

Chōjū giga

Chōjū giga

Overview

I.

The *Chōjū giga*, or “Satirical scrolls of frolicking animals”, consists of four handscrolls. The title is recent; when designated a National Treasure in 1905, the four scrolls were referred to as the *Shihon suiboku giga* (Monochrome sketches on paper). These scrolls are not all the work of the same hand. Moreover, despite the title now used for the set of four, Scroll 2 consists of straightforward drawings of animals, including birds, oxen, dogs, hawks, pheasants, eagles, giraffes, goats, leopards, tigers, dragons, and elephants instead of satiric sketches. Scrolls 1, 3, and 4 can, however, truly be described as satiric sketches. The work in Scroll 1 is particularly outstanding.

A note at the end of Scroll 3 suggests that these scrolls date from 1253 or earlier. In the *Nihon emakimono zenshū* (Collected handscrolls of Japan, Volume 3: *Chōjū giga*; 1959), Suzuki Keizō argues that among the human figures in the first half, apart from children and Buddhist priests, the male lay figures are, for the most part, wearing soft caps (*nae-eboshi*). Ten male figures are shown in *suikan kobakama*, and one in *kariginu*. Seven male figures who appear to be low-ranking warriors are wearing *hitatare*. Both men and women are wearing *kosode* as undergarments, and the sleeves are narrow. All in all, the clothing styles are similar to those in the *Yamai zōshi* (Diseases and Deformities) and characteristic of the late Fujiwara period. One man alone, watching an ear-tugging match, is wearing an *ori-eboshi*, although not as stiff as the style commonplace in the Kamakura period. Such headgear is not to be found in the *Shigisan engi* or the *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*. However, the mounted warriors in the twelfth century *Kokawadera engi* (Legends of Kokawadera Temple) are wearing *ori-eboshi*; that suggests that the *Chōjū giga* might date from the same period. In addition, *ori-eboshi* are shown worn by some of the *zuibyō* or warrior attendants in the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* (Scroll of Annual Observances), in the *Chakuda no matsurigoto* section. If the depictions are accurate, the *Nenjū gyōji emaki* is the most recent of these picture scrolls showing *ori-eboshi* and dates slightly later than the *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*. Those observations enable us to estimate when these scrolls were created.

The *Chōjū giga* include no text. Thus, the narrative is not clear, and the story line may be interpreted in many ways. They were rendered without color, entirely in the monochrome technique known as *hakubyō*, which relies primarily on the brush line to define form and movement.

Scroll 1 shows rabbits, monkeys, deer, foxes, frogs, wild pigs, cats, horned owls, and other animals engaged in many activities, including crossing a river, participating in archery, serving food and drink, leading animals, *sumō* wrestling, music and dance performances, and engaging in Buddhist services. Scroll 2 consists of sketches of birds and animals in natural settings. The first half of Scroll 3 presents scenes of animals playing games: *go*, *sugoroku*, *musashi*, ear tugging, neck tugging, staring contests, loincloth tug-of-war, cock-

fighting, and dog fighting. In the second half, monkeys, rabbits, deer, frogs, foxes, wild pigs, and cats imitate human beings, including equestrians, *biwa*-playing minstrels, blind persons, cart haulers, dancers, and people doing handstands. Scroll 4 is drawn in an extremely crude style and depicts humans engaged in a variety of activities, including acrobatics, Buddhist services, archery, music and dance performances, a game resembling polo, log dragging, riding in an oxcart, and dancing. The first half of Scroll 3 and Scroll 4 are particularly valuable sources for learning about games and recreation of the period.

II.

The *Chōjū giga* have long been attributed to the priest Kakuyū (Toba Sōjō, 1053-1140). While some aspects of Kakuyū’s biography do point to his authorship, it remains open to question. According to the *Sonpi bunmyaku* (August and humble genealogical lines, a collection of genealogical tables compiled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), Kakuyū was the son of Uji Dainagon Minamoto no Takakuni. As noted in the introduction to the *Ban Dainagon ekotoba*, Takakuni was the author of the *Uji Dainagon monogatari* (Tales of the Uji Dainagon), and is also said to have compiled the *Konjaku monogatarishū* (Tales of times now past). He died in 1077, at the age of 74. Takakuni is thought to have been the most outstanding writer of narrative literature of his time. His son Kakuyū was born in 1053 and also seems to have had remarkable gifts. He became the head of the Shitenōji Temple in 1081, was appointed chief supervisor of the Onjōji Temple in 1135, and attained the highest clerical rank, *daisōjō*, as chief abbot of the Tendai sect in 1138. He also was the head of the Shōkongōin, a temple founded by Emperor Toba, and thus was popularly known as Toba’s Abbot, Toba Sōjō.

Several documents concerning Kakuyū have survived, including anecdotes about him in the *Kokon chomonjū* (Collection of tales past and present). Written by Tachibana no Narisue, the collection dates from 1254, 114 years after Kakuyū’s death in 1140, and thus its contents are not eyewitness accounts. Nonetheless, the oral narrative tradition often transmitted stories quite accurately, and we can take seriously the *Kokon chomonjū* assertion that Kakuyū was an accomplished artist. In addition, his reputation for eccentricity is confirmed by anecdotes in the *Tales from Uji*. The *Kojidan*, an early Kamakura period collection of stories, reinforces that reputation by repeating the story that when Kakuyū was dying and his disciples pressed him to divide up his assets among them, he stated in writing that “The allocation will be decided by a test of strength.” We can thus imagine Kakuyū as having the personality to have painted the satirical *Chōjū giga*.

Even if we do assume Kakuyū was the author, the purpose of these scrolls remains unclear. In addition, the postscript at the end of Scroll 3 gives a date of 1253; Kakuyū died in 1140. We might conclude that the postscript was added later, but

are then left with the problem that an inspection of the paintings makes it obvious that Scrolls 3 and 4 are by a different hand from Scrolls 1 and 2. Moreover, the observations by Suzuki cited above suggest that Scrolls 3 and 4 depict manners and customs from a period after Kakuyū's own. It is likely that Scrolls 3 and 4 date from after Kakuyū's death and possibly as late as the Kenchō era (1249-1256).

Scroll 1 shows animals acting like human beings, while Scroll 3 shows both humans and animals and Scroll 4 shows only humans. Whether animals or humans, however, their clothing and other accouterments are thought to be an accurate depiction of the customs of the time. In particular, Scrolls 3 and 4, with their treatment of games and competitions, are a major source of information on how ordinary Japanese used their leisure time. They are especially valuable because the pastimes shown seem to be everyday events. Further, the vivid way these scenes were painted speaks of the people's passionate involvement in such enjoyments. They are alive with the energy of the common people.

The paintings include some that are sharply satirical, though not critical of society. Scroll 3, moreover, presents an affirmative view of the cheerful, free and easy lives of the common people. The particularly distinctive feature of these scrolls, however, is their lack of depictions of structures and interior spaces. Scroll 3 in particular focuses on outdoor games and other recreational activities, and is freed from the limitations that depicting indoor activities imposes. We see people enjoying themselves out in the bright sun, with no inhibitions whatsoever.

We know, however, that society and government were very unstable in the late Heian to early Kamakura periods. With power shifting from the hands of the aristocrats to the warrior class, political control passed from the Fujiwara to the Taira and then to the Minamoto clans. These upheavals were accompanied by considerable political unrest, as in the Jōkyū Disturbance (1221), in which the aristocrats failed in their attempt to overthrow the warrior-dominated Kamakura shogunate. The pessimistic world-weariness of the intelligentsia that is communicated in the *Hōjōki* (Account of my hut) by Kamo no Chōmei (1155-1216) permeated the age. If the common people were nonetheless able to lead such cheerful, uninhibited lives even in those turbulent times, the very act of depicting their lives was itself a sharply satirical criticism of the upper classes.

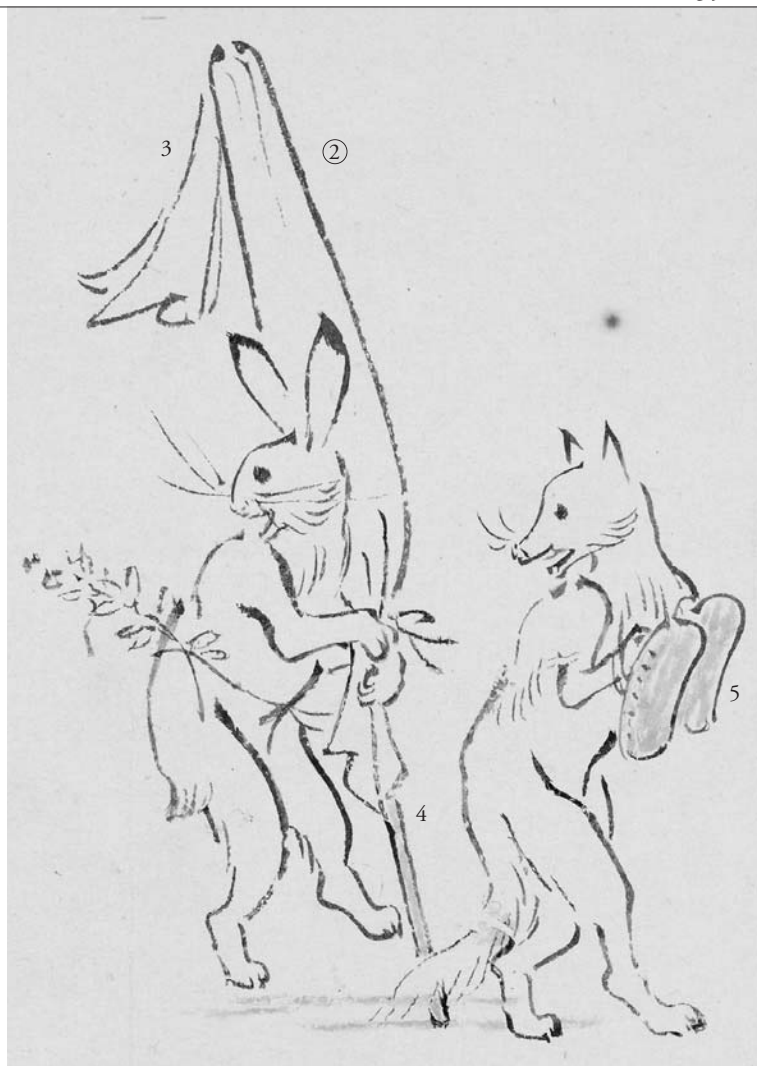
If the lively people shown in these scrolls are typical of the lower reaches of society in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, then the streets of Kyōto must have been rocking with their lively musical and dance performances. In that sense, we should view these scrolls not merely as genre paintings or as biting humor but also, perhaps more importantly, as depicting the vitality of the common people. They also exhibit the humor that is a key component of popular arts and culture in Japan.

In the following section, we examine in detail a selection of 32 scenes from *Chōjū giga* Scrolls 1, 3, and 4 that are related to lifestyles today. As indicated above, many concern the use

of leisure time in the course of everyday life.



- 1 rush hat
- ② long-handled umbrella
- 3 covering for umbrella
- 4 handle
- 5 straw sandals (*gege*)



39 Large Umbrella, Sedge Hat, and Straw Sandals

The large umbrella held by the rabbit is the type called a “long-handled umbrella.” In Volume 15 of the *Engishiki*, it states: “Those permitted to use large umbrellas shall include princesses and ladies of higher ranks, namely those with the status of at least the third rank and the wives of ministers”. So only highly placed people could use these umbrellas. Large umbrellas equipped with cloth transport bags (“bagged umbrella”) were considered appropriate for use when visiting the Imperial court. The cloth covering of these “court umbrellas” colored either white or red typically included an extra length folded over at the top (*Morisada mankō*). Such large umbrellas were quite magnificent and strong, lined with scarlet paper, covered with silk, and oilcloth. The umbrella described was wrapped in a bleached linen bag (*Morisada mankō*). It was used to offer protection from rain, with the extra-long handle (8 *shaku*) designed “to support the umbrella when held above the heads of high-ranking individuals mounted on horseback” (*Morisada mankō*).

The hat trailing behind the monkey in the picture with the underside visible may be one fashioned from woven rushes. Hats of this type have a long history, appearing for example in a story about the Kasagidera Temple in Volume 11, chapter 30 of the *Konjaku monogatari shū*, which takes place during the time of the Emperor Tenji (Seventh century). “The

prince removed his sedge hat, put it down and gave it back.” The name of Kasagidera Temple (the Temple of removing and putting down the sedge hat) derived from this. Another passage, in the *Engishiki*, mentions that the province of Izumi paid a tax consisting of forty-six woven rush hats, further evidence that such hats have been produced since antiquity. It is a kind of old style of twill woven rush hat.

Also in this picture we see a fox holding what is undoubtedly a pair of straw sandals (*gege*).



41 *Kazuki*, Straw Mat

A weeping monkey wearing an *uchigi* holds a Buddhist rosary. A fox wearing an *uchigi* in *kazuki* style sits holding a fan. A monkey is bending forward away from the viewer holding what is most likely a mat made of straw or sedge. Mats were important as floor coverings. The *Engishiki* mentions that finely textured straw mats were offered as tax payment by the provinces of Kōzuke (120 mats) and Musashi (60 mats). These mats were probably very similar to certain types of mats still available today. There were also twilled woven mats, which were nearly the same as *tatami* facing today. The regulations of *kanimoriryō*, or the Court Cleaning Department, in the *Engishiki* describes a mat woven using rush and linen.

- 1 *uchigi*
- 2 Buddhist rosary
- 3 *kinukazuki*
- 4 fan
- 5 straw matting
- 6 fan (folded and thrust in waistband)
- 7 *eboshi*
- 8 *kesa*
- 9 *sashimuki*
- 10 straw sandals (*zōri*)



- 1 *tate-eboshi*
- 2 strap for the headwear
- 3 straw matting
- 4 *kanmuri*
- 5 tiger skin mat
- 6 *sashinuki*

42 Floor Covering

A rabbit wearing a *kanmuri* holds a tiger-skin mat, while a frog wearing a *tate-eboshi* has a rolled-up straw mat. The purpose and significance of the tiger skin is not clear, but an entry in the *Nihon shoki* describes a tiger and leopard skin among a collection of about 100 gifts sent by the Kingdom of Silla in Korea to the Japanese Court via Tsukushi in the first year of Shuchō (686). Other tiger skin mats were probably gifted to Japan, but written descriptions of these are few. The *Gaki zōshi* (Kōmoto family version) depicts a pair of *oni*, one wearing a tiger skin on his back, the other wearing a tiger-skin loincloth. It can be supposed that such tiger skins were used more to identify foreign gods, and generally were not put to practical everyday use. That said, there are also examples of tiger skins being incorporated into arms and armor. The *Mononogu shōzokushō* shows a saddle-cover made of tiger skin and mentions that such items were used by aristocrats when they rode in the saddle in informal situations. The *Imagawa daisōshi*, *Furoki* and *Fukōindono gogenpukuki* also all contain descriptions of leopard and tiger skins being used for saddle covers. The *Imagawadaisōshi* mentions that “bear skin should not be used for those of high rank,” suggesting

that the specific type of skin to be used depended upon the social class of the intended user. The *Kazarishō* mentions that saddle covers to be used by individuals lower than the fifth rank must be made of tiger skin, while those to be used by members of the fourth-rank and above should be made of leopard skin. Further, the *Itasaka bokusaiki* describes tiger skin being used for *nagezaya* (long sword coverings made of fabric with folded tops) during the time of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. All of these descriptions, however, date from periods much later than the *Chōjū giga*. In any case, we can imagine that while the skins of exotic animals like tigers were highly regarded, their relative rarity generally limited them to special purposes and occasions.



- 1 bamboo basket (with short legs)
- 2 white melon
- 3 striped melon
- 4 bundle
- 5 peach?
- 6 bowl
- 7 akebi?
- 8 table

43 Fruits

In the *Wamyō ruijūshō*, tree fruits are referred to as *konomi* or, more commonly, *kudamono*, while fruits growing on the ground, like melons, are called *kusa-kudamono* (lit. “grass fruits”). It is not clear exactly which fruits were contained in each category, but the *Zōbutsusho-sakumotsuchō* in the sixth year of Tenpyō (734) lists melons and eggplants, and the *Hōshaiissaikyōsho-ge* in the first and second year of Hōki (770 and 771), mentions peaches, loquats, Japanese apricots, melons, yellow melons, and eggplants. The *Engishiki* mentions chestnuts, peaches, citrons (*yuzu*), persimmons, loquats, plums, strawberries, Japanese pears (*nashi*), melons, gourds, winter melons, and eggplants. The *Man'yōshū* adds jujubes (dates) to this list. The section of *Wamyō ruijūshō* listing sweet fruits and melons includes pomegranates, pears, oranges, hazelnuts, chestnuts, chinquapins, *kaya* nuts, apricots, peaches, jujubes (dates), and *tachibana* (an inedible green citrus fruit native to Japan). The section for gourds includes green melons, white melons, yellow melons, ripened melons, winter melons, cucumbers, eggplants, Japanese Staunton vines, strawberries and *akebi*. It seems unlikely that

these various lists were comprehensive of all of the fruits available in Japan at the time, but those listed were probably the ones most generally well known. Comparing the fruits depicted in the *Chōjū giga* with these old references, we can surmise that the rabbit must be carrying an assortment of melons, that the fruit in the bowl are probably peaches, and that the rest of the fruit on the table outside of the bowl are *akebi* (although the last is somewhat questionable in terms of seasonality). Fruits available around the time the *Chōjū giga* drawings were created were mostly wild, except for melons and gourds, which were already being cultivated. As for the other miscellaneous objects in the picture, we see a bamboo basket with short legs, a wooden bowl, and a low table, plus a large bundle-shaped parcel in the centre, the contents of which is unknown.

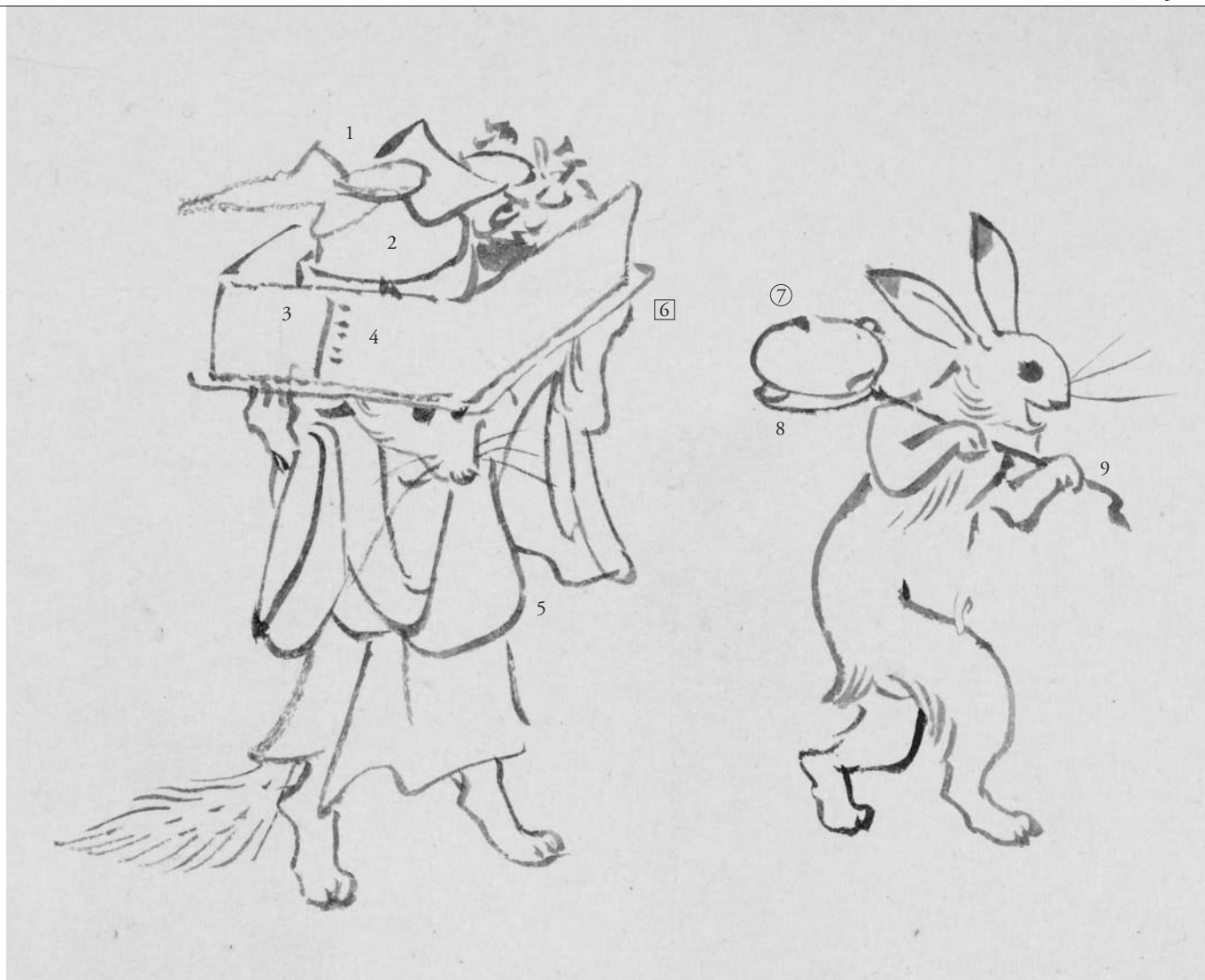


- ① sake pot
- 2 covering the mouth of sake pot
- 3 handle
- 4 stand
- 5 ladle
- 6 carrying pole
- 7 carrying by two

44 Sake Pot

An article in the *Azuma kagami*, dated the thirtieth day of ninth month in the fourth year of Kenchō (1252), and thus written over eighty years before this picture was drawn, describes how the Kamakura government, as part of an action to curb alcohol consumption, undertook an official reckoning of the number of sake pots circulating in the civilian market and came up with the number 37,274. From this it was evident that quite a large amount of sake was being consumed. In ancient times, most of the available sake was a “chewed type,” so named because it was made by partially chewing rice and other ingredients to mix these with saliva, then spitting out the result and allowing it to ferment. This method is still used today on the eastern coast of the Ōsumi Peninsula in Kyūshū and on the island of Takarajima to the south for making sake for religious purposes. Later, following

the development of transportation and increased cultural exchange with China, a brewer from the Asian continent named “Susukori” introduced to Japan a method of producing sake using malted rice yeast, leading to enormous advances not only in technology but also to a great increase in quantity. The *Engishiki* mentions that sake came to be fermented using techniques like those used today, including refreshing the ingredients in the brewing vat every ten days, filtering the unrefined sake through a cloth bag to remove the lees, and reducing acidity if necessary by adding ash sap. The refined sake was made in this way, and so was unrefined sake. The sake pot depicted here is probably the type to contain unrefined sake.

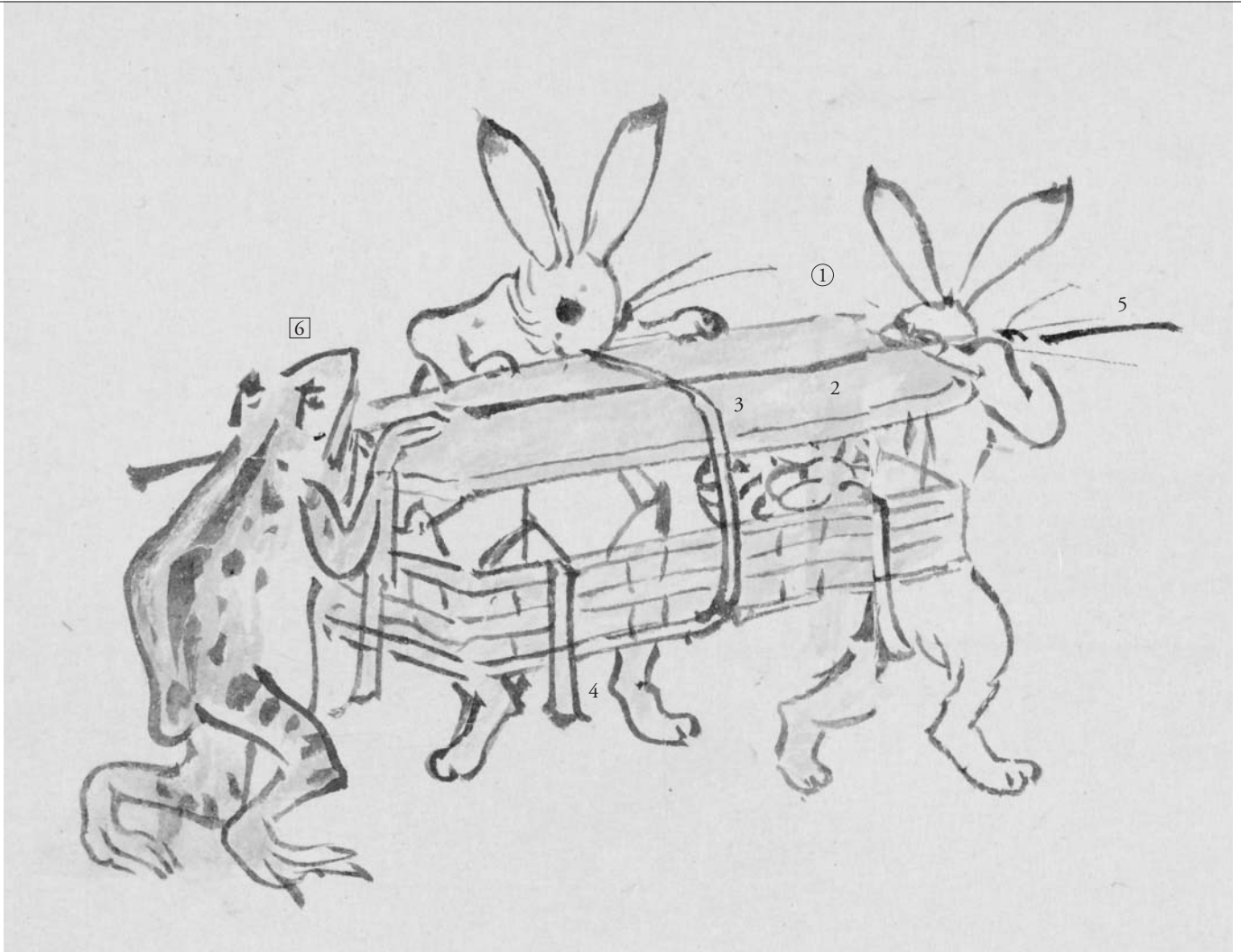


- 1 paper covering the mouth of pot
- 2 pot
- 3 box
- 4 seam of box
- 5 *uchigi*
- 6 carrying on one's head
- 7 sake holder
- 8 mouth of sake holder
- 9 handle of sake holder

45 Sake Pot, Sake Holder

Historically much *sake* was privately made, and apparently in most cases it was unrefined *sake*. Privately made *sake* was also easily oxidized, and people removed the sediment from the bottom of the *sake* pot or heated *sake* to prevent its oxidation. In the case of unrefined *sake*, evidently people ladled it out of the pot into bowls and drank from them, while in the case of refined *sake*, they transferred *sake* from the pot into *sake* containers and then poured it into a *sake* cup to drink. The rabbit is carrying a *sake* holder. *Sake* holders are referred to as *sashinabe* or *sasunabe* in the *Wamyō ruijūshō*; it explains *sashinabe* as a metal vessel, and therefore such holders must have been made of metal. *Sashinabe* are also described as warming vessels, so presumably their original

use was to warm *sake*. The *Wamyō ruijūshō*, however, mentions the existence of a round handle, and probably the *sake* holder of its time did not have a long handle like the one in the picture. Rather it must have looked like a spouted bowl with a round handle, which still exists today. With the passage of time, *sake* holders must have lost their round handles and acquired long ones instead, and their purpose shifted from warming *sake* to pouring it into *sake* cups. What the fox carries on its head is a square box called *oribitsu*, and it appears to contain *sake* pots, the mouths of which are covered with pieces of paper or cloth.



- ① long chest
- 2 lid of long chest
- 3 cord tied around long chest
- 4 legs of long chest
- 5 carrying pole
- ⑥ carrying by two

46 Long Chest

The *Wamyō ruijūshō* explains that there are various *hitsu* (chest/box) such as *nagabitsu* (long chest), *karabitsu* (legged chest), *akahitsu* (box made of unvarnished wood), *oribitsu* (box made by bending thin planks), *kobitsu* (small box), and so on. Most of them were made of wood. The chest appearing in the picture is a kind of *nagabitsu* and it has legs. It is explained as a chest similar to *zushi* but whose lid opens upward. Thus its original purpose must have been the same as that of the so-called *zushi* chest, which was to store tableware and food. According to the *Teijō zakki*, “There are two types of *karabitsu*: one is *nagakarabitsu* and the other is *nikarabitsu*. *Nagakarabitsu* is as long as *nagamochi*, and it requires two persons to carry one chest. *Nikarabitsu* is half the length of a *nagakarabitsu*, and one person carries two of them, hanging one from each end of a pole. Both types of *karabitsu* have six legs.” It also explains that *karabitsu* can be used to store anything, including *kosode* and armor, but, as

mentioned above, historically it appears to have been mainly used for storing food.

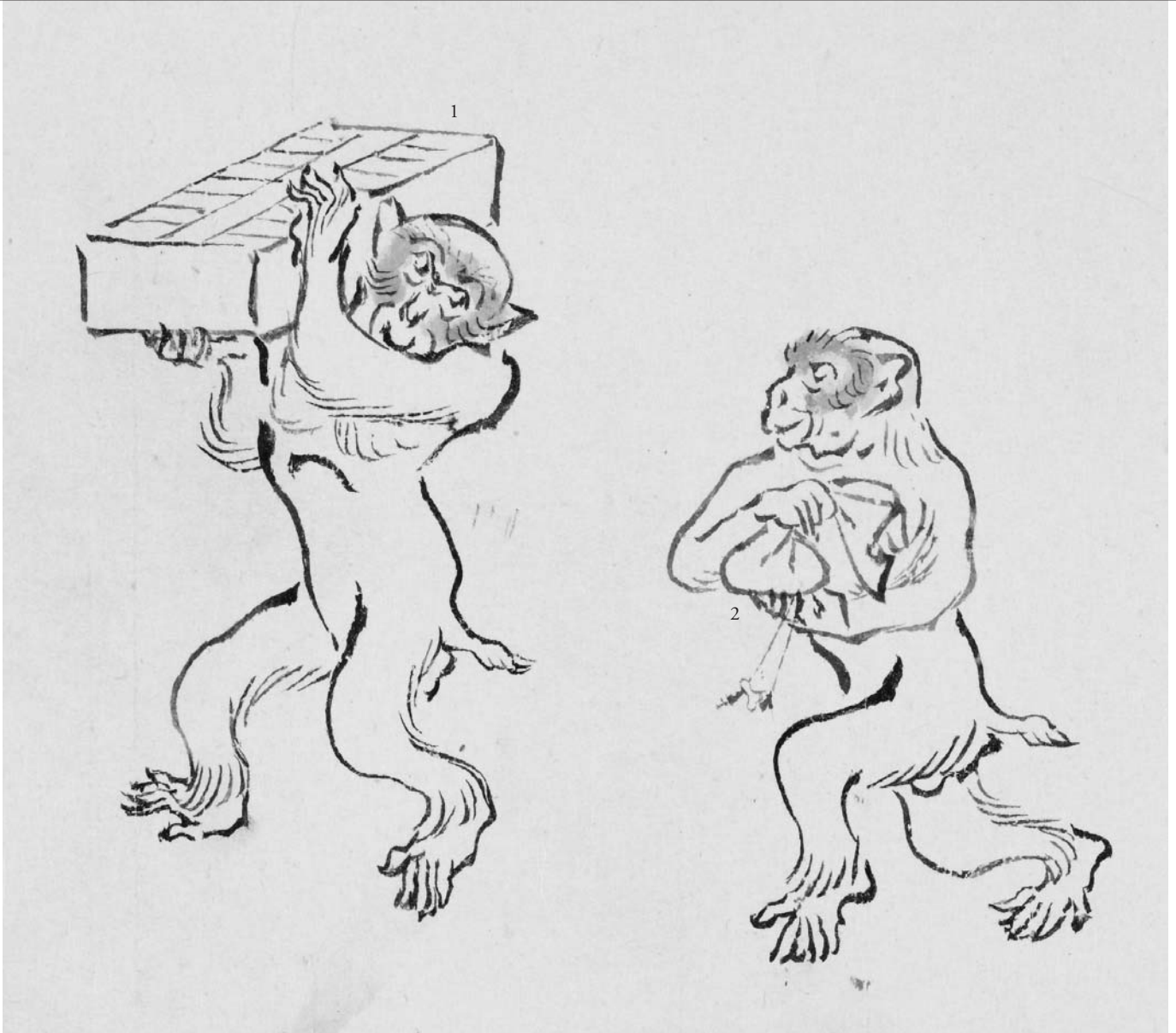
The chest in the illustration is evidently a *nagakarabitsu*, and its contents seem to be a *sake* pot and a bowl of fruit. *Karabitsu* were initially made for carrying loads. According to the *Engishiki*, large ones could be five *shaku* long, two *shaku* and three *sun* wide, and two *shaku* deep, while small ones could be four *shaku* and five *sun* long, two *shaku* and three *sun* wide, and one *shaku* and eight *sun* deep; yet there was also another type of *hitsu* that was lacquered, and this was even smaller. In general there did not seem to exist any standard. Chests for kimono were much smaller.



47 Buddhist Rosary, Headwear

Juzu, rosaries, were used by Buddhists. In general they consisted of a hundred and eight beads strung as a loop. In the case of *juzu* held in one's hands, usually two bigger beads separated the regular beads into two sets of fifty-four. It is believed originally people simply held the *juzu* in their hands and that Kakuyū of the Miidera Temple began the practice of rubbing beads of the rosary together with both hands. Priests of the Shingon sect then followed his style (cf. *Ruijū meibutsukō*). The beads are, according to the *Seji hyakudan*, "all shaped flat nowadays, but many imported beads are round," and in China, round beads were popular. Apart from these, there were polyhedral beads and beads made of crystal, lotus fruit, or from orange seeds.

- 1 *tate-eboshi*
- 2 Buddhist rosary
- 3 *ichimegasa*



1 *sugoroku* board
2 sack of dice and stones for *sugoroku*

48 *Sugoroku* Board

Japanese backgammon, known commonly as *sugoroku*, is a game in which the players throw dice and move their stone pieces according to the throw. It is considered to have come from Central Asia, and since the game was forbidden during the reign of Empress Jitō (686-97), it must have arrived in Japan before that; it thus appears to have come earlier than *go*. Apparently it enjoyed high popularity from early times, not only because it was an enjoyable contest, but because people bet on the game. A story in the *Kojidan* tells of a priest who left Kyōto to live in the eastern provinces to perform austerities. While in the province of Musashi (Tokyo Metropolis and Saitama Prefecture today) and occasionally chanting the *Hokekyō* sutra, he fell to playing *sugoroku* with the locals, and after losing much, he even bet his own life. An episode of

gambling on backgammon also appears in Volume 12 of the *Kokon chomonjū* (an anthology of tales from the mid-thirteenth century). Gambling made *sugoroku* popular and also made it harmful, so it was often forbidden. *Sugoroku* was played not only among the upper classes but also by ordinary people. The monkey in the front carries a *sugoroku* board; the sack that the one in the back carries may contain stone pieces.



1 *binzasara*
2 *kinukazuki*
3 fan

49 *Binzasara*

Two frogs are holding *binzasara*. In the *Dengaku hōshi yurai no koto*, *binzasara* is described as being in total three *shaku* and five *sun* long, the length of the part to hold at both ends is five *sun* and seven *bu*; the length of the “leaves,” which are multicolored, is two *sun* and five *bu*. A reference to *sasara* appears in the chapter of “Onmogi” of the *Eiga monogatari*, which was written in the early eleventh century: “The Kamo Festival passed and the fifth month arrived. The mother of Emperor Goichijō, Fujiwara no Shōshi, was staying at the Tsuchimikado palace, and Fujiwara no Michinaga wondered how he should entertain her . . . He then called *dengaku* performers. They tied unusual drums on their hip, played flutes, sounded what they called *sasara*, danced various dances, and the lowly men sang songs.” From this text we can confirm that *sasara* was used by *dengaku* performers.

Thus this picture must illustrate a scene in which frogs are imitating *dengaku* dances. *Sasara* was used to beat the rhythm. The *Wajiga* gives the pronunciation of *bimuzasara* to the combination of Chinese characters representing beat and board. And the *Wamyō ruijūshō* explains the word consisting of these two characters as an instrument. This instrument was mainly used for *dengaku* dances. *Dengaku hōshi* (*dengaku* performers) in general wore a sedge hat called *ōgi gasa* (*ayaigasa*). The lotus leaf one of the frogs is wearing must be imitating this hat. The *sasara* in the illustration is made by stringing together many small wood pieces, and there was another type made by splitting one side of a bamboo while leaving the other side intact.



- ① naked child
- 2 shaved head
- 3 naked
- ④ old woman sitting with one knee up
- 5 wearing one's hair down
- 6 *kosode*
- ⑦ sitting with one knee up
- 8 *ichimegasa*
- 9 cord for fastening *ichimegasa*
- 10 shaved head
- 11 untidy hair
- ⑫ sitting on one's heels with knees together



50 Crawling, Sitting

The habit of seating oneself in a chair or the like was extremely rare among Japanese people. As a rare example in daily life, women helping with childbirth sat on buckets as makeshift stools. In ordinary life, people generally sat directly on the ground or floor. There were a variety of sitting styles. Here we can see the style of sitting with one knee up and sitting on one's heels, aligning the knees. There are not many examples of sitting on one's heels in picture scrolls, but it is obvious from this one that this custom dates back to early ages. The most common sitting style for females was to

sit with one knee up and to hold one's hands around the elevated knee. This style appears to be a comfortable one to our eyes. In picture scrolls, examples of naked children playing or held in an adult's arms are truly abundant. The reason is not clear. The child in this illustration has its head shaven as well. It is similar to the shaved head seen in the *Senmen koshakyō*.

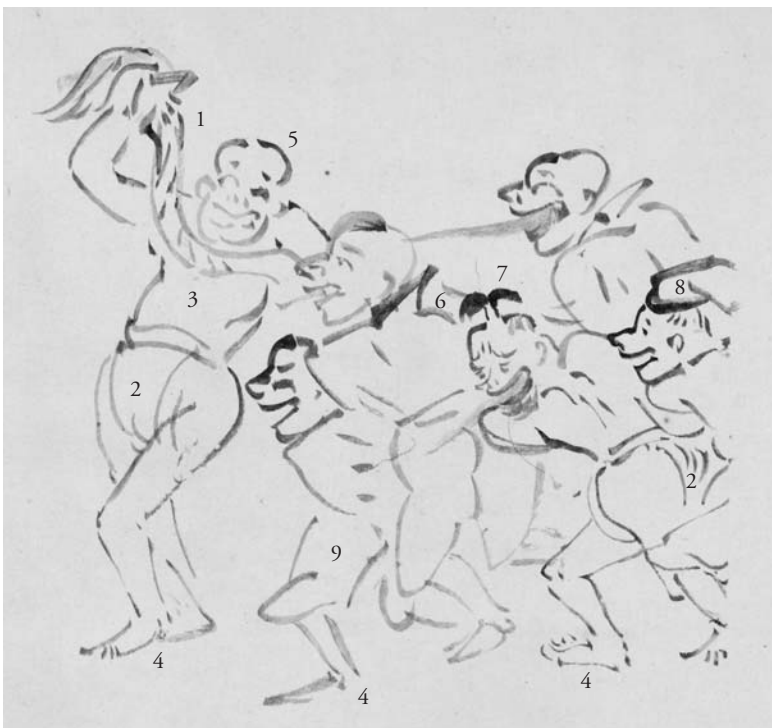


- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| ① ox | 8 support sprint |
| 2 nose ring | 9 spoke |
| 3 reins | 10 hub |
| 4 yoke | 11 axle |
| 5 martingale | 12 wheel |
| 6 shaft | 13 side plank |
| ⑦ pushing a cart | |

51 Cart

Examples of ox-driven carts are depicted in the *Senmen koshakyō*, as an earlier instance, and also in *Ippen hijirie* and *Ishiyamadera engi*. Originally, ox-carts were mainly used to carry passengers, but it seems that ox-driven carts for carrying loads appeared from a little before *Senmen koshakyō* was painted. The structure was basically the same as an oxcart for carrying passengers, but there was a fence in place of the roofed seats. These carts were all drawn by oxen, and no example of one drawn by a horse has been painted. The reason is not clear, but it may be related to the fact that Japanese horses of the day were small and not that strong. In addition, because of the hilly topography and the poor road system, the area where vehicles could be used seems to have been very small, basically limited to the area around the capital. In the Kantō region, it was only from the Edo period that carts were regularly used. Ox-carts thus hardly contributed to the

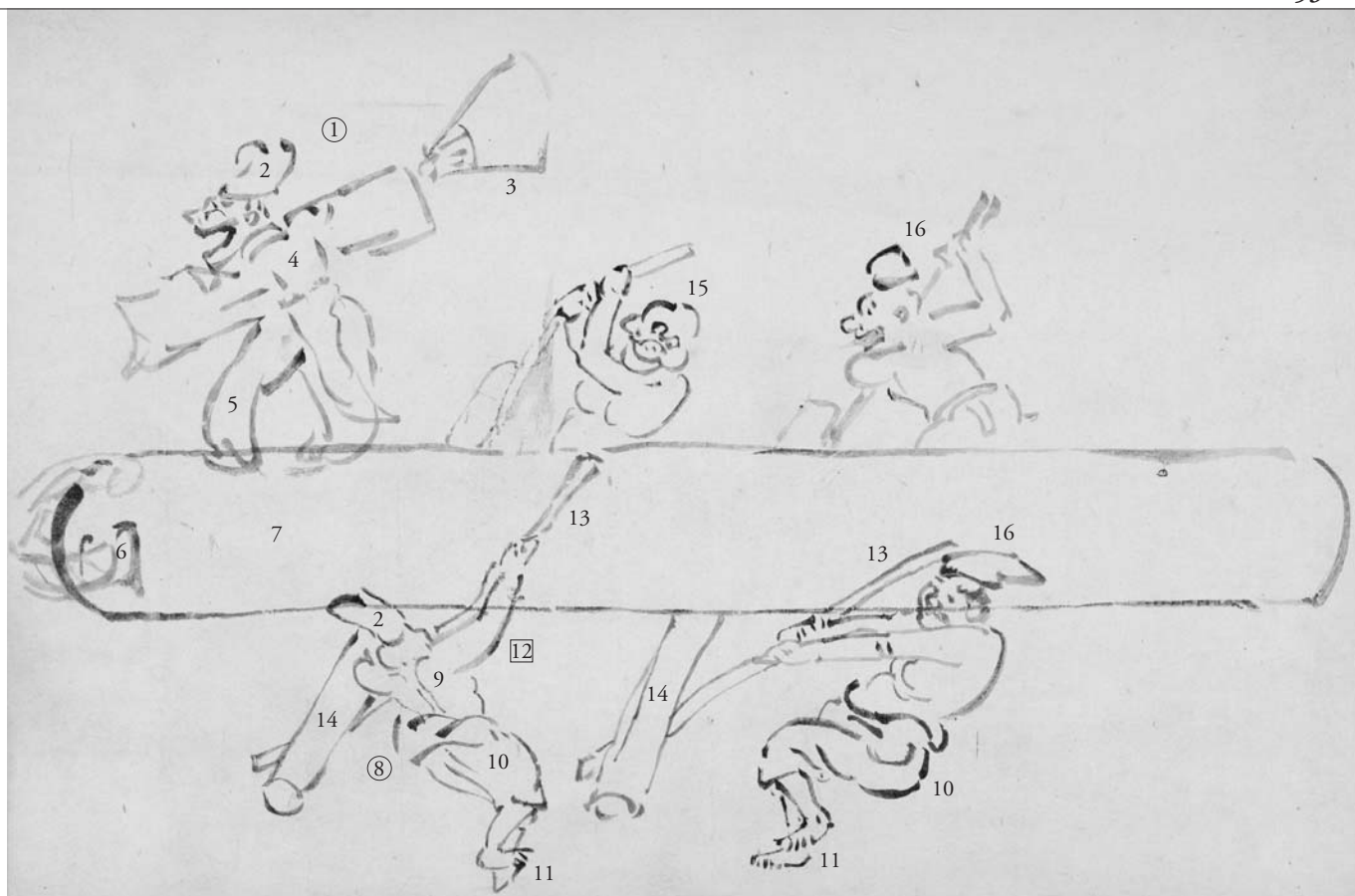
historical development of land transportation. From about the time of this illustration, it seems to have become common to tie the reins to a nose ring. Such a custom, in which people controlled oxen through a rein attached to a nose ring, can be seen in the *Senmen koshakyō* as well. Presumably it was a common practice by the time. Small cymbals and hand drums were rung to keep the rhythm, and fans (in this illustration a monkey holds a board) were used to coordinate the movements of the group.



- 1 rope
- 2 loincloth
- 3 unclothed
- 4 barefoot
- 5 shaved head
- 6 priestly robes
- 7 hair knot
- 8 *nae-eboshi*
- 9 *yonobakama*
- 10 *samurai-eboshi*
- 11 *tate-eboshi*

52 People Pulling a Rope

These pictures illustrate people dragging a huge log with a rope. The bottom image is the first in the sequence, and the one above follows it. The man at the left in the bottom picture holds the end of the rope. He is bald, unclothed, barefooted, and wears only a loincloth. Such a style was common for heavy laborers. The fourth man from the front ties his hair in a knot but does not wear an *eboshi*. Among the men in the top image, some wear *nae-eboshi*, another wears a sedge hat, others wear *yonobakama*. Presumably there were no set rules for the working clothes of ordinary people.



- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| ① man giving directions on top of log | 9 unclothed |
| 2 <i>tate-eboshi</i> | 10 <i>yonobakama</i> |
| 3 fan | 11 barefoot |
| 4 <i>kariginu</i> | ⑫ prodding rails with pole |
| 5 <i>sashimuki</i> | 13 pole |
| 6 hole for rope | 14 rails |
| 7 log | 15 shaved head |
| ⑧ man using rails to move a log forward | 16 <i>tate-eboshi</i> |

53 Transporting a Log

How to transport heavy loads has always been a problem; logs were transported the way depicted in this illustration. There is a similar scene in the *Ishiyamadera engi* as well. When people transported logs or a large block of wood, they first made a hole at one end of the log, through which they passed a rope. This hole was called *hanaguri*. Every large log seems to have been transported with this *hanaguri* method, for planks used for roofs and floors had this hole at one end. Transported logs were split using wedges. Before the appearance of the rip saw, all planks were made by splitting, leaving the *hanaguri* hole at one end. The reason people did not remove the hole must have been for the convenience of transporting the planks later, after the building was demolished.

To transport logs, people laid rails under the log and prodded the rails with poles to move the log forward, while simultaneously a large number of people dragged it. One man rides on the log to command this work with a fan. In this way people dragged logs on land all over the country. Occasionally oxen were used, for example in the mountains.

In areas such as the Kuma Mountains in Kyūshū, Tsushima, or Noto in the Chūbu region, we can see four or five oxen dragging a large log even today. Transportation of logs required special devices, and where there was a river, people often used it, damming up and then releasing the water. In the Kamakura period, villagers of Saba village in Suō Province (Yamaguchi prefecture today), who supplied timber for the reconstruction of the Tōdaiji Temple, used hemp ropes to drag the timber, and carried logs sixty-five *shaku* long and with a diameter of five *shaku* and three *sun* using a pulley and seventy laborers.



- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| ① priests around a <i>go</i> board | ⑨ lying on stomach |
| 2 shaved head | 10 priestly robes |
| ③ thinking while resting chin on hand | 11 Buddhist rosary |
| 4 <i>kosode</i> | 12 <i>kesa</i> |
| 5 <i>go</i> -stone container | ⑬ sitting with one knee up |
| ⑥ boy watching the <i>go</i> game | ⑭ sitting on one's heels with knees together |
| 7 hair tied in back | 15 <i>go</i> board |
| ⑧ resting chin on hand | |

54 Go

Go is one of the games introduced to Japan from China. The *Kaifūsō* states that the priest Benshō often played *go* while studying in China during the Taihō period (701-704). Another early reference occurs in the “*Kibi nittō kan no koto*” chapter of the *Gōdanshō*. There the story goes: Minister Kibi wanted to challenge a Chinese person to a game of *go*. The Chinese player was highly skilled, but during their hotly contested game, Kibi stole one of his opponent’s black stones and swallowed it. As a result, his Chinese opponent lost the game. The *Kibi no Otodo nittō ekotoba* also depicts this scene. Its textual portion states that the Chinese challenged him to play a game of *go* because they assumed that a Japanese person would not know of it. That is mere legend, but does tell us that *go* reached Japan from China. It also suggests that, at the outset, the game was mainly played among aristocrats. According to the *Shoku nihongi*, aristocrats played *go* when they had time to spare from government duties. Later, it seems that the game of *go* gradually spread among others with leisure time and especially among priests. The *Nihon ryōiki* includes a story of Buddhist priests in Yamashiro play-

ing *go* with novices and laymen. This picture, which depicts a similar scene, might well be an illustration of a *go* game in process today. It was customary to wager cloth, paper, or money on *go* games; the stakes in such games were called *gotezeni*, or money bet on the game of *go*. During the Edo period, betting on *go* was prohibited for a time.



- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 <i>tate-eboshi</i> | 13 baring one shoulder |
| 2 <i>hitatare</i> | 14 shaking the dice |
| 3 counting on fingers | 15 dice container |
| 4 <i>hakama</i> | 16 short sword |
| 5 sitting with one knee up | 17 <i>kosode</i> |
| 6 <i>kariginu</i> | 18 <i>sashimuki</i> |
| 7 lidded box | 19 sitting cross-legged |
| 8 man playing <i>sugoroku</i> | 20 <i>sugoroku</i> board |
| 9 shaved head | 21 tiered box |
| 10 naked | 22 cord for tying up boxes |
| 11 moxibustion scar? | 23 pitcher |
| 12 sitting with knees up | |

55 *Sugoroku*

This picture depicts a game of *sugoroku* in process. The game itself is explained in 48 above. The *Ryō no gige* regards *sugoroku* as a form of gambling, since players would place bets on the outcome; they usually wagered the same sorts of things in playing *sugoroku* as in *go*. The *Ruiju sandaikyaku* indicates that playing *sugoroku* was banned on the fourteenth day of the tenth month in the sixth year of Tenpyōshōhō (754). According to that source, common people, failing to respect the law, played *sugoroku* among themselves, and that led to social chaos. Children rebelled against their fathers, their daily labor declined, and the way of filial piety was damaged. Thus, the law firmly prohibited playing the game throughout the country.

Sugoroku was probably more popular among the common people than was *go*, for it is a much easier game. Play begins by placing the black and white pieces on the board; then the

players shake the dice inside a cylinder, throw them, and advance their pieces according to the numbers on the dice. In this picture, the man with a *tate-eboshi* on his head is holding a cylinder that presumably contains the dice. Each die is a cube, each face of which carries one to six spots. The *Man'yōshū* dating from the late eighth century includes a poem on the subject of the dice used in playing *sugoroku* ("Not one spot or two but five and six, three and four—the *sugoroku* dice"), alluding to the fact the throw of the dice decided the outcome of the game.



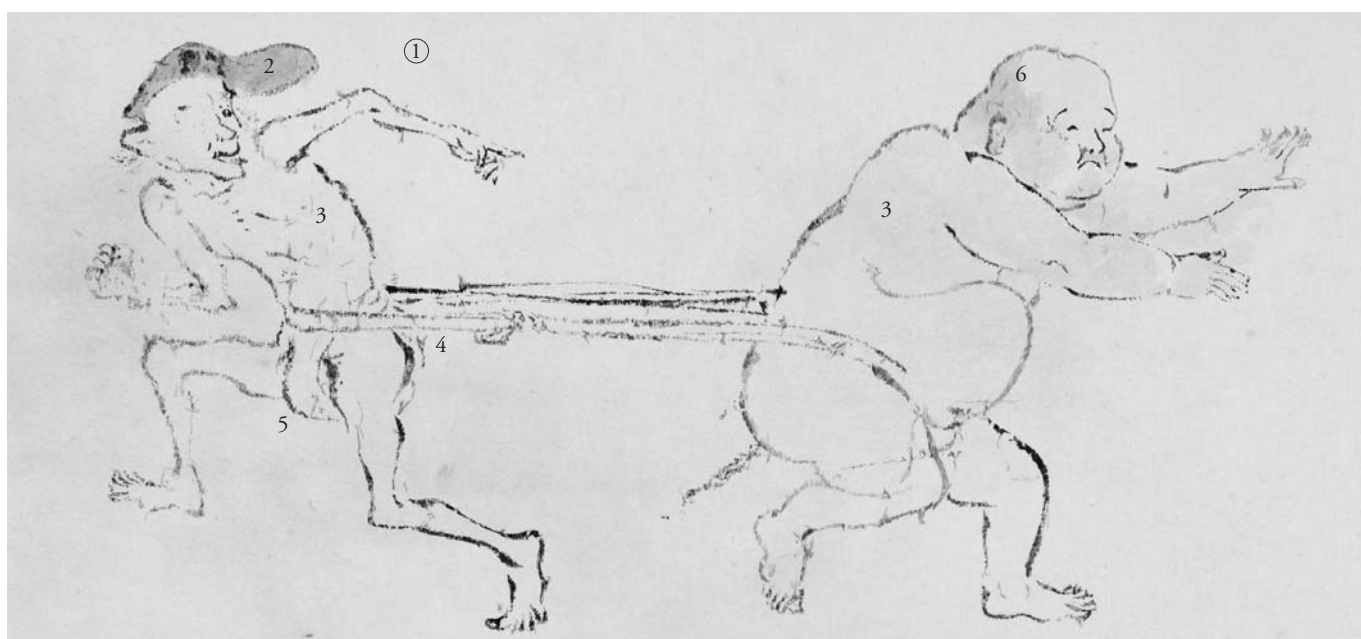
- | | |
|--|--|
| ① priest watching a game of <i>musashi</i> | 8 sitting with one knee up |
| 2 shaved head | ⑨ supporting oneself on one's hand |
| ③ pointing a forefinger | ⑩ holding a <i>musashi</i> piece to one's lips |
| 4 priestly robes (with high collar) | ⑪ baring one shoulder |
| ⑤ child playing <i>musashi</i> | 12 wide-sleeved kimono |
| 6 wearing one's hair down | ⑬ sitting on one's heels |
| 7 <i>kosode</i> | |

56 *Musashi*

In the *Wamyō ruijūshō*, the game is called *yasasugari*. The *Ansai zuihitsu* states, “It is still called *sukari* in the countryside; it is also shortened to *yasa*. The name *yasasukari* is properly *yasusugari*; *yasu* is short for *yasuji* and refers to the lines indicating the eight roads drawn on the game board; *sugari* means that the young horses, in the terminology of the game, surround the senior horse”. The *Kagakushū* gives the reading *musashi* for the characters meaning “eight roads.” The *Tamakatsuma* refers to *musashi* as a game for children and quotes a Ming dynasty Chinese source, the *Wuzazu*, which mentions a similar children’s game named “Horse Castle”. It also cites the *Nihon shoki* in which an instance of reading the character for “castle” as *sashi* occurs. It also refers to Korean to conclude that the game *musashi* might originate in “horse castle,” with the name deriving from a transformation of *uma* (“horse”) plus *sashi* (“castle”).

In Edo, the game was called *jūroku musashi*, or “sixteen *musashi*,” because, counting only the pawns, there were sixteen pieces. It was easy enough for children to play. The player who has surrounded the opponent’s piece wins and thus it became very popular among the common people. In this pic-

ture, a child is playing *musashi* with a man with a shaved head. The game is mentioned infrequently in documents from Japan’s medieval period, but its survival as a game still played by children suggests that it was a more familiar and deeply rooted part of popular life than the games of *go* or *sugoroku*. Adults also sometimes played the game with children. We know from the *Kōshoku ichidai onna* (the *Life of an Amorous Woman*), a novel by Ihara Saikaku, that “When you play *musashi* with a child, you yourself might become too enthusiastic.” Scenes showing an adult and a child playing *musashi*, as in the picture shown here, are also known from the Edo period. It is presumed that *musashi*’s simplicity led to its later becoming a game only for children.



- ① skinny man in loincloth tug-of-war
 2 *nae-eboshi*
 3 unclothed
 4 loincloth used in tug-of-war
 5 loincloth

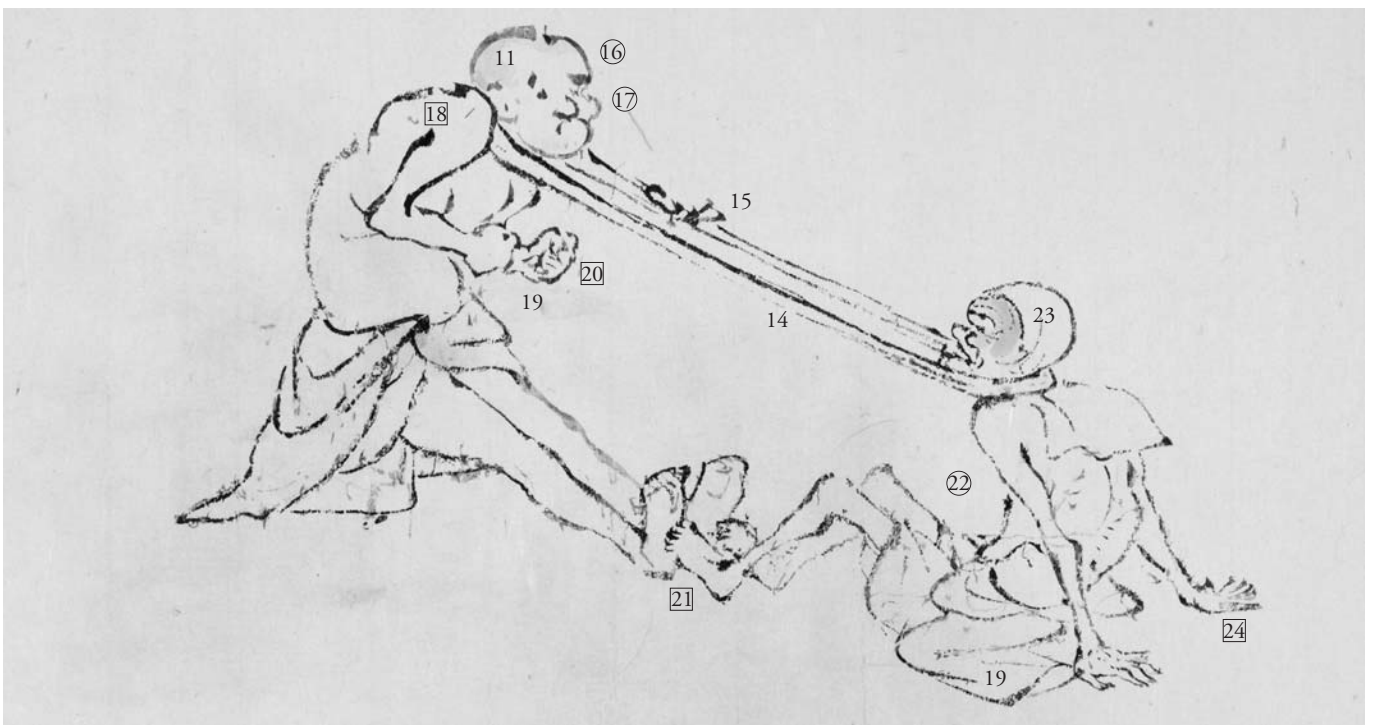
- 6 shaved head
 ⑦ baring one shoulder
 8 *kosode*
 ⑨ supporting oneself on both hands
 ⑩ sitting cross-legged

- ⑪ staring at each other
 ⑫ looking upward and laughing
 13 priestly robes

57 Staring Contest, Loincloth Tug-of-War

The upper picture depicts a staring contest, a game in which two people stare at each other until one blinks; sometimes it was played with one eye closed. The staring contest was originally also a game for adults. In the lower picture, a skinny man and a fat man with a shaved head, both unclothed, are playing loincloth tug-of-war, with a loincloth serving as the rope. The skinny man is wearing a loincloth and has a *nae-eboshi* on his head. Evidently this simple game, too, was originally played by grown-ups. Such games as these and the games of neck tugging and ear tugging shown on the

next page were played simply to kill time on some occasions. But since, in this picture, both participants have taken the trouble to strip bare for the tug of war, it seems likely that they were serious about the competition. Similar games include arm wresting, *sune-oshi* (leg wrestling), *yubi-hajiki* (a game of flicking small stones or pieces of shell, not unlike marbles), and mass tug-of-war with many people on both sides. These games may be more recreational offshoots of the martial art of *sumō*.



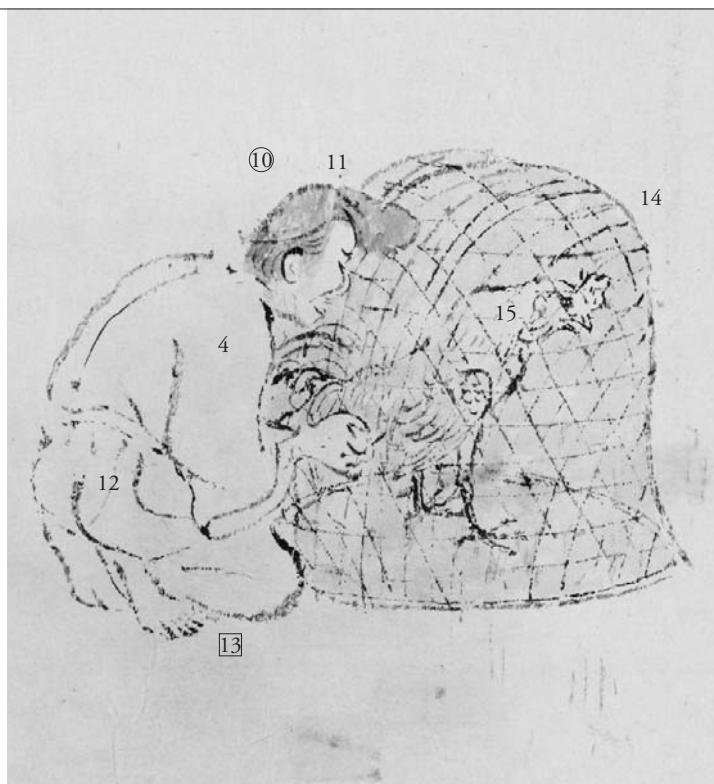
- ① man in ear tugging match
- 2 *nae-eboshi*
- ③ putting a cord around the ear
- 4 *kosode*
- ⑤ encircling knees with arms
- 6 *tate-eboshi*
- 7 *kosode*
- 8 short sword

- 9 flint sack
- 10 *hakama*
- 11 shaved head
- ⑫ sitting with one knee up
- 13 wide-sleeved kimono
- 15 knot
- ⑬ man in neck tugging match

- ⑰ tense expression
- ⑱ stripping to waist
- 19 *kosode*
- ⑳ clenching fist
- ㉑ putting feet against each other's
- ㉒ skinny man in neck tugging match
- 23 *zugin*
- ㉔ supporting the body from behind with one's hands

58 Ear Tugging, Neck Tugging

These pictures are evidence that these games have a long history.



59 Bird Cage, *Hitai-eboshi*

Cages for gamecocks, the birds used in cock fighting, were large, roughly woven baskets placed mouth-down on the ground. In the past, chickens were usually allowed to range freely, but a gamecock would be kept caged or tied by its leg to a post so that it could not harm other animals. The cages were apparently made of bamboo, as they are today. We know from the *Senmen koshakyō* and the *Kokawadera engi* that there were many types of bird cages, many of which were designed to be easy to carry. Since those early illustrations were all of openwork, not latticework, cages, the latter must have developed later.

As explained earlier, the *hitai-eboshi* was not a merely ornamental head covering. It had straps firmly attached, as shown in this picture, to tie at the back of the head, and was thus the predecessor of the *hachimaki* headband. The *eboshi* worn by adults was both a head covering and a wrap for the hair, which was tied up on top, and thus inevitably was long and high. On the other hand, children wore their hair down or tied in back; without a topknot, they had no need to wear an *eboshi*. In this picture, the boy with his hair tied in back is not wearing a head covering, while the other boy, who has his hair down, does wear a *hitai-eboshi* to keep his hair neat.

- ① child running
- 2 hair tied in back
- 3 whip
- 4 *kosode*
- 5 *ashida*
- 6 *hitai-eboshi*
- 7 untidy hair
- 8 *kosode*
- 9 barefoot
- ⑩ man looking at cock
- 11 *nae-eboshi*
- 12 *hakama*
- ⑬ squatting on tiptoe with knees together
- 14 bird cage
- 15 cock



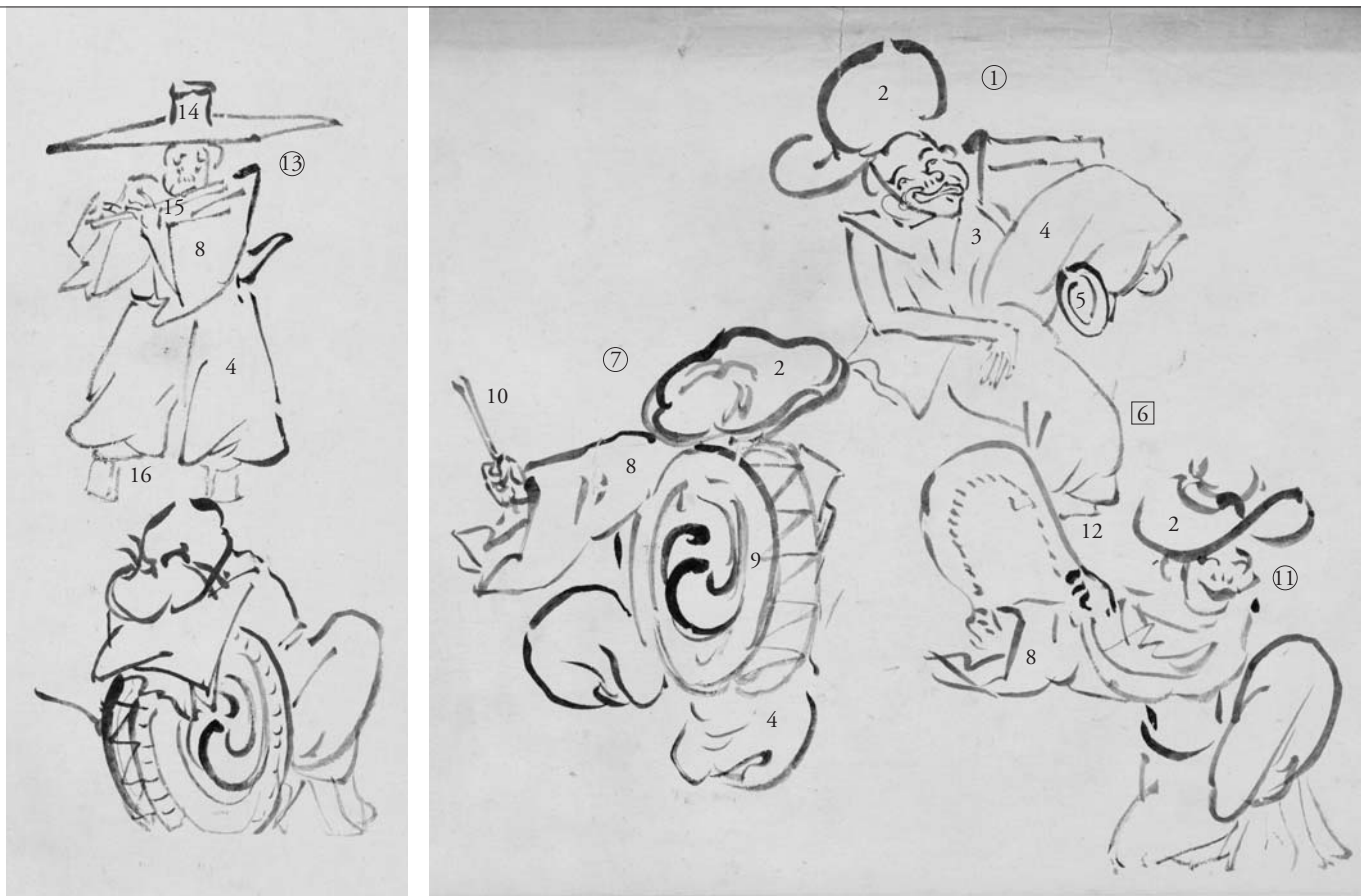
60, 61 Cock Fighting

Cock fighting, which has a long history in China, is thought to have been introduced from there to Japan. The *Nihon shoki*, relates that a local magnate, Kibi no Shimotsumichi no Sakitsuya, enjoyed cockfighting during the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku. It appears that cockfighting was used for divination and was widespread through all social classes in the Heian period. The *Zen taiheiki* states: "In Kyōto, cockfighting is a popular pastime for all ages. On the fourth day of the third month, ten cockfighting matches were held at the Imperial Court, and children of seven or eight years of age

watched. After they started to let cocks fight, the custom spread widely. People would raise 30 or 50 cocks, put four stakes in the ground to make something like a *sumō* ring, and enjoy the cockfighting." Cocks were easy for the common people to obtain, and thus the pastime frequently became popular. Some shrines, such as the Tōkei Gongen (cockfighting shrine) in Kiitanabe (Wakayama prefecture), divined the future based on the outcome of a cockfight.



- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| ① child watching cockfighting | 11 stake to tie cock |
| 2 untidy hair | ⑫ man holding cock |
| ③ resting chin on hands | 13 <i>tate-eboshi</i> |
| 4 <i>kosode</i> | 14 <i>kosode</i> |
| 5 sleeveless kimono | 15 <i>hakama</i> |
| ⑥ supporting oneself on one's hand | 16 cord around one's waist |
| ⑦ sitting with one knee up | 17 short sword |
| 8 barefoot | ⑬ squatting on tiptoe with knees together |
| 9 cock | ⑭ sitting on one's heels with knees together |
| 10 cord tying cock | |



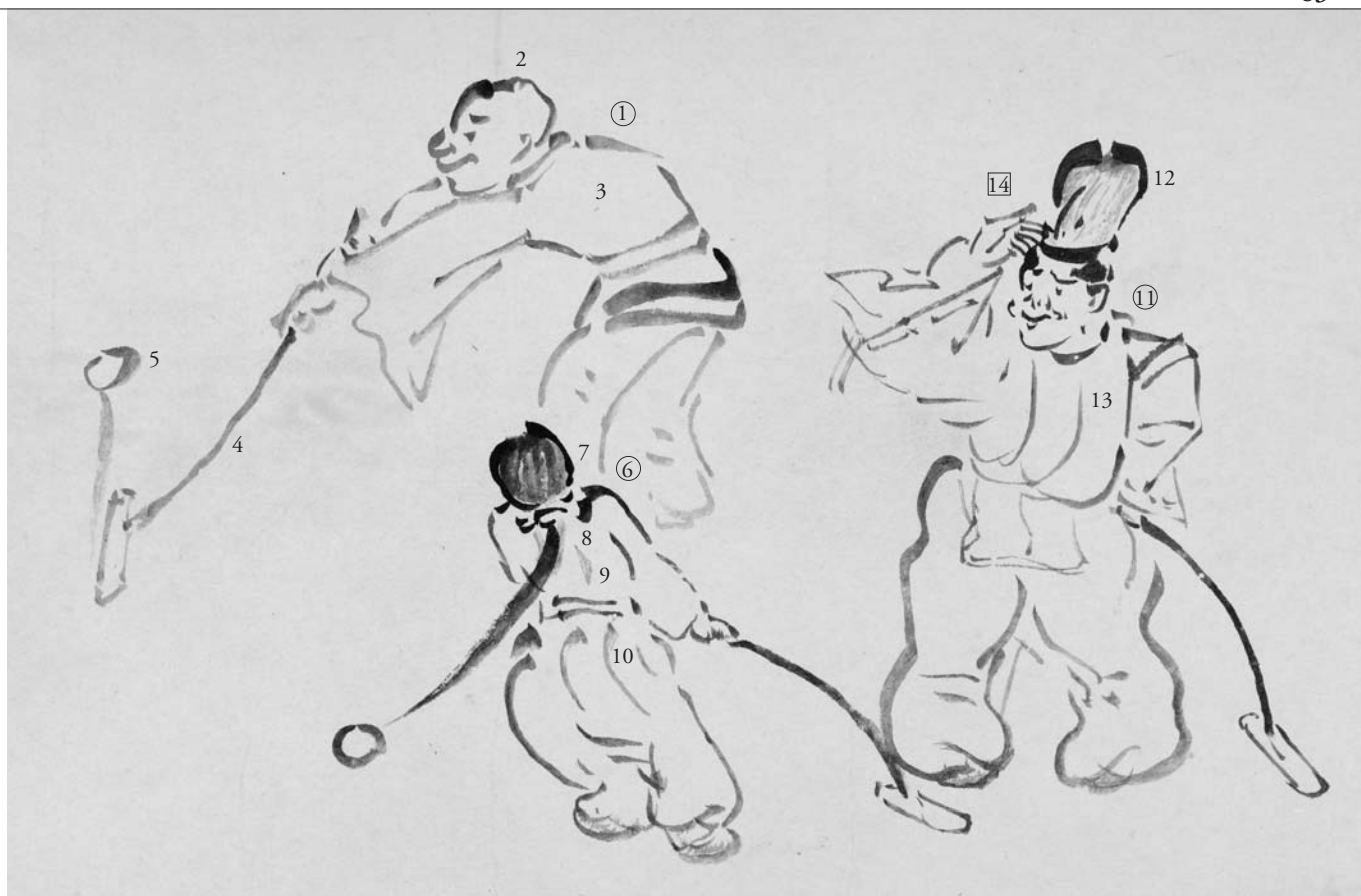
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ① man playing hand drum | 9 drum (with comma-shaped design) |
| 2 rush hat | 10 drumstick |
| 3 <i>kariginu</i> (rolled-up sleeves) | ⑪ man playing <i>binzasara</i> |
| 4 <i>sashinuki</i> | 12 <i>binzasara</i> |
| 5 hand drum | ⑬ man playing flute |
| ⑥ acrobatic playing of a hand drum | 14 broad-brimmed rush hat |
| ⑦ man beating a drum | 15 flute |
| 8 <i>kariginu</i> | 16 <i>ashida</i> with one support |

62 *Dengaku*

These pictures are good source material for late Heian *dengaku*, ritual music and dance performances to ensure good rice production. As mentioned in the *binzasara* entry, *dengaku* performances using flutes, drums, hand drums, and *binzasara* were carried out in rice planting season. According to the *Rakuyō dengaku-ki* section in the *Chōya gunsai*, a grand *dengaku* was held in Kyōto in the summer of the first year of Eichō (1096). The account tells us that the origins of this *dengaku* are not known, but it apparently spread from rural communities to aristocratic society. Performers made a clamor day and night, playing music and dancing like crazy persons in public offices, temples, and out on the streets. They were dressed as gorgeously as possible and, according to this account, even the aristocrats were tempted to join them. The uproar extended throughout the city.

Dengaku performances were prayers for a good harvest; the picture helps us imagine what they were like. The man playing a flute wears a broad-brimmed rush hat and balances on

clogs with single supports. The other four wear rush hats; two are holding large drums up to their chests, one is playing the *binzasara*, and the fourth is acrobatically playing the hand drum. The *Mogi* volume of the *Eiga monogatari*, describes in detail a *dengaku* performance in the rice fields. While it is believed that these performances were originally carried out by farmers, in the *Konjaku monogatari*, Buddhist priests appear in the role of *dengaku* performers. Evidently some occupational specialization had occurred.



- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| ① priest playing <i>gitchō</i> | 8 cord for tying the hair |
| 2 shaved head | 9 <i>kosode</i> |
| 3 wide-sleeved kimono | 10 <i>sashinuki</i> |
| 4 stick for hitting the ball | ⑪ man with <i>tate-eboshi</i> playing <i>gitchō</i> |
| 5 ball | 12 <i>tate-eboshi</i> |
| ⑥ child playing <i>gitchō</i> | 13 <i>kariginu</i> |
| 7 hair tied in back | 14 shading eyes with the hand |

63 *Gitchō*

The term *gitchō* for this version of stickball seems to have evolved by reversing the pair of characters used to write *dakyū* (“hit the ball”). An alternative rendering uses a pair of characters meaning “ball and stick,” also read *gitchō*. The *Kottōshū* describes the game in detail. To summarize, the term *dakyū* originally referred to a game played on horseback; the players sought to hit the ball into a goal. The game has now almost disappeared except in Tokushima Prefecture. *Gitchō* was the same game, but played on foot. The ball used was apparently quite large. The *Genpei jōsuiki* states that people made a ball shaped like the head of a priest and had a good time hitting it as in *gitchō* or kicking and stamping on it, pretending it was Taira no Kiyomori’s head. The *Heike monogatari* states that Monkaku spoke ill of the retired emperor Go-Toba as a mere *gitchō* player, because the retired emperor loved the game so much. Clearly the game was very popular in Kyōto during the last years of the Heian period. There, the game was played during the New Year’s

celebration. According to the *Tsurezuregusa*, in the annual event called *sagichō*, the *gitchō* balls used during the New Year’s games were taken from the Shingon-in area of the inner court precincts to the Shinsen’en court garden and burned. In the area around Kyōto, the annual burning of New Year’s decorations and symbols such as the sacred ropes and pine decorations occurs on the fifteenth day of the new year and is also known as *sagichō*. That naming suggests how popular the game was in the past. Indeed, after the game itself died out, it became customary to use beautifully colored *gitchō* sticks as auspicious presents bringing good luck in the New Year.