

# Ishiyamadera Engi

Overview

I.

According to the Tōdaiji yōroku, Emperor Shōmu requested the Priests Röben, Gyöki and Baramon to build the Ishiyamadera Temple in Shiga, Ōmi Province. The same record mentions that "according to the diary of priest Nobuhira at the Ise Shrine, the Daibutsu was cast for the first time on the twenty-ninth day, the ninth month of the nineteenth year of Tenpyō (748), but the Emperor felt sad and deeply concerned because there was not enough gold to cover it. Fortunately, he had a divine revelation that the foot of the mountain next to the lake in Kurita, Omi Province, would be auspicious land for a monastery (garan). If a monastery were built there and the Nyoirinhō ritual performed, gold would surely be found. A temple was built on the auspicious land of Kurita County, statues of Nyoirin Kannon and Shukongō-shin were enshrined there, the Nyoirinhō ritual was performed and in the twelfth month of the same year gold was found in Shimotsuke Province". This suggests that the temple was built to pray for gold mining. However, the Ishiyamadera Temple does not possess many old records, and the history of the temple is not clear. That is why the Ishiyamadera engi emaki is an important source which tells the history of the temple. The events described in this scroll are likely based on true events.

The *Ishiyamadera engi* (Legends of the Ishiyamadera Temple) consists of thirty-three sections compiled into seven scrolls. The thirty-three sections correspond to the thirty-three incarnations of *Kannon*, the bodhisattva of compassion. However, the last two scrolls were lost long ago, and only five scrolls are extant. Of these five, the fourth and fifth were made during the Muromachi period, and the remaining three scrolls are older. These scrolls were made in the Shōchū era (1324 – 1326), a fact which can be inferred from the introduction, which mentions that in "the time of Shōchū, the style of governing was based on benevolence and justice, and temples flourished." The fourth and the fifth scrolls were soon lost and remade during the Muromachi period.

For centuries many things were said about the authors of the pictures and the text, but in the twelfth month of the forth year of Kansei (1792), the painter Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki, employed by the shogunate, visited this temple and gave his expert opinion on the authors of the scrolls. He considered priest Kōshu to be the calligrapher, and Takashina Takakane to be the illustrator of the first three scrolls. He indicated Sanjōnishi Sanetaka as the calligrapher, and Tosa Mitsunobu as the painter of the fourth scroll. For the fifth scroll, he considered Reizei Tameshige to be the calligrapher, and Awataguchi Ryūkō to be the painter. This has since been the leading opinion.

However, only twenty-five miracle stories are compiled in these five scrolls, so the set of thirty-three stories was incomplete. Only the text by Asukai Masaaki remained. In the second year of Bunka (1805), the head of the temple Sonken petitioned Matsudaira Sadanobu to complete the picture scroll. Sadanobu commissioned Tani Bunchō, who completed

the sixth and seventh scrolls based on Masaaki's text. The sixth and seventh scrolls used the first five scrolls as models, but the quality of the pictures is probably not as high. Since the pictures were made during the Edo period, they will not be considered here for analysis.

Takashina Takakane, who is considered the painter of the first three scrolls, is also known as the illustrator of the twenty scrolls of the *Kasugagongen genki*, completed in the second year of Enkyō (1309). These scrolls will be discussed another time, but it should be mentioned that they are the most exquisite picture scrolls, the greatest work of *yamato-e* painting and that they were painted in a free style. The first three scrolls of the *Ishiyamadera engi* have a lot in common with the *Genki*. The *Ishiyamadera engi* was made during the Shōchū era (1324 – 1326), fifteen years after the second year of Enkyō (1309), confirming that they have the same illustrator

Moreover, sights under construction depicted in both the *Genki* and *Engi* have many elements in common.

In the fourth scroll, the dynamic method of depiction can no longer be found, proving that Takashina Takakane was not the illustrator. Also the pictures in the fifth scroll are slightly different from the ones in the fourth scroll, as the style is more realistic and elaborate. For instance, the needlework and the kitchen work inside the residence of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi in the first section of the fifth scroll, as well as the painting of the fish trap on the Uji River are more detailed than the fish trap in the seventh section of the second scroll.

Both the picture of the Kuniyoshi residence, as well as the picture of the weir on the Uji River are likely based on what the painter himself saw, which means they represent images of the mid-Muromachi period. On the other hand, the style of the pictures follows that of the first three scrolls, and the clothes and furniture resemble those in the first three scrolls. Consequently, from this point of view, these pictures are extremely valuable. However, Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki's opinion on the names of the painters of the fourth and fifth scrolls is not necessarily correct.

II.

Judging by the names of the painters, these scrolls were made from about the early 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century, but the miracle tales depicted here took place from about the 8th century on, so there is a large gap between the time of the stories and the time the scrolls were made. Consequently, the customs presented in the paintings do not necessarily correspond with the time of the story. For instance, the aspect of the construction site of the Ishiyamadera Temple does not illustrate the life of commoners at the beginning of the 8th century, but rather shows the customs of commoners at the end of the Kamakura period. While the clothes of court nobles and important figures do follow the provisions of the Heian period, they are not realistic but typological paintings based on imagination. That is why the manners of the nobility and the upper class will not

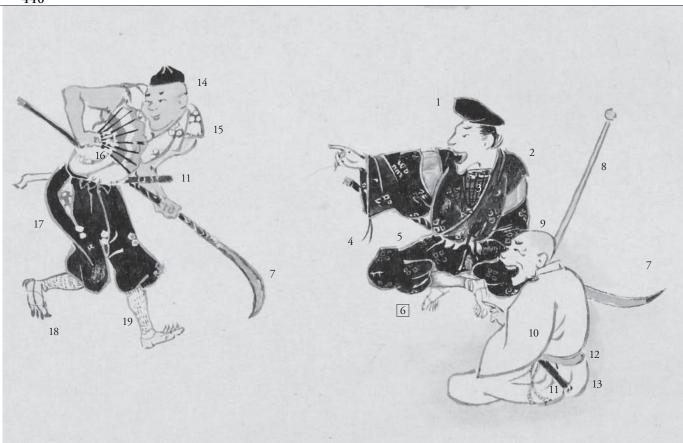
be discussed here. However, the scroll is of interest because it offers information about the life of commoners at the end of the Kamakura period. This is confirmed by a comparison with the *Kasugagongen genki*, too.

It is interesting that two of the most important scrolls of the Kamakura period were illustrated by the same person, and their value as historical sources is even greater because it shows what the painter saw and what he found interesting enough to draw. The main characters in the story are probably portrayed according to conventions. In order to paint in a realistic style, the illustrator should add to his work elements of what he observes in everyday life. If picture scrolls are only based on earlier scrolls, then they lack vigor in style. The most important characteristic of great scrolls is their realism and this is something which can be noticed in the Ishiyamadera engi. The construction site of the Ishiyamadera Temple, priest Kōkei's followers, the transportation of the bales of rice, the Osaka no Seki checkpoint, the residence of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi, the fish trap on the Uji river, and the water mill are not just imagined, but are depicted based on deep observation. Thus, these scrolls can be used as a historical source for that period.

In the sixth and seventh scrolls, the following events are depicted. In the sixth scroll, a warrior named Chikayoshi, following the orders of the Kamakura shogunate, had to attack the rebels in Watsuka, Yamashiro Province. He prayed at the Ishiyamadera Temple and won the battle through the revelation of *Bishamonten*. He later built the Shōnanin at the Ishiyamadera Temple. Bunsenbō Rōchō appeared after death as an *oni* and protected the holy faith. Kujō Michiie prayed that Sōhekimonin would have an easy delivery, and she gave birth to Emperor Shijō. After the Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*) Yamashina Saneo prayed at the same temple, his daughter Kyōgokuin gave birth to Emperor Go-Uda, and Saneo had many offspring. In the seventh scroll, Enken, a priest living at the Onjyōji Temple prayed at the Ishiyamadera Temple and he was cured of a critical illness.

A poor nun from around Shirakawa who believed in the *Kannon* at the Ishiyamadera Temple, found herself in great danger while traveling by ship, because of strong winds and waves. She was saved by a white horse.

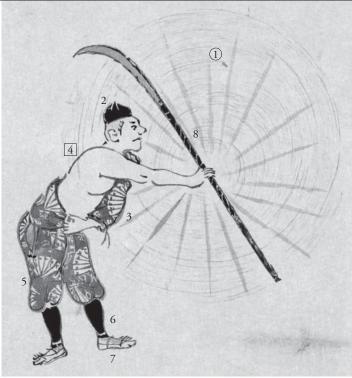
During the Einin era, at Emperor Fushimi's request offerings to Aizen  $My\bar{o}\bar{o}$  were made for a long time, and Genkinmonin visited the temple often. Also Emperor Go-Uda was a devotee of the *Kannon* of the Ishiyamadera Temple and while there, a spider predicted his future prosperity. He donated to the temple the land of Ōishi in Ōmi province. After Emperor Go-Daigo became Crown Prince, he donated the land of Mushū, in Ōmi and became emperor in the second year of Bunpō (1318).



#### 440 Retainer's Attire

In Section 2 of Scroll 2, the senior priest Kōkei visits priest Junyū to seek instruction. The illustrations here show the attire of the retainers attending Kōkei; eighteen figures appear in diverse attire in the original scene. Ten of them have their head shaven, three wear eboshi, and three zukin (all over shaven heads), three are chigo, pages serving at temples, wearing their hair down, and two have their hair tied in a knot. All three eboshi are the soft type (nae-eboshi), and therefore it is unlikely that the men are wearing their hair in the erect-topknot style. Presumably even the retainers who tied their hair up simply gathered it together. Two among the three depicted above have shaven their heads, and one of them wears a zukin. The one wearing eboshi, hitatare, and a breastplate is better dressed, suggesting his relatively higher status among the retainers. He is not wearing a sword at his side, while the other two do. It is possible that his servant carries his sword. Warlords customarily had their retainers carry their sword. He may be the head retainer, yet he sits on the ground. People of those days did not seem to consider it unpleasant to sit directly on the earth.

- 1 nae-eboshi
- 2 hitatare
- 3 hara-ate
- 4 cords at the hem of sleeves
- 5 yonobakama (patterned)
- 6 sitting cross-legged
- 7 halberd
- 8 staff
- 9 shaved head
- 10 priestly robes
- 11 short sword
- 12 sewed-on waist belt of hakama
- 13 hakama
- 14 cloth headwear
- 15 short-sleeved garment
- 16 fan
- 17 yonobakama (patterned)
- 18 straw sandals (waraji)
- 19 leggings (kyahan)



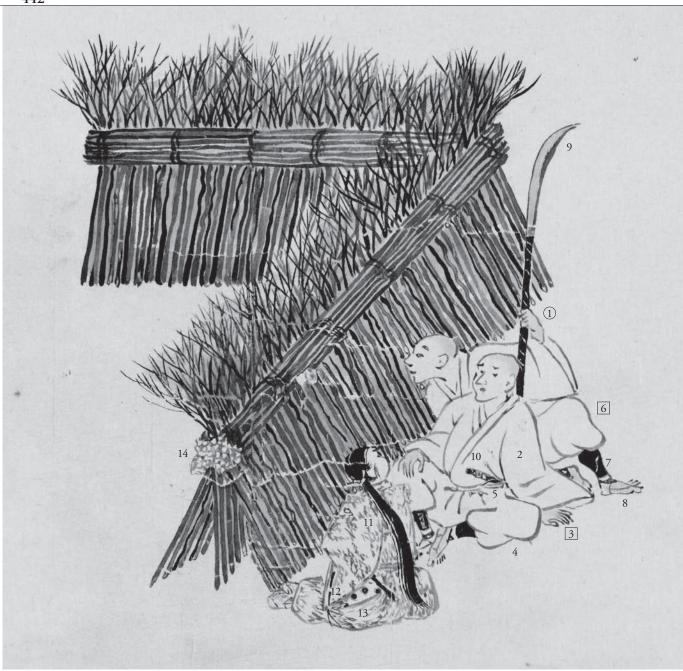
- 1 man twirling a halberd
- 2 cloth headwear
- 3 hitatare
- 4 baring one shoulder
- 5 yonobakama
- 6 leggings (kyahan)
- 7 straw sandals (waraji)
- 8 halberd
- 9 saiei-style formal headgear
- 10 oikake
- 11 sides-opened-style formal jacket
- 12 hakama
- 13 shigai
- 14 sword



#### 441 Attendant's Attire

The picture on the left, taken from Section 2, Scroll 2, depicts a retainer of senior priest Kōkei, while the one on the right from Section 4, Scroll 4, depicts the attire of the escorts accompanying the handcart (a type of vehicle for a person of rank) for a priest. In the picture on the left, a man with a shaven head is flourishing his halberd like a waterwheel to kill time while waiting for his master. From the look of his bare shoulder, he does not seem to be wearing anything

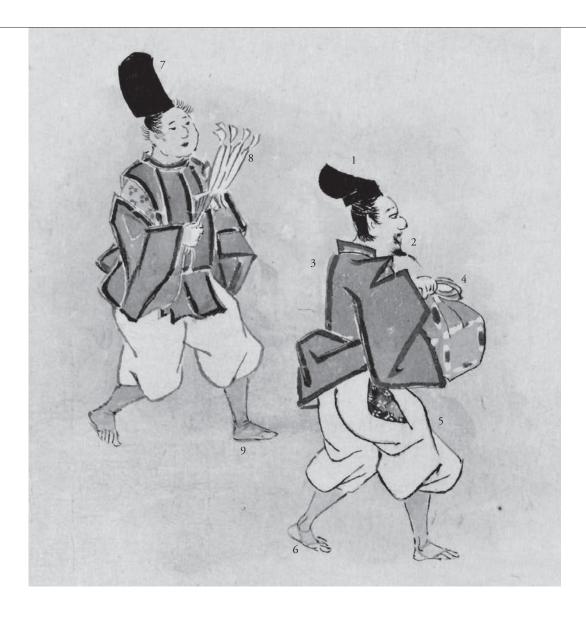
under his *hitatare*. The retainers in the picture on the right are well-dressed, as they are escorting a handcart. They wear *kanmuri*, the formal headgear, of *saiei*-style with *oikake*, and a sides-opened style formal jacket, which is the attire of escorts officially provided to nobles. The retainers are wearing *shigai* footwear. The handcart is pulled by eight such retainers. It was necessary to preserve such grandeur on a public journey, while fixed manners for a private journey supposedly did not exist. Incidentally, the halberd was widely used as a weapon in the Kamakura period.



#### 442 Attendant's Attire

This is another part of the scene depicting the retainers of senior priest Kōkei in Scroll 2. One of the three figures is a young boy in *suikan* with long hair, wearing a sword at his side. He must be a *chigo*, a page serving at a temple, which was a well-established occupational category from the Heian to the Kamakura periods. The other two figures are men with shaven heads in white *kosode*. Judging from the fact they are not wearing *zukin* or covering their faces, they seem to be of a lower status among the retainers. They are peeping into the temple through brushwood fences.

- 1 man peeping
- 2 kosode
- 3 sitting and propping oneself on one's arm
- 4 yonobakama
- 5 cord of *hakama* around one's waist
- 6 sitting with one knee up
- 7 leggings (kyahan)
- 8 straw sandals (waraji)
- 9 halberd
- 10 short sword
- 11 wearing one's hair down (tied with a cord)
- 12 suikan
- 13 hakama
- 14 brushwood fence



- 1 nae-eboshi
- 2 mustache and beard
- 3 hoi
- 4 cloth bundle
- 5 sashinuki
- 6 straw sandals (waraji)
- 7 tate-eboshi
- 8 message
- 9 barefoot

#### 443 Attendant's Attire

Depicted here is the attire of servants in the scene from Scroll 4 where the priest Jinkaku makes a visit to the Imperial Palace to express his gratitude for receiving a handcart. If they are serving as attendants for a public visit, they should be wearing specified uniforms; in this situation, both men are wearing hoi and sashinuki, and one is barefooted while the other wears straw sandals (waraji). The former carries a cloth bundle while the latter holds messages. The custom of using a cloth for wrapping, called "furoshiki" today, existed among ordinary people since olden times; evidence of the practice can be found in picture scrolls such as the Senmen koshakyō and Kokawadera engi. It was the simplest way of wrapping, mainly used for wrapping items such as clothing.

The man at the back is holding a bundle of messages. Each message has been twisted at the top. Although there are cases in picture scrolls where only a single message is depicted, in general, people are shown carrying several together. Supposedly, messengers were originally sent from one person to deliver a message to a particular person. Yet the

scenes of them carrying several messages at times suggest that messengers not only delivered a message from one person to another, but occasionally worked for several clients at the same time. In short, they may have worked like postmen nowadays who deliver messages at anyone's request. It is not clear whether the two in this illustration are retainers. Jinkaku has stepped down from the cart and entered the gate. These two are heading towards the gate, led by a man in *ikan*. It is possible that they are trying to catch up with the party, and if so, they may have brought something necessary for Jinkaku.

A message sent from one person to another was called  $sh\bar{o}sokobumi$ . Such messages were widely exchanged between men and women, often accompanied with waka poems.  $Sh\bar{o}sokobumi$  were also called tamazusa. This is an old word, for it appears in the  $Kokin\ wakash\bar{u}$ . The word tegami which is most commonly used today probably originated in the Edo period. Messages were generally written in Japanese, in contrast to Chinese kanbun, with a mixture of kanji and kana. In ancient times people presumably used colloquial language, while in later periods, a special epistolary style emerged.



### 444 Attire of Ordinary People

This is a part of the scene of forbidding the destruction of life in the precincts of the temple in Scroll 2. It is noteworthy that no one wears headwear in this scene. The two at the right are soldier priests of the Ishiyamadera Temple. One of them wears priestly robes over a breastplate and straw sandals (ashinaka) on his feet. The use of straw sandals (ashinaka) by low-class warriors was seen in the Obusuma Saburō ekotoba as well. The other priest wears a leather cuirass, leggings (kyahan), and straw sandals (waraji). Both are wearing a headband, which is presumably the outfit for battle. The three men running away are all barefooted; one of them wears an unlined short-sleeved kimono and the rest are naked except for their loincloth. The loincloths do not have a flap in the front. Loincloths depicted in the pictures of this era are all fastened in this way, and thus this seems to have

been the standard way of wearing one's loincloth, employed by most men. The reason they are naked except for their loincloth is that they were in the river to catch fish. The man in the center wears a creel at his side. They were caught catching fish and are now running away from the soldier priests. All three men have tied their hair in a knot, and the style is not a bun (mage) but a topknot (tate-motodori), which suggests that they were wearing eboshi. Presumably people took off their *eboshi* in situations such as going into the water to catch fish. In the *Ippen hijirie* as well, the man washing his horse at the riverside has taken off his eboshi. In older picture scrolls such as the Genji monogatari emaki, men wear eboshi even when they are in bed, but it seems that by the Kamakura period, ordinary people such as the ones illustrated here often took off their eboshi. They do not seem to have shaven their head in the half-moon shape, but they are shown with receding hairlines. It is not clear whether they are



- (1) armed monk holding a halberd
- 2 shaven head
- 3 headband
- 4 priestly robes
- 5 hara'ate [a leather breastplate]
- 6 sword
- 7 straw sandals (ashinaka)
- 8 halberd
- 9 gauntlet
- 10 stomach band
- 11 leggings (kyahan)
- 12 straw sandals (waraji)
- 13 hair knot
- 14 unclothed
- 15 loincloth
- pressing one's hands together to beg for help
- 17 short-sleeved garment (tying both sleeves together at the back)
- 18 creel
- 19 barefoot

already quite aged, or many people had receding hairlines, or there existed a custom of somewhat shaving the hair above the forehead a little bit. In any case, we can see the clothing and hairstyle of ordinary people are beginning to break ancient rules.

Temples early imposed restrictions on the destruction of life in their precincts. In addition, their precincts were much bigger than today, particularly in the case of important temples such as Mount Hiei. The precincts of the Ishiyamadera Temple were also several times larger than they are today. Wild animals flourished in such areas, where killing was forbidden, and therefore for ordinary people, especially hunters and fishermen, it must have been a very attractive place. In particular, the Seta River flows through the precincts of the Ishiyamadera Temple, and *ayu*, carp, and crucian are abundant. Various ways of fishing were used, such as fishing weirs, four-armed scoop nets, seines, and rod fishing. Other

scenes from the same picture scroll suggest that these types of fishing were widely exercised outside the temple's precincts. People must have gotten into the precincts, violating the ban. Many fishermen resided in Awazu and Seta on the southern bank of Lake Biwa, making their living by catching fish, and their privilege was authorized by the Imperial court in exchange for their delivering fish to the palace. Such people were called kugonin, the supplier of the emperor's food. Kugonin demonstrated their privilege ostentatiously and occasionally violated others' territories, resulting in frequent fights over fishery rights. Presumably the figures of this scene are not simple poachers but kugonin abusing their privilege to enter the precincts of the Ishiyamadera Temple. It must be for this reason that the temple has dispatched the soldier priests. The text of the scroll emphasizes the ban on the destruction of life inside the temple's precincts.

- 1 kinukazuki
- 2 samurai-eboshi
- 3 narrow-sleeved garment
- 4 short sword
- 5 hakama
- 6 balancing pole
- 7 wooden coatainer (steamer)
- 8 bamboo tube?
- 9 cloth?
- 10 box
- 11 woven hat
- 12 wearing one's hair down
- 13 cord for tying up hair
- 14 kosode
- 15 ichimegasa
- 16 hat cord
- 17 holding a baby
- 18 uchikake
- 19 straw sandals (waraji)
- 20 mat
- 21 kouchigi
- 22 boots
- 23 uchikake
- 24 robe
- 25 *suō*
- 26 leg cover



# 445 Traveling Attire

The picture above from Scroll 3 illustrates the spectators of the visit of the emperor's consort Tosanjo-in to the Ishiyamadera Temple. The picture below from Scroll 5 depicts the scene of the healing of the disease of the daughter of the Matsugimi chōja. Participants in the procession for events such as a visit by a member of the imperial family seem to have been able to dress pretty much as they liked, for the text of the scroll precisely describes the attire of each participant. It notes, for example, Michinaga as in  $n\bar{o}shi$ , Akimitsu and Ichoku in sokutai, Michiyori, Korechika, Tokinaka, and Michitsuna in nōshi, Sanesuke in sokutai, Yasuchika in *kariginu*, and the rest in *hoi*. The representation of each figure in the picture scroll seems to follow the text. The aristocrats and their attendants are wearing either kanmuri or tate-eboshi while the spectators are wearing samuraieboshi. It is noteworthy that their samurai-eboshi are not the soft *nae-eboshi*, but the hard type. The style at the time of the visit of Tōsanjō-in to Ishiyamadera (992) must have been the soft type, as shown by picture scrolls such as the Kokawadera engi and the Ban Dainagon ekotoba. By contrast, the clothing of the ordinary people depicted here, namely the spectators, is in the style of the late Kamakura period. Hence the attire of the spectators should be understood differently from that of the participants in the procession, which follows the text based on the historical record. The *ichimegasa* the woman at the left is wearing is shallow and has a narrow brim. The boy to her right also has a hat dangling on his back. This hat seems to be a hat made by weaving sedge, straw, or the like. The man with the balancing pole for carrying baggage may be a merchant; he is clothed in *kosode*, *hakama*, and *eboshi*, and wears a short sword at his side. Judging from the look of what he is carrying, he seems to be peddling goods such as  $k\bar{o}ji$  malt in this way. He has attached square streamers to his balancing pole. The two bamboo pipes tied to the pole may be a sort of bamboo water bottle. Peddling such commodities had become quite extensive by the Muromachi period.

The picture below illustrates the family of a *chōja* (richman) in Tsutsuoka, Province of Ise, whose status it is hard to believe was very high. Though not mentioned in the text, the story presumably takes place around the late Kamakura period. The man at the left wears a garment similar to *suō*, a pair of leg covers, and leather boots. This may represent the traveling attire of local authorities of the time. Concerning the female attire, the woman in service of the daughter seems clearly to be wearing *kouchigi*, but the woman at the right edge is wearing *uchikake* with narrow cuffs. She also wears *hakama* and boots. The clothing of the daughter is apparent even to her undergarment, which reveals that she wears at least three layers of garments. We can also see that the width of the *obi* has not yet been widened in this era.

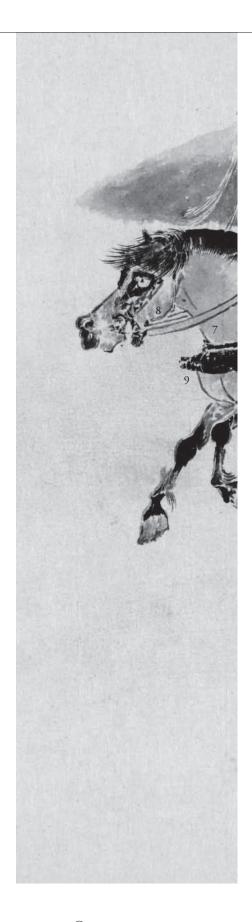




### 446 Traveling Attire

This picture taken from Scroll 3 depicts the visit of the daughter of Sugawara no Takasue to the Ishiyamadera Temple. Her visit was made around the tenth day of the eleventh month, on a snowy, windy, and cold day. The cloth attached to the ladle for watering the horse is streaming in the wind. The servants are wearing straw rain-capes to protect them from snow and cold, and a wind blowing from their backs presses them against their bodies. The woman on the horse must be an attendant of the daughter of Sugawara no Takasue. Though omitted from this copy, the original shows a handcart pulled by four attendants in front of her. As the offspring of a provincial governor, the daughter of Sugawara no Takasue, who is known for her literary diary the Sarashina nikki, is accompanied by as many as seven attendants other than the cart-pullers; three, two men and a woman, are on horseback. The men wear a woven hat and are equipped with a bow and arrows. They must be guards. The woman on the horse wears an ichimegasa with veil. Among veils, there was a type made of gauze, as seen here, and a type concealing the wearer, and there was a longer type hanging to the knees as seen in the *Ippen hijirie* as well.

The man following the horse is carrying a ladle for watering the horse. The ladle has a piece of cloth attached. Travelers on horseback are in most cases accompanied by an attendant carrying a ladle for the horse. It suggests the importance of watering horses during journeys. The man carrying a halberd is wearing a straw cap. Straw caps are mainly worn by hunters in other picture scrolls, but he appears to be an ordinary attendant. The journey of a woman was a private affair, and presumably there were not any strict rules for the attire of accompanying attendants. The attire of the attendants appears to be similar to that of the warrior class, and this must reflect the trend of using warriors as guards that had become popular among aristocrats by the late Heian period. Such warriors must have been hired temporarily rather than have served the aristocratic family for many years. One feature characteristic of this picture scroll is that there are many scenes illustrating the visit of nobles to the temple, and each scene is slightly different from the others. Tōsanjō-in made her visit in a large procession accompanied by many nobles, and it is difficult to find an intimate master-servant relationship between them. In the case of Kōkei, many of the retainers are dressed in the style of a priest, suggesting that they are the priests-in-training and soldier priests from his temple. In the scene on this page, if the followers had been the servants of the Sugawara family, they would have more the appearance of civilian servants, and as they are dressed more as warriors, it seems likely that they have been hired temporarily. Presumably, warriors around this era came to be hired by aristocrats to guard them in such a manner while on a journey.



- 1 woman riding on a horse
- 2 ichimegasa
- 3 veil
- 4 wearing one's hair down
- 5 *jōi*
- 6 sashinuki
- 7 reins



- 8 headstall
  9 martingale
  10 panel
  11 stirrup
  12 crupper
  13 girth
  (4) servant

- 15 ayaigasa
  16 straw rain-cape
  17 hitatare?
  18 ladle for watering horses
  19 cloth
  20 straw rain-hat
  21 hakama

- 22 leggings (*kyahan*)23 foot cover24 straw sandals (*waraji*)25 halberd





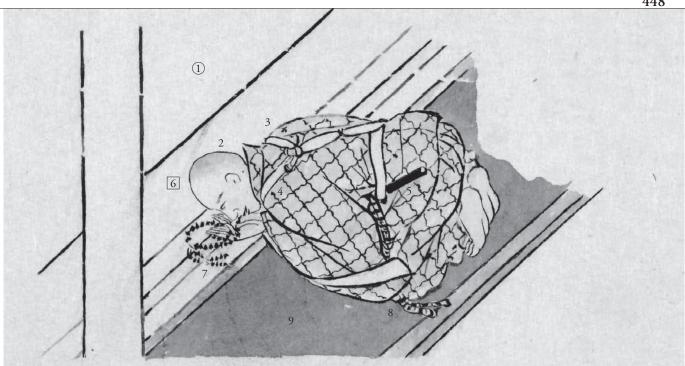
#### 447 Amaginu, Socks

The picture at the right illustrates an attendant of the visit of Retired Emperor Uda, copied from Scroll 1, and the one at the left a spectator of the visit of Tōsanjō-in, from Scroll 3. The attendant in the picture at the left carries an amaginu attached to a stick with a T-shaped handle. An old record where amaginu appears can be found in the Nihon shoki: in the entry of the third month of the fourteenth year of Emperor Bidatsu (585), it is recorded that Mononobe no Moriya set fire to a Buddhist temple to burn its buildings and statues, and discarded the rest of the statues in the canal of Naniwa, whereupon a storm of wind and rain blew up from a cloudless sky and he put on an amaginu. The amaginu of that time is believed to have been made of leather, but later the material changed from leather to paper. The amaginu appearing in this illustration seems to be a paper one. The paper was oiled to prevent rain from penetrating it. Amaginu were used when it rained, and it presumably functioned just as hats and umbrellas, but its convenience laid in the point that it could be folded when not used, and an attendant carrying amaginu used to accompany nobles on a journey. This man is also accompanying the handcart of Tōsanjō-in. He wears hoi and straw sandals (waraji).

The picture at the right illustrates female traveling attire. The woman, who wears *ichimegasa* and *uchigi*, must be in a traveler's style called  $tsubo\ sh\bar{o}zoku$ . She is wearing socks, which were called  $shit\bar{o}zu$ .  $Shit\bar{o}zu$  is a corruption of shita-gut-su, literally "under-shoes." The word "futa-aya no shita-gut-su", or socks of two-colored twilled silk, appears in the  $Man'y\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ , evidence of its early existence, though in the Heian period people are believed to have used white plain

- 1 tate-eboshi
- 2 hoi
- 3 obi
- 4 sashinuki
- 5 straw sandals (waraji)
- 6 stick with a T-shaped handle
- 7 amaginu
- 8 ichimegasa
- 9 uchigi
- 10 sitting cross-legged
- 11 socks (under waraji)

silk, either nerinuki, a textile made using soft sericinremoved silk thread for the weft and coarse raw silk for the warp, in the case of higher-class officials, or a coarse textile, made using raw silk for both weft and warp, in the case of lower-class officials and aged people. According to the Ebukuryō, the compilation of codes concerning clothing, the use of shitōzu is only specified when wearing sokutai, but aged people were allowed to use them when wearing ikan as well. Turning to female attire, since the figure in the picture is a woman, socks made of patterned gauze were used in kara shōzoku, particularly gorgeous outfits that included robes made of Chinese-style twill (kara aya). The socks in the picture are also not white but colored. Presumably such socks were adopted to traveling attire from kara shōzoku; however, the woman is wearing them under straw sandals (waraji), which suggests that they have been adapted for practical use. Incidentally the woman is sitting cross-legged. At this time women were still able to sit in the same way as men.



#### 448 Tasuki, Straw Sandals (Waraji)

The picture above, illustrating a priest, is taken from the scene in Scroll 5 where the wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi secludes herself in the Ishiyamadera Temple, and the picture below from Scroll 3 illustrates an attendant of Tōsanjō-in. The priest in the picture above is tucking up his sleeves with a cord, tasuki. In later periods, both men and women used tasuki to tuck up their sleeves while working, and they were supposed to be taken off in front of guests and aristocrats; however, it is likely that in ancient times tasuki were used when worshiping gods. Tasuki, in the first place, would have been necessary only when wearing a wide-sleeved kimono, not a narrow-sleeved garment. The common assumption has been that tasuki were needed when offering a votive stick with paper streamers, but this is questionable. There are many waka poems in the  $Man'y\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$  in which the poet writes about wearing tama-tasuki to worship the gods. This may indicate that tama, jewels, were attached to the tasuki, or it may have been an elegant way of referring to the cord. A poem in Man'yōshū reads taka dama o / ma naku nuki tare / yūdasuki / kaina ni kakete (string a thread through bamboo beads without leaving a space, hang a tasuki made of  $y\bar{u}$ fablic on one's arms); thus there were tasuki decorated with jewels. It is probable that, until the Kamakura period, tasuki was used mainly for rituals rather than for labor. When engaged in labor, workers mostly bared one or both shoulders, or in some cases tied both sleeves together at the back. If we look back at the picture, the *tasuki* the priest is wearing is utterly ceremonial with no trace of practicality, and therefore it presumably functions to provide the wearer with the qualification of worshiping gods and buddhas. The straw sandals (waraji) appearing in the picture below are called shitajigutsu. They have a "tongue" in the design of six leaves at the toe, and were used by military officials..



- (1) Buddhist priest worshiping
- 2 shaved head
- priestly robes
- tasuki [cord to tuck up one's sleeves]
- short sword
- 6 worshiping with buddhist rosary placed on one's open palms Buddhist rosary
- 8 cord
- tatami
- 10 tate-eboshi
- 11 suikan
- 12 akome
- 13 sashinuki
- 14 straw sandals (waraji) (shitaji-gutsu)



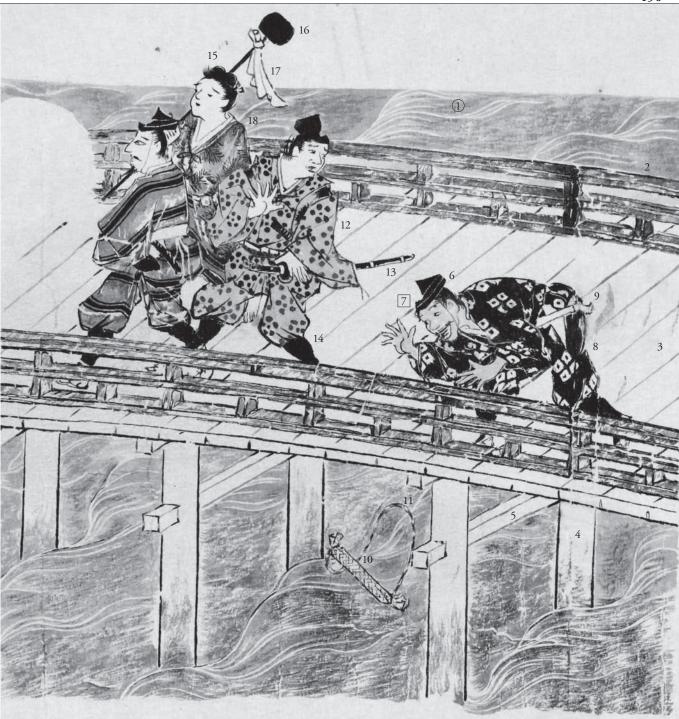
- 1 eboshi
- 2 beard
- 3 suikan (triple-triangle pattern)
- 4 hip basket
- 5 sewed-on waist belt of *hakama*
- 6 short sword

- 7 hakama
- 8 flint sack
- 9 leggings (kyahan)
- 10 ichimegasa
- 11 kouchigi
- 12 sash used by women
- 13 socks
- 14 straw sandals (waraji)
- 15 kinukazuki
- <u>16</u> robe
- 17 walking while holding the hem of one's robes
- 18 nyoi-hōju

# 449 Female Traveling Attire

This is a scene in Scroll 5 in which the wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi returns from seclusion at the Ishiyamadera Temple having gained a *nyoi-hōju*, a treasure orb that fulfills every wish. The women wearing *ichimegasa* are in a traveler's style called *tsubo shōzoku*. They have tucked their robes up for convenience during the journey, wear *kouchigi* over them, and a red *kakeobi* on top. It is written in the *Makura no sōshi* that the author "draped an *obi* over her shoulders and prayed to the gods," which relates the ancient custom of females putting an *obi* over their shoulders when worshiping gods. This custom must have been derived from *tasuki* as well, and presumably changed later to a ceremonial manner

of neatly draping an *obi* over one's shoulders. Furthermore the use of *kakeobi* was expanded to an attire for visiting temples. In association with this custom, when it became popular among villagers from the late Edo to mid-Meiji period to offer *ema*, a votive wooden tablet, to the local guardian deity, people who had gone on a pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine used to purchase and offer an *ema* on which a pilgrimage scene was depicted. Women wearing red *tasuki* appear in many of these illustrations on *ema*. These *tasuki* must have been ritual, for they are not used to tuck up the sleeves. Hence, the manner of wearing a *tasuki* of red *obi* depicted in this picture scroll probably continued to the Meiji period. Incidentally, the man following the women wears a basket at his side but the purpose is not clear.



- 1 bridge 2 railings
- railings
- plank used for the bridge
- bridge support
- 5 bridge beam 6 samurai-eboshi
- 7 expression of "Oh no!"
- 8 hakama
- 9 short sword
- 10 packet containing the epistle from the retired emperor
- 11 cord for carrying a packet on one's shoulder 12 *kariginu* (pattern of single-petaled *ume*)
- 13 sword
- 14 leggings (kyahan)
- 15 hair
- 16 ladle for watering horses
- 17 cloth
- 18 *suō*

### 450 Traveling Attire

This is a scene from Scroll 5 in which the servant of a man from eastern Japan by mistake drops from the bridge at Seta a packet containing an epistle from the retired emperor. It demonstrates that while ordinary messages carried by messengers were folded and then both ends bent over, important messages such as an epistle from the retired emperor were wrapped in a long narrow packet, attached to a cord, and hung from one's shoulder.

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#### 451 Needlework

This illustration taken from Scroll 5 depicts the inside of the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi. According to the text, Kuniyoshi, a descendant of Councilor Fujiwara no Manatsu, was the Vice Chief of the Ministry of Ceremonies and held the lower junior fifth rank during the Tenji era (1124-1126). He was married to a daughter of the former governor of the province of Chikuzen, Tomofusa, but they were extremely poor and furthermore did not have a child. As his family specialized in study, he needed offspring to inherit his archives. So Kuniyoshi divorced his wife. The wife thought that if she were able to bear a child she would not have to suffer such sorrow, and she secluded herself in the Ishiyamadera Temple for about a week and prayed every day three thousand three hundred and thirty-three times. Thereupon Kannon appeared in her dream and granted her a treasure orb that fulfills every wish. Awakening in surprise, she found the orb in her hands. Joyfully she went back to Kuniyoshi, he shared her joy, and the family's fortunes began to rise, resulting in the birth of a son in two years. This boy later became Vice Chief of the Ministry of Ceremonies and a scholar of Chinese Studies, Fujiwara no Narizane. This picture depicts the time just about when Narizane was born; presumably the women are making clothes for the newborn baby, for the textiles they are sewing and cutting are white. We notice that a knife and not scissors is used for cutting the cloth. It may indicate that scissors were not yet used in this period. The two younger women are engaged in needlework. One of them is threading a needle. Her needle is longer than those of today, and the thread is not long like that of today but cut in a length easy to handle.

The women sewing are wearing a skirt, which resembles the female *andon-bakama*, a *hakama* without gores, of later periods. They are sitting cross-legged, not on their heels like women today. The sleeves of their robes are in the style of *genroku sode*, short sleeves with rounded bottoms, that was popular in the early modern period and they are wearing the skirt over a long kimono without wearing a *hakama*. In addition they have tied the cords of the skirt at the back and let the ends hang down as a kind of decoration. This sort of style was presumably the standard fashion inside the house among middle-class aristocrats of the time.

The room is next to the kitchen, and therefore it must be what was called in ancient times the "upper kitchen", the kitchen for preparing food for the master's family and guests, in contrast to the servants' kitchen. *Tatami* with *kōrai* patterned cloth edgings are spread over the floor, sliding screen doors are closed at the left, and a partition screen stands at the right. Judging from the furniture and the fashion of the women, it is hard to believe that this scene reflects the actualities of the late Heian period. The female attire rather looks close to the style of the Muromachi period. Yet the very long hair reminds the viewer of the noble women of the Heian



period. Hence the painter must have drawn this scene with the fashion of the Heian period in mind but also adding many aspects of the Muromachi period. In any case, it is a very rare example of an illustration of needlework. In the preceding picture (449), the middle woman of the group of three is covering herself with a robe (kinukazuki), but the robe is not a kouchigi. Its cuffs are tapered like those of the women doing needlework and thus it must be an uchikake. She is not tucking up her inner robes at her waist either. She only holds the hem of the robes, and they trail along the ground. It is hard to believe that one would have dressed in such a manner when on a long journey, and the style must be one generally worn inside the house. At the same time, this is also



probably not the style of the late Heian, but the early Muromachi period. Yet, on her feet, she wears white leggings (habaki), socks, and straw sandals (waraji) like the other two. In this way, in Scrolls 4 and 5 of this picture scroll, parts following the manners of the Heian court are intermingled with parts depicting those of the time when the scroll was painted, the late Kamakura to early Muromachi periods. This needlework scene is a typical example, and the part continuing to the left in the original and the part of the kitchen not copied here are rather similar to what can be seen in the picture scroll of the Boki ekotoba, which illustrates the manner of the late Kamakura to early Muromachi periods.

- 1 kinukazuki
- 2 uchigi
- 3 wearing one's hair down
- 4 kosode
- 5 cord for tying the hair (low on one's back)
- 6 skirt (with decorative ribbons)
- 7 cloth (plain white)
- 8 cutting a piece of cloth
- 9 knife
- 10 sewing
- 11 thread
- 12 threading a needle
- 13 skirt (front)
- 14 cloth
- 15 tatami (with kōrai pattern cloth edgings)
- 16 partition screen
- 17 sliding screen door

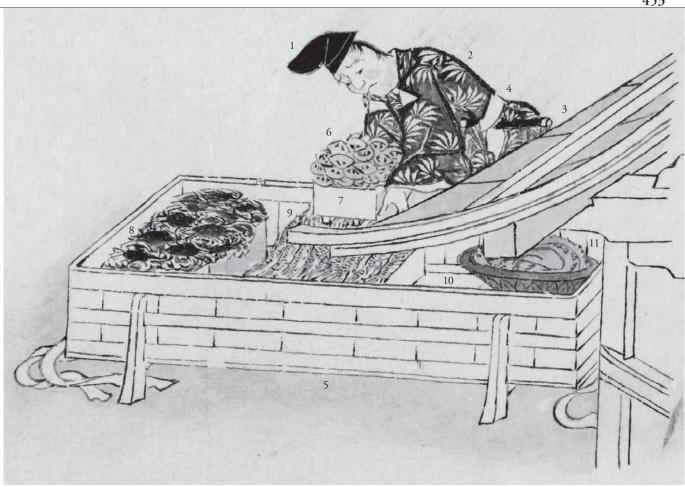


- 1 curtain
- 2 fence
- 3 headband knotted at the back
- 4 samurai-eboshi
- 5 mustache and beard
- 6 cords tied at the breast
- 7 kosode
- 8 hakama
- 9 straw sandals (zōri)
- $10 \ zukin$
- 11 kosode (patterned)
- 12 apron
- 13 leading a child by the hand
- aged priest
- 15 round fan
- 16 priestly robes
- 17 geta
- 18 child's hair worn long
- 19 barefoot

#### 452 Clothing of Ordinary People

This illustration taken from Scroll 5 depicts the clothing of ordinary people at the Uji River. According to the text, the man from eastern Japan, who had made an appeal to the Imperial court and had been granted an epistle from the retired emperor, dropped the epistle into the river on the way home. But then the epistle was found in the stomach of a big carp caught at the Uji River. The people are looking at the scene. The woman is probably not a nun, though she wears a <code>zukin</code>. She wears an unlined <code>kosode</code> and a short apron. The man at the far right wears a <code>kosode</code> with cords tied at the breast and <code>yonobakama</code>. He could be what is called <code>hashirishū</code>, outriders on foot for a dignitary. The boy behind him knots a headband at the back.

The priest is holding a round fan. The three pairs of footwear illustrated here remind the viewer of western sandals, for they do not have a thong running between the toes. It is not certain whether this is due to an omission by the painter or whether such type of footwear really existed, but since the whole illustration is quite detailed, it is unlikely that the painter has omitted the part running between the toes. Incidentally, the figures of the easterners in Picture 450 reproduce fairly faithfully the attire of warriors that developed mainly in eastern Japan. *Daimon*, a type of *hitatare* with large patterns, and  $su\bar{o}$  were not yet widely used and *hitatare* was the main style, but the man holding a ladle for watering horses does not wear an *eboshi*. His hairstyle may reflect the transitional state from a ponytail-like style to a bun (*mage*).



### 453 Foodstuffs in a Long Chest

This picture from Scroll 5 depicts the inside of the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi. It is one of the scenes depicting how much his house flourished and shows fishery products that have been delivered from the country. They were probably sent from his estate. It is much later that his son Narizane becomes the governor of the province of Satsuma, so the items probably were not tax items collected from there. If we look at the contents of the chest, *gazami* crabs lie at the left. This is a kind of sea crab abundant in the Inland Sea and eaten from ancient times. What lies next to it is some kind of fish but the species cannot be distinguished. The clams in the box the man is holding seem to be hamaguri, and what sits in the bowl at the right corner of the chest seems to be an octopus. These are all marine products, and judging from the species, probably delivered from the Inland Sea area. If the sender was far away from Kyōto, the seafood would not keep until it was delivered to its destination, so it must be from the coastal area of the eastern Inland Sea near Kyōto.

These sorts of seafood were delivered over a long distance by men, not using horses. They were carried in chests in most cases. It was crucial to spend as little time as possible on the way, and the items themselves were precious. Hence, we can see a small amount of tribute had to be carried with great trouble to Kyōto. The impression of gorgeousness given by the life of aristocrats may have come not from the consumption items themselves but from the trouble required for handling them.

- 1 eboshi
- 2. kariginu
- 3 short sword
- 4 obi
- 5 long chest with legs
- clam
- box
- 8 *gazami* (a species of crab) 9 fish
- 10 bowl
- 11 octopus?



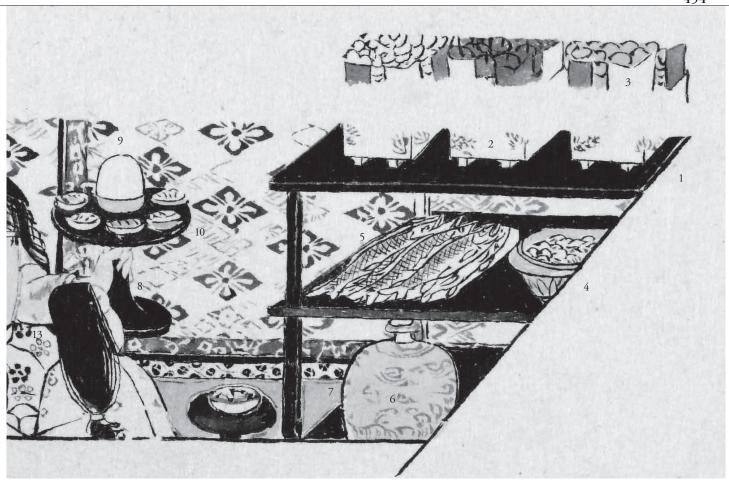
### 454 Cooking

This picture from Scroll 5 depicts the kitchen of the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi. There are several examples of kitchens depicted in picture scrolls. Especially detailed examples are the mansion of the chōja (rich man) of Yamazaki in the Shigisan engi, the house of Otomo no Kujiko in the Kokawadera engi, this scene, and the one in the Boki ekotoba. What is noteworthy in this example is that people are using a brazier for cooking. In most of the old examples, open hearths are used; and although a stove appears in the *Boki* ekotoba, an open hearth is depicted in the same scene. This scene serves as evidence that, apart from open hearths, braziers were also used for cooking. As it is a brazier, firewood is not used as in an open hearth. Firewood was typically used in an open hearth, but for a brazier people used charcoal. Regarding charcoal, presumably it was not simply derived from embers, but the technique of producing hard charcoal had already been developed, for copper and iron refining that requires hard charcoal with strong heating power was also practiced. We may assume that such hard charcoal for metal refining was used for domestic purposes as well.

When cooking with a brazier and charcoal, people presumably used a tripod to support the pots. This is not depicted very clearly in this picture, but since there is no hook sus-

pended from above on which pots and kettles were hung, the pot must be supported from below. This type of hook is hardly used at open hearths seen in picture scrolls either. In the picture, a *kama* (cauldron) sits over the brazier. Although it appears to be a *nabe* (pot) at first sight, it has a brim near the rim. Generally, the terms *nabe* and *kama* are distinguished by the existence of a brim. Such *kama* with a brim are also called *hagama*, literally, winged cauldron. Apparently the *kama* is boiling.

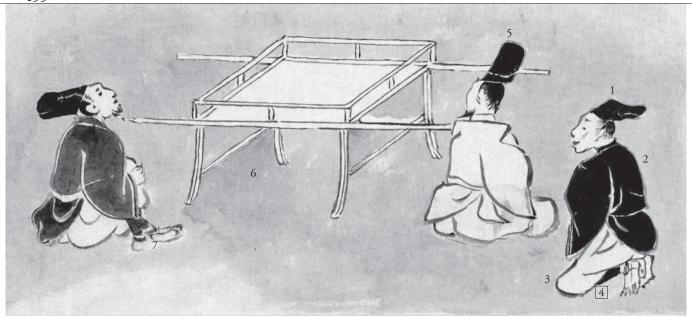
The woman in the center holds a stemmed dish. It is being used as a tray. A bowl is heaped up with rice, and dishes to go with the rice have been prepared on small plates. Such style of meal was called *ōban*. *Ōban* was prepared among the warrior class of the Kamakura period as a festive meal, something recorded often in the Azumakagami. This illustration might suggest that such a style was beginning to be seen among aristocrats as well. Diverse foodstuffs are placed on the shelves. The content of the boxes on the top shelf may perhaps be fruit or taro. The fish on the second shelf appear to be carp. Carp were consumed often from the Kamakura to the Muromachi periods, for there are records in the Azumakagami that a whole carp was served at ōban. In addition, the kugonin who delivered fish to the Imperial court seem to have been mostly from the edges of Lake Biwa in Ōmi Province, namely Awazu, Seta, Uji, Sugaura, Yasugawa,

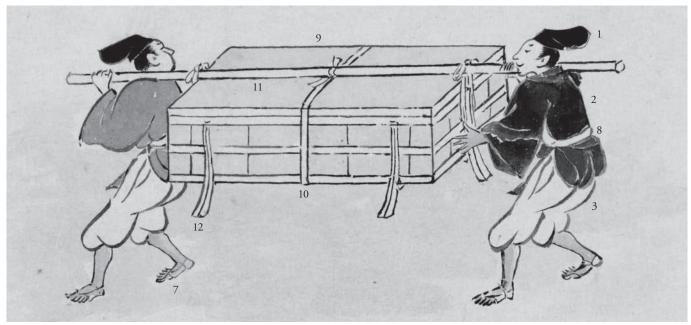


Okushima, and so on. Surely there was tribute from the ocean coasts, but evidently the share taken by freshwater fish had become very large. The content of the bowl next to the fish cannot be distinguished. The pot on the lower shelf is presumably a sake pot, for it is quite large. Sake was in general made in a deep earthen pot. In the Heian period, de-acidification using ash or refining by filtering lees through a cloth were practiced, but in the Kamakura period, there was less production of refined sake, and homemade crude sake was popular. Fifteen thousand pots for making sake are said to have been used merely in the city of Kamakura in the mid-Kamakura period, which indicates that sake was made at the house of each resident. The same was not true in Kyōto, but still there were several hundred sake makers, making and selling sake. If the pot on the lower shelf is a sake pot, the sake was presumably purchased.

Judging from this scene, the kitchen was a space only for cooking and not dining. In addition, the kitchens of aristocratic residences were remarkably neat and clean. Possibly people did not use a hearth to prevent the inside of the house from getting sooty. The kitchen is equipped with *tatami* and sliding screen doors, and the women are able to sit down and cook. Incidentally, a folding rather than round fan is used for building a fire. A round fan would be more effective, though.

- 1 shelf
- 2 box
- 3 fruit or taro?
- 4 bowl
- 5 carp
- 6 sake pot
- 7 tatami (with kōrai pattern edgings)
- 8 takatsuki
- 9 bowl heaped up with rice
- 10 small dish 11 wearing one's hair down
- 12 kosode 13 skirt
- 14 brazier
- 15 cauldron
- 16 fan
- 17 fanning fire
- 18 sliding screen door
- 19 mairado





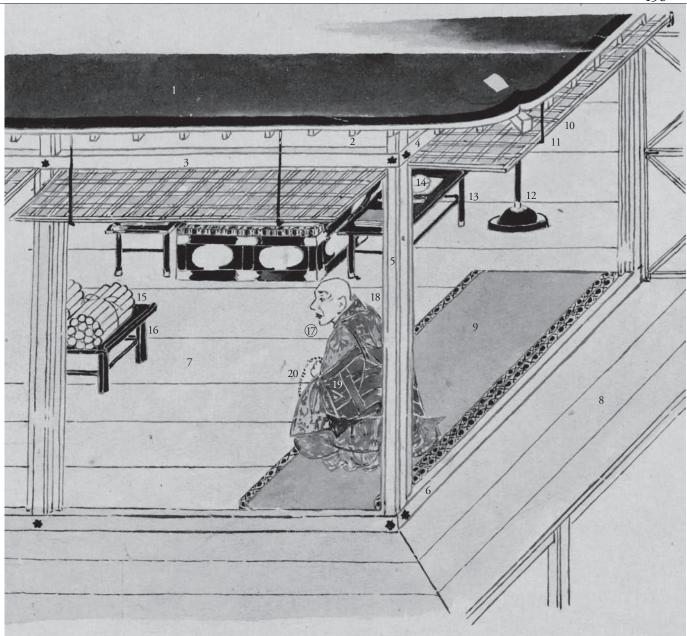
#### 455 Palanquin, Long Chest

The picture above taken from Scroll 1 is part of the scene in which Priest Ryōben enshrines a statue of Kannon in the Ishiyamadera Temple and practices a secret ritual. The picture below depicts servants carrying sutra scrolls that are to be offered to the temple by Retired Emperor En'yū. The item depicted in the picture above must be what is called kogoshi, or small palanquin, for it does not have a roof. Probably it was used for bringing the statue of Kannon. It is very simple. According to the Jōgan gishiki, the carriers of kogoshi were supposed to wear an indigo garment, hakama, and white hemp obi, which exactly correspond with this scene. When a person sits on a palanquin, a mat will be placed on the seat. And it was extremely rare for aristocrats to use a roofless palanquin. Such kogoshi palanquins must have become the model for the litters for transporting people over rivers that were seen, for example, at the Ōi River in later periods.

A long chest like the one in the picture below is referred to

- 1 eboshi
- 2 indigo garment
- 3 hakama
- 4 sitting on the heels with bending ankles
- 5 tate-eboshi
- 6 small palanquin
- 7 straw sandals (*waraji*)
- 8 obi
- 9 long chest
- 10 cord tied around the chest
- 11 balancing pole
- 12 chest leg

earlier. We can learn from this illustration that long chests were used for carrying precious items such as sutra scrolls. Precious items were put into chests with legs, so that they would not touch the earth directly. Additionally, chests for ritual purpose were basically made of plain wood. The carriers of the chest wear attire similar to that of the bearers of the palanquin. However, while the palanquin bearers wear leggings (habaki), the chest carriers wear straw sandals (wara-ji) on barefeet.

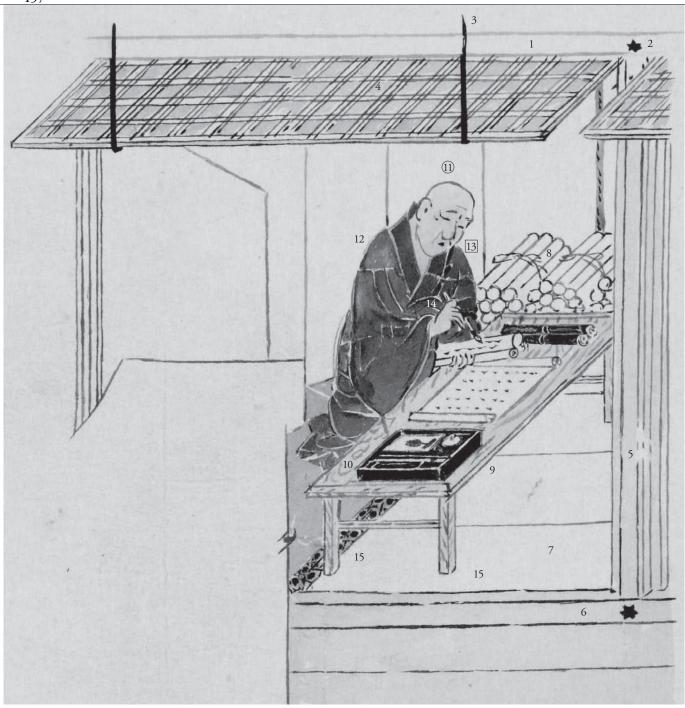


- 1 cypress bark roof
- 2 rafter
- 3 nageshi over kamoi
- 4 ornament for hiding nails
- 5 pillar (chamfered)
- 6 lower nageshi
- 7 wooden floor
- 8 porch
- 9 tatami (with kōrai pattern cloth edgings)
- 10 lattice shutter
- 11 metal shutter hook
- 12 floor lamp
- 13 table
- 14 bowl-shaped chime
- 15 sutra scroll
- 16 sutra desk
- 17 priest
- 18 priestly robes
- 19 kesa
- 20 Buddhist rosary

# 456 Temple Furnishing

This picture from Scroll 2 depicts the scene where the senior priest Kōkei entreats Jun'yū to receive his teachings. Kōkei was one of the highest-ranked priests at Mount Hiei's Enryakuji Temple, but came to seek the teachings of Jun'yū at Fugen-in of the Ishiyamadera Temple. Jun'yū sits outside the picture to the left, and Kōkei sits on *tatami* placed across the wooden floor from Jun'yū. The position of his seat suggests that Kōkei is presenting himself as a disciple of Jun'yū, regardless of his higher status. Just below the lattice shutter is probably the seat where Jun'yū would sit when performing rituals. A *shumidan*, where a Buddhist statue is placed, would be set behind the seat. And we can see the leg of a floor lamp at its right. The pillars are chamfered. Such pillars are considered as a transitional style from the round to the square-pillar style.

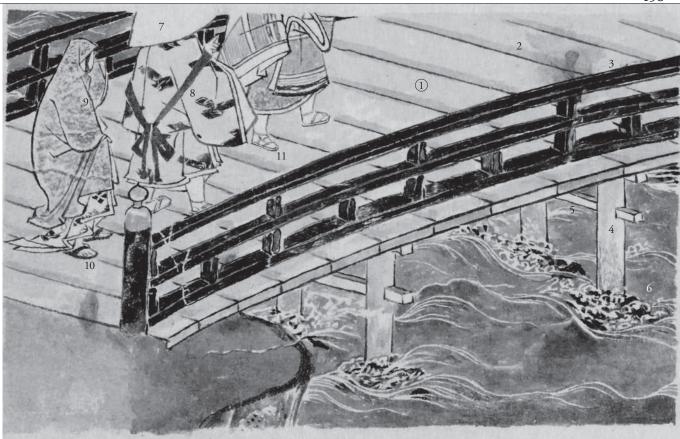
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### 457 Temple Furnishing

This picture is a continuation of the previous one. Jun'yū is copying a sutra. He sits on a tatami and at a desk. The desk is a simple plain wood four-legged type. The case for writing materials is pretty much the same as those of today. Jun'yū is writing on the scroll of paper in his hand. This way of writing was widely seen until recently. If it was necessary to write neatly, one would write on a desk and rest one's hands on it. Sutras were mostly written on scrolls and occasionally made into a folded book.

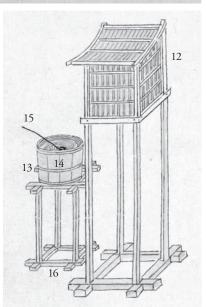
- nageshi over lintel
- ornament for hiding nails
- metal shutter hook
- 4 lattice shutter
- pillar (chamfered)
- 6 lower nageshi
- 7 wooden flo 8 sutra scroll wooden floor
- 9 desk
- 10 case for writing materials
- (1) priest
- 12 priestly robes
- 13 writing 14 brush
- 15 tatami (with kōrai pattern cloth edgings)



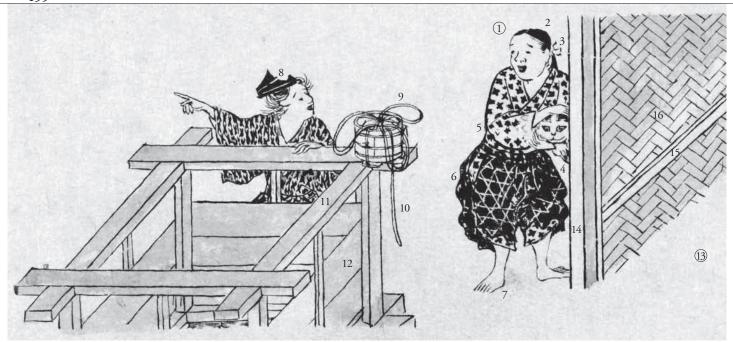
# 458 Bridge, Argha Shelf

The picture above from Scroll 5 depicts the Uji Bridge, and the picture below from Scroll 4 the argha shelf at Fugen-in, the residence of Jun'yū. As far as can be judged from this illustration, the Uji Bridge does not differ very much from the Seta Bridge, and one wonders whether the two were really alike. In any case, fine bridges of the time were presumably constructed in the manner depicted, by erecting bridge supports in the river at regular intervals, placing beams over them, laying planks on top, and adding railings on both sides.

Turning our eyes to the picture below, we find a water bucket sitting at the left, and the construction with a roof to its right is the *argha* shelf. *Argha*, read as *aka* in Japanese, is a Sanskrit word meaning water. Still today people of the Inland Sea area call the water that has pooled in a ship "aka," and the bucket used for scooping out such water "akatori." The *aka* bucket in this picture is a type made of staves and hoops. Such a type of bucket seems to have been used from around the Muromachi period. *Argha* shelves were used when drawing water into a flask for offering to the Buddha or for washing one's hands, and floral offerings were placed in a bucket and kept on such shelves as well. This sort of equipment is still found at old temples, but most of them are not movable like here in the picture but fixed at the end of a corridor or at the edge of a porch.



- 1 bridge
- 2 plank used for the bridge
- 3 railings
- 4 bridge support
- 5 bridge beam
- 6 foundation supporting bridge supports
- 7 ichimegasa
- 8 sash used by women
- 9 kinukazuki
- 10 straw sandals (zōri)
- 11 straw sandals (waraji)
- 12 argha shelf
- 13 water bucket (with hoops)
- 14 hoop
- 15 ladle
- 16 stand for a bucket

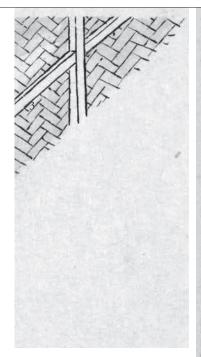


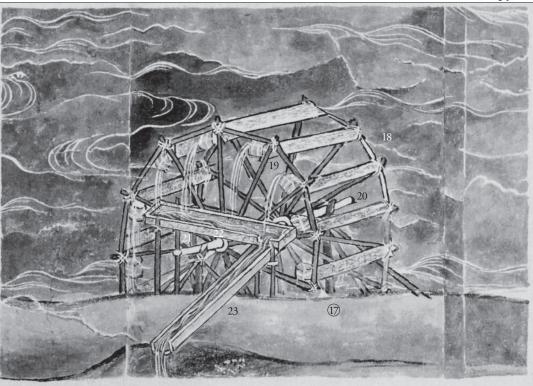


# 459 Well, Spring, Waterwheel

The picture at the upper left taken from Scroll 5 depicts the backyard of the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi, the picture below from Scroll 3 the spring at the Ōsaka Checkpoint, and the picture at the right the waterwheel for raising water at the Uji River. Each has something to do water. The well in the first picture has square well curbs and its inner sides are lined with planks fit into the frame; it is very much the same

as wells nowadays. The well bucket is a *magemono*, made of a piece of wood bent into a round shape. This is a well for drawing groundwater. A boy holding a cat is standing by a wickerwork fence. Dogs appear quite often in picture scrolls, but cats are rare. Yet from this scene, we can learn that cats were domesticated and cared for as pets. The spring at the Ōsaka Checkpoint was cherished by the people of Kyōto. In the picture, the water gushes from a slope near the checkpoint, and a conduit conveys the water to the stream. The

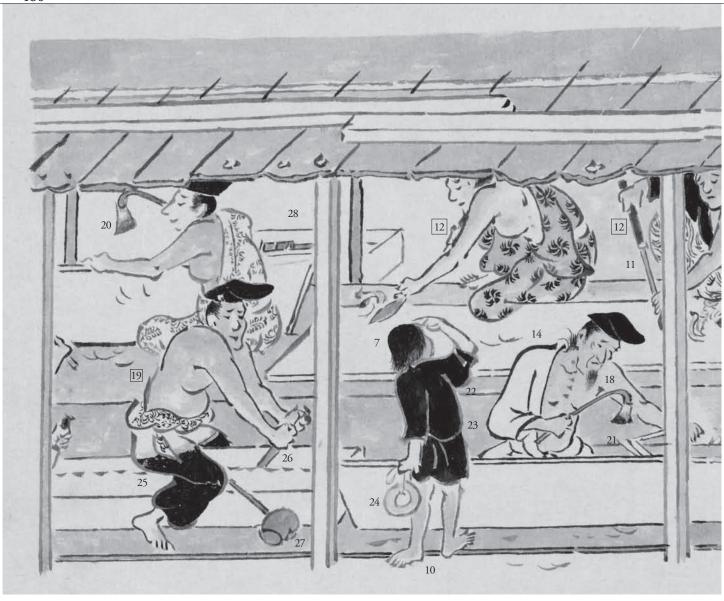




water source is protected by a stone wall. In the past, springs and streams were the most important sources of drinking water. Several examples of using water conduits for drawing water from a stream can be found in picture scrolls. The spring water at the checkpoint was not drawn to houses and used for cooking, but much used by travelers to quench their thirst. Such care for travelers seems to have been provided from early days; we can find in the *Ippen hijirie* a scene where a well is being dug by the highway near the Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine in the province of Yamashiro. This also must have been a facility for the convenience of travelers.

The waterwheel in the picture at the right uses the river water to rotate the wheel, and the water in the small buckets attached to the end of the blades streams into a tank and then flows through water conduits into rice paddies. The use of waterwheels to harness river water for grinding or pounding grain was seen from ancient times, but they were at the same time used for conveying water to a higher elevation. Using waterwheels for conveying water higher was a practice widely seen around Yodo downstream on the Uji River, but one would not be able to find any trace today. Yet in the countryside, one can still find such waterwheels used for irrigating rice paddies. The areas where such waterwheels are most widely seen are Hiroshima and Okayama Prefectures along the Chūgoku mountains, and Ōita Prefecture. This writer has also seen them in Tokushima Prefecture. Their structure is almost the same as what is depicted in this illustration. Presumably such waterwheels were much more widely used in the past. The larger the wheel is, the higher it can convey the water. However, it must be set on a current or otherwise the wheel will not rotate. In the case of still water, pedaled wheels were used for lifting water to a higher elevation.

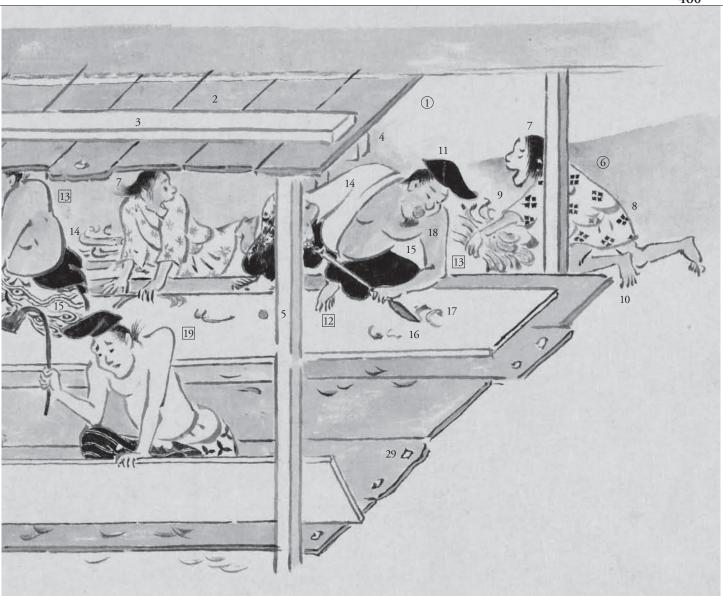
- (1) boy holding a cat
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 cord for tying the hair
- 4 cat
- 5 kosode
- 6 *hakama* 7 barefoot
- 8 samurai-eboshi
- o samurai-eoc
- 9 well bucket
- 10 rope for a well bucket 11 well curb
- 12 well walls (horizontal planks)
- (3) wickerwork wall 14 supporting post
- 15 crossbeam
- 16 wickerwork
- (17) waterwheel
- 18 frame of the waterwheel
- 19 water bucket
- 20 axle
- 21 bearing
- 22 water tank
- 23 water conduit
- 24 springwater near checkpoint
- 25 stone wall



#### 460 Construction Site, Lumberyard

The picture above from Scroll 1 depicts the construction site of the Ishiyamadera Temple, and the one below a lumberyard there. The construction site has a temporary shed. A similar sort of construction site can be found in the Kasuga gongen genki. This may be because the same artist painted the two scrolls. Another example can be found in the Taima mandara engi. Such sheds were presumably a means for preventing the lumber from getting wet during the long period of construction. The shed has a pent roof, and both the roof and the floor are made of planks. Each plank has two holes at its end. These holes are called hanaguri (literally, nose holes). When men dragged lumber, they did so by passing a rope through such holes and pulling the rope. Then the lumber would be split into planks, but the holes would remain. Saws were used when cutting lumber cylindrically or planks transversely, but when cutting them lengthwise, chisels or wedges were used to split them. For doing this, the grain had to be straight. The man at the left end is splitting a piece of lumber. After cutting, the planks are smoothened first with an adze and later with a spear plane.

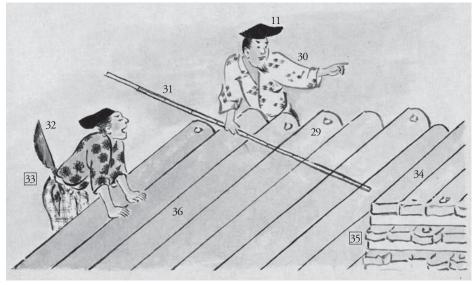
- (1) carpenters' shed at a construction site
- plank of roof
- bar holding down the roof
- beam
- pillar
- 6 young boy 7 untied hair
- kosode (patterned)
- wood shavings
- 10 barefoot
- nae-eboshi
- planing
- 13 baring one shoulder
- 14 kosode (plain white)
- 15 hakama
- 16 spear plane
- 17 plank
- 18 beard



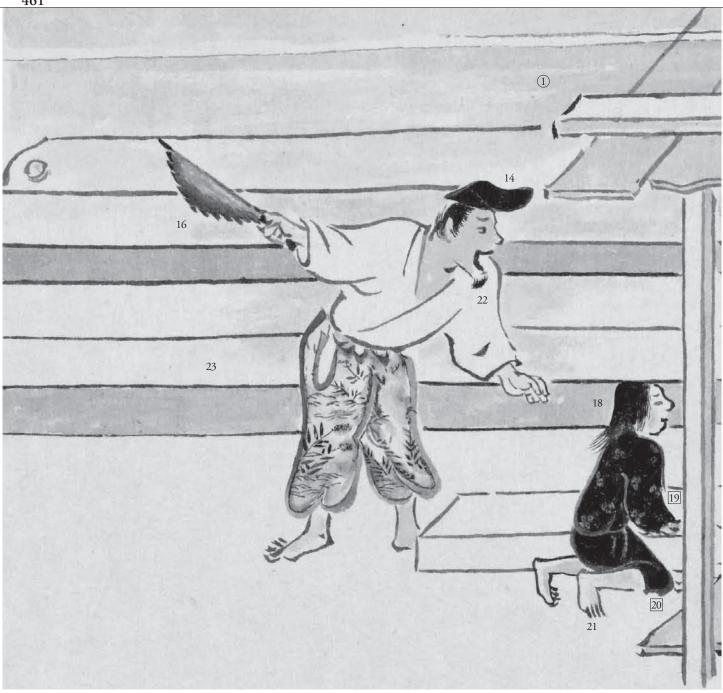
- 19 stripping to the waist 20 adze

- 20 adze
  21 carpenter's square
  22 kosode
  23 cord around one's waist
  24 toy
  25 yonobakama
  26 chisel
  27 wooden hammer
  28 toolbox
  29 hole in plank
  30 narrow-sleeved garment
  31 ruler
- 31 ruler

- 31 ruler
  32 saw
  33 wearing one's saw at the hip
  34 plank split or sawn rectangularly from a log
  35 piled up in alternate directions
  36 log



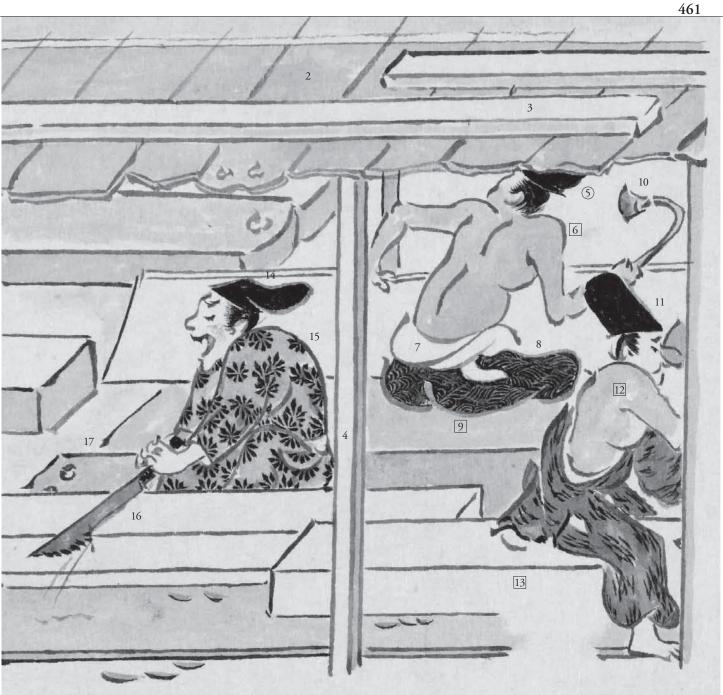
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#### 461 Construction Site

This is a continuation of the former picture. The man at the right end, baring his shoulder, is splitting a piece of lumber with a chisel. The man next to him, stripping his clothes to the waist, is scraping off the surface of a plank with an adze. Carpenters smoothened planks roughly in this way. The process of refining them with a spear plane can be found in the former picture. Planes in the form used today appeared only at the end of the Middle Ages. Until the end of the fourteenth century, saws were used only for cutting lumber transversely. We can confirm how they were used in this scene as well. The blade of the saw is semicircular and the handle is very short. It is difficult to split lumber with such a saw.

A construction site was a busy and cheerful place where many carpenters were working, and children loved to play there. Both in this picture and the former picture children are depicted. Three children appear in the former scene, and none of them have their hair tied up. They wear an unlined short garment leading to their hips. They must be small children who have not yet gone through *hakamagi*, a celebration of wearing *hakama* for the first time. The child behind the shed in the first picture is holding wood shavings in his hands. He may be collecting them in one place. The boy in the foreground is holding a ring suspended from a cord. Probably it is a toy that one plays with by throwing and rolling it. In the picture on this page, a child is holding down lumber to help with sawing it. This does not differ a bit from today's children. Incidentally, at the lumberyard on the previous page, a carpenter is holding a ruler. This ruler was used for measuring long items.

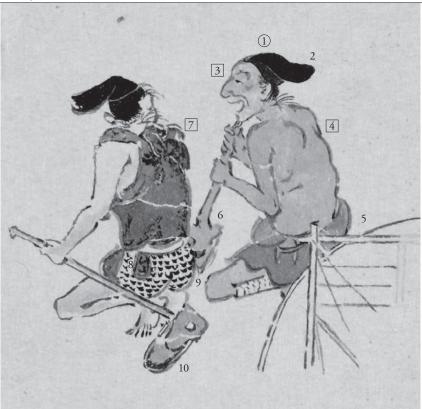


- 1 carpenters' shop at a construction site
  2 plank of roof
  3 bar holding down the roof
  4 square pillar
  5 man scraping the surface of a plank
  6 stripping to the waist
  7 kosode (plain)
  8 yonobakama (patterned)
  9 sitting cross-legged
  10 adze
  11 tate-eboshi

- 11 *tate-eboshi*12 baring one shoulder

- 13 sitting over lumber 14 nae-eboshi
- 15 narrow-sleeved garment (floral pattern)
- 16 saw

- 16 saw
  17 hole in plank
  18 untied hair
  19 steadying lumber so as to keep it from moving
  20 sitting on the heels with bent ankles
  21 barefoot
  22 mustache and beard
  23 squared lumber





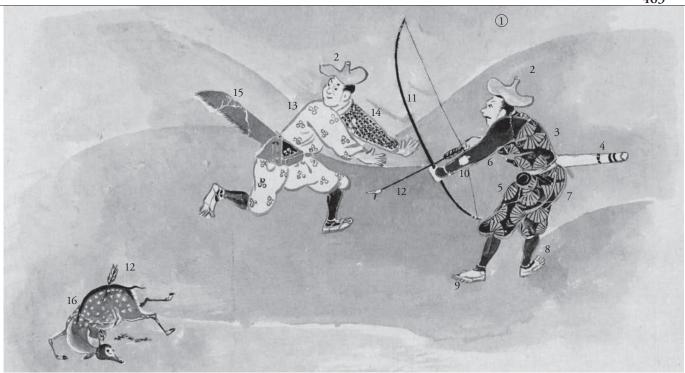
- (1) man squatting
- 2 nae-eboshi
- 3 laughing
- 4 stripping to the waist
- 5 sleeveless garment?
- 6 spade
- 7 tying both sleeves together at the back
- 8 flint sack

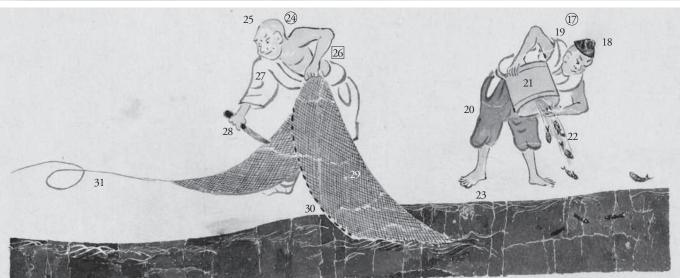
- 9 hakama (patterned)
- 10 hoe
- [11] shading one's eyes with one's hand
- 12 kosode (patterned)
- 13 yonobakama (patterned)
- 14 carpenter's square
- 15 barefoot

462 Laborers

These pictures are from the scene of the construction of the Ishiyamadera Temple in Scroll 1. The one at the left depicts workers engaged in earthworks to construct the foundation of the temple, and the one at the right illustrates a carpenter. The earthwork workers are wearing nae-eboshi, the one at the left ties his sleeves together at the back while the other strips to the waist, and both wear a pair of yonobakama. The man at the right also wears leggings (kyahan). These workers are all barefooted. Presumably such clothing was most convenient for manual labor. The earthwork workers are holding farming tools. The one at the left has a hoe in his hand. The hoe is made of a piece of wood that serves as a base around which is fit a U-shaped blade; to this is attached a handle. The blade is round. Round blades were more useful when digging earth. It is also noteworthy that the angle between the base and the handle is large. The man at the right is holding a spade. The spade was a forerunner of the shovel, and it is used in the same way, by stepping on its "shoulder" and turning the soil. Spades and hoes were widely used from ancient times for digging, and though they were farming tools, they were also used for construction.

The carpenter in the picture at the right is wearing ostentatious garments. One of the features of this picture scroll is that carpenters and servants are depicted wearing kosode with various patterns. Presumably these patterns were not embroidered but printed. The tool at his side is probably a square. The carpenter's square is given the pronunciation of magarigane in the Wamyō ruijūshō. Later it was called either kanejaku or sashigane. It was used by carpenters when constructing houses, and a shaku in a carpenter's square was equivalent to eight sun in a kujirajaku, a type of sewing ruler, and 8.333 sun in a gofukujaku, another type of sewing ruler. By unifying ruler lengths, the standard length of lumber could be decided. Kanejaku was used for measuring distances, the length of lumber and various items. Yet cloth and garments were measured by different rulers called gofukujaku. Gofukujaku were made from the bone of a whale (kujira) and were called kujirajaku. If so, kujirajaku should have the same length as *gofukujaku*, but a *shaku* in *gofukujaku* is supposed to be equivalent to one shaku and two sun in kanejaku, while that in kujirajaku is supposed to be one shaku, two sun, and five bu in kanejaku.



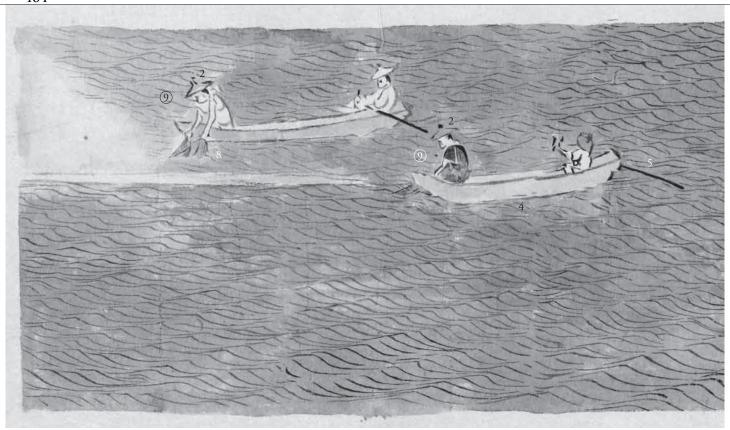


# 463 Hunting, Fishing Net

Both pictures are from the scene of forbidding the destruction of life in the Ishiyamadera Temple in Scroll 2. In the Middle Ages, the number of deer in this area was extremely large, and probably the number of those hunting them was not small either. Especially the ban on the destruction of life in the precincts of temples may have caused animals to move into such areas. The deer in Kasuga or the monkeys on Mt. Hiei may be the surviving descendants of such animals. The hunters in this scene dress differently from those depicted in the Ippen hijirie. They wear hitatare, bracers, yonobakama, leggings (kyahan), and straw sandals (waraji). On their heads they wear woven hats with koji, a space to allow room for a man's topknot. They are probably warriors in hunting garb and not professional hunters. The net in the picture below is a seine and presumably was used in the same way as depicted in Picture 464.

- 1 hunter
- woven hat
- hitatare (patterned)
- quiver
- bowstring
- short sword
- hakama
- 8 leggings (kyahan)
- straw sandals (waraji)
- 10 bracer
- 11 bow
- 12 arrow
- 13 hitatare (patterned)
- 14 bracer (patterned)
- 15 quiver (fur)
- 16 deer

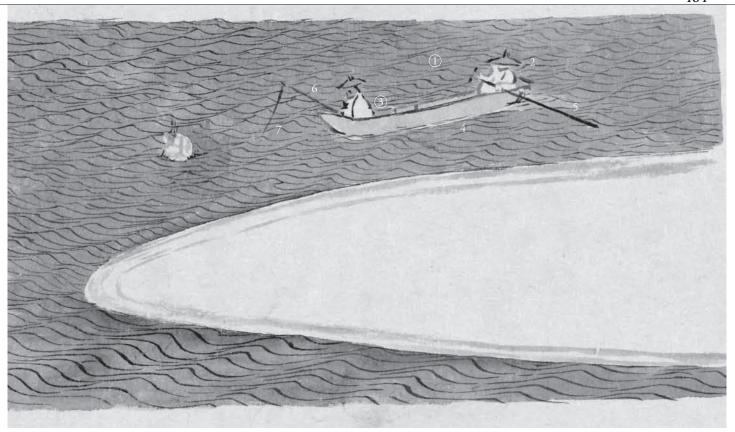
- (17) man freeing fish
- 18 cloth headwear
- 19 rolling sleeves up 20 yonobakama
- 21 bucket (wooden container)
- 22 fish
- 23 barefoot
- 24 man cutting fishing net
- 25 shaved head
  26 baring one shoulder
- 27 kosode
- 28 short sword (drawn)
- 29 fishing net
- 30 floats
- 31 rope



#### 464 River Fishing

Both pictures are taken from Scroll 1. The one above is the Seta River illustrated in the scene of the visit of Retired-Emperor Uda to the Ishiyamadera Temple. In the ship at the right, a man is sitting at the bow and fishing. He is fishing with a rod. The man at the stern is using an oar to row. It is a single oar, and thus probably he is rowing in the same way as today. The picture below depicts the god of Hira fishing. This is also rod-fishing, and the god is sitting on a rock. Next to him is a creel. From these scenes we can learn that there were seashore fishing and boat fishing. In the picture above, people are hauling a net at the upper left corner. It appears that they are hauling one net from two boats. The boat in the background has its oar at the starboard, and the one in the foreground has it at the port. And the man at the bow of the former boat faces this way, while the one in the latter shows his back. It is not clear whether they are hauling a seine-like net or a trapping net, but since they are working in a river, presumably it is a kind of trapping net. None of the fishermen wears eboshi. The ones wearing straw hats probably tie their hair in buns (mage) rather than erect-topknots (tatemotodori). It is unlikely that they have cut their hair short, which can be confirmed by the pictures on the next page. The boats used for fishing were presumably dugout boats. This can be suspected from the form of their bows. However, the sterns are in a square form similar to hagibune, boats made by joining boards. We cannot be sure whether the fishermen wore hats rather than *eboshi* to protect themselves from the sun, or because it was the standard fisherman style.

- (1) boat for rod-fishing
  - woven hat
- (3) fisherman
- fishing boat
- 5 oar
- 6 fishing rod
- fishing line
- 8 fishing net
  (9) man hauling in a net
- 10 zukin
- 11 headband
- 12 Chinese style robe
- 13 obi
- 14 shoes
- 15 creel







- 1 dugout boat
- unawa?
- 3 oar
- 4 sedge hat
- 5 kosode (patterned)
- 6 rowing to keep the boat at the same place
- 7 kosode (patterned)
  - 8 tying up one's sleeves with a cord
  - 9 weight for net?
- 10 boat beam

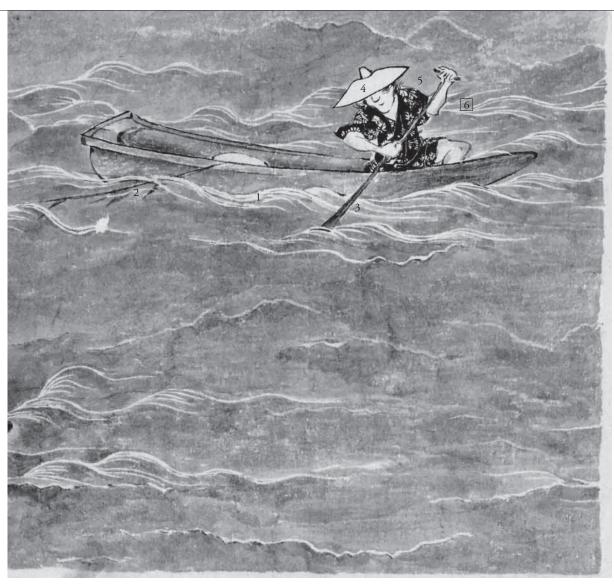
- 11 wooden container
- 12 four-armed scoop net
- 13 the rod of the four-armed scoop net
- 14 straw waist apron
- 15 short sword

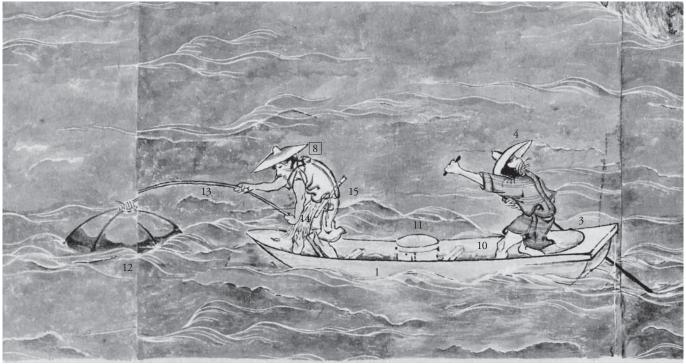
# 465 River Fishing

These pictures are parts of the scene from Scroll 5 in which the man from eastern Japan, by the grace of *Kannon*, retrieves the retired emperor's epistle from the stomach of a carp by the Uji Bridge. It is very similar to the picture in the page before, and its composition perhaps copies the scene of fishing at the Seta River of Scroll 1, but the fishing methods are not the same. In the picture above, two boatsmen seem to be rowing and pulling something like a net, but at second sight, it does not look like a net. Something like pieces of wood are attached to parts of the ropes. They may be pieces of wood or cloth, or they may even be bird feathers. If so, these ropes may be what is called *unawa*, literally a "cormorant rope," a kind of fishing tackle made of ropes to which were attached pieces of wood and cormorant feathers.

*Unawa* is used at rivers for driving *ayu* trout into trapping nets; in this case, in the original picture there is a fishing weir to the right, so the fishermen may be driving the fish there.

They are wearing hats with *koji* and *kosode*, and the man in the foreground ties his sleeves together at the back. The boats are dugouts. The tackle used in the picture below is a four-armed scoop net. Four-armed scoop nets are typically set under water for a while and pulled in, but in this picture it seems the man is just letting it float at the surface so that he can quickly pull it up when fish swim over it. Presumably the method of attracting fish with bait in the net was practiced as well. The man handling the net is wearing a straw waist apron and a short sword and has what seems to be a flint sack at his side. His hair under the hat appears to be tied up. Two beams are set crosswise in the boat. The rowing technique appears to differ greatly from one rower to another.

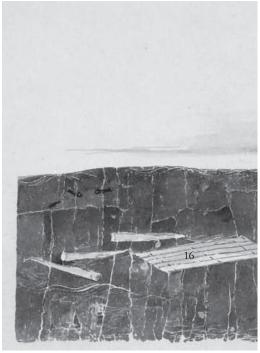




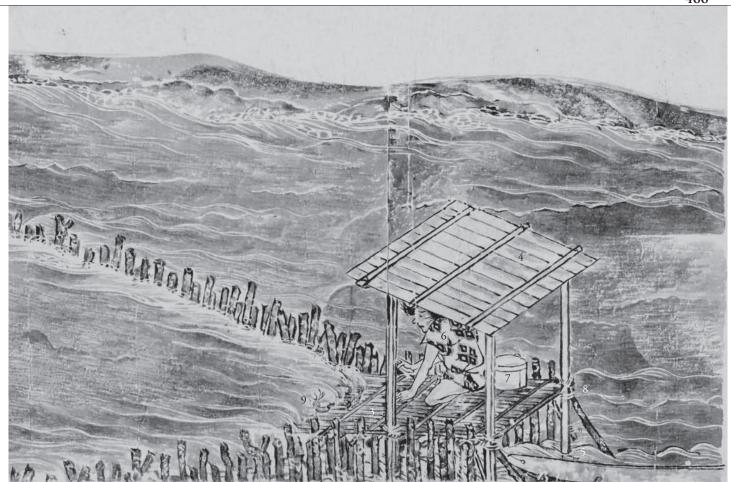


# 466 Fishing Weir

The picture above is taken from Scroll 5 and the one below from Scroll 2. A fishing weir, called yana, is a structure consisting of stakes set in the form of a funnel along the current of a river and a lattice pier constructed at the narrow end; one waits at the pier and catches with one's hands the fish coming through the funnel, pushed by the current. At rivers where the speed of the current was quick enough, such weirs were often constructed. The history of this fishing method seems to go back very far, for one can find the following entry from the fourth year of Emperor Tenmu (675) in the Nihon shoki: "From now on, various types of fishing and hunting must be restricted; cages, traps, and spring spears must not be constructed. From the first day of the fourth month to the thirtieth day of the ninth month, people must not construct himasakiri yana. Those who transgresse will be punished." This record provides informative evidence of the fishing and hunting methods of the time. But these restrictions seem not to have been very effective, and weirs were constructed in many parts of the country. The picture below depicts the priests and servants of the Ishiyamadera Temple destroying the weir that the kugonin of Seta had constructed, as the facility transgresses the ban of the destruction of life. The picture above depicts the yana at Uji, downstream on the Seta River. It is a fascinating example showing



the complete form of a fishing weir. The lattice pier has a roof for shade, and a man crouches on it, trying to catch fish. The fish jumping over the pier resemble *ayu* trout. The fish caught would be placed in the wooden container bucket behind the man. Incidentally, the stakes of a fishing weir seem to have been called *ajirogi* as well.



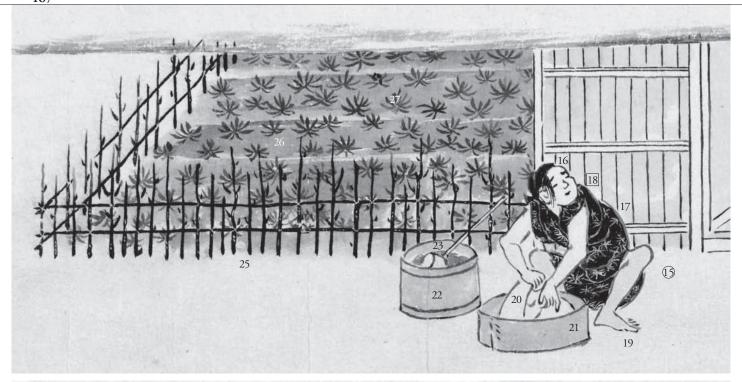


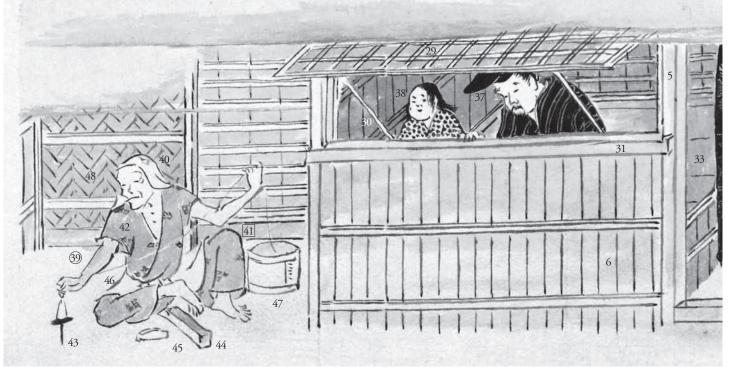
- fishing weir
   stakes of fishing weir
   lattice pier
   plank roof

- 5 riverboat
- 6 kosode (pattern with four hollow lozenges)
  7 wooden container
  8 rope to tie the deck to posts

- 9 *ayu* trout? 10 naked man

- 11 hair knot 12 shaved head
- 13 loincloth (front)
- 14 loincloth (back) 15 rod 16 plank of roof



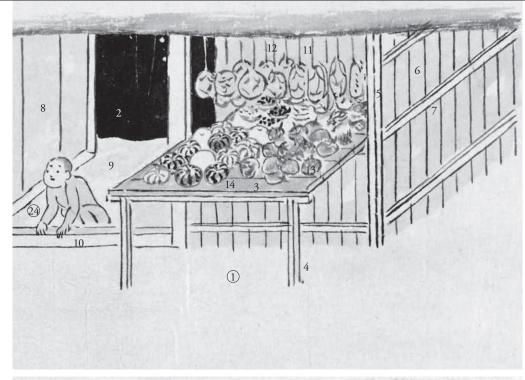


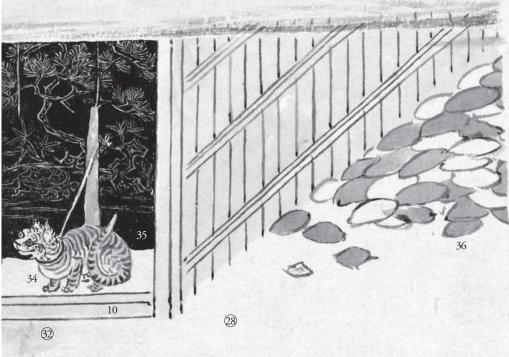
## 467 Shop, Laundry, Hand Spindle

Both pictures are from Scroll 2. These are townspeople's houses of *katagawa sumai* style. We have repeatedly pointed out that the structure of the houses of farmers and those of townspeople differed. Here we can see the life style in townspeople's houses very well. The house in the picture above is a shop; squash and fruit are placed on the display table, and sandals hang from above. The squash on the table may be striped squash, and the fruit seems to be pears and grapes. These are all summer products. The child is completely naked. It is noteworthy that the woman is crouching and

washing clothes in a basin. Contemporaries almost always washed by stamping laundry, but here a basin is used just like today. The laundry must be of soft material such as silk or be something small. A vegetable garden lies next to the house.

The house in the picture below is also *katagawa sumai*. *Noren* curtains with patterns of pines and bamboo are hung at the entrance. A cat is tied by a cord at its neck just like dogs of today. A man and a child are looking out of a propped-up window at the old woman working under the eaves. The woman sits directly on the ground and spins with a hand spindle. A spindle stand and a spinning handle are in

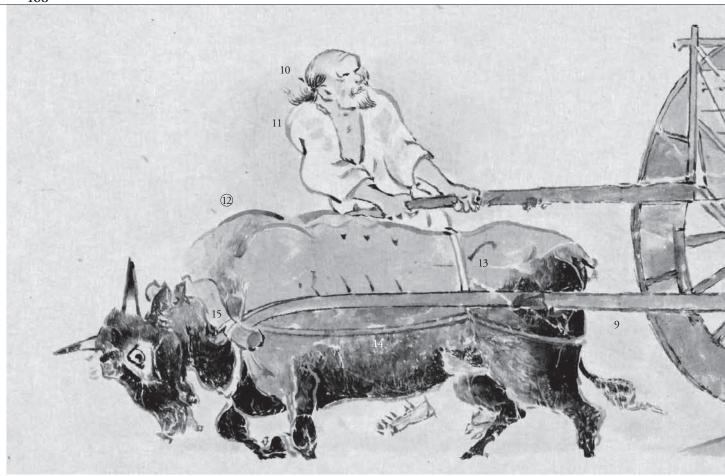




front of her. When placed on a spindle stand and pushed by a spinning handle, the spindle will spin. At the same time the spinner draws out hemp threads from the wooden container, twists them with the power of the rotating spindle, and reels the twisted thread on the spindle. This kind of hand spindle could be found rather easily in the Tōhoku region or fishing villages until the 1930s, but are hardly used today. Spinning wheels came to be developed after the cultivation of cotton began and the necessity of spinning cotton arose. This is because cotton fibers are too short to spin with hand spindles.

- 1 shop
- noren
- display table for goods
- leg of the table pillar (square)
- 6 plank wall
- crosspiece on plank wall
- 8 plank of wall
- doma
- 10 threshold
- 11 straw sandals (waraji)
- 12 straw sandals (zōri) (shikire?)
- 13 fruit
- 14 squash
- (1) woman doing wash 16 hair (wrapped with a scrap of cloth)
- 17 kosode
- 18 rolling sleeves up
- 19 barefoot
- 20 cloth
- 21 basin (wood container)
- 22 bucket (wood container)
- 23 ladle
- 24 naked child
- 25 fence
- 26 cultivated field
- 27 vegetable
- 28 townspeople's house
- 29 propped-up window
- 30 stick for propping up window
- 31 window frame
- (32) entrance to a townspeople's house
- 33 wooden floor
- 34 cat (tied to a cord)
- 35 noren (pattern of pine, bamboo, and turtle)
- 36 garden pebbles
- 37 nae-eboshi
- 38 untied hair
- 39 aged woman
- 40 zukin
- 41 sitting with one knee up 42 sleeveless garment
- 43 hand spindle
- 44 spindle stand
- 45 spinning handle
- 46 apron
- 47 wooden container
- 48 wickerwork wall

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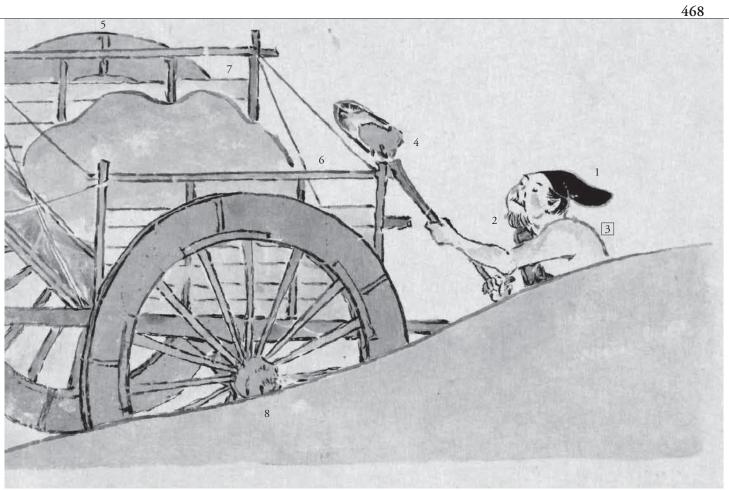


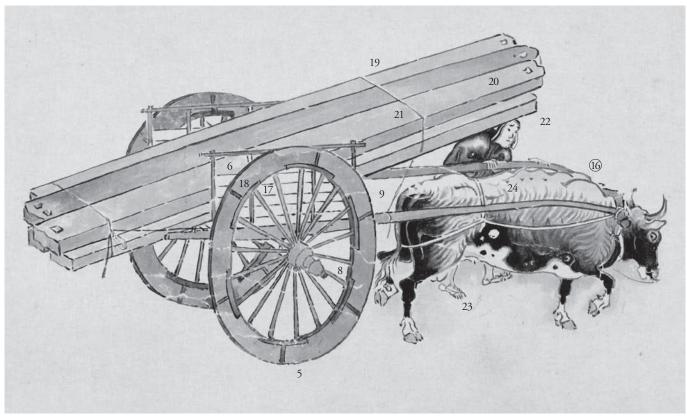
#### 468 Oxcart

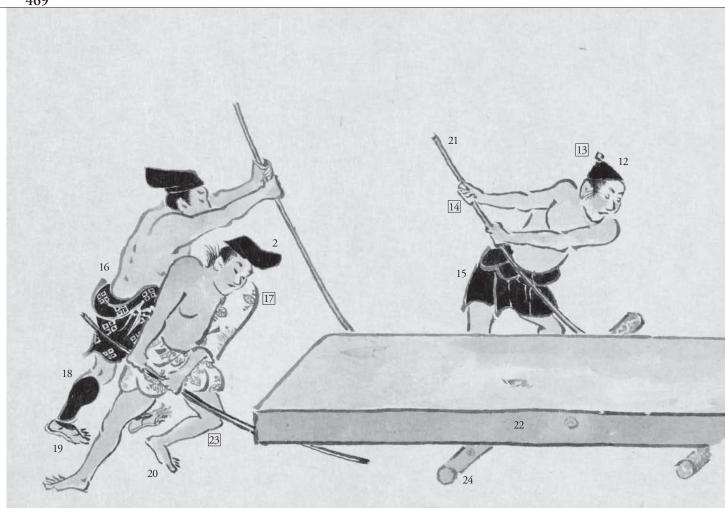
Both pictures are from Scroll 1. These are oxcarts used for transporting. lumber and soil at the construction site of the Ishiyamadera Temple. The distribution of oxcarts and some of their aspects have already been discussed. From picture scrolls, we can learn that oxcarts, mostly two-wheeled carts, were widely used at construction sites in areas around Kyōto. A spade is used for loading soil on the cart. It appears that the wheels are framed with iron. The wheels are probably made of hard wood such as oak, and each consists of six pieces joined together at the inner rim with braces and is connected to the axle by spokes. By these techniques the wheels could be made sturdy.

The cattle engaged in heavy labor are covered with straw capes. These large capes are tied to the ox at its neck and in addition strapped on its body with a back strap and side straps. These capes are presumably for preventing the cattle from getting hurt by, for example, the poles of the cart. There were more than a few varieties of cattle; differing according to origin, the Kokugyū jūzu and Sungyū ekotoba provide explanations of the temperament of various type of cattle. The ox in the picture above is black while the one below is spotted. Today, spotted cattle are typically Holstein, but it is not clear whether the ox appearing in this picture has such European blood in it. Apparently there was also great diversity in size; the ox in the picture above is not so big compared with the height of the men. It appears that in this era it was not yet customary to protect the feet of cattle engaging in heavy labor with straw sandals (waraji).

- 1 nae-eboshi
- 2 mustache and beard
- 3 baring one shoulder
- 4 spade
- 5 wheel
- 6 wooden frame
- 7 horizontal plank
- 8 axle
- 9 poles of oxcart
- 10 hair tied in back
- 11 kosode (plain)
- 12 black ox
- 13 back strap
- 14 side strap
- 15 yoke
- 16 spotted ox
- 17 spoke 18 braces
- 19 plank
- 20 hole in lumber
- 21 cord tying lumber
- 22 wearing one's hair down
- 23 straw sandals (waraji)
- 24 straw cape

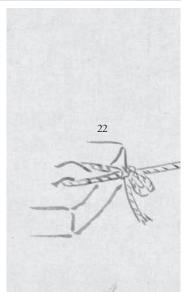




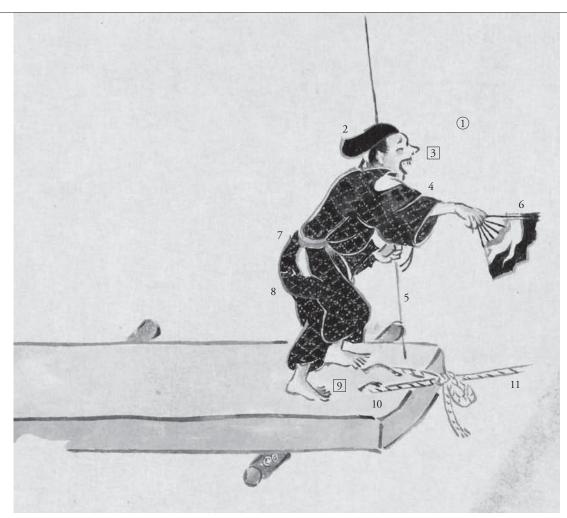


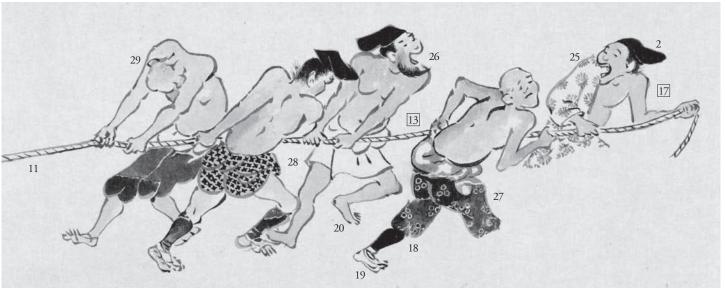
# 469 Hauling Lumber

These pictures from Scroll 1 illustrate the scene where workers are pulling lumber for the construction of the Ishiyamadera Temple. For transporting large pieces of lumber, people would hollow out holes at one end of the piece, pass a rope through them, and join together to drag it. Such a method is also depicted in the *Chōjū giga*, and we have also explained it there. The workers dragging the piece of lumber are depicted in the picture below, while the ones pushing it and the leader are shown in the picture above. The clothing of the workers dragging the log show considerable variety. If there is a common point, those with their hair tied up also wear nae-eboshi. Out of five workers, one is baring his shoulder and the rest have stripped to their waist. Also among the three workers pushing the lumber with poles, one bares one shoulder and two are stripped to their waist. We can learn from these pictures that working clothes had to be in a form easy to strip off. Garments called kosode or sodeboso (narrowsleeved garment), which were originally underwear, were used as working clothes. The garments are short, and many of the workers are not wearing hakama. Yet, the leader is wearing suikan and hakama, in accordance with his position. Two of the men dragging the log here have their mouth open wide, and so does the leader, who also holds a fan in his hand. This presumably suggests that they are singing a work song, not just exhorting each other. Work songs were an indispensable part of the work, often accompanied by danc-



ing. These pictures are an example depicting the aspects of play within severe labor. This method of transportation is hardly seen today for lumber, but still sometimes is used for large stones. When the stone is too heavy to load onto a car, workers use roller logs instead. In these cases, the rollers rotate. A similar use of logs can be seen when pulling a fishing boat on shore, but these logs are used for reducing friction and do not rotate.





- ① leader of the hauling operation 2 nae-eboshi
- 3 leading with dance and song 4 suikan 5 stick

- 6 fan 7 *obi*
- 8 yonobakama (patterned)
  9 beating time with one's foot
  10 hole in lumber
- 11 rope for hauling

- 12 cloth headwear

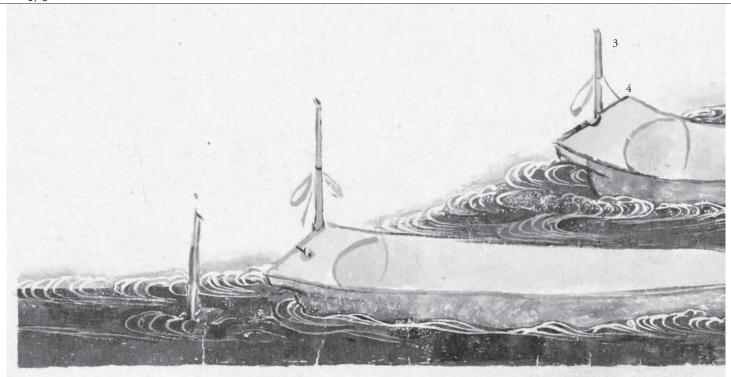
- 12 cloth headwear

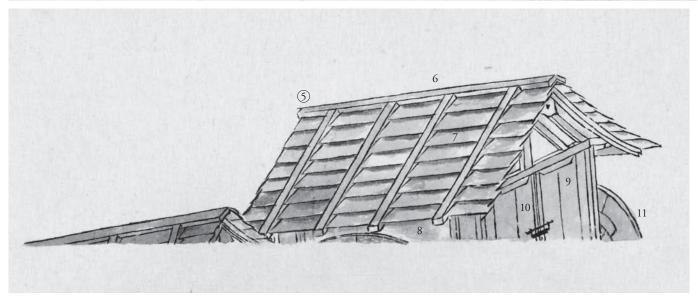
  13 stripping to the waist
  14 rotating a log with a stick
  15 narrow-sleeved garment (wrapped around the waist)
  16 narrow-sleeved garment (pattern with four hollow lozenges)

  17 baring one shoulder
  18 leggings (kyahan)

- 19 straw sandals (waraji)
- 20 barefoot
- 21 pole
- 22 rough-hewn squared lumber

- 23 moving a piece of lumber with a stick 24 log (roller) 25 narrow-sleeved garment (floral pattern)
- 26 beard
- 27 *yonobakama* (three-eye pattern) 28 narrow-sleeved garment (patterned) 29 shaved head





## 470 Dugout Boat, Cart with Patterns, Packhorse

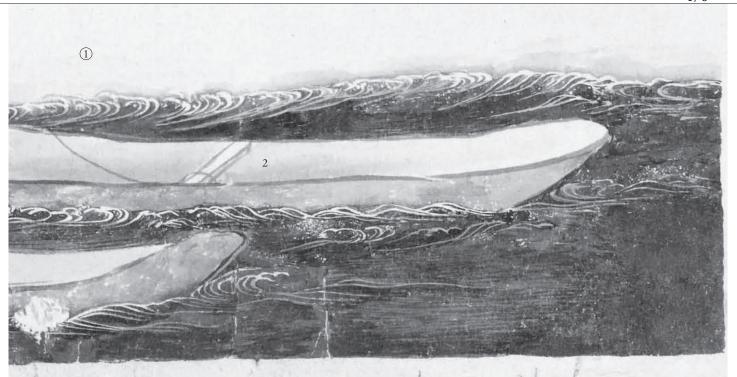
The picture above from Scroll 2 depicts dugout boats at the Seta River, and the one at the lower left is from Scroll 5, while the one to its right is from Scroll 3. These illustrations are all concerned with transportation. Most of the river boats of the time appear to be dugouts. The boats on this page are rather precisely represented. It appears that they are dug out of a half-split log. The bows are made round, while the stern is square. One beam runs in the center of the boat. Anchors seem not to have been used, and instead people moored the boats to stakes at riverbanks. Dugouts were seen at the Yoshino River on Shikoku until the early Shōwa period, but no longer. It is said that a dugout is still used at the Miomote River in Niigata Prefecture, which presumably is the last river dugout.

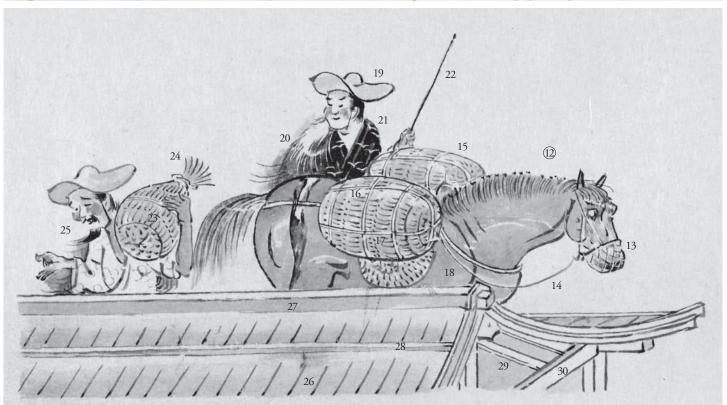
Bunsha is a cart used by court officials of the fourth or fifth

ranks. It is similar to a palanquin with wickerwork coverings, but has wheels. They are called *bunsha*, *mon-no-kuruma*, literally "cart with patterns", because various pictures or patterns were drawn on the wickerwork.

This *bunsha* has doors at the back, and they are locked. Since it appears in the estate of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi, it must belong to his house.

The picture at the right illustrates a horse that appears to be carrying tax rice. The horse is wearing a muzzle. Presumably this is for preventing it from eating things from the street. It also seems not to have a bit. Bits were used for riding horses. Packhorses were probably used from the beginning for carrying loads. The horse is carrying two bales, which are presumably attached to the packsaddle. A pad made of woven straw is visible. Incidentally, bales with the opening closed with a rope, like the one carried by the man at the left, are hardly seen today.





- 1 dugout boat
- 2 boat beam
- 3 mooring pole
- 4 mooring rope
  (5) cart with patterns
  6 ridge
- 7 plank 8 rafter plank roof
- 9 plank door 10 lock

- 11 wheel (12) packhorse
- 13 muzzle
- 14 reins
- 15 bale of rice
- 16 rope tied vertically around a rice bag
- 17 rope tied horizontally around a rice bag 18 panel (made of straw)
- 19 ayaigasa
- 20 straw rain-cape

- 21 kosode (patterned)
- 22 rod
- 23 bale of rice (in the form of straw wrapping)
- 24 tying the opening of the bale 25 mustache and beard
- 26 plank roof
- 27 ridge
- 28 bar holding down the roof (horizontal)
- 29 gable decoration
- 30 beam

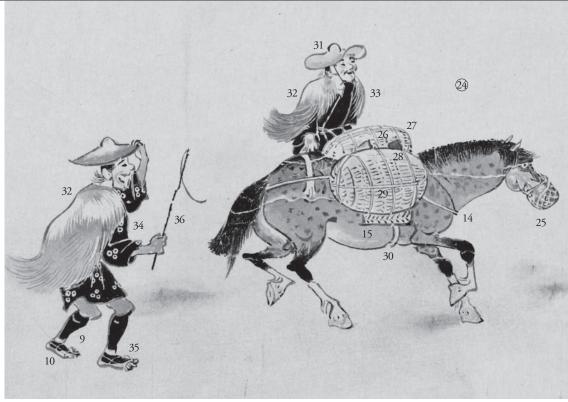


## 471 People Riding on Horses, Packhorse

The picture at the left taken from Scroll 5 depicts the scene of the wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi on her way home after receiving the *nyoi-hōju*, the treasure orb that fulfills every wish. The one at the right from Scroll 3 is the scenery at Ōsaka Checkpoint at the time of the journey of the daughter of Sugawara no Takasue back from the Ishiyamadera Temple. It is a continuation of the illustration of a packhorse in Picture 470. In the picture at the left, ordinary people are riding on horses. Straw-woven pads are placed on the horses' backs, and the wooden saddles look rather close to a pack-

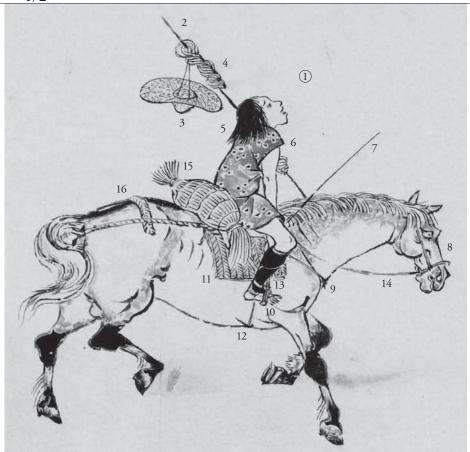
saddle. The man to the rear uses stirrups, but the man in the foreground does not. They are riding very casually. They are all wearing short narrow-sleeved garments and leggings (kyahan). The man in the center is carrying a pole with carp tied to it. In the original picture, two boys are following them. The function of the poles the three men are carrying is not clear. If both ends are pointed, they may be balancing poles. Even to this day, people carrying a balancing pole with a rope wound around it just as in this picture can be found walking in the mountainous regions of Kyūshū. When they have a load to carry, they bind the load with the rope and carry it with the balancing pole. However, the people in this picture





are riding horses, and it is hard to think that someone on horseback would carry a load with a balancing pole. Judging from the fact that only one end appears to be pointed, they could be fish spears. In any case, since the people are not wearing eboshi but wrap their head with a cloth, it is obvious that they are from the lower-classes. Yet, from the way the cloth is wrapped, we can see they have tied their hair into a topknot. The one leading has a sword and a flint sack at his side. This picture shows that the clothing of lower-class people was very close to modern workwear. The horse in the center has its tail tied in a knot. Japanese horses had in general extraordinarily long hair.

- (1) man riding on a horse
- 2 pole with a pointed end
- 3 rope
- 4 cloth headwear
- 5 mustache and beard
- 6 sleeveless garment
- 7 sword
- 8 flint sack
- 9 leggings (habaki)
- 10 straw sandals (waraji)
- (11) horse
- 12 headstall
- 13 reins
- 14 fastening cord
- 15 panel (made of straw)
- 16 saddle
- 17 stirrup 18 knotting the tail
- 19 tying both sleeves together at the back
- 20 carp
- 21 shouldering a pole with a pointed end
- 22 raising a pole with a pointed end
- 23 cord around one's waist
- 24 horse carrying bales of rice
- 25 muzzle
- 26 packsaddle
- 27 bale of rice
- 28 rope tied vertically around a rice bag
- 29 rope tied horizontally around a rice bag
- 30 girth
- 31 ayaigasa
- 32 straw rain-cape
- 33 cord of straw rain-cape
- 34 narrow-sleeved garment (three-eye pattern)
- 35 foot cover
- 36 whip





- 1 child riding on a horse
  2 pole with a pointed end
  3 ayaigasa
  4 rope
  5 untied hair
  6 short-sleeved garment (patterned)
  7 whip
  8 headstall
  9 fastening cord
  10 stirrup

- 11 panel (made of straw)
  12 girth
  13 leggings (*kyahan*)
  14 reins
  15 straw wrapping
  16 saddle pad
  (1) child pilfering some rice
  18 short-sleeved garment (patterned)
  19 wooden saddle
  20 bale of rice

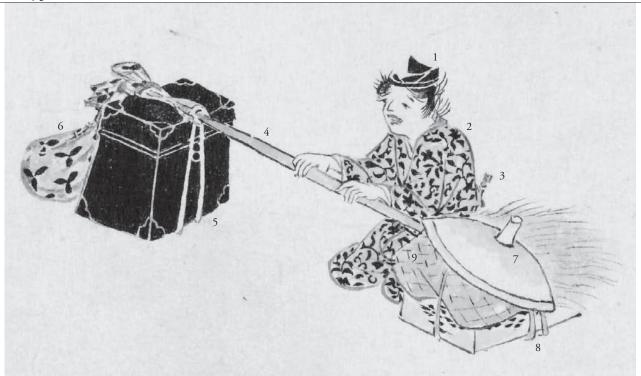
- 21 *nae-eboshi* 22 *kosode* 23 straw sandals (*waraji*) 24 horse carrying bales of rice



# 472 People Riding on Horses, Packhorse

The pictures at the left are from Scroll 5 and the one at the right is from Scroll 2. The pictures at the left are a continuation of the scene of the riders in the former picture. Both are children with untied hair. They wear short narrow-sleeved garments, leggings (kyahan), and straw sandals (waraji), and have ayaigasa. The boy in the upper picture has a straw wrapping at the back of the saddle. Such wrappings were generally used for carrying foodstuffs. These riding styles are of ordinary people; the pads are woven out of straw, the harness seems to be made not of cloth but straw, the saddles are wooden, and the stirrups are not the cup type. These horses were presumably used not only for riding but also as packhorses. The packhorse in the picture at the right is presumably carrying tax rice. Rice bales are loaded at both sides of

the saddle. The boy with untied hair appears to be pouring grains of rice into his mouth. Evidently stealing rice from bales while they were being transported was common practice, and it is illustrated in other picture scrolls as well. The boy must be staving off hunger with the rice pilfered from the bale. As depicted in this illustration, the area from Ōtsu to the Ōsaka Checkpoint must have been busy with people heading from the country to the capital with horses loaded with tax goods. They made long journeys from their home. Some may have changed horses at post stations, but many used the same horse all their way. When this type of transportation network deteriorated, professional transportation businesses began to emerge. The transporters, bashaku, of Sakamoto, in Ōmi, might be one of these. The horse drivers in these pictures may also be professional, judging from the way the rice is stolen.



- 1 ori-eboshi
- 2 hitatare
- 3 short sword
- 4 balancing pole
- 5 container with legs
- 6 sack
- 7 sedge hat
- 8 box
- 9 woven sack
- 10 ayaigasa
- 11 narrow-sleeved garment
- 12 straw rain-cape
- 13 yonobakama
- 14 leggings (*habaki*)
- 15 straw sandals (*waraji*)

### 473 Bearer

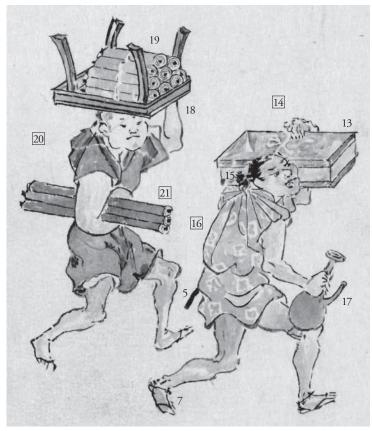
The picture above is from Scroll 5 and the one below from Scroll 3. Both pictures illustrate a bearer. The black boxes they are carrying are probably the smaller type of karabitsu container with legs, namely nikarabitsu. These containers were used for carrying various things. In the picture above, a straw rain-cape is roped to the box attached to the front end of the balancing pole. Such rain-capes were used for protecting the wearer not only from rain but also from cold. Large loads were mostly carried by horses, but in the area surrounding Kyotō, a balancing pole was often used to carry smaller loads. Much of the peddling in Kyotō seems to have been done in this style as well, judging from picture scrolls. And such a style was adopted when traveling in the neighboring provinces, too. Lower-class aristocrats and powerful families in the country sides had their servants carry their baggage in this manner when they traveled. When the journey was one of some distance, the bearer presumably carried the baggage on his back. In such cases the bearers mostly used a type of backpack called sendabitsu.



1 peddler

- 2 wrapping one's head with a cloth
- 3 narrow-sleeved kimono (patterned)
- 4 nubakama
- 5 short sword
- 6 leggings (kyahan)
- 7 straw sandals (*waraji*)
- 8 rush hat
- 9 lotus root
- 10 bundle
- 11 balancing pole
- 12 burdock
- 13 box
- 14 carrying a box on one's shoulder
- 15 hair knot
- 16 rolling one's sleeves up
- 17 water jug
- 18 table
- 19 sutra scroll
- 20 carrying a table on one's head
- [21] carrying under one's arm

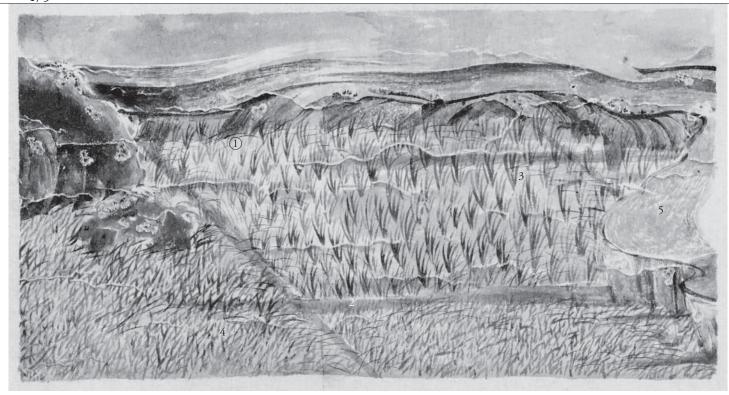




## 474 Carrying Things on One's Head, Shouldering

The picture above is from Scroll 5 and the one below from Scroll 4. The picture above appears to depict a peddler. He carries some lotus root at his front and burdock at his back, and some bundles. He wears a cloth over his head, a narrow-sleeved kimono, *nubakama*, leggings (*kyahan*), and straw sandals (*waraji*). For travelers, the customary style of wearing *eboshi* over an erect topknot would not have been very convenient when one needed to wear a sedge hat, for example when it rained. Apparently for this reason, a hair style more convenient for wearing a sedge hat came to be adopted. The peddler is wearing a sword at his side. It is said that only the Ōmi merchants in the medieval periods always wore a sword at their side.

The picture below illustrates the scene in which the priests and servants carry sutras and furniture out from the Ishiyamadera Temple when it catches fire. It is noteworthy that the man with a shaved head is carrying things on his head. In Japan, men could not carry things on their head because of their topknots, and this was a female custom. In India men as well as women carry things on their head.



- 1 rice paddy
- 2 ridge between rice paddies
- 3 rice plants
- 4 reed
- 5 levee of river

# 475 Rice Paddy

This picture from Scroll 5 depicts the rice paddies by the Ujibashi Bridge. The right end is the levee of the river, and the rice paddies lie within this levee. The paddies are situated higher than the river level, so a waterwheel (Pict. 459) is used for drawing in water. It appears that it was not very common to draw water from upstream by an irrigation ditch. Evidently the area around the river is swampy, for a field of reeds stretches in the foreground of the paddies. People cleared a part of the field of reeds, turned it into rice paddies, and drew water in with a waterwheel. This was a simple way of cultivation. Large-scale reclamation of rice paddies equipped with irrigation ditches had been practiced from ancient times under the official Jori system which standardized the shape and size of the rice fields, and a million hectares of such rice paddies existed by the beginning of the Heian period. Thereafter, religious institutions, aristocrats, and local authorities pushed further reclamation projects, and so-called shōen estates began to develop, while smallscale farmers also tried to expand their arable land. Such private fields mostly existed at sites with a good water supply such as by a river, in a wetland, or a valley. Farmers cleared boggy areas in a reed field to cultivate rice, and developed

rice paddies in valleys where springs provide a ready water source. The paddies in this illustration appear to be such privately developed fields. The ridges between the rice paddies are very straight, just like those depicted in the *Ippen hijirie* scrolls. It is not clear whether the ridges were really straight or winding. But all rice paddies under the Jori system had straight ridges, and therefore private fields constructed after the example of Jōri system paddies presumably had straight ridges. If this is the case, the ridges between rice paddies were comparatively straight until the end of the Kamakura period, and came to be winding from the Edo period. Certainly the geographical situation would affect whether the ridges of fields were made straight or winding, but not a few fields on plains also had winding ridges. Older people have related that they could deceive others about the size of their paddies by making the ridges winding. This illustration should serve as a clue to understand such matters. Another point to add is that the rice has been planted in straight lines and at fixed interval. This is also seen in the stubble of rice plants depicted in other picture scrolls. Even if a random planting method was used, nevertheless farmers seem to have tried to plant seedlings in rather straight lines from early times.







# 476 Tree-felling and Mowing

These illustrations are all from the scene of the construction of the Ishiyamadera Temple. People are cutting trees down and mowing weeds to clear the land for the precincts; the way of mowing and the form of the sickles do not differ at all from those of today. The mower holds the grass with the left hand and cuts with the sickle in the right hand. Big trees are cut down with adzes. Although nowadays saws are also used, until the beginning of the Shōwa era, it was common to cut one side of the tree with an ax and saw from the other side; and even before the Meiji era, the method seen in this picture was adopted. Small trees are felled with a knife. Apparently hatchets were not yet widely used.

- 1 man with an ax
- nae-eboshi
- 3 kosode
- yonobakama (checked and botanical pattern)
- leggings (kyahan)
- straw sandals (waraji)
- ax
- 8 baring one shoulder
  9 man cutting down a
- man cutting down a tree
- 10 stripping to the waist
- 11 short sword

- 12 kosode (white)
- (13) man with a knife
- 14 tying both sleeves together at the back
- 15 kosode (pattern of fans)
- 16 yonobakama (pattern of fans)
- 17 knife
- (18) man mowing
- 19 ayaigasa
- 20 narrow-sleeved kimono
- 21 sickle
- 22 yonobakama (pattern of leaves)



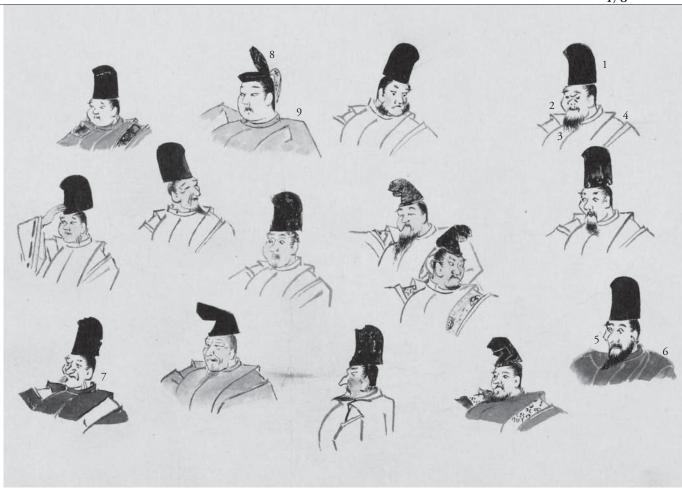
- 1 man digging soil
- 2 nae-eboshi
- 3 stripping to the waist
- 4 kosode (plain)
- 5 hoe
- 6 short sword
- 7 yonobakama (botanical pattern)
- 8 leggings (kyahan)

- 9 straw sandals (waraji)
- 10 flint sack
- 11 kosode (checked)
- 12 spade
- 13 mokko (straw mat for carrying earth)
- 14 towrope
- 15 earth

#### 477 Earthwork

Depicted here is the scene in which the workers are transporting soil and leveling the ground for the construction of the Ishiyamadera Temple. They are using hoes and spades to dig the soil. The hoe has a handle inserted into a base, to the end of which a U-shaped blade has been fit; the blade is roundish. The handle is attached to the base at a near-right angle. Many of the hoes of the time are of this type. When the angle between the handle and the base is close to a right angle, the user can drive the hoe into the soil with full power; it hence is convenient for turning the soil. Yet such a design is inconvenient for scraping off weeds. Supposedly such hoes were originally tools for farming, not earthwork. Apparently weeding was not practiced so often in the cycle of farm work during the era from which the scroll dates. Hoes for weeding

should have a somewhat more acute angle between the handle and the base. The man in the foreground holds a spade, which is equivalent to today's shovel. Spades appear to have been widely used in olden times, and they were used in much the same way as a shovel. The soil dug with the spade is placed on a *mokko*, or straw mat for carrying soil, which is drawn by a man. *Mokko* usually have ropes attached to the corners at both ends and are carried with a balancing pole run through the loops. In this picture, however, the man to transporting the soil is dragging the *mokko* by the rope at one end. This must be a sort of innovation. Incidentally, the populace were presumably impressed as a labor service to engage in this sort of work, and there must have been an age limit so that no worker would have been over sixty; yet the man in the center looks rather aged.

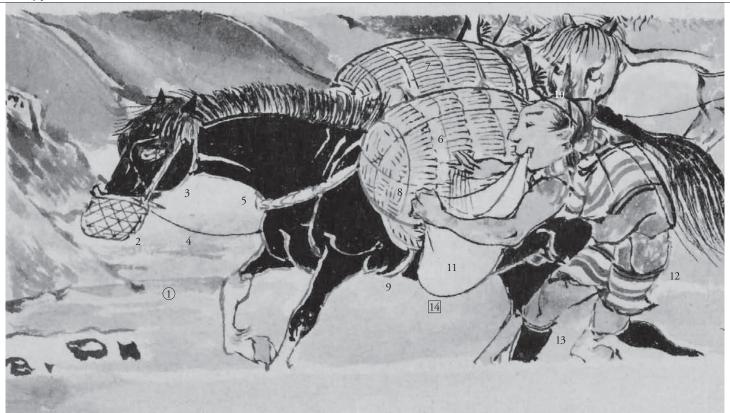


- 1 tate-eboshi
- 2 mustache
- 3 beard
- 4 kariginu
- 5 beard continuing with whiskers and mustache
- 6 nōshi
- 7 whiskers
- 8 suiei-style formal headgear
  - ) sokutai

#### 478 Beard

Extracted here are illustrations of the beards of the escorts for Tōsanjō-in's visit to the Ishiyamadera Temple depicted in Scroll 3. These are not unshaven faces, and the beards are all well trimmed. Japanese are not very hirsute, and we do not see people depicted with their whole face covered with hair. On the other hand, it does not appear that there were people who could not grow a beard, but people of high social status generally grew only a small mustache and beard, while people serving the imperial court or aristocrats grew a more recognizable beard. This tendency has something in common with the custom among bureaucrats of the Taishō era to grow beards to display their dignity. Their whiskers and beards are particularly notable, and we can see that each man did not neglect to keep them trim. People seem to have used primarily tweezers to dress their facial hair, as we mentioned before. Each of the styles of beard would probably have had names, but they are not known to us. One particu-

lar group of people who did not let their beards grow was priests. Priests apparently shaved their head with a razor and plucked their beards out with tweezers. Among the ordinary people depicted, there are some without any beard at all and those who have only a little beard at their chin. Until the early Shōwa period, evidently ordinary people felt an antipathy towards people growing beards, except for stubble, other than those with responsible positions or who were aged and had retired; there may been a taboo against beards. In the Enseki jisshu, one can find the phrase "men are detestable when they have a beard"; however, men without beards were also regarded as handicapped. A story in the Keichō  $kenmonsh\bar{u}$  tells about two men who killed each other in a sword fight when one called the other "beardless". Women do not have male sexual organs and thus no beards, so men without a beard were regarded as feminine and cowardly. Nevertheless, ordinary people generally did not grow beards.





- 1 horse carrying rice

- 2 muzzle
  3 headstall
  4 reins
  5 breastplate
- 6 bale of rice
  7 rope strap around a rice bag
  8 straw lid of rice bag

- 9 girth 10 cloth headwear 11 sack 12 kosode

- 13 leggings (habaki)

  14 stealing rice from a bale
  15 tate-eboshi
  16 erect topknot
  17 kariginu

  18 sleeping with one's knees up
  19 short sword
  20 tatami (with kōrai pattern cloth edgings)
  21 sitting cross-legged
  22 straw sandals (waraji)
  23 tweezers
  24 plucking one's hair





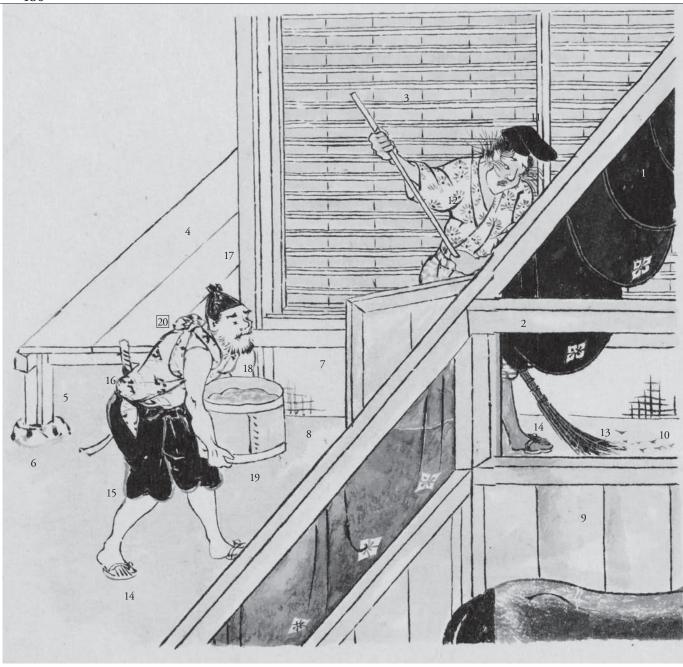
# 479 Pilferage from a Load, Tweezers, Hair Knot

The picture at the upper left from Scroll 5 depicts the scenery along the return journey of the wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi, who gained the *nyoi-hōju*, the treasure orb that fulfills every wish, the one below from Scroll 4 depicts a pilgrim secluding himself at the temple overnight in the scene where Priest Gyôson has a dream of the Buddha; and the one at the right, also from Scroll 4, depicts an escort of Jinkaku, who was attending the prayers for the healing of the sick Emperor Go-Ichijō. In all of these a very commonplace scene is drawn in the background. In the picture at the upper left, a line of horses loaded with bales of rice is depicted; they are probably people traveling to deliver taxes paid in rice. The horse is wearing a muzzle. The horse driver is stealing rice from the bale loaded on one of the horses. We have already seen a scene where a boy is eating rice stolen from a bale; these sorts of behavior were utterly common for transporters. The income of tax-transporters was extremely low unless they engaged in such activity, and many stories tell about people who traveled a long way to deliver the tax to the capital but starved on the way back because they did not have any food, or had to remain at the capital. Such pilferage from loads continued until the modern transportation network was established along with the development of trains and steam ships, and this vice was tolerated as a perquisite for transporters. Hence the consignors understood a ten percent or so loss of their goods to be unavoidable.

In the picture at the right, one of the escorts waiting for their master is plucking his hair with a tweezers. Tweezers are a tool used for plucking hair from one's head or nostrils. "A silver tweezers that plucks things well" is mentioned in the Makura no sōshi (Pillow Book) as among "uncommon items," which proves the existence of tweezers made of silver. In ancient days, shaving one's beard and hair with a razor was rare, and plucking with tweezers was more common. The aristocrats are depicted with glossy faces and their beards trimmed neatly in various styles, with hardly any stubble, and this can be presumed to be the result of plucking unwanted hair with tweezers. This custom appears to have expanded to the ordinary people; this illustration is one such example. The common sort of tweezers seems to have been made of iron. In addition, people seem to have plucked their hair when they did not have anything to do, such as when waiting for their master.

In the picture at the lower left, the *tate-eboshi* of the dozing man has fallen off and he is baring his head. His hair is tied in a topknot, but his head is shaven in a half-moon shape.

According to the *Yamato kotohajime*, "the custom of shaving the head in a half-moon shape presumably started around the time the Hōjō house held the regency of the Kamakura shogunate. In olden days people used to use a wooden tweezers (*geshiki*) and plucked a bit of the hair above their forehead, but Lord Nobunaga disliking the pain in the head used a razor"; therefore tweezing appears to have been the custom in earlier times.



# 480 Cleaning

This illustration from Scroll 5 depicts the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi. In the foreground stands a stable, and a passageway runs between the stable and the main building. One servant is sweeping this passageway with a bamboo broom. The bamboo broom hardly differs from what is used today. We can learn that there existed various types of broom from other picture scrolls, but there also were types similar to what is seen today.

The man at the left is carrying water in a wooden container. Evidently handles or straps were still not attached to buckets at this time. Women would have carried buckets on their head, but men had to hold it with their hands. The man holding the bucket dresses distinctively; he does not wear *eboshi* but a cloth headwear, ties both sleeves together at his back, and wears *yonobakama* and straw sandals (*ashinaka*). Straw

- 1 noren
- 2 beam
- 3 mairado 4 porch
- 5 short post supporting the porch
- 6 foundation stone
- 7 earthen wall
- 8 lath
- 9 plank partition
- 10 doma
- 11 nae-eboshi

- 12 kosode
- 13 broom
- 14 straw sandals (ashinaka)
- 15 yonobakama
- 16 short sword
- 17 cloth headwear
- 18 beard
- 19 wooden container
- tucking up one's sleeves with a cord

sandals (ashinaka) were widely used by low-class soldiers in battle, but from this picture we can see that they were also used for these sorts of work. Incidentally, handles were attached to water buckets only after hooped buckets appeared.



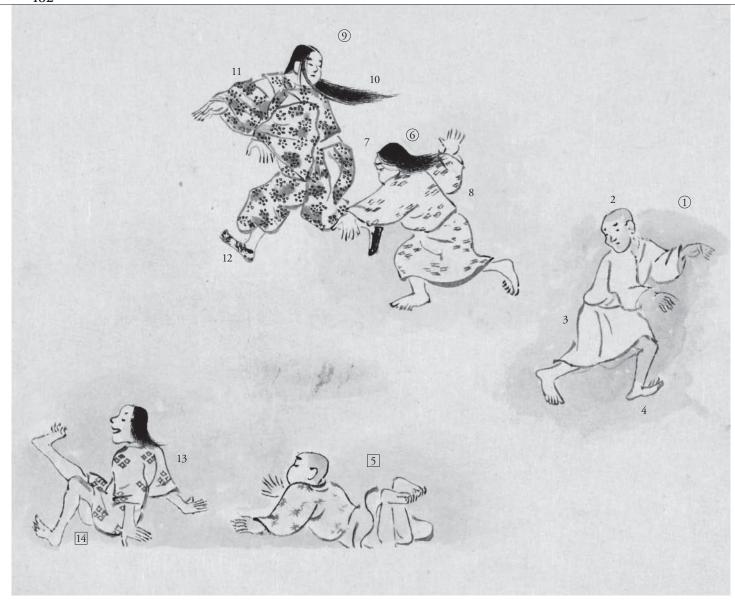
## 481 Ordinary People

This picture from Scroll 5 depicts the manner of the life of ordinary people near the Ujibashi Bridge. To point out several things, small children were not only left to go naked, but also had their heads shaven. A small child with a shaven head also appeared in the Senmen koshakyō. The bigger child in the picture wears his hair untied. He has not yet gone through hakamagi the celebration of putting hakama on for the first time, and thus wears an unlined short garment.

The man holding a sade net also wears an unlined short garment and ties its sleeves together at his back, and in addition, he does not wear any headwear and ties his hair into a bun, mage. This kind of hairstyle gradually became popular from the end of the Kamakura period. The eboshi of the old man at the left edge is also rather a zukin than nae-eboshi. He wears an unlined kosode without hakama and with kataginu over it, supports himself with a two-pronged walking stick, and wears ashida. This hardly differs from the attire of ordinary people today. This sort of clothing gradually became the daily clothing of ordinary people.

- 1 woman holding a baby
- naked baby
- wearing one's hair down
- kosode (patterned)
- apron
- straw sandals (zōri)
- untied hair
- 8 stripping to the waist
- hitoe
- 10 sade net
- 11 sack made of netting
- 13 tying both sleeves together at the back

- 14 barefoot
- 15 nae-eboshi
- 16 kataginu
- 17 short sword
- 18 kosode (pattern of ume)
- 19 geta
- 20 stick
- 21 beard
- 22 noren (pattern of pine tree) 23 plank wall
- 24 bamboo screen
- 25 window frame
- 26 pillar



- (1) child with a shaven head
- 2 shaved head
- 3 kosode (plain)
- 4 barefoot
- 5 lying on one's stomach
- 6 child with untied hair
- 7 untied hair
- 8 kosode (patterned)
- (9) child wearing his hair down
- 10 wearing one's hair down
- 11 child's suikan
- 12 shoes

- 13 kosode (pattern with four hollow \_\_ lozenges)
- 14 sitting and flapping one's feet

#### 482 Children

This is taken from Scroll 3. What attracts the eye among the subsidiary figures depicted in scenes from picture scrolls is the children. The painter must have had many opportunities to glimpse children playing on streets in towns. Moreover, the children depicted are truly free and easy. Even when nobles pass by, they never modestly observe them. They cross in front of the procession or run around it. The same is true of the figures presented here. The boy at the top is apparently older than ten and has gone through the ceremony of *hakamagi*, for he wears a child's *suikan* and *hakamag*; he also wears shoes and his hairstyle has been changed from the untied style to long hair bound at the back. He is among

the oldest in this group of children. The child chasing him has his hair untied, wears an unlined <code>kosode</code>, and is barefooted. All the other children are also barefoot. Two of them have their head shaven. The custom of shaving the hair of young children has already been mentioned, and here we can see that it was customary to keep the bald style even after the child had passed the age of <code>kamioki</code>, the ceremony of beginning to let the child's hair grow, in general held at the age of two or three. The children appear to be totally free and easy. One lies on his stomach on the ground, while another sits and flaps his legs, and they are utterly natural, without any sense of restriction. Grownups are bound by the norms of the world in one way or another. They must have been particularly attracted by children's freedom.







- 1 shaved head
- 2 kosode (pattern of three eyes)
- 3 sitting cross-legged
- 4 untied hair
- 5 kosode (patterned)
- 6 sitting with one knee up
- 7 kosode (patterned)
- 8 barefoot
- 9 hair tied in back
- 10 armrest

#### 483 Children

The upper picture and the one at the lower right are from Scroll 3, and the one at the lower left from Scroll 4. In any picture scroll, the figures of children depicted as a subsidiary aspect of the scene are totally free and easy, and thus appear to best relate the appearances, manners, and customs of the time, and the five children shown here also fall into this category. What these children share in common is that they are barefoot. And they wear unlined kosode. Rather than kosode, the garments they wear are closer to tsutsusode, a tightsleeved garment, literally "tube sleeves". The cuffs seem to taper slightly so they may rather be called sodeboso, narrowsleeved kimono. They simply keep their kimono closed by tying a cord around their waist. The children are not wearing hakama. The representations themselves hardly tell the subject's gender, and we can only guess this from their expression. The child in the lower left picture has his hair tied, so

he may be older than ten. The child leans on an armrest. In the upper picture, the child with a shaven head sits crosslegged while the one with untied hair sits with one knee up. Since sitting with one knee up is a style often adopted by females, this child with untied hair appears to be female. The couple in the lower right picture also seems to be a boy and a girl. They are talking to each other.

By the time these pictures were drawn, the influence of Confucianism was hardly observed, and except within the aristocratic class, not much emphasis was put on children having refined manners. The existence of this sort of children's world presumably contributed to the production of many folk tales. The feature characteristic of these so-called *mukashi banashi* is that they relate imaginary doings and lack a strong class consciousness. Naturally they have a different atmosphere from the small talk of grownups, and they must have been able to evolve in this way owing to the existence of such a free and easy world.







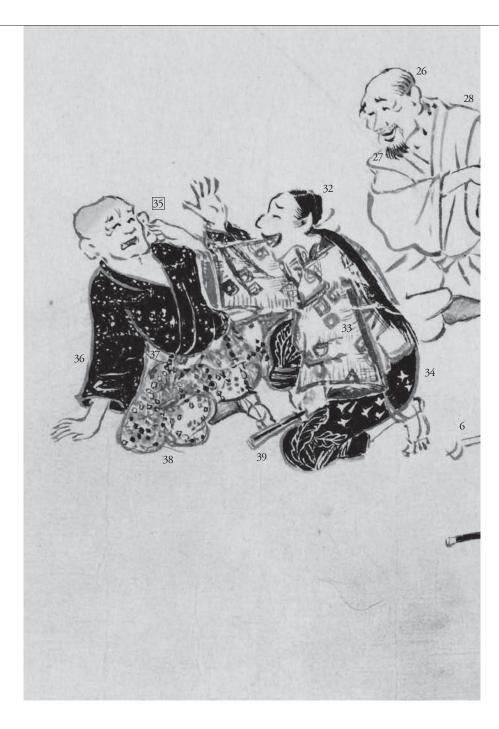
- 1 untied hair
- 2 hitai-eboshi
- 3 narrow-sleeved kimono
- 4 barefoot
- 5 narrow-sleeved kimono (pattern of well curbs)
- 6 shaved head
- 7 baring one shoulder
- 8 narrow-sleeved kimono (patterned)
- 9 cord around one's waist
- 10 sitting cross-legged
- 11 kinukazuki
- 12 wearing one's hair down
- 13 sitting on one's heels with knees together
- 14 kosode (patterned)
- 15 cord around one's waist (sewed-on ribbon tied at one's back)
- 16 resting one's chin on one's hand
- 17 kazaori-eboshi
- 18 kariginu (pattern of bamboo)
- 19 hakama
- 20 nae-eboshi
- 21 hitatare
- 22 sword
- 23 bowstring
- 24 sitting cross-legged
- 25 playing hand game
- 26 hitatare
- 27 short sword
- 28 samurai-eboshi
- 29 porch
- 30 plank door
- 31 lattice door
- 32 short post supporting the porch
- 33 foundation stone
- 34 earthen wall
- 35 lath

# 484 Children, Hand Game

The upper picture is from Scroll 3 and the one below from Scroll 5. In the upper picture, children from a family relatively high in social status and those of ordinary people are depicted differently. The girl showing her back in the foreground at the lower left wears her hair in a bobbed style and ties the ribbon of her robe at the back. The cuffs of her kimono sleeves are tapered, as in a *kosode*. Presumably a child of ordinary people would not dress in such manner. The girl on the upper side, sitting next to a woman wearing a *kinukazuki*, also wears *kosode* and has short hair; presumably she, too, was of a higher status compared with the other children. Different from these, the other seven children seem to share a similar social status among themselves. Their robes do not even seem to have a sewed-on waist ribbon; they simply keep them closed by tying a cord around their waist.

The picture below depicts a part of the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi. Servants are sitting on the ground and playing hand games. They wear hitatare, one wears a nae-eboshi and the other a samurai-eboshi, but they are barefoot and sitting cross-legged so they must be errand boys of the mansion; hand games were one of the recreations of such people. There are various hand games but most of them decide the winner and loser by the form made with the fingers. Yet there are games in which the players only voice their choice without making the form with their fingers, and the player wins when he or she says a number higher than the opponent's. These were games people could play very easily, so they could play during their spare time. In later days, however, various complicated hand games were created, money or goods were bet on the result, and several books on hand games were published.

- cloth headwear 1
- 2 bun
- 3 suikan (checked)
- sewed-on waist belt of hakama
- hakama (checked)
- 6 short sword
- sword
- 8 fur scabbard
- strap for hanging a sword from one's waist
- 10 sitting cross-legged
- 11 shaved head
- narrow-sleeved garment (patterned)
- 13 baring one shoulder
- 14 finger wrestling
- vonobakama
- 16 leggings (kyahan)
- 17 straw sandals (waraji)
- 18 sitting on one's heels 19 nae-eboshi
- 20 kariginu
- 21 yonobakama (patterned)
- 22 leggings (kyahan) (patterned)
- 23 sword
- 24 square sword guard
- 25 strap for hanging a sword from one's waist
- 26 hair tied in back?
- 27 beard
- 28 kariginu
- 29 yonobakama
- 30 scratching one's arm
- [31] sitting with one knee up
- 32 wearing one's hair down
- 33 suikan (a pattern with three hollow lozenges)
- 34 yonobakama (patterned)
- 35 pulling another's ear
- 36 narrow-sleeved kimono (fine pattern)
- 37 sewed-on waist belt of hakama
- 38 yonobakama (patterned)
- 39 fan



#### 485 Games

This picture from Scroll 2 depicts the servants of Kōkei waiting for their master. The way of life of servants and attendants is depicted here truly vividly. None of the six ties his hair into a proper topknot style; two have shaven their heads, two are wearing either eboshi or a cloth cap, but the man at the right edge has made his topknot at a point far down the back of his head. The man in the center, wearing nae-eboshi, may also have tied his hair in a style similar to that of the man at the right edge. The old man at his upper left has gone quite bald; his hair, which remains only at the back of his head, is tied in the back and worn down. The young man has tied his hair and wears it down. Only the aged man has a beard. As for their garments, two wear a narrow-sleeved garment while the other four all seem to wear hitatare, and all wear yonobakama and leggings (kyahan). Their leggings are not the type just covering the shin but one that covers the whole lower leg. They are sitting each as he pleases and all directly on the ground. Two of them are playing finger wrestling. This is a game in which the players make their finger into a hook and have a tug of war with each other. It is often played by children, but it was a game played by adults in this era. A boy is pulling the man with a shaven head at the left edge by his ear. This appears to be not simple mischief or a punishment but also a game. Presumably the loser of the hand game is being pulled by his ear, or something like that, for the boy pulling the ear is laughing with his mouth wide

From the Edo period to the Meiji and Taishō periods, ser-



vants and attendants led a humble life, always keeping crouched and bowing low. This is the image of servants that we have. Yet, this was not necessarily the case in the periods before then. Servants may have kept a dignified appearance when escorting an oxcart or a palanquin, but when they were not working under the order of their master, they seem to have been able to spend time as they liked, just as depicted here. Incidentally, the aged man is tucking up his sleeve, and it is not clear whether he is just rolling it up or if he has been bitten on his arm by a mosquito or flea and is scratching it. The lives of low-class people were in general unhygienic and it was common for them to get bitten by mosquitoes or fleas and to have skin diseases.



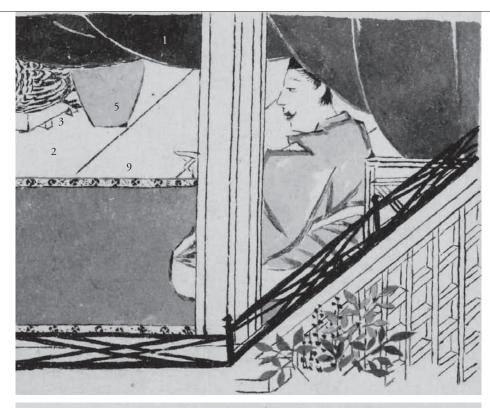


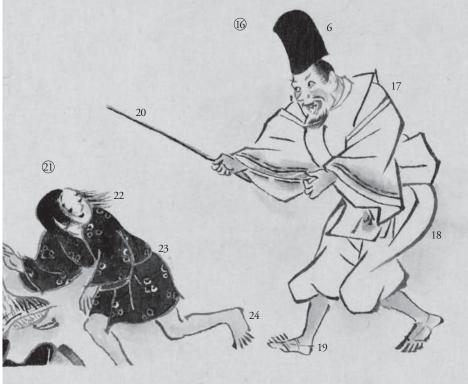
## 486 Sugoroku, Onlookers

The upper picture from Scroll 5 depicts the inside of the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi, and the one below from Scroll 1 depicts a scene from the visit of Retired Emperor Uda to the Ishiyamadera Temple. In the upper picture, two men are playing sugoroku. Sugoroku appears in the  $Ch\bar{o}j\bar{u}$  giga as well. They may be enjoying the hour before the banquet begins, and the duck placed on the cutting board on the

*tatami* may be about to be cooked. It appears that a *sake* pot is placed to its right. A nandina is planted outside the building. Today in the country, nandina is often planted under the eaves or near the toilet as it is believed to drive evil spirits away, and this custom can be found already in the era of this picture scroll.

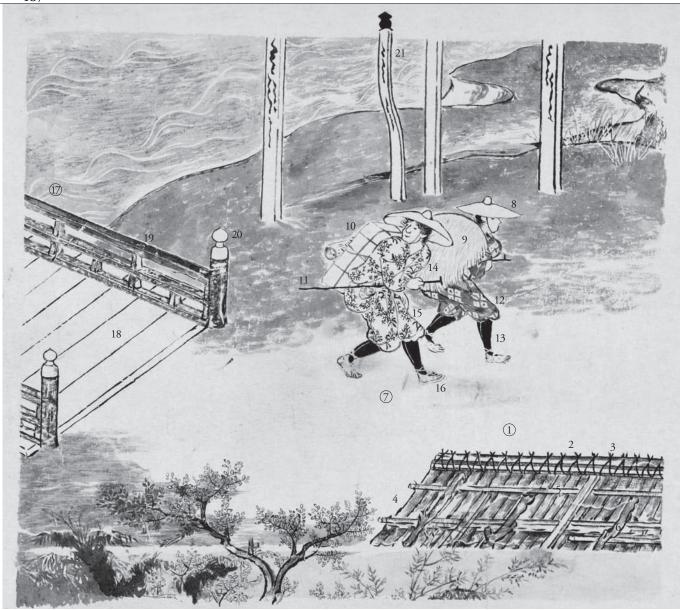
In the lower picture, the advance escort of the procession is chasing away some onlookers. Only two people are running away and the rest are totally indifferent to the escort and





- curtain
- 2 wooden floor
- 3 cutting board
- 4 duck
- 5 sake pot
- 6 tate-eboshi
- 7 hitatare (pattern of triple leaves)
- 8 short sword
- 9 tatami (with kōrai pattern cloth edgings)
- 10 message
- 11 *sugoroku* board
- 12 dice case
- 13 dice
- 14 undergarment (baring the *kariginu* to the shoulder)
- 15 outdoor railings
- (16) advance escort of a procession
- 17 suikan
- 18 hakama
- 19 straw sandals (waraji)
- 20 rod
- 21 young boy
- 22 untied hair
- 23 narrow-sleeved kimono (pattern of three eyes)
- 24 barefoot
- 25 nae-eboshi
- 26 wearing one's hair down
- 27 round fan
- 28 kinukazuki
- 29 suikan (pattern of fans)
- 30 shaved head
- 31 red nose
- 32 ichimegasa

absorbed in their conversation. The two being chased may have said something rude against the procession. In any case, the onlookers are not observing the procession in a humble and respectful manner. They probably enjoyed the sight. In other words, this must have been one of their recreations. Although nowadays people do not do so, whenever unfamiliar things passed by, they used to look on without any restraint and saying whatever they liked. This was utterly common until the Taishō era.



- 1 plank roof
- 2 ridge
- 3 rope holding together the ridge
- 4 plank of roof
- 5 bar holding down the roof (horizontal)
- 6 bar holding down the roof (vertical)
- 7 man carrying luggage
- 8 sedge hat

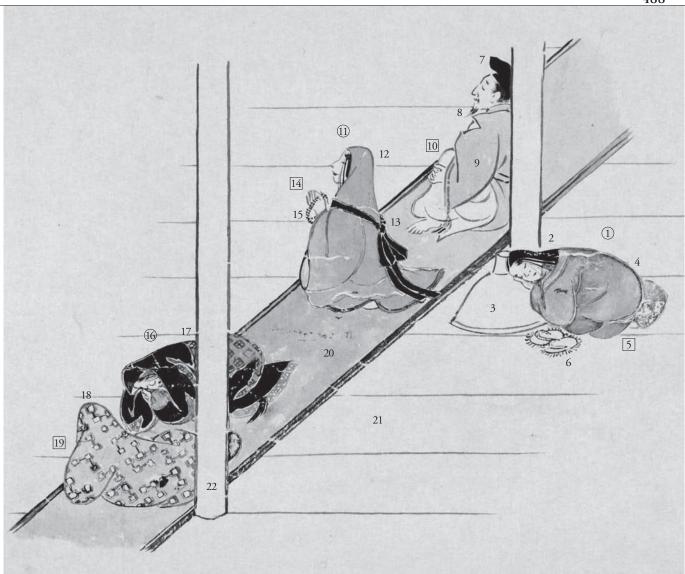
- 9 straw rain-cape
- 10 luggage
- 11 stick with a T-shaped handle
- 12 yonobakama (pattern with four hollow lozenges)
- 13 habaki
- 14 hitatare (flowered pattern)
- 15 yonobakama (botanical pattern)
- 16 straw sandals (waraji)

- ① bridge
- 18 plank used for the bridge
- 19 railings
- 20 ornamented pillar top
- 21 sotoba

#### 487 Sotoba

This is a scene by the Setabashi Bridge taken from Scroll 5. Four *sotoba* stand there. *Sotoba* were originally erected for praying for the peaceful repose of the spirits of the dead. The top is carved in the form of *gorintō*, and below it is written the posthumous Buddhist name or a passage of a sutra. People erected *sotoba* by crossroads and bridges where many people pass by with the hope that the passersby would pray for the spirit of the dead, and it was believed that when many prayed for it, the spirit would be able to enter the Pure Land. Just about the time this picture was painted, a large number of *sotoba* made of greenish stone began to be erected in the

Kantō Plain. Today many have been removed to somewhere else and one cannot find them very often, but the number was once huge. The ones in this picture must be a forerunner of these stone sotoba, but they are not made of stone but wood. Presumably the deceased had died unexpectedly around this point and had no one to offer them proper tribute; they thus were buried here so as to receive the prayers of the passersby. Turning our eyes to the men who have just crossed the bridge, they are carrying their luggage on their backs and are holding sticks with a T-shaped handle. Presumably they used these sticks to support their luggage when they took a rest. This custom is still seen today sporadically in mountainous regions.



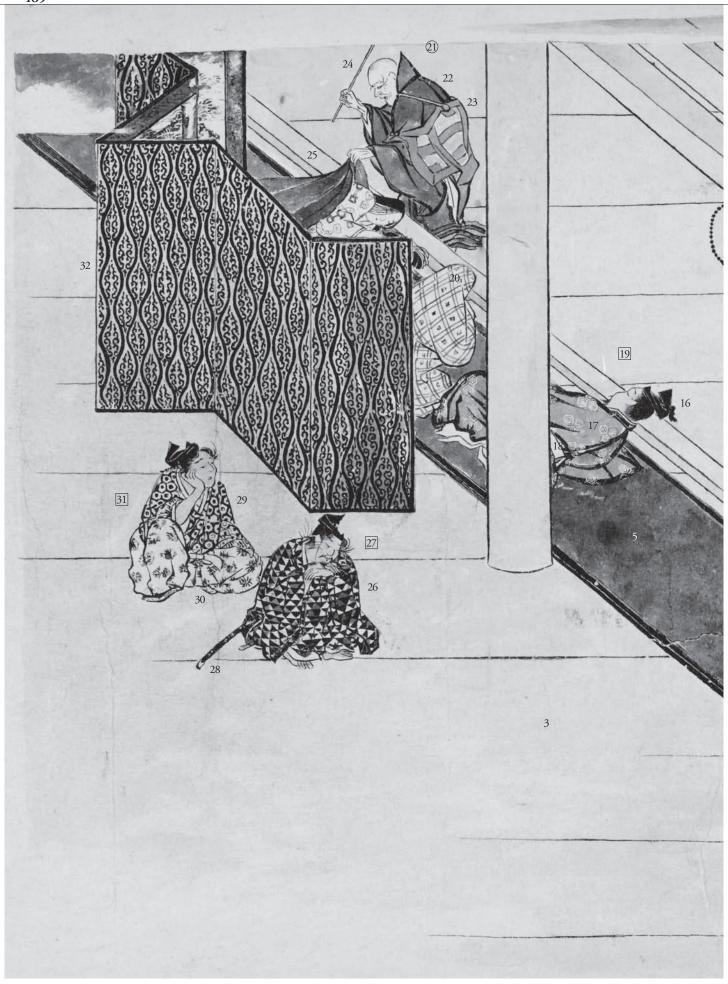
- 1 woman dozing
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 ichimegasa
- 4 uchikake (plain)
- 5 sleeping while resting on an ichimegasa
- 6 straw sandals (zōri) (sturdy kongō type)
- 7 nae-eboshi
- 8 beard
- 9 suikan

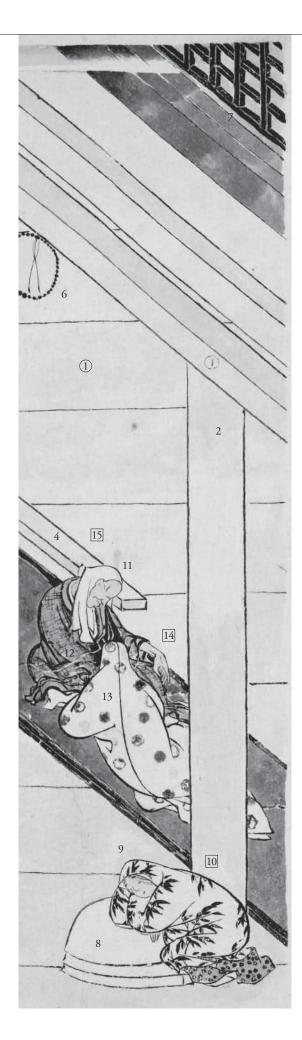
- 10 sitting with one's knees up
- (1) woman worshiping
- 12 kinukazuki
- 13 sash used by women
- 14 hands with Buddhist rosary joined in prayer
- 15 Buddhist rosary
- 16 woman curled up and sleeping
- 17 uchikake (patterned)
- 18 uchikake (patterned)

- sleeping while propping oneself up on one elbow
- 20 tatami
- 21 wooden floor
- 22 round pillar

This picture from Scroll 2 depicts the scene in which Priest Jun'yū secludes himself at the Ishiyamadera Temple. The custom of secluding oneself at a temple or shrine is ancient and often illustrated in picture scrolls, and is particularly frequent in the *Ishiyamadera engi*. The purpose of the seclusion must have varied, but the most popular one was to get an oracle from a deity in a dream. There is a scene in the *Shigisan engi*, as well, in which the Nun from Shinano secludes herself at the Tōdaiji Temple and receives an oracle in a dream that tells her the whereabouts of her younger brother. In the old

days, when people secluded themselves at a temple, they first purified their body and fasted so as to ready themselves to receive the divine oracle, and then proceeded to a point in front of the main deity of the temple, as in this picture, where they chanted sutras and occasionally dozed off, expecting to receive an oracle. When Buddhism first arrived in Japan, the architecture style of the Chinese continent was also adopted, so the *butsuden*, the building where the statues of Buddha are enshrined, had an earthen floor and one could not easily spend the night there, but by the Heian period, *butsuden* came to be equipped with wooden floors and it became possible to seclude oneself in them.





This is a picture from Scroll 5 depicting the scene in which the members of the party of the Matsugimi chōja seclude themselves at the Ishiyamadera Temple. Secluding oneself at a temple has already been explained in regard to the previous picture, but this picture also has interesting aspects. While some people are sleeping on tatami placed in a line on the wooden floor in front of the main deity, situated in the main building of the temple, others crouch directly on the wooden floor to doze. A long plank is placed beyond the tatami, and a man with a samurai-eboshi sleeps while pillowing his head on it; this plank appears to be a pillow used when many people sleep together, as in this picture. It is told that in the Tohoku region, the same kind of pillow was used until the end of the Meiji period at houses with a large family or at "youth lodges" where the young unmarried men of the village lived together. It is said that at those places everyone used to rest their head on the same long pillow. In these lodges, it is said, to wake people up someone would beat one end of the pillow with a wooden hammer; the reverberations in one's head would make it impossible to stay asleep. In this picture since people are secluding themselves at the temple, they are sleeping still wearing their ordinary clothes, but presumably the use of a pillow was occasionally allowed. A priest is just about to remove a robe from a sleeping women; this is the scene related in the text as "one night in the dream of the Matsugimi *chōja*, an old priest came and stripped off the persimmon-colored unlined garment the girl was wearing." People slept with a thin covering such as an unlined garment over them.

- 1 main building
- 2 round pillar
- 3 wooden floor
- 4 long wooden pillow
- 5 tatami
- 6 Buddhist rosary
- 7 lattice
- 8 ichimegasa
- 9 kinukazuki (patterned)
- 10 sleeping while resting on hats
- 11 zukin
- 12 nun's robe
- 13 kinukazuki (patterned)
- 14 sleeping while seated
- 15 sleeping while seated
- 16 samurai-eboshi
- 17 *hitatare* (patterned)
- 18 waist cord of hakama
- [19] sleeping while resting one's head on a long wooden pillow
- 20 kinukazuki (patterned)
- 21 priest
- 22 priestly robes
- 23 kesa
- 24 rod
- 25 unlined garment
- 26 hitatare (patterned)
- 27 sleeping while crouching
- 28 sword
- 29 hitatare (patterned)
- 30 hakama (patterned)
- 31 sleeping with one knee up and one's chin on one's hand

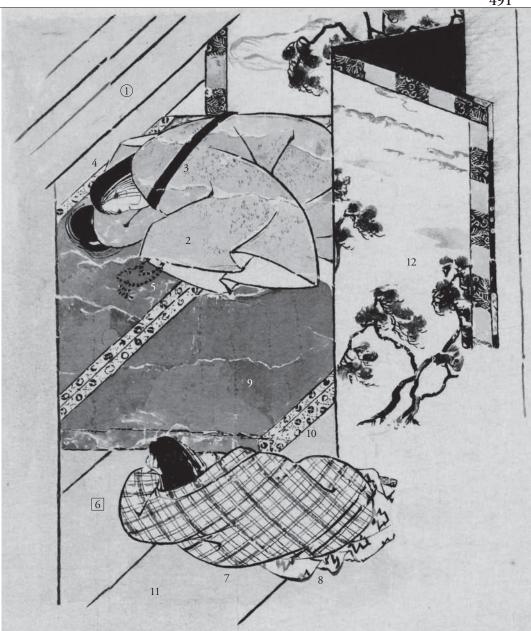
32 folding screen



- 1 beam
- 2 round pillar
- 3 lintel
- 4 mairado
- 5 lower nageshi
- 6 porch
- 7 balustrade
- 8 short post supporting the porch
- 9 beam
- (10) man sleeping
- 11 arrows
- 12 bow
- 13 nae-eboshi
- 14 kariginu
- dozing (sleeping with one's knees up)
- 16 short sword
- 17 yonobakama (patterned)
- 18 halberd (fur scabbard)
- 19 mustache and beard
- 20 kariginu (fur-made)
- 21 hara-ate [a leather breastplate]
- 22 dozing (sleeping while leaning on a door)
- 23 wearing one's hair down
- dozing (sleeping with one's chin on one's hand)
- 25 uchikake
- 26 akome
- 27 overskirt
- 28 underskirt

This picture from Scroll 2 depicts the escorts of the mother of Major Councilor Fujiwara no Michitsuna, who is secluding herself at the Ishiyamadera Temple. The escorts seem to have not been allowed into the *butsuden*, the building where the statues of Buddha are enshrined, for they sit on the porch outside the building and doze off. Owing to the flourishing of worship of *Amida* and *Kannon*, it became common, as explained in regard to the preceding picture (Pict. 488), to lay a wooden floor in a building like this. When the *Amida* cult first arose, secluding oneself at a temple and chanting the *nenbutsu* repeatedly became popular. The origin of this prac-

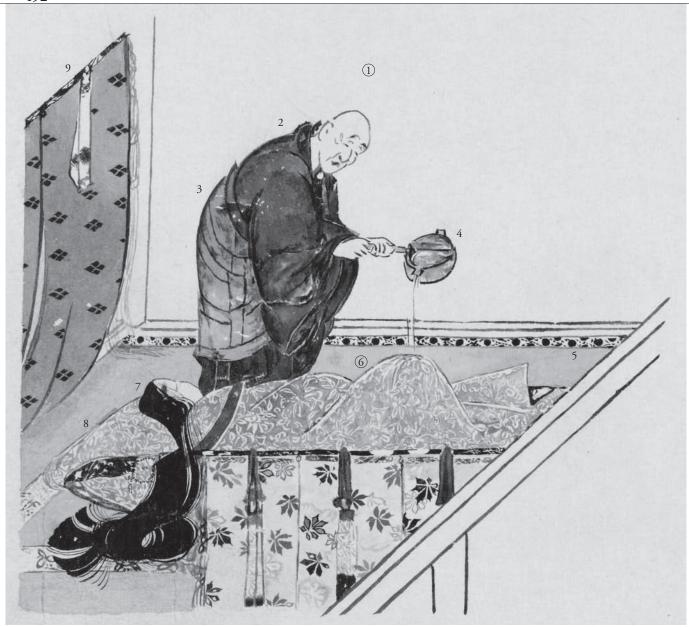
tice supposedly can be traced to the temple of Mount Hiei. Following this, along with the spread of the *nenbutsu*, *Amida* temples were erected at various places, and all of them had a wooden floor. The number of such temples is extremely large, including the Hōkaiji Temple of Hino and the Phoenix Hall of the Byōdōin Temple at Uji. Seclusion through the night was also practiced among devotees of *Kannon*. The Kiyomizudera Temple of Kyōto, the Ishiyamadera Temple of Ōmi, and the Hasedera Temple of Yamato were typical examples, and rich and poor, aged and young all went there to seclude themselves. However, the escorts seem to have been unable to go into the building, and they are dozing off while dressed in their daytime clothing.



- 1) women sleeping
- 2 uchikake
- 3 sash used by women
- 4 wearing one's hair down
- 5 Buddhist rosary
- 6 resting on one's arm
- 7 uchikake (checked)
- 8 robe
- 9 tatami
- 10 kōrai pattern cloth edging
- 11 wooden floor
- 12 folding screen (pattern of pine trees)

This picture from Scroll 5 depicts the seclusion of the wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi at the Ishiyamadera Temple. Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi was originally the vice-chief of the Shikibu-shō, Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs, which was not a very high position, but presumably because he was still an aristocrat, his wife is sleeping on two pieces of tatami with  $k\bar{o}rai$  pattern cloth edgings, enclosed by a folding screen. Thus the way of spending the night at the temple for seclusion differed according to the believers' social status. The woman wears kakeobi, a sash used by women pilglims, holds a Buddhist rosary in her hand, draws her feet in, and is

asleep in a slightly prone position. The woman in the foreground, sleeping on the wooden floor while propping her head on her elbow, must be a servant. We can well understand that the installation of a wooden floor in front of the most important statue in the main building of the temple was made for such seclusion through the night. Additionally, we can see from these illustrations that seclusion through the night was conducted in a modest fashion. The *tatami* and screen must have been borrowed from the temple. Therefore, it is likely that such furniture was removed after the believers had left. Presumably it was only in the Edo period that the main building of a temple was fully floored with *tatami*.

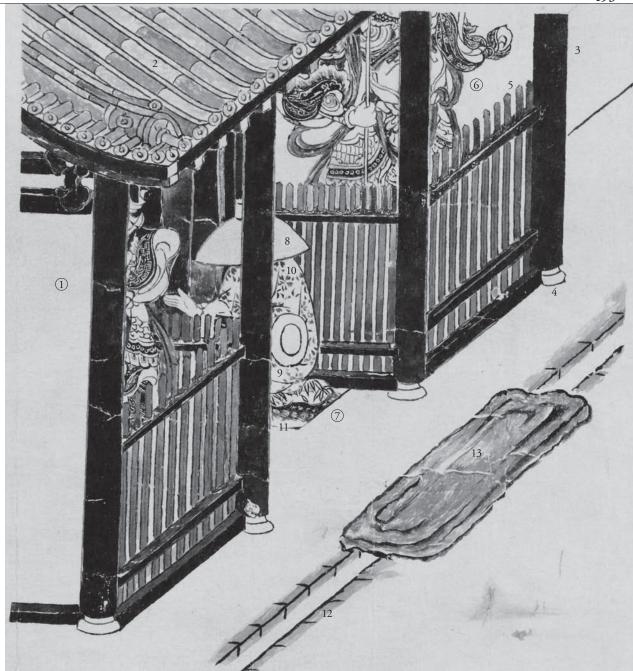


- 1 priest
- 2 priestly robes
- 3 kesa
- 4 sake holder (spouts on both sides)
- 5 tatami (with kōrai pattern cloth edgings)
- 6 woman sleeping
- 7 wearing one's hair down
- 8 mat
- 9 curtain stand

### 492 Message in Dream

This picture from Scroll 2 depicts the scene in which the mother of Fujiwara no Michitsuna secludes herself at the Ishiyamadera Temple. As mentioned earlier, beginning from the early Heian period, rich and poor alike visited famous temples and shrines and spent a night there, and this was done in hopes of receiving an oracle from the deity in a dream; hence the act of dreaming was regarded as extremely important. In this scene, her dream is depicted. Unlike some of the other scenes of seclusion, befitting her position as one of the wives of the Chancellor Fujiwara no Kaneie and the mother of the future Major Councilor Fujiwara no Michitsuna, she is not secluding herself in the open space of

the main building, but in a *chōdai gamae*, a separate room in the main building with thick walls, equipped with curtain stand and other pieces of furniture. As in the former picture, the sleeper is still wearing her *kakeobi*. The mother of Michitsuna secluded herself at the Ishiyamadera Temple, kept a vigil with prayers, and finally dozed off, whereupon a priest seemingly in charge of the temple's office appeared in her dream, drew water in a pitcher, and poured it over her right knee. This scene is depicted here. What is noteworthy in this picture is that while people of the time should have in general slept directly on *tatami*, she seems to be lying on a cloth mat. This could be the origin of today's *futon* mattresses.



- 1 single-storied eight-legged gate
- 2 tiled roof
- 3 round pillar
- 4 footing between pillar and foundation stone
- 5 kongō fence

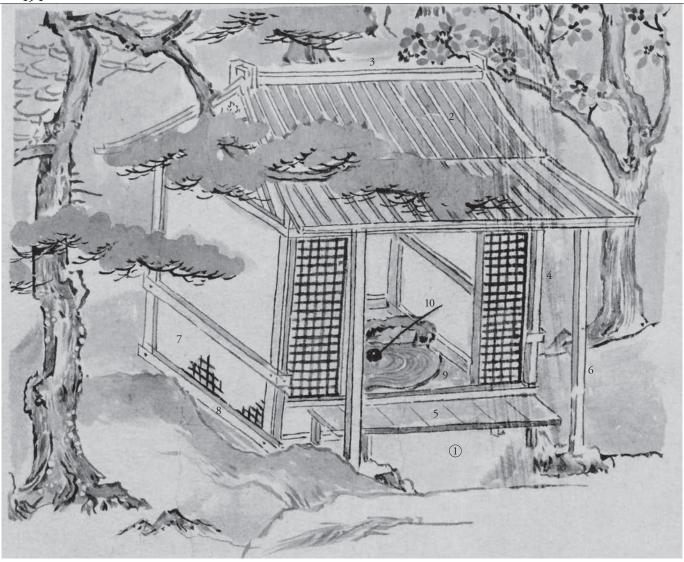
- 6 Shiten'nō [Four Devas]
- woman beating a hand drum
- 8 ichimegasa
- 9 hand drum
- 10 uchigi

- 11 deerskin mat
- 12 eaves channel
- 13 stepping stone

#### 493 Female Medium

This picture from Scroll 5 depicts the main gate of the Ishiyamadera Temple and is a part of the scene in which the wife of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi departs the temple after gaining a *nyoi-hōju*, the treasure orb that fulfills every wish, as the result of an oracle received from the *Kannon* of the Ishiyamadera Temple in her dream. The gate is a single-storied eight-legged gate, and it appears that the statues placed in the alcoves of the gate are those of the *Shiten'nō*, Four

Devas. A woman with *ichimegasa* is beating a hand drum at the corridor running through this gate. She sits on a mat that appears to be made of deer skin. Presumably she is telling something along with her drum beats. Such female mediums presumably traveled from place to place, sometimes summoning gods and sometimes relating narratives; a similar scene appears in the *Tengu sōshi*, in which men are listening to the related narrative. Apparently, such a scene was often observed in front of temples by the end of the Kamakura period.

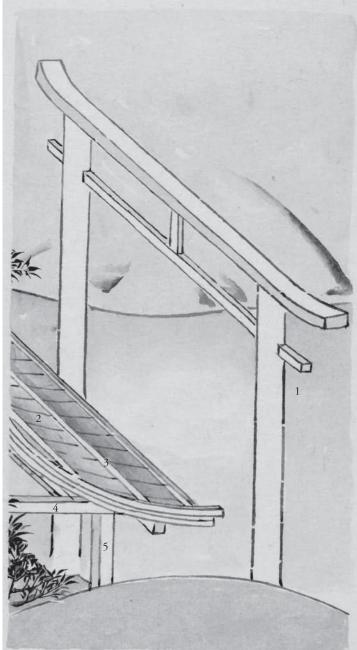


- (1) water house
- 2 plank roof
- 3 ridge
- 4 lattice door
- 5 porch
- 6 pillar
- 7 earthen wall
- 8 lath
- 9 miraculous fountain
- 10 ladle

#### 494 Water House

Depicted here is a water house appearing in the scene of the fire at the Ishiyamadera Temple in Scroll 4. It has a plank gable roof and is surrounded by an earthen wall on three sides; at its front are lattice doors and a porch. A tank made of stone and full of water stands in the center of the house. A ladle is placed by it. This water seems to be not only for washing one's hands and rinsing one's mouth. This can be deduced from the fact that a porch is attached to the front of the water house. It is impossible that visitors would climb on the porch and go into the house, wash their hands, and then come out. Rather it is likely that a miraculous fountain gushes out here, and visitors could receive benefits such as the

healing of illness or gaining happiness from this miraculous water. What is called miraculous water or a miraculous fountain can be found in various places. In most such places, a clear and cool fountain endlessly gushes out, and even in the summer it does not dry up and stays very cold. In addition, some kind of legend generally accompanies such fountains. The water in this picture seems to be such a fountain. Apart from such miraculous fountains, there was the custom to wash one's hands and mouth as a token of purification at temples and shrines, and up to today, one can find a water house for visitors to wash their hands in the precincts of shrines everywhere. Among picture scrolls, such a washbasin can be found in the *Kitano tenjin engi*.



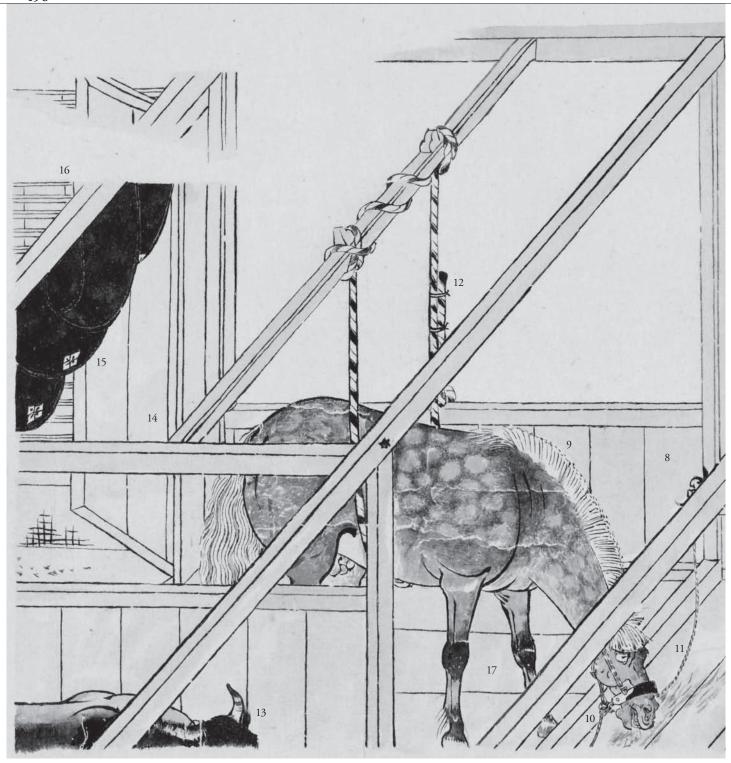


- 1 torii
- 2 plank roof
- 3 bar holding down the roof (horizontal)
- 4 beam
- 5 pillar
- 6 kinukazuki
- 7 worshiping with hands joined in prayer with a Buddhist rosary
- 8 Buddhist rosary

# 495 Torii, Worshiping

The *torii* appears in Scroll 2 and the worshiping figure in Scroll 4. The *torii* stands in front of the so called "Dragon Hole" pond at the northwest of the temple. The roof partly seen to the left of the *torii* is that of the hall for worshiping the dragon hole. The *torii* hardly differs from those of today. They were rarely used in Buddhist temples. Presumably this *torii* was also erected in relation to the worshiping of the dragon as a god.

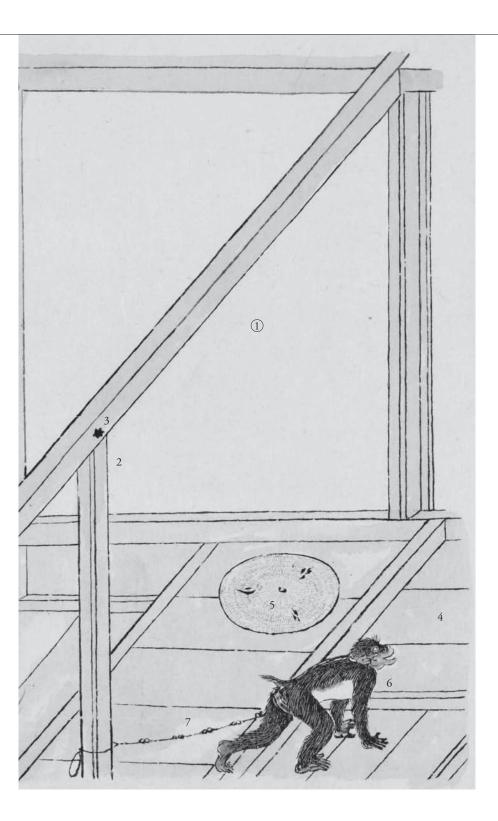
What is noteworthy about the worshiping figure is that the woman is covering her head with her *uchikake*. Today, when worshiping buddhas and gods, it is customary for ordinary people to take off their headwear. Yet in this era, men wore *eboshi* even when worshiping. This picture scroll serves as evidence that it was not regarded as poor manners for a woman to pray while wearing her *uchikake* over her head. Incidentally, she is holding a Buddhist rosary in her hands to offer a prayer.



### 496 Horse and Monkey

This is a stable at the mansion of Fujiwara no Kuniyoshi in Scroll 5. The stable is truly imposing and the horse is kept on a wooden floor. Keeping horses on a plank floor was already in practice by the Heian period. The horse appears not to have a bit. Reins are attached to its headstall and to the pillars on both sides so that it does not turn its head too much. The horse is suspended by a rope tied to a beam. We can see that the custom of suspending a horse to help support its weight already existed by this period. The horse may be a

dappled riding horse. In the cowshed next to it stands a white-horned ox. This must be an ox for an oxcart. The aristocrats of the time had to keep horses and cattle as in this picture, and had to own a large stable for this purpose. A monkey as a guardian of the horses and cattle is tied in the stable. As mentioned in the earlier explanation regarding the religious beliefs concerning monkeys, they were cherished for having the power to drive away evil. A story appears in the <code>Sungyū ekotoba</code> about a man called Priest Harima, who lived in the area around Yoshida, Kyōto, around the Jōkyū era (1219-1222). He greatly liked cattle and built a cowshed doz-



1 stable 2 pillar

pillar (chamfered) ornament for hiding nails

porch

round straw mat

6 monkey

chain

wainscoting

9 horse 10 headstall

11 reins

12 ropes to support horse

13 ox

14 plank door

15 curtain

16 mairado 17 wooden floor

ens of ken wide at the temple, where he gathered and took care of sick or young cattle from the entire city of Kyōto. He also took care of many cattle belonging to others, and after they had recovered or were fully grown, returned them to the original owner. Presumably, people talented in distinguishing the value and condition of cattle were beginning to appear, the same as with the horses depicted in the Bai emaki, or the Picture Scroll of Horse Doctors. Perhaps the availability of such backup support made it relatively easy for aristocrats to raise cattle and horses.



- 1 tate-eboshi
- 2 mustache, beard, whiskers
- 3 suikan
- 4 cords at the hem of sleeves
- 5 hakama
- 6 barefoot
- (7) ox
- 8 rope hooked on horns
- 9 nose ring
- 10 lead

# 497 Spotted Ox

Depicted here is an ox appearing in the scene in Scroll 4 where Jinkaku expresses his gratitude to the emperor for receiving the permit to ride on a handcart; it is an ox for pulling a handcart. Cattle have already been discussed. Cattle from different regions had their own distinctive features. According to the *Sungyū ekotoba*, each ox had its own name, for example, Baku-maru (the *Baku* being an imaginary animal supposed to eat dreams), Kōzō (Fragrant Elephant), Shishi-maru (the Lion), Urushi-guro (Jet-black), Kobitai (Small Forehead), and so on. The areas famous for producing cattle include Echizen, Tsukushi, Tajima, Hizen Mikuriya, Tanba, Sagara, Suō, Yamato, and Kawachi, among which Echizen and Tsukushi seem to have produced the greatest numbers of fine cattle. Although we cannot know

from where the ox in this picture came, it is a spotted ox with white horns. Cattle were originally used for plowing, and according to the <code>Sungyū</code> <code>ekotoba</code>, the custom of having cattle pull carts in ceremonies at the Sentō palace started during the reigns of Emperors Shirakawa and Toba. At the time, Ōe no Masafusa, who is famous for his knowledge and was also knowledgeable about cattle, is said to have given various directions. Presumably oxcarts began to be used widely from around that era, and at the same time assessments of cattle became increasingly popular. Oxcarts were, so to speak, the new mode of the time, and therefore people gained increased knowledge about cattle in this era. Many texts called <code>ushibumi</code> (cattle text) describing cattle were made, including the <code>Tsutsumi</code> <code>chūnagon</code> <code>ushibumi</code> and the <code>Kojima</code> no <code>miya</code> <code>ushibumi</code>. People assessed the value of cattle relying on these texts.