

Senmen koshakyō

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Overview

I.

The *Senmen koshakyō* (fan paper sutras), properly the *Senmen Hokekyō sasshi*, is a Heian period decorative sutra. Decorative sutras are sutras copied on a beautiful painting background, a genre scene or bird-and-flower painting, for example. They exist in two formats: handscrolls such as the *Heike nōkyō*, which is owned by the Itsukushima Shrine, and “butterfly books” (*detchō-toji sasshi*), in which the background painting was executed on fan papers, a sutra copied over the paintings, and the pages bound into a book, using glue.

The one extant version of a butterfly book format decorative sutra in relatively good condition is owned by the Shitennōji Temple in Ōsaka. It consists of five volumes. The five volumes include the first volume of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hoke-kyō*) (10 pages), the sixth volume of that sutra (24 pages), its seventh volume (23 pages), the *Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra* (*Kanfugen-kyō*) (16 pages), and the *Sutra of Innumerable Meanings* (*Muryōgi-kyō*) (24 pages). Other volumes and pages originally part of this decorative sutra book have been scattered; the temples of Hōryūji and Saikyōji and several families have one or two pages each, while the pages containing volume eight of the *Lotus Sutra* are in the Tokyo National Museum.

An attempt to reconstruct the original form of the book, including the pages are now dispersed, suggests that the *Senmen koshakyō* included the 28 chapters of the *Lotus Sutra* in eight volumes, with the *Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra* and the *Sutra of Innumerable Meanings* bringing the total to ten volumes. The cover of each volume bears a painting of a female in court attire attending on a Buddha.

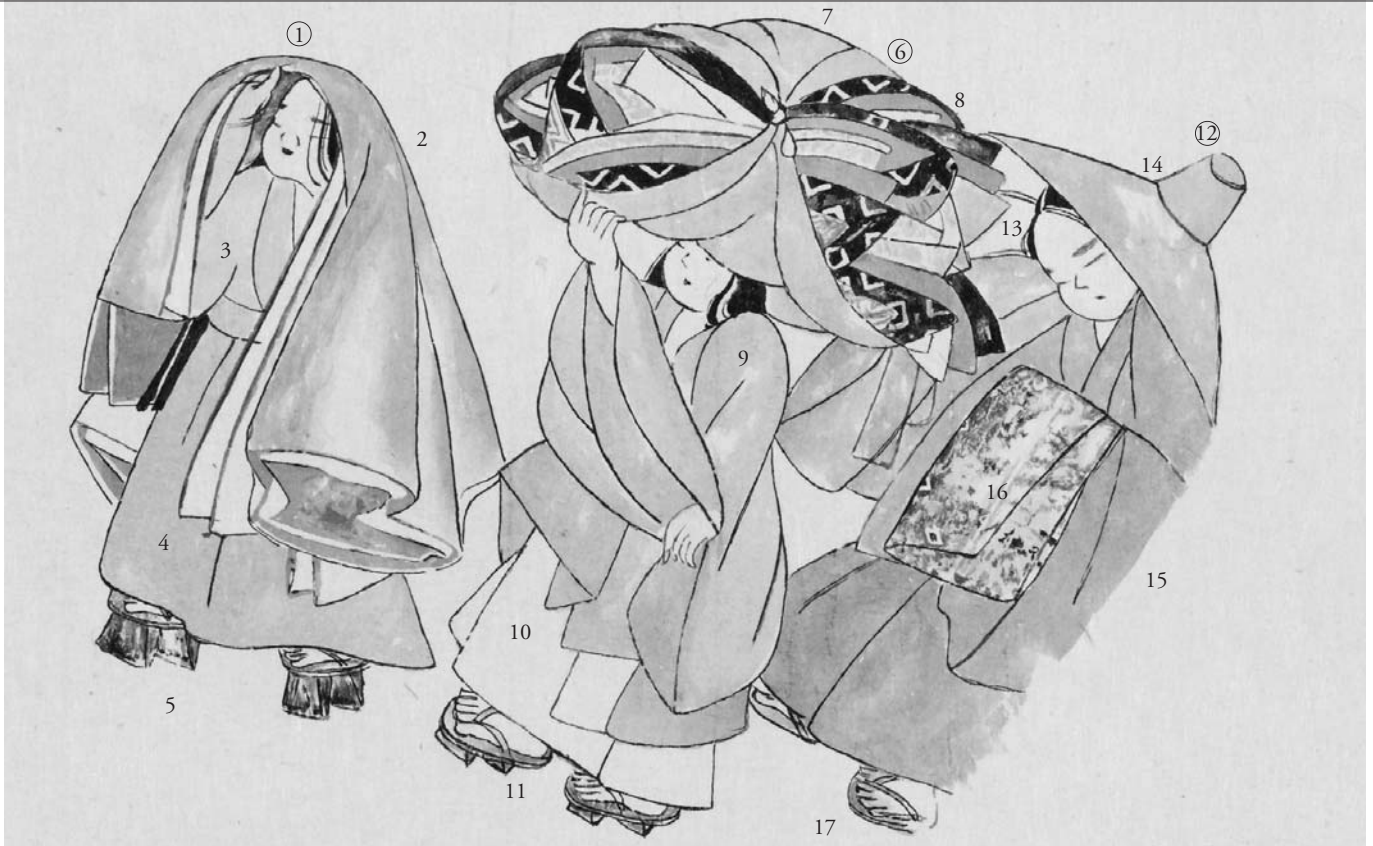
When, then, was the *Senmen koshakyō* created? The highly abstract *hikime kagibana* (slit eyes, hooked nose) style used to draw faces, familiar from the early twelfth century illustrated handscroll of the *Genji monogatari emaki* (*Tale of Genji*), is in the tradition of the court painter style. The relative stiffness of the brushwork lines suggests, however, that it was a later work; the generally accepted date is the latter half of the twelfth century.

II.

Most of the background illustrations, which have no relation to the sutras, are genre paintings. In some, outlines were printed using a woodblock and then the subjects colored in. It may thus be tempting to describe them as the oldest surviving woodblock prints, but they are not true prints, for the artists used woodblocks only to produce underdrawings. The result is, however, that some of these paintings have similar compositions. The use of woodblocks suggests that copies of these sutras using the same background paintings were produced in large numbers.

The illustrations could not be described as realistic, but

many are quite down to earth. Some seem to derive from literary scenes, but many appear to represent recollections or imagined scenes. The images of remembered scenes, scenes from the lives of ordinary people, are quite vivid and cheerful and were probably based on observation. Where the *Senmen koshakyō* particularly stands out is in genre scenes showing women. No other work shows so much of women’s daily lives. The illustrations of women by streams or wells, washing things, doing laundry, or drawing water are delightful. The scenes depicting children’s lives are also noteworthy. While not examples of a realistic style, the illustrations of, for example, bird snares, picking chestnuts, and shops are of great help in conveying how people lived at that time. Here we have selected 21 particularly important pages for detailed examination.



- ① woman with *kinukazuki*
- 2 *kinukazuki*
- 3 *kosode* (plain)
- 4 *hakama*
- 5 *taka-ashida*
- ⑥ woman carrying a bundle on her head
- 7 cloth bundle
- 8 clothing
- 9 *uchigi* (plain)
- 10 skirt
- 11 *ashida*
- ⑫ woman in *ichimegasa*
- 13 wearing one's hair down
- 14 *ichimegasa*
- 15 *uchigi*
- 16 mat?
- 17 straw sandals (*zōri*)

1 *Uchigi* and *Kinukazuki*

The woman at the left is covering her head with an *uchigi* and is wearing *kosode*, *hakama*, and *taka-ashida*. The woman at the center carries a bundle of kimono on her head and wears *kouchigi* and *hira-ashida*. The woman at the right wears *ichimegasa*, *kouchigi*, and straw sandals (*zōri*), and is carrying what seems to be a mat on her left arm. We can consider all these forms of attire as street clothes common to females at the time. *Uchigi* is explained in the *Wamyō ruijūshō* (a tenth century dictionary) as a “jacket for women.” There were two types of *uchigi*, namely *ōuchigi* (large *uchigi*) and *kouchigi* (small *uchigi*). According to the eighteenth century dictionary, the *Wakun no shiori*, the *ōuchigi* is said to have been used as a gift or ministerial emolument bestowed by the emperor. The *Fude no mitama* says it was similar to *fusuma*, or bed cloths. The *uchigi* was used not only by women but also by men. One type of unlined *uchigi* was called *hihegi no suzushi* (*Masasuke shōzokushō*). The *uchikake*, which was widely used in the early-modern era, inherited the character of the *uchigi*.

The *kouchigi* was longer than the *kosode*. According to the Diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga (*Taiki bekki*), on the occasion of the wedding of Fujiwara no Tashi, eighteen provinces were put in charge of providing *uchikake* made of twill (*aya*) or plain silk. This can be regarded as evidence of the central government imposing the requisition of such items on the provinces. The *uchigi* was not only worn in the house but also as street clothes, and occasionally used to cover one's head, namely as *kinukazuki*. Later, not only the *uchigi* but also the *kosode* was used for *kinukazuki*. This custom still remains in several places.



- ① small shrine
- 2 plank roof
- 3 votive paper
- 4 shrine fence
- 5 monument made of a round stone
- 6 oak tree
- ⑦ woman drinking water
- 8 *ichimegasa*
- 9 cord to tuck up sleeves
- 10 ladle
- 11 *uchigi*
- 12 leggings (*habaki*)
- 13 straw sandals (*waraji*)

2 Female Travel Attire

The woman drinking water is in traveling attire. She wears an *ichimegasa*, *uchigi*, a cord around her shoulders (*kakeda-suki*) to tuck up her clothing, leggings, and straw sandals. Such travel attire appears to have been common to women traveling far on foot. A shrine to the god of the crossroad stands behind her. It is a small shrine with a plank roof and votive pendants in front of it. A plank fence demarcating the sacred precincts stands by the shrine. There is a natural stone standing in the front of the shrine but it is not clear what is worshipped here. Such shrines were found at every crossing and seemingly the god of the road was the main object of worship there.



- ① woman washing cloth
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 cord for tying the hair
- 4 *kosode*
- 5 cord to tuck up sleeves
- 6 skirt of *kosode*
- 7 *obi*
- 8 cloth
- 9 wooden bowl
- 10 ladle
- ⑪ woman drinking water
- 12 wearing one's hair down
- 13 ladle
- 14 *uchigi*
- 15 stone well curb
- 16 spring
- ⑰ woman carrying a water bucket on her head
- 18 wooden container
- 19 *kosode* (patterned)
- 20 apron
- ⑳ woman stripped to waist
- 22 hair tied in back
- 23 *kosode*
- 24 barefoot
- 25 untidy hair
- 26 naked

3 Laundry

Since fabrics were rough and coarse in ancient days, people did not wash them much by hand but rather generally by stamping on them. Such scenes are depicted in picture scrolls such as the *Saigyō monogatari* and the *Shigisan engi*. A literary description is found in "The Story of When the Hermit of Kume First Established the Kumedera Temple" in the *Konjaku monogatari shū*, as well: "A young woman was standing by the river washing clothes. So as to wash the clothes, the woman had tucked her robe up above her shins." From this scene, too, we can see people stamped on clothes to wash them. This style of washing still remains in areas such as Shirogane, Aomori Prefecture and Tsuyama, Okayama Prefecture, but it is regarded as an unusual custom today.



4 Bleached Cloth, Apron

Once washed, cloth had to be dried. For cloth that had not yet been sewn, this process probably served not only to dry the cloth but also to bleach it. In the *Ryōnoshūge* it says: “Order of the second day of the twelfth month of the first year of Yōrō (717). Concerning the bleached cloth of Hitachi, put the cloth made by three people into one bundle.” A poem in Volume 14 of the *Man’yōshū* reads, “take the cloth I have woven and bleach it at the Tama River so that it becomes smooth,” telling us that woven cloth was made soft and smooth by the process of washing and bleaching. In addition, people also washed sewn garments. This work had been the work of women from ancient days. In this illustration, a woman with her hair down wears a wide-sleeved *hitoe*, an apron, and *taka-ashida*. Aprons were called *uwami* and explained as “a garment to cover *hakama*” (*Wamyō ruijūshō*). This type of garment developed into what is called “apron of the breadth of three pieces of cloth” (*mihaba maedare*), which is widely used today in the area around Kyōto. Most of the people engaged in washing wear *ashida*, which may indicate that it was the custom of the time.

- 1 fence made of tree branches?
- 2 cloth
- ③ woman drying a piece of cloth
- 4 wearing one’s hair down
- 5 cord for tying the hair
- 6 *kosode*
- 7 apron
- 8 *ashida*
- 9 basin
- 10 well
- 11 stakes surrounding a well
- 12 *binoki* fence? (wickerwork)
- 13 pillar supporting fence
- 14 horizontal beam supporting fence



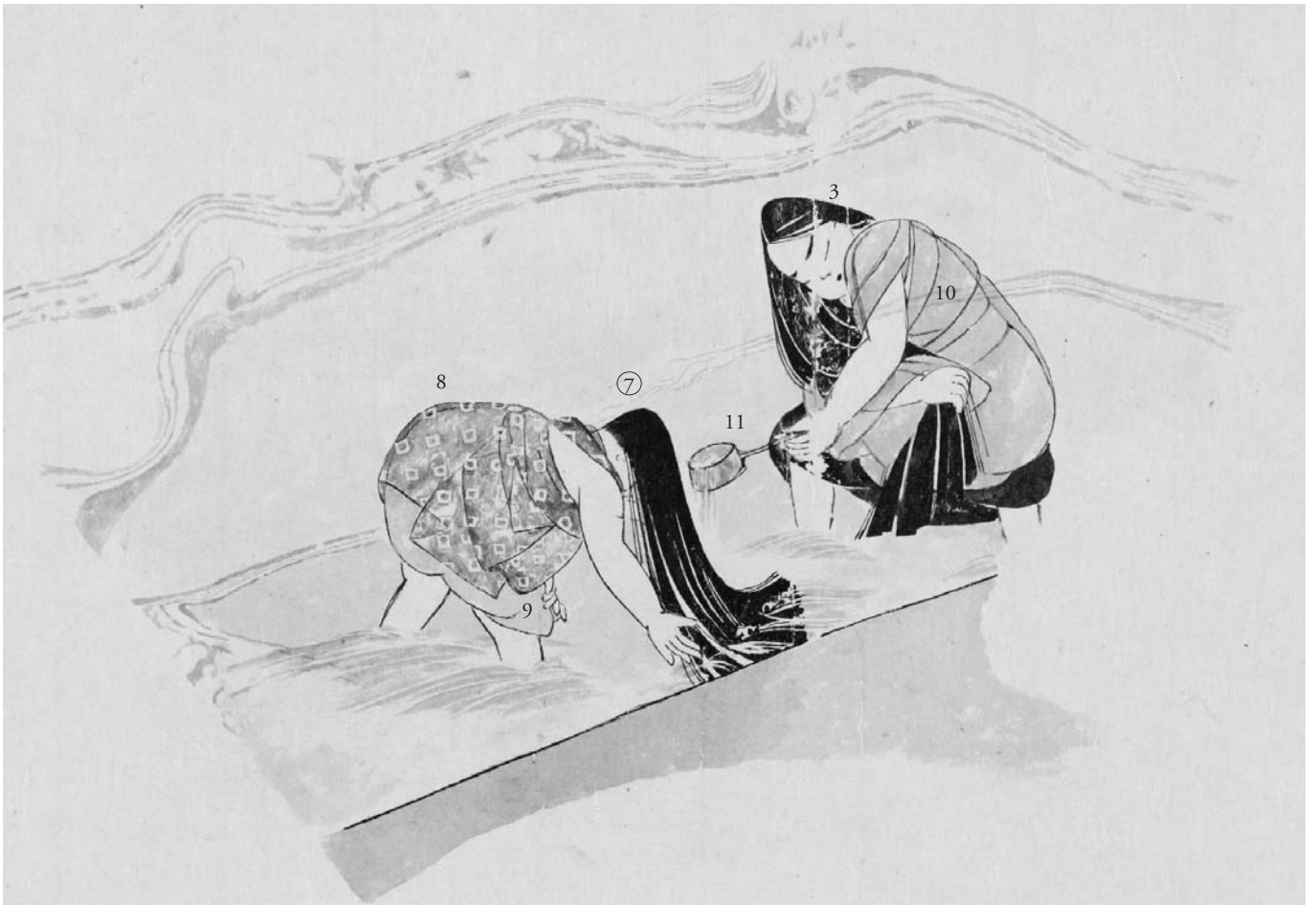
- 1 *hinoki* fence? (wickerwork)
- 2 pillar supporting fence
- 3 horizontal beam supporting fence
- 4 vertical plank in well curb
- 5 *hitoe* (patterned)
- 6 laundry pole
- 7 forked pole
- ⑧ woman drying a kimono
- 9 wearing one's hair down
- 10 cord for tying the hair
- 11 sleeveless kimono
- 12 cord around one's waist
- 13 undergarment
- 14 *ashida*
- 15 basin
- 16 bowl

5 *Hitoe*, Plank Well

A woman is drying a *hitoe*. The wooden basin by her feet suggests that the garment has just been washed. Such laundry was dried by hanging it on a pole thrust through the sleeves of the garment. A similar scene can be found in the *Saigyō monogatari emaki*. The low fence below the unlined garment appears to be the broken plank walls of a well. The custom of using planks vertically for well walls goes back to early days, and many remains have been found at the site of Fujiwara palace complex.



- 1 brush
- 2 black lacquered box?
- 3 wearing one's hair down
- 4 *uchigi*
- 5 *hakama*
- 6 *ashida*
- ⑦ woman washing her hair
- 8 cord to tuck up one's sleeves (patterned)
- 9 *hakama*
- 10 cord to tuck up sleeves (plain)
- 11 ladle



6 Washing Hair, Washing Object

In the *Senmen koshakyō*, there are many pictures of people washing things by or drawing water from the waterside or a well. Such activities by the water seem also to have functioned as a kind of recreation. In the lower illustration, two women are washing their hair. They have tucked up the sleeves of their kimono with a cord. In the illustration above, another woman is washing something square, which seems

to be a lacquered box. There are two flat brushes as well. Flat brushes were originally used to apply lacquer (*Wamyō ruijū shō*). In later days, they were used for wiping, sweeping, splicing paper with rice glue (*Wakan sansai zue*), and so on. In this picture, however, the woman washing is not holding the brushes in her hand and it seems that they are not for wiping or sweeping.



- 1 oak tree
- 2 well curb
- 3 dug well
- 4 ladle
- ⑤ woman washing cloth
- 6 wearing one's hair down
- 7 *kosode* (patterned)
- 8 cloth
- 9 *ashida*
- 10 basin with handles
- ⑪ woman washing a bowl
- 12 cord for tying the hair
- 13 *hitoe*
- 14 cord to tuck up sleeves
- 15 bowl

7 Well

The *Wamyō ruijūshō* explains “well” as a place where the ground is dug to draw water. The form of wells varied: the one illustrated above has a round structure with stone walls. This is known as *ishiizutsu* (*Ruijū meibutsukō*). In addition, in this type of well, water flows naturally from it; thus it was also called a “dug well” or a “running well.” This kind of well was frequently made in places where the groundwater level was high. In some cases, when people dug the ground to a certain depth, a spring would gush out, while in other cases, pipes made of hollowed-out bamboo were inserted deep into the ground to draw the water upward. Many such wells were found in Kyōto in earlier days.



8 By the Well

The well here is a plank well. Most wells of this type were square, although there were round ones as well. As with this image, square well curbs were set on top of the well. For most plank wells, water did not flow from the dug hole; rather, people drew water from the groundwater. This well is also the draw type, and a woman who is traveling is rinsing her foot with water she has drawn with the well bucket. Water necessary for the household was carried in a wooden container on one's head. This custom can still be found in the Izu Islands, Satsunan Islands, and Ryūkyū Islands. A naked child with untidy hair is led by the mother. Children usually played naked. And as seen in the *Ise monogatari*, the well-side was a great place for them to play: “*tsutsuizuno izutsu ni kakeshi maro ga take, sugi ni kerashina imo mizaru ma ni* (My height that we measured at the well curb has, it seems, passed the old mark since last I saw you).” We can imagine that children played near wells like the one depicted in this picture.

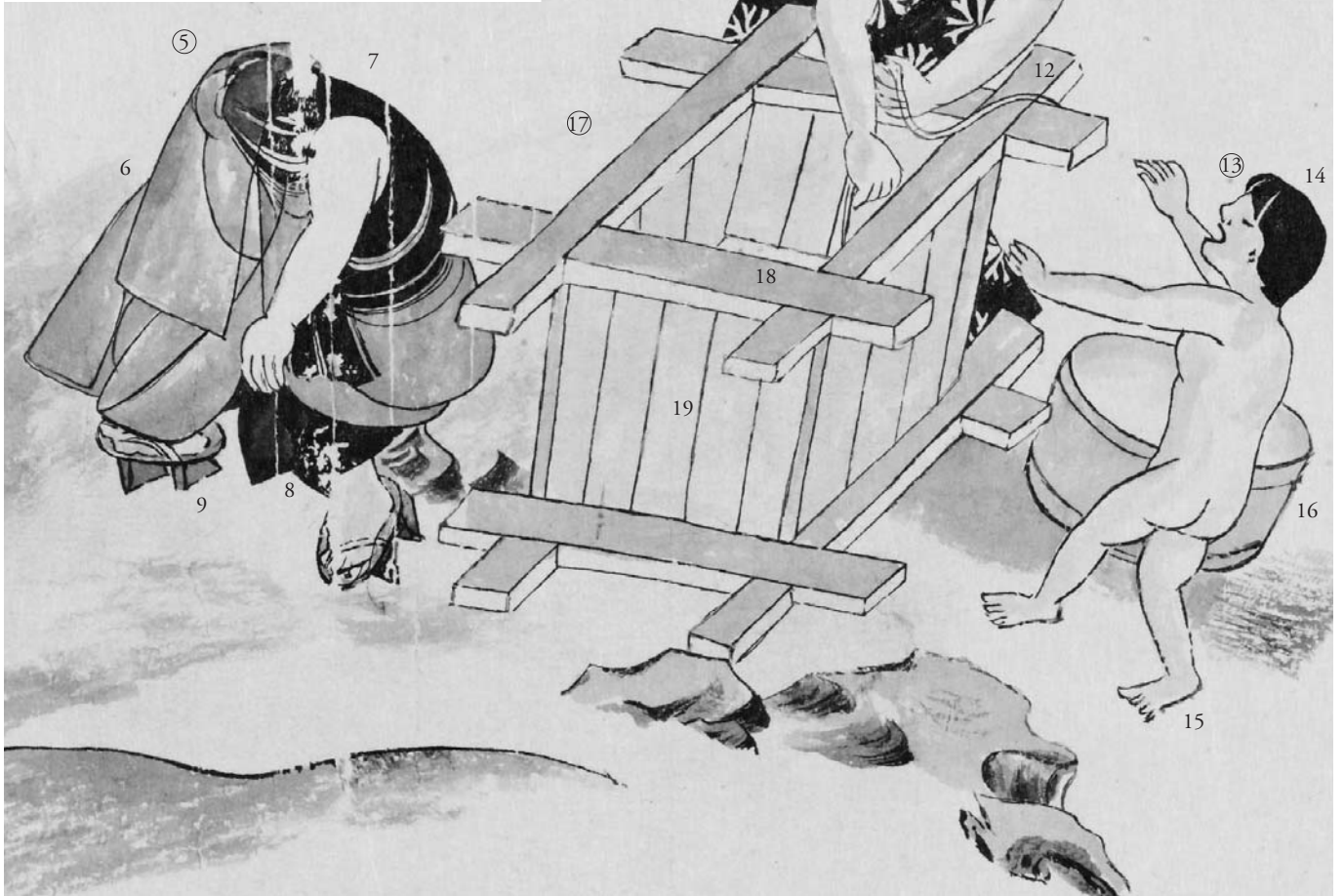
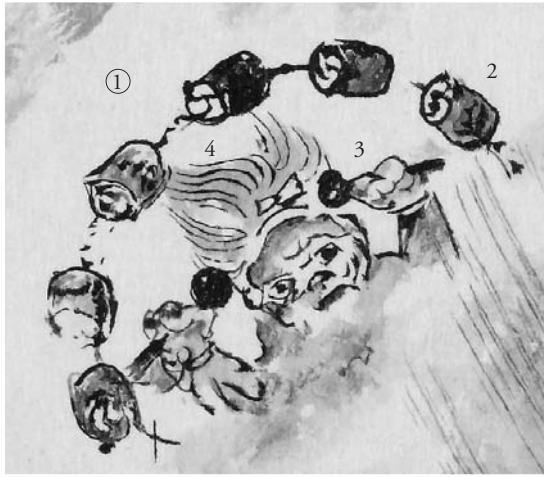
- 1 wearing one's hair down
- 2 *uchigi*
- 3 water bucket (wooden container)
- 4 well curb (plank square)
- 5 *uchigi*
- 6 well bucket
- 7 straw sandals (*waraji*)
- ⑧ naked child
- 9 untidy hair
- 10 barefoot
- ⑪ carrying on one's head
- 12 water bucket (wooden container)
- 13 cord for tying the hair
- 14 cord to tuck up sleeves
- 15 apron
- 16 *ashida*



- ① woman drawing water from a well
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 cord to tuck up sleeves (patterned)
- 4 well curb
- 5 rope for a well bucket
- 6 water bucket (wooden container)
- ⑦ girl holding a spouted bowl
- 8 cord for tying the hair
- 9 spouted bowl
- 10 *uchigi*
- 11 straw sandals (*zōri*)
- 12 *tate-eboshi*
- 13 *suikan* (comma-shaped pattern)
- 14 waist cord of *hakama*
- 15 *nubakama* (with pattern of leaves)
- 16 straw sandals (*waraji*)

9 By the Well

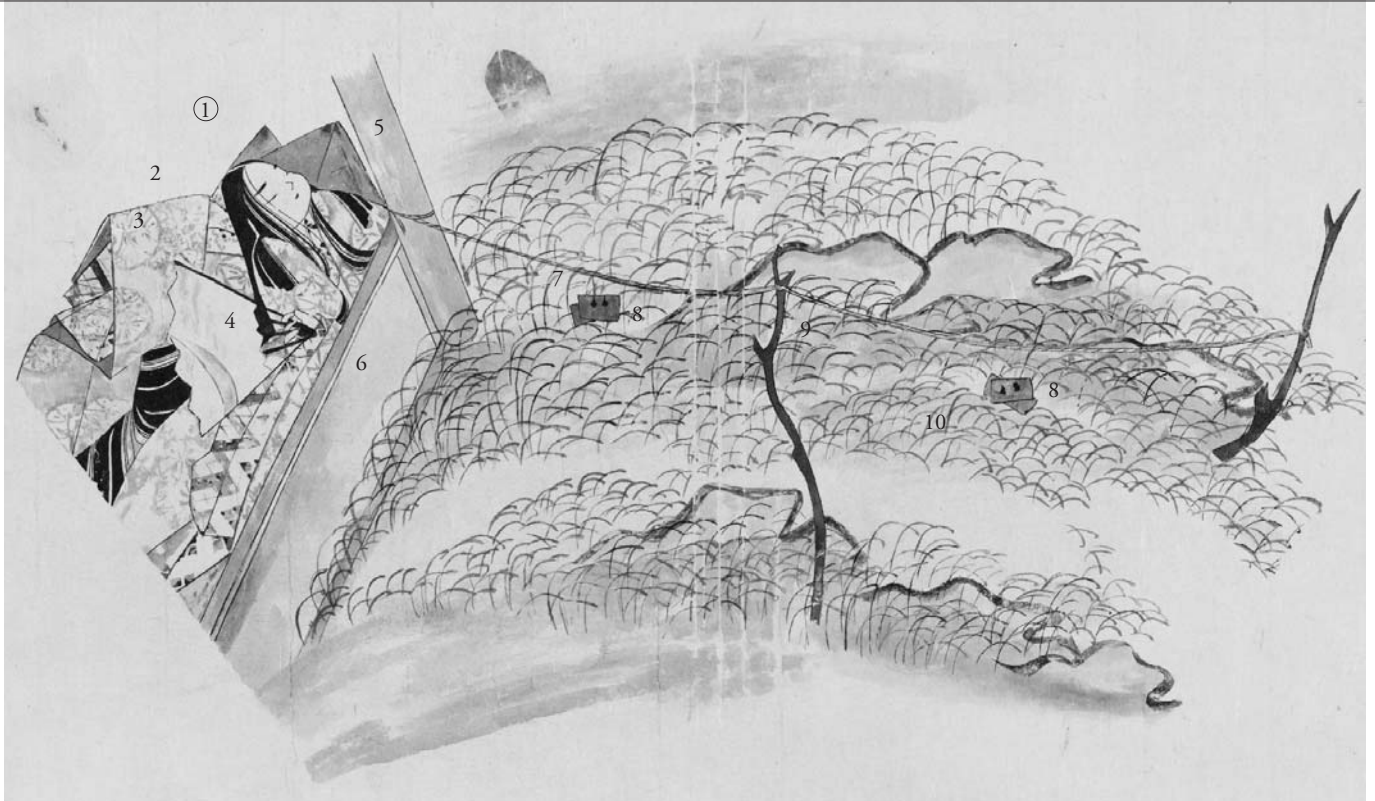
In general, wells are walled with planks or stones so that the soil of the side of the well will not crumble. The part of the wall appearing above ground level is called *idogawa* (*Morisada mankō*). It was rare for each house to own its own well, and typically wells were shared. On important highways, wells were dug at points where water was hard to find (*Engishiki*). The well appearing in this picture seems to be such a public well. A man in traveling attire is drinking water while squatting by the well. Beyond him, a woman holding a *katakuchi sake* bowl waits. *Katakuchi*, a bowl lipped on one side is in contrast to *morokuchi*, a bowl lipped on two sides, a type of bowl that generally has a long handle. In the *Sanchūkuden* (a manual of dress and interior made in the mid-Kamakura period), *katakuchi sake* bowls are explained as “restricted to the master’s use. *Sake* bowls are only for *sake* and should not be used for other things.” They were often made of silver or copper. The *katakuchi* in this illustration seems to be a *sake* bowl of this sort, but the woman may have brought it to the well to rinse it. Along with the development of pottery, pottery *katakuchi* became popular and came to be used not only for *sake* but also for liquids such as vinegar and soy sauce, and were widely used in ordinary houses.



10 By the Well, Thunder

A woman is crouching by the well and covering her head with her kimono. Is it in fear of thunder? The legend that the thunder god makes thunder by beating small drums is old and appears already in the *Inga-kyō*. An image of the thunder god with many drums appears in the *Kitano Tenjin engi*, as well. The thunder god illustrated here does not have horns, wears a headband, and has a very human expression.

- ① thunder god
- 2 drum
- 3 mallet
- 4 headband
- ⑤ woman covering her head with *uchigi*
- 6 *uchigi* (plain)
- 7 wearing one's hair down
- 8 *hakama*
- 9 *ashida*
- ⑩ woman drawing water from a well
- 11 cord to tuck up sleeves (patterned)
- 12 rope for a well bucket
- ⑬ naked young girl
- 14 untidy hair
- 15 barefoot
- 16 water bucket (wooden container)
- ⑰ well curb
- 18 well curb
- 19 well walls (vertical planks)



- ① woman looking at rice paddies
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 *karaginu*
- 4 fan
- 5 round pillar
- 6 bar to support a plank
- 7 string of noisemakers
- 8 noisemaker
- 9 forked pole
- 10 unharvested rice paddy

11 Noisemaker

A woman leaning on the windowsill holds an open fan in her right hand and looks at the rice paddies. Noisemakers are hanging on lines strung across the paddies. In ancient Japan, noisemakers were called *hita*. In the *Tenarai* chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, it says: "The sound of pulling *hita* was interesting and reminded Ukifune of the eastern province she once saw." Another excerpt from a scene in the *Sarashina nikki* states: "To the west, the wind blowing through pine trees on Narabi no oka echoes in one's ears and makes you lonely. On the flatland, rice paddies reach to the foot of the hills, and the sound of *hita* gave me a sense of being in a rural area and interested me much." As can be known from these excerpts, noisemakers hung everywhere in the rice paddies in the suburbs of Kyōto. The custom of hanging noisemakers in rice paddies to scare birds seems to go back to much earlier days, as suggested by a song in Volume 8 of the *Man'yōshū*: "*koromode ni mishibu tsukumade ueshi ta wo hita wagahae mamoreru kurushi* (I planted rice plants in the paddies until my sleeves were stained with water, and I string *hita* and struggle to protect my paddies)" (No. 1634).

Noisemakers were called *naruko* in later days, but it is not clear when the term *naruko* became more popular than *hita*. The word *naruko* appears in a song in *Horikawa-in hyakushū*:

"*mitayamori naruko no nawa ni tekakunari harema mo mienu kiri no minaka ni* (The guardian of the imperial rice fields takes the string of the *naruko* in his hands, even when he is in the mist where no blue sky can be seen)." Judging from this song, it seems that the term *naruko* became generally used from the end of the Heian period.

Naruko is explained in the *Kōka shunjū* as follows: "Cut small pipes and attach them to a board. The board should be light so that it makes a sound. The board should be about five to six *sun* long and seven to eight *sun* wide. Yet it is better if the board is thin so that it moves in the breeze and makes sounds." Therefore, noisemakers were made so that they would make noise when a breeze blew, not just when the string to which they were attached was pulled.



- 1 *tate-eboshi*
- 2 *suikan* (patterned)
- 3 cord around one's waist
- 4 *nubakama* (with pattern of leaves)
- 5 *suikan* (patterned)
- 6 *kosode* (patterned)
- 7 *nubakama* (patterned)
- 8 fan
- 9 rope of a bird trap (*kobuchi*)
- 10 *sunoko*
- 11 pole supporting *sunoko*
- 12 sparrow
- 13 bamboo

12 Bird Trap

Two men are trying to catch sparrows with a bird trap. This is a type of trap where the hunter sprinkles bait under a *sunoko* and then, when the sparrow is lured by the bait, traps it by pulling out the pole supporting the *sunoko*. In some regions such as Shizuoka, Gifu, Mie, Wakayama, and Tokushima, such traps are called *kobuchi*. The word *kobuchi* could be a dialectal form of *kuiji*, about which the *Wakun no shiori* notes: "In the *Wamyō ruijūshō* the character is read 'kuiji' and explained as a machine to catch animals. The etymology must be *kui* (stake) and *ji* (path)." Thus, birds and animals were hunted not only by bows, swords, and spears but also with traps. It is clear from a poem in Volume 14 of the *Man'yōshū* that this habit goes back to early days: "*ashigara no otemo konomo ni sasu wana no kanarumashizu-*

mi koro are himo toku (When the sound of the traps I set here and there in the mountains of Ashigara grow quiet, she and I will loosen the strings)" (No. 3361). It seems that this sort of trap made a sound when animals were captured.

Small traps like the one depicted in the picture can still be found in various places today, with the improvement that they are made so that the trap automatically closes when a bird touches a pole or a string. Most of these kinds of trap aim to catch birds and animals alive, so as to keep them as pets. Aside from traps, birdlime and nets were also used to catch animals alive. A poem referring to the custom of stringing a rope to catch snipe appears in the *Kojiki*. Thus there were various ways to catch animals alive.

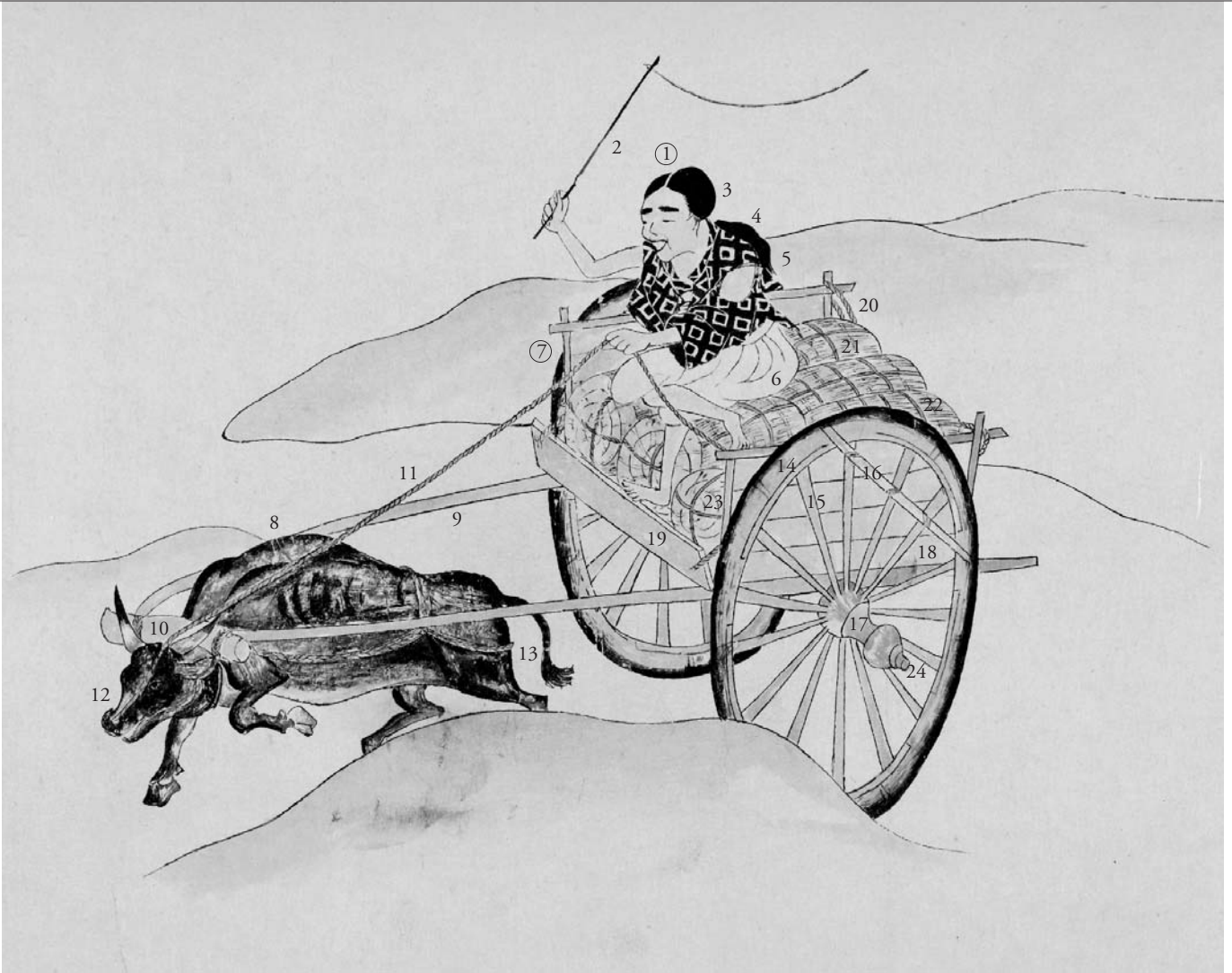


- ① woman picking chestnuts
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 sleeveless kimono
- 4 *obi*
- 5 skirt of the sleeveless kimono
- 6 cord for tying the hair
- 7 apron
- 8 barefoot
- 9 chestnuts
- 10 basket

13 Chestnut Picking

Four women are picking chestnuts in a chestnut grove. Among the illustrations of the *Senmen koshakyō* this scene is where the life of ordinary people most strikingly appears. The women are all barefooted and wear short-sleeved kimono. Short-sleeved kimono are not much depicted in works other than the *Senmen koshakyō*. It may have been the fashion of a particular period. Short-sleeved kimono became popular from the late middle ages when they were used as jackets, such as *jinbaori* worn on the battlefield. Also many ordinary women wore sleeveless *haori* jackets.

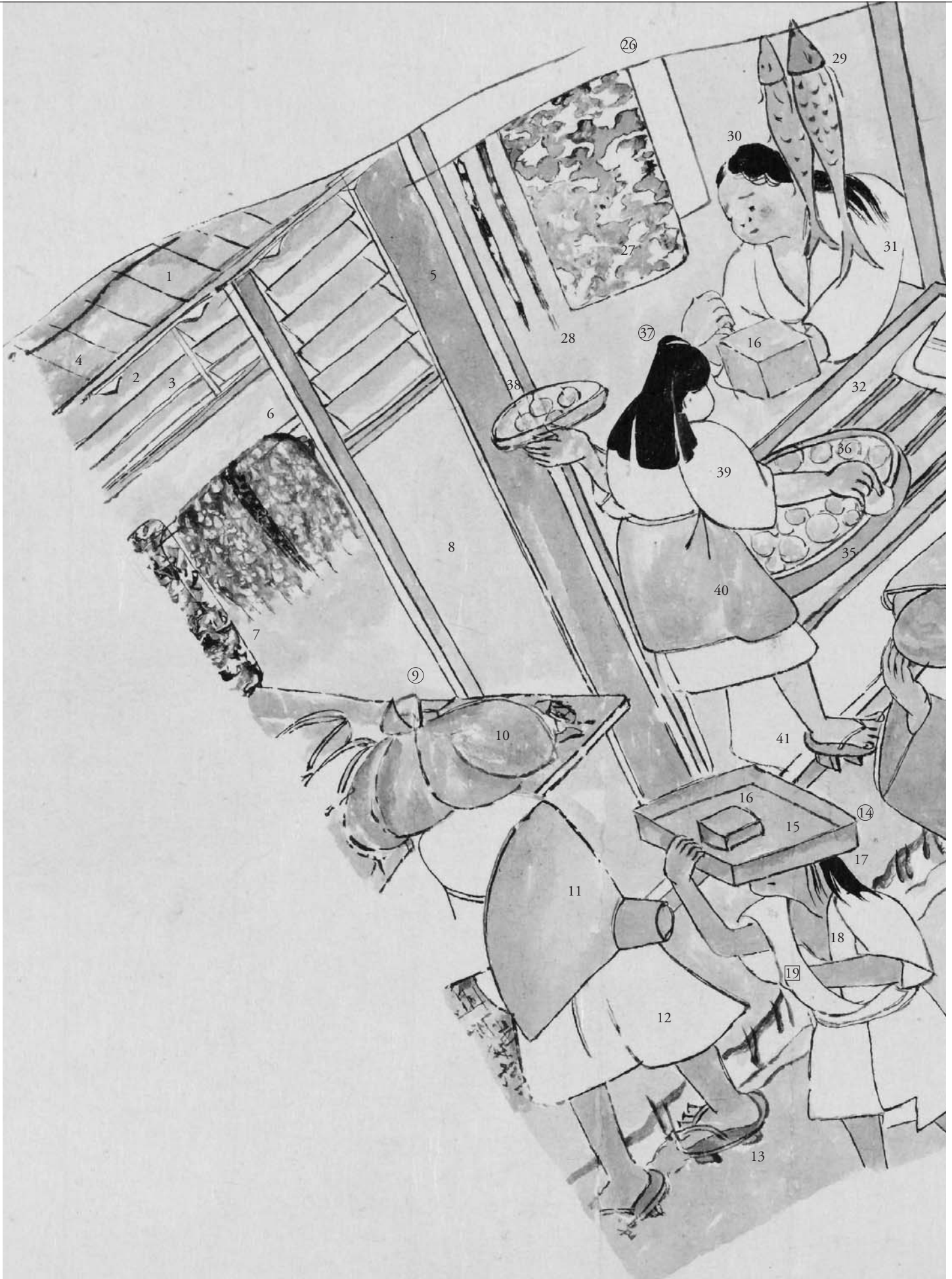
The baskets used to put the chestnuts in are similar to today's *mekago*. They seem to have been generally made of bamboo, as in the section on Hayato in the *Engishiki*, it states that there was an "annual levy for making various baskets: four hundred eighty stalks of bamboo, to be taken from the bamboo allocated to the office governing the Hayato." The amount of bamboo necessary for various baskets is mentioned in the same source as well. Bamboo was also levied for the emperor's ceremony of accession. It seems that bamboo was widely grown in southern Kyūshū. Many such baskets were probably used when people picked chestnuts or wild flowers and herbs.

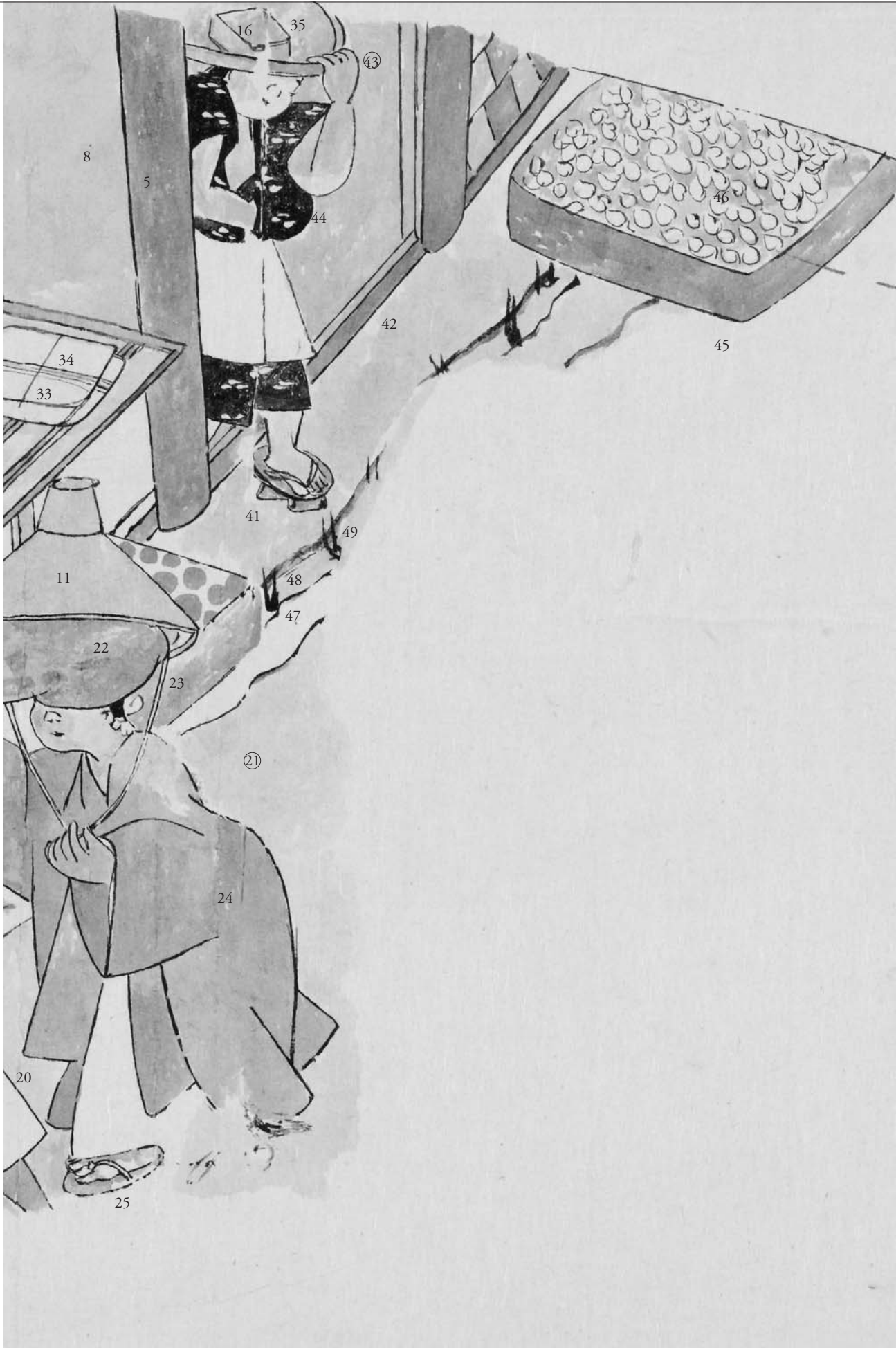


14 Oxcart

A child on an oxcart carrying bales of rice is driving the ox. In the *Yosha zukō* there is the following discussion of oxcarts: “Carts are mentioned in the entry for the day of *kishi* of the eighth month of the third year of Kōnin (812), volume 22, *Nihonkōki*, where it says ‘the priest Ryōshō was exiled to Tanegashima for riding in a cart with a woman’. The necessary materials for building a cart are found in the *Engishiki* regulations: For a cart: For the roof (8 *shaku* long, 3 *shaku* 4 *sun* high, and 3 *shaku* 2 *sun* wide) and wheels, 28 planks of *kunugi* oak; for the handles and spokes, 97 planks of *kashi* oak; for the feeder, 2 planks of zelkova (*tsuki*); for four gables, four *ayumiita*-size planks and 5 *haku* made of *hinoki*; one piece of wood for the axle. It seems that in the Nara period people did not like to ride in carts, since there is little mention of them in laws and regulations. There is not even an article specifying what ranks of people can ride in carts. In the *Engishiki* regulations, there is an article about restricting going through the gate of the palace in carts but not about riding in carts in the city area . . . The fact of citizens riding in carts appears in the regulations related to the police office (*danjōdai*), and thus this was not restricted.” Regulations restricting riding in carts began to appear from about the Kanpyō era (889-98). Carts were used not only for riding but also for carrying loads.

- ① child driving ox
- 2 whip
- 3 wearing one's hair down
- 4 tying hair back
- 5 *suikan* (patterned)
- 6 *hakama*
- ⑦ oxcart
- 8 ox
- 9 shaft
- 10 yoke
- 11 reins
- 12 nose ring
- 13 crupper
- 14 wheel
- 15 spoke
- 16 support splint
- 17 hub
- 18 side panel
- 19 front board
- 20 rope tied to the flame
- 21 bale of rice
- 22 rope tied horizontally
- 23 rope tied vertically
- 24 axle









- 15
 1 plank eaves
 2 rafter
 3 wainscoting (horizontal)
 4 bar holding down the roof
 5 pillar
 6 horizontal beam
 7 cloth
 8 earthen wall
 ⑨ woman carrying a cloth bundle on her head
 10 cloth bundle
 11 *ichimegasa*
 12 *kinu*
 13 *ashida*
 ⑭ young girl carrying a box on her head
 15 box (place mat?)
 16 square container
 17 untidy hair
 18 *kosode?* (with the right side over the left)
 ⑰ putting hand in bosom
 20 *obi*
 ⑱ woman in *ichimegasa*
 22 cloth bundle
 23 cord of *ichimegasa*
 24 *uchigi*
 25 straw sandals (*zōri*)
 ⑳ shop
 27 cloth
 28 cord
 29 fish
 30 wearing one's hair down
 31 *kosode* (plain)
 32 shop counter
 33 paper?
 34 cord tied around paper
 35 tray
- 36 fruit?
 ⑳ woman holding a tray
 38 tray
 39 *kosode* (plain)
 40 apron
 41 *ashida*
 42 threshold
 ④③ woman carrying a tray on her head
 44 sleeveless kimono
 45 box
 46 a kind of taro?
 47 ditch
 48 plank to prevent slippage
 49 stake
- 16
 ⑤① man looking from a window
 51 *tate-eboshi*
 52 *kariginu* (patterned)
 ⑤③ resting one's head on one's arm
 54 pillar
 55 *koshi-nageshi*
 56 horizontal beam
 57 wickerwork wall
 ⑤⑧ shop
 59 cloth
 60 cord
 ⑥① woman talking with a man
 62 wearing one's hair down
 63 *uchigi*
 64 *hakama*
 65 waist cord of *hakama*
 66 straw sandals (*zōri*)
 ⑥⑦ woman carrying on her head
 68 cloth bundle
 69 *ichimegasa*
- 70 *ashida*
 71 untidy hair
 72 sleeveless kimono (patterned)
 73 square container
 74 tray
 75 shop counter
 76 tray
 77 fruit
 78 paper
 79 cord tied around paper
 80 box
 81 melon
 82 ditch
 83 plank to prevent slippage
 84 stake
 ⑧⑤ entrance
 86 flat basket
 ⑧⑦ putting hand in bosom
 88 earthen wall
 ⑧⑨ woman in *ichimegasa*
 90 bamboo framework
 91 *uchigi*
 92 box
 93 fruit
 94 chestnuts

15, 16 Shop

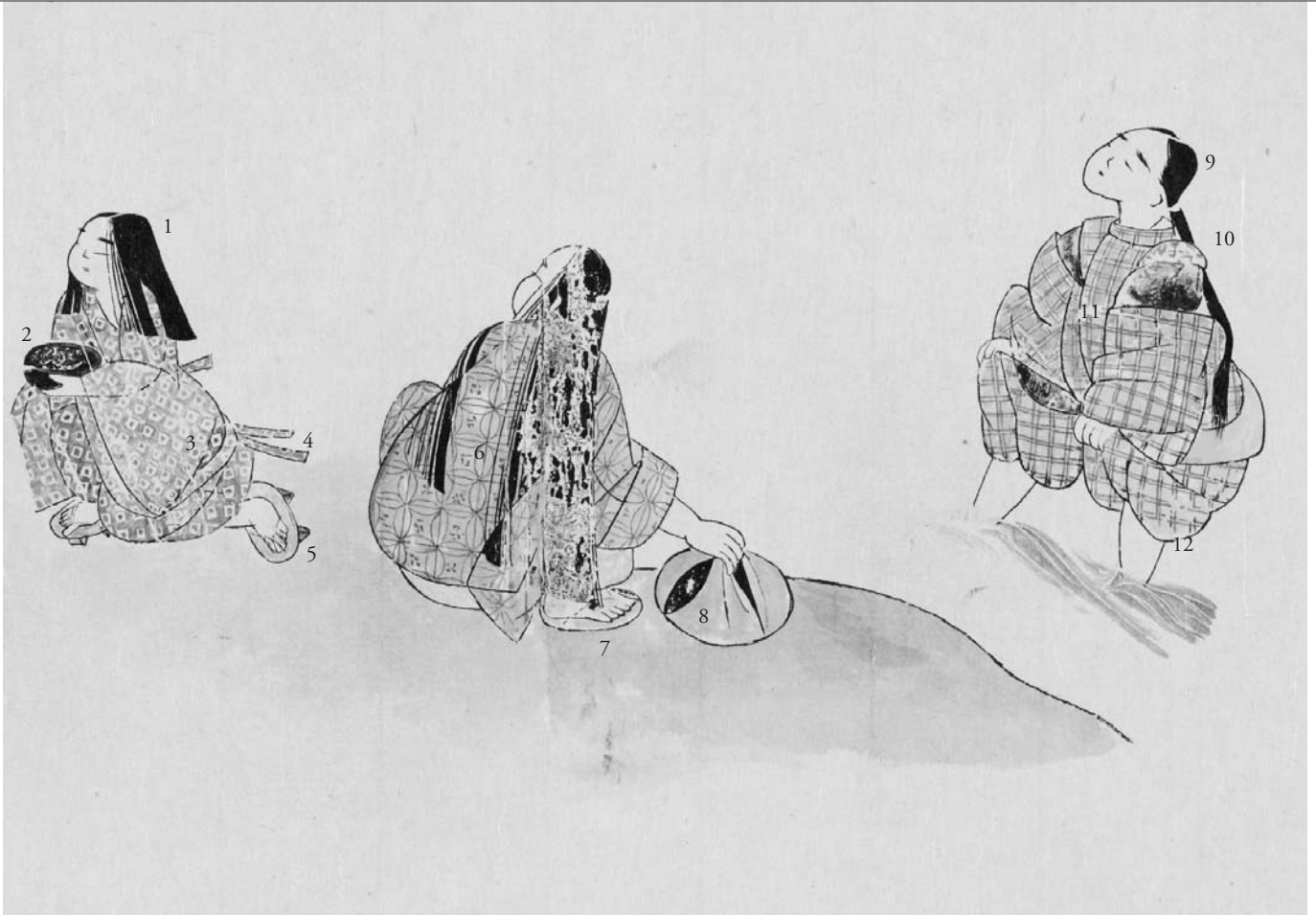
Shops were called *mise*, derived from the verb *misu*, to show, since it was a place to show goods. Usually, goods were lined up on shelves, and thus shops were also called *tana* (shelves) or *mise dana* (display shelves). The earliest pictorial representation of such *mise dana* must be those in the *Senmen koshakyō*, together with those in the *Nenjūgyōji emaki*. Shops existed much earlier, however. Two markets were set up at the east and west of the capital according to the provisions of the *Taihō ryō*, and many markets were established in rural areas. The markets in the capital were permanent while the ones in rural areas were periodical or occasional. What characterized markets were settled vendors, in contrast to peddlers. Settled vendors displayed goods and sold them where there was a steady demand, which developed into the establishment of shops. Thus shops appeared in markets, and also in front of temples and shrines where many believers gathered. The latter is what is known as *monzen machi* or “temple town”. The two illustrations given here have exactly the same composition, with slight changes in figures, displayed goods, or from a wickerwork wall to an earthen wall; they are not necessarily realistic, but still can help us imagine the shops of the day.



- 1 *hitoe* (patterned)
- 2 *hitai-eboshi*
- 3 wearing one's hair down
- 4 cord for tying the hair
- 5 wearing one's hair down (untied)
- 6 hair parted and tied in two bunches
- 7 barefoot
- 8 *uchigi* (plain)
- 9 *obi*
- 10 playing *ashi-zumō*

17 Children's Play

Children playing in a field are illustrated. The girl at the left wears *hitai-eboshi* and is holding up some flowers. The two at the front are holding the arms of each other, face to face; they seem to be playing *ashi-zumō*, a game in which seated players try to upset each other using just their feet. The hair of the child seen from the back is only long enough to cover the nape of neck, which suggests that this child is less than eight years old. The child's kimono has cords sewn on the garment. Play using toys was infrequent at that time, unlike today.



- 1 wearing one's hair down
- 2 lacquered bowl
- 3 *hitoe* (patterned)
- 4 cloth sewn on a child's kimono
- 5 *ashida*
- 6 *uchigi* (patterned)
- 7 straw sandals (*zōri*)
- 8 cloth bundle
- 9 wearing one's hair down
- 10 cord for tying the hair
- 11 *suikan*
- 12 *hakama*

18 Children's Play

Three children appear in this scene. The child at the left wears her hair short, and her wide-sleeved kimono has clothes sewn on it; this seems to indicate that this child is less than eight years old. The child wears *ashida*. What she is holding cannot be determined but it could be a lacquered bowl. The child in the center squats with her back to the viewer; she holds a bundle. The boy wading in the water at the right wears a *warawa-suikan*; he is wearing his hair long, and he is not wearing an *eboshi*, which shows that he has not passed his coming-of-age ceremony. Therefore, this seems to be a scene where children aged from seven or eight to fifteen have met by the water by chance and are playing together.



19 *Kamisogi*

The scene of *kamisogi* of two children is depicted here. *Kamisogi* is a ritual but it is likely that it was originally a routine activity. Before *kamisogi*, there existed the ceremony of *kamioki*. *Kamioki* was also called *kamitate* and was held at the age of two in the houses of aristocrats and three in warrior houses. In later days the age when the ceremony was held shifted to three for boys and two for girls. The main act of *kamisogi* was to cut the child's hair to the same length all around. Later when the hair grew longer, the ceremony of *fukasogi* (deeply cutting) was held. This was in general done at the age of five for boys and four for girls. In addition to cutting their hair, ceremonies such as having children stand on a *go* board were included in the ritual. The girl in the illustration appears to have just finished her *fukasogi*. The boy covering his head with a thin wide-sleeved kimono has not yet had his *kamioki* ceremony, and his head is still shaven. Covering a child's head with a kimono may have had some ritual purpose.

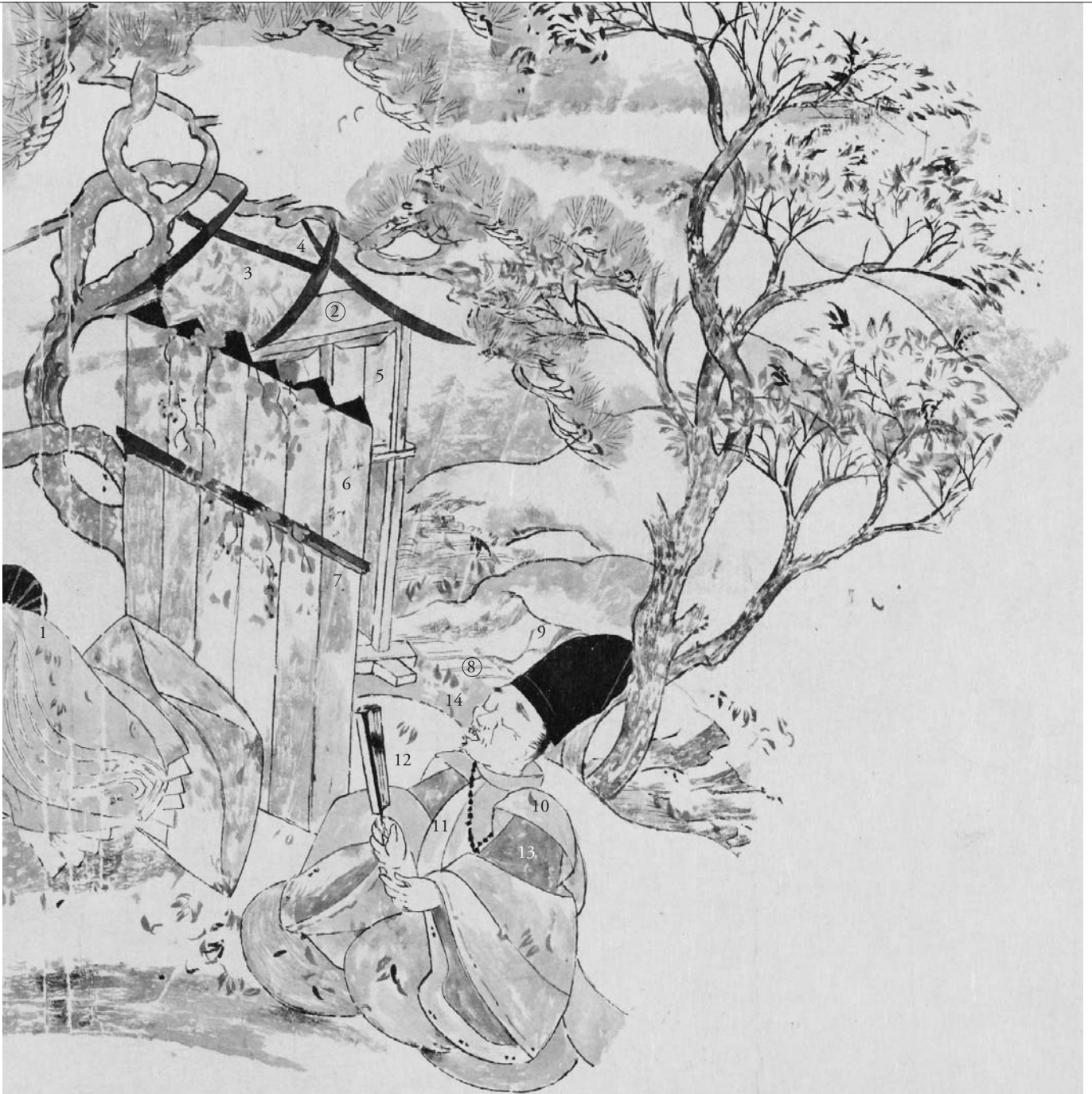
- 1 *tate-eboshi*
- 2 *suikan* (patterned)
- 3 *kosode* (patterned)
- ④ naked young girl
- 5 bobbed hair
- ⑥ crying
- 7 tray
- ⑧ child covering his head with an *uchigi* (shaved head)
- 9 *uchigi*
- 10 porch with perpendicular planks
- 11 wearing one's hair down
- 12 *uchigi*
- 13 *hakama*



20 Bird Cage

A small bird is in a large bird cage. (The opening to the cage is at the top.) A woman is looking in the cage while squatting and poking a stick inside the cage. The man facing the woman sits on the branch of a willow, soaks his feet in the running water, and shades his eyes with his hand. The bird in the cage seems to be a sparrow. It must have been caught with a bird trap. In the cage there are perches and at the points where the perches join, feed bowls. The custom of making a pet of small birds is old and still widely seen today. Bird cages were used not only for such pets, but also for cocks used in cockfights. The picture scrolls of the *Chōjū giga* and the *Kokawadera engi* show cages for such larger birds. Considering from how they are depicted, these larger cages also seem to have been made of bamboo.

- ① woman taking care of a bird
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 *kariginu* (patterned)
- 4 *kosode*
- 5 *nubakama* (patterned)
- 6 straw sandals (*zōri*)
- 7 bird cage
- 8 cord of bird cage
- 9 water bowl
- 10 bowl
- 11 spoon
- 12 perch
- 13 stick
- ④ man soaking his feet in water
- 15 *tate-eboshi*
- 16 *suikan* (plain)
- 17 *nubakama* (patterned)
- 18 stream
- 19 willow



- 1 *karaginu*
- ② small shrine
- 3 plank roof
- 4 projecting cross rafters
- 5 door
- 6 shrine fence
- 7 horizontal beam
- ⑧ man worshipping
- 9 *tate-eboshi*
- 10 *suikan*
- 11 Buddhist rosary (around neck)
- 12 fan
- 13 undergarment

21 God of the Crossroad, Shrine Functionary

A man in *suikan* and *eboshi* sits and prays in front of a small wooden shrine. This must be a sort of god of the crossroad, which is still enshrined at the corners of many streets in the Kinki area. The god of the crossroad took many forms such as *michigami*, *chimatagami*, *sae no kami*, *chiburi no kami*, *tamuke no kami*, and so on, and it protected the surrounding area and passersby. People traveling faced many unseen troubles, and they needed the protection of such gods. The man praying has a Buddhist rosary hanging around his neck, but appears to be a low-grade religious functionary working at a rural shrine; this indicates the reality of the amalgamation of Buddhism and Shinto.