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Center for Collaborative Research on Pre-modern Texts,
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10-3 Midori-chō, Tachikawa City, Tokyo 190-0014, Japan
Telephone: 81-50-5533-2900
Fax: 81-42-526-8883 e-mail: journal@nijl.ac.jp
Website: https//www.nijl.ac.jp

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Greetings from the Chief Editor

The National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL) was established in 1972 with the express purpose of serving as an institution dedicated to the investigation of material relating to Japanese literature, as well as the preservation of relevant images via microfilm. From its very inception, the mission of NIJL has been to make this rich store of materials readily available to the public. Now, some four decades later, NIJL continues to ardently pursue this same mission.

In recent years, a serious demand for more interdisciplinary and international collaboration has made itself felt, not only in the field of Japanese literature, but in many other fields of research as well. As of 2014, in accordance with suggestions put forward by the Science Council of Japan (SCJ), NIJL launched a large-scale research frontier project known as the "Project to Build an International Collaborative Research Network for Pre-modern Japanese Texts (NIJL-NW Project)." This project, not limiting itself exclusively to Japanese literature, aims at collecting and researching a broad range of premodern texts from a variety of fields, in both the humanities and the sciences. NIJL is currently endeavoring to make available to the public a body of some 300,000 digitalized images of this material.

As a means of further promoting research into Japanese literature and culture by scholars active in Japan and overseas, NIJL is engaged in a number of collaborative research projects. In Japan, we have a number of such projects dealing with such varied subjects as premodern Japanese mathematics, Japanese cuisine, and traditional medicine. In addition, several international collaborative research projects, equally interdisciplinary, are currently underway.

Something must be said here in regards to international research. Despite the inclusion of the word international in the titles of these various projects, and despite the active involvement of scholars from abroad, the fact remains that the actual results of these projects has hitherto been made available almost exclusively in the Japanese language. So long as this rather sorry state of affairs persists, the probability of these projects reaching a truly international audience is unlikely. The present journal is an effort to remedy this problem. By focusing on themes that are at once foundational and interdisciplinary—themes that are of deep interest to the academic community at large—this journal makes public the findings of specialized research, along with related images, on-line and in the English language. In this way, it is hoped that this journal will act as a platform for the international exchange of research into Japanese literature and culture. A journal of this sort, rich in information and images, as well as being easily accessible to the wider public, has yet to be attempted. Aside from its value as a companion to researchers, this journal should prove useful in the classroom, serving as a textbook for universities all over the world.

International collaborative research at NIJL was inaugurated by two professors. Dr. Haruo Shirane of Columbia University led a project entitled "Borders and Japanese Literature: Constructing a Platform of Knowledge," while Dr. Peter Kornicki of Cambridge University led another project entitled "A Comprehensive Study of Publishing and Learning in the Early Edo Period." Due to unavoidable circumstances, Dr. Shirane stepped down as leader of the former project. Seeing as how I had served as the representative of the aforementioned NIJL-NW Project —in a sense the forerunner of both Dr. Shirane's and Dr. Kornicki's projects— since 2016, I was consequently invited to assume the role of leader of the "Borders and Japanese Literature" project.

This English-language online journal, to which we have given the title *Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture* (SJLC), is a means of making the fruit of international collaborative research available to as wide an audience as possible, and as such, ought to serve as a springboard for further international collaborative research projects. All articles submitted to this journal have been reviewed by an advisory board that consists of high-level researchers hailing both from Japan and abroad, in hopes that this journal will be worthy of serious recognition and continued consideration in the decades to come.

IMANISHI Yūichirō

Professor Emeritus at the National Institute of Japanese Literature

Representative Researcher

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The Topology of Boundaries

KANAZAWA Hideyuki

Translated by Isaac WANG

Introduction

When two different territories exist, a boundary comes into being. We are always on one side of two territories, while the other side of the boundary is the territory of those who differ from us, a world which differs from this side. Let us call the former "the present world" and the latter "the other world." This contrast between the present world and other world sometimes overlaps with the contrast between one's own land and a foreign land, and may also overlap with the contrast between the living and the dead, the ordinary and the extraordinary. Based on how distinctions are drawn, the boundary's position shifts, and even if one of the sides exists at a particular level, based on the era and the perspective of the one who perceives the boundary, various types of boundaries may exist simultaneously. Thus, what is important is not just the specification and mapping of where the boundaries exist—that is, the topography of boundaries—but the illumination of the relationship between the various elements that form boundaries, which are preserved though their positions might change—in other words, the topology of boundaries.

What then is it that supersedes time and genre and characterizes the topology of boundaries? To consider this question, let us start by going back in time to the ancient myths in *Kojiki* 古事記 (*Record of Ancient Matters*, 712).

1. Boundaries in Myth and Legend

The myths in *Kojiki* tell of how this earthly world originated from a state of incompletion to arrive at a state of completion. During this process, there emerges for the first time an other world that is separate from the sky and earth, which exist from the very beginning. This other world is known as Yomi 黄泉, the Land of Death. Under the order of the heavenly deity, the husband and wife deities Izanaki 伊耶那岐 and Izanami 伊耶那美 give birth to the islands that form the nation, along with the earth's various elements such as the seas, rivers, mountains, and plains. The female god Izanami is burned upon giving birth to the fire god, and she departs from the earth. Pursuing her, the male god Izanaki reaches Yomi. There, he looks upon his wife, whose appearance has utterly

changed. He then flees back to earth and uses a boulder to block off Yomotsu Hirasaka 黄泉ひら坂, the slope leading to Yomi which forms a boundary between the two worlds. When Izanami, who has run after him, vows to kill a thousand people a day, Izanaki responds by saying that he will bring to life 1,500 people a day, and thus completes their separation.

Upon reaching Yomotsu Hirasaka, Izanaki repels his pursuers by hurling peaches at them. Consider what he then says to the peaches: "In the same way that you have helped me, please help all the people of this world, those who dwell in the Central Land of Reed Plains (*ashihara no nakatsukuni* 葦原中国), when they encounter difficulty and are suffering and troubled." This myth-like name for the earthly world—"The Central Land of Reed Plains"—appears here for the first time. Prior, the earthly world was called only *kuni* 国, or "the land," and was an incomplete world "that drifted about like a jellyfish." The fact that the earthly world now possesses a name means that its nature as a world has been determined. At this juncture, with its border blocked and being cut off from Yomi—the fringe world on the other side of the slope, the antithetical world of death—the earthly world takes on the contours of a central world ("Central Land") covered by an expanse ("Plain") of vitality symbolized by reeds ("Reed").[1]

This myth reveals that while the other world is portrayed as a world that is the reverse of the present world, the present world is stipulated as a world that is precisely *not* that sort of other world. It is here that the relationship between the two worlds exists—as mirror images separated by a boundary, and as inverse, inverted images. The myth also tells of the world of death at the heart of the image of such an other world. "Weeping Blood in Lamentation" is a late 7th century poem by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂, which was collected in *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*A Collection of Myriad Leaves*), a poetry anthology completed after 759. In the manner of the male god Izanaki in *Kojiki*, this poem speaks of the sorrows of a man who wails upon losing his wife. One of the two envoys appended to the end of the *chōka* 長歌 (*Man'yōshū* 2: 207) reads:

> The autumn mountains are thick with red leaves,
> Concealing the mountain path that leads to my lost beloved.

The poet is aware that his wife has died and already no longer exists in this world. However, the thought that she might be living in a world of which he has no knowledge compels him to search for her. This intuition lays at the heart of the image of the other world, and serves as a primordial trigger for imagining a world other than this one.

The next other world to make an appearance in *Kojiki* is Nenokatasu-kuni 根之堅州国, "Land of the Roots," to which the deity Ōnamuchi 大穴牟遅 flees to

[1] Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光, *Kojiki no sekaikan* 古事記の世界観. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1986.

escape the persecution of his fellow deity brothers. Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 has read the meaning of source/foundation in the word "root,"[2] and Nenokatasu-kuni is indeed a land controlled by the deity Susanoo 須佐之男, who is a "root," or ancestor, of Ōnamuchi. In this world, Ōnamuchi is tasked by Susanoo with such trials as being sent into rooms with poisonous snakes or insects, and getting attacked by fire in a field. However, with the aid of Suseri-bime 須勢理毘売, Susanoo's daughter, Ōnamuchi overcomes these trials, so his marriage to Susanoo's daughter is recognized, and he receives Susanoo's bow and arrows and the title "Great Land Master" (Ōkuninushi 大国主, that is, great lord of the earth). Ōnamuchi, or the Great Land Master, returns to the earth's surface, uses the bow and arrow he received in the other world to drive away his hostile brothers, and then brings the earthly world to completion.

In this myth, the other world is portrayed as a world that grants power to those who visit it from the present world. The trials that Ōnamuchi experiences serve as an initiation for him. The guide Susanoo is a "root," or ancestor, of Ōnamuchi, yet ancestral spirits are also the dead. This is the origin of the special qualities and ambiguity of the other world, which is simultaneously frightening yet benevolent, and which yields special value precisely because it differs from the present world.

At the end of *Kojiki*, another other world is described: the world of the sea deity which lies beyond Unasaka 海坂, the Sea Slope. The tale of Hohodemi-no-Mikoto's 穂々手見命 visit to the palace of the sea deity takes on a form that is extremely like that of the tale of Ōnamuchi's visit to Nenokatasu-kuni. However, Hohodemi, who becomes the ancestor of future emperors, is not made to undergo any trials. Instead, he is welcomed by the sea deity, and he marries Toyotama-bime 豊玉毘売, the daughter of a sea deity. After a three-year stay, Hohodemi receives two jewels that can raise or lower the tide. He returns to land, subjugates his brother, who had opposed him, and then inherits the earthly world. In such a situation as this, in which there is an absence of trial, the other world takes on utopian hues as a place one must visit only to obtain value not found in this world.

It is a stone's throw away from here to the legend of Shimako of Mizunoe no Ura 水江の浦の嶋子, which is included in *Man'yōshū* and *Tango no kuni fudoki* 丹後国風土記, a lost text that was completed around the first half of the 8th century and cited in Urabe no Kanekata's 卜部兼方 *Shaku Nihongi* 釈日本紀, itself completed sometime before 1301. According to the version of the tale included in *Man'yōshū* (9: 1940; the poem was written around the first half of the 8th century), while fishing, Shimako crosses the border called Unasaka, the Sea Slope, and reaches Tokoyo 常世, the Eternal World. There, he marries and settles down with the daughter of a sea deity. However, after three years pass, he is driven by

[2] Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男, "Watatsumi no miya kō" 海神宮考, in *Kaijō no michi* 海上の道. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1961.

longing for his hometown and so returns to the surface. There, he finds that many years have passed. Thanks to the power of the other world, Shimako has remained young. However, he opens a box that the sea deity's daughter gave him upon their separation and forbade him to open, and thereby loses the power of eternal youth and perishes. This ending speaks of the failure to acquire the power of the other world and thus, in a sense, parodies the tale of Hohodemi's visit to the palace of the sea deity.

The location of other worlds is not limited to the other side of horizontal boundaries such as Yomotsu Hirasaka or Unasaka. In another legend transmitted by the no longer extant *Tango no kuni fudoki*, referenced in Kitabatake Chikafusa's 北畠親房 *Gengenshū* 元元集 (ca. 1337–1338), the other world comprises the vertical plane of the heavens. Moreover, in this legend, the one who crosses the boundary is not a human of this present world, but rather one from heaven—a heavenly maiden. She descends to earth and is bathing when her clothing is hidden. Unable to return, she becomes the daughter of an elderly human couple. The heavenly maiden states, "The intentions of the people of heaven are founded on sincerity," to which the old man responds, "An abundance of doubt and lack of trust are the way of this world." This conversation straightforwardly presents the state of the other world as the antipode of the present world.

The heavenly maiden remains on earth, but she is ultimately driven from the elderly couple's home. As the story is told, she wanders the land until she finally reaches a place where she is worshiped as a deity. If becoming a deity is regarded as returning to the other world from this present world, then we have a being from an other world coming to the present world and then going off to the other world, which is the opposite of the examples we have seen until now.[3] Though the form reverses, the topological elements do not change. Thanks to the saké made by the heavenly maiden, which can cure all manner of diseases, the elderly couple acquires tremendous wealth. Here, too, the difference between the present world and the other world yields value for the former.

2. Boundaries in Vernacular Tales (*monogatari*)

Taketori monogatari 竹取物語 (*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, first half of the 10th century), which is regarded as the "first ancestor of the *monogatari*" (see *The Tale of Genji* 源氏物語 [Ch. 17, "The Picture Contest"], early 11th century), was created by imagining this sort of boundary. Kaguya-hime かぐや姫 leaves the other world of the moon, where "wonderfully beautiful, ageless and carefree" beings dwell, and comes to this world, which by comparison is a "polluted place." She brings wealth in the form of gold to the elderly couple who raised her, and then

[3] Takahashi Tōru 高橋亨, "Monogatari-gaku ni mukete" 物語学にむけて, in *Monogatari no hōhō* 物語の方法, ed. Itoi Michihiro 糸井通浩 and Takahashi Tōru 高橋亨. Kyoto: Sekaishisōsha, 1992.

returns to the world of the moon. The main story of *Taketori monogatari* concerns the coming and going between this world and a vertical other world. Into the middle of this framework is inserted a courtship tale involving five noblemen. The courtship tale involves attempts at acquiring treasures from China and India, all of which end in failure. With such an ending, the courtship tale becomes a bald parody of tales involving visits to horizontally oriented other worlds. However, when the story closes, Kaguya-hime confesses that she would rather stay with the elderly couple on this polluted world than return to the pure capital of the moon. The emperor, who has become Kaguya-hime's final suitor, voluntarily relinquishes the elixir of immortality—that is, the spiritual power of the other world—which Kaguya-hime has left behind for him, and thus points to the existence of a higher value; namely, his love for Kaguya-hime. A move from myth and legend to *monogatari* is expressed by such a break from the models of the past.

With regard to the courtship tale of the noblemen, the locations of the precious treasures, such as the Buddha's stone pot, the jeweled branch from the island of Penglai 蓬莱, and the fire-rat's robe, are represented not as the imaginary other worlds seen in prior works, but rather as the real foreign lands of China and India. In "Toshikage 俊蔭," the first chapter of *Utsuho monogatari* 宇津保物語 (*The Tale of the Hollow Tree*, latter half of the 10th century), the protagonist, who is searching for a treasured *koto*, bypasses China and ends up traveling even farther west to Persia. In a similar manner, the real foreign lands in *monogatari* from the 10th century on start to take on the likeness of imaginary other worlds. Such a shift is perhaps related to the expansion of the notion of distinguishing between that which is inside and outside a nation's imagined boundaries due to Japan's awakening to its own territory as a closed region, and the outside as a place to which the unclean are banished, at a time when official diplomatic relations with other nations were not being conducted after Japanese missions to China were halted in the second half of the 9th century.[4]

The story of Kibi no Makibi's 吉備真備 visit to China, which is included in *Gōdanshō* 江談抄, is one of the stories that was born of such a notion. *Gōdanshō* was completed at the beginning of the 12th century, but the story of Kibi no Makibi's visit to China perhaps came into being in the 11th century. At a time when the Japanese missions to China were flourishing, Kibi no Makibi was dispatched to China to study. However, his excellence earned him the envy of the Chinese and he was confined to a tower. Attempting to create a pretext to kill him, the Chinese court charged Kibi no Makibi with such difficult demands as reciting the *Wenxuan* 文選 (*Selections of Refined Literature*) and playing the game of *go*. However, with the aid of an *oni* who had taken up residence in the tower (the ghost of a Japanese diplomat to China who had also been confined and

[4] Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, "Ōdo ōmin shisō to kyūseiki no tenkan" 王土王民思想と九世紀の転換, *Shisō*, no. 847 (January 1995), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

thereupon perished), Kibi no Makibi managed to overcome all of these trials. Finally, he was commanded to decipher the esoteric poem "Yamataishi" 野馬台詩; he prayed to the gods and buddhas, whereupon a spider on the ceiling spun down a web and alighted on the text. By tracing the web, Kibi no Makibi worked through the poem without a problem. Afterward, the confinement continued, but he employed his magic to make the sun and the moon disappear, thereby throwing the Chinese into a state of confusion. In exchange for resolving the situation, he was allowed to return to Japan.

As a poem that existed and was transmitted prior to the creation of the story of Kibi no Makibi's visit to China, and that symbolically prophesied Japan's future, this "Yamataishi" which Kibi no Makibi brought back to Japan became one of the pillars that supported later historical accounts.[5] For example, the poem is included at the opening of the *Ōninki* 応仁記 (*Record of the Ōnin War*, ca. 16th century). One must not overlook the point that the poem's value and significance are heightened because it was regarded as a prophetic poem of the other world which was brought over a border to Japan.

Borders exist not only outside a nation's territory, but also within it. *The Tale of Genji* is a saga that portrays the protagonist Hikaru Genji's 光源氏 flourishing in and then withdrawal from the court. The first half is about how Genji, who was born the child of an emperor, falls to the status of a subject and then rises to the highest rank attainable as a subject. The turning point is the incident portrayed in chapters twelve and thirteen, "Suma 須磨" and "Akashi 明石." Genji loses his position in the court after his secret love affair with a woman in the service of Emperor Suzaku 朱雀天皇, his half-brother, is discovered. He is exiled to Suma, which is far from the capital. While passing a dreary existence in the desolate land, Genji has a dream one stormy night in which the spirit of his deceased father, the emperor, appears and exhorts him to quickly sail to Akashi. As revealed by the dream, the next day, a messenger from Akashi arrives, after which Genji visits the mansion of the Akashi Novice (a kind of semi-monastic), who was once a governor but is now living in seclusion in Akashi. Genji is welcomed by the Akashi Novice and takes his daughter as his wife. Three years after leaving the capital, Genji is pardoned and returns to the court. The daughter born to Genji and the Novice's daughter is eventually married to the crown prince, and she gives birth to a boy who becomes the next crown prince. The birth of the crown prince—that is, Genji's grandson—serves as the foundation for Genji's later glory.

Since the time of the medieval commentary *Kakaishō* 河海抄 (ca. mid-14th century), it has been pointed out that the aforementioned myth of visiting the palace of the sea deity, which is included in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720), also exists at the conceptual heart of this section, which serves as the tale's

[5] Komine Kazuaki 小峯和明, *Yamataishi no nazo* 『野馬台詩』の謎. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003.

turning point. When Genji returns to the capital and reunites with Emperor Suzaku, he recites the following poem:

> Like the forlorn Leech Child, who, feebly languishing in disgrace beside the sea year after year, unable to stand on his own feet—so it was with me.[6]

Within this poem, Genji's own three years of obscurity are likened to the tale of Hiruko 蛭児, the "Leech Child," as recounted in the myth in *Nihon shoki* in which Hiruko is set adrift in a boat because he still cannot stand up, though three years have passed since he was born to the two deities Izanaki and Izanami. Such a comparison assumes an association with the myth, which circulated even as it underwent variation.[7] Akashi, then, is the other world for Genji, while the Akashi Novice is the equivalent of the sea deity, as the lord of the other world. The child whom Genji receives through his marriage to the monk's daughter corresponds to the treasure from the other world that brings the protagonist power and glory.[8] Finally, between Suma and Akashi there is a literal boundary that separates the *kinai* 畿内, or the territory of the capital—that is, the world to which Genji belongs—and the *kigai* 畿外, or the exterior.[9] Thus, the mythic structure that is fixed at the foundation of *The Tale of Genji*, which at first glance appears to be centered on relationships and romance in the court, bestows upon this *monogatari* a narrative force. However, the individual here who crosses a boundary and acquires the power of the other world is not, as in myths, the sovereign, for whom legitimacy is assured, but rather Genji, who by no means ascends to the rank of the emperor. The strain born of this topological distortion operates as the tension that draws together this *monogatari*.

3. Boundaries in vernacular anecdotal literature (*setsuwa*)

As the ancient state declined, the great temples and shrines which had received the state's protection faced the need for economic independence, so vigorous *kanjin* 勧進, or fundraising activities, were developed. From these activities sprouted origin tales which expounded on the benefits bestowed by the buddhas and deities worshipped at various temples and shrines, as well as the written stories, public entertainments, and other types of art and literature that derived from these origin tales.

Amid such circumstances, ancient myths and legends were dissected and reorganized, and they began to take on new forms. The deity who achieved the

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[6] This translation is a modified version based on Royall Tyler, trans., *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), p. 276.

[7] Yoshimori Kanako 吉森加奈子, *Kakaishō no Genji monogatari* 『河海抄』の『源氏物語』. Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2003.

[8] Ishikawa Tōru 石川徹, *Heian jidai monogatari bungakuron* 平安時代物語文学論. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 1979.

[9] Fujii Sadakazu 藤井貞和, *Genji monogatari nyūmon* 源氏物語入門. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996.

greatest transformation was perhaps the previously mentioned Hiruko. As suggested by his name, which means "Leech Child," Hiruko does not have a solid body. In ancient myth, no mention is made of what becomes of him after he is cast away at birth. However, in the medieval era, works telling of Hiruko's outcome appeared in great number. For example, according to "Shintō yurai no koto" 神道由来之事 ("On the Origins of Shinto"), the first volume of *Shintōshū* 神道集 (*A Shintō Collection*, ca. mid-14th century), the castaway Hiruko reaches the Dragon Palace. After being raised by the Dragon King 龍王, he is bestowed with the "Eighth Outer Sea" (*daihachi no gekai* 第八の外海) and returns to the surface, where he becomes Ebisu 恵比須, the deity of Nishinomiya 西宮 Shrine. Just as the deformed child Hiruko matures into the deity Ebisu, in whom the people of the sea place their faith, so does the myth of Hiruko itself develop and mature within the domain of this *monogatari* about boundaries.

What is the "Eighth Outer Sea" that Hiruko acquires at the other world of the Dragon Palace? Let us consider the Buddhist image of the world that was dominant in the medieval era (**Figure 1**). As explained by Buddhist sutras such as *Abhidharma-kośa* 倶舎論, the giant Shumisen 須弥山 (Mount Sumeru) towers at the center of the world, surrounded by a sevenfold mountain range, while the world itself is surrounded by a mountain range called Tecchisen 鉄囲山, the "Ring of Iron Mountains." The eight gaps between the total ninefold mountain range, which spans from Shumisen to Tecchisen, form seas, and the continent on which humans live (Jambudvipa, or, in Japanese, Enbudai 閻浮提) floats on the furthermost sea. The "Eighth Outer Sea," then, refers to the sea that surrounds this land on which humans live.

In this way, the reorganization of ancient myths and legends according to Buddhist cosmological thought is one of the special features of medieval *setsuwa* 説話. The Dragon Palace that Hiruko visits is also an other world that derives from the Buddhist sutras, and in the *otogizōshi* 御伽草子 *Urashimatarō* 浦嶋太郎, which is a retelling of the ancient tale of Shimako of Mizunoe no Ura, the alteration of the main character's destination from Tokoyo, the Eternal World, to the Dragon Palace is also a manifestation of such a feature. In the late-Muromachi-period picture scroll *Urashima* (in the collection of the Japan Folk Crafts Association), the world in which Princess Otohime 乙姫 lives has already become the Dragon Palace.

Meanwhile, the twin invasions of Japan by Yuan 元 (Mongolian) and Goryeo 高麗 forces at the close of the 13th century, during the Bun'ei 文永 and Kōan 弘安 eras (specifically the years 1274 and 1281), enhanced the view that territories outside of one's own country were foreign lands where frightening, demon-like creatures dwelled. This view took the form of temple and shrine origin tales and joined with the ancient legend of Empress Jingū's 神功皇后 invasion of Silla 新羅 to become *Hachiman gudōkun* 八幡愚童訓 (early 14th century); it also joined with the *setsuwa* about Prince Zen'yū 善友太子 found in the Buddhist sutras, and developed from Buddhist sermon to entertainment to become the *kōwakamai* 幸

若舞 *Yuriwaka daijin* 百合若大臣 (ca. 16th century). In the former, the west, which lies beyond "Chikuragaoki ちくらが沖, the border where the Chinese and Japanese currents converge," is portrayed as a foreign land inhabited by the Mukuri むくり (the non-human likeness of Mongolia as depicted within *setsuwa*). At the same time, as trade with the northern regions expanded after the medieval era, there was a focusing on Ezogashima 蝦夷ヶ島 (Hokkaido), which lay beyond Japan's northern extremity of Tsugaru Strait 津軽海峡, as a northern (or north-eastern) foreign land.

The *otogizōshi Onzōshi shimawatari* 御曹子島渡 (*Yoshitsune's Island-Hopping*) portrays the period when the later Minamoto hero Yoshitsune 源義経 laid low at Hiraizumi 平泉, the capital of Ōshū 奥州, on the eve of the Genpei War 源平の戦い (1180-1185). As the tale is told, Yoshitsune is advised by Fujiwara no Hidehira 藤原秀衡, the leader of Hiraizumi, to procure a scroll about martial tactics from Ezogashima, located at the other end of the northern sea, as a clever means of defeating the Heike 平家. Yoshitsune passes many mysterious islands before arriving at Ezogashima, a land inhabited by *oni* 鬼 and with a capital that is controlled by a giant *oni* who bears the title "Great King Kanehira かねひら大王." Yoshitsune hopes to receive instruction in the art of warfare, but the Great King refuses to grant him permission. However, Yoshitsune receives help from the Great King's daughter, with whom he has fallen in love, and he acquires the scroll, flees the land of the *oni*, and returns to Japan. The daughter, who stays behind, becomes a victim of her father's wrath, but Yoshitsune defeats the Heike through the power of his martial tactics and paves the way for the age of the samurai.

A variant edition includes *shōgi* 将棋, sumo, and other matches with *oni* that take place during Yoshitsune's acquisition of the scroll on martial skills. Here, one may perhaps detect the transmigrated form of a tale about an other-world visit which is accompanied by trials, such as that seen in the ancient myth of the deity Ōnamuchi. However much the Great King may possess an otherworldly appearance, there flickers in his visage the shadow of an ancestral spirit that is fearsome yet benevolent, and which, following an initiation process, bestows value and treasures that do not exist in this world.

4. Receding Boundaries

As we have seen, various boundary-related elements maintain a certain constant relationality even while they take on different forms and change in appearance with the times. Transformation is brought about through a change in one's understanding of the world, whose contours are set according to boundaries.

With the end of the medieval era and the start of the early modern period, due to new contact with the Western world and the accompanying expansion of scientific, geographic, and other knowledge and information, the Japanese understanding of reality transformed greatly. *Onzōshi shimawatari* was published in the

middle of the 17th century and then reprinted and distributed as the Shibukawa edition 渋川版 at the outset of the 18th century. In the illustrations included in the Shibukawa edition, the denizens of the location in Ezogashima where Yoshitsune lands are portrayed as humans, as seen in the upper portion of **Figure 2**, while the *oni* capital is postulated as being located farther beyond the outermost sea. However, in a manuscript from the same period, Ezogashima is portrayed as a world completely inhabited by *oni* from the start (see the lower portion of Figure 2). The movement at that time of the other world boundary that lies between "this side" and the hinterland of Ezogashima can be seen in the difference between the two depictions.[10]

Following the medieval period, a certain region within the real Ezogashima served as a settlement for Japanese who lived in the southeast region, near Honshu; it then became the Matsumae 松前 domain in the early modern period. Most of its expansive area was called Ezochi 蝦夷地, and it was a land inhabited by the Ainu, who belonged to no nation. However, in the second half of the 18th century, after the Russians landed on the eastern end of Ezochi and sought to conduct commerce with the Matsumae domain, the Tokugawa Shogunate conducted surveys of Ezochi and carried out direct, methodical territorialization of the area. In the beginning of the 19th century, in 1807, the Shogunate took control over the whole of Ezogashima and formally incorporated it into the nation.

It goes without saying that in the ancient myths, Ezogashima is not included as part of the nation born by the deities Izanaki and Izanami. However, Hirata Atsutane's 平田篤胤 *Koshiden* 古史伝 (1812–1825), written toward the end of the early modern period, proposes the possibility that the castaway Hiruko may have become some sort of national territory, and Suzuki Shigetane 鈴木重胤 in *Nihon shokiden* 日本書紀伝 (1853–1862) accepts this proposal and claims that this land is none other than Ezogashima. He explains that the phrase "for three years the legs [*ashi* 脚] did not stand" is a mistransmission of "for three years the reeds [*ashi* 葦] did not grow," which indicates that Ezogashima is a wasteland where rice does not grow. That the characters for both Ezo 蝦夷 and Hiruko 蛭子 can be read as Ebisu is also taken as evidence. In this way, as the real world expands, Ezogashima is brought into the interior of the native country—though mythically so—and the boundary shifts further out.

However, boundaries cannot continue to recede infinitely. Early on, Fukansai Fabian 不干斎ハビアン in *Myōtei mondō* 妙貞問答 (1605) had already rejected the Buddhist Shumisen image of the earth that had dominated in the medieval era, based on theories of the earth that had come from the West. As seen in the Kokugaku 国学 scholar Motoori Norinaga's 本居宣長 refutation of Buddhist critiques of theories of the earth in *Shamon Mon'nō ga kusen hakkai kaichōron no ben* 沙門文雄が九山八海解嘲論の弁 (1790), a new image of the world steadily

[10] Kanazawa Hideyuki 金沢英之, *Yoshitsune no bōken: eiyū to ikai wo meguru monogatari no bunkashi* 義経の冒険—英雄と異界をめぐる物語の文化史. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2012.

infiltrated Japan during the early modern period. On the surface of the earth, boats that headed west eventually made their way from the east to their point of departure. In the same way that the reality called Russia had revealed itself from the other side of Ezogashima, a world was arriving whose boundaries, which contacted the other world, were not allowed to exist.

Such a situation is also evident in Atsutane's *Tamano mihashira* 霊能真柱 (1812). In this work, which discusses the destination of souls after death, Atsutane makes the claim that the pollution of death, and souls after death, have different destinations. The destination of the pollution is Yomi, the Land of Death, which is identified as the moon (see **Figure 3**), while souls are said to remain on the earth. Atsutane holds that the world to which souls go "exists everywhere in this world of reality, but as a place that is faint and cannot be perceived, it is removed from this present world and cannot be seen." It may be perceived here that while the other world can no longer exist as a zone on this earth, it is, on the other hand, becoming invisible and internalized as something that must be believed in the heart.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude this article by touching on the location of the other worlds and boundaries that became invisible and internalized during Japan's transition to the modern era. In modern Japan, the author who most consciously uses and manipulates the mythological images surrounding other world borders is Murakami Haruki 村上春樹. That tendency is pronounced in Murakami's *A Wild Sheep Chase* 羊をめぐる冒険 (Kōdansha Bunko, 1983), which was first published in 1982 and is the representative title of Murakami's early period.

The stage is the late 1970s. The protagonist passed his college years in the 60s, which brimmed with a countercultural enthusiasm represented by politics and rock music, and then lived through the next decade with the sense that "the world continues to spin without regard for me." *A Wild Sheep Chase* is a tale about how such a protagonist comes to decide to search again for a connection with a world that must have existed in the past. He experiences a change of heart when he is requested to take on an investigation of a mysterious sheep. Pursuing the mystery, the protagonist unwittingly steps out of the hitherto ordinary world and ultimately reaches a desolate pasture in a town in the wilds of Hokkaido (again!). From the time when he alights from the plane in Sapporo to when he reaches the pasture, he must experience a transition to the abnormal, as when the North Star looks like a fake, or when a clock at the hotel goes mad. The protagonist, who has finally reached the hinterland town that "looks like a town that has died," crosses a boundary that is described as an "ominous" and "extremely unpleasant curve" that leads to the top of a hill. He then chances upon an uninhabited cabin located in the middle of the pasture. Here, without any apparent reason, his young lover, the woman who had accompanied him thus far, suddenly

disappears. It is shortly after this turn of events that the work's most splendid, symbolically imbued scene arrives. The now solitary protagonist wipes a dirty mirror, and then, as though the final door has been opened, a dead person—the protagonist's close friend and an alter ego-like being—appears. After conversing with and bidding farewell to the dead person, the protagonist gains the will to live and returns to the present world of the ordinary. Here too, the topology of boundaries hides its form even as it continues to live.

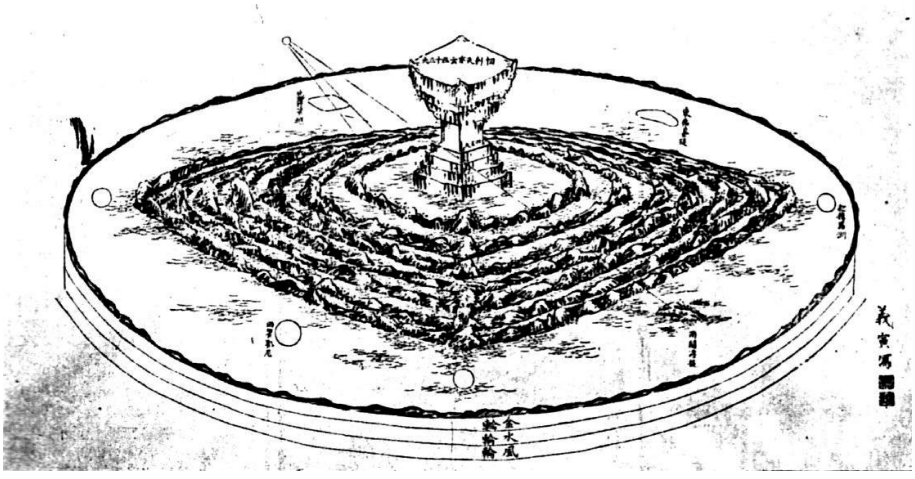

Figure 1. In the middle, an hourglass-like Mount Shumi is depicted, and in the lower right, Jambudvipa, where humans dwell, may be seen. "A View of the Domain of Mount Shumi," published in Genji 元治 2 (1865), from *Mount Shumi Atlas*, Ryūkoku University Publishing Bureau, 1925.
http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/967364

Figure 2 (Top). Illustration from *Onzōshi shimawatari* (Shibukawa edition), in the collection of the Ukai bunko 鵜飼文庫 archive of the National Institute of Japanese Literature.
https://doi.org/10.20730/200019871
Figure 2 (Bottom). Illustration from *Onzōshi shimawatari* (year of transcription, uncertain), in the collection of the Kuchinashi bunko 支子文庫 archive of the Kyushu University Library.
https://doi.org/10.20730/100076634

Note: Yoshitsune (center), now in the capital of demons, performs upon a flute before Great King Kanehira (right). Illustration from the Ikenoya bunko MS of *Onzōshi shimawatari* (seventeenth century).
https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100257436/viewer

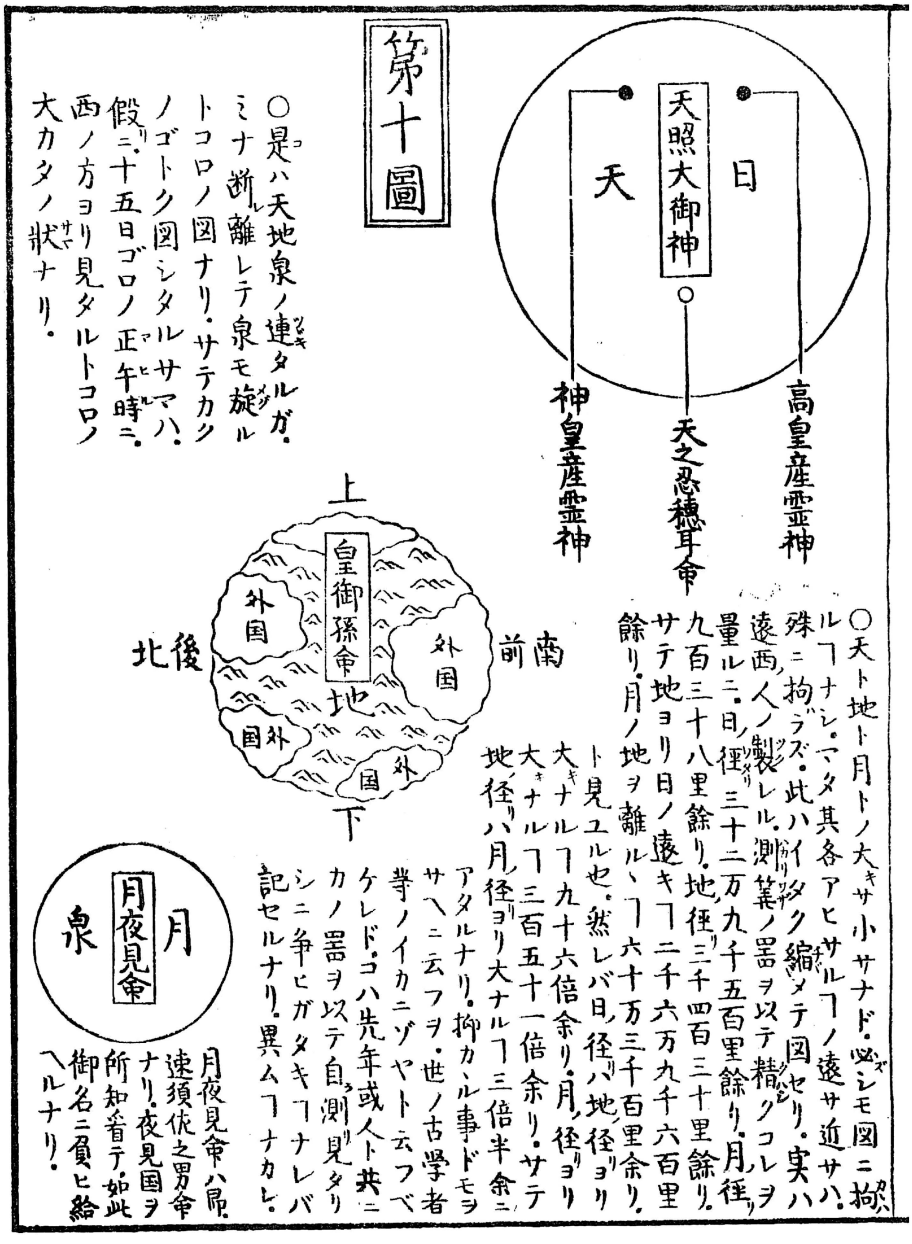

Figure 3. The three worlds of the heavens, earth, and underworld are portrayed as the sun, globe, and moon. An illustration from Hirata Atsutane's *Tamano mihashira*, published in Bunka 文化10 (1813); author's private collection.

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Borders in the Nō Play *Birds of Sorrow*

Kobayashi Kenji

Translated by Kristopher Reeves

Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, a noted scholar of Japanese history, has made a detailed investigation of the four cardinal geographical borders which seem to have played a prominent role in the medieval Japanese imagination. Two of this borders, in particular, are of special significance for the present discussion. According to Murai, medieval Japanese people considered the archipelago to be bounded on the north by a stretch of beach known as Sotogahama 外浜, the Outermost Shore. On the other hand, the southernmost extremity of the archipelago was delineated by an island known as Kikaigashima 鬼界島, Ogre's Isle.[1] Murai cites a variety of literary and historical works in order to demonstrate just how firmly fixed within the geographical imagination these two borders had become. It is curious to note that most of the sources in which such records are to be found are works of fiction and not, as one might be inclined to expect, historical or archival documents. No doubt there is a reason for this.

In the world of performative genres, there is a *nō* 能 play by the name of *Utō* 善知鳥 (*Birds of Sorrow*), which takes place in the aforementioned Sotogahama.[2] This play, which belongs to the Kanze School 観世 repertoire, is mentioned in an entry from a Muromachi-period diary known as *Chikamoto nikki* 親元日記 (*The Diary of Ninagawa Chikamoto* 蜷川親元 [1433–1488], late 15th century) dated the twenty-eight day of the second month in the sixth year of Kanshō 寛正 (1465). Here it is stated that this play was performed before the then acting shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436–1490, shōgun 1449–1473), when the latter paid a visit to Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園上皇 (1419–1470, r. 1428–1464) at his retirement palace. *Utō* opens, as so many other *nō* plays do, with an itinerant monk making his way to some famous place. In this case, the monk, having found his way to Mount Tate 立山 in Ecchū 越中 (modern-day Toyama), begins

[1] See Murai's article entitled "Sotogahama to Kikaigashima: chūsei kokka no kyōkai" 外浜と鬼界島—中世国家の境界, to be found in his monograph *Nihon chūsei kyōkai shiron* 日本中世境界史論. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2013.

[2] For an English translation of this play, see Donald Keene, ed. *Anthology of Japanese Literature: From the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Grove Press, 1955), pp. 271–285.

Figure 1. "Utō," by the artist Tsukioka Kōgyo 月岡耕漁 (1869–1927), being part of a larger set of similar illustrations entitled *Nōgaku zue nihyaku gojuban* 能楽図絵二百五十番, currently belonging to Kokuritsu nōgakudō (item no. BK014–028).

to sing in detail regarding the visions of hell he has since witnessed throughout his torturous mountain hike. It is at this very moment that an elderly man suddenly appears before him. This fellow promptly informs the monk that he is no mortal, but the spirit of a hunter who passed away the previous year. The hunter implores the monk to travel to the northern provinces of Michinoku, all the way to Sotogahama, where his widowed wife and son still dwell, in order that the monk might hold a memorial service on behalf of his soul. Lest his wife should doubt the veracity of this monk, the hunter tears off one of his hempen sleeves, hands it to the monk, and vanishes. As per the deceased hunter's wishes, the monk travels northward to Sotogahama, where he pays a visit to the widowed wife and her child, informing them of how he came to know of their whereabouts. Showing her the hempen sleeve, she is astonished to see that it matches the one left behind by her husband. Certain now that the spirit who appeared to the monk was indeed that of her husband, the widow prays reverently before the straw raincoat and sedge hat once worn by her beloved. As if summoned by this gesture, her husband's spirit presently appears, looking bedraggled and weary (see **Figure 1**).

Though he longs desperately to embrace his child, he is not permitted to do so. As karmic retribution for having once snatched away the nestling of a hornbilled puffin (*utō*), thereby separating the bird forever from its mother, so, too, must the

hunter forever be separated from his own child. He then proceeds to repent of his reckless actions, reenacting the manner in which he captured the nestling. It is, he laments, in virtue of this very act that he is condemned to suffer the torments of purgatory, and it is for this reason that he implores the monk's succor. Having thus revealed the truth of things, the spirit of the hunter once again vanishes.

Utō, masterpiece that it is, remains an anonymous work. As can be seen from the synopsis above, this piece belongs to that category of *nō* plays referred to as obsession plays (*shūshinmono* 執心物), for, on top of his infernal torments, it is the hunter's restless desire to be reunited with his wife and child that keeps his soul wandering between this world and the next. The anonymous playwright has drawn upon a number of well-known sources, including, for example, a tale entitled "How the Girl Who Stumbled into Purgatory Whilst Hiking Through Mount Tate in Ecchū was Rescued by Jizō," found in the seventeenth fascicle of *Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集 (*Tales Old and New*, c. 1120).[3] This tale succeeds in connecting a real geographical location, namely, Mount Tate, with a supernatural realm, that is, purgatory. It would appear the playwright has also drawn upon a Kamakura-period treatise on poetics known as *Shinsen utamakura nayose* 新撰歌枕名寄 (*New Anthology of Poems about Famous Places*), which includes a legend about the *utō* bird.

In terms of plot-structure, *Utō* contains two acts, in accordance with the now classical style, first established by Zeami 世阿弥 (1363–1443), known as dream plays (*mugen nō* 夢幻能). There are generally only two dramatis personae: the primary protagonist (*shite* シテ)—the hunter, in the case of *Utō*—and the auxiliary or secondary protagonist (*waki* ワキ), who, as in *Utō*, usually takes the form of an itinerant monk. That the secondary protagonist should take the form of a monk is in line with the otherworldly nature of the primary protagonist, who is necessarily a wandering spirit, for which reason these dream plays are often referred to as spirit plays (*yūreinō* 幽霊能). These two-act dream plays commonly unfold in a rather straightforward manner: The play begins with the monk visiting a place which is eventually revealed to be the site of some significant event in the earthly life of the primary protagonist. The latter appears. Having appeared before the monk in the guise of, say, an old fisherman or farmer, the spirit of the deceased shares with his guest a curious tale which inevitably features someone whose life is bound up with the place. This tale, besides laying the groundwork upon with the play unfolds, also serves as a means of hinting to the monk that the primary protagonist is—rather was—the very fellow appearing in that tale. Once the tale has been told, the spirit vanishes into thin air, thus ending the first act. In the second act, the monk, moved by this tale, conducts certain

[3] For a complete translation of this work, see Dykstra, Yoshiko, trans., *The Konjaku Tales*. Intercultural Research Institute Monograph Series. Osaka: Intercultural Research Institute, Kansai University of Foreign Studies. 1986–1994.

religious rites on behalf of its protagonist, be it reciting a sutra or intoning a simple prayer, whereupon the spirit again appears before him, only this time in the true likeness of his previous earthly form. The spirit reenacts his final hour, concluding this second visitation with a plea for salvation. Again, it is no accident that the secondary protagonist is a monk: only a monk is able to effectively pray for the condemned souls of deceased mortals.

While *Utō* follows this general structure, it exhibits one crucial difference. In most two-act dream plays, the spirit appears in both acts in this same location. The spirit of the deceased hunter, however, appears in two different places, first in Mount Tate, second in Sotogahama—two places separated by a very great distance. Though it may seem as though these two places are mutually unrelated, there is, in fact, something binding them together. As the tale of the girl who was rescued from purgatory at Mount Tate cited above reveals, this mountain was believed to contain an entranceway into the infernal underworld. In other words, Mount Tate functioned as a gateway between this world and the next. Similarly, Sotogahama, then imagined to mark the northernmost extremity of this mortal world, was, as its name—the Outermost Shore—implies, a boundary between this world and the world beyond. The monk who is able to wend his way between Mount Tate and Sotogahama is no normal monk. *Utō* opens with the monk saying words to the following effect: "As I have not yet engaged in meditation atop Mount Tate, it is thither I shall presently betake me. Thereafter I shall make the long journey on foot to the very farthest reaches of Michinoku." Meditation atop Mount Tate means much more than simply mountain climbing; it implies a series program of aesthetic training. The same applies to the lengthy trek to Sotogahama. The connection seen in *Utō* between Mount Tate and Sotogahama is based, no doubt, on an actual course of aesthetic training, engaged upon by itinerant monks seeking liberation through extreme physical and spiritual exertion.

As mentioned earlier, borders of this sort appear most commonly in works of fiction, being less frequent in historical documents. One reason for this is the simple fact that neither Mount Tate nor Sotogahama, to take these two as examples among many possible others, were official boundaries established by the central authorities. Quite the contrary. These borders existed primarily in the medieval imagination, finding repeated expression in works of fiction. As *Utō* so clearly indicates, however, these imagined borders were not mere fictions, but were inspired by the aesthetic practices, the actual hiking courses, of real-life itinerant monks. In this sense, these borders were very real indeed.

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Kikaigashima is Not So Far Away After All: Japan's Southwestern Borderland

Murai Shōsuke

Translated by Kristopher Reeves

Shunkan dies in an otherworldly island

It was in the year Angen 安元 3 (1177) when Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181) was informed of a plot, led by none other than Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158), to overthrow the Taira clan. Among those involved, three men in particular were signaled out as the main ringleaders: a high-ranking Buddhist bishop and custodian of Hosshōji Temple 法勝寺 (located on the eastern periphery of the Heian capital) by the name of Shunkan 俊寛 (n.d.); one of Go-Shirakawa's trusted generals by the name of Taira no Yasuyori 平康頼 (c.1146–1220); a young greenhorn by the name of Fujiwara no Naritsune 藤原成経 (c.1156–1202), who also waited upon Go-Shirakawa. All three of these men were exiled to Kikaigashima 鬼界ヶ島, literally Ogres' Isle, an infamous place located over the raging main, somewhere far, far from the capital. It was rumored that ships seldom made it safely to this lonely island, buffeted as it was on all sides by a merciless sea. Only one year after their exile, Yasuyori and Naritsune received an imperial pardon. Shunkan, however, received no such pardon. Condemned to spend the rest of his days a solitary exile on Ogres' Isle, Shunkan watched in horror as the ship carrying his fellow exiles pulled out towards the offing. He cried out, begging to be transported, if not back to the capital, then at least as far as the island of Kyushu. He begged in vain; the crashing waves drowned out his cries. The ship sailed farther and farther out to sea. Shunkan frantically drummed and stomped his feet, all the while weeping bitter tears, until, at last, the ship could be seen no more, having passed over the white waves beyond.[1]

A legend regarding the after events of this tragic episode states that a monk and disciple of Shunkan's known as Ariō 有王 (n.d.), residing in the capital,

[1] *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, chapter 3, section 2: "The Foot-Drumming," 100. All section titles, page references, and quotations from *Heike monogatari* are those found in Helen McCullough's full-length English translation, *The Tale of Heike* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

ventured forth over the sea in order to seek out his master on Ogres' Isle. Once reunited, Ariō handed to Shunkan a letter written by the latter's daughter. Not long after reading this letter, Shunkan gave up the ghost, leaving this disciple to carry out his last rites. It is said of Shunkan, in highly conventional language, that "he ceased to consume even his former meager fare, chanted the name of Amida Buddha constantly, and prayed for correct thoughts in his final hour. On the twenty-third day after Ariō's arrival, he died in his rude shelter at the age of thirty-seven."[2] As for Ariō, we are told that he, like a loyal and loving disciple, "climbed mount Kōya with Bishop Shunkan's remains [hung] around his neck, laid the bones to rest in the Inner Cloister, took the tonsure at Rengedani, and wandered as an ascetic over the Seven Circuits, praying for his master's enlightenment in the afterlife."[3]

How do such literary accounts, preserved as they are in the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (*Tale of the Heike*), hold up to historical scrutiny? It has already been mentioned that, according to this work, Ogres' Isle was not easily reached by ship. We are further informed that "the few inhabitants [of the island] are unlike people in this country [that is, in the capital]. They are as black as oxen and inordinately hairy, and they cannot understand what others say to them. The men do not wear caps nor do the women let their hair hang free."[4] According to this source, to be sure, there are people living on Ogres' Isle. However, they cannot be compared to those living in the capital at Kyoto. With their black complexion and hairy bodies, these savages speak in a tongue that is wholly incomprehensible to any who might chance to set foot on the island. Moreover, the men here walk about without donning the customary cap of a dainty city gentleman. Their women, likewise, do not let their hair hang down in neatly tied locks, as do the primp and proper belles of Kyoto.

It must be understood, first and foremost, that, according to Japanese people living in the medieval period, those dwelling outside of a clearly defined, preconceived boundary were considered synonymous with ogres or savage brutes (*oni* 鬼). In the common imagination, both then and now, ogres are depicted as having horns protruding from their foreheads, and as belching mist from their mouths. They are, in short, the antipode of civilized human beings. All the same, these inhabitants of Ogres' Isle, despite the fact that they were certainly different than their city-dwelling counterparts, could not properly be called ogres, at least not in any literal sense. Consequently, the inhabitants of this island were endowed, through the literary imagination, with a twofold nature, one that was simultaneously part ogre and part human. Ogres' Isle, so far as the medieval Japanese mind was concerned, represented a liminal zone, one that lay between the more-or-less clearly bounded civilized world, on the one hand, and an amorphous,

[2] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 3, section 9: "The Bishop's Death," 114.

[3] *Heike monogatari*, ibid, 114–115.

[4] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 2, section 10: "The Death of the Major Counselor," 82.

largely unknown otherworldly region, on the other; this island was at once within and without the boundaries of normal human habitation.

The name Kikaigashima—Ogres' Isle—appears three more times in the *Tale of the Heike*. We are told, in one such instance, that, upon the death of the mythological Emperor Chūai 仲哀天皇 (n.d.), "his consort, Empress Jingū 神功皇后, succeeded to the throne, and attacked and subdued Kikai[gashima], Koguryō, and the Khitans as a female ruler."[5] Note that here Kikaigashima is placed alongside the Korean kingdom of Koguryō and the northeast Asian kingdom of the Mongolian Khitans. Elsewhere, in an impassioned letter written by the Taira clan, who had erstwhile been defeated and expelled from the capital, we read of their adamant desire to be invited back to the capital, "otherwise we shall doubtless end up going to Kikaigashima, Korea, India, or China!"[6] Generally speaking, Korea, India, and China were, at that time, all synonymous with the ends of the earth, and it is revealing to see Kikaigashima at the head of this list. In a similar fashion, Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159–1189), that famous general who played a decisive role in the eventual defeat of the Heike clan, vows to Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa that "I shall not return to the capital without destroying them [i.e., the rebellious Heike clansmen], even if it means going as far as Kikaigashima, Korea, India, or China."[7] Here, too, we see Ogres' Isle placed alongside lands then equated with the farthest limits of human habitation.

These examples allow us to reconstruct what must have been the most salient feature of Ogres' Isle as conceived within the medieval Japanese imagination: Kikaigashima marked the outermost boundary of the Japanese kingdom, that place beyond which a court-centered Japan, as such, ceased to exist, and where a host of foreign lands held sway. When Japanese people of the medieval period heard the name Kikai, that is, Ogres' Land, it is very likely they imagined just such a place. Making this the destination of Shunkan's exile would have engendered the aforementioned episode with an exceptionally tragic tone.

Merchant ships loaded with sulfur

The episode of Shunkan's exile has more to tell. The following brief account is indispensable for a proper historical understanding of Ogres' Isle:

> Meanwhile, the Kikaigashima [that is, Ogres' Isle] exiles survived like dewdrops on the tips of grasses. Although life was not to be prized under such circumstances, there were regular shipments of food and clothing to the island from Kasenoshō, a Hizen property belonging to Lesser Captain Naritsune's father-in-law, Norimori, and thus Bishop Shunkan and Yasuyori were able to stay alive.[8]

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[5] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 5, section 1: "The Transfer of the Capital," 166.
[6] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 10, section 4: "The Reply," 333.
[7] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 11, section 1: "Reverse Oars," 358.
[8] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 2, section 15: "Yasuyori's Prayer," 89.

This passage tells us that Naritsune, the youngest of the three exiles, was fortunate to have as his father-in-law the wealthy Taira no Norimori 平教盛 (1128–1185), who, as it turns out, owned a private estate in Hizen. It was in virtue of provisions sent over from this estate to Ogres' Isle that the three exiles were able to sustain their lives. The Kasenoshō 鹿瀬荘, or Kase Estate, was located in the southwestern region of modern-day Saga City, nestled in the delta of Ariake Sea, thereby placing this estate along the sea route towards Ogres' Isle. Seen in this light, the island no longer looks like the hopelessly distant, desolate land it was made out to be in the previous section. We are beginning to see a different, less dramatic side of the story. Furthermore, it is possible, if one only looks, to descry these same merchant ships in the tale of Shunkan. When Ariō, Shunkan's loyal disciple, sets out towards Ogres' Isle, we are presented with the following scene:

> He reached Satsuma Bay after a long, arduous sea voyage. At the Satsuma port of embarkation for Kikaigashima, he was stripped of his robes by people who called him a suspicious character, but the incident did not make him regret his initial decision. (The daughter's letter was hidden in his top-hair.) He reached the island aboard a merchant vessel.[9]

Then, when Ariō at last makes the journey back to Kyushu, he "picked up the white bones [of the cremated body of Shunkan], put them in a bag, hung it around his neck, and returned to the Nine Provinces [Kyushu] on a trading ship."[10] From these fragmentary records, it becomes obvious that Ogres' Isle, far from being an island beyond the reach of man, was frequented by merchant ships, and that it was, in fact, one of many convenient ports of call along a longer sea route.

Why, we must ask, did merchant ships see fit to drop anchor at Ogres' Isle? In the same section in which we read of Ariō's embarkation from Satsuma, we also hear Shunkan reveal to his disciple how he has managed to stay alive: "There is nothing to eat on this island. While I still had the strength, I used to go to the mountains and dig sulfur, which I gave to Nine Province [Kyushu] traders in exchange for food, but I am too weak to keep it up now."[11] There we have it: Shunkan procured food by digging up sulfur and trading it with merchants hailing from Kyushu. Even if we are not prepared to see in this narrative an absolutely accurate reflection of historical fact, we ought to be willing to accept the likelihood that many inhabitants of Kikaigashima did in fact make a living selling sulfur, a local product, to merchants sailing in from Kyushu. During the Muromachi period (1336–1603), the sulfur gathered on Iōjima 硫黄島, literally, Sulfur Island—one of several small outlying islands currently under the jurisdiction of Kagoshima Prefecture—was sold in great quantities, along with sulfur

[9] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 3, section 8: "Ariō," 110.
[10] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 3, section 9: "The Bishop's Death," 114.
[11] *Heike monogatari*, chapter 3, section 8: "Ariō," 111–112.

gathered from volcanoes in various Kyushu estates owned by the Ōtomo family and from Iōtorishima 硫黄鳥島, an island off of northern Okinawa, to eager Ming (Chinese) merchants. The Bakufu even went so far as to send to the Shimazu family estates on Kagoshima a specially appointed official whose duty it was to oversee the sulfur trade.

A fifteenth-century map of Kyushu

We now see that Kikaigashima—Ogres' Isle—contrary to what the medieval imagination would have us believe, was not a desolate haunt of ogres, but a port of call for merchant vessels travelling to and from the Japanese archipelago. In a collection of maps entitled *Haedong jeguggi* 海東諸国紀 (J: *Kaitō shokokuki*, Record of the Eastern Lands), compiled in 1471 by Shin Suk-ju 申叔舟 (1417–1475), a Korean prime minister and foreign ambassador, we find one map of particular interest entitled *Nihonkoku Saikaidō Kyūshū no zu* 日本国西海道九州之図 ("A Map of Kyushu, on the Western Seaboard of Japan," hereafter abbreviated as "Map of Kyushu," see **Figure 1**). A brief note about how this Korean prime minister came to have such a detailed knowledge of the western coast of Kyushu is in order. Earlier, in 1453, a Japanese merchant by the name of Dōan 道安 (n.d.) hailing from Hakata, Fukuoka, made the long sea voyage to Korea. Upon visiting the capital of Seoul, he presented the Korean government with a number of maps, adding to these his own detailed oral account of related matters. Based on these, the Korean government was then able to publish several maps of Japan and the Ryukyu Islands. On the "Map of Kyushu," we see, along the southernmost coast of Kyushu, a cartouche labelled Yamagawaura 山河浦, literally, bay of mountain rivers. Below and to the left of this is another cartouche labelled Iōjima. Directly below this again is a description of the island's sulfur production:

> This island produces sulfur, which the Japanese are accustomed to gathering. All of the yellow islands [in this area] produce sulfur. When the sun shines bright upon this island, smoke can be seen floating [up from the volcanoes]. This island is eighteen leagues (*ri* 里) from Bō Promontory 房御崎 [located in Satsuma, modern day Kagoshima], and one-hundred thirty-eight leagues from Kamimatsu 上松 [located in Hizen, modern day Saga].

There are two facts we can learn from this. First, as late as the fifteenth century, Japanese merchants were still travelling to Iōjima in order to purchase quantities of sulfur. Second, there existed a sea route that allowed these same merchant ships to sail back from Iōjima, northward along the western coast of Kyushu, all the way up to Kamimatsura 上松浦 in modern-day Saga, which latter port was but a short distance from the Korean peninsula. The white lines traced on the map represent this and other commonly navigated sea routes.

Let us take a closer look at the sea route traced out along the western coast of Kyushu, paying special attention to a number of prominent geographical features

Figure 1. "Map of Kyushu" (detail) from Haedong jeguggi in the Collection from Historiographical Institute The University of Tokyo.
① Kyushu ② Yamagawaura ③ Iōjima ④ Satsuma (Kagoshima)
⑤ Hizen (Nagasaki) ⑥ Sea route ⑦ The twin harbors od Bō and Tomari
⑧ Misumi Port (tentative reading) ⑨ Amakusa Port
⑩ Sonoki County ⑪ Shimomatsura and Kamimatsura
⑫ Cartouche reading "towards Ōshima (the large island)" ⑬ Gaja Island
https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/000/_000ki_23/2/00000017?m=limit&n=20
https://clioimg.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/viewer/view/idata/000/_000ki_23/2/00000018?m=all&n=20

and place names. First, travelling up from the southwestern tip of Satsuma, we come across a cartouche labelled "the twin harbors of Bō and Tomari" 房泊両津, which corresponds to two areas—Bō 坊 and Tomari 泊—in modern-day Bōnotsuchō 坊津町, Minami-Satsuma (South Satsuma) City, Kagoshima. The two rivers seen flowing westward from the heart of Satsuma are surely the Sendai River 川内川, to the north, and the Manose River 万之瀬川, to the south. A ten-kilometer journey up from the mouth of the Sendai River will bring one to the region known as Sendai, from whence the river gets its name, and where the provincial government office (*kokufu* 国府) was once located. A five-kilometer journey up the Manose River brings one to an archaeological site known as Mottaimatsu 持躰松, more of which will be said below. Close by Sendai and Mottaimatsu one can still find place names including the term Tōbō 唐坊, "Tang (Chinese) Harbor," which indicates that such a place once served as a settlement for immigrants from Song China. Continuing northward along our sea route, we

come across another cartouche bearing the following characters 三隅湍津. The correct reading of the third and fourth characters is uncertain. The first two yield the reading Misumi. Hence, let us refer to this place name tentatively as Misumi Port, which corresponds to modern-day Misumi-no-seto 三角ノ瀬戸. There is a slight problem here. Misumi-no-seto is located not in Satsuma but on the tip of the Uto Peninsula 宇土半島, which belongs to the province of Higo (modern-day Kumamoto). It would appear, therefore, that the location of Misumi Port has been mistakenly labelled on the Map of Kyushu. Continuing farther northward, we come across a third cartouche labelled Amakusa Port 天草津, which likely corresponds to modern-day Hondo 本渡, in Shimojima 下島, one of the islands within the Amakusa chain that stretches from western Kyushu to Kagoshima. Passing farther northward, and coming along the coast of Hizen, we then come to a river running northeast into the land. Here we see a fourth cartouche labelled Sonoki County 園木郡, which corresponds to a region, officially written as 彼杵郡, located in modern-day Nagasaki. The body of water facing this county is most certainly Ōmura Bay 大村湾. If we continue northward and round the northwestern bight, we come to a another river, one which is sandwiched between two cartouches, with Shimomatsura 下松浦 to the left, and Kamimatsura 上松浦 to the right. The body of water between these two bays is none other than the modern-day Imari Bay 伊万里湾. Incidentally, there are a number of place names scattered throughout Hizen, such as Tabira 田平, Shisa 志佐, Yobuko 呼子, Kamochi 鴨打, and Sashi 佐志, all of which were taken up as surnames by a close-knit body of warriors, dwelling along the coast, known as the Matsura Confederacy 松浦党.

Let us now return the way we came, following the white line back down along the western coast of Kyushu, until we arrive once more at Iōjima. That Iōjima was not a final stop but rather a connecting port along a larger sea (trade) route is seen by the fact that the white line continues still farther southward from the southwestern tip of the island. Just at the point where this line disappears at the bottom of the page, we see a cartouche labelled "towards Ōshima (the large island)" 指大島. A look at the Map of the Land of Ryukyu, which continues where our Map of Kyushu ends, and which is likewise contained in *Haedong jeguggi*, reveals that this large island was considered Ryukyuan territory. Close by this island can be seen two cartouches, one labelled "towards Akama Port and Hyōgo Bay" 指赤間関・兵庫浦, the other labelled "towards Erabu" 指恵羅武. Akama Port corresponds to modern-day Shimo-no-seki 下関, while Hyōgo Bay is synonymous with modern-day Kobe. Erabu corresponds to modern-day Kuchi-no-erabu Island 口永良部島, nestled close by Yaku Island 屋久島, presently administered by Kagoshima Prefecture. The white line that continues southward from this large island at last terminates at Naha 那覇, in what is modern-day Okinawa. It must be understood, moreover, that the trade route did not end in the Ryukyu islands. Instead, these islands served as yet another stop along the way towards China, a magnificently far-reaching route which extended all the

way into Southeastern Asia. In this way, the sea route that passed by Ogres' Isle—Kikaigashima—was one that allowed enterprising merchants to venture farther and farther out across the sea. Ogres' Isle, therefore, aside from marking the periphery of the (imagined) Japanese civilized world, could also serve as a starting point for distant sea journeys.

Porcelain trade and the proliferation of harbors during the medieval period

Historians specializing in medieval Japan have recently produced a fair amount of research regarding the history of ports. As a result, not only the history of such famous ports as Hakata Port (Fukuoka), Hyōgo Port (Hyogo), and Sakai Port (Osaka) have been elucidated, but a number of anonymous ports have also received their share of coverage. More than anything else, this enthusiasm has been fueled by the ongoing efforts of archaeological investigation. The number of medieval ports currently being unearthed and investigated by researchers continues to rise at a rapid rate. Ports alone are not the only subject of interest. Archaeologists working at these sites continue to unearth quantities of porcelain goods: artefacts that promise to give us concrete insights into the movement of merchants and transportation of merchandise across trade routes—especially sea routes—throughout the medieval period. Sites of medieval ports found along the coast of Kyushu contain exceptionally large amounts of porcelain trade goods. The sheer number and variety of porcelain goods unearthed from the site of Hakata Port has come to serve as a standard ruler against which the relative age and character of other sites might be measured. While not so numerous as findings in Hakata Port, the composition of porcelain merchandise unearthed from sites along the sea route traced out on our Map of Kyushu reveals unmistakable similarities to products at the Hakata site. That is to say, the white lines on our map mark out what might be referred to as the Porcelain Road, one that linked port to port, and island to island.

In the bottom of the sea just off the west coast of an area known as Kurakizaki 倉木崎, nearby the village of Uken 宇検村, in Amami Ōshima 奄美大島—one of the Ryukyuan islands currently administered by Kagoshima, and located southwest of Kyushu—archaeologists have unearthed what appears to be a cache of porcelain trade goods once stored onboard a merchant ship. The remains of this purported ship, however, have yet to be found. Place names containing the word *gusuku*, an Okinawan word referring to fortifications, can be found in the village of Uken, a fact that speaks to early trade between the people of Amami Ōshima and those dwelling on the more southern islands of Okinawa.

The archaeological site at Mottaimatsu, located in what was until 2005 the town of Kinpōchō 金峰町, Minami-Satsuma City, Kagoshima, has been mentioned briefly above. Considering the hundreds of porcelain objects unearthed from this site, it is believed that Mottaimatsu, situated as it is on the eastern bank of the aforementioned Manose River, was once a port of discharge, that is, a

place where merchants could unload their merchandise for trade on land. In fact, the *mottai* in Mottaimatsu is a dialectical term for pots or earthenware in general. Near the more hilly residential area that faces the main road (running north-south along the coast of the island), at a point close to where the road crosses the Manose River, one can find a number of archaeological sites, such as that of Kannonji Temple 観音寺, and another, known as the Kosono Site 小薗遺跡, thought to be the remains of a mansion that once belonged to a local estate proprietor. Until very recently, the port at Bōnotsu, located in modern-day Bōnotsuchō, as already mentioned, has received almost exclusive attention as the main trade port of its time. Now, however, in light of more recent archaeological findings, researchers are turning their attention to the lower course of the Manose River, where, it is thought, a favorable lagoon once existed, an ideal resting place for seafaring merchants.

There is an archaeological site, known as the Shiraigawa Site 白井川遺跡, located in modern-day Higashi-sonogichō 東彼杵町, eastern Nagasaki, close by the spot where the Sonoki River 彼杵川 flows into the aforementioned Ōmura Bay. Both the geographical location (at the mouth of a river) and composition of goods unearthed at this site bear a remarkable resemblance to the Mottaimatsu Site. To the west of the Shiraigawa Site, there is what appears to be the remains of a temple—known to researchers as the Oka Site 岡遺跡—by the foot of a range of nearby mountains. The Sonoki River, like the Manose River, was once the site of a lagoon. This area, furthermore, once formed the heart of the Sonoki Estate, owned by Tōfukuji Temple 東福寺, and overseen by its local proprietors, the Sonoki family. Considering the Sonoki Estate eventually grew to embrace the entire county, or, put the other way around, that the entire county was effectively transformed into a private estate, it follows that the cartouche on the Map of Kyushu labelled Sonoki County likely refers to Sonoki Estate.

The Rōkaida Site 楼楷田遺跡, located in Matsuura City 松浦, Nagasaki, has also provided a number of porcelain items similar to those unearthed at the above two sites. On a certain plateau, archaeologists have unearthed the remains of a stone-paved road more than one-hundred meters in length, which, researchers surmise, was once used by people making their way from the port to a yet undiscovered temple. It is thought that this was the headquarters of the Shisa-Shirahama clan 志佐白浜氏, who belonged to the aforementioned Matsura Confederate of martial houses, and that this region was part of the area labelled Shisa on the Map of Kyushu.

Japan's southwestern borderland and the twelve Kikai Islands

In the fourteenth-century Nagato Manuscript 長門本 of the *Tale of Heike*, we are told, in relation to Kikaigashima that it was, in fact, not one island but a chain of twelve islands, five of which—referred to as the "five islands about the

mouth" (*kuchi gotō* 口五島), that is, the five nearer islands—were under the control of the Japanese court, and seven of which—the "seven islands in the interior" (*oku shichitō* 奥七島), that is, the seven farther islands—refused to submit to the court. Scholars agree that Takeshima 竹島, Kuroshima 黒島, as well as the aforementioned Iōjima, were among the five islands that belonged to the court, and that the seven extraterritorial islands refer to the modern-day Tokara Archipelago 吐噶喇列島, currently administered by Kagoshima. So long as we accepting this last conclusion, it follows that the border of the medieval Japanese empire ran through the Tokara Strait. Now, there was a warrior by the name of Chikama Tokiie 千竈時家 (n.d.), trusted vassal and local magistrate for the head (*tokusō* 得宗) of the Hōjō 北条 clan—which clan was itself the administrative head in the Kamakura shogunate—whose power base was located in Kawanabe County 川辺郡, Satsuma. In the year Kagen 嘉元 4 (1306), just around the time the Nagato Manuscript was completed, Tokiie wrote up a document stating which of his many estates were to be managed by which of his five children: To his eldest son, Sadayasu 貞泰, he entrusted estates on the five islands (*kuchi gotō*) just mentioned, along with those on Wasa Island わさ島, Kikai (Ogres') Island 喜界島, and Ōshima 大島; to his second son, Tsuneie 経家, he entrusted an estate on the already mentioned Erabu Island; to his third son, Kumayashamaru 熊夜叉丸, he entrusted estates on "the seven islands" (*shichitō*); to his daughter, Himekuma 姫熊, he entrusted an estate on Toku Island 徳之島; to his other daughter, Iyakuma 弥熊, he entrusted an estate located in Shimogōri 下郡, on Yaku Island 屋久島. Here we see not only the seven islands—Tokara Archipelago—but also a number of the Amami Islands, such as Ōshima, Kikai Island, and Toku Island, all of which, according to the Nagato Manuscript, were outside the domain of the Japanese court.[12]

It is plain to see that the imagined boundaries of medieval Japan were not set in stone. The court, at least as represented in the Nagato Manuscript, imagined the border to be somewhere around the Tokara Strait, while those warriors, like Tokiie, dwelling within the peripheries, imagined a somewhat more expansive empire, one which included the Amami Islands. What the court viewed as territory beyond their control, and consequently, as somehow other or alien, local warriors saw as distant estates capable of producing economic wealth. Considering the distribution of Tokiie's many estates, we may safely conclude that the Chikama clan was engaged in lucrative trade with the inhabitants of the southwestern Ryukyu Islands. The same may be said, by extension, of the Hōjō leaders, Tokiie's mighty patrons. By placing Tokiie in Satsuma as their local representative, these leaders gained a firm foothold on the southwestern extremity of the Japanese archipelago. They did the same in the north of Honshu, as well. By stationing men of the Andō 安藤 clan, another of their trusted vassal families, on the coast of Sotogahama 外ヶ浜, which faces modern-day Mutsu Bay,

[12] This document is preserved in the Nagashima Chikama monjo 長島千竈文書.

Tsuruga Peninsula, Aomori, the shogunate engaged in trade with the local Emishi 蝦夷 people.

While Kawanabe County was primarily under the control of the Hōjō shogunal administrators, the Shimazu 島津 clan, as provincial constable or military governor (*shugo* 守護), the family responsible for maintaining order and peace in Satsuma, also had a degree of influence in the area. In the year Karoku 嘉禄 3 (1227), Shimazu Tadahisa 島津忠久 (?–1227) formally invested his heir, Tadayoshi 忠義 (n.d.), with the dual post of local estate steward (*jitō* 地頭) and provincial constable (*shugo*) of Satsuma. In the investiture document, Tadahisa explicitly states that Tadayoshi was to exercise control over all of Satsuma, excepting the Isaku Estate 伊作庄, Kawanabe County, and Ibusuki County 指宿郡.[13] Fujiwara no Yoritsune 藤原頼経 (1218–1256), fourth shogun (1226–1244) of the Kamakura shogunate, who officially approved this inheritance, stated that Tadayoshi was to receive the position of local estate steward (*jitō*) of all the twelve islands (*jūnitō jitōshiki* 十二嶋地頭職) save Kawanabe County.[14] The position of local estate steward of all the twelve islands was initially created by Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), founder of the Kamakura shogunate, after subjugating those rebel forces that had escaped to Kikai Island. Yoritomo saw fit to invest the Shimazu clan with this position, as an adjunct to their preexisting estate in Kawanabe County, Yorigōri 寄郡, Satsuma.

Eventually, in the wake of the Jōkyū Disturbance of 1221, control over Kawanabe County returned to the hands of the Hōjō leaders (*tokuso*). According to a declaration written up in Kannō 観応 3 (1352) by Ashikaga Tadafuyu 足利直冬 (c.1327–1387/1400), illegitimate child of Takauji, first shogun of the Muromachi shogunate, the Hōjō leaders exercised authority over Kawanabe County in the dual capacity of local estate stewards (*jitō*) and county or district officials (*gunji* 郡司).[15] What the Shimazu clan inherited in relation to the twelve islands was the position of local estate steward. The Hōjō leaders retained for themselves the position of local governor over all the remaining southern islands, as well as the position of county official (*gunji*) over Kawanabe County. The Chikama clan, in their turn, served as representatives of the local estate stewards (*jitō daikan* 地頭代官) over the twelve islands, as well as county officials over the whole of Kawabe County. This latter position, in actual fact, extended beyond the twelve islands to include authority over the Amami Islands, as well.

In the year Genkō 元弘 3 (1333), when the Hōjō leadership had crumbled, the twelve islands became the sole property of the Shimazu clan. Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330–1367), second shogun of the Muromachi shogunate (1359–1367), who, in Enbun 延文 1 (1356), wrote up a document confirming the estates of

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[13] This document is preserved in *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉遺文, document no. 3621.

[14] This document is preserved in *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉遺文, document no. 3670.

[15] This document is preserved in *Nanbokuchō ibun: Kyūshū hen* 南北朝遺文九州編, document no. 3317.

Shimazu Sadahisa 島津貞久 (1269–1363), declared that the Shimazu clan were indeed the rightful local estate stewards of the twelve islands.[16] In another document, dated Jōji 貞治 2 (1363), in which Sadahisa bequeaths his estates to his son Morohisa 師久 (1325–1376), it is declared that Kawanabe County, under the jurisdiction of the Shimizu clan, consisted of both the twelve islands as well as "five other islands."[17] While the precise identity of these five islands is uncertain, it is possible that they refer to the Amami Islands.

The border between Ryukyu and Korea

It is well understood that the sea route running east and west from Japan to China through the East China Sea, along with the large port city of Hakata, served as major features in delineating the western border of medieval Japan. There was, however, a second sea route that likewise played an important role in defining the western border of Japan. This sea route, which extends from south to north, and crosses over the former east-west route at Hirado, a cluster of islands in what is now northern Nagasaki, begins in the Ryukyu islands, and continues northward to Kikaigashima (Ogres' Isle), the western coast of Kyushu, Iki, Tsushima, arriving finally at the Korean peninsula. When looked at from the perspective of this south-north route, the western border of Japan extends to Ryukyu and Korea.

Some places labelled on the Map of Kyushu include a note regarding their distance, in Japanese leagues (*ri*), from a given place. The reason why this map, though published in Korea, includes measurements in Japanese and not Korean leagues lies in the fact, as noted above, that the original maps were brought over from Japan by a Hakata merchant by the name of Dōan. The three most commonly mentioned points of reference in regards to distance on this map are, first, Kamimatsura (hereafter abbreviated as Kamimatsu), second, Ōshima (which refers to Amami-ōshima), and, third, Bōnotsu, in Satsuma. For example, the label for Erabu (Kuchinoerabu Island) states that the island may be reached 154 leagues out from Kamimatsu, or 245 leagues out from Ōshima. Gaja Island 小蛇島, now written 臥蛇島, which belongs to the Tokara Islands, includes a similar note, stating that the island may be reached 198 leagues out from Kamimatsu, or 80 leagues out from Bōnotsu. Note that all three of these reference points are important stops along the south-north sea route, and that, conversely, no mention is made of Hakata port, the most important stop on the east-west sea route.

Recall that Chikama Tokiie, the year Kagen 4 (1306), invested his eldest son with, among others, an estate on Wasa Island, the location of which has continued to allude scholars. Hashimoto Yū 橋本雄 has offered a possible answer, pointing out the fact that the Gaja in Gaja Island is, in Korean, pronounced Wasa 와사; it

[16] This document is preserved in *Nanbokuchō ibun: Kyūshū hen* 南北朝遺文九州編, document no. 3891.

[17] This document is preserved in *Nanbokuchō ibun: Kyūshū hen* 南北朝遺文九州編, document no. 4467.

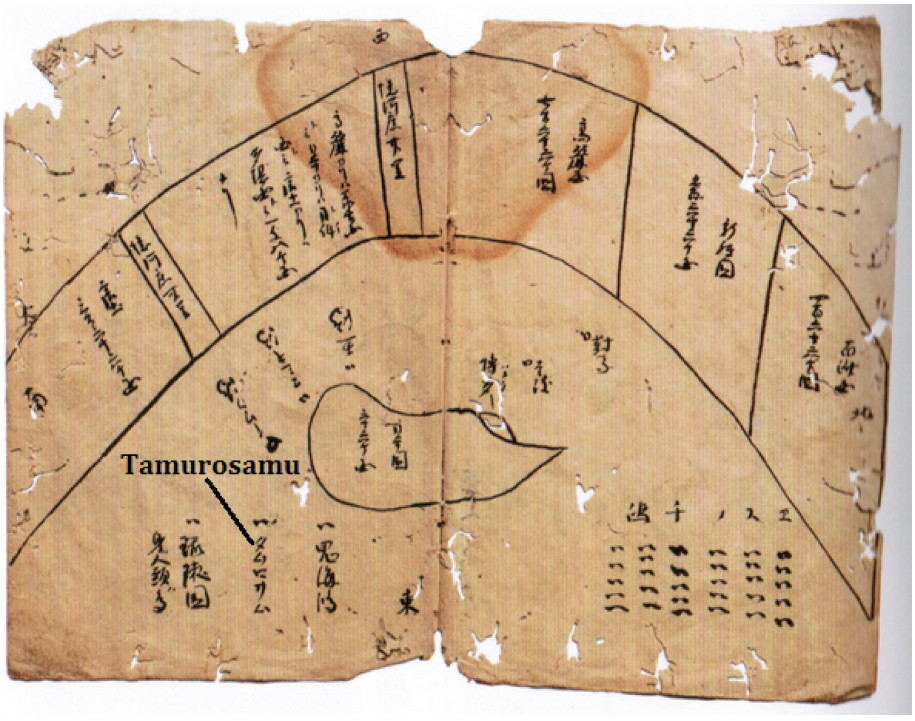

Figure 2. "Myōhonji Map of Japan," showing the location of Tamurosamu, that is, Jeju Island, from Zuroku Nichiren shōnin no sekai 図録日蓮聖人の世界, eds. Nichiren shōnin no sekaiten jikkō iinkai, 日蓮聖人の世界展実行委員会, Ōsaka: Genryūji 原立寺.

is possible that Wasa Island corresponds to Gaja Island. This possibility is enforced by a number of fifteenth-century Korean documents in which Gaja/Wasa Island is given special attention in virtue of the fact that it was seen as traversing the boundary between the Ryukyu Islands and Satsuma. This might also account for the curious practice, on records of inheritance and other estate-related documents, of listing Gaja Island separately from the aforementioned seven islands (*shichitō*), even though the former was generally understood as belonging to the latter. There is a certain map of Japan, stored at Myōhonji Temple (in modern-day Kyonan Town, 鋸南町, Chiba)—known as the "Myōhonji Temple Map of Japan" 妙本寺蔵日本図 (**Figure 2**)—which reflects the geographical understanding of Muromachi-period Japan. On this map, Jeju Island 済州島, the largest island of the coast of the Korean Peninsula, and currently administered by South Korea, is written as 耽羅, which, though usually read as Tamura, is here rendered as Tamurosamu タムロサム. Very likely, this final *samu* is a phonetic approximation of the Korean word *seom* 섬, that is, island. What these two examples indicate is this: the south-north sea route, passing as it did through Korean waters, served to introduce Japanese navigators to the Korean names of certain islands, named which were recorded, albeit in a somewhat mutilated form, on Japanese maps.

In the first half of the fifteenth century there was a man by the name of Kim Won-jin 金元珍 (n.d.) who travelled widely across the south-north sea route, engaged in trade, foreign diplomacy, and ship building. Although he was, ethnically speaking, Korean, when left Kyushu and arrived in Korea, he was referred to by the local Koreans as a Japanese man (*wajin* 倭人). He referred to himself as the messenger of Minamoto no Habuku 源省 (n.d.), a man stationed on Tabira, just across from Hirado, or, at other times, as the messenger of Minamoto no Sadashi 源貞 (n.d.) and Minamoto no Yoshi 源義 (n.d.), both of whom were stationed on Hirado itself. All of these Minamoto men belonged to the Matsura Confederacy. In 1423, Kim engaged in negotiations with Shimazu Hisatoyo 島津久豊 (1375–1425), eighth head of the Shimazu clan, and local protector (*shugo*) of Hyūga 日向, Satsuma, and Ōsumi 大隅, that is, modern-day Miyazaki, western and eastern Kagoshima. Kim petitioned Hisatoyo for the release of Korean prisoners of war that he might transport them back to their native Korea. Some seven years later, in 1430, Kim, as official interpreter or envoy for the Kingdom of Ryukyu, delivered a diplomatic document sent by Liang Hui 梁回 (n.d.), a Fujian-born magistrate then governing in the capacity of grand councilor (*changshi* 長史) in Ryukyu, to the Korean government. In 1435, Kim requested permission to fell tress for the purpose of procuring ship building material. His request was denied. At this time, incidentally, Kim was accompanied by a certain Ryukyuan shipwright by the name of Ōsato 大里, who expressed a desire to become a subject of the Korean kingdom, which desire was granted.

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Chikura Sea: A Marine Border Between Japan and Tang China

Koida Tomoko

Translated by Kristopher Reeves

What sort of conceptions did Japanese people living in the medieval period harbor regarding the borders of their own land? The popular military tale known as *Soga monogatari* 曽我物語 (*Tale of the Soga Brothers*, late 13th century or somewhat later) contains an episode in which a retainer of Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), first shogun of the Kamakura bakufu, sees an auspicious dream in which his master gains command over the entire country.[1] It is in the second chapter of this work that this retainer very explicitly states the imagined boundaries of Japan: the land is bound to the east by Sotogahama 外浜, literally "outer bay," and to the west by Kikaigashima 鬼界島, "Ogres' Isle." This delineation is repeated in another famous military tale entitled *Genpei jōsuiki* 源平盛衰記 (*Rise and Fall of the Minamoto and Taira Clans*, 1247–1249) as well as the *kōwakamai* 幸若舞 play *Yume awase* 夢合せ (*Portent of Dreams*). *Soga monogatari* contains a second, more complete, reference to the borders of Japan: to the extreme east, in the region of Ōshū 奥州 (corresponding to what is now the northeastern region of Honshū) lies Sotohama; to the west lies Kikaigashima, the western bastion; to the south, along the southern seaboard, stands Mount Kumano; to the north, along the shores of Echigo 越後 (modern-day Nigata) stretches a raging sea (Cogan, ch. 9). Here, then, we are given a clear picture of how medieval Japanese people envisioned the borders of their land.

Aside from the aforementioned landmarks, another toponym, that of Chikura gaoki ちくらが沖, that is, Chikura Sea, appears often in medieval literature and the performative arts—in Muromachi tales and *kōwaka* lyrics, for example—as a marine border separating Japan from tang China. Seeing as how this particular toponym is used neither before nor after the medieval period, it follows that Chikura Sea represents an imagined border, the significance of which was unique to the

[1] For a complete English translation of this work, see Cogan, Thomas, trans., *The Tale of the Soga Brothers*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1987.

Figure 1. Illustration of the naval skirmish at Chikura Bay, from a manuscript of *Taishokan* held in the National Institute of Japanese Literature.
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medieval period. Take, for example, the *kōwaka* play *Taishokan* 大織冠 (*The Great Woven Cap*), which features a battle to gain possession of a precious jewel. Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614–669), fabled ancestor of the Fujiwara clan, was to be given this jewel as a present from the reigning emperor of the Tang empire. The ship bearing this gift is intercepted, however, by General Manko 万戸将軍 and his *asura* 阿修羅—more-or-less demonic—soldiers, hired by the Dragon King 龍王 himself, to whom, we are told, this jewel originally belonged. General Banko and his men wait in ambush for the ship at none other than Chikura Sea, a place the playwright refers to revealingly as "the marine border between Japan and the Tang empire." A naval skirmish ensues, wherein all manner of supernatural and otherworldly combatants try their mettle against an army of mortal men, thus forming the climax of the first half of *Taishokan*. Every extant illustrated manuscript of this play contains a picture of this impressive scene (see **Figure 1**). Chikura Sea serves as the battleground between earthly and unearthly forces, just as it does, incidentally, in another *kōwaka* play entitled *Yuriwaka daijin* 百合若大臣 (Minister Yurikawa).

In this second play, Minister Yuriwaka 百合若 is commanded to lead an army against a Mongolian general bent on invading Japan. While sailing from Tsukushi, in modern-day Kyushu, to one of the Korean kingdoms known in Japan as Kōrai 高麗 (K: Koryŏ), Minister Yuriwaka is intercepted by the Mongolian general, who, seeking to prevent his enemy from gaining the shore, confronts him in Chikura Sea. A prolonged and fierce naval battle is at last concluded in the minister's favor, though only after he has received divine aid from a number of native gods. A manuscript of *Yuriwaka monogatari emaki* 百合若物語絵巻 (*Illustrated Tale of Minister Yuriwaka*) currently stored in the Tokyo National Museum contains an illustration of this naval battle, wherein the Mongolian general, like General Banko and his demonic minions, as found in *Taishokukan*, is likewise depicted as an otherworldly fiend (**Figure 2**). Moreover, just as was the case with *Taishokukan*, Chikura Sea

Figure 2. Illustration of the naval battle at Chikura Bay, from a manuscript of *Yuriwaka monogatari emaki* held in the Tokyo National Museum.

serves in *Yuriwaka monogatari emaki*, too, as a liminal sort of marine battleground between two forces, the one more-or-less familiar and wholly worldly, the other—here represented by the Mongolian threat—foreign and otherworldly.

Chikura Sea, representing as it did a locus of contact between things worldly and otherworldly, came also to serve as the watery stage upon which various strange and fantastic creatures were wont to appear. In a Muromachi tale entitled *Sumiyoshi no engi* 住吉の縁起 (*The Origin of Sumiyoshi Shrine*), a Tang emperor, intent on invading Japan, sends the famous Chinese poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (often transliterated as Bo Juyi, 772–846) over to the archipelago in order to ascertain the intelligence of its inhabitants. Having reached Chikura Sea, Bai Juyi's vessel is hailed by an elderly fisherman who engages in a lively dialogue with the poet. Astonished at the level of erudition exhibited by this seemingly lowly fisherman, Bai Juyi concludes that the Japanese people must be among the most intelligent in the world. The Tang emperor, upon hearing this news, abandons all plans to invade Japan. We are informed that this fisherman was in fact an embodiment of none other than the god of Sumiyoshi Shrine, and that, no sooner had he disappeared than the sea began churning violently, followed by an appearance by the Dragon King, ruler of the waves.

There is a sermon ballad of the Edo period (*sekkyōbushi* 説経節) by the name of *Karukaya* かるかや (*Vines*) in which the mother of Kūkai 空海 (774–835), portrayed here as the daughter of a Tang emperor, is sent away from her homeland in a dugout canoe on account of her apparently supremely despicable nature. Eventually she is washed up and rescued on the shores of Chikura Sea. In the *kyōgen* 狂言 play entitled *Mechika* 目近 (*The Phony Fan*), this same Chikura Sea is said to contain a miraculous rice paddy in which, if a man sows but a single seed, his yield of rice will increase ten-thousand-fold. Another *kyōgen* play by the name of *Jishaku* 磁石 (*The Lodestone*), contained in *Kyōgenki* 狂言記 (Record of Kyōgen Plays, 1660), a collection of *kyōgen* scripts, has the spirit of the lodestone inhabiting a mountain located in Chikura Sea. All of this goes to demonstrate how Chikura Sea, in the

medieval imagination, was seen as a place where divine and otherwise supernatural forces were wont to convene.

Jōruri monogatari 浄瑠璃物語 (*A Tale of Lady Jōruri*, probably 15th century), is a musical puppet-ballad depicting the love affair between the young general Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159–1189) and a courtesan who goes by the name Lady Jōruri 浄瑠璃姫. Significantly, the robe which Yoshitsune wears is described as being embroidered with a picture of Chikura Sea, "the marine border between Tang China and Japan," wherein two monkeys, one representing China, one Japan, bear their teeth at one another, each hoping to pass over the watery border into the other's territory. The Museum of Art (MOA) in Fukuoka contains a 17th-century manuscript of *Jōruri monogatari emaki* in which Yoshitsune's robe sports two embroidered monkeys, facing off against each other over the sea, one with a red, the other with a white face. The same sort of description of Yoshitsune's robe can also be found in the *kōwaka* play *Eboshi ori* 烏帽子折 (*The Courtier's Cap*). It must be remembered that Yoshitsune is a man around whom all sorts of legends have been crowded: he is purported to have travelled to Ōshū, the northeastern border of Honshū, where he visited not only the land of ogres and the realm of *tengu* 天狗, long-nosed mountain goblins, but even descended into the depths of purgatory. It is only proper, therefore, that this man, a heroic figure able to traverse those borders between this and other worlds, should bear upon his back such a symbolically decorated robe.

Where exactly was this Chikura Sea supposed to be located? What is the significance of this toponym? The late writer and scholar of Japanese literature, Saigō Nobutsuna 西郷信綱 (1916–2008), has looked in some detail at the history of this toponym ("Kodaiteki uchū no ichi danmenzu" 古代的宇宙の一断面図 in *Kodaijin to shi* 古代人と死. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999). According to his investigations into the beliefs and rituals of ancient Japanese people, the two oldest historical works of Japan, namely, *Kojiki* 古事記 (*Records of Matters of Antiquity*, 712) and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*Chronicle Documents of Japan*, 720), contain references to something which might very well be related to the name of Chikura Sea. In a particular myth about Susanoo スサノヲ, one of the more destructive gods amidst the ancient pantheon, we hear of an altar upon which the offerings of those wishing to be ritually purified are laid. This altar is known as the *chikura no okito* or *chikura no okikura* 千座の置座, literally, the altar of a thousand shelves, or offerings (*chikura* < *chi* one-thousand + *kura* shelf, platform, offering). In this context, says Saigō, the *chikura* altar serves as an embodiment of the land's collective defilement. He then concludes by averring that it was the Urabe, a clan of hereditary ritual masters serving at court, who gave the name to this bay, a bay which Saigō locates off the shores of Tsushima and Iki, two of Japan's westernmost outlaying islands (both of which currently fall under the jurisdiction of Nagasaki Prefecture). The Urabe 卜部 were based originally in these two islands—places associated with borders and border-crossings precisely in virtue of being located so close to the continent. These Urabe, being intimately involved with the aforementioned purification

ritual, drew upon the liminal nature of the *chikura* altar, serving as it did as a kind of border between the world of men and the world of gods, and applied this name to the sea about their native islands. By bringing in considerations of ancient Japanese rituals, Saigō sought to explain the liminal nature of Chikura Sea, insofar as it served as a place where strange and supernatural creatures were thought to appear, interacted, and, at times, engage in fantastic warfare.

Unno Kazutaka 海野一隆 (1921–2006), a scholar of geography who specialized in the history of geography in Asia, located Chikura Sea in what the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era, 927) refers to as Tōchika 遠値嘉, "the westernmost border of the land" ("Chikuragaoki: awasete Jishakuyama mo ちくらが沖—合わせて磁石山も" in *Tōyō chirigakushi kenkyū: Nihon hen* 東洋地理学史研究—日本篇. Osaka: Seibundō, 2005). This would correspond, he concludes, to the westernmost extremity of modern-day Fukuejima (likewise under the jurisdiction of Nagasaki Prefecture), one of a group of five islands lying yet further southwest of Tsushima and Iki. Finally, Unno suggests that the toponym Chikura ga oki, Chikura Sea, is an abbreviated form of what was originally Chikaura no oki, namely, the offing near Chika Bay. That is, the first *a* in *chika-ura* (Chika Bay) was dropped to produce *chikura*. Whatever the supposed location of Chikura Sea might be, it remains certain that this place, as it appears in Muromachi tales and *kōwaka* plays, represented to the medieval Japanese imagination a western marine border, the nature of which was different than Kikaigashima, Ogre's Isle, also thought to lie to the west of Japan.

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The Borders of *Shindenzukuri*: "Inside" and "Outside" as Staged by *Uchi'ide*

Akazawa Mari

Translated by Miriam McConnell

Introduction

Shindenzukuri 寝殿造 refers to a form of residential architecture popular in Japan from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries. *Shindenzukuri* spaces served as important venues for the performance of noble culture, which centered heavily on the emperor. In modern Japan, the term *shindenzukuri* conjures images of pictures in history textbooks, miniatures in museums, and movies, paintings, or manga which take up topics such as the famous Heian period text *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (*The Tale of Genji*) as their subject matter.

An element of Japanese traditional culture which emerged in the Heian period, *shindenzukuri* estates are considered emblematic of the ostentatious Heian noble life. The *shinden* 寝殿 ("dwelling hall") served as the main building, with *tai* 対 (wings or subsidiary living quarters) flanking it on the left and right, creating an open-style palace bounded on the outside with greenery and man-made streams. The *tsuridono* 釣殿 ("fishing pavilion"), *izumidono* 泉殿, a building built over the source of the garden pond or stream, and *tsukiyama* 築山, a miniature artificial mountain constructed of sand or stone, served as the stage for imperial court ceremony.

As important cultural arenas in the classical and medieval periods, how did *shindenzukuri* spaces treat the subjects of class and gender? In this paper, I will draw upon preceding research to contemplate anew the question of gender through the lens of *uchi'ide* 打出, a form of female garment display which took place within *shindenzukuri* spaces.

1. The Spatial Transformations of the Dairi

When considering Japanese traditional architecture as a whole, it is possible to draw a broad dichotomy between Chinese-inspired designs and native Japanese

designs. For example, in the early Heian period, public institutions were built according to Chinese models while private facilities followed native models. Chinese-style buildings boasted tiled roofs, earthen floors or elevated stone foundations, and red-lacquered exteriors. On the other hand, native Japanese buildings were characterized by cypress bark thatched roofs, raised floors, and plain, unpainted materials.

The creation of s*hindenzukuri* spaces was heavily influenced by the Dairi 内裏 ("Inner Palace"), the imperial family's official residence where both imperial daily life and affairs of state took place. In the Nara Period, the imperial residence was at Heijō Palace 平城宮. The Chōdō 朝堂 compound, where daily political matters were handled, was surrounded by corridors lined by roofed mud walls, while both the Daigokuden 大極殿 hall, a space used for national governmental affairs, as well as the emperor's personal living quarters lay amidst corridors within the Chōdō.

When the imperial residence moved to Heian Palace, the Chōdō and Daigokuden were similarly constructed, but the emperor began conducting affairs of state within the Dairi itself. In the first half of the Heian period, the Shishinden 紫宸殿 hall served as the location for daily political matters, while the Jijūden 仁寿殿 hall served as the emperor's private quarters. By the middle of the Heian period, however, the Seiryōden 清涼殿 hall came to serve as both the imperial private quarters and the location for governmental affairs.

From the tenth century on, as a political system of those with personal ties to the emperor—chancellors and regents, chamberlains, and courtiers (*tenjōbito* 殿上人—nobles granted the privilege of appearing before the emperor)—evolved, the *shōden* 昇殿 (court entrance) system developed. In the late Heian period, under the *shōden* system, only nobles (*kugyō* 公卿) and courtiers were granted access to the imperial court, with the system changing as power passed from one emperor to the next. Under the direction of the head chamberlain, courtiers served regularly within both the privy chamber (*tenjō no ma* 殿上の間) and the Seiryōden, performing tasks on rotation such as night duty and waiting on the emperor at mealtimes. From the time of the Uda 宇多 (867–931) imperial court (887–897) onward, as part of an overhaul and expansion of the *shōden* system, the privy chamber came to function as a public entity. The nobles' service to the emperor changed environments from senior noble meetings held at the guard-post (*jinnoza* 陣座) to the privy chamber itself. Similarly, from the mid Heian period onward, large scale ceremonies and rituals which took place within the Chōdō or its courtyard grew fewer as increasingly such matters were handled within the courtyards and interior spaces.

2. The Space and Borders of *Shindenzukuri*

Shindenzukuri spaces were divided into inner and outer bounded territories, comprised respectively of a main building made up of the *moya* 母屋 (core room)

surrounded by the *hisashi* 庇 (roofed aisles running alongside the *moya*) and the *sunoko* 簀子 (open verandas). Traditional Japanese residences had a "chamber and hall" composition, which juxtaposed open and closed spaces. This "chamber and hall" composition is exemplified by, for example, the façade of the main hall used during the *Daijōsai* 大嘗祭 ("Great Thanksgiving") festival, in which for the first time the newly enthroned emperor offered to the deities, and himself partook of, new grains, the main building of the Sumiyoshi-taisha Shrine 住吉大社, and predecessor buildings to the Denpōdō 伝法堂 ("Dharma Transmission" Hall) of Hōryūji Temple 法隆寺, originally a Nara period residence.

In *shindenzukuri*, closed spaces (*nurigome* 塗籠—inner rooms with plaster walls) existed within open spaces, and the central space was composed of the *moya* and the surrounding *hisashi* and *magobisashi* 孫庇 (lower auxiliary, literally "grandchild," eaves). Fundamentally there were no definitive divisions, rather primarily open spaces. Round columns formed supports; floors were wooden; and *tatami* mats were used in sleeping and sitting areas. One large space was divided by portable curtain stands (*kichō* 几帳), folding screens (*byōbu* 屏風), and sliding paper doors (*shōji* 障子) to create living areas. Furthermore, outside fixtures were suspended from and lifted on black-lacquered lattice-shutters (*kōshi* 格子), which were replaced with horizontal sliding style fixtures from the late medieval period onward. Because of this transition, black-lacquered lattice-shutters came to be emblematic of classical and medieval nobility in art produced during the early modern period.

2-1 The Double Structure of Gates and Inner Corridors—the Boundaries of Entering the Court

Shindenzukuri estates had a gate in the outer wall (facing east or west) on the inside of which a *chūmonrō* 中門廊 (middle gate corridor) connected through a door to the southern courtyard. Thus, to enter the southern courtyard, one had to pass through the double boundary of the gate and the *chūmonrō*. According to Kawamoto Shigeo, this practice originated from courtyard-style residences built in the style of the Chinese Sanheyuan, which appeared among powerful families of the Kofun 古墳 (Tumulus) period who bounded off their residential land with walls. Entrance through the main gate and then through the door of the *chūmonrō* into the southern courtyard was limited to a select few. Several court entrance procedures existed for the occasion of, for example, an imperial or aristocratic visit to a given residence. The person of the highest social standing would pass through the inner gate riding in a palanquin and thus enter into either the *shinden* or *tai*. Next, once through the inner gate, he would traverse the inside of the estate by way of the *chūmonrō* and finally enter through the door of the *chūmonrō*. On the other hand, a person of low social standing was not able to enter the door of the *chūmonrō*, but would instead traverse the *sunoko* running alongside the *chūmonrō* and finally enter the attendants' corridor (*saburai-rō* 侍廊).

When musical performances were held, the attending musicians were similarly not allowed to enter the buildings of the imperial estate, but were instead relegated to the Imperial Court Music Hall (*gakusho* 楽所), a special carvel-built music chamber which sat in the courtyard near the *tsukiyama*. For the performance itself, musicians sat atop moss around the stairs of the building, while nobles and courtiers sat on the perimeter of the stairs near the courtyard or on the *sunoko*. Following this pattern, *shindenzukuri* spaces existed as highly prescribed domains where ingress was only possible depending upon social status.

2-2 *Shinden* and *Tai*: *Moya*, *Hisashi*, and *Magobisashi*—the Boundaries of the Inner Spaces

From public ceremonies such as New Year's banquets, the arrival of special guests, or the selection of an empress, to private occasions held by the regental family, such as *uta-awase* 歌合 (poetry competitions), a variety of events were held in *shindenzukuri* spaces. According to Kawamoto, during a New Year's banquet, nobles were seated in the *moya*, the head of the household sat in the southern *hisashi*, and council secretaries (*geki* 外記) and court historians (*shi* 史) sat in descending order according to rank in the *watadono* 渡殿 (an open or closed bridgeway connecting buildings). As evidenced within *shindenzukuri* spaces, the venue for a ceremony was arranged based upon both the characteristics endemic to that ceremony as well as the relative social standings of the participants. Over the course of the period of cloistered sovereigns (a roughly 130 year period stretching from the end of the Heian period through the beginning of the Kamakura period, c. 12th century), ceremonial venues gradually shifted from the *shinden* to the *tai*.

In everyday life, the *hisashi* as well as the *moya* and *nurigome* of the *shinden* served as the living space of the head of the household. Often the southern face of the *shinden* served as a space for ceremony, while the northern face was used for daily life; ladies-in-waiting were stationed in the *daibandokoro-rō* 台盤所廊 ("table room").

The section of the Kempo 建保 7 (1219) text *Tamakiharu* たまきはる (*The Diary of Kenshunmon'in Chūnagon nikki* 建春門院中納言日記) entitled "Nichijō no gosho" 日常の御所 ("The Everyday Imperial Residence") describes the *hisashi* as the nobles' place, while the space hidden behind veils was closed to all but some ladies-in-waiting of particularly high rank. When waiting upon the nobles of the household, the ladies-in-waiting would slightly raise the bamboo blinds (*misu* 御簾) within the veranda or *hirobisashi* 広廂 ("wide aisles") and serve with only part of their bodies visible.

2-3 N*urigome* and *Michō*: Boundaries of the Non-Routine

In the center of the *moya* lay the *nurigome*, a room with white plaster walls. In the Seiryōden, for example, this room was referred to as the *yoru-no-otodo* or *yon-no-otodo* 夜御殿 ("night hall"). The *nurigome* was a sacred space used for purification, weddings, and the enshrinement of the dead.

A sleeping platform known as the *michō* 御帳, a bed surrounded by curtains and raised on posts above a foundational *hamayuka* 浜床 (curtain-dais), sat within the *nurigome* as an installation used for the staging of non-routine or extraordinary spaces. The *michō* was used in ceremonies which occurred outside of daily life such as *watamashi* 移徙 (a term referring both to the move of a nobleman's house and the movement of a portable shrine), birth, marriage, and the death of an emperor. For *watamashi*, for example, a yin yang master (*onmyōji* 陰陽師) would be consulted in order to choose an auspicious time and date for the curtained sleeping platform to be set up in the *shinden*, and paper amulets would be affixed to the posts as wards against evil.

Furthermore, again during *watamashi*, the *michō* set up in the *moya* would be ritually slept upon for three days. During childbirth, the *moya* and *hisashi* on the northern side of the *shinden* was prescribed as the "birthing place;" the customary sleeping platform, the white platform, was moved to the birthing place, and after childbirth, the mother and child used the white sleeping platform. On the occasion of a wedding, the *michō* was placed in the *nurigome*; the bridegroom would enter from the "purified" side (*haremen* ハレ面), while the bride would enter from the northern side, and they would together partake of four different types of *mochi* 餅 (sweet rice cakes) provided by the bride's family. Finally, on the occasion of a funeral, the lattice-shutters were lowered all day. The body was preferably kept inside the *michō*, but in the event that it was instead placed outside, a folding screen was erected to cultivate the feeling of a room within the space. Thus, in marriage, birth, and death, borders were created through the use of space demarcated by walls and cloth.

3. Women's Boundaries in *Shindenzukuri*

3-1 Public Ceremony

As evidenced above, within *shindenzukuri* spaces boundaries were both created for extraordinary events and based upon social class. However, were similar boundaries created by the spaces in which men and women were separately relegated? Kawamoto asserts that during rituals held in *shindenzukuri* spaces, women's spaces were not fundamentally established, and that this was due largely to the influence of Tang dynasty mores. Within the palace which served as the emperor's living space, women played important roles in ceremonies and rituals. For example, during the Nai-en 内宴, a private palace banquet held 20 days after New Years in the Jijūden of the Dairi, banquet seating for women specifically was set up. However, nearly 120 years later, when the retired emperor Go-Shirakawa'in 後白河院 revived the Nai-en in the 12th century, no women were allowed to participate in the feast. Kawamoto lays this at the feet of both the general decline of the station of lady-in-waiting in terms of social currency as well as simultaneous influence from Tang China.

3-2-1 Private Leisure: Poetry Contest Seating

Women's positions were firmly established in spaces of private leisure. Let us consider the cockfighting scene presented in *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻 (*The Picture Scroll of Annual Functions*) which portrays a cockfighting event held in the southern courtyard of a *shindenzukuri* estate (**Figure 1**).

On the right (east) stands a gate and through that the *chūmonrō*; attendees too low in status to be allowed to enter the southern courtyard watch the fight from there.

Male aristocrats sit on the eastern side of the *shinden*, while the women sit on the western side, watching from between the gaps in the portable curtain stands set behind the bamboo blinds. Moreover, on the western side of the *sukiwatadono* 透渡殿 (a type of *watadono*), more fan-wielding female figures appear, their seating pattern reflecting the hierarchical social strata within the group.

3-2-2 The Ladies-in-waiting of Poetry Contests

When considering contemporary leisurely pursuits accessible to women, *uta-awase* (Japanese poetry competitions) must be mentioned, the counterpart of the nobleman-hosted *shi-awase* 詩合 (Chinese poetry competitions). When ladies-in-waiting serving in the imperial court or a noble household participated in an *uta-awase*, there was much consideration given to their seating arrangement behind the bamboo blinds, where they sat in order to remain hidden from sight from the participating male aristocrats. During the Teijino'in *uta-awase* 亭子院歌合 held in Engi 延喜 13 (903), the poem presenter of the left side was a lady-in-waiting who presented from her place behind the bamboo blinds, which were raised only 1 *shaku* 尺 5 *sun* 寸 (approximately 45 centimeters). **Figure 2** shows the seating arrangements during the palace *uta-awase* of Tentoku 天徳 4 (960).

The Seiryōden acted as venue for this *uta-awase*, and the bamboo blinds were lowered throughout the western *hisashi*'s *oni-no-ma* 鬼間 ("demon room"), *daibandokoro*, and the *asagarei-no-ma* 朝餉間 (dining room), a space measuring seven *ken* 間 (one *ken* being approximately two meters). As seen in figure 2, the left-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the two *ken* of the *daibandokoro* and the *oni-no-ma*, while the right-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the two *ken* of the *asagarei-no-ma*; a chair from the *daibandokoro* is placed in a central location for Emperor Murakami 村上天皇. Three green bordered mats are laid out from the Seiryōden to the *watadono* connecting the Seiryōden and the Kōrōden 後涼殿, (Imperial Kitchens), which served as seating for the nobles, and long *tatami* mats cover the eastern *sunoko* of the Kōrōden for courtiers' seating. Finally attending musicians from the Imperial Court Music Hall sit in the courtyards to the north and south. A writing desk and *suhama* 州浜 stand (a decorative "landscape tray" shaped like a sandy beach) are placed on the veranda of the western *hisashi*. Moreover, the floor coverings and costumes are color coordinated, with red on the left and blue on the right. On this occasion, as participants in the *uta-awase*, the ladies-in-waiting are wearing appropriate attire to match either the left or right side and, as per protocol, are participating from behind the bamboo blinds.

One major feature of this particular *uta-awase* is the "impure" (*ke* [褻]) space of the Seiryōden, the western *hisashi* where the event was held which overlooked the interior courtyard. Other imperial court events which took place at the Seiryōden were instead generally held in the eastern *hisashi*, which overlooked the front courtyard. However, according to the opening of Emperor Murakami's personal records, because the Tentoku 4 Dairi *uta-awase* was hosted by the ladies-in-waiting, it was held in the western *hisashi*, where the ladies-in-waiting served.

Figure 3 is a restored image of Empress Kanshi's 寛子 Spring and Autumn *uta-awase* held in Tengi 天喜 4 (1056), which took place at the Empress' residence in the Ichijōin of the Satodairi 里内裏 ("Town Palace," the temporary imperial residence used when the Dairi was unavailable); the eastern wall was removed and the bamboo blinds lowered, and Emperor Goreizei 後冷泉天皇 (1025–1068, r. 1045–1068) and Empress Kanshi sit in the eastern face of the building. With Empress Kanshi's seat as the focal point, five left-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the eastern *hisashi*, five right-side ladies-in-waiting sit to the south, and five left-side and five right-side ladies-in-waiting sit in the southern *hisashi*. The left-side sports spring colors, and the right-side fall colors, and the costumes are adorned with decorations and embroidery as well as gold, silver, gems, and lapis lazuli. The ladies' garments allowed to peek out from under the bamboo blinds are not uniform but rather, in a new fashion, vary in design from person to person.

Fujiwara no Yorimichi 藤原頼通 and the high ministers (*daijin* 大臣) sit inside the bamboo blinds on the southern *watadono*, enjoying the *uta-awase*. Nobles sit in the eastern *watadono*, and courtiers on the *sunoko*. Male aristocrats sitting in the *watadono* appreciate the costumes of the ladies-in-waiting which spill out from under the bamboo blinds.

During *uta-awase*, *uchi'ide* became layered with meaning as it served to hide the ladies-in-waiting sitting behind the bamboo blinds from sight while simultaneously hinting at their presence and appearance. In the following section, I will further explicate on the import of *uchi'ide* and its function in creating borders to demarcate female spaces.

4. *Uchi'ide*: Creating Female Territory

The palace of the shogunate family of the early modern period was composed of the *omote* 表 (front), *nakaoku* 中奥 (middle interior), and *ōoku* 大奥 (large interior) areas. Fundamentally, the women lived in the interior sections, which men were only allowed to enter if they were members of the family or physicians. On the other hand, in the classical and medieval periods, because the courtyards were the venue for important ceremonies and rituals, the outer sections of the house became the women's space. *Uchi'ide* then served to obscure the figures of the ladies-in-waiting serving the aristocratic women of the household from the men outside the bamboo blinds.

4-1 *Uchi'ide*: Decorating "Inside" and "Outside"

Masasuke shōzokushō 雅亮装束抄 (*Masasuke's Notes on Court Costumes*), a text describing the customs and rituals of the classical period dating from the latter half of the 12th century, contains an entry on *uchi'ide*. According to the text, ladies-in-waiting would sit face to face by the columns in a living area, and the edges of their clothing would be pushed out from under the bamboo blinds such that, between two columns, one sleeve from two different costumes would be shown.

Furthermore, in one section of *Imakagami* 今鏡 (*Mirror of the Present*) entitled "Ono no yukimi gokō" 小野雪見御幸 ("On the Occasion of Snow Viewing at Ono"), when retired emperor Shirakawa 白河 unexpectedly calls on the Empress Dowager at Ono 小野, there are not enough costumes prepared for an *uchi'ide* display to properly receive him. Thus, the back of the costumes are cut, doubling their number from ten to twenty, purely for the purpose of decorating the outside of the room. Based upon this story it can be surmised that, in everyday circumstances, *uchi'ide* served to adorn both the inner and outer areas of a given space.

The fourteenth-century *Komakurabe gyōkō emaki* 駒競行幸絵巻 (*Picture Scroll of Horses of the Imperial Progress*), also bears consideration in this discussion (see **Figure 4**). This scene depicts a horse race held at the Kayanoin 高陽院 (a mansion of the Fujiwara regental line), at which Shōshi 彰子, also known as Jōtōmon'in 上東門院, is in attendance with her retinue. On the left (western) side, one *ken* near the central seating area just to the left of the male aristocrats is empty but for a portable curtain stand, but in the two intervals between the columns at the edge, the fringes of the female attendants' costumes are visible peeking out in *uchi'ide* style (see Figure 4). The space between the columns in which only a curtain stand is visible indicates the presence of Imperial Lady Shōshi, and thus the *uchi'ide* presumably points to the presence of her ladies-in-waiting.

Similarly, according to the mid-Kamakura period text *Sanjō nakayama kuden* 三条中山口伝, *uchi'ide* was performed by the high ministers' and regental houses, as well as the retired or cloistered emperor, on the third day of New Year's as part of the ritual salutation to the regent. It was set up at the start of the festival at a minister's household. In the event that the empress or the wife of the minister was absent, no *uchi'ide* would occur, the presence or absence of ladies-in-waiting thus being the primary factor in determining whether such a display would be set up. Those below the rank of counselor (*nagon* 納言) would not stage *uchi'ide*.

The highly ranked noblewomen appearing in *ōchō monogatari* 王朝物語 (courtly narratives) are generally served by 20 to 40 ladies-in-waiting. For example, texts such as *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記 (*The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu*) and *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語 (*A Tale of Flowering Fortunes*) make note of the numerous ladies-in-waiting sitting behind bamboo blinds during formal occasions. *Uchi'ide*

afforded not only the opportunity to display one's own beauty and sophistication but also the social power of the noble lady of the house.

Tamakiharu describes the image of ladies-in-waiting sitting behind the bamboo blinds during the emperor's formal visit to his father and mother. The *shinden* of the Hōjūjiden 法住寺殿 is used by the emperor, while the women's territory encompasses the eastern edge of the *shinden* and the two buildings to the east. The ladies-in-waiting as per usual array themselves extravagantly, sitting from the very edge of the *uchi'ide* display to the *daibandokoro* and the eastern *hisashi* of the *shinden*. However, although the ladies line up beginning from eight in the morning, only the elderly are able to see the arrival of the imperial family via palanquin; the rest can only listen to the sound of *ranjō* 乱声 music played for the occasion.

In *Towazugatari* とはずがたり (*The Confessions of Lady Nijo*), Gofukakusa'in Nijō 後深草院二条 (Lady Nijō) is requested to participate in Kitayama no Jugō's 北山の准后 90th birthday celebration as a lady-in-waiting displayed via *uchi'ide*. Although Nijō disapproves of being so conspicuously displayed, she is persuaded to participate because of her long relationship with Kitayama Jugō. Thus, from this story it may be inferred that, to a lady-in-waiting, participation via *uchi'ide* in an event hosted by a woman with whom she had some connection was one aspect of contemporary etiquette.

4-2 The Formation and Transformations of *Uchi'ide*

In its earliest incarnations, *uchi'ide* appeared merely as the natural event of garments spilling out from under bamboo blinds behind which the women wearing them were hidden. However, it gradually developed into a ritualized display which emphasized human absence.

The formal layout of a given space during an *uchi'ide* display was established in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. For example, according to *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (*The Diary of Kujō Kanezane* 九条兼実), which covers roughly the years 1164–1200, the decoration of the perimeter of the imperial ladies' and empress' seating area was of primary importance. The text also describes the *tsumado* 妻戸 (double doors) as the location for the reception of servants, and contains examples from the latter half of the twelfth century onward of *uchi'ide* being placed near the seating area of the male aristocrats.

While generally *uchi'ide* hinted at the presence of ladies-in-waiting, only showing the hems of their garments, examples of "female absent" *uchi'ide*, where the garments alone were suspended from portable curtain stands and displayed, also exist. As described in *Tamakiharu*, during the funereal memorial service held at the Saishōkōindō 最勝光院堂 hall on the 21st of the tenth month of Jōan 承安 3 (1173), while the ladies-in-waiting are seated in costume behind the *uchi'ide*, the *uchi'ide* is taller than the length of the garments, thus preventing outside onlookers from viewing the display. Because of this, the women are arrayed on the inner side of the *uchi'ide* to set up a kind of double *uchi'ide*.

4-3 *Uchi'ide* as Considered from the Inner (Female) Side

How was *uchi'ide* conceived of by both the inner side of the display (ladies-in-waiting) and the aristocratic outer side (men)? In this section, in considering this question I look at *Eiga monogatari*, which contains a detailed account of *uchi'ide* as told from the perspective of the ladies-in-waiting.

The 24th volume of *Eiga monogatari* contains an account of the great banquet held by Empress Kenshi in the Biwadono 枇杷殿 (a detached palace in Kyoto) on the 23rd of the first month of Manju 万寿 2 (1025). From the previous night to the day of the feast the ladies-in-waiting are completely engrossed in setting up the *uchi'ide*. Aware that the high nobility would be sitting in the southern face of the *sunoko*, the young ladies-in-waiting cultivate a spirit of competition amongst themselves over the colors and coordination of their costumes. The ladies with personal rooms temporarily erect folding screens or portable curtain stands in their chambers, while the ladies from other towns take up residence in the *daibandokoro* and do the same, tightly arraying themselves behind the screens and curtains. Their male patrons likewise take their places in the ladies' chambers. In the west, from the southern *hisashi* of the *shinden* to the southeastern *hisashi* of the western *tai*, and in the east, from the southern *hisashi* of the *shinden* to the *watadono*, the bamboo blinds are erected, and the ladies-in-waiting arrange themselves, two for every one *ken*. According to the text, the sight of all of the displayed costume skirts is magnificent. In the eastern *tai*, the upper nobility sit in the *moya* while the courtiers sit in the southern *hisashi*. Following the ritual salutation to the regent, the upper nobility descend the eastern stairs of the *shinden* to the southern side of the *sunoko* and sit with the hems of their *shitagasane* under-jackets trailing off of the balustrade.

The author explains that only about one *shaku* (30.3 centimeters) of the female attendants' garments is visible; that the costume hems peeking out from under the bamboo blinds are so colorful and layered so thickly that the sight is reminiscent of pillow books bound with colored brocades; and that the garments' cuffs are as round as small wooden braziers. Empress Kenshi cannot but be astonished. According to the text, Fujiwara no Yorimichi is incensed by the extravagance of the ladies' costumes, and upon hearing of it, Yorimichi's father, Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長, is similarly upset, and lays the whole event at the feet of his son's mismanagement.

4-4 *Uchi'ide* as Considered from the Outer (Male) Side

A certain cool estimation of the import of *uchi'ide* may be seen occasionally in ancient historical records or diaries penned by male aristocrats. In *Chūyūki* 中右記 (*The Diary of Munetada, Minister of the Right*), for example, the author describes the *uchi'ide* display of the costumed ladies-in-waiting, bedecked with gold and silver embroidery, jewels, and brocade, at *waka-kai* (*waka* poetry parties), *hokke hakkō* 法華八講 lectures on the Lotus Sutra, and other similar events as "unsuitably luxurious beauty," and thus goes into little detail describing the sight.

Similarly, the *Gyokuyō* entry for the 28th day of the fourth month of Kenkyū 建久 4 (1193) describes the *uchi'ide* display for the Extraordinary Iwashimizu Festival (*iwashimizu rinjisai* 石清水臨時祭). Even though Bifukumon'in 美福門院 demurely declines to participate in the *uchi'ide*, as her husband, retired emperor Toba'in 鳥羽院, will not be participating in the festival, Shichijō'in 七条院 (Fujiwara no Shokushi 藤原殖子) intends to participate, a decision the author questions. However, on the day of the festival, Shichijō'in is menstruating and thus unable to enter the court. In the end, the author problematizes the value of *uchi'ide* as a whole, and the entire passage reads as a criticism against Shichijō'in, who attempted to display her social power through *uchi'ide*.

Furthermore, again in *Gyokuyō*, the passage for the 19th day of the fifth month of Jōan 4 (1173) contains the following query:

> What good is *uchi'ide* on the occasion of *judai* (the presentation of imperial brides)? There was *uchi'ide* for Yomeimon'in's 陽明門院 (Princess Teishi's 禎子) entrance, but not for Ikuhōmon'in's 郁芳門院—why the discrepancy? It is the general consensus that *uchi'ide* occurs only very rarely in the Shishinden, the emperor's ceremonial space.

From the point of view of a male aristocrat, then, it appears that *uchi'ide* was not recognized as a public decoration. Moreover, the viewpoints presented in texts penned by these male aristocrats versus those seen in diaries penned by the ladies-in-waiting themselves present a largely dichotomous divergence in opinions on *uchi'ide*.

Conclusion

As evidenced above, *shindenzukuri* spaces were territories in which permitted entrance and allowed location were regulated by both a person's gender and social class. Fences and doors, differing floor levels, wall partitions, bamboo blinds and portable curtain stands—these furnishings all carried additional meanings as border creators.

Flexibility stood as the defining characteristic of these spaces in the classical and medieval periods, as borders were able to be created and recreated as needed during both ceremonial events and everyday life. Bamboo blinds and fabrics, floor level differences, etc., all allowed people to exist in designated areas while still ultimately sharing the same space. On the other hand, in *shoinzukuri* architectural spaces appearing from the early modern period onward, the borders created by social class and gender were reified instead by differing buildings and rooms; the segregating borders became physical structures integrated into the architecture itself.

In the classical and medieval periods, furniture and other furnishings lent meaning and function to the spaces in which they were installed, with *uchi'ide* in particularly coming into existence as an apparatus used to denote female seating areas in ceremonial spaces. This placement or display of women's clothing implied

the otherwise invisible separation of the women's domain from other spaces within the estate. Much like how the use of Shinto *shimenawa* 注連縄 straw festoons or *gohei* 御幣 wands and other religious accoutrements made manifest the existence of the deities, this visualization of gender domain demarcation was achieved through a method of performative authority.

As ladies-in-waiting in service to the lady of the house, the women on the inner side of the *uchi'ide*, much like the male aristocrats in service to the emperor, were explicitly relegated to specific allowed seating areas, whereby they acted as avatars of their mistress' power along with their own beauty and cultivation. To the male aristocrats allowed in the outer *hisashi*, *watadono*, and courtyards, among other places, however, the sumptuous *uchi'ide* display served as little more than an exercise in extravagance, and they criticized it thusly.

Uchi'ide gradually fell out of fashion after the late medieval period, with three main factors contributing to its disappearance:

(1) Ceremonies which were formally almost synonymous with the courtyard gradually came to take place indoors instead.

(2) The hanging lattice-shutters, once emblematic of *shindenzukuri*, were gradually replaced by sliding doors, which thus led to the disappearance of the inter-column space where *uchi'ide* were set up.

(3) As events at which both men and women shared the same space, such as *uta-awase*, increasingly disappeared, the presence of ladies-in-waiting in these event spaces was no longer displayed.

As a tool for displaying costumed ladies-in-waiting through the gap under bamboo blinds, *uchi'ide* stands as a cultural manifestation of the ladies-in-waiting themselves who were eventually expelled from within noble manors, and today exists only in extant *emaki-mono* (picture scrolls) and period art, offering us a glimpse of erstwhile scenes from the ancient past.

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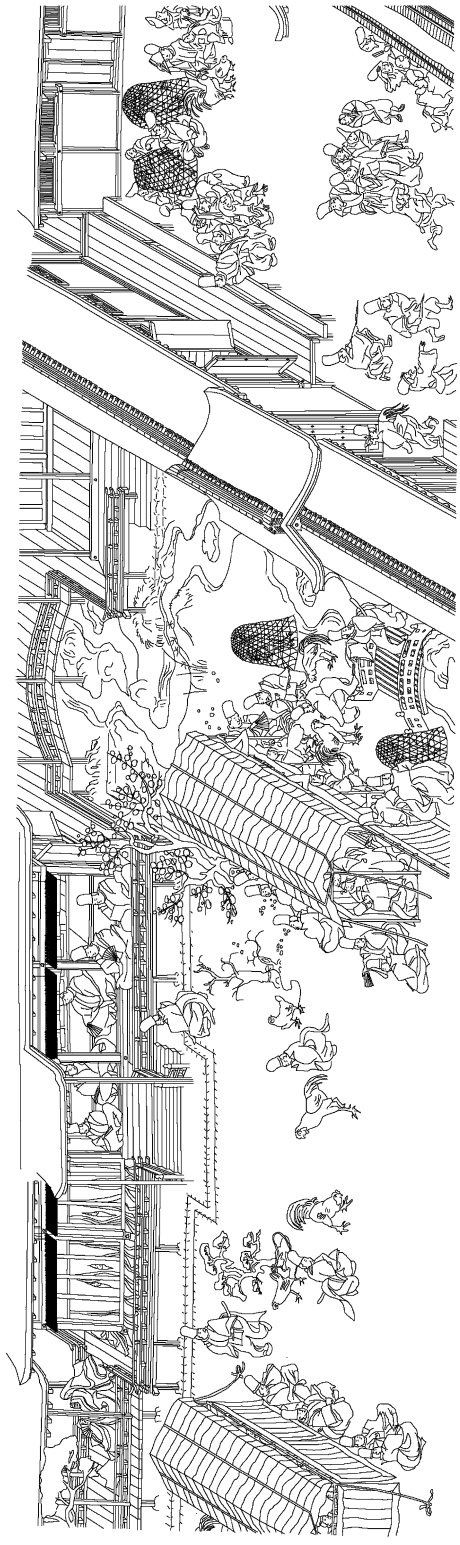

Figure 1. Scene from *The Picture Scroll of Annual Functions* (*Nenju gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻), Tanaka 田中 Family Collection.

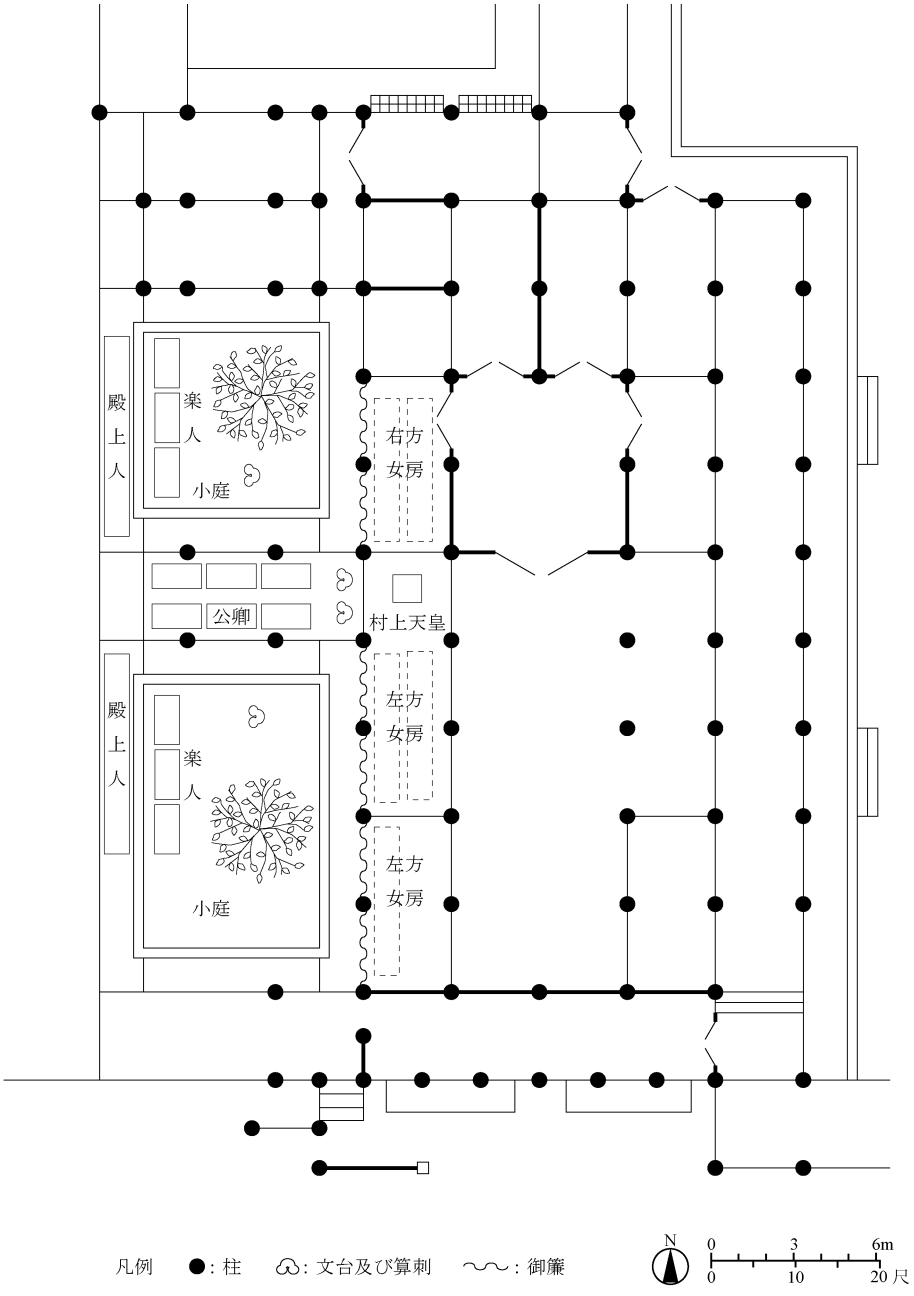

Figure 2. Seating arrangements in the Seiryōden 清涼殿 during the palace poetry contest of Tentoku 天徳 4 (960). Image modeled on the one in *Nihon kenchikushi zushū* 日本建築史図集. Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 2007.

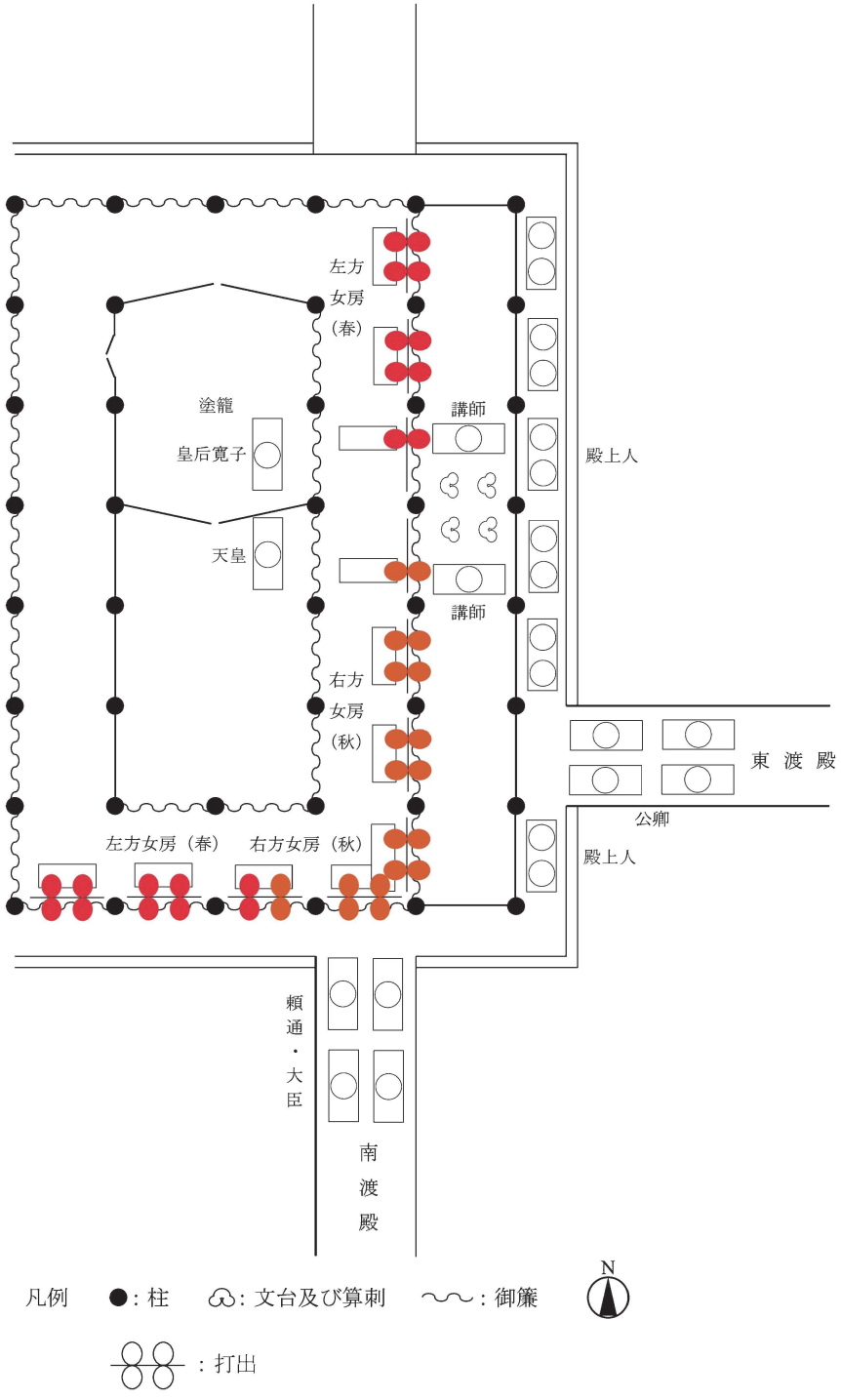

Figure 3. Diagram of Empress Kanshi's Spring and Autumn Poetry Contest. Image modeled on the one in *Nihon kenchikushi zushū* 日本建築史図集. Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 2007.

Figure 4. A scene from the *Picture Scroll of Horses of the Imperial Progress* (*Komakurabe gyōkō emaki* 駒競行幸絵巻, Izumi City Kubosō Memorial Arts Museum Collection, fourteenth century).

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Saigyō: The Monk Who Travelled Between Two Worlds

Yoshino Tomomi

Translated by Kristopher Reeves

Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190) was not only a Buddhist monk but an admired poet of vernacular verse (*waka*) as well. It was through both his religious and literary activities that Saigyō succeeded in traversing a number of borders, such as that between life and death, the holy and the profane, the past and the future, this world of living men and the purgatory of condemned souls, man and nature, borders relating to social class, along with those supposed to exist between Buddhist divinities and nativistic deities. Saigyō was certainly no magician; it was not by means of any magical spells that he was able to actually traverse these borders. Above all else, Saigyō adopted vernacular poetry as the ideal vehicle for exploring imaginary realities, other worlds existing—if not in actuality, at least in fancy—beyond his immediate environs. How exactly did Saigyō accomplish these poetic journeys? What manner of literary devices did he employ? There are, it seems to me, two primary strategies repeatedly used by Saigyō. First, his practice of including certain telling phrases, the intoning of which was supposed to somehow assist the reader in bridging the gap between one world and another. Second, Saigyō is fond of using appeals or direct petitions to unseen beings, along with the related literary devices of analogy and personification.

Regarding the first strategy, that is, the use of certain phrases believed to assist the reader in travelling between two worlds, let us focus our attention here on the curious expression *wa ga nochi no yo*, which may be rendered in English simply as "when I am gone," or, more literally, "that world (or life) to which I shall go after death." This expression occurs twice in *Sankashū* 山家集 (*Poems of a Mountain Home*, late 12th century), Saigyō's personal collection of vernacular poems.[1] Significantly, this particular expression does not seem to have been used by any other poet before Saigyō. This was, for all we know, a unique invention of Saigyō's

[1] For a full English translation of this collection, see Burton Watson, trans., *Saigyō: Poems of a Mountain Home*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.

Figure 1. Image accompanying the poem "If anyone should come to pay his respects to my soul [. . .] place as your offering a cherry blossom before the Buddhist statue atop my grave." From *Saigyō monogatari* (NIJL, Ukai bunko 鵜飼文庫, item no. 96–616, image no. 65).
https://doi.org/10.20730/200020115

poetic genius. It should be understood that, in the world of vernacular poetry where conformity to tradition, including traditional poetic diction, was strictly regulated, the introduction of a new expression such as this exerted a real influence over both contemporary and later poets. Now, let us look at those two poems in which Saigyō uses this new expression of his:

> O, pine tree, I implore you, do pay your respects to the place I once was long after I have left this world for the next, for there is no one else in all the world who will ever remember me.
>
> (*Sankashū*, poem no. 1358)

> If anyone should come to pay his respects to my soul after I have gone to the next world, please, I beg, place as your offering a cherry blossom when someone would hold a service for my soul (see **Figure 1**).
>
> (*Sankashū*, poem no. 78)

In the first poem, the phrase "after I have left this world for the next" corresponds to the original *wa ga nochi no yo* わが後の世, while in the second, this same expression has been translated as "gone to the next world." As may be plainly seen from these poems, the use of this expression allows the poet, who is still living in

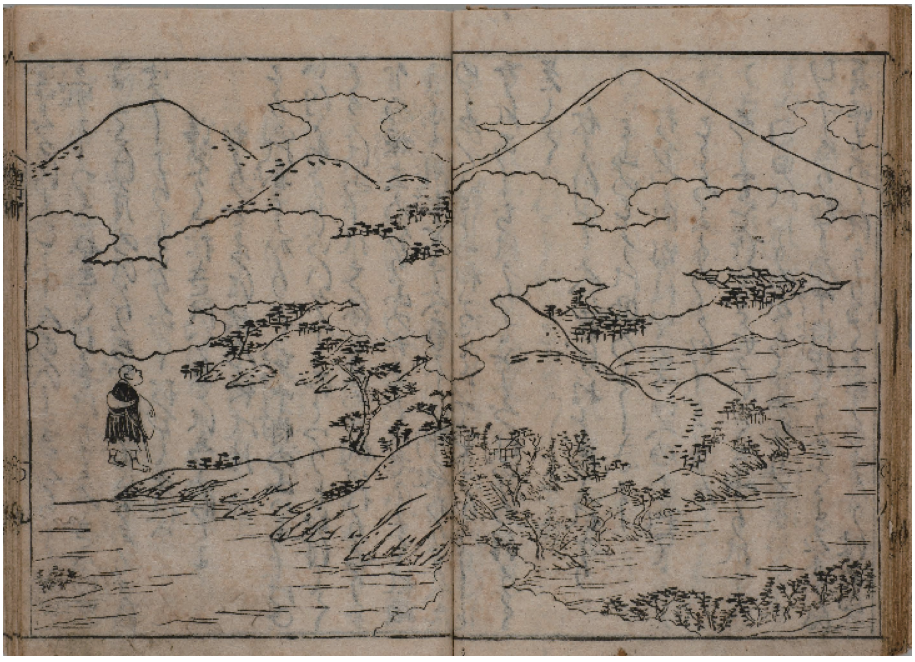

Figure 2. Saigyō and Mount Fuji. From *Saigyō monogatari* (NIJL, Ukai bunko, item no. 96–616, image no. 36).
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this mortal world, to imagine himself as though he were already in the land of the deceased. Again, this is something very unique to the poetry of Saigyō. Another poem of his, while not employing this particular expression, nevertheless reveals the same attitude of meditating intensely upon his own demise:

> This soul of mine is like the smoke that issues forth from Mount Fuji only to drift away and dissipate somewhere in the sky: there is no telling where it will go after this (see **Figure 2**).
>
> (*Shin kokin wakashū*, miscellaneous poems II, poem no. 1615)

Just how idiosyncratic, and indeed how essential, this manner of expression was to the inner life and work of Saigyō may be appreciated by the fact that only one other poet, namely, the monk Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), is known to have used this expression repeatedly in his own verses. It is for this very reason, I suspect, that Jien is seen as the spiritual successor of Saigyō.

Of course, *wa ga nochi no yo*—the world after this one—is not the only example of an expression meant to assist the reader in imaginatively projecting himself into another world. Saigyō was fond of including certain place names, dialectical words used only in limited areas, as well as curious expressions used only by, say, fishermen and lumberjacks, as a means of blurring the boundaries between the holy and the profane, between the elegant and the mundane.

Figure 3. Saigyō pays his respects to the tomb of Retired Emperor Sutoku. From *Saigyō monogatari* (NIJL, Ukai bunko, item no. 96–616, image no. 57). This image may be accessed at https://doi.org/10.20730/200020115.

Turning now to the second strategy—Saigyō's use of appeals, analogy, and personification—let us look at an example of a poem employing direct petition, in this case, to the soul of Emperor Sutoku 崇徳天皇 (1119–1164, r. 1123–1141):

> If it must be so, then so be it. Dear sovereign, even supposing you were still seated upon your jeweled throne, what comfort could that possibly afford where you are now—now that you have left this world of men?
>
> (*Sankashū*, poem no. 1355)

Direct appeals of this sort are encountered quite frequently in Saigyō's poetry, where they serve as the most important vehicle by which other worlds are imaginatively reached. In the above poem, Saigyō, having visited the grave of Emperor Sutoku upon Mount Shiromine 白峰, in Sanuki 讃岐 (modern-day Kagawa)—the place, so far away from the capital, where Sutoku died in exile—proceeds to address the soul of the deceased sovereign (see **Figure 3**). By thus envisioning the spirit of Sutoku as though it stood before him, Saigyō is able to temporarily transcend the boundaries between the living and the dead and, through the medium of poetry, engage Sutoku as a fellow man. Nowhere in any of the eight imperial anthologies of vernacular poetry—from the early tenth century through to the beginning of the thirteenth century—do we find any examples of a poet directly addressing or con-

versing with the departed. This strategy, too, is wholly unique to the work of Saigyō.

The thought of addressing the soul of a deceased Emperor Sutoku at his gravesite captured the imagination of later writers. Some were inspired to imagine that Sutoku, moved by Saigyō's verses, either appeared in the form of a spirit before the monk, or made his presence known by means of a formless voice alone. A Kamakura-period collection of anecdotal tales known as *Shasekishū* 沙石集 (*Sand and Pebbles*, 1278–1283) contains one such tale.[2] Saigyō, we are told, while passing through Sanuki, recited his "If it must be so" poem over Sutoku's grave, "composing his verses there on the spot, just as they came, in accordance with his deep sense of sympathy" for the departed soul. Moved by this show of sincerity, Sutoku responded, albeit faintly from beneath the ground, with a poem of his own:

> Plovers leave their tracks in the sandy shore, while the calligrapher's brush leaves its inky traces in a letter. Letters can be sent to the capital, whereas I, confined to this solitary mountain of pine trees, can but cry, like the birds that visit me here.

This episode may be compared to another, of similar content, found in the Kotohira MS of *Hōgen monogatari* 保元物語 (*The Tale of Hōgen*, c. 1320), a military tale which vividly depicts those circumstances surrounding the Hōgen Rebellion of 1156, in which Retired Emperor Sutoku, having failed in an attempt to wrest the throne from Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158), is ignobly sent into exile in Sanuki. Sutoku is presented to us as having perished in Sanuki, bitter and full of rage, cursing the world for his ill fortune. Some time passes, and Saigyō is shown paying his respects to the deceased sovereign's sorely unkempt grave. Utterly overcome with sadness at the thought of poor Sutoku, imagining how much the man wished to return to his beloved capital, and with what rage he must have perished, Saigyō falls down at the lonely graveside and indulges in tears. In the midst of his weeping, the monk fancies he hears a voice speaking to him in verse:

> Compare me to a little boat, which, having drifting haplessly upon the waves, was thrown upon the shore of this lonely mountain of pines. Here the boat yet remains, dry, brittle, and broken—of no more use to anyone.

Saigyō, in turn, responds to this with his famous "If it must be so" poem. As a final sign of appreciation, the buried sovereign replies with a series of three brief tremors that shake the earth about his grave. Whether inspiring a dead sovereign to reply, or causing his gravesite to miraculously quake, Saigyō's poem served as a means of communicating with souls of the deceased. The real power behind these verses lies in Saigyō's effective use of the direct appeal. It is this device that allows the poet to transcend the border between life and death, between his own immediate surroundings and some other imagined world. Herein we are certain discover the lasting charm of Saigyō's poetic legacy.

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[2] The tale in question is preserved in fascicle 5, part II, tale no. 6. For a full English translation of this collection, see Robert Morrell, trans., Sand and Pebbles: *The Tales of Muju Ichinen, a Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985.

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The Space and Liminality of Folding Screens: Iconography of the Sea and Pine Trees

Ido Misato

Translated by Kristopher Reeves

Introduction: Unfolding a Folding Screen

Folding screens, as their Sinitic name, *byōbu* 屏風, implies, serve to block out (*byō*) undesired drafts (*bu*). Furthermore, these screens serve as practical portable partitions for separating larger spaces into smaller compartments. Historical documents strongly suggest that, aside from these more obviously pragmatic functions, folding screens were also employed for ceremonial purposes in various annual events and other ritual spaces. Unlike more permanent partitions, such as sliding doors decorated with painted images (*fusuma* 襖), folding screens could be stored away, taken out, and moved about as necessity required. Consequently, it is often difficult to say with much precision exactly where a given folding screen might once have been used. Moreover, while documents from the Heian period include numerous references to folding screens, evidence that such furnishings were indeed abundant, only one folding screen from the period has survived to the present, namely, the byōbu depicting a landscape scene (*Senzui byōbu* 山水屏風) preserved at Tōji Temple 東寺. With such a dearth of extant examples, it is no easy task to reconstruct the world of artistic imagery once seen on folding screens throughout the Heian period.

Comprehensive research into those spaces in which folding screens were employed has already been carried out. Investigations of so-called "paintings-within-paintings" (*gachūga* 画中画), depictions of painted folding screens embedded within illustrations found in illustrated scrolls (*emaki* 絵巻), have revealed a great deal about such spaces.[1] For example, in the *Hōnen Shōnin eden* 法然上人絵

[1] See Mochimaru Kazuo 持丸一夫, "*Ishiyamadera engi* to *Boki ekotoba* ni arawareta shōheiga" 石山寺縁起と慕記絵詞に現れた障屏画, *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 169, March 1953. Mochimaru Kazuo "*Hōnen eden* ni arawareta shōheiga" 法然絵伝に現れた障屏画, *Bijutsu kenkyū*, 171, November 1953. Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, "Chūsei shōheiga to sono gachūga" 中世障屏画とその画中画, in *Chūsei shoheiga* 中世障屏画. Kyoto: Kyōto National Museum, 1970.

伝 (*Illustrated Biography of Master Hōnen*, 1307–1310) we find a depiction of Hōnen's (1133–1212) birth (scroll 1, section 2), as well as another of the death of his father, who died around the year 1141 (scroll 1, section 5). Likewise, in the Takada Manuscript of *Shinran shōnin eden* 親鸞聖人絵伝 (*Illustrated Biography of Master Shinran*, oldest manuscript dated 1295), we find depictions of Shinran's (1173–1263) taking the tonsure, as well as his funeral. All of these scenes—depictions of birth, departure from the home to become a monk, and death—include illustrations of folding screens. Scroll 1, section 3 of the *Taima mandara engi emaki* 当麻曼荼羅縁起絵巻 (*Illustrated Scroll of the Origins of the Taima Mandara*, mid-Kamakura) includes an illustration of Princess Chūjō 中将姫 (747–775) and a Buddhist nun dipping lotus fibers into a well in order to prepare the thread for dying—thread which, bound as it is to be used in weaving the Taima mandara, suddenly and miraculously takes on five vibrant colors. In this scene, the princess and her female companions are surrounded by a series of folding screens. Scroll 5, section 1 of the *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* 石山寺縁起絵巻 (*Illustrated Scroll of the Origin of Ishiyamadera Temple*, mid-fourteenth century) shows the estranged wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi 藤原国能 (n.d.) secluding herself within the precincts of Ishiyamadera Temple, vowing to remain within the temple until her death. Behind her stands a folding screen, in front of which can be seen the bodhisattva Kannon, appearing in her dream in response to the woman's prayers.

These and other examples of the sort draw attention to the fact that folding screens, beyond their more mundane, purely practical function as indoor furnishings, furthermore served as a material medium capable of delineating temporary spaces. *Kanmon nikki* 看聞日記 (*Memoir of Things Seen and Heard*, 1416–1448), a diary composed by Prince Sadafusa 貞成親王 (1372–1456), father of Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園天皇 (1419–1471, r. 1428–1464), and which records details of daily court life and rituals, demonstrates that folding screens were an integral part of the indoor furnishings prepared especially for such auspicious occasions as Buddhist services, poetry matches, and tea ceremonies. Interestingly, folding screens, which were prepared (or sometimes borrowed) prior to the event in which they were to be used, were promptly removed and stored away, along with the flowers and vases, soon after the event in question had been concluded. That is to say, folding screens were erected not merely as decorative accoutrements, but as partitions delineating a sacred ceremonial space, clearly separating that space from the mundane world.[2] An illustration appearing in *Daijōin jisha zōjiki* 大乗院寺社雑事記 (*Miscellaneous Records of Daijōin Temple*, 1450–1527) depicts the scene at a Tanabata 七夕 Festival, in which the sitting area is surrounded by a gold-leaf-gilt folding screens (see **Figure 1**).

[2] Ido Misato 井戸美里, "*Kanmon nikki* ni okeru zashiki no shitsurai" 看聞日記における座敷の室礼, in Matsuoka Shinpei 松岡心平, ed., *Kanmon nikki to chūsei bunka* 看聞日記と中世文化. Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2010.

This article is an investigation into the function of folding screens, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as temporary delineators of sacred spaces, with special emphasis on the materiality and iconography of these screens. I will consider here only those folding screens decorated with paintings dealing primarily with what are conventionally considered native Japanese themes—collectively known as *yamato-e byōbu* やまと絵屏風, or Yamato-style painted folding screens—as opposed to those screens decorated with images reminiscent of Sinitic themes and personages (*kara-e byōbu* 唐絵屏風).

1. Yamato-style Folding Screens: Materiality and Function as Delineators of Sacred Space

An entry in the aforementioned *Kanmon nikki* dated to the sixth day of the seventh month in the fourth year of Eikyō 永享 (1432) gives some details about those furnishings prepared for the Tanabata Festival that was to take place the following evening. In particular, two folding screens were borrowed expressly for the occasion: one, which depicted pine trees in four seasons, was accentuated with some form of gold pigment or foil (*kinmigakitsuke* 金磨付), while other sported paintings of the sea, boats, and pine trees. This entry, being one of the earliest records of Yamato-style folding screens from the Muromachi period, has drawn much attention. Unfortunately, very few actual examples of folding screens from that period survive. Furthermore, as the Muromachi period saw the efflorescence of a new style of ink painting deeply influenced by Zen philosophy, not much consideration has been given to painted folding screens of that era. An exhibition entitled "Folding Screens of the Muromachi Period" (*Muromachi jidai no byōbu-e*), held at the Tokyo National Museum back in 1989, which introduced the public to then newly discovered folding screens, marked the first attempt at drawing attention to this topic. The catalogue published in association with this exhibition contains an introductory essay by Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄, a specialist in the history of Japanese art, which is especially informative. Somewhat more recently, in 2007, the Suntory Museum of Art organized an exhibition entitled "BIOMBO/*byōbu*," in which the function of folding screens received serious consideration.[3] In this section, using the entry from *Kanmon nikki* mentioned above as a starting point, I would like to consider in some detail the materiality of gold pigment or foil, as well as iconography of the sea, boats, and pines.

I will begin with a brief summary of extant Yamato-style folding screens produced duringt the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Four such examples, insofar as

[3] Sakakibara Satoru 榊原悟, "Byōbu=girei no ba no chōdo: sōsō to shussan wo rei ni" 屏風＝儀礼の場の調度—葬送と出産を例に, in Nagaoka Ryūsaku 長岡龍作, ed., *Kōza Nihon bijutsushi daiyonkan zōkei no ba* 講座日本美術史 第四巻 造形の場, Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005. Considerations in this article pertaining to the function of folding screens in relation to funerals and childbirth rely to a great deal on Sakakibara's research.

they seem to reflect the sort of paintings recorded in *Kanmon nikki*, are particularly noteworthy here: the "Matsuzu byōbu" 松図屏風 (Pine Screen), attributed to Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (c.1434–1525) (Tokyo National Museum); three folding screens known collectively as "Hamamatsuzu byōbu" 浜松図屏風, depicting pine trees growing along the seashore, one of which is privately owned, the other two being in the collections of Tokyo National Museum and the Agency for Cultural Affairs; the "Jitsugetsu sansuizu byōbu" 日月山水図屏風, containing paintings of the sun, moon, and landscape (Kongōji Temple 金剛寺, Osaka); and the "Shiki kabokuzu byōbu" 四季花木図屏風, which depicts seasonal flowers (Idemitsu Museum of Arts). Izumi Mari avers that these folding screens were intended to serve as decorative furnishings for auspicious events, considering the generous use of gold, silver, and mica, embellishments often found on decorative offertory sutras.[4]

Next, let us return to contemporaneous written records and see in what manner these decorative folding screens were used. The first folding screen mentioned in the entry from *Kanmon nikki*—pine tree in all four seasons, embellished with gold pigment or foil—is the first recorded instance of a gold-ground folding screen decorated with the image of a pine tree. Entries regarding Buddhist services conducted for the shogun found in the diary *Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録 (*Daily Records of the Inryōken*, 1435–1493) reveals that on such occasions, folding screens depicting pine trees surrounded by azaleas, bamboo were erected behind memorial tablets and household altars (see entries for Chōkyō 長享 3 [1489]4.8 and Entoku 延徳 3 [1491]1.28). We are told, in this same source, that it sometimes took up to several months before gold-ground folding screens of this sort could be obtained for a funeral. The presence of such lavish furnishings at funerals was an absolute necessity. Moreover, aside from their use within Japanese households, Yamato-style folding screens embellished with gold pigment or foil were also sent as gifts to China and Korea.[5] Documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries bear ample witness to the fact that these gold-ground folding screens were produced and employed exclusively for special events and ceremonies. A number of theories have been put forward as to the precise nature of the term *kinmigakitsuke*—gold pigment or foil. It would appear that this method of embellishing folding screens was somewhat different from that used in later generations, namely, the application of minute gold flakes or foil over the entire surface of the folding screen. Instead, this older method consisted of a layer of adhesive gold pigment (*kindei* 金泥)—a mixture of gold foil and glue—spread over the surface of the screen, to which was then variously applied

[4] Izumi Mari 泉万里, "Chūsei byōbu no kira to kingin" 中世屏風の雲母と金銀, *Kokka*, 117, August 1995.

[5] Akazawa Eiji 赤澤英二, "Jūgo seiki ni okeru kinbyōbu ni tsuite" 十五世紀における金屏風について, in Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫 and Yamane Yūzō 山根有三, ed., *Nihon byōbue shūsei* 日本屏風絵集成, volume 6. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978.

finely cut filaments and powder-like flecks of gold foil, known respectively as *noge* 野毛 (wild hair) and *sunago* 砂子 (sand grain).[6]

It is not surprising that gold-ground folding screens should have been associated with Buddhist services, considering the many depictions in Buddhist scriptures of the Pure Land, a paradise whose ponds and roads purportedly shimmered with a bright golden hue. Furthermore, Takeda Tsuneo has pointed out that the highly refined and finished quality, the very materiality of gold foil itself, might have readily suggested itself to contemporary minds as something befitting religious events.[7] Rooms designated for the purpose of childbirth were decorated not with gold-ground folding screens, but with screens embellished exclusively with mica (*shiroe byōbu* 白絵屏風), giving them a distinctly whitish glow. Mica was believed to exert salubrious medicinal effects.[8] Yamato-style folding screens embellished with various combinations of gold, silver, and mica were clearly differentiated: a preponderance of gold foil destined one screen for Buddhist services, while a preponderance of mica made another suitable for the precarious ordeal of childbirth. Whatever the occasion, these folding screens served as partitions marking off a sacred or pure space from the more secular, surrounding areas. It was, in fact, the glistening qualities of gold, silver, and mica pigment—the concrete materiality of these substances—that endowed these folding screens with the perceived power to transform secular and impure space into sacred purified space. Of course, the materiality of these screens was not the only factor at play. The specific images and motifs painted upon their surfaces contributed just as much to the elevated status of folding screens and their use in special occasions. One clear example of this is the presence on mica-ground folding screens erected during childbirth of such auspicious images as pine trees, bamboo, cranes, and turtles, all of which suggest longevity and constancy. The aforementioned "Senzui byōbu" and "Jitsugetsu sansuizu byōbu" (Kongōji Temple) are said to have been used during Esoteric initiation rituals (*kanjō* 灌頂) for Buddhist monks. We may safely conclude that natural images of mountains, rivers, the sun, and the moon, as depicted on these and other similar screens, were seen as fitting images for these ceremonies.

2. Iconography of Yamato-style Folding Screens

The three "Hamamatsuzu byōbu" mentioned above are, representative examples of folding screens produced during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, each depicting pine trees growing along the seashore, along with the occasional

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[6] Yamane Yūzō, "Muromachi jidai kaiga ni okeru kin to gin: senmenga to byōbue wo chūshin ni" 室町時代絵画における金と銀—扇面画と屏風絵を中心に—, *Kokka*, 1200, November 1995.

[7] Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫, "Kinpeki shōhekiga ni tsuite" 金碧障壁画について, *Bukkyō geijutsu*, 59, December 1965.

[8] Izumi Mari 泉万里, "Chūsei byōbu no kira to kingin" 中世屏風の雲母と金銀, *Kokka*, 117, August 1995.

seasonal bird or flower (see **Figure 2**).[9] These folding screens bring to mind the description of the second of two folding screens recorded in the entry in *Kanmon nikki* mentioned above. The diary describes this screen as having been decorated with images of the sea, boats, and pine trees. Among the three extant "Hamamatsuzu byōbu," there are those that, aside from seashore pines, also depict flowers and birds of the four seasons, along with small boats. Moreover, in the case of the aforementioned "Shiki kabokuzu byōbu" and "Jitsugetsu sansuizu byōbu", we see flowers of all four seasons lining the seashore. In the *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*, already introduced above in relation to the practice of embedding images of painted folding screens within paintings appearing in illustrated handscrolls, when the bodhisattva Kannon appears, we are shown a folding screen upon which can clearly be seen the image of a seashore pine, exactly of the type preserved in the "Hamamatsuzu byōbu" screens. Similarly, in the third section of an illustrated manuscript of the tale *Utatane sōshi* うたたね草子 (*A Wakeful Sleep*, early sixteenth century) (National Museum of Japanese History), we see a folding screen that depicts a seaside pine. This folding screen appears at a key moment in the tale when a woman, making her way to Ishiyamadera Temple—the same temple whose miraculous origins are recounted in the *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*—suddenly meets in person the man she had heretofore only known in the world of dreams. The aforementioned *Shinran shō'nin eden*, in depicting the death of Shinran, includes a sliding door upon which can be seen the painting of a sandy seashore. No doubt, the sandy banks of a wave-beaten seashore were rich with poignant connotations.

It is not easy to trace the origin of this image of sandy seashore, known as *suhama*. The Isle of Penglai 蓬莱 (J: Hōraitō), that idyllic island-home of the blessed immortals believed to be located somewhere east of Parhae, was a prominent topos in Sinitic literature. In Japan, the Isle of Penglai came to symbolize an otherworldly place somewhere far out to sea, associated, among other things, with Mount Fudaraku 補陀落山 (Skt: Potalaka), temporary dwelling place of the bodhisattva Kannon while on earth, such that the seashore itself served as a symbol of the sacred and the otherworldly. The "Jigoku gokurakuzu byōbu" 地獄極楽図屏風, a folding screen produced sometime during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, (Konkai kōmyōji Temple 金戒光明寺), in Kyoto, depicts scenes both of the Buddhist purgatory and of the Pure Land. In this depiction, the Pure Land towers atop a sandy seashore somewhere far over the sea. Here, too, the seashore represents a sacred space. Even more interesting is the fact that

[9] For research on the three "Hamamatsuzu byōbu" screens, see Tanaka Ichimatsu 田中一松, "Hamamatsuzu byōbu" 浜松図屏風, *Kokka*, 738, September 1953; Mochimaru Kazuo, "Hamamatsuzu byōbu ni tsuite" 浜松図屏風について, *Bijutsu kenkyu*, 177, September 1954; Mizuo Hiroshi 水尾博, "Hamamatsuzu byōbu" 浜松図屏風, *Kokka*, 806, April 1959; Izumi Mari, *Chusei byōbue kenkyū* 中世屏風絵研究. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2013; Izumi Mari, "Hamamatsuzu byōbu (held by the Ministry of Culture): Umibe no Shikie" 浜松図屏風 (文化庁蔵): 海辺の四季絵, *Kokka*, 1432, February 2015.

this folding screen was produced expressly for use in the Buddhist service conducted for those who were about to breath their last. Upon the reverse side of this same screen may be seen a painting of Amida 阿弥陀 (Skt: Amitābha), the Buddha who welcomed the departed souls of the faithful into paradise. Marks around his hand where five-colored strings were once attached—strings representing karmic bonds, which believers would grip in the final throes of death—can still be discerned. This folding screen served as a powerful medium for guiding newly departed souls into the Pure Land.[10]

Folding screens were not the only medium through which this image of the sacred seashore was artistically depicted. Miniature models, known as *tsukurimono* つくり物, literally, "fabricated objects," were constructed, often as a means of representing the Isle of Penglai, replete with tiny flowers, birds, and sometimes people. The earliest recorded use of such miniature models occurs in relation to the grand eye-opening (*kaigen* 開眼) ceremony—roughly similar to the modern-day unveiling ceremony of a monumental sculpture— conducted in the fourth month of the fourth year of Tenpyō shōhō 天平勝宝 (752) in celebration of the completion of the Great Buddha at Tōdaiji Temple 東大寺. The Shōsōin Treasury 正倉院 at that same temple contains two miniature representations of scene, one known as the Lotus Pond (Renchi 蓮池), the other as the Ephemeral Mountain (Kazan), which might very well represent the sort of models employed during the eye-opening ceremony of 752.[11] Waves beating against the seashore, constantly in motion, forever taking on new shapes, have, since ancient antiquity, been invested with a sense of the sacred. The following poem is a fine example of this: "The waves coming in at Shiga Bay (Shiga no ura 志賀の浦) glisten with an array of five colors—a reminder of that ancient age when [the deity of Miwa 三輪] descended from the heavens and strode across shore."[12] Another telling poem reveals the close relationship between waves along the seashore, on the one hand, and pine trees and birds, on the other: "Countless birds floating upon the water's evening waves cry out as the wind signs its lonesome tune through pine trees along Shiga Bay."[13] The seashore, waves, flowers and trees—pine trees especially—were all understood as being somehow sacred, or symbols

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[10] Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠, *Bukkyō setsuwaga no kinō: shigan to higan no ikonoroji* 仏教説話画の機能—此岸と彼岸のイコノロジー. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2003.

[11] For research pertaining to these miniature models of the seashore, see Inagi Nobuko 稲城信子, "Tsukurimono no keifu: suhama, yamagata, shimeyama" 造物の系譜—洲浜・山形・標山など, *Gangōji bunkazai kenkyūjo nenpō*, 1977–1978, March 1979; Koizumi Masako 小泉賢子, "Suhama ni tsuite" 洲浜について, *Bijutsushi kenkyū*, 33, November 1995; Sano Midori 佐野みどり, *Fūryū, zōkei, monogatari: Nihon bijutsu no kōzō to yōtai* 風流・造形・物語: 日本美術の構造と様態. Tokyo: Sukaidoa, 1997.

[12] *Shūgyokushū* 拾玉集, poem no. 1484. Hirata Hideo 平田英夫, "Seinaru nami no denshō: chūsei jingika no 'sasanami ' wo megutte" 聖なる波の伝承—中世神祇歌の『ささ波』をめぐって—, *Chūsei bungaku*, 47, June 2002.

[13] *Horikawa hyakushu* 堀川百首, poem no. 977.

of the sacred. Miniature models, likely similar to those described above, were created and displayed during poetry matches. While this is not the place for a detailed examination of these models, suffice it to say these contained representations of pine trees, bamboo, cranes, and various flowers and trees, and were, along with folding screens likewise containing paintings of pine trees growing along a wave-beaten shore, an integral part of the elaborate performances witnessed at these poetry matches.

3. Folding Screens and Performance Venues: From Temporary Furnishings to Permanent Fixtures

a. Furnishings for Ritual Spaces

Let us return to the entry in *Kanmon nikki* dealing with the Tanabata Ritual. The two folding screens displayed during that event were, as previously noted, not merely decorative furnishings, but partitions, endowed as they were with highly-refined, reflective gold pigment, along with auspicious representations of the sea, boats, and pine trees, capable of delineating a unique space in which the banquet could be held. Rituals and public banquets, however, were not the only venues in which folding screens were employed in order to temporarily demarcate specially designated spaces. Folding screens were also used in a variety of ways within the private home, where they also served as markers or dividers of space. It is necessary, when examining the uses of folding screens within private homes, to distinguish between those folding screens intended for purely practical, daily use—merely as temporary partitions—on the one hand, and those intended for some special purpose, on the other. One way of doing this is to pay attention to the decorative properties of a given screen, namely, its materiality and its iconography, and to what sorts of pigments and materials are used, and the types of images and motifs painted upon its surface. We must also take into consideration the manner or orientation in which a given folding screen was placed. During inauspicious occasions, for example, a folding screen normally employed for daily use would be turned upside down as a means of temporarily symbolizing the transformation of otherwise mundane space into something out of the ordinary.[14]

Aside from their use in temporarily delineating sacred or pure spaces during such special events as childbirth, funerals, and Buddhist services, I would argue that folding screens were used, moreover, during the Muromachi period, as a means of demarcating or encircling performative venues. Performances of the tea ceremony, poetry matches, and *Nō* plays all necessitated the temporary delineation of a special space in which actors and audiences could appreciate these events. There has been little, if any, research done into the precise manner in

[14] Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木廣之, "Kaiga no arukeorojī: Muromachi jidai ni okeru byōbue no igi" 絵画のアルケオロジー—室町時代における屏風絵の意義, *Kokka*, 1200, November 1995.

which folding screens were positioned around these venues. *Kanmon nikki* informs us that, upon the performance of a tea ceremony, a poetry match, or a bout of linked poetry, the sliding doors were removed and replaced with folding screens, which were arranged in such a way so as to encircle the entire venue. The *Inryōken nichiroku* tells us that gold-ground folding screens were arranged around the venue of a poetry match in which Sinitic verses were presented.[15] Regardless of the particular event, these folding screens were, as a rule, removed and stored away after the event had been concluded.

The practice of arranging folding screens around a given venue seems to have waned during the Momoyama period, that is, the last two decades of the fifteenth century, when a new form of residential architecture known as *shoinzukuri* 書院造 (study or drawing room layout) came into fashion. The demarcation of separate rooms within the house was then, as now, executed by means of permanent walls, while sliding doors, decorated with painted images and fitted into these walls, could be opened or closed to either enlarge or limit the size of a room when so desired. One question begs to be asked: how did the traditions governing the proper furnishing of special venues, detailed in contemporary sources such as *Kanmon nikki*, transform as tea rooms (*chashitsu* 茶室) and *Nō* 能 stages became permanent and highly specialized fixtures? The following examination of folding screens and images of the seashore used in tea ceremony and other performative venues, while not strictly of indoor furnishings, nevertheless offers a glimpse into at least the vestiges of earlier Muromachi-period practices of indoor furnishings, when folding screens still played a central role in the demarcation of space.

b. Concepts of the Seashore as Seen in the Tea Ceremony

The space designated for a performance of the tea ceremony was originally referred to as a *kakoi* 囲い, that is, an encircled space: before the development of specialized tea rooms, the tea ceremony was customarily carried out in the corner of a larger room. *Sōtan nikki* 宗湛日記 (*The Diary of Sōtan*, 1586–1613) includes an entry for the fifth day of the fifth month in the second year of Keichō 慶長 (1597), wherein we are told of a tea ceremony performed by the seashore, with participants encircled by a gold-ground folding screen. Here, instead of bringing the seashore to the tea performance in the form of a painting or model, as was customary, we see the performers bringing their tea to the seashore. This particular tea ceremony was of special significance: an assembly of daimyo was temporarily camped along the seashore of Hakata, where they were rallying troops in preparation for a large-scale invasion of Korea. The tea ceremony was held at Iki no matsubara 生松原, literally, the plain of living (or life-giving) pines,

[15] Akazawa Eiji 赤澤英二, "Jūgo seiki ni okeru kinbyōbu ni tsuite" 十五世紀における金屏風について, in Takeda Tsuneo 武田恒夫 and Yamane Yūzō 山根有三, ed., *Nihon byōbue shūsei* 日本屏風絵集成, volume 6. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978.

a coastal region in Hakata. The venue for this tea ceremony was delineated by a single gold-ground folding screen. The iron tea kettle was hung from the lower branch of a pine tree, while the charcoal for boiling water was heated directly upon the sandy seashore. After the development of specialized, permanent tea rooms, the inner space of the tea ceremony was reached through a low-framed door cut into the wall expressly for that purpose. Once in the room, one was effectively cut off from the everyday world outside. Once settled in the quiet of the tea room, one would, upon hearing the soft bubbling of boiling water in the kettle, call to mind the rustling of wind through pine trees.[16] Some tea ceremonies would adopt the use of painted images of waves and so-called *matsushima* (pine island) tea jar in order to further enhance the atmosphere.[17] In other words, the seashore, being as it was a symbol of otherworldliness, of something wholly out of the ordinary, was incorporated into the interior space of the tea room by means of various artistic innovations.

This tea ceremony detailed in *Sōtan nikki*, what with its stalwart daimyo and their soldiers setting up a gold-ground folding screen by the roaring seashore, anticipating the imminent invasion of Korea, may seem contrary to modern conceptions of the tea ceremony, which is now seen as a sublimely peaceful event. It must be understood, however, that during the Muromachi period, tea ceremonies served an important political function, providing those in power with a congenial venue in which to congregate and reconfirm their mutual alliances. That these daimyo chose to hold their tea ceremony close by the seashore, that they chose, moreover, to encircle themselves with a gold-gilt folding screen, is proof that they saw this event as something fundamentally separate from everyday life. The idea of a tearoom that was wholly outside the realm of daily life was, at least conceptually, already in the making. It was this very concept that inspired the architects of Nishi Honganji Temple to construct a tearoom—the Hiunkaku, or soaring-cloud pavilion—along the shore of a pond.

c. Performance Venues

Let us now turn our attention to the performative spaces of *Nō* drama. Prior to the development of specialized, permanent stages for the performance of *Nō* plays, performances were held on temporary stages erected in temples and shrines, or along the riverside. Sixteenth-century illustrations reveal a transitionary period between temporary and permanent stages for *Nō* performances. The "Rakuchū rakugaizu" screen 洛中洛外図 (Scenes Inside and Outside the Capital) in the collection of at the National Museum of Japanese History (Kō Version, c. 1525) depicts a temporary stage composed of boards surrounded by a sort of enclosure, signifying the special nature of this space. The "Kannōzu byōbu" 観能図屏風 (painted sometime after 1607), which vividly depicts a *Nō* performance

[16] *Yamanoue sōjiki* 山上宗二記.

[17] *Matsuya kaiki* 松屋会記, Tenbun 天文 11 (1542) April 3.

held in 1588, shows us a gold-ground folding screen behind the stage upon which is painted waves, birds, and reeds. The "Sōōji byōbu" 相応寺屏風 (Sōōji Temple Folding Screen, seventeenth century) likewise contains an image of a folding screen upon which can clearly be seen paintings of flowers and trees. The permanent backdrops of modern-day *Nō* stages are routinely decorated with paintings of pine trees. Before the Edo period, however, folding screens served in place of permanent backdrops, and sported images not only of pine trees but of various other trees, as well. The practice of painting exclusively pine trees was, in all probability, not established until the development of permanent *Nō* stages during the Momoyama period.[18] Also of interest here is the presence, during that period when temporary stages were still in use, of folding screens behind the audience as well. The "Hōkoku saireizu byōbu" 豊国祭礼図屏風 (early seventeenth century), which depicts a grand memorial ceremony held in 1604, shows a gold-ground folding screen behind the audience decorated with an image of a pine tree.

Incidentally, this juxtaposition of motifs depicted on the above screens brings to mind the interior design at Azuchi Castle 安土城, completed in 1579. According to *Shinchō kōki* 信長公記 (*Public Records of Nobunaga*, 1568–1582), the artist Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543–1590) was commissioned to provide all the wall paintings for the castle. This same source tells us that the fifth floor of the central tower contained a reception hall consisting of three distinct areas: the main and most spacious area, the walls of which were decorated with paintings of pine trees, and two smaller areas, one to the West and one to the South of the main area, their walls likewise decorated, respectively, with images of rocks and bamboo. These three rooms were referred to as the Pine Room, the Rock Room, and the Bamboo Room. When *Nō* performances were held in the main pine room, the audience was seated in the Rock room, while the musicians and chorus singers were seated in the Bamboo Room This last room was likely used also as a changing room (*kagaminoma*) where performers would don their masks, thereby transforming themselves into something divine.[19] Instead of folding screens, this reception area uses permanent wall paintings to represent the same images we saw earlier, namely, pine trees, rocks (to represent the seashore), and bamboo. Here, the sacred seashore has moved from temporary folding screens to permanent walls.

Nishi Honganji Temple contains the oldest extant permanent *Nō* stage: the Kita Nō butai 北能舞台, or Northern *Nō* stage. Aside from this, however, the temple also contains a Minami Nō butai 南能舞台, or Southern *Nō* stage. When

[18] Ido Misato, "Matsu no e to nōbutai wo meguru ichi kōsatsu: unkokuha kanren no shiryō wo chūshin ni shite" 松の絵と能舞台をめぐる一考察—雲谷派関連の資料を中心にして—, Nōgaku gakkai, ed., *Nō to kyōgen*, 7, April 2009.

[19] Miyagami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Azuchijō fukugen" 安土城復元, in *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 日本美術全集, volume14, Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992.

plays were performed upon the Southern stage, the audience was seated in a large reception area, the walls of which were decorated with large paintings of pine trees. Just below the tatami mats of this room was another indoor *Nō* stage, allowing for performances to be held within the hall itself. In addition to that, a room known as the Nami no ma 波の間 or Room of Waves was set aside at the foot of the bridge-like passage (*hashigakari* 橋掛かり) leading onto the southern *Nō* stage. This space, where performers supposedly waited before entering the stage, was so called because it was decorated with paintings of waves. Performers would pass by this room of waves on their way across the aforementioned bridge, ultimately arriving on an expansive stage covered completely with fine white sand. Add to this the painted pine decorating the audience's seating area, and we can see how this entire permanent performance space had been transformed into a figurative seashore. It is not certain when exactly this symbolic framework was thoroughly incorporated into those performance spaces dedicated exclusively to *Nō* theater. That this framework has since become a mainstay is evinced by the fact that modern-day indoor *Nō* stages incorporating backdrops including painted pines trees, are surrounded on three sides by shallow channels full of white pebbles or sand, and have three pine trees placed along the bridge-like passage that leads on and off the stage.

Ogasawara Kyōko informs us that, during the Muromachi period, performances of such dance arts as *dengaku* 田楽 and *sarugaku* 猿楽 tended to be held outside of the city at temples or shrines, along the riverside, or at the crossroads. All of these venues were intimately associated, in one way or another, with the realm of the dead.[20] Amino Yoshihiko also tells us that woods, fields, and mountains once served as asylums, and that seashores once served as both burial and ritual grounds. These liminal spaces, he argues, were the original birthplaces of premodern performing arts.[21] If the origins of *dengaku* and *Nō* theater are indeed to be traced back to such liminal spaces, it is no wonder that images reminiscent of the seashore—one of the most poignantly liminal of earthly spaces—were incorporated into the permanent *Nō* stages of later ages, where they could in turn endow these stages with an air of the otherworldly. In the genre of *Nō* plays known as dream or phantasmagoric drama (*mugennō* 夢幻能) in particular, where the protagonist is inevitably a visitor from another world, most often from the realm of the dead, symbolic seashore imagery played a crucial role in creating the extra-mundane atmosphere appropriate for such performances.

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[20] Ogasawara Kyōko 小笠原恭子, "Chūsei kyōraku ni okeru kanjin kōgyō: muromachi ki" 中世京洛における勧進興行—室町期, *Bungaku*, 48:9, September 1980.

[21] Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦, *Nihonron no shiza: rettō no shakai to kokka* 日本論の視座—列島の社会と国家. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1993.

Conclusion

This article began with a reconsideration of an entry in the *Kanmon nikki* dealing with Yamato-style folding screens. Having shown how the folding screens employed during the Tanabata Festival were gold-ground screens decorated with paintings of pine trees and the seashore, I then indicated the importance of the materiality of shimmering pigments, such as gold, silver, and mica, as well as iconography, as factors contributing to the ability of folding screens to delineate sacred or purified space. In this capacity, folding screens could serve as temporary partitions, employed as indoor furnishings on special occasions, thereby creating extra-mundane spaces as necessity demanded. The development, within the realm of residential architecture, of more permanent dividers of space—walls and sliding doors—brought about a decline in the use of folding screens. Instead, as in the case of Azuchi Castle and Nishi Honganji Temple, adjacent rooms were decorated with wall paintings, assigning each room or area a unique and permanent function. Despite artistic changes concomitant with the transition from folding screens to painted walls, the result of which was the establishment of wholly distinct tearooms and *Nō* stages, the iconography of seaside pine (*hamamatsuzu*) remained unchanged, insofar as these symbols continued to endow performative venues with a sense of the sacred and the otherworldly. To conclude, folding screens, whether directly or somewhat indirectly—as in the case of the term *kakoi* (encircled area) used to designate the space in which a tea ceremony was performed—with their consistent iconography of the seashore, served to recreate those liminal spaces in which the arts were, in more distant times, first developed and practiced.

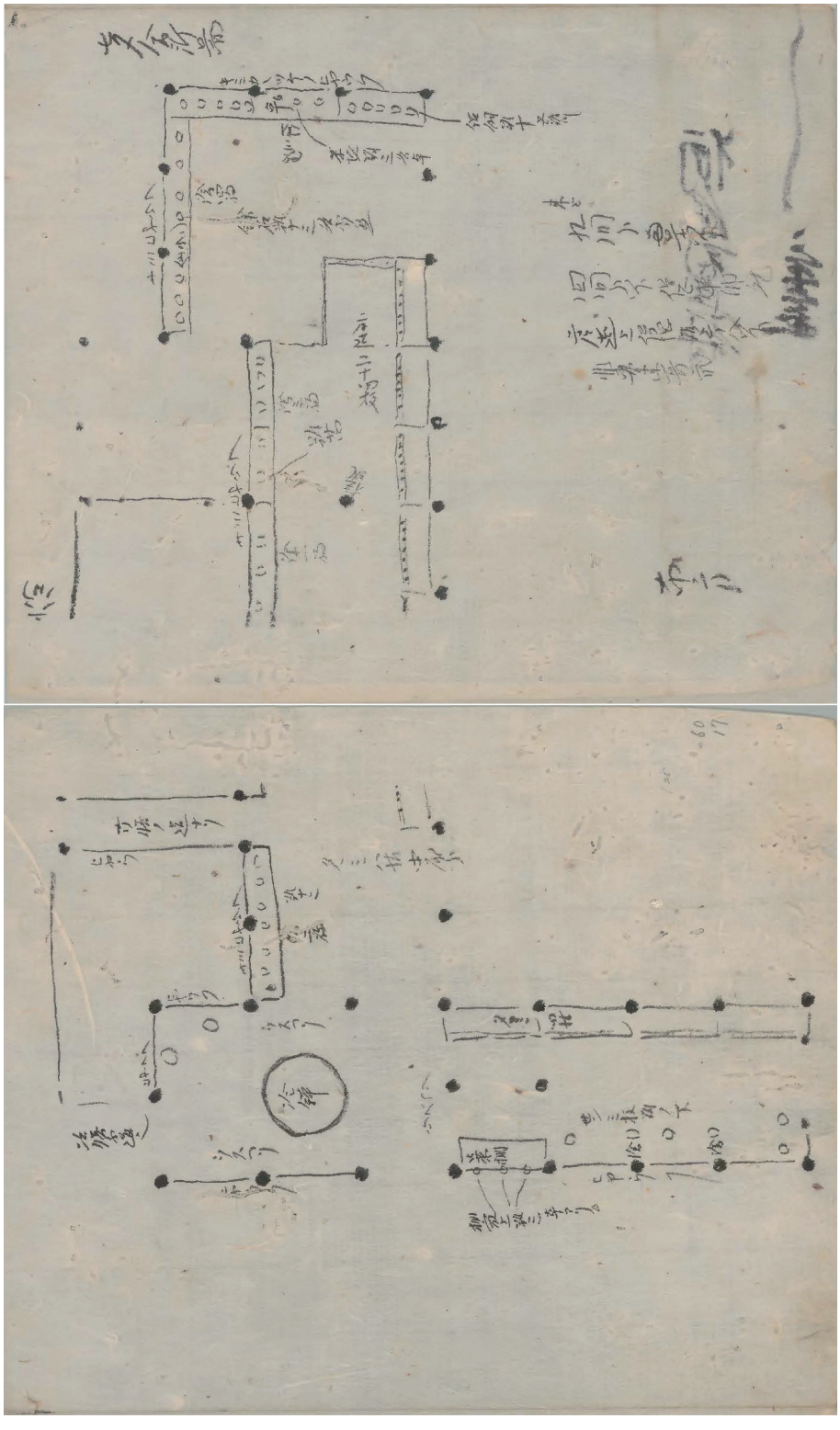

Figure 1. An entry from *Daijōin jisha zojiki* dated 1475.7 (From Zōho zokushiryō taisei kankōkai, ed., *Daijōin jisha zojiki*, 2011).

Figure 2. "Hamamatsuzu byōbu" (Sixteenth century, artist unknown, Tokyo National Museum, one folding screen of six panels).

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The Bird of Boundaries: Beliefs and Folk Customs Surrounding the Chicken

KOIKE Jun'ichi

Translated by Elizabeth MARSH

Introduction

Chickens have lived alongside humans since ancient times. They have been used for various purposes and have been the focus of much attention, giving rise to a rich body of legends and traditions. In Japan, these birds have been projected prominently in art and literature, including notable appearances in *monogatari* and *waka*. In the present article, we will address the legends, rituals and magical thinking surrounding the chicken. We will consider its characteristics in folklore and its role in the traditional Japanese worldview, with the primary goal of investigating and positioning it among the art and literature of Japan.

Let us begin by reviewing past research and texts that have looked into the role of chickens in the field of folklore.

From early on, Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 had been researching the relationship between the image of the chicken and gold in Japanese folklore. In his studies of legends published in the 1920s, he delineated the ways in which these birds have been linked to the treasures of the spirit world and to the genre of *chōja densetsu* 長者伝説, or "millionaire legends." Yanagita's *Santō mintanshū* 山島民譚集 (1914) contains a study titled *Ōgon no niwatori* 黄金の雞 in which he addresses this topic.[1] His work examines the reasoning behind the appearance of chickens in legends that contain reference to treasures, drawing on material from early modern investigations and topographical data. Following this, Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠 published his *Jūnishikō* 十二支考 which contains his studies on the sequence of the sexagenary cycle, among which he touches on the topic of chickens.[2] A similar investigation has also been conducted by Miyatake Shōzō 宮武省三 in

[1] Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男, *Zōho santō mintanshū* 増補山島民譚集, eds. Seki Keigo 関敬吾 and Ōtō Tokihiko 大藤時彦, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1969.

[2] Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠, "Tori ni kansuru densetsu" 鶏に関する伝説, in *Jūnishikō* 十二支考. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.

which he refers to various legends involving chickens.[3] For information on the role of the chicken in the daily life of Japan, there is *Tori no hanashi sono ta* 雞の話其他 by Hayakawa Kōtarō 早川孝太郎, which records memories of the chicken in farm life until the early modern period.[4]

Later research on folk customs related to chickens largely adhered to Yanagita's views, while providing additional supporting data and materials. *Yūtsukedori* 木綿附鳥 by Takasaki Masahide 高崎正秀 includes an investigation of texts from Japanese classical literature, shedding much light on the historical development of oral transmissions and the human awareness of the chicken.[5] Additionally, in *Kinkei densetsu* 金雞伝説, Ōtō Tokihiko 大藤時彦 provides an extensive study on such legends, expanding further on Yanagita's views.[6]

With literary investigations at its foundation, the study of chicken folklore has been developing steadily over time, through the contribution of reports from various regions. The present article will examine the formation process and reasoning behind such folklore, while drawing heavily on the data presented in the above works. Research available until this point has clarified the association between the chicken and boundaries in Japanese folk custom. In the present work, we aim to re-examine in even further depth, how and in what context such folklore came into being, and in what capacity they functioned.

In the following sections, we will begin by discussing early magic practices involving the use of chickens, followed by an investigation into folklore on the connection between chickens and the native Japanese gods. In the final section, we will consider legends in which the chicken appears, and will elucidate the relationship between these birds and boundaries.

The Magical Powers of the Chicken

In Seno (present day Mutsu), located in Wakinosawa village in the Shimokita district of Aomori, when boats capsized in the sea and the passengers could not be located, people would row out to the scene of the shipwreck with a hen aboard their boat. When the boat passed over a drowned body, it is said that the hen would let out a piercing cry and that upon hearing her call, the body would rise to the surface of the water. Similarly, in Cape Shiriya which lies on the Pacific coast of Higashidōri village on Shimokita Peninsula, whenever a boat capsized in the water, the people would light a fire on the shore, which they referred to as "the flame that welcomes the Buddha." Alternatively, they would take a boat to

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[3] Miyatake Shōzō 宮武省三, "Tori ni kansuru densetsu to minzoku" 雞に関する伝説と民俗, in *Shūzoku zakki* 習俗雑記. Tokyo: Sakamoto Shoten, 1927.

[4] Hayakawa Kōtarō 早川孝太郎, "Tori no hanashi sono ta" 雞の話其他, *Minzoku*, 1: 1, 1925.

[5] Takasaki Masahide 高崎正秀, "Kintarō tanjō tan" 金太郎誕生譚, in *Takasaki masahide chosakushū* 高崎正秀著作集, vol. 7. Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1971 (1937).

[6] Ōtō Tokihiko 大藤時彦, "Kinkei densetsu" 金雞伝説, in *Nihon minzokugaku no kenkyū* 日本民俗学の研究. Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1979 (1972).

the scene of the accident and throw hand towels or other such pieces of cloth into the water, upon which it is said that the bodies of the deceased would surface. If the victims still could not be located, they would take a hen with them out into the water, and when they approached the location of the submerged body, the bird would cry out.[7] Chickens were understood to possess the miraculous ability to sense the conditions of the sea. It is not entirely clear how far back we can trace such beliefs in the perceptive and magical powers of the chicken, but for the present we will take a look at some data that will shed further light on this matter.

The *Wakun no shiori* 倭訓栞 collection of dictionaries was first compiled by Tanikawa Kotosuga 谷川士清 in the An'ei 安永 6 (1777). In the latter portion of the fourteenth volume, there is a section titled *Niwatori* にはとり, which states that "when searching for a submerged body, if you set out into the water in a boat, bringing [a chicken] with you, it is said that the chicken will cry out at the location of the body. This was practiced at Lake Suwa [in present day Nagano prefecture]." From this description, we know that the magical ritual of using chickens to search for submerged bodies was also performed at Lake Suwa.

Related to this, in Suzuki Bokushi's 鈴木牧之 *Hokuetsu seppu* 北越雪譜, there is record of chickens having been used to uncover missing people after an avalanche.[8] (**Figure 1**)

In the main passage of this description, it is written that "[when someone once went missing in an avalanche] an elderly man said he knew of a technique for times such as these. He took a young man with him to the neighbouring village to procure some chickens, and after scattering feed over the snow, he allowed the birds to wander about freely. Upon doing so, although it was not yet dawn, one chicken crowed and the rest of the birds also joined in. [Thus, the missing body was discovered.] This technique was used when searching for bodies submerged under water, but to think of using such a method in the snow was extremely clever, and the people continued to praise his idea well into the future." From this account we can see that in the early modern era, the practice of using chickens to search for sunken bodies was widely known, and that there were instances when it was also applied in the wake of avalanches.

For us humans who dwell on land, the depths of the water and snow are distant realms beyond our imagining, and are difficult to even begin to grasp. To gain some insight into these unfamiliar territories, we rely on the power of the chicken and the special abilities it possesses, as revealed through the wondrous magic of its call.

This demonstrates that the chicken has the power to reveal to us the border

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[7] Takamatsu Keikichi 高松敬吉, "Kainan shisha e no girei" 海難死者への儀礼, in *Fuzoku to takaikan no minzokugakuteki kenkyū* 巫俗と他界観の民俗学的研究. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1993.

[8] Suzuki Bokushi 鈴木牧之, *Hokuetsu seppu* 北越雪譜, vol. 1, middle section. Tenpō 天保 6, 1836.

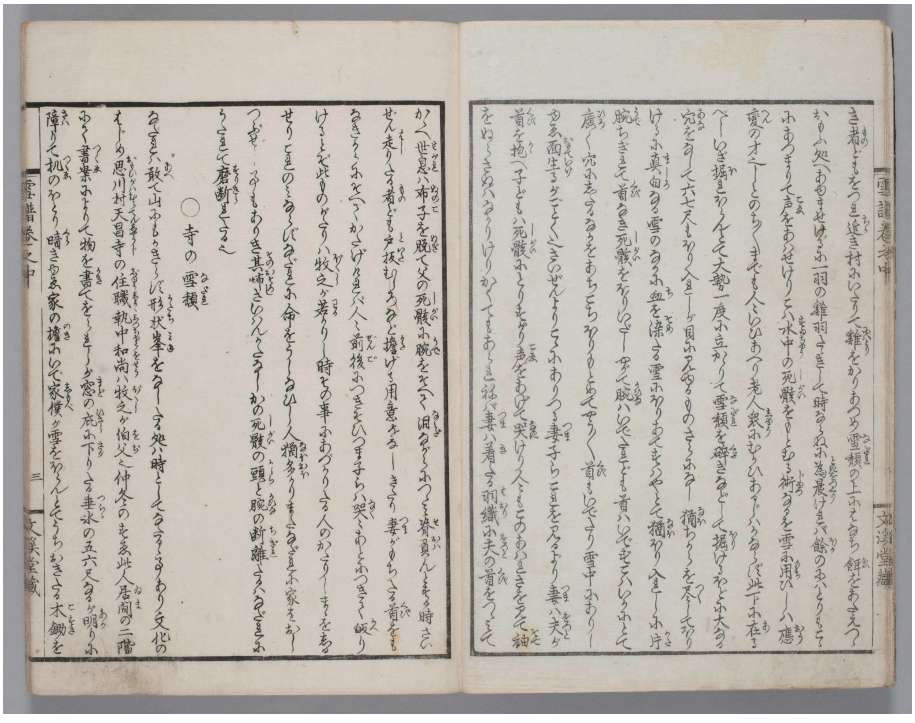

Figure 1. A method of using chickens to search for survivors buried under the snow. Suzuki Bokushi 鈴木牧之, "Nadare hito ni saisu" 雪頽人に災す, in part 1, volume 2 of *Hokuetsu seppu* 北越雪譜 初編巻之中 (NIJL).
https://doi.org/10.20730/200019786

between land and water, and that its crow can expose the barrier that separates this world from the afterlife. Thus, through its call, the chicken has become a symbol of the division between the land of the living and the land of the dead, and between life and death itself.

Chickens and the Gods

At Miho Shrine 美保神社 in Matsue city, Shimane prefecture, there is a legend that every night the tutelary deity crosses over to the opposite shore to visit a goddess. On one such occasion, a rooster crowed out at the wrong time, causing the god to hurry back to the shrine and injure himself in his haste. It is said that because of this, the god of Miho Shrine came to despise all chickens, and that in the town of Mihonoseki there is a taboo against owning chickens and eating eggs.[9]

[9] Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫, "Keimei to kagura to" 鶏鳴と神楽と, in *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū* 折口信夫全集 2. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 1995 (1920).

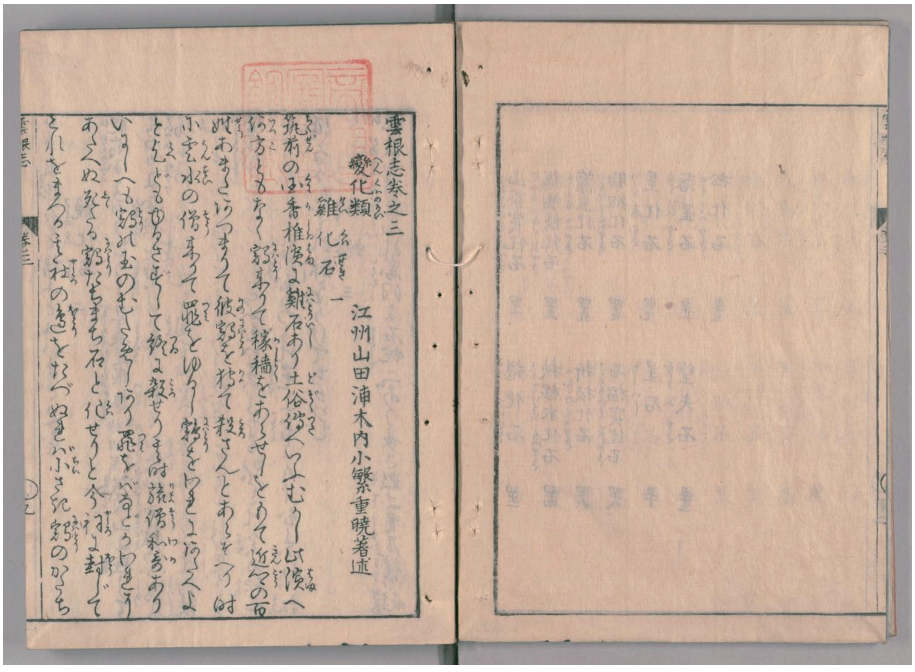

Figure 2. A chicken that has been turned to stone. Kiuchi Sekitei 木内石亭, "Henka rui: kei kaseki" 変化類・雞化石, in volume 3 of *Unkonshi* 雲根志 (National Diet Library, Japan).
https://doi.org/10.11501/2563667

Simply by carrying out its natural behaviour of crowing at dawn, the chicken ended up being loathed by the god of Miho Shrine. However, there is also a theory that the tabooed relationship between the two had already existed, and that the legend was created as a way of explaining this association. It seems that such a legend alludes to some sort of unique relationship or close connection that naturally existed between chickens and the Japanese deities.

In short, we can see that the chicken reveals to us the border between night and day, and symbolizes the point of contact between humans and the gods. This being the case, it would appear that the native Japanese gods share close ties to chickens, and that an investigation into the physical form of these birds and the various names assigned to them may shed light on the nature of this connection.

As one example which may provide some insight into this, below is a passage from the third volume of Kiuchi Sekitei's 木内石亭 *Unkonshi* 雲根志 (An'ei 2, 1773 to Kyōwa 享和 1, 801), in which the legend of *Kei kaseki* 鶏化石 is recorded as follows. (**Figure 2**)

> There is a *keiseki* 雞石 in Kashiihama, Chikuzen Province. In the past, a chicken appeared in a seaside village and became troublesome to the local farmers, who then decided to kill it. Thereupon, a travelling monk came along and pleaded with them to forgive the chicken for its misdeeds. The people refused and the

> chicken was killed. In response, the monk composed a waka, upon which the chicken was immediately turned to stone and was enshrined in a *hokora* 祠 (small shrine). Following this incident, small rocks in the shape of a chicken could be collected from the area around the *hokora*. (The author has not personally seen such rocks.)

From this description, we can see that the chicken and its physical form came to be attributed with divine qualities.

In Soma, Fukushima, there are *hokora* dedicated to deities with such names as *Niwatari* ニワタリ, *Miwatari* ミワタリ, and *Niwatashi* ニワタシ. In the Japanese script, they are often written as 庭渡 (lit. garden crossing), 荷渡 (lit. baggage crossing), 御渡 (lit. honourable crossing), respectively, with each character being used for their phonetic quality rather than their semantic meaning. The names are uncertain and the deities themselves are not clearly defined. In everyday life, people commonly attributed them with various roles, including the granting of water, the ensuring of safe passage across the sea, and the healing of coughs.

For instance, atop a hill near a paddy field in Sekizawa, Iitate, there is a *hokora* dedicated to the chicken deity Niwatori daimyōjin 庭鳥大明神. It is said that long ago, a chicken was being chased by something and came to this hill, where it met its fate. The cry of the chicken is believed to resemble the sound of a person with a cold coughing violently and gasping for air, giving rise to its identification as a deity who heals coughs. In Ogawa, Shinchi, there is another *hokora* known as *Niwatari* 二羽渡, which is dedicated to a pair of swans fabled to have once flown by and descended upon that spot. The deified birds are said to have the power to heal coughs, and drawings of a pair of chickens are given as offerings by visitors to the shrine.[10] *Niwatari* and other similar gods had once existed in large numbers throughout Iwate, Miyagi and Fukushima prefectures. Their original meaning however was forgotten long ago, and we can see that folklore related to various divinities has since emerged.

It should be noted that the names of these deities, *Niwatari*, *Miwatari*, and *Niwatashi*, are suggestive of the traversal of water and that they are collectively associated with the *niwatori* (chicken). They are further identified with the border-related role of water distribution commonly attributed to the chicken, and are likewise thought to be linked to the barrier between land and water by guaranteeing safe passage through the sea. Moreover, the belief that they suppress coughs is not only rooted in the audible similarity between the cough and the call of the chicken, but in the idea that these gods are able to soothe the symptoms of the cough as it crosses the border from the inside of the human body to the outside world. The chicken, and the divinities that developed from it, remind us of the borders that exist across various settings.

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[10] Iwasaki Toshio 岩崎敏夫, *Honpō shōshi no kenkyū* 本邦小祠の研究. Sōma: Iwasaki Hakushi Gakui Ronbun Shuppan Kōenkai, 1963.

Chicken Legends

The description of Hiraizumi in Matsuo Bashō's 松尾芭蕉 *Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 contains the following passage: "The splendor of three generations of the *Ōshū Fujiwara-shi* 奥州藤原氏 has vanished. All that is visible are country fields, with not a single trace of their glorious era. It is now only Mount Kinkei (*Kinkeizan* 金鶏山) that remains."

The name Mount Kinkei (lit. Golden Chicken Mountain) is rooted in the legend that Fujiwara no Hidehira buried a golden chicken in the soil. It is commonly known that numerous legends concerning golden chickens have also been transmitted throughout the Tōhoku region. For instance, in Matsura Seizan's 松浦静山 *Kasshi yawa zokuhen* 甲子夜話続篇, Volume 13, there is a narrative about Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢, in which the following passage is recorded.

> In Hatamura, Sannohe in the Kurihara District of Ōshū, there is a place called Niwatorizaka (鶏坂, lit. Chicken Hill). Here, a chicken made of pure gold was once dug up from the ground. In the past, a charcoal maker named Tōta 藤太 used to live in this village. It is said that he discovered gold near his home and became very wealthy. Using this gold, he made a pair of golden chickens and offered them to the mountain gods. After some time, he buried them underground together with his charcoal. This is how the area came to be known as Niwatorizaka. It is written as such in Tōta gyōjō 藤太行状, published in the Jōkyō 貞享 3 (1686). Furthermore, in the Fourth Month of Bunka 文化 15 (1819), a farmer living in the same village went up the mountain to dig for gold and discovered the pair of golden chickens. They weighed approximately one hundred *monme* 銭目, and engraved on them were the two characters 山神 (mountain god).[11]

This describes how the recent discovery of buried treasures has verified the legends of the golden chickens that have been transmitted in the Tōhoku region since ancient times. After investigating other areas, it became apparent that such golden chicken legends were not only known in Tōhoku, but also in various places throughout Japan. A few such examples are presented below.

About fifty meters from Shōhōji Temple 正法寺 in Aitani, Sakaaibe, in the Uchi District of Nara, there is a place called Hanabatake 花畑. A golden chicken is buried here, which is said to cry out on the morning of New Year's Day. A wealthy man once lived in Uchimura in the same district, in a place called Arazaka. On his estate was a pond with a stone bridge, under which a golden chicken was buried, and when the morning of New Year's Day arrived it was said to cry out.[12] In Kanage, Ōimura in Kyoto Prefecture, there is a mound known as Dairizuka 大理塚. It is told that a noble prince was once buried alive here. His soul trans-

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[11] Matsura Seizan 松浦静山, *Kasshi yawa zokuhen* 甲子夜話続篇, vol. 1, eds. Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦, Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979.

[12] Tamura Yoshinaga 田村吉永, "*Chōja to kin no niwatori*" 長者と金の鶏, *Kyōdo kenkyū* 郷土研究, 2: 3, 1914.

formed into a golden bird which appears and cries out each year on New Year's morning.[13]

Furthermore, the following description is found among the legends of Kiso Valley (Kisodani 木曽谷) in Shinshū Province.

> Long ago, there was a wealthy man named Kurashina sama 倉科様 who lived in Matsumotodaira. One year, he went to the capital planning to display his treasures in a competition, and packing up a multitude of them, he set off on Kisokaidō Road 木曽街道. One evening while taking his lodging in Tsumago, three robbers attempted to steal his riches. One of them entered the inn and warmed up the foot of a chicken. This triggered the bird to crow in the middle of the night as if to signal the coming of dawn, thereby tricking the man into setting back onto the road in the darkness. The wealthy man travelled along the Magome Tōge 馬籠峠 mountain pass until he arrived at a place called Aza Otaru 字男垂. The three robbers came up behind the man and stabbed him with a bamboo spear, killing him. They took his treasures and fled. Among their plunder was a golden chicken which fell into the river, disappearing under the waterfall basin at Otaru男垂. Even to this day, it is said that the chicken crows at the break of dawn each New Year's morning.[14]

Among the treasures was a chicken which announced the break of dawn, indicating its presence. The possible meaning behind such a legend, however, is a matter that has yet to be resolved.

> Furthermore, from Tokushima prefecture there is the following account.
> In Kuwanomura, Naka District, Tokushima, there flows a river that is approximately fifteen *ken* 間 in width. It is the upper course of Kuwano River 桑野川. Long ago, an itinerant *rokubu* 六部 monk who was travelling through the village requested to stay the night at the home of a wealthy man, who gladly obliged (I will omit his name). However, he heard that the monk had a golden chicken stored together with a mosquito net in a square box measuring one *sun* 寸 all around. When the monk departed early the following morning, the wealthy man followed behind and killed him with a blade near a murky pool of water. The golden chicken flapped its wings noisily and flew away, leaving the man with just the mosquito net. Even to this day, the water in the pool is dyed red with the blood of the monk. From this time forward, the people of this house only made rice cakes using pre-ground flour, as those made with steamed rice would always become tainted with his blood. It is said that the family still owns the mosquito net.[15]

This story is called *Rokubugoroshi* 六部殺し,[16] and can be considered a variant tale of Jun'ichi Nomura's 野村純一 *Konna ban e no ashidori* こんな晩への足取

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[13] Kakita Ioji 垣田五百次 and Tsuboi Tadahiko 坪井忠彦, *Kuchi tamba kōhishū* 口丹波口碑集. Tokyo: Kyōdo Kenkyūsha, 1925.

[14] Hayashi Rokurō 林六郎, "Kiso Tsumago yori" 木曽妻籠より, *Kyōdo kenkyū* 郷土研究 4: 9, 1916.

[15] Yoshikawa Yasuto 吉川泰人, "Nigori ga fuchi" 濁りが淵 , *Kyōdo kenkyū*, 1: 2, 1913.

[16] Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦 has written about *Rokubugoroshi* in his *Ijinron: Minzoku shakai no shinsei* 異人論—民俗社会の心性—. Tokyo: Seidosha, 1985.

り.[17] It is interesting to note that the travelling monk's golden chicken vanished without being stolen. A common feature among such legends is that the golden chicken crows on New Year's morning, and in doing so, the chicken which symbolises wealth asserts its presence by revealing the border between the old year and the new. From the motif of the rice cake, we can conjecture that this final legend from Tokushima was narrated in relation to the new year, or in other words, to the transition point between the years.

Further investigation is required into the relationship that such tales draw between buried gold and the shape of the chicken, and furthermore, what effect this connection has on chicken legends and folklore at large. The fact that the chicken momentarily vanishes from this world and reveals itself at the border of time must somehow be connected to the fact that the gold is transformed into the shape of the chicken. In other words, the gold (or the golden chicken) ought to be buried out of sight, and yet it announces its presence at the start of every new year, which constitutes the most significant barrier of time. This also indicates that the boundary-related nature of the chicken is repeatedly recalled on an annual basis. The relationship between chickens and boundaries in folklore indeed bears multiple layers of meaning.

Afterword

According to a report by Hayakawa Kōtarō 早川孝太郎 on the Higashi-mikawa district of Aichi prefecture, it was because the chicken was a *niwatori* 庭鳥, or "garden bird", that it occupied the *doma* 土間 (dirt floor) area of the home. He writes that the *Kamadogami* 竈神 (lit. stove god), *Dokōshin* 土公神 (god of the earth), enjoys watching the chicken at play, and that the chicken's act of waking up early each morning, rustling its wings and crowing serves to clear away the evil spirits of the day.[18] In times long past, chickens commonly lived alongside humans and it seems that it was because of this that they came to be attributed with boundary-related qualities and meaning. Chickens inhabited the *doma*, a space imbued with the dual character of both the inside and outside realms, and through the power of its voice the chicken divided night from day.

In general, most chicken folklore is associated with contextually and temporally specific transformation or change. Transmissions of such lore elicit in us recollections of the boundary-related character and symbolism of the chicken which have been largely forgotten in present times. By reviving these narratives however, our past feelings toward the chicken are reawakened and we are able to

[17] See, for example, *Nihon no sekenbanashi* 日本の世間話. Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1995.

[18] Dokōshin is the most significant boundary-related divinity in Japanese folk custom. For more on this, see Iijima Yoshiharu 飯島吉晴, *Kamadogami to kawayagami: ikai to kono yo no sakai* 竈神と厠神—異界と此の世の境—. Tokyo: Kōdansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 2007 (1st ed. 1986). For more on the chicken's role in ridding the day of evil spirits, see Hayakawa Kōtarō's 早川孝太郎 "Tori no hanashi sono ta" 雞の話其他, *Minzoku*, 1: 1, 1925.

see in a new light the potential and latent strength lying in the boundaries of space and time. This will also be valuable as the first step toward uncovering the historical relationship between mankind and birds.

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Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男, *Zōho santō mintanshū* 増補山島民譚集", eds. Seki Keigo 関敬吾 and Ōtō Tokihiko 大藤時彦, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1969.

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Persons, Monks, Children, and Non-Persons[1]

Kuroda Hideo

Translated by Charles Woolley

Forward

This chapter is an attempt at developing a structural understanding of the medieval status, or *mibun* 身分, system. What initially stirred my interest in writing on such a topic was my reading of Minegishi Sumio's "*Nihon chūsei no mibun to kaikyū ni tsuite no oboegaki*",[2] and the strong impression it had on me. Minegishi, with his accessible style and penchant for distilling complex concepts into clear diagrams, has always performed the exemplary role of clarifying the many confusions that emerge in our field. Perhaps more decisive, however, was the following incident: When, in the course of commenting on the presentation that had just been given by Hotate Michihisa at last year's conference hosted by the Historical Science Council (*Rekishi kagaku kyōgikai* 歴史科学協議会), I happened to point out two or three contentious points in Minegishi's models, Minegishi, who himself was presiding over the proceedings, chimed in with: "In that case, Mr. Kuroda, why don't you give it a shot?" In this way I was given a direct "challenge," so to speak.

The major points I had wanted to make eventually appeared on the pages of *Rekishi hyōron* with some revisions,[3] but while writing them up I began to mull over the prospect of accepting Minegishi's challenge. Perhaps from the perspective of actual experts in subfield of status studies (*mibun-ron* 身分論) my efforts here and what argument I attempt to make will appear ill-advised, or perhaps

[1] This article is a translation of Chapter 9 of Kuroda Hideo's 黒田日出男, *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* 境界の中世・象徴の中世. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986. In hopes of preserving the original historical value of this article, all dates mentioned by the author have been deliberately left unchanged. When Kuroda writes "last year," for example, readers must understand this to mean 1985, the year before this article was originally published.

[2] Minegishi Sumio 峰岸純夫, "Nihon chūsei no mibun to kaikyū ni tsuite no oboegaki" 日本中世の身分と階級についての覚書 in *Rekishi hyōron*, issue 376, 1981.

[3] "Illustrated Picture Scrolls as Historical Documents and the Medieval Status System" Shiryō toshite no emaki-mono to chūsei mibun-sei, in *Rekishi hyōron*, issue 382, 1982.

even presumptuous. Nevertheless, taking cues of course from Minegishi regarding schematization and model-making, in the following I will do what I can to sketch a structural model of the medieval status system, after my own fashion.

In a previously published paper, Minegishi presents an illustrated model of the "Medieval Status System" (*Chūsei no mibun taikei* 中世の身分体系).[4] Therein, he establishes two axes; the X-axis consists of an opposition between the fundamental members constituting the state (*kokka no kihon-teki seiin* 国家の基本的成員) and non-members (*hiseiin* 非成員) outside the system, while the Y-axis is organized by the opposition between the Secular or Worldly (*seken* 世間), that is, the world governed by karmic and social bonds (*en* 縁), and the Sacerdotal or Extra-Secular (*shusseken* 出世間), that is, a world without karmic or social bonds (*muen* 無縁). Within this framework, Minegishi divides medieval status into four categories: the Mundane (*zoku* 俗), the Lowly (*hi* 卑), the Holy (*sei* 聖), and the Abject (*sen* 賤). The "Mundane" status group encapsulates the overwhelming majority of the population, and is structured through class stratification, internally divided as it is between the ruling classes, such as the nobility or *samurai*, and the ruled. The "Lowly" status denotes indentured servants or slaves (*ge'nin* 下人 and *shojū* 所従), subject to their masters, whether the latter be aristocrats, *samurai*, commoners, or priests; in turn, these *ge'nin* and *shojū* are vouchsafed protection by virtue of this relationship of rule and subjugation (*shujū kankei* 主従関係), or class relations (*kaikyū kankei* 階級関係). The third category, the Holy, referring to priests and monks (*sōryo* 僧侶), in inhabited by those who by taking Buddhist vows have severed their ties with the world of attachments (*en*). The fourth, the Abject (*hi'nin*), has in common with servants and slaves its extra-systemic status, while sharing with monks and priests the characteristic of being "extra-social" (having no karmic or social bonds). This schematization is quite seductive, I must admit.

Nevertheless, I have doubts concerning the model's ability to grasp the theoretical principles informing status. My complaints are the following: Minegishi constructs his Y-axis through an opposition between the Secular (*seken*) and the Extra-Secular (*shusseken*), and from this derives the two status categories of the Mundane and the Holy. So far, so good. Against this, however, Minegishi posits a binary that is incommensurate with the former, and this is his opposition between "members of the state" and "non-members" along his X-axis; this choice I have great difficulty understanding. While the Y-axis is predicated on categories common in historical sources, and moreover neatly corresponds to the opposition between the Mundane (*zoku*) and the Holy (*sei*), the binary informing the X-axis is a theoretical one of Minegishi's own derivation, and thus is of an entirely different quality from that of the Y-axis. Furthermore, due to this organization of the X-axis, Minegishi's division of status categories into the four given—Mundane and Lowly, Holy and Abject—leaves the reader with the

[4] Please refer to page 14 of Minegishi's paper.

unshakable impression of being somehow off-kilter or otherwise lacking in internal coherence.

I have several other reservations, but setting them aside for the time being, I would like to elaborate in what follows how precisely I envision the "medieval status system."

1. Visual Markers of Status

First, I would like to direct the reader's attention to **Figure 1**. This diagram appeared at the end of my paper, "Illustrated Picture Scrolls as Historical Documents and the Medieval Status System," but as it is indispensable to my argument, I have reproduced it here.

In this figure, I have used visible or visual markers of status, in this case hairstyle or headwear, to categorize the medieval population into four basic groups—"Children" (*warawa* 童), "Persons" (*hito* 人), "Monks" (*sōryo*), and "Non-Persons" (*hi'nin*). While the first category, that of Children or *warabe*, undergoes various transformations in hairstyle early in its cycle, beginning with the shearing of the baby's head at birth (*sute-gami* 棄髪), its constituent members nevertheless do not belong to the world of Persons, or *hito*, which is symbolized by the *eboshi* cap 烏帽子 and top-knot (*motodori* 髻). "Children" are not "Persons," and only become "Persons" after undergoing the coming-of-age ceremony (*genpuku* 元服), at which point they very literally "become people" (*seijin suru* 成人する). The second category, that of Persons or *hito*, is the domain of rulers and the ruled, organized by the state system of court rank and appointments (*kan'i* 官位 and *kanshoku* 官職), the hierarchy of which is made manifest through visible markers of status, such as the crown (*kanmuri* 冠) or *eboshi*. This category corresponds more or less to the "Mundane" status in Minegishi's rubric. Monks, or *sōryo*, the third category, is the domain of the sacred, symbolized by the shaved head (*bōzu-atama* 坊主頭). The fourth and final category, that of Non-Persons or *hi'nin*, comprises those various people seen as unclean (*fujōshi sareru* 不浄視される), with the figure of the leper—loathed as the most polluted (*mottomo kegareta* 最も穢れた) of beings—forming its absolute limit; they are organized as a status group visually through their lack of headwear and their unkempt, unbound hair (*hōhatsu* 蓬髪).[5]

As I discussed these four categories in my previous essay, I will refrain from elaborating any further, but would like to make two supplementary points.

The first relates to lepers (*raisha* 癩者) and the "heads of the lodge," or *shuku no chōri* 宿の長吏, who were charged with managing the former. According to the

[5] However, according to Kuroda Toshio's 黒田俊雄 understanding, the status characteristics particular to hi'nin are that 1) they fall fundamentally outside the social and status systems, and thus are not in an indentured or enslaved state; 2) they are excluded from the means of production; 3) they are seen as unclean; see "Chūsei no mibun-sei to hisen kannen" 中世の身分制と卑賤観念, *Buraku mondai kenkyū*, 33, 1972.

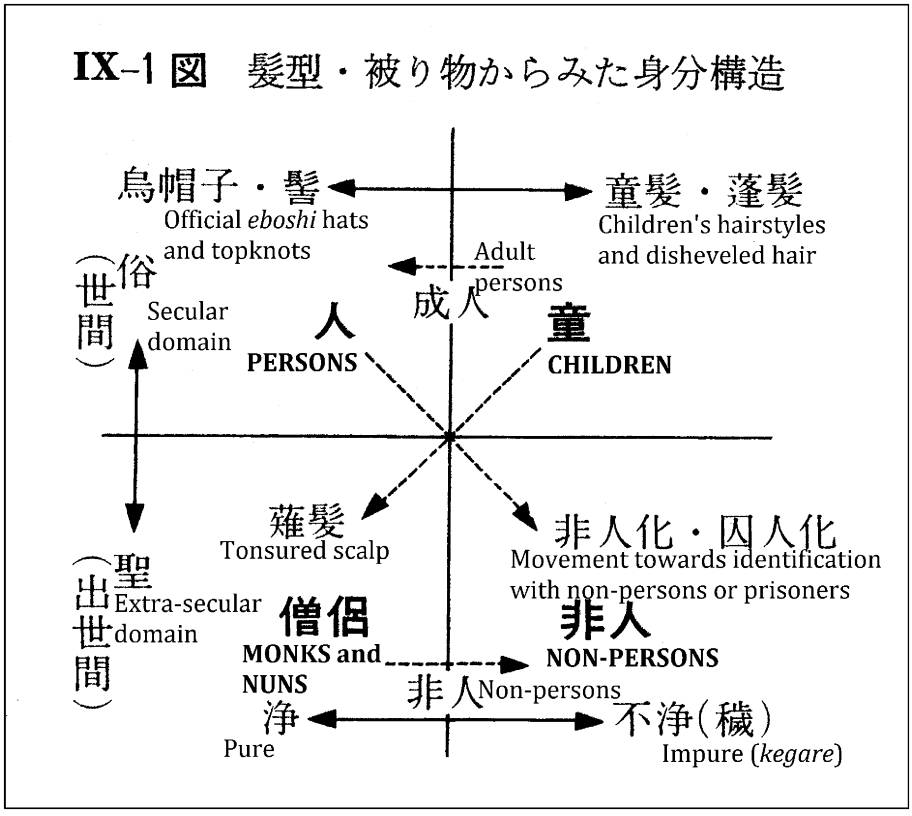

Figure 1. Social status as visually displayed through hairstyle and headwear.

Sankō Genpei seisuiki 参考源平盛衰記 (*Redacted Record of the Rise and Fall of the Genji and Taira*) cited on page 169 of the second volume of *Emakimono ni yoru nihon jōmin seikatsu ebiki* 絵巻物による日本常民生活絵引 (*Illustrated Index of the Life of the Common People of Japan through Illustrated Picture Scrolls*), it is believed that lepers were required to wear white face-coverings and persimmon-colored garments similar in style to mourning wear (*chaku-i* 著衣). Indeed, examining the version of *Ippen-hijiri e* 一遍聖絵 (*Ippen the Sage in Pictures*) contained in the supplementary volume of *Nihon emaki-mono taisei* 日本絵巻物大成 (*Compendium of Japanese Illustrated Picture Scrolls*), one finds (on pages 141, 142, 167, 179, 196, 298, 312, and 330) what appear to be lepers, almost without exception depicted with white face-coverings and garments in a sort of persimmon-colour.[6] However, the instance on page

[6] I am aware that, when it comes to identifying and agreeing upon the colors found in illustrated picture scrolls, one encounters many complications—what lexical term is appropriate? What would the historical expression of a particular color be? I have referred to Nagasaki Seiki's 長崎盛輝 *Iro no Nihon-shi* 色の日本史 (Kyoto: Tankō Sensho, 1974), in which "persimmon-color" is described as "a yellow-orange dye resulting in a color similar to that of a ripened persimmon. Dye of this sort appears in the late Heian period, but in the Muromachi period, together with peony and

330, showing three figures with white face-coverings and in persimmon-colored dress among the crowd of people lamenting Ippen's death, differs in terms of the figure's placement, manner of dress, and facial expression,[7] leading one to believe that these are rather *shuku no chōri* 宿の長吏. If so, this would indicate that they had in common with lepers their persimmon-colored clothing and white face-coverings.[8]

The second concerns the *warabe* category. One of the purposes of using visual indices such as hairstyle and headwear to construct this model of status was to educe thereby the coordinates of the *warabe*. The term itself, of course, denotes

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purple becomes a favourite of the aristocracy. During the same period, bitter-persimmon-juice color (*kaki-shibu-iro* 柿渋色), produced by rubbing the brownish juice of bitter persimmons on undyed cloth, also was popular. That color is thought to be more or less similar to *shibu-gami* 渋紙, paper colored by the same method. With the popularity of brown in the Edo period, this color was widely adopted. This color was even incorporated into the wardrobe of Kabuki actors. A reference can be found in the line 'plucking at his persimmon front-tying robe.' While the line gives 'persimmon,' here it refers not to persimmon-color, but rather a dark brown. The original persimmon-color, as well, depending on one's view, could be considered more red, or more yellow." Additionally, comparing several different varieties of the sort of standard color template cards available on the market has been helpful to the ends of cultivating a better sense of color, as well as to deciding on the proper color terms to use.

[7] In particular, in the scene depicted, the three figures are shown tightly ensconced within the crowd of men and women surrounding the dying Ippen. This sort of emplacement differs from any other of the persimmon-garbed, white-masked lepers, and in conjunction with the other discrepancies in expression and dress, there is little doubt that these figures are either *shuku no chōri* or their subordinates. It goes without saying, but notes on the colophon allows the scroll to be dated to the late 13th century. Thus, this would be an image of late 13th-century shuku no chōri. It is possible, then, to push back the image of *shuku no chōri* found in the *Ippen shōnin ekotoba-den* 一遍上人絵詞伝 (*Life of Saint Ippen in Pictures and Words*, 14th century) to the late 13th century.

[8] Thanks to a heads-up from Ishii Susumu 石井進, I had the opportunity to see the *Ippen shōnin eden* 一遍上人絵伝 (*Illustrated Life of Saint Ippen*) from the Tanaka Shinbi 田中親美 collection (being a Sōshun-edited edition) at the Japanese National Museum at the end of February. Fortunately, the portion on display was from the first section of the third scroll, depicting the scene at Jinmoku-ji temple 甚目寺, and I was thus able to examine the coloration satisfactorily. From that scene, the scroll can be thought to be in the Konkōji Temple 金光寺 lineage, and thus does not include a depiction of *shuku no chōri*. Nevertheless, I was able to analyze it, and would like to summarize a few important points.

1) Of the three circles, the first is composed of standing beggar-monks, dressed in the robes of various sects. The people forming the second circle of "non-person" beggars (*kojiki hi'nin* 乞食非人) and the disabled variously wear garments in colors such as light brown or pale yellow. In the third circle, that of the lepers, all have a white face covering and have persimmon-colored clothing. This suggests that the style of dress adopted by lepers was socially imposed. Additionally, I should like to point out that there are two types of coloration represented in the persimmon-colored robes on display, one being a stronger orange, the other, having a red tinge. Both are the same as those worn by the lepers and *shuku no chōri* in the Ippen the Sage in Pictures.

2) The greater part of the figures in the first circle have some kind of footwear, while those in the second and third circles are almost exclusively barefoot.

3) The bowls held by the beggar-monks in the first circle are black, with crimson interiors,

young children who have yet to go through the coming-of-age ceremony. After proceeding through several stages of transformation in their hairstyle—the shearing off of hair already on the head at birth (*sute-gami*) and the iterative shaving of the baby's head (*ubu-zori* 産剃) before letting it grow out until shoulder length (*tare-gami* 垂髪) and the attendant *kami-oki* 髪置 ritual around the age of three—a child dons the *eboshi* cap and becomes an adult—or rather, a "person" or *hito*—and henceforth is subject to being considered a "person" by others.

Now, if we should turn back to the level of my model of the medieval status system, which we will discuss in greater detail a bit later, what aspects of the theoretical principles underpinning the *warawa* category, within the social relationships of rule and bondage (*shihai reizoku kankei* 支配・隷属関係), should we be able to elucidate?

Hotate Michihisa's recent essay "Shōen-sei-teki mibun haichi to shakai-shi kenkyū no kadai" 庄園制的身分配置と社会史研究の課題 (in *Rekishi hyōron*, 380) cites a passage from the fifth section of *Chiri bukuro* 塵袋 (*Bag of Dust*, see page 355 in the *Nihon koten zenshū* edition) dealing with ethics (*jinrin* 人倫):

> What is the meaning of words like *ayatsu* アヤツ or *koyatsu* コヤツ? What of writing the character for 'dog' 犬 on the forehead of a young child (*shōni* 小児) and calling it *ayatsu*? What is the reading of the character for 'dog'? *Ayatsu* means 'it (the slave) over there' 彼奴, *koyatsu*, 'it (the slave) over here' 此ノ奴 . . . Since the custom is to call things that are not people (*hito naranu mono* 人ナラヌモノ) such, since it is like a dog, one writes 'dog' on the forehead of the child.

From the above, one can see that "young children," "slaves" (*yakko* 奴), and "dogs" share the same quality of "not being people." In other words, each is something "kept," in the sense of "keeping" an animal (*kawareru sonzai* 飼われる存在), or "provided for" (*kyūyō* 給養), and not seen as full persons (*ichi'nin-mae no "hito"* 一人前の「人」).[9]

In other words, slaves and servants, Hotate informs us, are dependent at least in part on their masters for their upbringing and provisioning, and the convention of providing additional service as thanks beyond one's contracted term

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while those of the second and third circles are grey or black on the inside, as well. Why this difference? By the second and third circles of beggars and lepers, there are depicted oval containers (eleven by the second circle, nine by the third), probably containing the tools of their livelihood. Perhaps these grey- or black-lined bowls are theirs, rather than belonging to the temple? This is potentially interesting.

Additionally, for more regarding persimmon-color and such colored vestments, see Amino Yoshihiko's 網野善彦 upcoming essay "Mino-kasa to kaki-katabira" 蓑笠と柿帷, in the special color-themed issue of *is*, 1982.

[9] *Ge'nin*, or servants, were in the most extreme cases essentially slaves, but as I elaborate later, they were situated within the patrimonial and patriarchal order within their master's household and mediated by it; thus they both had the potential to be and in fact could be positioned within the status order within the domain of Persons or hito, while their fortunes were tied to those of their masters.

(*rei-bōkō* 礼奉公) would find its expression through unpaid menial labour, such as attending to their master morning and night (*chōseki shikō* 朝夕祇候), or the giving of gifts. From this perspective, the status of the servant can be understood as in principle falling within the *warabe* category.

In the most extreme cases, the figure of the servant is raised from a young age within the master's home, and thus through eating and drinking together and playing with the master's children, etc., he reproduces relations of domination and bondage that are colored, on the one hand, with feelings of obedient duty for his master, much like those of a child towards a parent, and, on the other, a sense of identification (*ittai-kan* 一体感) as with one's own siblings vis-à-vis his master's children.[10]

Returning to the task at hand, what sort of fundamental organizing principle can one locate through these four categories? As indicated in Figure 1, one can locate here the oppositions between "Purity" (*jō* 浄) and "Impurity" (*fujō* 不浄 or *kegare/e* 穢), on the one hand, and that between the "Sacred" (*sei*) and the "Mundane" (*zoku*), on the other. These are the principal oppositional axes I have established, in contradistinction to those in Minegishi's schema of the status system.

Ōyama Kyōhei identifies the core structure of the medieval status system as that of "*kiyome*" キヨメ or "purification;" at its center sits the emperor, superlatively pure and isolated to preserve him from contamination.[11] And within the urban structure of the capital governed by the concept of *kiyome*, indivisible from the notion of pollution (*kegare* ケガレ) that had been amplified and nourished by the court aristocracy, those discriminated against as the most polluted group were "non-person" beggars (*kojiki hi'nin* 乞食非人) and lepers.[12] As Chijiwa Itaru's recent essay "*Chūsei minshū no ishiki to shisō*" 中世民衆の意識と思想 (in *Ikki*, volume 4, Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1981) indicates, one of the principal punishments stipulated for breach of agreement in medieval contracts, or *kishōmon* 起請文, was the contraction on the part of the offending party of "the severe illnesses of white leprosy (*byakurai* 白癩) and black leprosy" (*kokurai* 黒癩); one important factors keeping the people in thrall within the medieval Shōen estate system was precisely this fear of suffering "white and black leprosy" in the present life.

In sum, this dichotomy of Purity and Impurity, having as its antipodes the

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[10] It goes without saying that this identification is a kind of false consciousness, but it behooves one to pay attention to the fact that it has its roots in the shared communal experiences of eating, etc., and re-examine it.

[11] See Ōyama Kyōhei 大山喬平, "Chūsei no mibun-sei to kokka" 中世の身分制と国家, in *Nihon chūsei nōson-shi no kenkyū* 日本中世農村史の研究. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978.

[12] Ōyama, on page 369 of the previously cited monograph, points out that "at the gates of aristocratic residences at the beginning of the 11th century were posted plaques directed towards eta 穢多 reading 'No Entry to Unclean People' 不浄人不可来." I would like to inquire further as to what "Unclean Person" or eta-henman 穢多遍満 meant in these cases.

figure of the emperor and the leper, can be thought to be the central axis of the medieval status system.[13]

However, the motivation for constructing the model in Figure 1 was—if I may be allowed to digress—to shed light precisely on those groups of people who did not neatly fit into any of its categories. The following anecdote provides a useful illustration. The Rinzai monk and founder of Chōrakuji Temple 長楽寺 in Serata 世良田, Kōzuke Province, Shakuen Eichō was lecturing to a crowd when he caught sight of a "mountain ascetic" or *yamabushi* 山伏 in his audience. Pointing him out, he said, "What do we have here? It looks to be a man (*otoko* 男) at first glance, and indeed it wears something like a priest's *kesa*, but it wears no *eboshi*, and it is not a child, nor is it a monk. Neither is it a fart, nor is it a piece of dung; could it be something like a loose stool?" The monks in attendance were mortified—since *yamabushi* were known to be querulous and quick to violence, they were sure Eichō had gotten them all into trouble. The *yamabushi*, however, rather than flying into a rage, was deeply moved by Eichō's sermon, and soon after took the tonsure.

This narrative of course corroborates the classificatory rubric delineated in the foregoing, but moreover suggests the liminal (*kyōkai-teki* 境界的) quality of the *yamabushi*, in this case neither a "man" (lacking an *eboshi* cap), "child," nor "monk." What a dynamic understanding of the medieval status system will ultimately require will be a better understanding of the forces—like this *yamabushi* or "villains in persimmon garb"—that operate on the borders and fringes of this classificatory rubric, and which will ultimately have a hand in its collapse.

2. The *Collection of Common Sermons*—an Analysis

What do we understand to be the organizing principles maintaining status order in the domains of Persons, or *hito*, and Monks, or *sōryo*? That shall be our next task. To my knowledge, best-suited to aid in our analysis is the *Futsū shōdōshū* 普通唱導集 (*Collection of Common Sermons*).

This text has been taken up most recently in the work of Kuroda Toshio, but it is my aim, informed by Kuroda's insightful observations and analysis, to draw out from the various sort of relationships partially visible in his work a schematic understanding of the principles governing status relations.

As Kuroda has written, the *Collection of Common Sermons*, collated in 1297, is a reference or compendium of proselyting narratives (*shōdō* 唱導), but the sort of classification of social types carried out in its editorial organization is most likely representative of prevalent social attitudes at the time of its composition, and therefore useful to our ends. Below are the sections relevant to our investigation, to which I have appended some guiding marks.[14]

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[13] I see Kuroda Toshio's "Hereditary Structure" (*shusei-teki kōzō* 種姓的構造) of status as being a system of opposition between Purity and Impurity.

[14] The following list, as it appears now in this translation, has been greatly simplified for the sake of clarity.

I. Two Types of Spirits: Secular and Extra—Secular

A. Secular division

(a) Emperors, aristocrats, and other closely related individuals
(b) Rulers, parents, relatives, nursemaids, servants, house-holding monks and nuns

B. Extra-secular division

(a) Officially licensed monks and persons employed at religious institutions
(b) Teachers, fellow disciples, young acolytes, monks, nuns, and Zen masters

II. Two Divisions of Arts and Professions

A'. Secular division

(1) Professional scholars, performers, and other highly specialized technicians
(2) Diviners, spiritual mediums, and fortune-tellers
(3) Painters, sculptors, printers, and manufacturers of various products
(4) Prostitutes, female divers (*ama*), boatmen, fishermen, dancers and musicians
(5) Merchants, townspeople, and horse-drivers
(6) Gamblers, including players of *go* and backgammon

B'. Extra-secular division

(1) Preachers, chanters, writers of Sanskrit, monks and mountain ascetics
(2) Various sects of Japanese Buddhism: Hossō, Sanron, Tendai, Kegon, and Shingon

Regarding the first category, I, Kuroda Toshio observes that A(a) delineate various status categories at the level of the state, while A(b) comprises the various relationships within the patrimonial and patriarchal order; B, on the other hand, indicate public sacerdotal ranks and master-disciple relationships. The term "spirits" or "souls" (*shōryō* 聖霊) in the category heading Kuroda interprets as referring to the various status categories derived from concepts of relative hierarchy, these in turn predicated on the state and political order and its concomitant class relations. Regarding II, Kuroda indicates that these are status categories determined by a particular art or skill (*gigei* 技芸), and thus in a broad sense represent the division of labour within society, both in the domains of the Secular and the Extra-Secular; Kuroda also suggests that these could be conceptualized as

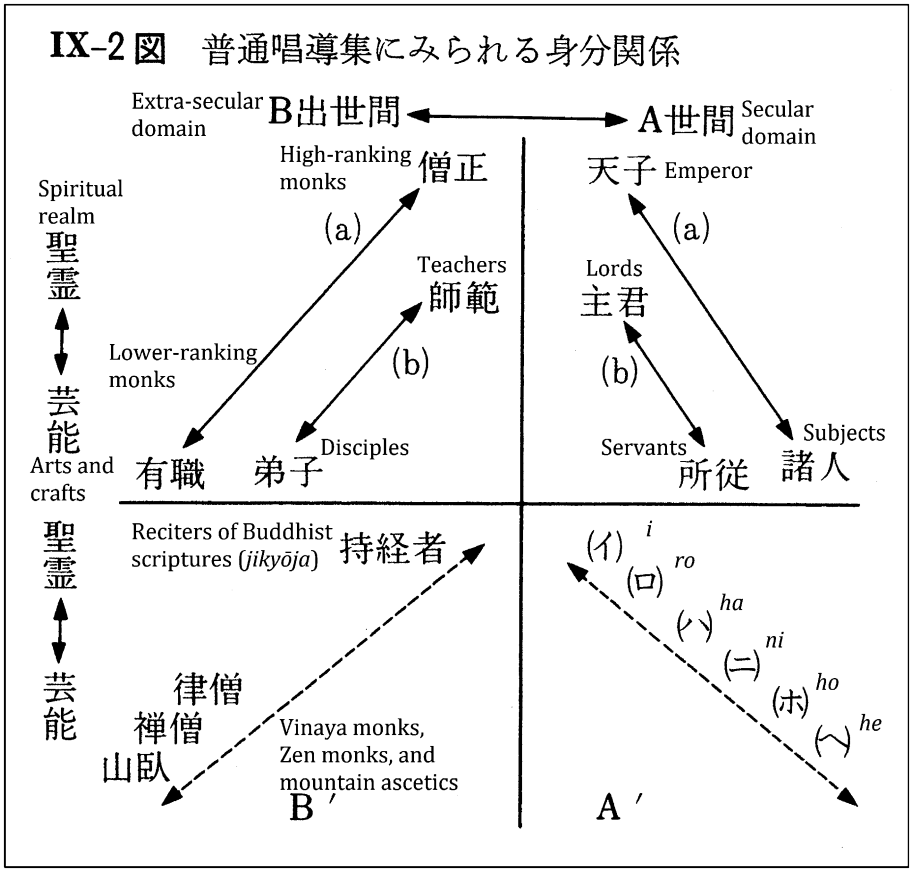

Figure 2. Social relations as depicted within *Futsū shōdōshū* (*Collection of Common Sermons*).

"creative" or "artistic" statuses (*"geinō-teki" mibun* 「芸能的」身分). I believe Kuroda's reading regarding I is certainly correct, and while I reserve for the present judgement regarding his identification of "artistic" statuses in II, I am mostly in agreement with his findings there.

In the following, I would like, informed by Kuroda Toshio's findings summarized above, to stress the points I would like to make (though there may be some overlap with Kuroda Toshio's analysis).

In the *Collection of Common Sermons*, one finds a quadripartite division—A, B, A', B'—determined by the two oppositional axes of the "Secular ↔ Extra-Secular" and "Spirit ↔ Art," as can be seen in **Figure 2**; however, one can also discern an organization based on the relationships in the groupings marked (a) and (b). A(a) delineates the system of status organized by official court ranks and appointments, beginning with the emperor and moving downward until reaching the common people (*shonin* 諸人). A(b) has at one limit "the master" or "lord" (*shukun* 主君) and at the other, "servants" (*shojū*), while in between falls the domestic

patriarchal order, organized around relations of filiality. In other words, this indicates that the master-servant relationship is mediated by domestic patriarchal relations. Thus, the status system at the level of the state—as seen in A(a)—requires for its establishment the internalization of these relations of control and subjugation at the level of persons.

The same can be said in the case of group B. B(a) gives the official statuses of monks and priests, and thus is a system of status organized by the axis of official sacerdotal ranks and titles (*sōi* 僧位; *sōkan* 僧官) at the state level. This system of official state statuses, however, cannot stand on its own; the relationship of master and disciple upheld between instructors and their students and child-acolytes (*dōgyō* 童形), comparable to that of A(b), allows it in reality to be sustained and reproduced.

Category A corresponds to the "Persons" or *hito* subdivision in Figure 1, whereas B fundamentally corresponds to the "Monk" or *sōryo* subdivision. However, the underlying framework of the former category can be understood as being this state-level status system, mediated by patriarchically and domestically-encoded relations of control and subjugation.[15] The latter, as well, has as its underlying framework this state-level status system, here mediated by master-disciple relations. According to Tanaka Minoru in his essay "S*amurai bonge-kō* 「侍・凡下考」(in *Shirin,* 59: 4), the differentiation between the social status of samurai and commoners in the medieval period devolved on whether the person in question boasted an official rank—the structural significance of the system of official ranks and appointments to the status system within the domain of "Persons" is quite clear.

Here, however, I have considered the relationship articulated in A(b) between the figure of the *shukun* or master and *shojū* or servants as essentially being a master-servant relationship, but how does this bode for the sort of relationship one can establish between the *ge'nin*, or servants, which I categorized as belonging to the *warabe* or Child category in my rubric, and these *shojū*?

I will not indulge in a thorough analysis here, but the conclusion to be drawn is that both can be understood to fall in principle within the *warabe* category. However, it would appear as though there is a slight difference between *shojū* and *ge'nin*—essentially, that the former implies rather strongly an aspect of hierarchy or a master-servant relationship.[16] In conjunction with the expansion of the master's

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[15] Here, Myōe's 明恵 famous words, also quoted by Kuroda Toshio, also symbolize how the hierarchical relationship between the emperor and his retainers operates as the undergirding frame within the domain of Persons: "For the monk there is a proper was of being a monk, and for the layman, a proper way of being a layman. For the Emperor, as well, there is a proper way of being Emperor, and for his retainers, a proper way of being a retainer. To go against this proper way of being is entirely evil."

[16] One task for future investigation will be to consider the distinctions and similarities between *ge'nin* and *shojū*. I am furthermore very much interested in how various terms—*ke'nin* 家人, *rōdō* 郎等, *shojū*, etc.—were used to express status, and how they interacted or overlapped with each other. At the present, however, I cannot say any more.

or lord's household, *ge'nin* and *shojū* would be incorporated as "retainers" (*ke'nin* 家人), "young servants" (*waka-tō* 若党), or "serving men" (*rōdō* 郎等), and some would be granted family names (*myōji* 名字), and with the amelioration of the master's rank and status, it was possible that they too would come to be interpolated into the state system of official ranks and titles. Since this relationship would have its basis in the support and care provided by the master, it would be sustained by a form of identification, outwardly similar to a parental or sibling relationship, and thus labour "morning and evening" or tribute would be expected reciprocally. Moreover, since the maintenance or improvement in the standing of the master or lord was tied to one's own emancipation from one's current status or one's advancement to a superior position, *ge'nin* and *shojū* could but devote themselves fully to their service. Therefore, since a certain portion of *ge'nin* were able to ascend to the status of household staff, the notion that one's own fortunes and those of one's master were one and the same was a sort of false consciousness binding *ge'nin* and *shojū* to their service, recursively reproduced.

As shown above, A (the Secular) and B (the Extra-Secular) in Figure 2 correspond to categories of *hito* and *sōryo* in Figure 1, and both are the domain of the ruler and the ruled, ordered by the system of state-level ranks and appointments (either A(a) or B(a)). Internally organizing this order are the relations articulated in A(b), those between the master and his subordinates (or B(b), between master and disciple). And, as indicated by the arrows in Figure 1, one in the *warawa* category, being born the child of parents in the Persons or *hito* category, will in turn become a Person upon coming of age; similarly, servants, conceptually occupying the same *warawa* category, have the possibility of ascending to the status of Person, and thus can be represented by the same dotted arrow.[17]

Next, let us examine the two categories of A' and B' dedicated to the arts in Category II.

As Kuroda Toshio points out, these two categories list practitioners of a wide array of skills and professions, representing the division of social labour in a very broad sense, but just as A and B demonstrate a certain logic to their ordering and the relationships implied therein, these groups are no more organized at random than the preceding. The *Shin sarugaku-ki* 新猿楽記 (*New Saru-Gaku Record*)[18] lists various "abilities" (*shonō* 所能) current in the 11th century, when the medieval system of private Shōen estates and court-owned lands was coalescing:

> Gamblers, warriors, female mediums, blacksmiths, scholars of history, law, and mathematics, sumo wrestlers, gluttonous and bibulous women, horse dealers, carriage drivers, carpenters, doctors of medicine, diviners, musicians, poets of vernacular verse. . .

[17] More ideologically than realistically, however.

[18] Contained in volume 8 of *Kodai seiji shakai shisō* 古代政治社会思想, from *Iwanami Nihon shisō taikei*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1979.

And so on and so forth. In addition to including such outliers as "women who eat little but love to drink," "uncouth fools," "dregs" (*sōkō* 糟糠), and "widows" (*yamome* 孀) in its list of abilities, one can clearly see that this list is comparatively random in its ordering of terms.

In other words, judging from the manner in which the "abilities" in the *New Saru-Gaku Record* are listed, one could point to, in these various "abilities" of early medieval people, a disorganized dynamism, a vitality not constricted by the status order.

By contrast, in the 13th century *Collection of Common Sermons*, as I demonstrate in Figure 2, the various "arts" listed are ranked, forming a corresponding pair with the "spirits" in categories A and B. A' can thus be roughly broken down into six subgroups, numbered above. Group (1) comprises the "arts" of the court, with its "literati" (*bunshi* 文士) and poets (*kajin* 歌人), directly tied to the world of the aristocracy—the emperor of course as its center; Group (2) collects various magic-workers (*jujutsusha* 呪術者), while Group (3) brings together artisans of various sorts; Group (4) lists acrobats and entertainers, Group (5), merchants and traders, while Group (6) lists competitive game-players. From the clear contrast between Groups (1) and (6), it is apparent that the logic informing the selection and order here is governed by some kind of value judgement. Particularly interesting is that the magicians of Group (2) occupy the second rung, immediately following Group (1), gesturing toward the importance of such professions in the middle ages. Second, the fact that fishermen (*amabito* 海人) and sailors (*funabito* 船人) are listed after courtesans (*yūjo* 遊女) is striking, but the position of the latter here perhaps has some relation to the Eguchi courtesans (*Eguchi no yūjo* 江口の遊女). The third point of interest is that the position attributed to merchants and townsmen is lower than that of Group (4)'s entertainers, and that moreover they are seen as being proximate to gamblers; this certainly invites one to consider the position of merchants and townsmen during this period.

Similarly, B' evidences a logic to its ordering, and as can be seen in Figure 2, with "those knowing the sutras and constantly reciting them" (*jikyōja* 持経者) at the head, and "mountain monks" (*yamabushi*) at the tail, and most likely indicates the same sort of value judgement as seen in A'.

If this is the case, it should prove impossible to collect these various "artistic" statuses and reduce them to either one status or status stratum. In other words, as one can glean from the order given, these "artistic" statuses demonstrate a certain stratification, one that corresponds to the status system having the emperor as its center. The various arts and professions expressed in A' and B' are situated hierarchically within the system of official state ranks and titles, one could say. Be it the domain of Persons or that of Monks, without the hierarchical distribution throughout the system of the agents responsible for performing these various "arts," neither register would be able to last a day—such goes almost without saying.

Recently, Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 has taken interest in such "arts" (*geinō*) and "abilities" (*shonō*), and has argued the case for a "non-titled commoner status" (*heimin mibun* 平民身分) and an "artisan status" (*shokunin mibun* 職人身分) as discrete status categories for "free commoners" (*jiyūmin* 自由民) in the middle ages.[19] I will refrain from addressing the former, but I would like to touch upon this artisan status category in its connection to the "arts."

Of course, Amino's arguments cover a great deal of ground, and in a host of different contexts in his *Nihon chūsei no minshūzō* 日本中世の民衆像 he essays a definition this artisan status. I fear I will not do a tidy job in summarizing, but one can perhaps proffer the following few points. One: Those individuals who engage in the arts (*'geinō' wo itonami* 「芸能」を営み), have their own specialized "Way" (*michi* 道), or make their living through "lowly craft" (*'gezai' wo togetsutsu* 「外財」を遂げつつ) are dubbed "artisans" (p. 119). Two: Such artisans comprised, from the 12th and 13th centuries onward, those not involved in agriculture, such as fishermen, hunters, craftsmen and artisans, merchants, performers, and magicians (p. 105–6), and since "employment" (*shoku* or *shiki* 職) and "art" (*geinō*) are indissolubly linked, low-level shōen stewards could also be included in the category (p. 109, 123). Three: As a prerogative ensured either at the state or social level, they were either all or in part exempt from annual taxation and other obligations, and were thus ensured a special kind of "freedom" (p. 23, 105, 110, 124), and in exchange, with their particular skills serve the powerful religious institutions, beginning with the emperor (p. 105, 125–6).

These are all insightful observations, and deserving of consideration. However, if the questions is whether this proves sufficient for determining "the artisan" as a discrete status category, I am afraid I have to differ. First of all, Amino is compelled to limit historically his "artisan" to the 12th and 13th centuries onward due to the fact that the *New Saru-Gaku Record* lists "farmers" (*tato* 田堵) among the various "abilities" it enumerates (p. 106). According to Amino's argument, in the 12th and 13th centuries, farmers disappear from the realm of the "arts," leaving it the domain of those not engaged in agriculture. However, as discussed earlier, this notion of the "arts" or *geinō* is based on a broad understanding of the social division of labour, a perspective sufficiently capacious, as one sees in the *New Saru-Gaku Record*, to include even "women given choose drink over food" and "uncouth fools." In this sense, it could be said that anyone and everyone would have some "art." In fact, the late Muromachi *Sanjūni ban shokunin uta-awase emaki* 三十二番職人歌合絵巻 (*Thirty-two Artisans Poetry Competition*

[19] Amino Yoshihiko, "Chūsei toshi-ron" 中世都市論, in *Iwanami Chūsei kōza Nihon-shi, Chūsei* vol. 4, 1976; "Chūsei zenki no 'sanjo' to kyūmenden" 中世前期の『散所』と給免田, in *Shirin*, 59: 1, 1976; "Chūsei ni okeru tennō shihai ken no ikkōsatsu" 中世における天皇支配権の一考察, in *Shigaku zasshi*, 81: 8, 1980; *Nihon chūsei no minshūzō* 日本中世の民衆像. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980. For a representative critique of Amino, see Wakita Haruko 脇田晴子, "Chūsei-shi kenkyū to toshi-ron" 中世史研究と都市論, in *Nihon chūsei toshi-ron*. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1981, in which she critiques his work on three points, all of which are quite important.

Picture Scroll) features a "farmer" (*nō'nin* 農人), indicating that the prevailing attitude until the late medieval period included "farmers" within the category of "artisans." Second, that Amino includes the various "artisans" of the Shōen estate—local landlords (*myōshu* 名主), estate administrators (*shōkan* 荘官), lower-ranking stewards (*geshi* 下司), assistant-stewards (*kumon* 公文), guards and police (*sōtsuibushi* 惣追捕使)— in his artisan status category is simply untenable, and rouses a great number of doubts. Would Amino, for instance, maintain that local landlords are not peasants, or involved in agriculture (*hinōgyōmin* 非農業民)? Furthermore, simply because they share the general attribute of being exempt from taxation and eligible for the receipt of tax-exempt fields, is it at all feasible to lump together stewards, local landlords, lacquer workers, dyers, and puppeteers within a single status category? This anticipates what will be the thrust of the argument in the following section, namely, how should one think about status? Third, Amino considers "sacrifice-catcher" (*niebito* 贄人), "offeror" (*kugonin* 供御人), "a person in service to the gods" (*ji'nin* 神人), "offering-maker" (*gusainin* 供祭人), and "mediums" (*yoryūdo* 寄人) and such to be mere appellative terms or designations, or designations within the system (as opposed to discrete status categories) (p. 127, 128, 133). This may be par for the course within Amino's framework, operating as he is with his artisan status category, but how do these designations relate to expressions or articulations of status? In my opinion, *jinin* and *yoribito* for instance function in the medieval period as status categories at the state and social level. In sum, I consider these various groups as forming a status category composed of a collective serving powerful religious institutions with their particular skills or "arts." If one had to give it a representative designation, perhaps one could call it the "medium status."[20]

From the foregoing, it should be apparent that within the field of medieval status studies, the relationship between status designations (*mibun koshō* 身分呼称) or expressions of status (*mibun hyōgen* 身分表現), on the one hand, and *concepts* of status (*mibun gainen* 身分概念), on the other, has yet to be made clear. In the following section, I would like to interrogate this particular problematic.

3. Status Terms and Status Concepts

The problematic I proposed in the previous section can be divided into two points for argument. The first revolves around how one should think about and evaluate the appellative terms used for status —the lexical terms or designations used to indicate status. The other concerns status at the conceptual level—how should we conceptualize status, and subsequently what sort of approach should we adopt when considering it? Due to the formal constraints of this essay, the observations here will per force be limited to fulfilling the task at hand, the elab-

[20] See Wakita Haruko's previously cited essay, p. 24. For an accessible summary of Wakita's opinion, see his "Shinza no keisei" 新座の形成, *Rekishi kōron*, 5: 9, 1983.

oration of a structural schema of medieval status after my own fashion. In any case, let us begin with the latter of the two.

So, what *is* status? Heretofore there have been many definitions suggested. Perhaps most well-known is Ishimoda Tadashi's 石母田正 definition: "Status is a hierarchical order (*kaisō-teki chitsujo* 階層的秩序) in which class relations (*kaikyū kankei* 階級関係) have been fixed as the political or state order (*seiji-teki mata wa kokka-teki chitsujo* 政治的または国家的秩序). . . . With the emergence of modern capitalist society, this status order is completely dismantled, thereby laying bare the actual class relations underlying it; in anterior periods—with the exception, of course, of the primitive era before either class or status—class relations more or less were manifest through the phenomenological form of status." [21] However, the current attitude is that this definition has been basically overturned already by work done on subject of status authored by Kuroda Toshio and others. For instance, Kuroda has demonstrated the coexistence of multiple strands of status relations (*mibun no sho-keiretsu* 身分の諸系列) in (1) the village (*sonraku* 村落), (2) Shōen or court rule (*shōen kōryō no shihai* 荘園・公領の支配), (3) the patrimonial order of powerful institutions (*kenmon no kasan chitsujo* 権門の家産秩序), and (4) the state structure (*kokka-teki taisei* 国家的体制), as well as the corresponding contingent sites through which status is established or realized—in (1) the community (*kyōdōtai* 共同体), through (2) the social division of labour (*shakai-teki bungyō* 社会的分業), via (3) class relations (*kaikyū kankei* 階級関係), and through (4) the state (*kokka* 国家)—and has deftly shown how they relate to each other.[22] Thus, this proposed an analytical position that has permitted us to move away from an understanding of status as merely the phenomenological manifestation of class relations.[23] The importance of this argument is clear from the growth the field of medieval status-system studies has seen in its wake. Next, we have Ōyama Kyōhei's definition. While basically accepting Kuroda's argument, Ōyama proceeds to define status in the following terms:

> The organization of status in premodern society takes as its foundation that principle responsible for organizing internally collective human power exercised through the perpetual achievement of human social activity. These various social activities can be divided into a range of levels, encompassing productive activities, such as agriculture, fishing, hunting, etc., artistic and military

[21] Ishimoda Tadashi 石母田正, "Kodai no mibun chitsujo" 古代の身分秩序, in *Nihon kodai kokkaron*, part I. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973, p. 250.

[22] See Kuroda Hideo's essay, the citation for which is given in note 5.

[23] Takahashi Masaaki's 高橋昌明 essay "Chūsei no mibun-sei shuppitsu ni atatte ryokuten wo oita koto"『中世の身分制』執筆にあたって力点をおいたこと (yet to be published, but will surely go to print sooner or later), while supplementing the essay mentioned in my supplement to this chapter, locates the fundamental problems in Ishimoda's theory of status. For another critique of Ishimoda's theory, see Hara Hidesaburō's 原秀三郎 "Nihon kodai kokka-shi kenkyū no riron-teki zentei" 日本古代国家史研究の理論的前提, in *Nihon kodai kokka-shi kenkyū*. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1980.

> activities, and even political and religious activity. Status has the basis for its establishment in the internal norms of a collective that has organized itself as the executive agent of social activity at such various levels.

So defining status, Ōyama gives as archetypes of such social collectives or organizations (1) the household (*ie* イエ), (2) the village (*mura* ムラ), (3) parties (*to* 党), coalitions (*ikki* 一揆), guilds (*za* 座), congregations (*shū* 衆), warrior groups (*bushi-dan* 武士団), (4) powerful nobles (*kenmon kizoku* 権門貴族), the military government authority, or *bakufu* 幕府, powerful religious institutions (*kenmon jisha* 権門寺社), and (5) the state. In this manner, Ōyama's interpretation is first of all informed by the theory of the division of labour, and second, takes as its point of departure the establishment of internal parameters or norms on the part of its various social collectives, and posits as the basis for the establishment of the status system a procedural movement on the part of all social collectives towards a general norm.

In this way, the definitions of and debate surrounding status have changed greatly since Kuroda's essay was published in 1972.[24] The three points of greatest importance I have learned from this new wave of research are, (1) the need to consider the multiple contingencies, such as the division of labour, class, the community, and the state, informing the establishment of status; (2) that one should understand premodern people as part of social collectives, and that one should apprehend status as the internal norm or order of such social collectives; and (3), that one must consider the conceptual character of status at the level of habit or custom, law, and religion. That being said, I would like to offer my own definition of status:

> Status is the basic mechanism or system (*shisutemu* システム) in premodern society of human differentiation (*ningen sabetsu* 人間差別) and stratification (*seisōka* 成層化). In premodern society, human beings exist principally as part of a collective or group, and as such, the various statuses inscribed on individuals also have ontological presence as various status groups. These various status groups can be understood to range in an ever-expanding fashion from the smallest of collective social units (the household, the village) through various social collectives at every level, until culminating at its furthest extent at the level of the national community. The principle establishing and maintaining internal structural order within each status collective at each level is precisely status. The contingencies through which it is actualized are primarily the divisions of labour and class, among others, and it sees legitimation through custom, law, and religion.[25]

However, this definition is merely a starting point, a springboard for moving

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[24] Arashiro's 安良城 essay, noted in my supplementary comments, gives perhaps the most concise reflections on the basic essence, formation, contingency of emergence, structure, and organization of status; unfortunately, it is still incomplete, and I anxiously await its completion.

[25] Regarding concepts of status, there are many definitions offered by sociologists, beginning with Weber. I am still deliberating just how to receive them.

closer to our goal. The question is, rather, by turning our sights towards status, what sort of insight into the social or state order of the medieval period will become available to us? We require analytical methodologies and conceptual categories that can guide us to those ends. In the following, I will briefly summarize what is currently in our arsenal.

First of all, there is the question of the appellative terms used for status, touched upon in the foregoing. In my opinion, original work directed towards constructing an understanding of the various terms used reciprocally between people in the middle ages remains to be done. In other words, since human beings in premodern society find themselves necessarily situated in direct, unmediated relationships with other human beings through the relations of interpersonal dependency binding them together, one can only assume that human relationships, of no matter what sort, must find articulation at the level of language or naming—in brief, through appellative terms; thus, it is imperative that a level of analysis able to interrogate these various terms in an original manner be established. If one approaches such appellative terms from the vantage point of their categorization and organization, the question quickly becomes one of precisely how one chooses to in fact go about their categorization, but such terms can and do very well exist for nearly every conceivable kind of human difference or classification—people's physical conditions, their social rank, faculties or skills, employment, their age, gender, race, place of residence, religion, et cetera. Dredging up from this veritable "sea of appellatives" those that can properly be considered "status terms" is a task unto itself. For instance, even in the case of the *New Saru-Gaku Record* or *Collection of Common Sermons* cited in the previous sections, the various appellative terms that appear are not at all exclusively status terms. For instance, few would admit as status categories an "uncouth fool" status, or a "dregs" status, or a "widow" status. One also has difficulty conceiving of a "constant-sutra-reciter" status, as well.

However, the problem is, of course, that mingled with all these various appellatives are, in fact, status terms, and that they can tend to overlap subtly with others. For instance, if presented with a "fisherman" status (*ama mibun* 海人身分), a "townsman" status, or a "courtesan" status, it is not entirely inconceivable that some critics, at least, would recognize them as such. Even in the case of critics who take such status terms more broadly, one can imagine the next development in the discussion.

As to what I myself have come up against, one finds quite a variety of discriminatory status terms in circulation—"non-person" (*hi'nin*), "hill person" (*saka no mono* 坂者), "lodge person" (*shuku no mono* 宿者), and "dog-priest" (*inu-ji'nin* 犬神人), among others. These terms, it would seem, while nevertheless being subtly distinct also overlap. In some cases, they are essentially synonymous, while in other historical documents, they seem to refer to entirely different figures. In such cases, one surmises that their actual substance (*jittai* 実体) was itself perhaps

fluid, and that the status terms themselves are either regionally specific, or that they are named merely metonymically, based on their place of residence or the labour in which they were engaged. Moreover, the labour of these "non-persons" was varied and could change quite easily.

While I am of the opinion that, when confronted with how best to sum up these various status terms, Kuroda Toshio's model, positing as it does a "non-person" status category, is at present the most convincing,[26] it is nevertheless clear that we require a framework in which we can situate and put in order the debate moving us closer toward these diverse status terms. If such can be accomplished, it is certain that we will be able to gain much in ordering, investigating, and analyzing all sorts of status terms. In the medieval period, for instance, it was not uncommon for a single individual to belong to different collectives concomitantly, and in such cases, that person, one supposes, would have had two different status appellatives simultaneously.[27] Such cases, if approached rigorously, would be sure to furnish the grounds for very interesting argument.

If one pushes the point further, two considerations come to mind. One is a point emerging from the difference in quality of status terms. Otherwise put, in contradistinction to one's status determined by birth (through lineage or bloodline),[28] there are status terms of a different sort—for instance, statuses that are delimited to the lifetime of the individual.[29] How to contend with these statuses and their corresponding appellatives will likely be a question of individual approach. The second point is that there are many status terms—such as "underling/slave" (*warawa/yakko*) and "servant" (*ge'nin*)—that have an incredibly broad denotative extent.[30] In order to deal with these sorts of status terms, one must problematize the distinctions made and the linkages between relative articulations of status (*sōtai-teki mibun hyōgen* 相対的身分表現) and relative status relationships, on the one hand, and absolute articulations of status (*zettai-teki mibun hyōgen* 絶対的身分表現) and absolute status relationships, on the other. In other words, articulations of relative status would, depending on the vantage point from

[26] See Kuroda's essay in note 5, pages 361, and 377–390.

[27] The Tanaka essay cited in footnote no. 20 points out that it was possible for one to serve two masters at the same time, and underscores the fact that in such cases one would have two statuses at the same time (p. 21–22). Also, see p. 296 of the Takahashi essay mentioned in my supplementary notes.

[28] At the heart of the ideological underpinnings of the status system, of course, are concepts of heredity or origin (*shusei kannen* 種姓観念), in other words, lineage, bloodlines, and blood relations.

[29] Takahashi divides these into birth status, status of affiliation, and labour or employment status. This seems promising for future inquiry.

[30] Takahashi Masaaki's work in "Nihon chūsei hōken shakai-ron no zenshin no tame ni—ge'nin no kihon-teki seikaku to sono honshitsu" 日本中世封建社会論の前進のために—下人の基本的性格とその本質, *Rekishi hyōron*, 332, 1977, can be read as an example of the particular breadth of the ge'nin designation.

which the articulation of status is made, see the same status appellation deployed to refer to a different object.[31] If one fails to make this distinction clear, it will be impossible to avoid confusion at the level of argument.

It is my honest feeling that one cannot make any progress in thinking through the various aspects of status terminology without delving deep into the lexical universe of the middle ages and its people, but I must concede that at the present, I do not have the resources for an undertaking at that level. At this juncture, I can only indicate what remains to be done.

In what remains of this section, I would like to outline the direction and method of my approach, and connect it to the presentation of my model of the medieval status system that will follow in the next section.

In sum, by regarding the numerous appellatives comprising such status terms in relation to the system of symbolic and theoretical classification and differentiation, can one not perhaps not situate their coordinates within the status system? Thinking thusly, I set out in the first section of this chapter from a very fundamental and symbolic categorization of people. This was my quadripartite model of *hito*, *sōryo*, *warawa*, and *hi'nin* (the only important group not addressed in this schema is that of *onna*, or Women). By examining them through their linkages with these four categories, situating these various appellative terms should be possible. And, from this perspective, one can see that of the five distinctions made in status at the state level, or what has been conventionally considered the apex of the system, three—the aristocratic status (*kishu mibun* 貴種身分), the bureaucratic/samurai status (*tsukasa samurai mibun* 司・侍身分), and the peasant status (*hyakushō mibun* 百姓身分)—fall within the realm of *hito* or Persons, while those excluded from the realm of Persons are those of the *ge'nin* status, who fall within the rubric of *warawa*, and those of the *hi'nin* status, falling into the *hi'nin* or Non-Persons rubric.

Secondly, one must consider status and the status system while keeping in mind the distinction between the "endogenic" status relations within social collectives and "exogenic" status relations—those operative between social collectives.

In other words, as Ōyama has previously indicated, status operates as the internal norms of a social collective. And in premodern society, no matter who one may be, it is only as a constituent member of a collective or group that one can be an "individual." Therefore, people, through the endogenic norms of their social collective, are positioned within a particular set of status relationships, while at the same time, vis-à-vis the outside world, they per force display the

[31] Tanaka Minoru's 田中稔 essay "Samurai bonge kō" 「侍・凡下考」, *Shirin*, 59: 4, 1976, discusses how Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実, in his diary *Gyokuyo* 玉葉, refers to Hatta Tomoie's steward Shōji Tarō as "Tomoie's *shoju*," "Tomoie's *ge'nin*," and "Tomoie's *roju*," demonstrating that, even though he was of samurai extraction, to Kanezane, he was nothing more than a servant. This is a representative example of such relative status.

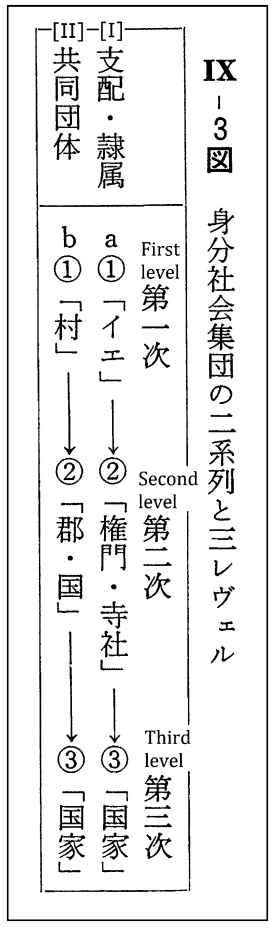

Figure 3. The two orders (vertical) and three levels (horizontal) of social organization. [I] First order: Rulers and the ruled; [II] Second order: Communal groups; a① household; a② powerful houses and religious institutions; a③ the state; b① villages; b② counties and provinces; b③ the state

particular characteristics of their status affiliation—through their abilities, work, dress, mannerisms, etc.—in their "exogenic" engagement in social activity. In other words, status relations must be analyzed with a clear distinction made between such internal status relations and external status relations.

In this case, one is faced first with the problem of breaking various social collectives into discrete units, and next by the relative level of each social collective (see **Figure 3**). In brief, one must differentiate between at least three levels of endogenic status relations and appellatives—those at the level of the individual social collective unit, those at the broader societal level (*shakai-teki kibo* 社会的規模), and ultimately those at the national or state level (*kokka-teki kibo* 国家的規模). I think one can envision this in principle as operating along two sets of

axes.[32] The first, axis a, operates vertically, indicating relations of rule and subjugation, and moves upward from (1) the household, through (2) the powerful local authorities to ultimately reach (3) the state. The second, axis b, operates laterally, representing communal relations, and thus moves outward, from (1) the village, through (2) the county or province before extending to the entirety of (3) the state. In other words, a(1) and b(1) are first-degree social collective units, while a(2) and b(2) represent the second-degree, societal level of internal status relations and order, and a(3) and b(3) represent the third-degree, national level of internal status order (of course, this is merely a model; one could, for instance, posit b(1) as "the town," or b(2) as a "provincial coalition").[33]

Here, at the first-degree level of social collective units, we have individual households and villages. Within these first-degree units, the vertically-organized household comprises the master and his servants or *ge'nin* and *shojū*, over whom he exerts authority, while the laterally-organized village comprises residents and villagers, on the one hand, and peripheral "in-between people" (*mōto* 間人) and vagabonds (*rō'nin* 浪人), on the other.[34]

Of importance here is that these individual collective units, as the individual cells of society and the state, formulate their own specific status relationships and terminology. The status relationships internal to these collective units are, generally speaking, closed, and function in accordance with the principles or characteristics specific to them; however, it should be clear that they cannot be completed through their internal functioning alone. In other words, they are determined by the status terminology and relationships operative at the secondary and tertiary levels. No matter what the term, chances are that it operates either as a term or relationship at the secondary or tertiary levels, and even in the case of exceptions to such, it would be linked to the system of external, exogenic status relations and nomenclature. For instance, "status XX" within a certain collective may correspond to "status YY" in another collective, but at the secondary or tertiary levels, both would be found to correspond to "status ZZ," thereby rendering apparent the relative positions of the various status terms at play. In this sense, the status relationships and terminology within a collective unit only come to bear meaning in relation to the exterior. In other words, at the secondary level, regional society or the institutions of local authority cannot but impose a particular internal status order, and as such this secondary level becomes the basis for the status relations and terminology internal to society.

Ready examples of such second-level regional societies are, of course, the province, county, and township (*gō* 郷). Here, regional coalescence forms a

[32] Please refer to the entry on "Status-System Society" authored by Naruse Osamu 成瀬治, in *Sekai daihyakka jiten* 世界大百科事典. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2007.

[33] I have let "powerful local authorities" represent the second-degree category, but other groupings—parties, coalitions, guilds, congregations, etc., are basically situated at this second-degree level.

[34] This community need not be the village; it could be, for instance, a craftsmen's or merchants' guild.

discrete set of "endogenic" status relations, and thereby structures the status hierarchies and orders operating reciprocally between individual social collective units. "Exogenic" status relations at the level of individual collective units form the "endogenic" status relations at the secondary level. The same holds for the institutions of authority, as the various individual units incorporated into the patrimonial order and ruling system are ranked through their organization as "endogenic" statuses (for instance, *karei* 家礼 versus *ke'nin* 家人). Within such a patrimonial system, is it natural to observe a multitude of positions commensurate with the complexity of its organization. Additionally, shrine-workers (*ji'nin*), mediums (*yoribito*), *kugonin*, *niebito*, *kunin*, and weavers (*ori-te* 織手), among others, have their status determined by the shared condition of being in service to this patrimonial ruling system, and can thus be understood as "endogenic" statuses at the second level—in other words, as societal- or state-level statuses.[35]

By contrast, the tertiary, state level subsumes the regional domains negotiated reciprocally by the local political and landed authorities or county or provincial administration, and as a larger unit absorbing such borders, has established within it its status relations and designations. The status system *qua* state order constitutes, basically, the normative set of relations within the state, and is thus status *qua* endogenic normative relations. At this level, status is ordered according to the axis of official court ranks and titles. The status ranking at this third level, in other words, at the internal level of the state, comprises the aforementioned categories of the aristocracy, bureaucrats and samurai, and peasants and lesser commoners.[36]

In this manner, status relations and order can be organized into three levels. The first are those operative within social collective units as foundational "endogenic" status relationships. The second are the status relationships within a specific regional society or within the administrative purview of powerful ruling institutions, which operate at the societal level, incorporating as they have these individual social collective units. One could say that these are status relations of a dynamic character, prone to change in response to transformations or developments in various social collectives.[37] Comparatively, the third is the set of

[35] Takahashi considers these status terms to be what he calls statuses of affiliation.

[36] According to Kuroda, Tanaka, Ōyama, and Ishida Yūichi 石田雄一, these groups can more or less be summarized in the following way. The aristocracy comprises the collective of nobles organized around the imperial family, the highest ranking being the family of the regent (*sekkanke* 摂関家), then descending from the rank of *kugyō* 公卿 to *tayū* 大夫, no lower than the fifth rank. They hold political power. Bureaucrats and samurai are lower ranking courtiers, serving and subordinate to the aristocracy while still making up the ruling class. Peasants and commoners compose the majority of the ruled, have no rank, and maintain households.

[37] Ōyama in the previously cited essay does similarly (p. 374), but Takahashi's essay deepens its ruminations on the fact that status "is shaped by its involvement with the existence of autonomous groups of various types, and thus has a social reality and 'rationality' of its own" (p. 319). I have thought about this, but have yet to make up my mind entirely.

status relations or the status order that has internally organized at the level of the state the status relations between various social collectives, and is thus the set of status relations or status order internal to the state. It is only natural that this should fulfill the role of regimenting the status relations "between" social collectives. Not only that, but this status order, oriented outward, produces international and ethnic status hierarchies with China, Korea, or the Ryukyu Islands.

It goes without saying that responsible for bringing together social collectives in this manner is the state-level status order. Within this regime, subordinate status relations are arranged as "endogenic" status relations. This is because, in other words, at that level, the state-level organization of status determined by official court ranks and titles is taken to be the fundamental axis of the social order, and through this, the reciprocal relationships between status relations and their concomitant articulations are arranged.

Of course, the arrangement of status at the state level is static. Its primary function is the maintenance, ordering, and fine tuning of the reciprocal relations between the existing status categories.[38] Therefore, its position is diametrically opposed to that of the various activity, carried out by dynamic, moving agents, responsible for the production of status terminology in premodern society. However, at the same time, when thinking of the formation of a new state, it would be natural that the formation of a new status order at the state level would be dynamic, having as its axis the status of the state-forming subject. What I would like to emphasize here in particular is that the development of the common people at the societal level, specifically development in the social division of labour and the growth of the classes, always harbours within it the tendency to form new statuses.

However, this Japanese status order is, however, far from simple. For one, the national, "endogenic" order is itself in turn determined by its emplotment among states within an international status order. For instance, the status order at the diplomatic level surrounding the relationship between the Chinese emperor (*kōtei* 皇帝) and the Japanese king (*kokuō* 国王). Another example would be the relationships between people variously "within" and "outside" the state; the lines drawn to determine at what point one ceases being Japanese and begins to be a foreigner, or a barbarian, for instance, are implicated in structuring the framework of status relations at a very delicate level. Here, status relations at the inter-ethnic level begin structuration.

4. The Status System in the Middle Ages: In Lieu of a Conclusion

What has been delineated in the preceding is altogether quite simple. To summarize, in the first section, by indicating what facets of the status system are

[38] It should go without saying that the power this function of status at the state has is conceptual and ideological.

visible at the level of visual markers, we were able to derive two sets of opposing principles, Purity ↔ Pollution, on the one hand, and Sacred↔Mundane, on the other, and we indicated that the central axis of the medieval status system was for the former, having at its poles the emperor and the *hi'nin*, in its extreme form the leper.

In the second section, by analyzing the *Collection of Common Sermons,* we indicated that similarly two sets of contrasting oppositions could be derived—one being Extra-Secular ↔ the Secular, corresponding to the Sacred-Mundane binary, and the other, Spirit ↔ Art. The level of Spirit can be summed up as follows. The Secular world is organized by a status system, mediated by the relations of authority and subjugation binding lord and follower, linking the emperor at its zenith to the common people as its base through the state system of court ranks and titles. The Extra-Secular world is organized in an analogous fashion, governed by a state-level status system of priestly ranks from *sōjō* 僧正 to *ushiki* or *yūsoku* 有職, mediated by the master-disciple relationship. By contrast, the grouping of Arts appears at first glance to be composed of a random assortment of professions, but upon closer examinations reveals itself to be ordered in a manner analogous to the state-level status systems above, suggesting that its composition has in part been determined by the state-level status order.

In the third section, to assist our investigation of status, we discussed the distinction to be made between "endogenic" status and "exogenic" status, and attempted to show how the nature of status, as a set of internal, endogenic norms, is arranged at three levels: the first, within the unitary social collective, the second, within a larger societal context, and the third, finally, as a status system at the state level.

What remains to be done at this juncture, after making these observations, is of course to visually schematize the medieval status system. The status system, demonstrating the sort of complexity of the medieval period that it does, recognizes at the state level only the categories of "the aristocracy," "bureaucrats and samurai," and "peasants and commoners" as forming its basic constituent status groups. Kuroda Toshio has previously remarked on this. The problem confronting us is what sort of diagram can we elaborate while retaining these three status groups as an axis while including our findings from the preceding sections.

The first point we should reiterate here is that the status system functions as the endogenic organizing principle for social collectives. In the vertically organizes warrior households, for instance, status relations are maintained by the axis furnished by hierarchical authority, domestic relationships and relationships of dependency, like the relationship between master and servant. While each household exists with its own individual peculiarities, as a stratified order each has at its poles the master and his servants, with all individual relationships falling in between organized hierarchically through one's specific relationship to the head of the household. The organization of these unitary collectives can be understood to have an oblong, fusiform morphology, similar to those of muscle

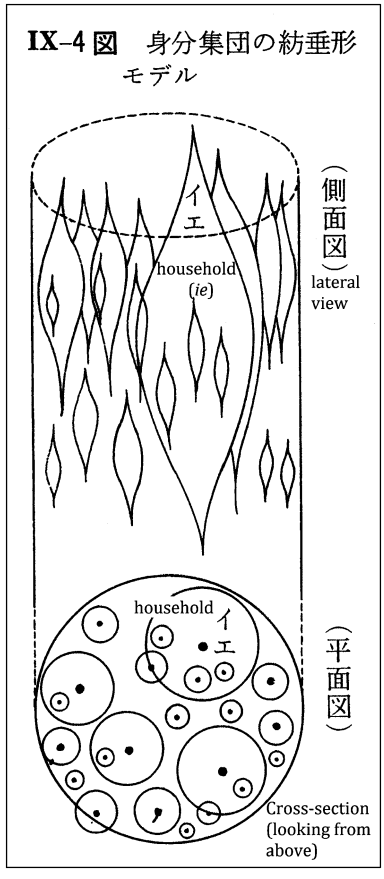

Figure 4. Spindle-shaped model depicting the relationships between social groups

fibers. The status system as a societal system is constituted by the interactions and interrelationships between these fusiform units. In other words, the larger fusiform units of patrimonial households will contain within them a plurality of smaller households, and thus contain a plurality of smaller fusiform units. Powerful ruling institutions, such as the estates of the local nobility or shrine and temple estates, regardless of their relative size, form compound, aggregate fusiform status systems. These fusiform social collectives of sizes great and small, through their reciprocal interactions, give shape to status relations. Meanwhile, while communal groupings such as the village, forming the lateral axis, do demonstrate stratification, representing them by fusiform units is inappropriate; to illustrate, for instance, how the village is a communal unit comprising all individual households, I have decided to represent this, via the dotted lines in **Figure 4**, as an oval cross-section laterally circumscribing the vertically-oriented unitary collectives. Larger administrative units, such as provinces or counties, are homologous.

The second point is to situate the emperor at the apex, and the non-person *hi'nin* at the terminus. According to Kuroda Toshio, "the medieval status system, having a special hereditary quality, . . . establishes above a status stratum reserved for the revered and sacred, above and beyond the realm of the human, and below, an abject status stratum of the unclean, far below the realm of the human, and within these conceptually powerful strictures, produces a public, stratified status system, that does not rely on private interpersonal relations. That is its particular characteristic."[39] As I understand it, as the emperor, occupying the apex of the status system, represents the quintessence of purification and de-personalization (*hi'ningen-ka* 非人間化), within the collective of non-person *hi'nin*, lepers are considered the quintessence of the polluted or unclean, and this dichotomy of purity and pollution determines the oppositional poles undergirding relations within the medieval status order. Between these extremes are the compound fusiform collectives previously discussed, varying in size and proportion. Thus, this overarching relationship can be modeled as a much larger fusiform structure, subsuming all other fusiform units and pulling them towards its two extremes.

The third point to be made is that the status system basically articulates the order or stability between the center and the periphery or borders. In other words, rural regions and localities, having the capital as their putative center, determine their status systems concentrically. One must understand the total status system in Japan as divided between the capital, the rural provinces, and the periphery or borderlands. It is likely that one's relative proximity with regards to the seat of political authority and the capital was an indispensable factor in understanding the calculus of the status structure. In the case of the capital, since it was arranged around the emperor as the seat of purity, the polluted were made to gather at its edges. Outside the capital lie Yamashiro Province and the Kinai region. Were the peasants of the capital and the Kinai region, and those of more distant provinces, considered to share the same status? Most likely not. Similarly, as Tanaka has pointed out regarding the samurai status, one can see discrepancies in shogunate law in the standing and treatment of rural samurai.[40] When it comes to those living on the distant peripheries or borderlands of the state, as Murai has pointed out, since they were often seen to be something akin to "demons" (*oni* 鬼) it is difficult to think that the status of those on the periphery of the state's territory would have been considered to share the same status with the inhabitants of the Kinai region. In other words, if one were to take a cross-section of our fusiform model, at the resulting circle's center would be the site of purity, and at the perimeter, the zone of pollution, thereby visually representing the regime of Purity↔Pollution laterally.[41] As the

[39] See p. 392 of the previously cited article.

[40] See previously cited Tanaka article.

[41] Please refer to pp. 36–44 of Murai's essay, mentioned in my supplementary notes.

vertical status relations within the system are organized by this Purity↔Pollution dynamic, the status system is clearly influenced by this concentric spread at the regional level and by the oppositional relationship between Purity and Pollution, and thus does not stop or reject the incorporation the "outside," other ethnic groups or other collectives at the periphery or on the borders of the status system. In other words, the structure of the status system encompasses the entirety of the concentric Purity ↔ Pollution opposition.[42]

The fourth point in need of making is that the "Sacred" collectives, positioned in contradistinction to the "Mundane," occupy a position of great importance in the medieval period. To the left-hand side of the central axis organized by the figures of the emperor and the leper lies the status order organizing the domain of the "Sacred," while to the right lies the status order organizing the domain of the "Mundane." The former can be roughly partitioned into two categories: "learned monks" (*gakuryo* 学侶), including among others the *monzeki* 門跡, the aristocrats within the temple precincts, and "low-ranking monks" (*dōshū* 堂衆), with *shimo-bōshi* 下法師 and *shimobe* 下部 filling out the lowest rungs. This domain is ordered by the sacerdotal ranks and titles subtended at the state level, and as is well known from the *Kōan reisetsu* 弘安礼節, sees the "Mundane" and "Sacred" reciprocally establish correspondence between the coordinates of their relative status systems.[43]

However, the world of Monks or *sōryo* is not simple.[44] While informed by the domain of Persons or *hito*, one must keep in mind the slippages between it and the mundane realm (This, however, is not a problem that can readily be resolved here. It will first be necessarily to clarify the status relations and rankings within individual temples, then expand one's analysis to whole regions or sects to ascertain the relative rank of specific temples. Only then can one begin to have a sense of the status organization of the Monk or *sōryo* category at the state level.).

The fifth point to be made regards the shrine-workers, mediums, *kugonin*, and

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[42] From this perspective, the conceptual connections between the sort of attitude evinced towards non-person hi'nin as "unclean," and those held toward the Ezo 蝦夷 will require careful evaluation.

[43] For more on the *Kōan reisetsu*, see Tanaka (p. 29) and Takahashi (p. 317).

[44] "Learned monks" were divided into monks of aristocratic origin and common monks, with the former being made up of those of the fifth rank or higher, and some of high-ranking samurai status. From cases in which one knows the class background of the *dōshū* or lower-ranking monks, they tended to be of middle-to-low samurai rank. By contrast *shimo-bōshi* and *gebu* shaved their heads, but were not official monks, and took care of menial tasks within the temple—one could consider them the peasants or commoners of the temple. Seen from this perspective, the "learned monks" correspond to the aristocratic classes in the domain of Persons or hito, while *dōshū* correspond to the samurai class, and the *shimo-bōshi* and *shimobe*, to the commoner classes. However, there is a degree of clear slippage between these categories. Further investigation is required to the ends of a better understanding of the factors informing the status order within religious institutions.

niebito, among others. They have their own specific lateral affiliation informed by the type and mode of their profession and are incorporated into the administrative bodies of the powerful ruling authorities; somewhat later, historically speaking, the professional or guild-like aspect specific to them will become increasingly clear.[45]

The sixth point to be made is that, as can be readily observed should one understand our model as a compound body of fusiform social collectives, there are myriad spaces and interstices between and at the edges of the plurality of fusiform units forming the whole. In these spaces operate the social collectives of the non-person *hi'nin*, but they too form their own individual collectives and groups particular to them.[46]

By incorporating these various conditions, our schema of the medieval status system perforce adopts a fusiform morphology; within it, fusiform social collectives both great and small stand in relationships of reciprocal opposition and co-dependence, enfolding each other or overlapping in various ways. The exogenic positions of these fusiform social collectives are endogenically arranged at once by the system of court (or sacerdotal) ranks and titles, produced with the opposition of Purity and Pollution centered on the emperor as well as the authority of the throne as its central axis, and by the geographical or spatial opposition between Purity and Pollution centered on the capital. And, within the gaps between these fusiform social collectives, those that have elected to remove themselves from society, or those individuals or collectives that have fallen through or been left behind, are active on the peripheries and borders, either of the capital or further afield.

Figure 5 is the structural diagram described in the foregoing. One can only hope that it can perhaps serve some purpose as a reference.

In concluding, I would like to digress slightly and append some further explanation. In brief, what can be apprehended from a theological or sociological perspective as the tripartite structure of Cosmos (the Sacred), Nomos (the Mundane), and Chaos[47] can also be identified within this model. In other words, to the left one as Cosmos, the Sacred, to the right, Noumos, the Mundane, and at the very base, Chaos. However, while in principle this model should have three vertices, in our fusiform diagram of the medieval status order, the vertices of Cosmos and Nomos converge at the apex, while Chaos is positioned diametri-

[45] Since the goal of this paper has been to elaborate a model of the medieval status system, there has been no diachronic analysis of the developmental process of the status system. This will be a task for the future.

[46] For more on the hierarchies of these groups, see "Illustrated Picture Scrolls as Historical Documents and the Medieval Status System," also contained in this volume.

[47] Kimura Yōji's 木村洋二 chapter "Shōchō-teki sekai no yonkyoku kōzō moderu" 象徴的世界の四極構造モデル, *Warai no shakaigaku* 笑いの社会学. Tokyo: Sekai Shisōsha, 1983, interestingly interprets the Sacred as a "superstructure" or potential that produces "structure" and therefore "order."

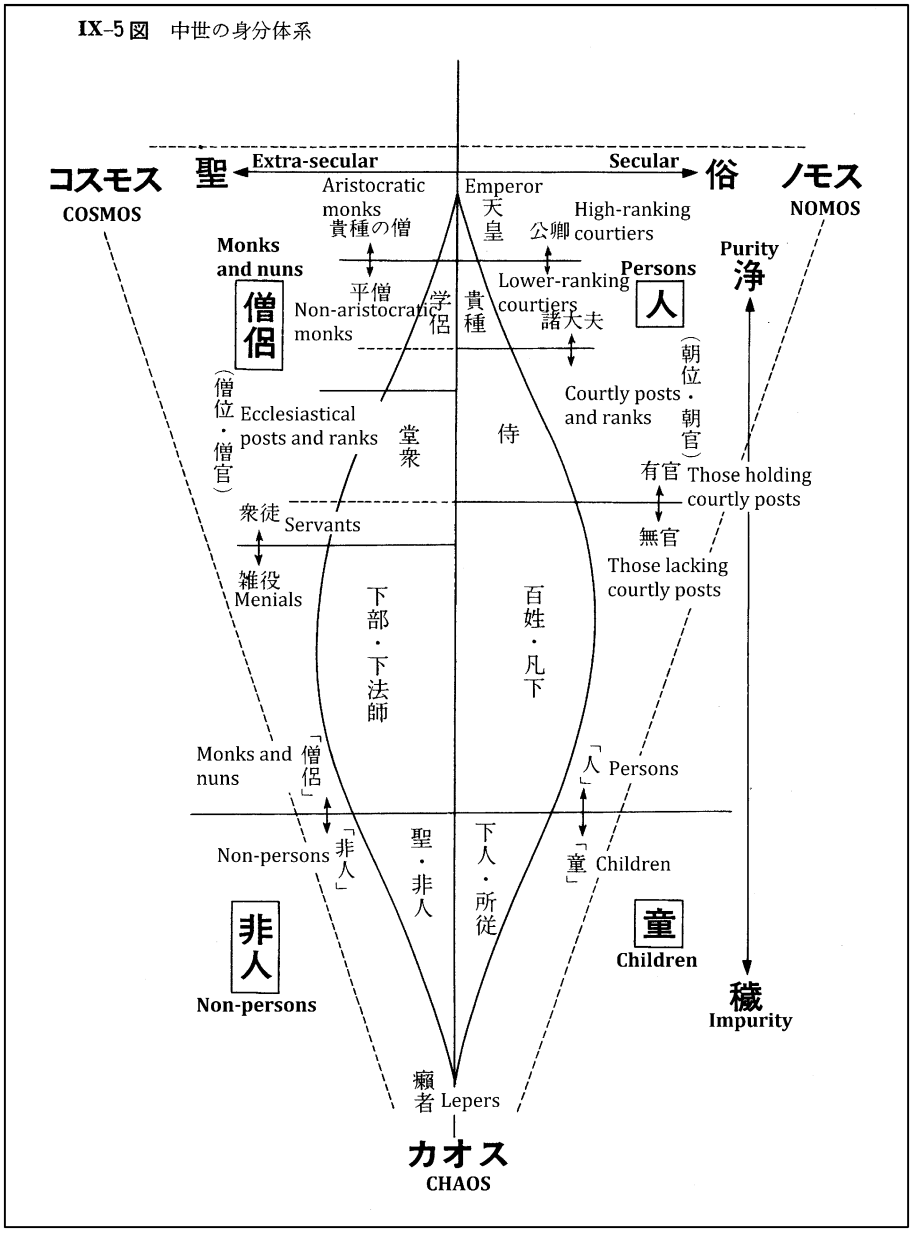

Figure 5. Schematic depiction of the system of social status relations prevailing throughout the medieval period.

cally against both at the structure's lowest point, in the position of greatest pollution. Cosmos and Nomos are thus set against Chaos, in the form Cosmos/Nomos↔Chaos.

Chaos, however, exists at the threshold of all social collectives. In this sense,

while its symbolic pole may be located at the very terminus of the status system, Chaos nevertheless may lurk anywhere within those interstices—such as the liminal spaces of the public roads or riverbanks—at the Cosmic and Nomic peripheries.

Supplementary Note:

The latter half of this chapter consists of new material. That being said, it is not informed by more recent findings, but rather is the result of the reworking and reorganization of a draft wrote concomitantly with the composition of the first half. That draft was to have been completed and to have appeared as "Some Additional Notes on the Medieval Status System" in the magazine *Jinmin no reki-shi-gaku*, but at about the same time I found myself in the position of having to prepare the keynote address at the conference hosted by the Historical Science Society of Japan (contained in this volume as "Epidermal Sensation and Fear in the Common People of the Middle Ages"), and lacked either the time or energy to complete it. But, as the first half was going to be included in this monograph, I no option but to finish the second half. I thought about rewriting the entire thing, but if I were to have done so, it would have ill-fit with the first half. Therefore, I only went so far as to put the argument from the original draft in better order. For that reason, one could say that there isn't much in the way of new material to be found in the latter half, but such was necessary for the completion of the essay and its argument. As a result, however, I have been reminded of the urgent need for a more rigourous and thoroughgoing engagement with the study of status, and hope to fill in some of the blank in future work.

When revising an older manuscript, however, it is hard to keep one's later reading from finding its way into one's work. I have tried to mark such places with additional footnotes, but I am unsure whether this has been sufficient. For that reason, I list here those papers published in the interim that I myself found to be important.

a) Arashiro Moriaki 安良城盛昭, "Mibun narabi ni mibun-sei ni tsuite no rironteki sho mondai" 身分ならびに身分制についての理論的諸問題, in *Nihon hōken shakai seiritsuron* 日本封建社会成立論, vol.1, postscript. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983.

b) Takahashi Masaaki 高橋昌明, "Chūsei no mibun-sei" 中世の身分制, in *Kōza Nihon rekishi* 講座日本歴史, volume 3, chūsei 1. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984.

c) Koyama Yasunori 小山靖憲, "Chūsei no senminsei" 中世の賤民制, in *Kōza Nihon rekishi* 講座日本歴史,volume 4, chūsei 2. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1985.

d) Yokota Fuyuhiko 横田冬彦, "Kinsei no mibunsei" 近世の身分制, in *Kōza Nihon rekishi* 講座日本歴史, volume 5, kinsei 1. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1985.

e) Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, "Chūsei Nihon rettō no chiiki kūkan to kokka" 中世日本列島の地域空間と国家, *Shisō*, June 1985.

All of the above are rich works of scholarship, but I will refrain from further commentary here, and instead, as stated above, will continue my process of digestion. Finally, I would like express my sincerest apologies to the editorial department of *Jinmin no rekishigaku* for having failed to complete the second half of this chapter until the present, as well as for having put it to print—the sloth of the author is the blame on both accounts.

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Yoshitsune Crossing the Ocean: The Tale of *Onzōshi Shimawatari*

Saitō Maori

Translated by Kristopher Reeves

Performative works from various genres—*nō* 能, *kōwakamai* 幸若舞, *kojōruri* 古浄瑠璃—that foreground episodes in the life of Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159–1189) and his immediate circle are collectively referred to as *hōgan mono* 判官物, a term taken from the fact that Yoshitsune himself served as lieutenant of the imperial police (*hōgan*). Many of these episodes where circulated and enjoyed in the form of picture books (so-called *Nara ehon* 奈良絵本) and illustrated scrolls, a great many of which focused on events taken from Yoshitsune's younger years. One of the more noteworthy events takes the form of a fantastic legend in which Yoshimitsu succeeds in obtaining a manual containing esoteric teachings of martial strategy. An adaptation of this legend appears in the second fascicle of *Gikeiki* 義経記 (*The Chronicle of Yoshitsune*), for example, contains a section, entitled "Yoshitsune Pays His Respects to Venerable Master Kiichi or Oniichi 鬼一," wherein readers are treated to a tale of martial courage and ill-fated love.

A fine example of how this same legend was adapted into the world of popular fiction is to be found in a vernacular tale (*otogi zōshi* 御伽草子) entitled *Onzōshi shimawatari* 御曹子島渡り (*Yoshitsune's Island Hopping*).[1] The first part of the title of this tale, *onzōshi*, is a polite term used to refer to the son of a high-ranking, well-to-do father who has not yet gained own independence. This term eventually came to serve as an epithet for Yoshitsune, at least during his early years. Vernacular tales of this sort, compiled and published between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, often included illustrations, thereby taking the form either of picture books or illustrated scrolls. These works grant us a glimpse into the visual culture of medieval Japan. Despite much research, in most cases, neither the authors nor the illustrators of these works are known. This is so in regards to *Onzōshi shimawatari*, of which only ten manuscripts, including both

[1] For an English translation by Charles Woolley of this vernacular tale, complete with illustrations, see Keller Kimbrough and Haruo Shirane, ed., *Monsters, Animals, and Other Worlds: A Collection of Short Medieval Japanese Tales*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, pp. 149–165.

woodblock and fragmentary editions, are currently known to be extant.

In recent years, however, an exceptionally beautiful manuscript of this tale, consisting of three large-sized illustrated scrolls completed sometime in the seventeenth century was discovered among the Ikenoya Collection いけのや文庫. In August, 2017, the National Institute of Japanese Literature made these scrolls available to the public in the form of digitalized images available on-line.[2] It is believed that the Ikenoya MS was produced in the same studio that compiled what is now known as the Kuyō Collection 九曜文庫 MS of *Onzōshi shimawatari*, considering a number of striking similarities found in both manuscripts.

A summary of the tale as found in this Ikenoya MS is in order. Yoshitsune, at the recommendation of a certain Hidehira of the Northern Fujiwara clan, undertakes a long sea voyage in hopes of obtaining a rare manual of martial strategy entitled *Dainichi no hō* 大日の法, or, Stratagem of the Great Sun. This esoteric manual, we are told, is in the hands of Great King Kanehira かねひら大王, an demonic, ogre-like lord, who dwells in Kiken Castle 喜見城, somewhere in the northern lands of the Emishi tribes. Yoshitsune sets out from the port at Tosa and arrives at the northern castle only to have his request denied outright: Great King Kanehira is not willing to reveal his secret manual to the young visitor. Undaunted by this initial rebuff, Yoshitsune manages to enlist the aid of Asahi Tennyo 朝日天女, Divine Maiden of the Morning Sun, a princess at Kanehira's court, who promises to assist the young man by making a copy of the manual. No sooner had she copied the pages of the manual than the text of the latter was magically erased, leaving only a blank scroll. Fearing the wrath of Kanehira, Princess Asahi quickly ensures that Yoshitsune is safely sent away from the island, copied scroll in hand. Unfortunately, the princess was unable to preserve her own life, slain as she was at the hands of an enraged Kanehira. In the end, it is revealed that Princess Asahi was actually a temporary manifestation of Benzaiten, a goddess whose abode was believed to be on Enoshima 江の島, Kanagawa. This goddess, in an act of divine intervention, deigned to descend to this mortal world in the form of a maiden and, allowing herself to be married to the demonic Kanehirae, succeeded in assuring the victory of the Minamoto clan over their—and evidently her—rivals, the Taira clan. Armed with his newfound esoteric martial teachings, Yoshitsune was able to defeat the Taira forces, thereby fulfilling Benzaiten's wish.

Some research has already been done in regards to similarities between *Onzōshi shimawatari* and another popular vernacular tale entitled *Kibune no honji* 貴船の本地 (*The Original Buddha of Kibune*), insofar as both tales depict the tragic love affair between the mortal son of a high-ranking father, on the one hand, and the divine princess of a demonic overlord, on the other. Furthermore, investigations into the cultural background inspiring tales of secretly transmitted manuals or other written material has brought to light the relationship between such practices and

[2] See https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100257436/viewer.

Figure 1. The artistic choice of including twenty-five of these tiny people here was likely meant to indicate the twenty-five bodhisattvas (*nijūgo bosatsu*) believed to accompany Amida Buddha as members of the divine entourage that descended to the mortal plane to welcome faithful believers at their dying hour. "Island of the Tiny People," as depicted in the Ikenoya Collection MS.
https://doi.org/10.20730/100257436

the nature of economic trade in medieval Japan.[3] While other vernacular tales, such as *Tengu no dairi* 天狗の内裏 (The Palace of the Tengu) and *Minazuru* 皆鶴 (*Princess Minazuru*), both of which belong to the genre of *hōgan mono*, are love stories that involve beautiful princess and the hunt for esoteric manuals of martial lore, *Onzōshi shimawatari* is unique in that it includes a journey to a distant, otherworldly island. Among literary works produced during and after the fourteenth century one may find a number of equally peculiar islands: Nyogo ga shima 女御島, the Isle of Women; the elusive Hadaka jima 裸島, an island who inhabitants run about naked all year long; an island supposed to be populated exclusively by miniature people (see **Figure 1**).

How exactly all the elements found in *Onzōshi shimawtari* found there way into that single tale is not altogether clear. It is worth noting, however, that a number of the fantastical islands depicted in this tale appear, albeit in somewhat altered form, in poplar Chinese encyclopedias (Ch: *riyong leishu*; J: *nichiyō ruisho*) published

[3] See Kanazawa Hideyuki 金沢英之, *Yoshitsune no bōken: eiyū to ikai wo meguru monogatari no bunka* 義経の冒険—英雄と異界をめぐる物語の文化史, Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2012; Ōtani Setsuko 大谷節子, "'Chōryō ikkan no sho' denjutan kō: yōkyoku *Kurama tengu* no haikei" 「張良一巻書」伝授譚考—謡曲「鞍馬天狗」の背景—, in *Muromachi geibun ronkō* 室町藝文論攻, Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1991; Hotate Michihisa 保立道久, *Monogatari no chūsei: shinwa, setsuwa, minwa no rekishigaku* 物語の中世—神話・説話・民話の歴史学, Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998.

during the Ming Dynasty. Many of these encyclopedias contain sections dedicated to "foreign lands," in which both real—or at least semi-real—as well as purely fictional lands are placed side by side. It has recently been established that these sections on foreign lands served as a primary source of inspiration for a Japanese vernacular tale entitled *Ikoku monogatari* 異国物語 (*A Tale of Foreign Lands*, 1658), a picture book version of which has since been introduced to the scholarly community. *Onzōshi shimawatari* was written during an age when the interests of authors and readers was being drawn towards an imaginary world populated not merely by the already familiar triad of China, India, and Japan, but by a whole host of far-off, purely fantastic lands. The general efflorescence at this time of what is now referred to very broadly as nature studies (*hakubutsugaku* 博物学) played an important role in spurring on this imaginative movement. Consequently, *Onzōshi shimawatari* presents us with valuable insight into ways in which Japanese authors were manipulating both geographical and intellectual boundaries.

Illustrations accompanying medieval vernacular tales served as a visual means of imparting to readers the nature of a given boundary or liminal zone appearing within the story. One commonly cited example of this is the use of decorative wave-like patterns in a depiction of the aforementioned Kiken Castle, a motif that was utilized in many seventeenth-century illustrated scrolls and picture books as a means of signifying that the place in question was not of this world.[4]

While Yoshitsune was able to obtain a copy of Kanehira's esoteric manual, he was unable to lay his hands on the original. He was, furthermore, unable to take Princess Asahi away from the island with him. It would appear that artefacts and people properly belonging to other worlds can never be brought back to our mundane world. This is in perfect accord with, say, the comb case (*tama tebako* 玉手箱) given to Urashima by the Dragon Princess, or the widespread taboo against gazing on otherworldly or supernatural things found in ancient Japanese literature such as the *Kojiki* 古事記. In *Kibune no honji*, already mentioned above, the male protagonist—a privileged son like Yoshitsune—first falls in love with the princess when seeing her likeness drawn on a fan. He, like Yoshitsune, is ultimately unable to take the woman back with him to the mundane world. *Onzōshi shimawatari* offers ample material for considerations of the nature of liminality and other worlds in medieval Japanese literature. Now that the Ikenoya Collection MS of this tale has been made publically available to a wider audience, it is hoped that more research in these areas will be forthcoming.

[4] Saitō Maori, "Crossing the Sea in an Illustrated Scroll: *Onzōshi shimawatari* in the Ikenoya Library," in The Bulletin of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, 44, March 2018, also available on-line at: http://id.nii.ac.jp/1283/00003596/. The images in question may be viewed at: https://doi.org/10.11501/1288381, https://doi.org/10.20730/200017771, and https://doi.org/10.20730/100066698.

Contributors

Kanazawa Hideyuki 金沢英之
Associate Professor at Hokkaido University

Areas of Research: Ancient Japanese literature, history of mythology
Major Publications:
- ◆ *Norinaga to Sandaikō* 宣長と『三大考』. Kasama Shoin, 2005.
- ◆ *Yoshitsune no bōken: eiyū to ikai wo meguru monogatari no bunkashi* 義経の冒険—英雄と異界をめぐる物語の文化史. Kōdansha, 2012.

Kobayashi Kenji 小林健二
Professor at the National Institute of Japanese Literature

Areas of Research: Japanese medieval literature (Muromachi period)
Major Publications:
- ◆ *Chūsei gekibungaku no kenkyū* 中世劇文学の研究. Miyai Shoten, 2001.
- ◆ *Chūsei no geinō to bungei* 中世の芸能と文芸. Chikurinsha, 2012.

Murai Shōsuke 村井章介
Professor at Rissho University

Areas of Research: Japanese medieval history, history of East Asian cultural interactions
Major Publications:
- ◆ *Nihon chūsei kyōkai shiron* 日本中世境界史論. Iwanami Shoten, 2013.
- ◆ *Nihon chūsei no ibunka sesshoku* 日本中世の異文化接触. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2013.

Koida Tomoko 恋田知子
Associate Professor at the National Institute of Japanese Literature

Research topics: Japanese medieval literature
Major Publications:
- ◆ *Hotoke to onna no muromachi: monogatari-sōshi ron* 仏と女の室町—物語草子論. Kasama Shoin, 2008.
- ◆ *Ikai e izanau onna: emaki nara ehon wo himotoku* 異界へいざなう女: 絵巻・奈良絵本をひもとく. Heibonsha, 2017.

Akazawa Mari 赤澤真理
Lecturer at Morioka Junior College, Iwate Prefectural University

Research topics: History of Japanese architecture
Major Publications:
- ◆ *Genji monogatari-e ni miru kinsei jōryū jūtaku shiron* 源氏物語絵にみる近世上流住宅史論. Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2010.

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Yoshino Tomomi 吉野朋美
Professor at Chuo University

Research topics: Medieval Japanese vernacular poetry (*waka*)
Major Publications:
◆ *Saigyō zenkashū* 西行全歌集. Iwanami Bunko, 2013.
◆ *Go-toba-in to sono jidai* 後鳥羽院とその時代. Kasama Shoin, 2015.

Ido Misato 井戸美里
Lecturer at the Kyoto Institute of Technology

Research topics: History of Japanese art
Major Publications:
◆ *Sengokuki fūzokuzu no bunkashi: Kikkawa, Mōrishi to "Tsukinami fūzokuzu byōbu"* 戦国期風俗図の文化史 吉川·毛利氏と「月次風俗図屏風」. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2017.
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Koike Jun'ichi 小池淳一
Professor at the National Museum of Japanese History

Research topics: Ethnology, history of beliefs
Major Publications:
◆ *Onmyōdō no rekishi minzokugakuteki kenkyū* 陰陽道の歴史民俗学的研究. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2011.
◆ *Kisetsu no naka no kamigami: saiji minzokukō* 季節のなかの神々—歳時民俗考—. Shunjūsha, 2015.

Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男
Professor Emeritus of Tokyo University

Areas of Research: Historical iconography, medieval and early modern history
Major publications:
◆ *Kokuhō jingōji sanzō to wa nanika* 国宝神護寺三像とは何か. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, Kadokawa Sensho, 2012.
◆ *Rakuchū rakugaizu, funakibon wo yomu* 洛中洛外図・舟木本を読む. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, Kadokawa Sensho, 2015.

Saitō Maori 齋藤真麻理
Professor at the National Institute of Japanese Literature

Areas of Research: Japanese medieval literature
Major Publications:
- *Amerika ni watatta monogatari-e: emaki, byōbu, ehon* アメリカに渡った物語絵 絵巻・屏風・絵本. Perikansha, 2013.
- *Irui no utaawase: Muromachi no kichi to gakugei* 異類の歌合 室町の機智と学芸. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2014.

Translators

Kristopher Reeves クリストファー・リーブズ
Assistant Professor at the National Institute of Japanese Literature

Elizabeth Marsh エリザベス・マーシュ
Writer and researcher; Master of Arts in Asian Studies

Miriam McConnell ミリアム・ミッコネル
Doctoral Student of Japanese Literature at the University of Colorado Boulder

Isaac Wang アイザック・ワン
Doctoral Student of Japanese Literature at the University of Colorado Boulder

Charles Woolley チャールズ・ウーリー
Adjunct Assistant Professor at Columbia University

Translation Consultants

Keller Kimbrough ケラー・キンブロー
Professor of Japanese and Director of Graduate Studies in Japanese at the University of Colorado Boulder

Christina Laffin クリスティーナ・ラフィン
Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair in Premodern Japanese Literature and Culture at the University of British Columbia

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