest musician I met during my fieldwork, Miyashita Takeharu, was in his eighties. According to my interview with him, there is neither music notation nor a traditional onomatopoeic song for learning melodies or rhythms (*shōga* 唱歌). The only way for musicians to learn the music is by imitating other musicians.

Shinobue: Bamboo flutes called *shinobue* 篠笛 (figure 4) are also used in the performance; they are commonly used for Japanese traditional popular music at rural events and are also sometimes used for Kabuki theater to musically signify a village setting. *Shinobue* vary in size and the Odaidai musicians use size six (*roppon* 六本).

Older *shinobue* flutes are housed in the Kawaguchi Asama Shrine. According to contemporary flutists, these flutes were used generations ago and are larger than the flutes used today.

Figure 4. Flutist seated on the left of the percussionist. A *shinobue* flute is at the center for *shitakata*. L 50 cm, D of head 2 cm and at end 1.8 cm. Average length of various flutes: L 30 cm to 50 cm. Photograph by author.

Figure 5. *Daibyōshi* drum. D membrane 30 cm, overall D 43 cm. Photograph by author.

Figure 6. *Ōdaiko* drum. L 48 cm × D 41 cm. Stand H 31 cm × W 49 cm. Photograph by author.

Daibyōshi (figure 5) are double-headed drums. The striking heads are stretched taut over a round metal frame. They can be tuned by adjusting the tension of the cords that run between the heads across the barrel. The diameter of this drum is 43 cm and 36 cm in length, and its body is cylindrical and swollen in the center. The drum is struck on both sides with thin wooden sticks. The *daibyōshi* sits on a wooden stand parallel to the player's body. The drummer beats the right side of the drum with the stick in his right hand, and the left side with the stick in his left hand. Two types of sticks may be used—sticks 66.5 cm in length and 0.5 cm in diameter, or 61 cm long and 0.5 cm in diameter.

The *ōdaiko* (figure 6) are large drums with two studded heads. They measure 41 cm in diameter and 48 cm in length and are placed on a base 31 cm high. The body of the drum is barrel-shaped, and the leader heads are studded. They are beaten on one side with a stick called a *bachi* 撥. There are two kinds of sticks. The longer one measures 12.5 cm, with a diameter of 2.2 to 2.5 cm, and the shorter one is 42 cm long and 2.5 cm in diameter. The drum is played by striking only the center of one of its heads. In the Odaidai, only one head is struck. In other contexts, drummers sing or accompany the playing with vocalizations. For the Odaidai, however, the drummer does not vocalize at all.

Accessories and Repertory

The Odaidai also features an instrument that is not considered part of the musical ensemble. The *kagura suzu* 神楽鈴, or simply *suzu* 鈴, are bells held by the dancers and are common accessories for all the dance pieces. According to Yamaji Kōzō 山路興造, *suzu* bells have ritualistic meaning, as they signal the arrival of a divine presence into the body of the dancer.[14] Dancers use *suzu* bells in all Odaidai pieces. The bells may be rung in two ways—either at the end of each piece, where dancers raise their right hand with the *suzu* at the height of their elbow and shake them twice, or during the piece when dancers lower their arms and shake the bells while moving backward. Of the two, the second one seems to have a ritual objective. During my fieldwork, I questioned the new dance teacher about the movement of the bells, but it seems that no oral transmission has been passed down about this gesture. It was stressed, however, that dancers should always shake the bells with prayers in their mind so that the volcano will calm down. During my fieldwork on another dance at the Festival of Flowers (*hana matsuri* 花祭), I was able to observe how the

14 Yamaji, "Nihon geinōshi no naka no kagura," p. 62.

Figure 7. Odaidai accessories. From left, sword (*tsurugi*), bells (*suzu*), fan (*gohei*), another fan (*ōgi*). Photograph by author.

suzu functioned in that ceremony. At the beginning of the piece, the dancers grasped the bells in their hands, thereby muting their sound. Later in the same piece, they held the bells by their wooden handles, allowing the sound to be heard. Although in the Odaidai choreography the dancers hold the bells by their handles, both ways are audible to the divine presence.

Five dance pieces are performed for the Odaidai ceremony. Although the dancers wear the same costume throughout all five dances, they can be distinguished by the different accessories they use for each dance (figure 7). These accessories include swords, fans, and white papers folded into a zig-zag pattern and fastened to wooden sticks (*gohei* 御幣). These are used at Shinto shrines as priest's tools (*ōnusa* 大幣) for purifications, fastened to bamboo to demarcate sacred places (*imidake* 忌竹), and attached to straw cords (*shimenawa* しめ縄) that are also used to denote sacred places. The five dances are performed in the following order. By way of explaining why the "piece" numbers do not correspond to the chronological order, in my analysis, I begin with the simplest and move to those with greater numbers of dancers (sometimes, the greater the number of dancers that perform a piece the more complex the choreography can be).

Piece 1 (performed third): *Tsurugi no mai* 剣の舞, or the Sword Dance. In this piece, all of the dancers take turns performing the dance for a total of seven repetitions. The music consists of repeated phrases. I started my analysis with this piece for the sake of simplicity; this is the only piece in which a single dancer performs. Initially, before I analyzed the choreography, I hypothesized that there is a specific choreographical sequence that is performed the same number of times as the number of dancers performing (eg., two times if two dancers).

Piece 2 (performed first): *Gohei no mai* 御幣の舞, or the Sacred Zig-Zag Paper Dance. All of the Odaidai dance pieces are based on this one. It is normally performed three times by groups of two or three dancers.

Piece 3 (performed second): *Ōgi no mai* 扇の舞, or the Fan Dance.

The above three pieces collectively are called *torimonomai* 採り物舞, meaning dances with ritual accessories. The two remaining pieces are also *torimonomai* but they have different characteristics that necessitate their classification into separate categories.

Piece 4 (performed fourth): *Happō no mai* 八方の舞, or the Dance in Eight Directions, is performed by three groups of two or three dancers, like pieces 2 and 3.

Piece 5 (performed last): *Miyameguri no mai* 宮巡りの舞, or the Dance for Circling Around the Shrine, is performed by all of the dancers together.

Although these last two pieces also feature accessories, their meaning and importance to the overall ceremony is derived more from the position of the dancers than the accessories themselves, unlike the first three pieces. Therefore, my analysis will focus mainly on the first three pieces.

Musical Analysis

For my analysis, I drew upon methods used by Alia Toumi in her analysis of Lebanese music. In her doctoral dissertation, she analyzes cyclic music by depicting repeated sequences in a linear graph. Many ethnomusicological analyses focus primarily on sonic properties and time or rhythm. For a better understanding of sound in ritual, we should add a third element—space. Here, I will try to adapt and further develop Toumi's approach to include choreography. I believe that this approach to musical/choreographic analysis is preferable for this study because it is the only possible approach that can help us confirm the objective of this ceremony—protection from volcanic eruption.[15] Although it is important to be able to provide visual representation of the musical event, to respect the wishes of the practitioners of *kagura* it must not be used for reproduction.

The analytical methodology of the steps are as follows:

Step 1, cutting: After recording, I exported the music into the music editing software, Audacity.[16] As I mentioned previously, *kagura* dance is transmitted orally. Even if musical transcriptions exist, their role is descriptive, not prescriptive. The musicians I interviewed also did not acknowledge the existence of any pedagogical method for learning melodies and rhythms (*shōga*). Therefore, I had to rely on my own transcriptions and field recordings.

Piece 1 features significant musical repetition. The *daibyōshi* drumbeats are constant and steady throughout the entire piece. By marking the breathing points of the flute, the lone melodic instrument, I was able to derive cells of music. From these cells I found eight melodic motifs.

Step 2, numbering: I numbered the motifs from 1 to 8, exported them to Microsoft Excel, and developed a table of motif order.

Step 3, visualization: I created a linear graph so that those with non-musicological training can more easily visualize the musical structure without any knowledge of musical theory.

Step 4, applying steps 1 through 3 to the choreography: In order to adapt this process to dance, I used iMovie for the cutting process. This allowed me to isolate certain movements, add markers, and create and export still images. From these, motifs could be derived and graphed.

Step 5, comparing: In this step, I compared the relationship between the music and the choreography.

The eight motifs that I observed can be placed into the following two groups:

Group 1, the fundamental motifs: 1, 2, 7, 8.

According to the musicians, the music of the Odaidai is based on motif 7 and thus it can be considered the main theme. Motifs 2 and 8 are variations on the theme. The flutists play the melody an octave higher than the other motifs. All motifs of this group are played at particular moments in order to signal the beginning or the end of the whole ceremony, and also to aid the dancers in remembering to change their positions. Each piece begins with motif 1 played by the flutist sitting on the left. This introduction is generally called *fuefukidashi* 笛吹きだし. The other flutists follow.

Group 2, the subsidiary motifs: 3, 4, 5, 6.

These motifs function as random ornamentation to fill in gaps between fundamental (structural) motifs. These motifs begin in different keys, led by the lead flutist who is later joined by the other flutists. Motif 6 appears only after the introduction. The musicians play this motif twice between repetitions of motif 7. Because of its long duration, it is sometimes played only once. These eight motifs constitute the structure of the five Odaidai pieces.

The next section examines the differences between the pieces themselves: Pieces 1–3.

Figure 8 shows the musical evolution of pieces 1 through 3. The X (horizontal) axis shows the evolution of time, and the Y (vertical) axis shows us the order of the motifs. I superimposed three pieces onto one graph. Piece 1 is in blue, piece 2 in red, and piece 3 is in gray. When another piece progresses in the same order as piece 3, the line is gray. As we can see, they are mostly gray. We can observe the common structure in these three pieces: introduction, middle section, and coda. The only differences occur in the middle section. Also, I note that the same sequence appears four times. Analyzing the choreography helps illuminate the reasons for this repetition. The next section analyzes the choreography to understand why the same sequence is repeated.

15 Toumi, "La *dabka*, danse et musique du Liban."

16 Structural analysis for all pieces may be found in Hirai, "Les Sonorité dans le rituel shintoïste," pp. 67–105.

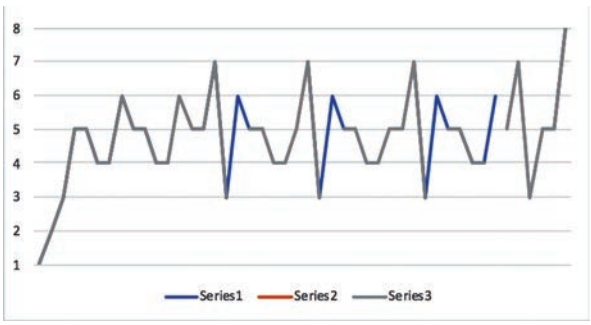

Figure 8. Evolution of the music of pieces 1–3. Created by author.

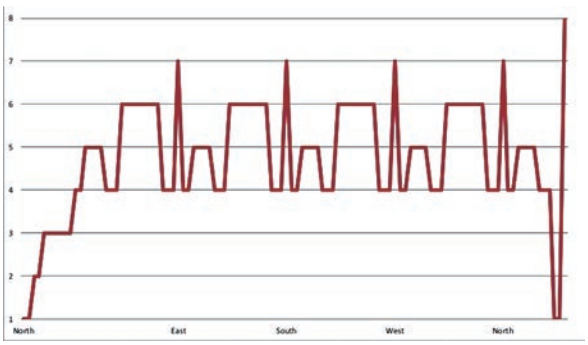

Figure 9. Evolution of the choreography of piece 1. Created by author.

Choreographic Units

As with the musical analysis, I marked the choreographic units using iMovie and created a linear graph with the units on the vertical left side. I observed eight units, such as (1) sitting, (2) standing up, (3) stepping back, (4) remaining still while turning the ritual object, (5) moving forward, (6) moving backward, (7) changing position, and (8) ringing the *suzu* bells. The number of choreographic units and musical motifs is the same but not for any specific reason.

There are three important movements:

Movement 1, prayer: The dancers put their hands together in front of their bodies. According to the Odaidai master dancer, this gesture signifies prayer.

Movement 2: The dancers turn the ritual object with their right hand.

Movement 3, purification of the ground with the ritual object: The dancers shake the ritual object 10–15 cm above the ground. The purification of the ground is signified by shaking the bells.

Next, we see the evolution of the dance with the linear graph. In figure 9, I marked the foot movements, except those at the end of the piece (unit 8). The sound of the bells signifies the end of a piece. Because they signal the musicians, the bells could be considered part of the musical ensemble at this moment. The dancers and musicians then play the same rhythm in unison. Although the bells are often sounded throughout the piece, they are not accompanied by other percussion as they are in the ending section. The rhythmic coincidence of the sound of the bells with the other percussion instruments represents the arrival of the divine beings.

Axis X shows the evolution of time, and axis Y shows us the number of choreographical units. In this graph, we can see that the musical motif does not correspond to the choreographic unit. The dancers change their positions on stage at the peak of the graph (unit 7) and perform the same sequence at four cardinal points. Dancer direction is indicated at the bottom of the graph. The sequence of units 7-4-4-5-5-5-5-4-4-4-6-6-6-6-6-6-6-6-4-4-4 designates movement 3. Every time the dancers step backwards, they ring *suzu* bells. Dancers attach the bells to their costumes during piece 1 in place of swords, which are deemed too dangerous to dance with.

▪ Order of the Dancer's Position on Stage

If the Odaidai ceremony is performed purely for entertainment purposes, it is too repetitive to be entertaining; it repeats exactly the same sequence of choreography four times (in four directions). Does this repetition possess ritual importance? Furthermore, each piece is executed several times so that all dancers perform all pieces; the reason is not to provide entertainment. Folklorists have noted that in *kagura* performances, dancers often execute the *shihō gatame* 四方固め, or "solidifying the four directions technique." This technique delineates a sacred space through repetition of movement in four directions to prepare for the arrival of the divine beings. If the repetition of this Odaidai sequence corresponds to this technique, the implied meaning of the Odaidai ceremony may be revealed.

Figure 10 shows the position for each dancer onstage during piece 1. The numbers in circles allow us to follow the sequence of the dancers' movement and their positions, and the small arrow shows the direction the dancer faces. The large arrow indicates the overall direction of the each dancer's movement, which occurs

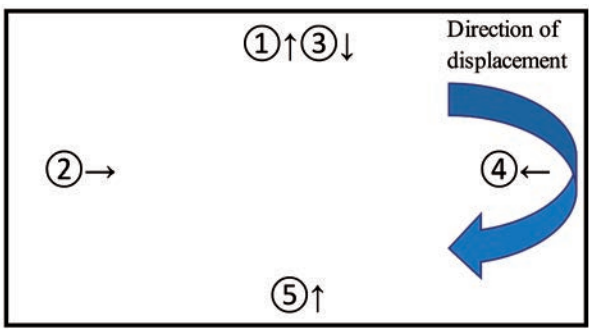

Figure 10. Diagram of Odaidai dance performance: order, direction they face, placement, and movement of the dancers. Created by author.

due to directional rotation during piece 1. The piece is performed multiple times, each time by a different dancer continuously on the same day. Piece 1 is performed in the early afternoon; in 2011 it was performed seven times continuously by seven young female dancers as prescribed.

The dance begins with a prayer at the first position (①) with the dancers facing the altar of the Honden, or main shrine, which is located outside the lines of figure 10, upper center. There, the dancers bow toward the altar and then dance toward the number ② position at the end of the sequence 7-4-4-5-5-5-5-4-4-4-6-6-6-6, each turning 90 degrees during the sequence and moving in a clockwise direction. At ②, they perform the same choreographical sequence, then again turn 90 degrees and move in a clockwise position from position ② to ⑤. At position ⑤ they perform the same sequence back to (①) but without the unit 6 at the end (i.e., 7-4-4-5-5-5-5-4-4-4). Changing directions and repeating choreographic sequences are important in this ceremony.

In Japanese, there are two words for dance: *mau* 舞う and *odoru* 踊る. The difference between these two words is related to the steps the dancers perform. *Mau* describes slow and calm movements, while *odoru* refers to jumping, active movements. This distinction can also be understood as whether one or both of the dancer's feet leave the ground at the same time. In *odoru*, during the jumping motion both feet are in the air. In *mau*, the movements are said to transform the medium (body of the dancer) into a ritual object that the divine spirits can inhabit.[17] Contemporary norms dictate that dancers should try to be more elegant, hence jumping has largely disappeared from similar ritual repertoires. Despite this, the Odaidai ceremony features a subtle hop where both feet momentarily leave the ground simultaneously soon after changing from one direction to another. Musically, changing direction is accompanied by the melody called *takane* 高音 in local terms. This typically means "higher octave." The *takane* melody is played every time the dancers change direction. It corresponds to choreographical unit 7. The sequence from unit 7 (see figure 9) is very important for the Odaidai ceremony. Furthermore, during this movement, the dancers shake the bells while bending slightly at the waist, lowering the bells and looking towards the floor. While normally this would be considered an unnatural movement because of its inelegance, it can have ritual connotations, such as the arrival of the divine spirit. Musical analysis supports this hypothesis. I have noted that the music of the Odaidai is based on motif 7 and the flutist plays an octave higher than during the other motifs when the dancers change direction. The importance of this unnatural physical movement is underscored by the equally unnatural accompanying tune in a higher octave.

Conclusion

Historically, upon the request of worshippers the Odaidai ceremony was dedicated to the goddess of Mt. Fuji. The dance performance of the Odaidai ceremony has developed both commercial character and religio-ritual meaning. Local worshippers still believe that the Odaidai ceremony continues to provide protection from the eruption of Mt. Fuji. Besides the dance, three additional short rites are also part of the Odaidai ceremony. However, those rites alone are not enough to appease the divine spirits. Both dance and music are equally important for ritual purposes. To that end, it can be assumed that the dancers' movements must also embody ritualistic functions and meaning, even if the oral and performative transmission about them are lost.

Odaidai dancers and musicians only transmit their dance orally. The music is comprised of a combination of a theme and its variations. The musical structure of

17 Matsuo, "Girei to Geinō," pp. 256–57.

the dance is also centered around fundamental motifs. The chief flutist plays subsidiary motifs in between the fixed motifs to fill sonic emptiness. Each motif in this group begins with different tunes and thus flutists can play the same motif without prearrangement. My deconstruction of the pieces indicate that Odaidai music and dance are highly systematized and designed in such a way that the musicians and dancers can communicate without the need of a director or notation.

No instrument can be played without dancers, and strict hierarchies exist between the dance and the music of the Odaidai ceremony. However, the music's role is not only an accompaniment to the dance. Both dance and music possess ritual techniques and purposes. A higher octave suggests the arrival of a deity. Even though ritual characteristics are not explained when the choreography is taught, the ritual techniques, like those indicating prayer, remain embedded in the movements and gestures. The master dancer continues to instill the importance of the movements and gestures as necessary for the pacification of the goddess of Mt. Fuji. Thus, despite the rise of *kagura* for entertainment purposes, its ritual meanings continue to live on through its practitioners.

Glossary

Bachi 撥 Sticks for drums
Bunraku 文楽 Marionette theater that began during the Edo period
Chigomai 稚児舞 Dance performed by youths
Daibyōshi 大拍子 A Japanese double-headed drum played with sticks on both sides, traditionally used in *kagura*
Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (r. 897–930 CE)
Fuefukidashi 笛吹きだし Flute melody for the introduction
Gohei 御幣 A zig-zag pattern fastened to wooden sticks
Gohei no mai 御幣の舞 Sacred zig-zag paper dance
Haiden 拝殿 Worship hall of a Shinto shrine
Hana matsuri 花祭 Flower festival. A type of *kagura* practiced in Nagano 長野, Shizuoka 静岡, and Aichi 愛知 prefectures
Happō no mai 八方の舞 The dance of eight directions
Harae kotoba 祓詞 Ritualized texts for purification
Hayashi 囃子 Musical accompaniment
Hibuse no shinji 火伏せの神事 The precautionary rite of fire
Honden 本殿 Main hall of a Shinto shrine
Hōshachinsai 奉謝鎮祭 Another official name of the Odaidai ceremony
Imidake 忌竹 Bamboo to demarcate sacred places
Kabuki 歌舞伎 A form of Japanese traditional dance and drama that began at the beginning of the eighteenth century and developed during the Edo period
Kagura 神楽 Ritual entertainment during Shinto events
Kaguraden 神楽殿 Hall for *kagura* performances at Shinto shrines
Kamigakari kinshi rei 神懸り禁止令 Prohibitions against spirit possession
Kan'ami 観阿弥 (1333–1384). Actor, playwright, and theater director in a form of medieval theater known as *sarugaku* 猿楽. Founder of the Kanzeza 観世座 Company
Kawaguchi no chigo no mai 河口の稚児の舞 Official registered name of dance practices at Kawaguchi Asama Shrine
Kojiki 古事記 *The Records of Ancient Matters*, the earliest collection of myths in Japanese
Kokka Shintō 国家神道 State Shinto
Konohanasakuya Hime no Mikoto 木花開耶姫命 A character featured in a *Kojiki* myth. Considered as a deity of fire.
Mau 舞う To dance in slow and calm movements
Mikomai 巫女舞 Dance of the priestesses
Miyameguri no mai 宮巡りの舞 Dance for circling around the shrine
Naorai 直会 Feast after Shinto ceremony
Nihon sandai jitsuroku 日本三代実録 Chronicles of three reigns. Japanese imperial official history featuring the reigns of emperors Seiwa 清和天皇, Yozei 陽成天皇, and Kōkō 光孝天皇. Compiled in 901
Ninigi no Mikoto 瓊瓊杵命 A character featured in a *Kojiki* myth. A grandson of Amaterasu Ōmikami
Noh 能 A form of Japanese dance-drama
Ochigosan お稚児さん Child dancers
Odaidai お太々 An annual ceremony of Kawaguchi Asama Shrine
Ōdaiko 大太鼓 A large drum with double-nailed membranes
Odoru 踊る To dance while jumping; active movements
Ōgi no mai 扇の舞 Fan dance
Oichi'isan お市さん Appellation of priestess
Oichīsan オイチーサン Local appellation of girl dancers
Onnamai 女舞 A category of dance pieces characterized by a female character
Ōnusa 大幣 Priest's tool for purification
Oshi 御師 Low-ranking priests; officiants and tour guides who supported visiting pilgrims
Sakaki 榊 *Cleyera japonica*, considered to be a sacred tree

Sarugaku 猿楽 A form of Japanese medieval dance during the Heian 平安 to Muromachi 室町 periods; later split into Noh
Shide 紙垂 Zigzag white folded papers
Shihō gatame 四方固め Solidifying the four directions technique
Shikisanban 式三番 Series of three ritualistic pieces: *Okina* 翁, *Chichinojō* 父尉, and *Sanbasō* 三番叟
Shimenawa しめ縄 Sacred straw cords
Shinobue 篠笛 Bamboo flutes often used for Japanese traditional popular music
Shinshoku enbu kinshi rei 神職演舞禁止令 Prohibitions against dance performances for Shinto priests
Shitakata 下方 Local appellation for musical ensemble in Kawaguchi
Shōga 唱歌 Onomatopoeic song for learning melodies or rhythms
Shugendō 修験道 Mountain ascetism of Japan
Takane 高音 The basic melody of a flute for the music of the Odaidai dance in local terms
Tomo no Naosada 伴直真 A local priest of Kai Province, who had an oracle of the god of Mt. Fuji
Tonari gumi 隣組 Groups of neighbors
Torimonomai 採り物舞 Dances with ritual accessories
Tsurugi no mai 剣の舞 The sword dance
Ujiko 氏子 Parishioners of a Shinto shrine
Ujiko sōdai 氏子総代 Parishioner representative
Zeami 世阿弥 (1363–1443). Son of Kan'ami. Actor, director. A playwright who developed Noh performances

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A Short Visual History of Abstraction in Early Modern Japanese *Karuta*: Simplification, Reinterpretation, and Localization

MEW LINGJUN JIANG

Introduction

When producing and interpreting images, creators, viewers, and critics apply the arbitrary nature of signs to connect, explain, and rebuild the relationship between forms and meanings. The ways in which images may be interpreted provide a tool for inquiring about what, why, and how the images come into being, and in whose reality they function as pictorial signs. Semiotic analyses can help to interpret many types of imagery, including those that seem to have evident meanings but in fact call for special attention. The Japanese playing cards called *karuta* (Jp. 骨牌, カルタ; Por. *carta*) are one such compelling case.[1] Although designs in games like playing cards have tended toward simplification to better serve players through clarity for quick recognition and to result in an economical mode of production, the Latin/Italo-Portuguese-patterned *karuta* from the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1868) and their later nineteenth- and twentieth-century variations present a series of expressive and abstract designs that appear simple but in fact complicate interpretation (see figures 1, 2, and 3). Rhythmic and dynamic calligraphic lines and color blocks form a sharp contrast between red and black. Each card resembles an abstract painting in its own right. Compared to their more illustrative prototype from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as in the dragon-ace cards shown in figure 2, a trend toward simplification is visible but few connections can be discerned between the abstract figures and their predecessors other than the vaguely similar compositions and movements.

A deck of these *karuta* has forty-eight cards, usually accompanied with one or two extra blank cards as a backup for missing cards and, depending on variations played in different areas, occasionally a modern deck has one or two joker cards. A typical Portuguese-

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1 The word *karuta*, from *carta* in Portuguese, has different written forms in Japanese *katakana*, *hiragana*, and characters (*kanji*). Ebashi Takashi assigns the *hiragana karuta* かるた to the *awase-karuta* 合せかるた type of traditional Japanese matching/comparing games, while he discusses the *katakana karuta* カルタ in the context of the four-suited Portuguese type of *karuta*. See Ebashi, *Karuta*, p. 1.

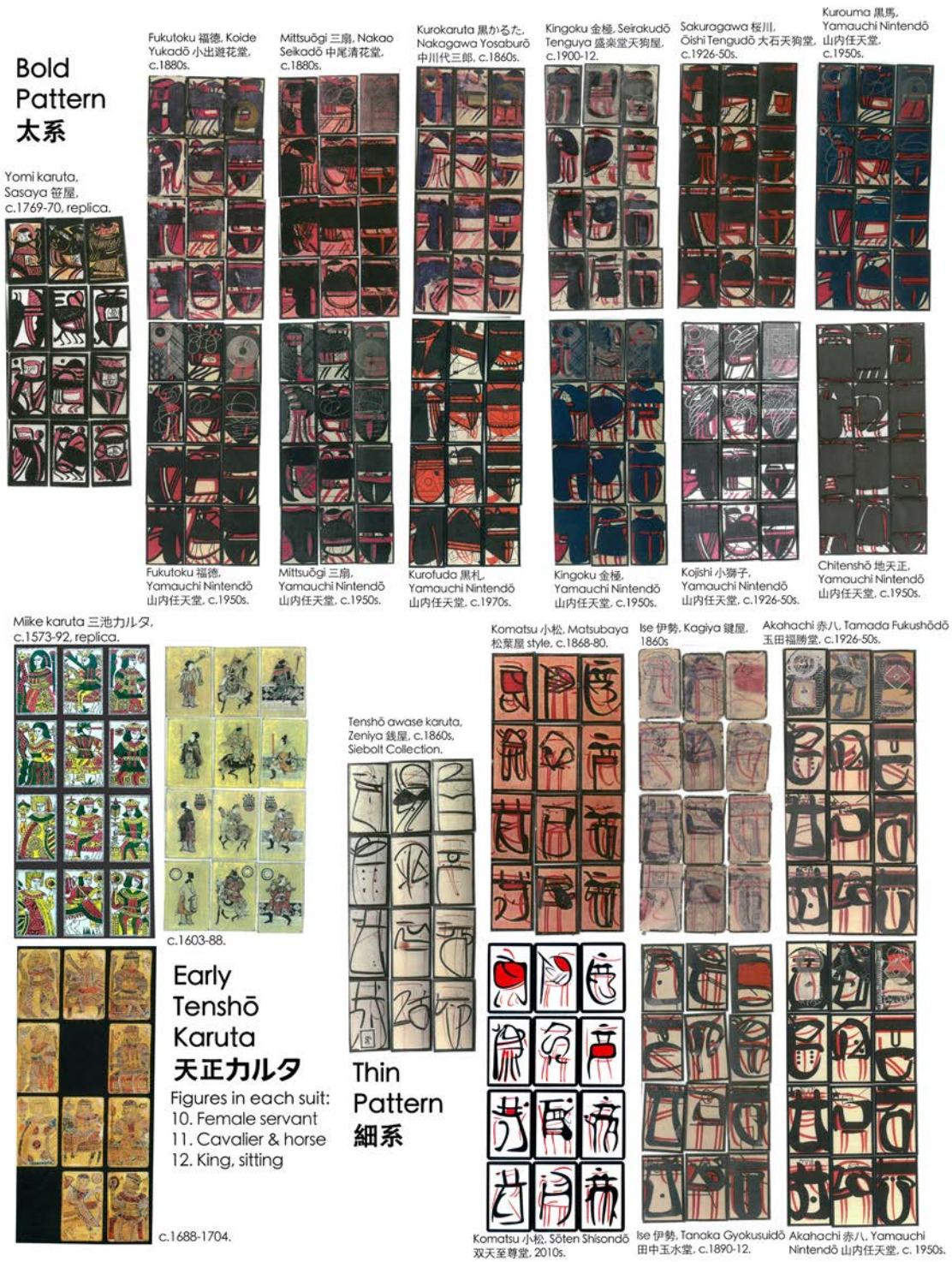

Figure 1. Varied patterns of *karuta* court cards. Dates vary, 16th–20th c. Portuguese-patterned, four-suited *karuta* playing cards. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission. Images edited by the author.

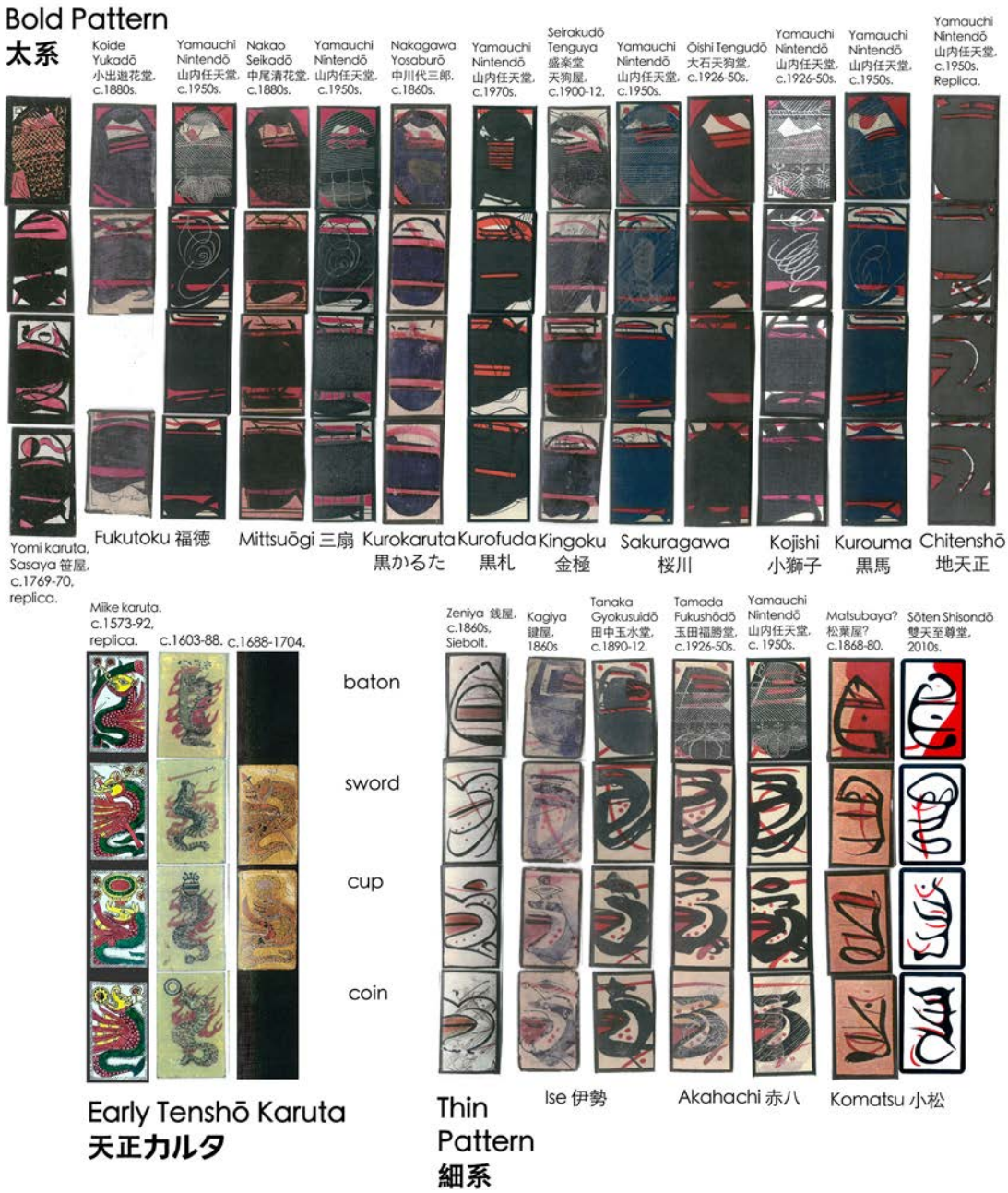

Figure 2. Patterns of *karuta* dragon-ace cards. Dates vary, 16th–21st c. Portuguese-patterned, four-suited *karuta* playing cards. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission. Images edited by the author.

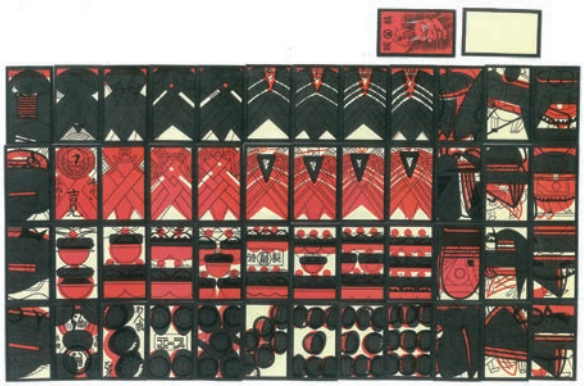

Figure 3. Modern *Kurofuda* deck, a regional bold-patterned variation of ca. 1970s. Forty-eight-card deck with one joker card and one blank card, Latin/Italo-Portuguese suit-mark, woodblock printed on paper. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission.

patterned *karuta* set is comprised of four suits, twelve cards each, marked with batons, swords, coins, or cups. Twelve cards constitute a suit, with illustrations of dragons on ace cards, and pip cards of suit-marks from two to nine. Illustrations of maids, knights, and kings are represented in the court cards standing for the numbers ten to twelve. The dragon-ace cards, suit-marks, and court figures have almost become distorted and unrecognizable in later variations compared to the earlier Latin/Italo-Portuguese playing cards, but their enigmatic images continue to fascinate collectors both in Japan and overseas.[2]

This study focuses on the European suit-marked playing cards, which the word *karuta* came from and which provided the material basis of other card games in Japan, instead of the matching/comparing card games commonly known as *karuta* today (e.g. the poem-matching game, *Uta-awase karuta* 歌合せかるた or *Uta karuta* 歌かるた, and the syllabary proverb-matching game, *Iroha karuta* いろはかるた). *Karuta* first came to Japan in the late sixteenth century, brought by merchants and Jesuits through their trade routes between Europe and East Asia. The earliest evidence of the European suit-marked *karuta* remains on a few wooden key blocks that were used for printing outlines of playing cards from around the Tenshō 天正 period (1573–1593), so they are also known as the *Tenshō karuta* 天正カルタ.

This paper also uses *Tenshō karuta* to refer to the European suit-marked playing cards in Japan in order to differentiate them from other *karuta* games. The paper-based material from European card games influenced traditional Japanese *mono awase* 物合せ matching/comparing games like the traditional shell-matching game *Kai-awase* 貝合わせ (also referred to as *Kai-ōi* 貝覆い) and other games that had been played in the imperial court since the Heian 平安 period (794–1185).[3] The application of more economical materials in the construction of these traditional games led to the development of new forms of educational matching/comparing card games in the Edo period, such as the aforementioned *Uta karuta* and *Iroha karuta*, both of which featured refined illustrations.[4]

The *Tenshō karuta*-type of playing cards went through a series of curious changes in their designs and social status over the course of the Edo period. They were first depicted in elaborate forms in early Edo-period paintings and on art objects made for wealthy members of Edo society, such as those in the warrior or aristocratic classes, to relish the exoticism of the *Nanban* 南蛮 (lit. "Southern barbarians") aesthetic.[5] The *Tenshō karuta* deck developed new ornate patterns around the Genroku 元禄 era (1688–1704). For example, *Unsun karuta* うんすんカルタ localized the formerly exotic material culture of *karuta* by adding domestic designs, another suit, and extra court cards featuring Japanese deities and Chinese imperial elites.[6] Similarly,

2 The Latin/Italo-Portuguese pattern is so named because of its similarity to the early patterns of playing cards found in Spain, Italy, and Portugal, and because European-patterned *karuta* in Japan mostly resembled sixteenth-century playing cards from Portugal. This pattern can also be found in Portuguese colonies in South Asia and South America. See Mann and Wayland, *The Dragons of Portugal*.

3 The *mono awase* matching/comparing game involved two sides competing with their chosen objects, and the winner was announced by a judge who would then give the reasons for their decision. Objects of the game could include anything from flowers in nature to exuberant fans and paintings. See Sakomura, "Japanese Games of Memory, Matching, and Identification," p. 253.

4 Ebashi, *Karuta*, pp. 123–25.

5 The commercial and cultural exchange between Japan and Portugal in the late sixteenth century created the extravagant, exotic art style called *Nanban* exoticism. *Nanban* in the Azuchi-Momoyama 安土桃山 period (1573–1603) specifically referred to the Spanish and the Portuguese, and it broadly meant anything foreign. See Miyamoto, *Nihon no dentōbi to Yōroppa*, p. 63; Narusawa, "Nanban byōbu no tenkai," p. 77.

6 *Unsun karuta* was likely named after the Portuguese *um* (one) and *summon* (supreme); Sakomura, "Japanese Games of Memory, Matching, and Identification," p. 267. With seventy-five

Sunkun karuta すんくんカルタ added an extra suit and a few more court cards based on *Unsun karuta*.[7]

In the late seventeenth century, simplified designs of these *Tenshō karuta* began to appear in illustrations of popular literature. In addition to these artistic depictions, examples of eighteenth-century *karuta* decks also reflect the simplified and abstract images, and these designs have remained in use in modern regional-patterned *karuta* distributed and played in different areas of Japan (figures 1, 2, and 3).[8] These *karuta* designs bear almost no resemblance to earlier examples of illustrative *Tenshō karuta* that feature elaborate depictions of court-card figures, the dragon-ace, and suit-marks (figure 4).

What the strange designs in *karuta* and their prototype of European playing cards share in common is a particular mode of interpretation, and this mode is assigned by viewers who approach the mediums from a certain cultural context. This paper aims not to simply point out the apparent simplification and abstraction in *Tenshō karuta* but to explain the complicated process behind this discernible change in design.[9] Although *karuta* designs were not produced solely for aesthetic appreciation, they were created first and foremost as a means of visual communication in games. In turn, they were depicted in works of fine art and illustrations from popular literature with new interpretations throughout the course of their history. Artistic depictions of *karuta* appeared most frequently in popular literature produced in the Kyoto and Edo regions between the 1680s and 1790, before the strict regulation of *karuta* was implemented with the Kansei 寛政 Reforms of the 1790s.[10] With analyses of these visual materials, this paper takes a semiotic approach to explain the gradual process of abstraction in the images displayed in Portuguese-patterned *karuta* designs that took place between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries.

By examining mid-Edo-period artistic depictions and productions of the *Tenshō karuta*-type of playing cards, I will demonstrate how *karuta* designs evolved into a more concise pictorial sign for efficient visual communication to serve audiences at the time. Edo-period players and viewers attached localized meanings to shapes and figures in *karuta*. *Karuta*'s simplification and abstraction happened via these new cultural interpretations, and in so doing, users and makers of *karuta* detached the cards from their European origin. New designs and connotations were thus developed in *karuta*-related literature and arts at the time. Moreover, simplification and abstraction were further solidified and localized with the more economical means of production after the eighteenth century, and this continued into the modern period.

The artistic depictions and evolving designs of *karuta* demonstrate a phenomenon in which creators and viewers assign images from a different cultural origin with arbitrary meanings independent of their original context. Interpreted freely and without iconographical significance, the original meaning of these images does not matter to their new authors and audiences. In this way, the unintentional reinterpretation and adaptation of images take place, shaping and locating the meaning of signs within a different cultural context. Following this principle, designs of *Tenshō karuta* evolved with fluidity, generated new meanings in localized artistic and literary creations, and nurtured new forms of games in the large family of *karuta* playing cards.

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cards in a deck, *Unsun karuta* features five suits of clubs, swords, cups, coins, and *tomoe-mon* 巴紋 signs, with the ace cards (with images of the snake-like dragon rather than the bat-winged dragon) separated from the nine pip/number cards, plus two more court cards in each suit. See Suntory Museum of Art, *Asobi no ryūgi*, pp. 222–23.

7 The etymology of *Sunkun* in *Sunkun karuta* remains unclear, but the game was developed from *Unsun karuta*. *Sunkun karuta* consists of ninety-seven cards a deck. Based on *Unsun karuta*, a set of *Sunkun karuta* adds one more suit of arrows, one more type of court cards of emperor figures, and one additional card. However, unlike *Unsun karuta* that left actual evidence or depictions used in art objects, evidence of *Sunkun karuta* is limited to Genroku-era wood-blocks, and illustrations and replicated cards of the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912). See Yamaguchi, *Unsun karuta*, pp. 38–40; Ebashi, "'Sunkun karuta' no hakken."

8 Regional-patterned *karuta*, or *Chihōfuda* 地方札, refers to playing cards that are used only in certain areas applying different rules of games, and can be seen after the Edo period with evidence from records of playing-card makers that indicate the production and distribution of playing cards. A wider definition of *Chihōfuda* includes a few regional variations of *Hanafuda* 花札 ("flower cards"), but the scope of this paper is restricted to the Latin/Italo-Portuguese suit-marked playing cards. See Ōsaka Shōgyō Daigaku Amyūzumento Sangyō Kenkyūjo, p. 78.

9 One of the reviewers kindly pointed out that art historian Rudolf Wittkower had an essay on simplifications in Roman coins that could help illuminate the method in my project. I would like to thank the reviewer, but, given the time frame, I was not able to locate the mentioned essay in the book recommended by the reviewer. I will note the source here for further reference: Rudolf Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

10 The Kansei Reforms strictly regulated gambling and *karuta* production as part of the measurements to forbid sumptuous events and publications. See Ebashi, *Karuta*, pp. 201–3.

This paper is divided into three sections. First, "Simplification and Abstraction" outlines the change in *Tenshō karuta* designs with visual analyses of *karuta* patterns, their artistic depictions in the mid-Edo period, and designs in modern decks in comparison to early examples of illustrative *Tenshō karuta*. Here, I argue that the simplification and abstraction of these images was not a purposeful aesthetic choice but rather an outcome of the desire to create efficiency in visual communication as *karuta*. The second section, "Arbitrary Meanings and Reinterpretations," delineates the change in cultural interpretations of *karuta*, mainly through renaming and localizing their depictions in early Edo-period artworks and their later appearance in mid-Edo-period literature. By analyzing a plethora of depictions and reinterpretations of *karuta*, I demonstrate that *karuta* designs and their cultural connotations were first localized and solidified within a mid-Edo-period interpretational framework and then became a part of the shared knowledge of the period's popular culture. The last section, "Efficient Production, Localization, and Continuation of *Karuta*," further articulates the localization of *karuta* and synthesizes the visual and conceptual aspects of *karuta* through their production and the conventional designs that continued into the modern era.

The scarcity of extant examples of playing cards from the Edo period presents a challenge to the study of *karuta*'s visual history. Because of the ephemeral nature of paper-based playing cards, few examples remain from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Thus, the scope of evidence examined in this paper has to include materials other than playing cards, such as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Portuguese-patterned *karuta*-inspired art objects and artistic depictions in printed books. In addition, I will examine playing cards from the Meiji period onward to demonstrate the trend of simplified designs that gradually became entrenched after the nineteenth century. As there has been little recent English-language scholarship on European-patterned *karuta* playing cards and their depictions and developments within the milieu of Japanese visual culture, one of the main sources that this paper depends on is the Japanese-language scholarship of Ebashi Takashi. This paper builds a visual history of *karuta* upon the rich research of *karuta* contributed by Ebashi and other Japanese scholars. It is my hope that this paper will serve as an initial study to call attention to the *karuta* family and its potential as a subject of the interdisciplinary studies of design and games in history.

Simplification and Abstraction

This paper assumes that the progressive simplification and abstraction in *Tenshō karuta* were not purposeful aesthetic choices but rather products of the need for efficiency in visual communication among players and viewers in Edo-period Japan. Both the physical *karuta* card designs and their illustrations in popular literature suggest that creating a vaguely recognizable shape with efficiency to accommodate new meanings was more important than exactly reproducing the detailed figures of early European playing card designs. That is, the simplified and abstract forms helped viewers and players understand the function of a specific card in games or artistic depictions.

This drastic shift toward the simplification and abstraction of *karuta* designs is apparent when we compare the court cards and dragon-ace designs displayed in the diverse variations of *Tenshō karuta* and their descendants (figures 1 and 2). This collection includes examples from early handmade, gold-leafed illustrative *karuta* of the late sixteenth century to woodblock-printed or stencil-colored modern regional-patterned decks of the 1950s by Nintendo who produced and distributed regional-patterned playing cards. Instances from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are extremely limited due to their disposable paper-based material. Yet abundant cases from the late nineteenth century demonstrate two major *karuta* designs of bold and thin patterns that gradually settled as generally accepted designs and continued through the twentieth century. Within these two patterns, the major differences between the regional-patterned card decks are their names and slightly different details in images depending on who made them and the regions where these cards were produced, sold, and played.[11]

Comparing the much later regional-patterned *karuta* to the illustrative *Tenshō karuta* produced in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is very little similarity between the two designs. Nonetheless, a rough outline of court-card figures in the former remains to hint at the lineage of *Tenshō karuta*. Early *Ten-*

11 Ebashi, *Karuta*, pp. 311–14.

Figure 4. Comparisons of the ace and court card figures of the baton suit. Dates vary, 16th–20th c. Portuguese-patterned, four-suited *karuta* playing cards. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission. Images edited by the author.

shō karuta decks contain delicate linework depicting figures exotic to Japan, such as a maid in a long gown holding a goblet, a knight wearing non-Japanese armor and carrying a sword, and a king crowned and seated on a decorated throne. In another set of *Tenshō karuta* produced in the seventeenth century, the figures are depicted wearing Chinese costumes and are still represented as distant and exotic entities to Japanese viewers and players (figure 1, early *Tenshō karuta* group, top right). Likewise, the illustrations on early dragon-ace cards depict bat-winged European dragons (figure 2, early *Tenshō karuta* group, top right). Furthermore, the compositions of these designs are similar in the way they present suit-marks. For instance, the dragon of swords carries the sword against its body, forming a diagonal composition, and the dragon of cups has the cup above its head, creating an hourglass shape (figure 2). These general compositions remained identical in

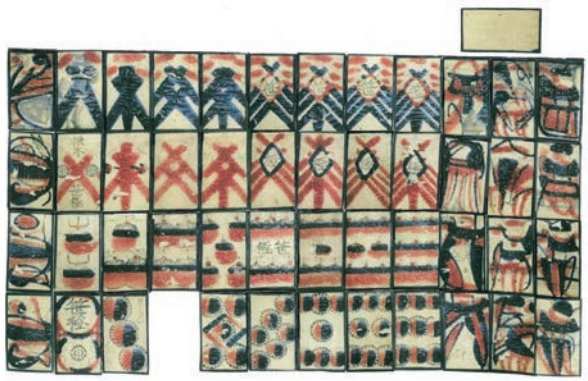

Figure 5. Thin-patterned *karuta* in Carl Peter Thunberg's 1775–1776 collection. 18th c., Edo period. Originally a forty-eight-card deck with one blank card, now with the four-of-coins card missing, Latin/Italo-Portuguese suit-mark, woodblock and stencil-colored print. The Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden, used with permission. Image edited by Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission.

later regional *karuta* variations, even though the figures depicted were significantly simplified.

Graphic design theory and Gestalt psychology offer further insight into the compositional changes of these cards. The pattern of simplification and abstraction of *karuta* designs follows several principles of perceptual organization, namely (1) proximity, as close-together features have a stronger association; (2) similarity, as similar figures have a stronger association; and (3) the overarching principle of *Prägnanz*, that "the simplest and most stable interpretations are favored" is applied when recognizing unfamiliar images.[12] These principles are evidenced in figure 3, which shows a sequence of simplification and abstraction when comparing the designs of the dragon-ace, the maid, the knight, and the king of batons from different periods. Viewed on their own, these regional-patterned court cards and dragon cards might appear as nothing but strange forms with dynamic lines, each one akin to a small piece of abstract art. But a pattern becomes discernible when the regional-patterned cards are compared alongside their elaborate predecessors. Detailed linework is generalized and replaced by calligraphic brushstrokes that feature a stark contrast between black and red color blocks. Distorted figures connect to their prototypes through rough compositional clues, such as the maid's gown which remains as an inked trapezoid, the knight's horse's legs that turn into four simple red sticks, and

12 Chandler, *Semiotics*, pp. 151–52.

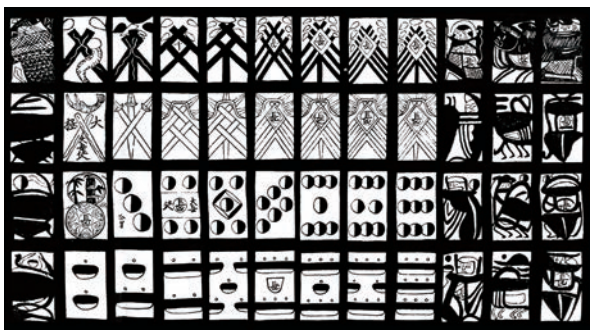

Figure 6. Thin-patterned *Yomi karuta* based on partial depictions in Tairaku, *Uchū tsurezuregusa*, ca. 1769–1770. Pattern recreated by Nihon Karuta-kan. From Nihon Karuta-kan, *Edo mekuri karuta shiryō-shū*, appendix. Image edited by the author.

the king that becomes a few bold, horizontal stripes in black contrasting the red color block (figure 4).

These simplifications and abstractions became widely recognized by players and spectators in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by playing card sets and artistic renderings in illustrated books that were produced during this period. Following his visit to Edo Japan between 1775 and 1776, Swedish naturalist Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828) brought back a deck of *karuta* when he returned to Europe (figure 5).[13] The bleeding of colors on the cards suggests the use of stencil coloring, which conveniently accelerated the printing process and resulted in bolder lines and colors. As with later variations, the design looks dramatically different from the illustrated *Tenshō karuta* prototypes, bearing little visual resemblance to earlier images of dragons, maids, knights, or kings.

Thunberg's *karuta* deck from the 1770s implies that players in Japan used similar designs at the time, which were recognized as conventional icons representing the *Tenshō karuta*-type. Similar artistic depictions frequently appeared in works related to *karuta*, such as

13 This deck is in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm, Sweden. I am indebted to game designer Marcus Richert and scholar Ebashi Takashi for sharing this information with me. Before this deck, there was little evidence about actual playing cards from the eighteenth century and it was thought only *karuta* sets from the early nineteenth century remained extant, such as those in the collection of the Dutch trading director Jan Cock Blomhoff. See Ebashi, "Caroli Petri Thvnberg." Thvnberg, usually transliterated as "Carl Peter Thunberg," was a Swedish botanist. He traveled to Japan as a young physician to attend to the Dutch in 1775 while using his knowledge of botany to collect plants in Japan for Hollanders. See Rudolph, "Thunberg in Japan and His Flora Japonica in Japanese."

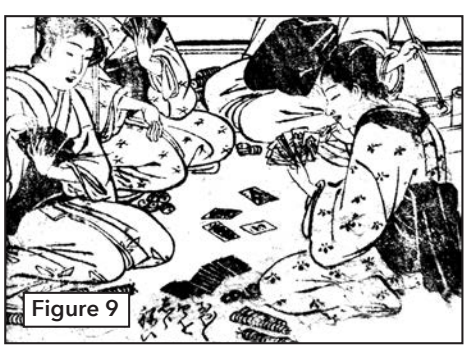

Figure 7. Ihara Saikaku. Illustration (detail). 1686. Monochrome woodblock-printed book. From *Honchō nijū fukō* 3. Reprinted in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 76 (Iwanami Shoten, 1991), p. 445.

Figure 8. Kyūjiken Rinchō. Illustration (detail). 1718. Monochrome woodblock-printed book. From *Shoke gunbaiki* 2, 18r.

Figure 9. Torii Kiyonaga. Illustration (detail). 1780. Monochrome woodblock-printed book. From Ichiba Tsūshō, *Chikagoro shima meguri* 3, 12v.

Tairaku's 太楽 (d.u.) *Uchū tsurezuregusa* 雨中徒然草 (Essays in Idleness on a Rainy Day, 1769–1770). Tairaku recreated *karuta* patterns with a somewhat comical touch in his casual booklet and listed several high-scoring combinations of cards as a guidebook for players. The lack of any publisher or censor's seal indicates that Tairaku did not receive permission for publication and therefore distributed the book privately, perhaps circulating it among his friends.[14] Though Tairaku provided only a few monochrome illustrations of *karuta*, a group of *karuta* collectors and Edo historians in the 1970s called the Nihon Karuta-kan produced the full design of Tairaku's *karuta* based on his illustrations (figure 6). Despite being an approximate uncolored replica of Tairaku's illustrations in one single sheet, and despite the figure's comical facial expressions in the court cards, the recreation by Nihon Karuta-kan is similar to Thunberg's *karuta* deck in terms of suit-mark designs and the composition of figures on the court and the dragon-ace cards. Since Tairaku's book came out in 1770, his perception of a typical *karuta* design would have been similar to the perception evidenced in Thunberg's *karuta* deck, which was likely produced around the same time or earlier. Thus, the production date of decks like Thunberg's *karuta* may be narrowed down to around the 1770s, rather than the earlier defined time range of the 1700s.[15]

Evidence from extant *karuta* sets and artistic renderings suggests that players and viewers by the mid-Edo period had accepted simplified and abstract *karuta* designs and were able to use them in actual games. In addition, references to *karuta* in Edo-period popular culture also indicate that abstract *karuta* designs were recognized by common readers at the time. Prior to the eighteenth century, depictions of simplified *karuta* designs had appeared in illustrated books, such as the popular author Ihara Saikaku's 井原西鶴 (1642–1693) *Honchō nijū fukō* 本朝二十不孝 (Twenty Unfilial Children in Japan, 1686), which includes a story about the downfall of a prodigal son addicted to gambling on *karuta* games (figure 7). The *karuta* cards in the accompanying illustration are depicted in a simple manner.

14 Ebashi, "*Uchū tsurezuregusa* wa yomikaruta-zuki no kaita shumibon."

15 As listed on the website of the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm. Etnografiska Museet, "1874.01.0049. Carlotta: Databasen för museiamlingar." Accessed 1 September 2021. https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1000639.

They are recognizable by the black paper affixed to the back of the cards and the crossing sticks and aligning circles that adorn the front, representing the pip cards of the coin, sword, and baton suits. The cards are portrayed simplistically, as is the *fusuma* sliding-door painting in the background with its rough lines and shapes. In this story, *karuta* playing cards function as props, just like the *fusuma* painting and a standing candle, to suggest the surrounding environment—a teahouse where gamblers gather to play *karuta* at night. Many other illustrated books imply the prevalence of *karuta* games, like the 1718 novel *Shoke gunbaiki* 諸家軍配記 (A Manual of Military Tactics) by Kyūjiken Rinchō 九思軒鱗長/九二軒鱗長 (d.u.) and a much later work from 1780, *Chikagoro shima meguri* 近頃嶋めぐり (A Recent Tour of the Islands) by Ichiba Tsūshō 市場通笑 (1739?–1812) and illustrated by Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長 (1752–1815).[16] Illustrations in these publications present scenes of people playing with *Tenshō karuta*-type playing cards that feature simplified depictions of the baton, sword, and coin suit-marks (figures 8 and 9).

The simplified and abstract appearances of *karuta* designs in extant examples and artistic renderings from the mid-Edo period imply the shared knowledge and immense popularity of *karuta* as an accessible leisure pastime. The simplification and abstraction in the design was not the result of any intentional aesthetic movement but instead intended to facilitate a more accessible form of visual communication. As a result, *karuta* designs developed into well-perceived "iconic signifier[s]."[17] In other words, simplified *karuta* designs became a perceptual code for viewers to better process pictorial information with simple lines and shapes that formed the "iconic convention" of *karuta*.[18] This flexible iconic interpretation of *karuta* inspired artists, writers, players, and readers in the mid-Edo period, giving the European *karuta* new cultural connotations.

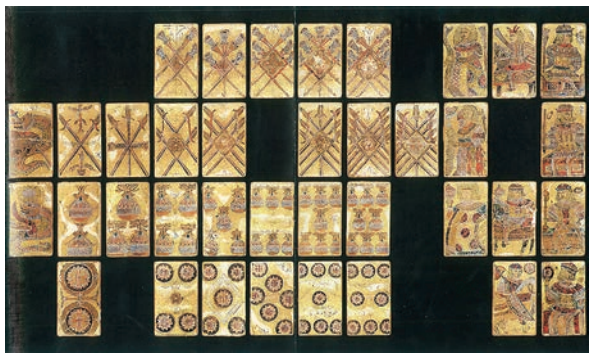

Figure 10. Early *Tenshō Karuta*. 17th c., Genroku period. Forty-eight-card deck, Latin/Italo-Portuguese suit-mark, ink and colors on paper. From Suntory Museum of Art, *Asobi no ryūgi*, p. 136.

Figure 11. Replica of *Miike Karuta, Tenshō karuta*-type playing cards. Late 16th c., Tenshō period. Forty-eight-card deck, Latin/Italo-Portuguese suit-mark, woodblock print on paper. Ōmuta Miike Playing Cards and History Material Museum, used with permission. Photograph by the author.

Arbitrary Meanings and Reinterpretations

The cultural connotations of *karuta* changed over the course of the Edo period as different social classes adapted and reinterpreted them through media such as the fine arts and popular illustrated literature. Before variations of *Tenshō karuta* started to develop in the mid-Edo period, illustrative *Tenshō karuta* frequently appeared in refined paintings and art objects as a reflection of values and trends of the powerful and the wealthy, especially during the early Edo period when *Nanban* exoticism was an influential aesthetic.[19] Early handmade *Tenshō karuta* displayed ornate designs of suit-marks and figures with intricate linework to rec-

16 The word *meguri* めぐり in the title here is also an allusion to the *Mekuri karuta* game popular in Edo at the time.

17 Chandler, *Semiotics*, p. 61.

18 "At a certain point the iconic representation, however stylized it may be, appears to be truer than the real experience, and people begin to look at things through the glasses of iconic convention." Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), pp. 204–5, cited in Chandler, *Semiotics*, pp. 61–62.

19 See Miyamoto, *Nihon no dentōbi to Yōroppa*, p. 63; Narusawa, "Nanban byōbu no tenkai," p. 77.

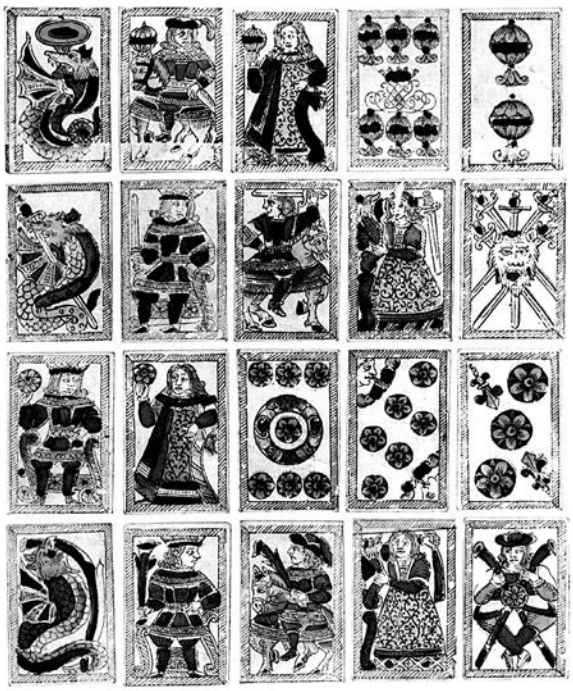

Figure 12. Early Portuguese pattern playing cards. Mid-17th c. Forty-eight-card deck, woodcut and stencil-coloring. W 4.9 cm, H 8.3 cm each. Real Fabrica de Lisiboa, Lisbon, Portugal. Deutsches Spielkarten-museum Leinfelden-Echterdingen. From Sylvia Mann, *All Cards on the Table*, used with permission.

Figure 13. Lacquered drum body with *karuta* patterns. Undated. W 11.7 cm, H 28.5 cm. From Asahi Shinbunsha, *Ōchō no asobi inishie no miyabina sekai*, p. 38, fig. 35.

Figure 14. Detail. *Women Playing a Card Game*. 17th c., Edo period. Ink, colors, gold, and silver on paper. Panel Painting. W 64.1 cm, H 91.3 cm. From Suntory Museum of Art, *Asobi no ryūgi*, p. 134, fig. 67.

reate European designs as closely as possible (which can be seen in figures 10 and 11, and designs from Portuguese playing cards of the mid-seventeenth century presented in figure 12). Because these occidental designs were uncommon to Japanese viewers at the time, some features were altered in the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. For instance, compared to figure 12, the cup suit-marks of the *Tenshō karuta* shown in figures 10 and 11 were depicted upside down. The cup icon was probably misinterpreted as a *kinchaku* 巾着 pouch instead of a goblet. Nevertheless, the exotic and geometric shapes and suit-marks of the batons, swords, cups, and coins in *karuta* from Europe were favored by designers and patrons seeking to capitalize on the popularity of exotic tastes, such as in a lacquered drum decorated with *karuta* patterns in gold (figure 13). Images of stylized card designs of batons, coins, and cups that embellish the drum serve to add a sense of exoticism, for these items and their designs were not commonly seen in Japan.

Karuta playing cards appeared in paintings as symbols of *Nanban* exoticism and wealth, such as in *Yūraku zu* 遊楽図 ("pictures of amusements") paintings,

which illustrate scenes of courtesans and military-class men at play. *Karuta bijin zu* カルタ美人図 (Beauties Playing Cards) depicts such a *karuta*-playing scene in the foreground, while a gold and lacquered pedestal, bearing a paulownia crest design and topped with a Western clock, is visible in the background (figure 14). The woman on the left wears a gold *kakemamori* 懸守 amulet that may allude to the rosary necklace fashionable at the time, as seen in another contemporaneous painting, the *Matsura Byōbu*.[20] Such exotic and fashionable items appeared in paintings and crafts during the early seventeenth century as Christianity proliferated before being banned in 1613. The presence of the crest suggests the patron of the painting was a member of the warrior and aristocratic classes who would have had access to imported goods with relative ease. During this period, these social classes perceived *karuta* playing cards and their designs as iconic within the realm of art, which symbolized a prosperous and lavish lifestyle.

In the eighteenth century, *karuta* sets became signifiers of popular culture and everyday entertainment due to the increasing prevalence of card games. As the popularity of playing cards grew in both elevated and mundane social circles, stores in the Kyoto and Edo regions became the go-to places for affordable playing cards.[21] And as the publishing business developed, playing cards with more simplified designs began to appear.

Simplification and abstraction in *karuta* designs took place alongside changes in the reading and meaning-making of these images. Eighteenth-century literature elevated *karuta* from a simple story-telling prop in the background to a foregrounded storyteller in and of itself. That is, *karuta* started to function as a narrative method in both artworks and literature and as an educational tool to inform and convey moral values. The short illustrated fiction *Sakiwake ron* 咲分論 (Theories on Variegated Flowering, ca. 1778–1780) by Chikusō 竹窓 (d.u.) transforms *karuta* figures into active narrators in the story. The card of the knight, appearing just as he does in early Tenshō cards but equipped with Japanese armor, takes shape as a spirit rising from a smoking stove after a geisha has burned playing cards for her jealousy of *karuta*'s popularity that took her patrons away (figure 15). The knight's posture seems to have become a convention in *karuta* design. A similar posture can be seen in later cards such as an early Meiji-period card of the knight of cups, on which the knight is mounted on a horse, facing left, and delineated with simple outlines (figure 16). In Chikusō's story, the *karuta* spirit lectures the geisha about the "righteousness of playing cards" after the geisha mutters about the popularity of *karuta* games taking her business away. Furthermore, as indicated in the title *sakiwake* ("variegated flowering"), the spirit persuades

Figure 15. Chikusō. Illustrations, ca. 1778–1780. Hand-colored woodblock-print. From *Sakiwake ron*, 3r and 3v.

Figure 16. Design of the knight of cups (or eleven of cups) from a *Kurofuda* key block print. 19th c., early Meiji period. Hanamaki, Iwate. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission.

20 Naruse, "Kokuhō *Matsura Byōbu*," pp. 16–17 and Oda, "*Matsura Byōbu* no ishō zugara," pp. 23–24. Two women in the *Matsura Byōbu* are identically positioned to those in figure 14 while a standing figure, left screen, wore a necklace that appears to be a rosary necklace that was later "erased" (Naruse). Both authors note that motifs like rosary necklaces and *karuta* reflect a fashionable early-Edo-period trend.

21 The public presence of playing cards is elucidated by works such as the 1678 guidebook *Kyō-suzume ato-oi* 京雀跡追, which provides street and store information for Kyoto, including playing card shops. Ebashi, *Karuta*, p. 102.

Figure 17. Kitao Masanobu [Santō Kyōden]. Illustration. 1778. Monochrome woodblock-printed book. From *Kaichō riyaku no mekuriai*, in Santō Kyōden Zenshū Henshū Iinkai, *Santō Kyōden zenshū* 1, p. 18.

Figure 18. Tairaku. Maid of batons from a colored replica of *karuta*, ca. 1769–1770. From *Uchū tsurezuregusa*. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission.

the geisha that *karuta* shall coexist and flourish with her business, offering this lesson in a homily full of humor and wit. Here, the *karuta* figure is personified not as a European knight but as a "general in armor riding on a blue horse" and described in a manner comprehensible to Japanese readers.[22] This description suggests that, by the mid-Edo period, figures in *Tenshō karuta* patterns were no longer perceived as exotic European figures but as localized icons associated with subjects that were much more familiar to Japanese writers, readers, and *karuta* players.

Images of *karuta* were thus reassigned meanings that reflected a new cultural context and were consumed by a new group of readers and players who were not interested in or did not have knowledge of the exotic European *karuta* owned by members of the prominent classes in the early Edo period. Based on these reinterpretations, popular writers and artists assigned new meanings to *karuta* images and created works out of this new gaming context, examples of which include the aforementioned *Sakiwake ron* and many works by the *karuta* enthusiast Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816), as we shall see below. A prolific writer and artist, Kyōden especially enjoyed playing *karuta* and published several short stories on *karuta* and the *mekuri karuta* game popular in Edo.[23] He employed modes of visual depiction and story-telling comparable to those used in *Sakiwake ron* in an early work, a short, illustrated novel titled *Ohana Hanshichi Kaichō riyaku no mekuriai* お花半七開帳利益札遊合 (Ohana and Hanshichi's Mekuri Games with Public Opening and Blessings) published in 1778 and pictured in figure 17. Kyōden's illustration features a composition similar to *Sakiwake ron*'s in order to depict the illusion created from the burning playing cards, and "the spirit of *karuta*" gives a similar speech on the "righteousness of playing cards," alluding to specific slang expressions used in the *mekuri karuta* game.[24]

Karuta figures in Kyōden's stories are detached from their original context and any actual pictorial association with European figures; instead, they are localized via the application of recognizable imagery, and transformed into comparable icons more familiar to mid-Edo period readers. This is clear from another *karuta*-themed work by Kyōden, *Muda karuta* 寓骨牌 (1787), "A Futile Allegory of *Karuta*," or literally, "Useless *Karuta*," which tells the story of personified *karuta* and their family struggles and alludes to *karuta* slang

22 *Kacchū o taishi aoki uma ni uchinori tari taishō* 甲冑を帯し青き馬に打乗たり大将; Chikusō, *Sakiwake ron*, 8r. Image from the National Diet Library, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8929431; publication date from Mizuno, *Sharebon taisei* 10, p. 385. A reviewer kindly points out that the word *ao*, "blue" or "green" in Japanese, also refers to the color of grey in horses.

23 Ebashi, "Santō Kyōden wa 'mekuri karuta' zuki." *Mekuri karuta* was a type of trick-taking *karuta* game that used the Portuguese suit-marked *karuta*, popular in Edo in the eighteenth century. As demonstrated in Kyōden's works in this paper, the word *mekuri* めくり became a metonym of the *Tenshō karuta*-type of playing cards in Edo in the mid- to late-eighteenth century.

24 This work might have been an appropriation based on *Sakiwake ron*, as pointed out by Mizuno Minoru, cited in "Ohana Hanshichi Kaichō riyaku mekuriai," in Santō Kyōden Zenshū Henshū Iinkai, *Santō Kyōden zenshū* 1, pp. 512–13.

Figure 19. Mid-Edo period maid court card *karuta* pattern based on partial depictions in Tairaku, *Uchū tsurezuregusa*, ca. 1769–1770. Woodblock print on paper, uncut sheet. Recreated by Nihon Karuta-kan, *Edo mekuri karuta shiryō-shū*, 1975. Image edited by the author.

terms and Kabuki actors who were popular at the time.[25] In Kyōden's time, names were assigned to cards based on arbitrary visual associations, instead of calling each *karuta* figure or suit-mark by their original Portuguese names or any corresponding names in Japanese.[26] For instance, the so-called maid of batons (ten of batons) was called the "Shakyamuni of ten" (*shaka-jū* 釈迦十), perhaps because of the halo-like design surrounding the figure's head and its high-scoring function in a game (figure 18). The maid cards in general were understood as "monk" (*bōzu* 坊主 or *sōgyō* 僧形) figures by players due to their seemingly bald heads and long robes (figure 19).[27] In *Muda karuta*, the *sudare-jū* すだれ十, the maid of swords, turns into a monk dressed in a robe with a crest of ⊕, a circled *kanji* ten, while at the same time this personification very much resembles the maid of batons in terms of its "hairstyle" (figures 18 and 20).[28] Kyōden's personification of the maid figure completely erases its original signified; instead, he renders the figure as a monk, the closest representation that a mid-Edo-period Japanese player perhaps could have thought of in association with the maid image in *karuta*.

Figure 20. Santō Kyōden. The votive plate behind the "monk" resembles coins of two in a *mekuri karuta* deck. 1787. Monochrome woodblock-printed book. From Santō Kyōden, *Muda karuta* 3, 3v.

Likewise, Kyōden further utilized *karuta* and their visually appealing abstract designs in his later works. Perceiving *karuta* images outside their original context, Kyōden situated them into his own cultural context and borrowed popular terms from his fellow *karuta* players to assign new meanings to their abstract images. Kyōden's 1789 *Seirō wadan shinzō zui* 青楼和談新造図彙 (New Interpretations on Pleasure Quarter Vocabularies) is a parody of contemporary encyclopedias and educational books, dividing terms and expressions into several categories. The book features many idioms used in the pleasure quarters, accompanied by Kyōden's whimsical illustrations of everyday objects as visual puns, rendered in the *mitate* 見立 (parody) style to resemble other objects.

In *Seirō wadan shinzō zui*, Kyōden includes two examples of *mekuri karuta*, a popular *karuta* game in Edo in his time, most notably the king of batons and the two of swords which were considered to be the high-scoring cards in a game (figures 21 and 22).[29] He assigns the two cards new names and depicts them with highly abstract designs that by no means resemble the figurative images of their early *Tenshō karuta* prototypes. Instead, these abstract images are quite reminiscent of the artistic depictions found in the aforementioned *Uchū tsure-*

25 Satō, *Edo mekuri karuta*, p. 92. The full title of this work, *Hyakumon nishu muda karuta* 百文二朱寓骨牌, is a pun on *Hyakunin-isshu uta karuta* 百人一首歌かるた. The *hashiradai* 柱題 (the centered title between each page, just above the page number) reads *agurayama* あぐら山, in which *agura* refers to cross-legged sitting when one plays *mekuri karuta*, and *agurayama* is another pun on *Ogurayama* 小倉山 of the *Ogurayama Hyakunin-isshu* 小倉山百人一首. The personification of *karuta* was adopted in popular literature prior to Kyōden's work, in a 1783 illustrated short story, *Heta no kuse naga monogatari* 下手癖永物語 (A Clumsy-ish Long Tale), written by an author with a witty pseudonym, Ikuji Monai 井久治茂内, which is a pun on the phrase *ikuji mo nai* 意気地もない, or "coward."

26 A list of these *karuta*-related terms can be found in Satō, *Edo mekuri karuta,* pp. 13–18.

27 Ibid., p. 15.

28 The maid of swords is called *sudare-jū* in Tairaku's guidebook, *Uchū tsurezuregusa* (1769–1770); see also Satō, *Edo mekuri karuta,* p. 17.

29 A few games were played using the Portuguese-patterned *karuta* at the time, including *mekuri karuta* and *yomi karuta* games. Satō's *Edo mekuri karuta* is an early attempt to comprehensively categorize the many different games. However, because this article focuses on the change in designs and people's perceptions of *karuta*, I will avoid differentiating the type of games that involve specific rules and terms. For more on categorization of eighteenth-century *karuta* games that used *Tenshō karuta*-type playing cards, see Satō, *Edo mekuri karuta,* pp. 18–39, and Ebashi, *Karuta*, pp. 180–93.

Figure 21. Santō Kyōden. A simplified depiction of the card of the two of swords. 1789. Monochrome woodblock-printed book. From *Seirō wadan shinzō zui*, 21r.

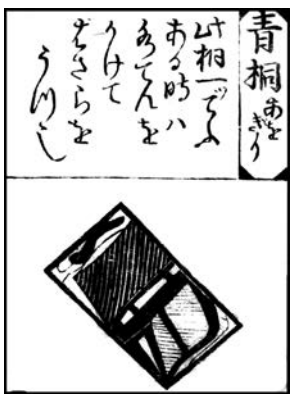

Figure 22. Santō Kyōden. A simplified depiction of the card of the king (or twelve) of batons. 1789. Monochrome woodblock-printed book. From *Seirō wadan shinzō zui*, 23v.

Figure 23. Tairaku. Artistic depictions of two of swords (left) and the king of batons (right) in *mekuri karuta*, ca. 1769–1770. Uncut sheet. From *Uchū tsurezuregusa*, in Nihon Karuta-kan, *Edo mekuri karuta shiryō-shū*, appendix. Image edited by the author.

zuregusa and the designs in Thunberg's *karuta* deck (see figure 5 compared to figure 23). In these examples, designs are simplified into thin and straight lines for the two of swords and calligraphic strokes with inked geometric forms for the king of batons. The king of batons is named *aogiri* 青桐, literally "blue paulownia" or "Chinese parasol tree," while the two of swords is called *ebi* 海老, "shrimp," a name taken from the abstract figure located above the crossing swords (figures 21 and 23). Moreover, the two cards are not situated in the context of playing cards but rather taxonomized as if they are what the new names "Chinese parasol tree" and "shrimp" indicate: the *aogiri* explanation appears in the category of *Sōmoku* 草木 ("grass and trees"), whereas the *ebi* explanation is found in the *Gyochū* 魚虫 ("fish and insects") section, along with many other visual puns in association with figures and objects from the context of the pleasure quarters. While designs in *karuta* became simpler and more abstract, the names of these playing cards became more opaque and less related to their initial forms.

The curious names of these two cards would have made little sense if compared to the earlier illustrative *Tenshō karuta*, for they have nothing to do with suit-marks or figures. These new terms were the product of out-of-context reinterpretations by players based on simplified *karuta* forms. Understanding the new *karuta* names and their intended puns requires knowledge of Kabuki trends and terms used in *mekuri karuta* popular at the time. The two of swords, now renamed *ebi*, is adorned with a shrimp-like figure above the highly simplified crossing swords (figure 21). But in addition to this apparent visual clue, this new name also contains a pun rooted in its contemporary Kabuki culture and high-scoring card combinations in the *mekuri karuta* game. Above the image, Kyōden explains the term *ebi* while referring to other cards with their localized names: "Now you have the *aza-pin* あざぴん ('the bruised ace') of batons, [and with this *ebi* 'shrimp' two of swords,] plus an *ao-no-jū* 青の十 ('the blue ten') of batons (maid of batons), you've got to get a secret strategic move."[30] This quote alludes to a high-scoring combination called *ebizō* 海老蔵 consisting of the ace of batons, two of swords, and ten of batons, referring to the Kabuki stage name Ichikawa Ebizō 市川海老蔵 and alluding to the abstract shrimp-like figure in the two of swords.[31]

Consequently, the names of *karuta* slang expressions do not refer to suit-marks, but rather a visual resemblance and localized puns associated with card games familiar to their contemporary players. The ace of batons, or the dragon of batons, is called *aza-pin* ("bruised ace") for its peculiar appearance that looks more like a blotch of ink than a dragon carrying a baton (e.g., the first card on the top left in the illustrated *yomi*

30 *Pin wa agatteiru shi kore kara jū o mekurō to iu muhonda* ぴんは上ツているし是から十をめくらふといふむほんだ (ピンは上がっているし、これから十をめくろうという謀反だ); Kyōden, *Seirō wadan shinzō zui*, 21r.

31 Satō, *Edo mekuri karuta*, pp. 30, 64; Ebashi, "Santō Kyōden wa 'mekuri karuta' zuki."

karuta deck, figure 6).[32] As for *ao-no-jū* ("the blue ten"), or ten of batons or maid of batons, the card is so named for its color: the baton suits were stencil-colored or printed in blue/indigo (*ao* 青) rather than in the red (*aka* 赤) used for the sword suit, which can be seen in the *karuta* deck shown in figure 3. As for the other recontextualized *aogiri* ("Chinese parasol tree") card, or the king or twelve of batons, this card was initially called *kiri*, allegedly based on the Portuguese word *cruz*, "cross," which also referred to "the last card," but the pronunciation of *kiri* can also mean "paulownia."[33] Above the illustration of a highly abstract card of the king of batons, Kyōden explains regarding *aogiri* that "with this 'paulownia,' you get a quick, wild win," because the king of batons is said to be the highest-scoring card in a few different *karuta* games.[34] Furthermore, since the baton suits were colored in blue, the king of batons card was named *aogiri*, literally "blue *kiri*," "the blue paulownia," or Chinese parasol tree. In general, the *ebi* and *aogiri* cards quoted in Kyōden's *Seirō wadan shinzō zui* lack a direct reference to their suit-marks of swords or batons or any direct association with their *Tenshō karuta* prototype; instead, these cards are renamed after their simplified appearances and colors, localized with new rules and functions of cards in their contemporary *karuta* games.

By making connections between the illustrations and terms that appear in different publications, we see a coherent usage of *karuta* images as shared knowledge in the popular cultural references utilized by *karuta*-loving writers like Kyōden in the mid-Edo period. The original meanings and cultural significance of these once-exotic *karuta* images did not matter to Kyōden or his contemporaries. Rather, the simplification and abstraction of *karuta* designs gave viewers and players new ways of interpreting images with meanings that were more comprehensible to their cultural context in the eighteenth century.

This shared knowledge and socially agreed-upon interpretation of *karuta* images led to the further symbolization of *karuta* as a recognized icon reflective of social phenomena. Kyōden's readers could understand his sense of humor and sarcasm towards their society via his artistic renderings of *karuta*. A prime example can be found in Kyōden's 1790 *Komon gawa* 小紋雅話 (Elegant Chats on Fabric Designs). The work is a compilation of his parodied pattern designs. Kyōden again uses the *mitate* method to evoke a tongue-in-cheek sense of humor in his readers with regard to popular cultural phenomena and social issues. In *Komon gawa*, the fanning pattern called *mekuri kasane* めくりかさね ("layered *mekuri* playing cards") presents a repetitive pattern of a hand holding seven black cards (figure 24). The title and the black cards would immediately remind readers of *karuta* games, as these cards are backed with black wrapping paper. The inscription next to the illustration contextualizes the pattern within a gambling scene: "Ah, I'm not feeling it. I shall switch my seat [to get better luck]!"[35] At the same time, Kyōden had to distance himself from any hint of gambling or *karuta*-related messages. By the time this work was produced, the ongoing Kansei Reforms of the late eighteenth cen-

Figure 24. Santō Kyōden. 1790. Patterns of hands holding *mekuri karuta* playing cards. From *Komon gawa*, 3v.

32 *Pin* allegedly comes from the Portuguese word *pinta*, meaning "dot." NHK, *Bi no tsubo*, p. 43; Satō, *Edo mekuri karuta*, p. 15.

33 NHK, *Bi no tsubo,* p. 43. According to Satō, *kiri* also refers to the Kabuki term *kiri no maku* 切りの幕 (or *kirimaku* 切り幕), "the final scene." Satō, *Edo mekuri karuta,* p. 16.

34 *Kono kiri icchō aru toki wa mizuten o kakete basara o utsu nari* 此桐一ツてふある時ハ水てんをかけてばさらをうつ也 (この桐、一丁ある時は不見転をかけて、ばさらを打つなり); Kyōden, *Seirō wadan shinzō zui*, 23v. Ebashi, "Santō Kyōden wa 'mekuri karuta' zuki"; and Ebashi, *Karuta*, p. 197.

35 *Aa tsukanu tsukanu zagae demo shite miyō* あゝつかぬ＼／ざがへでもしてみやう (ああ、つかぬ、つかぬ、座替えでもしてみよう); Kyōden, *Komon gawa*, 3v.

tury had strengthened gambling regulations.[36] In order to dissociate himself from any suspicious content related to *karuta* gambling, Kyōden adds another inscription above the illustration: "Now this sort of thing has completely ceased to exist."[37] Such a deliberate act of dissociation would likely have inspired bitter laughter from his readers and fellow players, whose favorite pastime had been taken away by the government, and who now had to conduct their gambling and card games surreptitiously.

Authors like Kyōden and their popular works indicate that *karuta* had become shared knowledge among creators, readers, and players by the late eighteenth century in Edo. In *Komon gawa*, even the simplified designs of *karuta* are not presented. Instead, the cards are alluded to through the visual hints of black cards and a hand holding them. This simple visual association was made and understood by his readers, who were probably also *karuta* players just like Kyōden. In this way, the whimsical *karuta* design suggests the popularity of the *mekuri karuta* game at the time, as well as the altered meaning of *karuta*, assigned by the everyday people of the mid-Edo period.

Against a backdrop of advanced printing technology and flourishing publishing industries in the Kyoto and Edo regions, *karuta* transformed from an exotic good to a common pastime in the mid-Edo period, frequently appearing as a subject of popular literature in Edo. *Karuta* was thus both an actual game that reflected mid-Edo-period leisure activities and a popular cultural icon rendered through works of literature that served to reveal the trends and tastes of the populace. *Tenshō karuta* as a whole was standardized and reinterpreted in the mid-Edo period. It became a part of the "library of public information," legitimating contemporary experiences and transforming into cultural signifiers understood by Edo audiences who were knowledgeable about the *karuta* games at the time.[38]

Figure 25. Tachibana Minkō. Illustrations. 1784. Polychrome woodblock-printed book. From *Iroe shokunin burui* 2, 8v and 9r.

Efficient Production, Localization, and Continuation of *Karuta*

Although reinterpretations of *karuta* playing cards, including new names and meanings, might only have been comprehensible to their contemporary creators and audiences, the localized images continued to proliferate as the production was more efficient and economical with less elaborate designs in playing cards. The designs remained similar after the Edo period. New games carried on these designs and developed in regional areas, as seen in a variation of modern playing cards of the *Tenshō karuta*-type produced as late as the 1950s by companies like Ōishi Tengudō 大石天狗堂 and Yamauchi Nintendō 山内任天堂 (figures 1 and 2). In these designs, the expressive calligraphic lines and highly contrastive red and black color blocks became even more prominent, omitting any visible resemblance to early European designs.

From the perspective of meaning-making in signs, the illustrative quality of Portuguese-patterned *karuta* was lost. The meaning behind the illustrative images did not signify much for Japanese designers and players who operated within a cultural context without connection to the cards' European origin. And yet, from the perspective of economic production, this process of simplification benefited *karuta* makers as they could omit the complicated illustrations that mattered little to their users. Like the reinterpretations of *karuta* seen in

36 The Kansei Reforms regulated excessive consumption in many aspects of Japanese life such as woodblock prints and gambling games. See Ebashi, "Santō Kyōden wa 'mekuri karuta' zuki."

37 *Kono kire ima wa taete issai nashi* 此のきれ今ハたへて一切なし (このきれ、今は絶えて一切なし); Kyōden, *Komon gawa*, 3v.

38 Mary Elizabeth Berry uses the term "library of public information" in a chapter examining materials from the seventeenth century. I believe this concept can also be applied to the even more diverse literature and the many cross-referencing subjects of mid- to late-eighteenth-century Japan. Berry, *Japan in Print*, pp. 13–53. A reviewer kindly suggests that printed guides on rules of *karuta* games from the time might help better demonstrate the circulation of *karuta*-related knowledge in the eighteenth century. However, the only evidence that I am aware of is the aforementioned *Uchū tsurezuregusa*, but as a private publication, its distribution and circulation were not clearly documented.

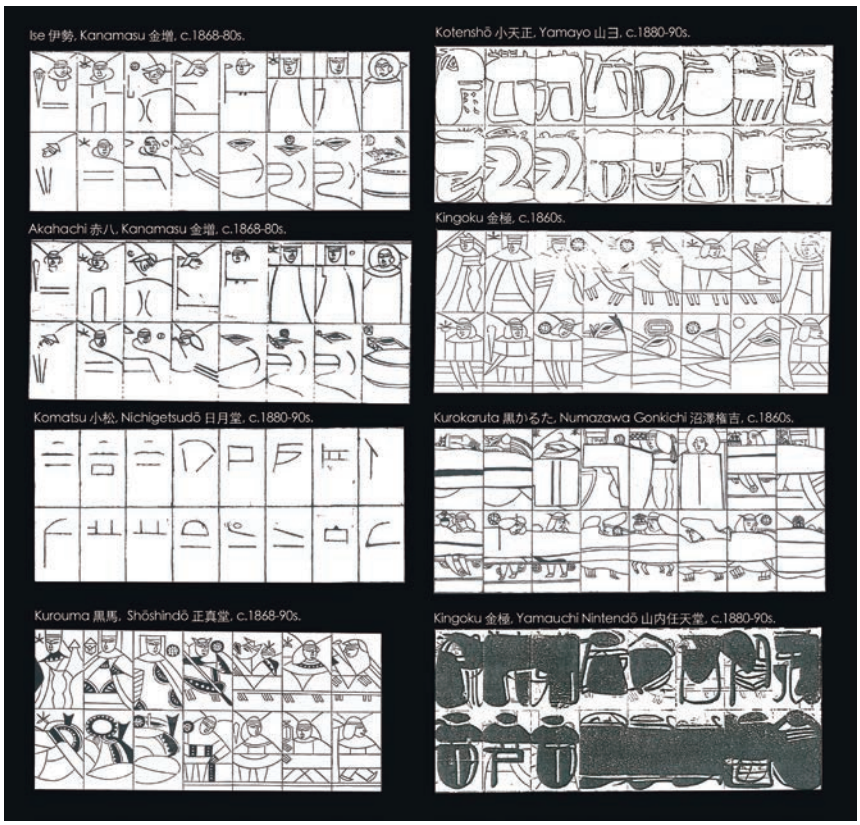

Figure 26. Comparisons between the Portuguese-patterned, four-suited *karuta* dragon-ace and court-card linework designs in Meiji-period key block prints. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission. Image edited by the author.

mid-Edo-period illustrated literature, the production of *karuta* images was conventionalized according to Japanese woodblock-printing procedures. *Karuta* makers imitated the compositions of earlier *Tenshō karuta* to create a vaguely similar visual effect. Simplification and abstraction helped to accelerate the carving, coloring, and printing process so that the manufacturers could produce and circulate as many playing cards as possible. A 1784 encyclopedia, *Iroe shokunin burui* 彩画職人部類 (Colored Illustrations of Various Artisans), presents an artistic rendering of a pair of *karuta* makers at work (figure 25). The illustration shows an older maker casually hand-coloring an uncut key-block printed sheet of *karuta*, looking perhaps a bit bored with his work. The *karuta* designs under his brush seem rather sketchy. It is fairly clear that the illustrator aimed not to present an exact representation of *karuta* but to use red and black crossings and swirling lines to suggest abstract *karuta* images.

The inscription above the illustration is based on texts in the *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia) of 1713,[39] but it provides vague and inaccurate contextual information, suggesting the writer's unfamiliarity with the origin of the Portuguese-patterned *karuta*.[40] At the same time, the inscription suggests how Japanese people in the mid-Edo period interpreted European *karuta* playing cards: according to localized conceptual frameworks. For instance, it notes that *karuta* came from the Dutch but not that the suit-mark names are homophones for Portuguese words using Japanese characters.[41] The inscription assigns the dragon-ace and court cards with

39 Terajima, *Wakan sansai zue*.
40 Ebashi, *Karuta*, pp. 178–79.
41 Homophone characters for Portugese suit-mark names are approximate and include: batons/sticks, *pau* in Portuguese, *pau/hau* 巴宇 in the inscription; swords are *espada*, homonymized as *isu* 伊須; coins are *ouro*, in Japanese, *oru* 於留; and cups are

Figure 27. Multitiered lacquer box made of *Tenshō karuta* woodblocks. Woodblocks from Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573–1603), box from late 16th–17th c., wood and lacquer. W 14.3 cm, L 14.3 cm, H 20.5 cm. Collection of Kobe City Museum, used with permission.

localized terms: the dragon becomes the "insect/worm" (*mushi* 虫), the maid becomes the "monk" (*sōgyō*), and the king becomes the "warrior" (*bushō* 武将). These are references that also appeared in the works of popular literature like *Sakiwake ron* and *Muda karuta* discussed in the previous section. This misinformation is noteworthy. It suggests that although *karuta* games were popular among the public and became a kind of shared knowledge, the origins of *Tenshō karuta*-type playing cards became less accessible to makers, writers, readers, and players. Instead, Japanese producers and consumers localized the once exotic import by assigning new names and interpretations to *karuta* designs.

As seen in the illustrations for *Uchū tsurezuregusa* and Thunberg's *karuta* deck, the *Tenshō karuta*-type of design and mode of production was established by at least the mid-eighteenth century (figures 5 and 6). Graphic abstraction continued into the production of modern *karuta* decks, evidenced by the radically simplified linework found in key-block (black line) printed sheets from the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912) (figure 26). *Karuta* figures became extremely simplified, omitting even the slightest detail and only maintaining a rough composition to differentiate one from

Figure 28. *Tenshō karuta* key block prints of court-card and dragon-ace linework designs. Undated, ink on paper. Dimension unknown. Collection of Japan Playing Card Museum, used with permission. Image edited by the author.

another. This degree of simplification is striking when compared to the more elaborate figures in *Tenshō karuta* woodblocks from the Azuchi-Momoyama period. A fascinating example of the latter is seen in figure 27: a multitiered lacquer box constructed during the Edo period of finely carved *Tenshō karuta* key blocks from the Azuchi-Momoyama period. The intricate patterns of the *Tenshō karuta* carved on the top tier of the box contrast strongly with those of the later Meiji period prints, as shown in a later key-block print produced with the wooden key blocks (figure 28). We note, however, that the figuration of images may not have been a significant

copo, roughly transliterated as *koppu* 骨扶. See Ebashi, *Karuta*, p. 10.

factor in the actual production of games, as makers and players did not necessarily need to understand the figures to produce and play with *karuta*.

Simplified designs not only increased the efficiency of visual communication but also the pace at which manufacturers could produce cards. That is, simplified and abstract designs enabled easier carving and faster coloring by woodblock printing or stenciling. The increasing demand for *karuta* and the disconnection with the images' original Western context eventually motivated producers to continue the trend toward simplification and abstraction in the designs. In this way, the lack of concern for the playing cards' original context and the recognition of the visual and economic efficiency of simplified designs encouraged the reassignment and localization of meanings. The domestication of the once-exotic *Tenshō karuta* contributed to the flourishing of *karuta*-related artistic depictions in popular literature within the cultural context of the Edo period.

Localization of the *Tenshō karuta*-type during the mid-Edo period continued into the modern era due to the nature of card games. As a developed genre of card games used by gamblers over the course of decades, the Portuguese-patterned *karuta* had a stabilized design. By the end of the Edo period, makers had followed the design and developed them into regional-patterned variations with further simplified and abstract images. *Karuta* designs eventually settled, as playing card designs usually remain unchanged once they gain wide recognition and use in games and gambling.[42] This developmental process explains the drastic difference between early *Tenshō karuta* sets and later *karuta* designs, as well as the similarity in images between the many regional variations as seen in figures 1 and 2. The most significant difference between regional variants was the use of bold or thin linework, which resulted from the individual manufacturer's choice of coloring method: either stencil-coloring, which led to bolder lines and blotchy color blocks, or hand-coloring, which featured thinner lines and a calligraphic touch. Ultimately, in sets produced after the advent of the twentieth century, both the bold, blotchy effect and the thin, calligraphic lines were reproduced through more efficient woodblock printing or the use of a more direct silkscreen or digital printing method, as seen in modern *karuta* decks.[43]

Conclusion

Tenshō karuta designs present an interesting case of unintentional simplification and abstraction. *Karuta* images transformed from elaborate illustrative forms into more concise pictorial signs designed for efficient visual communication and material reproduction in artistic depictions and playing cards, detaching from their European origin but continuing as a localized cultural symbol with iconographical significance. Travelers brought Portuguese-patterned *karuta* images to Japan in the Tenshō period, and these playing cards became a symbol of exoticism for the upper levels of society. Their cultural value is demonstrated through the ways in which the warrior and aristocratic classes and some wealthy members of the merchant class collected works of fine art and assorted art objects adorned with *Tenshō karuta* card designs. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *karuta* became popular among commoners as a form of everyday entertainment. Reinterpretations of *Tenshō karuta*-type playing cards, which involved new names and localized meanings to reflect their new Japanese cultural and historical circumstances, developed and were disseminated via works of popular literature. Following the increasing demand for production and circulation of playing cards, *karuta* designs gradually developed non-representational, simplified, and abstract forms. Once the abstraction of these designs was accepted as convention by people engaged in playing *karuta* games and gambling, the images stabilized and continued to be reproduced into the modern era.

The abstraction of images that began in the mid-Edo period remained visible in modern decks, with some still in the market for collectors today. However, just as mid-Edo-period creators and players lacked knowledge of Portuguese playing cards, collectors and

42 Yamaguchi Kichirōbē, *Unsun karuta*, p. 88, cited in Ebashi, *Hanafuda*, pp. 81–82. Ebashi has articulated most of the methodologies and literature reviews related to *karuta* studies in his work on *Hanafuda*.

43 Ōishi Tengudō (*karuta* maker), personal communication, Kyoto, June 2019. As *Tenshō karuta*-type playing cards and their regional variations have become less popular and almost extinct today, the store has only been producing some regional-patterned *karuta* like *Sakuragawa* 桜川 through digital printing for collectors and players interested in the *Tenshō karuta*-type games, and the origin and rules of specific patterns have become vague and hard to trace.

designers today are puzzled and fascinated by the unusual patterns in *Tenshō karuta* and their regional variations. The rediscovery of value in *Tenshō karuta*-type playing cards has continued to generate more potential for *karuta* as a historical game today. In Japan, players and designers make efforts to reexamine the history of Portuguese-patterned *karuta* and their rules and to recover and replicate old designs, as seen in the modern-designed *Komatsu* 小松 regional pattern by Sōten Shisondō 雙天至尊堂, depicted in figures 1 and 2 (the bottom image in the thin pattern *karuta* group). At the same time, European and American designers and collectors are mesmerized by the dynamic and expressive designs of these *karuta*.[44] Nonetheless, overseas collectors continue to be challenged by the inaccessibility of information on the history and rules of Portuguese-patterned *karuta* due to a lack of English scholarship in this field. Thanks to strengthened digital platforms on the internet, however, designers, collectors, and scholars today can collaborate and form networks to study *karuta* images and games, just like the interdisciplinary study of playing cards proceeded in the 1980s with Japanese and European collectors working together to discover the history and regional distribution of European playing cards in Japan.[45]

This article has lightly traced the development of the Portuguese-patterned, four-suited *Tenshō karuta*-type of playing cards in terms of their simplification, abstraction, and localization, mainly focusing on the visual design aspect of playing cards. I have drawn upon a broad range of materials from the sixteenth century to the mid-twentieth century in order to overcome, at least in part, the limited scope and dearth of evidence such as playing card decks unavailable due to the ephemeral nature of their paper-based material. There is still so much more for historians of *karuta* to discover. Further research is required to better understand how the economical material of European playing cards influenced traditional Japanese matching games such as *Uta-awase karuta* poem-matching games and *Iroha karuta* proverb-matching games, which are still played today in classrooms and at family gatherings. In addition, there is room for more research on the Portuguese-patterned *karuta* deck developed into many other different kinds of *Tenshō karuta*-type games outside the scope of this paper, such as the expanded seventy-five card *Unsun karuta* deck with additional suit-marks and figures of Japanese deities, as well as *Hanafuda* decks that also contain forty-eight cards with rules resembling the *Tenshō karuta*-type card games. The large *karuta* family and its rich history awaits further exploration.

To conclude this journey through the history of *Tenshō karuta*, I would like to offer an inspiring quote from collector and researcher Ebashi Takashi, who used a poetic metaphor to describe *karuta* playing cards and their function in the study of history:

> I think, as historians, we live in a virtual historical world that goes beyond this reality. Sometimes when I immerse myself in the history of *karuta*, I suddenly find myself entering a world where I can listen to Edo-period *karuta* makers boasting, where I get invited to Kyōden's *mekuri karuta* games, and where I challenge and argue with Meiji- and Showa-era collectors and researchers while reading newspapers in their archives. I hope that, through studying and handling the Edo-period *karuta*, you will also sense the warmth and inherit the memory of that era. *Karuta* is a pass for historians to travel beyond time and space.[46]

Through the visual and material study of *karuta* images, these ephemeral but long-lived playing cards carry us back to the everyday life of the past and provide

44 English-speaking collectors, players, and designers have created a *karuta* group on the online community Discord to exchange information and find inspiration for designs and new card games. I would like to thank them for their help and information.

45 Many works related to *Mekuri karuta* were contributed by John Fairbairn to the *Journal of the International Playing Card Society* during the 1980s and early 1990s, but I am still unable to obtain any copies of his articles. A list of works by Fairbairn is included below; all journal numbers refer to the edition in the IPCS journal, cited from "Combined Index of IPCS Publications 1972–1997 (I–XXV)," The International Playing-Card Society. Last modified 18 August 1999. Accessed 29 August 2021. https://www.i-p-c-s.org/tpcindex.html.
Cheating with Japanese cards XVI/4/97–9; [De Poli] XII/3/100; Distribution of Japanese Mekuri cards XVI/3/87–9; Inside a Gambling den (*Akikazu*, trans. J. Fairbairn) XVI/4/99; 18th century cardmakers in Japan XV/2/35; Italian regional patterns 43/15; Japanese literature on Unsun cards XII/3/65–79; Jokers 43/27; Modern Korean cards—a Japanese perspective XX/2/68–72; Note on a missing link between Japan and Australia, XVI/2/54–6; Playing card terms in cribbage 43/27; Poems of Echigobana [Japanese flower cards] XIV/4/97–102; A card game played with Kurofuda, trans. from Ebashi Takashi.

46 Ebashi Takashi, personal email exchange with the author, 5 July 2019.

an entrypoint into current and future discussions of art, games, and the shifting yet always significant relationships between humans, images, and things.

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Book Collecting by a Literati Daimyo in Early Modern Japan, and the Exchange of Information: An Investigation into Catalogues of the Rakusaidō Collection in Hirado Domain

YOSHINORI IWASAKI
TRANSLATED BY KAZUHIRO MURAYAMA

Introduction

This article considers book collecting by the early modern literati daimyo Matsura Seizan 松浦静山 (1760–1841), and the library of the Matsura house of Hirado, known as Rakusaidō Bunko 楽歳堂文庫 (Rakusaidō Library). The matter has previously been addressed by Umeki Kōkichi 梅木幸吉 in a paper on the Saiki Bunko 佐伯文庫 (Bungo Saiki Mōri House Library),[1] and detailed research on Western books in the Rakusaidō has been carried out by Matsuda Kiyoshi 松田清.[2]

Seizan amassed most of the ten thousand books in the Rakusaidō during his lifetime, and this article examines the means by which he did so. It also considers his lending and borrowing, bibliographic networks, and the socioeconomic conditions that enabled him to complete such a huge undertaking. The hope is to contribute to a better understanding of the social significance of the collection, beyond issues of Seizan's personal tastes and preferences. Matsuda's outstanding scholarship introduced the Rakusaidō catalogues, arguing that they were crucial to understanding the social background and overall significance of the library. Indeed, he showed the high potential of library catalogues overall as data for historical research. This article builds on Matsuda's work to further consider Seizan and his library. We will discuss how the daimyo was able to acquire foreign books (Western and Chinese) via international contacts, a and his access to *kinsho* 禁書 (forbidden, or proscribed volumes). The Rakusaidō catalogues are incomparably richer than those of other daimyo holdings, and their information is far more revealing. It would be valuable to study them in their entirety, but that is impossible here. The present discussion is limited to items that can usefully be contrasted with works in other daimyo and literati collections. It is hoped that the exercise will allow identification of the characteristics of Seizan's collection, while remaining within manageable proportions.

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1 This is a revision and translation of an article published by the author, Iwasaki Yoshinori, 岩﨑義則 entitled "Daimyō zōsho no naka no kokusaikōryū: Hirado-han Rakusaidō no zōshomokuroku kara 大名蔵書の中の国際交流: 平戸藩楽歳堂の蔵書目録から—, previously published in *Kyūshū Daigaku jinbungaku nyūmon 1: Higashi Ajia no kōryū to hen'yō* 九州大学人文学入門 1: 東アジアの交流と変容 (2011), pp. 149–61.
Umeki, *Saiki bunko no kenkyū*.

2 Matsuda, *Yōgaku no shoshiteki kenkyū*.

Matsura Seizan

Matsura Seizan is well known as the author of the *zuihitsu* 随筆 (common-place book) *Kasshi yawa* 甲子夜話 (Night Talks From the Year of the Rat). He was a descendant of the Saga Genji 嵯峨源氏, and ninth generation daimyo of Hirado in the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1867). He held the honorary title Iki-no-kami 壱岐守 (Governor of Iki), while his given name was Kiyoshi 清. He took the name Seizan upon retirement, in Bunka 文化 3 (1806).[3] *Kasshi yawa* is a major work, running to fully 278 fascicles, that is, an original one hundred, followed by a sequel of another one hundred, and a third section of seventy-eight. Compiled over the last twenty years of Seizan's life, it began in Bunsei 文政 4 (1821), the Year of the Rat, on the eleventh day of the twelfth month, and ended with Seizan's death in Tenpō 天保 12 (1841).[4]

One year before Seizan's death, on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month of Tenpō 11 (1840), Tokugawa Nariaki 徳川斉昭 (1800–1860), daimyo of Mito 水戸, invited Seizan to his residence. Also present were Sanada Yukitsura 真田幸貫 (1791–1852), a high shogunal official and daimyo of Matsushiro 松代, and the highly-admired daimyo of Kurobane 黒羽, Ōzeki Masunari 大関増業 (1781–1845). All sat for a group portrait titled *San'yū zō* 三勇像 (Three Heroes; see figure 1). Confucian scholar Satō Issai 佐藤一斎 (1772–1859) inscribed the painting, noting how healthy Seizan looked, it being "amazing to see this eighty-year-old gentleman from Hirado in such robust condition."[5]

Seizan left a series of signal achievements as daimyo. One was opening a domain school, the Ishin-kan 維新館 (Hall of Renovation); another was preparing *oshioki chō* 御仕置帳 (lawbooks) for use by village, town, and coastal magistrates. He also won fame for literary pursuits, and despite his busy life between Hirado and Edo, Seizan found time to cultivate a love of books and reading. He was familiar with booksellers in various cities, from Nagasaki and Osaka to Kyoto and Edo.

In An'ei 安永 8 (1779), Seizan established the Rakusaidō as a hall within Hirado Castle to preserve the family's ancestral tablets and keep his growing library. His books were of diverse types—Japanese, Chinese, and Western, and he also had paintings, *takuhon* 拓本 (rubbings), and artefacts such as stones and ancient roof tiles. Seizan referred to, or quoted from, many of these in *Kasshi yawa*.

As well as books available on the open market, Seizan acquired rare items and secret works. He was willing to lend his possessions to significant institutions, one being the shogunal Confucian academy, the Shōhei-zaka Gakumonjo 昌平坂学問所 (Study Center at Shōhei-zaka), and to individuals, like the academy rector Hayashi Jussai 林述斎 (1768–1841), the polymath, patron, and advocate of scholarly and cultural exchange Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂 (1736–1802), and Satō Issai, who became head of the academy in Bunka 文化 2 (1805).

Seizan's son and successor, Matsura Hiromu 松浦熙 (1791–1876), tenth daimyo, retired to Hirado shortly before his father's death, and expanded both the collection and the library storage facilities. Hiromu took all Seizan's personal manuscripts and effects to Hirado, including his holograph of *Kasshi yawa* and *Keiko jutsuji* 敬孝述事 (Record of Filial Respect). The works accumulated by Seizan and Hiromu together form the basis of today's Matsura Shiryō Hakubutsukan 松浦史料博物館 (Matsura Historical Museum), though there have been losses and dispersals due to earthquakes and war.[6]

Rakusaidō Library

In the spring of Tenpō 11 (1840), Sadakata Tadatomo 貞方忠友 (n.d.) chronicled the foundation and development of the library in a work titled *Kongō ko gozōei no raiyu* 金剛庫御造営の来由 (Origins of the Foundation of the Kongō Storehouse). Tadatomo wrote of Seizan's passion for books in the following terms: "In An'ei 8 [1779], he erected a mausoleum which he named Rakusaidō, placing his ancestral tablets within, together with his books. Lord Seizan was a bibliophile and treasured rare and secret works. He spared no effort in amassing a wide collection, even buying foreign titles."[7]

3 Ujiie, *Tonosama to nezumikozō*, p. 29; Ujiie, *Yūyūjiteki: Rōkō*, p. 43.

4 Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 6, pp. 425–35 (commentary section, not part of the original text). The original of *Kasshi yawa* is housed in the collection of the Matsura Historical Museum. It is unpaginated and totals 278 volumes.

5 「為平戸老侯、齢八十、老驥伏櫪、可畏也.」

6 Zaidanhōjin Matsura Shiryō Hakubutsukan, *Toshorui mokuroku*; Zaidanhōjin Matsura Shiryō Hakubutsukan, *Jukirui mokuroku*. The museum website provides information in English and Japanese: http://www.matsura.or.jp/en/history/lords/

7 Matsura, *Kameoka zuihitsu*, pp. 17–19.

Figure 1. *San'yū zō*. The elderly Seizan, right. 1832. H. 89 cm, W. 88 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

Thus, Rakusaidō was the name given to the mausoleum of the Matsura ancestors and the book depository, erected in 1779. However, it soon became too small, and in Tenmei 天明 5 (1785), Seizan built a new facility, financed by Masutomi Masaaki 益富正昭 (n.d.), a wealthy whaler from Ikitsuki in the Hirado domain. This was also named Rakusaidō, but around Bunsei 11 (1828), that name was no longer being used, with the new facility commonly called Go-shomotsu gura 御書物蔵 (Lord's Book Storehouse). Later, in Tenpō 10 (1839), Hiromu completed two more depositories, naming them Tsuru Bunko 鶴文庫 (Crane Library), for books, and the Kongō Ko 金剛庫 (Diamond Storage), for other treasures. The Kongō Ko enclosed the old Rakusaidō inside it, which became solely a mausoleum.

Some sense of the scale of the Matsura Collection can be gained from a record dating to the eleventh day of the tenth month of Kansei 寛政 12 (1800), that is, fifteen years after Seizan's rebuilding. The document transcribes and catalogues the holdings under the title of *Rakusaidō shomoku kansu shirushi korearu goshomotsu ita* 楽歳堂書目巻数記シ有之御書物板 (Record Panels of the Many Books and Scrolls Stored in the Rakusaidō). The *Record* is housed in the Matsura Historical Museum and is made of paper glued to wooden panels. The work is in sections, with *Uchihen bo* 内篇簿 (inner volumes) listing 6,579 mainly Japanese books, *Sotohen bo* 外篇簿 (outer volumes) listing 9,299 mainly Chinese books, and *Bankoku bu bo* 蛮国部簿 ("barbarian" volumes) listing 148 mainly Western books. This makes

a total of 16,026 titles. The *Uchihen bo* section runs to ten fascicles, the *Sotohen bo* to four, and the *Bankoku bu* to two. Three more catalogues also exist: *Betsuroku bo* 別録簿 (separate volumes), *Furoku bo* 附録簿 (appendixes), and *Kajomoku bo* 家乗目簿 (family histories). Altogether, the six catalogues have twenty-four fascicles. These lists match a twenty-four-fascicle *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku* 平戸藩楽歳堂蔵書目録 (Catalogue of the Hirado Domain Rakusaidō; hereafter referred to as Catalogue A), of which only fifteen fascicles survive in the Matsura Historical Museum. The museum also has a set of twenty-three object lists grouped under the title *Shinzō shomoku* 新増書目 (Newly-Acquired Books; hereafter Catalogue B), recording Seizan's purchases in Edo, rather than Nagasaki or elsewhere. Catalogues A, B, and C have no modern reprints.

When compared with Catalogue A, Catalogue B appears to be incomplete, especially in its *Bankoku bu* section. Missing parts can be identified by comparison with a list of the Rakusaidō's Western books preserved in Kyoto University Library. A study of all these catalogues, alongside extant books, would reveal the full extent of Seizan's holdings, and constitute an important academic endeavor.[8]

Catalogue A has a preface dated to the seventh month of Tenmei 5 (1785), composed by eight Hirado retainers on behalf of Seizan. It states, "This is written in the hope that my descendants will know my intentions, even if the collection should be dispersed in the distant future." The purpose of compiling the catalogues was evidently to inform later generations of the collection, and the motives behind it.

Three seals were used to mark items. One reads *Hirado-han zōsho* 平戸藩蔵書 (Books Belonging to Hirado Domain), another *Rakusaidō toshoki* 楽歳堂図書記 (Record of Books in the Rakusaidō), and a third *Shison eihō* 子孫永宝 (Eternal Treasure for Descendants). The seals themselves are now in the Matsura Historical Museum. They were not used consistently, but the seal reading *Shison eihō* seems to have been used on the order of Seizan himself. Library seals had the practical function of confirming possession in the event of dispersal or removal.

Notes at the beginning of the catalogues explain their classificatory systems. *Sotohen* (i.e., mostly Chinese works) contains *keirui* 経類 (economics), *shirui* 史類 (history), *shirui* 子類 (pedagogy), and *shūrui* 集類 (anthologies). These classifications follow those used in the *Guo shi jing ji zhi* 國史經籍志 (Bibliographic Information and Index of Chinese Books). For further clarity, works were color-coded to distinguish original Chinese books from Japanese reprints, and later annotated versions: small rectangular slips (*ken* 圏) in red, blue, or purple were applied to demarcate the groups. The same system was used to group calligraphic works and paintings. Conversely, the classification *Uchihen* (mostly Japanese works) has twenty divisions, including one for Shinto rituals, and a note explains that this follows the *Ninnaji shojaku mokuroku* 仁和寺書籍目録 (Catalogue of Books in Ninnaji Temple).

Western Books

The Rakusaidō catalogues include Seizan's annotations on how he obtained each item, and his first impressions on examining them. Although fundamentally catalogues, these additions make the volumes fascinating to read, almost like narratives in their own right. Some examples will be provided below.

Of all the books in the Rakusaidō, the Western works have attracted the most scholarly attention. Seizan's purchases of these were assisted by families resident in Nagasaki and working as Dutch translators. These included the Motoki 本木, the Yokoyama 横山, the Shizuki 志筑, the Ishibashi 石橋, and the Inomata 猪股, all of whom were formerly retainers of Hirado domain, and had once lived there. The eminent translator and Dutch studies scholar Motoki Ryōei 本木良永 (1735–1794) was especially helpful to Seizan, as was the translator Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 (1724–1800).

An interesting example is that of an English-language work in the collection, *Anatomical Tables*. It is given the Japanese title *Kaitaiki* 解体記 (Anatomical Record), while its illustrations are identified as *Sanpu kaibō zu* 産婦解剖図 (Obstetric charts; figure 2). An annotation by Seizan beside the English title explains that the book was acquired in Nagasaki, and was translated by the shogunal doctor Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751–1809) and the translator of Dutch, Motoki Shōei 本木正栄 (1767–1822, son of Ryōei above), who undertook the project at the Asakusa Observatory in Edo. The note adds that the book was published in 1754, and when it arrived in Nagasaki, no Dutch translator was proficient

8 Matsuda, *Yōgaku no shoshiteki kenkyū*.

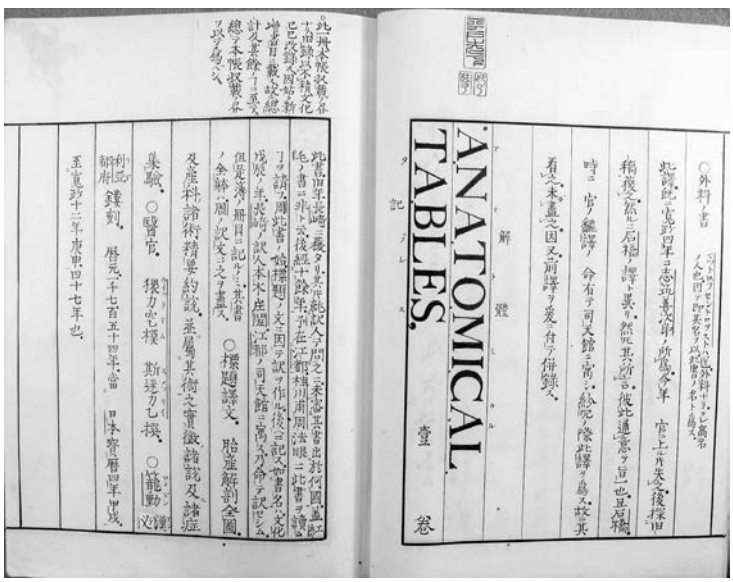

Figure 2. Seizan, *Shinzō shomoku sotohen bankoku,* p. 78. 1800. H. 28 cm, W. 40 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

in English, so they could not understand its contents. As a result of the arrival of *HMS Phaeton* in Nagasaki in Bunka 5 (1808), Shōei began concerted study of English the next year, after which the contents were understood.

Chinese Books

Catalogue A lists 499 Chinese books, while 274 are listed in Catalogue B, making 773 works. Another catalogue exists, a four-fascicle *Rakusaidō zō kanshomoku* 楽歳堂蔵漢書目 (Rakusaidō Catalogue of Chinese Books; hereafter Catalogue C), with 786 entries. There are no overlapping entries between Catalogues A and C on one hand and B on the other, meaning that the Rakusaidō had 786 Chinese books in total.

Of the entries in Catalogue C, 345 are described as *tōhan* 唐版 (Chinese publications), 368 as *han* 版 ([Japanese] publications), and 71 as *utsushi* 写 (manuscript copies); two are unspecified. This reveals that some 40 percent of the Chinese-language books stored in the Rakusaidō were imports.

The *Nagasaki bugyō* 長崎奉行 (Nagasaki Governor) and the *Nagasaki itowappu shukurō* 長崎糸割符宿老 (Director of the Nagasaki Silk-Importing Monopoly) played important roles in the purchase of books arriving on Chinese ships. During the library's early period, Tenmei 5–6 (1785–1786), the governor was Matsura Izumi-no-kami Nobukiyo 松浦和泉守信桯 (1736–1813) and the director was Tokumi Moshiro 徳見茂四郎 (n.d.). Nobukiyo was the brother of the eighth daimyo of Hirado, Sanenobu 誠信 (1712–1779), and therefore Seizan's great-uncle. He was appointed in the sixth month of Tenmei 5 (1785), taking up his post that autumn, and residing in Nagasaki for the next year (officeholders rotated between Nagasaki and Edo). Nobukiyo was an excellent avenue for Seizan to obtain books, and he made every effort to assist, as can be seen in two manuscripts, *Jiraiki* 待来記 (Record of books held by Seizan) and *Kinsho yōroku* 琴書要録 (A list of books collected by Seizan before Rakisaido; both can be found in Matsura Historical Museum). Tokumi Moshiro will be discussed below.

Imported books had to be vetted at Nagasaki's Seidō 聖堂 (Confucian temple) by members of the Mukai 向井 house, who made *taiisho* 大意書 (appraisals). These were sent to the governor, before being sent on to the shogunate in Edo. The governor therefore had the privilege of previewing the list and was able to retain items for himself. These were known as *nusuki mono* 除き物 (items set aside).[9] In the ninth year of Tenmei 6 (1786) Nobukiyo sent ten titles to Hirado, including three enormous works, *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書 (Old

9 Nakamura, *Kinsei Nagasaki bōekishi no kenkyū*, pp. 389–422.

Book of the Tang) in 160 fascicles, *Xihe he ji* 西河合集 (Collected writings of Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 [1623–1716]) in 120 fascicles, and *Zhibu zuzhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (A series of collectanea compiled by Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 [1728–1814]) in eighty fascicles. The following month, Nobukiyo presented eight more works, including *Miji* 秘笈 (an otherwise little-known work dated 977 by Zheng Wen Bao 鄭文宝 [952–1013] according to a Matsura Historical Museum record of 1966), of fully four hundred fascicles. The previous New Year, Seizan had petitioned the shogunate to increase the governor's salary by four hundred *koku* 石 (bushels), which had been agreed. As a result, Nobukiyo's salary virtually doubled. Perhaps these books were thanks for Seizan's intervention.

As for the director of the silk-importing monopoly, Tokumi Moshiro, he presented two works to Seizan in Tenmei 5 (1785). These were *Wan li ban meng zi* 萬曆版孟子 (Discourses on Mencius) in twelve fascicles, and *Zeng ding jing xin lu* 增訂敬信錄 (Record of Refined Words, Revised) in two fascicles. In the ninth month of the following year, he sold Seizan seven titles, including *Wan shou sheng dian* 萬壽盛典 (The Grand Ceremony Celebrating Longevity) in eighty fascicles, *Shi san jing zhu shu* 十三經注疏 (Commentaries and Sub-Commentaries to the Thirteen Classics) in two hundred fascicles, *Han Wei cong shu* 漢魏叢書 (Anthology of the Chinese Spirit) in seventy-two fascicles, *Da Ming hui dian* 大明會典 (Legal Codes of the Ming) in ninety-six fascicles, and *Da Qing hui dian* 大清會典 (Legal Codes of the Qing) in 160 fascicles. About the same time, Seizan went on patrol in the Nagasaki area and took the opportunity to hand Moshiro a list of requests, titled *Tokai chūmon* 渡海注文 (Import Orders).

Among the above Chinese acquisitions were works that Seizen intended to offer to the Shōhei-zaka Academy in Edo. He listed 132 titles that he was willing to present in 1802 in *Rakusaidō zōsho mokuryaku* 楽歳堂蔵書目略 (Brief List of Books in the Rakusaidō). These include *Jiutangshu*, mentioned above, *Mi ji*, *Zhao dai cong shu* 昭代叢書 (Collectanea of the Glorious Age [compiled by Zhang Chao 張潮, 1650–ca. 1707]), *Li shi* 隸釋 (Analysis of Inscriptions in Clerical Script), *Li xu* 隸續 (Extended Analysis of Inscriptions in Clerical Script), *Zhi bu zu zhai cong shu* and *Xi he he ji* that are both mentioned above, *He fang yi lan* 河防一覽 (Overview of River Management, by Pan Jixun 潘季訓, 1521–1595), and the abovementioned *Wan shou sheng dian*, *Han Wei cong shu*, *Da Ming hui dian*, and *Da Qing hui dian*. This list adds that the academy rector, Hayashi Jussai, accepted just three books (including *Jiutangshu* and *Mi ji)*, and stated that he wished to receive a further eight on loan.[10]

Proscribed Books

In Kan'ei 寛永 7 (1630), as a part of its anti-Christian policies, the shogunate prohibited import of *Tianxue chuhan* 天学初函 (Learning from Heaven), comprising thirty-two subtitles, along with other books on *jashūmon* 邪宗門 (Christianity). The reason was that some of the contents were translated from the writings of the Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇, 1552–1610). In Jōkyō 貞享 2 (1685), an attempted import into Japan of a Christian manual, *Huan you quan* 寰有詮 (On Heaven and Earth [by Franciscus Furtado (Fu Fanji 傅泛際, 1587–1653), with Li Zhizao 李之藻]), came to light, resulting in its incineration. Over the years up to Kyōhō 享保 5 (1720), the shogunate designated a further sixteen Chinese titles or *kinsho* (proscribed books). However, that same year, twelve subtitles of *Tianxue chuhan* were delisted, as were seven subtitles of other works proscribed in 1685, as well as part of a work titled *Zhi fang wai ji* 職方外記 (Record of Places beyond the Tribute States [by the Italian Jesuit father Giulio Aleni; Chinese name Ai Rulüe 艾儒略, 1582–1649]). All had been confirmed as without relevance to evangelism.[11]

Yet some proscribed books did circulate, and even entered daimyo collections. As concrete examples, it is known that the daimyo of Owari 尾張 had proscribed books in his Hōsa Bunko 蓬左文庫 (Hosa Library), and that Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) wrote a preface to a proscribed work, *Ji ren shi pian* 畸人十篇 (Ten Chapters on Extraordinary Persons). Owners seldom advertised possession, but Seizan did (figure 3): the pedagogy section of Catalogue B contains a sub-section on *Tenshū moku* 天主目 (Christian Works), listing two manuscript fascicles of *Ji ren shi pian* and eight chapters in four fascicles of a Chinese anti-Christian text dated to Chongzhen 崇禎 12 (1639), titled *Sheng chao po xie ji* 聖朝破邪集 (The

10 The list is attached to Matsura, *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku*.

11 Nagasaki Bugyō Sho, *Gokinsho mokuroku*, pp. 39–41.

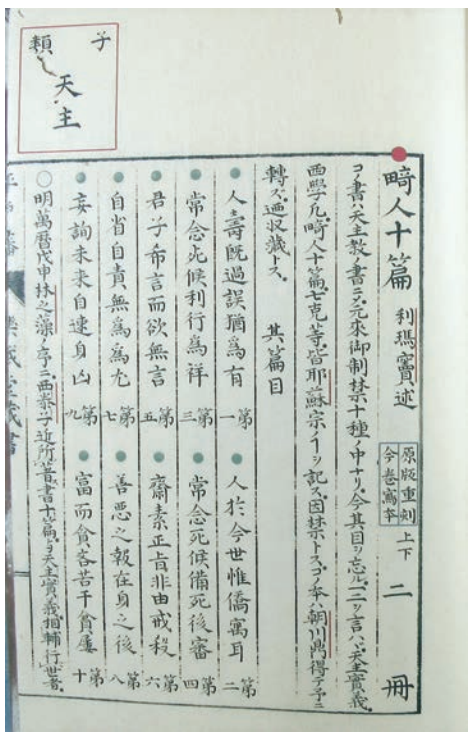

Figure 3. Seizan, *Shinzō shomoku sotohen bankoku,* vol. 4, p. 85. 1800. H. 28 cm, W. 40 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

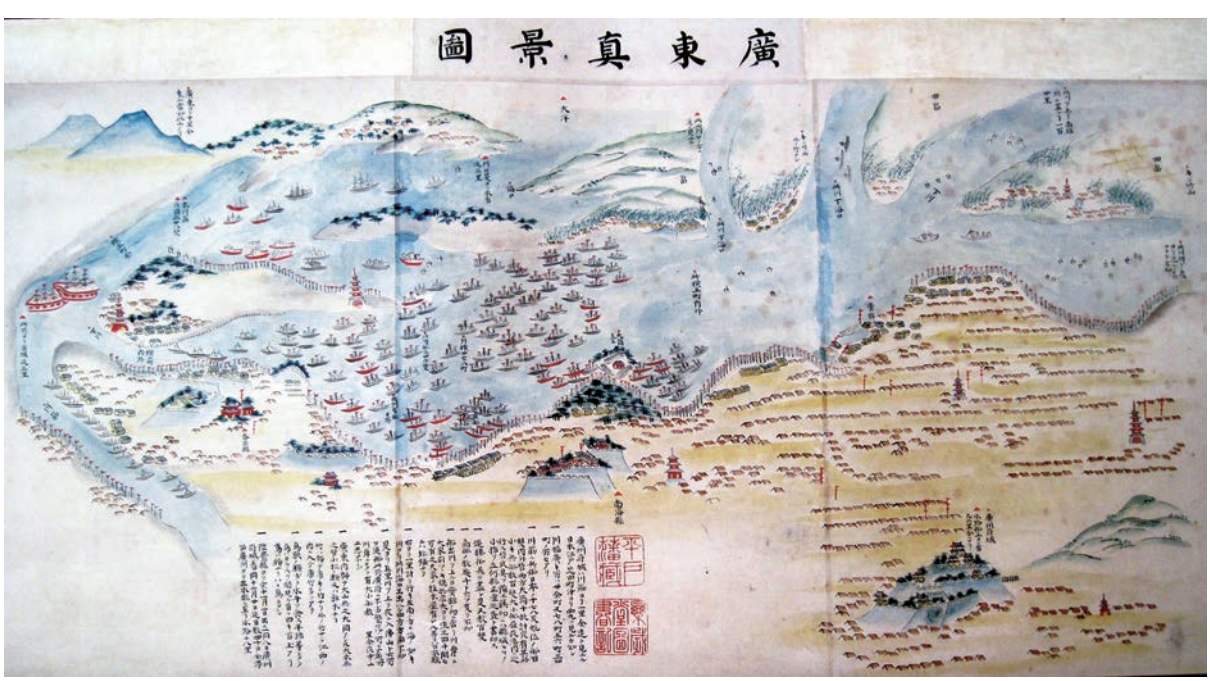

Figure 4. *Kanton shinkeizu.* Matsura, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 32; Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 2, pp. 292–99. 1808. H. 40 cm, W. 82.5 cm. Courtesy of Matsura Historical Museum.

Sacred Dynasty's Collection of Refutations against Vicious Doctrines). Seizan wrote, "These books are about Christianity and are among ten titles that it is forbidden to import. I do not remember the titles of all ten, but some are *Tian zhu shi yi* 天主實義 (True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven), *Xi xue fan* 西學凡 (Summary of Western Learning), *Ji ren shi pian*, and *Qi ke* 七克 (Seven Triumphs). All are about Christianity." Seizan openly stated this, in full knowledge that the books were proscribed. The supplier was his good friend, a Confucian scholar named Asakawa Zen'an 朝川善庵 (1781–1849), who is recorded as personally prompting Seizan to purchase the anti-Christian *Sheng chao po xie ji*. Seizan stated that his motivation for such acquisitions was "ease of understanding Christianity."[12] Another work he owned was *Zhi fang wai ji* in three fascicles, mentioned above as initially proscribed but later cleared; Rakusaidō Catalogue A notes this as "one of thirty-two works that were formerly banned from import."[13]

Range of the Collection

• Works on China and Chinese People

Reading *Kasshi yawa* together with the Rakusaidō catalogues, it is apparent how important Nagasaki was for cultural exchange with China. Stories abound of Nagasaki's *tōjin yashiki* 唐人屋敷 (Chinese compound), in which Chinese were required to live from the early eighteenth century. There are anecdotes about the appearance of ghosts there,[14] and tales of an infamous *tōjin sōdo* 唐人騒動 (Chinese riot), in Tenpō 6 (1835).[15] Interesting in this regard are pictures in the Rakusaidō titled *Kanton shinkeizu* 広東真景図 (True Views of Guangdong),[16] recording firsthand experiences of a castaway retainer of Satsuma. An entry appears in the *Sotohen* section of Seizan's catalogue *Shinzō shomoku* identifing this work, which is now in the Matsura Historical Museum (figure 4). Elements from these pictures were incorporated by Seizan into *Kasshi yawa*. The Rakusaidō also possessed depictions of the Great Wall, and had a scroll titled *Qianglong-di xunxing* 乾隆帝巡幸 (Imperial Progress of the Qianlong Emperor).[17] There is a catalogue reference to a similar-sounding set, given in Japanese as *Kenryū-tei kōnan soshū fuyū kōkaidō zu* 乾隆帝江南蘇州府幸街道図, with later parts lost. Note also that the final section of *Kasshi yawa* deals with the Opium War.[18]

The Ryūkyūs and Ezo

While collecting books and objects from China, Korea, and the West, Seizan also interested himself in the folk traditions of Ezo 蝦夷, the Ryūkyūs 琉球, and Hachijō-jima 八丈島. The Ryūkyū Kingdom was subordinate both to Japan (Satsuma domain) and the Qing. Seizan inserted into *Kasshi yawa* depictions of a Ryūkyūan Embassy procession to Edo in the eleventh month of the third year of Tenpō 3 (1832), led by Prince Tumigusuku (Jp. Tomishiro).[19] He acquired from Matsudaira Nariatsu 松平斎厚 (1783–1839) a portrait of the prince, made by Toda Ujitsune 戸田氏庸 (1780–1841), the eighth daimyo of the Toda clan in Ōgaki 大垣 domain. This figures in Catalogue B as *Ryūkyū koku Tomishiro ōji no shō* 琉球国豊見城王子之肖 (Depiction of Prince Tumigusuku of the Ryūkūan State).[20]

Seizan studied the customs of Ezo (part two, volume 86),[21] and in Kansei 11 (1799), while in Edo, made a copy of a finely painted work titled *Ezo zuzō* 蝦夷図像 (Illustrations of Ezo), parts one and two, in the possession of Matsumae Michihiro 松前道広 (1754–1832). Seizan kept this in the Rakusaidō, and commented that it was "the best way to understand the appearance of Ainu people."[22]As for Hachijō-jima, *Kasshi yawa* has a section titled *Hachijō kibun* 八丈紀聞 (Things Heard

12 Matsura, *Shinzō shomoku*, vol. 4, *sotohen* 外編, p. 90.
13 Matsura, *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku*, p. 81.
14 Matsura, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 17 (n.p.); Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 1, vol. 17; part 1, vols. 1 and 2, pp. 290–91.
15 Ibid., Matsura, part 3, vol. 26; Nakamura and Nakano, part 3, vol. 2, pp. 275–84.
16 Ibid., Matsura, part 1, vol. 32; Nakamura and Nakano, part 1, vol. 2, pp. 292–99.
17 Ibid., Matsura, part 1, vol. 96; Nakamura and Nakano, part 1, vol. 5, pp. 303–4.
18 Ibid., Matsura, part 3, vol. 78; Nakamura and Nakano, part 3, vol. 6, pp. 287–305.
19 Ibid., Matsura, part 2, vols. 87–90; Nakamura and Nakano, part 2, vol. 7, pp. 291–361 and part 2, vol. 8, pp. 3–54.
20 Matsura, *Shinzō shomoku*, *Uchihen*, part 2, vol. 6, p. 43.
21 Matsura, *Kasshi yawa*, part 2, vol. 86; Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 2, vol. 7, pp. 275–77
22 Matsura, *Hirado-han rakusaidō zōsho mokuroku*, *Uchihen,* vol. 4, p. 44.

about Hachijō),[23] while Catalogue B lists a work titled *Hachijō-jima fujo no zu* 八丈嶋婦女之図 (Depictions of the Women of Hachijō).[24]

• Stones, Roof Tiles, Wooden Items, and Shells

Seizan's wide interests and high level of curiosity can be seen in how his collection extends from books to objects. The Matsura Historical Museum holds a number of items he owned including fifty stones, twenty-one pieces of roof tiles, six wooden objects, four bamboo objects, eight earthenware vessels, seven metal objects (including coins), and four shells. Seizan is known to have swapped stones with his friend Maeda Toshitane 前田利物 (1760–1788), daimyo of Kaga-daishoji 加賀大聖寺藩, and he wrote, "as soon as we come across rare stones, we swap them with each other."[25] These objects are catalogued under *Uchihen* (Japanese items), the majority classified with the sub-heading *chiri bu* 地理部 (natural history). Catalogues A and B have the largest number, with the following sub-headings (indicated by a circle). Items in square brackets are *warigaki* 割書 (sub-sub-categories). The word *shinpin* 真品 indicates actual objects, rather than depictions or descriptions.

> *Teito kyūen* 帝都宮苑 (capital and palaces), *kokugun* 国郡 (states and commanderies), *shikaku* 市陌 (cities), *jōkaku* 城郭 (castles), *jinja* 神社 (shrines), *bukkaku* 仏閣 (temples), *meishō san'en* 名勝山川 (beauty spots), *ekidō* 駅道 (roads and stations), *kairo* 海路 (sea routes), [○*tōsho* 島嶼 (islands)] *fūdoki* 風土記 (gazetteers), *yochizu* 輿地図 (world maps), *hi* 碑 (monuments), Ezo 蝦夷 (Ezo), *kyosho* 居処 (domestic items) [○*teitaku* 第宅 (residences), ○*gafu* 瓦譜 (records of roof tiles) ○*shinga* 真瓦 (roof tiles), ○*kaoku* 家屋 (housing)] *sōrui* 草類 (grasses), *mokurui* 木類 (trees), *chōrui* 鳥類 (birds), *jūrui* 獣類 (animals), *chūrui* 虫類 (insects), *gyorui* 魚類 (fish), *suirui* 水類 (waters), *karui* 火類 (fire), *kinrui* 金類 (metals) [○*kingin senpu* 金銀銭譜 (numismatics) ○*seizō* 製造 (manufacturing) ○*shinpin* 真品 (actual objects)], *gyokurui* 玉類 (precious stones), *sekirui* 石類 (minerology), [○*sekifu* 石譜 (catalogues of stones) ○*shinpin* 真品 (actual objects)], *shirui* 歯類 (teeth etc.), *kii* 奇異 (strange things).

Items in square brackets are *warigaki* 割書 (sub-sub-categories). The word *shinpin* indicates actual objects, rather than depictions or descriptions. The Rakusaidō may have been a library, but it also had the characteristics of a museum.

Final Remarks

Some matters can be added in closing. On the twenty-eighth day of the sixth month of Tenmei 6 (1786), Seizan made a list of thirteen Chinese books he hoped to obtain from the collection of Mori Takasue 毛利高標 (1755–1801), daimyo of Saiki. Seizan wrote to the Hirado house elder Matsura Tenzen 松浦典善 (n.d.), "This list constitutes some 540–550 fascicles. However, there are five or six titles for which I am not sure of the exact number, and so there are too many fascicles for Lord Takasue, and I can try to procure the uncertain titles elsewhere. Still, I very much hope all the Chinese books on this list can be transferred from Saiki to Hirado."[26] Thus, while Seizan made purchases, he also received and exchanged with other daimyo.

That same year, 1786, Seizan spent five *ryō* 両 on two Western books purchased from Kutsuki Masatsuna 朽木昌綱 (1750–1802), daimyo of Fukuchiyama, and known as *ranpeki* 蘭癖 ("hollandomaniac").[27] The Rakusaidō had been launched in earnest the year before, Tenmei 5 (1785), and in the four years up to Kansei 1 (1789) it expanded rapidly in Chinese, Japanese, and Western holdings.

Lastly, what of the financial background that enabled Seizan to build up his collection, and what prices was he able to pay? In Tenmei 2 (1782), he reformed the Hirado *shiryōkata* 私領方 (domestic exchequer), creating a *jōheisho* 常平所 (office of daily expenses), which was independent of domain financing. Essentially it was Seizan's discretional fund, supposed to cover expenses like family weddings, and to meet his retirement

23 Matsura *Kasshi yawa*, part 3, vol. 51; Nakamura and Nakano, *Kasshi yawa*, part 3, vol. 4, pp. 273–96.
24 Matsura, *Shinzō shomoku*, *Uchihen*, part 2, vol. 6.
25 Matsura, *Jiraiki*, p. 1.
26 Matsura, *Jiraiki*, pp. 8–9.
27 Matsura, *yōroku*, p. 24.

costs. Notably, this administrative change occurred three years before the rebuilding and expansion of the Rakusaidō. This is how Seizan ensured the resources to acquire books. From Kansei 2 (1790), new ricefields were opened in Sasebo 佐世保, yielding eighty bales, with revenue allotted to the office of daily expenses, and put towards the Rakusaidō. Rice was exchanged for silver, and produced the equivalent of some twenty to thirty gold *ryō* annually, all allocated for books.[28]

Also pertinent is the relationship between the Matsura and the Masutomi whaling family. As stated above, the Masutomi funded reconstruction of the Rakusaidō, though whether they contributed to book purchases is unclear. In similar need of clarification is the way in which the office of daily expenses was used to purchase books. We know that its income was also loaned to the Hirado population at interest, with whalers among its clients. In this sense, what were to become Hirado's major industries in the modern era—development of new ricefields and commercial whaling in the northwestern Kyushu coastal area (referred to as *Saikai hogei gyō* 西海捕鯨業, literally, "whaling in the Western Sea") had already been exploited by the Hirado domain to support Seizan's collecting.

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28 Jōheisho, *Rakusaidō tsuki shindenmai dai kakinuki chō*, pp. 1–21.

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MULTIPLE BOOK REVIEW BY TIMOTHY S. GEORGE

The tragedy caused by the organic mercury poisoning known as Minamata disease (*Minamatabyō* 水俣病) is, along with war responsibility and the wartime "comfort women" sex slaves, an issue that arose in the first half of the Showa 昭和 period (1926–1989) and one that Japan's governments have been unable to put in the past. Nearly fifty thousand people, most living in and around Minamata 水俣 in Kyushu where the Chisso chemical factory (Chisso kabushiki kaisha チッソ株式会社) dumped mercury into the sea from 1932 to 1968, but also others from Niigata 新潟 Prefecture, where the Shōwa Denkō 昭和電工 factory discharged mercury into the Agano River 阿賀野川, have received compensation and medical care after being recognized by the Japanese government as official Minamata disease patients or as affected by the pollution. About twenty-four thousand others have only been given health insurance passbooks entitling them to medical care. Over thirty-two thousand more applications for compensation or recognition have been denied, and the true number of victims will never be known.

These two books published in 2021 could hardly be more different, but both help explain the victims' suffering and struggles. Both aim to inspire not only understanding and sympathy, but also action, and they make it clear why Minamata disease patients were so offended in 2013 when, on the occasion of the conclusion of the international Minamata Convention on Mercury, Prime Minister Abe remarked that Japan had "recovered" from the Minamata issue.

Figure 1. Patients negotiating at Chisso's Tokyo headquarters. Photo by Aileen M. Smith, © Aileen Mioko Smith. From Smith and Smith, *Minamata*, pp. 132–33, with permission.

Minamata is not the first book on Minamata, photographic or otherwise, but it was the first—and remains the most powerful—extended introduction of Minamata in English.[1] The world was first shocked and moved by Minamata with photographs by W. Eugene Smith and Aileen Smith in *Life* magazine in June 1972, and a more extended photographic essay appeared in *Camera 35* magazine in April 1974.[2] In 1975, the same year *Minamata* appeared, Norie Huddle and Michael Reich published *Island of Dreams*, the first book in English surveying Japan's pollution crises, including Minamata.[3]

Japanese, of course, were much more familiar with Minamata, at least after lawsuits began to be filed in the "Big Four" pollution cases, which included Minamata, in 1967. (Minamata victims were the last to file suit, in 1969, and the last to win, in 1973).[4] Ui Jun, the University of Tokyo waste water engineer and activist who played a role in Japan similar in some aspects to those of Rachel Carson and Ralph Nader in the United States, published *Kōgai no seijigaku: Minamatabyō o otte* (The Political Science of Pollution: On the Trail of Minamata Disease) in 1968.[5] The next year saw the release of *Kugai jōdo: Waga Minamatabyō*, the hauntingly beautiful and only slightly fictionalized account of events in Minamata by the author Ishimure Michiko, a native of Minamata.[6] In 1972 Harada Masazumi, the doctor best known for working closely with patients, wrote the first of his many books about Minamata, *Minamatabyō*.[7]

Nor did *Minamata* present the first images of Minamata and Minamata disease patients seen in Japan. Kuwabara Shisei, who began photographing in Minamata in 1960 and continues to do so today, published his first two books of Minamata photographs in 1965 and 1970.[8] Shiota Takeshi began photographing Minamata in 1968 and published a collection in 1973.[9] Miyamoto Shigemi began photographing events surrounding

1 This reviewer has written a general survey of Minamata as a lens on postwar democracy. See George, *Minamata*.
2 Smith and Smith, "Death-Flow from a Pipe"; Smith, "Special Feature: Minamata, Japan."
3 Huddle and Reich, *Island of Dreams*.
4 The "Big Four" were Kumamoto Minamata disease, Niigata Minamata disease, cadmium poisoning (*itai-itai byō*, or "ouch-ouch disease") in Toyama, and asthma caused by air pollution in Yokkaichi.
5 Ui, *Kōgai no seijigaku*.
6 Ishimure, *Kugai jōdo*.
7 Harada, *Minamatabyō*.
8 Kuwabara, *Shashinshū: Minamatabyō*; Kuwabara, *Minamatabyō: Shashin kiroku*.
9 Shiota, *Minamata '68–'72*.

Minamata in 1970 and produced widely viewed images of the activist patients and supporters, though they did not appear in book form until much later.[10] In February 1971 the award-winning documentary filmmaker Tsuchimoto Noriaki 土本典昭 premiered his *Minamata: Kanjasan to sono sekai* 水俣: 患者さんとその世界 (with an English version released in 1972 as *Minamata: The Victims and Their World*), and he went on to produce at least a dozen more Minamata documentaries.

Still, little world attention had been brought to Minamata, attention patients and supporters desired in order to put further pressure on Chisso and the Japanese government and to make sure others elsewhere never suffered what they had. It would have been hard to imagine a better way to achieve this than for one of the greatest photojournalists of the twentieth century to publish a photographic essay on Minamata in *Life* magazine and then a book describing the disease, the perpetrators, and most of all the suffering and struggles of the victims in unforgettably moving words and photographs.

Yet in 1970, when W. Eugene Smith was fifty-one years old, it seemed to most who knew him and perhaps to Smith himself that the high points of his career were behind him. He had taken powerful photographs in the Pacific during the Second World War and been seriously wounded in the Battle of Okinawa. After the war he perfected the photographic essay at *Life* magazine, using his humanism as well as his artistry with the camera and in the darkroom to produce essays such as "Country Doctor" (1948), "Spanish Village" (1951), "Nurse Midwife" (1951), and "A Man of Mercy" (about Albert Schweitzer, 1954). But he had left *Life* in 1954 and become something of a recluse in his Manhattan loft, continuing to suffer pain from his war injuries and drinking more.

In 1970, however, he met Aileen Sprague, a Stanford student whose mother was Japanese. She moved to New York and became his assistant, helping prepare a retrospective exhibition of his photographs, "Let Truth Be the Prejudice." Ishikawa Takeshi, who became the Smiths' assistant in Japan, explains in his chapter in this new Japanese version of *Minamata* ("Yūjin Sumisu no nokoshita mono" ユージン・スミスの遺したもの, pp. 178–81) how Eugene and Aileen came to photograph Minamata. Eugene asked the publisher Motomura Kazuhiko 本村和彦, who was in New York to secure the rights to publish Robert Frank's book of photographs *The Lines of My Hand* in Japan, if it might be possible to show "Let Truth Be the Prejudice" in Japan. Motomura was from Kyushu, and suggested that if they came to Japan for the exhibit, Eugene and Aileen ought to go and photograph in Minamata, on Kyushu, since terrible things were happening there. In 1971 they were married and moved to Minamata, where, as they write, "we injected ourselves as participants and commentators into an immediately human and finally historic event" (page 172 in both the new Japanese edition under review and in the English original; quotation is from the English original). Aileen was an equal and essential partner in the project, not simply an interpreter or assistant.

The original English-language version of the Smiths' *Minamata* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), was the crowning achievement of Eugene Smith's career. It was also the book that made the horrors of Minamata, and pollution more broadly, and the struggles of pollution victims, known to the world. The impact of the book came from the extraordinarily powerful images (roughly a third taken by Aileen) and equally powerful words, combining to produce a tragically beautiful and sympathetic portrait of the Minamata patients and their lives. One chapter described Aileen's visit to First Nations people in Ontario, Canada poisoned by mercury dumped into the English-Wabigoon River system by a chemical plant. The book also included as back matter a Minamata chronology and a medical description of Minamata disease by Harada Masazumi.

Minamata was first published in Japanese (with the title written in Roman letters rather than Japanese characters) by San'ichi Shobō in 1980, and translated by Nakao Hajime. A revised version came out in 1991. These Japanese editions included all of the original chapters and photographs and updated versions of the same back matter. The book under review here is an entirely new Japanese edition published in 2021 by Crevis. It retains the Smiths' original photographs and chapters in Nakao Hajime's translation, but entirely replaces the original back matter with a greatly expanded section.

This new back matter begins with the essay by the Smiths' assistant Ishikawa Takeshi, mentioned above, which traces their entire Minamata experience. Ishikawa is best able to describe Motomura's suggestion that they come to Japan, their renting a home and setting up a darkroom in Minamata, the making of the famous photograph of "Tomoko in Her Bath," the

10 Miyamoto, *Mada nazukerarete inai mono e mata wa*.

beating of Eugene at Chisso's Goi factory, and the planning and creation of the *Life* and *Camera 35* photo essays and the book. The next essay is by Yamagami Tetsujirō of Siglo シグロ, Tsuchimoto Noriaki's film production company, and is titled "Kaikō no foto hisutorī" 邂逅のフォトヒストリー (pp. 182–85). He focuses on the impact of the Smiths' photographs, particularly through the exhibitions in Japan that often accompanied showings of Tsuchimoto's documentaries on "caravans" around Japan and in department store and museum galleries, and suggests that these exhibitions sparked demand for a Japanese edition of the Smiths' book.

Next are former *Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞 journalist Saitō Yasushi's very useful detailed chronology ("Minamatabyō kanren nenpu" 水俣病関連年譜, pp. 186–87) and his separate chapter giving a narrative history of events from before the construction of the Minamata factory in 1908 up to 2017, with a map and bibliography ("Minamatabyō: Rekishi to kaisetsu" 水俣病: 歴史と解説, pp. 188–97). Saitō closes with a reminder that even today the Minamata disease issue is far from resolved. This is followed by a "medical report and explanation" of Minamata disease by Yorifuji Takashi, a brief introduction to the disease and its history, replacing the original essay by Harada Masazumi ("Minamatabyō: Igaku kara no hōkoku to kaisetsu" 水俣病: 医学からの報告と解説, pp. 198–201). Yorifuji, like Harada and the Smiths, pays special attention to congenital patients. The book closes with an essay of reminiscences and thanks by Aileen Smith ("Shashin wa miru gawa ga kansei saseru kara" 写真は見る側が完成させるから, pp. 202–5). Her insights into Eugene Smith include the way he combined an idealism exemplified by his constant emphasis on integrity with a realism focused on the need to convey his message to viewers. In this way, she writes, art and journalism were not enemies but essential parts of the same whole.

Eugene Smith's prologue ends with the words "To cause awareness is our only strength" (p. 7 in the 2021 Japanese edition reviewed here; p. 8 in the original edition; quotation is from the English original). The book causes that awareness, not by illustrating and explaining the story of the "Minamata incident" in chronological order but by bringing the reader along with the Smiths. We are first introduced to life in Minamata and to Minamata disease. The book then moves back and forth between introductions to individuals and families in Minamata and its environs, and events such as demonstrations, negotiations, and meetings, exemplified by figure 1 showing patients negotiating with Chisso's president after their 1973 court victory, demanding that the company pay fair compensation to all patients.

Living in Minamata from September 1971 to November 1974 gave the Smiths time to get to know their subjects as neighbors and often friends. In the years when he created his classic photographic essays at *Life* magazine Eugene had frustrated his editors by taking a great deal of time to observe and understand the lives of his subjects and gain their consent; as well, he refused to hand over his negatives, instead printing his photographs himself so that he could choose which were used and exactly how they appeared. Now he was entirely free to work as he wanted, and those same qualities made him the right person to show Minamata to the world. He developed and printed photographs in the small house he and Aileen rented, dodging and burning as he printed to bring attention to certain parts of each image, often the subject's eyes.

The bright, unseeing eyes of congenital Minamata disease victim Kamimura ("Uemura" in the book) Tomoko 上村智子, and the loving gaze of her mother as she holds Tomoko in the bath in a composition reminiscent of Mary holding Jesus in Michelangelo's *Pietà*, hold the viewer's attention in the best known photograph in the book (pp. 138–39 in both the new Japanese edition under review and in the English original). "Tomoko in Her Bath" has become not only the single photograph that most powerfully represents Minamata disease, but also one of the defining images of the second half of the twentieth century, along with others such as Nick Ut's 1972 photograph of Kim Phúc fleeing naked from a napalm attack in Vietnam and the several images of "Tank Man" blocking advancing tanks in Beijing the day after the violent suppression of the Tiananmen protests in June 1989. Eugene pressed the shutter for this most famous photograph he ever took, but it was in fact a joint creation of the Kamimura family, Aileen, and Eugene.

Aileen Smith rapidly became an accomplished photographer in her own right. Her most powerful contribution to the book is the section on congenital Minamata disease patient Sakamoto Shinobu 坂本しのぶ ("Shinobu: Hiroiatsume ikiru inochi" しのぶ: 拾い集め生きる命, pp. 150–69 in the new Japanese edition under review; "Shinobu: To Gather a Life," pp. 150–69 in the English original). Aileen got to know Shinobu soon after moving to Minamata. They remain close friends over fifty years later, and Shinobu remains one

of the best-known faces of Minamata disease. Shinobu was a strong-willed middle school student when the Smiths met her, determined not to let the disease stop her from walking or talking, or holding chopsticks or a pencil. She had learned how she got the disease only when, on a school trip in third grade, she overheard one teacher telling another that Shinobu was sick because her mother ate the polluted fish. Photographs show her struggling to force her contorted body to march with her classmates on a school sports day, and preparing with her mother and other patients to attend the first United Nations conference on the environment in Stockholm in 1972. She says to Aileen: "If Chisso could understand me, I want to say to them … To die to die to die … no, to come alive again … no no … to die again … again.… To give me back my feet, mouth … I want it given back … to be given back … to be like you, Aileen, like a human being … like everyone else" (p. 159 in both the new Japanese edition under review and in the English original; quotation is from the English original).

The photographic genius, the humanism, and the years invested by Eugene and Aileen Smith resulted in a book that makes the effects of an invisible poison visible, not in animals now protected by the U.S. Endangered Species Act such as northern spotted owls or snail darters but in "unprotected" human beings. Their images present those human beings not as far away but as familiar and sympathetic, with palpable pain, anger, and hopes. They close their book with hope for change: "Historians might find in Minamata the healthiest roots of a new industrial revolution. Looking back, they might find that from this arena emerged the strongest realization that industry has no divine right to pollute in the name of gross national product. They might find—if humankind ever decides to assume true responsibility for its stewardship of this planet—that they are looking back into a kind of soul-force of courage, a force that might save our children from the plunders that began with the first industrial revolution. That would be a victory" (p. 172 in both the new Japanese edition under review and in the English original; quotation is from the English original). Such optimism may seem naive half a century later, but Eugene Smith's work always reflected faith in the basic goodness of regular people. And even if not optimistic, perhaps the book can still inspire us to hold on to hope—and to work for environmental justice.

An entirely different book on Minamata was also published in 2021. *The Minamata Story: An EcoTragedy*, written by Seán Michael Wilson and illustrated by Akiko Shimojima with a foreword by activist and Minami Kyushu University faculty member Brian Small, is a *manga* (graphic novel) in which we follow the central character in learning about what happened in Minamata in the early, dramatic years of acute Minamata disease and sometimes violent demonstrations in the 1950s, and what patients and supporters have done to rebuild lives and community in recent decades. At the end of the book, along with a list of materials for further reading, are capsule biographies of people on whom characters in the book are based: four congenital Minamata disease patients and one of their supporters.

Wilson is Scottish and lives in Kumamoto City, less than thirty minutes by bullet train from Minamata.[11] He and Shimojima have both won awards for their books. Wilson is the author of over thirty graphic novels, with many different illustrators. His books include *manga* versions of *Hagakure*, *The Book of Five Rings*, the *Tao Te Ching*, *Wuthering Heights*, *A Christmas Carol*, and Murasaki Shikibu's *Tale of Genji*. Another ten of his books are his own fictional stories. One book (with an introduction by Jeremy Corbyn) covers the history of trade unions in the United Kingdom, another is a history of radical thought, and another (with an introduction by Noam Chomsky) is about participatory economics and the American left-wing economist and activist Michael Albert.

Given these interests, it is no surprise that Wilson chose to write about Minamata and to have his college student protagonist conclude that, "In lots of places around the world young people are protesting against injustice and environmental damage. Whatever their theory or language or culture is, the basic aim is the same: they are trying to make things better. I think we should be doing the same in Japan. And from now on, I will" (p. 101).

The book begins with the factory's pollution causing strange behavior and deaths in cats in the mid-1950s, and then jumps to the home of college student Tomi in Kumamoto City in 2020. Tomi, whose father is British and mother Japanese, must write a term paper on Minamata disease. His mother reveals that she was born

11 For information on Wilson's graphic novels, see his website at https://seanmichaelwilson.weebly.com. For his "newspaper articles, internet articles and various views on culture, history, art, sociology, etc., from a radical left wing perspective," see his "Radical Fun" website at https://radicalfun.weebly.com.

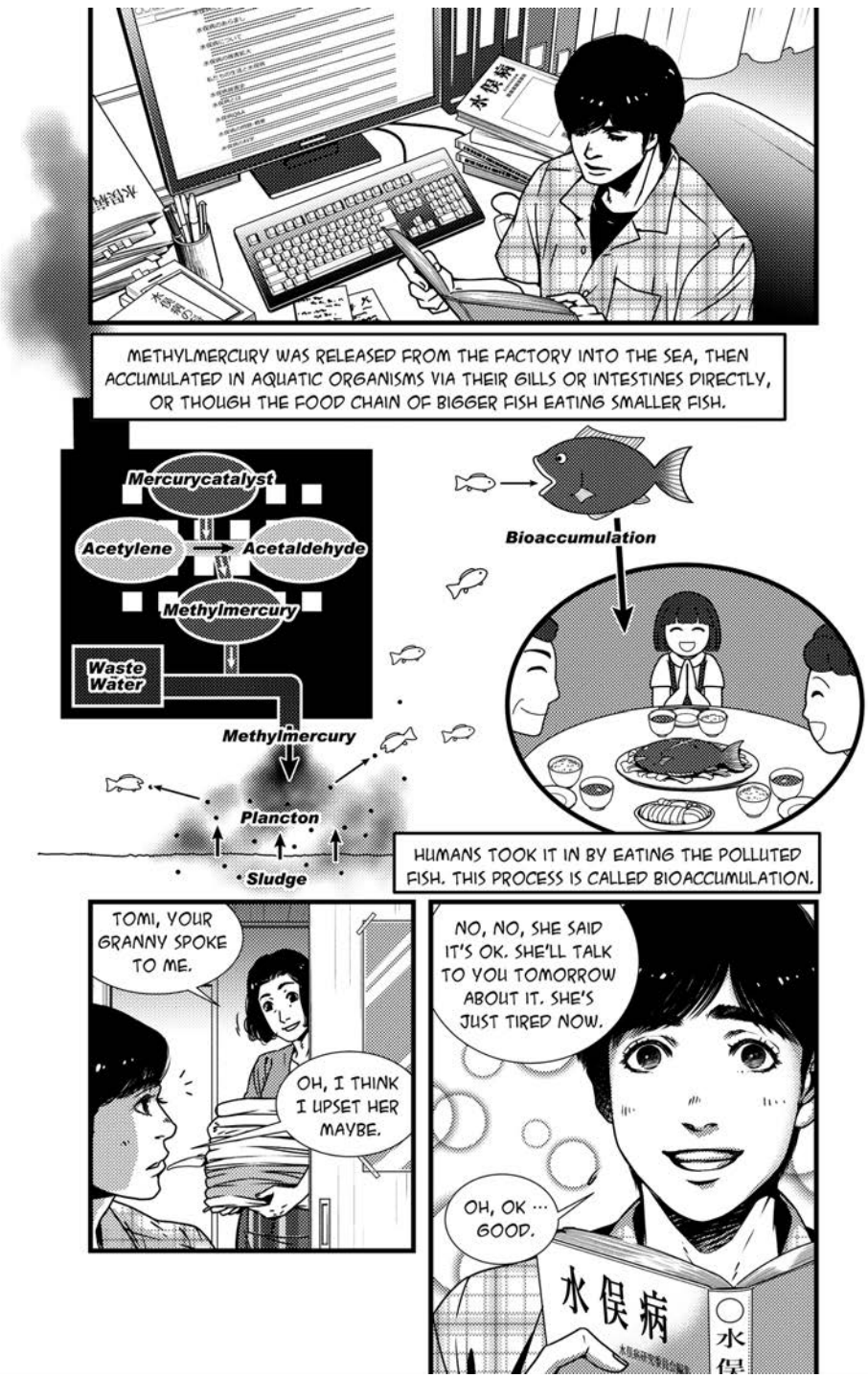

Figure 2. Bioaccumulation. From Wilson and Shimojima, *The Minamata Story*, p. 16, with permission.

in Minamata and brought to Kumamoto as a child by her parents, who kept their Minamata origins secret. His grandmother tells him about the struggles of fishing families in the early days, when Chisso would not compensate them and shops would not sell their fish. She agrees to accompany him to Minamata, having not been back for over thirty years. As Tomi prepares, we learn along with him how through the process of bioaccumulation the factory's methyl mercury waste was absorbed and concentrated in the aquatic food chain and finally consumed by humans.

On their visit to Minamata they are hosted by Katō Takeko at Hotto Hausu, a real person and place despite the fictional story. They learn about Hotto Hausu, a mutual support center, day care center, and workplace for patients who produce goods such as shopping bags from recycled materials; they also help make visitors and others aware of the Minamata disease story. A patient tells them of being bullied as a child, and they visit a former neighbor of Tomi's grandmother. The two women reminisce, jumping from memories of Eugene and Aileen Smith, to shopkeepers refusing to take money from patients in the 1950s for fear the disease was contagious, to the way in which fish floated on the surface, birds died, and fishing was decimated in the early days of the outbreak. The pre-disease past is depicted as a golden age, though with a reminder of the dangers of glossing over its difficulties: "It was especially hard when we thought back to how simple, clean and beautiful the sea was before.… It's easy to feel sentimental about the past. But sometimes it really was better" (pp. 56–57).

Tomi then visits a Kumamoto University doctor who had trained under Harada Masazumi. He learns how the medical question of diagnosing Minamata disease became a political and economic issue because more official certifications meant more costly compensation payments from Chisso and medical care from the government. The doctor tells him about the early patients with acute Minamata disease and those with milder symptoms who are still alive, and describes the fishermen's riots and invasions of the factory in 1959. The doctor is disappointed that young students in Japan today are now "so timid and apolitical," unlike those of his own college days or those today in Hong Kong, Europe, and America, saying: "We could do with more protesting here, like it used to be. The world needs young people to keep pushing for positive change" (p. 86).

As Tomi prepares his report, his grandmother confides that when her parents left Minamata they chose not to move to Tokyo because it was too polluted. She attends his presentation on Minamata disease in his college class, and after he finishes his prepared talk he tells how his family, like many others, felt they had to hide their Minamata roots. His closing challenge to his classmates is clearly Wilson's challenge to his readers: "I told you about the doctor at the university. Something he said affected me a lot. When he was about my age he went to help the sufferers in Minamata and campaigned with them to get recognition and payment from the company and the government. What have I done compared to that? And please ask yourself, what are you doing? What are you doing to help make things better?" (p. 100). This is, no doubt, the moral of Wilson's story. But one more point is made through Tomi's grandmother's praise of him after they leave Hotto Hausu in Minamata: "You were respectful enough to go to meet the Minamata people, and listen to their stories" (p. 66).

Wilson had to choose his focus for the limited text space in a graphic novel of 104 pages, so events before the mid-1950s are omitted and those from the 1960s to the 1980s are hardly mentioned. *Minamata Story* gives the reader an overview of events from the mid- to late 1950s, an introduction to bioaccumulation, and a sense that patients today are working to support each other and tell the story of Minamata disease as a warning as well as an inspiration to recycle and to prevent or stand up against pollution. Tomi is a model for readers, who are challenged to learn and to act. There are few typographical errors or awkward phrasings, but the map on page 2 shows a far larger area as "Minamata" than is actually encompassed by the city. The central character is a college student, and Wilson often rightly explains elsewhere what all Japanese know—that graphic novels are not only for young persons. The book can and should be read by adults, but its language and messages seem aimed primarily at readers of middle shool or high school age. One may wonder why Wilson did not make Tomi younger. In fact, the book won a 2021 Freeman Book Award Honorable Mention in the "Young Adult/High School Literature (Graphic)" category. In sum, in both its focus and format—and its likely audience—*Minamata Story* complements more than it overlaps the Smiths' *Minamata*.

Why publish, or update and republish, books on Minamata in 2021? What makes Minamata still important? One thing that makes these books timely is the

new movie *Minamata*, starring Johnny Depp as Eugene Smith and Minami as Aileen Smith and directed by Andrew Levitas. An extra cover sheet on the new Japanese edition of the Smiths' *Minamata* advertises the opening of the movie in Japan, and Johnny Depp's visit to Minamata is mentioned in *Minamata Story*. Harada Masazumi published a book titled *Minamatabyō wa owatte inai* (Minamata disease is not over) in 1985, and the books under review here join Harada's and many others in combating the mistaken assumption that the 1973 settlement "solved" the Minamata disease problem.[12]

The year 2021 marked sixty-five years since the official "discovery" of Minamata disease, when Dr. Hosokawa Hajime 細川一, who headed Chisso's hospital, reported to the Minamata public health office that there was an outbreak of "a disease of the central nervous system of unknown cause" after hospitalizing two young sisters, and then other patients, the previous month. One of those girls was Tanaka Jitsuko 田中実子, whom Eugene Smith felt he never successfully photographed: "Jitsuko-chan: A vibrant child who has become a stillborn adult. A loved beautiful human being aborted from useful life by the waste products of industrial progress. A breathing, haunting, beautiful nineteen-year-old young lady who will never know a lover. A still complex and remarkable human being unable to function in any of our accepted normalities. She cannot walk. She cannot talk. It is said that if she were to fall into a fire she would not realize her pain" (p. 74 in both the new Japanese edition under review and in the English original; quotation is from the English original).

This year, 2022, is the fiftieth anniversary of the Smiths' article and photographs of Minamata in *Life* magazine. It is also the fiftieth anniversary of the UN conference on the environment in Stockholm, where Sakamoto Shinobu by her very presence testified vividly to the effects of Minamata disease. Sakamoto continues to struggle to travel and to force her uncooperative lips and tongue to speak about Minamata disease, repeating her hope that no one else should suffer what she has. Aileen Smith writes in her new closing essay for this Japanese edition that while the bravery of the victims portrayed in the book led to some improvements in the environment in Japan, Minamata is not over and global problems with mercury and other pollutants remain. She has republished the book not to look back but because of the need to move forward, "Because the photograph is completed by the viewer" ("Shashin wa miru gawa ga kansei saseru kara," p. 205).

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12 Harada, *Minamatabyō wa owatte inai*.

Review

Reiko Sudo. *NUNO: Visionary Japanese Textiles*. Edited by Naomi Pollock. London: Thames & Hudson, 2021.

BOOK REVIEW BY MARILYN ROBERT

NUNO: Visionary Japanese Textiles traces the history and development of the iconic Japanese design house NUNO Corporation (henceforth NUNO) from its inception to the present day. The word *nuno* 布 means simply "cloth" in Japanese. Sudō Reiko 須藤玲子 (whose work is known worldwide using the spelling "Sudo") is the proprietor and head designer of NUNO. She is "an irrepressible creative force," states Caroline Kennedy in the foreword to the book (p. 9). It is no exaggeration to say that her artistic vision endows NUNO with its reputation. The internationally renowned textile designer Arai Junichi 新井淳一 founded NUNO in 1983.[1] Soon after, he invited Sudo to join him at NUNO. Four years later he turned over the role of Design Director to Sudo. Arai was the catalyst for Sudo's textile education; already widely recognized and praised for his avant-garde textile creations, his genius propelled her forward. Some of NUNO's early innovative designs from the 1980s, radical for the time and designed individually and together, are found in this volume with decades of textile creation.

NUNO has turned the world textile design industry on its proverbial head, led by Sudo, who uses her ability to combine high technology and low technology along with artisan-designed traditions to create formerly unimaginable cloth. Most of her textiles are made entirely by machine, but many have the sensibility of handwoven textiles. From a childhood introduction to textiles and on through her working life Sudo had an appreciation for the craft of the maker. She was a weaver and dyer herself in her formative years, and came to understand and appreciate the discipline of cloth production by hand. NUNO brings that knowledge to its design work, and along the way it has managed to bridge the cloth of kimono with spatter-plating—a technique from the automotive industry (pp. 13–14).[2]

The book is well illustrated, with contributions by notable writers outside the field of textiles, from architect to author to archaeologist. It is organized into eight chapters, of which the titles and partial content of five of the chapters are from a series of seven small-format hardcover illustrated volumes in the "NUNO NUNO BOOKS" series published by NUNO Corporation between 1997 and 2012. The seven are *BORO BORO* (1997), *SUKÉ SUKÉ* (1997), *FUWA FUWA* (1998),

1 The introduction (p. 10) states that Arai started NUNO in 1983. Other sources give 1981 and 1984.

2 Spatter-plating is a special process used in the automotive industry to "chrome" door handles and other small parts. NUNO was able to apply it to a large, flat, flexible fabric surface.

SHIMI JIMI (1998), *KIRA KIRA* (1999), *ZAWA ZAWA* (1999), and *ZOKU ZOKU* (2012). Two, *SHIMI JIMI* and *ZOKU ZOKU*, are not seen in the new publication. The book under review adds three more chapters, *SHIWA SHIWA, SHIMA SHIMA*, and *IRO IRO* to the five. Each chapter title is a pair of onomatopoeic words that emphasize the emotive meaning and suggest the qualities of the textiles described within. For example, *boro boro* ぼろぼろ means ragged, tattered, and frayed (p. 308) and contains those textiles that appear deconstructed, and are designed to take advantage of that very feature of the cloth. The sophistication of the seemingly unstructured cloth is exploited in the garments sewn from it, with beautiful results Other examples include *SHIMA SHIMA*, meaning "striped, patterned in bands" (p. 116), *ZAWA ZAWA*, "humming, bustling, lively" (p. 260), and *IRO IRO*, "layered with different colours" (p. 353).

In another chapter, the design concept for *SHIWA SHIWA* (*shiwa shiwa* しわしわ) meaning wrinked, rumpled, and tucked (p. 68), is indicated with a quotation from Hara Kenya 原研哉, a graphic designer and president of Nippon Design Center. "There is a special Japanese aesthetic sensibility known as *mono no aware*, 'pathos toward things,' a poetic appreciation of impermanence premised on a Buddhist awareness that all phenomena shift and change, reaching their peak for only a fleeting moment" (p. 72). This sensitivity is manifest in the textiles shown in this chapter. Some of these are manufactured by combining different fibers that perform differently with exposure to elements such as heat. For example, the cloth *Demon Crepe* (p. 71) combines wool and cotton (it is also worth noting the names NUNO gives to their textiles are among the most creative in the industry). When the wool shrinks in a hot-water bath, the cotton yarns are pushed out, creating a rippled texture. *SHIWA SHIWA* includes multiple textile examples that use yarns with different properties. When varied weave structures or other tools and equipment are added to the mix, new designs and patterns are created.

In her fulsome introduction to the book, Naomi Pollock, an American architect and the editor of this volume, notes, "For NUNO, standard weaving structures are meant to be reconfigured; the behavior of fibers, natural or artificial, is to be exploited; and just about anything, be it a rusty nail, dinner fork or rubber band, can be a design tool" (p. 11). Within each chapter of this book are essays that relate to the types of cloth under discussion in each respective chapter, but in delightfully oblique and creative ways. Some of the writings from the earlier "NUNO NUNO BOOKS" series are repeated here with little or no modification but the format is entirely different, with the new publication much larger and thicker than each small volume, although both the series of "NUNO NUNO BOOKS" and the present publication are amply illustrated. The smaller books have glossy covers that illustrate a textile featured within whereas *NUNO: Visionary Japanese Textiles* has a special cloth cover. The writings include an essay by author Murakami Haruki 村上春樹 (pp. 22–24) that first appeared in *FUWA FUWA* (1998), and another (pp. 212–16) by architect Itō Toyō 伊藤豊雄 is taken from *SUKÉ SUKÉ* (1997).

The reader of *NUNO: Visionary Japanese Textiles* will note Sudo's respect for the textile traditions that NUNO helps keep alive. We see this in the use of the traditional indigo dye employed with some of the cloth. Indigo dyeing (*aizome* 藍染) has a rich history in Japan going back to the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1868). Pollock notes in her introduction that Sudo, working with retailer MUJI, promotes this traditional dye technique as a member of the advisory board for reMUJI, a MUJI subsidiary company whose focus is sustainability, reuse, and remaking. In their processes, pre-owned cloth items and scraps are shredded, mixed with new fibers, respun into new thread or yarn, and then reconstructed. Many are dyed with indigo in small dyehouses and resold (p. 15). NUNO attends to the reduction of waste with its own designs. Looking at cloth in the *BORO BORO* chapter, there is *Twig Gather Ohshima* (pp. 322–23), slices of cloth remnants stitched on silk organdy. Another textile made with recycled cloth is *Tsugihagi* (pp. 326–27), which is constructed from fabric scraps in the fashion of overlapping patchwork-pieced quilts.

In addition to the cloth and clothing sold at the NUNO outlet in Tokyo and within department stores or other shops in a few cities in Japan,[3] Sudo has designed large commissions, among them all the textiles (floor, furniture, and wall treatments) for the hotel Mandarin Oriental, Tokyo. They have also constructed installations such as *Koinobori Now*! which premiered at the National Art Center, Tokyo in 2018, for which

3 More information about NUNO's shops, exhibitions, and textiles can be found on the NUNO Corporation website, nuno.com

NUNO made hundreds of carp fish windsock streamers—a feature of Children's Day celebrations in Japan (p. 8). These fish were shaped from NUNO cloth and suspended from the ceiling. A recent exhibition, *Making NUNO: Japanese Textile Innovation from Sudo Reiko* held at Japan House London from 17 May to 11 July 2021 was widely acclaimed.[4] Some NUNO textiles seen in the present volume can be found in collections of major art museums and other institutions, including the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in London and the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City.

The chapters that largely reproduce the earlier series of "NUNO NUNO BOOKS" also include additional textile pieces. The cloth in the chapter titled *KIRA KIRA*, meaning "shiny" or "to sparkle," highlights NUNO's dazzling metallic inventions that use copper, stainless steel, and bronze to fashion both the threads to be woven as well as the finished cloth and garments. Another technique features the spatter-plating technique noted above with iron, chromium, and nickel—stainless steel alloys, applied onto polyester organza, which results in both cloth, such as *Sputtered Gloss* (pp. 174–75), and a jacket of that cloth. Sudo's craft education background is evident in this cloth and other designs (pp. 12–14). She studied metals and food, ceramics, and wood. By 1995 Sudo had developed a process whereby cotton threads are coated in a gel made from banana plantain stalks, resulting in a cloth, *Knossos* (p. 367), that offers the coolness of *asa* 麻 (cloth made from hemp, linen, ramie, or other plant fibers), just right for a regional subtropical climate. Together, these ideas reflect engineering skills that permit NUNO to conduct artful experimentation with material properties, fluid mechanics, electricity, and thermal conductivity: branches of science and technology that are concerned with design, building, and structure.

NUNO is dedicated to small textile businesses, and employs a number of them in production. It works with small family weaving studios (p. 154), an embroidery business (p. 304), and local dyers. In Kiryu City 桐生市 (Gunma Prefecture), at the Gunma [Prefectural] Textile Research Institute (Gunma Sen'ikōgyōshikenjo 群馬繊維工業試験場), NUNO created origami-shaped organza cloth (p. 110). In the original fabrication of *Origami Pleats* (p. 109), the cloth was fitted into a paper that was folded into an origami shape. A sheet of dye-colored paper was placed above and another below the cloth in what could be called an "origami package." Then it was moved to a heat press where the shape and colors were permanently set.[5] Since then, Sudo states, "Thirteen years and many origami textiles later, seeking to replicate the same results without all the laborious paper folding, we developed a loom that could create 'peak' and 'valley' folds mechanically, using alternating pin-tuck weaves to the back and front" (p. 105). With the innovation of woven cloth with pleats in place, NUNO saved time for the design and fabrication of other inventive cloth.

NUNO: Visionary Japanese Textiles is replete with photographs of stunning cloth from one page to the next. The images of these textiles are largely full page in this oversized book, stimulating admiration for the texture and weave structure of cloth, as well as the surface finish. One is struck by the diversity of threads and their properties; this cloth would not achieve its fame without such variety. There are overspun cotton, wool, and silk yarns, paper, *kibiso* (silk made from the outer layer of a silk cocoon, which is usually considered waste material),[6] milk casein, metallized threads, aluminum/nylon slit yarns, cotton-covered Spandex,™ and more. The descriptions of these textiles bring wonder at the manipulation of the properties of the threads.

What lies ahead for NUNO? What new ideas for cloth from Sudo and the creative staff of NUNO will extend the textile vocabulary in the twenty-first century? We will continue to look to NUNO and the art of the thread to excite and inspire. How will we see and use NUNO cloth over the next forty years? How will science transform the threads yet again? *NUNO: Visionary Japanese Textiles* undoubtedly will continue to offer readers a collection of the most influential textiles in our experiential world.

4 The virtual exhibition may be viewed on the website www.Japanhouselondon.uk.

5 For Sudō's explanation of the process and images of *Origami Pleats* see two videos made at COOPER HEWIT: https://collection.cooperhewitt.org/objects/18699461/videos/.

6 See https://www.cooperhewitt.org/2017/02/28/green-glossary-k-for-kibiso/.

Review

Eduard Klopfenstein, ed. *Sprachlich-literarische 'Aggregatzustände' im Japanischen: Europäische Japan-Diskurse 1998–2018*. Berlin: BeBra Wissenschaft Verlag, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY MARIA CĂRBUNE

This book, the title of which may be loosely translated as "Aggregate States of Linguistic and Literary Matters in Japanese: European Discourses on Japan, 1998–2018,"[1] is the result of a research project and several conferences organized by a small group of researchers between 2015 and 2018. Early conferences, starting with one in 1998, have since had their proceedings published elsewhere.[2] The project's core group of researchers was formed by Roland Schneider (Hamburg University), Masako Sato (Nihon Daigaku), Sepp Linhart (Vienna University), Hartmut O. Rotermund (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Collège de France), Eduard Klopfenstein (Zürich University), and Susanne Formanek (Vienna University). As demonstrated by the essays in this volume, the conferences, organized by Schneider, covered a wide array of topics. This anthology contains studies of poetry-prose, orality, language/poetry, and other media categories, reflecting the themes of conferences held from 2015 to 2018, respectively. The chapters are written in English, German, and French, an unusual choice that may pose challenges, yet at the same time they offer readers an opportunity to contrast and compare works and approaches of contributors in different academic languages.

The volume opens with a section titled "Poetry-Prose" and a chapter by Masako Sato, "The Transmission and Use of Old Patterns and Motifs in an Early Edo Period Narrative and in 1980s Mass Media Culture." Sato refers to two works: a story by Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642–1693) from the late seventeenth-century volume *Nippon Eitaikura* 日本永代蔵 (Japan's Eternal Storehouse) and the 1980s TV series *Oshin* おしん. She analyzes the pieces in terms of their content, structure, and sociocultural context. For Ihara Saikaku's story, Sato highlights its similarity to the so-called *shusse monogatari* 出世物語 (lit. "success stories") of the Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1573) *otogizōshi* お伽草子 (medieval short stories) genre and demonstrates how it espouses the values of the ascending merchant class (e.g., economy, diligence, and cleverness) through the stereotypical trials of a character who first loses his wealth and later gains it back. As Sato points out, being wealthy served as a means by which to gain social prestige and was praised by the merchant class, whose participation in literature, politics, and culture was restricted by the four-class system (*shi nō kō shō* 士農

1 Ger. "Aggregatzustände": The title is a pun on the term "state of aggregation" or "state of matter" in physics. The German phrasing can allude to both the "state of a discussion" but also a similar idea or process that is expressed or transmitted through various media.

2 Klopfenstein and Müller, *Meer und Berge*; Klopfenstein and Müller, *Utopien und Dystopien*; Siebold-Wissenschaftsstiftung, *Geschichte*.

工商) of the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1868). Through an examination of several myths, such as that of the Shinto *kami* Ōkuninushi 大国主 (identified in the story in *Nippon Eitaikura* as an associated deity, Daikokuten), Sato develops a fundamental structure (Ger. *Grundstruktur*) of the plot of both works according to different stages: conflict; leaving the original territory; a transit or temporary sojourn into a foreign world; a confrontation with danger or a test; external help (human or divine) and mobilization of one's own abilities and strengths; establishing one's position and making a positive impact on the world; and external and internal change. The last two steps may repeat themselves in several episodes of a single work.

Sato analyzes the second work, the *Oshin* television series, based on the program's script, which comprises a narrative of an eighty-three-year-old businesswoman's account of her life. Sato undertakes a structural analysis based upon the same pattern juxtaposed with the study of the Amewakahiko 天若日子 myth.[3] She formulates a truly interesting perspective on mass media stories by incorporating Umberto Eco's categories of mythical and romantic (here understood as novel-like) types of storytelling, in his chapter, "The Myth of Superman."[4] She shows how *Oshin* similarly combines mythical storytelling, in that the outcome is foreseeable through the frame narrative as a success story, but with shocking changes in circumstances in the romantic narrative; this approach is intended to keep the audience interested for longer periods of time, as was the case for characters and plots of genres like comic books and TV series in general. The conflict points in the plot of *Oshin*, however, deviate from the twists and turns of novel-like narratives and become something more akin to clichés (Ger. *Versatzstücke*), which are so deeply ingrained in the collective memory that they acquire a mythical character. This chapter of the book elucidates parallels between Shinto myths and "success stories," as well as comparisons between the story *Nippon Eitaikura* and the TV series *Oshin*. However, the reader cannot help but note a certain similarity between the plot structure developed by Sato and that laid out by Vladimir Propp of the Russian formalist school in his groundbreaking morphological study of fairy tales.[5] The author's usage of the term "mythical" (structures or styles; b p. 23) remains somewhat unspecific and could benefit from further grounding in research and explication.

Hartmut O. Rotermund dedicates the second chapter, "Chasing Buddhahood: An Example of Japanese Syncretism," to a discussion on Japanese religious syncretism. He primarily considers a sermon from the thirteenth-century *Shasekishū* 沙石集 (*Sand and Pebbles*) by the monk Mujū 無住 (1226–1312). The chapter examines the text's various versions, particularly the *kōhon* 廣本 (extended version) and *ryakuhon* 略本 (abridged version), and subsequent adaptations, such as the *Konsenshū* 金撰集 (Collection of Golden Extracts).[6] *Shasekishū* is a collection of Buddhist parables (*setsuwa* 説話). In the Edo period, it was perceived as a doctrinal text (*hōgo* 法語), and it greatly influenced other sermon texts and literary genres. Rotermund analyzes how the phenomenon of *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹, a hybrid theory holding that Shinto gods are local manifestations of buddhas, is portrayed in the first chapters of the *Shasekishū*. He refers to the historical process through which Shinto *kami* began to be granted a more independent position by the insistence that Japan is the "land of the *kami*" (p. 45), and as such their veneration and worship should take precedence. In this context, the *Shasekishū* portrays *kami* as *wakō* 和光 (deities of "soft light") and more effective than the (distant) buddhas because of the benefits they grant (also explained through the Buddhist notion of *hōben* 方便, "skillful means," in the quest for enlightenment, in which the *kami* rejoice. This is illustrated through accounts such as the burning of the Miidera 三井寺 Monastery by the monks of Mount Hiei 比叡山, whereby the deity Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神, more than being saddened by the monastery's destruction, celebrated a monk's attaining of enlightenment. Rotermund proceeds to analyze several poems in connection to the idea of killing as compassion (*jihi no sesshō* 慈悲の殺生) in the *Konsenshū* and the *Suwa engi* 諏訪縁起 (The Origins of Suwa) in the *Shintōshū* 神道集 (Anthology of the Way of the Kami). Additionally, he selects an eclectic group of works to reference for his analysis of the poems related to the *honji suijaku* paradigm, Shugendō 修験道 (mountain asceticism), and from syncretic Shinto traditions such as Goryū Shintō 御流神道 and

3 Sato, "Die Entstehung der Bildrolle."
4 Eco, *Apokalyptiker und Integrierte*, pp. 187–222.
5 Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*.
6 See Nishio and Minobe, *Konsenshū*.

Miwa Shintō 三輪神道, as well as documents from popular traditions. From this abundance of textual material, Rotermund demonstrates how the prohibition to consume meat or offer living beings as sacrifice, so problematic in medieval Shinto and Buddhism, was circumvented. One case he investigates in particular is that of the deity Suwa Myōjin 諏訪明神, in which esoteric concepts such as the doctrine of *nyūga ga'nyū* 入我我入 are employed. This reflects the three mysteries (*sanmitsu* 三密) in which the Buddha enters the body of the practitioner and the practitioner enters the body of the Buddha, which allows the human being to attain buddhahood. Thus, the consumption of sentient beings is depicted as creating a causal link (*kechien* 結縁) to buddhahood, by their ingestion into the body of a Buddhist devotee. In this context, a quoted *waka* 和歌 poem[7] provides a skillful means for understanding the circumventing of the *sesshō* prohibition against the background of Japanese religious syncretism.

In the third chapter, Eduard Klopfenstein gives a short overview of the origin and differences between two literary genres of Japanese poetry, *haiku* 俳句[8] and *senryū* 川柳.[9] The predominant first part constitutes a meditation on *haiku*'s original comic intent, accompanied by an analysis of *haiku* poems by Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694) and Kobayashi Issa 小林一茶 (1763–1828). Originally derived from the first verses of a *renga* 連歌 (chained link poetry), *haiku*'s humorous character has passed into oblivion in the modern, international reception of this very popular genre; it is now best known for unexpected, witty contrasts and usage of words symbolic of particular seasons. This contrast is also discussed by Klopfenstein in quoting Masaoka Shiki's 正岡子規 concept of *kokkei* 滑稽 (humorous) (p. 64), in which humor goes beyond laughter to evoke the contrast and alternation between the long-standing aesthetic categories of the elegant (*ga* 雅) and the vulgar (*zoku* 俗). The second part revolves around the history and qualities of *senryū* and includes an interesting discussion—both the author's and also among a group of *haiku* and *senryū* poets—on the differences between the two poetic genres. The indication of *senryū*'s humor as being more direct, blunt up to the point of vulgarity, and tied to a particular social milieu of the middle class, is noteworthy. As lighthearted as the poems Klopfenstein quotes are, his writing style, close to the orality of a presentation, occasionally includes such oddities as translations quoted directly "from the internet" (p. 63), with no author or source given for the translations. In addition, Klopfenstein seeks to identify a connection between the indirect, distant humor of *haiku* as a literary genre and a general characteristic of the humor of Japanese people as a whole as being restrained. This directly contrasts with his subsequent description of the ever-expanding Japanese humorous *senryū* of the twentieth century, which, as mentioned previously in the chapter, rely on more direct humor. Why should one genre, like *haiku* or *senryū*, represent the whole of Japanese humor, and the other not?

Kristina Iwata-Weickgenannt's essay focuses on kimchi, gender, and ethnicity in Japanese-Korean contemporary lyric poetry. The author's enriching and playful literary style of analysis is exemplified by the wordplay in the piece's original German title, "Erlesenes Essen – Kimchi, Gender und Ethnizität;" the first word, "erlesen," can mean either exquisite or well-read (i.e., cultivated), while the second word refers to food. Iwata-Weickgenannt introduces the role food plays in language and literature as a delineator of both inclusion and exclusion of social groups and an indicator of self-understanding and the understanding of social class, ethnicity, and gender. The examined literary works, novels, and poems stem from *zainichi bungaku* 在日文学 (Korean minority literature) in Japan. The discussion concerns works like *Chi to hone* 血と骨 (Blood and Bones) by Yang Sŏk-il 양석일, *Kazukime* かずきめ (The Pearl Diver) by Yi Yang-ji 李良枝, Yū Miri's 柳美里 autobiographical *Mizube no yurikago* 水辺のゆりかご (The Cradle of the Shore), and, most of all, *Mesoddo* メソッド (Method) by Kim Masumi 金真須美. Depictions of food in the quoted novels serve to identify the trauma of rejected Korean identity expressed in eating disorders, to designate a social class, or again to show the rejection of a Korean ethnic identity perceived as biologically ingrained. An

7 One of the central poems discussed in connection to Suwa Myōjin has no title and is quoted in the *Konsenshū*, pp. 329–30: うつひとも うたるるひとも もろともに いずれもおなじ ゆめのたわむれ. *Utsu hito mo / utaruru hito mo / morotomo ni / izure mo onaji / yume no tawamure* ("For one who kills [shoots] as for one who is killed [hit], for both it is only the vain pastime of the same dream"–the translation of *tawamure* as "vain pastime" mirrors Rotermund´s choice of "vain passe-temps").

8 *Haiku* is a seventeen-syllable poem, usually in lines of five, seven, and five morae, usually containing a juxtaposition of ideas and a seasonal reference.

9 Of a structure similar to the *haiku*, *senryū* do not contain a seasonal reference and are often cynical or humorous.

analysis of two juxtaposed poems, *Kimchi* キムチ by Sō Shūgetsu 宗秋月 (1984) and *Konbini no kimchi* コンビニのキムチ by Chŏng Chang 丁章 (2005), takes up most of the chapter. In her analysis of Sō's *Kimchi*, Iwata-Weickgenannt traces a network of meanings in the portrayal of a mother's reverie while preparing kimchi for her two children. Through metaphors, wordplay, and alliterations that evoke visual, tactile, and auditory sensations, the poem touches on themes of a mythological Korean homeland (e.g., the word *kawara* references both roof tile and a riverbed, thus evoking the red tile-roofs of a typical Korean village situated on a riverbed), and (Korean) motherhood and femininity propagating a biologically ingrained Korean culture since time immemorial. The rejection or the grudging acceptance of a Korean ethnic identity is discussed here, as elsewhere in the works quoted in the chapter, through the children's reluctant enjoyment of kimchi.

Overall, Iwata-Weickgenannt seems to purposely conflate the author and the work and rely heavily on biographical and historical criticism in her interpretation. In the case of the poem's analysis, this occasionally leads to over-interpretation. For example, there are no textual clues that the mother raising her children away from the motherland of Korea or that the father's absence is significant in a broader, cultural way, which Iwata-Weickgenannt interprets as possibly reinforcing the idea of the matrilineal transmission of culture. Similarly, Iwata-Weickgenannt also deconstructs Sō Shūgetsu's claim elsewhere in her essay that the perpetuity of (Japanese-)Korean culture is due foremost to the mothers of the Korean minority in Japan, which itself amounts to a subversive stance against the domestic oppression of Korean women. It is unclear if the reference to Sō's essays is meant to shed light on the poem as well. The ending sentence of the analysis, posturing that "there can be no resistance against domestic violence of husbands and sons" out of the position of "maternal nurturing" (p. 80), seems misplaced and projecting generalized qualities of Korean minority literature onto the poem. Simultaneously, it seems to fall into the trap it tries to avoid, i.e., the trap of characterizing a normative womanhood, by repeating the post-structuralist dichotomy between the feminist, self-liberated woman on the one hand, and the captive, suffering woman of motherhood on the other hand, with no possibility of reconciliation. The analysis of Chŏng Chang's poem, *Konbini no kimchi*, relies heavily on historical criticism as well, to great benefit. It follows an informative summary of the economic development and evolution of social perceptions of kimchi in Japan. Iwata-Weickgenannt points out that here kimchi is firmly anchored in the present, as opposed to a mythological time of a lost Korean homeland (in *Kimchi*). In the author's interpretation, the lyrical voice's shock at the seeming naturalness of this incorporation of kimchi into Japanese cuisine is furthermore a sign that the trauma of colonization and discrimination by the Japanese has not been addressed and that the Korean minority population has merely mutely transitioned from being a victim of arbitrary discrimination to a witness of an equally coincidental culinary boom. While short, this chapter represents a *tour de force* in the analysis of interconnectedness of kimchi, gender, and ethnicity in selected works of Japanese-Korean minority literature.

In the fifth chapter, "Reflections on Poetry Composition in the Poetry of Tawada Yōko," Jasmin Böhm analyzes the poems of Tawada Yōko 多和田葉子 with reference to three subject areas: body of language and language of body (*sprachkörper* and *körper-sprache*); the correlation between literature and translation; and the in-between space of language(s) as the birthplace of literary creation. The majority of the article is dedicated to the second topic, the correlation between literature and translation. These topics also serve to answer Böhm's central research question: whether the poems of Tawada Yōko can be defined as metapoetics due to their reflecting and problematization, explicitly or implicitly, of the lyrical creation process. It is clear that this article was partly born as a result of lengthy, high-quality research for Böhm's dissertation project on Tawada's poetry; she eruditely presents us with several concepts of literary theory (e.g., metafiction, metapoetics, and literary translation), classifications of meta-poems in additional sub-types (Verspoetik, Künstlergedicht, autoreferenzielle Werke, and Böhm's own categories, prozedurale Metapoesie and intertextuelle Metapoesie), in addition to extensive literary scholarship on and by Tawada. Due to limited space, I will only address Böhm's analysis of her primary topic, the correlation of translation and literature. Leaning on Walter Benjamin's theory of translation, according to which a successful literary translation is closer to a type of meta-language ("pure language") than to the original language, she describes how Tawada claims that literary translations should "obsessively follow the literality [of the original text] until its language breaks

[the limits of] the conventional aesthetics."[10] The poet also sees the in-between space between languages as the birthplace of literature and considers every act of creation as a translation from this pure meta-language existing *a priori* in each poet. Böhm aims to employ this paradigm of translation versus literature in analyzing several well-chosen poems. Yet Böhm is less successful in pointing out aspects of the "body of language" (the materiality of the language contributing to the poem's meaning in a visual or phonetic way) and in demonstrating how Tawada's poems can be read as "translations" of the "pure language." The understanding is perhaps hindered by the lack of the complete inclusion of any poem, relying heavily on the narration of the content, and on quoting single lines or words out of the many works referenced. Generally speaking, her contribution constitutes a thoroughly researched, complex, and interesting discussion of the intermingling of literary theory and poetical works in the case of Tawada, although the discussion of literary theory occasionally overwhelms the poems' analysis to the detriment of in-depth literary criticism.

In his second essay in the volume, "Beginnings and Connecting Strategies in Modern Linked Poetry," which concludes the "Poetry-Prose" section, the editor Eduard Klopfenstein provides a short introduction to the history of the *renga* poetry genre. He examines a series of modern-day *renga* gatherings and compositions in light of their types of connections between stanzas, allusions, and references to the main poem topic in the subsequent stanzas. The author delves into the circumstances of several *renga* poetry gatherings, as well as their impact and reception. Broadly speaking, Klopfenstein restricts his focus to the beginning of the linked poems (called *hokku* 発句 in premodern times), but this does not hinder him from accomplishing a more thorough analysis of each part of the five quoted modern-day *renga* poems (*renshi* 連詩). He investigates whether similar patterns of connections in the first and second parts of *renga* can be found in modern *renshi* poetry as well. However, his method of examination relies exclusively on quoting and analyzing *renshi* in which the *hokku* were written by the same poet, Tanikawa Shuntarō 谷川俊太郎. The author acknowledges this limitation in his closing remarks. Klopfenstein's analysis of the quoted poems accounts for how they adhere or depart from traditional *renga* rules,[11] as well as the talent or experience of individual poets. Thus, he renders understandable for the reader the "symphony of images" that the poems offer in the fashion of their *renga* predecessors.[12] Overall, this chapter is rich with information and insight on both *renga* and *renshi* and on their similarities and disparities. It introduces a hitherto understudied genre of modern Japanese linked poetry, together with the unique and personal perspective of Klopfenstein as an initiator, promoter, and translator of *renshi* poetry gatherings. In a future analysis of modern *renga*, it would be interesting to compare such German/European-Japanese hybrid poems with experiments with *renga* in Western modern poetry, such as the project of Octavio Paz in 1969,[13] which Klopfenstein mentions only briefly.

In the short article "Japanese Folktales and the Storytelling Tradition – Spatiotemporal Framework, Performance and Experience" that opens the section titled "Orality," Gergana Petkova traces the general qualities of Japanese folktales and Japanese storytelling by a typology of performers and performance along spatial and temporal axes, and in a modern-day interactive context employing diverse media formats. While referring to several researchers of folktales, both Western and Japanese, Petkova does not aim to exemplify a particular definition through case studies of one or more folktales nor to problematize the modern adaptations or methods of storytelling of long-standing fairy tales. Rather, she illustrates in broad strokes the image of traditional storytelling as being done at night (ideally, but not only, at New Year's) and around the home hearth, while invoking Japanese beliefs in the special quality of both these specifications (e.g., *yomi no kuni* 黄泉の国, the new bride's role in tending the fire in the hearth). The present tense of the verbs in the author's characterization gives this reader the feeling that the article, too, refers to a mythical time still existing in unspecified locations in Japan, while one might ask oneself if storytelling does indeed occur around the hearth anymore. The most interesting aspect of the article is its elucidating modern-day phenomena such as the Momotarō 桃太郎 Festival established in 2001, the autumn Uraja

10 Tawada, *Verwandlungen*, p. 30.

11 These rules include avoidance of thematic consistency (*muga* 無我), or erasure of poetic individuality, the specific restrictions depending on the stanza's place in the poem, from first to fourth.

12 Konishi, "The Art of Renga," p. 45.

13 Starrs, "Renga," p. 276.

うらじゃ Festival, and the local restructuring of the town of Tōno 遠野 in Iwate 岩手 Prefecture. Known throughout Japan thanks to Yanagita Kunio's 柳田國男 (1875–1962) *Tōno monogatari* 遠野物語 (*The Legends of Tono*), the town has created a whole infrastructure to better value its folklorist legacy, including a library, folklore village, open-air museum of traditional houses and crafts, autumn festival, the "1000 Storytellers Project" launched in 2009, and so on.

The second chapter in this section is by Susanne Formanek and is titled "Orality in Writing: On the Prominence of Characters' Speech in Major Works of Edo-period Popular Prose." The article constitutes an overview of several works of genres of "playful literature" (*gesaku* 戯作), such as *dangibon* 談義本 (mock-sermon books), *sharebon* 洒落本 (fashion books), *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 (so-called yellow-cover booklets), and *shōhon jitatemono* 正本仕立て物 (stories in promptbook form). The analysis of the works highlights an aspect less researched in Japanese literature: the reproduction of spoken language before the emergence of the *genbun itchi* 言文一致[14] movement. Formanek draws parallels between the various genres: for example, similarities between *kibyōshi* and *dangibon* in the form of social criticism and humor, and between *kibyōshi* and *sharebon* as seen in the choice of stereotyped characters. The emergence of *kibyōshi* as political satire in the eighteenth century with the appearance of Koikawa Harumachi's 恋川春町 (1744–1789) *Kinkin sensei eiga no yume* 金々先生栄花夢 (Master Flashgold's Dream of Prosperity) in 1775 also gave way to a wide repertoire of literary tropes: from argot and contemporary slang expressions, to the witty use of allegory, allusions, asides, and *reductio ad absurdum*. On the other hand, Formanek also remarks on the innovation in phonetic notation of dialectal speech in *Ukiyoburo* 浮世風呂 (At the Public Bath) by Shikitei Sanba 式亭三馬 (1776–1822). One constant observation pervades the characterization of quoted works: their quality of unveiling the hypocritical nature of the characters, in the contrast between what they say and do, what they think and what they say, and critiquing of other characters followed by performance of the same action under critique. This emphasis on hypocrisy of the stereotyped roles signifies for Formanek an awareness of the fact that the specific society the "kinds of people" lived in forced them into the "roles" they performed, in both their actions and their utterances. For the author, this suggests a type of humor that unmasks itself as social criticism, a nuanced observation which might be hard to trace in the contemporary reception and enjoyment of the works described. Formanek's commentary on the depiction of hypocrisy through humor echoes the notion of *ugachi* 穿ち ("hole digging"), or of "satirically viewing and commenting on the 'holes' or flaws in contemporary manners and mores, which was central to the new popular literature and to the *gesaku* genres that came to the fore in the latter half of the eighteenth century."[15] Haruo Shirane traces the roots of *ugachi* in the censorship of the day, which caused ideas to be expressed by roundabout means such as satire. According to Shirane, however, "the person who practiced *ugachi* was not a social critic or reformer; instead, he pretended to be a casual bystander. It was often sufficient merely to expose 'the hole.'"[16] The article is a welcome and comprehensive addition to the study of Edo-period popular literature.

In a short and concise contribution to the second section, Eduard Klopfenstein tackles the intricacies of *bunraku* 文楽, or *ningyō-jōruri* 人形浄瑠璃, traditional Japanese puppet theater. His essay, "Between Talking and Singing: Narration, Dialogue, and Singing in *Jōruri* Recitation," predominantly focuses on the dynamics of the sole reciter's (*tayū* 太夫) voice fluctuations accompanied by the instrumental interpretation of the shamisen. Klopfenstein stresses how the genre developed autochthonously (i.e., not influenced by Chinese culture) and that there is no equivalent to be found for its intermediary tones between recitation and singing in Western culture. A schema of a *jōruri* recitation quoted from an unnamed TV program from the late 1990s gives valuable insight into the different states of interpretation, particularly voice modulation. The photos of facsimiles of an original script for *bunraku* (*maruhon* 丸本) and its arranged script for particular productions (*yukahon* 床本) are visually enticing, and Klopfenstein's transcription and explanations on notation techniques specific for the needs of *bunraku* theater are particularly engrossing. All the reader might miss when perusing this interesting piece is a bibliogra-

14 This was a movement for the unification of spoken and written languages.

15 Shirane, "Introduction," p. 380.

16 Ibid.

phy which might enable further research into the topic or facilitate better absorption of the given information.

Concluding the section "Orality," Klopfenstein conducts a comprehensive survey of the history of recitation and performance of modern poetry after 1945. Titled "Modern Poetry after 1945: Between Silent and Loud Reading, Recitation, and Performance," the chapter comprises an introduction to a supposed general disinclination of Japanese people toward poetry performance and recitation, followed by a presentation of some theories on what the causes for this might be. Klopfenstein delves into the history of poetry recitation from the interwar period, crossing into wartime poetry with the help of Tsuboi Hideto's monumental 2013 study.[17] Thus, the author highlights how poetry recitals or performances in prewar times were more widely accepted and broadcast on radio and how vinyl records of the poetry recitations have been preserved from the time before and after the Second World War. With a novel but entirely plausible theory, Klopfenstein attempts to explain the resurgence of poetry recitation and performance in the 1960s through the fact that the younger generations participating in it had not lived through the propagandistic, nationalistic recitation of war poems, or the *rōei* 朗詠 traditional ceremonial recitation of poems at the imperial court, and therefore they had not formed a negative association with the idea of poetry performance. Klopfenstein touches upon the *gengo shijō shugi* 言語至上主義 movement of poetry and gives several examples of prominent modern poets engaging in recitation and performance activities in recent years (Tanikawa Shuntarō, Shiraishi Kazuko 白石かずこ, and Yoshimasu Gōzō 吉増剛造). A brief mention of how Japanese poets adapted the phenomenon of poetry boxing from the United States, via the Indian city of Taos, serves as the closing for an enlightening introduction to a rather understudied topic in modern poetry recitation in Japan.

In the chapter "The *Shichiken zushiki* (1779): A Funny *Ken*-Game Instruction Book by Yomo no Akara and His Drinking Companions," Sepp Linhart examines a small book from the second half of the eighteenth century, the *Shichiken zushiki* 七拳図式 (Instructions on the *Ken*-Game). The work is attributed mainly to Ōta Nanpō 大田南畝 (1749–1823), also known as Yomo no Akara 四方赤, and to several other authors among his contemporaries. Previously defined by scholars as a *kokkeibon* 滑稽本 (humorous novel intended for mass circulation), *Shichiken zushiki* is considered by Linhart to be more of a humorous essay on a variant of the *kazu-ken* 数拳 game (number's *ken*) due to its lack of plot. In the introduction, the author familiarizes the reader with the personality of Ōta Nanpō, a famous *homme de lettres* and author of *kyōka* 狂歌 (satirical *tanka*), *kanshi* 漢詩 (Chinese poetry), and *sharebon*, as well as a list of Ōta's humorous pseudonyms throughout his lifetime. He also informs the reader about the type of political, hedonistic, and *ken*-related humor prevalent in Ōta's works and in the Edo period at large through a well-chosen selection of *waka* and *senryū*. Linhart then outlines the structure of the book. He explains the rules of the *shichiken* laid out in a section of the book by Akera Kankō 朱楽管江, as well as its connection to the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove,[18] who are said to have lived in China at the end of the Wei dynasty and are frequently depicted in classical East Asian paintings. Additional examples of poems included in the work follow, and are analyzed from an intertextual perspective enriched by a wealth of information on the seven sages. The accompanying reproductions of images from the book, in which a poem and a drawing of a sage are juxtaposed, make for a dynamic reading. Linhart, who has extensively researched the *ken*-game in Japan,[19] a predecessor of the game known around the world today as *janken* ジャン拳 (rock-paper-scissors), punctuates this excursus on *shichiken* with his knowledge of rules and versions of the game, all centered on the act of drinking by the loser. The author also briefly highlights such facts as that Ōta Nanpō worked as a *bakufu* official, and that the connection to the *shichiken*, seven sages, can be read as signifying an intrinsic critical attitude towards the politics of the day. Nevertheless, this piece might have benefitted from the inclusion of more information on its reception, both contemporary and posterior, as well as how it relates to other *ken*-game variations and to the political circumstances of its supposed

17 Tsuboi, *Koe no shukusai*.

18 This was a group of Chinese scholars and poets from the third century CE who are said to have retreated to a bamboo grove to escape the danger of the political world, which they criticized and satirized in their writings. The motif of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove was known in Japan as early as the ninth century and widely depicted in art from the sixteenth century to the Edo period.

19 Linhart and Frühstück, *The Culture of Japan*; Linhart, *Ken no bunkashi*.

author. Unfortunately, the reader is left with the impression that this fascinating contribution exists in a void, as the piece fails to reference previous scholarship, however much of it exists, on the *Shichiken zushiki*.

The second contribution by Linhart likewise concerns the *ken*-game, in a chapter titled "The Inscriptions in the Pictures [*gasan* 画讃] for the *Ken*-Game by Shōkōsai in 1809, Written by Tetsugōshi Namimaru, *Kyōka* Poet and Iron Merchant from Osaka." The work described is a two-volume book called *Ken sarae sumai zue* 拳会角力図会 (Illustrated Competition of the *Ken* Groups), published in 1809 by Kawachiya Tasuke 河内屋太助 (fl. 1735–1868) from Osaka and Murataya Jirōbē 村田屋治郎兵衛 (fl. 1816–1824) from Kansai. Because Shōkōsai Hanbē 松好斎半兵衛 (fl. 1795–1807), a well-known *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵[20] master from Kansai, provided twenty-one illustrations for the two volumes, the book has captured the interest of later generations. As a result, the work has been well-preserved and reproduced in many libraries in Japan and Europe. *Kyōka* poems accompany the illustrations, written by a poet from the rival Kansai group of the *kyōka* faction of Ōta Nanpō and Akera Kankō. This poet was also an iron merchant, as his name suggests: Tetsugōshi Namimaru 鉄格子波丸 (?–1811) (alternative reading: Hamaru, Namimaro). Linhart expertly analyzes the twenty-one illustrations and the accompanying fourteen *kyōka*, and he makes the *ken*-related wordplay and humor accessible to the uninitiated reader. Though he surveys the different types of *ken*-games (e.g., *hon-ken* 本拳, *sansukumi-ken* 三すくみ拳) and provides background information on the two artists, Linhart does not go beyond to the contemporary context or into the portrayal of the *ken*-game within the content of the two volumes. In lieu of a conclusion, he offers an additional two examples: portrayals of *ken*-games in illustrations and poetry. While the piece is perhaps narrowly concerned with examples of *ken*-game depictions, this is another pleasant, well-crafted introduction to the world of *ken*-games as a leisure time or humoristic activity of the early nineteenth century.

The first of the following three chapters written by Masako Sato is titled "Motif Interaction in Japanese Culture: Lyric Poetry Behind Paintings—How Poetical Motifs Transform in Other Media." The study commences with an exploration of the scholarship, poems, and reception of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537), a well-respected poet and *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*The Ten Thousand Leaves*) scholar of the Muromachi period. Sato traces the development of *Man'yōshū* studies in parallel with the development of a *waka* poetic motif of "the bridge in the rain" in several works leading up to the Edo period. Her examination features rich details on historical circumstances and adjacent poetical works. Sato lends important insight into the legacy of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka and the evolution of *waka* principles over time, outlining the transition from a metaphorical, emotion-based usage of the "bridge in the rain" motif in the *Man'yōshū* to a more realistic, empirical portrayal in subsequent *waka.* This trend continued as seen in the poetic principles of the simple, honest expression of sentiments espoused by Ozawa Roan 小沢蘆庵 (1723–1801) and that of authenticity (*shirabe* 調) promoted by Kagawa Kageki 香川景樹 (1768–1843). Sato also credits Sanetaka with the impact of theme index-based *waka* poetry anthologies which led to more people, especially from the lower classes, learning how to compose *waka*. Particularly striking is the depiction of Sanetaka as a model of poetry studies for the two cultural poles of the seventeenth century, the shogunate and the aristocratic court, through the Sanjōnishi family's association with the Tokugawa government and the emperor's preoccupation with *Man'yōshū* studies. Sato goes on to relate the transformation of the "bridge in the rain" motif to its depiction in the eighteenth-century prints by Utagawa (Andō) Hiroshige 歌川 (安藤) 広重 and Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉. The author's attempt to draw direct correlations between the quoted poems and the presented paintings, based on superficial arguments, requires deeper reflection. However, this chapter stands as a strong contribution to the volume through its masterful historical and poetical analysis of its chosen literary motif.

In the following chapter, "The Myth of 'The Cave of the Sun Goddess': Images and Interpretations in Tokugawa-period Japan," Masako Sato surveys portrayals of this most famous narrative regarding Amaterasu Ōmikami in Japanese mythology. She examines works by authors from the early seventeenth to the nineteenth century, such as those by Ihara Saikaku and Saitō Tokugen 斎藤徳元 (1559–1647), in several *kanazōshi*

20 Literally "pictures of the floating world," *ukiyo-e* is a genre of Japanese woodblock prints and paintings produced between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, featuring motifs of landscapes, tales from history, theater, and pleasure quarters. It is the main artistic genre of woodblock printing in Japan.

仮名草子 (*kana* booklets),[21] such as one by Miura Tameharu 三浦為春 (1573–1652), in a novel by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816), painters such as Katsukawa Shuntei 勝川春亭 (1770–1820?) (as illustrator of Santō Kyōden's *gōkan* works), and Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849). In his novel, *Seken Munesan'yō* 世間胸算用 (This Scheming World), Ihara Saikaku references the myth at the start of twenty short stories that follow a variety of people of different statuses by beginning with the phrase, "[in] the remote ages of the Sun Goddess in the Cave." According to Sato, the intrinsic associations to the mythical motif in Santō Kyōden's novel stem solely from the title, *Iwato-kagura tsurugi no itoku* 岩戸神楽剣威徳 (Ritual Dance Music from the Door of the Cave of the Sun Goddess), and the fact that its climactic sequence takes place in a cave. Thus, the connection to the mythic narrative is tenuous at best, but Sato goes to great lengths to demonstrate the provenance of the symbols in the stories by tracing the inspiration for it back to the *kokugaku* 国学 (nativist studies) movement. For example, the author notes evidence that Santō Kyōden had certainly read Motoori Norinaga's 本居宣長 (1730–1801) *Kojikiden* 古事記伝.[22] Noteworthy are Sato's observations on the practice of rearranging mythic elements, which provided a "collage of imaginative tools" (p. 258) for authors of several works from the Edo period. For example, the woodblock prints of Katsushika Hokusai offer an interesting juxtaposition of the portrayal of the mythical motif and the goddess Ame-no-Uzume, said to have been the one to lure Amaterasu out of her cave through lewd dancing, thus bringing light back to the world. However, the most interesting examples are mentioned in the conclusion, in the staging of a play called *Iwato no Kagekiyo* 岩戸景清 (Kagekiyo in the Cave) by the Edo-based Kabuki theater Kawarazaki-za 河原崎座. Sato relates the staging of the play to the return of an actor banned for political reasons from Edo, whose comeback was superimposed upon the motif of the sun goddess returning from the cave. The *yakusha-e* 役者絵 (i.e., pictures of Kabuki actors onstage) portraying the performance also bore the *shita-uri* シタ売り seal,[23] indicating it was best sold covertly rather than publicly (p. 270). Sato includes three additional woodblock prints by Utagawa Toyokuni III 三代歌川豊国 (1786–1865) and Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1798–1861), believed to have been meant to satirize real events, political matters, or critiques of the government itself. As Sato states, this phenomenon can also be traced to the development of a kind of critical civil society, whose political thought similarly derived from the *kokugaku* school of thought. Sato's treatment concludes with the transformation of the motif into a symbol of the newborn nation-state during the Meiji Restoration. In sum, this chapter represents another well-documented, rich analysis of the evolution of portrayals of the myth of the Heavenly Rock Cave[24] under the influence of the *kokugaku* school.

In the next chapter, "Plum Blossoms in Japanese Culture," Sato explores the significance of plum blossoms, first as a poetic motif adopted from Chinese poetry in the *Man'yōshū* and *Kokinwakashū* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Japanese Poems Old and New), and second in connection to the larger-than-life figure of the Heian scholar-official Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903) and his posthumous deification as the *kami* Tenman Tenjin 天満天神 from 987 onward. Sato gives valuable insights into the proliferation of what she calls "the imaginative chain of *tenjin*, Michizane, poetry, intellectual ideals, learning, and education," which featured the plum blossom as a central symbol (p. 288). Thanks to the motif of plum blossoms appearing in a legendary poem of Michizane included in the *Kokinwakashū*, the flower's associations withstood the test of time and were reinforced by the incorporation of plum tree gardens into the landscape of Tenjin shrines, which rapidly spread across the country. Sato traces this association up to the present day, in shrines such as Yushima Tenmangū 湯島天満宮 in Tokyo, Kitano Tenmangū 北野天満宮 in Kyoto, and Dazaifu Tenmangū 太宰府天満宮 in Kyushu. The concluding section, which occupies a third of the chapter, examines the aforementioned poetic motifs and the concrete geographical and industrial influence of plum orchards in the vicinity of Kyoto and Tsukigase 月ヶ瀬 as sources of Ogata Kōrin's 尾形光琳 (1658–1716) inspiration for his famous painting, *Red and White Plum Blossoms* (*Kōhaku baizu* 紅白梅図). Sato effectively demonstrates Ogata's knowledge

21 This was an early Edo-period genre written entirely in *kana* or in a mixture of *kana* and *kanji*, primarily intended for women and children.

22 Commentary on the *Kojiki* written by Motoori Norinaga.

23 This seal marked items for sale "under the counter."

24 Designates the Ama-no-Iwato cave in Japanese mythology in which Amaterasu, goddess of the sun, hid after being angered by her brother Susano'o, thus depriving the world of light.

of Japanese poetry, how he incorporated the motif of plum blossoms in his paintings, and the production of kimono designs for his family's business, whose dye was made from *ubai*, a catalyst sourced from the plum tree. Given the abundance of evidence for such sources of inspiration, however, one is left wondering why Sato traces the origins of the painting *Kōhaku baizu* to *Man'yōshū* poems featuring plum blossoms and to the Tsukigase valley specifically. Though the writing occasionally appeals to vague notions such as "sophisticated mentality" and "noble intellectual ideal," this chapter nonetheless paints a broad and rich picture of the significance of plum blossoms in Japanese culture from literary, cultural, economic, and historical perspectives.

In the volume's last chapter, "Poetry on Edo-Period Printed (Children's) Games," Susanne Formanek gives a broad overview of different popular games. Her survey sets out from early *utagaruta* 歌ガルタ (poetry *karuta*), which built upon predecessors from the Heian period (*kai-awase* 貝合わせ and *kai-ōi* 貝覆 played with sea shells), to later *sugoroku* 双六 games. The games also served as media for the enjoyment and learning of *waka* poetry from the *Kokinwakashū*, *Ogura hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each), *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (*The Tale of Genji*), and by contemporary authors of the Edo period. The first part of the chapter delves into the similarities and discrepancies between Edo-period *karuta* cards and contemporary cards, examining the reasons for their evolution into the present form. The second part of the chapter surveys variations of *sugoroku*, a board game similar to the ancient *Game of the Goose*.[25] Formanek describes in detail the relationship between the represented poems, the scenes or context they address, and the illustrations on the cards or on the *sugoroku* game boards. The examples of the adaptation of the *Genji monogatari* and its pastiche, *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* 偽紫田舎源氏 (A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji) by Ryūtei Tanehiko 柳亭種彦 (1783–1842), as found in games and the examples of *sugoroku* games portraying tongue-in-cheek Confucian principles of piety and loyalty to one's parents, are particularly engrossing. Though Formanek's careful examination of an abundance of case studies is uniquely informative, one wishes that more information on the historical usage of the games were provided. For example, in one place Formanek mentions the broad dissemination of the games in the context of Edo-period merchant and artisan families wishing to improve the education of their children and to draw closer to the cultural world of the aristocracy. The author exemplifies this situation with reference to the customs of private elementary schools, which served to educate girls who would work in noble families, thus increasing their chances for a good marriage. From this discourse, the only historical note on the Edo period in the article, one might imagine that these girls were the only ones playing *utagaruta* games as a means of learning poetry. However, Formanek briefly mentions elsewhere the decline of *utagaruta* as a family game played at New Year's. Perhaps the evolution of the playing of *utagaruta* and its context could constitute the object of further studies.

In sum, this volume brings together valuable academic studies of good to excellent quality and an extraordinary variety of topics and research methodology, while at the same time uniting them through common themes which run throughout the book: *kokkeibon*, *senryū* (Klopfenstein, Linhart, Formanek); Japanese humor; orality, fairy tales, and storytelling (Petkova) and poetry performance (Klopfenstein); reproduction of spoken language in *kibyōshi* and *sharebon* (Formanek); and continuity between religion/mythology and literature (Rotermund, Sato). The shortcomings of the work are limited to bibliographies being missing in some of its chapters and a somewhat outdated presentation of research materials, with some contributions lacking references more recent than the 1990s. However, this does not detract too much from the rich, informative, and nuanced content of the volume's contributions.

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25 This is a board game where two or more players move pieces around a track by rolling a die or two dice. The aim is to reach square number thirty-six before the other players.

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Review

Laurel Kendall. *Mediums and Magical Things: Statues, Paintings, and Masks in Asian Places*. University of California Press, 2021.

BOOK REVIEW BY MALLY STELMASZYK

"Down from the altar and into the domain of enlivened ritual practice" (p. 182) is a shift in thinking about religious experiences encouraged by Laurel Kendall throughout her pivotal book as she examines ensouled images and the ways in which they are made, used, and consequently disposed of. Anthropological inquires have long looked at relationships between humans and nonhumans, materiality of spirits, and religious practices through debates such as an ontological turn, new animism, or cosmopolitics, to mention but a few. *Mediums and Magical Things* certainly falls within these debates, adding, moreover, an important spin to the ways in which we understand what it means to say that images have powers. In this book, the author considers the complexity of encounters with empowered images as situated in four geographical contexts spanning Asia: the statues used by Vietnamese and Burmese spirit mediums, the paintings hanging in Korean shamanic shrines, and the masks worn on the heads of entranced dancers in Balinese festivals. By introducing the notion of the ontology of ensoulment, Kendall ably demonstrates the key role of both artistic and ritualist practices and circumstances through which images become inhabited by spirits and, at the same time, the ways in which they become desouled or de-animated.

In conceptualizing and structuring this monograph, the author introduces a distinct kind of comparative study wherein four examples of ensouled images interweave in a productive dialogue without reverting to either reductive conclusions lodged in the rubric of universalism or endless particularity. Through what Kendall refers to as "the validity of asking" (p. 22), a deeper understanding of agency and materiality emerges while illuminating how a question posed in one context might unveil unpredictable eventualities (both theoretical and ethnographic) in another. Kendall astutely situates her discussion on three analytical hooks or, as she proposes, affordances. The first concerns the traditions of religious image-making through quality workshop productions; the second discusses the distinct processes of ensoulment while asking how magic congeals with craftsmanship in the practices of fabricating images, and their installation, care, and disposal; and the final affordance probes the ways in which certain images affect the work of spirit mediums and shamans in Asia. The three affordances are analyzed within the four ethnographic contexts and are gradually considered in the first five chapters. The first affordance is discussed in chapters 1 and 3. The second becomes central to chapters 2 and 3, and the final one resonates through chapters 4 and 5. All three affordances then come together in the concluding chapter 6. Each of the six chapters is

based on an extensive and beautifully written ethnography which weaves around four distinct examples, starting with the Vietnamese statues, followed by Burmese figures, then to Korean images, and concluding with Balinese masks. Thus, through this intricate analytical framework, we are encouraged to unveil the conditions of doing, making, and using powerful objects.

Chapter 1 focuses on a plethora of Hindu and Buddhist traditions that directly relate to the achievement of image ensoulment. For example, she considers the use of liturgical knowledge in the practices of ensoulment, and the rule of blessings and prayers and the involvement of priests, monks, and ritual masters in the process of enlivening images. Kendall begins her analysis with parsing questions around the ways in which people produce the immaterial using the material means available to them. The author foregrounds the importance of relationships between people and objects in this process, which brings together shamans, mediums, artists, images, and the community. This allows Kendall to show how the notion of ensoulment reaches far beyond ritual practice. In doing so, she also highlights how the craft of creating images, where skills and materials interweave with the ritual or magic, is significantly absent from the debates on spirit materiality and animism. While we further learn about the circumstances in which the ethnography presented in the book emerged, Kendall also reveals her engaging journey, which spans different continents, as an ethnographer and an anthropologist.

As the discussion moves into chapter 2, a more complex conversation on image agency ensues, probing the ways in which effectuating the powers of images are understood and experienced by devotees in different ethnographic contexts in Asia. Through analyzing how gods, spirits, or energizing forces are inducted into the images and operate through them, Kendall introduces the core objects of study in the book. These are the temple statues that are part of the Mother Goddess religion in Vietnam, *nat* (local deity) figures from Myanmar, Korean god pictures and Korean shamans (*mansin*), and Balinese masks inhabited by *niskala* (Balinese invisible entities). The author thoroughly engages with diverse practices that constitute the process of ensoulment of each of the images and shows how these often resonate across the region. However, the analysis also elucidates an important difference for further discussion. In the context of Vietnamese and Burmese statues, ensoulment appears to be more static and directly related to concrete practices, with the statues operating more as containers for gods and spirits. In the context of Korean pictures, this process is much more unstable and unpredictable while hinging on the gods' distinct relationship with the shamans and mediums. Similar ambiguity is conveyed in Bali where the process of mask ensoulment is often dangerous and uncertain, with masks being securely stored away outside of the ritual context.

This allows the author to delve into a broader discussion on the use of animism and animation as relevant analytical frameworks in the understanding of the processes of enlivening spirits. As Kendall convincingly shows, considering animism as a point of reference might be useful in discussing the dynamics of communication between shamans, spirits mediums, and non-naturalist beings in material form. However, the very essence of enlivening is something that animistic approaches, as discussed in some anthropological works, might overlook given its prevailing focus on forces as permanently residing in images. Kendall foregrounds her conversation on animism within some of the well-established analyses of human/nonhuman relations, such as those of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro[1] and Morten Pedersen.[2] To this, I would also add recent critiques of new materialism, in particular a pivotal work offered by critical indigenous studies in relation to indigenous metaphysics, as presented by, for example, Kim TallBear.[3] TallBear's critique of the co-constitutive entanglements between the material and the immaterial in the wider context of intimate relations with nonhuman beings could have contributed an important angle to Kendall's discussion on ensoulment, materiality of spirits, and interactions with nonhumans in general.

Chapter 3 moves away from the process of ensoulment towards the specific practices of fabricating images to become containers or seats for gods, spirits, and energies. With reference to Marcel Mauss's[4] culinary metaphor on the notion of magic as a recipe (p. 66), the author examines the congealing of magic and craftsmanship as they come to produce powerful images. Kendall supports her discussion with an extensive ethnography that unpacks complex actions associated with

1 Viveiros de Castro, "Exchanging Perspectives."
2 Pedersen, *Not Quite Shamans.*
3 TallBear, "Beyond the Life/Not-Life Binary."
4 Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*.

carving and preparing objects. These actions include the quality of wood, the carver's integrity and purity, but also some minor magic, such as the importance of lucky days, prohibitions, offerings, and the use of skills in crafting the statue that will satisfy the gods (pp. 74–98). In the context of Korea, great importance is further attributed to the relationship between the shamans, gods, and painters. Indeed, through her nuanced study, Kendall ably shows us how craft, art, religious practice, and magic can become a single activity in the process of creating specific images.

In the second part of the chapter, the tensions between older, more "traditional" methods of image fabrication and the growing commoditized production are introduced. With references to Mauss's[5] and Alfred Gell's[6] discussions on magical acts and technical execution as variables that can be combined (p. 100), Kendall turns to distinct technologies of enchantment where the circumstance in which the images are produced along with the materials being deployed contribute to the overall efficacy of the images themselves. With respect to increased commodification, these technologies often become reduced to pure technology for cost-effective purposes. As Kendall convincingly points out, however, such distinctions between commodified and non-commodified objects are not instantly obvious. Although offering an important contribution to the understanding of the commercialization of religious practices, such as shamanic shows and selling religious images as souvenirs, Kendall stresses the role of distinct ambiguity surrounding such practices, which goes well beyond the commodity and non-commodity dualism.

The intricacies of relationships between ensouled objects, mediums, and shamans are a center of analytical discussion in chapter 4. Kendall points to the parallels between carefully crafted images considered as containers and carefully prepared bodies that await interaction with the enlivened images. As the author stresses, these parallels, although executed through different practices, are neither representational nor experiential. Rather, they constitute discrete modes of engagement. In order to illustrate her argument further, Kendall refers to the concept of an assemblage to reflect how bodies, images, and gods operate as a machine of interweavement, a machine that is fluid, unstable, and unpredictable. The connections that occur between ensouled images and the mediums, who foster their animate presence in ritual settings, is also analogically compared to electricity. This allows the author to explore the ways in which material religion and the dynamics of ritual work continually recombine while remaining vulnerable to diverse factors, such as circumstance and relations between those involved in the process. Thus, Kendall revisits her earlier remarks on the intrinsic ambiguity that accompanies the ontology of ensoulment when, for example, some images work better than others and sometimes they might not work at all. With some critique of Amazonian and Southeast Asian studies, this translates into further consideration of animism as limited in accounting for a refined sense of the ontological practices with which the author engages.

In chapter 5, we move towards the complexity of socioeconomic circumstances in which the ensouled images are created. Revisiting some of the remarks from chapter 3 concerning the growing commercialization of religious objects, the author convincingly explores how the production of statues, masks, and paintings goes far beyond the frames of mere representation or embodiment of "pure commodities in art market exchange" (p. 133) as it is often understood. Kendall explores the fluidity of boundaries between empowered images and pure commodities that seem to overlap both in the context of practices that surround them and the ways in which people perceive them. As in the previous chapter, the question of the unpredictability of enlivened objects is considered, allowing the author to illuminate how the shifts between sacred and secular identities can often become inconsistent and unknown. In short, rather than moving in a straightforward manner towards disenchantment, ensouled images spin in numerous directions including art, religion, and economics. Considering the importance that is attributed to ambiguity, fluidity, and uncertainty throughout Kendall's book, it would have benefitted from more engagement with Siberian and Mongolian cosmologies, where cosmological relations, including humans, spirits, gods—and also objects—are often fluid, difficult to discern, and intermittent.[7]

5 Ibid.

6 Gell, "The Enchantment of Technology."

7 See, for instance, Willerslev and Ulturgasheva, "Revisiting the Animism Versus Totemism Debate"; Delaplace and Empson, "The Little Human and The Daughter-in-law"; Levin, *Where Rivers and Mountains Sing*.

Chapter 6 concludes this journey of image analysis by exploring the complexity of the paths through which ensouled images become part of the museum environment. In a compelling manner, Kendall discusses how it is often through the practices of theft, appropriation, and damage paired with insensitivity and ignorance that the empowered images become transformed into museum objects. As the author convincingly shows, the conditions of ensoulment and de-soulment of images are rarely available in museum records, despite their pivotal role for the overall presence of the image and its path from fabrication to afterlife. Powerful images displayed in museums often affect the museum staff and those who sell or gift images to a museum collection as well as museum visitors. As Kendall rightfully points out, to not acknowledge these processes, in, for example, literary considerations of sacred materials, renders the understanding of the image significantly poorer.

Kendall's monograph constitutes a key reading for anyone who is interested in the broader understanding of how materiality and immateriality come together in a productive dialogue while revealing the nuanced processes of producing sacred images and the complexity of sociocosmic relationships that surround them. By offering a unique framework of an ontology of ensoulment, the author poses fundamental questions regarding the ways in which art and the sacred, as well as the commercial, interleave while pushing our comprehension of "what an image is, how it has been understood and used, and the work it was once expected to accomplish" (p. 177). Moreover, Kendall's book is an important voice that should be heard and attended to in the current wider anthropological debates on matters such as cosmopolitics, the pluriverse, and the Anthropocene, where anthropology continues to grapple with the intricacies of human and nonhuman interactions and their direct implications for our worlds.

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Review

Alain Arrault. *A History of Cultic Images in China: The Domestic Statuary of Hunan*. Translated by Lina Verchery. The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2020.

BOOK REVIEW BY SUSAN NAQUIN

There were thousands of gods in China before the modern era; today, a few are well researched but most remain unstudied and unknown. *Shen* 神 is a capacious category, and lines are blurred between ancestors, immortals, demons, and deities. For the better-documented last millennium, the names and identities of some of these supernatural beings were recorded in texts, particularly those written by devotees and ritual specialists, but scholars have fractured their study into Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian sectors. The once immense number and variety of gods have discouraged attempts at comprehensive histories.

These objects of worship in material form—as statues, paintings, tablets, and prints—were not only housed by the millions in homes and workplaces but also concentrated in temples which, like the churches of Europe, were everywhere in dynastic China. Such images have not been considered worthy of collection or preservation until recent times, and repeated anti-superstition campaigns during the last century generated waves of destruction. Even now, religious images of the last five hundred years are undervalued and remain on the fringes of Chinese art, in the shadows of the more admired works of earlier eras. Their importance to the study of Chinese culture has not yet been fully realized.

Alain Arrault's 華瀾 *Cultic Images* focuses on surviving wooden statues from central China, especially those from the province of Hunan 湖南, and it is a promising investigation into the history of Chinese deities through physical objects. A professor and director of studies at the École française d'Extrême-Orient, Arrault has been working with these materials for two decades and, together with a number of colleagues from France, North America, and China, has shown how they can serve as a foundation for a history of gods as well as a window into the religious practices of everyday life.[1]

Cultic Images is a composite of scattered articles in French and English that consolidates the work of Arrault, but it is also an introduction to other scholars who have been—and still are—working with such statues from this hitherto unstudied part of China. Because of its composite origin, the book consists of six chapters of uneven length. To approach the subject from the big picture before seeing the details, I recommend reading

1 An introduction to the early work of some of this group and to the religions of central Hunan may be found in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 19 (2010), an issue dedicated to "Religions et société locale: Études interdisciplinaires sur la région centrale du Hunan / Interdisciplinary Studies on the Central Region of Hunan."

the introduction and conclusion first, then chapter 4, and then chapters 1, 2, and 3 where the statues are closely analyzed.

The more than three thousand "cultic images" analyzed in the book are defined loosely as statuettes "designed for religious worship" (p. 1). They come from three different collections formed in China from the 1970s to the 1990s, but they share characteristics that allow them to be considered together. Nearly all are three-dimensional statues made of wood, mostly single figures about 20 centimeters (9 inches) in height; many have internal chambers containing documents and other matter. Their small size, single-family donors, and references to protection for the family allow Arrault to term them "domestic statuary" representative of "household cults" (p. 25). They date primarily from 1780 to 1980, but especially 1880–1950. Chapter 4 is a good introduction to the statues, their interior compartments, the consecration ritual that brought them to life, and domestic altars more generally.

Color photographs of these once painted statues punctuate this book and add to our appreciation of them. Interpretations of their poses, gestures, attributes, and symbols are scattered throughout the text. Although each figure is shown from the front and as a stand-alone object, photos (undated) in chapter 4 illustrate how they are arranged on altars, some wrapped in red paper, alongside other images in other media.

The three collections whose owners have allowed their materials to be part of Arrault's data are those of Yan Xinyuan 顏新元, with 1,362 statues collected in Hunan in the 1970s by exchange and purchase; Patrice Fava 范華, with 911 purchased at antiques markets, especially in Beijing, from the 1990s on;[2] and the Hunan Provincial Museum 湖南省博物館 in Changsha, with 870 statues acquired from a 1984 customs seizure of goods intended for sale in Hong Kong antique stores (p. 9). Each collection has its particular biases,[3] of course, but this cooperative endeavor has produced a database in French and Chinese that is the basis for Arrault's details and generalizations.

Wooden statues of similar size from sub-Yangtze China have been saved by others and preserved outside of China (important collections known to me are listed in the appendix; I hope there are others). These Hunan ones are, however, significantly distinguished by the presence of the documents found inside 44 percent (my calculation) of the statues and dating from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. These texts and some carved inscriptions endow these statues with rare and important information about their creation and use.

Stored in sealed cavities, such "consecration certificates" (*yizhi* 意旨) provide talismans, dates, places, and names, as well as information about makers, donors, and ritual masters. Sometimes accompanied by *materia medica*, these rolled up paper texts, many translated here, are the fascinating basis for Arrault's discussion of gods, ancestors, teachers, ritual practices, and much else. Some provide surprisingly lively stories that feature women as well as men. Although also discussed in earlier articles, these documents are a considerable strength of the volume.

Chapter 2, which comprises two-thirds of the book, looks closely at the god images themselves, dividing them into loose categories of national, local, and family divinities, and combining analyses with detailed tables and lists. Arrault acknowledges the difficulties of making such distinctions between the spheres of different gods and of separating ancestors from revered teachers. The multiplicity of names used for such divinities and the accumulation of heterogeneous stories about them make the task especially challenging. Given the political pressures that may have led to the destruction of temples during the last century, is it possible that some of the statues here treated as domestic might once have been intended for a public altar? Arrault explicitly links taller statues with multiple family donors as "collective cults," and he notes that the larger ones (mostly in the Hunan Museum) might have originally been for temples. From my own research on god images in northern China, I agree.[4] In any case, such distinctions may say more about our concerns than those of their original creators and users.

Ancestors, perhaps only 10 percent of the pool, are an interestingly complex category and deserving

2 Fava's collection of these and other related objects is presented at length and with large, generous illustrations in his *Aux Portes du ciel, la statuaire taoïste du Hunan*. For the wood used in those statues, see Mertz and Itoh, "A Study of the Wood Species."

3 The varied routes and reasons behind the movement of such objects from their original places of worship into the hands of collectors (poorly conveyed by words such as discard, gift, or sale) are not discussed.

4 Naquin, *The Gods of Mount Tai*.

of more research. The relationships expressed in the certificate documents provide fresh insight into the actual practice of ancestor worship (better studied in other parts of the Chinese world through fieldwork). The statues that represent once-living people complement the research on ancestral portraits, most of which are Qing or later, and they should be integrated with a study of the ancestral photographs that are now also placed on altars and on graves.

Ancestors are not so easily disentangled from "masters of a specific initiation lineage," a most interesting if confusing category that includes teachers, daoists, and craftsmen along with more conventional "deities." Considered together, they help us notice and better understand both the importance of such ritualized relationships among the lay population and the complexity of hereditary transmission of ritual knowledge and status. "Masters," a translation of *zushi* 祖師 or *shizu* 師祖 (and variants), encompasses expertise in "vocations that require initiation" as well as similar figures who were associated with various "teachings" (*jiao* 教). Chapter 3 concentrates on seventy examples of such teachings, with extensive consideration of a few. A "Daoist" dimension, often mentioned in earlier works on these statues, is not emphasized here, and we see instead a heterogeneity that is a plausible reflection of a society in which organized standardization of ritual expertise at the local level was weak.

These databases and the accounts recorded on the certificates that were preserved inside the statues are powerful tools for bringing order to the initial chaos of so many images that are otherwise difficult to sort out. Together, they are a good introduction to this dimension of highly personalized belief about which we know little, and they deepen and diversify our understanding of "domestic," "worship," and "cult." They also provide a basis for comparison with, and a helpful model for, research on those many comparable wooden statues that lack such documentation.

The region studied by Arrault and his colleagues is usually designated as "Hunan," or "central Hunan," pointing to the politically defined province from which most of the statues come and where research on local religion has been concentrated. Most statues come from modern Anhua 安化, Ningxiang 寧鄉, and Xinhua 新化 counties, and Arrault characterizes the whole as "central and northeastern Hunan." In Chinese, it seems to be called Xiangzhong 湘中, the middle reaches of the Xiang River, a designation that suggests a shared geographical niche. The problem of how to define spatially meaningful units of religious culture within the larger sphere of "Chinese religion/religions" is one without an easy answer but a focus on the province seems more convenient than consequential.[5] I agree with Arrault that "local" is marginally better than "popular" (p. 164), but both words are relative terms, helpful when compared to something specific but not when used casually.

The study of Hunan statues has been fruitfully accompanied by fieldwork and historical research and Arrault's bibliography is an excellent introduction to this increasingly rich multilingual literature on local religious practices in interior south-central China. Although the idea of a "Chinese" religion is powerful, these scholars know that this is an area where "minority" peoples (Yao 瑶, She 畲) have become mixed during the last millennium with Han immigrants, including Hakkas 客家人. If assumptions about unchanging and essentialized identities are set aside, a close examination of this area can illuminate not only its history but its changing social composition and churning mixture of religious belief and practices. Arrault writes that "in central Hunan we have an example of a local society that is open, polymorphous, and multipolar, still immune to the unification that is enforced by institutions, ideologies, and political and academic discourse" (p. 169). Immune? I doubt it, but this book does, as the concluding pages argue, reveal how this important heterogeneity does "resist oversimplification" (p. 167).

All living religions change, but the acceleration of the last century that affects us all has been exacerbated in China by the jarring waves of targeted and powerful political attacks. The effect of such policies on the selective survival of the statues analyzed in *Cultic Images* is not much discussed. Chinese and foreign scholars are doing good work on the still sensitive religious scene of twenty-first-century China, but historians fret about the dangers of "salvage ethnography" while fieldworkers struggle to find the words to describe the relationship to "traditional" practice—is it survival, revival, reinvention, transformation, or revolution?

Like anthropologists and filmmakers who help future historians by studying present practices as they flash by, the data on Hunan statues provides a valuable

5 For more on materiality as a basis for religious culture, see Naquin, "Material Manifestations."

late twentieth-century snapshot of religious and material culture. Alain Arrault and his colleagues have, moreover, set an example for other existing-but-unexamined Chinese gods that survive in the museums, temples, homes, and public security bureau depots of China, and in museum storerooms, private collections, auction catalogues, and online auctions in other parts of the world. The history of Chinese deities does not have to be only textual. I hope this book and other work on Hunan statues will inspire the study of today's gods through their images, in whatever media and wherever they are found.

Appendix: Comparable Collections of South China Wooden Images of Gods

- In the 1870s–1890s in Taiwan, some 110 statues were collected from converts, including non-Han people, by the Canadian missionary George Leslie Mackay 馬偕 (1844–1901). First donated to Knox College, and then transferred to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, where they are in off-site storage and not easily accessible. See: Wikipedia entry for Mackay.
- In the 1880s, at least 320 were commissioned in the Amoy area of Fujian by Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (1854–1921). They can now be found in Leiden (Museum Volkenkunde) and Lyon (Muséum d'histoire naturelle). See R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, "Catalogue of the Pantheon of Fujian Popular Religion," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 12/13 (2001), pp. 95–186.
- In the 1890s, some 400 were commissioned in "South China" by Otto Franke, then a German diplomat, for the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin; of these, about 100 survived World War II. See R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, *The Beaten Track of Science: The Life and Work of J. J. M. de Groot* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), p. 68.
- In the 1950s–1980s, from his base in Hong Kong, Foreign Service officer Keith Stevens (1926–2015) collected statues from Guangdong, Fujian, and Taiwan. They were variously exhibited and extensively written about by Stevens in the *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (between 1972 and 2007). After his death, about 1,000 were put up for auction in the UK on 4–6 October 2016, and dispersed.
- In the 1970s, from his base as a United States diplomat in Taiwan, Neal Donnelly (1933–2015) acquired more than 200. Their whereabouts are unknown to me. See Neal Donnelly, *Gods of Taiwan: A Collector's Account* / 台灣的神像 : 一名美國文物收藏家研究紀事. Taiwan: Yishujia Chubanshe, 2006.

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A Group of Twelfth-Century Japanese *Kami* Statues and Considerations of Material Intentionality: Collaborative Research Among Wood Scientists and Art Historians

MECHTILD MERTZ, SUYAKO TAZURU, SHIRŌ ITŌ,
AND CYNTHEA J. BOGEL

Abstract

A collaboration between wood anatomists and art historians, this report investigates Japanese statues dating to the tenth to twelfth century now preserved in American, British, Canadian, and Japanese museums and private collections. This is the first article in any language concerning a "group" that at present comprises eighteen wooden icons we place in the genre of *shinzō* (statues of *kami*, i.e., divinities). They are related in terms of style, physical features including size and carving technique, and—the impetus for this study—rare wood choices. Some, perhaps all, are related in terms of provenance. A 1930 illustrated catalogue for an exhibition of Shinto statues and objects, the *Shinzō shinki zuroku*, describes two of the statues as the *kami* embodiments (*shintai*) of the historical figures posthumously known as Shōtoku Taishi and his consort. The *Catalogue* also notes that they are said to have come from a [Shinto] shrine in Izumo (northern Honshu) and are made of Japanese bigleaf magnolia (*hōnoki* / *Magnolia obovata*) or possibly ancient *kusunoki* (camphor wood). Over several years, working closely with institutions and owners—three right up until the month this report was written—wood samples of twelve of the eighteen statues were microscopically tested with the permission of the owners (all but two were tested by authors); four have been carbon-14 dated. The combined results of the tests are astounding. Ten of the twelve are made of magnolia (*mokuren-zoku* / *Magnolia* sp.), one of (*sumomo-zoku* / *Prunus* sp.), and one of Japanese chestnut (*kuri* / *Castanea crenata*). These woods are not as yet recorded for use in *shinzō* and as such represent a topic worthy of serious study. Carbon-14 dating confirms the dates as circa tenth to eleventh century (for three) and eleventh to twelfth century (for one). In addition to details about the choice of woods this study discusses the *shinzō* in terms of categorization, iconography, historical definitions and viewpoints, acquisition and provenance, and suggests avenues for further research among scholars and the institutions and individuals who care for the icons today. The authors hope that this article will facilitate further understanding of scientific research such as wood identification and dendrochronology, and its applications to the religious, historical, economic, ecological, and stylistic study of icons.

On *Shinzō*: Repositories for the Divinity

The two characters 神 and 像, meaning "god" and "image or statue" respectively, form the term for "deity icons," in Japanese, *shinzō*, and in Chinese, *shenxiang*.

Japanese 神 is also pronounced "*kami*," a term applied to a vast range of divinities, spirits, and natural phenomena. In premodern China, Korea, and Japan, 神像 was a sweeping term that referred to a wide range of images of local gods and divinities from many religious and ritual traditions but is not typically applied to images of Buddhist divinites. In Japanese, *shinzō* refers to statues of the *kami*, and the term *butsuzō* 仏像 to Buddhist statues. Each has their own distinct nomenclature and appearance and yet next to some *kami* representations statues of lesser Buddhist divinities such as female or male *deva*[1] (henceforth "deva") or guardian figures, even to a trained eye, the two can be difficult to differentiate—a point to which the statues featured in the present research will attest.

A history of *shinzō* can be supported by remains and records, but also bedeviled at every turn, since the relationships between Buddhist divinities and the powerful *kami* changed over time and were very localized and complex. A history of *shinzō* might include figures or symbols of *kami* in nature or at sacred sites, such as in stone niches or forests or within open air structures, but we can only hypothesize about these. There remain numerous archaeological finds of assorted anthropomorphic imagery on pottery or flat wooden shapes, usually painted, from the late seventh and eighth century that are not Buddhist per se, many of which were used for benevolent means (such as healing) but also for malevolent purposes. The relationship to contemporaneous notions of such talismans, effigies, or loci or conduits to *kami*, however, is unclear. Art historian Kageyama Haruki 影山春樹, writing in the 1960s and 1970s, understood them as prototypes of *kami* representations.[2] Regardless, it is important to keep in mind that although today seen as gentle gods, *kami* were once seen not only as very powerful, but also potentially violent and dangerous divinities that inhabited unseen places deep in the mountaintops, requiring ardent propitiation to keep safe the land and its inhabitants.[3] Some of the most feared and respected, even ostracized, *kami* are found at the borders of territories controlled by different clans, or at the extreme edges of power centers, areas of influence that compete with notions about the Japanese imperial line, or areas influenced by "foreign" or competing gods—such as Izumo (a possible provenance for some of these statues) and the large island of Kyushu. Therefore, it should not be surprising that there exists a fluidity in the interpretation of the nature of *kami* over time and place, or at the same moment, and their diverse *shintai* 神体 forms. The term *shintai* or *goshintai* 御神体 refers to something in which a *kami* inheres, a temporary vessel for its nature. It is also thought that objects or places that attract *kami* are selected by humans or the *kami* themselves as *shintai*.

We are grateful to Sugiyama Junji, Itoh Takao, and Sorimachi Hajime of Kyoto University for their wood identification expertise in evaluating the Shinto statues at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Cleveland Museum of Art, and Princeton University Art Museum. We are also indebted to the conservators and curators at the following museums and collections in North America and Europe who collaborated with us—at times over several years: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Cleveland Museum of Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Honolulu Museum of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (loan), Princeton University Art Museum, Gitter-Yelen Collection, Royal Ontario Museum, Sainsbury Centre, and The Art Institute of Chicago. We are especially grateful to conservator Daniel Hausdorf and curator John Carpenter of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, curator Stephen Salel and registrar Cynthia Lowe of the Honolulu Museum of Art, and dendrochronologists Catherine Lavier, Centre de recherche et de restauration des musées de France (C2RMF), and Mitsutani Takumi, formerly of the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 奈良文化財研究所). Wood identifications were supported by the Collaborative Program, "Databases for the Humanosphere," issued by the Xylarium (Zaikan Chōsa Shitsu 材鑑調査室) of the Research Institute for Sustainable Humanosphere (RISH), Kyoto University. The synchrotron radiation experiments were performed using the beamline 20XU at SPring-8. SPring-8 is an acronym for Super Photon Ring–8 GeV (http://www.spring8.or.jp/en) located in Sayō-gun, Hyōgo Prefecture, with the approval of the Japan Synchrotron Radiation Research Institute (JASRI, Proposal No. 2017B1761, 2018B1747, and 2021A1123). This study was further supported by a JSPS Kakenhi Grant, Number 16K18730 and 19K01124 (Tazuru Suyako, primary investigator) and RISH Mission-linked Research Funding, Numbers #2018-5-4-1, #2019-5-4-1, #2020-5-4-1, and #2021-5-4 (all Tazuru). Paleo Labo Co., Ltd. in Toda City, Saitama Prefecture conducted the carbon-14 dating of statues held by the Honolulu Museum of Art and the Royal Ontario Museum with the support of a scientific research grant and RISH Mission-linked Research Funding #2021-5-4 (Tazuru). Collaboration was supported by a JSPS Kakenhi (Kiban B) Grant, Number 18H00630 (Cynthea J. Bogel, primary investigator) and the Metropolitan Center for the Study of Far Eastern Art, Advanced Research and Publication by Individual Scholars Grant (Bogel).

1 The Sanskrit word *deva* (Jp. *ten* 天) denotes Indian gods of non-Buddhist origin. When referring to such deities in Japanese the character *bu* 部 is added, rendering the designation *tenbu* 天部. Japanese artworks often depict deva as figures wearing Chinese garments.

2 See Kageyama, *Shintō bijutsu no kenkyū*, p. 492, cited by Guth Kanda, *Shinzō*, p. 10, and Kaneko, "Nihon ni okeru hitogata no kigen."

3 Satō, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities."

This is a key concept in understanding the unusual choice of woods for the statues under discussion. Trees have long been associated with *kami* and are the primary medium for *shinzō*. *Shintai* can be a tree, stone, or a waterfall, for example, and it is also a respectful way to refer to the statues in which the divinity inheres. In premodern times, *shinzō* were less accessible for viewing relative to *butsuzō*—themselves not very accessible, but the hidden were venerated in myriad ways.

Many scholars note that representations of Japan's divine *kami* were unnecessary or unthinkable until Buddhist icons became ubiquitous, which in turn stimulated a desire to create a material focus for worship of the *kami*, a "competition" model that can create unnecessary binaries. It is clear, however, from surviving late eighth-century and later records that *kami* were viewed by some as sentient beings who are suffering in their current form and who desire to take refuge in Buddhism. This suggests an emerging Buddhist-centric viewpoint of *kami*[4] and a concurrent emerging and irresistible urge to "represent" in an environment brimming with representations of Buddhist divinities as well as *kami*, both in proximity to temples in the Chinese style in new Chinese-style capitals and beyond. In ancient Nara 奈良 (Nara period, 711–784) shrine-temple complexes (*jingūji* 神宮寺, also *jinganji* 神願寺) came later than in other parts of the realm, among them the eighth-century shrine-temple Usa Hachimangū Mirokuji 宇佐八幡宮弥勒寺 in Kyushu, Kehi Jingūji 気比神宮寺, Wakasahiko Jinganji 若狭比古神願寺, and Tado Jingūji 多度神宮寺.[5] The first records attesting to the creation of *shinzō* include Tado Jingūji. One reason for the representation of *kami* is a desire to see what one venerates, and as noted, it is strongly connected to the abundance of Buddhist icons by the eighth century in Japan, and the ritual needs of shrine-temple and temple-shrine complexes.

Strictly speaking, *shinzō* are best seen as temporary physical embodiments of *kami* and "representing" the maker, patron, or god's intention—a form of "material intentionality"—a term contributed by Bogel. But the real thrust of this term comes with the knowledge we have gained through wood testing to understand the possible origins and meaning of *shinzō* made of magnolia and other uncommon *kami* statue woods. Although representation in paintings or sculpture often represents state/political and spiritual (if the two can be separated) intentions, material intentionality is central to this report. From human hair to fragrant woods and ephemeral materials such as paper to luxurious significations such as lacquer, materials are also spiritual. The data garnered by co-authors Tazuru Suyako 田鶴寿弥子 and Mechtild Mertz on the woods used for every statue in the group of eighteen discussed herein that was able to undergo testing is astounding and will, we hope, add to our understanding of not only this compelling body of work (whether it is a "group" or not remains to be proven) and to the material intentionality of *butsuzō* as well.[6]

As we move through the details about a unique group of icons, including points ranging from the scientific and artistic to the situational and historical, or from the material to the numinous, it would serve us well to be cognizant of the truly limitless types of divinities or spirits in Japan—and neighboring influences, namely the Chinese continent, the Korean Peninsula, and Southeast Asia—and their myriad origins and functions. There has been resistance in Japan to recognizing non-Japanese influences on the representation of what have long been venerated as the "indigenous" *kami*, in large part due to the associations between the imperial family and *kami*, and yet, *kami* veneration is dependent on external sources for both ritual content and appearance (as is the imperial family). The term 神 in China and Korea in premodern times was used for the spirits of the earth and many local gods. As is well known, these non-Buddhist divinities entered Buddhism—with the Hindu gods a major import source. In Japan, we see a return of many local gods from foreign lands that entered Buddhism, including Kisshōten 吉祥天, guardian kings (*shitennō* 四天王), and dragon kings (*ryūō* 龍王), who also appear in the form of *shinzō*. Art historian Nagasaka Ichirō 長坂一郎 has shown that even the seated posture with one knee

4 Itō Shirō briefly notes this, as does most of the literature on *shinzō*. Itō, *Heian jidai chōkokushi*, pp. 61–63.

5 Uejima, "State, Temples and Shrines in Medieval Japan," pp. 14–19; Hardacre, *Shinto*, pp. 97–99; and Kochinski, "Negotiations Between the Kami and Buddha Realms." Kochinski's article takes up these four shrine-temple complexes.

6 Important studies that have presented new evidence for the woods used for Buddhist statues include Kaneko et al., "Nihon kodai ni okeru mokuchōzō no jushu to yōzaikan I" and "Nihon kodai ni okeru mokuchōzō no jushu to yōzaikan II"; and Tazuru et al., "Wood identification of Japanese Shinto Deity Statues in Matsunoo-taisha Shrine."

up and one down, typical of one type of *shinzō* statue from the Heian 平安 (794–1185) period derives from a similar representation of non-Buddhist gods (神) at Chinese Buddhist cave sites, for example. By extension, the impetus for making statues of the *kami* is not the iconic tradition of Buddhism in Japan, as has long been asserted, but the iconic traditions of making local divinities in Korea and China and their impact on Japan.[7] This fluidity need not be universalized or posited as something that negates the meaning of different ritual systems and beliefs, nor should the conflicts between "the gods that came first" and those that followed, but neither should the Japanese *kami* be essentialized or essentializing; nor binaries such as Buddhist and non-Buddhist or the state of the *kami* as numinous in a way that relates only to "Shinto" and not Buddhist concepts or the intentions of the viewer.

Such fluidity and concomitant complexity bear directly on representations of *kami* made from the latter half of the Heian period, when the statues featured in this study were made. By then *shinzō* were crafted to resemble courtiers, monks, men, women, animals, demons, bodhisattva, deva, guardians, beggars, old men, old women, foreign persons from far-away lands, and children. The earliest surviving *shinzō* are male and female, in court dress, old and young, or don simple robes and have shaven pates like monks. Examples include the triad at the temple Tōji 東寺 (Kyōōgokokuji 教王護国寺) featuring Hachiman 八幡, a god from Kyushu, and anonymous male and female forms held at the shrine Matsuno'o (Matsuo) Taisha 松尾大社 and the temple Kōryūji 広隆寺, all in Kyoto.[8] The latter two temples were patronized by the Hata clan 秦氏, who came to Kyushu from Silla 新羅 (Korea) by the late fifth century.

From the late eighth and ninth century, temples had structures or halls on site dedicated to the propitiation of the temple's tutelary *kami* with *shinzō* enshrined, and some shrines had a Buddhist statue enshrined. The tutelary *kami* statues are difficult to distinguish at times from *butsuzō* of lesser divinities, such as deva or bodhisattva. In the medieval period they are referred to as *shugojin* 守護神 or *gohōjin* 護法神, "protecting gods" and "protectors of the Buddhist dharma." At that time the term Shinto was not used as it is today to define a specific body of cultural practices juxtaposed with the Buddhist "religion" and other concepts that formed in Japan due to Western influence in the second half of the nineteenth century. Noting how difficult it must have been to create the appearance of *kami*, Itō Shirō 伊東史朗 writes about the strong Buddhist influence surrounding the production of the earliest *shinzō*. He refers to the earliest written record to a *shinzō*, a passage dating to 761 and found within the 801 *Tado Jingūji garan engi shizaichō* 多度神宮寺伽藍縁起資財帳 (Inventory and Account of the Sacred Origins of Tado Jingūji 多度神宮寺), a work about Ise Province that tells of "Tado daibosatsu" 多度大菩薩. "Great Bodhisattva" from this early usage referred not to the compassionate Buddhist divinity but to a "great *kami* awakened to the Way of the Bodhisattva."[9] Although we do not know what Tado Daibosatsu looked like, the title "Great Bodhisattva" also appears circa 781, when the *kami* Hachiman was honored with the title Gokoku Reigen Iriki Jintsū Daibosatsu 護国霊験威力神通大自在王菩薩 ("Great Bodhisattva of National Protection and Marvelous Spirit Power").

Wood is the most common material by far for religious icons in Japan (others include bronze and lacquer) but for *shinzō* wood is used almost exclusively. Whereas the artisans of Buddhist statues made during the time when the statues discussed here were carved, i.e., the late Heian period (ca. 1068–1185), are frequently known, those for the *kami* were rarely named. Wood anatomists and art historians specializing in Japanese and Chinese materials and iconography and history have come together in these pages to narrate the story of how scientific analysis of the wood itself is probably the only thing that we can be sure about for most of the statues—and to explore where this secure standpoint can take us in an historical or religious study of the works. This research furthers our knowledge of how wood statue-making evolved in Japan and contributes significantly to our understanding of wood types used for Shinto icons. It reiterates the importance of wood identification for proper study of statuary and other objects for the fields of wood science, art history, Japanese religions, and regional studies.[10]

7 Nagasaka, *Shinbutsu shūgōzo no kenkyū*, p. 268.

8 See Itō, *Matsuo Taisha no shinkage*; and Keyworth, "On the 'Shintō' Statues of Matsuo Shrine." The latter has an extensive biography.

9 In English, see Guth Kanda, *Shinzō*, pp. 11–13. Bocking, *A Popular Dictionary of Shinto*, p. 33.

10 For an overview of the history of wood research in Japan, and wood nomenclature, structure, grain, and more, see Mertz, *Wood*

Even more so than the study of Japanese Buddhist statues, the fact that *shinzō* are usually kept out of the public eye at Shinto shrines contributes to the understudied state of their materials. It is even possible to argue that more than Buddhist icons, due to their lesser exposure to tourism and museum exhibitions, *shinzō* impart a thick aura of distance from worldly matters. Furthermore, testing their wood is not welcomed by shrines and owners. Material analysis through scientific means helps to answer questions about how long ago and for whom, and about why these icons were made as well as of what and where, all questions that might otherwise be unresolvable. Important studies of *shinzō* to date are listed in the note here.[11] We turn now to the wood discovery that stimulated this co-authored report.

"The Philadelphia Moment": Piecing Together the Group of Eighteen Statues

The existence of a group of related *shinzō* statues—most of which were held in collections overseas—had been known among curators and other scholars, collectors, and dealers from the early twentieth century. (It should be noted that, until recently, collectors and dealers were occupations that overlapped considerably.) Clues indicating a group of sixteen statues first emerged at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 2017. That year, two of the present report's authors, Mertz and Tazuru, visited the museum to collect wood samples for microscopic examination within the context of a project on Chinese Buddhist sculptures.[12] Samples extracted at that time from a Japanese statue known as "Crowned Male Deity in a Japanese Robe" (*Hōkanwasō danshinzō* 宝冠和装男神像, figure 10) yielded very surprising results. Scientific testing demonstrated that the statue was not cypress (*Chamaecyparis obtusa*, Jp. *hinoki* 檜), the principal material for religious icons in Japan from the Heian period.[13] Nor was the icon sculpted from Japanese nutmeg (*Torreya nucifera*, Jp. *kaya* 榧), the next most common wood used in statuary. Scientific analysis revealed that the statue at the Philadelphia Museum of Art was crafted from a species of magnolia wood (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属, モクレン属). The size of the statue suggests a high probability of *Magnolia obovata* (*hōnoki* 朴木 or ホオノキ), but other species such as *Magnolia praecocissima* (*kobushi* 辛夷) or *Magnolia salicifolia* (*tamushiba* 田虫葉) cannot be discounted.[14]

The use of magnolia wood for statuary is exceedingly rare, hence the excitement. Of the 1,062 religious sculptures included within a 2012 database of published wood identification reports which span all regions and eras, only seven Buddhist statues are carved from magnolia wood.[15] And of those seven magnolia statues, only two can be firmly dated to the Heian period, both of which were made in the Kanto region using assembled-wood construction (*yosegi-zukuri* 寄木造) rather than being carved from a single bole (bole meaning tree trunk), a technique known in Japanese as *ichiboku-zukuri* 一木造り and the method used for the eighteen statues under discussion.

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and Traditional Woodworking Japan, pp. 7–40 in English and in Japanese, Mertz, *Nihon no ki to dentō mokkōgei*, and Itoh and Yamada, *Ki no kōkogaku*.

11 Guth Kanda, *Shinzō*; Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Kamigami to deau*; Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Kamigami no bi no sekai*; Itō and Akagawa, *Shinzō chōkoku jūyō shiryō shūsei 3*; Itō and Yahiro, *Shinzō chōkoku jūyō shiryō shūsei 4*; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Shinbutsu shūgō tokubetsuten*; Oka, *Shinzō chōkoku no kenkyū*; Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan and Mainichi Shinbunsha, *Yamano Kamihotoke Yoshino, Kumano, Kōya*; Shimane Kenritsu Kodai Izumo Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Dai Izumo ten*; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan and Kyushu Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Kokuho daijinjaten*; Vilbar and Carr, *Shinto*; and Yuhara, *Bessatsu taiyō shinzō no bi*.

12 Mertz and Itoh, "The Study of Buddhist Sculptures from Japan and China Based on Wood Identification"; Mertz and Itoh, "Analysis of Wood Species in the Collection"; and Tazuru et al., "Firaderufia bijutsukan ni okeru Chūgoku butsuzō no jushu shikibetsu chōsa."

13 Findings on the "Crowned Male Deity in a Japanese Robe" may be found in Tazuru et al., "Wood Identification of a Japanese Deity Statue of the Philadelphia Museum of Art." Hinoki cypress, with its woody aroma and pure white color, is frequently used for religious architecture, most famously the Ise 伊勢 Shrine complex.

14 *Magnolia obovata* a can grow up to thirty meters tall and reach a diameter exceeding one meter. The species can be found in mountainous areas to the north, including the South Kurile Islands, and south as far as the upper levels of Kyushu. See Satake et al., *Nihon no yasei shokubutsu: Mokuhon* (Vol. 1), p. 106. Fresh magnolia wood can sometimes be recognized by its greenish-grey color. Easy to split and carve, magnolia is often used in woodturning to create lacquered objects. In English see Mertz, *Wood and Traditional Woodworking in Japan*, pp. 59, 63, and 202.

15 Wood anatomist Itoh Takao 伊東隆夫 and archaeologist Yamada Masahisa 山田昌久 created the database. Itoh and Yamada, *Ki no kōkogaku*. The magnolia findings are reported in a 1963 article by wood architecture specialist Kohara Jirō 小原二郎. See Kohara, "Nihon chōkoku yōzai chōsa shiryō." On tenth-century Heian period statuary see also Itō, "Heian jidai kōki no chōkoku shinkō to bi no chōwa," and Itō, "Jūseiki no chōkoku."

Tazuru and Mertz informed art historian Itō of the extraordinary results, well aware of his interest and expertise in *shinzō* and previously in consultation with him. Itō, in turn, shared a list of sixteen works that he had thought about previously as a group of statues that were similar in date and style and therefore likely provenance. The contours of the group came into clearer relief still, and expanded, when Mertz identified a similar wooden statue in the private Gitter-Yelen Collection (figure 18), which had been offered at Bonhams international auction house in 2017.[16]

Available evidence led Itō to conclude that a group of sixteen related statues existed, now preserved in various museums or collections. Many of these had been documented in a series of surveys published in 1979 and 1980 in *Ars Buddhica* (*Bukkyō geijutsu*) by art historian Shimizu Zenzō 清水善三 of Japanese religious icons in North America.[17] Itō expanded on Shimizu's survey. With the addition of the Gitter-Yelen Collection statue (figure 18) and another statue purchased by the Sainsbury Center in Norwich, UK (figure 8), the total of known works we believe are from the same group, based on wood testing and style, now stands at eighteen.

In summary there are eleven statues dispersed across North America: ten in museums (Ontario, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Honolulu [3], Chicago [2], New York, San Francisco, Princeton) and one in a private collection (Gitter-Yelen); five in Japanese museums and private collections (Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts Museum; and one statue in the UK (Sainsbury Centre). There may be others, but our research has not brought any to light. The table at the end of this essay simplifies the material known for each of these statues and has columns for their names, home institution, provenance, sources, and other known and speculated information. Contrary to standard practice, the illustrations (figures) cited will not appear within the main body of text and not necessarily in order of mention. Rather, due to the large number of statues in the group, the authors wish to present them together in a specific order that corresponds to the useful table placed immediately before the eighteen statue illustrations and wood-related figures (19–23).

Privacy, Provenance, and Science

The website of Bonhams describes "a group of unusually large Shinto deities that appear to have reached the United States in the 1950s through the Mayuyama Company [Mayuyama & Co.] and are thought to be associated with religious cults active in the region southwest of present-day Tokyo, centered on the Izu Peninsula." Bonhams includes the statue tested in 2017 at the Philadelphia Museum of Art within this group.

The statement that the works originated from Izu Peninsula near Tokyo is, however, an unfortunate error. Rather, the provenance is possibly the Izumo 出雲 area, located on northern Honshu island, in Shimane 島根 Prefecture, facing Ulsan and Gyeongju on the Korean Peninsula across the East Sea (the latter a great capital of Silla kingdom for over a thousand years, beginning in 57 BCE until the early tenth century) and home to the vast shrine grounds of Izumo Taisha 出雲大社, more properly known as Izumo Ōyashiro. The 1950s noted on the Bonhams page is a decade we have not confirmed, but acquisition dates for statues, most of which—if handled by Mayuyama—went through dealers both in Japan and in the U.S. before being sold to U.S. collectors or museums, indicate movement to the U.S. and within Japan during the 1950s and 1960s; neither can it be confirmed by us that the group was sold by Mayuyama (this is not to suggest that these two statements are in error, only that a source is not provided).

A 1966 publication edited by Mayuyama Junkichi 繭山順吉, *Japanese Art in the West*, was a key source to the ongoing interest in an expanding group of *shinzō* that appeared to be connected to the seven illustrated in his book by those within and outside of Japan, as the two provenance columns in our table suggest.[18] Mayuyama writes that the works illustrated are among his favorites and the photos are from his collection. In his 1988 book, *Bijutsushō no yorokobi* 美術商のよろこび (in English, *The Joys of Art*), Mayuyama writes that "2,123 pieces of Asian arts and crafts, most of them ceramics, had been handled by members of our staff during seventy years since the company was founded in 1905… I am proud to be an art dealer."[19]

16 Bonhams, "Lot 6150: A Large Standing Figure of a Shinto Deity," https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/23784/lot/6150/.

17 Shimizu, "Amerika, Kanada ni aru Nihon chōkoku" (parts 1–3).

18 On the founder of the company (Junkichi's father) and the history of the business, see Mayuyama, *Kobijutsushō Mayuyama Matsutarō to kanshō tōki no sekai*.

19 Mayuyama, *Bijutsushō no yorokobi*, foreword, n.p.

The euphemisms of the previous volume are gone, and it is reasonable to assume that he sold at least the seven *shinzō* statues that appear in *Japanese Art in the West*, and quite possibly many more in the group of eighteen.

The Art Institute of Chicago holds in its collections two of the eighteen statues under discussion (figures 4 and 13). The museum explains on their homepage they represent the Dragon King and the monk Hyeja, respectively, and that the two "originally belonged to a group of 12 Shinto deities (*kami*) believed to have come from the Izumo district on the north coast of the island of Honshū."[20] "The group is believed to represent Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (574–622), his family, and his advisors," the text continues. The Art Institute of Chicago does not specify which sources they consulted to posit a link with Shōtoku Taishi. Perhaps, like Itō, the research team was aware of two sculptures pictured in a 1930 publication, *Shinzō shinki zuroku* 神像神器図録 (Illustrated Catalogue of Shinto Statues and Sacred Implements, henceforth *Catalogue*), said to represent Shōtoku Taishi and his consort (figures 1 and 2).[21] The description in the 1930 *Catalogue* is as follows:

> 1, Statue of Prince Shōtoku (*Shōtoku taishi zō*), magnolia wood carving, height 3 *shaku* 3 *sun*, collection of Mr. Maeyama Hisakichi.
>
> It is a statue[22] from a shrine in Izumo,[23] and is said to be the work of the prince (Taishi) himself. Also, it is known as an incarnation of Kannon Bosatsu. The wood used is conjectured to be magnolia (*hō*), but some propose that it is ancient camphorwood (*kodai kusunoki* 古代楠).
>
> 1, Statue of Lady Shōtoku Taishi (*Shōtoku Taishi kohizō*) magnolia wood carving, height 3 *shaku* 1 *sun*, collection same person as above.

一、聖徳太子像　木彫朴材　　丈三尺三寸
前山久吉氏出品
出雪某神社の御神體にして、太子の御自作なりと稱し又觀音菩薩化身の像と傳う、用材は朴と推定するも、或は古代楠ならんかの説もあり

一、聖徳太子妃像　木彫朴材　　丈三尺一寸
同氏出品[24]

The *Catalogue* was created for exhibitions held by the Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai 日本美術協会 (its English name was Japan Arts Association), an organization formed in 1879 and which became a foundation in 1925. The association held biannual exhibitions of sculpture, crafts, and calligraphy, one in spring and one in autumn. It also mentions that both statues formerly were found in a certain shrine in Izumo Province (*Izumo bō jinja no goshinzō* 出雲某神社の御神像). We cannot know the basis for the attribution of Shōtoku Taishi and his consort; early statues representing Shōtoku Taishi as the reincarnation of Kannon were, just like images of Kannon, worshipped by myriad people seeking salvation and protection from disease and disaster.[25] As for the important provenance mention, it is possible that if the statues were removed from the shrine by authorities during the destructive and violent actions upon shrines and also temples during the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912), or sold by a shrine due to economic constraints, or other reasons, or that such provenance might be contrived, but Bogel suggests that this is unlikely. Whichever the case, it is all we have to go on at this time.

Note that the first two figures are unusual in that the primary source of information for them is the 1930 *Shinzō shinki zuroku* and poor quality photos in the Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (Tōkyō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 東京文化財研究所). Even though we know that they are owned by an individual in Japan, photographs and information have not been circulated by the dealer or new owner, nor is the provenance since the 1930 notation that they were in the collection of Maeyama Hisakichi 前山久吉 (1872–1937). Note that Maeyama also owned the statue of the old woman (figure 16) now in the Tokyo National Mu-

20 The Art Institute of Chicago, https://www.artic.edu/artworks/5821/dragon-king.

21 Although the more common reading for 神器 is *jingi*, it is usually used to refer to the imperial "three treasures" of a mirror, sword, and jewel. As the exhibition was broader than a focus on the three we use an alternate reading for the characters, *shinki*.

22 The term *goshintai* 御神體 is used, which as noted, refers to something in which a *kami* inheres.

23 The characters 出雪 are used as phonetic equivalents for Izumo rather than 出雲.

24 Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai, *Shinzō shinki zuroku*, unpaginated, text section p. 2, plates 8 and 9. Note: alternative renderings of Ōiratsume include 橘大娘皇女 and 橘大郎.

25 JAANUS, entry for Shōtoku Taishi, http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/.

seum. As he died in 1937 it is possible that the first two went to Mayuyama, but there is no evidence for this in circulation. The date that Maeyama gave the statue to the museum is not public to our knowledge.

These and other observations beg the question of whether eighteen is the likely final number for the group and whether there is a known iconographic precedent for eighteen related figures including Shōtoku Taishi and his consort, or whether it is likely a larger group based on established iconography. There is no easy reply, but based on Bogel's assessment of the existing statues, the types of icons in this group, and certainly the number eighteen, do not correspond to a known iconography. Based on the well-known narratives of the prince's life on folded screen paintings, handscrolls, or sets of paintings usually entitled something along the lines of *Shōtoku Taishi eden* (聖徳太子絵伝, *Illustrated Biography of Prince Shōtoku*) found in museums around the world, any number of "groups" could be extrapolated but there appears to be no set iconography for the choice of these eighteen or including these eighteen in Heian period sources or surviving art works. The sole basis for the Shōtoku designation is the source described above, the 1930 *Catalogue*.

It has been noted and will be further explained in the section "Eighteen *Shinzō* in Three Categories" below that there are prominent sculpture specialists who have designated figure 16, an icon of an Old Woman Deity from the Twenty-Eight Legion (Nijūhachi bushū 二十八部衆), a Buddhist assembly of a variety of divinity types that in Japan are associated with the Thousand-Armed Kannon (e.g., at Rengeōin 蓮華王院, today's Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂). This would imply that there were more statues in the group. There are divinities in the group of eighteen that find parallel in the Twenty-Eight Legion, but the authors remain unpersuaded by this iconographic designation, as well as to the idea that the eighteen under discussion here are Buddhist divinity representations, not *shintai*. We look forward to further discussion.

Wood in Ancient Japanese Statuary

Important studies of hinoki cypress and *kaya* woods include groundbreaking cooperative research projects between wood scientists and art historians specializing in religious sculpture. For example, two art history Buddhist sculpture specialists, Kaneko Hiroaki 金子啓明 and Iwasa Mitsuharu 岩佐光晴, worked with wood anatomists Noshiro Shuichi 能城修一 and Fujii Tomoyuki 藤井智之 and presented the results of their examination of the wood species of early Buddhist sculptures in three *Museum* publications (1998, 2003, and 2010).[26]

In the earlier article the authors discuss the results of wood tests on sixteen Buddhist sculptures representative of the Nara period and two representative icons from the early Heian period, each made from a single bole. The team concluded that each statue was made of made of Japanese nutmeg (*kaya*),[27] correcting previous identifications as hinoki cypress.[28] The work of the Kaneko group stimulated a reevaluation of scholarly assessments of the woods used for ancient Japanese Buddhist wooden icons, which then affected scholarly assessments of wooden *shinzō*.

As explained in the first report (*Museum* 1998), camphorwood (*Cinnamomum camphora*, Jp. *kusu* 樟) was the primary wood used for Buddhist statuary in the seventh century, but during the eighth century, statues were mostly made of Japanese nutmeg or hinoki cypress. The team studied tiny wooden fragments from seven single-bole icons at Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 and nine at Daianji 大安寺 as representative works of the Nara period, and for the early Heian period tested the main Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来 icon at Jingoji 神護寺 in Kyoto and the same divinity from Gangōji 元興寺 in Nara. Each statue, microscopically analyzed, turned out to be Japanese nutmeg. Japanese nutmeg and cypress both served as substitutes for Indian sandalwood (*Santalum album*, Jp. *byakudan* 白檀), a wood highly valued in India (and beyond) and referenced in Buddhist scriptures as ideal for creating Buddhist images.[29]

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26 Kaneko et al., "Nihon kodai ni okeru mokuchōzō no jushu to yōzaikan I" and "Nihon kodai ni okeru mokuchōzō no jushu to yōzaikan II." See also Mertz, *Wood and Traditional Woodworking in Japan*, pp. 17–18.

27 On *Torreya nucifera* see https://conifersociety.org/conifers/torreya-nucifera/

28 See for example Kohara, "Nihon chōkoku yōzai chōsa shiryō." The science of microscopic wood identification has advanced considerably since Kohara's pioneering work. Sampling method and location, for example, are now meticulously documented.

29 Most frequently cited is the legend of King Udayana. "When Sākyamuni left the world to teach his mother in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Gods, King Udayana of Kausambi missed him so much that he had a true likeness of the Buddha made out of the best sandalwood (*Santalum* sp., Ch. *tanmu* 檀木) available. Rösch, *Chinese Wood Sculptures of the 11th to 13th Centuries*, p. 172. An important new compendium of essays by Arunkumar

In most regions of China sandalwood is not indigenous and cannot be easily cultivated. Instead, cypress (*Cupressus* sp., Ch. *baimu*, Jp. *haku* or *hakuboku* 柏木) was burned as incense to purify, drive out evil, and communicate with the gods from at least the Tang 唐朝 (618–907) period. Ritual use in Japan of cypress as a substitute for Indian sandalwood is typically traced to the Chinese monk Jianzhen 鑒真 (Jp. Ganjin; 688–963).

Kaneko et al.'s second report (*Museum* 2003) considered single-bole statues from more northern regions of the archipelago where Japanese nutmeg does not grow. The team also extended their study to include not only single-bole sculptures but also statuary crafted from other techniques and materials such as dry lacquer and clay works with internal wooden frames (armatures) or a wooden core. The selected samples were microscopically identified as hinoki cypress, Japanese zelkova (*Zelkova serrata*, Jp. *keyaki* 欅), and foxglove (*Paulownia tomentosa*, Jp. *kiri* 桐). The study further concluded that Japanese nutmeg was used for single-bole sculptures in the Kinki region as well as in adjacent regions where the tree grows naturally. In areas where Japanese nutmeg trees do not grow (e.g., the Tohoku region of northern Japan), local species such as Japanese zelkova were used.[30] Significantly, these findings also cast doubt on the previously accepted chronology that single-bole sculptures from the Nara and Heian periods evolved from wood-core dry-lacquer sculptures whose thick outer layers of lacquer as a technique receded over time.

Wood Identification and Dating

Scientific wood identification entails analyzing the characteristics of wood cells under a microscope. High levels of magnification reveal anatomical features specific to each genus, and in rare cases species, as assessed by a trained wood anatomist. In the present case, the authors or museum conservators took miniscule wood samples of less than 0.5 x 0.5 x 1 cm from the underside of nine sculptures (figures 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18), typically from a hollowing or a crack. The samples were then sent to one of three wood anatomy laboratories: the Research Institute for Sustainable Humanosphere (RISH) of Kyoto University, Japan; the Forest Products Laboratory (FPL) of the Center for Wood Anatomy Research, USDA Forest Service, Madison, WI, USA; and the Jodrell Laboratory (JL) of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, in London. Each lab possesses a large wood collection, or xylaria, and an extensive body of reference material.[31]

After soaking the samples in water to soften them, researchers at each lab prepared the microscope slides. First, they extracted thin sections by applying single- or double-edged razor blades in cross, radial, and tangential directions (approximately twenty μm thick). The sections were then heated on a hot plate with a mixture of glycerin and ethanol in a ratio of 1:1 to remove air bubbles and mounted on slides with the slide mounting medium gum chloral (a mixture of Arabic gum, and chloral hydrate). The slides examined in Japan at RISH were studied under an optical microscope (Olympus BX51) and photographed with a digital camera (Olympus DP70) (figure 19).

For extremely tiny samples of about 0.8 to 1 mm in diameter and 8 mm in length maximum, as seen on figure 20, author Tazuru performed the wood identification using synchrotron X-ray microtomographic imaging at the synchrotron SPring-8 in Hyogo Prefecture (figure 20). This extraordinarily advanced and rare method provides a high-resolution (0.472 μm/pixel) 3D image of the wood's anatomical micro-structure from which the species can be determined (figure 21).

Microscopic wood identification does not yield information about the age of the wood. Dating wood can be accomplished by two methods: dendrochronology, which examines growth and measures tree rings; or radiocarbon or carbon-14 dating. The former method requires a surface large enough to permit scientists to observe a sufficient number of growth rings. *Dendrochronology* also involves reference work, that is, situat-

et al., *Indian Sandalwood,* contains a wealth of information on that precious wood. See also Cottrell, "Indian Sandalwood's Heartwood of History," and Boehm, *The Concept of Danzō.*

30 The distribution of *kaya* extends from south of Miyagi Prefecture on the island of Honshu through Shikoku and Kyushu as far south as Yakushima. Satake et al., *Nihon no yasei shokubutsu: Mokuhon* (Vol. 1), p. 25. On the use of *kaya* wood see also Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Butsuzō;* and Kohara, "Nihon chōkoku yōzai chōsa shiryō." For *kaya* in Buddhist sculptures, see Bogel, "Cannonizing Kannon," p. 46, and *With a Single Glance*, pp. 93–95, 264–69.

31 For reference material the sample size is about 1–2 cm x 1–2 cm x 1–2 cm. The sectioning is done by a microtome. Such samples are mounted on glass slides and covered. The wooden cubes allow the three sections to be cut into transverse, radial, and tangential sections. Reference material samples are drawn from trees that have been botanically identified by its leaves, flowers, and fruits.

ing a sample within a master chronology composed of, for example, old living trees, extant building material, and excavated wooden remains that are specific to each wood species grown in a given geographic region. *Dendrochronology in Japan* is limited to three tree species: hinoki cypress; Japanese cedar or cryptomeria (*Cryptomeria japonica*, Jp. *sugi* 杉), *hiba arborvitae* (*Thujopsis dolabrata*, Jp. *hiba* 檜葉 or *asunaro* 翌檜); and umbrella pine (*Sciadopitys verticillata*, Jp. *kōyamaki* 高野槙).[32]

Radiocarbon or carbon-14 dating, the second method, was applied to three statues of the group of eighteen discussed in this report (figures 3, 8, and 18).[33] A wood's radiocarbon age refers to the date when the tree was felled, not when the material from that organism was used. To account for seasoning (i.e., drying), processing, and carving, it is standard to add a period of fifty to one hundred years to a wood's felling date.

Discussion of the Wood Identifications of the *Shinzō*

Recalling that the 1930 *Catalogue* states that statue figures 1 and 2 came from a shrine in Izumo, and also that the wood for making the male and female deities is thought to be magnolia or camphorwood, we turn to a consideration of shrines and trees and *kami*. The Great Shrine of Izumo (Izumo Taisha), one of the two most venerable Shinto shrines in Japan, furnishes a good sampling of the kinds of trees to be found in a Shinto shrine's precincts. The species include evergreen broadleaved trees such as *Quercus acuta* (*akagashi*), *Quercus myrsinaefolia* (*shirakashi*), *Lithocarpus edulis* (*matebashii*), *Michelia compressa* (*ogatamanoki*), *Cinnamomum camphora* (*kusunoki*), *Machilus thunbergii* (*tabunoki*), *Ternstroemia gymnanthera* (*mokkoku*), *Cleyera japonica* (*sakaki*), and also conifers such as *Pinus thunbergii* (*kuromatsu*), *Cryptomeria japonica* (*sugi*), *Sciadopitys verticillata* (*kōyamaki*), *Juniperus chinensis* (*byakushin*), Chamaecyparis obtusa (*hinoki*), *Podocarpus macrophylla* (*inumaki*), *Podocarpus nagi* (*nagi*), and *Torreya nucifera* (*kaya*)."[34] The significance of forests surrounding shrines has been taken up by scholars recently in new and important ways in terms of the environment and the shrines' presentation of these holdings.[35]

Our study is concerned with the specific trees chosen for the *shinzō* that were tested. Microscopic wood analysis allows us to ascertain that the group of statues in question includes (at least) three wood species: *Magnolia* sp., *Prunus* sp., and Japanese chestnut (*Castanea crenata*). Mertz summarizes the trees' usage as follows.

Ten statues have been identified by microscope as magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属). *Magnolia* sp. (*mokuren-zoku*) comprises other important magnolia species, such as *Magnolia praecocissima* (*kobushi* 辛夷), 15 m tall, or *Magnolia salicifolia* (*tamushiba* 田虫葉) with a height of 10 m, that are candidates for a *Magnolia* sp. wood identification. A very probable candidate is the Japanese bigleaf magnolia (*Magnolia obovata*, Jp. *hōnoki* 朴木), attaining a height up to 30 m. This is also the tree mentioned in the *Shinzō shinki zuroku*, under the name of *hō* 朴. Our wood identifications were limited to a level of genus (*zoku* 属), as the wood samples, that were collected by the museums and sent to our laboratory at Kyoto University, the Research Institute for Sustainable Humanosphere (RISH) in Kyoto, had to be as small as possible, in order not to harm the integrity of the statues. In two instances the samples were so tiny that co-author Tazuru applied the synchrotron X-ray microtomography technique (figures 21 and 22); this was for the Male Shinto deity statue of the Honolulu Museum of Art (figure 9), and the "Crowned Male Deity Statue in a Japanese Robe" of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (figure 10).

The Sainsbury statue, the deva-like female deity statue, was also identified to genus level, *Prunus* sp. (*sumomo-zoku*). Four tree species belong to this genus, cherry (*sakura* 桜), plum (*sumomo* 季), apricot (*ume* 梅), and peach (*momo* 桃). All these tree species flower in spring on naked branches, before the leaves open, the same as magnolia. The wood of *Magnolia* sp. and *Prunus* sp. are diffuse-porous, that is to say they show a very smooth surface. The wood is easy to carve. The growth rings are inconspicuous. Magnolia blooms

32 Important Japanese dendrochronologists include Mitsutani Takumi 光谷拓実 and Ōkōchi Takayuki 大河内隆之 in the Kinki area and Ōyama Motonari 大山幹成 in the Tohoku area. These scholars established the master chronologies over two millennia through which ancient wooden relics can be dated. See Mitsutani, "Nenrinnendaihō to bunkazai"; and Mitsutani and Ōkōchi, "Nenrinnendaihō to saishin gazō kiki."

33 https://www.radiocarbon.com/old-wood-effect.htm.

34 Mertz, *Wood and Traditional Woodworking in Japan*, p.13, n. 37, personal observation, 19 July 2000.

35 Rambelli, *Buddhist Materiality*, pp. 129–71. Rots, *Shinto, Nature and Ideology*;
Rots, "Sacred Forests, Sacred Nation."

before the famous cherry (*sakura*) but at the same time or after the three.

The third species, the Japanese chestnut (*Castanea crenata*, Jp. *kuri* 栗) has quite conspicuous growth rings. While the wood of magnolia and *Prunus* sp. is diffuse-porous, or smooth, chestnut, however, is ring-porous and shows a distinct grain. That means on a cellular level, that in spring, when the growing season starts, the early pores have a larger diameter than during the rest of the growing season, when the pores become narrow. This leads to very conspicuous trees rings, visible on the statue's surface. It is also to note that a conversion (*seizai* 製材) was practiced already in the Jōmon 縄文 period (10,000 BCE—800-400 BCE) by wedge-assisted longitudinal splitting, when the longitudinal saw was not yet introduced. The *ōga* 大鋸 (two-man frame saw), used for rift-sawing or longitudinal sawing, was only introduced to Japan from the fifteenth century on.

All three tree species, that were microscopically identified in this essay like *Magnolia* sp., *Prunus* sp., and *Castanea crenata* were likely grown on a temple or shrine precinct (*keidai* 境内), where the statues were "enshrined," or nearby. It could be imagined that all ten magnolia statues come from one huge tree (figure 19). That tree was perhaps struck by lightning, and thus was provided by divine power. Therefore, it was highly suitable for carving into *shinzō*. The two other tree species, *Prunus* sp. and the Japanese chestnut, could have been entrained by the fall of the huge tree. These are of course hypotheses. What else do the three wood species have in common? They have an expressive flowering period in spring, and are useful timber trees. Magnolia shows conspicuous, beautiful flowers in spring (figure 23). Its big leaves were used for wrapping food, and its wood is suitable for turning and carving. The *Prunus* sp. group consisting of cherry, plum, apricot and peach, is also highly appreciated for their flowers in spring. The Japanese chestnut is highly appreciated for its edible sweet chestnuts, harvested in fall.

Bogel notes that last, but not least, there is an intriguing association between magnolia flowers and scent and the *kami* in the magnolia species that grows in warmer climes. A magnolia species named *Magnolia compressa* (*Magnoliaceae*, Magnolia genus), scientific name *Michelia compressa* (Maxim) *Sarg*, is a fragrant evergreen type magnolia; unlike broadleaf magnolia and others it is green all year round. The flowers appear against the green leaves. In Japanese it is called *Ōgatama-no-ki* 大賀玉木, literally, "tree inviting the *kami*" and it can be referenced as early as in the collected songs (poems) of the *Kokinshū* 古今集, early tenth century.[36] The flowers and tree were treasured and considered to be *shintai* for the gods. Its flowers are smaller than those of the broadleaf magnolia; the shape of the Ōgatama tree flowers is the model for the bells used in shrines by the *miko* priestesses. (The flower branch is also depicted on one of the Japanese currencies, a 1-yen coin.)

▪ Magnolia (Magnolia sp., Jp. mokuren-zoku)

Figures/statues 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 10, 12, 13 14, 18
The IAWA List of Microscopic Features for Hardwood Identification notes the following anatomical features for the genus *Magnolia* sp.:

> Growth ring boundaries distinct. Wood diffuse-porous. Solitary vessel outline angular. Perforation plates simple and scalariform. Scalariform perforation plates with 10-20 bars. Intervessel pits opposite and scalariform. Ray width 1 to 3 cells. Fibres thin- to thick-walled. Axial parenchyma in marginal or in seemingly marginal bands.[37]

▪ Prunus (*Prunus* sp., Jp. *sumomo-zoku* 李属)

Figure 8
The anatomical features of *Prunus* sp. are as follows:

> Growth ring boundaries distinct. Wood diffuse-porous to slightly semi-ring-porous. Simple perforation plates. Intervessel pits alternate, shape of alternate pits polygonal. Vessel-ray pits with distinct borders; similar to intervessel pits in size and shape throughout the ray cell. Helical thickenings in vessel elements and throughout body of vessel element present. Gums and other deposits in heartwood vessels. Ray width 1 to 4 cells. Axial parenchyma diffuse to scanty paratracheal. Crystals in enlarged cells.[38]

36 Ōtsuki, *Shinpen Daigenkai*, entry pp. 315-16.
37 See Wheeler et al., "IAWA List of Microscopic Features for Hardwood Identification"; and Wheeler, "InsideWood."
38 See Wheeler et al., "IAWA List of Microscopic Features for Hardwood Identification"; and Wheeler, "InsideWood."

As with magnolia, *Prunus* sp. is a revered wood species in Japan as is demonstrated by the selection of wood species of the statues of the Matsuno'o Taisha 松尾大社, a sprawling historic shrine in the Western part of Kyoto. Eight of the eleven *shinzō* at Matsuno'o Taisha scientifically identified by Tazuru and Sugiyama 杉山 (of Kyoto University) tested as *Prunus* sp.[39] The figure 8 statue from the Sainsbury Centre mentioned above microscopically identified as *Prunus* sp. could be made of cherry, plum, apricot, or peach.[40]

▪ Japanese chestnut (*Castanea crenata,* Jp. *kuri*)

Figure 11.
The anatomical cell structure of Japanese chestnut, the wood used to craft the sculpture of the Youthful male Shinto deity statue held by the Princeton University Art Museum (figure 11), displays the following characteristics:

> Growth ring boundaries distinct. Wood ring-porous, with vessels in dendric pattern.
> Perforation plates simple and scalariform with up to ten bars.
> Intervessel pits alternate, size medium or large.
> Vascular or vasicentric tracheids present.
> Axial parenchyma diffuse, diffuse—in—aggregates, or scanty paratracheal.
> Rays exclusively uniseriate. All ray cells procumbent.[41]

Eighteen *Shinzō* in Three Categories

Itō has proposed a division of the eighteen *shinzō* into three categories: (1) eight major deities (*shusaijin* 主祭人); (2) three minor deities (*haishin* 配神); and (3) seven attendants or followers (*jūsha* 従者). It is of course that future finding may expand or contract this number. These are listed on the table immediately after the figure number and accession number, with the deity name preferred by Itō below the main classification names. To the right, in the third column, we list the name used by the museum or private owner for the work.

▪ Eight Major Deities, the *Shusaijin*

The subgroup of Major Deities is made up of eight sculptures. Three male and five female deities wear long robes to the ground, so that the tip of the feet or shoes can be seen. The female deities are dressed in a long-sleeved garment reminiscent of robes worn by female Buddhist deities in depictions of the heavenly realm and widely seen in *kami* statues, too. The male deities show their attributes, such as a beard or *kesa* while the female show hair knots. Female figures 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8 are similar in design. The 1930s *Shinzō shinki zuroku* catalogue assigned the designation of "Shōtoku Taishi's consort" (*hizō* 妃像) to figure 2, which would have referred to Princess Tachibana no Ōratsume. Again, it is possible that the pair were venerated sometime before 1930 as such since the cult of Shōtoku Taishi was very widespread in the medieval period, but we cannot assign any further meaning to the Shōtoku Taishi and consort descriptions in the *Catalogue* than this.

Figure 3 is illustrated in Mayuyama's *Japanese Art in the West*, which describes it as the figure of a female Shinto deity (the table gives all references). Radiocarbon dating in December 2021 determined that figure 3's date ranges between 1079 and 1155, to which an additional fifty to one hundred years must be added. The institutions that house figures 6 and 7 put them in the same range based on style. Bogel notes that the style of figure 8 (made of *Prunus* species) differs in some distinct ways from others, based on photographs comparing the five. Final assessments depend on many factors, including close examination of the actual statue. All five female deity figures are between 93.9 (figure 2, 1930 using *shaku* and *sun*) and 97.8 cm (figure 6), which supports a common production site and time period and display.

Figure 6 (see also figure 19) is on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Microscopic identification of the tangential section by RISH, plus the macroscopic photos by conservator Daniel Hausdorf of

39 See Tazuru, Sugiyama, Wood identification of Japanese Shinto deity statues in Matsunoo-taisha Shrine in Kyoto by synchrotron X-ray microtomography and conventional microscopy methods (2019). https://jwoodscience.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s10086-019-1840-2 .

40 With the exception of another species of *Prunus* sp., almond (*Prunus amygdalus*) a tree native to Iran and surrounding countries, this species does not naturally grow in Japan.

41 See Wheeler et al., "IAWA List of Microscopic Features for Hardwood Identification"; and Wheeler, "InsideWood."

the Met, both in 2022, confirmed the 97.8 cm statue was carved from magnolia. Remarkably, this dendrometric information allowed the repositioning of the statue in the original quartered log, in longitudinal and transverse planes, as shown in figure 19.

The male deity statues are three (more may have originally existed). Figure 1 is described in the 1930 *Catalogue* as having been called an incarnation (*keshin* 化身) of the bodhisattva Kannon, an entirely feasible designation given its iconography; Itō of this research group prefers a simpler designation as "Male deity statue." Both figures 1 and 2 are described in that text as being made of *hō* 朴, the Japanese bigleaf magnolia (*Magnolia obovata*, Jp. *hōnoki* 朴木, ホオノキ) or in the case of the male, magnolia or ancient camphor wood (*kusunoki* 楠). It is unclear to what the prefix "ancient" (*kodai* 古代) refers in this case. Given the results showing that of twelve statues tested ten are magnolia, the 1930s "guess"—or inherited knowledge from those who knew the mysterious provenance of the statues—is likely to be correct. The statues' current owner is not known to us and permission to conduct microscopic wood identification is not possible. Figure 4 is currently held at the Art Institute of Chicago under the name "Shinto deity in the guise of the monk Hyeja." Itō's title of "Deity statue with the attributes of a Buddhist monk," one of the most common "guises" for *kami* of *shinzō*, does not reference the monk Hyeja (Hyeja (?–623, Eji 慧慈in Japanese). Likely added by owners prior to its entering the Art Institute of Chicago and based on the 1930 description for figure 1, Hyeja was one of two Korean monks who instructed Shōtoku Taishi from the Kingdom of Kōkuri 高句麗 (Kr. Goguryeo) arriving in Japan in 595. Figure 5 is a male divinity in a genre of what many scholars have referred to as the "foreign type" of *shinzō*; the Cleveland Museum of Art curator designates it simply as a "Deity," aware of opinions that place it in the Twenty-Eight Legion divinity group alongside its typical *shinzō* carving and relationship to others in this group. It is illustrated in Mayuyama and is one of the ten certified as magnolia.

Wood testing could not be conducted at this time on the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco's statue (figure 7), which we can only imagine will be magnolia.
Figure 8, also a deva-like female deity statue, is preserved at the Sainsbury Centre in Norwich, UK, and bears a resemblance to figure 2. Both may be missing a topknot or double loop (Bogel); they are both ca. 94cm. In 1998, Peter Gasson of the Jodrell Laboratory at Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, microscopically identified the statue's wood as *Prunus* sp. (Jp. *sumomo-zoku* 李属). Radiocarbon dating by accelerator mass spectrometry conducted in 1999 by the Oxford University's Research Laboratory of Archeology and History of Art determined that the age ranges between 960 and 1040. In this case, too, fifty to one hundred years should be added to the result for a correct date calculation.

▪ Three Minor Deities, the Haishin

The subgroup of minor deities consists of three deities. All three are male. Two have the distinctly defined tummy area seen in male figure 5. Their garments differ, with trouser-like lower portions, and show more of the lower leg. Figure 9, Male deity statue in a Japanese robe, is held at the Honolulu Museum of Art. Like the other two figures at that museum (figures 12 and 14), it was a gift of Robert Allerton in the early 1960s. The wood identification of magnolia was made in 2021 by synchrotron X-ray microtomography imaging and it has a height of 113.0 cm, the tallest, but due to the tall hat. The hat is striking, as is the protruding belly and left arm raised—an iconography that we have not studied. We refer to figure 10, held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, as the "Crowned Male Deity Statue in a Japanese Robe." As noted, the results of its wood testing result of magnolia in 2021, also by synchrotron X-ray microtomography imaging, served as the impetus for the present research. The 99.1 cm statue wears a crown and a tunic that falls below the knees. Both figures 9 and 10 are illustrated in Mayuyama (pp. 23 and 24, see Table notes). Figure 11, the "Youthful male deity statue" (*dōjigyō shinzō* 童子形像), rises 95.0 cm in height. His black painted hair is parted in the middle and extends in two thick ponytails nearly to his waist. The statue has been discussed in the superlative Cleveland exhibition catalogue on Shinto art by Vilbar and Carr as Wakamiya 若宮, the Young Prince—either the child of the principal *kami* of a shrine, or a representation of that deity's renewed spirit, although they note in conclusion that although "Hachiman Wakamiya is the most likely candidate for the identity of this sculpture, its precise identity remains unclear".[42] As with many of the eighteen statues discussed here, Vilbar and Carr also note that the traces of the carving tools are not smoothed away,

42 Vilbar and Carr, *Shinto*, 169, photo on 169.

one of the hallmarks of *shinzō*. The sculpture is made of Japanese chestnut (*Castanea crenata*, Jp. *kuri* 栗), updating the visual assignment of zelkova in the Cleveland exhibition catalogue to the work before testing.

▪ Seven Attendants or Followers, the Jūsha

All but two (figures 15 and 16) of the group of seven attendants or followers who protect the major and minor deities (figures 12 through 18) wear knee-length garments held by a belt around the waist. Otherwise, figure 15 is a guardian type figure and 16 a female deity with attributes of an old woman.

Figure 12, the second of three held by the Honolulu Museum of Art and gifted by Robert Allerton, stands 99.7 cm tall and features the priest Hōshi statue (*Hōshi oshō zō* 宝誌和尚像). Contrasting Mayuyama's notation of hinoki cypress, our microscopic wood identification of 2021 indicates magnolia.[43] The depiction of multiple faces is striking and also typical for portrayals of this priest—here in *kami* form. Figure 13, found in The Art Institute of Chicago, the "Dragon King" is represented as a youthful figure looking upward with the dragon attribute on his head, making it 102.2 cm tall. It is illustrated in Mayuyama and therein called the "Dragon Woman" (*Zen'nyo ryūō* 善女竜王). The Art Institute explains on its website that "the Dragon King, originally an Indian Hindu god, was gradually incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon. Veneration of this deity, who rules the seas, spread with Buddhism from India to China and, via Korea, to Japan; there the Dragon King was transformed into a Shinto god." This statue was microscopically identified by the Forest Products Laboratory (Center for Wood Anatomy Research, USDA Forest Service) in Madison, Wisconsin as being made of magnolia. We identify figure 14 as a deity statue with demonic (*yasha*) attributes, *Yasha-gyō shinzō* 夜叉形神像, as does Mayuyama, where it is illustrated. Preserved at the Honolulu Museum of Art, it was also gifted to them by Robert Allerton. The museum provided us with a museum record notation stating that figure 12 was purchased from "Maruyama & Co., Tokyo;" Bogel notes this may be an error for "Mayuyama"; with all three statues gifted by Allerton, one can surmise that all three were purchased from Mayuyama, who illustrates all three in *Japanese Art in the West*. Figure 14 measures 99.7 cm tall and microscopic analysis conducted in 2021 determined it to be magnolia. The statue has been radiocarbon dated to 988–1026.

The authors have less information for the next three *jūsha* statues, all of which are in Japanese museums. Figure 15 is a deva-like male deity statue, which could represent Bishamonten 毘沙門天, but this is not certain. It is privately owned but on loan to the Tokyo National Museum and is dated by the museum based on style to the twelfth century. We do not have its exact height size. Wood testing is rarely carried out on religious statues in the Japanese museums and that is so far the case for figures 15, 16, and 17. Figure 16 is female deity statue with the attributes of an old woman (*rōjozō* 老女像). This genre is part of various Buddhist deity groups such the Twenty-Eight Legion noted earlier. They are not unknown in *shinzō* examples. Preserved at Tokyo National Museum, the statue rises 97.4 cm high.

Figure 17 is a deva-like male deity statue, a standing icon with monk attributes (*Sōgyō ryūzō* 僧形立像), preserved in the University Art Museum at the Tokyo University of the Arts. It dates from the twelfth century, and its size is 97.0 cm. On their homepage the statue is described as maybe being made from birch (*Betula* sp., Jp. *kaba* 樺). This observation was probably done by naked-eye observation, and cannot be confirmed. Figure 18 of the group is a deva-like male deity statue held today in the Gitter-Yelen collection. The statue's height is 101.0 cm, due in part to its wild standing hair. It was offered for sale by Bonhams auction house on March 15, 2017 without a sale. The webage notes that the figure's naked torso is "simply carved with a slightly protruding belly, the suggestion of a cloak-like garment around the shoulders, and the skirt indicated by three folds in relief and augmented by a few simple lines extending to just above the knees. The back is almost smooth except for lines below the collar and above the skirt, and the feet bear traces of dark pigment indicating shoes."[44] The face conveys ferocity with arched brows. It was identified by RISH in 2022 as being made of magnolia. The similarity with the flaming hair to that of priest Hōshi (figure 11) suggests that this statue also belongs to the category of attendants.

43 Mayuyama, *Japanese Art in the West,* 22-23, 342.

44 https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/23784/lot/6150/?category=list

Conclusions: Material Intentionality

The eighteen Shinto statues form a group unified by physical attributes including style, size, construction by a single bole of wood (*ichiboku-zukuri*), remaining marks of the carving tools and—our most robust research effort—the use of distinctive types of wood. The reasons for the use of magnolia, *Prunus sp.*, or chestnut are unclear, but we have offered suggestions to the extent possible. All of this combines to point to the ways in which religious arts may convey their "intention" through materiality. The statues date to the Heian period as far as we can test, judge, or receive information, and we have a tantalizing lead that they may come from a shrine in the Izumo region.

As for the iconography, we have omitted a discussion of shinbutsu shūgō 神仏習合 in direct terms because this so-called (and unfortunately so) "synthesis" of Buddhist and kami veneration is well considered in the literature.[45] Itō has proposed that the group of eighteen *shinzō* statues may represent a *suijaku mandara* (*mandala*) 垂迹曼荼羅, one type of multi-deity representation of which there are many examples in painting[46] but none in sculpture. According to this "philosophy" regarding kami—one that came into formal expression during the Heian period—like the Daibosatsu designation noted in this report, *honji-suijaku* thesis puts forth that various Buddhas, the source or origin figures of deities, are called "*honjibutsu*" 本地仏 and deities originating from them are "*suijakushin*" 垂迹神 or *suijaku kami*. *Kami* were understood as the local Japanese manifestations (*suijaku*) of eternal Buddhist figures (*honjibutsu*).

Most of the provenance records for these statues, now scattered across various museums in the United States, Japan, Canada, and the United Kingdom most of the provenance records have been considered (less so for those in Japan) and it is likely that research in the Mayuyama Co., Tokyo archives or further discussions with dealers and museums in Japan will provide further provenance information. If so, it will tell us more about their acquisition history, but not their iconography, alas. At the same time, discussions about icons that were moved, sold, stolen, or traded after the forced separation of shrine and temple and the destruction of their "goods" and prohibition of certain "rituals" is a very sensitive topic, especially when it comes to the current trustees for these materials.

The group may well may have included more deity statues. In the present study we have been concerned primarily with the material used to make the *shinzō* under discussion—namely, wood—and with sharing the results of scientific study and its possible implications for *shinzō* scholarship. It would be exciting to be able to prove that this group was created for a particular donor or for a specific purpose—or even that the group is complete at eighteen. For the time being, we look forward to further collaborations among ourselves and others.

45 Teeuwen, "Comparative Perspectives on the Emergence of Jindō and Shinto"; Teeuwen and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*; Yoshida, *Shinbutsu shūgō no Higashi Ajia shi*; Kuroda, Toshio. "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion." Translated by James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay. *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 7:1 (1981), pp. 1–21.

46 Sekiguchi, Masayuki, "Suijakuga" *Nihon no bijutsu* no. 274.

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Fig. # Access. #	Deity group Statue description / name (created by Itō Shirō)	Statue name used by museum or owner	Country, owner, & object provenance information	Medium, Source (if not owner)	Dimensions	Date (source)	Notes, additional provenance information, and sources
1	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Male deity statue (*Danshinzō* 男神像)	Current designation by owner unknown *Shinzō shinki zuroku*: "Shōtoku Taishi, incarnation of Kannon" (*Shōtoku Taishi Kannon keshin shinzō* 聖徳太子観音化身神像).	Japan. Private collection. Former owner: Maeyama Hisakichi 前山久吉 (1872–1937) Sold within Japan to a private party in recent years	"Possibly Japanese bigleaf magnolia (*hō* 朴) ancient camphor wood (*kodai kusunoki* 古代楠)" (*Shinzō shinki zuroku*) Not tested	H ca. 99.9 cm 3 *shaku* 3 *sun** (*Shinzō shinki zuroku*)	12th c. (?) (*Shinzō shinki zuroku*)	*Shinzō shinki zuroku* 1930, pl. 8
2	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Deva-like female deity statue (*Joshinzō* 女神像)	as above *Shinzō shinki zuroku* 1930, pl. 9 states: "Consort of Shōtoku Taishi statue (*Shōtoku Taishi hizō* 聖徳太子妃像)	as above	as above	H ca. 93.9 cm 3 *shaku* 1 *sun** (*Shinzō shinki zuroku*)	12th c. (?) (*Shinzō shinki zuroku*)	
3 957.228	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Deva-like female deity statue (*Tenbugyō joshinzō* 天部形女神像)	Figure of female Shinto deity, Goddess (museum designation)	Canada (Toronto). Royal Ontario Museum. Purchased with the generous support of a Grant from the Government of Ontario	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH)	H 97.3 cm W 25 cm D 13 cm	ca. 1079–1155 (Carbon-14 dating, +/- 50–100 years) (11th–12th c.)	Mayuyama 1966, p. 22, pl. 25. Shimizu, 1979 (3), p. 113 notes "said to be from a shrine in the Izumo region." https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/299062/figure-of-female-shinto-deity?ctx=2cafb44e-1ecd-4a8d-834b-ebf4768712cb&idx=0
4 2002.22	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Deity statue with the attributes of a Buddhist monk (*Sōgyō shinzō* 僧形神像)	Shinto deity in the guise of the Monk Hyeja	USA. Art Institute of Chicago. Kate S. Buckingham Endowment	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (FPL)	H 97 cm	11th–early 12th c. (museum)	https://www.artic.edu/artworks/159534/shinto-deity-in-the-guise-of-the-monk-hyeja Shimizu 1979 (2), p. 107 notes collection Cynthia Hannah Moore
5 1954.373	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Deva-like male deity statue (*Tenbugyō danshinzō* 天部形男神像)	Deity Acquired in 1954 from Hollis & Company, New York, NY. Formerly collection of Umehara Ryūzaburo 梅原龍三郎 (1888–1986)	USA. Cleveland Museum of Art. John L. Severance Fund	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH) with traces of polychromy	H 100 cm	1100s, Heian period (museum)	Mayuyama 1966, p. 24, pl. 28. Provenance and other information: https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1954.373
6 L.2012.3.3	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Deva-like female deity statue (*Tenbugyō joshinzō* 天部形女神像)	Female Shinto deity	USA. On loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH)	H 97.8 cm W 24.8 cm D 12.7 cm	1000–1200 (museum)	https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/76086

Fig. # Access. #	Deity group Statue description / name (created by Itō Shirō)	Statue name used by museum or owner	Country, owner, & object provenance information	Medium, Source (if not owner)	Dimensions	Date (source)	Notes, additional provenance information, and sources
7 B69S36	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Deva-like female deity statue (*Tenbugyō joshinzō* 天部形女神像)	Female Shinto spirit	USA. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. Gift of Mrs. Herbert Fleishhacker. Statue transferred to this Museum from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco in 1969. Donated to the latter in 1948. History prior to 1948 unknown.	Wood with traces of pigment	H 97 cm W 21.6 cm D 12.1 cm	1100–1200 (museum)	http://searchcollection.asianart.org/view/objects/asitem/19409/0?t:state:flow=737b23c4-3ffd-46cc-aa5a-a49778bodfeo
8 1146	Major deity (*shusaijin* 主祭人) Deva-like female deity statue (*Tenbugyō joshinzō* 天部形女神像)	Shinto deity Purchased by the Sainsbury Centre, UEA, from Leighton R. Longhi, Inc. in 1997 on advice of Robert Sainsbury (museum records)	UK. Sainsbury Centre, Norwich. Gift of Howard Hollis (1899–1985). Funds provided by the Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Charitable Trust	*Prunus* sp. (Jp. *sumomo-zoku* 李属 スモモ属) (JL) with white plaster and faint traces of polychromy	H 94 cm	960–1040 (Carbon-14 dating, +/- 50–100 years) (JL) 1185–1332 (museum) (10th–11th c.)	https://www.sainsburycentre.ac.uk/art-and-objects/shinto-deity/ https://adlib.uea.ac.uk/Details/collect/2257
9 1964– 3311.1a-b	Minor deity (*haishin* 配神) Male deity statue in a Japanese robe (*Wasō danshinzō* 和装男神像)	Male Shinto deity (*danshinzō* 男神像) Izu gongen 伊豆権現 Shimizu, 1979 (2), 110	USA. Honolulu Museum of Art. Gift of Robert Allerton, 1964	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH)	H 113 cm	12th c. Heian period (museum)	Mayuyama 1966, p. 23, pl. 26. Shimizu 1979 (2), p. 110 gives gift dates as 1944 NB: Museum website under reconstruction at this time (also applies to figs. 12 and 14)
10 1965–25–1a,b	Minor deity (*haishin* 配神) Crowned male deity statue in a Japanese robe (*Hōkanwasō danshinzō* 宝冠和装男神像)	Shinto deity Purchased in 1965 from Kochukyo Co., Tokyo. Originally in Izumo Shrine and "ten years ago" in Ryoichi Hosomi's collection with information given by R. Hosomi, 20 June 1965 (museum records)	USA. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased with the J. Stogdell Stokes Fund, 1965	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH) with traces of white plaster and polychromy	H 99.1 cm W 24.1 cm	11th–12th c. (museum)	Mayuyama 1966, p. 24, pl. 29; Shimizu 1979 (3), p. 100
11 2006.84	Minor deity (*haishin* 配神) Youthful male deity statue (*Dōshigyōzō* 童子形像)	Youthful male deity statue (*Dōshigyōzō* 童子形像)	USA. Princeton University Art Museum. Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund.	Japanese chestnut (*Castanea crenata,* Jp. *kuri* 栗) (RISH) with traces of polychromy	H 95 cm W 27 cm D 17.2 cm	12th c., Heian period (museum)	https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/42936 Vilbar and Carr 2019, p. 168, fig. 69
12 1960–2788.1	Attendant/follower (*jūsha* 従者) Priest Hōshi statue (*Hōshi oshō zō* 宝誌和尚像)	Priest Hōshi statue (*Hōshi oshō zō* 宝誌和尚像) Museum provenance: Maruyama & Co., Tokyo. Said to be from a Shinto shrine in Izumo Prefecture. ["Maruyama" may be an error for "Mayuyama"]	USA. Honolulu Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. Robert Allerton, 1960	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH)	H 99.7 cm	12th c. Heian period (museum)	Mayuyama 1966, p. 22, pl. 24. Shimizu 1979 (1), p. 110

Fig. # Access. #	Deity group Statue description / name (created by Itō Shirō)	Statue name used by museum or owner	Country, owner, & object provenance information	Medium, Source (if not owner)	Dimensions	Date (source)	Notes, additional provenance information, and sources
13 1957.242	Attendant/ follower (*jūsha* 従者) Dragon King deity (*Ryūōzō* 竜王像)	Dragon King (a Shinto deity statue)	USA. Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Robert Allerton	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (FPL)	H 102.2 cm	11th–early 12th c. (museum)	Mayuyama 1966, p. 23, pl. 27. https://www.artic.edu/artworks/5821/dragon-king
14 1964–3210.1	Attendant/ follower (*jūsha* 従者) Deity statue with demonic attributes (*Yashagyōshinzō* 夜叉形神像)	Male Shinto deity	USA. Honolulu Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. Robert Allerton, in honor of the fiftieth Wedding Anniversary of Mr. & Mrs. Theodore A. Cooke	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH)	H 99.7 cm	988–1026 (Carbon-14 dating, +/- 50–100 years) 10th –11th c. 12th c. (museum)	Mayuyama 1966, p. 25, pl. 30. Provenance: museum has only the credit line Shimizu 1979 (1), p. 111
15	Attendant/ follower (*jūsha* 従者) Deva-like male deity statue, possibly Bishamonten (*Tenbugyōdanshinzō* or *Bishamonten* 天部形男神像または毘沙門天)	Unknown	Japan. Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館, on loan from a private collection.	Wood	unknown	12th c. (?)	
16 Coll. No. C-1113	Attendant/ follower (*jūsha* 従者) Female deity statue with the attributes of an old woman (*Joshinzō* [*Rōjo*] 女神像 [老女])	*Rōjogyōzōryūzō* (*Nijūhachibushūzō*) 老女形立像（二十八部衆像） Standing statue, Old Woman Deity from the Twenty-Eight Legion statues	Japan. Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館. Gift of Mr. Maeyama Hisakichi 前山久吉 (1872–1937)	Wood with polychromy	H 100 cm	12th c., Heian period (museum)	https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection_items/tnm/C-1113?locale=ja Image no: C0055106
17 TUA000242# 338	Attendant/ follower (*jūsha* 従者) Deva-like male deity statue (*Tenbugyō danshinzō* 天部形男神像)	Standing statue with monk attributes (*Sōgyō ryūzō* 僧形立像) https://images.dnpartcom.jp/ia/search?filterText=TUA000242	Japan. The University Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts, 東京藝術大学美術館	Wood. Single block construction (*ichibokuzukuri* 一木造) Birch wood (museum) No scientific testing has been done. Birch unlikely (authors)	H 97 cm	12th c. (museum)	https://images.dnpartcom.jp/ia/search?filterText=TUA000242
18 NA	Attendant/ follower (*jūsha* 従者) Deva-like male deity statue (*Tenbugyō danshinzō* 天部形男神像)	A large standing figure of a Shinto deity	USA (New Orleans). Gitter-Yelen Collection. Formerly Howard Hollis collection.	Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku* 木蓮属 モクレン属) (RISH) with traces of pigment	H 101 cm	Late 10th c., Carbon-14 (not by Paleo Labo) 10th–11th c.	https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/23784/lot/6150/?category=list Bonhams listing (the listing remains posted; the statue did not sell at the time).

KEY: RISH: Research Institute for Sustainable Humanosphere, Kyoto University, Japan
PG: Peter Gasson, Jodrell Laboratory, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, UK
*Modern equivalents for the traditional measurements of *shaku* 尺 and *sun* 寸 are 30.30 cm and 3.03 cm respectively. The precise equivalents in 1930 (date of source) were not researched.
*Carbon-14 dating was performed by Paleo Labo Co., Ltd., Toda City, Saitama Prefecture, Japan, unless otherwise indicated

Figure 1. Private collection. 12th c., *Magnolia obovata* (unconfirmed).

Figure 2. Private collection. 12th c., *Magnolia obovata* (unconfirmed).

Figure 3. Royal Ontario Museum, 957.228. Ca. 1079–1155, *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 4. Art Institute of Chicago, 2002.22. 11th–early 12th c., *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 5. Cleveland Museum of Art, 1954.373. 1100s, *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, L.2012.3.3. 1000–1200, *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 7. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, B69S36. 1100–1200, *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 8. Sainsbury Centre, 1146. Ca. 960–1040, *Prunus* sp.

Figure 9. Honolulu Museum of Art, 1964–3311.1a-b. 12th c., *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 10. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1965-25-1a, b. 11–12th c., *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 11. Princeton University Art Museum, 2006.84. 12th c., *Castanea crenata*.

Figure 12. Honolulu Museum of Art, 1960-2788.1. 12th c., *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 13. Art Institute of Chicago, 1957.242. 11th–early 12th c., *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 14. Honolulu Museum of Art, 1964–3210.1. Ca. 988–1026, *Magnolia* sp.

Figure 15. Tokyo National Museum, 12th c. (?), wood.

Figure 16. Tokyo National Museum, Coll. No.C-1113. 12th c., wood.

Figure 17. Tokyo University of the Arts, Coll. TUA000242 # 338. 12th c., wood.

Figure 18. Gitter-Yelen Collection. Late 10th c., *Magnolia* sp.

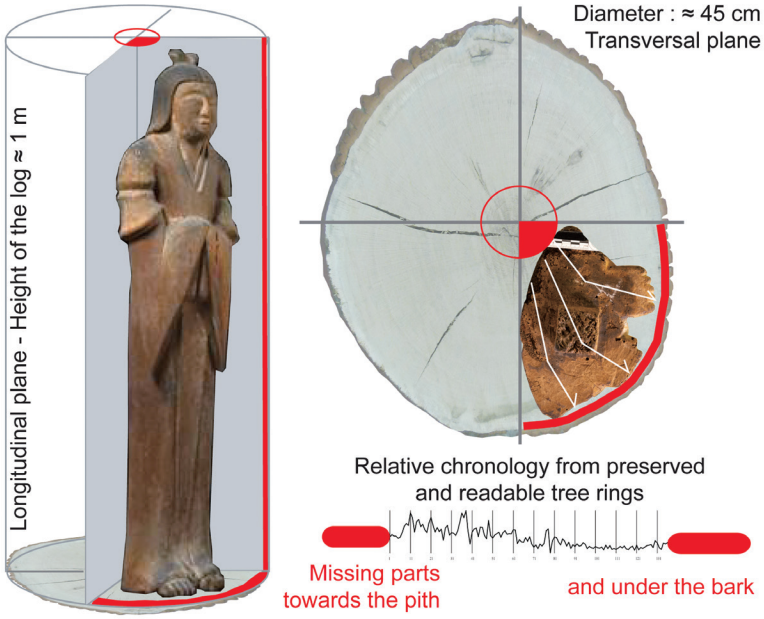

Figure 19. Image created using current dendrometric information for statue designated as fig. 6, allowing the repositioning of the statue in the original quartered log in longitudinal and transverse planes. CAD image by C. Lavier, Centre de recherche et de restauration des musées de France (C2RMF). The underside of the statue (photo right) shows that it must have come from a quarter of a log of about 45 cm diameter and (photo left) one meter high. Photographs by C. Lavier, with permission. Statue: Private collection, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (L.2012.3.3), with permission.

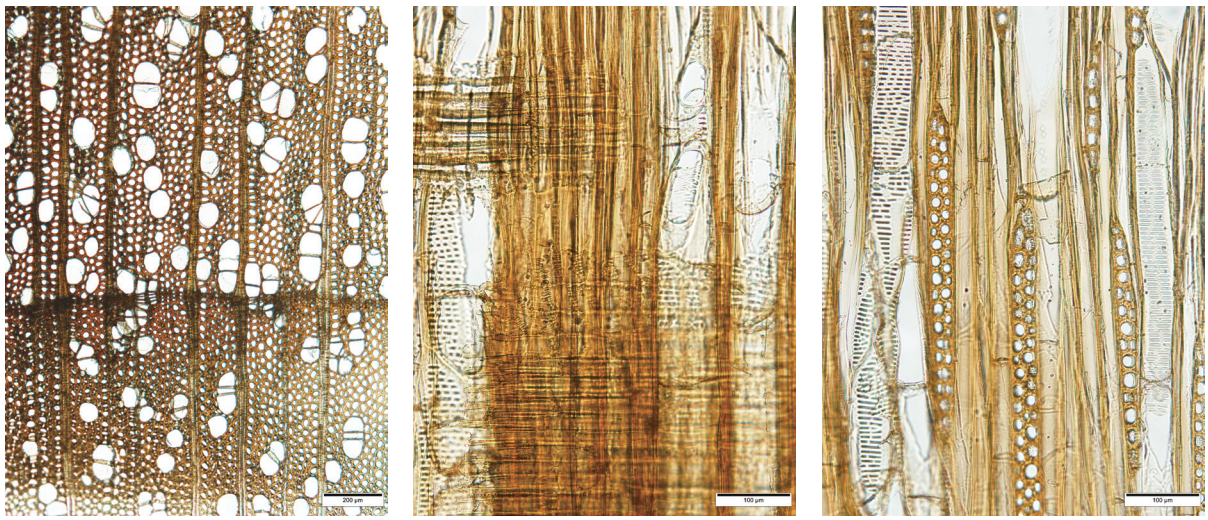

Figure 20. Microstructure of *Magnolia* sp. or *mokuren-zoku*, by observation under the microscope (Olympus BX51, Japan). Left, transverse section; center, radial section; right, tangential section. Test on sample from fig. 12. Photograph by Tazuru Suyako.

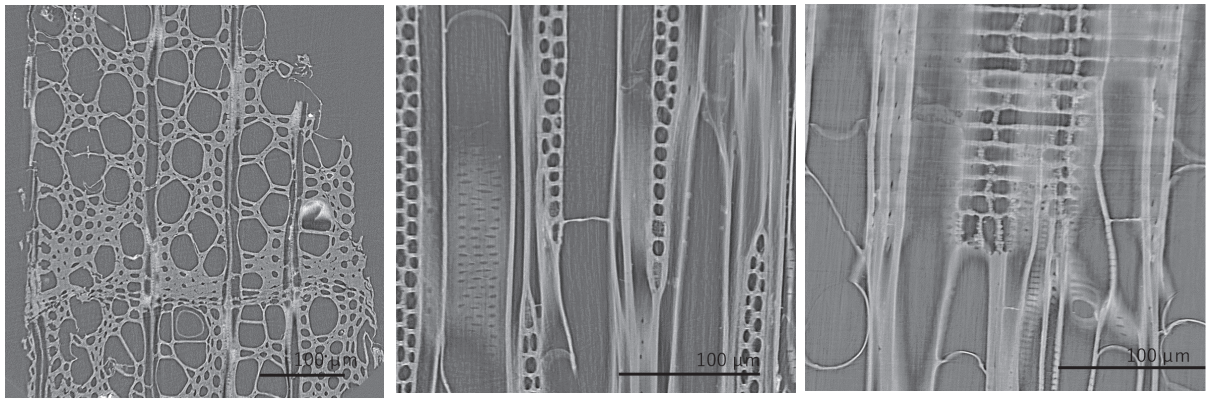

Figure 21. Pseudo-sections constructed from the datasets obtained through the synchrotron X-ray (SRX-ray) experiment at SPring-8 (Harima, Hyogo Prefecture) of *Magnolia* sp. or *mokuren-zoku*. Left, transverse section; center, tangential section; right, radial section. Test on sample from fig. 9. Photograph by Tazuru Suyako. Note: Micrographs of the deity statues will be available in the future in the RISH database.

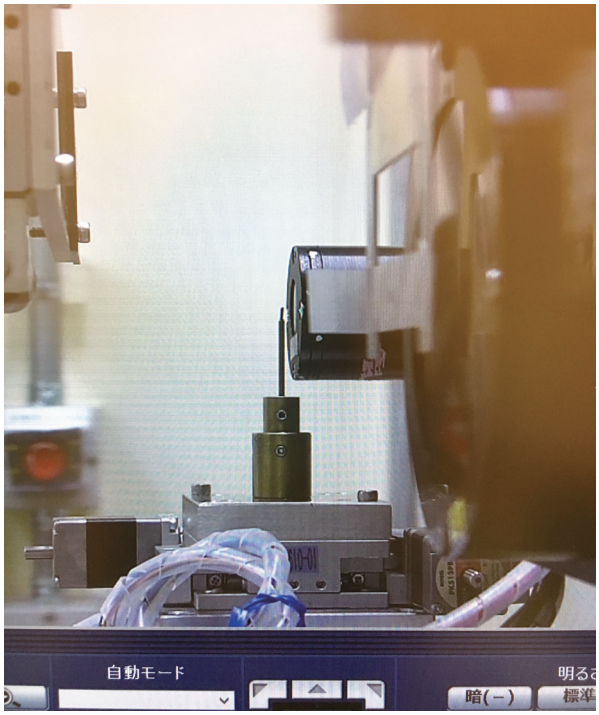

Figure 22. Scene of the experiment at Beamline20XU, SPring-8. A tiny wood sample (0.5 mm x 0.5 mm x 7 mm) was fixed on the sample holder and a total of 1,800 transmitted images were recorded on a high resolution camera. Photograph by Tazuru Suyako.

Figure 23. Magnolia tree in bloom in the Kyoto Imperial Palace (Kyōto Gosho 京都御所). Kyoto, March 25, 2022. Photo by Judith Clancy, with permission.

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VOLUME 7, SPRING 2022

Notice of Corrections

The place is indicated by page (p.), column (left or right), line (l.), and other directives as relevant. Original text follows the word "*for*" and the corrected text follows "*read*." Original and corrected text passages are given within quotation marks, such that quoted text carries single quotation marks.

p. 21, right, 2nd l. from bottom: *for* "土岐昌則" *read* "土岐昌訓"

p. 127, left, l. 19: *for* "Izumo (northern Honshu)" *read* "Izumo (modern Shimane Prefecture)"

p. 127, right, l. 8–10: *for* "Carbon-14 dating confirms the dates as circa tenth to eleventh century (for three) and eleventh to twelfth century (for one)" *read* "Carbon-14 dating provides a date range for four statues as follows: circa eleventh to mid-twelfth century (fig. 3); mid-tenth to early eleventh century (fig. 8); circa late tenth to early eleventh century (fig. 14); and the second half of the tenth century (fig. 18), respectively."

p. 128, left, l. 7: *for* "In Japanese, *shinzō*" *read* "In the terminology of Japanese art history, s*hinzō*"

p. 129, left, l. 28: *for* "among them" *read* "such as"

p. 129, right, l. 16: *for* "proven) and" *read* "proven), but also"

p. 129, right, l. 37–38: *for* "In Japan, we see a return of many local gods from foreign lands that entered Buddhism," *read* "Many local gods from foreign lands entered Japanese Buddhism,"

p. 130, right, l. 10–14: *for* "801 *Tado Jingūji garan engi shizaichō* 多度神宮寺伽藍縁起資財帳 (Inventory and Account of the Sacred Origins of Tado Jingūji 多度神宮寺), a work about Ise Province that tells of 'Tado daibosatsu' 多度大菩薩." *read* "801 (Enryaku 延暦 20) *Tado Jingūji garan engi narabi ni shizaichō* 多度神宮寺伽藍縁起並資財帳 (Inventory and Account of the Sacred Origins of Tado Shrine), present-day Mie prefecture, in which the '神像' (image of '神' as understood at that time), is referred to as 'Tado Daibosatsu'"

p. 130, right, l. 21: *for* "Daibosatsu" *read* "Daijizaiōbosatsu"

p. 130, right, l. 22: *for* "('Great Bodhisattva of" *read* "(loosely translated as 'Great *cakravartin* King Bodhisattva of'"

p. 130, right, l. 23, end of paragraph, insert the sentence: "A wide range of scholarly interpretations not withstanding, there are limitations to our understanding of the meaning of terms and names such as '神' (*shin, kami*) or '大菩薩' (Daibosatsu) in premodern texts; we should take care to not impose ahistorical definitions."

p. 132, left, l. 9: *for* "Gitter-Yelen Collection" *read* "Gitter-Yelen Collection (also known as the Manyo'an Collection of Japanese Art)"

p. 132, left, l. 25: *for* "In summary there are eleven" *read* "In summary there are twelve"

p. 132, left, l. 27–28: *delete* "New York"

p. 132, left, l. 28: *for* "and one in a private collection (Gitter-Yelen)" *read* "and two in private collections (the Gitter-Yelen Collection and a private collection work on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)"

p. 132, right, l. 12: *delete* "on northern Honshu Island,"

p. 132, right, l. 28–35: *for* "A 1966 publication edited by Mayuyama Junkichi 繭山順吉, *Japanese Art in the West*, was a key source to the ongoing interest in an expanding group of *shinzō* that appeared to be connected to the seven illustrated in his book by those within and outside of Japan, as the two provenance columns in our Table suggest.[18]" *read* "A 1966 publication edited by Asian art dealer Mayuyama Junkichi 繭山順吉 (1913–1999), *Japanese Art in the West*, illustrates seven of the eighteen works discussed here, all of which ultimately landed in North American museums (see table figs. 3, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13 14 and the far right column for plate and page numbers). The book is an important source for scholars interested in tracing the provenance of the statues. Although Mayuyama's 'Preface' states that the illustrated works are among his favorites and the photos from his collection, there is no mention of the role that he or his father, Mayuyama Matsutarō 繭山松太郎 (1882–1935), had in the journey of these works beyond Japan.[18]"

p. 133, left, 2nd l. from bottom: *for* "*kohizō)*" *read* "*hizō)*"

p. 133, right, 12th l. from bottom: *for* "the first two figures" *read* "figures one and two"

p. 133, right, 4th l. from bottom: *for* "provenance" *read* "provenance known"

p. 134, left, l. 1: *for* "first two" *read* "two statues"

p. 134, left, l. 21–22: *for* "or including these eighteen in" *read* ", nor examples of such a group with Shōtoku Taishi in"

p. 134, right, l. 2: *for* "Shuichi" *read* "Shūichi"

p. 134, right, l. 6: after the superscript footnote number 26 in the text insert the sentence "Here, we summarize the first two."

p. 134, right, l. 18: indent paragraph

p. 135, right, l. 13: *for* "each lab" *read* "RISH"

p. 135, right, l. 24: *for* "figure 19" *read* "figure 20"

p. 135, right, l. 30: *for* "figure 20" *read* "figure 22"

p. 136, left, l. 7: *for* "*hiba arborvitae*" *read* "hiba arborvitae"

p. 136, left, l. 12: *for* "(figures 3, 8, and 18)" *read* "(figures 3, 8, 14, and 18)"

p. 136, left, 2nd l. from bottom: *for* "Chamaecyparis obtusa" *read* "*Chamaecyparis obtusa*"

p. 136, right, l. 23–24: remove both commas

p. 136, right, l. 27: at line beginning *delete* "in Kyoto" [stet comma]

p. 136, right, l. 31: *for* "Male Shinto deity" *read* "'Male Shinto deity'" [in quotes]

p. 136, right, l. 35: *for* "deva-like female deity" *read* "'Deva-like female deity'" [in quotes]

p. 136, right, 7th l. from bottom: *for* "季" *read* "李"

p. 137, left, l. 12–13: *for* "It is also to note that a conversion (*seizai* 製材)" *read* "It is also of note that conversion (*seizai* 製材, or sawing timber into smaller sections)"

p. 137, left, l. 20: delete comma

p. 137, left, l. 21: *for* "like" insert em-dash

p. 137, left, l. 22: after "*crenata*" insert em-dash

p. 137, left, l. 23: delete comma

p. 137, right, l. 10 (subheading): *for* "Magnolia (Magnolia sp., Jp. mokuren-zoku)" *read* "Magnolia (*Magnolia* sp., Jp. *mokuren-zoku*)"

p. 137, right, l. 11: *for* "Figures/statues 3," *read* "Figures 3,"

p. 138, left, l. 14–15: *for* "Youthful male Shinto deity" *read* "'Youthful male Shinto deity'" [in quotes]

p. 138, right, l. 1–2: *for* "It is of course that future finding" *read* "Future findings"

p. 138, right, l. 11: *for* "the tip" *read* "only the tip"

p. 138, right, l. 21: *for* "Tachibana no Ōratsume" *read* "Tachibana Ooiratsume 橘大郎女"

p. 138, right, l. 28–29: *for* "describes it as the figure of a female Shinto deity" *read* "titles it 'Shinto Goddess'" [in quotes]

p. 138, right, l. 31: *for* "1079 and 1155, to which an additional fifty to one hundred years must be added" *read* "1079–1155 (67.45% probability), 1024–1051 (28% probability), with 2σ calibrated date (95.45% probability)."

p. 139, right, l. 14 [figure 9]: *for* "Male deity in a Japanese robe" *read* "'Male deity in a Japanese robe'" [in quotes]

p. 139, right, l. 24–28 [figure 10]: *for* "of Art, as the 'Crowned Male Deity Statue in a Japanese Robe.' As noted, the results of its wood testing result of magnolia in 2021," *read* "of Art, as the 'Crowned male deity statue in a Japanese robe.' As noted above, the statue's 2021 magnolia wood test results,"

p. 140, left, l. 14: *for* "priest Hōshi statue" *read* "'Priest Hōshi statue'" [in quotes]

p. 140, left, 9th l. from bottom: *for* "deity statue with demonic (*yasha*) attributes" *read* "'Deity statue with demonic attributes'" [in quotes]

p. 140, left, 3rd l. from bottom: *for* "Tokyo;" *read* "Tokyo."

p. 140, left, 2nd l. from bottom: "; with all three statues gifted by Allerton, one can surmise that all three were purchased from Ma-" *read* "; as all three statues at the Honolulu Museum of Art (figures 12, 13, and 14) were a gift from Allerton, if one was indeed purchased from Mayuyama, it is likely that all three passed through the hands of Ma-"

p. 140, right, l. 4: *for* "988–1026" *read* "988–1029 (93.11% probability), 978–986 (20.34% probability), with 2σ calibrated date (95.45% probability)."

p. 140, right, l. 7: *for* "is a deva-like male deity statue," *read* "is a 'Deva-like male deity statue.'" [in quotes]

p. 140, right, l. 7–8: *for* "Figure 15 is a deva-like male deity statue, which could represent Bishamonten" *read* "Itō titles figure 15 'Deva-like male deity statue, possibly Bishamonten,'" [in quotes]

p. 140, right, l. 14: *for* "female deity statue with the attributes of an old woman" *read* "'Female deity statue with the attributes of an old woman'" [in quotes]

p. 140, right, l. 20: *for* "is a deva-like male deity statue," *read* "is named 'Deva-like male deity statue.'" [in quotes]

p. 140, right, l. 28: *for* "is a deva-like male deity statue," *read* "is named 'Deva-like male deity statue.'" [in quotes]

p. 141 left, 5th and 6th l. from bottom: *delete* "most of the provenance records"

p. 142, left, l. 15: *for* "*shinkage" read "shin'ei*"

p. 142, left, l. 37: *for* "Mitsuhara" *read* "Mitsuharu"

p. 142, left, l. 40: *for* "chūshin I" *read* "chūshin ni"

p. 142, left, l. 43: *for* "Mitsuhara" *read* "Mitsuharu"

p. 146, top: insert the line "**Table 1.** Information about the Eighteen Shinzō"

p. 146, Table figure 2, row three, column two *for* "(Joshinzō 女神像)" *read* "(Tenbugyō joshinzō 天部形女神像)"

p. 146, Table figure 6, row seven, column four: *for* "USA. On loan to The Metropolitan" *read* "USA. Private collection, on loan to The Metropolitan"

p. 146, bottom of table (left): move the KEY found at the bottom of p. 150 here

p. 147, Table figure 3, row four, column three: *for* "ca. 1079–1155 [line break] (Carbon-14 dating, +/- 50–100 years) [line break] (11th–12th c.)" *read* "1079–1155 (67.45% probability), 1024–1051 (28% probability), with 2σ calibrated date (95.45% probability) [line break] (Carbon-14 dating) .[double line break] 11th–12th c. (museum)"

p. 148, Table figure 10, row five, column three: move all lines except the first, "Shinto deity," to the far right column on p. 149 under the last line (beginning "Shimizu") and place the moved lines in quotations. Below the final line moved "(museum records)," insert: "[The name 'Ryoichi Hosomi' is likely an error for 'Hosomi Ryō' 細見良 (1901–1978).]"

p. 149, Table figure 8, row three, column three, l.2, *for* "(Carbon-14 dating, +/- 50–100 years) [line break] (JL)" *read* "Carbon-14 dating [line break] (JL)"

p. 150, Table figure 13, row two, column three: *for* "Dragon King" *read* "Dragon King statue"

p. 151, Table figure 14, row three, column three: *for* "988–1029 [line break] (Carbon-14 dating, +/- 50–100 years) [line break] 10th–11th c. [double line break] 12th c. (museum)" *read* "988–1029 (93.11% probability), 978–986 (20.34% probability), with 2σ calibrated date (95.45% probability). [line break] (Carbon-14 dating) [double line break] 12th c. (museum)"

p. 151, Table figure 18, row seven, column three: add a line break above the last line (i.e., above "10th–11th c.")

p. 153, figure 6: *for* "The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *read* "Private collection, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art,"

p. 155, figure 14 caption: *for* "988–1026" *read* "988–1029"

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