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ENTANGLED MNEMONICS IN KYOTO
IN THE LATE 15TH CENTURY

PICTURES IN WORDS
WORDS IN PICTURES

Beatrice Höller

Pictures in Words

Words in Pictures

Entangled Mnemonics in Kyoto in the Late 15th Century

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Notes to the Reader

This study provides dates for historical events and figures using the Gregorian calendar. The dates in the text follow the format year. month. date. When referring to historical accounts, I follow the dating used by the source itself. In these cases, only the year, but neither month nor day are converted from the traditional calendar. The naming of Japanese authors follows the Western convention (name, surname) if they publish in a Western language. The names of Japanese authors who publish in Japanese, as well as historical figures, follow the original naming order (surname, name). The subsequent terms are handled as follows. The term *maki-e* was translated as “sprinkled picture” (mainly titles of concrete artifacts) and as “design” (mainly techniques and theoretical, broader references, such as book titles). The word *asobi* is sometimes translated as *playfulness*, also to avoid confusion with the manifold associations surrounding the term “play.” The original term *asobi* was used in broader contexts or when it denotes unambiguously solemn activities. For the sake of convenience, the term *tennō* is translated as emperor. The terms shogunate, *bakufu*, warrior/martial court and military government are used synonymously. The term *kami* is sometimes referred to as “deity,” but remains largely without translation. To prevent confusion, Chinese translations are marked with C., and Japanese terms with J., if necessary. Asian words or phrases that have not been marked refer to Japanese terms. Ceremonies, rituals and technical terms are italicized. I opted for modern characters throughout the text even if the original source is in traditional Japanese or traditional Chinese. The translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

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Introduction

When looking at word and picture combinations in the visual arts, it becomes clear that their interrelations show different degrees of intensity. Some visual works evidence a close relationship to literature by openly referring to a certain literary theme. Others comprise alternating passages of pictorial and written segments. And there are those artifacts that integrate picture and word in a manner of composites comprising scriptorial and pictorial elements: Actual words are enclosed in the picture plane or the images themselves represent pictorial elements.

The quest for the main socio-cultural functions of such *entanglements* of picture and word, mainly in their Japanese manifestations as *reed-script* (*ashide* 葦手), is at the heart of this study. An overview of available essays, books, and catalogues have revealed that *reed-script* artifacts occurred from the Heian period (794-1185) onwards, and historical sources of the time refer, for instance, to garments embellished with *reed-script*. Such delicate materials are lost today, and their absences remind us of the large number of artifacts that were once crafted and destroyed by forces of nature over the centuries. Of the surviving *reed-script* objects, a main percentage are lacquer wares of the Kamakura period (1192-1333), the Northern and Southern Courts period (1336-1392), the Muromachi period (1393-1573), and the Edo period (1603-1868). This suggests that such *entanglements* were popular in the time of warrior authority, and seem to have been of specific value for the warrior class.

In this study, I explore the socio-political functions of the designs on three lacquered wooden boxes for the storing of writing utensils, such as brushes and the inkstone, from the late fifteenth century. These are the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Kasuga* (*Kasugayama maki-e suzuribako* 春日山蒔絵硯箱), the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio* (*Shioyama maki-e suzuribako* 塩山蒔絵硯箱), and the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Saga* (*Sagayama maki-e suzuribako* 嵯峨山蒔絵硯箱). The designs comprise entangled combinations of picture and word.

Although *reed-script* could be classified as a type of calligraphy that is inserted in paintings, the study does not concern matters of calligraphy or painting. It treats *entanglements* mainly as one specific type of *mnemonic* design. Generally said, *mnemonics* are techniques to recall, and to improve the ability to recall stored information. *Mnemonics* make use of the human senses and employ matters such as noises, semantic links, numbers, actual or inner representations of things. The term *entangled mnemonics* denotes thus a specific type of word and picture combination created to store and recall information.

Additional research questions include but are not limited to the analyses of Higashiyama lacquer inkstone cases concerning their attribution to the Igarashi school and the Koami school, respectively, and characteristics of these two main lacquer schools in the Higashiyama time; play in premodern Japan and its relation to ritual; the transmission of mythologically charged items to transmit authority and to create a socio-cultural pedigree.

I based the selection of artifacts on several factors: Apart from the fact that the three inkstone cases are prominent representatives of their group of Higashiyama lacquer ware with *reed-script*, each design shows a different relation between the pictorial and the scriptorial elements. The works display at least one large scenery and the inkstone title refers to a location. The individual mode of the representation varies, as does each interrelation of the two main decorated surfaces.

Prior to the analyses of the three main artifacts, I will briefly classify the designs according to the individual *entanglement* of picture and word. Each inkstone case is a seemingly well-known lacquer ware item of the late fifteenth century. Although their images have been published several times in relevant catalogs and other publications on lacquer artifacts, research that focuses on socio-historical aspects and possible political implications related to these works was not conducted before.

The Material: Japanese Lacquer

The following paragraphs provide basic information on Japanese lacquer (*urushi* 漆), since the study does not include technical matters or discussions concerning aspects of the material or production processes. The oldest known Japan artifacts are a red lacquered arrow, a red comb, and fragments of a wooden bowl whose surface was covered with black and red lacquer. These items were crafted in the fourth millennium BCE.¹

In China, lacquer has also been worked with since that time.² The production of lacquer begins with the harvesting of the raw material from the lacquer tree (*Toxicodendron verniciflua*). Several horizontal cuts are applied to the bark, which then excretes the sap. One tree provides a maximum of 50 ccm (ca. 20-50 g) fluid, which is then filtered in order to remove unwanted tree particles and dirt. The material contains mainly two substances, ca. 53-

¹ Wiedehage, Peter. Goldene Gründe. Japanische Lackarbeiten im Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1996: 8.

² Shōno-Sládek, Masako. Der Glanz des Urushi. die Sammlung der Lackkunst des Museums für Ostasiatische Kunst der Stadt Köln: Bestandskatalog mit kulturhistorischen Betrachtungen. Köln: Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, 1994: 16.

92% urushiol and ca. 23-31% water, depending on the circumstances (geographical, age of the tree, time of harvest etc.). High quality lacquer might comprise up to 92 % urushiol.³

The raw lacquer is heated and stirred in wooden barrels. This rise in temperature happens either by artificial light, sun exposure, or fire, and starts the processes of homogenization, dehydration, and polymerization.⁴ The result of this treatment is transparent lacquer, which might receive later additional treatment with pigments, oil, or ferrite for coloring.⁵ Before chemicals were used in the Meiji period, lacquer ware of only five different colors were produced, i.e. red, black, yellow, green and brown.⁶

The subsequent hardening of the fluid requires air humidity of 80-85%. The raw lacquer is put into wooden cabinets whose walls have been hydrated with cold water. Relative air humidity (60-70%)⁷ is a key factor in the processing chain of high-quality lacquer and determines not only the duration of hardening but also the degree of elasticity, coloring and gloss, while the dehydration eliminates the chemical reactions that cause allergic reactions.⁸ Neither the exact single components of raw lacquer nor the chemical processes during the drying phase, which leads to the hardening of the material, have been fully identified.⁹

The production of lacquer ware has three main stages: the preparation of the carrier surface, i.e. “forming the base, body, or core of wood or sometimes basketry, leather and paper”¹⁰ (*kiji* 素地), the application of several coatings to seal and protect the original surface, and the embellishment of the lacquer ground.¹¹ These procedures require approximately thirty single steps in the case of an object with a glossy, black surface.¹² The core or base of the carrier can consist of a variety of materials, such as wood, paper, reed, and leather among others. Depending on its surface the first procedure might be the covering with paper or textile to avoid absorption of the fluid lacquer. The foundation is five to seven primary coats (e.g. persimmon tannin, persimmon tannin with lamp black).¹³

³ Wiedehage, 1996: 8.

⁴ Piert-Borgers, Barbara. *Restaurieren mit Urushi. Japanischer Lack als Restaurierungsmittel*. Köln: Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, 1987: 1.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/u/urushinuri.htm>. 2017.02.19.

⁷ Piert-Borgers, 1987: 1.

⁸ Wiedehage, 1996: 8.

⁹ Piert-Borgers, 1987: 1.

¹⁰ JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/u/urushinuri.htm>. 2017.02.19.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Piert-Borgers, 1987: 2.

¹³ Ibid. JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/u/urushinuri.htm>. 2017.02.19.

After the primary surface was burnished with charcoal,¹⁴ four layers of lacquer are applied, which are then burnished with wood charcoal (*sumi* 炭).¹⁵ After these first coatings (*shitaji* 下地), numerous further cycles of lacquer application, hardening between single layers, and polishing follow. The completed middle coatings (*naka-nuri* 中塗) are then covered with final layers (*uwa-nuri* 上塗) of the highest quality that may be treated with further techniques to add various materials.¹⁶ These include gold or silver particles in various sizes or the insertion of inlays comprising metal, mother-of-pearl, fish skin, or pearls. The last cycle includes several layers of glossy, transparent lacquer (*rōiro* 蠟色).¹⁷

One of the remarkable characteristics of the material lacquer is its high sustainability, i.e. its natural resistance against heat, cold, humidity, acid, and alkali.¹⁸ Another quality lies in its compatibility with all other materials, such as wood, metal, bone, glass, leather, pearls, or porcelain.¹⁹ Accordingly, lacquer has not only been a valued material for the production and restoration of artistic items, objects of daily use, or architectural elements but also for artifacts used in a premodern military context, such as bows, arrows, or saddles. The complex manufacturing process results in high costs, and lacquer objects have usually been commissioned by members of the higher social classes.²⁰

Methodology

The study is limited to artifacts with designs that do not solely display explicit religious content. References to paintings and painters are considered and mentioned if required for the line of my main argument. General stylistic references to individual painters, paintings, or schools are hence not part of the examination. A semiotic approach in the theoretical sections seemed promising in an early stage of research, but was discarded in favor of a perspective from memory studies that allowed for immediate socio-cultural inferences and their direct references to the *reed-script* designs of the three inkstone cases.

¹⁴ Nowadays masters may use a grinding stone (*toishi* 砥石) for the polishing processes. “Whetstones, typically made of alumina, have been increasingly been [sic] used as a substitute for charcoal for the grinding and polishing steps [...] because of the consistent quality that can be found in the synthetic whetstones as well as the expense and difficulty of obtaining high quality charcoal for the purpose.” Website of Hakumin Urushi Kobo. <http://www.hakuminurushi.com/urushi/miniglossary.html>. Accessed 2017.02.19.

¹⁵ Piert-Borgers, 1987: 2.

¹⁶ “Some styles omit the *nakanuri*.” JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/u/urushinuri.htm>. 2017.02.19.

¹⁷ JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/u/urushinuri.htm>. 2017.02.19.

¹⁸ Shōno-Sládek, 1994: 16.

¹⁹ Wiedehage, 1996: 8.

²⁰ Shōno-Sládek, 1994: 16

In order to get a better understanding of the likely perception of this particular picture and word type, Max Wertheimer's *Gestalttheorie* was my starting point in 2009. This led my attention to the matter of procedural and declarative knowledge, to linear and spatial processing, mirror neurons, and then to the so-called *imagery debate*, an issue in psychology and philosophy, and relevant experiments concerning inner representations, such as those by Roger N. Shepard and Stephen M. Kosslyn as well as the discussions and developments of the 7 ± 2 -theory by George Miller, and most recently Nelson Cowan's approach who narrowed the information units down to about four chunks.

For this study, Allan Paivio's *dual coding theory*, which I came across in 2012, has proven most fruitful. It has withstood several stages of the project and adds interesting aspects in relation to the designs. The main difficulty was to find a sensitive, effective methodology. It was necessary to continuously verify that each individual step was in accordance with the basic material, the designs of the three inkstone cases.

To examine the functions of the designs on the inkstone cases, I consecutively applied several methodological approaches. Beginning with a formal analysis of the design of each inkstone case to clarify the overall compositional structures, I determined the relation of pictorial and scriptorial elements, and the selected motifs.

Historical sources were used to shed light on the circumstances of production, to understand the occurrences and significance of cultural aspects in the late fifteenth century, such as ritual and play, and finally to determine by whom and in what manner further instances of artifacts with *reed-script* designs were chosen for representation. I applied the iconographical approach to identify each subject matter and the iconological approach to investigate the function of the *reed-script* designs in their respective socio-cultural context. Basic aspects of memory studies, cognitive psychology, ritual studies, and the theory of play delivered further meaningful contributions to examine the artifacts' significances and functions.

Melanie Trede made me aware that my approach corresponds to "deep – or slow – reading" as proposed by Maryanne Wolf and Mirit Barzillai, 2009 as well as Robert P. Waxler and Maureen P. Hall, 2011, ecc., and "deep – or immersive – looking" (Jennifer Roberts, 2013), since each chapter describes, analyses, contextualizes, and historicizes the inkstone cases from a new angle digging ever deeper into layers of meaning, interpretation and contextualization while addressing and exploring different concepts.²¹

²¹ Wolf, Maryanne and Barzillai, Mirit. "The Importance of Deep-Reading." *Educational Leadership* 66, no. 6 (March 2009): 32-37. Roberts, Jennifer L. "The Power of Patience." *Harvard Magazine*, November/December

The first chapter delivers classifications of the respective *reed-script* type, descriptions of each artifact, and an individual analysis of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*. Each section introduces possible models of the motifs in the designs, and relates the inkstone cases to an actual location. The second chapter contains the theoretical basis of the study. It first sheds light on notions of cultural techniques, introduces three early *entanglements* from China and Japan, and then offers explanations concerning the effectiveness of *entanglements* in the field of information memorizing. An understanding of some cultural assumptions and mechanisms that underlie and nourish the receptions of entangled designs helps to determine the function of the *reed-script* designs of the three inkstone cases. The concept of cultural memory is thus introduced to illustrate how the designs reflected and shaped certain social values and socio-cultural images. The third chapter identifies important cultural aspects reflected in the designs, refers to an earlier artifact, and links the *reed-script* designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* to the Ashikaga narrative.

The State of Research

The Muromachi period (1336-1573) and particularly the fifteenth century are viewed as a time of less abundant historical materials. Countless documents and objects were destroyed in the fires that ravaged the capital during the Ōnin War (1467-77). These battles also marked a watershed as traditions and societal structures were re-evaluated and possibly discarded. The urban population in Kyoto rose to demonstrations against hunger and taxes, while the militarized city repeatedly burnt to the grounds. After a brief period of peace, warfare continued and eventually led to the century-long battles of the Warring States (*sengoku*). In this time, social transformation abolished medieval order and facilitated the foundation of early modern Japanese polity. In 1994, Mary Elizabeth Berry addressed the significance of the Ōnin War as the onset of the Warring States period and the new phenomenon of civilian mass protests.²² The era of martial strife caused an unprecedented social upheaval termed *gekokuujō* (roughly translated as “the lower overcoming the upper”), and saw the construction of new cultural centers outside of the capital Kyoto, as well as novel forms of performing, visual and material arts. It is the latter aspect of the late fifteenth century, along with retired shogun Yoshimasa’s taste and cultural pursuits, and an approach that involves processes of identity

2013; no pagination. Waxler, Robert P. and Hall, Maureen P. *Transforming Literacy: Changing Lives Through Reading and Writing*. Leiden: Brill 2011.

²² Berry, Mary Elizabeth. *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.

formation through poetic allusions and their material reinterpretations, that the thesis is concerned with.

The fifteenth century began with the stable rulership of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu who was able to still increase Ashikaga authority to an unprecedented extent in his final years, and who, by the time of his death in 1408, was bestowed the court rank Retired Emperor. Over decades, the shogun had gained increasing expertise in performing Shingon rituals and eventually took over the imperial socio-cultural authority as has been described and analyzed by Thomas Conlan in 2011.²³

Neither Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimochi nor Shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori “were less earnest in their support of the arts.”²⁴ As Paul Varley highlighted in 1990, the “obvious danger in concentrating on these two periods of cultural brilliance [in the early and the late fifteenth century] is the implication that little of significance occurred during the three intervening decades”²⁵ although both mid-century rulers were sophisticated patrons of the poetic world with a keen sense for artistic expression while consciously continuing Yoshimitsu’s guideline of combining *bun* and *bu*.²⁶

Yoshimitsu’s grandson, eighth Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, became the unanticipated successor to dictator Ashikaga Yoshinori. At the center of the socio-political developments, Yoshimasa’s controversial personality triggered both, the devastating Ōnin War and the cultural innovations of the flourishing Higashiyama Culture. In his publication from 1972, Kawai Masaharu stresses that even after a decade of self-inflicted warfare, Yoshimasa was still able to collect the necessary funds from the impoverished public to build his sumptuous retirement villa in the Higashiyama hills due to his charismatic personality alone. Political tension between Yoshimasa’s supporters and the military officers (*hōkōshū*) on his son and successor Yoshihisa’s side rose as they eagerly awaited Yoshihisa’s establishment of a new administration. In this context, his planned escape to Ōmi in 1480 had not been not decided out of weakness or fear but was an intended strategic move to grasp and renew shogunal authority.²⁷

²³ Conlan, Thomas D. *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth-Century Japan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

²⁴ Paul Varley. “Cultural life in medieval Japan” in: *The Cambridge History of Japan 3* edited by Hall et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: 471.

²⁵ Ibid: 470.

²⁶ Paul Varley. “Cultural life in medieval Japan” in: *The Cambridge History of Japan 3* edited by Hall et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

²⁷ Kawai Masaharu presented the shogun’s life in his publication *Ashikaga Yoshimasa and Higashiyama Culture (Ashikaga Yoshimasa to higashiyama bunka)* from 2016, first published in 1972 under the title *Ashikaga Yoshimasa: mori agaru shakai ishiki to higashiyama bunka* (Ashikaga Yoshimasa: rising social consciousness and Higashiyama Culture). Tokyo: shimizu shoin, 1972.

The fact that scriptures commissioned for Shogun Yoshihisa explicitly addressed actual concerns at the time provides an insight in the degree of public despair. The scriptures *Bunmei ittō ki* (文明一統記) and *Shōdan chiyō* (樵談治要) were composed by Ichijō Kanera (1402-1481) in 1480 as educational treatises for the young shogun, probably on request of his mother Hino Tomiko. Kanera was not only eye-witness to the socio-cultural developments but had taken an active role at its center. In 1965 and 1966 Klaus-Albrecht Pretzell underlined Kanera's self-positioning in the politically torn society at the very end of this life that span the main part of the fifteenth century. By participating in the boy's moral education, Kanera officially consented to martial rule but he urged the shogun repeatedly to follow the emperor's example and to place the population's welfare above his own.²⁸

Medieval court culture before the war thrived under Ashikaga rule but continuously diminished as warfare began, while the court completely depended on the shogunate's good will to maintain its formal procedures during the final decades. These unsettling political circumstances culminated in civil warfare in 1467, when two armies fought for the succession of Shogun Yoshimasa. In 1484, retired Shogun Yoshimasa moved into his residence in the region of the Eastern hills (Higashiyama), which became the heart of the so-called "Culture of the Eastern Hills" or "Higashiyama bunka". These eras of aesthetic patronage of first Shogun Yoshimitsu's splendid *Kitayama bunka* and then Shogun Yoshimasa's subtler *Higashiyama bunka* function much like a socio-cultural framework of the century.

Lee Butler based his study from 2002 on eighteen court diaries and was thus able to deliver coherent, detailed insights of the court aristocrats' daily challenges and necessities in this trying time. The accounts shed light on various survival strategies among the capital's cultural and intellectual elite, and their struggle to maintain some version of normalcy in the postwar era, such as decisions to skip audiences with the emperor due to the lack of appropriate garments or the notorious lack of housing amidst the ruins. The background to all activities was the impoverished imperial court and its complete financial dependency on the martial rulers. Butler dedicates two chapters of his publication on these matters in the fifteenth century, and he also provides an overview of the imperial history in his introduction that contextualizes the imperial court and its dire circumstances in the Higashiyama period.²⁹

²⁸ Klaus-Albrecht Pretzell. *Das Bunmei-ittō-ki und das Shōdan-chiyō: 2 Lehrschriften d. Ichijō Kanera*. Doctoral thesis, Hamburg University, 1966. Published in *Oriens Extremus*. Vol. 12, No 2 (1965): 161-219 as well as Vol. 13, No 1 (1966): 1-55, 57-80.

²⁹ Butler, Lee. *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467-1680: Resilience and Renewal*. Harvard University Asia Center, Cambridge, Mass., 2002.

Paintings in the fifteenth century were the result of several practices by painters, inscribers, clients, and advisors not the products of a single individual. The participants' interrelations, their societal positions as well as their sympathies, preferences, and disinterests deliver valuable insights in the social dynamics of the aesthetic world at the time. The decoration of Ashikaga Yoshimasa's villa in the Higashiyama hills, for instance, was developed by a tight network of experts, namely the shogun, his close confidants, his aesthetic advisor and the painter Kano Masanobu in often lengthy, detailed negotiations. Participants in such artistic processes were not tied to specific roles and advisors in one project might become inscribers in another. The complex socio-political situation in the late fifteenth century led court aristocrats to invest their social capital in projects that were favored by the martial authorities for their cultural value. Painters were not only interested in economic capital in form of material payment for a work but sought to increase their symbolic capital at the same time, for instance by collaborating with certain masters, the bestowment of religious titles, or promotions at court.

In his book published in 2000, Quitman E. Phillips investigates Japanese conditions, procedures, events, and social interactions that characterized the fluid processes of artistic production in the final decades of the fifteenth century. He omits visual analyses and centers his study on primary documents.³⁰

Takagishi Akira's book from 2004 covers the period from the founding of the Tosa school in the mid-fourteenth century through to the change of government in 1493. The author discusses the development and transformations of painting in this time as well as contemporary artists and their patrons. On the basis of primary documents and extant paintings, Takagishi analyzes handscrolls that were commissioned by the Ashikaga family and concludes that these works allowed the shogunal family to rival the socio-cultural status of the imperial rulers and at the same time distinguish themselves from other members of the warrior class.³¹

Melissa McCormick's publication from 2009 provides a thorough analysis of the small scroll format (*ko-e*) by imperial court painter Tosa Mitsunobu (active ca. 1469-1522). She sheds a close light on the production contexts by analyzing primary texts. As small scrolls were chosen to transmit narratives of personal transformation, she investigates three small scrolls titled *A Wakeful Sleep (Utatane soshi emaki)*, *The Jizo Hall (Jizodo soshi emaki)*, and

³⁰ Phillips, Quitman E. *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

³¹ Takagishi Akira. *Muromachi ōken to kaiga: Shoki Tosaha kenkyū* [Power and Painting in Muromachi Japan: A Study of the Early Tosa School]. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2004.

Breaking the Inkstone (Suzuriwari soshi emaki). Among these three artistically accomplished and sophisticated small scrolls, is a collaboration with aristocratic scholar Sanjonishi Sanetaka (1455-1537). McCormick offers deep and detailed insights into the cultural interactions, politics of patronage, and the numerous layers of refined allusions in the scrolls.³²

High-class lacquer ware production in the fifteenth century was in the hands of the two early workshops by the Kōami and the Igarashi family, respectively. They continued to work for the imperial house and the martial rulers in later periods. Fires destroyed the early family archives on both sides, which seems to be the main reason for the lack of research activities concerning the workshops' earlier generations, their collaborations, designs, materials, and main techniques.

There is neither a book-length study on lacquer art from the fifteenth century nor a publication on the Igarashi workshop in this time. The only study on the history of the Kōami family, written by William Harry Samonides, is mainly a collection of materials. It includes important paragraphs on several artefacts from the fifteenth century as well as historical contextualization and translations of some referential lists and entries in the family chronicles from the Edo period. His attributions of works to the Kōami appears arbitrary at times as they lack his formal or stylistic analysis or any other explanation.³³

The benchmark in this field by Beatrix von Ragué does not exclusively deal with the fifteenth century either, her book delivers an overview on the development of Japanese lacquer history from its beginnings to contemporary times. Yet several sections make detailed assessments of important artifacts of the fifteenth century, while also contextualizing their different styles, formats, and techniques and relating these to earlier and later works within the larger frame of lacquer history.³⁴

Recollection and memory play a significant part in the analyses of the three inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Shio, and Mt. Saga. In general, the relations of memory and the arts are determined by thinking recollection either as physical or as emotional processes. The employment of Memory Studies in art historical contexts began in the twentieth century. Art historian Aby Warburg developed a theory of social memory in the 1930s, when he transformed the hitherto biological approach to memory into a cultural concept based on

³² McCormick, Melissa. *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

³³ Samonides, William Harry. "The Koami Family of Maki-e Lacquerers". Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1990.

³⁴ Ragué, Beatrix von. *Geschichte der japanischen Lackkunst*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967.

socialization and education, while discarding the notion of a racial framework.³⁵ The project Mnemosyne exemplifies Warburg's endeavor to reconstruct cultural lines of artistic memory by arranging and relating cultural forms.

David Freedberg dealt with cognitive reception of pictorial art in his study published in 1989.³⁶ Freedberg's concern was "the failure of art history to deal with the extraordinarily abundant evidence for the ways in which people of all classes and cultures have responded to images."³⁷ He analyzed psychological and behavioral responses to images, many of which had been previously discarded because they were "popular" or "primitive" non-Western reactions, addressing the audience's non-rational beliefs and approaches. Freedberg suggests that he did not aim at providing an explanatory theory of images. "The aim, instead, has been to develop adequate terms, and to set out the possibilities for the ways in which cognitive theory may be nourished by the evidence of history."³⁸

Two recent doctoral theses submitted at Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg presented the topic memory in different Chinese contexts. Anne Hennings's dissertation from 2013 describes how the former Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution were unified and transformed into the National Museum of China, a cultural institution representing the People's Republic of China.³⁹ Ning Yao's dissertation also from 2013 sheds light on scholarly Chinese commemorative painting that had rarely been explored before. As her study reveals a new new genre of Chinese painting, Yao introduces several case studies of Chinese literati memorial paintings and concentrates on the visual representations in their social and religious contexts. She focuses on the intellectual and religious spheres in Ming and Early Qing China.⁴⁰

***Reed-Script* – Definitions, Developments, and Designs**

The term *reed-script* (*ashide* 葦手) comprises two single words, "*ashi* (葦)," meaning "reed," and "*te* (手)," meaning "hand." Reed grows in humid areas along lakes and riverbanks or at the seaside. It is often referred to in Japanese poetry to evoke images of ocean scenery,

³⁵ Independently from Warburg, Maurice Halbwachs came up with a similar approach around this time. Gombrich, Ernest H. *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*. London: The Warburg Institute, 1970: 323ff.

³⁶ Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989.

³⁷ Ibid: xix.

³⁸ Ibid: xxii.

³⁹ Hennings, Anne. "*The National Museum of China: Building Memory, Shaping History, Presenting Identity*." Heidelberg: heiDOK, 2013. DOI: 10.11588/heidok.00015242

⁴⁰ Yao, Ning. "Commemorating the Deceased: Chinese Literati Memorial Painting - A Case Study of Wu Li's "Remembering the Past at Xingfu Chapel" (1672)." Heidelberg: heiDOK, 2013. DOI: 10.11588/heidok.00015637

especially the bay of Naniwa and general landscape scenery including cranes, wild ducks, or wild geese, such as poems in the very first anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*.⁴¹

As is well known, the *Record of Ancient Matters* and the *Chronicles of Japan* refer to Japan as the “Central Land of the Reed Plains (*ashihara no nakatsukuni* 葦原中国).”⁴² It can thus be inferred that reed has been considered almost synonymous with the land itself. The second syllable “hand” refers to calligraphy. Since both words are intimately linked with poetry and the sponsoring, writing, collecting, and preserving of Japanese poetry depended on the florescence of the court, *reed-script* may be viewed as having an original bond with the imperial court and its center, the emperor. In the following excerpts, I will briefly introduce applications, definitions, and three exemplary early events employing *reed-script* applications.

As Claire Brisset recaps, *reed-script* first appears in the Heian period when Japanese scribes transformed the Chinese script (J. *kanji* 漢字, the “characters of the Han” or J. *mana* 真名, the “authentic characters”) into the phonetic Japanese syllabary system termed “interim words” (*kana* 仮名). The written vocabulary of the time may hence be separated into two categories, the words of Chinese origin (*kanji* or *mana*) and actual Japanese syllabary (*kana*). Both groups include Chinese and Japanese calligraphic styles and may visually overlap.⁴³ The styles referred to by the terms *kanji/mana* are seal script (C. *zhuanshu*, J. *tensho* 篆書), clerical script (C. *lishu*, J. *reishu* 隸書), standard script (C. *kaishu*, J. *kaisho* 楷書), semi-cursive script (C. *xingshu*, J. *gyōsho* 行書), and cursive script (C. *caoshu*, J. *sōsho* 草書). The Japanese phonetic script *kana* may be further categorized according to formal criteria, i.e. the degree of cursiveness ranging from the standard style to the semi-cursive style and to the cursive style (*sōgana* 草仮名) that occurs when the Chinese character is abbreviated to an extent that the result is not instantly associated with it any longer.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Brisset, Claire-Akiko. *À la croisée du texte et de l'image, paysage cryptiques et poèmes cachés (ashide) dans le Japon classique et médiéval*. Paris: De Boccard, 2009: 27.

⁴² *Kojiki*, I: 12.12., 24.1, 25.5, 26.5 among other passages. Japanese Historical Text Initiative. *Kojiki* 古事記 [Record of Ancient Matters]. <http://supercluster.cias.kyoto-u.ac.jp/berkeley/jhti/cgi-bin/jhti/select.cgi?honname=2>. Accessed 2017.02.03. *Nihon shoki*, Age of the Gods I: 76.2, 94.2, 104.1, 117.1, 119.2. to cite some passages. Japanese Historical Text Initiative. *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 [Chronicles of Japan]. <http://supercluster.cias.kyoto-u.ac.jp/berkeley/jhti/cgi-bin/jhti/select.cgi?honname=1>. Accessed 2017.02.03.

⁴³ Brisset, 2009: 41. This is due to the usages of identical characters. They might have been chosen for their meaning in a Chinese context or for their pronunciation, i.e. as a syllable, in a Japanese context.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Gotō points out that a “completely new design” occurred through the extreme simplification. Gotō Fumiaki 後藤文明. “Ashide” 葦手 [*Reed-script*]. *Gifu Shōtoku gakuen daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 20 岐阜聖徳学園大学国語国文学 [Gifu Shotoku Gakuen University] (2001), 47–67: 47. (Gotō 2001a)

“It was in this context of intense experimentation that the ‘characters of reed’ appeared for the first time.”⁴⁵ Komatsu Shigemi noted that the outline of *reed-script* was “concretely displayed”⁴⁶ and Yotsutsuji Hideki went a step further and stated that *reed-script* was “established” in the *Tale of the Hollow Tree* (*Utsuho monogatari* 宇津保物語), a court romance from the second half of the tenth century, which referred to poetry in various scripts, namely masculine style (*otokode* 男手), feminine style (*onnade* 女手), abbreviated *kana* (*katakana* 片仮名), and *reed script*.⁴⁷

The *Tale of the Hollow Tree* revolves around several string instruments that are given to Kiyohara no Toshikage (清原俊蔭) by Buddha in Persia, and the Buddha’s prophecy that the Kiyowara family will prosper through music. The “supremacy of art [...] over the more mundane concerns of the world” is a main topic of the tale.⁴⁸

An appreciation for early *reed-script* in the late tenth century is also revealed in the chapter “The Plum Tree Branch” (*Umegae* 梅枝) in the *Tale of Genji* that already contains a paragraph stating that the “books of reed writing, each different in its way, were sheer delight.”⁴⁹

Julia Meech-Pekarik refers to “some abbreviated sketches” that were found on the pedestal inside the statue of Amida in the Byōdō’in as the “earliest visual evidence for the

⁴⁵ Brisset, 2009: 41.

⁴⁶ Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美. *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū* 平家納経の研究 [Research on the Sutra Dedicated by the Heike]. Vol. 14. Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1996: 267.

⁴⁷ Yotsutsuji Hideki 四辻秀紀. “Heike Nōkyō’ no sōshoku ni kakawaru futatsu no mondaiten nitsuite” 「平家納経」の装飾にかかわる二つの問題点について [On Two Issues Affecting the Ornaments in the ‘Heike Nōkyō]. *Mizuguki* 22 水莖 [Brush Stroke] (1997), 18-27: 23. Yotsutsuji cites three of the poems, i.e. *feminine script*, *katakana*, and *reed-script*. Ibid. Brisset provides a French translation of all poems. Brisset 2009: 64-65. Gotō also refers to this text. Gotō 2001a: 55-56, 60-61. For a contemporary discussion on the terminology (*onnade* and *otokode*), see Akiyama Terukazu 秋山光和. *Heian jidai sezokuga no kenkyū* 平安時代世俗画の研究 [Study on Secular Painting in the Heian Period]. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1964. Akiyama Terukazu. “Women Painters at the Heian Court,” trans. and adapted by Maribeth Graybill. In *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting*, edited by Weidner, Marsha Smith, 159-184. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990. Chino also discusses these terms. Chino Kaori 千野香織 “Nihon bijutsu no jendā 日本美術のジェンダー [Gender in Japanese Art].” *Bijutsushi* 美術史 [Japanese Art] 43, no. 2 (1994): 235-246. Joshua Mostow translated and edited her article, and added an introduction. Chino Kaori. “Gender in Japanese Art,” trans. and edited by Mostow, Joshua. *Aesthetics* 7 (1996): 49-68. It was reprinted in 2003. Chino Kaori. “Gender in Japanese Art,” trans. and edited by Mostow, Joshua. In *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, edited by Mostow, Joshua S., Bryson, Norman, and Graybill, Marybeth, 17-34. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003.

⁴⁸ Cranston, Edwin A., “Atemiya. A Translation from the Utsuho monogatari,” in: *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 24, No. 3 (1969), 289-314: 289.

⁴⁹ “The Plum Tree Branch,” in: Shikibu Murasaki. *The Tale of Genji*. Translated by Royall Tyler. New York: Viking Penguin, 2001: 554.

transformation of kana into rocks, reeds, and waterbirds.” She dates them to the mid-eleventh century.⁵⁰

The earliest known artifact in existence with fully executed examples of *reed-script* is a calligraphy referring to the spring section in the first volume of the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集, 905)⁵¹, which was also the poetic source for the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*. This early artifact was divided over the centuries, and the three extant fragments named *Fragment of the Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times with Picture-Letters* (*Emoji iri Kokin wakashū gire* 絵文字入古今和歌集切), *Fragment of a Poem with Reed-Script* (*Ashide uta gire* 葦手歌切), and *Fragment of Poem in Reed-Script Style* (*Ashide yō uta kire* 葦手様歌切) were dispersed to the Tokugawa Museum, the Tokyo National Museum, and a personal collection, respectively. Each work consists of a poem attributed to the hand of Fujiwara Kintō (藤原公任, 966-1041). Yotsutsuji dates it no earlier than the mid-eleventh century,⁵² Brisset dates them between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century,⁵³ Komatsu Shigemi dates it early twelfth century, in the reign of Emperor Toba (鳥羽天皇, 1103-1156, r. 1107-1123).⁵⁴ All dates contradict a secure attribution to Kintō.

The Tokugawa Museum owns what is arguably the most telling of the three fragments. The *Fragment of the Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times with Picture-Letters* presents as many as four pronounced picture letters; the other two works are crafted with one (*Fragment of a Poem with Reed-Script*, Tokyo National Museum) and two such letters (*Fragment of Poem in Reed-Script Style*, private collection).⁵⁵ (figs. 1)

⁵⁰ Meech-Pekarik, Julia. “Disguised Scripts and Hidden Poems in an Illustrated Heian Sutra: Ashide and Uta-E in the Heike Nōgyō.” *Archives of Asian Art* 31 (1977/1978): 52-78: 55. See the list in Ōmichi Hiroo 大道弘雄. “Shin ashide-e kō (jō) 新葦手絵考 (上) [New Considerations of *Reed-script* Pictures].” *Kokka* 788 国華 [National Flower] (1957): 367-375: 369 and for the dating see Meech-Pekarik, 1977/1978: 55. The *Sutras Dedicated by the Heike* (*Heike nōkyō* 平家納経) date ca. 1164, and the *Painted Folding Fan of Cypress Wood* (*Sai-e hi-ōgi* 彩絵桧扇) was crafted no later than 1172 or 1174 when it was donated to the Itsukushima Shrine. Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館[編] [Kyoto National Museum], ed. *Kōgei ni miru: Kōten bungaku ishō* 工芸にみる古典文学意匠: 古典文学意匠 / *The World of Japanese Classical Literature as Reflected in Craft Design*. Exhibition catalogue. Kyoto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, Shikōsha, 1980: 238.

⁵¹ For a list of the twenty-one imperial anthologies, see Miner, Earl and Odagiri, Hiroko and Morrell, Robert E. *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1988: 342.

⁵² Yotsutsuji, 1997: 24.

⁵³ Brisset, 2009: 189.

⁵⁴ Komatsu Shigemi in Onoe Hachirō 尾上八郎 et al, eds. *Teihon shodō zenshū* 15 定本書道全集 [Revised Edition of the Complete Collection of Calligraphy], Heian 2 平安 [Heian]. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō 河出書房, 1956: 172, in: Brisset, 2009: 188.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*: 187-193.

The background of *Fragment of the Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times with Picture-Letters* exhibits an under painting in light ink with a monk washing clothes on the far left, and a willow tree, a temple, and a nine-story pagoda on its right side. The entire leaf shows small sprinkles of silver particles. Joshua Mostow points out that this artifact is not a depiction of the poem but of the very instant the poem was composed.⁵⁶ According to Yotsutsuji, this painting was either done at the same time or not too long after the calligraphy had been executed.⁵⁷

The Tokugawa fragment shows the complete poem no. 27 in the *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times*, including the introductory line and the author:

A willow near the Saidaiji temple. Archbishop Henjō.
Nishi dera no hotori no yanagi wo yomeru Sōjō Henjō
 西大寺[尔してら]のほ[本]とりの[利能]柳[や那支]
 をよめる[流] 僧正遍昭

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| It twists together | <i>Asamidori</i> |
| leafy threads of tender green | <i>ito yorikakete</i> |
| and fashions jewels | <i>shiratsuyu wo</i> |
| by piercing clear, white dewdrops – | <i>tama ni mo nukeru</i> |
| the willow tree in springtime. ⁵⁸ | <i>haru no yanagi ka</i> |

あさみどり[利]
 糸[いと]よりか[利可]け[个]て
 [轉]白露を[越]
 玉[堂ま]にも[毛]ぬけ[个]る

⁵⁶ Mostow, Joshua S. *Pictures of the Heart: The Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996: 93.

⁵⁷ Brisset, 2009: 191. While Komatsu Shigemi thinks that Reizei Tametaka or Tamechika (1823-64) executed the under painting, Yotsutsuji Hideki argues that during the Edo period this work was part of the Tokugawa d'Owari collection, and that it was impossible for him to add a painting. In his opinion, this resets the dating to a much earlier time. Ibid. Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美. *Heian jidai yamato-e no tankyū: Hokkekyō sasshi no kenkyū* 平安時代倭絵の探求: 法華経冊子の研究 [The Quest for Yamato-e of the Heian Period: A Study of the Lotus Sutra Booklet]. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1986: 294, in Brisset 2009: 191. Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館, ed.

Tokugawa bijutsukan meihin shū 3 徳川美術館名品集 [Selections from the Tokugawa Art Museum]: *Sho no bi* 書之美 [The Beauty of Calligraphy]. Nagoya: Tokugawa Bijutsukan, 1993: 18, 135-136, in: Brisset 2009: 191.

⁵⁸ McCullough, Helen Craig transl and annot. *Brocade by Night: Kokin wakashu and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985a: 216.

春[者る]の柳[や奈支]か[可]⁵⁹

The marked syllables are the ones composed in *reed-script*, such as the syllable *a* (あ) of “*asamidori*,” which shows some leaves of reed. *Nu* (ぬ) of “*nukeru*” resembles a bird flying to the right, and Brisset recognizes in the particle *no* (の) a sleeping crane resting its head under its wings.⁶⁰ The last *reed-script* particle *ya* (や) of “*yanagi*” is another bird in flight. This depiction is the most articulate with a long beak and neck, spread wings, pronounced head and even eyes. Brisset points out that the visualization of *nu* evokes the appearance of the syllable (如) in the “Letter carried by the wind” (*Fūshinjō* 風信帖) by Kūkai,⁶¹ and in his “Annotation to the Diamond Wisdom Sutra” (*Kongō hannya kyō no mondai* 金剛般若經問題).⁶² Yotsutsuji notes the pictorialization of the scriptorial elements in the Tokugawa fragment and infers that the transition of *reed-script* from a calligraphic style to a pictorial “design” occurred around the mid-eleventh century.⁶³

This transformation process of *reed-script* is documented in historical sources. The earliest definition of *reed-script* occurred in the dictionary *Characters Classified in Iroha Order with Annotations* (*Iroha jirui shō* 色葉字類抄 or 伊呂波字類抄) by Tachibana no Tadakane (橘忠兼, active 1144-1181) in the twelfth century. “They are letters (*moji nari* 文字也).”⁶⁴ Around the production time of the three inkstone cases in the late fifteenth century, Ichijō Kanera (or Kaneyoshi, 一条兼良, 1402–1481) defined *reed-script* as the drawing of “characters in the shape of reed leaves” (“*ashi no ha no nari ni moji wo kaku nari* あしのはのなりに文字をかく也”)⁶⁵ that “take the shape of water, rocks, or birds among others” (“*sui*

⁵⁹ Poem no. 27, in Takada Hirohiko 高田祐彦. *Kokin wakashū. Gendaigo yakutsuki* 古今和歌集. 現代語訳付き [Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times. Translation into Modern Language]. Shinpan 新版 [New edition]. Tokyo: Kadokawa gakugei 角川学芸, 2009. A transcription with marked particles and characters is also in Brisset, 2009: 189.

⁶⁰ Ibid: 190.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館 [Tokyo National Museum]. *Sho no shihō: nihon to chūgoku* 書の至宝: 日本と中国 *Twin Peaks: The Finest of Chinese and Japanese Calligraphy*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun 朝日新聞, 2006: no. 65.

⁶³ Yotsutsuji, 1997: 24. Gotō states it was in the first half of the eleventh century. Gotō 2001a: 61.

⁶⁴ Tachibana Tadakane 橘忠兼. *Iroha jirui shō* 伊呂波字類抄 [Characters Classified in Iroha Order with Annotations]. Edited by Tsukishima Hiroshi 築島裕, Shikimoto Masayuki 月本雅幸. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院, 2014. In Brisset 2009: 37.

⁶⁵ Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良. *Kachō yosei* 花鳥余情 [Evocation of Flowers and Birds]. In Ichijō Kanera 一条兼良. *Kachō yosei; Genji wa hishō; Genji monogatari no uchi fushin jōjō; Gengo hiketsu; Kudenshō* 花鳥余情; 源氏和秘抄; 源氏物語之内不審条々; 源語秘訣; 口伝抄. Edited by Nakano, Kōichi 中野幸一. Tokyo: Musashino shoin 武蔵野書院, 1978: 242.

seki chō nado no kata ni mo kaki nasu nari 水石鳥などのかたにもかきなすなり”)⁶⁶ in a paragraph on the chapter “Branch of a Plum Tree” in his *Tale of Genji* commentary titled *Evocation of Flowers and Birds (Kachō yosei 花鳥余情)* from 1472.

In Komatsu Shigemi’s study of the *Sutra Dedicated by the Heike*⁶⁷ (*Heike nōkyō 平家納経*) in 1976, he distinguished the *reed-script* of letters (characters, syllables) and decorative pictorialized letters (*sōshoku kaigateki moji 装飾絵画的文字*).⁶⁸ In 1977/1978, Meech-Pekarik referred to them as two categories,⁶⁹ namely “naturalistic images read as sounds”⁷⁰ (*jion-e 字音絵*), which are pictorial elements “whose phonetic reading might contribute a syllable or two to the poem hidden therein,”⁷¹ and pictorialized script (*e-moji 絵文字*) that designates pictorialized syllables as single, outstanding elements of a poem.⁷²

Komatsu Taishū added a third category in his study on lacquer ware designs,⁷³ the pictures with hidden characters (*jikakushi-moji 字隠文字* or *jikakushi-e 字隠絵*) to refer to scriptorial elements inserted in or among pictorial objects.⁷⁴ His addition of a third category to Komatsu Shigemi’s classification⁷⁵ could be a direct result from their expertise in different materials, i.e. as lacquer and paper. As we will see, the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* belongs to the first category, while *reed-script* as characters inserted in or among pictorial objects is the classification pertaining to the designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*.

What are the main comprehensions and limitations of the term *reed-script*? Gotō Fumiaki offers an explanation of writing with pictorial qualities called *scattered script* (*chirashi gaki 散らし書き*), which he denotes as script that is scattered on the material in an

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ The Taira family.

⁶⁸ The list of *reed-script* variations in Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美. *Heike nōkyō no kenkyū 平家納経の研究* [Research on the Sutra Dedicated by the Heike]. Vol. 14. Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1996: 349-366.

⁶⁹ Meech-Pekarik, 1977/1978: 56.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid: 55.

⁷³ Komatsu Taishū. “Shitsugeihin ni okeru ‘ashide’ hyōgen to sono tenkai” 漆芸品における「蘆手」表現とその展開 [The Expression of *Reed-script* on Lacquer Ware and its Development]. *Museum* 383, (1983): 29-32.

⁷⁴ Brisset, 2009: 15, 185. Brisset follows Komatsu Taishū, while Egami does not include this last type. Egami Yasushi 江上綏. *Ashide-e to sono shūhen 葦手とその周辺* [*Reed-script* and its Surroundings], *Nihon no bijutsu* 478 日本美術 [Arts of Japan]. Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂, 2006. In *ibid*.

⁷⁵ Komatsu Shigemi’s list comprises 1. syllables, 2. characters, 3. decorative pictorialized objects, which are three categories on a formal level. However, it seems natural that he would distinguish syllables and characters who still show common features and differ completely from the objects. It was probably on this logical basis that Meech-Pekarik decided to classify them as two groups.

irregular manner. “The length, the height of the lines and the line-spacing etc. vary.”⁷⁶ He points out that *reed-script* pertained to this calligraphic category because it was used to transcribe poetry, before it underwent the pictorial transformation in the course of the eleventh century and was actually termed “reed-script”. It then lost its scriptorial nature, and became part of the paper decoration (*shita-e ashide* 下絵葦手). According to Gotō, this type of *reed-script* bears no relation to the meaning of the respective poems but is a merely decorative element of the underdrawing.⁷⁷ This issue does not concern lacquer ware as has become clear from the categorization by Komatsu Taishū above.

The concept of *poem-picture* (*uta-e* 歌絵) applies to pictures inspired by poetry or pictures with inscribed poetry in a particular segment of the picture plane. Mostow refers to the equality of poem and picture in this regard,⁷⁸ and he points out that from the tenth century on “these pictures [called *poem-pictures*] are pictorializations of the poems.”⁷⁹ Several authors point to the combination of the terms *poem-picture* and *reed-script* in the “The Plum Tree Branch”-chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, where both terms were combined as “*reed-script poem picture*” (*ashide uta-e*).⁸⁰ Yotsutsuji thinks that this phrase *ashide uta-e* is an abbreviation for “*reed-script of poem-pictures*” (*ashide no uta-e*) and Mostow suggests that the phrase denotes “an *ashi-de* transcription of a poem superimposed over or incorporated into a pictorialization of its content.”⁸¹

Early Appearances of *Reed-Script*

From the first half of the tenth century onward, several accounts – such as diaries, poetry collections, or reports of poetry gatherings – concern public occurrences of *reed-script*. They suggest that *reed-script* served official purposes, and indicate the popularity of *reed-script* decorations. Gotō notes that diaries and official documents mention *reed-script* as embroidery on formal garments or as scattered decorative particles on a variety of materials, among them carpets, furniture, and paper. Court ladies wore *reed-script* woven into their festive attire for

⁷⁶ Gotō Fumiaki 後藤文明. “Ashide to chirashigaki” 「葦手」と「散らし書き」 [*Reed-script and Scattered Script*]. Nagara Akademia: Gifu Joshi daigaku daigaku'in ronshū 4 長良アカデミア: 岐阜女子大学大学院論集 [*Bulletin of Graduate School Gifu Women's University*] (2001b): 29-59: 35.

⁷⁷ Gotō, 2001a: 61-62.

⁷⁸ Mostow, 1996: 88, 92.

⁷⁹ Ibid: 88.

⁸⁰ Yotsutsuji Hideki 四辻秀紀. “Ashide Shiron” 葦手試論 [Essay on *Reed-script*]. *Kokka* 1038 (1980): 7-23: 17. Mostow, Joshua. “Painted Poems, Forgotten Words. Poem-Pictures and Classical Japanese Literature.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 47, no. 3 (1992): 323-346: 335. Gotō: 48. Brisset, 2009: 88.

⁸¹ Yotsutsuji, 1980: 17. Mostow, 1992: 335. Mostow also refers to Yotsutsuji's understanding, *ibid*.

cultural events such as poetry contests at court.⁸² The contexts in which *reed-script* was chosen for decoration suggest *reed-script* designs were popular at the time, and especially prevalent in court circles. However, according to Komatsu Shigemi and Ōmichi Hiroo, *reed-script* also decorated military officers' uniforms and swords.⁸³

Further occurrences of early *reed-script* include the poetry contest in 921 whose participants wore garments embroidered with *reed-script* as noted in the *Poetry Competition of the Lady of the Room of Kyōgoku* (*Kyōgoku miyasu dokoro uta 'awase* 京極御息所歌合).⁸⁴ Brisset cites poem no. 134 in the *Anthology of Tadami* (*Tadami shū* 忠見集) by Mibu no Tadami (壬生忠見, dates uncertain), and mentions that Minamoto no Kanetada (源兼忠, 901-958) was given a staff with plaited paper streamers used in Shinto (*nusa* 幣) in a bag decorated with *kana* by the empress when he left for the hot springs of Tajima.⁸⁵ Although the poem does not contain the term “*ashide*”, Brisset thinks the poem marks the “first unambiguous occurrence” (“le premier une occurrence dénuée d'ambiguïté”)⁸⁶ of *reed-script*. She remarks that an earlier version of the poem was accompanied by a longer introduction.

Her interpretation cannot be verified at this point.⁸⁷ I agree with her conclusion that *reed-script* was conceived as possessing apotropaic qualities, which was surely one main reason to embellish sword mountings and soldiers' garments with *reed-script* designs.

⁸² Gotō, 2001a: 62.

⁸³ Komatsu Shigemi notes that Taira no Nobunori (平信範, 1112-1187) in his diary *Heihanki* (*Hyōhanki* 兵範記 [The Records of Soldier Nobunori]) refers to the formal divided skirt of lower court nobles (*kari hakama* 狩袴, lit. “hunting hakama”) worn by military officers (*bukan* 武官), which were decorated with *reed-script*. Taira no Nobunori 平信範. *Heihanki* 兵範記 [The Records of Soldier Nobunori]. 1132-1171. Edited by Sasagawa Rinpuu 笹川種郎, revised by Yano Tarō 矢野太郎. Tokyo: Naigai shoseki 内外書籍, 1934-1936. In Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美. *Kana – sono seiritsu to henshen* かな—その成立と変遷 [Kana – Its Formation and Transformation]. Tokyo: Iwanami shinsho 岩波新書, 1969: 133. Gotō refers to Shigemi's observation. Gotō, 2001a: 62. The “oldest” extant sword mounting from the thirteenth century with *reed-script* and an unidentified literary reference (1980) with the theme “longevity” is in the collection of the Nibutsuhime Shrine, Wakayama Prefecture. Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1980: 242, no. 15. The text to the sword mounting in the catalogue also refers to the *Heihanki* and names specifically the entry from the ninth day of the eighth month in Hōgen 2 (1157). Taira, 1934-1936 in *ibid.* For further *reed-script* decorations on swords, see Ōmichi, 1957: 375 as well as part 3.3 in this study. The sword mounting of the Nibutsuhime Shrine has not been included in this study because it was manufactured prior to the Higashiyama era and the literary reference is not the Mt. Shio poem of the *Kokin wakashū*.

⁸⁴ Gotō, 2001a: 49. Brisset cites the relevant paragraph, Brisset, 2009: 42. For the document, see Hagitani Boku 萩谷朴 and Taniyama Shigeru 谷山茂. *Uta awase shū* 歌合集 [Compilation of Poetry Contests]. Nihon koten bungaku taikai 74 日本古典文学大系 [Collection of Japanese Classical Literature]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965: 67.

⁸⁵ Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. Databases. *Tadami shū* 忠見集 [Collection of Tadami] http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i095.html#i095-002.

⁸⁶ Brisset, 2009: 44.

⁸⁷ For the earlier version, she refers to the “*Shoryōbu-zō Sanjūrokunin-shū* (*Tadami shū* 2, éd. ST 1, p.135).” Brisset 2009: 44.

The third imperial anthology, the *Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poems* (*Shūi wakashū* 拾遺和歌集, 1005-1011),⁸⁸ notes that in celebration of Emperor Murakami's (村上天皇, 926-967, r. 946-967) fortieth birthday, a gold painted sutra in forty scrolls was written in his honor and donated to Yamashina Temple. It further notes that the scrolls displayed images of cranes standing on a beach; it also mentions a carpet with beach scenery, as well as poems in *reed-script*.⁸⁹ These instances relate to what I consider main socio-cultural significances of *reed-script* from the first half of the tenth century onwards, i.e. their usages in the context of poetry contests, as protection devices, and as ritualistic signifiers of celebration.

Designs and Classical Literature

The most popular literary source for *reed-script* designs in the fifteenth century was the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*, the first in the group of twenty-one imperial anthologies presented to Emperor Daigo (醍醐天皇, 885-930, r. 897-930) in 905. This first imperial anthology has had an outstanding position in the realm of classical Japanese poetry. Having been “imitated and reaffirmed for over 500 years by twenty successor anthologies,”⁹⁰ it is said to have “marked the official recognition of Japanese poetry as a center of the Japanese literary and cultural tradition,”⁹¹ and has been from early on “recognized without question as [...] the embodiment and standard of the orthodox tradition”⁹² as Andrew Pekarik points out. Many of the selected poems for *reed-script* designs stem from its section “celebration.”

It is noteworthy that one poem might have been chosen for several objects, such as the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Tokyo National Museum. Both works were crafted in the late fifteenth century, and refer to poem no. 345, section “celebration,” from the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*.

One distinctive feature of the imperial collections is their highly formalized internal structure with poems arranged according to categories, and then grouped following its natural order, such as the sequence of the annual seasons or love poetry depicting the course of a love

⁸⁸ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁸⁹ The reference is the introductory line and poem no 273 by Taira no Kanemori (平兼盛, ?-990). *Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā*. Database *Shūi wakashū* 拾遺和歌集 [Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poems]. http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i003.html. Accessed 2017.02.17. In Gotō, 2001a: 50.

⁹⁰ Pekarik, Andrew Joseph. *Poetics and the Place of Japanese Poetry in Court Society Through the Early Heian Period*. Columbia University Ph.D. Dissertation 1983. Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses: 1.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

affair as Phillip Harries illustrates.⁹³ Harries refers to three basic types of formats for collecting poetry, namely the personal collection with works of a single poet, the private anthology, and the imperial anthology. The personal collection and the private anthology were of a private, unofficial nature.⁹⁴

The imperial anthology was compiled at the direct request of an emperor or retired emperor and received official imperial approval upon completion. Such was the enormous prestige of imperial sponsorship that these anthologies became the dominating form and overshadowed all other types of collection from the appearance of the first one, *Kokinwakashū* [...] in 905 until the decline of court poetry in the fifteenth century.⁹⁵

The series of the twenty-one imperial anthologies ends with the *New Continued Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancients and Modern Times* (*Shinshoku kokin wakashū* 新続古今和歌集) in 1439.⁹⁶

The significance of poetry among court circles in the late fifteenth century depended on the enlargement of the court in the sixth and seventh century, when it “consolidated around an increasingly pre-eminent emperor” as Pekarik points out.⁹⁷ He also notes that from this time on, poetry and the imperial court had shared a close bond, and the duty of a successful court aristocrat in Japan to have expertise in the art of poetry originated in the “idealization of the Chinese court of the Liang (梁 501-556), Sui (隋 580-615), and T’ang (唐 618-907) dynasties.”⁹⁸

For Japanese court nobles, the composing of poetry was regarded as a “sanctioned, even indispensable activity.”⁹⁹ Since the emperor traditionally took on the role of the creator, supporter, and protector of Japanese arts, especially those involving writing and literature, those artifacts with a close connection to poetry evoked this relationship. The significance of such artifacts becomes evident from the fact that not only objects bearing the emperor’s

⁹³ Harries, Phillip T. “Personal Poetry Collections: Their Origin and Development through the Heian Period.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 3 (1980): 299-317: 299. For a fuller treatment of form and structure in imperial anthologies, see Brower, Robert H., and Miner, Earl. *Japanese Court Poetry*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961: 319-29, 403-13.

⁹⁴ Harries, 1980: 299.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁹⁷ Pekarik, 1983: 2.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

handwriting have been believed to incorporate a “special aura”¹⁰⁰ but eventually the execution of an act of writing itself became an auspicious ritual, as John Carpenter emphasizes.¹⁰¹

Garden Culture

Poetry has been intimately linked with garden culture, the main connection being garden design and garden events. The bond of poetry and garden design has proven to be one significant element in the designs of the three inkstone case from the late fifteenth century. Several aspects in the *Records of Garden Making* (*Saku teiki* 作庭記, mid- to late eleventh century)¹⁰² concern the concept of garden design, and in this respect, Tan Tanaka refers to the recognition of balancing the past with the present, e.g. ancient masterpieces with the client’s preferences, remembering famous scenic spots when drafting arrangements of garden elements or considering the original topography as the heart of the garden.¹⁰³

Another significant connection concerns activities in the completed garden, such as curved stream banquets (*J. kyokusui no en* 曲水宴), which is one kind of poetry contest. The guests in curved stream banquets position themselves in different locations along a curvy stream to compose a short poem just before a floating cup filled with wine reaches them. Wang Xizhi (王羲之, 303-379) mentioned the existence of the game in China where it became a popular event for literati. Japanese aristocrats enjoyed it since the Heian period.¹⁰⁴ An example of garden with a stream designed for poetry activities is that of the Kamowake Ikazuchi Shrine (賀茂別雷神社, 678)¹⁰⁵ in Kyoto. A curved stream banquet is still held each year on the occasion of which scholars at the banks of the slender stream compose poetry and drink sake. (figs. 2)

There were at least two hundred treatises on horticulture written before the Edo period (1603-1868). Evidently, they were secret manuals, such as this first and most prominent

¹⁰⁰ Carpenter, John. “Handwriting Empowered by History: The Aura of Calligraphy by Japanese Emperors.” In *The Fujii Eikan Bunko Collection, Imperial Calligraphy of Premodern Japan. Scribal Conventions for Poems and Letters from the Palace*. Edited by Carpenter, John, and Matsumoto, I., and Kawashima, M., and Kaneko, T. Kyoto: Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, 2006: 15.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Tachibana Toshitsuna attr. *Sakuteiki: The Book of Garden*. Eleventh century. Translated by Shigemaru Shimoyama. Tokyo: Town and City Planners, 1976.

¹⁰³ Tanaka, Tan. “Early Japanese Treatises and Pure Land Buddhist Style: Sakuteiki and Its Background in Ancient Japan and China.” In *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*, edited by Hunt, John Dixon, 79–97. Originally published in *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 13, 1989. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992: 79-80.

¹⁰⁴ Tanaka, 1992: 92.

¹⁰⁵ The vernacular name is Kamigamo shrine (上賀茂神社).

horticultural treatise on “gardening as an aesthetic art”¹⁰⁶, the *Records of Garden Making*. The oldest manuscript was handed down in the Maeda family, and the text has been attributed to Tachibana no Toshitsuna (橘俊綱, 1028-1094), a grandson of the mighty Fujiwara no Michinaga (藤原道長, 966-1027) and son of Fujiwara no Yorimichi (藤原頼通, 992-1074), who ruled for several decades as imperial regent.¹⁰⁷

Features of early gardens from the eighth century were incorporated in the *Records of Garden Making*, “even if only in their specific gardening methods”¹⁰⁸ and they also anticipated the garden style of Pure Land Buddhism.¹⁰⁹ Tanaka mentions one such early example, the excavated garden called Kyūseki Tei'en (宮跡庭園) in the former capital Nara from the eighth century. This garden's pond was constructed in an S-shape and used exclusively for the curved stream banquets mentioned above.¹¹⁰ Wybe Kuitert points out that there was also a “rough seacoast' arrangement” as excavations of the garden have shown.¹¹¹

Gardens have not merely been locations of worldly play but also places with religious connotations. In times of belief that the end of the dharma was approaching, the Latter Day of the Law (*mappō* 末法), a unique style of garden came to life, the Pure Land garden (*Jōdo tei'en* 浄土庭園). As the catastrophe was suspected to arrive already in 1052, aristocrats such as the Fujiwara began “desperate attempts to realize in this world Jōdo, or Pure Land in the Western Paradise of the future life.”¹¹² The Pure Land garden of the Mōtsūji Temple (毛越寺) in Hiraizumi, Iwate prefecture, built in the mid-twelfth century, includes elements that can be identified as early versions of the dry garden (*kare-sansui* 枯山水), rough beach (*ara iso* 荒磯)¹¹³, and cove beach (*suhama* 洲浜), all referred to in the *Records of Garden Making*.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁶ Keane, Marc P. and Takei, Jirō. *Sakuteiki: Visions of the Japanese Garden: A Modern Translation of Japan's Gardening Classic*. Boston, MA: Tuttle Publishing, 2001: 3.

¹⁰⁷ Tanaka, 1992: 79.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid: 92.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Kuitert, Wybe. *Themes in the History of Japanese Garden Art*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002: 222. The book was originally published titled *Themes, Scenes, and Taste in the History of Garden Art*, Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben 1988.

¹¹² Tanaka, 1992: 83.

¹¹³ Kuitert, 2002: 23, 220. Kuitert also refers to Amasaki Hiromasa 尼崎博正. “Ishi to mizu no ishō” 石と水の意匠 [The Design of Stones and Water]. In *Teiengaku kōza* 5 庭園学講座 [Lectures in Garden Studies], *Nihon tei'en to mizu* 日本庭園と水 [Garden and Water in Japan], n.e., 38-43. Kyoto: n.p., 1998: 38-43, in Kuitert, 2002: 220.

¹¹⁴ Website of Mōtsūji Temple. <http://www.motsuji.or.jp/english/keidai/index.html>, <http://www.motsuji.or.jp/english/keidai/teien/teien02.html>,

<http://www.motsuji.or.jp/english/keidai/teien/teien04.html>. All accessed 2015.01.13. Tanaka, 1992: 85.

References in the garden manual for the *dry garden* on pages 192-93, for the *rocky shore* on pages 161-62, and for the *cove beach* on pages 168-69; all references in the translation by Keane and Takei, 2001.

Marc Keane and Jiro Takei noted that this early dry garden style differed from those preferred by the warrior class in later times. According to them, the term used was “dry mountain water” (*kara senzui* 枯山水) and it referred to “an area within the larger garden where water was not used. [T]his is somewhat different from the [style] of the middle ages [...]. In these later gardens, designers re-created images of wild nature as depicted in ink landscape paintings.”¹¹⁵

The *Record of Garden Making* also contains a style referred to as *reed-script style* (*ashide yō* 葦手様). This garden composition is described as follows:

[H]ill forms should not be too high. A few stones should be set along the edge of Meadows or on the water’s edge; next to those, some grass-like plants such as grass bamboo or tall field grasses [...] should be planted. Plums, willows, or other such trees with soft and gentle forms can also be planted according to one’s taste. Among these plantings, some flat-shaped stones should be set in the style of piled boxes [...]: those stones in turn should be accented with low plantings.¹¹⁶

Keane and Takei point out that the stones “in the style of piled boxes” should be placed in a “triangle,” i.e. the highest rock in the center with two lower rocks at its side.¹¹⁷

This combination is termed “Buddhist Triad Rocks (*sanzon seki* 三尊石)”¹¹⁸ in the garden manual titled *Illustrations for Designing Mountain, Water, and Hillside Field Landscapes* (*Sansui narabini yagyō no zu* 山水並野形図) attributed to Zōen Sōjō from 1466 (Kanshō 7 or Bunshō1).¹¹⁹ The text concerns the setting of different rock types although it also provides paragraphs on the planting of trees. According to the entry, this specific rock composition is an essential aspect of the *reed-script* garden type.

Circles of Official Cultural Pursuits in the Late Fifteenth Century

Official artistic output in the fifteenth century was often due to endeavors of the court aristocracy, and the circles centering on the Ashigaka shogunate whose financial situation was

¹¹⁵ Ibid: 161. Although this study contains some thoughts on the possible relation between gardens and the designs on the inkstone cases, it only takes few concrete paintings into consideration.

¹¹⁶ Keane and Takei, 2001: 165-166.

¹¹⁷ Ibid: 166.

¹¹⁸ Slawson, David A. *Secret Teachings in the Art of Japanese Gardens: Design Principles, Aesthetic Values*. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1987: paragraph 69. There is no pagination in this part of the book.

¹¹⁹ Slawson attributes the text to Zōen Sōjō. Slawson, 1987: Chart of the Transmission. The pronunciation of the title follows Slawson.

significantly better. From the Ōnin War (1467–77) on, the imperial court suffered from particularly severe budget reductions.

Numerous aristocrats left the capital after having lost their homes, while others experienced such difficulty acquiring appropriate clothing that they chose not to appear at court. “This was [...] a period of dire poverty. In 1500, one [the imperial court] did not find the money necessary to buy a coffin at the time of the decease of Emperor Gotsuchimikado [(後土御門天皇, 1442-1500, 1465-1500)].”¹²⁰ Probably in the same year (Meiō 9), the eleventh Shogun Ashikaga Yoshizumi (足利義澄, 1480-1511, r. 1494-1507) commissioned the third-generation-head of the Kōami workshop, lacquer master Munekane (幸阿弥宗金, 1457-1527), to produce artifacts with *sprinkled designs* on occasion of the enthronement of Emperor Go-Kashiwabara who began ruling in 1500.

Due to the court’s lack of funding he was only officially enthroned in a “modest”¹²¹ ceremony in 1521 (Daiei 1).¹²² The Kōami documents do not reveal when the order was received but the shogunate had previously commissioned the workshop to produce furnishings in 1465 (Kanshō 6) on occasion of the enthronement of Go-Tsuchimikado,¹²³ which indicates their good financial standing at the time.

Despite the financial strain, the aristocracy tried to hold on to the poetry gatherings, which had been a monthly court event since the Heian period. Quitman Phillips points out that although never threatened with extinction, the impoverished imperial court had become so dependent upon the financial support of the Ashikaga that it was incapable of maintaining reliable support for the arts or court ceremony in the final decade of the fifteenth century.¹²⁴

As a consequence, it reduced its ceremonial apparatus, and kept only a few ladies-in-waiting and courtiers. Numerous ceremonies of the annual ritual calendar were completely abolished unless some rare new sources of funding could be found, either from the landholdings of the impoverished aristocracy or the military government, which more than once provided enough money so that at least a reduced version of the original ritual could be conducted at court.¹²⁵ Lee Butler notes that the Ashikaga, the court’s “primary source of

¹²⁰ Macé, François. “The Funerals of Japanese Emperors.” Translated by Jan Van Bragt. *Bulletin of the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture* 13 (1989): 26–37: 34.

¹²¹ Berry, Mary. *Hideyoshi*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982: 18.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Samonides, William Harry. “*The Koami Family of Maki-e Lacquerers*.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University. UMI. Cambridge MA, 1991: 212.

¹²⁴ Phillips, Quitman E. *The Practices of Painting in Japan: 1475–1500*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000: 38.

¹²⁵ Butler, Lee. *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467–1680: Resilience and Renewal*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002: 29-38.

funds”¹²⁶ had also been entering financial dire straits with a rapid decline in the late fifteenth century.¹²⁷

The interrelations between court and shogunate were complex. Butler states that “[f]rom the time of third Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu [(足利 義満, 1358-1408, r. 1368-1394)] in the late fourteenth century until the Ōnin War, the Muromachi bakufu had been the supreme authority.”¹²⁸ Shogun Yoshimasa himself provided shelter to Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado when he fled a palace fire and moved into Yoshimasa’s residence in the eighth month of 1467. He stayed there until about three months later when another fire caused them both to leave and to seek lodging in the mansion of Yoshimasa’s mother-in-law.¹²⁹ Except for possibly Yoshimitsu,¹³⁰ the shoguns did not seem to have intentions to replace the emperor with their offspring.

Although the existence of the shogun’s office depended on the existence of the emperor,¹³¹ the cultural competitiveness gives proof of the endeavors to gain a supreme political standing.¹³² As Martin Collcutt notes in his reflection on warrior society, there had been an increasing awareness that “while they might conquer territory from horseback they could not rule it from horseback.”¹³³ Phillips offers a concise account of the Ashikaga house’s general conditions in the last decades of the century:

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Ashikaga shogunate, which had presided over at least a weak feudal union throughout most of the country, had lost virtually all its civil and military authority. Within the resulting vacuum, local lords constantly struggled to expand their hegemony at their neighbors' expense. Old centers of power, prestige, and patronage weakened or collapsed entirely, and new but unstable ones arose. On the other hand, many institutions

¹²⁶ Ibid: 84.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid: 59.

¹²⁹ Ibid: 25. The fire started on 1467.11.13. Butler refers to Okuno Takahiro 奥野高広. *Kōhitsu gokeizaishi no kenkyū* 2 皇室御經濟史の研究 [A Study of the Economic History of the Imperial Household]. Tokyo: Unebi Shobō 敵傍書房, 1942-1944: 12, in Butler, 2002: 25.

¹³⁰ See Imatani, Akira, and Yamamura, Kozo. “Not for the Lack of Will or Wile: Yoshimitsu’s Failure to Supplant the Imperial Lineage.” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 18, no. 1 (1992): 45–78.

¹³¹ The shogun was appointed by the reigning emperor.

¹³² Bruschke-Johnson, Lee. *Dismissed as Elegant Fossils: Konoe Nobutada and the Role of Aristocrats in early Modern Japan*. Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004: 27. For the competition between shogun and emperor, see Shimizu, Yoshiaki. *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture 1185–1868*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1988. (Shimizu, Y., 1988) Brock, Karen. “The Shogun's Painting Match.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 4 (1995): 433-484.

¹³³ Collcutt, Martin. “Daimyo and Daimyo Culture.” In *Japan: The Shaping of Daimyo Culture 1185–1868*, edited by Shimizu, Yoshiaki, 1–46. London: Thames and Hudson, 1988: 11.

supporting the arts continued to function productively up to the end of the fifteenth century and beyond. In fact, the last great florescence of Ashikaga culture, the Higashiyama period, reached its peak in the wake of the civil war, not so much despite the devastation as because of it. [...] Ashikaga Yoshimasa – retired shogun, lord of Higashiyama Villa, and great patron of the arts – may have turned so avidly to cultural pursuits because of the impossibility of dealing with his family's political situation.¹³⁴

The manufacturing time of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* coincides with this last phase of cultural florescence in the final years of Shogun Yoshimasa, while the Ashikaga's authority diminished in the final decades of the fifteenth century. Although the respective head of the shogunate changed as often as seven times in the fifteenth century alone, due to such disconcerting circumstances as a fatal accident, battle wounds, disease, or assassination, the Ashikaga had continued to be a primary cultural institution, participated and held events in their mansions, which were decorated with items of high artistic value.

Yoshimasa retired in favor of his son Yoshihisa (足利義尚, 1465-1489, in office 1473-1489) in 1473, and dedicated his attention to the arts, especially after 1482, when he took residence in the Higashiyama villa.¹³⁵ He surrounded himself with highly educated personalities, such as a small circle of leading *gozan* monks and his cultural and aesthetic advisors (*dōbōshū* 同朋衆).¹³⁶ The name affix “ami” of the latter originally identified people as monks of the Ji school of Pure Land Buddhism, and while it had designated individuals of great cultural abilities in the fourteenth century, the suffix gained wider usage in the fifteenth century, as Phillips points out.¹³⁷ The “three Ami,” Nōami (能阿弥, 1397-1471), his son Geiami (芸阿弥, 1431-1485), and his grandson Sōami (相阿弥, d. 1525), all in service of the shogunal family, were employed as “aesthetic performers, consultants, and director-supervisors,”¹³⁸ whose responsibilities encompassed cultural matters such as the curating of Chinese paintings and other Chinese artifacts (*karamono* 唐物).

As cultural advisors, they were masters of decoration-and-display (*zashiki kazari* 座敷飾り), who also practiced tea, composed linked verses, and painted themselves. Geiami and

¹³⁴ Phillips, 2000: 2-3.

¹³⁵ Ibid: 32.

¹³⁶ Ibid: 33.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

his son Sōami are known to have “served Yoshimasa in all of these capacities.”¹³⁹ During their reign, the Ashikaga strove to further expand their vast art collection by ordering additional, outstanding works from China. Accordingly, documents such as the *Record of Display at the Muromachi Palace* (*Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* 室町殿行幸御飾記) edited by aesthetic advisor Sōami in 1437, and his *Catalogue of the Shogunal Collections* (*Gyomotsu on-e mokuroku* 御物御絵目録) from 1470, attest to the Ashikaga mansion being filled with paintings, vases, lacquer wares, and numerous other fine articles from Japan and China.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Further personalities, such as Zeami, had an important role in developing Nō drama to its final form, while Zen’ami gained esteem in garden design and Ryūami and Mon’ami in *ikebana*. Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Weigl refers to Nōami as the author of both works but the Tokyo National Museum, Waseda University, and the National Diet Library declare Sōami’s authorship. Weigl, Gail Capitol. “The Reception of Chinese Painting Models in Muromachi Japan.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 3 (1980): 257–72: 267, 269.

1. Three Inkstone Cases from the Higashiyama Period

The chapter introduces the Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga, Inkstone Case Mt. Shio, and Inkstone Case Mt. Saga. All cases are embellished with reed-script elements that are immersed in a landscape design. The manner, in which picture and word relate, varies and the reed-script type is accordingly classified as either synonymic, correlative, or hybrid. The scriptorial elements in the entanglements of the inkstone cases also differ insofar that, while the design of the Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga contains cursive script, the design of Inkstone Case Mt. Shio shows Chinese characters in semi-cursive script, and the Mt. Saga design combines semi-cursive and cursive script.

1.1 A Synonymic Combination: The *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* contains *reed-script* on the exterior and interior sides of the lid. Each scriptorial element is crafted using identical material, techniques, and in the shape of tendrils of the autumn grass, which constitutes a main motif of the design. The linguistic elements are designed as pictorial elements. The *entanglement* belongs to the group of synonymic combinations.

The literary reference is to the poem no. 214 by Mibu no Tadamine (壬生忠岑, ca. 860-ca. 920) from the fourth section of the anthology *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*. A few scriptorial elements, i.e. *ke* (け), *re* (連), *ha* (盤), *ko* (こ), *to* (と), and *ni* (尔) that appear as tendrils of grass quote this poem. The introductory line is not included in the design of *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*:

Poem of the poetry contest in the mansion of Prince Koresada

Koresada shinnō no ie no uta awase no uta

これさたのみこの家の歌合のうた¹

The poem reads:

The mountain hamlet

Yamazato ha

in autumn, especially,

aki koso koto ni

is desolate and sad

wabishikere

the plaintive belling of deer

shika no naku ne ni

¹ Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. Database 古今和歌集 [Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times] http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i001.html#i001-004. Accessed 2017.10.03.

awakes me

me wo samashitsutsu

やまさとは[盤]

あきこそことに[尔]

わひしけれ[連]

しかのなくねに

めをさましつつ²

Description of the Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga: Format and Techniques

The inkstone case measures 24.0 (width) x 22.1 (length) x 4.3 cm (height), and has the typical, almost square shape of Muromachi period inkstone cases with beveled edges and a balanced landscape design crafted in the manner of a painting. The unattached overlapping lid appears almost like a separate unit and presents the main surface of design. (fig. 3) The materials are gold, silver, and black lacquer on wood. The surface of the exterior side of the cover displays a thin crack reaching from the lowest deer to the moon. (figs. 4) The interior part of the box comprises a water dropper, an ink stone in the center, and cartridges for brushes and the ink bar on its sides, left and right. (figs. 5)

Several techniques were employed in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. All ground areas are crafted in *medium pear-skin ground* (*chū nashiji* 中梨地) on a black lacquered surface. A combination of the *raised sprinkled design* and the *burnished sprinkled design*, the so-called *relief sprinkled design* (*shishiai maki-e* 肉合蒔絵) was a preferred technique of Higashiyama lacquerers to create raised landscape depictions that softly slope into flattened elements such as the hills in this design.³ These main motifs in the design were crafted in *a manner that leaves the edges plain* (*kakiwari* 描割).

There are various autumn plants in the design of this inkstone case, among them are Japanese pampas grass (*susuki* 芒), Japanese bell flowers (*kikyō* 桔梗), Golden Valerian (*ominaeshi* 女郎花), and some Chinese lantern flowers. Certain parts of some plants, such as the pampas grass and the Golden Valerian are visual as well as linguistic elements. Poems in the first anthology *Ten Thousand Leaves* from the mid-eighth century refer to these seven

² Ibid.

³ *Shishiai maki-e* or *shishiai togidashi maki-e* 肉合研出蒔絵, a combination of the *raised sprinkled design* and *burnished sprinkled design* techniques, was used frequently in landscapes where such elements as rocks, clouds, or mountains are rendered in a raised design that slopes gently into a flattened design. Website JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/m/makie.htm>. Accessed 2012.11.30.

plants as symbols of the transient nature of life.⁴ The scriptorial elements of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* are manufactured in sprinkled gold applications called *sprinkled reed-script* (*maki ashide* 蒨葦手).

The lid of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* displays on its exterior side the image of three deer, rocks, plants, the outline of a hill, and the full moon. The lower right shows two small rocks, partially surrounded by plants and thin wafts of mist. Grasses also frame the contour of the hills in the middle ground and create an additional spatial layer by overlapping the moon. The deer are executed in *raised sprinkled design* with lines in *needle drawing* and small pieces of silver foil was embedded in the surface (*hyōmon* 平文) to evoke sprinkles in their fur. The fore- and the background (sky and earth) were crafted in a *medium pear-skin ground*, the mountain ridge and fog banks in *burnished sprinkled design* and a large circular *silver inlay* was immersed to depict the moon. The two small cliffs in the front are crafted in *raised sprinkled design* with *small squares of gold and silver foil*. The grasses on both sides of the cover show *flat sprinkled design* and *raised sprinkled design* among other techniques.

The interior side of the lid shows a human figure in a thatched building who appears to be listening to the belling deer placed on a mountain slope in the background on the right side. The hut is partially surrounded by a wooden fence and autumn plants. The bush clover (*hagi* 萩), pampas grasses, and Golden Valerian behind the hut are large enough to surmount it and reach into the sky. Another high mountain range gently slopes down from left to the right and thus covers the entire immediate foreground. A large rock is placed in between the curvy slopes of the mountain and the fence of the hut. The hut, and the cliff are rendered in *raised sprinkled design*; the latter also contains gold and silver *cut metal*. The mountains were crafted in *burnished sprinkled design* with *needle drawing* for the structural lines and *pear-skin ground* on some parts. No visual distinction was made between earth and sky; both are crafted in *pear-skin ground*. The right side of the case's lower register is decorated with one small and one large autumn plant both in the *flat sprinkled design* on a small gold cliff in *raised sprinkled design* and silver pieces of *cut metal*. The left side displays another small autumn plant in *flat sprinkled design*. (fig. 6)

⁴ The seven grasses named in the *Ten Thousand Leaves* comprise bush clover, miscanthus grass in ear, kudzu-vine flower, pink, yellow valerian or maiden flower, boneset, and morning glory. Shirane, Haruo. *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012: 41.

Several features on all sides of the work clearly point to the Higashiyama era, i.e. the application and combination of different techniques,⁵ the influence of ink painting, the fact that the decor is treated as an individual “picture” instead of being subordinate to the shape of the box, and the design’s close relation to classical poetry.⁶ According to the “Record of the Five Inkstones of Lord Yoshimasa of the Temple of Shining Mercy,” the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* belonged to Ashikaga Yoshimasa, which means this artifact from the Higashiyama era was probably crafted for him.

The State of the Art

In 1967, Beatrix von Ragué provided basic findings on all three inkstone cases and included detailed descriptions of the techniques and the landscapes with script particles in the designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*. She refers to the literary basis of the representations of nature in the Higashiyama period and stresses the close relation of Higashiyama lacquer wares to poetry and the individual poetic sentiment expressed in the respective compositions.⁷ From her point of view, a significant feature of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* is the relation of décor and the shape of the case. She first noted that the design is not subordinate to the box and the lacquered surface appears as an autonomous picture instead of mere surface decoration. Ragué suggests that the diagonal composition refers to the one-corner style of Chinese paintings, and that the influences of Chinese ink paintings and the close relation to poetry are visible in the depiction. According to her, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* is one of two main Higashiyama lacquer works.⁸ All three inkstone cases are classified as important cultural property (*jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財).

William Harry Samonides followed Okada Jō and attributed the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* to the early Kōami lacquer workshop.⁹ In view of Ashikaga Yoshimasa’s (足利義政, 1436-1490, r. 1449-1473) Five Inkstone Cases, Samonides notes that the “only specific box that survives is the Kasugayama box.”¹⁰ Since then this attribution as well as Samonides’

⁵ Ragué refers to a pronounced *raised sprinkled design*, particularly in contrast to *burnished sprinkled design*, as the preferred technique of the time. Ragué, Beatrix von. *Geschichte der japanischen Lackkunst*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967: 146.

⁶ Ibid: 153.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid: 150.

⁹ Okada, Jō. *Tōyō shitsugeishi no kenkyū* 東洋漆芸史の研究 [A Study of the History of Far Eastern Lacquer Art]. Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版, 1978: 192-195.

¹⁰ Samonides, William Harry. *The Koami Family of Lacquerers*. Harvard University. UMI. Cambridge MA 1991: 140.

statement were refuted and the inkstone case has been attributed to the Igarashi workshop instead.¹¹

Komatsu Taishū (2002), Claire Brisset (2009), and Uchida Tokigo (2011) wrote on several aspects concerning the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. Komatsu's essay on Kōdaiji lacquer ware with *sprinkled design* (*kōdaiji maki-e* 高台寺蒔絵) includes some thoughts on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. He names the inkstone case as an exemplary earlier masterwork significant for the development of the Kōdaiji designs, and concentrates on its technical aspects.¹² Of particular interest in this context are various autumn grasses on the exterior, interior, and the side of the bottom part of the artifact.¹³ According to him, three techniques applied to this Higashiyama-period case are characteristic for the later Kōdaiji lacquer wares, namely the *unpolished sprinkle* (*maki hanashi* 蒔放), a technique that leaves the sprinkled metal powder without polish, as well as the *picture pear-skin ground* (*e nashiji* 絵梨子地), sprinkled coarse gold flakes that cover the entire surface or the background area, and the *needle engravings* (*harigaki* 針描).¹⁴

While Uchida concentrates mainly on literary connotations, Brisset focuses on the *reed-script* designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*.¹⁵ She has authored the most comprehensive work on *reed-script* artifacts yet, covering designs on paintings, calligraphy, and lacquer wares spanning the ninth to the nineteenth century. A main concern of Brisset is the categorization of the designs into veneer (“placage”) and intrication (“intrication”), correlating with the distinction of the poems into Chinese and Japanese origin and the respective type of calligraphy. Apart from the basic descriptions of format, motifs, and techniques of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, which are also mentioned in Komatsu, neither the approaches nor the findings of Brisset and Uchida overlap.

Brisset categorizes the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* as belonging to the *reed-script* group “intrication,” and briefly mentions the poetic and religious associations of the actual Mt. Kasuga to the Shinto shrine for which the deer play an important role. She unambiguously

¹¹ For instance, by Brisset, 2009: 402. Shimizu, Christine. *Le Lacques du Japon*. Paris: Flammarion, 1988: 144. Takeuchi Namiko 竹内奈美子. *Igarashi ha no maki-e* 五十嵐派の蒔絵 [Sprinkled Designs of the Igarashi School]. Tokyo: Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2004.

¹² Komatsu Taishū. “Kōdaiji maki-e no hennen ni kansuru – shiron – maki-e dentō yōshiki to no kankei wo chūshin ni” 高台寺蒔絵の編年に関する一試論—蒔絵伝統様式との関係を中心に [An Essay on the Chronology of the Kōdaiji Sprinkled Designs with a Focus on the Relation to the Traditional Style of Sprinkled Designs]. *Kokka* 1285 (2002), 7-17: 9.

¹³ Komatsu, 2002: 10.

¹⁴ Komatsu, 2002: 11-12.

¹⁵ Brisset, 2009.

attributes the artifact to the Igarashi workshop in service of Shogun Yoshimasa,¹⁶ and offers a thorough description of the design to conclusively point out that instead of a coherent text, the design transmits the poem by distributing scriptorial and pictorial clues on the inner and outer surface of the case's lid in an encrypted manner.¹⁷ She uses bold script to signify the syllables and underlined words for the pictorial elements in the design:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Exterior lid | Interior lid |
| <i>Yamazato ha</i> | <u><i>Yamazato</i></u> <i>ha</i> |
| <u><i>Aki koso koto ni</i></u> | <i>Aki koso</i> <i>koto ni</i> |
| <i>Wabishikere</i> | <i>wabishikere</i> |
| <i>Shika no naku ne ni</i> | <i>Shika no naku ne ni</i> |
| <i>Me wo samashitsutsu</i> | <u><i>Me wo samashitsutsu</i></u> ¹⁸ |

Brisset's analysis shows clearly how the linguistic and graphical elements interplay to convey the poem.

Uchida Tokigo's study on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* deals with literary connotations in the design with a particular view on early Chinese influences.¹⁹ The essay revolves around his thesis that although the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* is a traditional *reed-script* picture that draws on the poem in the Japanese anthology *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times*, its design connotes the biography of So Bu (C. Su Wu 蘇武, 140-160 BCE).²⁰ Uchida points to the crying deer and the human figure as the main motifs in the interior lid, and then follows the themes of the deer cry (*rokumei* 鹿鳴) in autumn and human yearning. He indicates that Tadamine's poem referred to by the *reed-script* design of the inkstone case superimposes the longing of men onto the theme of the deer that calls his companion in the loneliness of autumn in a mountain hamlet.

The earliest occurrences of the combined themes in Japanese literature date back to the *Ten Thousand Leaves* (*Man'yōshū* 万葉集, ca. 759).²¹ Uchida traces the poetic theme of

¹⁶ Brisset, 2009: 403. For her attribution to the Igarashi workshop, Brisset refers to Kubota Jun 久保田淳 and Baba Akiko 馬場あき子, eds. *Uta-kotoba uta-makura daijiten* 歌ことば歌枕大辞典 [Comprehensive Dictionary of Poetic Diction and Poem Pillows] Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1999: 144, in Brisset, 2009: *ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 426.

¹⁸ Figure "Distribution of graphic and iconic statements of the Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga (Répartition des énoncés iconique et graphique dans l'Écritoire décorée en maki-e au motif du mont Kasuga)," in: *ibid.*: 422. In the design, *kere* was separated into *ke* and *re* and placed at different spots.

¹⁹ Uchida Tokigo 内田篤呉. "Kasuga yama maki-e suzuribako" 春日山蒔繪硯箱. Writing box with sprinkled-picture lacquer, known as 'Kasugayama'. *Kokka* 117, no. 2 (2011): 58-59, 19.

²⁰ Uchida, 2011: 59.

²¹ Uchida refers to the scrolls no. eight and ten. Uchida, 2011: 58.

sadness about the advent of autumn as the season with the connotation to an unwilling farewell to its beginning in Chinese literature in the third century BCE, such as in the *Four Poems* (C. *Shi si shou* 詩四首) by So Bu. The crying deer appears in the *Selections of Refined Literature* (C. *Wen xuan* 文選).²² According to Uchida, the reception of So Bu's biography in Tadamine's poem is evident, because the historical facts of So Bu's life were mentioned in the commentary to the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*,²³ and his poem was arranged in the context of Tadamine's poem when it was compiled in the autumn section in the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*.²⁴ He points out the significance of Japanese poetry for the high strata warriors such as Yoshimasa who enjoyed Japanese poetry, and notes that the Chinese classics they studied were beginner's textbook level. Uchida refers to Ogawa Takeo who stated that the warrior class attached importance to learning not merely as a liking they took in studying, but due to the ideology of rule in Confucianism.²⁵

According to Uchida, the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* reflects the Muromachi period trends in literature. In this context, he notes that Rinzai monk Shōtetsu (正徹) was employed to lecture Ashikaga Yoshimasa on the *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語). Shōtetsu formulated his views on the relation of Chinese and Japanese culture in his treatise on poetry titled *Conversations with Shōtetsu* (*Shōtetsu Monogatari* 正徹物語),²⁶ in

²² Uchida names instances of this combination in texts such as that rose in the thirty-third scroll of the *Selections of Refined Literature*, the *Nine Changes* (九辨 *Jiu bian*, J. Kyūben) by Song Yu (宋玉, ca. 290-ca. 223, J. Sōgyoku) and scroll thirteen of the same source, the *Songs of the South* (C. *Chu Ci* 楚辭), and the *Fu on Autumn Aspiration* (J. *Shūkyō no fu*, C. *Qiu xing fu* 秋興賦) by the Chinese poet Pan Yue (J. Hangaku 潘岳, 247-300 AD) as well as the [(literary) theme] cry of the deer in the *Selections of Refined Literature* (scroll twenty-nine). Uchida, 2011: 58. All Chinese spellings of the titles are adapted from Uchida's essay.

²³ Uchida refers to the annotation from 1287 to no. 270 in the "Poetry comment on the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* from the tenth year of Kōan era". Uchida, 2011: 58.

²⁴ *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* scroll 4. To back up his argument, Uchida mentions several further instances of texts that contain references to So Bu. These are the *Selections of Refined Literature*, the Tang-period primer in which rhyming four-character compounds are used to help students remember key stories about historical and legendary figures called *Mōgyū* (蒙求), and the *Hanshu* (Book of the Han, 漢書). In Japan, So Bu is referred to in sources such as the *Wakan Rōeishū* (Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing 和漢朗詠集), the *Heike Monogatari* (平家物語, scroll 2), the thirtieth scroll of the *Konjaku Monogatari* (今昔物語集), the paragraph no. 158 in the *Yamato Monogatari* (Tales of Yamato 大和物語), the *Jikkishō* (A Miscellany of ten Maxims 十訓抄, 8.7), furthermore the third scroll of the *kanbun* primer *Mōgyū waka* (Waka Poems on the Child's Treasury 蒙求和歌, 1204), and the *Kanginshū* (Quiet Recital Collection 閑吟集, 1518), Uchida 2011: 58. All Chinese spellings of the titles are adapted from Uchida's essay.

²⁵ Ogawa Takeo 小川剛生. *Bushi ha naze uta wo yomu ka. Kamakura shōgun kara sengoku daimyō made* 武士はなぜ歌を詠むか 鎌倉将軍から戦国大名まで [Why Do Warriors Compose Poetry? From the Kamakura Shoguns to the Feudal Lords of the Warring States Period]. Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan 角川学芸出版, 2008: 73, in: Uchida, 2011: 59.

²⁶ For an annotated translation of the text, see Árokay, Judit. *Shōtetsu. Gedanken zur Dichtung. Eine japanische Poetik aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*. München: Iudicium Verlag, 1999.

which he referred to Emperor Fushimi's writing as having possessed a combination of Japanese (*wa* 和) and Chinese (*kan* 漢) features.²⁷ Uchida further points out that Murata Jukō (村田珠光) conveyed the treatise to disciple Furuichi Harima (古市播磨) to “conceal the border of Japanese and Chinese (*wakan no sakai wo magirakasu* 和漢の境をまぎらかす).”²⁸ Uchida concludes by stating that the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* embodies the cultural climate of Japanese Chinese composites (*wakan kongō* 和漢混合) in the Muromachi period.²⁹

The Provenance of the Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga

Four documents accompany the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* (appendix A) The document marked with the term “offer” (*tatematsuri tsukawasu* 奉遣) comprises the often cited “Record of Shogun Jishō'in Yoshimasa's Five Inkstones” (*Jishō'in Yoshimasa kō gomen suzuribako no ki* 慈照院義政公五面硯之記)³⁰ that acknowledges the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* as one of Ashikaga Yoshimasa's so-called Five Inkstone Cases. The text lists all five inkstone cases and attributes four to their owners at the time.

The first on the list is the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko* (*Otoko yama* 於と古山) to a “Mr. Bishū” (*Bishū sama* 尾州様). This term *bishū* refers to the region Bishū (尾州), also called Owari (尾張), an old administrative district which equals today's Western part of Aichi Prefecture including Nagoya. Accordingly, the person denoted by this term relates to a high-ranking member of the Tokugawa family that administrated this region. Tokugawa Ieyasu's (家康, 1543-1616) son Tokugawa Yoshinao (徳川義直, 1601-1650) was the first generation of rulers in Bishū, and hence likely the first to have been referred to as “Mr. Bishū.”

The document further attributes the second case, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Mikasa* (*Mikasa yama* み可さ山), to Kōnoike Zen'uemon (鴻池善右衛門).³¹ The Kōnoike house was founded by Yamanaka Yukimoto (山中幸元 also Kōnoike Shinroku 鴻池新六, 1570-1653) who named the family after the village where he set up a sake brewery to start his business. He called his youngest son Zen'uemon (1608-1693), and all subsequent family

²⁷ Uchida, 2011: 59.

²⁸ Uchida refers to Murata's treatise “Kokoro no shi no fumi” (A Letter on the Mind-Heart's Teacher, 心の師の一紙). Uchida, 2011: 59.

²⁹ Uchida, 2011: 59.

³⁰ “The populace at large called the shogun kubō 公方, a term meaning ‘the person in charge of the public’ that had designated shoguns since the Muromachi period.” Walthall, Anne, “Hiding the shoguns: Secrecy and the nature of political authority in Tokugawa Japan.” In *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, edited by Scheid and Teeuwen, 331-356. London and New York: Routledge, 2006: 341.

³¹ Okada thinks the name is one character short and reads 鴻池善衛門. The name is written with the characters 善右エ門 (*zen u e mon*) with エ being an historical kana, namely the katakana “we” for “e.” Okada, 1978: 179.

heads were also called Zen'ueemon.³² After moving to Osaka and expanding operations, this house of money changers “became one of the wealthiest merchant houses of the Tokugawa period.”³³

The third case, the *Inkstone Case Sumida River* (*Sumida gawa* 隅田川), is paired with Kusumi Kohei (久須美小兵衛)³⁴. This name refers to the alias (*tsūshō* 通称) of Kusumi Soan (久須美疎安, 1636-1728) who wrote the *Tea Stories Pointing to the Moon* (*Chawa shigetsushū* 茶話指月集). The Kusumi family belonged to the group of houses that supported Tokugawa Ieyasu before his victory in the Battle of Sekigahara, and who were bestowed the title feudal lord (*daimyō* 大名) as a sign of appreciation in the aftermath.

The fourth title on the list *Inkstone Case Millennium* (*Chitose* 千と勢) is written next to the name of a member of the Miyake family. Okada thinks the name is Miyake Sōhei (三宅宗平) but this seems unlikely given the shape of the final character.³⁵ He possibly relied on the reading “Sōhei” as it had appeared in an essay including the list in 1933 without further examination.³⁶ Since the surname Miyake can be read without doubt and the period can be identified as the Edo period, a look in a relevant dictionary brought further insights. The *Comprehensive Guide of Sinologists* (*Kanbun gakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧) lists under the name Miyake in the Edo-period twenty-two individuals for the time 1680-1800.³⁷ Miyake Jōhan (三宅常範, 1684-1687) used the sobriquet (*gō* 号) Kansai (閑齋), which might well be the name written in this document in the storage box of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. The final artifact on the list is the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* (*Kasuga yama* 春日山) or *Mountain Hamlet and Deer* (*Yamazato to shika* 山里と鹿), and the document concludes with a citation

³² Hirschmeier, Johannes and Yui, Tusenehiko. *The Development of Japanese Business: 1600-1973*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1975: 58.

³³ Sakudō Yōtarō 作道洋太郎. "Ōsaka ryōgae shō keiei no keisei katei - jūnin ryōgae no sōsetsu to Kōnoike ryōgaeten" 大阪両替商経営の形成過程: 十人両替の創設と鴻池両替店 [The Course of Formation of the Administration of the Money Exchange Business in Osaka: the Establishment of the Junin Ryogae and the Money Exchange Business of the Kōnoike House]. *Bankingu* 175 バンキング [Banking] (1962): 32-54, in: Nobuhiko, Nakai and McClain, James. “Commercial change and urban growth in early modern Japan.” In *The Cambridge History of Japan 4: Early Modern Japan*. Edited by Hall, John Whitney, 519-595. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991: 563.

³⁴ Okada writes 見 instead of 美, which is also possible to denote the syllable *mi*. Okada, 1978: 179.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Yoshino Tomio 吉野富雄, “Kōetsu saku take maki-e suzuribako to meibutsu Kasuga yama maki-e suzuribako” 光悦作竹蒔絵硯箱と名物春日山蒔絵硯箱 [Kōetsu's Artifact *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Bamboo* and the Famous Object *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Kasuga*], in: *Urushi to Kōgei* 387 漆と工芸 [Lacquer and Applied Arts] (1933), 2-6: 5.

³⁷ Nagasawa Kōzō 長澤孝三 and Nagasawa Kikuya 長澤規矩也. *Kanbun gakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧漢文学者総覧 [Comprehensive Guide to Sinologists]. Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1979.

of the poem by Mibu no Tadamine in the autumn section of the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*. The Mt. Kasuga case is not assigned to a person in this document.

The “letter of transfer” (*yuzuri jō* 譲状) titles “memorandum” (*oboe* 覚) and confirms that the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* was sold for approximately seventy-five kilograms of silver (*gin nijū kanme* 銀貳拾貫目)³⁸. The writer, a Mr. Kurasama (蔵昌), is affiliated with the Akō store (*Akōya* 赤穂屋) who states that he received a receipt (*uketori mōshi sōrō* 請取申候) from Mr. Shirō Rokuzaemon (四郎六左衛門殿) of the Kaga store (*Kagaya* 加賀屋). Due to the unmatched quality (*murui* 無類) of the inkstone case, it should be kept very secretly (*go hizō narareru beki tame* 御秘藏可被成為). The letter dates the eighth day of the fourth month (*mi yōka* 巳八日) without a year specification. The first and this second document appear to be written in the same hand, which indicates they were possibly composed at the same time, perhaps even on request of the same person.

The document “attached letter of offer by Shunshō Jirōbe’e” (*Shunshō Jirōbe’e soe jō tatematsuri tsukawasu* 春正次郎兵衛添状奉遣) confirms the authenticity of the inkstone case. The letter states the superior quality (*migoto* 見事) of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. The signee confirms that he has seen the artifact, and that the work belongs to the Five Cases. The addressee of the document is Mr. Yoshida Uhyōe (吉田右兵衛) whose surname points to the family of diviners at the Heian court that came to serve as hereditary priests in the Yoshida Shrine, and in the late fifteenth century developed a branch of Shinto belief and monopolized the office of deities (*jingi kan* 神祇官)³⁹. The term *uhyōe* (右兵衛) indicates a member of the Right Division of Middle Palace Guards (*uhyōefu* 右兵衛府). The certificate is signed by Shunshō Jirōbe’e Kagemasa (春正次郎兵衛景正, ?-1707), family head of the second generation and an offspring of *maki-e* master Yamamoto Shunshō (山本春正, 1610-1682).⁴⁰ The signee wrote his given name Kagemasa (景正) above the stylized signature (*kaō* 花押), which signifies the second generation of the lacquer workshop.

³⁸ *Kanme* is a unit of weight, ca. 3.75 kg. Twenty such units are ca. 75 kg.

³⁹ I follow James McMullen’s translation of *jingi kan*. See McMullen, James. “The Worship of Confucius in Ancient Japan.” In *Religion in Japan: Arrows to Heaven and Earth*. Edited by Kornicki, Peter Francis and McMullen, Ian James, 39-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996: 51.

⁴⁰ Entry “Yamamoto Shunshō (2 dai),” in: *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 [The Biographical Dictionary of Japan], edited by Ueda Masaaki 上田正昭 et al. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2015.

The final document is a brief certificate that contains the title of the work and the information that the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* is among Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Five Inkstone Cases. In the upper right, the document also includes the remark *jūbi* (重美), an abbreviation for "important work of art" (*jūyō bijutsu hin* 重要美術品).⁴¹ This document shows a red stamp that reads "天師會 (*tenshi kai*)," which seemingly refers to an organization that approved the classification and the attribution of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. The document is without date and, judging from the paper, the standard script and the stamps, appears to be the most recent. It was probably composed in the early twentieth century.

The Landscape: The Mountain and the Deer

The Kasuga Shrine (*Kasuga taisha* 春日大社) is located in the hillsides close to the former capital Nara, at the foot of Mt. Kasuga and Mt. Mikasa. The shrine belongs to the temple-shrine complex with the Kōfukuji Temple (興福寺) in its immediate vicinity. The Kasuga-Kōfukuji-complex was established in the context of the belief in the manifestation of kami as Buddhas (*honji suijaku* 本地垂迹) from the early tenth century onwards.⁴² The main building of the Kasuga Shrine was erected in 768 (Jingo Kei'un 2) but the official understanding of the landscape area as a shrine dates back to at least the onset of the Nara-period (710-794). The *Map of the Boundaries in Four Directions of the Tōdaiji Temple* (*Tōdaiji sankai shishi zu* 東大寺山堺四至図) of 756 (Tenpyō shō hō 8) already contains the designation "sacred place" or "place of the god" (*shinchi* 神地) at a marked square "precisely where the Kasuga Shrine stands today."⁴³

The original map shows the marked square with the inscription surrounded by four trees. Apart from a larger, lighter area on the right side, the original map is in good condition and it is not damaged by cracks or large stains. This is most likely due to the excellent conditions in the Shōsō-in Repository where the map has been stored. Although the ancient ink is still visible, it is not easy to recognize details due to the brown coloring of the aged paper. (fig. 7) In order to examine and protect this exceptional artifact, a replica was produced before 1936. The map is a true reproduction, which allows the easy identification of all

⁴¹ For this abbreviation of the term, see Website, Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館 [Tokyo National Museum]. http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=496. Accessed 2016.08.28.

⁴² Tsuji Zennosuke dates the beginning before 937. Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助. *Nihon bukkyō shi no kenkyū* 1 日本佛教史之研究 [Study on the History of Buddhism in Japan]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1944: 456-458, in: Tyler, Susan C. *The Cult of Kasuga Seen through Its Art*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1992: 87-88.

⁴³ Ibid: 56. Tyler's book also includes the map. Ibid: 57.

details, while the blemished areas have been included. A noteworthy feature of the geographical presentation is the change of perspective. All elements are presented horizontally, except for the mountain area with the sacred space, which are rendered vertically. Apparently, this is a convenient and effective ancient technique to highlight the main topic in geographical drawings. (fig. 8)

There have been two sacred sites, on the peak and at the foot of Mt. Mikasa called “hill shrine” and “village shrine” respectively.⁴⁴ Annual ceremonies today still bring the spirit down to the fields in spring and back up the mountain in autumn.⁴⁵ The hills themselves have been looked upon as the body of the kami (*shintai zan* 神体山), and thus, sanctuaries seemed unnecessary in early times.⁴⁶ This also accounts for the Shōsō’in map that shows no buildings, but still labels the location as a sacred site. Tyler even suggests three sacred spots, one on top of the mountain, one at the foot, and one “some distance away on the plain.”⁴⁷ She points out that just like other mountains, Mt. Mikasa, Mt. Miwa, and Mt. Kasuga, “were [thought to be] the entrance to another world that was the abode of the gods, the home of the dead, and the source of water.”⁴⁸

The hills around the Kasuga Shrine have been regarded as sacred since the spirit of Kashima, Takemikazuchi no Mikoto (武甕槌命), descended down to Kashima on a white deer and rode from there to Mt. Kasuga.⁴⁹ Prominent features of the Kasuga cult are the numerous deer roaming the territory up to the present day. It has been assumed that the former inhabitants of the area began to perceive them as intermediaries between humans and gods because they roamed in and out of the sacred hills.⁵⁰ The sacred standing of the Kasuga deer led not only to deer as a primary subject of the arts but also to strict rules, such as the bowing before the first deer, and to severe punishments: the killing of a deer was penalized with death.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Kageyama, Haruki. *The Arts of Shinto*. Translated by Christine Guth. *Arts of Japan* 4. New York: Weatherhill, 1973: 84.

⁴⁵ Cf. Tyler, 1992: 51.

⁴⁶ Kageyama with Guth, 1973: 85.

⁴⁷ Tyler, 1992: 51.

⁴⁸ Ibid: 50.

⁴⁹ Ibid: 68.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Susan Tyler mentions similar animal messengers of other shrines such as the fox of Inari Shrine, the rabbit of Ōkuninushi and the monkey of Sannō Shrine. However, they were not a primary topic of those paintings. Ibid: 68-69.

⁵¹ Ibid: 69. Grapard refers to the prohibition to kill deer in 1060 distributed by the Kōfukuji Temple. Grapard, Allan G. *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992: 78.

Spiritual References

The Kasuga Shrine houses four shrines, each dedicated to the worship of one spirit, namely the God of Relentless Thunder called Takemikazuchi no Mikoto⁵², the God of Sword called Futsunushi no Mikoto (経津主命), the God of Heavenly Roof called Amenokoyane no Mikoto (天児屋根命), and – an addition in the ninth century – the consort of the latter, Himegami (比売神).⁵³ Takemikazuchi, the kami enshrined in the highest position in Kasuga Shrine, was born from blood dripping on the sword blade of the progenitor kami Izanami during the killing of the kami fire. Grapard summarizes the mythological episode describing Takemikazuchi's birth in the *Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki* 古事記, 712) and *The Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, 720) as follows:

[Izanagi and Izanami] then gave birth to the Eight Islands of Japan and procreated *kami* related to seas, rivers, winds, trees, mountains, plains, a *kami* called “Heavenly-Bird-Ship,” the moon, and, finally, fire. In giving birth to fire Izanami was burned to death. Izanagi, angered by the loss of his spouse, then killed fire. When he did so, the blood of fire spurted forth and splashed on various parts of his sword, thus giving birth to new *kami*. The blood of fire splashing against the tip of his sword caused the *kami* Iwasaku, Nesaku, and Iwatsutsuno-o to appear. Two *kami*, Kura-okami and Kura-mitsuha, appeared when the blood of fire splashed on the hilt of the sword and ran through Izanagi's fingers. Finally, the blood of fire splashing on the sword-guard and on the rocks caused the *kami* Mikahayahi, Hihayahi, and Takemikatsuchi [...] to appear. It is this last *kami* that would be enshrined in the highest position in Kasuga.⁵⁴

Despite or even because of this aggressive act that led to his creation, according to Grapard, Takemikazuchi came to signify peace that was reached by means of warfare:

It would seem, therefore, that the *kami* Takemikatsuchi, which is enshrined at Kasuga, is a sword spirit closely related to fire and born in violence at the very junction of the realms of nature and culture. That is, indeed, how

⁵² There are various versions of the names of the Kasuga kami. All versions used here follow the official website of the Kasuga Shrine.

⁵³ Grapard, 1992: 29.

⁵⁴ Ibid: 32.

Takemikatsuchi appears later in the myths; namely, as a kami seated atop the tip of an erect sword that surfaced over the sea in Izumo and was then used for the ‘pacification’ of Japan. [...] ⁵⁵

Futsunushi, the second kami venerated at the Kasuga Shrine, is closely associated with military authority as Allan Grapard states:

Futsunushi is also the name of the *kami* enshrined at Isonokami, south of Kasuga, where it is worshiped as the spirit of a sword symbolizing the power and identity of the Mononobe house, which used to be the main military arm of the Yamato court. ⁵⁶

Mark Funke refers to the regional history *Records of Wind and Earth of Hitachi Province* (*Hitachi no kuni fudoki* 常陸国風土記), presented to the imperial court in the early eighth century, and points out that close reading of the section about the district Kashima reveals that Futsunushi was originally a sea deity, then enshrined in Kashima Shrine, and finally adopted by the Fujiwara as second tutelary deity. ⁵⁷ In the section about the district of Shida, the document describes Futsunushi’s socio-cultural involvement:

An elder reports that at the beginning of Heaven and Earth, when the vegetal world was speaking words, a kami came from Heaven. Its name is the Great kami Futsu. In its rounds of the Central Plain of Reeds, it pacified various rebels. Once this Great kami had accomplished its work of civilization, it conceived in its heart the desire to return to its celestial abode. It therefore left its weapons and gear on earth, and, mounting a white cloud, returned to Heaven. ⁵⁸

Amenokoyane, the third original kami venerated in Kasuga Shrine, is mentioned in the oldest extant chronicles of Japan, the *Record of Ancient Matters* and *The Chronicles of Japan*. Both sources report that the kami Amaterasu, the sun, born when progenitor Izanagi purified his left eye, hid away in a cave after a quarrel with her brother Susanoo. She closed the entrance to the cave with a boulder so heavy that no one was able to remove it. Since the sun was

⁵⁵ Ibid: 33.

⁵⁶ Ibid: 39.

⁵⁷ Funke, Mark C. “Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 1 (1994), 1–29: 1, 9.

⁵⁸ Grapard, 1992: 39.

blocked, the world fell into darkness. Then follows “what may be the most famous scene in Japanese mythology,”⁵⁹

Then the eight hundred myriad spirits assembled in a divine assembly in the river bed of Ame-no-yasu-kawa. They caused the child of Takamimusubi-no-kami, Omohikane-no-mikoto, to ponder. They gathered together the long crying birds of Tokoyo and caused them to cry. They took the Heavenly Hard Rock from the upper stream of the river Ame-no-yasu-kawa; they took iron from the mountain Ame-no-kana-yama. They sought the smith Amatsumara and commissioned Ishikoridome-no-mikoto to make long strings of myriad maga-tama beads. They summoned Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto to remove the whole shoulder-bone of a male deer of the mountain Ama-no-kagu-yama, and take heavenly hahaka wood from the mountain Ama-no-kagu-yama, and (with these) perform a divination. They uprooted by the very roots the flourishing ma-sakaki trees of the mountain Ama-no-kagu-yama; to the upper branches they affixed long strings of myriad maga-tama beads; in the middle branches they hung up a large-dimensioned mirror; in the lower branches they suspended white nikite cloth and blue nikite cloth. These various objects were held in his hands by Futo-dama-no-mikoto as solemn offerings, and Ame-no-koyane-no-mikoto intoned a solemn liturgy.⁶⁰

Accordingly, Takemikazuchi and Futsunushi were involved with warfare while Amenokoyane saved the country from extinction by returning the light and warmth of the sun. He sang and performed a divination with the bone of a deer, the sacred animal associated with the Kasuga Shrine. The three original Kasuga kami are hence associated with the pacification or protection of the land, either by ritual or by sword, and hence appear to be linked to the political interests of the shogunate.

Visual and Literary References: *Wisteria and the Kasuga Deity*

It is possible to associate the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* with several artifacts of different formats and materials. A saddle, ink paintings, and mandala are introduced in the following section to shed light on significant aspects of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*.

⁵⁹ Ibid: 42.

⁶⁰ Philippi, Donald, ed. and trans. *Kojiki*. Tokyo and Princeton: Tokyo University Press and Princeton University Press, 1969: 82-83.

The earliest extant combination of *reed-script* designs and the material lacquer is thought to be the design of the *Saddle with a Late Autumn Shower* (*Shigure raden kura* 時雨螺鈿鞍) from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century in the collection of the Eisei-Bunko Museum in Tokyo.⁶¹ (figs. 9) It measures 29.7 x 41.8 cm, and was produced using black lacquer and mother-of-pearl on wood. The scattered script, executed in *cut-in-shape mother-of-pearl inlays* on the black lacquered wooden surface, embellishes the saddle's front side in warm brilliant nuances. The scriptorial elements are “late autumn shower” *shigure* (時雨, the word appears twice), *somu* (染), *ni* (尔), *wa ga* (王可), *koi* (戀), and *hara* (原).⁶² The seat and the cantle are decorated with fewer pine branches and some tendrils of Japanese arrowroot.⁶³ The detail shows a complex design of slightly iridescent tendrils in various sizes, three different types of leaves, and the reed-script. Irregularities, such as the two broken leaves – above and below the syllable in the center – give proof of a realistic instead of a purely poetic concept of nature.

Just like the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *entanglement* of the saddle is a synonymic combination and imitates tendrils.⁶⁴ The *entanglement* refers to poem no. 1030 by Jien (慈円, 1155-1225), an archbishop (*daisōjō* 大僧正) of Tendai Buddhism, in the eighth imperial anthology *New Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* from 1216.⁶⁵ As indicated by the introductory line the verse was composed on occasion of the “First Set of Hundred Poem Sequences in the Second Year of the Shōji Era” (*Shōji ninen shodo hyakushu* 正治二年初度百首) that took place in the year 1200 (Shōji 2).⁶⁶ The poem reads:

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| My love is like that | <i>Waga koi ha</i> |
| chilly rain that cannot dye | <i>matsu wo shigure no</i> |
| the pines with fall hues — | <i>some kanete</i> |
| like wind clamoring amidst | <i>makuzu ga hara ni</i> |
| the fields of true arrowroot ⁶⁷ | <i>kaze sawagu nari</i> |

⁶¹ Shimizu, C., 1988: 118.

⁶² Brisset, 2009: 411.

⁶³ I did not examine the artifact and rely on photographs.

⁶⁴ Brisset also noted the similar designs and includes the saddle in her section on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. Ibid.

⁶⁵ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁶⁶ Shirane, Haruo, and Suzuki, Tomi, eds. *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015: 232.

⁶⁷ Rodd, Laurel Rasplica, transl. and annot. *New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*. Leiden: Brill, 2015: 422.

わが[王可]恋[戀]は
松を時雨の
そめ[染]かねて
真葛が原に[尔]
風さわぐなり⁶⁸

At the time of the production of the *entanglement*, saddle decorations with mother-of-pearl inlays in various shapes and patterns were not at all uncommon. Embellished saddles are mentioned several times in warrior epics, such as the *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語) or the *Rise and Fall of Genji and Heike* (*Genpei seisui ki* 源平盛衰記). These excerpts mention warriors of the time who had their saddles decorated with mother-of-pearl inlays, and there are several extant saddles from the Heian period with adornments in mother-of-pearl.⁶⁹ The saddle has the kind of embellishment and the shape of the military saddles used by warriors such as Minamoto Yoritomo (源頼朝, 1147-1199) and Ashikaga Tadatsuna (足利忠綱, 1164 – ?) in the Heian and Kamakura periods.⁷⁰

Painted Entanglements with References to the Kasuga Shrine

A work referencing Kasuga Shrine while employing an *entanglement* is the Muromachi-period ink painting *Sacred and Radiant Kasuga Divinity* (*Kasuga myōjin myōgō* 春日明神名号). (fig. 10) The hanging scroll measures 90.1 x 37.0 cm and belongs to a personal collection.⁷¹ The painting comprises three pictorial motifs, a white deer partially covered by a pine tree, and an entangled vine. The latter is identical with the scriptorial element in the painting and most likely meant to be a wisteria (*fuji* 藤).

The wisteria alludes to the Fujiwara family (藤原氏), the long-time benefactor and beneficiary of the Kasuga-Kōfukuji complex. Shirane suggests that a “wisteria (spring)

⁶⁸ Kobayashi Daisuke 小林大輔. *Shinkokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 [New Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times]. Tokyo: Kadokawa sofia bunko 角川ソフィア文庫, 2011.

⁶⁹ Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1980: 422, 242. Among many others the *Saddle with Daimyō Oak and Horned Owl* (*Kashiwani mimizuku raden kura* 柏木兎螺鈿鞍) in the Eisei Bunko Collection and the *Saddle with Round Design* (*Enmon raden kura* 円文螺鈿鞍) in the Musashi Mitake Shrine.

⁷⁰ Eisei Bunko. *Hosokawa ke korekushon tōyō bijutsu: tokubetsu tenrankai* 特別展覧会細川家コレクション 東洋美術 [Japanese and Chinese Art from the Hosokawa Family Collection: A Special Exhibition]. Tokyo: Mainichi shimbunsha 毎日新聞社, 1981: 133-134. For details see also, Kyōto Kokuritsu, 1980: 241.

⁷¹ Okumura, Hideo 岡村秀夫 et al, eds. *Shintō no bijutsu* 神道の美術 [The Art of Shinto], *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 11 日本美術全集 [Japanese Art: the Complete Work]. Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha 学習研究社, 1979: no. 152.

wrapped around a pine symbolizes the relationship of the Fujiwara family (literally, “wisteria fields”) to the imperial throne (eternal pine).”⁷²

Like the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *entanglement* belongs to the synonymic combinations and reads “Radiant Kasuga divinity” (*Namu kasuga myōjin* 南無春日明神). The *Sacred and Radiant Kasuga Divinity* has been attributed to Yamada Dōan (山田道安, ?-1573) but the attribution lacks further evidence.⁷³ The fact that other formats, such as this ink painting *Sacred and Radiant Kasuga Divinity* also make use of *entanglements* to playfully convey their information gives proof of the popularity of this particular type of word-picture combination.

Another painted *entanglement* referencing the Kasuga Shrine is titled *Mandala of the Sacred Name of the Kasuga Deities* (*Kasuga myōgō mandara* 春日名号曼荼羅) and belongs to the collection of Yale University. (fig. 11) This hanging scroll dates to the fifteenth century and measures 70.4 x 19.8 cm.⁷⁴ The painting’s single motif is a gold inscription identical to the image of a kami, who stands on a lotus pedestal. The *entanglement* reads “Glory to the Great and Radiant Spirits of the Kasuga Shrine” (*Namu kasuga dai myōjin* 南無春日大名神).⁷⁵ This brightly colored painting in green, red, and yellow shows a completely different approach to combine pictorial and scriptorial elements. The script seems to constitute an architectural element by itself, it is an integral part of the structure without changing form.

Both synonymic *entanglements* comprise the name *Namu Kasuga Daimyōjin*. Grapard points out that the term “Kasuga *myōjin*” was first documented in 859 (Jōkan 1) in a scripture by a monk of Enryakuji Temple. Originally *myōjin* seems to have referred to a Buddhist context and designated a “divinity of high rank and prestige” and the “Kasuga *kami* were worshiped separately [...]. [In the course of time] the five kami and their associated buddhas and bodhisattvas became a conglomerate referred to as ‘Kasuga *myōjin*’ and later as ‘Kasuga *daimyōjin*’.”⁷⁶

The term “Kasuga *daimyōjin*” arose from the understanding that the kami of Kasuga Shrine and their respective Buddhist counterparts at Kōfukuji Temple “formed a single

⁷² Shirane, 2012: 151.

⁷³ Okumura, 1979: *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Ohki, Sadako. “Embodying Power in Japanese Calligraphy.” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (2007): 122-27: 123. (Ohki, 2007a)

⁷⁵ For a more detailed inspection, see *ibid.*: 122-127.

⁷⁶ Grapard, 1992: 93.

coherent unit.”⁷⁷ *Namu Kasuga Daimyōjin*, the expression in the paintings above, is the salutation of the Fujiwara clergy used in addressing the Kasuga *daimyōjin*.⁷⁸

According to Grapard, the earliest known written instance of the term “Kasuga *dai myōjin*” is in scriptures by the Fujiwara house and dates back to 1152 (Ninpei 2). By this time, the Kasuga *daimyōjin* had outgrown its role as the guardian of the Fujiwara house and “had become the de facto ‘governor’ (*shugo*) of the entire province of Yamato, and its character as a tutelary deity that protects a territory had come to full fruition.”⁷⁹ Sadako Ohki considers the latter work an “unusual mandala” that were “often used as iconic images in rituals.”⁸⁰

The Kasuga Mandala and Pictures of Famous Places (*meisho-e* 名所絵)

While the mandalas above center on synonymic *entanglements* referencing the Kasuga kami, the landscape design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* evokes the numerous types of *Kasuga mandala* (*Kasuga mandara* 春日曼荼羅), whose main motifs are the mountain, deer, and a full moon.⁸¹ In medieval Japan, the notion of mandala was not restricted to the realm of esoteric Buddhism but used as a general religious concept.⁸²

The Sanskrit word “mandala” suggests a circle, disk, or sacred center (la) that is marked off, adorned, or set apart (mand). The mandala, a kind of cosmic ground plan or map, lays out a sacred territory or realm in microcosm, showing the relations among the various powers active in that realm and offering devotees a sacred precinct where enlightenment takes place.⁸³

There are various types of *Kasuga mandala*, some of which combine several of their features, among them are mandala that focus on the depictions of the deer and those that exclusively show the sacred landscape and the spirits worshiped at the Kasuga Shrine.⁸⁴ According to

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid: 93-94.

⁸⁰ Ohki, Sadako, entry on the Website of the Museum of Yale University. http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/pages/collection/popups/pc_asian/details30.html. Accessed 2014.10.14, see also Ohki, Sadako. “Mandala of the Sacred Name of the Kasuga Deities (Myōgō Mandara).” In *Art for Yale, Collecting for a New Century*. Edited by Reynolds, Jock, and Matheson, Susan B., and Chuang, Joshua. New Haven, CT: Yale University Art Gallery, 2007: 385. (Ohki, 2007b)

⁸¹ The moon also suggests a mirror and symbolizes kami. Tyler points out that the “basic image of a *shika mandara* [contains the] deer with *sakaki* and mirror.” Tyler, 1992: 67.

⁸² Ibid: 116.

⁸³ Ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth. *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999: 2.

⁸⁴ Tyler, 1992: 115. Website, Universität Wien. http://www.univie.ac.at/rel_jap/an/Ikonographie:Mandala. Accessed 2013.07.30

Tyler, mandalas that belong to Shinto painting, such as *Miya mandala*, depict the Kasuga Shrine and its surroundings or merely a landscape, while others specifically refer to the Kasuga Shrine, for instance the *Kashima dachi mandala* showing primarily the travel of the kami Takemikazuchi from Kashima to Kasuga on a divine white deer.

The *Kasuga Deer Mandala* (*Kasuga shika mandara* 春日鹿曼荼羅) belongs to the collection of the Nara National Museum. (fig. 12) The painting measures 76.5 x 40.5 cm, and it was painted with ink, gold, and colors on silk. Here, the primary motifs are the full moon and the messengers of the Kasuga deity, i.e. the deer, as well the wisteria to evoke the Fujiwara house.⁸⁵ In this painting the kami are visualized as Buddhas in the evergreen sacred tree (*sakaki* 榊), which has been used in Shinto rituals, and to mark a divine area inhabited by deity. The *Record of Ancient Matters* mentions a *sakaki* in the episode, when the deities gather, and perform to lure Amaterasu out of the cave.⁸⁶ Here, it is shown on the back of Takemikazuchi's white deer. This setting with the full moon above the mountain range of the Kasuga area and the spatial landscape with the deer in front recalls the design of the Inkstone case Mt. Kasuga.

The painting from the fourteenth century is a valuable link in the development of the pictorial composition chosen for the inkstone case. The numerous hues of gold on the black lacquer surface echo the colorful depiction with different shades of green for grass, forest and distant mountains.

The simplest form of Kasuga mandara are the miya and the shika mandara. A miya mandara can be so very simple that if one did not know better it would seem nothing more than a landscape painting [...]. [...] In Shinto the man-made is in constant dialogue with the natural, and the garden must allow wilderness. The miya mandara celebrates this meeting.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Tyler also mentions *Honji suijaku mandala* comprising all paintings of the Shinto spirits and their Buddhist equivalents, *Honji butsu mandala* showing Buddhist or Shinto spirits, *Honjaku mandala* depicting the relation of Buddhist spirits, *Shaji mandala* displaying Kōfuku-ji Temple and Kasuga Shrine, and also paintings of Shinto spirits. *Sankei mandala* are related to *engi emaki* and depict the landscape and architecture of a shrine or temple from a pilgrim's perspective. Tyler, 1992: 26.

⁸⁶ Inoue Nobutaka. "Sakaki." Encyclopedia of Shinto. http://k-amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/detail.do?class_name=col_eos&data_id=22492. Accessed 2017.03.05. "During the Heian period, the sacred nature of certain trees was exploited for political ends, as when priests (*jinin*) of the Kasuga Shrine in Nara carried a sacred *sakaki* tree when making demands in Kyoto." Sakurai Haruo. "Shinboku, Shinju." Encoclypedia of Shinto. <http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=289>. Accessed 2017.03.05.

⁸⁷ Ibid: 39.

Miyeko Murase points out that attempts have been made to “identify Kasuga mandalas as examples of a genre of secular painting known as *meisho-e* (pictures of famous places).”⁸⁸ She follows Chino Kaori in her argument that “[t]he Kasuga area was known as a *meisho* (famous place) long before it became a sacred site.”⁸⁹ Chino also notes that depictions of Kasuga as a famous place occurred “as early as 905 [Engi 5].”⁹⁰

Apart from Mibu no Tadamine’s poem in the *entanglement* of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, this first imperial anthology contains seven more poems concerning the area Kasuga. One addresses the sun, one the moon, two the grasses, and three poems the herbs on the plain. Among these is another poem by Mibu no Tadamine (poem no. 478) that focuses on grasses growing amidst patches of snow on the Kasuga plain.⁹¹ The pronounced depiction of the grasses in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* serves as a hint to the author of the correct poem no. 214.

Due to the map of the Tōdaiji Temple from 756 (Tenpyō shō hō 8), which encompasses the area in question, we know that even before any Kasuga Shrine building was erected, the location had been officially recognized as a sacred landmark. This finding leads us to the contrary theory that the Kasuga area is likely to have become famous due to the existence of this sacred location and not vice versa.

Mandalas come in various shapes and materials, in case of depictions of Mt. Kasuga and the deer, the format is not a reliable indicator to distinguish between the secular and the sacred artifact. Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis mentions in her study the existence of three-dimensional mandalas such as statues or ritual implements,⁹² and Tyler notes:

⁸⁸ Murase, Miyeko. “Kasuga Shrine Mandala.” In *The Written Image. Japanese Calligraphy and Painting from the Sylvan Barnet and William Burto Collection*, edited by Murase, Miyeko, 90–92. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002: 92.

⁸⁹ Ibid. See also, Chino Kaori. “Kasugano no meisho-e” 春日野の名所絵 [Pictures of Famous Views of the Kasuga Plain]. In *Akiyama Terukazu hakase koki kinen bijutsushi ronbunshū* 秋山光和博士古稀記念美術史論文集 [Festschrift for the Seventieth Birthday of Dr. Terukazu Akiyama], edited by Akiyama Terukazu Hakase Koki Kinen Bijutsushi Ronbunshū Kankōkai 秋山光和博士古稀記念論文集刊行会, 421-461. Tokyo: Benridō 便利堂, 1991: 428.

⁹⁰ Ibid: 427. See also, Murase, 2002: 92. The screen from Fujiwara Sadakuni's fortieth birthday celebration in 905 – the year the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* was presented at court - was embellished with poetry referring to famous places and pictures of the four seasons. The artifact has thus been viewed as the archetype of pictures of famous places or as manufactured at a time when the two subject matters (famous places, four seasons) had not yet been separated. Chino, Kaori. “The Emergence and Development of Famous Place Painting as a Genre.” Translated by Foxwell, Chelsea and Stoneman, Jack. *Japanese Art: The Scholarship and Legacy of Chino Kaori, Review of Japanese Culture and Society XV* (2003): 39-61: 41.

⁹¹ For translations of the poems, see Rodd, Laurel Rasplika transl., and Henkenius, Mary Catherine, transl. *Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984: no. 17, 18, 22, 357, 364, 406, 478.

⁹² Ten Grotenhuis, 1999: 2.

[M]andalas are not necessarily paintings but can be sculptures, altars and actual practice places, and elaborate three-dimensional models. In the models, and in other forms of the mandala, the square in the center is a miniature palace. Conceptually at least, the area within a mandala is raised, and the action in it takes place on the Buddhist cosmic mountain, Sumeru. Deities dwell in various parts of the mandala, and a painting of the main deity alone implies the entire mandala.⁹³

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* is a three-dimensional model, and in this context, it shall be considered a sculpture. Not only the lid of the case but also the area with the depiction of the natural scenery has a square shape, and its main motifs were executed in the *raised sprinkled design* and are hence elevated. Since the mountains are understood as bodies of the kami and the deer are sacred beings as well, it is reasonable to state that “[d]eities dwell in various parts of the mandala.” In this sense, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* with the depiction of the Kasuga landscape can be viewed as one type of Kasuga mandala.⁹⁴

⁹³ Tyler, 1992: 116.

⁹⁴ Ibid: 120.

1.2 A Correlative Combination: The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum shows *reed-script* placed on the pictorial elements that forms an additional spatial layer. The scriptorial and the pictorial elements display merely an occasional correlation with regards to general shape, contours, and inner structures. They also differ in material and color. Accordingly, the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* is categorized as an example of a correlative combination.

The *reed-script* in the design belongs to the poem no. 345 in the seventh section “Congratulations,” from the *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* and has no introductory line and reads:

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| The plovers dwelling | <i>Shio no yama</i> |
| on the rocky banks of Sashide | <i>sashide no iso ni</i> |
| near Mount Shio | <i>sumu chidori</i> |
| cry “May your reign be | <i>kimi ga miyo wo ba</i> |
| everlasting.” | <i>yachiyo to zo naku</i> |

し[志]ほ[本]の[能]やま[山]
さ[散]し[新]で[亭]のいそに
すむちとり
きみ[君]か[加]みよ[見]よ[代]を[遠]は[盤]
や[八]ち[千]よ[世]と[登]そ[曾]なく⁹⁵

On the exterior lid scriptorial elements inserted in the rocks comprise *shi* (志), *ho* (本), *no* (能), *yama* (山), *sa* (散), *shi* (新), and *te* (亭) (fig. 13 a-g), and on the interior side of the lid *kimi* (君), *ka* (加), *mi* (見), *yo* (代), *wo* (遠), and *ha* (盤). (fig. 14 a-f) Five syllables are scattered on the four sides of the inkstone case, which are likewise decorated with rocks, plovers (*chidori* 千鳥), and depictions of a coastal area. The scriptorial elements are *ya* (八), *chi* (千), *yo* (世), *to* (登), and *zo* (曾).

⁹⁵ Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. Database 古今和歌集 [Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times] http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i001.html#i001-007. Accessed 2017.10.03.

Playfulness is not only reflected in the manner in which the single parts of this poem are immersed in the inkstone case's design. The poem itself also contains a play on words. Its author altered the usual cry of the plover "*chiyo*," homophone to "a thousand years," to "*yachiyo*," homophone to "eight thousand years", a change that extends the time span to an "indefinitely long time."⁹⁶

The beholder is required to engage actively in the inspection of the inkstone case. The task is to figure out how to combine the language elements, i.e. how to correctly sequence and complement them to gain a decoded and thus meaningful passage. However, it is not only the actual text that needs to be decrypted in order to fully comprehend the design's comprehensive message. The inserted scriptorial elements likewise need to be contextualized and merged with the statement of the pictorial motifs, since these visual elements contain indispensable clues and make up for the missing syllables.

Description of the Inkstone Case Mt. Shio: Format and Techniques

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* measures 23.5 x 25.6 x 4.2 cm. The inkstone case is almost square with beveled edges. It was crafted from gold, silver, and black lacquer on wood, and comprises six surfaces (exterior and interior sides of the lid, and four smaller lateral sides) that are decorated with birds, rocks, and coastal scenery in these contrasting colors. The exterior side of the cover shows a longer, vertical crack beginning from the group of birds in the lower right to the silver birds in the upper right. The interior side displays several smaller and one longer crack stretching vertically from the left to the middle, and another vertical crack that begins in the lower middle and ends at the opposite side.⁹⁷ Each side of the lid contains scriptorial parts of the poem in the design that lacks the syllables "*iso ni sumu chidori*" (plovers inhabiting the shore) and "*naku*" (cry). As stated above, the illustrated shore and plovers are the landscape elements that complete the poem on the pictorial level.

The design displays scenes of plovers moving about a coastal region. The outer side of the lid shows nine rocks, an aquatic area with rolling waves, a curvy shore, and flocks of plovers in two colors, silver and gold. The majority of the birds create an almost circular formation in the sky, while the others are shown picking, crying, or resting on the sand. Virtually all of the shoreline is dotted with small pebbles. (fig. 13) The inner design also shows plovers and several overlapping rock formations in silver and gold, the exact number of

⁹⁶ McCullough, Helen Craig, transl and annot. *Kokin Wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry, With 'Tosa Nikki' and 'Shinsen Waka'*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985: 83. (McCullough, 1985b)

⁹⁷ Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1980: 244.

which cannot be ascertained. Just like the exterior composition, the main group of plovers forms a circular shape in the sky and their colors contrast brightly with the black background. (fig. 14) The design of the laterals follows the composition of the larger surfaces.⁹⁸

Apart from the *raised sprinkled design*, the main technique applied to the surfaces, the *flat sprinkled design* was also employed. Dense *pear-skin ground* with *square silver applications* are scattered on the shoreline, which was created using *densely sprinkled gold particles*. The birds are executed in either silver *raised sprinkled design* or gold *flat sprinkled design*, which adds to the compositional tension. The *reed-script* elements are made from solid silver and were inserted in the surfaces of the rocks. The aquatic area comprises inner lines that structure the waves and enhance the sense of a distinct spatial order.

However, the waves in *slender lacquer lines sprinkled with gold* are Edo-period additions to the original composition.⁹⁹ These changes of the original design are noticeable. The lines of the waves cluster in the receding parts of the cliffs, while other areas show repetitive, parallel compositions of small curvy lines as well as ruptures between lines of different sizes instead of balanced and smooth transitions. All these appear as subsequent attempts to fill spaces not meant to be decorated this way.

Ragué notes that the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* is one of the earliest extant examples of the arrangement of water dropper and ink stone both being moved from the middle section to the left while the cartridge for the brush was moved to the right side.¹⁰⁰ The original water dropper has long been lost; it was presumably crafted in the shape of a silver rock,¹⁰¹ and has been replaced with a replica. This element creates a playful contrast, not only due to its shape but also as an addition to the very balanced design in gold and black. (fig. 15)

The popularity of the Mt. Shio *entanglements* can be deduced from the fact that several known works depict the subject matter as well. The document *Illustrations of the Treasures of the Southern Section of the Hōryūji Temple (Go hōmotsu zue nanbu Hōryūji 御宝物図繪南部法隆寺)* includes a drawing, with a brief explanation, of an artifact with a very

⁹⁸ Images in the e museum can be accessed online, http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/101131/001/003?word=shio&d_lang=en&s_lang=en&class=&title=&c_e=®ion=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=1&num=2&mode=simple¢ury=

⁹⁹ Haino suggested it for the lower register in 1979. Haino Akio 灰野昭郎. “Shio no yama maki-e suzuribako” 塩山蒔絵硯箱 [The Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled-picture of Mt. Shio]. *Gakusō* 学叢 [Research Gathering], 1979: 122. The website of the Kyoto National Museum confirms and extends Haino’s suggestions. “The maki-e of the wave design on the lid, the inkstone, and brush rack, however, appear to have been later Edo-period (1615-1868) additions.” Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館 [Kyoto National Museum]. *KNM Gallery*. <http://gallery.kyohaku.go.jp/>. Accessed 2011-2017.

¹⁰⁰ Ragué, 1967: 169.

¹⁰¹ Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1980: 244.

similar interpretation of the theme.¹⁰² The illustration shows a writing desk with the typical design of plovers, rocks, the sandbank, reeds, some scattered shells, two or three pines, and some lines evoking water. The explanation notes that the *Writing Desk with Plovers* (*Chidori buntai* 千鳥文台) was donated by Lord Higashiyama Yoshimasa. Although the drawing is not an exact rendition of the actual artifact bearing the same name in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum, the degree of visual conformity is high. (fig. 16)

The surface of the actual artifact *Writing Desk with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers* (*Chidori maki-e buntai* 千鳥蒔絵文台) from the fifteenth century displays two or three pines, reeds, and two smaller rocks on a black lacquered ground. All motifs are executed in gold *sprinkled design* whose inner lines were engraved with a needle. *Flat sprinkled design* was used for the rock formations, the trees, and the birds, while the reeds are likely to be depicted with *burnished sprinkled design*. The slender lines expressing movement in the aquatic area were probably also crafted using *burnished sprinkled design*.¹⁰³ The sandbank shows additional *irregular sprinkles of gold and silver foil*. Protruding metal parts, such as beads or scriptorial elements were either not part of the original design or might have fallen off throughout the centuries. (figs. 17)

The table shows a considerably closer resemblance to the *Inkstone Case Mt Shio* in Tokyo than to the *Inkstone Case Mt Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum. The design of the latter was reduced to the core motifs of the poem with an overall high level of spatiality and abstractness. Based on these observations, it seems reasonable to assume that the design of the low table served either as the model for the Tokyo case or both were designed as a set with correlating compositions.

The *Writing Desk with the Sprinkled Picture of Seashore and Pines* (*Hamamatsu maki-e buntai* 浜松蒔絵文台) in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum was also produced in the fifteenth century. The low table measures 33.3 x 57.1 x 10.0 cm and was crafted using gold and black lacquer on wood with metal applications on the surface. Although its surface shows no further metal applications, such as script, the motifs of the design likewise allude to the typical Mt. Shio landscape with plovers, sandbank, water, and rocks. The *pear-skin ground* comprises gold with some silver sprinkles on a black lacquer surface. The main techniques appear to be *flat sprinkled design* and *burnished sprinkled design with needle*

¹⁰² *Gohōmotsu zue, Hōryūji nanbu* 御寶物圖繪, 法隆寺, 南部 [Illustrations of the Treasures, Southern Section of Hōryūji Temple]. In *Kotto shū 3 骨董集* [Collection of Antiques]. N.p.: n.p. Accessible in the reference room for old books, Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan 国立国会図書館, 1842.

¹⁰³ I examined the artifact during an exhibition but can only assume the techniques due to the distance and the light conditions.

engravings. The rocks and the pine trunks were embellished with small silver *squares of foil to form patterns* evoking moss patches. The sandbank and the boats were probably crafted in *burnished sprinkled design*, while the trees appear to be crafted using the *flat sprinkled* technique. The curvy waves and the needles of the pines might be executed in slightly elevated *slender lacquer lines sprinkled with gold*. (fig. 18)

It bears some resemblance to the illustration in the *Drawings of the Treasures of the Southern Section of the Hōryūji Temple* and to the design of the *Writing Desk with Plovers*. The main differences are certain motifs such as the boats, some waves, and the sandbank, which was crafted in a different shape than those in the drawing and the design of the desk with plovers. The quantity of plovers was reduced and there is a leafy plant growing on the rock on the right side instead of reeds in the drawing and the *Writing Desk with Plovers*. This plant of the *Writing Desk with Seashore and Pines* closely resembles the plant on the left cliff in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Tokyo National Museum.

The State of the Art

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* has been examined in terms of design and overall structure. According to Ragué, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, whose design follows the Japanese painting style but also includes rocks that evoke Chinese ink paintings, is one of the two main Higashiyama lacquer works together with the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*.¹⁰⁴ She emphasized that this inkstone case is one of the earliest extant examples for a partitioning of the lower register in which the ink stone and the water dropper had been moved from the middle section to the left side, whereas the section for the brushes was moved to the right.¹⁰⁵

Brisset's brief paragraph attributes the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the *reed-script* category "vener." She cites the poem and, in her brief description of the design, she focused on how the poem is distributed on all main surfaces of the artifact. Brisset concludes with the finding that the visibility of the characters is not only due to the manner in which they are applied to the surface, but to their size and also by the calligraphy style.¹⁰⁶

Haino Akio's study from 1979 omits the subject *reed-script*, and focuses on the question to which extent the composition, design, and the structure of the case was remodeled since its manufacturing in the fifteenth century. He attributes the landscape of the Mt. Shio theme to the mountain of the same name in Yamanashi, and bases his assumption on the entry

¹⁰⁴ Ragué, 1967: 150.

¹⁰⁵ Ragué, 1967: 169.

¹⁰⁶ Brisset, 2009: 390-391.

in the middle section of the *Comprehensive Dictionary of Famous Places in Japan (Dainihon chimei jiten 大日本地名辞典)*.¹⁰⁷ This source notes the alternative name of the mountain “Enzan (塩山),” the shoreline that became famous, and cites the *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* as the first appearance of the Mt. Shio poem. Haino also refers to the Fuefuki riverside and notes that although no sea coast exists near Mt. Shio, there are associations of the phrase “shio no sashide no iso” to the ebb and tide of salt water, the moon, and snow.¹⁰⁸

Regarding the usual manufacturing process of the Higashiyama lacquers, Haino names the *Chronology of Kōami (Kōami kadensho 幸阿弥家伝書)* that states the founder of the workshop Kōami Michinaga (幸阿弥道長) mainly relied on drafts by Tosa Mitsunobu (土佐光信) for the *raised sprinkled design* and on drafts by Sōami (相阿弥) and Noami (能阿弥) for the *burnished sprinkled design (togidashi maki-e 研出蒔絵)*.¹⁰⁹ Haino assumes that the design with this distribution of the waves, plovers, and rocks originated from a Tosa draft.¹¹⁰ He also mentions the unusual distribution of compartments at the bottom part and notes that the water dropper was not in a permanently fixed position, but movable.¹¹¹

Haino’s comparison of the various surfaces brought forward that all sections of the inkstone case show a highly skillful and sophisticated *sprinkled design technique* with the same mixture of fine and coarse gold grains. He stresses the fact that although the wave design on the interior side of the bottom part resembles those of the inner and outer sides of the lid and the segments were all created in the same *flat sprinkled design (hiramaki-e 平蒔絵)* technique, there are differences in the brushwork, the coarseness and fineness (*somitsu 粗密*) of the gold grains, and the polish. The composition of the whole wave pattern, the lines of the wave undulation, the expression of the wave splashes, or the treatment of the waves in the corners of the case differ considerably. In 1969, lacquer restorer Kitamura Ōmichi (北村大通) injected lacquer to fill in the cracks but left the parts with *sprinkled design* applications mostly untouched (*hotondo te wo ireteinai ほとんど手を入れていない*).¹¹² Haino states that

¹⁰⁷ Haino, 1979: 120-127: 120.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid: 121. Kōami Nagafusa 幸阿弥長房, Kōami Nagasaku 幸阿弥長救, and Kōami Masamine 幸阿弥正峯. *Kōami kadensho; Kōami kadenkan 幸阿弥家伝書. 幸阿弥家伝巻 [Chronology of the Kōami. Records of the Kōami Family]. 1683, 1686. Bijutsu kenkyū 98 美術研究 [The Journal of Art Studies] (1940): 51-67: 56, (Japanese pagination 17-31: 20).*

¹¹⁰ Haino, 1979: *ibid.*

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid: 123.

compared to the exterior side of the lid, the *sprinkled design* in the bottom part is not as elaborate and cannot be considered a *sprinkled design* technique of the same time.¹¹³

Haino infers that a great amount of remodeling was done on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, particularly on the base of the case. The main evidence for this is the inscription on the back of the base, which refers to the inkstone master Nakamura Iwami as “the first in the country” (*tenka ichi Nakamura iwami no kami (kaō)* 天下一中村石見守 (花押)). Heraldries from 1773 to the end of the Edo period mention Nakamura,¹¹⁴ but there are no further historical references to him.¹¹⁵ Haino thus assumes that this part of the inkstone case was manufactured in the second half of the eighteenth century, i.e. no later than the Hōreki era (1751-1764).¹¹⁶ He gathers that the base of the case was largely remodeled in order to replace the earlier inkstone that was lost,¹¹⁷ and by comparing the present appearances of *pear-skin ground* on the various surfaces of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, he concludes that only the *pear-skin ground* on the surface beneath the inkstone has remained unchanged. To him, most of the interior parts of the bottom section (*mikomibu* 見込部) appear remodeled, and the *sprinkled design* surfaces remade.¹¹⁸

Shimano Tomomi’s study (2007) on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* focuses on the origin and development of the design’s main motifs.¹¹⁹ Brief comparisons with further Mt. Shio designs on four other artifacts in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum led Shimano to conclude that depictions of the theme through a combination of motifs such as pine, plovers, sandbank, and rock became popular after the manufacturing of such representative works as the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum and the Tokyo National Museum, respectively. The four works are the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio* (*Shio yama maki-e suzuribako* 塩山蒔絵硯箱, fifteenth century), the *Writing Desk with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio* (*Shio yama maki-e bundai* 塩山蒔絵文台, fifteenth century), the *Case for Decorated Paper with the Sprinkled Picture of a Fan with Mt. Shio* (*Senmen Shio yama maki-e ryōshi bako* 扇面塩山蒔絵料紙箱, fifteenth century), and the *Hosodachi Style*

¹¹³ Ibid: 122.

¹¹⁴ Ibid: 121.

¹¹⁵ Ibid: 122.

¹¹⁶ Ibid: 121-122.

¹¹⁷ Ibid: 122.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Shimano Tomomi 嶋野友美, “Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan shozō Shio yama maki-e suzuribako no ishō ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu – Shio yama ishō no seiritsu to sono tenkai” 京都国立博物館所蔵 塩山蒔絵硯箱の意匠に関する一考察--「塩山意匠」の成立とその展開 [One Study of the Origin and Development of the Design of the Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled-Picture of Mt. Shio in the Kyoto National Museum]. *Bijutsushi* 163, no. 1 美術史 [Journal of Art History] (2007): 129-142.

Sword Mounting with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio (*Shio yama maki-e hosō dachi goshirae* 塩山蒔絵細太刀拵, eighteenth century).¹²⁰ She notes that due to their cry referred to in the poem, the plovers became a key factor in the depiction of Mt. Shio, and the same could be said for the rocks which are identified as the coastline in the upper line of the poem “shio no yama sashide no iso.”¹²¹

Shimano points out that the poem pillow “Shio no yama” was well-known due to the poem’s appearance in the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*, which also triggered the occurrence of several further poems referencing to Mt. Shio, mainly in private anthologies. Her count of the poems’ main expressions led to six main motifs associated with the literary subject Mt. Shio, namely Mt. Shio at the banks of Sashide (*shio no yama sashide no iso*), plovers (*chidori*), waves (*nami*), the moon (*tsuki*), snow (*yuki*), and a boat (*fune*).¹²² The fan in the design of the *Case for Decorated Paper with the Sprinkled Picture of a Fan with a Depiction of Mt. Shio*, for instance, shows the moon and the boat, which, according to her analysis, means that the design was created following poetry after the *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* in 905 since these two motifs were included in the depiction only after they had been established in the poetic renderings of the subject Mt. Shio.¹²³ Shimano investigates whether the *pillow word* (*makura kotoba* 枕詞) “shio no yama” was tied to a concrete landscape. Although the phrase “shio no yama sashide no iso” refers to a specific location in Yamanashi, the former Kai no kuni (甲斐國), she interprets the *pillow word* as not restricted to a particular place, but views it as a type of scenery or as a combination of certain natural features.¹²⁴

To substantiate her approach, Shimano refers to an annotation of the *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* by Orichikuchi Shinobu (折口信夫, 1887-1953), who linked the poem *Shio no yama* to props (*tsukuri mono* 作り物). Shimano infers that “shio no yama sashide no iso” is understood as a prop utilized in poetry contests. According to her, this is how the notion of Mt. Shio other than as a place occurred, although the geographical location “Mt. Shio” had already been unclear in earlier times and no natural motifs in the designs modeled after the poem were tied to a specific place name. She notes the depiction of harsh (ocean) waves and the lack of a Mt. Shio in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum and concludes that when the inkstone case in Kyoto

¹²⁰ Ibid: 131.

¹²¹ Ibid: 133.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid. The spelling of Kai no kuni is adapted from Shimano’s essay.

was manufactured in the fifteenth century, the phrase *Shio no yama* had already been separated from a specific location, and that it probably had taken on the function as a *pillow word* for congratulatory poems.¹²⁵

Shimano links the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* to the imagery of Mt. Hōrai, the island of the immortals in Chinese mythology that a giant turtle carries on its back. In this context, she refers to a paragraph in the *Brinish Seaweed* (*Moshio gusa* 藻塩草, 1513) that lists motifs of the Mt. Shio theme and includes the phrase “shell of a turtle.”¹²⁶ She points out that along with cranes turtles were often used together as composition elements in props for poetry contests. The so-called “Mt Hōrai design” combines the motifs turtle and crane in a rocky beach landscape.

Shimano investigates the process of the establishment of the – purely pictorial – “Mt. Shio design” through the comparison with the Mt. Shio design in the poem of the “Shio no yama” and the “Mt. Hōrai design.”¹²⁷ Designs unambiguously representing Mt. Hōrai can be seen on mirrors from about the ninth century on, and many such mirrors were manufactured when the term “Hōrai mirror (*hōrai kyō* 蓬莱鏡)” emerged in the Kamakura period. Several Mt. Hōrai mirrors, for instance, belonged to the Atsuta Shrine (熱田神宮) from 1413 until 1612.¹²⁸ According to Shimano, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* follows the tradition of the *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of the Palace of Longevity* (*Chōseiden maki-e tebako* 長生殿巻絵手箱) in the collection of the Tokugawa Museum with its auspicious design represented by various motifs such as pine, bamboo, plum, crane, and turtle. Shimano’s main points concerning the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in Kyoto are the overlap of the Mt. Shio and the Mt. Hōrai designs, the successful realization of the theme while motifs from the original poem have been omitted, and the function of the inkstone case as prop, for instance in poetry contests and rituals.¹²⁹

The Provenance of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*

Haino refers to the house of Viscount Tsuchiya (*Tsuchiya shishaku ke* 土屋子爵家) as a former owner of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*.¹³⁰ Artifacts such as the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*

¹²⁵ Ibid: 134. Shimano also suggests that the small piles of aloes wood that were used as short-lived props at poetry contests were associated with the theme “Mt. Shio.” Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid: 135.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid: 136.

¹²⁹ Ibid: 139.

¹³⁰ Haino, 1979: 120.

were family treasures that were handed down from generation to generation. The title “Viscount” (*shishaku* 子爵) was bestowed on the feudal lords (*daimyō* 大名) during the Meiji period (1868-1912) on occasion of the abolition of feudal domains and establishment of prefectures (*haihan chiken* 廃藩置県) in 1871.

This Meiji-period title “viscount” probably refers to a descendant of tea master Tsuchiya Masanao (土屋政直, 1641-1722), the only feudal lord of the Tsuchiya family, who might have already owned the inkstone case. The existing literature has not mentioned the existence of a document in the storage box of the inkstone case.

The Landscape: The Plovers and the Rocks

In order to grasp significant clues to the function of the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, it is necessary to examine and analyze the visual motifs and their implications. The inkstone case’s design refers to the Japanese theme of *Famous Places* (*meishō* 名勝). According to *Nōin’s Poem Pillows* (*Nōin uta makura* 能因歌枕) a text from the eleventh century by the poet and monk Nōin, the pillow word “shihō no yama (しほの山)” used to refer to three actual locations, namely Noto (能登), Echizen (越前), and Ecchū (越中).¹³¹ The *Commentary on the Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Kokin shūchū* 古今集註, ca. 1130- ca. 1210) mentions Nōin’s *Ceremonies of the Earth* (*Kongen gi* 坤元儀)¹³² and its reference to Kai no kuni as the location of Sashide no iso.¹³³

Nowadays, the locations of both Mt. Shio and Sashide no iso are thought to be in Kai no kuni in present-day Yamanashi prefecture.¹³⁴ The place Sashide no iso mentioned in the poem of the design refers to the banks of Fuefuki River (*Fuefuki gawa* 笛吹川),¹³⁵ which has been famed for the plovers that inhabit its banks at least since the emergence of the poem no. 345 in the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*. Moreover, an actual Mt. Shio is in close proximity to the river.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Shimano, 2007: 133.

¹³² Kamens notes that *kongen* is a scholarly term for “the earth” and that Nōin’s text seem to have dealt exclusively with famous places. He also points out “[s]ome scholars believe this Kongengi to have been identical with the province-by-province listing of meisho in Noin utamakura, while others think that Kongengi was an entirely different work.” Kamens, Edward. *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997: 282.

¹³³ Haino, 1979: 120. Shimano, 2007: 133.

¹³⁴ See also Shimano, 2007: 133.

¹³⁵ Haino, 1979: 120.

¹³⁶ The city’s name in the area follows the alternative Japanese pronunciation and is called Enzan (塩山) instead of Shioyama.

Plovers and their cries have been a theme in poetry from as early as the first anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves* from the mid-eighth century.¹³⁷ The birds were often chosen to express a state of longing, loneliness or despair as poem no. 224 by Ki no Tsurayuki (紀貫之, ca. 868- ca. 945) in the fourth section “winter” of the *Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poems* illustrates.

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| As pressed by love | <i>Omoi kane</i> |
| I go hunt her in my yearning | <i>imo ga riyukeba</i> |
| the wind blows cold | <i>fuyu no yo no</i> |
| through the winter darkness through the river, | <i>kawa kaze samumi</i> |
| where on the banks the plovers cry. ¹³⁸ | <i>chidori naku nari</i> |

おもひかね
 いもかりゆけは
 ふゆのよの
 かはかせさむみ
 ちとりなくなり¹³⁹

Haruo Shirane notes that such poetry in the *New Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* documents that by the Kamakura period, plovers had become “a major winter topic.”¹⁴⁰ The season of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* is hence thought to be winter. Shimano Tomomi illustrates this long tradition of Mt. Shio poetry by listing twenty-three poems either including *shio no yama* and/or the phrase *sashide no iso* between ca. 905 to 1450 in her study on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*.¹⁴¹

Shimano states that plovers on lacquer ware appeared in the twelfth century on the *Small Chinese-style Chest with Mother-of-Pearl and the Sprinkled Picture of Mudplovers* (*Sawachidori maki-e raden kokarabitsu* 沢千鳥蒔絵螺鈿小唐櫃).¹⁴² The design of the *Small Chinese-style Chest with Mother-of-Pearl and the Sprinkled Picture of Mudplovers* shows

¹³⁷ For instance in poem no. 925, see McCullough, 1985a: 108.

¹³⁸ The translation was taken from Brower and Miner, 1961: 191.

¹³⁹ Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. Database *Shūi wakashū* 拾遺和歌集 [Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poems]. http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i003.html#i003-004. Accessed 2017.10.03.

¹⁴⁰ Shirane, 2012: 53-54.

¹⁴¹ The list is missing in Shimano’s publication from 2007.

¹⁴² Ibid: 136.

depictions of plovers in a marshland with numerous single water streams on a black lacquered surface. The birds are depicted flying and picking in this scenery of rocks, irises, and patches of plantain. Several groupings of these compositions cover the surface of the chest. The detail shows the careful decoration of the areas in between with *pear-skin ground of mixed gold and silver powder* (*aokin fun* 青金粉). The application of *denser and lighter sprinklings of metal particles used to reach different tonalities* (*bokashi maki* 暈し蒔き) of gold on the edges of the sandbanks in the *burnished sprinkled design*. *Burnished sprinkled design* has also been used for the depictions of the plants, plovers, and the interior parts of the rocks. The contours of the latter as well as the streams are depicted with *sprinkled gold lacquer lines*. A few leaves, some blossoms, and the white plovers are made of finely carved *cut in shape mother-of-pearl inlays*. (figs. 19)

Shimano noted that from the late Kamakura period to the Muromachi period a high quantity of lacquer ware was embellished with popular designs of plovers.¹⁴³ Artifacts from the Kamakura period give thus valuable clues to the development of bird groupings in this time of the first warrior rule and to the techniques to depict them.

Among the birds chosen to adorn surfaces of lacquered *reed-script* cases were geese and cranes. The design of the *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of the Palace of Longevity* (*Chōseiden maki-e tebako* 長生殿蒔絵手箱) with *reed-script* in the collection of the Tokugawa Art Museum from the thirteenth-fourteenth century comprises combinations of different birds, namely cranes, wild geese, mandarin ducks, and plovers on different sides of the case. The case measures 20.4 x 31.6 x 17.7 cm. Materials used are black lacquer, gold, silver, and metal applications on wood.

The exterior side of the cover shows the depiction of a Chinese palace building and its garden with cranes, several kinds of flowers, a bridge, rocks surrounding a pond, and the sun. The decoration of the sides includes a combination of cranes and mandarin ducks. Cranes and the *reed-script* elements are distributed on all exterior sides of the case, the birds emphasize the subject matter referred to by the latter. The script refers to poem no. 775 by Yoshishige no Yasutane (慶滋保胤, 934-1002) in the section “Celebration” of the *Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Singing* (*Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集, ca. 1013).¹⁴⁴ It reads:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| In the pavilion of longevity | <i>Changsheng dian li</i> |
| spring and autumn are abundant, | <i>chunqiu fu</i> |

¹⁴³ Ibid: 136.

¹⁴⁴ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 362.

day and night pass slowly *bu lao men qian*
before the gate to eternal youth *ri yue chi*

長生殿裏春秋富
不老門前日月遲

In this case, the sun is rendered using a circular *gold inlay*, while numerous small *silver inlays* depict blossoms as well as the scriptorial elements. *Raised sprinkled design* was chosen to depict the rocks and the cranes in the foreground. A gold *flat powder ground* (*hirameji* 平目地) was used for the ground areas of the exterior side, the sky was crafted in *pear-skin ground*, and the trees, cranes, and grasses in *burnished sprinkled design*.

The interior side of the toiletry case's cover displays a different kind of scenery. The vast aquatic landscape with reeds, several pines, and mountains stretches far into the distance where the image of a hamlet is set in the coastal region on the right side with wild geese resting at the shores. Several flocks of plovers circle the skies. Not a single plover is depicted on the ground. The plovers and the reeds are crafted with *slender lacquer lines sprinkled with gold*. The main technique here is the *burnished sprinkled design* applied to a gold *flat powder ground*.¹⁴⁵ (figs. 20)

Some works without scriptorial elements substantiate this observation that plovers are usually shown in flight. The *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field* (*Akino maki-e tebako* 秋野蒔絵手箱) from the thirteenth century in the Tōyama Memorial Museum is decorated with plovers flying above an aquatic landscape and contains *reed-script* on the exterior side of the corpus. The case measures 24.7 x 33.5 x 15.3 cm, it was crafted using black lacquer, mother-of-pearl, gold, and metal applications on wood.

The unattached lid has softly beveled edges and seamlessly perpetuates the design of the container. The birds in flight are shown in the same manner and the highest branches of the tree on the left side of the container are depicted on the lid. The design of the lid and the container are an inseparable unit and complement each other to constitute one landscape “painting” on each side of the artifact. Subtle differences lie in the movement of the grasses, the groupings of the birds, and the scattered script. Each scenery is composed in a manner that individually evokes a painting on folding screens.

¹⁴⁵ Komatsu Taishū 小松大秀. *Shikkō* 漆工 [Lacquer Work]. Tokyo: Asahi shinbun shuppan 朝日新聞出版, 2010: 113-114.

The overall composition shows several sceneries with autumn grasses, a waterfall, rocks, and pine trees. Some plovers are depicted circling above the landscape. The design contains twelve *reed-script* characters distributed on the trunks and the rocks that cover the exterior surfaces. As the detail shows, one characteristic of this toiletry case is its almost monochrome pairing of gold characters with pictorial elements that are also made of gold. Their visual texture resembles those of the trees, not of the grasses. The script refers to the poem no. 164 by Minamoto no Fusaakira (源英明, 911-939) from the section “Summer” of the first volume in the *Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Singing*. It reads:

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| The pool is so chilly, | <i>Chi leng shui</i> |
| the water has nothing of the dog days of summer; | <i>wu san fu xia</i> |
| The pines are tall, | <i>song gao</i> |
| the wind has a sound that conjures autumn. ¹⁴⁶ | <i>feng you yi sheng qiu</i> |

池冷水無三伏夏
松高風有一聲秋

Main techniques in the design are *pear-skin ground* that was applied to the areas illustrating the sky, while the ground zones were created by using *densely sprinkled gold powder*. Cones without needles as well as some plantains and blossoms were crafted in *cut in shape mother-of-pearl*. The trunks and the *reed-script* were designed in *raised sprinkled design*. *Slender lines of lacquer sprinkled over with gold* were applied to produce the needles of the pines and the plovers in flight.¹⁴⁷

The interior side of the cover is decorated with a pine tree and autumn grasses that grow on some sandbanks. Three small flocks of plovers fly above them. The main techniques are *pear-skin sprinkles* on a black lacquer surface for a depiction of the sky and the ground, a *gold burnished sprinkled design* and a *gradual change in density of the sprinkles* was applied to create the sandbanks, and the images of the plants and the plovers were mainly designed by a *burnished sprinkled design* as well as *slender lines of lacquer sprinkled over with gold*.¹⁴⁸ (figs. 21)

¹⁴⁶ Rimer, J. Thomas and Chaves, Jonathan. *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997: 65, no. 164.

¹⁴⁷ Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館[編] [Kyoto National Museum], ed. *Maki-e: shikkoku to ōgon no nihonbi, tokubetsu tenrankai* 蒔絵：漆黒と黄金の日本美，特別展覧会 [Sprinkled Designs: Japanese Aesthetics of Black and Gold. Special Exhibition]. Exhibition catalogue. Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1997: 256.

¹⁴⁸ Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1980: 75, 239.

The *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers* (*Chidori maki-e tebako* 千鳥蒔絵手箱) from the fourteenth century in the Nomura Art Museum is decorated with flying plovers on all sides. It measures 35.8 x 26.0 x 20.7 cm, and was produced using black lacquer, gold, and metal applications on wood. The unattached lid has beveled edges and closes flush with the edges of the container. The imagery in gold and black extends to all sides including the lid. While the design of the *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field* was separated into several individual “paintings,” this design includes all surfaces and unites them into one large image of sandbanks and plovers.

All exterior sides show an even distribution of plovers circling over sandbanks. A large sandbank is placed in the center of the exterior side of the lid with smaller ones in each corner of the case in a manner that the composition emphasizes its plastic shape. Some plovers are depicted between the sands, some plovers fly directly above them. The former group was crafted in *gold powder* with *needle engravings* on the *pear-skin ground* surface, while the latter comprise slightly elevated structures due to the use of *slender lacquer lines sprinkled with gold*. A *gradual change in density of the gold powder* in combination with the *burnished sprinkled design* was used to create the images of the sandbanks.

The gold plovers on the interior side of the cover were also distributed in a well-balanced composition. They are set against the *pear-skin ground* and comprise the sole concrete motif in this design. This limitation to sandbank and plovers in flight on the exterior and its further reduction to the sole motif of the flying plovers in the inner side of the lid shows a shifting focus, especially in comparison with the *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field* from the thirteenth century. (figs. 22)

The *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers* (*Chidori maki-e tebako* 千鳥蒔絵手箱) from the fifteenth century in the Tokyo National Museum is entirely decorated with flying plovers. It measures 25.7 x 34.7 x 19.0 cm and was produced with black lacquer, gold, and metal applications on wood. The black corpus of the toiletry case shows an even distribution of three hundred and thirty-nine flying plovers. The birds seem to move upwards and to the left and right sides. They are either depicted alone or in groups of up to eight birds. The plovers were designed in *gold powder* on a very light *pear-skin ground*. It is remarkable that the interior design of the cover is almost identical, the main difference lies in the smaller quantity of gold plovers covering the same space of *pear-skin ground*. This results in a somewhat less tense design. This design is free from all spatial constraints. (figs. 23)

To sum it up, in the case of the design with combined plovers and geese, the illustration is divided, with each species being illustrated on separated surfaces of the artifact. It seems that the separation of birds took place when the motif of plovers became a popular design on lacquer ware in the thirteenth century. Moreover, the wild geese are usually depicted in the water, on the ground or in the air and hence show a wider variety of activities – for instance swimming, resting, and flying – than the plovers that are usually depicted in flight.

All entangled artifacts referred to above display *reed-script* in the correlative manner of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*. In these designs, each of those scriptorial elements is attached to a rock, and all rocks show a strong resemblance to those in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*. It is reasonable to conclude that the decoration of the cases served as possible models for the depictions of rocks and the *reed-script* design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*. The plovers of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* with their various activities likewise seem to follow the geese of these earlier depictions.

Visual and Literary References: Plovers and the Wild Geese of the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*

The motif of the wild geese originated from the eight-part series of *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers* (J. *Shōshō hakkei*, C. *Xiaoxiang bajing* 瀟湘八景).¹⁴⁹ Such depictions of vast landscapes were first developed by scholar-painter Song Di (宋迪, ca.1015- ca. 1080) and had become a popular theme in painting in fifteenth century Japan. The region of the Xiao and Xiang rivers was regarded as a significant location in China's cultural history, and Ortiz emphasizes the prevalence of the theme *Eight Views* in China soon after their initial appearance in the latter half of the eleventh century:

Soon the Eight Views of Xiao Xiang flourished in all artistic circles, from the imperial court to both scholarly and monastic communities. The imagery not only describes the beautiful scenery but also suggests poetic resonance. So rich was the theme that by the Southern Song [(1127–1279)] it alluded to a wide range of meanings, including mental journeys, retirement, political exile, and metaphors for the Buddhist reflection on illusion.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Murck, Alfreda. "The Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Exile." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 26 (1996), 113-144.

¹⁵⁰ Ortiz Malenfer, Valérie. *Dreaming the Southern Song Landscape. The Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting*. Leiden: Brill, 1999: 28.

In 1074 Song Di complemented the images with a one-line poem evoking the seasons and the hours of the day that were supposed to be painted,¹⁵¹ and according to a list he wrote subsequently, the *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang* comprise eight specific themes that came to be combined in no particular order from this time on.

1. *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (C. *Pingsha yanluo* 平沙雁落)
2. *Returning Sails from Distant Shore* (C. *Yuanpu fangui* 遠浦帆歸)
3. *Mountain Market in Clearing Mist* (C. *Shanshi pinglan* 山市晴嵐)
4. *River and Sky in Evening Snow* (C. *Jiangtian muxue* 江天暮雪)
5. *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (C. *Dongting qiuyue* 洞庭秋月)
6. *Night Rain on Xiao Xiang* (C. *Xiaoxiang yeyu* 瀟湘夜雨)
7. *Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple* (C. *Yansi wanzhong* 煙寺晚鐘)
8. *Fishing Village in Twilight Glow* (C. *Yucun lezhao* 漁村夕照)¹⁵²

Yoshiaki Shimizu argues that one of these *Eight Views* is the subject matter of the earliest Japanese ink painting, namely the *Geese Descending to Sandbar* (J. *heisa rakugan zu* 平沙落雁圖) by Shitan (思堪, 1247-1317) in a personal collection today.¹⁵³ As Shimizu argues:

In Japan, geese as a pictorial theme began to appear in conservative Buddhist painting toward the end of the thirteenth century.[...] Many were based on Chinese examples brought from the mainland by Japanese pilgrim-monks. In the fourteenth century reeds-and-geese were pictures in Japanese narrative handscrolls in Yamato-e style, some rendered predominantly in ink, although Chinese models seen by Japanese artists were probably both in ink and in color. [...] By the early fourteenth century, however, the Japanese themselves were painting the subject in pure ink, as in *Descending Geese on Sandbanks* by Shikan, datable to no later than 1317.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Ibid. Ortiz mentions her indebtedness to Alfreda Murck on Northern Song depictions of the Eight Views, and particularly on Song Di." Ibid.

¹⁵² Ortiz Malenfer, 1999: 31.

¹⁵³ Shimizu, Yoshiaki, and Wheelwright, Carolyn, eds. *Japanese Ink Paintings from American Collections*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976: 19.

¹⁵⁴ Shimizu, Yoshiaki. "Reeds and Geese." In *Japanese Ink Paintings from American Collections*, edited by Shimizu, Yoshiaki, and Wheelwright, Carolyn, 218-223. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976: 221.

Thus, the depiction of wild geese had evolved into an independent motif before the fifteenth century. The convention of displaying this subject matter, which had already been established and transmitted on the continent for centuries, came to focus on the birds' activities: flying, crying, sleeping, and feeding.

These four aspects could be either combined or pictured in separate paintings, such as in the Muromachi-period hanging scroll *Wild Geese and Reeds* (*Roganzu* 芦雁図) by Chōkichi (長吉) in the Nezu Museum that shows a group of wild geese sleeping, crying, and feeding.¹⁵⁵ According to Shimizu, “[i]t is uncertain whether they were initially intended to be allegorical, but they came to be associated with the Four Correct Demeanors (*shi igi* 四威儀) of Zen Buddhist monastic discipline: walking (*gyō*), dwelling (*jū*), sitting (*za*), and reclining (*ga*).”¹⁵⁶ The following account of an episode of the historical Buddha Sakyamuni's life sheds light on the origin of associating wild geese with Buddhist practitioners.

In a previous existence the historical Buddha Sakyamuni was the king of the wild geese. One day he flew with his skein of geese from the Citrakuta Mountain to a famous and very beautiful pond near Benares, where he was caught in a trap and was left hanging by one leg from the snare. He waited until his flock had eaten their fill; then he gave a warning cry, the geese rose in great alarm and flew away. Only his faithful army commander Sumukha, an incarnation of Sakyamuni's disciple Ananda, remained at his side, in spite of the Buddha's entreaties that he too should make his escape. When the trapper arrived on the scene, he was amazed to find that only one of the two geese was actually snared. Sumukha explained the matter to him, telling him of the virtue of loyalty between friends and to one's master, and the trapper was so moved that he released the king of the wild geese there and then. To thank him for his generous act and to see to it that he should be suitably rewarded, the two birds decided to be presented to the king of Benares, in whose service the trapper was employed. The king listened with amazement to the moving story, and had his obedient servant richly rewarded. Thereupon the king of the wild geese made his teaching known to the king of Benares and discussed with him the

¹⁵⁵Bunka chō, 2010-2017. <http://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/169488>. Accessed 2016.07.19.

¹⁵⁶ Shimizu, 1976: 221.

law of right conduct, before returning with Sumukha to his subjects on Mount Citrakuta.¹⁵⁷

Helmut Brinker assumes this “old Indian tale about wild geese [...] was incorporated into the didactic moralizing Buddhist literature where it was amplified and shaped to conform to Buddhist ethics.”¹⁵⁸ Shimizu suggests that the four activities of wild geese were coordinated with the theme of the Four Seasons (*shiki* 四季). He elaborates that the *Manual of the Attendants of the Shogunal Collection* (*Kundaikan sōchō ki* 君台觀左右帳記) includes:

a drawing of a set of four reeds-and-geese paintings on the tokonoma wall, arranged from right to left in the order of flying, crying, sleeping, and feeding, following the four seasons: spring, summer, autumn, and winter.¹⁵⁹

As this description shows, by the second half of the fifteenth century paintings such as those of Tenshō Shūbun (天章周文, active ca. 1423-1460),¹⁶⁰ who had created a sequence of the Eight Views and the Four Seasons in a folding screen of six panels,¹⁶¹ merged the Chinese theme with the Japanese subject matter. Since he was an official painter (*goyō gaka* 御用画家) for the Ashikaga,¹⁶² Shūbun was certainly given access to the shogunal collection to observe works of artists from the continent like Muqi Fachang (C. 牧溪法常, J. Mokkei 牧谿, act. thirteenth century), Yu Jian (J. Gyokukan 玉澗, act. mid-thirteenth century), and Xia Gui (J. Kakei 夏珪, act. ca. 1195–1230) who had all painted the Eight Views.

Tesshū Tokusai’s (鉄舟徳濟, ?-1366) ink painting on silk *Reeds and Wild Geese* (*Roganzu* 芦雁図, 1334) connects the subject matter of the wild geese with reed. (fig. 24) It measures 110.4 x 44 cm and belongs to the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In earlier times, his rendition was one part of a triptych with the central artifact

¹⁵⁷ Brinker, Helmut. *Zen in the Art of Painting*. London and New York: Arkana 1987: 132-133.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid: 132.

¹⁵⁹ Shimizu, 1976: 221. The illustration Shimizu refers to has been published in: Sōami 相阿弥. *Kundaikan sōchōki* 君臺觀左右帳記 (Text of *Kundaikan-Sauchōki* (Notes on Arts and Artists) made by Sōami, (Japanese, ?-1525) formerly in the Collection of *Kakokusai*). Higashiyama period. *The Bijutsu kenkyū* 122 (1942): 67-77 (Japanese pagination 31-41): 75 (39).

¹⁶⁰ Parker, Joseph D. *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts of Early Muromachi Japan*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999: 87.

¹⁶¹ See Stanley-Baker, Patrick. “*Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang*.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University. UMI. Princeton, 1979: 72-80 for the close relation on the *Four Seasons* and the *Eight Views*.

¹⁶² Keene, Donald. *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003: 106.

being a hanging scroll depicting Lu Dongbin (呂洞賓), one of the eight Daoist immortals.¹⁶³ “This schema [the combination of such scrolls], cultivated and popular in Zen temples in Japan, reflected the desire to express the underlying unity of the natural and spiritual worlds.”¹⁶⁴ It also refers to the possibility of a harmonious coexistence of different religious orientations.

The painting with reeds and wild geese shows several birds on two sandbanks with reeds and a third flock in the sky that might have recently departed from the sands. The main focus lies on the four different activities of the birds. Some are depicted crying towards the flying geese, some are resting, and some others are feeding on the reed. Reed was a popular motif in the fourteenth century. It is not only a typical plant in aquatic areas as well as being understood as being a key factor of the aesthetic phenomenon termed *reed-script*, reed is also a mythologically charged plant. Besides its depictions in natural settings, several paintings have illustrated the widespread episode according to which the Bodhidharma, who is traditionally credited with the transmission of the Chan doctrine from India to China in the sixth century, crossed the Yangzi River on a reed.

Possibly chosen for the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* design was the theme *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar*, which had been depicted by various artists before, such as Muqi. Muqi’s painting *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* (*Heisa ganraku* 平沙雁落, thirteenth century) in the Idemitsu Museum of Art is interesting in the context of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*’s design because his representation focuses on the obscurity of natural phenomena and merely hints at the subject matter of the wild geese. The ink painting measures 33.0 x 109.5 cm. Although the topic is part of a series that originally even refers to a location, this depiction offers neither a geographical attribution nor much spatial orientation. The birds are delineated with only a few simple strokes.

Zhuang Su’s (莊肅, active 1250–1300) “A Supplement to ‘Painting Continued,’” (*Huaji buyi* 畫繼補遺, 1298), severely criticized Muqi’s works but this statement by a Chinese contemporary indicates the reasons for Muqi’s popularity in Ashikaga circles. “His desiccated and pallid rustic wildernesses are certainly not for elegant diversion, but are

¹⁶³ The painting *The Taoist Immortal Lu Dongbin* belongs to the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City. Website of the Museum. <http://search.nelson-atkins.org/collections/objectview.cfm?Start=1&ret=1&objectid=15645&c6a638f5e332df6f-B29AA2FC-97FA-0D0D-3D71218BE49B0BBC>. Accessed 2017.01.02. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/44856>. Accessed 2017.02.08.

¹⁶⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art. <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/44856>. Accessed 2017.02.08.

suitable only for a Buddhist's chamber or a Taoist's hut as a complement to the pure and secluded atmosphere.”¹⁶⁵ (fig. 25)

The motifs in *Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar* are reduced to their bare essence. Due to the application of “boneless” brushstrokes, there are no definite indicators as to whether the surrounding scenery is water or sky, liquid or aerial. In this regard the painting resembles the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, whose expression likewise oscillates playfully between two poles. The motifs and the original composition were reduced to their essentials, and despite the application of highly valuable materials and complex techniques, the rocky landscape depicted in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* appears unadorned. Paintings by Muqi accounted for almost twenty-five percent of the Ashikaga collection,¹⁶⁶ and the misty atmosphere evoked by the soft brushstrokes in his Eight Views was acknowledged as specific quality of the renditions.¹⁶⁷ In the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, the theme of the Wild Geese might have been merged with the theme of the Famous Places, namely the banks of the Fuefuki River.

The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* comprises a combination of the Eight Views and the plovers that had been enshrined in continental and Japanese pictorial and poetic history, respectively. Each motif individually evokes a certain melancholy induced by a misty atmospheric landscape and both are associated with isolation and grief, while plovers have simultaneously been considered to belong to the auspicious birds.

Shirane suggests that the *New Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* contains no less than eleven poems concerning plovers in the winter section, indicating that by the Kamakura period the species “had become [...] associated with loneliness and the difficulty of bearing the cold.”¹⁶⁸ On the basis of these associations and the immense popularity of the plover as a motif, both of which emerged in the beginning of the first warrior rule, the plovers might have become a symbol for the successful warrior who relies on himself and endures all hardship.

One motivation for merging the wild geese with another theme might have been to produce an image that was innovative but still resonated with specific cultural traits. One

¹⁶⁵ Zhuang Su, *Huaji buyi* 畫繼補遺 [A Supplement to ‘Painting Continued’]. In Bush, Susan and Shih, Hsiou-yen. *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985: 139.

¹⁶⁶ Yamashita Yuji 山下裕二. “Naze Nihon Suibokuga no Chichi Nanoka” なぜ日本水墨画の父なのか [Why is he the father of Japanese ink painting?] *Geijutsu Shinchō* 芸術新潮 48 (1997), 36-47: 43.

¹⁶⁷ Sun, Seunghye. “Images of a Southern Utopia: The Xiao and Xiang Rivers in Japanese Art.” *Orientations* 42, no. 4 (2011): 44-50: 45.

¹⁶⁸ Shirane, 2012: 54.

could, thereby, create a seemingly familiar atmosphere by inserting Japanese birds into an originally Chinese setting.

This combination of themes was deeply rooted in historical and *cultural memory* and bore a contemporary flavor. Accordingly, I disagree with Shimano on the issue that the cranes of the mystic Chinese island have been substituted with plovers in the depictions of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* on the grounds that both are “white birds.” Based on my observations, I suggest that the plovers in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* were at least inspired by depictions of wild geese. The rendering shows their basic activities, such as flying, crying, and feeding. It follows the convention of depicting the wild geese that seem to have originated in the Xiao Xiang imagery and evoke the so-called Four Buddhist Demeanours¹⁶⁹ as well as loyalty to one’s master, a central virtue in warrior circles.

The Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang and the Ashikaga Collection

By the late fifteenth century the Eight Views landscape series had had a longer history of transmission in China, and works by the Chinese artists, Muqi, Yu Jian, and Xia Gui had been acquired by the shogunate. These paintings are identified in the *Record of Objects Displayed in the Residence of Lord Muromachi* (*Muromachi dono gyōkō okazariki* 室町殿行幸御飭記), which lists all the items in the mansion of Ashikaga Yoshinori's Residence in preparation for the visit of Emperor Go-Hanazono in 1437 (Eikyō 9), as well as in the *Record of Paintings Owned by the Shogun* (*Gyobutsu on'e mokuroku* 御物御画目録) of the later fifteenth century, and therefore verify that these Eight Views paintings belonged to both shoguns, first Yoshimitsu and later also Yoshimasa.¹⁷⁰

Shogun Yoshimasa was so fond of the Eight Views that he not only commissioned eight paintings and poetry for sliding door panels in the Takakura Palace of his mother Hino Shigeeko (日野重子, 1411-1463) in 1458 (Chōroku 2),¹⁷¹ but also dedicated one room in his own living quarters (*tsune gosho* 常御所) in the Higashiyama Palace to this very theme.¹⁷² Yoshimasa commissioned Kanō Masanobu to produce another set of the Eight Views as paintings for sliding door panels some twenty-five years later, in 1483 (Bunmei 15). None of

¹⁶⁹ There is one sleeping (or resting) bird on a lateral part of the ink box case.

¹⁷⁰ Zainie, Carla. “The Muromachi Dono Gyoko Okazari Ki: A Research Note.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 33, no. 1 (1978): 113-18: 117.

¹⁷¹ A list of the eight monks that were commissioned to write the eulogies is in the *Inryōken Nichiroku* on 1458.01.26 (intercalary month, Chōroku 2), *Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録 [Daily Record of the Inryōken]. Edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三. *Zoku shiryō taisei* 増補續史料大成 21-25. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1978. In Stanley-Baker, 1979: 64.

¹⁷² *Ibid*: 82.

the paintings survived.¹⁷³ The reconstruction of the ground plan of the palace shows that the room was composed to provide a view overlooking the southern veranda towards the lake of the garden. (fig. 26)

[T]he intention in the mind of the shogun and his advisors seems self-evident: those seated in the Eight Views Room, looking out of open doors on a warm day, would have behind them paintings of the Eight Views and before them a view of lake-like scenery distinctly reminiscent of this well-loved theme in poetry and painting.¹⁷⁴

The number of the copies of the Eight Views by members of the Kanō school reached such an extent that it came to be adapted into a native Japanese setting in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁵ Konoe Masaie (近衛政家, 1445-1505) and members of his family “seem to have been connected with the selection of famous places for the *Eight Views of Ōmi* (*Ōmi hakkei* 近江八景),”¹⁷⁶ “a motif that was modelled after the *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*.”¹⁷⁷ Subsequently, the Eight Views were associated with Lake Biwa in Ōmi province.

As Lee Brusckke-Johnson suggests, the vicinity to Kyoto was one reason that Japanese poets had been travelling to Ōmi to compose verses on the landscape from at least the ninth century onwards. She suggests that the high status for poetry depicting this particular location can be deduced from the fact that folding screens used in succession ceremonies for emperors, such as that for Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239, r. 1183-1198), were inscribed with poetry about Ōmi.¹⁷⁸ Just like the area of the Xiao and Xiang rivers, Ōmi was associated with exile, as can be seen in the later course of history, when “numerous Ashikaga shoguns had fled to Ōmi and particularly to Katata, during the tumultuous last years of their family’s

¹⁷³ Keene, 2003: 102. “Although Masanobu, the founder of the Kanō School of painting, had never visited China and therefore had no personal knowledge of the celebrated scenery along the two rivers, he was familiar with their features from Chinese paintings of the subject, and inspired by old models, he painted his conception of what the rivers were like.” Ibid. For the Ashikaga mansions and the Eight Views, see chapter “Post-Ōnin Sliding Door Paintings,” in: Stanley-Baker, 1979: 82-92. See also, Stanley-Baker, Patrick. “The Ashikaga Shogunal Collection and Its Setting: A Matrix for Fifteenth Century Landscape Painting.” In: *Tōyō Bijutsu ni Okeru Eikyō no Mondai* 東洋美術における影響の問題 *Influence in Oriental Art / International Symposium on Art Historical Studies 7*, edited by the Society for International Exchange of Art Historical Studies, 87-98. Kyoto: Kokusai Kōryū Bijutsushi Kenkyūkai 国際交流美術史研究会, 1990: especially 88-89, 91-92, 94-95.

¹⁷⁴ Stanley-Baker, 1979: 84.

¹⁷⁵ Shirane, 2012: 83.

¹⁷⁶ Brusckke-Johnson, 2004: 116. Nobutada (1565-1614) probably became the main author of the *waka* poems for these works and “provided the calligraphy for the earliest known folding screens on a theme known as *Ōmi hakkei*, the *Eight Views of Ōmi*.” Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

rule’.”¹⁷⁹ In Japan, the visual as well as the poetic rendering of Wild Geese Descending to Sandbar, the associated theme of the inkstone case’s lid, subsequently came to refer explicitly to Katata.¹⁸⁰

The Sandy Shore of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*

Shimano argues that the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* superimposes other patterns. She suggests that it draws largely on depictions of Mt. Hōrai (C. *Penglai*), the mountain island that served as residence of immortals in Chinese mythology.¹⁸¹ Her theory is convincing insofar as Mt. Hōrai is usually portrayed as a rocky cliff and the mountain signifies longevity. Shimano elaborates that even a specific term “Hōrai mirror” occurred in the Kamakura period when numerous such designs were applied on mirrors and sees this as proof of the popularity of Mt. Hōrai depictions in Japan.¹⁸²

Coastal areas in the shape of rocky beaches or sandbanks as in the design of the inkstone case also belong to a distinct type of artificial landscape. Such pond island landscapes are already recorded in the earliest known garden manual *Records of Garden Making*.¹⁸³ The manual contains explanations and instructions concerning various garden compositions, and it mentions various garden styles with aquatic features. Another source for gardening is a garden manual from 1466 (Bunshō 1), by Priest Zōen, the *Illustrations for Designing Mountain, Water, and Hillside Field Landscapes* which consists mainly of rules for setting rocks, and the planting of suitable trees and plants,¹⁸⁴ and does hence not serve as a useful tool to analyze the design of the inkstone case. The landscape of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* resembles several garden styles in the *Records of Garden Making*, among them the so-called *sandy beach style* (*suhamata kata* 州浜方). It is characterized by the following features:

This is a plain landscape of a sandy beach. It is bad therefore, to make the outline too neat like a cloth-dyeing pattern. Within the same landscape of this type, the shoreline will show a variety of forms, some stretched and others curved or a combination of forms. Some may even appear in a form hard to be

¹⁷⁹ Ibid: 119.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Shimano, 2007: 135-39.

¹⁸² Ibid: 136.

¹⁸³ Tachibana with Shigemaru, 1976: 9-11.

¹⁸⁴ Slawson, 1987, part 2.

identified under this type. The ground is spread with sand, and a few small pine trees should be planted.¹⁸⁵

The design of the Mt. Shio case in the Kyoto National Museum does not include pines nor any other vegetation but various rock formations. Its landscape might hence rather be identified as the *ebb-tide beach style* (*hikata yō* 干潟様) that is described as:

The seashore after the ebbing of the tide, partly exposing the dried beach, and partly soaked in seawater. Naturally, a few stones may be visible but there should be no trees.¹⁸⁶

or even the pine-bark pattern (*matsu kawa yō* 松皮様)

The variable shoreline of this island should look crisscrossed, or else discontinued in places, like the pine-bark pattern (of conventional use).

Whether or not stones and trees are used for this sandbank landscape is left to the designer's discretion.¹⁸⁷

Each composition type in the *Records of Garden Making* has particular features that are seen in the landscape of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and they suggest that the coastal scenery with the prominent rock formation in the design is a fusion of these theoretical prototypes.

An actual garden, the dry landscape garden (*kare sansui* 枯山水)¹⁸⁸ of Ryōanji Temple was reconstructed around the time of the manufacturing of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the late fifteenth century. (figs. 27) Interestingly, Wybe Kuitert even noted a compositional resemblance of the “studied balance of volume and blank space” of the Eight Views and the Ryōanji Temple garden.¹⁸⁹ Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Deputy (*kanrei* 管領) Hosokawa Katsumoto (細川勝元, 1430-73, r. 1445-49, 1452-64, and 1468-73) had bought the area, a former estate of the Heian-period Fujiwara house in 1450 (Hōtoku 2) and founded the Ryōanji Temple, as a sub-temple of the Myōshinji Temple, on the grounds.¹⁹⁰ Like countless other buildings, the temple burnt to the ground during the war and it was re-erected by Katsumoto's

¹⁸⁵ Tachibana with Shigemaru, 1976: 11.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ For information concerning the dry garden in the *Records of Garden Making* and the relation of the Ashikaga and the Saihōji Temple dry garden, see Berthier, Francois. *Reading Zen in the Rocks: The Japanese Dry Landscape Garden*. Translated by Parkes, Graham. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000: 19-21.

¹⁸⁹ Kuitert, 2002: 98.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid: 101-02.

son Hosokawa Masamoto (細川政元, 1466–1507, shogunal deputy several times from 1486) in 1488 by order of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado in 1478.¹⁹¹ (fig.: 28)

Shoji Yamada gives a concise account of different theories concerning the creator of the dry garden in the Ryōanji Temple. According to him, the first person to be considered is Sōami who is also said to have designed the Daisen'in garden at Daitokuji Temple although there is no actual evidence.¹⁹² The second person is Hosokawa Katsumoto according to several documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁹³ “Sōami and Katsumoto have always been considered the two people most likely to have created the rock garden.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Hennig, Karl. *Der Karesansui-Garten als Ausdruck der Kultur der Muromachi-Zeit*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 92. Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. Hamburg, 1982: 215.

¹⁹² According to Yamada, among the various documents naming Sōami are the *Saga kōtei* (Journey to Saga) and *Kaiki* (Account of the Japanese Pagoda Tree), the *Kyūai zuihitsu* (Dusty Backpack Essay), and the *Miyako rinsen meishō zu* (Pictorial Guide to Gardens in Kyoto). Kurokawa Michisuke 黒川道祐. *Saga kōtei* 嵯峨行程 [Journey to Saga]. 1680. In *Kurokawa Michisuke kinki yūran shikō* 黒川道祐近畿遊覧誌稿 [Kurokawa Michisuke's Notes on Sightseeing in Kinki], edited by Kamimura Kankō 上村觀光. Kyoto: Junpūbō 淳風房, 1910. (Kurokawa, 1910a): 43. Yamashina Dōan 山科道安, *Kaiki* 槐記 [Account of the Japanese Pagoda Tree]. 1729. In *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 96, edited by Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 et al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965: 461. Momoi Tō 百井塘雨. *Kyūai zuihitsu* 笈埃隨筆. 1781-1788. In *Nihon zuihitsu* 22 日本隨筆, edited by Nihon Zuihitsu Taisei Henshūbu 日本隨筆大成編集部. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1974: 200. Hisatsune, Shūji 久恒秀治. *Kyōto mei'en ki* 2 京都名園記 [The Account of Famous Gardens in Kyoto]. Tokyo: Seibundō Shinkō Sha 誠文堂新光社, 1968. Shigemori Mirei 重森三玲 and Shigemori Kanto 重森完途. *Muromachi no niwa* 3 室町の庭 [Gardens of the Muromachi period]. *Nihon teiensi taikei* 7 日本庭園史大系 [The Compendium of Japanese Garden History]. Tokyo: Shakai Shisōsha 社会思想社, 1971. All in Yamada, Shoji. *Shots in the Dark: Japan, Zen, and the West*. Translated by Hartman, Earl. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009: 135.

¹⁹³ According to Yamada, among them are the *Tōzai rekiranki* (Record of Journeys to the East and West), *Yōshūfu shi* (Chronicle of the Yōshūfu), *Kyō habutae oridome* (Kyoto Silk: The Last Volume), *Sanshū myōseki shi* (Famous Places of Sanshū), *Wakan sansei zue* (The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Japan and China), and the *Miyako meishō zue* (Pictorial Guide to Scenic Spots in Kyoto). Yamada stresses that one author, Kurokawa Michisuke, published texts supporting both sides of the argument. Kurokawa Michisuke, *Tōzai rekiranki* 東西歴史記 [Record of Journeys to the East and West] 1681. In *Kurokawa Michisuke kinki yūran shikō*, edited by Kamimura Kankō. Kyoto: Junpūbō, 1910: 109, and Kurokawa Michisuke's *Kurokawa Michisuke 黒川道祐. Yōshūfu shi* 雍州府志 [Chronicle of the Yōshūfu]. 1682. In *Shinshū Kyōtō sōsho* 10 新修京都叢書 [A New Edition of the Kyoto Library], edited by Noma Kōshin. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1968: 307. Koshōshi 孤松子. *Kyō habutae oridome* 京羽二重織留 [Kyoto Silk: The Last Volume]. 1689. In *Shinshū Kyōtō sōsho* 2 [New Edition of the Kyoto Series], edited by Noma Kōshin. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1976: 391. Hakue 白慧. *Sanshū myōseki shi* 山州名跡志 [Famous Places of Sanshū]. 1712. In *Shinshū Kyōtō sōsho* 15 新修京都叢書 [New Edition of the Kyoto Series], edited by Noma Kōshin 野間光辰. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1976: 219. Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安. *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 [The Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia]. 1712. In *Tōyō bunko* 東洋文庫 [Oriental Library]. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985-1991, Vols. 447,451,456, 458, 462, 466, 471, 476, 481, 187, 198, 505, 510, 516, 521, 527, 532. Tokyo: Heibonsha 1985-1991. Akisato Ritō 秋里籬鳴. *Miyako meishō zue* 都名所図会 [Pictorial Guide to Scenic Spots in Kyoto]. Kyoto: Yoshinoya 吉野屋, 1780. All in Yamada 2009: 135-136. Yamada notes, since the *Saga kōtei*, *Tōzai rekiranki*, and the *Yōshūfu shi* were all written by the same author, Kurokawa Michisuke yet refer to a different creator, these sources cannot be relied upon. Yamada with Hartmann, 2009: 136.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

A third theory proposes that the garden designer was a tea master named Kanamori Sōwa (1584-1656). Sōwa is referred to as the garden's creator in two records of the Ryōanji Temple, namely the *Chronicle of Ryōan* (*Ryōan shi* 龍安史) and the *Record of Daiunzan* (*Daiunzan shikō* 大雲山思考).¹⁹⁵

The fourth theory attributes the creation of the dry garden to two men who signed a rock in the garden, namely Kotarō (小太郎) and another worker whose name cannot be entirely deciphered. Apparently, the central character in the name of this worker seems to change in various sources probably due to its illegibility caused by exposure to the elements.¹⁹⁶ Accordingly, authors use different spellings such as Seijirō (彦二郎), Hikosaburō (彦三郎), and Hikojirō (彦次郎).¹⁹⁷ The two names are chiseled on the back of the horizontal rock that is placed nearest to the front wall viewed from the abbot's quarter or the large granite rock in the second group of stones from the left side, respectively.

According to the *Daily Record of the Inryōken* (*Inryōken nichi roku* 蔭涼軒日録), on 1490.10.29 (Entoku 2) the worker Seijirō (彦二郎) worked on a garden pond on the grounds of the Shōsenken (松泉軒), the priest house of Shōkokuji Temple. An entry from the 1491.11.22 (Entoku 3) documents that Kotarō (小太郎) collected moss for the gardens of the Jōfukuji Temple (盛福寺) and the Shōsenken garden. On 1492.02.20 (Entoku 4) an entry recorded that Hikosaburō (彦三郎) was sent to collect moss and worked in the Shōsenken garden.¹⁹⁸ A fifth theory assumes single chief priests as designers of the garden, namely Giten Genshō (義天玄承, 1393-1462) of Ryōanji Temple, Shiken Saidō (子建西堂, 1486-1581) of Saihōji Temple or Kobori Enshū (小堀遠州, 1579-1647). These five theories are the “most commonly accepted” according to Yamada.¹⁹⁹

Kuitert notes three descriptions from the 1680s all by the same author that refer to the garden design comprising nine rocks. Two of these accounts attribute the composition to

¹⁹⁵ Ibid: 135-136.

¹⁹⁶ Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 50.

¹⁹⁷ Hisatsune suggests that 彦二郎 and 彦次郎 are the same person. Hisatsune, 1968, 356-357. Hennig refers to additional possibilities of the second name, i.e. Tokujirō, Genjirō, and Matsujirō. Itō Teiji 伊藤ていじ and Yamamoto Kenzō 山本建三. *Karesansui* 枯山水 [Dry Landscape Garden]. Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1970: 130, in: Hennig, 1982: 218.

¹⁹⁸ Hisatsune cites the *Daily Record of the Inryōken* and suggests that 盛福寺小太郎 and 小太郎 are the same person. *Inryōken nichiroku*, 1978. In: Hisatsune, 1968: 356-357.

¹⁹⁹ Yamada with Hartmann, 2009: 136. Berthier also refers to Tessen Sōki, a gardener and monk at Ryōanji Temple, who wrote a treatise on rock gardening. Since he retired to his home province of Mino in 1477, Tessen might have passed when the garden was created in the final years of the fifteenth century. Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 50.

Katsumoto and one to Sōami. Kuitert regards these attributions as attempts to conceal the identity of the actual designer(s) due to the presumed low societal standing.²⁰⁰ Karl Hennig even collected as many as fifteen theories but regards the Kawaramono's cooperation with an affiliated Zen monk, namely either Shiken Saidō²⁰¹, Tokuhō Zenketsu (特芳禪傑, 1419-1506)²⁰² or Hannabyō Tessen (? , ?-1492)²⁰³, as the “most likely solution” despite the lack of material evidence.²⁰⁴

François Berthier dates the rock formation of the dry garden to around 1500 (Mei'ō 9), namely the period between 1499 (Mei'ō 8) and the year of Hosokawa Katsumoto's demise, 1507 (Eishō 4).²⁰⁵ One of Berthier's main clues concerns the dry garden's location south of the abbot's chamber (*hōjō* 方丈). He notes that as a “general rule, temple gardens were situated on other sides of the buildings, and especially to the east.”²⁰⁶ The chamber could not have been completed until 1499 (Mei'ō 8), as Berthier points out, and the graveled area that originated in the Shinto belief system, the terrain of the later dry garden, was the ritual space²⁰⁷ of certain shrines in which the kami were “received and celebrated [...], offering them festivities and dances. A similar kind of sacred space – clean and pure – was situated to the south of the building where the emperor, who was also the country's religious leader, conducted the affairs of state.”²⁰⁸

Berthier points out that in 1489 (Entoku 1), a ritual was once more performed in this graveled territory of Ryōanji Temple.²⁰⁹ He probably refers to the commemoration for Hosokawa Katsumoto that is recorded in the *Daily Record of the Inryōken*.²¹⁰ The entry indicates that Hosokawa Masamoto's servants stayed in the garden during the ceremony but not the majority of invited guests, which Hennig takes as an indication of the existence of

²⁰⁰ Kuitert, 2002: 102. Kuitert refers to Hisatsune, 1968: 350-351, chapter eleven in Kuitert 2002. He also notes that the records by Kurokawa Dōyū (Michisuke) are in his *Saga kotei* (1680), *Tōzai renkiraki* (1681), and *Yōshū fushi* (1682), all quoted in Hisatsune, 1968: 332-333. The latter refers to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's visit to the temple. Kuitert, 2002: 236.

²⁰¹ Hennig, 1982: 213-214.

²⁰² Ibid: 215-216.

²⁰³ Hennig, 1982: 217.

²⁰⁴ Ibid: 223. For the theories, see *ibid*: 204-222.

²⁰⁵ Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 31, 47-51.

²⁰⁶ Ibid: 47. Berthier also refers to Iwasuhime no Kami, the “Divine Princess Rock-Sand” in the Ancient Records who “is considered to be an apotheosis of rocks and sand [and who] could well be the symbol of the imprint of Shinto on the garden of Ryōanji.” Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Berthier remarks that this type of ritual space can still be witnessed in the Imperial Palace in Kyoto. Although the present complex was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, it was modeled after ancient plans and is covered with “white sands, the only ornamentation [...] is a mandarin orange and a cherry tree planted on the right and the left of the facade, respectively.” Ibid: 46.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid: 47.

²¹⁰ *Inryōken nichiroku*, 1978.

another building, namely Masamoto's study (*shoin* 書院) that was built around ten years before the abbot's chamber (1499). He emphasizes that it cannot be confirmed whether this garden was the dry garden or a "sandy surface in the sense of the former [southern garden] *nantei* [南庭]"²¹¹ Kuitert states that the garden was overlooked by the temple's Main Hall, Katsumoto's writing room.²¹² Hennig cites Nishimura Tei who argued that the construction of the ridge beam recorded in 1499 does not refer to the completion of the abbot's chamber but to the restoration process when the writing room of Katsumoto's son Masamoto was converted into the abbot's chamber.²¹³ Hennig concludes that the dry garden is not necessarily linked to the year 1499 but could also have been constructed around 1489.²¹⁴

Berthier thinks that the original rectangular white area was a space without rocks destined for Shinto ceremonies.²¹⁵ Berthier also refers to the "revolutionary"²¹⁶ concept of creating a garden in this sacred location.²¹⁷ The set-up of a garden in this space was extremely innovative but as Seiko Goto points out the original concepts of both spaces is not that different after all:

The word *niwa* (garden) originally meant a gathering place of the gods. The site of a demolished shrine with its white gravel is called a garden in the Ise Shrine. This "garden" is an empty space defined by simple walls, into which only *kami* can enter. People pray towards this empty space imagining there are sacred spirits inside the boundary. For them, the enclosed space is not really "empty": it is a space that permits an infinite contemplation of the world's sacredness and of hope. Here we can see the unique nature of Japanese spatial perception: a space covered only with white gravel can be the sound of a profound vision. The use of white gravel is spread in the precinct of a Buddhist temple, even one without an adjacent Shintō shrine, to indicate sacred space.²¹⁸

²¹¹ Hennig, 1982: 216.

²¹² Kuitert, 2002: 102.

²¹³ Nishimura Tei 西村 貞. "Myōshin-ji tacchū no teien" 妙心寺塔頭の庭園 [The Garden in the Subtemple of the Myōshin-ji]. *Zen Bunka* 15/16 禅文化 [Zen Culture] (1959): 40-52: 47-48, and Nishimura Tei, *Niwa to chashitsu* 庭と茶室 [Garden and Tearoom]. Tokyo: Dai Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha 大日本雄弁会講談社, 1957: 5-8, in: Hennig, 1982: 216.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ He assumes this was the case until 1499.

²¹⁶ Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 47.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Goto, Seiko. *The Japanese Garden, Gateway to the Human Spirit*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2003: 16.

There is material proof indicating that the rocks in the Ryōanji garden already constituted a significant part of its composition around the year 1500,²¹⁹ and Berthier notes the lack of any other written documentation from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²²⁰ He agrees with Yamada and with Hennig, who dates the garden to the late fifteenth century, on the assumption that it was Hosokawa Masamoto who refurbished the garden after the temple had burnt down in the turmoil of the war,²²¹ and who has also been held responsible for rebuilding the temple in 1488 (Chōkyō 2).²²²

Some documents from the seventeenth century mention nine rocks in the garden leading us to the conclusion that the remaining six stones were added later.²²³ The depiction of the dry garden in the *Pictorial Guide to Gardens in Kyoto* (*Miyako rinzen meishō zue* 都林泉名勝図会) by Akisato Ritō published in the late eighteenth century shows the garden as it is known today.²²⁴ Even though two fires devastated the grounds during the Ōnin War and again in 1797 (Kansei 9), the pebbles and rocks are very likely to have remained intact. Although fire is a powerful force that destroys plants, wood, and even metal, rocks such as those of the dry garden are probably resilient even against intense heat.²²⁵ It is hence possible that the garden design with fifteen rocks illustrated in the woodcut of the late eighteenth century more or less represented the actual state of the garden in the late fifteenth century. (fig. 28)

To sum it up, the rocks on white gravel can be dated to the late fifteenth century or the very first years of the sixteenth century, that is to say between 1489 and 1507. The garden is located south of a building, namely the Hosokawa's writing room before it was turned into the abbot's chamber in 1499 (Mei'ō 8). Documents record gardening activities of the two

²¹⁹ The study does not include interpretations concerning the meaning of the rock composition of the Ryōanji Temple garden.

²²⁰ Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 50.

²²¹ Hennig, 1982: 202-204. Yamada with Hartmann, 2009: 31.

²²² Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 81.

²²³ The design of the Ryōanji dry garden changed over time. According to historical documents, there were, for instance, only nine rocks instead of fifteen rocks in the 1680s, and in the years before 1797 there are descriptions of a corridor running through the middle of the garden. Kuitert, 2002: 102.

²²⁴ The *Miyako rinzen meishō zue* was published in 1799. Akisato Ritō 秋里籬嶋. *Miyako rinzen meishō zue* 都林泉名勝図会 [Pictorial Guide to Gardens in Kyoto]. Kyoto: Ogawa Tazaemon 小川多左衛門, 1799. In Database of the Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā.
http://www.nichibun.ac.jp/meisyozue/rinsen/page7/km_03_04_019f.html. Accessed 2015.08.10. The previous *Miyako meishō zue* by the same author was published earlier and shows the pond garden. Akisato, 1780. In Database of Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā.
http://www.nichibun.ac.jp/meisyozue/kyoto/page7/km_01_572.html. Accessed 2015.08.10. Yamada also

mentions the existence of a theory that the relative positions of the rocks and the abbot's quarter were changed when the abbot's quarter was rebuilt after the fire. Yamada with Hartmann, 2009: 136.

²²⁵ Berthier notes that fire usually leaves stone intact, see Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 32. Chert is an exception and becomes porous when exposed to fire. There seems to be chert in the area, and it cannot be verified at this point whether the rocks in the Ryōanji Temple garden are chert or of a different material.

workmen in 1490 (Entoku 2) and 1491 (Entoku 3), and the presumed initiator of the rock garden, its owner Hosokawa Katsumoto passed away in 1507 (Eishō 4).

Even if the garden was implemented after 1499 (Mei'ō 8), it must have been designed and drafted around the time of the production of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the late fifteenth century. There is hence a possibility that shogunal advisor Sōami, who evidentially drew drafts for the Kōami lacquer compositions, designed drafts for both the garden and the inkstone case.²²⁶ The actual realization of the garden seems to have been carried out by workers such as Kotarō and Seijirō, two outcasts whose social background was that of the so-called riverbed people (*kawara mono* 河原者) who lived along the Kamo and Katsura rivers and belonged to the lowest social strata.²²⁷

I agree with Shimano that the rocks in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum might be a reference to earlier depictions of Mt. Hōrai as a steep cliff in the water. However, the design of the inkstone case lacks the typical attributes of Mt. Hōrai such as cranes, tortoises, pines, plum trees, or bamboo.

Accordingly, produced in the late fifteenth century the design of the inkstone case is closer to the illustration of an early dry landscape, which could, of course, be regarded as an abstract allusion to Mt. Hōrai.²²⁸ Other interpretations include viewing the rock composition as an abstract reference to the sacred Mt. Wutai in China,²²⁹ whose peaks are covered in a sea of clouds, or, in accordance with a classical Chinese theme, namely, the riddle of a tigress and her cubs crossing a river.²³⁰

²²⁶ Berthier suggests Sōami could have drawn up the plan for the composition. He reasons that the Muromachi gardens were closely related on Song landscape painting, and Sōami was a renowned landscape painter in the Chinese style. Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 49-50. Kuitert remarks that in the latter half of the sixteenth century the name Sōami was used to avoid the acknowledging of the fact that the actual designers were members of this lowest stratum. Kuitert, 2002: 97-98. Kuitert also refers to the Ami's skills including Sōami's expertise in designing landscape compositions, which was one essential precondition for designing gardens. Ibid: 115-117.

²²⁷ These "outcasts who lived along the river beds of the Kamo and Katsura rivers and who performed the most despised of labors: skinning animals and tanning hides. In the fifteenth century, they became noted for their ability to place stones in gardens, assuming a task that had formerly fallen to Buddhist and Shinto priests. In this context, they are *senzui kawaramono*. [S]ome of the most influential connoisseurs and cultural advisors to the Ashikaga Shoguns came from this lowest of social classes." Website, Bowdoin College. <https://learn.bowdoin.edu/japanesegardens/glossary.html#K>. Accessed 2015.12.03

²²⁸ Berthier also notes that the dry garden might refer to Mt. Hōrai. Berthier with Parkes, 2000: 39.

²²⁹ Sugio, Shintaro 杉尾伸太郎. "Ryōanji hōjō tei'en no sakutei no ito nitsuite no kōsatsu II" 龍安方丈庭園の作庭の意図についての考察 (その2) [Contemplation on the Garden Design Motif of the Rock Garden of Ryoanji II]. *Nippon Teien Gakkaishi* 25 日本庭園学会誌 [The Academic Society of Japanese Garden Journal] (2011): 17-21.

²³⁰ Kuitert, 2002: 102.

Since there is no doubt that the gravel in the dry garden is a metaphorical rendition of water,²³¹ it is conceivable that the design of the inkstone case was composed to oscillate between the images of a landscape of nine rocks on sandbanks amidst water or as a landscape of nine rocks surrounded by patches of moss in a sea of pebbles. The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* is hence another visual play that allows one to perceive the depicted scenery either as a pond garden landscape or as a dry garden landscape. This visual duality might be related to the actual historical shift in preference from the pond garden format to the dry garden format that took place under the influence of the war in the second half of the fifteenth century.²³²

The primary motivation for creating this kind of highly ambiguous, even contradictory imagery might be due to the prevalent notion of non-duality. Rock formations in gardens such as those in the Ryōanji Temple complex might have been real life models for the oscillating imagery on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*. The motifs in the entangled design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* overlap with several notions of actual and mythological locations. While the artistic concept might well draw on prior images of Mt. Hōrai, it bears references to contemporary garden compositions such as those of the Ryōanji Temple dry garden. In the late fifteenth century, the abstract rock composition in this particular location, the white graveled ritual space of the Ryōanji Temple grounds, was not merely contemporary, it was without precedent and daring.

The fact that the temple's Main Hall overlooking the dry garden was the Hosokawa's writing room is another clue supporting my assumption that the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* was meant to evoke the rock design of the garden.²³³ The innovative features of the garden design at the time were the placement of rocks on the white gravel in this particular position on a temple ground. The combination of the rocks on gravel seem to be mirrored in the inkstone case's design. It is, however, also conceivable, that the garden composition picked up on the aesthetic concept of the inkstone case.

²³¹ See Nakagawara's comprehensive explanations on the "The 'Stone is Water / Gravel is Water' Metaphor". Nakagawara, Camille. "The Japanese Garden for the Mind: The 'Bliss' of Paradise Transcended." *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* 4, no. 2 (2004): 83-102: 96-97.

²³² Goto, 2003: 4. Kuitert also refers to the change in garden making, see Kuitert, 2002: 60. Since societal gatherings were moved to the indoors, the former spaces reserved for gardens became locations for architecture. Hisatsune 1979: 390, in: Kuitert: *ibid.*

²³³ Kuitert, 2002: 102.

1.3 A Hybrid Combination: The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* shows silver *reed-script* on the interior sides of the gold lid and base. Most of the script relates to the landscape elements by imitating the shapes of branches. In these cases, the scriptorial component is placed on the margin of the pictorial motif such as the syllable on the brim of the tree in the right upper corner. Sometimes the *reed-script* entwines with the pictorial element such as the syllable in the lower left corner, or the *reed-script* is attached to its surface, hence masking pieces of the pictorial motif without any figural relation such as the syllable and the tree in front of the building in the right midsection. This design shows three basic kinds of picture-word relation: entwinement, imitation, and covering. The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* belongs to the group referred to as hybrid combinations.

The script elements immersed in the imagery allude to poem no. 1075 by Ariwara no Yukihiro (在原行平, 818-893) in the section “miscellany [part] one (*zō ichi* 雜一)” in the second anthology *Later Collection of Japanese Poems* (*Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集, completed in 955-957). The introductory line is not depicted, the complete poem reads as follows:

On the day when Ninna Emperor went to the Serikawa River in accordance
with a precedent set by Emperor Saga.²³⁴

*Ninna no mika to, saga no o ontoki no rei nite, serikawa ni gyōkō shita ma
hikeru hi*

仁和のみかと、嵯峨の御時の例にて、せり河に行幸したまひける日²³⁵

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| There are fresh marks [in the snow] ²³⁶ | <i>Saga no yama</i> |
| on the ancient path | <i>miyuki taenishi</i> |
| near Serikawa River | <i>serikawa no</i> |
| in the hills of Saga | <i>chiyo no furumichi</i> |
| that once the emperor visited | <i>ato ha arikeri</i> |

²³⁴ McCullough, Helen Craig transl. and annot. *Tales of Ise: Lyrical Episodes from Tenth-Century Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968: 252.

²³⁵ *Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集 [*Later Collection of Japanese Poems*]. In Database of the Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i002.html. Accessed 2015.11.26.

²³⁶ Translations by McCullough and by Brisset both also refer to snow due to the term *miyuki*, which means “imperial visit” but is also homonym to “thick snow (*miyuki* 深雪). McCullough, 1968: 252. Brisset 2009: 418. It is possibly a wordplay, despite the fact that this poem is not part of the section “Winter” in the collection. However, the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* clearly refers to the emperor due to the chosen characters.

嗟峨の山
みゆき[御幸]たえにし[絶尔し]
せり河の
千世[千代]の[乃]ふるみち
あとは有りけり²³⁷

The poem was presented to Emperor Kōkō (光孝天皇, 830-887, r. 884-887) on the occasion of an imperial hunt in 886 (Ninna 2). It was a “ceremonious event designed as a symbolic resumption of an early Heian practice”²³⁸ that had been abandoned by his predecessors.²³⁹ The *reed-script* comprises *miyuki* (御幸), the particle *no* (乃)²⁴⁰, *taenishi* (絶尔し), *chiyo* (千代) on the interior of the lid as well as *sa* (嗟) and *ga* (峨) on the surfaces of the base.

Description of the Inkstone Case Mt. Saga: Format and Techniques

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* measures 27.6 x 24.2 x 5.5 cm. The case is almost square with beveled edges and an unattached lid, a gold design with some silver applications and silver *reed script* on a black lacquer surface on a wooden case. The lid sits tightly on the edges of the lower register so the sides are visible in their entirety. The areas of *reed-script* decoration are the outer side of the lid and the interior part of the base.

The exterior side of the lid is decorated with an image of two timbales, a small one on the left side, and a large timbale in the center of the black lacquer surface. The main technique is the *raised sprinkled design* and there are several applications of gold foil with silver as well as *sprinkled gold powder* in various hues. (figs. 29) Timbales are traditional instruments typically used for official music events at court, and they are still being used, for instance, at the annual curved stream banquet in the garden of Kamigamo Shrine. (figs. 2) In the Heian period they were often placed on boats to float on the garden pond.

The main techniques on the interior side of the lid are also dense *pear-skin ground* and sparse pieces of *cut metal* on a black lacquered ground that is visible in very few sections of the illustration, one exception being the inside of the depicted building. The water lines were crafted in *slender lines of lacquer sprinkled with gold* between areas with *burnished sprinkled*

²³⁷ *Gosen wakashū*.

²³⁸ McCullough, 1985a: 234.

²³⁹ *Ibid*: 235.

²⁴⁰ It is not clear to which part of the poem the syllable “no” refers to, possibly to both. However, in the design it is located in close proximity of the ancient path.

design, and the rocks in the foreground display a *strong raised sprinkled design* while the *edges of the motif in metal powder remained plain*. Irregular sprinkles of silver and gold cover the ground zone. The hills were crafted in the same technique as those in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *relief sprinkled design*, also with *plain edges*. The clouds appear to have been made in a *raised sprinkled design* in silver and gold. *Bead inlays used to depict dew drops* were applied to the roof of the house. The composition of the inner lid displays a typical Higashiyama landscape scene in gold with a silver full moon, some scattered trees, a wooden building in the middle ground, and a mountainous region in the background. There is a stream with three larger rocks in the right corner in the foreground and an aqueduct on pillars leads far into the mountains. (figs. 30)

The lower register consists of three rectangular segments with a water-dropper and an inkstone in the center, and rectangular containers for brushes on the left and right. Techniques employed here are *cut metal* and dense *pear-skin ground*. Each of the brush containers displays an arrangement of rocks and a slender tree with several leaves in gold and one silver character on a black ground. Noteworthy is that the overall pictorial composition covers the entire surface. Apparently, the “painting” has been applied to the entire surface of the lower register before the architectural elements were added. Furthermore, the scenery reaches beyond the material surface as the right upper corner shows. This surface does not contain a stylized segment but a realistic rendition of untamable nature. (figs. 32)

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* was crafted in a more detailed manner than the cases with the depiction of Mt. Kasuga and Mt. Shio. The relation of poetry and design of the inkstone case is tight yet well balanced while the décor is not the mere illustration of the poem but processes the poetic sensation in its own right and converts it into a concrete form, a typical feature of lacquer ware designs of the latter half of the fifteenth century.²⁴¹

The State of the Art

Brisset places the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* in the same *reed-script* category “cryptic images” as the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, and refers to both artifacts as “representative of the Higashiyama culture.”²⁴² She highlights the “most elaborate degree”²⁴³ of encryption in the sense that the characters are deformed to the extent of a complete entanglement with the pictorial motifs of the design. Brisset notes that the grouping of all elements follows a logical

²⁴¹ For Higashiyama features, see Ragué, 1967: 146-149.

²⁴² Brisset, 2009: 416.

²⁴³ Ibid: 420.

order, which requires a “very particular reading dynamic.”²⁴⁴ While the first linguistic clues – the syllables of the name Saga – are placed on the surface of the lower register, the deciphering process then continues in the interior lid where it takes place in a “circular movement” that ends on the path between the mountains.²⁴⁵ Brisset very briefly mentions the poem’s reference to the imperial hunts by Emperor Kōkō, who therewith followed Emperor Saga’s example, as well as court music of the Heian period implied by the large drum depicted on the exterior lid of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*.²⁴⁶ In her view, the overall composition of the design revolves around the “juxtaposition” of two different geographical locations, the Serigawa River and Mt. Saga.²⁴⁷ Not only the workshop but also the commissioner and the recipient of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* have remained unverified.

The Provenance of the Inkstone Case Mt. Saga

There is no document in the storage box of the inkstone case and no other information regarding the provenance of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*.

The Landscape: The Mountain and the Garden

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* bears its title not merely as an honorific reference to Emperor Saga who is mentioned in the introductory line of the poem. The verse hints at an actual place, and there are further clues that the design shows not merely an imaginary landscape but either a composed landscape modeled after several or one specific geographical location.

One indicator is the placement of the three large stones in the foreground. The term “setting of stones” (*ishi wo tateru* 石を立てる) had become homonymous for the act of composing a Japanese garden since the Heian period. The *Records of Garden Making* mentions a particular group of three rocks that are vertically positioned in relation to the axis of the thatched hut, while the middle one as the largest has two smaller rocks on either side. The entire group is placed in the southeast corner of the area; there is no stone near the dwelling higher than the veranda of the house.²⁴⁸ This deliberate setting of rocks commonly appears in gardening from no later than the second half of the eleventh century. Looking at the stones in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* (fig. 33), it becomes evident that this combination of three stones in a garden is no random arrangement. It was carefully created to

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid: 418-19.

²⁴⁷ Ibid: 419.

²⁴⁸ Tachibana with Shigemaru, 1976: 26. For depictions of trinity stone groups in various gardens, see Slawson, 1987: 136.

fulfill a specific function. These rocks are *Buddhist trinity stones* and were purposefully placed in this position in compliance with the ancient manual.

Certain geographical clues hint at the depiction of an actual landscape. Helen McCullough states in her commentary concerning the poem by Ariwara no Yukuhira, which the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* refers to, “[i]n the capital area there were two small rivers named Serikawa, neither of which now exists.”²⁴⁹ Closer inspection shows though that the area Sagano in the northwestern part of Kyoto is the location of a stream whose old name (*komei* 古名) was Serigawa (芹川) before it was renamed Setogawa (瀬戸川).²⁵⁰ And the *Journal of the Daisōjō Jinson* (*Jinson daisōjō ki* 尋尊大僧正記) records that Ashikaga Yoshimasa “investigate[d] places in Saga and Yamashiro Iwakura as sites for a villa” in the tenth month of the year 1480 (Bunmei 12).²⁵¹

These references clearly associate Yoshimasa’s activities and the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* with the Sagano area. It can be presumed that the design shows a section of an existing landscape. My assumption is further substantiated by the fact, that Shogun Yoshimasa expressed his preference for Sagano around the production time of the inkstone case in the interior design of his mansion. When he had the building with the rooms for gathering (*kaisho* 会所) in his Higashiyama villa embellished, he dedicated an entire room to this area.

For showing entertainments, the *kaisho* was the appropriate hall. The seven rooms of Yoshimasa’s *kaisho* included the Persimmon Room (*kakitsukushi no ma*), Hunting Room (*kari no ma*), Ishiyama Room, and the Saga Room. The first two suggest traditional objects in brightly colored painting associated with the aristocracy and court – that is, the painting most commonly termed *yamato-e*. The second two appear to follow the tradition of *meisho-e*, paintings of famous places.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ McCullough, 1968: 251.

²⁵⁰ See entry “Serigawa”, in: *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 [Complete Japanese-language Dictionary]. Edited by Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu 小学館国語辞典編集部. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館, 2006.

²⁵¹ Jinson 尋尊. *Jinson Daisōjō ki* 尋尊大僧正記 [Journal of the Daisōjō Jinson]. 1479-1505. Edited by Tsuji Zennosuke. In *Daijōin jisha zōjiki*. 大乘院寺社雑事記 [Journal of the various matters concerning the temples and shrines by the head priest of Daijōin Temple]. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1964, in: Phillips, 2000: 182.

²⁵² Phillips, 2000: 51. See also, Chino Kaori 千野香織. “Shōheiga no imi to kinō: Nanbokuchō, Muromachi jidai yamato-e o chūshin ni” 障屏画の意味機能: 南北朝室町時代大和絵を中心に [The Meaning and Function of Screen and Panel Painting: Focusing on Yamato-e of the Nanbokuchō and Muromachi Periods]. In *Sesshū to yamato-e byōbu* 雪舟とやまと絵屏風 [Sesshū and Yamato-e Folding Screens], edited by Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄

This correlation of the inkstone case's design and Yoshimasa's hall for entertainment is certainly no coincidence. The living quarters and the rooms for gathering were the major buildings of the shogunal residence. The sliding room doors (*fusuma* 襖) in Yoshimasa's living quarters were decorated with paintings in the brush manner of a group of highly distinguished painters, such as Ma Yuan (J. Baen 馬遠), Muqi, Yu Jian, and Li Gonglin (J. Ri Kōrin 李公麟).²⁵³ In view of the careful selection of themes and styles, it is not surprising to find the same allusions and subject matters in other formats, such as in high-end movable objects like the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* from the previous section or the *Inkstone Cases Mt. Saga*. (fig. 26)

Based on my research including the geographical circumstances, I believe the landscape on the *Inkstone Cases Mt. Saga* depicts an actual area with distinct landmarks, including the mountain commonly known as Mt. Saga. The district Sagano on the north-western brim of Kyoto hosts numerous cultural-historical sites and after Emperor Saga had passed away his mansion with the extensive garden was transformed into Daikakuji Temple. The garden's *borrowed landscape* (*shakkei* 借景) comprises a mountain range. The highest mountain in this landscape section is located directly behind the garden hosts the mausoleum of Emperor Saga (786-842). The Shinto gate (*torii* 鳥居) situated on the presumed Mt. Saga in the design of the inkstone case signifies the border of the profane and a sacred area, either referring to an archway positioned in front of imperial burial sites or to the archways demarcating a spiritual entry to a mountain. The actual temple garden encompasses Osawa Pond (*Ōsawa ike* 大沢池), possibly the oldest artificial garden pond in Japan with a diameter of approximately one kilometer.²⁵⁴ The garden combines two styles of garden compositions of the Heian period. One is a garden type to appreciate the pond and concentrates on the perspective from a building (*chisen kanshō shiki tei'en* 池泉觀賞式庭園) – usually the veranda of the main building. The other type was designed for a multi-perspective viewing of the pond by strolling around it, and including the view from the veranda (*chisen kaiyū shiki tei'en* 池泉回遊式庭園).²⁵⁵ Osawa Pond is large enough for musicians and their instruments

et al., 172-179. *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 13 日本美術全集 [Complete Works of Japanese Art]. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1993: 176.

²⁵³ Phillips, 2000: 51.

²⁵⁴ Website of Daikakuji Temple. <http://www.daikakuji.or.jp/en/scene.html>. Accessed 2014.05.08.

²⁵⁵ JAANUS, entry “Chisen kanshōshiki teien 池泉觀賞式庭園 [Pond Admiration Style Garden].” <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/c/chisenkanshoushikiteien.htm>, for the Palace Style Garden, see entry “Shinden zukuri teien 寢殿造庭園 [Shinden Zukuri Garden].” <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/shindenzukuriteien.htm>. Accessed 2014.05.08.

on several dragon boats to entertain the emperor, or for him and his retinue to undertake boating trips. The attribution of the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* to the garden of Daikakuji Temple also accounts for the two Heian period timbales on the exterior side of the *Inkstone case Mt. Saga*.

The Sagano area is crossed by several ancient paths (*chiyo no furumichi* 千代の古道). Aristocrats used these paths as early as the Heian period to seek enjoyment and repose in the mountains surrounding the capital. One of these roads leads to Daikakuji Temple, the former residence of Emperor Saga, and another passes Mt. Mandara (曼荼羅山) on its way to Mt. Atago in the northwest of the capital. Mt. Atago is an important cultural landmark in Kyoto, and, as the highest mountain in Kyoto with approximately 924 m, home of the spirit Atago Daigongen (愛宕大権現) that has long been associated with fire.

The cult of Mount Atago seems originally to have been carried on by groups of people who had settled in earliest times to the east and the west of the mountain. These people revered the spirits of their ancestors as the mountain deity. They followed one of Japan's oldest funeral practices, abandoning corpses at the foot of a mountain that could be seen from the place where the deceased had lived.²⁵⁶

In the course of time, this ancient sacred site has also become the destination of countless “pilgrims [who] seek divine protection from Mt. Atago against the destructive power of fire.”²⁵⁷ Fire was certainly the primary destructive and feared force in medieval Kyoto with its wooden buildings. Especially during the Ōnin War effective protection devices such as talismans against fire were surely highly sought after.²⁵⁸

The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* shows a path leading towards the highest mountain in the illustrated landscape. The location roughly corresponds with the ancient path in the vicinity of Daikakuji Temple that leads towards Mt. Atago. Topographic maps show another mountain in the vicinity of the area in question called Mt. Ogura. In front of the actual

²⁵⁶ Bouchy, Anne-Marie. “The Cult of Mount Atago and the Atago Confraternities.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (1987): 255–77: 255.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Until today “almost every kitchen in Kyoto has a talisman displaying the phrase Hi no Yo-jin (Be Wary with Fire) and petitioning the divine benevolence of Atago-san [the deity who protects us from fire]. Each Atago lantern has a small box on the side, containing charms against fire.” Website *Kyoto City Web* 2004. “Atago Stone Lanterns.” <http://www2.city.kyoto.lg.jp/koho/eng/preview/20.html>. Accessed 2015.10.25

Mt. Ogura is another, slightly smaller mountain, Mt. Kame. The mountain of the inkstone case is also located behind a smaller mountain.

A small mountain depicted in the design possibly refers to Mt. Mandara, a considerably smaller mountain in Sagano in western direction of the river mentioned above, which is located southeast of Mt. Atago and southwest of Mt. Saga. Geographical maps of the area show the Arisukawa River (有栖川) coming from the mountains and entering the Daikakuji Temple territory on its northwestern corner. Its riverbed – which might have changed over the centuries – follows a soft zigzag course and is situated between the mountain of Emperor Saga's mausoleum on the right and the mountainous area on the left. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* shows a zigzag bamboo waterway coming from the mountains transporting water to the area of the building, where it partially flows into a bucket on the veranda and partially nourishes the small stream underneath the building, which flows into the pond in the foreground. The scenery of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* is not a realistic, map-like depiction of an actual topography in Kyoto but seems like a compilation of various significant and characteristic sites in the vicinity of Daikakuji Temple.

Visual and Literary References: The *Records of Garden Making* and the Design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*

The fears and the daily struggles to survive in the turmoil of the late fifteenth century concerned not only impoverished commoners. Every citizen of Kyoto was affected by the battles that eventually lasted longer than a century. After a few years into the armed conflict the urge to protect oneself from the dangers that may accompany warfare such as famines, robberies, attacks, and the fires had probably developed into an essential habit, a reflex. Slawson points out that manuals such as the *Records of Garden Making (Sakuteiki)* mentioned above served more as a “mnemonic device” to assure that the recipient complied with the significant tenets.²⁵⁹ However, geomantic rules were followed and threats taken seriously as can be seen in the fact that the northeastern sections in northeastern buildings such as of the Iwashimizu Hachimangu Shrine on Mt. Otoko was replaced by two edges on the left and the right of where the corner pointing to the northeast would be.²⁶⁰ (figs. 31) The actual garden of Emperor Saga's former villa also shows several classical features in accordance to the early

²⁵⁹ Slawson, 1987: 49.

²⁶⁰ For the taboo of the Northeast, the permanent “direction of evil,” see Keane and Takei, 2001: 116.

manual for garden construction *Records of Garden Making*, such as the pond that is fed by a small stream from the northwestern corner (*yarimizu* 遣水).²⁶¹

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* served a practical purpose as a precious container for writing materials, but the design of the inner side of the lid also shows several spiritual strategies to protect its owner. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* gained its assumed talismanic function through the employment of *reed-script* in combination with laws of secret teachings from garden manuals. The playful implementation of these strategies may be considered a main function of the inkstone case. The *Buddhist trinity stones* are described as an indispensable means of preventing evil karma from entering.²⁶² A false application or a neglect of specific gardening rules, for instance an incorrect placement of stones, would allow evil spirits to enter and result in the certain death of the garden owner.²⁶³ Another principle of gardening adhered to in the design of the inkstone case is the stream that comes from the east side of the hut, passes under the building, namely part of the veranda and the roof, and then runs in a south-western direction “so as to drain out the various evil spirits.”²⁶⁴ (fig. 31) By following the rules of garden composition an attempt was made to secure that “with the water of the Blue Dragon evil was to be washed out toward the way of the White Tiger,” and the people will “escape from any curse, and from bad skin diseases or epidemics.”²⁶⁵ In times of a civil war that was led to determine the next shogun and the unsettled circumstances that followed, bad curses, evil spirits, and epidemics were probably of concern to Yoshimasa.

²⁶¹ Ibid: 226.

²⁶² Tachibana with Shigemaru, 1976: 26.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid: 31.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

1.4 Higashiyama Lacquer Ware: the Kōami and the Igarashi Workshops

The three inkstone cases belong to the most significant lacquer wares of the Muromachi period, the so-called Higashiyama lacquer works, a group of objects understood to have been either owned by Yoshimasa or manufactured in the style of works that were in his possession.²⁶⁶ Several features are characteristic for artifacts from the Higashiyama era, i.e. the application and combination of different techniques,²⁶⁷ the influence of Chinese ink painting,²⁶⁸ as well as the fact that the decor is treated as an individual “picture” instead of being subordinate to the shape of the box.²⁶⁹ Ragué also emphasizes:

One almost feels the need to talk about a ‘twofold’ impact of these works, because they appeal to the eye as well as to the literary sentiment of the beholder. It is even more admirable that the lacquer decor does not sink to the level of being merely an illustration of the poems but transforms poetic sentiment with its own distinct means and a value of its own.²⁷⁰

Kōami Michinaga (幸阿弥道長, 1410-78) and Igarashi Shinsai (五十嵐信齋, active in the mid-fifteenth century) founded the two earliest schools for the production of lacquer ware. According to Samonides, both benefitted from the direct patronage of Ashikaga Yoshimasa until his death in 1490.²⁷¹ The Igarashi workshop existed through the seventeenth century, while the Kōami workshop continued to manufacture works for the shogunate until the nineteenth century.²⁷² Takeuchi Namiko likens their significance in the field of lacquer ware production to the Tosa and Kanō houses in the history of painting.²⁷³

The Kōami family records compiled in the Edo period by Kōami Nagafusa (幸阿弥長房, 1628-1683), his son Nagasuku (幸阿弥長救, 1661-1723), and grandson Masamine (幸阿弥正峯, active first half of the eighteenth century) “constitute the most extensive pre-modern records of any family of lacquerers.”²⁷⁴ A fire in 1665 destroyed the family’s residence that had been their home since the founding of the workshop in the early fifteenth century and

²⁶⁶ Ragué, 1967: 144-145.

²⁶⁷ Ragué refers to a pronounced *raised sprinkled design*, particularly in contrast to *burnished sprinkled design*, as the preferred technique of the time. Ibid: 146.

²⁶⁸ Ibid: 176.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid: 153.

²⁷¹ Samonides, 1991: 75-76.

²⁷² Entry “*maki-e*.” Website JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/m/makie.htm>. Accessed April 13, 2013.

²⁷³ Takeuchi, 2004: 3.

²⁷⁴ Samonides, 1991: 19. For details, see *ibid*: 20.

although some of the Kōami documents survived, the “loss of the Kyoto residence [as a storehouse and vault for the family’s past] was incalculable.”²⁷⁵ A main source for information on the Kōami workshop, the *Chronology of the Kōami*, was compiled in 1686, and it contains brief biographical information on the heads of each Kōami generation.²⁷⁶

Three Kōami were active in the second half of the fifteenth century, the founder of the workshop Michinaga, his son and successor Michikiyo (幸阿弥道清, 1433-1500), and Michikiyo’s son, Munekane. Knowledge of Michinaga’s life is scarce, and no extant records list the objects he produced.²⁷⁷ He lived in Kyoto from about 1430, and is said to have “worked exclusively for Yoshimasa [who became shogun in 1449], but the times and the details of his service were not recorded.”²⁷⁸ His eldest son and heir, Michikiyo, took over the workshop in 1465 upon Michinaga’s retirement.

According to Samonides, Michinaga and Michikiyo followed designs of painter Tosa Mitsunobu (土佐光信, 1434-1525) as well as Nōami, and Sōami but at least Michikiyo also produced his own drafts.²⁷⁹ Michikiyo was the first to apply a “maki-e design to the curved surfaces of a drum body,” an expression of his skill and sense for innovation.²⁸⁰ He was the “only Kōami producing maki-e during the height of Higashiyama culture.”²⁸¹ As Okada points out, Yoshimasa chose Michikiyo in 1465 to oversee the manufacturing of the artifacts for Go-Tsuchimikado’s enthronement ceremony.²⁸²

In 1500, Munekane became the third-generation head after his father Michikiyo died. He was active from 1487 to 1521, and served Ashikaga Yoshihisa’s successors, Shogun Ashikaga Yoshitane (足利義植, 1466-1523, in office 1490-1494, 1508-1521) and Shogun Ashikaga Yoshizumi. In 1521, Munekane was commissioned by Ashikaga Yoshizumi to manufacture works for the enthronement of Emperor Go-Kashiwabara (後柏原天皇, 1464-1526, r. 1500-1526).²⁸³

The two earliest entries in the *List of Sprinkled Picture Objects by the Kōami House* (*Kōami-ke maki-e hinmoku* 幸阿弥家蒔絵品目) refer to the second half of the fifteenth

²⁷⁵ Ibid: 49.

²⁷⁶ Ibid: 67.

²⁷⁷ Ibid: 68.

²⁷⁸ Ibid: 69-70.

²⁷⁹ Ibid: 73, 76.

²⁸⁰ Ibid: 73-74, 76. Samonides refers to Katō Hiroshi 加藤寛. “Kodō no kōzō to sōshoku” 鼓胴の構造と装飾 [Structure and Decoration of Drum Bodies]. *Museum* 449 (1988): 4-17: 4-6. Ibid.

²⁸¹ Samonides 1991: 75. It is clear which person Samonides refers to by comparing the time of a person’s activity and other given dates with other sources.

²⁸² Okada, 1978: 177.

²⁸³ Samonides, 1991: 80.

century, namely to the drum body (*tsuzumi no dō* 鼓胴) crafted by Michikiyo for Yoshimasa and to the lacquer wares produced for the enthronement of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado under Michikiyo's supervision.²⁸⁴

The document titled *Famous Inkstone Cases* (*Meibutsu suzuribako* 名物硯箱)²⁸⁵ lists a total of twenty-four works, among them nine inkstone cases attributed to Michikiyo, none of which are extant today.²⁸⁶ Samonides summarizes the fate of the Kōami workshop after Michikiyo as follows:

In spite of Michikiyo's accomplishments, the decades following his death appear to have been the nadir of the fortunes of the Kōami. The family was headed by lacquerers of considerable skills, yet the records, reflecting the political and economic weakness of their patrons, provide a very limited record of their achievements. Only three commissions, all for imperial enthronements, are mentioned in the family records from 1500 to 1570. This period of political instability, the period of the warring states (*sengoku jidai*), was also the haziest period of Kōami history.²⁸⁷

While the existing textual evidence conveys information on the early Kōami workshop, no records concerning the Igarashi, the other significant manufacturer of lacquer wares in fifteenth century Kyoto, exist and certified material evidence of the time is sparse as well.²⁸⁸ The attribution of works to this workshop should hence be based on a contrasting juxtaposition with further extant lacquer wares.

According to Takeuchi, designs of the Igarashi workshop display great detail and show scattered patterns, e.g. of birds or broken branches.²⁸⁹ Igarashi designs often include the depiction of autumn grasses, such as the balloon flower (*Platycodon grandiflorum*), Japanese bog orchid (*Eupatorium japonicum*), Japanese plum grass (*Miscanthus sinensis*), gentian (*Gentiana scabra* var. *buergeri*), or China root (*Smilax china*).²⁹⁰ She also identifies the usage of *patterns of small squares of gold and silver foil* (*kirikane* 切金), “the technique of applying

²⁸⁴ Kōami, Nagasuku. *Kōamike ki. Kōamike maki-e hinmoku* 幸阿弥家記. 幸阿弥家蒔絵品目 [Documents of the Kōami House. List of Objects with Sprinkled Designs by the Kōami House]. Late seventeenth century. Edited by Suzuki Norio 鈴木規夫. *Shikkōshi* 5 漆工史 [History of Lacquer Art. Bulletin of the Academy of Lacquer Research] (1982): 61-71: 66.

²⁸⁵ Samonides, 1991: 371.

²⁸⁶ The list has been published in Kōami, 1940: 65-67, in: Samonides, 1991: 371-373.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*: 79.

²⁸⁸ Takeuchi, 2004: 3.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*: 4.

extremely small rectangular pieces of metal to rocks or trunks of trees,” as one of the usual characteristics of Igarashi ware.²⁹¹

In the Edo period, the application of large pieces of gold powder flakes, *hirame fun* (平目粉), became another customary feature.²⁹² Apart from numerous inkstone cases from the Igarashi workshop in the seventeenth century, one inkstone case with *reed-script* design has been attributed to the fifteenth-century, and another inkstone case to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.²⁹³ These are the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* and the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Block for Beating Clothes* (*Kinuta maki-e suzuribako* 砧蒔絵硯箱), respectively.²⁹⁴

The *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Block for Beating Clothes* cites poem no. 342 by Priest Toshimori (俊盛法師, dates unclear) from the section “Autumn I” in the seventh imperial *Collection of a Thousand Years* (*Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集, 1188)²⁹⁵. It reads:

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Hearing the sound | <i>koromo utsu</i> |
| of beating clothes | <i>oto wo kikuniso</i> |
| I know now | <i>shirare nuru</i> |
| a village is not far, | <i>sato tō karanu</i> |
| in this solitary overnight stay | <i>kusa makura to ha</i> |

衣打つ
音を聞くにぞ
知[し]られぬる
里遠からぬ
草枕とは²⁹⁶

²⁹¹ Ibid: 3.

²⁹² Ibid: 4.

²⁹³ Takeuchi attributes the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Block for Beating Clothes* to the sixteenth century and Brisset dates it to the fifteenth century. Brisset 2009: Plate 36.

²⁹⁴ Takeuchi names the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* and the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Block for Beating Clothes* in the table of Igarashi works. Takeuchi, 2004: 34.

²⁹⁵ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

²⁹⁶ Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. Database *Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集 [Collection of a Thousand Years]. http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i009.html. Accessed 2017.03.06. The English translation is cited in the entry *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Design Kinuta* in the database of the *emuseum*. http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100530/001/003?x=&y=&s=&d_lang=en&s_lang=ja&word=&class=&title=&ce=®ion=&era=&cptype=&owner=&pos=745&num=2&mode=detail¢ury=. Accessed 2017.03.06.

Five silver *reed-script* elements have been applied to the design of the exterior side of the cover. The syllables, namely the part *shi ra re nu ru* (しられぬる), were embedded in the rocks with the technique using small pieces of *metal foil* (*hyōmon* 平文). The scriptorial elements either imitate or follow the form of the pictorial elements. The design comprises black lacquer, silver, and gold on wood. The central motif of the exterior side shows a high pillow (*takamakura* 高枕), i.e. a bolster-shaped pillow of lacquered wood, whose side is decorated with the image of a lion. The headrest is surrounded by some smaller rock formations and autumn grasses in various sizes such as gentian, Japanese bog orchids, and Chinese lantern flowers as well as pampas grass. A large full moon and some clouds in the upper right corner of the cover complete the composition.

The design comprises several techniques, such as a *pear-skin ground* (*nashiji* 梨子地) with numerous silver *bead inlays to depict dew drops* (*haritsuke byō* 貼付鋳) in the grasses. Bead inlays of *metal nacre* were used to indicate the circular fruits of the Chinese lantern flowers, and a large circular *silver inlay* (*kana kai* 金貝) was immersed into the lacquer ground to depict the moon. Circular *patterns of small squares of gold and silver foil* evoke little patches on moss on boulders and *irregular sprinkles of metal foil* (*kirihaku* 切箔) of gold and silver illustrate different shades inside the clouds in *raised-sprinkled design* (*takamaki-e* 高蒔絵). Motifs, such as the high pillow and the autumn plants show a combination of *flat-sprinkled design* (*hiramaki-e* 平蒔絵) and raised-sprinkled techniques, while the cliffs have been crafted as a *raised-sprinkled design*. *Burnished sprinkled design* (*togidashi maki-e* 研出蒔絵) was used to depict the fog. The titular activity refers to the interior side with two human figures in the house who are beating clothes. The building is part of a garden scene with various rocks, a variety of plants, swifs of mists, and even a rabbit. Details like the mossy roof, different arrangements of wood, and the bamboo fence create the sense of looking into an actual spatial room, a closed setting. While the inner side of the lid was also crafted using gold with some silver patches on a black ground, the quantity of pure gold surfaces exceeds those on the exterior side. The clouds show a considerable higher density of silver applications. Some small areas on the lower left side in the exterior surface are slightly damaged. (figs. 35)

By comparing and contrasting the designs of further inkstone cases containing *reed-script* from the late fifteenth century, the existence of two distinct groups becomes evident. The first category (*Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Saga, Block for Beating Clothes, Inkstone Case with the*

Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Otoko (*Otoko yama maki-e suzuribako* 男山蒔絵硯箱) shares elements such as the rendering of scenery with softly curved mountains, a full moon, trees, and either a variety of autumn grasses in larger quantity or trees combined with small amounts of slender grasses growing on the ground. Each item is depicted in detail. The *reed-script* imitates the pictorial elements by following the contours, or it forms internal lines of the objects, or it is partially inserted on top of the pictorial design. The script is slender and delicate, and thereby matches the style of the pictorial elements.

The second category (*Mt. Shio, Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Thousand Years* (*Chitose maki-e suzuribako* 千歳蒔絵硯箱), *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Petals on the Shirakawa River* (*Hana shirakawa maki-e suzuribako* 花白河蒔絵硯箱) comprises scenery that shows a smaller section of landscape. The *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Thousand Years* was designed using gold and silver on a black lacquer ground on wood. It measures 22.7 x 20.9 x 4.2 cm and belongs to the collection of the Fujita Museum in Osaka. The exterior side shows a wooden building with a wicker fence (*ajiro gaki* 網代垣), a blossoming plum tree, two flying birds, few plants, and some rocks, all crafted in gold. None of the pictorial elements give a sense of pronounced spatiality. The design of the lid's interior displays a few scattered plum blossoms and petals. Interestingly, the perspective is not clear, they either are on or in the process of falling on the ground. In comparison to the elements on the outer side, their size is greatly enhanced. The scriptural elements *kimi* (君), *ga* (賀), *chi* (千), *to* (と), and *se* (せ) are placed on the exterior motifs using silver inlays and cite a line from poem no. 352 of the section "Celebration" in the *Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times*. According to the introductory line, it was composed on occasion of the seventieth birthday of Prince Motoyasu and written on screens.²⁹⁷ The poem reads:

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| [O]h plum blossoms you | <i>haru kureba</i> |
| who first adorn the new year | <i>yado ni mazu saku</i> |
| gardens now trim our | <i>ume no hana</i> |
| hats in fine celebration | <i>kimi ga chitose no</i> |
| of our lord's longevity ²⁹⁸ | <i>kazashi to zo miru</i> |

²⁹⁷ Rodd and Henkenius, 1984: 148.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

春くれは
やとにまつさく
梅花
君か[賀]ち[チ]とせの
かさしとそ見る²⁹⁹

Some applied techniques are *burnished sprinkled design* for the architectural elements, *silver inlays* for the scriptorial elements and the blossoms, *raised sprinkled design* for the birds, and *densely sprinkled gold particles* (*ikakeji* 沃縣地) for the ground area as well as *pear-skin ground* to depict the sky. The lines within the motifs were *engraved with a needle*. Sadly, the surface of the interior side shows several cracks between the blossoms.(figs. 36)

The *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Petals on the Shirakawa River* shows an aristocrat in an informal garment of the Heian court (lit. hunting cloak, *karinigu* 狩衣) and a black-lacquered headgear (*eboshi* 烏帽子) standing next to a blossoming cherry tree and several petals either on the ground or falling. It measures 24.0 x 22.1 x 4.3 cm and belongs to the collection of the Nezu Museum in Tokyo. The materials are gold and black lacquer on wood. On the exterior side of the lid, three characters *hana* (花), and *shirakawa* (白河) on the tree and the rock refer to poem no. 1456 by Fujiwara no Masatsune (藤原雅経, 1170-1221) from the section “Miscellaneous poems I” in the eighth imperial anthology *New Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Shinkokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集) from 1216.³⁰⁰ In intense contrast to the full landscape design with script, the interior’s subtle design shows a few scattered petals on a dark background. The composition is so reduced that the spatial relations are undefined. The question whether the petals are caught in the moment of falling or motionless on the ground is a poetic play with ambiguity.

The poem reads:

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| [G]rown so familiar | <i>narenarete</i> |
| how could I not have known I | <i>mishi ha nagori no</i> |
| was enjoying for | <i>haru zo to mo</i> |

²⁹⁹ Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. Database 古今和歌集 [Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times] http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i001.html#i001-007. Accessed 2017.01.23.

³⁰⁰ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

the last time shade cast by spring *nado shiraka[w]a no*
blossoms at Shirakawa *hana no shitakage*³⁰¹

なれなれて
みしはなこりの
春そとも
なとしら[白]河の
花の下かけ³⁰²

The introductory lines refer to Masatsune’s visit to Saishōji where a new cherry tree was planted on his order. He recalls his constant admiration for the previous old tree that was “toppled by the wind” in spring.³⁰³ All motifs in this design were seemingly executed as gold *burnished sprinkled design* on a black surface. (figs. 37)

The depictions in the designs of this group are not very detailed, and the quantity of different pictorial elements was reduced to a minimum. The *reed-script* is applied either on top of the pictorial elements in an additional and independent layer, or the script takes the form of a thick band that is inserted in the pictorial components. Even if it blends in, this type of script does not imitate the pictorial elements, and might also contrast in texture or color.

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum was either manufactured by Kōami Michinaga, the founder of the Kōami workshop, or by his successor Michikiyo. The *Chronology of the Kōami* reports that Michinaga’s designs were usually based on drafts by Tosa Mitsunobu for the *raised sprinkled designs* and his *burnished sprinkled designs* on drafts by Sōami and Nōami.³⁰⁴ It is hence conceivable that the pictorial elements in the *raised sprinkled design* such as the silver plovers and the rocks were based on drafts by Tosa Mitsunobu,³⁰⁵ and the images in the *burnished sprinkled design*, such as the sandbanks, were

³⁰¹ The translation has been taken from Rodd, 2015: 597. The order of transcription and translation has been reversed. The font of the transcription is changed to italic. The term “shirakaha” has been changed to “shirakawa.”

³⁰² The poem was taken from the website Agency for Cultural Affairs, after it was compared to the original text in the database of the Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā to ensure the only changes concern the insertion of characters not the content. Bunka chō 文化庁 [Agency for Cultural Affairs]. *Bunka isan onrain* 文化遺産オンライン [Cultural Heritage Online]. *Shirakawa maki-e suzuribako* 花白河蒔絵硯箱 [Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Petals on the Shirakawa River]. <http://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/146544>. Accessed 2017.02.12. Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. Database *Shinkokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 [New Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times]. http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i010.html#i010-016. Accessed 2017.02.12.

³⁰³ Rodd, 2015: 597.

³⁰⁴ Kōami, 1940: 56.

³⁰⁵ Haino also concluded this. Haino, 1979: 121.

based on drafts by Nōami and Sōami. Michikiyo, just like Michinaga, used drafts by Nōami, Sōami, and the Tosa school, but also worked using his own drafts.³⁰⁶ Nōami and Sōami advised the Ashikaga shogunate in aesthetic matters and Tosa Mitsunobu and the Kōami craftsmen were also in its services.

The Kōami family documents illustrate the complexity of the production processes that were based on a sequence of several different models instead of one image or idea. It hence seems almost impossible to single out a main influence based on visual evidence. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum is not the only inkstone case citing and depicting poem no. 345 in the seventh section “Congratulations,” from the *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times*.

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum also dates to the Higashiyama period. It measures 24.7 x 22.8 x 5.2 cm and was crafted using gold and silver on a black lacquer ground. This case shows resemblance in the lacquer techniques as well as in the motifs chosen to depict the theme of Mt. Shio. Nevertheless, each work was manufactured in a different manner and expression. Since the inkstone case in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum can be attributed to the Kōami workshop,³⁰⁷ a contrasting of those two works seems a promising approach to possibly distinguish the early styles of the Igarashi and the Kōami workshops. (fig. 38)

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the collection of the Kyoto National Museum depicts rocks and rock formations with sharp edges and plastic internal contours. The three-dimensionality of the rocks and some of the birds, crafted in a strong *raised sprinkled design*, contrasts with the elements depicted mainly in *flat sprinkled design* such as the sandbank. Numerous gold lines were chosen to depict the waves and their repetitive curvy patterns cover the black lacquer ground of the watery surface. This Mt. Shio design emphasizes the crystal texture of the cliffs, whose pronounced spatiality suits the name “Salt Mountain.” The plastic expression of the design is mainly generated by an ingenious combination of elevated materials, the spatial arrangement of the sandbank, and the waves’ contrast in color, which conveys water in vigorous motion.

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in Tokyo displays a different strategy to convey the idea of a three-dimensional space. There is also a contrasting of various techniques. However, a sense of spatiality is primarily caused by the composition, i.e. the placement of the motifs. The main element of both sides of the lid – the silver sandbank with the rocks, grass, birds in

³⁰⁶ Kōami, 1940: 56.

³⁰⁷ Haino insinuates an attribution to the Kōami workshop. Haino, 1979: 121.

silver and gold, trees, and waterline – is placed in the mid-picture plane thus separating the depiction into a fore-, middle-, and background. This manner of generating a sense of spatiality resembles that in the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, whose design also shows the prominent element – the mountain range – like a broad band that divides the landscape. Here, the gold lines of the waves seem to be crafted in *slender lacquer lines sprinkled with gold* (*tsukegaki* 付描) on a gold aquatic surface depicted by means of the *flat sprinkled design*. This tone-on-tone composition conveys a stagnant flatness, despite the curvy lines.

The scriptorial elements in both designs are placed on the rocks. While the two gold characters in the design of the Tokyo case were manufactured by using the *raised sprinkled design*, the script in the design of the case in Kyoto was applied in the shape of *silver inlays*. Despite the fact that the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Thousand Years*, one of Yoshimasa's so-called "Five Inkstone Cases" appears flat, it shows a similar treatment. The scriptorial elements are broad silver ribbons, some of which are placed on gold rocks and some follow the contours of the gold plum tree with silver blossoms. Due to this contrast in color – especially in the ground section – the silver scriptorial elements dominate the overall image. This inkstone case likewise emphasizes a contrasting of different techniques and materials, in this case those of *needle drawing* to delineate contours of leaves and rocks, with the *flat sprinkled design* of the birds and the silver inlays of the blossoms and the script but it lacks the pronounced spatiality of the Mt. Shio case in the Kyoto National Museum.

Apart from the different treatment of the scriptorial elements and the spatial aspects, its main differences to the Kyoto case lie in the vegetation and the reduced number of rocks in the design. Although the poem does not refer to plants, the large pine is a main element and considerably more dominant than the three small rocks in the composition. Both cliffs in the middle ground are decorated with one character each, namely *kimi* and *ga*. While the poem in the design of inkstone case in the Kyoto National Museum comprises mainly scriptorial elements and uses pictorial elements only for the translation of the middle section, the Tokyo case relies mainly on the pictorial elements. This compositional choice limits the statement and causes the overall designs to focus on the congratulatory aspect of the recipient. On the interior side, reed grows next to the large rock, evoking ink paintings with this popular theme. On the exterior side, numerous small silver beads decorate the reeds that grow next to the rocks. These aspects indicate a manufacturing in the Igarashi workshop, among other factors, such as the vegetation and detailed execution.

Although the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Tokyo National Museum shows many of the same techniques as the inkstone case in Kyoto, the *raised sprinkled design*

has not been applied to an utmost degree and the design does not generally highlight the contrast between plastic and less plastic elements. According to my analysis, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum was produced by the Kōami workshop and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Tokyo National Museum by the Igarashi workshop. The resemblances in the designs of the desks indicate that they were crafted in the Igarashi workshop as well. The design of the Kyoto inkstone case shows a close relation to the poem, its design transformed from the more versatile formula with shells and plants to an innovative yet distilled imagery.

In some regard, the Tokyo case resembles the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, one of Yoshimasa's five cases. The Mt. Kasuga case also displays the scriptorial elements in the *raised sprinkled design* using the same material – and thus color – as the pictorial object underneath the script. Besides the additional trees, the design of the Mt. Shio case in Tokyo shows little dewdrops. Those small silver beads are the most pronounced plastic elements in this design, and they resemble the gold bead-like applications in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. Another silver bead is placed in a prominent position on the exterior lid of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*, and several gold beads were applied to the interior lid of the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Otoko*.

Takeuchi associates the *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of a Block for Beating Clothes* with the Igarashi workshop. The design also displays numerous beads in silver and some beads in gold.³⁰⁸

The *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field (Akino maki-e suzuribako 秋野蒔絵硯箱)* by Igarashi Dōho (五十嵐道甫, ?-1678) from the seventeenth century also incorporates small beads. It measures 24.0 x 22.0 x 4.8 cm and was crafted using black lacquer, gold, silver, coral, mother-of-pearl on wood.

The colorful design shows scenery with several autumn grasses, rocks, and a crescent moon. The surface has been evenly covered with *a matt layer of gold particles (fundame 粉溜)*. The area of the sky was additionally decorated with some single gold sprinkles, whereas the ground displays several zones of silver and gold *foil squares distributed in an irregular manner* as well as sprinkles in both materials. The cliffs, clouds, and some plants were designed in gold *raised design* and the small aquatic area as well as the moon comprise *silver inlays*. Small *square pieces of metal foil were applied in patterns* to depict the bicolor blossoms, the monochrome leaves and flowers were executed using individual *gold inlays* for

³⁰⁸ Takeuchi, 2004: 34.

each component. The gold cliff formations are *sprinkled in gold and silver with plain edges* (*kakiwari* 描割). *Cut-in-shape mother-of-pearl inlays* (*kirigai* 切貝) were used for some of the white and blue flowers, other flowers carry berries executed with inlays of red coral and silver beads. (fig. 39)

The landscape composition of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* resembles the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko*, which was also manufactured in the Higashiyama period. Ragué leans towards an attribution of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* to Kōami Michinaga or his son Michikiyo, and suggests it was manufactured for Shogun Yoshimasa.³⁰⁹ She notes that the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* displays a combination of various techniques, a typical feature of Muromachi lacquer wares, and she implies that this very detailed artifact might have become the basis of all later works crafted by the Kōami workshop.³¹⁰ She underlines the practice to decorate the interior of the inkstone cases more lavishly than the exterior sides, such as in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*.³¹¹ Ragué is also inclined to attribute the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko* to a production in the Kōami workshop due to the “very clean yet somehow sober execution [“sehr sauberen, aber etwas trockenen Gestaltungsweise”] that is not seldom found later in the Kōami school.”³¹² Okada Jō suggests that the inkstone case was executed by the Kōami although not by Michikiyo himself.³¹³ Samonides takes it even further and attributes all of Yoshimasa’s so-called *Five Inkstone Cases* to the Kōami workshop.

While none of these boxes can be attributed with certainty to Michikiyo, they are nonetheless helpful in [sic] establishing the lacquer styles that came to be viewed by later generations of the Kōami as their “classical” style. These objects display an extremely high level of execution, a standard that later generations would seek to attain.³¹⁴

A general attribution of works to the Kōami workshop without proper analysis seems like a too convenient solution in view of the scarceness of Kōami and Igarashi objects up to the Edo period.³¹⁵

³⁰⁹ Ragué, 1967: 153.

³¹⁰ Ragué, 1967: 155.

³¹¹ Ibid: 154.

³¹² Ibid: 155.

³¹³ Okada, 1978: 192-195, in: Samonides, 1991: 144.

³¹⁴ Ibid: 140.

³¹⁵ Ibid: 137. Samonides stresses the fact that of the twenty-one objects attributed to the Kōami “with certainty,” only six have been manufactured before 1700. Ibid.

The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko* refers to poem no. 545 from the section “Divinities” (*jingi* 神祇) in the *Later Collection of Japanese Poetry Continued* (*Shoku gosen wakashū* 続後撰和歌集), compiled in 1251 (Kenchō 3), at the request of Emperor Go-Saga (後嵯峨天皇, 1220-1272, r. 1242-1246).³¹⁶ It measures 22.7 x 21.4 x 5.0 cm and belongs to the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. The design was crafted in gold on a black lacquer ground on wood, and contains few silver applications, among them the silver *reed-script*, ie. 奈越, 代々, 尔, 男, よ, 里, 仰, 出る, and 加け. The poem reads:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Brightly shining | <i>Nao terase</i> |
| invariably, generation for generation | <i>yoyo ni kawarazu</i> |
| the moonlight emerging | <i>otoko yama aogu</i> |
| from behind the summit | <i>mine yori izuru</i> |
| pays homage to Mt. Otoko | <i>tsuki kage</i> |

なほ[奈越]照らせ
 代々に[尔]変はらず
 男山仰ぐ
 峯より[里]出る
 月影[加け]³¹⁷

According to the previously cited document in the storage box of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the case with the design of Mt. Otoko belonged to Ashikaga Yoshimasa’s personal collection of inkstone cases and was one of the so-called *Five Cases*.³¹⁸

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko* shows on all sides a considerably denser concentration of gold particles than the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*. The overall quantity of gold that has been applied to the Mt. Otoko case is also higher since the exterior lid of the Mt. Saga case comprises a large black-lacquered surface. The landscape design of the Mt. Otoko case mainly focuses on the rolling hills in several overlapping layers on the outer side of the lid

³¹⁶ Ibid: 146.

³¹⁷ The verse in the database of the anthology reads “なほてらせ—よよにかはらず—をとかやま—あふくみねより—いつるつきかけ.” I inserted those characters that are commonly used in this poem in literature concerning the inkstone case (i.e. by the Tokyo National Museum and the Kyoto National Museum) and omitted the hypens. Database of the *Shoku gosen wakashū*.

http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i012.html#i012-009. Accessed 2015.10.23.

³¹⁸ Document in the storage box of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, Nezu Museum, Tokyo.

and on its interior side the gold building in the aristocratic *shinden-zukuri* (寝殿造り) style that is shown from the typical perspective of the *blown off roof* (*fukinuki yatai* 吹抜屋台). The interior side includes various details in this depiction of palatial architecture, such as a lantern, the cat's fluffy fur, and several small silver beads to depict fruits of the plant in the foreground. (figs. 40)

The shared features in both cases' designs are the rendering of the full moon behind layers of softly curved mountains on the left and the arrangement and the shape of trees, especially the ones in front of the moon as well as the trees on the very right and left sides, respectively. The main compositional difference is that while the Mt. Saga case shows a combination of a landscape and a building, both placed in the lower right corner of the interior side of the lid, the same elements of the Mt. Otoko case are divided into a landscape depiction on the exterior side, and a rendering of a building on the interior side of the lid. The Mt. Saga case combines and unites in its interior side the two compositions on the inner and outer lid of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko*.

The Mt. Saga case was executed with more detail and shows a distinct contrast in subject matter and visual effect of the inner and outer lid. The beveled edge of the exterior lid of the Mt. Otoko inkstone case as well as those of the Mt. Saga case is embellished with square gold and silver applications and slender gold arabesques, which could be interpreted as one more clue to an attribution to the same workshop. The Mt. Saga design was probably created following the design of the Mt. Otoko inkstone case, which had been manufactured for Yoshimasa.

Based on my analysis, I support the attribution of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* to the Igarashi workshop, the attribution of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* in the Kyoto National Museum to the Kōami workshop, and I attribute the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* to the Igarashi workshop. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko* are likely to have been both crafted by the Igarashi workshop based on the several characteristics concerning lacquer techniques, the selection of imagery, and the method of script application.

2. *Entanglements and the Transmission of Cultural Identity*

The chapter views the designs of the inkstone cases from several perspectives. I will examine the inkstone cases' designs from the perspective of cultural memory, and subsequently argue that *entanglements* constitute a specific *cultural technique*. This new *cultural technique* will be analyzed with a focus on some of the assumed primary cultural functions of the inkstone cases' *entanglements*. I include basic psychological aspects of memory, on the basis of which I will further argue that the *entanglements* of the inkstone cases share two alternating layers of information and could thus be termed *entangled mnemonics*.

2.1 Cultural Memory and the Higashiyama Inkstone Cases

The poems chosen for the designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* were not composed by contemporary authors but taken from imperial anthologies compiled well before the fifteenth century. As to the content of the poetry collections commissioned on royal order, Robert Huey stresses the following point in his essay:¹

What appears in the imperial anthologies is not necessarily the 'best' poetry, not even by the standards of that day.² Rather, by Emperor Shirakawa's [白河天皇, 1053-1129, r. 1072-1087] reign imperial anthologies are monuments, public works projects, attempt to define what is proper in public poetry.³ They are, in other words, the canon, with all its political ramifications.⁴

This is noteworthy in this study's context because the shogunate not only showed interest but was directly involved in the initiation of the last four of the twenty-one imperial anthologies, which ended in 1439 with the *New Continued Poetry Collection of Ancient and Modern Times* (*Shinshoku kokin wakashū*, 新続古今和歌集),⁵ requested by Yoshimasa's father, Shogun

¹ Huey, Robert N. "Warriors and the Imperial Anthology." In *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World*, edited by Mass, Jeffrey P. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, 171-191.

² Huey refers here (Huey, 1997: 421.) to his earlier essay in which he states "It is often assumed that works in imperial anthologies represented what people considered the best poetry of any given age. But these anthologies had their own traditions, their own restrictions [...]." Huey, Robert N. "The Kingyoku Poetry Contest" *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, no. 3 (1987), 299-330: 302.

³ Huey refers to an earlier essay (Huey, Robert N. "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 2 (1990), 651-668: 653, 666-667.) and notes that in his view this time is "pivotal" (Huey, 1997: 421) because the fourth anthology, the *Goshūishū* (1086) was the first collection to "elicit a public critique, and it was during this era that poetry contests became literary battlefields for contending poetic factions." In Huey, 1997: 421.

⁴ *Ibid*: 171.

⁵ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

Ashikaga Yoshinori (足利義教; 1394-1441), and “formally commissioned” by Emperor Go-Hanazono, in 1433.⁶

It is remarkable that artifacts treasured in fifteenth-century warrior circles, whose designs comprise poetry from imperial collections would instead refer to those compiled long before a martial monopolization process had even begun. Accordingly, the socio-cultural functions of the inkstone cases relate to memory whose reference points lie further in the past. To explore this feature, the following sections examine the functions of the entangled designs in view of the kind of memory likely to have been valued in the Higashiyama circles around Shogun Yoshimasa. My analysis draws on Jan Assmann’s basic approach to *cultural memory*.⁷

Cultural memory describes how a community’s inner cohesion is based on the collective agreement as to that which “must not be forgotten.”⁸ According to Assmann’s definition:

Cultural memory has its fixed point; its horizon does not change with the passing of time. These fixed points are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance).⁹

He relies on Maurice Halbwachs’ model of *collective memory* insofar that he also distinguishes between *cultural memory* and the so-called *communicative memory*.¹⁰ While *communicative memory* refers to the historical experiences of eyewitnesses and is thus related to oral history,¹¹ *cultural memory* mainly comprises a community’s significant past events to “stabilize and convey [a] community’s self-image [by means of] reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch.”¹² This varying content builds the core of the

⁶ Huey, 1997: 189.

⁷ Assmann, Jan. “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity.” *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33. (Assmann J., 1995) The original German essay “Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität” was published in Assmann, Jan and Holscher, Tonio (eds.), *Kultur und Gedächtnis*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp 1988, 9-19. I refer to the English translation.

⁸ Assmann, Jan. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. München: C.H. Beck, 1992: 77.

⁹ Assmann J., 1995: 129.

¹⁰ Halbwachs first identified individual memory as developing “in interaction with that of social networks and the larger community. As the product of social change, moreover, memory was itself a process, an ever changing representation of the past.” Website of Leiden University. <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/talesoftherevolt/approach/approach-1.html#terminology>. Accessed 2016.05.04.

¹¹ Assmann J., 1992: 51.

¹² Assmann J., 1995: 132.

community's self-conception (interior) and identity (exterior) and enables the group to act in a unified manner.¹³ *Cultural memory* hence comprises the subjective, retrospective construction of a communal narrative from a contemporary perspective based on present preferences, negations, and neglects.

Jan Assmann names six main characteristics of *cultural memory*, namely the "concretion of identity," the "capacity to reconstruct," "formation," "organization," "obligation," and "reflexivity."¹⁴ The *concretion of identity* refers to the relation of a community to a certain event, feature or information. The community selects certain characteristics to make an "identificatory determination in a positive ('We are this') or in a negative ('That's our opposite') sense"¹⁵ and derives its social identity from defining demarcations against other social groups. The *capacity to reconstruct* considers that every memory reflects the present circumstances.¹⁶ *Formation* means that "communicated meaning and collectively shared knowledge"¹⁷ needs to be filtered and objectivized to be conveyed and accepted into the "*culturally institutionalized heritage of a society*."¹⁸ This process can take place by means of various media, such as writing, pictures, and rituals. *Organization* refers to the institutionalization of *cultural memory*, e.g. by formalizing the information in a ritual as well as the specialization of its keepers and agents, such as shamans, priests or scholars and the like. Assmann points out that "[c]ultural memory [...] always depends on a specialized practice, a kind of 'cultivation'."¹⁹ *Obligation* refers to a hierarchical value system. "[It structures] the cultural supply of knowledge and the symbols. [...] Historicism is positioned firmly against this perspectival evaluation of a heritage, which is centered on cultural identity."²⁰ *Reflexivity of cultural memory* means that *cultural memory* "interprets common practice through proverbs, maxims, 'ethno-theories' [or] rituals [...] and so on,"²¹ that it is "self-reflexive in that its draws on itself to explain, distinguish, reinterpret, criticize, censure, control, surpass, and receive hypoleptically,"²² and that *cultural memory* is "reflexive of its

¹³ Assmann J., 1992: 30.

¹⁴ Assmann J., 1995: 130-132.

¹⁵ Ibid: 130.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid: 131.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid: 132.

²² Assmann J., 1995: 132. The term hypolepsis denotes "a speech act relating to that which the previous speaker has said. In citing others, hypoleptic speech is also an occasion to say something, building upon what others have said. Hypolepsis endows discourse with a dialectic dynamic of continuity and development. The hypoleptic character of cultural memory functions in a similar reflexive fashion." Gordis, David M. and Heller, Zachary I. *Jewish Secularity: The Search for Roots and the Challenges of Relevant Meaning*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America 2012: 96.

own image insofar as it reflects the self-image of the group through a preoccupation with its own social system.”²³

All these features relate to the design of the three inkstone cases with *entanglements*. The *concretion of identity* is established by providing clues that allow the members of the warrior aristocracy to shape and confirm their cultural identity. The *capacity to reconstruct* relates to each design’s individual concept, which relates the past to the present, namely significant locations or events of the past to circumstances in the late fifteenth century. Assmann’s concept of *formation* refers to the creation of *memory figures* to establish stable forms of expression. These *memory figures* are “culturally formed, societally binding ‘images of recollection’” (“kulturell geformte, gesellschaftlich verbindliche ‘Erinnerungsbilder’”)²⁴ with a “concrete reference to space and time, the concrete reference to a group, and the reconstruction as an independent procedure.”²⁵ These are the landscapes of the designs that can easily be attributed to actual locations, the corpus of the imperial anthologies or even single motifs such as the plovers in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*. Here, the main carriers of *organization* are the Ashikaga court centering on the shogun, the imperial court centering on the emperor, and the various members of the cultural world such as experts in religious or literary matters who maintained relations with both.

The institutionalization *cultural memory* emphasizes refers to the shogunal circles and their efforts to set up, establish, and maintain an elite martial culture. Two exemplary pieces of evidence of this process are the accumulation of a broad-ranged art collection and the founding of culture-related institutions such as the shogunal painting academy in Shōkokuji Temple. Assmann’s notion of *obligation* refers to the values of a sophisticated warrior culture like the concept of “sword and brush” (*tsurugi to fude* 剣と筆) that evolved from the realization that territory might be conquered by the sword, but could only be ruled through self-cultivation. Virtues, such as those attributed to Minamoto Yoshitsune (源義経, 1159-1189) (loyalty, “superb strategic and tactical skills,”²⁶ “decisiveness, speed, and aggressive spirit,”²⁷ and physical sword skills) also apply. *Reflexivity* is seen in the fact that each *entangled* design individually reflects an aspect of the warrior elite’s assumed general self-image and actualities.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Assmann J., 1992: 38.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ McCullough, Helen Craig, transl. and annot. *Yoshitsune. A Fifteenth-Century Japanese Chronicle*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1966: 16.

²⁷ Ibid.

Cultural memory provides and maintains an awareness of unity and particularity.²⁸ It comes with fixed content and meanings that are maintained and interpreted by specialists from within the target group. Mythological episodes are selected and processed in this manner to create a basis for a community's sense of unity and particularity.²⁹ Jan Assmann thinks that *cultural memory* is the "transformation of the past into foundational history, that is, into myth."³⁰ In his view, *cultural memory* is based on myths, which can serve as a legitimizer of existing systems, if it is regarded as being part of a common history "from which present circumstances derive."³¹ He argues that the distinction between history and myth is invalid, since for the *cultural memory*, it is not the factual past but only the recollected past that counts.³² He states:

[W]riting, cultural memory, and political identity are quite closely intertwined. In literate cultures, normative and formative texts establish and maintain a mutual, identity-forming cultural meaning.³³

Accordingly, this inherent quality of creating, shaping, and maintaining a group's sense and awareness of a particular cultural identity is the primary aspect linked to the functions of the inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Saga, and Mt. Shio.

The Entanglements and Literary Texts, Cultural Texts, and Collective Texts

The designs of the three inkstone cases are embellished with a combination of scriptorial and pictorial elements. In order to gain a thorough understanding of the functions of these *entanglements*, I will take a closer look at types of texts related to *cultural memory*.

Therefore, I turn to Aleida Assmann's approach, which distinguishes between *literary texts*, *cultural texts*, and *collective texts*, all related to *cultural memory*. An analysis allows further attributions that will help to understand the motivation for choosing poems from the earliest imperial anthologies for the designs of the three inkstone cases. According to her, the disparity between *literary texts*, *cultural texts*, and *collective texts* is not a matter of genres but solely depends on the approach and the perception of the audience. The "frames of

²⁸ Assmann J., 1995: 132.

²⁹ Erll, Astrid. *Memory in Culture*. Translated by Sara B. Young. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011: 28.

³⁰ Assmann J., 1992: 77.

³¹ Erll with Young: 34.

³² Assmann J., 1992: 52.

³³ Assmann, Jan. *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006: 104.

reception”³⁴ are the deciding factors in the attribution of “potentially identical texts.”³⁵ A main difference between *literary texts* and *cultural texts* is that while the former category is time-bound, i.e. depends on shifting preferences, tastes, and fashions of the audiences, the latter is perceived as timeless and “claims an unfailing, non-obsolescent relevance.”³⁶ Furthermore, *cultural texts* are assigned a “canonical status,”³⁷ and Aleida Assmann points out:

The *cultural text* is based on the demand for a binding, ineluctable, and timeless truth. The securing of such an identity requires a mode of reception that can only be characterized as reverence, repeated study and the being seized by awe and emotion. If the literary text is meant for pleasure, the cultural text is meant for appropriation, for the unconditional identification. It is dependent on the lively mediation to readers who identify *with* the text, and, at the same time, gain and secure their identity *through* the text. It is imperative to not merely read and contemplate this text but to also inhabit it.³⁸

Cultural texts serve as transmitters of characteristics that are required for the shaping and the establishing of a community’s identity. These canonized materials comprise “religious, national, or educational”³⁹ knowledge. *Cultural texts* store *cultural memory*, while *collective texts* serve as shapers and vehicles of *cultural memory*,⁴⁰ such as newspapers, inscribed artifacts, and the like.

Aleida Assmann suggests that *cultural memory* comprises *functional memory* and *stored memory*.⁴¹ According to her, the main features of *functional memory* are “group reference, selectivity, the commitment to values, and future orientation” (“Gruppenbezug, Selektivität, Wertbindung und Zukunftsorientierung”).⁴² *Stored memory* relates to the historical sciences with a focus on the past that is strictly separated from the present or the

³⁴ Assmann, Aleida. “Was sind kulturelle Texte?” In *Literaturkanon - Medienereignis - Kultureller Text: Formen interkultureller Kommunikation und Übersetzung*, edited by Poltermann, Andreas, 232–44. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1995, 232-244: 234.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid: 242-243.

³⁷ Ibid: 242.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid: 241.

⁴⁰ Erll with Young: 163, 164.

⁴¹ Assmann, Aleida. *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*. München: C. H. Beck, 1999: chapter 6 “Funktionsgedächtnis und Speichergedächtnis,” 130-142.

⁴² Ibid: 134.

future.⁴³ Within the scope of her definition, Aleida Assmann refers to the Bible as “the paradigmatic cultural text” in the Western cultural region.⁴⁴

In Japan, the official anthologies of poetry (*chokusen wakashū* 勅撰和歌集) compiled by imperial decree and hence also referred to as *Collections of the Twenty-One Reigns* (*nijūichidaishū* 二十一代集)⁴⁵ qualify as *cultural texts*. Among them, the verses of the first three, i.e. the *Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times* (ca. 905-920), the *Later Collection of Japanese Poems* (951), and the *Collection of Gleanings of Japanese Poems* (1005-1011), “provided the model of language,”⁴⁶ but no anthology superseded the significance of the first royal collection.

The conception underlying the collection no doubt reflected them so well and so influentially that to some degree all Japanese poetry before 1868 is conceivable only on its terms. [...] Some new topics were introduced later – Buddhism, for example; and the Miscellaneous topic (in which no element seems to predominate) became more and more important subsequently. Yet the fundamental design remained the same, and therefore should be set out here as the *Kōkinshū* model [, the *Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times*].⁴⁷

However, between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, the shogunate managed to usurp complete control over “imperial anthologizing.”⁴⁸ According to Huey, a decisive point in this cultural monopolization process was the completion of the seventeenth imperial anthology *Collection of Refined Poetry* (*Fūga wakashū* 風雅和歌集, 1349⁴⁹), whose prose and verses “addresse[d] the unsettled nature of its time [like no imperial anthology before it].”⁵⁰ Its content referred to warfare and its precussions, and former Emperor Hanazono (花園天皇, 1297-1348, r. 1308-1318), who was affiliated with the Northern court that benefitted from

⁴³ Assmann alternatively uses the terms inhabited memory (functional memory) and uninhabited memory (stored memory). Ibid.

⁴⁴ Assmann A., 1995: 237.

⁴⁵ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁴⁶ Ibid: 342.

⁴⁷ Ibid: 187.

⁴⁸ Huey, 1997: 190-191. The cited phrase is on page 179. Ibid.

⁴⁹ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁵⁰ Ibid: 185-186.

Ashikaga patronage, commented in the preface on the armed conflict of the Northern and Southern Courts period (*Nanbokuchō jidai* 南北朝時代, 1336-1392).⁵¹

While up to this point, the respective emperor had had the sole prerogative to commission the start of the working processes on a new imperial anthology, from now on the “explicit [...] permission”⁵² of the Ashikaga shogunate was required. Apparently, Hanazono’s nephew, Emperor Kōgon (光嚴天皇, 1313-1364, r. 1332-1334) of the Northern Court, had to file two petitions to receive the positive attention he needed of general Ashikaga Tadayoshi (足利直義, 1306-1352), the younger brother of Shogun Ashikaga Takauji (足利尊氏, 1305-1358, r. 1338-1358).⁵³ In order to establish cultural dominance that was clearly intended to eventually manifest itself in the political arena, the Southern court brought forward an imperial anthology, the *Collection of New Leaves* (*Shinyō wakashū* 新葉和歌集, 1381), which likewise addressed contemporary issues and topics, such as the ongoing battles, and, just like its Northern counterpart, contained “expressions of desire that the imperial line be reunited.”⁵⁴

Huey argues that while the idea, conception, and realization of the *Collection of Refined Poetry* had still been left in the hands of initiators Hanazono and Kōgon, Shogun Takauji had become increasingly aware of “the value and importance of controlling the traditional canon.”⁵⁵ One year after the Northern troops reconquered the capital and expelled the Southern Court in 1355, the shogun “directed”⁵⁶ the Northern Emperor to commission the eighteenth imperial anthology *New Collection of Poetry from a Thousand Years* (*Shinsenai wakashū* 新千載和歌集, 1359).⁵⁷

⁵¹ Ibid: 186.

⁵² Ibid: 188.

⁵³ Ibid: 185. Huey refers to the relevant paragraph of Tōin Kinkata’s journal. Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢. *Entairyaku* 園太曆 [Journal of Tōin Kinkata]. Edited by Ōta Tōshirō 太田藤四郎. Tokyo: Taiyōsha, 1940. In Inoue Muneo 井上宗雄. *Chūsei kadanshi no kenkyū. Nanbokuchō ki* 中世歌壇史の研究. 南北朝期 [Study on the History of Medieval Poetry Circles. The Era of the Southern and Northern Courts]. Tokyo: Meiji shoin 明治書院, 1965: 442-443. Ibid: 185.

⁵⁴ For examples, Huey refers to Marra, Michele F. *Representations of Power: The Literary Politics of Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993: 37-54. In Ibid: 187. By the time the work on the anthology began in 1374, the Northern Court was already in the process of completing its fourth collection. Ibid: 187-188. The *Collection of New Leaves* has not been regarded as one of the twenty-one imperial anthologies. Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁵⁵ Huey, 1997: 188. Huey criticizes Marra for “several basic factual errors” (Marra, 1993: 6-54.) and his fail to recognize “how much even the Ashikaga shoguns still chose to work within the old imperial parameters.” Huey, 1997: 426 (footnote text no 56).

⁵⁶ Ibid: 188.

⁵⁷ Ibid. The date is given by Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342. Tōin states Takauji’s initiation of the anthology in his journal in the entry on 1356.06.10 (Enbun 1). DNSR 6.20.1014-1016. In Huey, 1997: 188.

It was especially important that Go-Kōgon be involved in the project as its sponsor, since Takauji and his allies had placed him on the throne without proper ceremony at a time when the Southern Court was ascendant and in possession of the imperial regalia. Perhaps it was by kind of circular logic, since only an emperor or retired emperor could commission a *Chokusenshū*. But Takauji apparently saw the imperial anthology as an important mark of imperial legitimacy, if not quite on the same level as the imperial regalia. A few years later, Takauji's son, [Shogun Ashikaga] Yoshiakira [(足利義詮; 1330-1367, r. 1358-1367)], again used Go-Kōgon and a new imperial anthology to celebrate another round of victories over the frequently resurgent Southern Court [, the nineteenth imperial anthology titled *New Japanese Poetry Collection of Gleanings* (*Shinshūi wakashū* 新拾遺和歌集, 1364)].⁵⁸

Huey notes that even though Emperor Go-Kōgon filled the role of the imperial sponsor, there is no reference to his name in the *Great Materials of Japan* (*Dainihon shiryō* 大日本史料), which indicates “how irrelevant actual emperors had become to the compiling of imperial anthologies.”⁵⁹

The following anthology, the twentieth imperial anthology *New Later Japanese Poetry Collection of Gleanings* (*Shin goshūi wakashū* 新後拾遺和歌集, 1383)⁶⁰ was initiated by Yoshiakira's son, Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who ordered Emperor Go-Enyū to commission it in 1375. Its production process took longer than usual due to the civil war, and all three shoguns, Takauji, Yoshiakira, and Yoshimitsu himself, belonged to the group of the ten poets who ranked highest in terms of quantity. Huey refers to this “process as an attempt by the warrior aristocracy to take control of the poetic canon that had been central to Japan's cultural life since the Nara period.”⁶¹

While the final three anthologies (*New Collection of Poetry from a Thousand Years*, 1359; *New Later Japanese Poetry Collection of Gleanings*, 1383; *New Continued Poetry Collection of Ancient and Modern Times*, 1439) received far less recognition, the *Collection of Refined Poetry* from 1348 had introduced new images that referred to contemporary socio-cultural issues, such as the mountain hut, a main element in the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*. It became one of the significant motifs due to the double meaning either as a

⁵⁸ Huey, 1997: 188-189. The date is given by Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁵⁹ Huey, 1997: 189.

⁶⁰ The date is given by Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 342.

⁶¹ Huey, 1997: 191.

hermit's recluse or "a courtier caught up in warfare."⁶² Huey emphasizes that the second reading "was new to waka and marks the anthology as truly a product of its time, since, traditionally, the waka in imperial anthologies simply did not make explicit reference to historical events."⁶³

The imperial anthologies were still considered the core of the literary canon in the late fifteenth century among court nobles, while new forms of poetry became increasingly popular among the warrior aristocracy who participated in numerous activities related to *renga* at the production time of the inkstone cases. Huey attributes the preference of the warrior aristocracy for "other artistic outlets"⁶⁴ to their possible realization that despite their control of the collections, they had not been able to transform the anthologies' nature to conform to their cultural identity.⁶⁵

While the designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* each entangle a poem from the *Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times*, the entanglement of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* contains a poem from the *Later Collection of Japanese Poems*. It is noteworthy that a large quantity of similar artifacts in the late fifteenth century – many if not all considered as treasures of the warrior aristocracy – show designs containing material from these early collections,⁶⁶ despite the existence of the imperial Ashikaga anthologies and despite numerous accounts referring to Ashikaga participation in *renga* gatherings in the late fifteenth century.⁶⁷

The imperial anthologies are linked to "religious, national, or educational"⁶⁸ knowledge, and the affiliation with the corresponding cultural circles both required and ensured "reverence, repeated study and being seized by awe and emotion."⁶⁹ Especially the verses of the first collections, such as the *Collection of Japanese Poetry from Ancient and Modern Times*, have been understood to convey those characteristics necessary to trigger,

⁶² Ibid: 186.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid: 190.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Besides the three main works of this study, the inkstone cases referred to in earlier parts of the text, i.e. the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko* (Later Collection Continued), *Inkstone Case Block for Beating Clothes* (*Collection of Japanese Poems of a Thousand Years*), *Inkstone Case of a Thousand Years* (*Collection of Poetry from Ancient and Modern Times*), *Inkstone Case Petals on the Shirakawa River* (*New Collection of Poetry from Ancient and Modern Times*), *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* (*Collection of Poetry from Ancient and Modern Times*) among others.

⁶⁷ The DNSR database of the Historiographical Institute The University of Tokyo records 288 single dates referring to *renga* activities in the time between 1469 (Bunmei 1) and 1501 (Meiō 10). Historiographical Institute The University of Tokyo. <http://www.wap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e>. Accessed 2017.01.02.

⁶⁸ Assmann A, 1995: 241.

⁶⁹ Ibid: 242.

shape, and maintain a sense of the aristocratic community, self-image, and cultural superiority.

It has become evident that the *entanglements* not only refer to the kind of classical poetry that pertains to the category of *cultural texts* but that the entangled designs are *cultural texts* themselves because these scriptorial-pictorial combinations store *cultural memory*. The inkstone cases' *entanglements* comprise a complex interplay of memory and history by referring to mythological (e.g. the deity Takemikazuchi who rode a white deer to Mt. Kasuga), semi-historical (e.g. certain episodes in the life of the historical Buddha), and historical events (e.g. the creation of the nondual design of the Ryōanji Temple garden and the ownership of the garden by the Hosokawa deputies). Consequently, the inkstone cases with the *entanglements* function as *collective texts* to transmit selected ideas of the past, in other words, they serve as a vehicle to “create, circulate, and shape contents of cultural memory.”⁷⁰ The three artifacts with *entanglements* were considered suitable artifacts to create, confirm, and maintain a cultural identity.

⁷⁰ Erll with Young: 164.

2.2 *Cultural Techniques and Entanglements*

The term *cultural technique* encompasses activities that are both cultural and technological. Its etymological origin, the Latin term *colere* and its derivation *cultura* already contained the idea that culture includes techniques, for instance the technological knowledge and practices to cultivate land.⁷¹ Harun Maye points out that while at least until the twentieth century the field of *cultural techniques* was mainly understood as a technical discipline,⁷² nowadays *cultural techniques* are looked at from a media-scientific perspective that underlines its cultural aspects.⁷³ A categorization of the *entanglements* as *cultural technique* would suggest a general validity of the following insights while allowing possible cultural deviations and peculiarities.

The activities, processes, and media understood as *cultural techniques* range from weaving, the cultivating of arable land, and cooking to writing and painting to the digital processing of data. They encompass rites, customs, and taboos as well as geographical maps, TV, and X-ray photographs.⁷⁴ Maye states: “[C]ultural techniques denominate practices and procedures that generate culture. They are located at the points of contact of humanities and technological sciences, and are understood as precondition for the prospects of culture as such.”⁷⁵ He addresses the need for a generally accepted and precise definition to demarcate the wide range of media, activities, and processes that have been understood as *cultural techniques* from other media, activities, and processes.⁷⁶ Despite these issues, there is a consensus concerning the significance of *cultural techniques* for the development of human societies at all stages.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Siegert, Bernhard. “Kulturtechnik.” In *Einführung in die Kulturwissenschaft*, edited by Maye, Harun and Scholz, Leander, 95–118. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2011: 98–99. Siegert refers to Böhme, Hartmut et al. *Orientierung Kulturwissenschaft. Was sie kann, was sie will*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2002: 165.

⁷² Maye, Harun. “Was ist eine Kulturtechnik?”. *Zeitschrift für Medien- und Kulturforschung* 1 (2010): 121–135: 121. Maye mentions the following sources for further references: Dünkelberg, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der Kulturtechnik. Zum Gebrauch an landwirthschaftlichen und technischen Lehranstalten*. Braunschweig, 1883. Perels, Emil. *Abhandlungen über Kulturtechnik*. Jena: n.p., 1889. Vogler, Christian August, ed. *Grundlehren der Kulturtechnik*. Berlin, 1898. Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ For a more detailed description of the official field of research and teaching termed “History and Theory of Cultural Techniques” at Bauhaus University in Weimar, see Bernhard Siegert’s website. <http://web.archive.org/web/20071004041748/http://www.uni-weimar.de/medien/kulturtechniken/kultek.html>. Accessed 2012.12.18

⁷⁵ Maye, 2010: 121.

⁷⁶ Ibid: 126.

⁷⁷ Grampp, Sven. “Erben der Gutenberg-Galaxis: Kulturgeschichte als Mediengeschichte im medientheoretischen Diskurs.” *Archiv für Mediengeschichte* 6 (2006): 73–86. Macho, Thomas. “Zeit und Zahl: Kalender- und Zeitrechnung als Kulturtechniken.” In *Bild, Schrift, Zahl*, edited by Krämer, Sybille and Bredekamp, Horst, 179–92. München: Fink, 2003. Mauss, Marcel. “Die Techniken des Körpers.” In *Soziologie und Anthropologie 2: Gabentausch Soziologie und Psychologie Todesvorstellungen Körpertechniken Begriff der Person*, 197–220. Translated by Moldenhauer, Eva and Ritter, Henning and Schmalfuß, Axel. Frankfurt/Main:

Regardless of individual definitions and possibly unclear borders, painting⁷⁸ (picture) and writing (word) are generally considered two early developed *cultural techniques* still highly significant today. Each discipline is a means of communication by itself, and both place information outside the body onto exterior storage devices.⁷⁹ Accordingly, at least two materials are required, a tool to leave visual traces and an artifact to place the information on. A main difference of painting and writing is that the former is not a self-contained system and does not necessarily require prior expert knowledge to decode it. Other than writing, painting does not need to be executed in a strictly predetermined manner to fulfill its function and to unfold its efficacy as a means of communication. The number of performers and audiences is hence considerably larger. These two *cultural techniques* painting and writing already indicate a theorization, an abstraction of the physical world.

In the following sections, I will argue that an entangling of the two develops an independent *cultural technique*, and this *cultural technique* was often chosen to transmit content regarded as particularly suitable for expressing, confirming, and maintaining aspects at the core of a community's cultural identity as the following early examples exemplify.

The Wine Vessel with Bird Seal Script

The transmission of culturally significant content and the application of codes are some features many kinds of *entanglements* have in common. Japanese *entanglements* descended from a line of Chinese works, such as the *Wine Vessel with Bird Seal Script in Gold and Silver* (C. *Cuo jinyin niao zhuanwen hu* 错金银鸟篆文壶, 113 BCE) excavated from the tomb of Liu Sheng (刘胜), King Jing of Zhongshan (中山靖王, before 154-113/112 BCE) in 1968.⁸⁰ The body of the vessel was inscribed with a brief text in bird seal script (C. *niao zhuanwen* 鸟篆文),⁸¹ a seal script type with “[extreme] winding distortions or that includes bird and fish motifs.”⁸²

François Louis published the entire script in 2003, in which he demonstrated this meticulous transformation of Chinese characters into a playful, highly creative code. The

Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1989. Schüttelpelz, Erhard. “Die medienanthropologische Kehre der Kulturtechniken.” *Archiv für Mediengeschichte* 6 (2006): 87-110. Siegert, 2011.

⁷⁸ The term painting includes drawing.

⁷⁹ The skin being the exterior storage device closest to the body.

⁸⁰ There are two almost identical vessels. I concentrate on the so-called Vessel A.

⁸¹ The script is also referred to as *bird-insect-script* (C. *niao chong shu* 鸟虫书). Louis, François. “Written Ornament: Ornamental Writing, Birdscript of the Early Han Dynasty and the Art of Enchanting.” *Ars Orientalis* 33 (2003): 10-31: 11.

⁸² *Ibid*: 21.

three characters (尊成壺) in the illustration exemplify that although it is possible to retrace the standard strokes in the bird seal script on the artifact, it is by no means a script to be used for wordly affairs. Identical details like the last stroke of the characters *cheng* (成) and *zun* (尊) show that common elements of script such as the dot are expressed differently in this script type. This eludes to the assumption that the bird seal script on the vessel is not to be read without instruction. (fig. 41)

This early entangled design on a vessel was found in the retiring room of the tomb in front of the King's coffin. The retiring room comprises of a larger middle space, a small adjacent bathroom to the left and the last-resting place on its right side.⁸³ The vessel (A) is placed in the center as one of only a few other artifacts. The choice of this location shows the significance bestowed on the wine vessel. (fig. 42)

The artifact's "pronounced curving silhouette, full and somewhat low-slung belly, and high foot ring are characteristic of Western Han *hu* types."⁸⁴ The body of the bronze vessel is divided into eight horizontal registers, and decorated with wire inlays of two additional materials, silver and gold. The cover is divided into two zones, one is the rim of the lid with arabesques, and the other is the circular surface of the lid with script. Three lugs with arabesques are attached to the cover. Two circular handles have been attached to depictions of the zoomorphic creature on the body whose main features, such as the eyes, belong to the few protruding elements of the vessel.

The ornamental decoration comprises of forty-two characters in *bird-script* and several depictions of animals in combination with clouds, i.e. spirals and curls often evolving out of rectangular shapes. These two types of embellishment have been applied to separate, alternating registers. On the body, the three broad zones display pictorial script elements, while four narrow bands show several almost rectangular spiral interlacieries around dragons and bears among felines, presumably lions or tigers.

The ornaments with alternating colors evoke gracefulness and a sense of lightness despite the solid and heavy container. Many of the pictorial and scriptorial forms comprise two parallel lines, one crafted in silver, the other one in gold. The contrast of the bicolor inlays on the surface in a third tonality mirrors one main aesthetic decision in the planning

⁸³ Ibid: 17, 19 (fig 8).

⁸⁴ So, Jenny F. "The Waning of the Bronze Age: The Western Han Period (206 B.C.-A.D. 8)." In *The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition from The People's Republic of China*, edited by Fong, Wen. 323-350. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980: 331, no. 96. (So, 1980b)

process as well as the high level of technical expertise required in the practical translation.
(fig. 43)

Jenny So points to the different development phases of the inlay technique on Chinese bronze artifacts. “The history of the Inlay Style and of its conquest of China may be seen in three broad stages. The first spans the period from the sixth century to about 450 B.C.; the second, from 450 to about 350 B.C.; and the last, from 350 to the beginning of the Western Han period.”⁸⁵ Accordingly, at the production time of the wine vessel, the inlay technique already had been “finally established as the most highly prized decor style throughout China.”⁸⁶ From its solid foot to the lugs on the lid, the overall design of the wine vessel has been meticulously calculated to evenly cover its surface, while the embellishments of each register vary in composition and structure.

The base is the first and the broadest single register whose decoration does not include script. It is embellished with several ornamental dragons in different degrees of abstraction. They have been crafted in slender, curvy shapes that either intertwine or whose bodies are similar in a manner that they mirror each other’s movements. The following band just above the foot appears more narrow, due to its concave surface in this section of the vessel just below the belly. It contains some creatures and long, slender spirals among other forms. The next zone contains the first section of the wine vessel that is entirely covered with *bird-script*.

The following narrow register contains rectangular patterns with spiral heads as well as various depictions of bears, felines, and serpents or small dragons. It is followed by another broad zone of entangled script whose organic flows and playful appearances divert from the focused attention required to decipher any of the characters. The structure of the combined arabesques and animals in the next band is less dense and the compositions extend further horizontally in comparison to the earlier pictorial zones. The third register with *bird-script* on the neck forms elongated vertical sections and when compared to the scriptorial section below, it becomes apparent that each visual part has been designed to match the physique of the individual zone.

The seemingly free flowing, natural lines in the final register point to the overall development of the pictorial registers that gradually evolve from dense structures in almost square compartments in the foot to rectangular unities in the body and shoulder up to the loose arrangements without any noticeable grid in the rim. Not only the light ornamental

⁸⁵ So, Jenny F. "The Inlaid Bronzes of the Warring States Period." In *The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition from The People's Republic of China*, edited by Fong, Wen. 305-320. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980: 305. (So, 1980a)

⁸⁶ Ibid.

compositions and the usage of pictorialized script but the numerous frolicking creatures in the pictorial sections indicate the auspicious nature of the wine vessel. The script on the body of the artifact is highly stylized, spans around the body and can from no angle be seen in its entirety. The lid is decorated with a self-referential text in twelve characters and concerns the fact that it comprises three sentences, the fish motif of the script, and the inlays.⁸⁷ Francois Louis translated the text on the body of the vessel as follows:

| | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Encircled by four invocations, ⁸⁸ | <i>Gai yuan si fu</i> |
| What excellent vessel, ⁸⁹ what perfect vase. ⁹⁰ | <i>xi zun cheng hu</i> |
| May your liquid abound in aroma | <i>sheng xiong sheng wei</i> |
| And please us to our heart's content, ⁹¹ | <i>yu xin jia dou</i> |
| Flood the palate full with flavor, ⁹² | <i>yan yu kou wei</i> |
| Imbue with moistness blood and skin. ⁹³ | <i>chong run xue fu</i> |
| Prolong life, dispel disease | <i>yan shou qu bing</i> |
| For ten thousand years and more. ⁹⁴ | <i>wan nian you yu</i> |
| 蓋圓四符 犧尊成壺 盛兄盛味 於心佳都 揜於口味 | |
| 充閏血膚 延壽去病 萬年有餘 ⁹⁵ | |

Based on its inscription, the vessel's function was to attract divine blessings to ensure longevity, good health, and hence an everlasting reign. Its expressed function thus resembles

⁸⁷ A difficulty of the text portion inserted in the lid lies in its circular arrangement without a defined end or beginning. For possible translations, see Louis, 2003: 14.

⁸⁸ “[...] Since four *fu* are specified, I believe the reference is to the four stanzas of which the inscription is composed. Each of these can be read as a separate invocation of a blessing.” Louis, 2003: 29.

⁸⁹ “[...] He [He Xuejin (‘Guanyu Mancheng Han mu tonghu,’ 358)] understands 犧 as a noun meaning “ritual” or “propriety,” reading 尊 instead verbally as “to appreciate, to value,” and *cheng* 成, like the other authors, as an adjective meaning “fine,” “good,” “perfect.” According to his interpretation the line would mean “fine *hu* to be honored in ceremony,” clearly implying that this is a vessel designed to be used in some kind of ritual context.” Louis, 2003: 29.

⁹⁰ “Although the vessels are today categorized as *hu* 壺, in this inscription the term must have had a more generic meaning than just referring to vessels of this specific shape. Other vessels of the same type found at Mancheng carry inscriptions that explicitly label them as *zhong* 鍾. See Institute of Archaeology et al., *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 38–48.” Louis, 2003: 29.

⁹¹ “Literally: “[May you] contain cool liquid, which abounds in aroma, and is delicate and beautiful to our heart.” The word *xiong* 兄, which is usually interpreted as *kuang* 況, is glossed by many early commentators as “cool water” (Zhou Cecong ‘Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian,’ 427f.)” Louis, 2003: 29.

⁹² “The reading of *yan* 揜 follows Zhou Cecong, ‘Yi dui zui gu de yaojiu hu zhi faxian,’ 428.” Louis, 2003: 29.

⁹³ “The character read here as *chong* 充 may also be transcribed as *jiao* 交. In the abbreviated style on vessel B, the second reading is suggested.” Louis, 2003: 29.

⁹⁴ Ibid: 16. Louis’ translation contain six footnotes concerning his method of translation, wording, obscure characters, and scholarly discussions thereof. For these very long footnote texts in their entirety, see Ibid: 29, notes 21–26. The second vessel is smaller and lacks the last line.

⁹⁵ Louis, 2003: 16.

that of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*. Louis refers generally to liturgical hymns of the Qin and the Han dynasties and to the *Book of Songs* (*Shijing* 诗经) and indicates that “[f]or many believers stimulating sensory delight was clearly a means to communicate with the numinous.”⁹⁶ Such ceremonial hymns were thought to transmit “sensory delight to the metaphysical universe,”⁹⁷ and the beneficial functions of the vessel in the tomb were aimed at the King’s spirit.⁹⁸

According to Louis’ analysis, the vessel transmits the political self-image of King Jing of Zhongshan.⁹⁹ He argues that the birdsript of the early Han-dynasty relates to the Kingdom of Chu, and the *entanglement* on the vessel is an obvious reference to this Southern style.¹⁰⁰ The lacquer dish excavated in tomb 135 in Yangjiashan shows a heterogenous composition of spirals and mythological creatures, including dragons, birds, and possibly one human figure. The ornamental lines of the motifs evoke the spiral patterns, animal illustrations, and the bird script in the registers of the wine vessel. (fig. 44)

So notes, on a purely technical level, it “is clear that the Inlay Style was the primary decorative style of the fifth to third centuries BCE, and its universal acceptance is an early indication of the cultural unity that foreshadowed the political unification of 221 B.C.”¹⁰¹ It can thus be said that the design’s shape and technique both evoke the time before Emperor Qin Shihuang (r. 221-210 BCE) implemented the official unification of the realm, and were chosen for a political statement. The extent of Qin Shihuang’s standardization regulations is clearly demonstrated by inscriptions on ceremonial steles such as the one on Mt. Langye from 219 BCE.¹⁰² The text was chiseled in small seal script that the emperor had chosen as the

⁹⁶ Ibid: 17.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid: 18, 26, 27.

¹⁰⁰ “Zhou characters are narrow and mostly elongated, and their center of gravity often shifts arbitrarily from character to character. Such structural differences are undoubtedly due to the different *zhuan* styles on which the ornamental scripts were based. During the Eastern Zhou these were the numerous local script variations, but during the early Han period it was the *xiaozhuan* - the generally accepted display style since the Qin writing reforms. There are also differences in the manner in which the normative characters were altered into ornamental forms. In Zhou birdsript the actual character in many cases remains clearly legible within long garnishing strokes that often transform into birds or dragons [...]. In other cases the characters are elongated and wavy. Additions of fish or scrolls do not appear in the Zhou period. Because ornamental writing of the northern Zhou states favored neither extreme waviness nor zoomorphic transformations in their characters, the design language of Zhou period birdsript is easily recognized as a southern idiom.” Ibid: 23. Louis refers in particular to the designs of lacquerware that was manufactured in Anhui for the Marquis of Ruyin. They “can be matched closely with bronze and lacquer designs found in southern tombs.” Ibid: 24.

¹⁰¹ So, 1980a: 305.

¹⁰² The Qin First Emperor gathered his court classicists and toured the recently conquered territories to erect inscribed steles on sacred mountains. Six of the seven extant inscriptions are recorded in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (C. *Shi ji* 史记). The inscription belongs to the earliest of those texts attributed to Mt. Yi, Mt. Tai, and Mt. Langye in 219 BCE. Kern, Martin. “Announcements from the Mountains. The Stele Inscriptions of the First Qin Emperor.” In *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared*, edited by Mutschler, Fritz-

standard script for “ritual display and transcendental communication”¹⁰³ and states that Qin Shihuang “unifies the minds and integrates the wills. Vessels and implements have their identical measures. One uniformly writes the refined characters.”¹⁰⁴

The playful *entanglements* on King Jing’s vessels do clearly not adhere to any standardized script, such as the formal seal script type. Louis concludes his analysis with a suggestion as to the political implication of the script:

During the early parts of the second century references to a southern heritage could easily be read in political terms that related them to the overthrow of the Qin dynasty and the establishment of a new Han aristocratic culture. In regard to the Manchu vessels, which celebrate the southern visuality in the designs of ritual paraphernalia precisely during these early decades of Han rule, the ideological charge could hardly have escaped even a semi-educated courtier. Here a southern idiom is used to alter the normative script forms that had been imposed only decades earlier by the despised Qin. [...] [W]e may interpret the ornamental writing on the Manchu vessels as a reactionary statement of an early Han noble to assert political power.¹⁰⁵

According to Louis, the design of the vessel refers to two political fractions at the time, the reformist intellectuals who “emphasized the worldly benefits of rites and moderation in ritual display,” and the method masters (*C. fangshi* 方士),¹⁰⁶ who “often promoted southern, shamanistic approaches to ritual and who were [in spiritual matters] favored by Emperor Wu.”¹⁰⁷

Louis indicates that by the early Han dynasty such idiosyncratic designs would have been considered ordinary, but for Liu Sheng “the vessel had still served as efficacious tools of worship and historic artworks for self-representation and personal delight.”¹⁰⁸ The artifacts in

Heiner and Mittag, Achim. 217-240. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008: 217. For the second progress of Emperor Qin, see Sanft, Charles. *Communication and Cooperation in Early Imperial China. Publicizing the Qin Dynasty*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014: 79-81.

¹⁰³ Louis, 2003: 26.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Louis, 2003: 26-27.

¹⁰⁶ “The gentlemen possessing magical recipes’ were certainly Taoists, and they worked in all kinds of directions as star-clerk and weather forecasters, men of farm-lore and wort-cunning, irrigators and bridge-builders, architects and decorators, but above all alchemists.” Needham, Joseph. “Medicine”. In: *Biology and Biological Technology* 6. Assisted by Ku Gwei-Djen and edited by Sivin, Nathan. *Science and Civilisation in China* 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000: 58.

¹⁰⁷ Louis, 2003: 27.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

the tomb were thus a conscious and deliberate expression of Liu Sheng's socio-cultural identity and his self-image of being in a social community with Emperor Wu that was based on the shared belief system. The *entanglements* were commissioned to ensure Liu Sheng's continued alliance in the afterlife.

Kūkai and the Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts from Ancient and Modern Times

The *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts from Ancient and Modern Times* (C. *Gujin zhuanli wenti* 古今篆隸文体, J. *Kokin tenrei buntai*) from 484 was brought to Japan by Kūkai (774-835), the later founder of esoteric Shingon Buddhism who participated in the official mission to Tang China under Emperor Kanmu (桓武天皇, 737-806, r. 781-806) and upon his return in 806 (Taidō 1) presented the scroll to Emperor Saga.¹⁰⁹ The artifact in one scroll was compiled and edited by Minister of Education, Xiao Ziliang (蕭子良, 460-495), the Prince of Jingling. According to its texts, the scripts span the time from before the Xia dynasty (2070-1600 BCE) to the Southern Qi (479-502).¹¹⁰ Chon Yonpon states that the original scroll comprised three parts, namely a preface (C. *xu* 序), a theoretical section with illustrated descriptions of the six possible set-ups of compound graphs into semantic and/or phonetic components (C. *liu wen* 六文),¹¹¹ and the listing of the forty-three scripts.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Kishida, Tomoko 岸田知子. *Kūkai to chūgoku bunka* 空海と中国文化 [Kūkai and Chinese Culture]. Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten 大修館書店, 2003: 92-94. “Kūkai had been in Ch'ang-an for more than a year. At first he had shared the official quarters of the other *kentōshi*, whom he may have assisted as an unofficial secretary and interpreter. But after they had departed, he moved to [the Xi Ming Monastery (Ximing si 西明寺)], the former residence of Eichū [永忠, 743-816], the priest who introduced tea to Japan. Eventually, Kūkai succeeded in meeting Hui-kuo 惠果 [746-805], the aged patriarch of Chinese esoteric Buddhism. Hui-kuo immediately accepted Kūkai as his disciple and, in the sixth month of 805, ordained him into the esoteric sect. On the fifteenth day of the twelfth month, as the Chinese master was about to die, he selected Kūkai as his successor and ordered him to spread the faith to Japan.” Borgen, Robert. “The Japanese Mission to China: 801–806.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 37, no. 1 (Spring 1982), 1–28: 19.

¹¹⁰ Chon Yonpon 全容範. *Zattaisho no buntai ishō nikansuru kenkyū: “tenrei buntai” wo chūshin ni* 雑体書の文字意匠に関する研究: 『篆隸文体』を中心に [A study on the designs of miscellaneous scripts: on the compendium of seal script and clerical scripts] (unpublished dissertation). Kyoto: Kyōto Kōgei Seni Daigaku 京都工芸繊維大学, 2004: 28.

¹¹¹ Han dynasty scholar Xu Shen (30-124) also mentions them in his dictionary *Explanations of Simple and Compound Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字). These are with the original Chinese pronunciation in traditional characters a) pictograms (*xiangxing* 象形), b) indicators (*zhishi* 指事), c) phonograms (*xingsheng* 形声), d) ideograms (*huiyi* 会意), e) deduction (*zhuanzhu* 转注), and f) borrowing (*jiajie* 假借). See Xu Shen, *Shuowen Jiezi* (Explanations of Simple and Compound Characters). <http://ctext.org/shuo-wen-jie-zi/zh>. Accessed 2015.09.07.

¹¹² Chon, 2004: 15.

Each style is preceded by brief paragraph referring to the name of the style and the personality who created it.¹¹³ The combination of the list with theoretical considerations and specifics illustrate that the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts from Ancient and Modern Times* was not a random collection of the miscellaneous styles¹¹⁴ but conceptualized as a contribution to contemporary academic circles.

This original artifact is not extant but its content is preserved in the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* (*Tenrei buntai* 篆隸文体), an anonymous replica produced no earlier than the thirteenth century.¹¹⁵ Apparently, the intellectual claim of the artifact was recognized and updated when the scroll was transcribed and supplemented with an additional reference part for research purposes.¹¹⁶ Despite the artifact's unique character, neither the original nor a replica of the compilation has been preserved in China,¹¹⁷ and the only known extant edition of the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* today is property of the Bishamon Temple, Kyoto, and it has been kept in the Kyoto National Museum.¹¹⁸

The scroll *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* is ink on paper and measures 1120 cm in length and 31.5cm in height.¹¹⁹ It contains nature-related scripts such as those comprising tadpoles (J. *kato sho*, C. *kedou shu* 科斗書), mythological creatures, such as phoenixes (J. *ranhō sho* C. *luanfeng shu* 鸞鳳書), and scripts comprising creatures like immortals (J. *sennin sho*, C. *xianren shu* 仙人書) with spiritual connotations, while other styles refer to more abstract expressions. (fig. 45)

¹¹³ Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良, ed. *Tenrei buntai* 篆隸文體 [Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts]. 484. Edited by Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄. Tokyo: Koten Hozonkai 古典保存会, 1935. Chon provides explanations to each script in his study. Chon, 2004: 19-26. Nakata, Yujiro. *The Art of Japanese Calligraphy. The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art* 27. New York: Weatherhill, 1983: 68.

¹¹⁴ For a list of variations of the miscellaneous style, see Nakata, 1973: Foldout “*zattaisho*” (miscellaneous scripts).

¹¹⁵ Chon, 2004: 15.

¹¹⁶ These paragraphs are titled “Record of Things Transmitted and Heard” (J. *Denbun roku* 傳聞錄), the “Broad Rhymes” (C. *Guangyun* 廣韻) referring to the Chinese rhyme dictionary from the eleventh century of the same name, and the “Book of Jade” (*Yupian* 玉篇) referring to the character dictionary of the same name from the sixth century. In the respective section from the scroll, the first refers to the history of writing in ancient times and Emperor Shi Huangdi, the second to the eight styles of the Qin dynasty, and the third to the legendary figure of Cangjie (倉頡), the official historiographer of the Yellow Emperor who invented the Chinese characters. Chon, 2004: 15. None of these issues are significant in the context of this study.

¹¹⁷ Chon, 2004: 16.

¹¹⁸ Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄. “Bishamon tenrei buntai kaisetsu” 毘沙門堂藏 篆隸文体 解説 [Explanation to the Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts of the Bishamon temple]. In Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良, ed. *Tenrei buntai* 篆隸文體 [Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts]. 484. Edited by Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄. Tokyo: Koten Hozonkai 古典保存会, 1935: n.p.

¹¹⁹ Brisset, 2009: 51.

The first example given for the *Phoenix Script* shows one bird signifying a character “phoenix” (*luan* 鸞). Its head equals the dot, the spread and densely feathered wings refer to the permeable upper area of the character that extends slightly to each side, while the phoenix’s muscular torso relates to the thinner yet compact middle section. The feet with long, spread talons mirror the four strokes that are usually written in one long final stroke in the lower part of the radical “bird” (鳥), and the tail completes the character’s pictorialized version by imitating the script’s long curved stroke that bends downward to slightly frame the end section of the final stroke. The first and the second pair, which comprises another character meaning phoenix (*C. feng* 鳳) also depicted as a single bird, both display delicate feathers at the back of the phoenixes’ heads, which mirror the individual points in their verbal counterparts. These details indicate the degree of carefulness bestowed on the pictorial scripts. Other examples show groupings that include smaller phoenixes but follow the same principle: The respective body types (slender, muscular, thin, small, etc) were seemingly chosen to correspond with the character’s overall structure (light/heavy), while the birds’ postures are meant to evoke the character’s individual strokes. In case of such translations that employ various phoenixes, their spatial distribution also plays a part, such as in the third character *bin* (續),¹²⁰ but here as well as in the fourth pairing for word and picture, the predominant element is the playful nature of the concept not legibility.

The *Phoenix Script* bears an auspicious meaning and was meant as decoration on officials’ garments as a sign of their status.¹²¹ It is attributed to Emperor Shaohao (少昊), one of the Legendary Five Emperors,¹²² who is referred to as Baidi Zhuxuan (白帝朱宣) in the text.¹²³ He is said to have ruled in Qiongsan (present day Qufu in Shandong Province, ca. 2597?-ca. 2514? BCE), and his totem was the phoenix,¹²⁴ in accordance with the five phoenixes appearing at the time of his birth.¹²⁵ According to several other legends, Shaohao was the son of the star venus and the weaving goddess Huang’e who fell in love when she

¹²⁰ Disorder or scattering is the Japanese usage for it (*hin*); in Chinese, this character is used in composites.

¹²¹ Chon provides a list of the styles with some additional information. Chon, 2004: 28.

¹²² Yang, En-lin. "Die sagenhaften Kaiser in der chinesischen Urgeschichte. Versuch eines Vergleichs zwischen alten klassischen Überlieferungen und neuen archäologischen Funden in China." *Forschungen und Berichte* 19 (1979), 37-48, T1-T7: 43. The Five Legendary Emperors are, in this order, Huang Di, Shao Hao, Zhuan Xu, Di Ku, and Di Zhi. Yang, 1979: 42-43.

¹²³ Text complementing the *Phoenix Script*. Xiao Ziliang, 1935.

¹²⁴ Yang refers to entries in the *Zuo Zhuan* (Zuo Qiuming 左丘明. *Zuo Zhuan* 左传 [Zuo Tradition], edited by Wenxin gongzuo shi 文心工作室. Taipei: Shangzhou chuban 商周出版, 2011.) and the *Han Shu* 汉书 [Book of the Han]. Yang does not provide detailed bibliographical information. In Yang, 1979: 43.

¹²⁵ Yang, Lihui and An, Deming with Turner Anderson, Jessica. *Handbook of Chinese Mythology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008: 187.

drifted along the milky way. As a child, he ate from the mulberry tree that produces fruits only once in tenthousand years and turned immortal.¹²⁶ Shaohao set up a kingdom in the mountains of the Paradise of the East inhabited by birds who were appointed political positions among others, and which he ruled as a bird himself. He had command over the four seasons, and after his abdication Shaohao moved to Mt. Changliu where he ruled over the western sky, and controlled the sunset. He is also credited with the innovation of the twenty-five-string lute.

The *Immortals' Script* comprises human looking figures striking different poses. The first pair, one immortal and the character “above” (*shang* 上), bear a considerable resemblance. While the immortal kneels on both knees, he holds his head up and elevates his left arm into a horizontal position, therefore mirroring the exact strokes of the character. The second pairing shows two immortals signifying the character “immortal” (*xian* 仙) comprising the radical “man” (*ren* 人) and the radical “mountain” (*shan* 山). While the left immortal stands up straight and extends his arms in one vertical line above his head, the second figure kneels on one knee. The third pair comprises of the character “eternity” (*yong* 永) and one immortal whose arms bend outwards to imitate the character’s middle section, and the fourth pair shows one figure whose arms extend sideways and his legs bend to form a triangle to resemble the character “old” (*gu* 古).

The *Immortals' Script* is attributed to Gao Xin (高辛) also referred to as Emperor Ku (Di Ku 帝嚳), a great-grandson of the Yellow Emperor and one of the Five Legendary Emperors. He reigned in Xibo (present day Yanshi in Henan province, ca. 2435?-ca. 2366? BCE),¹²⁷ and is credited with the invention of musical instruments, such as drums, bells, chimes, pipes, and flutes upon his order. Emperor Ku has been said to travel by dragon in the warmer seasons, and by horse in autumn and winter.¹²⁸ Elaborate ritual offerings and ceremonies were held on his behalf during the Shang dynasty that regarded the emperor as its ancestor.¹²⁹

Each example of the *Tadpole Script* comprises a group of larger and smaller tadpoles. Due to the animal’s characteristic round body shapes, they were chosen to translate characters with several short strokes, dots, and some longer strokes with small hooks. Like the previous examples of the other two scripts, the tadpoles pictorialize self-referential characters, such as

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Yang, 1979: 43.

¹²⁸ Yang et al, 2008: 99.

¹²⁹ Fan Wen-lan. *Kurzgefaßte allgemeine chinesische Geschichte*. Peking: n.p., 1965: 91. In Yang, 1979: 43.

the first two characters in this list, i.e. the term *ke* (科), which by itself designates a division, a biological family etc, and *dou* (斗), a word used for objects shaped in the form of a cup or a dipper among other things. Due to its simplicity, the latter is the character with the highest degree of legibility in the list. It comprises two small tadpoles for the two dots as well as one medium-sized and one large specimen to depict the the medium-sized and the long stroke that cross each other in an almost ninety-degree angle. The other pictorializations likewise comprise three sizes of tadpoles and include up to twelve pollywogs as in the final example, the character “swim” (*you* 游). The third example “float” (*fu* 浮) with ten specimens, and the first example show that their setup is surprisingly accurate and if carefully following the attributions (small tadpole = dot, short to medium tadpole = short to medium stroke, long tadpole = long stroke), angles, relations, and directions, it is possible to decipher them.

The *Tadpole Script* is attributed to Cang Jie (倉頡, dates unverified) and Gao Yang (高陽, also called Zhuan Xu 顓頊), one of the Legendary Five Emperors. The former is said to have had four eyes and four pupils, and to have served as one official of the Yellow Emperor. Cang Jie is also reported to have developed a hieroglyphic Chinese script (*xiangxing wenzi* 象形文字),¹³⁰ after watching natural phenomena and animals, and his realization of their individual features. Gao Yang was a descendent of the Yellow Emperor, has been said to have ruled in Diqiu (ca. 2513?-ca. 2436? BCE), and to have created a calendar whose initial month was the first month of spring.¹³¹ The *Tadpole Script* decorates lacquer ware.¹³²

Chon attributed auspicious meanings to most styles,¹³³ and Brisset points out that the scripts were believed to be “effective in a ritual sense, on the borderline of magic, and to reveal human virtue.”¹³⁴ According to Chon, the miscellaneous scripts, as contained in the compendium, originated in the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE) and the Warring States period (476-221 BCE). He refers to the dictionary *Explanations of Simple and Compound Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字) by Xu Shen (許慎, 30-124) that mentioned the inconsistencies in law, dress codes as well as spoken and written language due to the

¹³⁰ Yang refers to the chapter “Xu ci” in the *Yijing (I Ging. Text und Materialien. Übersetzt von Wilhelm, Richard. München: Heinrich Hugendubel Verlag (Diederich), 2001. In Yang, 1979: 42.*

¹³¹ Ibid: 43.

¹³² Chon, 2004: 28.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Brisset, 2009: 51.

individual policies in the seven kingdoms of the Warring States period. Variety was a general characteristic of the time and allowed for the creation of such unique scripts.¹³⁵

Editor Xiao Ziliang was a prominent personality of his time, he sought to spread Buddhism and was regarded a role model of integrity by his contemporaries, according to Thomas Jansen.¹³⁶ In his residence, he gathered the intellectual, spiritual, and artistic elite of the time, regardless of the respective field of excellence. The primary criteria to be chosen by Xiao Ziliang to join his circle were an outstanding intellect as well as the desire to strive for personal growth and for the refinement of one's talents by means of intellectual exchange.¹³⁷ The set-up of his circle was remarkable. It strongly opposed the rigid practice of the time according to which individuals were almost exclusively selected for the imperial examinations due to their social backgrounds. The minister and his confidants seem to have shared a concept of “*Gesinnungsaristokratie* (aristocracy of the mind)” rather than “*Geburtsaristokratie* (pedigree aristocracy).”¹³⁸

The so-called “Eight Friends of Jingling” (C. *Jingling ba you* 竟陵八友) were well-respected for their pursuits and knowledge on a broad array of subjects, such as the Confucian and Daoist classics, rhetoric, poetry, history, Chinese chess, music, Buddhism and more.¹³⁹ The *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* attests to these broad innovative and playful features adopted by Xiao Ziliang and his circle that put individual abilities and self-cultivation above birth privileges. The group based their cultural identity on the shared value of the ‘aristocracy of the mind.’

In the context of *cultural memory* and the question of a particular cultural technique comprising the *entanglement* of word and picture, it is significant that the majority of the scripts in the compendium have been associated with some of China's main cultural heroes. According to the text, the dragon script (C. *long shu* 龍書) was created by Fu Xi (伏羲) whose position in China's cultural history has been summarized by Mark Edward Lewis as follows:

Taken in isolation, Fu Xi was the first of the sages and the initiator of man's emergence from his animal state. The discoverer of the trigrams and the

¹³⁵ Chon, 2004: 11.

¹³⁶ Jansen, Thomas. *Höfische Öffentlichkeit im frühmittelalterlichen China: Debatten im Salon des Prinzen Xiao Ziliang*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2000: 67, 75. See also chapter 3 “Selbstvervollkommnung und weltliches Engagement: Xiao Ziliang als Verkörperung des Ideals des adligen Laienbuddhisten,” *ibid.*: 75-78.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*: 66.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*: 68

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*: 66, 70.

numerical underpinnings of reality, he was the father of writing and the ultimate inspiration of the civilizing process.¹⁴⁰

The cloud script (C. *yun shu* 雲書) and the turtle script (C. *gui shu* 龜書) have been created by the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝) whose role has been aptly described by Cho-Yun Hsu:

Put as succinctly as possible, the Yellow Emperor is the ruler of mankind, and he bears the responsibility for overseeing the world and giving birth to culture. He is at the same time a deity and a controller of deities, able to dispatch gods and demons on his missions and with the superhuman powers of calling the winds and summoning the rain.¹⁴¹

King Wen of Zhou (周文王, r. ca. 1046-1043 BCE) has been credited with the innovation of the tiger script (C. *hu shu* 虎書), bird script (C. *niao shu* 鳥書), and fish script (C. *yu shu* 魚書). Deborah Sommer recapped the king's accomplishments:

By Confucius' time [551-479 BCE] the very name of King Wen was synonymous with a repository of idealised Zhou cultural ideals that included the securing of the Mandate of Heaven [...], the establishment of benevolent rule, and the triumph of virtue over wantonness [...]. [His] skills as a military strategist may have been more noteworthy than his learning, but he is nonetheless accredited with shaping an early version of the *Book of Changes* [...].¹⁴²

Further creators referred to are the mythological archer Houyi (夏后氏) who saved the world from burning up by eliminating nine of the ten suns, the unifier of China and first emperor Qin Shi Huangdi (秦始皇帝, 259-210 BCE, r. 221-210 BCE) and calligrapher sage Wang Xizhi (王羲之, 303-361 or 321-379) among others.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Lewis, Mark Edward. *Writing and Authority in Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999: 202.

¹⁴¹ Hsu, Cho-Yun. *China: A New Cultural History*. Translated by Baker, Timothy D., Jr and Duke, Michael S. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012: 47.

¹⁴² Sommer, Deborah. "Wenwu zhi dao 文武之道 (The Way of King Wen and King Wu)." In *The Encyclopedia of Confucianism*, edited by Yao, Xinzong, 658. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003: 658.

¹⁴³ For the scripts and attributions, see Xiao Ziliang, 1935. For a comprehensive list of all scripts, creators, motifs, and meanings, see Chon, 2004: 28.

This illustrious group of ancient role models in the cultural field exemplifies that the scripts in the compendium were not merely decorative styles but each of them has been charged with a highly symbolic value. Due to the inherent association with its creator(s) and his accomplishments, the individual script recalls, maintains, and confirms those traits thought suitable to express a Chinese self-image and cultural identity. On the basis of Xiao Ziliang's personal and professional endeavors, it can be inferred that his project *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts of Ancient and Modern Times* was meant to preserve and distribute such cultural values.

Kūkai's *Treatise on Poetry and Prose* (*J. Henjō hakki shōryōshū* 遍照發揮性靈集) contains an entry on 812.07.15 (Kōnin 3), in which he describes the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts of Ancient and Modern Times* and mentions the exchange with Emperor Saga (r. 809-823), whom he showed the “secret notes.”¹⁴⁴ The significance of the collection of styles in Japan is evident from the fact that some of Kūkai's own works corresponded to the compilation of pictorial scripts. For the design of the *Memorial Inscription on the Masuda Reservoir Monument* (*Masuda ike no himei* 益田池碑銘) in Kyoto in 825 (Tenchō 2), he used *entanglements* in commemoration of the reservoir's completion,¹⁴⁵ and his writing refers in form and content to the ceremony of this auspicious event.¹⁴⁶ (fig. 46)

The chosen figures show a part of the concluding segment relating to the date of the monument's construction from the final line of Kūkai's inscription, i.e. 825.09.25 (Tenchō 2). The phrase reads “In the second year of the Tenchō era, the year of the serpent,¹⁴⁷ on the twenty-fifth day this was built.”¹⁴⁸ As the creators of other *entanglements*, Kūkai did not expect the beholders to decipher the small seal script with entangled elements. It is thus accompanied by a full translation in regular script, which also underlines the official, ceremonial nature of the artifact. The character “large” (*dai* 大) takes the form of a human figure with a head, spread out arms and legs, while other characters evoke the fluid qualities

¹⁴⁴ Kūkai 空海 (Shinzei 真濟, ed.). *Henjō hakki shōryōshū* 遍照發揮性靈集 4 [Treatise on Poetry and Prose], ninth century. Edited by Sofū Sen'yōkai 祖風宣揚会. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1911.

¹⁴⁵ Brisset also refers to Kūkai's *Tenrei banshō meigi* (The Myriad Things, Pronounced, Defined, in Seal Script and Clerical Script). This comprehensive dictionary of Chinese writing also contains pictorial scripts such as “snake” (*daji*), “insect” (*chūsho*), “head of the crane” (*kakutō*), “unicorn” (*kirin*), “argus and phoenix” (*ranpō*). Kūkai 空海. *Tenrei banshō meigi* 篆隸萬象名義 [The Myriad Things, Pronounced, Defined, in Seal Script and Clerical Script], first half of the ninth century. Edited by Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄. Sūbun sōsho 崇文叢書 1 no. 27-43. Tokyo: Sūbun'in 崇文院, 1926-1928. In: Brisset, 2009: 50.

¹⁴⁶ Nakata, 1983: 68.

¹⁴⁷ The term *daidōraku* refers to the sixth sign of the Chinese zodiac, the serpent. It equals the term *mi* 巳. Website Geocities. http://www.geocities.jp/okugesan_com/yougo.html. Accessed 2017.02.18.

¹⁴⁸ “Tenchō ni nen sai daikōraku gengetsu nijūgo nichu kore wo tateta 天長二年歲在大荒落玄月貳拾五日建之。”

of the reservoir's water, such as the character "wild" (*ara* 荒) that evokes an unregulated flowing of streams, or the character "month" (*getsu* 月), whose strokes seem to slowly drip to the ground. The numeral character "two" (*ni* 弍) appears as a small boat with a rudder. The character "build" (*tateru* 建) resembles a massive ship, with either a large sail or one of the huge drums – whose top part is illustrated by the character "day" (*nichi* 日) – the kind that decorates the exterior cover of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*, which were also put on boats for the musical entertainment of the nobility.

As the other instances of *entanglements* referred to above, the purpose of the inscription with pictorialized script superseded aesthetic pleasures. William Matsuda stresses the political aspects of the monument's socio-cultural function and elaborates:

[T]he monument to Masuda Reservoir is nothing less than a celebration of the Japanese state. First, Kūkai acknowledges that the land where the reservoir was dredged was 'in the land of Izanagi and Izanami, on the island of Hanako, in the realm that the great crow first led Emperor Jinmu.' This is perhaps the only time, Kūkai makes a direct reference to traditional Japanese mythology in his writings. [...] The sense that the reservoir was constructed on sacred ground is heightened by references to the numerous imperial mausoleum which dot the surrounding area. There is also an obvious sense of nationalistic pride in this proclamation. Kūkai claims that the width of the reservoir exceeds that of the Huai River, and that the Kunming Lake is 'not in the same league.' [...] Geographical facts notwithstanding, Kukai's grandiose statements indicate confidence in Japanese engineering, and in the power and prestige of the Japanese state and imperial line.¹⁴⁹

Matsuda's analysis suggests that Kūkai was fully aware of the functions of the *entanglements* in Xiao's compilation and consciously chose entangled designs for the Masuda Reservoir to likewise transmit significant content to express, confirm, and maintain the community's cultural identity and self-image.

I have argued that *entanglements* such as those of the inkstone cases are not merely the sum of two separate *cultural techniques*. *Entanglements* constitute a *cultural technique* of their own. *Entanglements* also contain aspects that nowadays are thought to belong to the field

¹⁴⁹ Matsuda, William John. "Beyond Religious: Kūkai the Literary Sage." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii. UMI. Honolulu, 2014: 96. For his translation of the complete inscription, see appendix B.

of cognitive psychology and psycholinguistics. These features will be examined and analyzed in the concluding sections. I will argue that the *entanglements* of the inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Shio, and Mt. Saga were designed in a manner whose efficacy could not have been achieved by the single (only one of them), subsequent (following each other), or parallel (in separate spaces) *cultural techniques* painting and writing.

2.3 Cognitive Memory and Entangled Mnemonics

Since the *entanglements* of the three inkstone cases were designed in the late fifteenth century, the following pages investigate whether their manufacturers and audiences could have been aware of the existence of recollection methods. Ancient memory techniques, so-called mnemotechniques, are still being used as the basis for studies and approaches in cognitive psychology, such as the theory developed by Allan Paivio.¹⁵⁰

Generally said, mnemonics are techniques to recall, and to improve the ability to recall stored information. Mnemonics make use of the human senses and employ matters such as noises, semantic links, numbers, actual or inner representations of things. The fundamental notions of what constitutes a mnemotechnique have remained unaltered since their presumed discovery at the turn of the fifth century BCE in Greece, and the reference thereof in Cicero's *De Oratore*, completed in 55 BCE.¹⁵¹ Cicero describes the emergence of the first mnemotechnique as follows:

There is a story that Simonides was dining at the house of a wealthy nobleman named Scopas at Crannon in Thessaly, and chanted a lyric poem which he had composed in honour of his host [...]. The story runs that a little later a message was brought to Simonides to go outside, as two young men were standing at the door who earnestly requested him to come out; so he rose from his seat and went out, and could not see anybody; but in the interval of his absence the roof of the hall where Scopas was giving the banquet fell in, crushing Scopas himself and his relations underneath the ruins and [...] killing them; and when their friends wanted to bury them but were altogether unable to know them apart as they had been completely crushed, the story goes that Simonides was enabled by his recollection of the place in which each of them had been reclining at table to identify them for separate interment; and that this circumstance suggested to him the discovery of the truth that the best aid to clearness of memory consists in orderly arrangement. He inferred that persons desiring to train this faculty must select localities and form mental images of

¹⁵⁰ Paivio, Allan. *Imagery and Verbal Processes*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971: 153.

¹⁵¹ Cicero. *De Oratore*. With an introduction by Harris Rackham and translated by Edward William Sutton. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942: ix. Cicero includes this mnemotechnique as one of five parts (invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery) in the education of an orator. Rackham, Harris, "Introduction," in: Cicero with Sutton, 1942: xvii. and Cicero, *De Oratore* I. xxx.135-xxx.139, pages 97-101. Other ancient references to this technique are in the anonymous *Ad C. Herennium Libri IV* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratorio*. Yates, Frances. *The Art of Memory*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966: 2.

the facts they wished to remember and store those images in the localities, with the result that the arrangement of the localities will preserve the order of the facts, and the images of the facts will designate the facts themselves, and we shall employ the localities and images respectively as a wax writing tablet and the letters written on it.¹⁵²

Cicero regarded Simonides' method to recollect the circumstances of the event, namely to link certain significant information to a particular location, as a rhetorical technique. Frances Yates emphasizes the “unfailing accuracy” with which the orators would deliver their long, elaborate memorized speeches on the basis of the so-called “method of loci.”¹⁵³ The spatial context ensures to recall the information not only completely but also in a certain sequence.¹⁵⁴

In one of the method's more straightforward forms, the orator would prepare by committing the layout of a complex but familiar architectural space (e.g. the interior of a temple) to memory, so as to be able to vividly imagine its various regions and features. He would then imagine objects, symbolizing the points to be remembered (e.g. a sword to represent battle), placed at various *loci* (strategic landmark positions, such as the temple's niches and windows) around the space. The points could then be recalled in their proper order, whilst making a speech, simply by imagining moving around the space along a predetermined route, “seeing” the objects by coming upon them in their appointed loci, and thereby being reminded, in sequence, of the points they symbolized.¹⁵⁵

As we will see, this interconnection of information and additional external factors leads to a structuring and a cognitive upgrading of the content.¹⁵⁶ The application of mnemotechniques is particularly suitable to transform abstract, theoretical information into the kind of knowledge that is more approachable and thus easier to recollect.¹⁵⁷ Gunther Karsten points

¹⁵² Cicero, *De Oratore* II. Ixxxvi. 350-353, in: Cicero with Sutton, 1942: 465, 467.

¹⁵³ Yates, 1966: 2.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid: 1-13. Karsten, Gunther. “Mnemotechniken – Strategien für außergewöhnliche Gedächtnisleistungen.“ In *Kognitive Leistungen: Intelligenz und mentale Fähigkeiten im Spiegel der Neurowissenschaften*, edited by Dresler, Martin, 57–76. Berlin: Spektrum Akademischer Verlag, 2011: 74.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas, Nigel. “Ancient Imagery Mnemonics.” Supplement to “Mental Imagery,” edited by Edward N. Zalta. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information, 2016. <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/mental-imagery/ancient-imagery/mnemonics.html>. Accessed 2016.05.16.

¹⁵⁶ Karsten, 2011: 58-59.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid: 71.

out that this so-called “associative learning” comprises two sub methods, namely, the associating between new contents, which leads to a “quicker storage of the newly formed information complex” as well as the associating of new content with those already established in the long term memory.¹⁵⁸

Further factors in the successful storing of new information are emotions as well as a creative arrangement or presentation of the respective content, such as an unusual pictorial combination to enhance the recollection performance. Karsten cites the following example:

[Those] who memorize *torche*, the French word for “torch,” by imagining a stork carrying a torch in its beak, will memorize this imaginative information much more effectively.¹⁵⁹

Emotions play a primary part in transforming an insignificant matter into an important personal event, and neuroscientists such as Kevin S. La Bar and Roberto Cabeza argue that emotions are essential to firmly establishing and later recalling memorized knowledge.¹⁶⁰

Karsten puts it as follows:

One could almost say that emotions function as a perfect fixative or glue for information. We make use of this fact by deliberately integrating emotional images into the material to be learned. We may use all emotions [...] for it such as humor, anger, passion, creepiness, erotic, and fear.¹⁶¹

The development of logical coherence is an excellent strategy to store knowledge. However, Karsten emphasizes that establishing logic coherence “is not always possible. It would be either too lengthy to understand the deep interrelations, or – as is more often the case – the study material is not based on logic.”¹⁶²

According to Francis Bellezza, the “least efficient” method to memorize information is repetition.¹⁶³ Karsten notes that repetition “in certain intervals” is only necessary to store information permanently.¹⁶⁴ Mnemonics are not confined to a particular set or to a specific

¹⁵⁸ Ibid: 72.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid: 73.

¹⁶⁰ La Bar, Kevin S., and Cabeza, Roberto. “Cognitive Neuroscience of Emotional Memory.” *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 7 (2006): 54-64.

¹⁶¹ Karsten 2011: 73.

¹⁶² Ibid: 74.

¹⁶³ Bellezza, Francis S. “Mnemonic Devices: Classification, Characteristics, and Criteria.” *Review of Educational Research* 51, no. 2 (1981): 247-275: 252.

¹⁶⁴ Karsten, 2011: 75.

category of media. Devices suitable as mnemonics include the human body (e.g. the counting of knuckles to recall each month's amount of days), body extensions (e.g. language and certain rhymes to remember a particular order of items of actions within a sequence) or exterior signs (e.g. knots or marks).

Apparently, mnemonic devices covered multiple areas of the socio-cultural life in pre-modern Japan. Several authors mention that mnemonics were used to enhance the memorization of texts such as the *Records of Ancient Matters*, Shingon scriptures and teachings, poetry such as of the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*, or court music.¹⁶⁵ Christopher Seeley points to the *iroha* (いろは) poem as a widespread early mnemonic tool in the late Heian period.¹⁶⁶ The brief text makes use of all forty-seven Japanese syllables without

¹⁶⁵ For the *Records of Ancient Matters*, see Rubio, Carlos. "The *Lotus Sutra* in Japanese Literature: A Spring Rain." Translation of a Spanish lecture. SGI-Spain Culture Center in Rivas-Vaciamadrid, 12 April 2013: 124. Rubio refers to Kanda Hideo 神田秀夫. *Kojiki no kōzō* 古事記の構造 [Structure of the *Records of Ancient Matters*]. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1959. He states "One of the most distinctive features of the *Kojiki* is how cleverly old songs blend into the narrative of the prose text. This is an imitation of the *ge* (gāthā) — part in verse — poems used in Buddhist texts to praise the Buddha, to summarize the main points of the doctrine or as a mnemonic device that made memorization easy." Rubio, 2013: 124. Concerning sutra, Ryūichi Abé points out: "The word *dhāranī*, which derives from the Sanskrit verb root *dhr*, meaning to hold, keep, maintain, can roughly be translated as 'that by which to sustain something.' It is generally understood as a mnemonic device, containing within its short passages all the meaning of a section or chapter of a *sūtra*, or a particular teaching discussed therein. *Dhāranī* is also believed to be endowed with mystical power that protects those who chant it against malign influences such as demons, evil rulers, thieves, and diseases." Abé, Ryūichi. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999: 5. "The *dhāranī*'s power of protection appears to have derived from its basic function as a mnemonic device for bodhisattvas." Ibid: 166. Jan Nattier also referred to the mnemonic function of *dhāranī* some years earlier in 1992. Nattier, Jan. "The Heart Sūtra: A Chinese Apocryphal Text?" *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15 (1992): 153-223: 158. Concerning Shingon rituals, Robert Sharf adverts: "Traditional Shingon ritual manuals, known as *shidai* (sequential programs) or *giki* (ritual regulations), often list only the names of the dozens of procedures that comprise the rite. With less common procedures the manuals may include mnemonic aids such as the pronunciation of the mantras (in Siddham script, Chinese characters, and/or the Katakana syllabary), the text of liturgical hymns and recitations, directions on how to form certain mudras, and diagrams to help in the contemplations. In any case, the manuals presume a vast store of ritual knowledge on the part of the practitioner. The more elaborate rites [...] consist of hundreds of such procedures, many of them of considerable complexity." Sharf, Robert H. "Thinking through Shingon Ritual." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26, no. 1 (2003): 51-97: 60. Concerning the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*, Kenneth Rexroth states: "The script known as Manyōgana was probably employed largely as a mnemonic and the poems were transmitted orally, usually sung or chanted, as they still are to this day." Rexroth, Kenneth and Atsumi, Ikuko, eds. and transl. *Women Poets of Japan*. New York: New Directions, 1982: 162. In regard to court music, Rembrandt Wolpert states "Vocal mnemonics are a very important aspect, especially in the transmission within the Japanese history of 'gagaku,'" said Rembrandt Wolpert, professor of ethnography. "[Shoga] syllables aren't only a mnemonic aid, but they are also an internal analysis of the melodic structure. The syllables are the primary source, but often teachers, or players, look into the written notations, too. In fact, they complement each other." Rembrandt Wolpert's explanation in: Nguyen, Anna. "Expert lectures on ancient Asian music." *The Arkansas Traveller*, March 7, 2007. http://www.uatrav.com/news/article_32e73e4f-1cd5-5246-98e8-6abfb790baf3.html. Accessed 2013.09.15.

¹⁶⁶ "In this way, the *Iroha* served as an inventory of the basic kana to be distinguished in use. In an age when a number of different kana were often employed to represent one and the same syllable, there was a clear need for an inventory of this type. Orthographic awareness in relation to kana was promoted in part, then, by the *Iroha*." Seeley, Christopher. *A History of Writing in Japan*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991: 107.

repetition and was attributed to Kūkai until the late Edo period.¹⁶⁷ A translation of the *iroha* poem reads: “Though the color be brilliant, it is sure to fade on everything. Who in this world lasts forever? Crossing the distant mountain of illusion, I will see no more futile dreams, nor will I be intoxicated.”¹⁶⁸ Vyjayanthi Selinger remarks that the regular and successful usage of the poem made it “a favored mnemonic device for learning Japanese *kana* from around 1079.”¹⁶⁹

The basic idea of the *iroha* resembles the *Rhymed Poem of the Thousand Characters in the Script of Wang Xizhi* (C. *Ciyun wang xizhi shu qianzi* 次韵王羲之书千字, composed between 507-521), often simply referred to as the *Thousand Character Classic* (C. *Qiān zì wén* 千字文). It is said that Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (梁武帝, 464-549) commissioned one thousand characters from Wang Xizhi and then commissioned Zhou Xingsi (周兴嗣, ?-521) to compose a text by using each character only once.

The essay first served as a calligraphy model for the Emperor’s sons, and has also been used as an essential material for teaching Chinese children from early on. The original purpose of the artifact was to acquire a maximum quantity of characters in a minimum amount of time.¹⁷⁰ Francis Paar illustrates the significance of and the familiarity with this mnemotechnical collection of characters by noting that people also use the sequence to playfully count from one to thousand or number items.¹⁷¹ Besides the formal usage of the characters, which required the memorizing of the entire essay, it was the content that played an important role in the education of successful future rulers.

The text covers numerous subject matters such as history, politics, astronomy, significant topographies in the realm, social virtues and obligations, agriculture, nutrition, domestic conduct, and courtship among others.¹⁷²

It is striking that Emperor Wu of Liang had been a verified member in the salon of Xiao Ziliang,¹⁷³ around the time when the latter compiled the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* in 484, the very artifact that would strongly influence if not trigger the occurrence of *reed-script* in Japan through Kūkai’s intervention some centuries later. Kūkai’s

¹⁶⁷ Abé, 1999: 392.

¹⁶⁸ Selinger, Vyjayanthi R. *Authorizing the Shogunate: Ritual and Material Symbolism in the Literary Construction of Warrior Order*. Leiden: Brill, 2013: 6.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Chou Hsing-ssū. *Ch’ien tzu wen, the thousand character classic: a Chinese primer*. Edited by Paar, Francis W. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1963: 3-4.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 4.

¹⁷² Summary of the *Ch’ien tzu wen*, *ibid.*: 5-6.

¹⁷³ Emperor Wu of Liang is recorded in the list of salon members under his personal name Xiao Yan (蕭衍). Jansen, 2000: 255.

overall influence and involvement not only in the origin of Japanese *entanglements* but also in the post-mortem development of the sub-category *reed-script* can be inferred by looking at one of the earliest known extant Japanese *entanglements*, the *Fragment of the Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times with Picture-Letters* already indicated in the section concerning the history of *reed-script* in the introduction. This earliest known extant *reed-script* fragment¹⁷⁴ can be regarded as a retroactive link between the purely mnemonic artifacts (such as the *Thousand Character Classic*) and the artifacts focusing entirely on pictorialized scripts with mnemonic traits (such as the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* and Kūkai’s inscription at Masuda Pond).

My analysis has shown that the designs of the inkstone cases display mnemonic features. This is mainly due to entangled visual and verbal levels and such *entanglements* are from here on called “entangled mnemonics.” The *entangled mnemonics* of the inkstone cases require an activity that could be termed “creative observation.” This creative and/or emotional involvement of the observer-viewer constitutes an effective mnemonic aspect itself. The conceptual insertion of information into a spatial surrounding – the landscapes, comprising the spatial layers of foreground, middle ground, background – evokes Simonides’ method of loci, the earliest known mnemonic technique. Since it cannot be unambiguously confirmed that mnemonic aspects were consciously integrated in the designs, it is conceivable that they were applied simply because they were acknowledged to be effective, and despite the lack of a distinct term. However, the various examples illustrate that the creation and usage of mnemonics was widely established long before the manufacturing of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*.

The numerous styles of writing in the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* give proof of the cherished, long existing transmission of pictorialized script. They illustrate the varieties of expression and artistic freedom, formally acknowledged by its editor. Xiao, a committed Buddhist who held the office of the minister of education at the time, was obviously close to cultural and religious issues on a political level. While pictorialized script served as a traditional means of intellectual play, it was an efficient way of presenting and absorbing information content. Its numerous manifestations in the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts* attest that these styles were popular and bestowed with an auspicious aura. Ernst

¹⁷⁴ Together with the fragments also mentioned in the introduction, namely the leaves in the Tokyo National Museum and the personal collection.

Gombrich also acknowledged “visual confusion” as a factor to trigger “protective animation.”¹⁷⁵

David Lurie’s analysis of artifacts illustrates that the significance of an item is conveyed even if the graphs on display cannot be read. This is either because the degree of the reader’s literacy is insufficient or because there is no writing in the linguistic sense.¹⁷⁶ The semantic content of the respective object might be conveyed through non-literate means, e.g. by oral transmission. Encrypted writing transformed the respective artifact into an effective spiritual tool, a conveyer of protection, integrity, and good fortune, while pictorialized script makes the absorption of important information due to the continuous, heightened level of concentration not only joyful but also most effective.

Dual Coding

Recollection is a sequence of cognitive processes that takes place in memory systems, namely the sensory register, the short-term or working memory, and the long-term memory, in this order. Attention related processes determine how far information travels into this threefold structure.¹⁷⁷ Each of the three systems has specific functions and characteristics. The sensory register is “an important component of our overall memory apparatus, but it is probably best seen as part of the process of perception,”¹⁷⁸ as Alan Baddeley points out. The working memory functions as an intermediate storage for all incoming information that was previously picked up by the sensory register. This general information pool filters the incoming data and is “capable of manipulating information and relating it to long-term storage. Indeed the short-term store forms a crucial link in this model; without it, neither the learning of new material nor the recollection of old information is possible.”¹⁷⁹ The working memory also releases information as “response output,”¹⁸⁰ to prevent information from entering the next system, the long-term memory, which stores information permanently.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁵ Gombrich, Ernst H. *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1979: 262-263. In Louis 2003: 23.

¹⁷⁶ Lurie, David. *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011: 19. Lurie already mentioned it in Lurie, David. “*The Origins of Writing in Early Japan: From the 1st to the 8th Century C.E.*” Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. UMI. New York, 2001: 69-70.

¹⁷⁷ Atkinson, Richard, and Shiffrin, Richard. "Human memory: A proposed system and its control processes." In *The Psychology of Learning and Motivation 2*, edited by Spence, K.W. and Spence, J.T, 89–195. New York: Academic Press, 1968.

¹⁷⁸ Baddeley, Alan. *Essentials of Human Memory*. Hove: Psychology Press, 1999: 13.

¹⁷⁹ Baddeley, 1999: 8-9.

¹⁸⁰ According to the *Multi-Store Memory Model* by Atkinson and Shiffrin from 1968.

¹⁸¹ Atkinson and Shiffrin, 1968, in: Baddeley, 1999: 9.

The *entanglements* of the inkstone cases require the observer-reader to switch between the scriptorial and the pictorial factors. The *entanglements* of the *hybrid Inkstone Cases Mt. Saga* and of the *synonymic Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* do not always display a clear distinction between the scriptorial and pictorial elements. Blurred boundaries in monochrome designs with low contrasts such as in the *synonymic Mt. Kasuga* design enhance the cognitive effort to locate and differentiate the scriptorial elements among and within the pictorial design. The distinguishing of elements that imitate or fully or partially constitute pictorial motifs such as in the design of the Mt. Saga case is also a more complex process compared to differentiating between pictorial and scriptorial components that share no formal likeness and are also crafted in materials of contrasting colors and textures such as in case of the *correlative Mt. Shio* design. According to Jörg Zumbach, designs comprising picture and word, like as the *entanglements* of the inkstone cases, are multicodal designs.¹⁸²

The decoding of such multicodal formats requires specific cognitive processes. Wolfgang Schnotz and Maria Bannert offer a model that incorporates separate systems for picture and word processing, which describes how these two types of representation are processed in different modalities. (fig. 47) The model comprises a descriptive and a depictional branch. Each incoming information is processed on three levels, namely the visual sensory register, the visual working memory and the long-term memory. The arrows symbolize the two types of processes, the processing processes (ascending) and the selection processes (descending).

Information (text or image) enters the visual sensory register and is then transported into the visual working memory. For textual information, the verbal channel filters important information and transforms a mental representation of the text surface representation into propositional representations. The selection and organization processes are based on the processing of symbols, and they depend either on conceptual or content-related cognitive patterns (previous knowledge) or on textual patterns (representational knowledge). Attentive reading or inspection processes construct a mental model from the propositional representation. For pictorial information, perception processes and patterns from the long-term memory first create a mental representation (visual perception/idea). Then semantic processing ensures image comprehension. The mental model has access to information that is stored in the propositional representation.¹⁸³

¹⁸² Zumbach, Jörg. *Lernen mit neuen Medien. Instruktionspsychologische Grundlagen*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010: 70.

¹⁸³ Diagram translated from German. Schnotz, Wolfgang, and Bannert, Maria. "Einflüsse der Visualisierungsform auf die Konstruktion mentaler Modelle beim Text- und Bildverstehen." *Zeitschrift für*

The complexity of the alternating operations of the visual and the verbal level leads to a significantly more effective memorization of the entangled content than the display of either word or picture alone, or simple, compartmentalized combinations with segregated parts for each.

Roxana Moreno and Richard Mayer conducted experiments with picture and word combinations to analyze the efficacy of recollection in relation to different levels of interaction. The information content concerned the formation of lightning and the explanatory text portion was either placed as an integral component at the respective point of reference in the diagram, outside the picture plane, or provided acoustically. (figs. 48) The results show that spatial proximity – the integrated text, a composite of picture and word – leads to an enhanced learning effect and recollection capacity (“free reproduction of knowledge”¹⁸⁴),¹⁸⁵ while spatial separation of text and the corresponding picture areas can cause the *split-attention effect* according to Mayer, which refers here to the divided attention due to the separate locations of picture and word.¹⁸⁶ As Mayer’s *spatial contiguity principle* indicates, high efficacy prevails as long as the scriptorial and the pictorial elements correspond with each other and are not too far apart.¹⁸⁷ Neither is an issue in the *entanglements* of the inkstone cases. All designs display the integration of the scriptorial elements in the picture plane.

A first step in the cognitive processes of visual material is the attempt to match the new image with existing model images in the mind to establish whether the new image is ambiguous or not, and whether there is a necessity to “normalize” it. Jörg Zumbach describes the term “normalization” as “unknown or unstable pictorial elements that must be modified in view of previous knowledge.”¹⁸⁸ He discusses the mental endeavor to process visuals with a minimum of cognitive effort: If the image cannot be recognized at once, the recipient

Experimentelle Psychologie 46, no. 3 (1999): 217-236. In: Zumbach, 2010: 77. For a summary of experiments concerning the “inner picture” (Roger Shepard’s mental rotation experiments, 1971 and 1973; Stephen Kosslyn’s mental map experiment, 1979), see Gottschling, Verena. *Bilder im Geiste. Die Imagery-Debatte*. Paderborn: mentis Verlag 2003: 20-27.

¹⁸⁴ Schnotz and Bannert, 1999: 79.

¹⁸⁵ Moreno, Roxana, and Mayer, Richard. “Cognitive principles of multimedia learning: The role of modality and contiguity.” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 91, no. 2 (1999): 358-368: 363. In: Zumbach, 2010: 79.

¹⁸⁶ Mayer, Richard. “Principles for Reducing Extraneous Processing in Multimedia Learning: Coherence, Signaling, Redundancy, Spatial Contiguity, and Temporal Contiguity Principles.” In *The Cambridge Handbook of Multimedia Learning*, edited by Mayer, Richard, 183-200. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005: 195. (Mayer, 2005c) In: Zumbach, 2010: 79-80. Zumbach refers to Ayres and Sweller to provide a more comprehensive explanation of the *split-attention effect*. The *split-attention effect* “denotes the additional mental effort that must be generated to process different information and information sources at the same time.” Zumbach 2010: 82. Ayres, Paul, and Sweller, John. “The Split-Attention Principle in Multimedia Learning.” In *The Cambridge Handbook of Multimedia Learning*, edited by Richard Mayer, 135-146. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. (Mayer, 2005a) In: Zumbach, 2010: 82.

¹⁸⁷ Mayer refers to instructions with graphics and printed words. Mayer, 2005c: 196-197, in: Zumbach, 2010: 79.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid: 77.

enhances the cognitive effort, which means previous knowledge is accessed and additional pictorial elements are taken into consideration. Depending on the previous knowledge, there might be several repetitions until normalcy is reached and the image can be decoded.¹⁸⁹ Zumbach provided a model to demonstrate these cognitive processes of comprehending simple and complex depictions.¹⁹⁰ (fig. 49)

Wolfgang Schnotz and Maria Bannert used a map-like depiction of the earth and compared the required/triggered cognitive performance to those of a simpler circular depiction that merely comprises numbers and letters. These experiments led to the finding that more complex illustrations of equal content trigger a mutual stimulation of picture and text comprehension, which also results in a higher performance.¹⁹¹ (fig. 50)

These tests correlate with earlier findings by Kenneth Purnell and Robert Solman who also used geographical materials to research the comprehension of texts and illustrations. Their graph shows clearly that text-text combinations are the least effective with about 40%, while combinations of text and illustration provide the highest results with about 60%. The diagram also shows that an illustration itself is considerably more efficient than a text. (fig. 51) Both experiments are significant, not merely due to the combinations of text and image but also because they deal with depictions of geography and information linked to geography.

Accordingly, *entanglements* such as the *synonymic entanglement* of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* with identical pictorial and scriptorial elements (in terms of shape, color, materials etc.) reach a higher recollection efficacy than the *hybrid entanglements* of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* and the least effective combination of picture and word, the *correlative entanglements* of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*.

The general functionality and efficacy of *entanglements* can be further explained by the psycholinguistic premise of Allan Paivio.¹⁹² According to his *dual coding theory*, information is more effectively stored and more effectively recalled if mentally represented or coded more than once, namely by visual and verbal representations, that is to say by a visual code *and* a verbal code at the same time.¹⁹³ He states:

The probability of remembering an item would thus be a direct function of the availability of both codes. In effect, this is a *coding redundancy* hypothesis:

¹⁸⁹ Ibid: 77-78.

¹⁹⁰ Weidenmann, Bernd. *Psychische Prozesse beim Verstehen von Bildern*. Bern: Huber, 1988: 97-98. In: Zumbach, 2010: 77. Diagram translated from German.

¹⁹¹ Schnotz and Bannert, 1999: 77. Diagrams translated from German.

¹⁹² Purnell/Solman and Schnotz/Bannert based their research on Paivio's findings.

¹⁹³ Paivio, 1971: 179-181.

Memory increases directly with the number of alternative memory codes available for an item.¹⁹⁴

Paivio also based his theory on the assumption that there is one system for the processing of each, verbal and nonverbal information.¹⁹⁵ The *dual coding theory* after Paivio suggests that:

[T]he human mind operates with two distinct classes of mental representation (or “codes”), verbal representations and mental images, and that human memory thus comprises two functionally independent (although interacting) systems or stores, verbal memory and image memory. Imagery potentiates recall of verbal material because when a word evokes an associated image (either spontaneously, or through deliberate effort) two separate but linked memory traces are laid down, one in each of the memory stores. Obviously the chances that a memory will be retained and retrieved are much greater if it is stored in two distinct functional locations rather than in just one.¹⁹⁶

Generally said, the more concrete the content, the more efficient the memory process. According to Paivio, abstract terms (“justice,” “ability,” “ego”) are encoded verbally, concrete terms (for instance, “piano,” “snake,” “clock”) are encoded both verbally and visually, and concrete objects (a piano, a snake, a clock), which are visual phenomena themselves, are also verbally represented. He thus concludes that concrete terms and – visual representation of – objects are encoded twice. Pictures invariably trigger both codes, while even concrete words activate imagery counterparts to a lesser degree. Paivio termed this phenomenon the “picture superiority effect.”¹⁹⁷ Thus, abstract words are less efficiently recollected than realistic depictions of concrete objects.¹⁹⁸ To put his theory into practice, he published a diagram with a list comprising nine concrete objects (pictures), nine concrete words (the terms of these

¹⁹⁴ Ibid: 181.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid: 8.

¹⁹⁶ Thomas, Nigel. “Common Coding Theories of Memory.” Supplement to “Mental Imagery,” edited by Zalta, Edward N. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information, 2011. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mental-imagery/theories-memory.html>. Accessed 2013.02.02.

¹⁹⁷ Paivio, Allan and Csapo, Kalman. “Picture superiority in free recall: Imagery or dual coding?” *Cognitive Psychology* 5 (1973): 176-206. Zumbach cites two cases of expertise-reversal effects, one of which refers to the high level of previous textual knowledge of the reader and inadequate images (Schnotz and Bannert, 1999), the other instance refers to a low level of previous knowledge concerning the content of the images, which led experts to an enhance usage of the text to start a reciprocal process of comprehension using both, text and image. (Roth, Wolff-Michael, and Bowen, Gervase Michael. “When Are Graphs Worth Ten Thousand Words? An Expert-Expert Study.” *Cognition and Instruction*, 21 (2003), 429-473.) Zumbach 2010: 78.

¹⁹⁸ Paivio, 1971: 179, 202-203.

objects), and nine (unrelated) abstract words to explain his findings and to enable the researcher to effortlessly recall his complex idea. (fig. 52)

Paivio also distinguished between incidental and intentional learning conditions and he analyzed the efficiency of each stimulus category (pictures, concrete words, abstract words) in terms of short- and long-term memory (STM, LTM). The diagram shows that incidental learning with pictures after a five-minute retention interval is the most favorable condition at about 35%, followed closely by intentional learning with pictures after a 5-minute retention interval. The least effective method is incidental learning with abstract words after a one-week interval at less than 5%. Intentional learning with the stimulus picture delivers the best result after the one-week retention, closely followed by incidental learning with pictures. Concrete words performs well in the short-term-memory interval but is even less effective than the abstract words in the short-term-memory retention. (fig 53)

Pictorial expression is thought to convey meaning more directly than verbal expression. Douglas Nelson argues that pictorial elements differ more from other pictorial elements than words differ from other words, and suggests this as the source for their increased level of efficacy.¹⁹⁹ Paivio found that verbal and nonverbal codes have a reciprocal effect.

Jörg Zumbach created a diagram that demonstrates the neurological processes. The respective stimulus (picture, word) first triggers a broader analysis. These results are then compared to the known concept of the information that has been established in the memory system. The exchange between the pictorial memory and the verbal memory is visualized as the overall completion of a process consisting of several steps.²⁰⁰ (fig. 54) Based on the reciprocation of both systems, Richard Mayer discovered that the combination of picture and text leads to an enhanced result regardless of the *picture superior effect*.²⁰¹

In a best-case scenario, language represents its own meaning also on a visual level, that is to say the pictorial and the scriptorial elements completely overlap in form and content, which happens, for instance, if the word “grass” is depicted as grass. In this case, the pictorial decoding processes (nonverbal, verbal) and the verbal decoding process (verbal) are all

¹⁹⁹ Nelson, Douglas L., and Reed, Valerie S., and Walling, John R. “Pictorial Superiority Effect.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Learning & Memory* 2 (1976): 523–28.

²⁰⁰ The diagram has been translated into English.

²⁰¹ Paivio, Allan. *Mental Representations: A Dual-Coding Approach*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986: 53-55. Mayer, Richard, *Multimedia Learning*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001: 41-43.

activated. An *adverse effect* results from a contradiction of such overlapping levels with regards to content, for instance, if the word “blue” is depicted in a color other than blue.²⁰²

Accordingly, the efficacy of the designs of the inkstone cases is not ideal because although sometimes there is an overlap of pictorial and scriptorial elements, it merely concerns the forms that are completely or partially identical but not the meaningful content of picture and word. The exterior side of the lid of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* shows *ke* (け), and *re* (連), and the interior side shows the syllables *ha* (盤), and *kotoni* (こと尔). The poem of the design does not contain many terms that would allow for such a complete overlap of pictures and words.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| The mountain hamlet | <i>Yamazato ha</i> |
| in autumn, especially, | <i>aki koso koto ni</i> |
| is desolate and sad | <i>wabishikere</i> |
| the plaintive belling of deer | <i>shika no naku ne ni</i> |
| awakes me | <i>me wo samashitsutsu</i> |

Chosen for the pictorial scripts in the design were grammatical particles instead of those concrete words that would have offered the opportunity of a form-and-content overlap with pictorial elements. These are the “deer” (*shika*) and the “mountain hamlet” (*yamazato*), both of which belong to the pictorial level, and neither is depicted in pictorial script to increase recollection performance.

On the exterior lid of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* the scriptorial elements inserted in the rocks comprise *shi* (志), *ho* (本), *no* (能), *yama* (山), *sa* (散), *shi* (新), and *te* (亭). Almost each cliff on the interior lid is decorated with a character, namely *kimi* (君), *ka* (加), *mi* (見), *yo* (代), *wo* (遠), and *ha* (盤). Five syllables are scattered on the four sides of the inkstone case, namely *ya* (八), *chi* (千), *yo* (世), *to* (登), and *zo* (曾).

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| The plovers dwelling | <i>Shio no yama</i> |
| on the rocky banks of Sashide | <i>sashide no iso ni</i> |
| near Mount Shio | <i>sumu chidori</i> |
| cry “May your reign be | <i>kimi ga miyo wo ba</i> |

²⁰² Jörg Zumbach pointed this out in a conversation on 2014.12.01 and he also referred to the cognitive Language of Thought theory (LOTH) forwarded by Jerry Fodor (Fodor, Jerry A. *The Language of Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.) as well as to Ludwig Wittgenstein (Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989.)

everlasting.”

yachiyo to zo naku

Chosen for the pictorial level were the birds and the rocks. This phrase is identical with the words that are omitted on the verbal level in the design, namely “plovers inhabiting the coast” (*iso ni sumu chidori*) and “chirp” (*naku*) that were chosen for the pictorial level alone. Instead of depicting the coastline by means of pictorial script, various characters were placed on the rocks. The birds are also rendered as concrete objects instead of using *reed-script* to illustrate them, which would further enhance memorization. The *reed-script* of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* comprises *miyuki* (御幸), the particle *no* (乃), *taenishi* (絶尔し), and *chiyo* (千代) on the interior of the lid, as well as *sa* (嗟) and *ga* (峨) on the surfaces of the base.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| There are fresh marks [in the snow] | <i>Saga no yama</i> |
| on the ancient path | <i>miyuki taenishi</i> |
| near Serikawa River | <i>serikawa no</i> |
| in the hills of Saga | <i>chiyo no furumichi</i> |
| that once the emperor visited | <i>ato ha arikeri</i> |

Pictorial objects in the design are “the hills of Saga” (*saga no yama*) “the ancient path” (*furumichi*), and the stream Serikawa. Neither is depicted in pictorial script, which would further increase recollection efficacy. In summary, due to the cognitive processing of alternating verbal and visual levels, the entangled designs of the inkstone cases indeed show enhanced yet not ideal capacities in transmitting the respective information with the synonymic *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* as the most efficient, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* as the least efficient carriers of information.

The previous sections analyzed the *entanglements* of the three inkstone cases from different perspectives and three fields of memory. The cultures of recollection refer to social concepts of memory to create, enhance, and maintain a notion of community and communal identity. The dual-coding theory relates to visual perception and cognitive organization of memory capacities; according to which the designs of the three inkstone case are effective transmitters of information just as mnemonic techniques optimizes recollection capacities. The selected artifacts give evidence that the entangling of writing and painting, two premier cultural techniques, created *entanglements* that have been appreciated for the very similar reasons – may it be among members of imperial courts in China and Japan or the medieval warrior courts of the Minamoto and the Ashikaga shogunate. The *entangled mnemonics* of the inkstone cases oscillate between visibility and invisibility, while their content displays hidden

knowledge and obvious information that belong to esoteric and exoteric socio-cultural fields and appear as different layers in compliance with the gradual process of releasing knowledge.

3. The *Entangled Mnemonics* in Context: The *Entanglements* and Cultural Practices

The chapter introduces playful activities, secret transmissions, and ritual practices, and then put the designs of the inkstone cases into context. Examples show how some practices were claimed by families to gain and maintain authority in the political arena. The concluding sections illustrate that the *entangled mnemonics* are part of a specific cultural narrative. Apparently, the designs of the three inkstone cases display significant aspects of the politico-cultural life in the fifteenth century.

3.1 Playful Practices and the Ashikaga Inkstone Cases

The seemingly playful relations between the scriptorial and pictorial elements are one prominent feature in the designs of the inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Shio, and Mt. Saga. It comes as no surprise that the *entangled mnemonics* were created and produced in a society with an appreciation for *playfulness*. In order to gain a more profound idea of the respective functions of each design, I will first turn to a broader definition of *play*, and then focus on the Japanese notions of *playfulness* (*asobi* 遊び) to contextualize the *entangled mnemonics* of the Higashiyama artifacts. Concerning the contemporary understanding of the term, Christine Guth writes:

[A]*sobi* [is] the word most closely corresponding to the English word ‘play’. Like its English equivalent, the connotations of the word *asobi* range widely, and often depend on context. *Asobi* is now used most often to describe children’s amusements, but it can also denote adult recreational activities and even religious rituals. The gamut of meanings attached to *asobi* is perhaps best encapsulated in the word *asobigokoro*, literally ‘playful heart’, which can refer to a sense of humour, a love of music, being ‘laid back’, or in its most extreme sense, neglect one’s responsibilities and debauchery. The spirit of play is at the heart of much Japanese aesthetic expression. Yet its importance is often overlooked because the scope and variety of the forms it assumes defy easy classification among recognized art historical genres. Playfulness may be seen

in the subjects and styles of both the religious and secular arts in each medium and in each period.¹

Play denotes activities that are performed voluntarily, in a place and a time demarcated from reality, and follow rules of their own within that sphere. *Play* hence runs in a parallel world, and engaging in *play* interrupts daily life. Some varieties of *play* may include a purpose and aim at a goal that is meaningful “outside,” while the meanings of other varieties of *play* are confined to their own particular spheres. The mindsets of playful activities range from the serious to foolish. My basic understanding of *play* coincides with the definition proposed by Johan Huizinga.

[P]lay is a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is ‘different’ from ‘ordinary life.’²

By comparing the *entangled mnemonics* to Huizinga’s concept, it becomes clear that they belong to the sphere of *play*.

[Play takes place] within a playground marked off beforehand either materially or ideally, deliberately or as a matter of course. Just as there is no formal difference between play and ritual, so the ‘consecrated spot’ cannot be formally distinguished from the play-ground. The arena, the card-table, the magic circle, the temple, the stage, the screen [...] are all in form and function play-grounds, i.e. forbidden spots, isolated, hedged round, hallowed, within which special rules obtain.³

The designs cover specific parts of the inkstone cases, usually including the inner side of the lid. These spatially confined areas hence serve as the ‘consecrated spot’ and as a “play-ground,” respectively. Another indicator to ascribe the designs to *play* is the correlation between the *entangled mnemonics* and a fixed order of relevant factors. That is to say, the

¹ Guth, Christine E. M. “*Asobi*: Play in the Arts of Japan.” *Orientalia* 23, no 9 (Sep 1992): 45-52. The term “playfulness” as English equivalent for *asobi* was probably first used in 1986. Tsuji Nobuo. *Playfulness in Japanese Art*. Kansas: Spencer Art Museum/The University of Kansas, 1986.

² Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*. Reprint. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980 (1938): 28.

³ *Ibid*: 10.

designs require the finding and then the reconstruction of a predetermined order to decipher the morphemes and finally to associate them with the matching poem. This order cannot be reversed. Huizinga also refers to a predetermined sequence:

Inside the play-ground an absolute and peculiar order reigns. Here we come across another, very positive feature of play: it creates order, is order. Into an imperfect world and into the confusion of life it brings a temporary, a limited perfection. Play demands order absolute and supreme.⁴

Hence, *play* is voluntary although it is based on and maintains order. In Huizinga's definition, the only exception to this leisure activity is the variation of *play* that fulfills a "cultural function."⁵

It is never imposed by physical necessity or moral duty. It is never a task. It is done at leisure, during 'free time.' Only when play is a recognized cultural function – a rite, a ceremony – is it bound up with notions of obligation and duty.⁶

Accordingly, *play* may be assigned a significant role in socio-historical contexts and meet specific societal needs. It takes place in demarcated locations and the players invariably perform it in a parallel sphere of time and space. Furthermore, Huizinga's notion of *play* is not limited to conveying joyful, carefree or superficial purports:

The contrast between play and seriousness is always fluid. The inferiority of play is continually being offset by the corresponding superiority of its seriousness. Play turns to seriousness and seriousness to play. Play may rise to heights of beauty and sublimity that leave seriousness far beneath.⁷

Such forms of *play* that comprise aspects of seriousness might fall into the category of *game*. Indologist Johannes Bronkhorst distinguishes between *game* and *play* by illustrating that *game* includes a form of play that is governed by rules, while other expressions of *play* are

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid: 8.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

spontaneous.⁸ In this point, he differs from the classification by Huizinga who claims that *play* requires the existence of order, and who omits the idea of an individual category *game* altogether. Bronkhorst further emphasizes the tie of *game* and *ritual* and clarifies that their outcome is a feature to set them apart. While *ritual* navigates towards a predetermined resolution carrying a unifying social effect, *games* do not follow an external goal and ultimately separate the community into winners and loser.⁹ Bronkhorst argues that *ritualized game* without a predetermined result is “real play,”¹⁰ and classifies his object of investigation, an Indian dice *game* with a pre-determined outcome, as *ritual*.¹¹

Cultural anthropologist Ute Hüsken has also observed an overlapping of playful activity and ritual activity, for instance the practices to learn ritual, which means to conduct a ritual without the intention to actually activate and release its forces.¹² Hüsken refers to Caillois` categories of *play* and concludes that the apprentices` activities, this kind of “pretend” *rituals*, are “imitative” *play* and she highlights that their function lies in being a “central means of transmitting ritual knowledge.”¹³

Huizinga`s notion of *play* is broad enough to include *game* rather than separating and subcategorizing it,¹⁴ and according to him, *ritual* emerged from *play*.¹⁵ In my view, *game* is a competitive *play*-variety with a rule-structured nature, whose target might be set outside the realm of *play*. The overlap with *ritual* depends on the dominance of its rules and the degree of their inflexibility.

Whether and in which manner the *entanglements* of the inkstone cases relate not only to notions of *play* but also to *ritual* will be investigated in the further course of the search for the designs` socio-cultural functions. The following section investigates the concrete

⁸ Bronkhorst, Johannes. “Can there be Play in Ritual? Reflections on the Nature of Ritual.” In *Religions in Play: Games, Rituals, and Virtual Worlds*, edited by Bornet, Philippe and Burger, Maya, 161–170. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2012: 161-162.

⁹ Bronkhorst refers to a dicing game with a predetermined outcome as described in a study by Harry Falk. Falk, Harry. *Bruderschaft und Würfelspiel: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des vedischen Opfers*. Freiburg: Falk, 1986. In Bronkhorst, 2012: 165. Bronkhorst partially relies on Claude Lévi-Strauss to differentiate between game and ritual. “Games thus appear to have a *disjunctive* effect [...]. Ritual, on the other hand, [...] *conjoins*, for it brings about a union [...]” Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*, translated by Weidenfeld, George. Reprint. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004: 32. In Bronkhorst, 2012: 162.

¹⁰ He refers to a ritual of human sacrifice that included a game. While the outcome of the ritual was clearly the sacrifice, the outcome of the game was not, i.e. which person would become the sacrifice. Ibid: 168.

¹¹ Ibid: 166.

¹² Hüsken, Ute. “Training, Play, and Blurred Distinctions: On Imitation and *Real* Ritual.” In *Religions in Play. Games, Rituals, and Virtual Worlds 2*, edited by Bornet, Phillippe and Burger, Maya, 177–97. Zürich: TVZ Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2012: 181-185.

¹³ Ibid: 184.

¹⁴ Huizinga, 1980: 28.

¹⁵ Ibid: 5.

appearances of Japanese playfulness and analyzes its transmitted notions and relevant practices at the time of the manufacturing of the inkstone cases.

Playfulness in the Ashikaga Court of the Fifteenth Century

Playfulness was a significant aspect in the social lives of the military authority in the second half of the fifteenth century. This can be inferred from several diaries that record events labeled *playfulness* as a pursuit of Ashikaga Yoshimasa's circles. The following activities are typical instances of *playfulness* referred to by sources around the time of the production of the *entangled mnemonics*.

On 1465.10.08 (Kanshō 6), Yoshimasa went to the Shōkokuji Temple, the Rokuon'in Temple, and to Higashiyama to engage in *playfulness*. Afterwards he assessed a suitable location for a villa near E'un'in, a sub-temple of the Nanzenji Temple, and then participated in a banquet on the grounds of Nyakuōji Shrine.¹⁶ On 1467.03.17 (Ōnin 1), Yoshimasa engaged in *playfulness* at the mansion of Hino Katsumitsu (日野勝光, 1429-1476) to compose *renga* poetry.¹⁷ On 1474.10.02 (Bunmei 6), Yoshimasa, his wife Hino Tomiko (日野富子, 1440-1496) and their son Ashikaga Yoshihisa engaged in *playfulness* at Roku'on'in Temple and enjoyed the view of autumn leaves.¹⁸ On 1478.10.09 (Bunmei 10), Yoshimasa, his wife, and their son engaged in *playfulness* in the mountainous area of Takao in Yamashiro and viewed autumn leaves.¹⁹ On 1482.07.22 (Bunmei 14), Yoshimasa participated in *playfulness* at the banks of Takano River in Yamashiro and viewed cormorant fishing.²⁰ On

¹⁶ Inryōken nichiroku, 1978.

¹⁷ Funabashi Sōken 船橋宗賢. *Sōken kyō ki* 宗賢卿記 [Records of Lord Sōken]. 1450-1479. Edited by Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Teikoku Toshokan 帝国図書館, 1901. There is a manuscript of Sōken's diary in two volumes in the library of Tokyo University by an unknown writer from 1921. The *Go renga shū* refers to the same event. *Go renga shū* 御連歌集 [Renga Collection]. 1495. In: *Shōchoku shū* 詔勅集 [Collection of Imperial Edicts], *Ressei zenshū* 3 列聖全集 [Collected Works of Japanese Emperors]. Edited by Ressei Zenshū Hensankai 列聖全集編纂会. Tokyo: Ressei Zenshū Hensankai, 1916.

¹⁸ Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆. *Sanetaka kōki* 実隆公記 [Journal of Duke Sanetaka]. 1474-1536. Edited by Takahashi Ryūzō 高橋龍三. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai Taiyōsha 続群書類従完成会太洋社, 1958-1963. The Dai Nihon Shiryō Unified Database, The Historiographical Institute The University of Tokyo, retrieved 2012.04.12. There is also a reference to this event in Kanroji Chikanaga's (甘露寺親長, 1424-1500) diary *Chikanaga kyōki* (Records of Lord Chikanaga). Kanroji Chikanaga 甘露寺親長. *Chikanaga kyōki* 親長卿記 [Records of Lord Chikanaga]. 1469-1498. Revised by Iikura Harutake 飯倉晴武. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 2000-present. Kanroji, 2000-(continued). The Dai Nihon Shiryō Unified Database, The Historiographical Institute The University of Tokyo, retrieved 2012.04.12.

¹⁹ Ninagawa Chikamoto 蜷川親元. *Ninagawa chikamoto nikki* 蜷川親元日記 [Journal of Ninagawa Chikamoto]. 1465-1486. *Zōho zoku shiryō taisei* 増補續史料大成 11-12. Edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1978. Nagaoki Ozuki 長興小槻. *Nagaoki sukune ki* 長興宿禰記 [Chronicles of Sukune Nagaoki]. 1475-1487. Edited by Iikura Harutake 飯倉晴武. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 1998.

²⁰ Nagaoki, 1998.

1482.09.18 (Bunmei 14), Yoshimasa viewed autumn foliage in Ohara in Yamashiro, participated in *playfulness* with a saddled horse, and dedicated *renga* to deity.²¹ In 1498.03 (Mei'ō 7) and on 1499.10.11 (Mei'ō 8), Shogun Deputy Hosokawa Masamoto participated in falconry related *playfulness*, first in Terada, Yamashiro (in present-day Kyoto prefecture) and then in Ibaraki, Settsu, as did Ashikaga Yoshizumi on 1500.02.13 (Mei'ō 9) in Takao, Yamashiro.²²

I argue that such instances of *playfulness* in the late fifteenth century, namely the banquets, falconry, horse riding, cormorant fishing, and the watching of autumn foliage, referred to considerably earlier notions and that some of those activities related to *playfulness* are not to be viewed as mere leisure. Kuniyasu Yō based his classification of early manifestations of *asobi* on the textual analysis of the *Chronicles of Japan* and the *Record of Ancient Matters*, the records of provincial culture and geography entitled *Records of Wind and Earth* (*Fudoki* 風土記), and the first (non-imperial) anthology *Ten Thousand Leaves*.²³ Based on his analysis²⁴ of these sources, the various aspects of *asobi* pertain to the following categories:

1. Shinto ritual (*kamuwaza* 神事)
 - a) Song and dance performed as an offering to deity (*kamu asobi* 神遊び)²⁵
 - b) The appearance as deity or human (*kami aruiha ningen toshite no shutsugen* 神あるいは人間としての出現)²⁶

²¹ Konoe Masaie 近衛政家. *Gohōkō'in ki* 後法興院記 [Records of Gohōkō'in]. 1466-1505. Edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1978.

²² *Shiryō sōran* 9 史料綜覧 [Guide to the Chronological Source Books of Japanese History]. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1964-2001.

²³ Kuniyasu Yō. "Nihon kodai ni okeru *asobi*" 日本古代における「遊び」 [*Asobi* in Ancient Japan]. 横浜国立大学教育紀要 26, [Journal of the Faculty of Education Sciences at Yokohama National University], (1986): 273–285: 274-278.

²⁴ Kuniyasu's list is in accordance with the context of their occurrences in the four referential sources. Many of the activities are denoted by terms comprising either the character whose *kun*-reading is "*asobi*" or combinations with one more character. In these cases, the reading of the character "*asobi*" often changes to "*yū*." This change of pronunciation merely concerns the linguistic level.

²⁵ E.g. Ame no Uzume's performance for Amaterasu. (*Kojiki* 古事記 [Record of Ancient Matters]. Edited by Kurano Kenji 倉野憲司. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1993: 82), and to Emperor Chūai's playing of the *koto*. (*Kojiki*: 228). Both references in Kuniyasu, 1986: 274-275.

²⁶ E.g. Ōkuninushi who after his resurrection ruled Izumo (*Kojiki*: 94), and to Ninigi who descended from Takamanohara to Takachiho Peak in Hyūga (Kamiyo ki (ge) 神代紀下 [Age of the Gods II], *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 [Chronicles of Japan]. Edited by Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎, Ienaga Saburō 家永三郎, Mitsusada Inoue 井上光貞, Ōno Susumu 大野晋. *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 [Compendium of Classical Japanese Literature] 67-68. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1965-1967: paragraph 9). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 275.

2. Mourning ceremonial (*mogari*²⁷ [殯])²⁸
3. *Playfulness* of the plain [to pluck edible wild plants], mountain outings in spring and things that belong in this group (*no no asobi* 野の遊び, *haru yama iri* 春山入り, *sono keitō ni zokusuru mono* その系統に属するもの)
 - a) Land-viewing (*kunimi* 国見)²⁹
 - b) “Wife-visiting,” a duo-local marriage (*tsumadoi* 妻問い)³⁰
 - c) Lit. “song-fence,” participating in the fertility ritual held in spring and autumn (*utagaki* 歌垣)³¹
 - d) Going out to wander in the plains (included are also gardens, shrines, plains of the mountains, hamlets, waterfalls, seashores, riverbanks) (*no (sono, miya, yama no, sato, taki, iso, hama wo mo fukumu) ni dete asobu* 野 (園, 宮, 山野, 里, 滝, 磯, 浜をも含む)に出で遊ぶ)³²
 - e) Galloping a horse in the plain (*no ni uma wo karu* 野に馬を駆る)³³
 - f) Sightseeing, viewing (*yūran* 遊覧 (*ranyū* 覧遊), *bōyū* 望遊)³⁴
 - g) Roaming, walking (*shōyō* 逍遥, *sansaku* 散策)³⁵
 - h) Travel (*tabi* 旅)³⁶
 - i) Bathing (*mokuyoku* 沐浴)³⁷
- 4) Hunting (*yū ryō* 遊獵)³⁸

²⁷ “The rite of the *mogari* [was] a provisional depository for the body between death and definitive burial. For this rite a special building was constructed, the *mogari* palace wherein the body was placed and also, as it seems, the women who had surrounded the deceased were confined. The *mogari* lasted mostly three to six months but could also take a year or more. The last great *mogari*, celebrated for Emperor Tenmu [...], lasted more than two years.” Macé with van Bragt, 1989: 30.

²⁸ E.g. the mourning ritual concerning Amewakahiko’s death (Kojiki: 116). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 275.

²⁹ E.g. Emperor Keikō’s land-viewing ceremonies (*Keikōki* 景行紀 [Chronicle of Keikō]: 17.3) In Kuniyasu, 1986: 275.

³⁰ E.g. Emperor Keikō’s visits to Otohime in the Kukuri no Miya. (*Keikōki*: 4.2) In Kuniyasu, 1986: 275.

³¹ E.g. poem no. 1880 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

³² E.g. poem no. 1796 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

³³ E.g. poem no. 948 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

³⁴ E.g. poem no. 999 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

³⁵ E.g. the paragraph of Katari no Omi Imaro who moved around the grave of his daughter after she was killed by either a shark or a crocodile (*wani* 和爾). Chapter on the “Ou District” in the *Izumo no kuni fudoki* (*Records of Wind and Earth of Izumo Province*): 104. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

³⁶ E.g. the journey of Emperor Nintoku’s empress to Kii Province (*Nintokuki* 仁徳紀 [Chronicle of Nintoku]: 270). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

³⁷ E.g. the pool of clear and cold water (*Sujinki* 崇神紀 [Chronicle of Sujin]: 60.7). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

³⁸ E.g. the hunting of Emperor Nintoku (*Nintokuki*: 43.9). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 276.

- 5) Boating (*fune asobi* 舟遊び)³⁹
- 6) Banquet, feast, party, drinking bout (*utage* 宴, *enkai* 宴会, *enyū* 宴遊, *shūen* 酒宴)
- a) Things that are connected with ceremony⁴⁰ (“*matsuri*” to *musubi tsuita mono* 「祭」と結びついたもの)⁴¹
- b) Other things that are connected with *asobi* (*hoka no asobi to musubi tsuita mono* 他の遊と結びついたもの)⁴²
- c) Things that are connected to the annual ceremonies (*nenchū gyōji to musubi tsuita mono* 年中行事と結びついたもの)⁴³
- d) Other (*sono hoka* そのほか)⁴⁴
- 7) Other (*sono hoka* そのほか)
- a) Waterplay of fishes or of birds (*sakana; tori no yūei* 魚・鳥の遊泳)⁴⁵
- b) To be playful with women (*josei to no tawamure* 女性との戯れ)⁴⁶
- c) Frolic playfulness, amusement (*giyū* 戯遊, *yūroku* 遊楽)⁴⁷
- d) Playfulness of children (*kodomo no asobi* 子供の遊び)⁴⁸
- e) Playfulness of the equestrian sport *daku* (*dakyū* 打毬)⁴⁹
- f) Artistic accomplishments (*yūgei* 遊芸)⁵⁰
- g) Honorific speech (*keigo* 敬語)⁵¹
- h) Land-viewing (*kunimi* 国見)⁵²

³⁹ E.g. poem no. 257 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 277.

⁴⁰ The meaning of *matsuri* in this context encompasses several aspects ranging from ritual to worship to festivity. The term basically denotes activity to please deity. I decided to use the English term “ceremony” to cover as broad a meaning as possible.

⁴¹ E.g. the *tanabata* banquet. (*Yamashiro no kuni fudoki* 山城国風土記 [Records of Wind and Earth of Yamashiro Province]: 415). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 277.

⁴² E.g. poems no. 4047 and no. 4062 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 277.

⁴³ E.g. poem no. 4071 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 277.

⁴⁴ E.g. the drinking of alcohol (*Bungo no kuni fudoki* 豊後国風土記 [Records of Wind and Earth of Bungo Province]: 514). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

⁴⁵ E.g. poem no. 711 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

⁴⁶ E.g. the activity of Emperor Nintoku’s consort Yata no Waka Iratsume (*Kojiki*: 270). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

⁴⁷ E.g. Mayowa no Miko’s playing (*Kojiki*: 300). In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

⁴⁸ E.g. poem no. 949 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

⁴⁹ E.g. poem no. 3969 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

⁵⁰ E.g. poem no. 711 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

⁵¹ Kuniyasu gives no explanation, references or examples for this group. In honorific speech, the term “*asobu*” means “*ni naru*.”

⁵² E.g. poem no. 3324 in the *Manyōshū*. In Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

In order to distinguish these variations of *asobi*, Kuniyasu emphasizes the central role of ceremony (*matsuri* まつり). “The ceremony debate is one variation of the *asobi* debate.”⁵³ He states that ceremony and *asobi* were “regarded as one form of a huge, ‘comprehensive reality of human existence’,”⁵⁴ with ceremony as a space to connect the human and the divine realms,⁵⁵ while it continues and creates *asobi*.⁵⁶ Kuniyasu states that manifestations of *asobi* with a connection to ceremony in that sense belong to the old layer.

After certain manifestations separated from the sphere of ceremony, they took on a new meaning, and the activities hunting, boating, banquets, and play of the plain eventually “transformed to the proximity of today’s meaning of recreation, hiking, and sports and so forth.”⁵⁷ Such manifestations belong to the new layer of *asobi*.⁵⁸ Aspects of an older layer (*kosō* 古層) and a newer layer (*shinsō* 新層) of *asobi* had already mixed in these sources,⁵⁹ even before the occurrence of the *Ten Thousand Leaves*,⁶⁰ in which “the usage of the new meaning appears more often than in any other document.”⁶¹ The former layer, however, was effectively transmitted in the *Record of Ancient Matters* (712).⁶² According to Kuniyasu, the main characteristic of the old layer is *mimesis* found in the “stirring of the soul” (*tamafuri* 魂振).⁶³ The *stirring of the soul* belongs to *word-spirit*⁶⁴ (*kotodama* 言霊 or 事霊), a concept pertaining to magical functions of language. Hartmut Rotermund attributes poetry with *word-spirit* to a “superordinate system of early Japanese intellectual and religious history [...] that broaches the magical function of language in general.”⁶⁵

⁵³ Ibid: 279.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid: 280.

⁵⁶ Ibid: 279.

⁵⁷ Ibid: 280.

⁵⁸ Ibid: 279.

⁵⁹ Kuniyasu Yō 國安洋. “Heian jidai no *asobi*: *Kokin waka shū* wo megutte” 平安時代の「遊び」: 「古今和歌集」をめぐって [*Playfulness in Heian Japan, Concerning the Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*]. 横浜国立大学人文紀要 第一類, 哲学・社会科学 35, [The Humanities. Section 1, Philosophy and Social Sciences; Journal of Yokohama National University] (1989): 129-140: 134.

⁶⁰ Ibid. and Kuniyasu, 1986: 280.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Kuniyasu does not mention *word-spirit* in his essay. Since the *tamafuri* known to me is that of *word-spirit*, I conclude that he refers to *word-spirit*. Ibid.

⁶⁴ Translation of the term in accordance with Edwin Cranston. Cranston, Edwin A. “A Web in the Air” (Review McCullough 1985). *Monumenta Nipponica* 43, no. 3 (1988): 305-352.

⁶⁵ Antoni about Rotermund’s research on archaic poetry (Rotermund, Hartmut. *Majinai-uta: Grundlagen, Inhalte und Formelemente japanischer magischer Gedichte des 17. – 20. Jahrhunderts, Versuch einer Interpretation*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens 59. Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. Hamburg, 1973.), in: Antoni, Klaus. “Kotodama: Aspekte der Sprachmagie in Lyrik und Mythologie des alten Japan.” In *Kulturen des Dialogs*, edited by Assmann, Heinz-Dieter, 159–75. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2011: 165.

Word-spirit also appears to be an influential aspect in the context of the entangled mnemonics of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*. The term already occurred in the *Ten Thousand Leaves* in the mid eighth century.⁶⁶ The anthology contains four poems mentioning *word-spirit*.⁶⁷ These poems indicate a particular realm of word-magical notions, centered on the efficacy of *word-spirit*.⁶⁸ Poet Yamanoue no Okura (山上憶良, 660-733), for instance, used the word in a long poem (*chōka* 長歌) for the departing ambassador to China in 733 (Tenpyō 5). It is poem no. 894 from the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*.⁶⁹

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| [...] from the age of the gods | [...] <i>kamiyo yori</i> |
| it has been told and retold | <i>iitsute kuraku</i> |
| that the sky-vast | <i>soramitsu</i> |
| land of Yamato | <i>Yamato no kuni wa</i> |
| is an august land, | <i>sumekami no</i> |
| its rulers of divine descent, | <i>itsukushiki kuni</i> |
| a land blessed | <i>kotodama no</i> |
| by word-spirit [...] ⁷⁰ | <i>sakiwau kuni to [...]</i> |

かみよより
いひつてけらく
そらみつ
やまとのくには
すめかみの
いつくしきくに
ことたまの
さきはふくにと [...] ⁷¹

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ These poems are no. 894, 2506, 3253, and no. 3254.

⁶⁸ Antoni, 2011: 165.

⁶⁹ Thomas, Roger K. "A Land Blessed by Word Spirit": Kamochi Masazumi and Early Modern Constructs of Kotodama." *Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 20 (2012), 6–32: 6.

⁷⁰ Poem no. 894 from the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*. Vovin, Alexander. *Man'yōshū 5 – A New Translation Containing the Original Text, Kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary*. Folkestone, Kent, U.K.: Global Oriental, 2011, 139-143: 141, in: Thomas, 2012: 6.

⁷¹ *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 [Ten Thousand Leaves]. In Database of the Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. http://tois.nichibun.ac.jp/database/html2/waka/waka_i061.html. Accessed 2016.07.07.

Accordingly, the political well-being of his country Yamato is entirely based on *word-spirit*. Although written documents before do not explicitly mention *word-spirit*, its concept is attested in slightly earlier sources such as the *Chronicles of Japan* or the *Records of Ancient Matters*,⁷² the earliest extant literary document of Japan. Further ancient sources, such as Shinto prayers (*norito* 祝詞) likewise contain poetry with magical functions.⁷³ Klaus Antoni states:

The function of language as an agent of the magical act is clearly indicated [...]. By conjuring the deity, the person transforms into the deity, and the transformation takes on the quality of an ontological swap. Human and deity become identical, caused by the power of word.⁷⁴

The origin of *word-spirit* is the homonymy of the terms “word” (言) and “thing” (事), both are referred to as *koto* (こと) in old Japanese, and both contain a soul (*tama* 霊). *Word* and *thing* coincide ontologically because there is no noticeable linguistic difference between signifier (*word*) and the signified (*thing*). This concept of *word-spirit* indicates the belief that *word* does not merely represent a *thing* but *is* the *thing* it represents.⁷⁵ This main feature is particularly interesting in the context of *entanglements* that illustrate playful variations around the ideal of a complete identification of word and object. By means of *word-spirit*, “poetic language becomes ritual language”⁷⁶ and names, such as those of deities, rulers, one’s lover or places, were means to seek control over external forces.⁷⁷

Antoni points out that regardless of the fundamental significance of *word-spirit* in earliest times, the word itself was already out of use in the Heian period.⁷⁸ However, although later writings may not explicitly mention the term, society still seems to have embraced the

⁷² Antoni, 2011: 166.

⁷³ Such poetry with magical efficacy has been classified according to four distinct areas of application. See Rotermund, 1973: 17-21. The first category, “calming of the souls” (*chinkon* 鎮魂), is exemplified by the deity Ōkuninushi who pacified his jealous and angry wife with a poem. The next, *stirring of the souls* (*tamafuri*), refers to the citation of poetry which causes a supply of additional strength. The third group, “interconnecting of the souls” (*musubi* 結び), concerns poems functioning as sacrifices, while reciting them releases the forces of the soul. The final group termed “bring luck and to bless” (*hogi* 寿 or 祝) [See entry “ほぎ” (*hogi*) in the *Kōjien* 広辞苑 [Wide Garden of Words]. Edited by Shinmura Izuru 新村出. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2008.] secures blessings by material and qualitative transformation: Speaking of a deity secures his divine intervention and the praising of him calls upon his efficacy. Antoni, 2011: 164-165.

⁷⁴ Antoni, 2011: 165.

⁷⁵ Antoni, 2011: 166.

⁷⁶ Plutschow, Herbert E. *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1990: 87.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Antoni, 2011: 167.

belief. Plutschow refers to the fact that poets, warriors, and spiritual leaders in the medieval era still employed the magical forces of poetry to control their environments that could neither be predicted nor affected by any other means. These were matters of battle, court, or socio-religious contexts such as imperial edicts that needed to be sung to unfold their efficacy.⁷⁹ The *entangled mnemonics* oscillate between play and ritual, sometimes with magical, talismanic or auspicious connotations as noted in the section on cultural techniques.

Further records of the late fifteenth century refer to activities that do not belong to the old concept of *playfulness* after Kuniyasu. Several popular pastimes termed *object matching* (*mono awase* 物合) attracted participants who enjoyed the thrills of a cognitive battle.⁸⁰ A main difference to the old layer of *playfulness* lies in the competitive nature of these activities. A broad variety of artifacts were involved in *matching games* such as painted shells, flowers and other plants, tea flavors, the scents of incense and perfume, poetry, and paintings among others. Paul Varley elaborates:

During the Muromachi period, many of these *monoawase*, which were essentially games, were transformed into serious pursuits described as the ‘way of flowers,’ the ‘way of incense,’ and so forth. Drawing on Buddhism, the devotees of these ways (*michi*) even regarded them as paths to religious enlightenment.⁸¹

Heian-period literature such as the *Tale of Genji* and the *Pillow Book* already describe *matching games*, and references in diaries on such gatherings.⁸² While the “The Plum Tree Branch”- chapter in the *Tale of Genji* already notes the appreciation for fragrances and

⁷⁹ Plutschow, 1990: 137-138. Richard Okada also refers to the significance of word-spirit in the *Collection of Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times*. "In a review of the McCullough translation and companion volume [McCullough, 1985a], Edwin Cranston [Cranston, 1988] raises an important issue when he contrasts the author's only implicit reference to the ancient notion that he translates as 'word-spirit' (*kotodama*) with the work of Konishi Jin'ichi [Konishi, Jin'ichi. *A History of Japanese Literature* 1, translated by Gatten, Aileen and Teele, Nicholas, edited by Miner, Earl. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.], for whom the notion plays a central role. [...] Cranston doesn't state his own views explicitly, but they can be inferred from his reference to Konishi as a 'true believer' in *kotodama*, a scholar whose 'analysis of early poetry and song is founded upon the stated premise that any reading that leaves out his magical element is, ipso facto, skewed, ahistorical, and invalid.'" Okada, Richard. *Figures of Resistance: Language, Poetry and Narrating in The Tale of Genji and Other Mid-Heian Texts*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1991: 86.

⁸⁰ Huizinga also refers to such features in play. "[T]he element of tension imparts to it a certain ethical value insofar as it means a testing of the player's prowess: his courage, tenacity, resources and, last but not least, his spiritual powers – his 'fairness'; because, despite his ardent desire to win, he must still stick to the rules of the game." Huizinga, 1980: 11.

⁸¹ Varley, Paul H. "The Way of Tea." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600* (1), edited by De Bary, Theodore et al., 388–94. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001: 389.

⁸² For the nature of the early poetry matches in the Heian period, see Ito, Setsuko. "The Muse in Competition: Uta-awase Through the Ages." *Monumenta Nipponica* 37, no. 2 (1982), 201-222: 203-206.

describes the preparations and a contest of incense blending in the palace,⁸³ the game *incense matching* (*kō awase* 香合) developed under Ashikaga Yoshimasa's patronage into two complementary classification systems when a pupil of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (三条西実隆, 1455-1537), Shino Sōshin (志野宗信, 1441-1523?), was commissioned to categorize the aromatic woods in the collection of the Ashikaga shogunate. Sanetaka was in charge of the incense collection at the imperial court.⁸⁴ On 1478.11.16 (Bunmei 10), Yoshimasa performed *incense matching* using six types of kneaded incense, as he did again in his Ogawa villa on 1479.05.12 (Bunmei 11), this time with six types of aromatic wood.⁸⁵ Such references indicate the high level of sophistication and the seriousness attributed to such activities.

Among other forms of *matching games* were *flower matching* (*hana awase* 花合) and *grass matching* (*kusa awase* 草合). According to the entries in Imperial Prince Fushimi no Sadafusa's (伏見宮貞成, 1372-1456) diary *Record of Things Seen and Heard* (*Kanmon gyōki* 看聞御記) *flower matching* was a typical activity on the *tanabata* day, and he recorded this annual event for the years 1417-1423 (Ōei 24-30), 1425 (Ōei 32), and 1431-1433 (Eikyō 3-5).

Shell matching (*kai awase* 貝合) is likewise referred to in several diaries of the time. A number of clam shells would be painted with matching scenes on their inner surfaces, and spread on the floor with their decorated side facing the ground. The competitors would turn them over in attempts to find the matching images. There were *shell matches* in the imperial palace on 1476.03.12 (Bunmei 8) and to another game on 1481.03.04 (Bunmei 13) with Prince Katsuhito (勝仁親王, 1464-1526), the later Emperor Go-Kashiwabara (後柏原天皇, r. 1500–1526).⁸⁶ Another *shell-matching game* was recorded on 1489.02.16 (Entoku 1). This entry also mentions the plan to meet again on 03.05 of the same year, and eight more such events were documented between 1490 (Entoku 2) and 1500 (Mei'ō 9).⁸⁷ Sakomura Tomoko notes that one of the earliest references to *shell matching* is an entry from 1496, which mentions the arrival of cloths for the shells inner side's decoration that was used in the

⁸³ Shikibu with Tyler, 2001: 547-550.

⁸⁴ Hata Masataka 畑正高. *Kō sansei – Kaori to nihonjin no monogatari* 香三才 - 香と日本人のものがたり [The World of Incense – The History of Fragrance and the Japanese]. Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki 東京書籍, 2004: 92-93.

⁸⁵ *Samidare nikki* 五月雨日記 [Journal of the Fifth Months Rain]. Edited by Yamamoto Shūgorō 山本周五郎. Tokyo: Shinchō Sha 新潮社, 1983. Hata refers to this event. Hata, 2004: 94.

⁸⁶ The entry on 1476.03.12 and the entry on 1481.03.04, Sanjōnishi, 1958-1963.

⁸⁷ *Oyudono no ue no nikki* 御湯殿上日記 [Daily Records of the Honorable Lady of the Imperial Office of Housekeeping]. 1477-1687. Edited by Wada Masao 和田正夫. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai Taiyōsha 続群書類従完成会 太洋社, 1943. The other dates are 1490.02.03, 1492.10.15, 1496.04.02, 1497.03.05, 1497.10.27, 1498.07.17, 1499.01.19, and 1500.02.05. Ibid.

game,⁸⁸ and takes this as proof that the “aestheticization of shells already had begun during the late Muromachi period as the natural extension of shell containers.”⁸⁹ While earlier games included shells embellished with textiles, painting became the dominant practice, and the writing of poetry may even have been used as the earliest form of shell decoration. In the final decades of the fifteenth century, all three varieties existed.⁹⁰

A more elaborate version of the *shell matching game* was the so-called *painting matches* (*e-awase* 絵合), a popular pastime in court circles with visual materials of different formats, such as booklets, scrolls or fans, which were sometimes inscribed with poetry or poetic titles. “Artistic skill, propriety of subject matter or quality of mountings were all taken into account in judging.”⁹¹ Royall Tyler notes that “[n]o such contest is known to have taken place in the period before the [*Tale of Genji*] was written, but the one in this chapter follows the established pattern for poetry contests” and refers to a documented event held at the imperial palace in 960.⁹² This fictional model of *painting match* in the *Tale of Genji*⁹³ involved scroll paintings and is referred to by Karen Brock as a struggle for power at the imperial court “thinly disguised as an elegant aesthetic contest.”⁹⁴

In the novel, the Fujiwara and the Minamoto are the main *painting match* participants and political opponents who seek to position their female offspring as imperial consorts in order to gain control over the imperial court. Historically, the Fujiwara succeeded in the political arena.⁹⁵ Brock alludes to the actual circumstances of the assumed *painting match* in the years 1431-1441 (Eikyō 3-13) when Shogun Yoshinori, Prince Sadafusa, and Sadafusa’s son, the young Emperor Go-Hanazono, exchanged paintings. The exchange of paintings was the basis to influence the young emperor’s relations, education and political positioning.⁹⁶

By Sadafusa's era [...] much had changed. Rival Fujiwara clan daughters were married to the shoguns and became ladies-in-waiting to the emperors, but their fathers were entirely in the service of the shogun and the imperial family. In the Heian period, an emperor abdicated once his own successor had produced

⁸⁸ She does not state the date but seemingly refers to the entry in the *Oyudono no ue no nikki* on 1496.04.02. Sakomura, Tomoko. “Japanese Games of Memory, Matching, and Identification.” In *Asian Games: The Art of Contest*, edited by Mackenzie, Colin and Finke, Irving. 252-271. New York, NY: Asia Society, 2004: 260.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Entry for “e-awase”, <http://www.aist.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/e/eawase.htm>, accessed 2014.11.26

⁹² Shikobu with Tyler, 2001: 319.

⁹³ Ibid: 319-330 (chapter 17, The Picture Contest (Eawase)).

⁹⁴ Brock, Karen. “The Shogun's *Painting Match*.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 4 (1995): 433–84: 477.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid: 440, 448, 450, 453, 457, 482, 484.

an heir, and the ideal situation was to have a retired emperor, emperor, and crown prince coming from one lineage. [...] In the first half of the fifteenth century, with rival claimants to the throne and the early death of Emperor Shōkō, precedents were decidedly broken. For much of Go-Hanazono's reign there was neither a retired emperor nor a crown prince. Sadafusa's eagerness to be named retired emperor and Yoshinori's behavior as if he were retired emperor both suggest that the two rivals were aware of, and emulating, the powerful role of twelfth- and thirteenth-century retired emperors. [...]⁹⁷

Although few references in journals actually include the term *painting match*, it would be false to infer such events did not take place.⁹⁸ They were perhaps performed in a less explicit and “less formal”⁹⁹ setting just as the *painting match* described in Susan Brock’s study was not a single event involving two parties but an interaction initiated by and centering on three politicians that gradually developed over a decade.¹⁰⁰ Brock points out that Sadafusa, for instance, never referred to the group’s exchange of paintings by the term *painting match*.¹⁰¹

At the production time of the three inkstone cases in the second half of the fifteenth century, the most popular variety of *object matching* were the *poetry matches* (*uta awase* 歌合) fought by two teams.¹⁰² A judge selected themes for the poetry to be composed, and awarded points to the respective winners. At the time of the presumed first *poetry match* in 885 (Ninna 1), the gatherings were still playful entertainment but by the late fifteenth century, they had evolved into serious and formal competitions.

Yoshimasa, and later his son Yoshihisa, participated in various *poetry matches*, while further records simply refer to the shogunate. There are, for instance, several historical

⁹⁷ Ibid. For the ideal of three sovereigns from one lineage, Brock refers to Hurst, G. Cameron. *Insei: Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976: 36-100, in Brock 1995: 477.

⁹⁸ The DNSR has only three entries referring to the actual term “painting match”, these concern the dates 1050.04.26, 1212.11.08, and 1479.09.19. For the entry from 1050.04.26 see, *Seishi nai shinnō e-awase* 正子内親王絵合 [The Painting Match of Imperial Princess Seishi]. 1050. *Shiryō sōran 2* 史料綜覧 [Survey of Historical Records]. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjō. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1964-2001. For the entry from 1212.11.08 see, *Azuma Kagami* 吾妻鏡 [Mirror of the East]. 1180-1226. Yoshikawa bon 吉川本 [Yoshikawa manuscript]. Edited by Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会. Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai 名著刊行会, 1968. For the entry concerning a poem for the small picture match from 1479.09.19 see, Konoe, 1978.

⁹⁹ Brock 1995: 468.

¹⁰⁰ Brock also notes the female participants and their significant roles in this exchange. Brock. 1995: 441-442, 452, 481.

¹⁰¹ Ibid: 481.

¹⁰² There were also *poetry meetings*, which differ from *poetry matches* insofar that each participant composed and recited poetry. *Poetry meetings* had no competitive quality and were held on celebratory occasions.

sources referring to Yoshimasa on 1478.05.09 (Bunmei 10) and 1478.09.02 (Bunmei 10).¹⁰³ According to other entries, the shogunate took part in *poetry matches* on 1481.10.01 (Bunmei 13)¹⁰⁴, 1482.06.10 (Bunmei 14)¹⁰⁵, 1482.07.26 (Bunmei 14)¹⁰⁶, and also on 1483.01.13 (Bunmei 15)¹⁰⁷, 1483.06.28 (Bunmei 15)¹⁰⁸, 1486.04.22 (Bunmei 18)¹⁰⁹, and 1487.07.08 (Chōkyō 1)¹¹⁰.¹¹¹ Yoshihisa's participation is documented for 1483.06. (Bunmei 15),¹¹² and 1483.12.03 (Bunmei 15)¹¹³ as well as on 1485.09.28 (Bunmei 17).¹¹⁴ Yoshihisa went to poetry matches with Sanetaka Sanjōnishi on 1484.10.02 (Bunmei 16) and again on 1486.02.22 (Bunmei 18).¹¹⁵ The cultural significance attributed to *object matching* in general, and to *poetry matches* in particular, can be inferred from the quantity of references to such competitive varieties of *playfulness* around the production time of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*.

As Kuniyasu states, two aspects of the older layer, the *shaking of the souls* and the understanding of “ceremony as the characteristic sphere of *asobi*”¹¹⁶ had been lost in the new layer. He stresses the transforming nature of *asobi* that constantly takes in contemporary influences and during each period adds more facets to its “multilayered structure (*sekisō kōzō* 積層構造).”¹¹⁷ Following Kuniyasu's definition, the *playfulness* expressed in the *entangled mnemonics* of the inkstone cases still shows features of what he terms the “old layer,” contains aspects of the “new layer” as well as contemporary preferences, which were partially Chinese.

¹⁰³ Hirohashi Kaneaki 広橋兼顕. *Kaneaki kyōki* 兼顕卿記 [Journal of Duke Kaneaki]. In: DNSR 8.10.466, 650.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, in: DNSR 8.13.600.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, in: DNSR 8.14.429.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, in: DNSR 8.14.531.

¹⁰⁷ Recorded in several diaries among them the Kujō Kanezawa's journal *Gyokuyō* (Jeweled Leaves), the *Sanetaka kōki*, and the *Kaneaki kyōki*. Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実. *Gyokuyō* 8 玉葉 [Jeweled Leaves]. 1164-1203. Edited by Kunaichō Shoryōbu. Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 2002. Sanjōnishi, 1958-1963. Hirohashi, 2001. All in: DNSR: 8.15.74.

¹⁰⁸ Ashikaga Yoshihisa 足利義尚. *Jōtoku'in dono gyoshū* 常徳院殿御集 [Collection of Lord Jōtoku'in] (*Jōtoku'in shū*), in: DNSR 8.15.448.

¹⁰⁹ Recorded in the *Jōtoku'in shū*, the *Sanetaka kōki*, and the *Kaneaki kyōki* among others, in: DNSR 8.18.352.

¹¹⁰ The event of the tanabata day is recorded in the *Jōtoku'in shū*, the *Sanetaka kōki*, and the *Kaneaki kyōki*, in: DNSR 8.20.353.

¹¹¹ The DNSR mentions one other event, which took place much earlier, i.e. on 1258.07.15 in the *Azuma Kagami*, in: DNSR 5.905.30, and there is possibly no other record after this last date in 1487 in the fifteenth century.

¹¹² *Jōtoku'in shū*, in: DNSR 8.15.451.

¹¹³ *Sanetaka kōki*, in: DNSR 8.15.725.

¹¹⁴ *Jōtoku'in shū*, in: DNSR 8.17.651.

¹¹⁵ *Sanetaka kōki*, in: DNSR 8.16.431, and 8.18.198.

¹¹⁶ Kuniyasu, 1989: 134.

¹¹⁷ See Kuniyasu, 1986: 278.

Especially poetry and poetry banquets, *Selections of Refined Literature* [(J. monzen, C. wen xuan 文選)] *Travelling to the Grotto of the Immortals* [(J. yūsen kutsu, C. yóu xiān kū 遊仙窟)], Daoism, [and] the thoughts of Laozi and Zhuang Zi have a huge effect.¹¹⁸

Daoism emphasizes both, transformation and play, and the Zen monks in Kyoto and Kamakura were “quite interested in the teachings of Taoism, even more so than in those of the other Chinese classics.”¹¹⁹ Yoshimasa’s group of advisors on politics and culture included *gozan* monks,¹²⁰ who enjoyed access to extensive research facilities and educated themselves on a broad array of subjects,¹²¹ such as Zen culture, Chinese poetry and paintings, Buddhist literati and scholars of the Song and Yuan dynasties as well as ancient civilizations and Confucian aesthetics as Parker points out. Furthermore, “gozan monks applied nondualism to art and religion.”¹²²

Teachings such as Zhuang Zi’s “Zhuang Zi dreamt he was a butterfly” (C. *Zhuang zhou meng die* 莊周夢蝶) indicate a non-dual state of existence, and probably spread the concept of “playful transformation.”¹²³ Non-duality refers to the oneness of seemingly opposite poles, such as the profane and the sacred. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* both evoke the notions of “playful transformation”¹²⁴ and non-duality through the depictions of a full moon whose image equals that of a sun, and the image of a rocky landscape that toys with the idea of water as stones as water.

Probably also due to the rare opportunities to retreat to the mountains to connect with the natural world, the monks in the bustling capital created a meditative state of mind that Parker termed “landscapes of the mind,”¹²⁵ and which he describes as follows:

¹¹⁸ Kuniyasu, 1989: 134.

¹¹⁹ Parker, Joseph D. “Playful Nonduality: Japanese Zen Interpretations of Landscape Paintings from the Oei Era (1394-1427).” Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University. UMI. Cambridge MA, 1989: 213.

¹²⁰ Phillips, 2000: 32-33.

¹²¹ Parker, 1999: 21. Collcutt, Martin. *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*. Harvard East Asian Monographs 85. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981: 78-80. Deal, William E. and Ruppert, Brian. *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015: 146-147.

¹²² Parker, 1989: 289-290.

¹²³ Ibid: 213.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid: 219.

The natural landscape is an internal state in which the self playfully engages with the world without falling into the intellectual abiding and grasping which characterizes the dualism of conceptual discrimination.¹²⁶

Just like the poetry of the numerous anthologies, contemporary Zen-related media, such as literature and paintings, often concerned subject matters referring to natural landscapes. In some Daoist contexts, the Chinese word *you* (游) is ambiguous.

[In the Zhuangzi, *you* relates to] both a subjective state of mind and [the wandering in natural landscape,] a mode of activity in the objective world [, which] is important when considering the significance of objective natural imagery for internal spiritual development.¹²⁷

Parker further points out that in a Chan context, the Chinese term *you shan* (游山) designated “playing in the mountains” and “wandering in the mountains.”¹²⁸

[The latter is a] central component of religious practice: physical wandering of monks from one teacher to another. Many of whom were known by the name of the mountain where they resided. These roving monks often spent years searching for a master who could help them with their ‘great ball of doubt’ and inspire an enlightenment experience. [It also denotes] the subjective side of Zen practice [...] suggested in [...] T’ang and Sung texts.¹²⁹

Accordingly, this playful state of the inner landscape nurtured, challenged, and developed cognitive and spiritual abilities. It was an “enlightened activity.”¹³⁰

[Its function was] to discover the inner significance for themselves of the hermit’s entering the mountains. By resisting the literal interpretation of the mountains as a place outside the self or a physical location through which the monk moves [...] [,] followers [were pushed] to transcend the boundaries of inner and outer, self and other, and to consider the subjective significance of the landscape as sacred space in which these dualities do not hold. They also

¹²⁶ Ibid: 218.

¹²⁷ Ibid: 216.

¹²⁸ Ibid: 216-217.

¹²⁹ Ibid: 217.

¹³⁰ Ibid: 5.

shared the same image of this sacred internal state as undirected wandering and unobstructed play, a play which allowed their fellow monks to roam far and wide and their own subjective, inner landscape, just as they did in the mountain wilderness.¹³¹

The ‘playing in the mountains’ in the mid-fourth century China had led to the emergence of significant elements of Japanese garden culture from the Heian period onwards, such as the borrowed landscape imagery and curved stream banquets.¹³² Both are evoked in the designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* with its celebratory poem about longevity, a model subject matter, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* whose landscape depiction refers to the borrowed landscape of the Daikakuji Temple garden. The landscape imagery of all three inkstone places but especially the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* function as a psychological projection screen and invite to internally “wander in the mountains,” while a kind of “playing in the mountains” is required to decipher the *entangled mnemonics*.

As discussed above, in the latter half of the fifteenth century the shogunate engaged in activities of the old and the new layer of *asobi* according to Kuniyasu. These manifestations pertain mainly to the final three categories of the original notions of *playfulness* in Japan, namely hunting, boating, and banquets. The *entanglements* of all three inkstone cases mirror the circumstances and relate to the new layer of *playfulness* by evoking such activities. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* refers to the third activity, the *playfulness* of the plain outings in the mountains, through its poetry and the landscape depiction. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* evokes the activities hunting through its poetry and the category boating through the motif on the exterior side of its cover in combination with the beholder’s awareness of the huge artificial pond on the temple grounds. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* can be associated with the final category, banquets, a central component of celebratory events, through the poem, and the design also shows playful birds. Due to their famed locations, all three designs belong to the category of sightseeing.

The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* with the depiction of the deer, messengers to the deities of the Kasuga Shrine, also refers to the old layer of *asobi*. The kami of the shrine Futsunushi and Takemikazuchi descended on order of Amaterasu to “pacify the Central Land of Reed Plains (Ashihara no Nakatsukuni),”¹³³ and Amenokoyane served as

¹³¹ Ibid: 218-219.

¹³² Tanaka, 1992: 92.

¹³³ Kadoya, Atsushi. “Futsunushi.” Encyclopedia of Shinto. http://k-arc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/dbSearchList.do?class_name=col_eos&search_condition_type=1&db_search_conditi

protector of the sacred mirror in the actual imperial palace where he was given the position as “Imperial Aide” (*tennō hohitsu no kami* 天皇輔弼神) to supervise matters of divinity within the court.¹³⁴ As has been stated in the section on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, Amenokoyane had delivered a performance to lure Amaterasu out of the cave. These activities “song and dance performed as an offering to deity” and the “appearance as deity or human” both pertain to Shinto ritual, the first category of the old layer according to Kuniyasu.¹³⁵

All designs engage with the perception of nondual visual appearances in the sense of Zhuang Zi’s parable (the rocks in the Mt. Shio design as well as the *synonymic* and the *hybrid* designs). They incorporate the cultural attitude witnessed in the *matching games* of the time, which also drew on the comprehensive literary and visual knowledge of the participants. As Kuniyasu highlights, *playfulness* does not dissolve duality but creates a sphere that enables contradictions to coexist harmoniously.¹³⁶ The transcendental qualities of *playfulness* hence harmonize phenomena such as life and death, individual and communal existence, nature and civilization, the material (the seen) and the immaterial (the unseen), or the sphere of man and the sphere of spirit, sacred play and profane play.¹³⁷ At the time of production of the inkstone cases, the crossing between the material and the spiritual world was viewed as a continuum, rather than them being two separate spheres.¹³⁸

This trait offers a valuable clue to the relation of *playfulness* to ritual. The *playfulness* of the inkstone cases exhibits several common features of Huizinga’s *play* and there is an evident overlap of *play* with the realm of *ritual*, signified by the predetermined outcome of the performance, namely the correct aligning of morphemes and syllables, and the combining thereof with the pictorial clues to decode the information. Both are performing activities, and there is a smooth transition from one to the other, besides an occasional yet obvious overlap of function, form/appearance, and content. Coalescence can be detected in the importance laid upon historical, mythological, and political events elicited by the complexity of the three inkstone cases’ designs whose visual concepts exceed one-dimensional expressions of amusement or seriousness. They evoke aspects of spiritual belief systems, such as the

on_type=4&View=2&startNo=1&focus_type=0&searchFreeword=Futsunushi&searchRangeType=0. Accessed 2017.03.03.

¹³⁴ Mori, Mizue. “Amenokoyane.” Encyclopedia of Shinto. http://k-amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/detail.do?class_name=col_eos&data_id=22237. Accessed 2017.03.03.

¹³⁵ Kuniyasu, 1986: 274-275.

¹³⁶ *ibid*: 281.

¹³⁷ Kuniyasu gives a more detailed rendition. *Ibid*: 281-284.

¹³⁸ *ibid*: 283.

geomancy in the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*, the concept of non-duality in the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the concept of *word-spirit* in the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*.

There are no records to give proof of how many persons participated in the *playfulness* related to the inkstone cases' designs at a time. It is reasonable to assume that the cases were not created for competitive games, such as those performed to compare the contenders' abilities to recognize poems, shells, or scents. My assessment is based on the fact that although the finding of the components and the deciphering of the designs might build a certain suspense at first encounter, even the *reed-script* components of *synonymic entanglements*, such as those of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* offer no intellectual challenge on a second or a third viewing. By engaging with the design, the nature – and the function – of the artifact shift from riddle to memento. The detecting and deciphering was hence less performed to create tension but to adhere to the predetermined order of the elements. This leads to my assumption that in their original socio-cultural environment, the *entanglements* might have belonged at least as much to the sphere of *ritual* as to that of *play*, namely to those types, whose contents, rules, and orders aimed at initiated members of a distinct community. When the *entangled mnemonics* were manufactured, such ritual activities were wide-spread and belonged to the context of esotericism.

The Medieval “Culture of Secrecy” and Playing with Visibility and Invisibility in the *Reed-Script* Designs of the Inkstone Cases

Life in medieval Japan was permeated with secrecy to an extent that Mark Teeuwen speaks of a “culture of secrecy.”¹³⁹ According to him, cultural secrecy derived from the dominant field of esoteric Buddhism in the eleventh century,¹⁴⁰ and evolved into the “context within which knowledge of all kinds was produced and reproduced.”¹⁴¹ Jacqueline Stone analyzed the historical circumstances that led to the standardization of secret transmissions in all areas of the socio-cultural life of the medieval era, and concludes:

Politically, socially, and economically, the culture of secret transmissions was grounded in the privatization of land and power by [the ruling elites] *kenmon*

¹³⁹ Teeuwen, Mark. “Japan’s Culture of Secrecy from a Comparative Perspective.” In *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, edited by Teeuwen, Mark and Scheid, Bernhard, 1–35. London: Routledge, 2006, 1-35: 2. (Teeuwen 2006a)

¹⁴⁰ Ibid: 8.

¹⁴¹ Ibid: 2.

[...], in the aristocraticization of the clergy, and in the consequent transplanting of noble factions into the world of temple-shrine complexes.¹⁴²

Any social circle could use secrecy as a means of distinction. Teeuwen emphasizes the existence of the “paradox of non-secret secrets,”¹⁴³ and points out that secrets were not necessarily removed from the public eye and hence invisible, but considered the “property of a specific lineage.”¹⁴⁴

The *entangled mnemonics* of the inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Shio, and Mt. Saga reflect this societal tension between visible and invisible elements. Significant parts or even all parts of the poems are placed in the interior, which diminishes the initiated group even further. Each member must receive permission to open the case to look carefully at the case’s interior surfaces to be able to assemble all clues leading to the actual poem. The sequencing of the syllables is feasible only after having detected all morphemes. Only then is it possible to identify the poem based on the scriptorial and pictorial elements in their entirety.

The inkstone cases with *reed-script* designs in possession of Ashikaga Yoshimasa and his circles did not require public display to unfold their talismanic significance. A removal from visibility might have been viewed as a positive, probably even as an aspect maintaining and securing efficacy. Due to the hunger and warfare on the streets, it was a necessity to protect valuables from a potentially harmful environment by hiding them. Fabio Rambelli, who analyzed secret images of Buddha, states that not despite but due to their invisibility, cult objects embody the threshold between the physical and the metaphysical world. According to Rambelli, hidden artifacts “display the very concept of Buddhahood – omnipresent but out of sight.”¹⁴⁵

Spiritual or religious, magical, and cultural purposes might have required similar activities, and there was no severe distinction but a blending of these factors that added up to life in the late fifteenth century. The *entanglements* of the inkstone cases were created in a society that was drenched with secrecy. Secret transmissions and secret performances were common practices to distinguish one social group from another. Bernhard Scheid describes the circumstances that allowed a single family to claim for themselves the kind of information

¹⁴² Stone, Jacqueline. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999: 151, in: Teeuwen 2006: 21.

¹⁴³ Teeuwen, Mark. “Knowing vs. Owning a Secret: Secrecy in Medieval Japan, as Seen through the Sokui kanjō Enthronement Uncion.” In *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, edited by Teeuwen, Mark and Scheid, Bernhard, 172–304. London: Routledge, 2006, 172-304: 173. (Teeuwen 2006b)

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Rambelli, Fabio. “Secret Buddhas (*Hibutsu*): The Limits of Buddhist Representation.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 57, no. 3 (2002): 271–307: 302.

that was associated with the authority's cultural identity. By creating and subsequently monopolizing "secret" knowledge of ceremony, the Urabe family raised their status and established themselves as the protectors of a mythological, divine history with a close affiliation to the imperial court. He summarizes the Urabe's development as follows:

The first phase starts in the mid-Heian period and covers the family's slow but steady rise from comparatively low-ranking diviners at the Heian court to the main executors of religious court ceremony in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. [...] The apex of this phase was reached in the early fifteenth century. [...] Under the regime of the Urabe, the original text of the *Nihon shoki* was therefore only disclosed to specific members of the nobility in the form of special lectures. This phase of Urabe history ended with the physical destruction of the imperial palace during the violent disturbances of the Ōnin and Bunmei eras (1467-77), which marked [...] the nadir of imperial authority.¹⁴⁶

The circumstances in the late fifteenth century led Urabe Kanetomo (also Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱, 1435-1511) to appropriate the Department of Divinities (*jingikan* 神祇官) and to found a new Shinto school known as Yoshida Shinto (吉田神道).¹⁴⁷

Another prominent instance of cultural monopolization was the creation of ritual by the Nijō family. Ogawa Takeo reconstructs how the family employed the enthronement unction (*sokui kanjō* 即位灌頂) to establish and secure its political authority.¹⁴⁸ The esoteric ritual occurred during the conflict of the Northern and the Southern Courts, when the two imperial lineages fought each other for the accession of the throne in the fourteenth century. The enthronement unction was a new source of imperial authority in this difficult time;¹⁴⁹ it

¹⁴⁶ Scheid, Bernhard. "Two Modes of Secrecy in the *Nihon shoki* transmission." In *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, edited by Teeuwen, Mark and Scheid, Bernhard, 284–306. London: Routledge, 2006: 286.

¹⁴⁷ For the further career of the Urabe, see Scheid 2006: 286. The official term is 'One and Only Way of the Kami' (*Yui itsu shintō* 唯一神道).

¹⁴⁸ Ogawa Takeo. "Sokui kanjō to sekkanke: Nijōke no "tenshi gokanjō" no rekishi" 即位灌頂と撰関家: 二条家の「天子御灌頂」の歴史 [The Enthronement Unction and the House of Regents and Chancellors: The History of the Imperial Unction of the Nijō House]. *Mita kokubun* 三田国文 [Mita Journal of National Literature] 25 (1997): 1-16. In: Teeuwen 2006b: 175-181.

¹⁴⁹ Schley points out that sometimes the enthronement unction has even been associated with the imperial sword, namely as a substitute ritual since the sword was lost in 1185. He refers to Kamikawa Michio 上川通夫. "Chūsei no sokui girei to bukkyō 中世の即位儀禮と佛教" [The Medieval Enthronement Ritual and Buddhism]. In *Tennō no daikawari girei no rekishiteki tenkai* 天皇代替り儀式の歴史的展開 [The historical developments of rituals for the transmission of the reign]. Edited by Iwai Tadakuma 岩井忠熊 and Okada Shōji 岡田精司, 105-139. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1989: 112. He also refers to Faure, Bernard, "Buddhist Relics and Japanese

supported the mystification of the emperor, but it “was designed to serve the interests of a lay court lineage (the Nijō regents).”¹⁵⁰ Both historical examples revolve around the elements secrecy, ritual, and authority and it has become evident that cultural appropriation was practiced and acknowledged as a legitimate means to secure a desired status while authoring legitimization. As this section illustrated, the entangled designs oscillate between visibility and invisibility, and their *playfulness* overlaps with ritual. The *entangled mnemonics* allude to secrecy, an accepted and historically effective means to elevate a community’s cultural identity and social status at the time.

Regalia” In *Embodying the Dharma. Buddhist Relic Veneration in Asia*. Edited by Germano, David, and Trainor, Kevin, 93-116. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2004, 93-116: 94-95., and to Teeuwen, Mark, “The Kami in Esoteric Buddhist Thought and Practice.” In *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, edited by Breen, John and Teeuwen, Mark, 95-116. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000, 95-116: 107. Teeuwen discussed the possibility but ruled it out later. See Breen and Teeuwen 2010: 192. All in: Schley, Daniel. *Herrschersakralität im mittelalterlichen Japan. Eine Untersuchung der politisch-religiösen Vorstellungswelt des 13.-14. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: LIT, 2014: 96.

¹⁵⁰ Teeuwen, 2006b: 176-177.

3.2 Ritual Practices and Ashikaga Authority

Ritual practices can include secret language like words or spells, secret materials, symbols, or activities such as specific gestures or sequences of movement. There is a broad concept of *ritual* as “standardized, repetitively performed actions that possess a political, administrative, or religious significance.”¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, due to or despite the global exercising of ritual practices, defining what constitutes ritual is a “notoriously problematic task” as Jan Snoek highlights.¹⁵² Inken Prohl underlines that in case of Japan, various words or the designation of the specific action itself are used instead of one general term.¹⁵³ Prohl refers, for instance, to the verb *to visit the gods* (*matsurau* まつらう) that came to be identified with the verb *to worship* or *to dedicate something to a god*. She emphasizes that in ancient times, this term and the word *matsurigoto* “combined the meanings of *government* and *ritual feast*,”¹⁵⁴ and remarks that even today no single term denotes the manifold practices.¹⁵⁵

This lack of a generally accepted, pre-modern term or notion of *ritual* in Japan, even enhances the necessity to find a definition for the subject matter at hand, the ritual activities related to the *entangled mnemonics*. Snoek does “not [...] propose a generally applicable definition of the term ‘*ritual(s)*’”¹⁵⁶ he suggests common characteristics of *ritual* that “can usually be found in the existing literature.”¹⁵⁷ I follow Snoek’s suggestion and analyze the designs of the inkstone cases and the associated activities according to such common features, which are marked in italics in the following paragraphs.

As established, each entangled design comprises layers of historical, spiritual, literary, and artistic information that need to be taken into consideration to thoroughly comprehend its

¹⁵¹ Prohl, Inken. “Japanese.” In *Theorizing Rituals. Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts I*, edited by Kreinath, Jens, et al, 77-79. Leiden: Brill, 2006: 77.

¹⁵² Snoek, Jan A.M. “Defining *Rituals*.” In *Theorizing Rituals: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts 1*, edited by Kreinath, Jens et al., 3–15. Leiden: Brill, 2006: 3.

¹⁵³ Prohl, 2006: 77.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid: 78.

¹⁵⁶ Snoek, 2006: 10.

¹⁵⁷ In order to extract the significant characteristics, Snoek analyzed definitions of various authors and sources. According to him a “list of definitions of ‘ritual’ from which such characteristics can be drawn, is given in Platvoet [Platvoet, J.G. “Ritual in Plural and Pluralisist Societies. Instruments for Analysis,” in: Platvoet, J., Toorn, K.v.d. (eds.), *Pluralism and Identity. Studies in Ritual Behaviour*, Leiden: Brill 1995: 25-51.], 42-45. This list gives definitions, e.g. by A. van Gennep, É. Durkheim, R. Firth, E. Leach, S.F. Nadel, J. Goody, C. Geertz, V.W. Turner, J.W. Fernandez, R. Boccock, R. Delattre, S.J. Tambiah, J. van Baal, W.E.A. van Beck, R. L. Grimes, J.G. Platvoet, Th.P. van Baaren, B. Kapferer, J.S. La Fontaine, F. Staal, E.M. Zuesse, D.I. Kertzer and D. Parkin. Lists of characteristics of rituals are also given in, e.g., Bird 1980, 387-393 [Bird, Frederick B. “The Nature and Function of Ritual Forms: A Sociological Discussion.” *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 9 (1980): 387-402.]; Kertzer 1988, 9-12 [Kertzer, David. *Ritual, Politics and Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.]; Grimes 1990 (in the section entitled “Qualities of Ritual”), 13-15; McLeod 1990, 92-94 [McLeod, James R. “Ritual in Corporate Culture Societies: An Anthropological Approach.” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4, no. 1 (1990), 85 – 97.]; and M. Housemann, “Was ist ein Ritual?”, J.-H. Martin et al. (eds.), *Altäre. Kunst zum Niederknien* (Düsseldorf, 2001), 48-51.” Snoek, 2006: 10-11.

significance. The designs are hence *culturally constructed* and the deciphering of the information requires *performance* in a *specific place*. The *performers are the audience*.¹⁵⁸ The designs are *meaningful, symbolic* and *purposeful for the participants*. The artifacts are used *repeatedly*. Any beholder of the inkstone cases' designs is likely to first notice the pictorial representation, and then recognize the general subject matter. The handling of the script elements follows the *order* of finding, deciphering, and *sequencing* correctly. The poetic source belongs to a literary corpus that came to be regarded as the canon, i.e. a *standardized, stylized, and formalized* measure. The designs include *sacred* connotations. The poetry mentions *specific locations*, which are the settings of the depicted landscapes. The overall reception process is a multi-modal-based experience – or even a *multi-medial* experience when taken into consideration that poetry or songs might involve voice – that involves *physical activity* and the execution is not individual-related but *structured*. The artifacts were accessible and hence *created a social group* who would apply their literary and socio-historical education to release the comprehensive information kept in the designs.¹⁵⁹ The *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga, Inkstone Case Mt. Shio, and Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* feature key attributes in Snoek's summary and hence belong to the sphere of ritual.

After having established that, the next step is to assign them more specifically to gain a more thorough understanding of the variety of ritual activity. Ronald Grimes distinguishes six basic types. These are:

1. Ritualization (somatic, ecological)
2. Rules and conventions of decorum (interpersonal, formal)
3. Ceremony (between groups, political)
4. Magic (technological, causal, goal-oriented)
5. Liturgy (religious, sacral)
6. Celebration (playful, theatrical, aesthetic)¹⁶⁰

Grimes' list names ritual activity in an ascending order of intensity with ritualization pointing to the least and celebration to the most pronounced ritual content. Although the list seems to be made up of clearly separated types, their features might overlap. “[There are] experiences

¹⁵⁸ Snoek stresses the possibility of the audience being larger than the group of performers. Snoek, 2006: 11.

¹⁵⁹ For his list, see Snoek 2006: 11.

¹⁶⁰ Grimes, Ronald. “Typen ritueller Erfahrung.” In *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch*, edited by Belliger, Andréa und Krieger, David J., 119–34. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2003: 119.

or body-related actions, as they may come up in the course of a ritual. In case one of them prevails, we can speak of a ‘type’ [...].”¹⁶¹

According to Grimes’ description of the first category, *ritualization* does not apply to the design of the inkstone cases. It refers to “physically, ecologically, and psychosomatically rooted behavior.”¹⁶² While *rules and conventions of decorum* refers to interaction on a personal level,¹⁶³ and functions as a societal device to unify a small community, e.g. the tea ceremony,¹⁶⁴ activities of the third category, *ceremony*, are a means of competitive separation and create a sense of “we” and “the others.”¹⁶⁵ Grimes describes *ceremony* as impersonal,¹⁶⁶ ideologically and politically charged acts, such as the staging of “victorious heroism”¹⁶⁷ or “ceremonious dutiful political exaggeration.”¹⁶⁸ The category *magic* comprises activities that aim at a target, e.g. a prayer expected to expedite “specific results such as healing or world peace, is to be called magic.”¹⁶⁹

Magic makes use of a transcendental reference frame to cause a change in the daily reality of social and ecological interaction. [...] The power of magic lies in the fact that it aims at the desire as the main factor of efficacy [Hauptwirkfaktor].¹⁷⁰

Grimes points out that if “put into the service of ceremony” *magic* might be used in a manipulative manner. *Magic* can also be used to accumulate, hide, or distribute power.¹⁷¹ *Magic* shares certain features with *ceremony*, and it borders on another category, *liturgy*.¹⁷²

Since liturgy is a controlled waiting for an inflow of healing force [heilmachender Macht], it is inevitably a spiritual exercise. In a certain sense, a liturgic ritual is also mere doing, a preparatory exercise, a manner to await the right moment. Liturgy does not only comprise preparation though, but also

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Belliger, Andrea und Krieger, David J., “Einführung.” In *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch*, edited by Belliger, Andrea und Krieger, David J., 7-34. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2003: 32.

¹⁶³ Grimes mentions “political face-to-face interaction,” Grimes, 2003: 125.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid: 126.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid: 127.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid: 128.

¹⁷² Ibid.

contains the matter itself. The exercise is the hierophany itself. Ritual symbols and gestures carry the sacred in them.¹⁷³

The final type of ritual *celebration* shows most liberty in expression. Grimes describes it as an “expressive ritualized play,”¹⁷⁴ which is performed without an “exterior purpose,”¹⁷⁵ and in complete opposition to magic, “the ritual act.”¹⁷⁶ He states:

Celebration knows a huge variety of forms: carnival, parties, spectacles, dance, play, playing music. If participants of ritual begin to free themselves of a matter that requires to meet precise stipulations of participation, and start to play with their own fundamental structures, they begin to play. Because ritual itself is a manner to formalize matters, it is invariably connected with a playful impulse. Play is, at once, root and fruit of ritual. The presentation that we perform in our physicality – and this is exactly what play means – is a culturally creative moment. Rituals of celebration stem from a culture of expression and thus have relation to the arts. [...] They seem spontaneous, but are choreographed and alike play subject to certain rules. [T]he fundamental atmosphere at a celebration is that of the formalized emotion. Ritual expression is expected, nursed and aware of itself. These features distinguish the celebration of a ritualization, the latter not being so reflective and societal driven. [Celebration] is [...] a way to embrace the presence that includes the future and the past¹⁷⁷

Aspects of several types can be found in the *entangled mnemonics* of the inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Shio, and Mt. Saga. The designs are “impersonal, ideologically and politically” charged (*ceremony*) and viewed by a small quantity of beholders (*rules and conventions of decorum*). *Reed-script* is associated with apotropaic efficacy (*magic*), while a “wandering” in the designs can be perceived as an act of spiritual contemplation (*liturgy*). The designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* are “choreographed”¹⁷⁸ (*celebration*) on such a sophisticated level that they seem to follow mere

¹⁷³ Ibid: 130.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid: 131.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid: 132.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid: 131-133.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid: 132.

‘spontaneous’¹⁷⁹ aesthetic preferences (*celebration*). The activities associated with the *entangled mnemonics* can be described as a “ritualized play”¹⁸⁰ (*celebration*) expressing “formalized emotion”¹⁸¹ (*celebration*). The various cultural and historical associations “embrace[s] the presence that includes the future and the past”¹⁸² (*celebration*). In accordance with Grimes’ approach, the primary type of ritual in the designs is *celebration* with aspects of *rules and conventions of decorum, ceremony, magic, and liturgy*.

Ritual at the Court of the Warrior Aristocracy

Having established the connection of the *entangled mnemonics* to *playfulness* and ritual, this section investigates relevant aspects that illustrate the significance of ritual around the time of the production of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*. I will argue that the designs’ functions relate to the context of ritual in the martial circles centering on the shogun, the suspected target group of the *entangled mnemonics*.

In the late fifteenth century, the ritual system in Kyoto was in a poor state. Many potential participants either had fled the capital or could not afford appropriate garments required to appear in front of the rulers.¹⁸³ Besides a lack of suitable locations, budget issues were a main factor for the decrease of ritual activity of the imperial court. The imperial palace had remained intact for the first few months of the war but in 1467.08 (Ōnin 1) Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado moved into Shogun Yoshimasa’s mansion. Eventually a fire broke out and they both moved in with Yoshimasa’s mother in law, Hino Tomiko’s mother, on 1476.11.13 (Bunmei 8).¹⁸⁴ Diaries of the time often record “cancelled” on days of the annual court ceremonies,¹⁸⁵ and the cancellations concerned all types of events ranging from the annual

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid: 131.

¹⁸³ Blümmel, Maria-Verena. “Die Riten des Kriegeradels: Übernahme oder Neuschöpfung?” In *Rituale und ihre Urheber. Invented Traditions in der japanischen Religionsgeschichte*, edited by Antoni, Klaus, 61–77. Ostasien – Pazifik 5. Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1997: 69 For a list “Upper Court Nobles Holding Office at Present” with fourteen offices that recorded eleven missing officials (among them the chancellor and the ministers) and three unfilled positions, see Butler, 2002: 22., See also the chapters “Fire and Destruction” (24-28), “Court Society Dispersed and Disengaged” (38-43) and “Keeping Dressed” (89-98) in *ibid*.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid: 25. The fire is mentioned in several records, among them are the journals of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (Sanjōnishi, 1958-1963), Kanroji Chikanaga (Kanroji, 2000-(continued), and Nagaoki Ozuki (Nagaoki, 1998).

¹⁸⁵ Blümmel 1997: 69.

Kasuga ceremonies in spring and autumn (*Kasuga matsuri* 春日祭)¹⁸⁶ and seasonal banquets (*sechi'e* 節会)¹⁸⁷ to a healing ritual (*onyaku no gi* 御薬の儀).¹⁸⁸

Maria Blümmel indicates that despite the interrupted ritual calendar in the final decades of the fifteenth century, the scholars for the ceremonial system continued their activities, and especially scriptures on the warrior ceremonial system began to unfold to their “full extent.”¹⁸⁹ They comprised detailed rules for the audiences with the shogun and, according to Blümmel, “suggest that such meetings of the upper ranks of the warrior and the court aristocracy continued [...] regularly on fixed dates of each month in the shogun’s residence.”¹⁹⁰ After the Palace of Flowers (*Hana no gosho* 花御所) had burned down in 1478, the gatherings seem to have taken place in various other locations.¹⁹¹ However, Blümmel stresses the increasingly repetitious nature of the rituals. “The procedure became increasingly uniform. The ceremonial of the bakufu in the Sengoku time presents itself as an almost endless repetition of always identical ritualized meetings (audiences).”¹⁹² Since the performance of ritual life during the Higashiyama period was generally at a low point, the following pages look at earlier developments to comprehend the significance of ritual for the warrior authority and in particular for the Ashikaga rulers. As established above, the designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* brought about a sense of identity. The ritual context is hence likely to be connected to the self-image and cultural identity of the martial circles at the time of their production.

In the Kamakura period, the shogunate was still in search for rituals that suited the military environment. It was then that the warrior aristocracy decided to use identical dates and the same occasions as the court aristocracy for their events such as those with a double number (01.01., 03.03., 05.05., 07.07., and 09.09.). However, they seem to have differed in both, form and execution:

[T]he respective courtly models [were] only partially [known] – through a single attendance, from hear-saying, or only in an already corrupted form –

¹⁸⁶ The Kasuga ceremonies were cancelled on several occasions, such as on the dates 1480.2.9 (Bunmei 12), see DNSR 8.12.93, on 1483.2.9 (Bunmei 15), see DNSR 8.15.224, on 1483.11.1 (Bunmei 17), DNSR 8.17.699., and 1486.11.7 (Bunmei 18), see DNSR 8.19.142.

¹⁸⁷ Seasonal banquets were cancelled on numerous dates, such as on 1469.1.1 (Bunmei 1), see DNSR 8.2.629, on 1475.1.7 (Bunmei 7), see DNSR 8.8.10, and 1480.1.7 (Bunmei 12), see DNSR 8.12.42.

¹⁸⁸ The cancellation of a healing ritual was recorded on 1480.12.11 (Bunmei 12), see DNSR 8.12.11.

¹⁸⁹ Blümmel 1997: 69.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. The dates are usually the first, the fifteenth, and the last day of a month as well as additional days of religious or traditional importance. Blümmel also mentions the usual dates for ceremonies. Blümmel 1997: 70.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

[...], because although the well-known festival dates such as the double number festivals were picked, in comparison with the existing and accessible ceremonial texts, they were performed in a very unspecific manner, often, for example as poetry meetings.¹⁹³

The acquirement of a ceremonial corpus – through either formation or adoption – was regarded as a significant step toward a stable warrior authority, and a more desirable image of the martial rulers. They tried to discard the unfavorable picture of the uneducated household trooper and were in need of a fresh identity that was no longer bound to the soldiers who once commenced their political carrier as bodyguards of the Fujiwara in the Heian period.¹⁹⁴

The road thereto was education, through the supplementation of the *bu* 武 [the military force,] with the acquirement of the *bun* 文, the literary culture. The court aristocracy as well as Chinese and Japanese Zen-monks served as a role model and instructors, while the latter gave even further blessings due to the authority of the earlier Confucian Classics.¹⁹⁵

This shift of the shogunate's orientation to Zen Buddhism took place around 1382 under the guidance of priest Gidō, head abbot of the Kenninji Temple, and Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's instructor in Confucianism and Zen.¹⁹⁶ Paul Varely highlights that from Gidō's perspective, Confucianism was a means to perfect a ruler's ability to govern, and upon

¹⁹³ Ibid: 64.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. "The Seiwa Genji, for example, served as samurai for the Sekkanke and came to be known as the 'teeth and claws' of the Fujiwara." According to Cameron Hurst, their relationship dates from 969, namely the Anna (安和) incident. Hurst, G. Cameron. "The Structure of the Heian Court: Some Thoughts on the Nature of 'Familial Authority' in Heian Japan." In *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, edited by Hall, John W., and Mass, Jeffrey P., 39-59. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974: 50. "At the time of Emperor Murakami's death and the accession of Emperor Reizei in 967, it was unclear just who would be the crown prince, though Murakami's partiality for Prince Tamehira, son-in-law to Taka'akira of the rival Minamoto clan, was apparently well known. Instead, Prince Morihira, who was married to Morosuke's granddaughter, that is, Koremasa's daughter Kaishi, was made heir apparent. In 969, Taka'akira was accused of plotting to usurp the throne for Tamehira and was banished to Kyūshū. Morihira was placed on the throne as Emperor En'yū, with Saneyori as regent. At the same time, Koremasa's grandson, the future Emperor Kazan (968-1008, r. 984-986), was named as crown prince. Koremasa was named regent upon Saneyori's death in 970." Mostow, Joshua. *At the House of Gathered Leaves: Shorter Biographical and Autobiographical Narratives from Japanese Court Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999: 3.

¹⁹⁵ Blümmel 1997: 64.

¹⁹⁶ Varley, Paul H. "Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the World of Kitayama: Social Change and Shogunal Patronage in Early Muromachi Japan." In *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, edited by Hall, John Whitney and Takeshi, Toyoda, 183–205. Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2001: 196. (Varley, 2001c) Varley refers to Gidō Shūshin's (1325-1388) diary entry of the day 1382.10.13. Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助, ed. *Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū* 空華日用工夫略集 [Short Collection of Kūge's Daily Thoughts]. Tokyo: Taiyōsha 太洋社, 1939. Ibid.

Yoshimitsu's completion of the reading of the Neo-Confucian classical canon of the "four books" – namely the *Analects*, *Mencius*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Great Learning* –, ¹⁹⁷ Gidō shifted the shogun's attention to Zen as the "ultimate source of truth."¹⁹⁸ He "stopped discussing Confucianism altogether and urged Yoshimitsu to intensify his practice of Zen meditation."¹⁹⁹ It was from around this time that the practicing of ritual became a natural aspect of warrior life.²⁰⁰

Blümmel points out, that while the rites at the imperial court relied on a ceremonial text corpus,²⁰¹ the martial court – due to the lack thereof – classified events as "exemplary precedents of antiquity" (*kojitsu* 故実), which became their standard and the outset of transmission.²⁰²

In the first half of the fifteenth century, records of precedents (*kojitsu-sho*), for almost every area of the life of a member of the warrior aristocracy that could be ceremonially arranged, were produced in a large quantity within a short time. Military exercises, the administration of the shogun, the relation to his vassals, religious events, as well as important dates in the course of the personal life [...] were taken into consideration [...].²⁰³

While the adaption of aristocratic culture through members of the martial circles reached a peak, Yoshimitsu participated in ceremonies at the imperial court, lent financial support for their execution, and performed ceremonies himself. He acknowledged the significance of rites and ceremonies in a political context.²⁰⁴ With exception of the military exercises all rites accepted into the *Mirror of the East* (*Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡 or 東鑑) were modeled after annual ceremonies of the imperial court.²⁰⁵ Vyjayanthi Selinger notes that the Ashikaga

¹⁹⁷ Ibid: 195.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid: 196.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. Varley refers to "Gidō ni tsuite," in: Tsuji, 1939: 20.

²⁰⁰ This is evident from the developments described by Blümmel, 1997: 67, and Conlan, Thomas D. *From Sovereign to Symbol: An Age of Ritual Determinism in Fourteenth Century Japan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: 123.

²⁰¹ "These accounts, however, differ fundamentally from the courtly ceremonial texts. While they are, in fact, accounts concerning concrete dates and persons specified by name who performed the ceremonies, the courtly ceremonial texts remained in the traditions of the *shiki* [式], the regulations or implementation rules concerning existing laws." Blümmel, 1997: 66.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid: 67. Thomas Conlan followed and analyzed Yoshimitsu's ritual activities for political benefits. Conlan 2011.

²⁰⁵ Blümmel, 1997: 63, 67. "Important limitations must be made. First, there are specific modifications, adjustments to the situation of the warrior nobility: The shogun's return visits on New Year's Day make sense as an illustration of the relationship between warlord and vassal – audiences in the imperial court remained a one-

“shoguns began to formulate a calendar of events not unlike the annual events calendar (*nenchū gyōji* 年中行事) of the imperial court.²⁰⁶ Yoshimitsu, who had accepted the Ming calendar on request of the Chinese emperor in the early fifteenth century,²⁰⁷ was certainly aware of a calendar’s symbolic and political significance, namely its control of a society’s most fundamental structure.

As referred to previously, the Urabe and the Nijō families made use of what Albert de Jong termed “secrecy as a social institution.”²⁰⁸ Both houses demonstrated how secret knowledge and ritual performance could be used to gain, establish, and maintain an elevated societal status. Just as they had chosen the fields of “ancient native philology”²⁰⁹ and the enthronement unction, respectively, Shogun Yoshimitsu opted for Shingon rituals.

The Monopolizing of Shingon Rituals

In order to illustrate the connection of the *entangled mnemonics* of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* to Shogun Yoshimitsu’s engagement with the ritual system, this section recaps how the warrior rule transformed when he seized the rights to perform high-level Shingon rituals.²¹⁰ The complex historical background that presented Ashikaga Yoshimitsu with the initial opportunity to eventually take advantage of the ritual system can briefly be summarized as follows:

The intense and indeterminate civil war that waged from 1331 to 1392, eroding over four hundred years of cultural practice, caused the Japanese state to no longer be legitimated or understood through the use of analogies to the past. Kitabatake Chikafusa championed timeless principles drawn from the study of history, such as the unbroken lineage of descent of Japan’s emperors, sanctified by the transmission of the regalia of office. A supporter of the Southern Court, he kidnapped a reigning emperor and stole the symbols of office and by doing

sided matter. The ceremonial first actions all concerned military exercises and indicate different preferences of the performers.” Ibid: 63.

²⁰⁶ Selinger, Vyjayanthi R. *Authorizing the Shogunate: Ritual and Material Symbolism in the Literary Construction of Warrior Order*. Leiden: Brill, 2013: 99.

²⁰⁷ Hall, John Whitney. “The Muromachi bakufu.” *The Cambridge History of Japan 3, Medieval Japan*. Edited by Yamamura, Kozo, 175-230. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: 193.

²⁰⁸ Jong, Albert de. “Secrets and Secrecy in the Study of Religion.” In *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, edited by Scheid and Teeuwen, 37–59. London and New York: Routledge, 2006: 40.

²⁰⁹ Scheid, 2006: 285.

²¹⁰ I follow Thomas Conlan who has recently traced in detail the shogun’s endeavor to monopolize ritual performance from its beginnings in the second half of the fourteenth century until Yoshimitsu’s death in 1408 (Ōei 15). Conlan 2011.

so, destroyed precedent as a legitimating principle, for past actions could no longer be used by the Northern Court to explain the kidnapping of their rulers. Kenshun [賢俊, 1299-1357], a rival Shingon monk, in turn enthroned a monarch and created the regalia of office through esoteric rituals. Kenshun asserted ultimate authority through his mastery of secret ritual, which allowed him to negate precedent, counter Chikafusa's theories, and overshadow other schools of Buddhism.²¹¹

A starting point for the development that concludes with the Ashikaga monopolization of ritual and Yoshimitsu's socio-cultural and political elevation was when early in the year of 1336 (Shōkei 5 [Northern Court]/ Engen 1 [Southern Court]) Kenshun brought an edict to Ashikaga Takauji that established the Northern Court,²¹² and a few months later, he was appointed *monzeki* (門跡). It was without precedent, since the position had been exclusively bestowed on princes of the imperial family.²¹³ Conlan stresses the significance of Kenshun's statement that "*monzeki* were to serve and protect the shogun, and emblematic of this close relationship, Kenshun became known as a 'shogun *monzeki*.'"²¹⁴

[In the aftermath of his unprecedented social rise, Kenshun began working with] important rituals of state that normally a monk of his rank could not perform. By so serving the Ashikaga, Kenshun was not encumbered by court precedent, and with Ashikaga success, Kenshun gained ritual experience and expertise. Ultimately, Kenshun constructed a framework for legitimating the Ashikaga, which concurrently undermined the court. Kenshun used his position as being an important Shingon monk in both the court and bakufu to blur the distinction between the Ashikaga and the imperial house of Japan during the 1340s.²¹⁵

At the time when the regalia and the reigning emperor were abducted, Kenshun and Nijō Yoshimoto (二条良基, 1320-1388) began to employ ritual mimesis to conjure the Northern

²¹¹ Conlan, 2011: 14.

²¹² Ibid: 9. Conlan refers to the *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of Great Peace) and other documents dating this event. Ibid: 10.

²¹³ Ibid: 98. "Monzeki is the title given to a temple whose incumbent priest is a member of the imperial family [...]." Breen, John and Teeuwen, Mark. *A New History of Shinto*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010: 93.

²¹⁴ Conlan refers to *Daigoji monjo* (Historical Documents of the Daigoji Temple), doc. 1258, *Daigoji monjo* 醍醐寺文書 [Historical Documents of the Daigoji Temple]. Dai nihon kobunsho 大日本古文書. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1969. Conlan, 2011: 96.

²¹⁵ Ibid: 93.

Court that was supported by the Ashikaga authority.²¹⁶ In 1352 (Kannō 3 [Northern Court]/Shōhei 7 [Southern Court]) Kenshun and Yoshimoto performed the enthronement ritual for Go-Kōgon (後光嚴, 1338-1374, r. 1352-1371) on the basis of a lacquered case that had previously been used as the sacred mirror's storage device.²¹⁷ On occasion of the enthronement ritual, Kenshun and Yoshimoto also conjured a wooden scepter to symbolize imperial rule.²¹⁸ “This [lacquered] box, which [Kenshun] stored at Samegai Wakamiya Hachimangū, one of the most important shrines for the Ashikaga, allowed the ritual master to make a new monarch.”²¹⁹

Kenshun's successor Kōsai²²⁰ (光濟, 1325-1379) gradually transformed the shogun's status into that of a monarch by performing rituals that were originally limited to the imperial court.²²¹ He restored the secrecy of ritual, carried out important rituals of state without precedents, and performed rituals that were the prerogative of the throne outside the imperial palace, even at the shogun's residence.²²² By the time of Kōsai's death in 1379 (Kōryaku 1 [Northern Court]/Tenju 5 [Southern Court]), Shogun Yoshimitsu had gained extensive knowledge in Shingon ritual.

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu proved to be the functional heir of Kōsai's ritual mastery. Already, divination, and rituals designed to mitigate disturbances in the heavens, hallmarks of sovereign authority, were offered on his behalf. He perceived the possibilities of ritual action, cloaked in secrecy, and increasingly acted with little need for enablers.²²³

By 1389 (Kōō 1 [Northern Court]/Genchū 6 [Southern Court]), Yoshimitsu had gained unique skills, his actions began to strongly resemble those of a sovereign and he began to present

²¹⁶ Ibid: 124, 137.

²¹⁷ Ibid: 136.

²¹⁸ Ibid: 136-137. Conlan refers to *Entairyaku* 4, entry of 1352.12.31 for the mimesis, and to the entry of 1352.01.07 for the box as regalia. Ibid: footnote 50-51. Tōin, 1940. Ibid.

²¹⁹ Conlan, 2011: 136. Conlan refers to the entry in *Tadatōki* (Journal by Ostuki Sukune) on 8.3. 1352 (Kannō 3). Ostuki Sukune 小槻宿禰. *Tadatōki* 匡遠記 [Journal by Ostuki Sukune]. 1335-1352. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 36. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1965. Ibid.

²²⁰ The pronunciation of the name might be Kōsei. Conlan refers to him as Kōzei.

²²¹ “Divination and Buddhist ceremonies for the sovereign were now performed for the sake of the Ashikaga and not the occupant of the throne. Likewise, for the first time, yin-yang (*omyōdō*) specialists engaged in rituals at the bequest of the Ashikaga and not the emperors of Japan.” Conlan, 2011: 168-169.

²²² Ibid: 150, 153, 162.

²²³ Ibid: 170.

himself as the “true successor to Kenshun and Kōsai.”²²⁴ Yoshimitsu performed rituals based on ritual mimesis, first as if he were a Fujiwara regent and then Japan’s sovereign.²²⁵

On [1394.12.25], Yoshimitsu received the office of grand minister, signifying his ascent to the apex of court society.²²⁶ Although only a grand minister, he also performed *Taizanfu kunsai* rituals for the sake of the realm, a prerogative of rulers.²²⁷ During these early years of his untrammelled rule, he still mimicked the Fujiwara courtiers, receiving prerogatives of office appropriate for them, but not for a descendant of the Minamoto lineages.²²⁸

Akira Imatani and Kozo Yamamura stress the notable decline of imperial authority in central matters of the court only two years after Yoshimitsu had unified the Southern and the Northern courts in 1392 (Meitoku 3 [Northern Court]):

A major change in this aspect of Yoshimitsu's power came in 1394 when ‘recommendations’ and ‘petitions’ ceased to be made. For example, in 1394/2, when a new title was granted to retired emperor Go-Kameyama (formerly of the Southern Court),²²⁹ the imperial announcement (*senge*) of the title was made ‘without consulting the emperor, without holding a hearing by the *kuge*,

²²⁴ Ibid: 176.

²²⁵ Ibid: 175. Conlan refers to Ogawa Takeo. *Nanbokuchō no kyūteishi Nijō Yoshimoto no kana nikki* 南北朝の宮廷誌: 二条良基の仮名日記 [Records of the Imperial Court in the Nanbokuchō Era: The Kana Diary of Nijō Yoshimoto]. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 2003: 87.

²²⁶ Conlan refers to entries of 1394.12.25, and 1395.06.03 in *Kugyō bunin 3* 公卿補任 [Appointments to Office of the Court Nobility], edited by Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美. In *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 新訂増補国史大系 53–57, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1964–66.

²²⁷ Conlan refers to the date concerning 1395.03.18 in: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan 京都府立総合資料館 [Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives], ed. *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to Tōji* 足利義満と東寺 [Ashikaga Yoshimitsu and the Tōji temple]. Kyoto: Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan, 2004., and Imatani Akira 今谷明. *Muromachi no ōken* 室町の王権 [Authority in the Muromachi Period]. Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho 中公新書, 1990: 84–92. Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid: 178. Conlan refers to the entry concerning 1396.01.05, in: DNSR 7.2.334.

²²⁹ Imatani and Yamamura refer to Tomita Masahiro and point out that “the formal method of granting such posthumous titles as *junsangō* and *taishi* (given to monks and priests) was to issue imperial pronouncements.” Tomita Masahiro 富田正弘. “Kuzen, kuzen'an no seiritsu to hensen” 口宣・口宣案の成立と変遷 [The Establishment and Transitions of Oral Pronouncements and Drafts of Oral Pronouncements]. *Komonjo kenkyū* 15 古文書研究 [The Japanese Journal of Diplomacy] (1980): 20-48., and Tomita Masahiro “Kuzen, kuzen'an no seiritsu to hensen” 口宣・口宣案の成立と変遷 [The Establishment and Transitions of Oral Pronouncements and Drafts of Oral Pronouncements]. *Komonjo kenkyū* 14 古文書研究 [The Japanese Journal of Diplomacy] (1979): 49-73. They also refer to the pronouncement for a title bestowed to Prince Fushimi Sadafusa, in the ninth month of 1447 as one instance. Madenkōji Tokifusa 万里小路時房. *Kennaiki* 10 建内記 [Journal of Keshō in Naifu Madenkōji Tokifusa]. 1414-1455. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjō. Dai nihon kokiroku. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986: 63-64, 88-92. All in: Imatani and Yamamura, 1992: 50.

and following no clear procedures.²³⁰ What Yoshimitsu wanted done was accomplished without the knowledge of even the *kanpaku* [...].²³¹

Yoshimitsu began to model activities on those of retired emperors and was solely responsible for all court promotions.²³² Conlan cites incidents of Yoshimitsu pouring sake for the emperor, Yoshimitsu dressing, corresponding, travelling, furnishing, pilgrimaging, and collecting artworks like an emperor.²³³ On 1402.11.01 (Ōei 9), a point in time when the regalia had been safely returned for about ten years and were available for ritual usage, the shogun chose to use his own sword instead of the regalia to perform the commemoration ceremony when the imperial palace was rebuilt.²³⁴ By then Buddhist ceremonies had become the domain of the bakufu, and the imperial court performed almost only Shinto rituals.²³⁵ Yoshimitsu chose the masters for the Buddhist rituals at court without consulting the emperor, and while the rituals at the Kitayama villa were conducted by *monzeki*, monks of a lower – the second-highest – rank executed the court ceremonies. Imatani and Yamamura reason that by this time the Kitayama rituals had become more significant than the court rituals.²³⁶

On the grounds of countless performances of ritual mimesis practiced by Yoshimitsu in seemingly every conceivable manner and covering probably every cultural area, Conlan argues: “Yoshimitsu, by behaving ‘as if he were the sovereign [, the supreme ruler] (*chiten no*

²³⁰ Imatani and Yamamura refer to Ichijō Tsunetsugu’s (1358-1418) journal on 1394.2.8, Ichijō Tsunetsugu 一条 経嗣. *Jō’onji kanpakuki* 成恩寺関白記 [Journal of the Jō’onji Chancellor]. In DNSR 7.1.482-83, in: Imatani and Yamamura, 1992: 50.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² The primary examples were his appointing of Ichijō Tsunetsugu, Nijō Yoshimoto’s son, as head of the Fujiwara in 1400, and the bestowment of the title mother of the nation (*kokumo* 国母) to his wife Hino Yasuko in 1407, thereby making her “a de facto member of the imperial family,” the “honorary adopted mother of the emperor (*onjunbo* [御准母]).” Conlan, 2011: 179. For the promotion of Ichijō Tsunetsugu, Conlan refers to the entry for 1400.06.06 in DNSR 7.4.577, and for the promotion of Hino Yasuko to the entry for 1406.12.27 in DNSR 7.8.800-811, as well as to Usui, Nobuyoshi 白井信義. *Ashikaga Yoshimitsu* 足利義満 [Ashikaga Yoshimitsu] Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1960: 166. All in Conlan, 2011: 179.

²³³ Ibid: 174-175, 180, 181, 182, 183. Conlan refers to an entry in the *Gogumaiki* 4 (Journal of Sanjō Kintada) on 1378.10.22 (Eiwa 4). Sanjō Kintada 三条公忠. *Gogumaiki* 後愚昧記 [Journal of Sanjō Kintada]. 4 Volumes. Dai Nihon kokiroku. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjō. Tokyo Iwanami Shoten, 1980-1992: 198. For Yoshimitsu travelling in an oxcart with twelve followers, he refers to DNSR 7.2.798. on 1397.4.16. (Ōei 4) and Usui, 1960: 162–63 for dressing in the manner of a retired emperor and Dharma emperor, to Takagishi Akira 高岸輝. *Muromachi ōken to kaiga: shoki Tosa-ha kenkyū* 室町王権と絵画: 初期土佐派研究 [Power and Painting in Muromachi Japan: A Study of the Early Tosa School]. Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai 京都大学学術出版会, 2004: 84–85 for the art collection. For the pilgrimages, he refers to a listing of the locations Yoshimitsu’s travels as part of sightseeing or worship, DNSR 7.10, (1952), 237-42, and for more details on Yoshimitsu’s visit to Iwashimizu Hachiman on 1395.8.21. (Ōei 2) as one example, to DNSR 7.2. 97–98. All in *ibid*.

²³⁴ Ibid: 172. Conlan refers to Usui, 1960: 156–57 for the use of the personal sword as a regalia on 1402.11.19 (Ōei 9), *ibid*.

²³⁵ Of all thirty rituals executed in 1402 at the imperial court, two were Buddhist and twenty-eight were Shinto ceremonies. Imatani and Yamamura, 1992: 59.

²³⁶ Ibid: 59-60.

kimi [治天の君]),²³⁷ had, according to Shingon mimesis, in fact already become one.’²³⁸ Yoshimitsu died on 1408.05.06 (Ōei 15) and was posthumously bestowed the title august retired emperor (*daijō tennō* 太上天皇).²³⁹ At this time, the appointment was probably viewed as the obvious measure to be taken by the imperial court.²⁴⁰

As the above records illustrate, the Ashikaga shogun successfully usurped esoteric rituals. The unmatched level of ritual expertise enabled him to conduct even state rituals. While Yoshimitsu used ritual mimesis to take on the role of the Fujiwara regents, he then filled the role of a sovereign with a status seemingly above the ruling imperial monarch according to Conlan:

After Yoshimitsu's cousin, the hapless [Emperor] Go-Enyū, died in 4.1393, Yoshimitsu, rather than the reigning Go-Komatsu emperor, ruled unopposed. Prince Sadafusa (1372–1456), the son of Yoshihito, the Northern Court crown prince who had been kidnapped in 1351 and never ascended the throne, wrote the *Chin'yōki*, a history which compared Yoshimitsu's power to the wind that ‘blew all grass and trees before it, quelling all barbarians and putting the country at peace.’²⁴¹

This paragraph also indicates the unambiguous image of the Ashikaga shogun as a powerful peacemaker among members of the imperial court. While this era under Yoshimitsu’s leadership was the zenith of Ashikaga prestige and authority, the reign of Higashiyama Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa was feeble. Based on these findings, I infer that the ritualized activities related to by the *entangled mnemonics* of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* playfully celebrate the memory of the powerful Ashikaga authority that Yoshimitsu had gained by his monopolization of esoteric

²³⁷ The abdicated monarchs who still reigned (*chiten no kimi*) were the true rulers of the cloistered government (*insei*). This era began in the latter half of the eleventh century. These rulers gained even more power in the late thirteenth century. Schley, 2014: 44. The reigning Emperor Go-Daigo discontinued the rule of the abdicated monarchs with the Fujiwara regents in 1321. He tried to regain the power of the imperial throne that had been lost to the Kamakura warrior government and the high nobility, and instead sought a direct engagement in the affairs of the state. Hall, 1990: 183.

²³⁸ Conlan, 2011: 173.

²³⁹ Ibid: 185. Conlan refers to DNSR 7.10.26 for the posthumous reference to Yoshimitsu as the *Rokuonin daijō tennō*, and to DNSR 7.10.257-59 for references to *daijō tennō*. Conlan also refers to a paragraph in DNSR 7.10.79 that describes Yoshimitsu as a reincarnation of the legendary seventh-century Prince Shōtoku.

²⁴⁰ Conlan, 2011: 185.

²⁴¹ Ibid: 177. Original paragraph in Fushimi no miya Sadafusa 伏見宮貞成 (Go-Sukō’in 後崇光院). *Chin'yōki* 椿葉記 [Account of the Camellia Leaves]. In *Murata Masashi chosakushū* 4 村田正志著作集. [The Collected Works of Murata Masashi], edited by Murata Masashi 村田正志. Kyoto: Shibun Kaku 思文閣, 1984: 138 (passage 8), 141 (passage 9).

ritual. At the same time, the designs illustrate a need to compensate for the loss of Ashikaga authority in the late fifteenth century.²⁴²

²⁴² Thomas Conlan supported my assumption that the ritualized acts associated with the inkstone cases are of a compensatory nature. Conversation, February 2012, Kyoto.

3.3 The *Entanglements* of the Inkstone Cases and the Ashikaga Narrative: The Sword of Fujiwara Michinaga

The previous sections demonstrated the significance of ritual for the Ashikaga rulers since the late fourteenth century. Although Japanese artifacts with entangled designs were produced before, *entanglements* on lacquerware seem to have been a strong preference of the warrior rulers from the onset of their reign in the Kamakura period.²⁴³ I will argue that the martial monopolization refers back to Fujiwara practices in the Heian period.

The authority and status of the Fujiwara had reached its highest point under Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) who held the position of regent (*sesshō* 摂政, from 1016-1017) but was never officially appointed chancellor (*kanpaku* 関白).²⁴⁴ He began to hold high ministerial posts in 995, and around this time Michinaga selected some members of the Minamoto family who discretely “enabled him in the early days of his rise to defeat or intimidate his rivals,”²⁴⁵ and “by 996 [Michinaga] was so firmly established in power that he was regent in everything but name.”²⁴⁶

Michinaga has been associated with performing a ceremony called *chakujin* (着陣). This ritual at the imperial court concerned the seating order of the powerful court nobles, which relates to the hierarchical order and status of authority. It was held in the palace on special occasions, such as the installation of a new regent or chancellor, and the attending nobility consisted of the families that produced the regents and chancellors (*sekkanke* 摂関家). Like several other ceremonies, the martial court seems to have adopted the *chakujin*-ritual and transformed it to fit a military context. Here it signified the arrival of the warriors at the battlefield. Both meanings can be found in the *Shogakukan's Japanese Dictionary* (*Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典) that notes “1. The event when court nobles take a seat at the array chamber in the imperial palace (*Kugyō ga dairi no jin no za nitsuku koto* 公卿が内裏の陣の座につくこと),” which was first recorded in Fujiwara Sanesuke’s journal (*Shōyuki* 小右記) on 995.06.19 (Chōtoku 1), and “2. The event of the arrival of the warriors in the military camp (*Bushi ga jin'ei ni tōchaku suru koto* 武士が陣営に到着すること),” which

²⁴³ Brisset also refer to this preference of the warrior aristocrats and to the vast quantity of artifacts. Brisset, 2009: 367.

²⁴⁴ Translation according to Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 460.

²⁴⁵ Sansom, George Bailey. *A History of Japan to 1334*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958: 162-163.

²⁴⁶ Sansom, 1958: 141. For a comprehensive list of regents and chancellors see Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 463-467, table 9-9.

was first recorded on 1438.10.21 (Eikyō 10) in the *Documents of the Uesugi House* (*Uesugike monjo* 上杉家文書) in reference to Ashikaga Yoshinori.²⁴⁷

Apparently, the *chakujin* at court required specific accessories, namely a sword and an embroidered “skirtfront piece”²⁴⁸ (*hirao* 平緒).²⁴⁹ Both artifacts, skirtfront piece and sword, were decorated with *reed-script*, the sword²⁵⁰ with a lacquered *sprinkled design* and *reed-script* was woven into the material of the skirtfront piece.

The images show the skirtfront piece as the central component of formal garments of military officers and courtiers alike. The designs range from simple geometric patterns or crests for members of the military to intricate and sophisticated floral embellishments for court aristocrats. Monochrome vestments were given a festive, elegant look with the often multicolored embroideries, such as the black robe of the courtier combined with the skirtfront piece in green, red, orange, yellow, brown, and blue on a white ground, or the orange garment of the military officer combined with a design in white, red, and yellow on a blue ground. (fig. 55)

Although several diaries explicitly refer to *reed-script* designs on Michinaga’s sword and the skirtfront piece as well as to the ceremony as referred to below, one entry in Michinaga’s *Journal of Chancellor Midō* (*Midō kanpaku ki* 御堂関白記, 995-1021) contains a reference to a sword with *sprinkled design* but to none of the above items, sword or skirtfront piece, with *reed-script*. There is no entry referring to the ceremony.²⁵¹ On 1017.09.23 (Kannin 1), Michinaga mentions a long sword with mother-of-pearl inlays and a blue skirtfront piece.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ Entry “着陣” (*chakujin*). *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 [Complete Japanese-language Dictionary]. Edited by Shōgakukan Kokugo Jiten Henshūbu 小学館国語辞典編集部. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館, 2006.

²⁴⁸ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 494.

²⁴⁹ Yotsutsuji also notes that the sword and the skirtfront piece were used in the ritual. Yotsutsuji, 1997: 26. Komatsu also notes the ritual. Komatsu, 1996: 292.

Ōmichi indicates that the only extant skirtfront piece *reed-script* today is from the Edo period. Ōmichi, Hiroo 大道弘雄. “Shin ashide-e kō (ge) 新葦手絵考 (下) [New Considerations of *Reed-script* Pictures].” *Kokka* 790 国華 [National Flower] (1958), 14-23: 20.

²⁵⁰ Although the original sources usually refer to a sword (*tsurugi* 剣), it is likely that the *reed-script* design was not on the actual sword(s) but on the scabbard (*saya* 鞘).

²⁵¹ After consulting the diary, I used the database of the Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā with the same result. Database of the Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā. “Sekkanki kokiroku 撰関期古記録 [Ancient documents of the period of regents and chancellors].” <http://db.nichibun.ac.jp/ja/category/heian-diaries.html>. Accessed 2017.03.04.

²⁵² Fujiwara Michinaga, Fujiwara Michinaga 道長藤原. *Midō kanpaku ki* (ge) 御堂関白記 (下) [Journal of Chancellor Midō]. 998-1021. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1954.

Ōmichi Hiroo states that the sword together with the skirtfront piece were produced from the zenith of the Fujiwara on, and he notes that the usage of sword and skirtfront piece was limited to the lines of regents and chancellors.²⁵³

According to a Kamakura-period scripture on court and warrior rules of ceremony and etiquette titled *Collection of Embellishments* (*Kazari shō* 飾抄), “reed-script swords are auspicious things used by the families that provide the regents and chancellors [(*shippei ke* 執柄家)].”²⁵⁴ The text also states that the lineages of regents and chancellors embroider *reed-script* on their skirtfront pieces, which suggests that not only the usage of this design, but also the design in combination with a particular material on a specific artifact was exclusive to this circle.²⁵⁵ This explains why Fujiwara Michinaga’s oldest son, Chancellor Yorimichi, bestowed a *reed-script* sword and skirtfront piece as congratulation on his nephew and adopted son Minamoto Toshifusa (源俊房, 1035-1121) on the occasion of his coming-of-age ceremony on 1046.02.13 (Kantoku 3).²⁵⁶

Several entries in twelfth-century journals testify performances of the ritual and the existence of the sword explicitly attributed to Fujiwara Michinaga. Fujiwara Munetada (藤原宗忠, 1062–1141) notes in his diary titled *Chronicle of the Minister of the Right* (*Chūyū ki* 中右記)²⁵⁷ the performance of the ritual in the palace on order of Chancellor Fujiwara Tadazane (藤原忠実, 1078-1162) on 1106.01.13 (Kashō 1).²⁵⁸ He used a plain obi, a *sprinkled design* sword, and a blue skirtfront piece. The entry notes that *reed-script* sword had once belonged to Michinaga. According to an entry on the same day in the journal of Chancellor Tadazane titled *Calendar of the Lord* (*Denryaku* 殿曆)²⁵⁹, subsequent regents performed the ritual after Michinaga, and they used a *reed-script* sword in it. The *Chronicle of the Minister of the Right* shows a similar entry on this date also mentioning Michinaga’s treasured *reed-script* sword

²⁵³ Ōmichi, 1957a: 367-375: 374.

²⁵⁴ Entry “平緒” (*hirao*). *Kazari shō* (*chū*) 飾抄 (中) [Selection of Embellishments 2]. Thirteenth century before 1239. *Gunsho ruijū shinkō* 5 群書類従: 新校. Edited by Naigai Shoseki Kabushiki Gaisha 内外書籍株式会社. N.p.: Naigai Shoseki 内外書籍, 1937: 656. In Ōmichi, 1957a: 374.

²⁵⁵ Entry “平緒” (*hirao*). *Kazari shō*, 1937: 660.

²⁵⁶ *Kazari shō* in Ōmichi, 1957a: 374. Lord Uji was fifty-five years old, and Toshifusa who later become the Horikawa Minister to the Left was twelve years old. Ibid.

²⁵⁷ The unabridged title *Nakamikado no udajjin* (中御門右大臣の日記) refers to its author, the Minister of the Right (*udajjin*) Munetada who was a member of the Nakamikado family (中御門).

²⁵⁸ Fujiwara Munetada 藤原宗忠. *Chūyūki* 中右記 [Chronicle of the Minister of the Right]. 1087-1138. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008.

Tadazane was chancellor since 1105. There was neither chancellor nor regent in the years 1099-1105. Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 463.

²⁵⁹ Alternative titles are *Chisoku'in kanpaku ki* (知足院関白記) and *Chisoku'in denki* (知足院殿記). When Tadazane retreated to the Chisoku'in temple, he was also referred to as Lord Chisoku'in.

with skirtfront piece. According to the *Calendar of the Lord*, Michinaga had used the sword, whose skirtfront piece was embellished with a *reed-script* design that Michinaga's wife, Minamoto Rinshi (源倫子), had embroidered.²⁶⁰

The *Calendar of the Lord* records further performances of the ritual with the *reed-script* sword and *reed-script* skirtfront piece on 1112.11.01 (Ten'ei 3)²⁶¹ and 1115.04.16 (Eikyū 3).²⁶² A later entry in the *Chronicle of the Minister of the Right* from 1118.11.25 (Gen'ei 1) refers to a palace visit by Chancellor Tadazane who wore the *sprinkled design* sword and skirtfront piece.²⁶³ Tadazane held the position of Chancellor for Emperor Horikawa (1105-1107) and for Emperor Toba (1113-1121) after he had advised the latter as regent (1107-1113).²⁶⁴ An entry in the *Record of the Successive Generations in the Kujō Family* (*Kujōke rekisei kiroku* 九条家歴世記録) on the 1119.02.02 (Gen'ei 2) refers to the blue skirtfront piece and the *reed-script* sword from Michinaga.²⁶⁵

The entry in the *Collection of Embellishments* states that on 1123.03.11 (Hō'an 4) the new chancellor received the *reed-script* sword and the *reed-script* skirtfront piece from his father Tadazane.²⁶⁶ The entry certainly refers to Tadamichi who went from being chancellor to regent in 1123.²⁶⁷ Fujiwara Yoronaga records on 1136.11.25 (Hō'en 2) in his *Record of the Dais*²⁶⁸ (*Taiki* 台記) that he might receive an imperial order from the minister and wears the *sprinkled design* sword with the blue skirtfront piece.²⁶⁹ On 1136.12.17 (Hō'en 2), Yoronaga notes the performance of the ritual and that he wears the decorated *sprinkled design* sword in

²⁶⁰ Fujiwara Tadazane 藤原忠実. *Denryaku* 殿曆 [Calendar of the Lord]. Vol. 2. Dai Nihon kokiroku 大日本古記録. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960-1970.

²⁶¹ This entry does not mention the *reed-script* sword. 1112.11.01 (Ten'ei 3) in *Denryaku* 3. Fujiwara Tadazane, 1960-1970.

²⁶² 1115.04.16 (Eikyū 3) in *Denryaku* 4. Fujiwara Tadazane, 1960-1970.

²⁶³ Fujiwara Munetada, 2008. Also in Ōmichi, 1957a: 374.

²⁶⁴ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 463.

²⁶⁵ Fujiwara Tadamichi 藤原忠通. *Kujōke rekisei kiroku* 九条家歴世記録 [Record of the Successive Generations in the Kujō Family]. 1230-1233. Edited by Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部. Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 1989.

²⁶⁶ Ōmichi infers Tadamichi received the artifact from his father, Ōmichi, 1957a: 374. For the sword see, entry 蒔絵 (*maki-e*). In *Kazari shō*, 1937: 656. In Ōmichi, 1957a: 374. For the skirtfront piece, see entry “平緒” (*hirao*). In *Kazari shō*, 1937: 661.

²⁶⁷ After his father Tadazane had resigned in 1121, Tadamichi was either chancellor (1121-1123, 1129-1141, 1150-1158) or regent (1123-1129, 1141-1150) until 1158. Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 464.

²⁶⁸ I follow Elizabeth Lillehoj's translation of the title. Lillehoj, Elizabeth. “Transfiguration: Man-made Objects as Demons in Japanese Scrolls.” *Asian Folklore Studies* 54, no.1 (1995): 7-34: 18.

²⁶⁹ Fujiwara Yoronaga 藤原頼長. *Taiki* 台記 [Record of the Dais]. Edited by Hashimoto Yoshihiko 橋本義彦 and Imae Hiromichi 今江広道. *Shiryō sanshū* 史料纂集. Tokyo: Zoku Gunshorui Jū Kansei Kai 続群書類従完成会, 1976.

silver.²⁷⁰ Both entries refer to Michinaga's sword.²⁷¹ Ōmichi refers to an entry in Kujō Kanezawa's journal *Precious Leaves* (*Gyokuyō* 玉葉) on 1182.12.20 (Yōwa 2) that records that Lieutenant General Kujō Yoshitsune (九条良経, also Fujiwara no Yoshitsune 藤原良経, 1169-1206, chancellor 1202-1206)²⁷² wore a ceremonial dress, a matching obi and the *sprinkled design reed-script* sword. The occasion was Yoshitsune's appointment to middle captain of the left division of the inner palace guards (*sakono'e no chūjō* 左近衛中将) on his fourteenth birthday.²⁷³

The journal of Chancellor Konoe Iezane (近衛家実, 1179-1242, chancellor 1206-1221 and 1223-1228 as well as regent 1221-1223)²⁷⁴ titled *Record of the Inokuma Chancellor* (*Inokuma kanpaku ki* 猪隈関白記)²⁷⁵ mentions Michinaga's *reed-script* sword and his blue *reed-script* skirtfront piece on 1198.01.08 (Kenkyū 9), 1199.06.13 (Shōji 1), and again on 1199.07.13 (Shōji 1) when the ritual was performed.²⁷⁶ Another entry from a few years later refers to the *reed-script* sword, the plain obi, and the blue skirtfront piece in relation to former Regent and Chancellor Konoe Motomichi (近衛基通, 1160-1233, chancellor 1179-1180, 1196-1198, regent 1180-1183, 1184-1186, 1198-1202)²⁷⁷ on 1206.04.13 (Ken'ei 1).²⁷⁸ Further records from the thirteenth century substantiate the existence of the ritual at the time, such as Fujiwara Teika's (藤原定家, 1162-1241) diary *Chronicles of the Bright Moon* (*Meigetsu ki* 明月記). The text mentions on 1226.01.01 (Karoku 2) that Saionji Saneuji (西園寺実氏, 1194-1269) – who had never been appointed regent nor chancellor – used the *reed-script* sword in his capacity as great commander of the imperial bodyguards of the right (*udaishō* 右大将)²⁷⁹ until he became the prime minister (*daijō daijin* 太政大臣).²⁸⁰ Konoe

²⁷⁰ Ibid, entry on 1136.12.17.

²⁷¹ The same paragraph in the diary states “Said sword [belongs to] the Lord who entered priesthood” (*Kudan tsurugi niyūdō dono* 件剣入道殿). Ōmichi points out that the sword refers to Michinaga, because at this time Fujiwara no Tadazane (藤原忠実) had not taken the tonsure yet. Ōmichi, 1957a: 374.

²⁷² Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 464.

²⁷³ Kujō, 2002. Also in Ōmichi, 1957a: 375.

²⁷⁴ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 464.

²⁷⁵ Inokuma Kanpaku after his residence Inokuma-den.

²⁷⁶ Konoe Iezane 近衛家実. *Inokuma kanpaku ki* 猪隈関白記 [Records of the Inokuma Chancellor]. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972-1983.

²⁷⁷ Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 464.

²⁷⁸ Konoe Iezane, 1972-1983.

²⁷⁹ Translation of the term *udaishō* in Asao, Naohiro. "The sixteenth-century unification," translated by Susser, Bernhard. In *The Cambridge History of Japan 4*, edited by Hall, John Whitney and McClain, James L., 40-95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991: 81.

²⁸⁰ Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家. *Meigetsuki 2* 明月記 [Chronicles of the Bright Moon]. 1180-1235. Edited by Hayakawa Junzaburō 早川純三郎. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1911-1912. Also in Ōmichi, 1957: 375. Translation as “prime minister” according to Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 450.

Motohira (近衛基平, 1246-1268) recorded a performance of the ritual in his *Chronicle of Chancellor Jinshin'in* (*Jinshin'in kanpakuki* 深心院関白記) on 1255.06.25 (Kenchō 7).²⁸¹ The *Records on Garments by the Later Lord Shōnen'in* (*Goshō nen'in dono shōzoku shō* 御照念院殿装束抄) by Chancellor Takatsukasa Fuyuhira (鷹司冬平, 1275 – 1327)²⁸² records that “the *reed-script* sword is one part of armor. It is always used at the time of *chakujin*.”²⁸³ A possible final entry with an explicit reference to the ritual was recorded on 1418.04.15 (Ōei 25) in the *Chronicle of the Admonitions of Buddha* (*Sakkaiki* 薩戒記) by the Chief Councilor of State and President of the Board of Censors Nakayama Sadachika (中山定親, 1401-1459), a member of the Fujiwara house.²⁸⁴ The author does not mention Michinaga’s *reed-script* sword but he still refers to a *sprinkled design* sword, the plain obi, a blue skirtfront piece, and the ritual.

The reasons for a discontinuation or an interruption of the ritual in combination with the *reed-script* artifacts are not entirely clear at this point. Ōmichi Hiroo also noted the handing down of the *reed-script* sword with the skirtfront piece, and he emphasized the close relations of Chancellor Konoe Iezane to the Kamakura shogunate.²⁸⁵ Iezane’s great minister of the right (*udaijin* 右大臣) was Deputy Great Counsellor (*gondai nagon* 權大納言) Saionji Saneuji, whose father was Saionji Kintsune (西園寺公経, 1171-1244) and whose mother was from the Fujiwara house and a niece of Shogun Minamoto Yoritomo. According to Ōmichi, Saneuji’s influence exceeded that of the regent by far, the empress held her entry to the court at the Saionji residence, and Saneuji became the grandfather of two emperors, Go-Fukakusa (後深草, 1243-1304, r. 1246-1259) and Kameyama (龜山天皇, 1249-1305, r. 1259-1274). When Konoe Iezane became chancellor, Kujō Michiie (九条道家, 1193-1252, chancellor 1228-1231 as well as regent in 1221 and 1235-1237) was the great minister of the left (*sadaijin* 左大臣), and Saneuji’s father Saionji Kintsune, held the position of the great minister of the right. In the course of events, Iezane became Kintsune’s son-in-law as well as

²⁸¹ Fujiwara [Konoe] Motohira 藤原基平. *Jinshin'in kanpakuki* 深心院関白記 [Chronicle of Chief Advisor Jinshin'in]. 1255-1268. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996.

²⁸² An alternative name is Fujiwara Fuyuhira 藤原冬平.

²⁸³ Takatsukasa Fuyuhira 鷹司冬平. *Shō nen'in dono shōzoku shō* 照念院殿装束抄 [Annotations on Garments by Lord Shōnen'in]. Thirteenth century. *Gunsho ruijū* 530 (GR) 群書類従, *mokuroku* 1 目録, Kengyō [Hanawa] Hokiichi Collection 檢校保己一集 in the Historical Institute of Tokyo University. [Editor, publisher and place unknown], 1862. In Ōmichi, 1957a: 374. The edition belongs to the collection of the Historical Institute of Tokyo University.

²⁸⁴ Nakayama Sadachika 中山定親. *Sakkaiki* 薩戒記 [Chronicle of the Admonitions of Buddha]. 1418-1443. Edited by Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000.

²⁸⁵ Ōmichi, 1957a.

his fourth son, while Kintsune's grandson, Kujō Yoritsune (九条頼経, 1218-1256, r.1226-1244) also known as Fujiwara Yoritsune (藤原頼経), became the fourth shogun of the Kamakura shogunate. Ōmichi points out that judging from the lack of written documentation, from this point on, the *reed-script* sword was not used any longer.²⁸⁶

The perhaps sole exception is documented in the *Journal of Tōin Kinkata* (*Entairyaku* 園太曆) by Tōin Kinkata (洞院公賢, 1291-1360) from the Northern and Southern Court period. The entry on 1344.01.01 (Kōei 3) states that Kinkata himself wore not the sword but a blue skirtfront piece embroidered with *reed-script* on occasion of the New Year ceremony. At that time, he served as great minister of the left but continuously moved upward in the central court government, until he became prime minister in 1348, i.e. the head of the state department, the highest position in the system second only to the emperor himself.²⁸⁷ Ōmichi suggests that the reason for the discontinuation of the usage of the *reed-script* set of sword and skirtfront piece since 1136 was perhaps that it had exhausted itself after the long time span of 109 years since Michinaga had first introduced them.²⁸⁸ This is hardly convincing given the general value bestowed on the continuity of cultural customs and precious artifacts, Michinaga's reputation, and also the political circumstances and changes at the time. May be the set was lost or destroyed and could not be replaced due to the high symbolic charge attributed to the original. It is also possible that the increasing influence from the bakufu made it seem improper to continue, or may be the set simply got into the hands of someone who decided to use it in other ways. It is a noteworthy concurrence of circumstances that the warrior elite developed a strong and lasting taste for *reed-script* designs on lacquerware at around the same time, which resulted in a considerable quantity of new artifacts from the early Kamakura period onwards.

Based on the warriors' endeavors to create a ceremonial system of their own and the transmission of cultural appropriation both described earlier, the *chakujin* ritual probably developed out of the Heian period ritual that was performed in the imperial palace. The cited entries might not all mention or refer to the original sword; it is evident though that Michinaga performed a ceremony on palace grounds before the emperor,²⁸⁹ and this ritual was executed with the *reed-script* sword and/or a *reed-script* skirtfront piece on several occasions. Other entries refer to a *sprinkled design* or, more specifically, to a *reed-script* sword in the

²⁸⁶ Ōmichi, 1957a: 375.

²⁸⁷ Tōin, 1940 in Ōmichi, 1958: 19. Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 450.

²⁸⁸ Ōmichi, 1958: 19.

²⁸⁹ Three emperors reigned between 996 and 1017, namely Emperor Ichijō (一条天皇, 980-1011), Emperor Sanjō (三条天皇, 976-1017), and Emperor Go-Ichijō (後一条天皇, 1008-1036).

possession of chancellors or high ministers, and some of those reports refer to the sword as Michinaga's artifact. In the late eleventh or early twelfth century, around the time when many of the earlier references occurred, the historical tale *The Great Mirror* (*Ōkagami* 大鏡) created the following image of the Michinaga:

[Michinaga] is in a class by [himself]. He is a man who enjoys special protection from the gods of heaven and earth. Winds may rage and rains may fall day after day, but the skies will clear and the ground will dry out two or three days before he plans anything. Some people will call him a reincarnation of Shōtoku Taishi [i.e. Prince Shōtoku]; others say he is Kōbō Daishi [i.e. Kūkai], reborn to make Buddhism flourish. Even to the censorious eye of old age, he seems not an ordinary mortal but an awesome manifestation of a god or buddha.²⁹⁰

Especially in a climate of cultural appropriation strategies, it is conceivable that the *reed-script* designs on the countless lacquer artifacts of the martial aristocrats referred to the original artifacts and the ritual said to have initially been performed by Fujiwara Michinaga, who had aided the Minamoto's political career in the first place.

As noted earlier, the Seiwa Genji, the branch of the Minamoto family that brought forward the shogunal lineages of both, the Kamakura period (Minamoto) and the Muromachi period (Ashikaga), began their political career in the Heian period as bodyguards and household troops of the Fujiwara. The Heian-Fujiwara not only dominated the political world by means of their marriage politics, they created and shaped the cultural world at the imperial court, and brought forward praised poets, artists, and several emperors. In the early Kamakura period, the relationship of the two families further developed, and three Minamoto shoguns were followed by the first of two Fujiwara shoguns in 1226. In the Muromachi period, Fujiwara offspring became wives of Ashikaga shoguns who strove to revive and maintain a line of cultural policy generally mimicking that of the Fujiwara in the Heian period,²⁹¹ while contemporaries referred to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu as 'acting like a regent' (*shippei*).²⁹² The fact that the first unambiguous record of *reed-script*, the affiliation of the Minamoto with the

²⁹⁰ McCullough, Helen Craig, transl. and annot. *Ōkagami, The Great Mirror – Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) And His Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980: 208.

²⁹¹ This was also mentioned by Stanley-Baker, P. Richard. "Mythic and Sacred Gardens in Medieval Japan: Sacral Mediation in the Rokuonji and Saihoji Gardens." In *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*. Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 26, edited by Conan, Michel, 115-153. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007: 121.

²⁹² Conlan, 2011: 175.

Fujiwara, the apex of Fujiwara Michinaga's career, and the first records of the *chakujin* ceremony at court all occurred in the second half of the tenth century supports my assumption that the *reed-script* designs were used to refer to a cultural lineage.

The Embedding of the Entangled Designs in the Socio-Political History of the Ashikaga

The concluding paragraphs illustrate that concrete historical circumstances, such as those of Yoshimitsu's reign, are reflected in the *entangled mnemonics* of the *Inkstone Cases Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*. I will argue the *reed-script* design of each case refers to the institution on an eponymous mountain as the site of relevant events or circumstances in the history of the Ashikaga's political career.

The Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga

As established earlier, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* shows the environment around Kasuga Shrine. Until 1175, Kasuga Shrine served as the tutelary shrine and Kōfukuji Temple as the ancestral temple of the Fujiwara family.²⁹³ As Susan Tyler emphasizes, the development of the temple – and, accordingly, that of Kasuga Shrine – depended primarily on the fate of the Fujiwara.²⁹⁴

Shrines and temples were established for various reasons, some of which were religious, no doubt, but some of which were social and political, for the appearance of these shrines and temples coincided exactly with the appearance of new social groups and with the formulation of a mythology that implied a mirror relation between the social structure and the pantheon of ancestral *kami*. The creation of the Kasuga shrine and the Kōfukuji coincided with the appearance of the Fujiwara house; their structures were related on all levels.²⁹⁵

According to the official statement of the temple, the Kamakura and Muromachi military governments made Kōfukuji Temple the “protector of Yamato province”²⁹⁶ with considerable economic power.²⁹⁷ The identification of Kasuga Shrine with Kōfukuji Temple for many centuries indicates that although the inkstone case is named “Mt. Kasuga,” its title likewise

²⁹³ Grapard points out that there might have been earlier documents stating these relations before but those were probably destroyed due to the several fires in 1046, 1060, 1096, and in 1180. Grapard, 1992: 50, 78-79.

²⁹⁴ Tyler, 1992: 102.

²⁹⁵ Grapard, 1992: 23.

²⁹⁶ Website of Kōfukuji Temple. <http://www.kohfukuji.com/about/index.html>. Retrieved 2014.06.07

²⁹⁷ “On an economic level, Kofukuji continued to be an important landholder for centuries, up to the time of Ashikaga Yoshiaki (足利義昭, 1537-1597), the abbot of Kofukuji who was to become the last Ashikaga shogun.” Bauer, Mikael. “*The Power of Ritual: An Integrated History of Medieval Kofukuji*.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University. UMI. Cambridge, 2011: 12.

evokes and includes Kōfukuji Temple. Tyler states: “From the eleventh and twelfth centuries on, Kōfuku-ji practically owned Kasuga, and for several centuries it ruled the entire province of Yamato by military and political might.”²⁹⁸ By displaying *synonymic entanglements*, the hidden kind of *reed-script*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* evokes this bestowing of cultural-political significance to artifacts. The design illustrates a location and time of political relevance for the Ashikaga shogunate, namely Kōfukuji Temple the “protector of Yamato province”²⁹⁹ since the Kamakura period, the first martial rule.³⁰⁰ The deity of Kasuga Shrine had specific functions, which were relevant in the political world. While sword deity Takemikazuchi signified the pacification of Japan, and Futsunushi was involved with military potency, Amenokoyane saved the country from extinction by performing a ritual that brought back the sun. All Kasuga *kami* are associated with the pacification or protection of the land, either by ritual or by sword, which in this context brings to mind Shogun Yoshimitsu’s reputation as a powerful peacemaker. The inkstone case’s design’s complete equation of pictorial and scriptorial elements unambiguously refers to the concept of *word-spirit*, which had already been identified as the primary cause for the peace and flourishing of the state in the eighth century.³⁰¹

As previously discussed, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* is a visual reference to the *Saddle with a Late Autumn Shower*. The saddle is said to have been among the personal belongings of general Minamoto no Yoshitsune,³⁰² and it still belongs to the collection of the Hosokawa house today. This family of lower-ranking vassals of the Kamakura shogunate were appointed most powerful and prestigious offices by the Ashikaga shogunate.³⁰³ The Hosokawa family descended from the same ancestor as the Ashikaga family, Minamoto Yoshiyasu (源義康, 1127- 1157) of the Kawachi Genji (河内源氏) branch of the Minamoto. Jien, the author of the saddle’s poem, was a contemporary of Minamoto Yoshitsune.

Jien was an immensely powerful person who held the highest position within the Tendai sect, which was “recognized beyond the Tendai sect as the apex of authority and leadership for the entire Japanese Buddhist world at that time. Jien's eminence is apparent

²⁹⁸ Tyler, 1992: 97.

²⁹⁹ Website of Kōfukuji Temple. <http://www.kohfukuji.com/about/index.html>. Retrieved 2014.06.07

³⁰⁰ Bauer, 2011: 12.

³⁰¹ Thomas, 2012: 6. Poem no. 894 from the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*, *ibid*.

³⁰² Hosokawa Morisada 細川護貞 and Arakawa Hirokazu 荒川浩和, eds. *Maki-e. Shitsugei. Hosokawaka denrai* 蒔絵 漆芸 細川家伝来 [Sprinkled Designs and Lacquer Art. Transmission in the Hosokawa Family]. Kyoto: Kyōto Shoin 京都書院, 1988: 235.

³⁰³ Website Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館 [Tokyo National Museum]. http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=677&lang=en. Retrieved 2013.08.11.

from the fact that he was recommended to that position four times."³⁰⁴ He was a descendant of the long line of Fujiwara rulers,³⁰⁵ and an acclaimed poet with the second greatest number of verses in the *New Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poems*. Jien was included in the collection *One Hundred Poets One Poem Each* (*Ogura hyakunin isshu* 小倉百人一首), and named one of the Thirty-Six Immortal Poets. Apparently, he also had family ties with the Minamoto and saw a need in a political reformation. Paul Varley points out:

Jiens's two-year-old great grandnephew Yoritsune (1218-56) was adopted into the warrior family of Minamoto in order to become the shogun. This adoption was engineered by the Hōjō family, which during the years after Yoritomo's death in 1199 had emerged as the new power holders in the shogunate. Wielding their power through the office of shogunal regent (*shikken*), the Hōjō sought in Yoritsune a figurehead leader who would bring a fresh aura of legitimacy to the shogunate by virtue of his Kujō (Fujiwara) family origins. Jien, however, saw the pending appointment of Yoritsune as shogun in a very different light. He professed to believe that the appointment was the work of the 'Great Hachiman Bodhisattva,' who intended that once Yoritsune had attained his majority, he would become a ruler in fact as well as name. Jien was convinced that Yoritsune was destined to bring together court and camp to form a new, truly national government.³⁰⁶

Jien's poem on the *Saddle with a Late Autumn Shower* is poem no. 1030 in the second imperial anthology *New Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poems*, which was commissioned by the Retired Emperor Go-Toba (後鳥羽天皇, r. 1183-1198) in 1201 (Shōji 3/Kennin 1), and officially presented to the Emperor in 1216.

It is evident that the *entanglement* on the saddle was applied after 1200, the year of the "First Set of Hundred Poem Sequences in the Second Year of the Shōji Era" (*Shōji ninen*

³⁰⁴ Tanabe, Willa Jane, and Tanabe, George Joji, eds. *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989: 109.

³⁰⁵ Jien was a great-great-grandson of Fujiwara Morozane (藤原師実, 1042-1101), the regent for Emperor Shirakawa and then regent and chancellor to Emperor Horikawa between the years 1075-1094. Jien was a grandson of Fujiwara Tadazane, who was regent to Emperor Horikawa, and regent and chancellor to Emperor Toba in 1107-1121, and Jien's father Fujiwara Tadamichi (藤原忠通, 1097-1164) had held the position of regent and chancellor to Emperor Sutoku and Emperor Konoë, and chancellor to Emperor Go-Shirakawa in the years 1123 to 1158. Miner, Odagiri, and Morrell, 1988: 463-464.

³⁰⁶ Varley, Paul H. "New Views of History." In *Sources of Japanese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600* (1), edited by De Bary, Theodore et al., 737-754. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001: 741.

shodo hyakushu 正治二年初度百首) on the occasion of which the poem was composed.³⁰⁷

According to Yoshiaki Shimizu, the belief that the saddle once belonged to Yoshitsune spread in the seventeenth century.³⁰⁸

The legendary attribution of the artifact to Minamoto Yoshitsune, who died in 1189, is revealing. Apart from the fact that the saddle might still have been Yoshitsune's saddle, it is remarkable that of all types of decorations and patterns *reed-script* was chosen to embellish it. This leads to the conclusion that either Yoshitsune's saddle was decorated postmortem in his honor with the *reed-script* design that had already become a hallmark of the martial rulers, or *reed-script* had been chosen for a saddle, which was postmortem attributed to Yoshitsune due to the significance and affiliation of the design with the martial community of rulers. As has become evident above, the transmission of the *reed-script* sword and the skirtfront piece among Fujiwara officials had already been in full swing by the time the poem of the saddle was composed.

Although it is possible that Yoshitsune owned it, the attribution of the saddle could be part of an image campaign by Tokugawa circles who likewise sought identification with the Minamoto. It is valid to assume the Tokugawa maintained the Ashikaga strategy to embed their rule in the cultural pedigree of the previous ruling warrior houses to legitimize their authority. The saddle dates late Heian or early Kamakura period and evokes one of the most significant turning points in Japan's political, economic, and cultural history, namely the warfare between the Minamoto and the Taira concerning the supremacy over Japan. Yoshitsune led the Minamoto troops who defeated the Taira in the naval battle in course of which the child emperor drowned and the imperial sword regalia was lost in the ocean.

Mathew Thompson stresses Yoshitsune's continuous popularity as a genius "war hero"³⁰⁹ by indicating the vast quantity of narratives in various genres including over sixty warrior tales, Noh plays, and ballads among others that occurred in the Muromachi period alone.³¹⁰ Thompson also notes Yoshitsune's significance for authorizing and maintaining warrior rule:

Beginning as early as the fourteenth century, the persona Yoshitsune became implicated in a discourse validating the Minamoto dominance of the warrior

³⁰⁷ Shirane and Suzuki, 2015: 232.

³⁰⁸ Shimizu, Y., 1988: 282, no. 217.

³⁰⁹ Thompson, Mathew. "The Tales of Yoshitsune: A Study of Genre, Narrative Paradigms, and Cultural Memory in Medieval and Early Modern Japan." Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. UMI. New York, 2010: 40.

³¹⁰ Ibid: abstract.

hierarchy. To this extent some of the ‘tales of Yoshitsune’ – such as the variants of ‘Heike monogatari’ – functioned as narrative vehicles by which a variety of warrior groups could trace their origins back to an illustrious Minamoto past, reconstruct their identity in a shifting society, and legitimate their authority through the pageantry of education and morality.³¹¹

Famous general Yoshitsune was suitable since he represented a model warrior type due to his many virtues such as loyalty, “superb strategic and tactical skills,”³¹² “decisiveness, speed, and aggressive spirit,”³¹³ along with his actual physical sword skills. The postmortem *reed-script* embellishment transforms the saddle into a relic-like artifact and the (oral) attribution to Yoshitsune serves the cultural narrative of the Minamoto, the Ashikaga, and the Tokugawa shogunates. This legendary attribution of the saddle, the likely model for the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* – supports my thesis that *entanglements* on lacquerware were utilized to create, confirm, and maintain a certain cultural identity.

The Inkstone Case Mt. Shio

The *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* refers to Ashikaga politics by the poem expressing the wish for an everlasting reign of the ruler. The design comprises several overlapping and oscillating layers. Its intellectual and visual complexity correlates with the technical efforts and the significance of utilizing valuable materials in a time of great human despair and economic misery.

As discussed above, the area of the dry garden at Ryōanji Temple belonged first to the Fujiwara and then to the Hosokawa. Both families were closely tied to the Ashikaga’s career. In the late fifteenth century, Hosokawa Katsumoto held office as shogun deputy in the years 1445-1449, 1452-1464, and 1468-1473.³¹⁴ Being the “actual ruler of the shogunate,”³¹⁵ Katsumoto was “one of the key military men”³¹⁶ and the main opponent of his father-in-law Yamana Sōzen (山名宗全, 1404-1473) in the Ōnin War (1467-1477). Each of the two men stationed and commanded troops of roughly 80,000 men in the valley of Kyoto. Hosokawa

³¹¹ Ibid: 5.

³¹² McCullough, Helen Craig, transl. and annot. *Yoshitsune. A Fifteenth-Century Japanese Chronicle*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1966: 16.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Collcutt, Martin. “Zen and the Gozan.” In *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 3, Medieval Japan*, edited by Kozo Yamamura, 583-652. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: 621.

³¹⁵ Andreas Gerber calls Hosokawa Katsumoto “regent of the shogun.” Gerber, Andreas. *Gemeinde und Stand - Die zentraljapanische Ortschaft Oyamazaki im Spätmittelalter. Eine Studie in transkultureller Geschichtswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Lucius und Lucius, 2005: 138.

³¹⁶ Kuitert, 2002: 102.

Katsumoto led the army for Yoshimasa's younger brother Yoshimi in the Ōnin War,³¹⁷ who was the original heir to Yoshimasa's office before Yoshimasa's son, Yoshihisa, was born in 1465. Katsumoto had a close relationship to Yoshimasa who was placed under Deputy Katsumoto's guardianship two years after he was appointed shogun in 1443 as an eight-year-old boy.³¹⁸

It has been stated above, the vernacular uses mountain names to designate close-by institutions. Mt. Shio hosts the Kōgakuji Temple (向嶽寺) of the Rinzaï branch of Zen Buddhism, a monastery of historical importance to the Ashikaga rulers. The temple was erected in 1380, and on 1385.03.02 (Shitoku 2 [Northern Court]/ Genchū 2 [Southern Court]) Southern Court Emperor Go-Kameyama (後龜山天皇, r. 1383-1392) declared Kōgakuji Temple his temple of imperial prayer (*chokugan ji* 勅願寺).³¹⁹ It can be inferred that the prayers of the Southern emperor concerned the dominant political conflict at the time and his wish for peace. Go-Kameyama had become Southern sovereign in 1383 (Kōwa 3 [Southern Court]) when the two imperial lineages still fought for the legitimation to rule during the Northern and Southern Courts period (1336-1392). While both courts gathered influential supporters around them, the Ashikaga had sided with the Northern court. Although the Southern court eventually managed to seize the symbols of imperial rule, it neither had a sufficient number of subjects nor sufficient funds.

Conflict came to a halt when Ashikaga Yoshimitsu managed to unite the courts in 1392 on the basis of an alternating accession to the throne. According to the *Records of the Ashikaga in Peace and at War* (*Ashikaga chiran ki* 足利治乱記), on 1392.10.02 Southern Emperor Go-Kameyama returned to Kyoto, handed the regalia over to the Northern court, and in doing so, he was understood to have abdicated and become a subject of Northern Emperor Go-Komatsu (後小松天皇, 1377-1433, r. 1382-1412), the beneficiary of the shogun Yoshimitsu's support on 1392.10.21.³²⁰ The agreement was broken in 1412 (Ōei 19) when

³¹⁷ Hosokawa Katsumoto's opponent was Yamana Sōzen who fought for Yoshimasa's infant son, Yoshihisa. Streich, Philip. "Onin War (1467–1477)." In *Japan at War: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Perez, Louis G., 296–97. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013: 297.

³¹⁸ Hall, 1990: 228.

³¹⁹ Sekiguchi Teitsū 関口貞通, Tatsui Takesosuke 龍居竹之介, Horinouchi Izumi 堀ノ内泉. "Yamanashi ken shitei meisshō Kōgakuji teien" 山梨県指定名勝向嶽寺庭園 [The Kōgakuji Temple Garden, a Designated Famous Place in Yamanashi Province]. Daihonzan Kōgakuji. Enzanshi kyōiku iinkai 大本山向嶽寺. 塩山市教育委員会: np, 1991: 1. *Zenkoku iseki hōkoku sōran* 全国遺跡報告総覧 [Comprehensive Database of Archaeological Site Reports in Japan], <http://sitereports.nabunken.go.jp/4320>. Retrieved 2016.08.18.

³²⁰ The paragraph "The Entering of Kyoto of the Southern Emperor (*Nantei go juraku koto* 南帝御入洛事)" in the *Ashikaga chiran ki* (Records of the Ashikaga in Peace and at War) refers to these developments following the Southern Emperor's journey and the three regalia. *Ashikaga chiran ki* 足利治乱記 [Records of the Ashikaga in Peace and at War]. From the Nanbokuchō era to the Kakitsu uprising in 1441. *Kaitei shiseki shūran* 16 改定史

Emperor Go-Komatsu was followed by his son, Emperor Shōkō, and the Southern lineage did not gain access to the imperial rule again.³²¹

In view of the relation of the inkstone case's design to Emperor Go-Kameyama who abdicated in favor of the Northern Emperor, the interpretation of the poem alters. Go-Kameyama's returning of the regalia not only enabled the Northern Emperor Go-Komatsu to maintain his reign and seize a now unified, legitimized throne, but Shogun Yoshimitsu had become the unifier who then further strengthened the Ashikaga shogunate to an unprecedented extent.³²²

The poem of the *entangled mnemonic* on the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* likewise includes the term “*kimi* (君),” a salutation to address the sovereign, which seems to confirm that the poem praises the emperor. The common present understanding of *kimi* as the salutation to greet the reigning emperor might be at least partially due to the fact that Japan's national anthem since 1868 (Meiji 1) bears the title “*Kimi ga yo*” and appears in the *Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing* as poem no. 761.³²³

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| May your majesty's reign | <i>kimi ga yo ha</i> |
| last for a thousand, even eight thousand | <i>chiyo ni yachiyo ni</i> |
| generations, | <i>sazare ishi no</i> |
| until pebbles become boulders | <i>iwao to narite</i> |
| covered over with moss. ³²⁴ | <i>koke no musu made</i> |

君が代は
千代に八千代に
さざれ石の
いわおとなりて

籍集覧 [Revised compendium of historical books], compiled by Kondō Heijō 近藤瓶城, 8-59. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1984, 8-59: 17-18.

³²¹ For the development see, Sansom, 1961: 117-118.

³²² “The strong support of Northern Court couriers and monks allowed for Yoshimitsu to rise quickly in rank. On [1378.03.24], at the age of twenty-one, Yoshimitsu had attained the rank of his grandfather and father; four months later, he had the rank of general of the right, which made him appear to be the heir of Yoritomo.” Conlan, 2011: 173. For the promotions of 1378.3.24 and 1378.8.27 (Eiwa 4), Conlan refers to *Kugyō bunin* 2, 1964-1966: 726–27, and to Ogawa, 2003: 168.

³²³ For information concerning the origin of the national hymn, see Eckert, Franz. “Die japanische Nationalhymne.” In *Mitteilungen der OAG* 3, no. 23(1880-1884).

³²⁴ Translation with minor differences in punctuation. Thomas, Roger K. “*Kimigayo* (National Anthem).” In *Japan at War: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Perez, Louis G., 177. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013.

こけのむすまで

“*Kimi ga yo*” clearly refers to the poem “*wa ga kimi*”, the only difference being a change of the first line. “*Wa ga kimi*” is listed as poem no. 343 in the section “Celebrations” of the *Collection of Japanese Poetry of Ancient and Modern Times* (905/Engi 5), the same source as the poem no. 345, “*Shio no yama*” of the *Inkstone Case Mt Shio*. They even use the same expression *eight thousand years* (*yachiyo* 八千代). Poem no. 343 reads:

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| My lord may | <i>wa ga kimi wa</i> |
| last for a thousand, even eight thousand | <i>chiyo ni yachiyo ni</i> |
| generations, | <i>sazareishi no</i> |
| until pebbles become boulders | <i>iwao to narite</i> |
| covered over with moss. ³²⁵ | <i>koke no musu made</i> |

わが君は
千世にやちよに
さざれいしの
いはほとなりて
こけのむすまで

As early as the Heian period, the term *kimi* was not limited to address the emperor but also for members of the nobility. *Kimi* was, for instance, a suffix used to address Prince Genji in *The Tale of Genji* as *hikaru no kimi* (光君), and, around the year 935, the honorific noun or suffix indicated one’s superior.³²⁶ The “dominant retired or reigning emperor”³²⁷ was also referred to as “*chiten no kimi*”, the “lord who rules.”³²⁸ Among warrior rulers, at least Shogun Yoshimitsu was referred to by this term *kimi*. According to Conlan, “[t]hrough Shingon ritual mimesis, Yoshimitsu established a kingly presence,”³²⁹ so that *Yin-yang* specialists used the phrase *kimi ga megumi* (君が恵み) to praise “Yoshimitsu’s lordly magnificence”³³⁰, as did Tsuchimikado Ariyo after having been appointed to third rank.³³¹

³²⁵ Ibid. Translation with minor differences in interpunction.

³²⁶ See the entry for “*kimi*” in: *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2006.

³²⁷ Conlan, 2011: 34.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Conlan, 2011: 178.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Imatani, 1990: 85-86, in *ibid.*

Thus, instead of understanding “*kimi*” as the salutatory address of an imperial ruler, here it may mean “lord” used in favor of a non-imperial ruler who was considered equally influential and mighty. Accordingly, the poem on the inkstone case possibly refers to Ashikaga Yoshimitsu who “by behaving ‘as if’ he were a sovereign (*chiten no kimi*), had, according to Shingon mimesis, in fact [...] become one.”³³²

Even if the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* did not belong to Yoshimasa personally, the commissioner and owner is likely to have been a member of his circle, such as his confidant Hosokawa Katsumoto. Based on the findings above, I argue that the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* evokes these personal connections and the rock compositions on white gravel of a formerly sacred space, insinuated by the gold sprinkles on the dark lacquer ground. The Kōgakuji Temple on Mt. Shio reflects the Southern emperor’s desire for peace in the unstable world prior to the unification of the two courts, which then further empowered the warrior rule of the Ashikaga government and signifies a decisive political step for the Ashikaga.

The Inkstone Case Mt. Saga

Like the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* shows a historical landmark. The *entangled mnemonic* refers to Daikakuji Temple and the sovereign referred to in the poem of the Mt. Saga case who leaves “new tracks [...] covering the ancient path,” is probably Yoshimasa’s paramount relative and grandfather Yoshimitsu who managed to create a unique position for his lineage. “The triumph of Shingon mimetic ritual in legitimating political authority allowed the Ashikaga shoguns to supplant the sovereign, and at the same time, tolerate the court's continued, albeit largely symbolic, survival.”³³³

In the Ashikaga narrative, Daikakuji Temple played a significant role as it was the location where the trying era of the Southern and Northern Courts period with two imperial courts is said to have ended. As elaborated earlier, Yoshimitsu had used the time of the legitimation struggle to acquire an unrivaled mastery of esoteric rituals. On this basis, he transformed into the de facto ruler despite the existence of the Northern emperor and also despite the lack of the imperial regalia, which were in the hands of the circles supporting the Southern emperor. According to the *Records of the Ashikaga in Peace and at War*, it was in

³³² Ibid: 173.

³³³ Ibid: 190.

Daikakuji Temple, where in late 1392, the Southern Emperor Go-Kameyama abdicated and handed over the imperial regalia to his opponent, the Northern Emperor Go-Komatsu.³³⁴ As indicated in the first sections, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*'s interior design resembles the design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko*. The design of the *Mt. Otoko* case displays the site of Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine (石清水八幡宮) founded on Mt. Otoko in Yawata, South of Kyoto, in 859 (Jōgan 1),³³⁵ with the alternative name of the shrine being Otokoyama Hachimangū Shrine (男山八幡宮). Well before even the onset of the Kamakura period, the Minamoto had established a close bond. In 858 (Tennan 2), Fujiwara no Yoshifusa (藤原良房, 804-874) hoped his grandson would become the next emperor. He sent a monk to the Usa Hachimangū Shrine to pray for his wishes, and in the same year, the child was enthroned as Emperor Seiwa. When Yoshifusa became regent, he erected the Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine to express his gratitude for the extension of his power.³³⁶

From this time on, Hachiman was thought of as the protector of the imperial authority and as the tutelary god of Emperor Seiwa. Emperor Seiwa's grandson Minamoto Tsunetomo, founder of the Seiwa Genji, the most prominent Minamoto clan, adopted this tradition. Minamoto no Yorinobu 源頼信 (968-1048), who put down the uprising of Taira Tadatsune in 1031, was the first to concern himself closely with Hachiman. Yorinobu regarded Hachiman as his ancestor and ascribed the military successes of his father, Minamoto Mitsunaka, to whose faith in Hachiman.³³⁷

Ross Bender notes that the “Minamoto first appeared in connection with Hachiman as imperial messengers to the Usa and Iwashimizu Shrines. The *Nihon Kiryaku* [*The Compiled Chronicles of Japan* (日本紀略)] records eight instances between the years 961 and 1029 when Minamoto were appointed to these positions.”³³⁸ The affiliation of the Minamoto to the Iwashimizu Shrine continued as Bender indicates:

³³⁴ The *Ashikaga chiran ki* mentions that a messenger was sent to the Saga area, where the Southern Emperor resided, and picked up the regalia. The regalia were brought to the imperial palace on 1392.10.05. *Ashikaga chiran ki*, 1984.

³³⁵ Entry to “石清水八幡宮” (Iwashimizu Hachimangū). In *Kōjien* 広辞苑 [Wide Garden of Words]. Edited by Shinmura Izuru 新村出. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008.

³³⁶ Kamigraphie, Website Vienna University. “Hachiman und die Minamoto.”

http://www.univie.ac.at/rel_jap/kami/Minamoto#Hachiman_und_die_Minamoto. Accessed 2016.01.24.

³³⁷ Ibid. Accessed 2016.01.24.

³³⁸ Bender, Ross Lynn. “*The Political Meaning of the Hachiman Cult in Ancient and Early Medieval Japan.*” Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. UMI. New York, 1980: 91. For the dates Bender refers to the *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 [Summarized Imperial Annals of Japan]. Edited by Kuroita Katsumi. Tokyo: Kokushi Taikei

[Minamoto] Yoriyoshi appears to have been extremely devoted to Hachiman, and he dedicated his son Yoshiie to the god. Legend relates that Yoriyoshi once went to Iwashimizu to pray and had a vision of the god. That month his wife conceived and the child, his first, was Yoshiie.³³⁹

Seven years later Minamoto Yoshiie (源義家, 1039-1106), the common ancestor of the Minamoto and the Ashikaga shoguns as well as of the Hosokawa, celebrated his coming-of-age ceremony in the Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine and was bestowed with the name Hachiman-tarō, “the firstborn of the God of War.”³⁴⁰

Decades later Yoshiie fought in a series of battles and he was able to establish the Minamoto authority in the North. At that time, the Hachiman of the Iwashimizu Shrine had already been revered as the tutelary kami of the Minamoto,³⁴¹ and the connection between the shrine and the military rulers continued. The Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine also played a significant role during the power struggles of the Northern and Southern courts as Conlan points out:

Chikafusa ordered the three Northern monarchs, and the crown prince Yoshihito, to travel to Go-Murakami's residence in Hachiman “for their safety” and after an arduous two-day journey, all of Japan's Northern and Southern monarchs resided in the same Iwashimizu shrine.³⁴² Southern Court nobles also carted off the regalia to the Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine. All wore armor in the procession, including the Go-Murakami *tennō*, save for one noble who, in a nod to normalcy, carried the regalia wearing court robes.³⁴³ Chikafusa's attack had succeeded, for he secured the Northern regalia, kidnapped their monarchs, and dislodged the Ashikaga from the capital.³⁴⁴

国史大系会, 1929: 83 (date 961.3.7 /Ōwa 1 Int.), 123 (973.5.20/Ten'en 1), 125 (974.8.15/Ten'en 2), 137 (978.3.22/Tengen 1), 153 (985.3.26/Kanna 1), 173 (992.10.20/Shōryaku 3), 234 (1015.3.14/Chōwa 4), 257 (1022.2.19/Jian 2).

³³⁹ Bender, 1980: 94-95.

³⁴⁰ Ibid. Bender refers to Yasuda Motohisa 安田元久. *Minamoto Yoshiie* 源義家 [Minamoto Yoshiie]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1960: 23,25.

³⁴¹ Website of Universität Wien. http://www.univie.ac.at/rel_jap/kami/Minamoto. Accessed 2015.06.29

³⁴² Conlan refers to Tōin, 1940 (Vol. 4): 1352.2.21-1352.2.22 (intercalary month, Shōhei 7), 1352.2.29-1352.3.4 (intercalary month, Shōhei 7). He also refers to 1352.3.4 (Shōhei 7) in *Yasaka jinja kiroku* 八坂神社記録 (Records of the Yasaka Shrine). Edited by Takeuchi Rizō 竹内理三. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1978. Conlan, 2011: 124.

³⁴³ Conlan refers to Tōin, 1940 (Vol. 4): 1352.2.29 (intercalary month, Shōhei 7). Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

In the time to follow, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu overcame this low point in family history; he united the courts and was posthumously bestowed the title of august retired sovereign. Still later, Ashikaga Yoshimasa's father, Ashikaga Yoshinori (足利義教, 1394-1441), was selected shogun in the Iwashimizu Hachimangū Shrine by drawing lots in 1425 (Ōei 32).³⁴⁵ Accordingly, not only the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*, but also its model, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Otoko*, refers to a site of political significance for the Ashikaga rulers.

The authority of the Ashikaga had severely declined by the late fifteenth century and the prospects of regaining the former prestige and force of Yoshimitsu's leadership were probably seen as highly unlikely, but the designs of the three inkstone cases give proof of a powerful and positive self-image. Connoisseurship and taste, literary, religious and historical education, and an awareness of the overall political and historical circumstances and significance of the military caste, these aspects were processed and embedded in the entangled designs of the inkstone cases. Even if Shogun Yoshimasa did not have any political ambitions himself or was simply incapable of realizing them, he certainly was capable of evoking and preserving a representative warrior image in his circles to commemorate what leaders of his lineage had pursued for generations: the historical figure of a warrior aristocrat with the natural entitlement to rule.

³⁴⁵ Entry to “足利義教” (Ashikaga Yoshinori), in: *Nihon rekishi daijiten* 日本歴史大辞典 [Dictionary of Japanese History]. Edited by Nagahara Keiji 永原慶二 et al. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館, 2000-2007.

Conclusion

The entangled designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* were produced in the fifteenth century. At this time, the warrior aristocracy in Kyoto had reached a level of sophistication comparable to that of the court aristocracy but with considerably larger financial means and the production of *reed-script* lacquer wares hit a peak. The Ashikaga authority declined in the course of this century though with a distinct low point in its final decades. My study reached into the socio-cultural context of the time and set out to explore the following questions: What were the main functions of entangled designs and what motivation led to the commission of such elaborate and complex works?

In order to come to conclusive answers, I broke these main questions down into chapter-specific issues and followed the respective results which guided me. The study commenced with an introduction of the main artifacts and delivered analyses of the entangled designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*. All designs show various aspects that were meaningful in their contemporary socio-cultural environment. The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* refers to the actual landscape around Mt. Kasuga, and especially the institutions in its vicinity that were politically, culturally and economically significant for the Ashikaga rulers. The three main *kami* of Kasuga Shrine are linked to matters of warfare and the pacification of the land. The *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* belonged to Ashikaga Yoshimasa's so-called "Five Cases." The *entanglement* of this work refers to the design of a warrior saddle with a poem by Jien. Later, the saddle was said to have been in the possession of model warrior Minamoto Yoshitsune.

The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio* refers to the landscape around Mt. Shio and especially to the institution on the mountain that was linked to a significant location for the Ashikaga rulers, the Kōgakuji Temple where Southern Emperor Go-Kameyama officially prayed for peace some years before his returning of the regalia completed the unification of the two courts. A main motif of the inkstone case are the plovers. One of the primary areas related to plovers is the Fuefuki River in whose immediate vicinity is a mountain called Mt. Shio. The design also refers to theme of the "Xiao and Xiang Rivers" that Ashikaga Yoshimasa was so fond of that he had an entire room in his mansion dedicated to the theme. The rock formations of the inkstone case's design relates to several models in the Heian-period garden manual *Records of Garden Making*, and its innovative concept seems to have been a reference to the Ryōanji Temple dry garden. The shogun's deputy Hosokawa

Katsumoto, who fought for Yoshimasa's interests in the Ōnin War, owned the territory and was the first to have a garden built, which burnt down in the war. Katsumoto's son and successor Masamoto rebuilt it, possibly as early as 1489. Drafts concerning the new garden composition probably existed several years prior to this date. Although the overall design might have differed then, signatures on a rock stemming from workers at that time indicate the existence of rocks in the garden. Both, the white gravel and the position – South of the abbot's chamber – are linked to the sphere of the sacred. The innovative features of the garden design at the time were the placement of rocks on the white gravel in this particular position on a temple ground. The combination of the rocks on gravel is reflected in the inkstone case's design. It is, however, also conceivable, if less likely, that the garden composition picked up the aesthetic concept from the case.

The design of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* depicts the landscape in the vicinity of the mountain with the tomb of Emperor Saga, and especially evokes Emperor Saga's mansion in front of the mountain. This building complex was posthumously transformed into Daikakuji Temple, and became the location linked to another historically significant event for the Ashikaga rulers, namely the unification of the Southern and Northern courts initiated by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The composition of the design refers to gardening rules in the Heian garden manual whose geomantic rules were adhered to in order to ward off evil influences.

The poems chosen for the designs of the three inkstone cases were not selected from contemporary authors but from anthologies compiled well before the fifteenth century. The *entanglements* hence refer to the field of memory, which poses the question of how the function of the entangled designs relate to cultural memories and which content was particularly worth remembering in the Higashiyama circles around Shogun Yoshimasa. A primary function of the inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Saga, and Mt. Shio is the creating, shaping, and maintaining of the group's sense and awareness of its cultural identity. My finding is supported by Assmann's notion of *cultural memory* that describes a community whose inner cohesion is based on the collective agreement what "must not be forgotten."

Accordingly, the depicted content of each design hence relates to the core of the community's self-conception (interior) and identity (exterior) and enables the group to act in a unified manner, also on a political level.¹ *Cultural memory* mainly comprises images of past events that "stabilize and convey [a] community's self-image [by means of] reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch."² The main features of *cultural*

¹ Assmann J., 1992: 30.

² Assmann J., 1995: 132.

memory are the “concretion of identity,” the “capacity to reconstruct,” “formation,” “organization,” “obligation,” and “reflexivity.”³ The entangled designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* show these characteristics.

It has also become evident that the *entanglements* not only refer to classical poetry, which pertains to the category of *cultural texts* but that the designs themselves are *cultural texts*. The inkstone cases with the *entanglements* function as *collective texts*. *Cultural texts* store *cultural memory*, while *collective texts* serve as shapers and vehicles of *cultural memory*.⁴ *Cultural texts* serve as transmitters of characteristics that are required for the shaping and the establishing of a community’s identity. These canonized materials comprise “religious, national, or educational”⁵ knowledge. The entangled designs of the inkstone cases transmit ideas of the past, in other words, they serve as a vehicle to “create, circulate, and shape contents of cultural memory.”⁶

Entanglements are not an arbitrary type of design or a mere aesthetic concept, they are a *cultural technique*. A categorization of *entanglements* as *cultural technique* indicates a general validity of the characteristic traits while allowing for cultural deviations and peculiarities. The analysis of early examples, the wine vessels from Liu Sheng’s tomb, the *Compendium of Seal and Clerical Scripts from Ancient and Modern Times*, and the inscription of the Masuda Pond Monument suggest that *entanglements* were used to confirm and transmit the cultural identity of a particular community. The *entanglements* of the inkstone cases that were previously attributed to three types of combinations – *synonymic*, *correlative*, and *hybrid* – all require the observer-reader to switch between the scriptorial and the pictorial elements. Information is transmitted more efficiently through *entanglements* than either the pictorial or the verbal level alone. This is supported by the fact that the decoding of word picture combinations demands specific cognitive processes. The functionality and efficacy of *entanglements* can be explained by the dual coding theory of cognitive psychologist Allan Paivio.

According to the *dual coding theory*, information is more effectively stored and more effectively recalled if perceived through several sensory channels, namely through the separate channels for visual and verbal representations, respectively.⁷ Since the *entanglements*

³ Ibid: 130-132.

⁴ Erll with Young, 2011: 163-164.

⁵ Assmann A., 1995: 241.

⁶ Erll with Young, 2011: 164.

⁷ Paivio, 1971.

of the inkstone cases comprise entangled word and picture levels and are hence perceived through these two alternating channels, Paivio's theory applies. The interconnection of information and supporting factors leads to a structuring and an upgrading of the content and thus to an impression that passes certain selection processes, activates different areas and points of contact in the brain, and might be subsequently stored in the long-term memory.⁸

The application of mnemotechniques is particularly suitable to transform abstract, theoretical information into knowledge that is more approachable and thus easier to recollect.⁹ The oldest method of storing knowledge is to connect content to particular locations. The *entangled mnemonics* of the inkstone cases require an activity that could be termed "creative observation," and an audience that enjoys being creatively active. This creative or emotional involvement of the observer-viewer also constitutes an effective mnemonic technique. It is not certain whether these cognitive processes were consciously employed at the production time of the inkstone cases but the pre-modern society in Japan was well acquainted with the concept of mnemonic techniques.

The playful relation of the scriptorial and pictorial elements is a striking feature in the designs of the inkstone cases Mt. Kasuga, Mt. Shio, and Mt. Saga. In order to gain a thorough understanding of this feature's significance in its respective environment, I explored the socio-cultural standing of play in the community that chose *entanglements* on lacquer wares as the appropriate means to transmit their self-image and express their cultural identity.

Evidently, the Ashikaga participated in court culture, which they had increasingly absorbed and usurped at the time by engaging in a variety of playful activities. As the analysis has shown, many playful activities performed by the Ashikaga were equal to those of the Heian-period imperial court. The designs of the inkstone cases refer to the same events and also to the competitive games that developed into intellectual battles around the time of their production.

The *entangled mnemonics* of the inkstone cases were created in a society that was drenched with secrecy, and the designs' *playfulness* overlaps with ritual. This insight led to the examination why and in which manner the designs alluded to secrecy to express and present the Ashikaga community's cultural identity and social status. The examination of recent findings in Japanese studies by Thomas Conlan shows that esoteric rituals turned out to be the crucial factor for the success of the Ashikaga and the courtification of their socio-political status. Such rituals had become essential for the Ashikaga in the second half of the

⁸ Karsten, 2011: 58-59.

⁹ Ibid: 71.

fourteenth century when Shogun Yoshimitsu used Shingon rituals to elevate and extend Ashikaga authority by having the Northern Court conjured through mimesis, and by his replacing of the emperor in state ritual contexts. Yoshimitsu transformed into a sovereign on the basis of his esoteric ritual performances. His success was officially acknowledged through a corresponding postmortem title bestowed on him by the imperial court.

Entangled mnemonics on lacquerware were a strong preference of the warrior court from the Kamakura period onwards, which led to the examination of how this martial monopolization first occurred and evolved. A key factor seems to have been Fujiwara Michinaga's *reed-script* sword that was used to perform a ceremony at the imperial court, which was later picked up by the shogunate and put into a military context. The personal diaries of several Fujiwara chancellors and regents record the existence of the sword and the ritual, the sword was passed on down several generations of Michinaga's political heirs.

The relevance of the correlation of the Fujiwara sword, *reed-script* design, and the ritual becomes evident when one considers that the Ashikaga shogunate emulated the Heian-period Fujiwara predominance of politics and culture. The Ashikaga and the Minamoto belong to the Seiwa-Genji house and the Minamoto began their political career in the Heian period as household troops of the Fujiwara. In the early Kamakura period, the relationship of the Minamoto and the Fujiwara further developed, and in 1226 the Minamoto shoguns were followed by Fujiwara shoguns. In the further course of time, Fujiwara daughters were married to Ashikaga rulers, bringing the two houses even closer together. Given the Ashikaga's preference for ritual and the military profession of the Minamoto in the Heian period, the warrior monopolization of Michinaga's sword design seems like an obvious choice. By linking all of the above insights, it becomes evident that the designs of the *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, the *Inkstone Case Mt. Shio*, and the *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga* were a highly effective and multi-layered means of expressing, securing and transmitting political history according to an Ashikaga perspective.

Further Considerations

Future research could consider *entanglements* in a global context and examine, for instance, transmissions, developments, as well as mutual and/or local influences along the extended routes of the so-called Silk Roads. As illustrated in the sections on *cultural techniques*, the entangled designs of the Higashiyama era convey a community's cultural identity. It would hence be interesting to explore whether *entanglements* in other cultural contexts were crafted to fulfill the same purposes or if those designs had other functions. It would also be important

to investigate whether there was a pedigree of *entanglements*, namely, if there were one or more regions of origin, and how entangled designs evolved and travelled around the world. This study sheds light on Japanese and Chinese *entanglements* with a focus on the entangled lacquerware designs in late fifteenth-century Kyoto. At this time, another prominent artifact including several entangled designs was crafted in Venice, the novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Poliphilo's Strife of Love in a Dream). This *Strife of Love in a Dream* contains variations of *entanglements*. Published by the Aldine Press in late 1499, it was produced to be presented to the Duke of Urbino Guidobaldo Montefeltro (1472-1508) at his court.¹⁰ The original artifact comprises two hundred thirty-four leaves with one hundred seventy-four woodcuts,¹¹ including thirty-eight initials with ornamental embellishment and eleven full-page illustrations.¹² The illustrations are distributed over all the novel.

Each chapter begins with an embellished letter, and when taken out of their original context, the letters form a phrase and an additional message on a meta-level appears. This phrase “Brother Francesco Colonna loved Polia tremendously” (“Poliam Frater Franciscus Columna Peramavit”) refers to the realm outside the narrative, to the assumed author Colonna and to Polia, the object of main protagonist Poliphilo’s desire who is also the narrator in the second part of the book. The ornaments range from delicate floral designs to geometrical patterns. Some letters are clearly set apart from the embellishments, while others merge with the patterns and form a new structure. (fig. 56)

Some parts of the text are designed in the shape of the object that is addressed in the paragraph, e.g. of a vase, and transforms into an image itself. Thus, the signifier and the signified overlap. (fig. 57)

Another category of *entanglements* comprises two types of hieroglyphs. Some are artificial creations and some are pictorial graphs similar to actual Egyptian hieroglyphs. Interestingly, both types were used to embellish the statue of an elephant described as being pierced by an obelisk. (fig. 58) As Poliphilo elaborates, the elephant is a hollow, walk-in

¹⁰ Curran, Brian. “*Ancient Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in Italian Renaissance Art and Culture.*” Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University. UMI. Princeton, 1997: 284. For the relation of Guidobaldo Montefeltro and Venice, see Oettinger, April. “*The "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili": Image and text in a Renaissance romance.*” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia. UMI. Charlottesville, 2000, chapter 1. Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream.* 1499. Translated by Godwin, Joscelyn. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2005: 2.

¹¹ Some of the later editions contain fewer woodcuts.

¹² There has been an ongoing discussion as to who was responsible for the woodcut drafts and who authored the text of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. The majority of scholars propose Francesco Colonna as the author, an attribution that is further supported by the thirty-eight figurative capitals of each chapter, which form the phrase “Brother Francesco Colonna loved Polia tremendously” (“Poliam Frater Franciscus Columna Peramavit”). Such issues of authorship or executing artist(s) are not of interest for this analysis of *entanglements* and are hence omitted.

monument hosting the two nude figures. According to the text, the woodcut shows the hieroglyphic script chiseled “around the porphyry base”¹³ of the sculpture. (fig. 59) Poliphilo describes the latter image

I saw the following hieroglyphs engraved in suitable style around the porphyry base. First, the horned skull of a bull with two agricultural tools tied to the horns: then an altar resting on two goat’s feet, with a burning flame and, on its face, an eye and a vulture. Next, a washing basin and a ewer; then a ball of string transfixing by a spindle, and an antique vase with its mouth stopped. There was a sole with an eye, crossed by two branches, one of laurel and the other of palm, neatly tied; an anchor, and a goose; an antique lantern, with a hand holding it; an ancient rudder, bound up together with a fruited olive-branch; then two hooks, a dolphin, and lastly a closed coffer.¹⁴

In the illustration, some items are tied together with ribbons such as the dolphin and the chest or the two hooks, while others are depicted diagonally such as the spindle and the ewer.

Poliphilo continues his thoughts and concludes:

After thinking over these ancient and sacred writings, I interpreted them thus: From your labour to the god of nature, sacrifice freely. Gradually you will make your soul subject to god. He will hold the firm guidance of your life, mercifully governing you, and will preserve you unharmed.¹⁵

Such Renaissance hieroglyphs clearly belong to the circles of Italian humanists. Patricia Fortini Brown expresses her belief that they were, however, “accepted at the time as genuine Egyptian hieroglyphs and were well known to artists.”¹⁶ For possible models, she refers to the ancient temple frieze attached to the Roman fifteenth-century church San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura that includes such images, for instance sacrificial tools, naval symbols, half-open caskets, decorative branches, and coins embellished with insects. Especially the bull head, the goose, the anchor, the coins, the amphora, and the box bear striking resemblances with the objects shown in *Ex Labore Deo*. (fig. 60) Fortini Brown also points out that Mantegna had

¹³ Colonna with Godwin, 2005: 41.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ The italics replace the capitals used in the cited excerpt. Ibid.

¹⁶ Fortini Brown, Patricia. *Venice and Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996: 213.

already used the frieze for his fascia of the triumphal arch in the concluding panel of his *Triumph of Caesar*, and Bernardo Parenzano incorporated it in his frescoes in Santa Giustina in Padua in 1492.¹⁷

The illustration of the elephant obelisk also includes the sole display of artifacts resembling Egyptian script in the novel. (fig. 58) Although the inscriptions on the small obelisk such as the eye, the snake, and the bird with spread wings above a snake clearly refer to Egyptian hieroglyphs and depictions, they are neither described nor interpreted. This is particularly noteworthy given the author's obsession with detailed, at times lengthy descriptions and interpretations of countless subject matters in the text. Before the discovery and study of the trilingual Rosetta Stone in 1799, there had been no real understanding of ancient hieroglyphs,¹⁸ this mystery surrounding the script was certainly part of their attraction. In my view, this lack of explanation indicates that the author was conscious of the vast visual difference between Renaissance and Egyptian hieroglyphs. Around the time of composing the novel, examples of original Egyptian script existed in Rome. There were, for instance, two hieroglyphic obelisks.¹⁹

According to Brian Curran, these two had been manufactured as a pair and taken from the ancient city of Heliopolis where they had been inscribed and raised in honor of Ramses II (1279-1213 BCE). Eventually, they were shipped to Rome and then set up in the Serapaeum.²⁰ In Renaissance Rome there were various other parts or fragments of obelisks and statues with hieroglyphs such as hieroglyphic inscriptions on shafts and bases.²¹ Thus, hieroglyphic artifacts were openly visible in the cityscape and their appearances differed tremendously from the picturesque listings of household items, animals, human body parts, and objects of daily activities among other things in the woodcuts of the novel.

¹⁷ Ibid. Fortini Brown states that a copy of the frieze was made for the Codex Escorialensis in the same period. Ibid: 324.

¹⁸ Ray, J. D. *The Rosetta Stone and the Rebirth of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007: 7.

¹⁹ One obelisk stood on the north-eastern corner of the Piazza del Campidoglio since the fourteenth century. The obelisk was taken down around 1540 to remain in the cemetery S. Maria in Aracoeli, until it was re-erected in the Villa Celimontana of Ciriaco Mattei on the Caelian hill in 1582. Curran, Brian. "The 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili' and Renaissance Egyptology." *Word & Image* 14, no. 1-2 (1998): 156-185: 156-157. The second obelisk with hieroglyphs stood in the Piazza di San Marco on the eastern side of the Pantheon. Curran refers to a description of the topographer "Anonimo Magliabecchiano," according to which the obelisk lay 'broken' in the center of San Marco. Curran, 1998: 157. It was raised around the year 1400 near the Church of San Marcuto and "[m]oved to the [fountain of the] Piazza della Rotonda (in front of the Pantheon) for Pope Clement XI in 1711." Curran, Brian. *Obelisk: A History*. Cambridge, MA: Burndy Library, 2009: 373.

²⁰ Ibid. Curran, 1998: 156-157.

²¹ Ibid: 157-158.

Aldus Manutius with his keen interest in antiquity had studied in Rome and stayed there in the years 1465-73,²² some decades before the publication of the novel in 1499. He was certainly aware of the Egyptian monuments. Manutius' encounter with their inscriptions as well as his incapability to decipher them might have well been the motif to include one example in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* among the illustrations of playful artificial Renaissance hieroglyphs. The "sacred status of hieroglyphs"²³ suggested by Patricia Fortini Brown and Brian Curran was emphasized and heightened by the format and material of their carrier.

Obelisks are large. They are heavy. They cannot be disassembled, since, by definition, an obelisk is made of a single stone. Until the most recent of times they fit in only the very biggest of ships, specially designed for the purpose of transporting obelisks. They are not made of a precious material – most are granite – and despite their size obelisks are fragile and prone to cracking. They serve no practical function, and for much of history their inscriptions, in Egyptian hieroglyphs, were completely inscrutable. [...] Every empire worthy of the name [...] has sought an Egyptian obelisk to place in the center of a ceremonial space.²⁴

Regarding the cultural function of obelisks, Curran states:

They serve no practical purpose, obelisks have served as a sort of Rorschach test for civilizations. In each place and time they have taken on new meanings and new associations. To the Egyptians, who invented the form, the obelisk was a symbol of the pharaoh's right to rule and his (occasionally her) connection to the divine. In ancient Rome, obelisks were the embodiment of Rome's coming of age as an empire. In the Rome of the Renaissance, they became a symbol of the ultimate weakness of pagan religion in the face of Christianity.²⁵

Accordingly, hieroglyphic obelisks seem to have served a similar function as the artifacts with *entanglements* in Japan and China. They conveyed the cultural identity of a specific

²² Barolini, Helen. *Aldus and His Dream Book*. New York: Italica Press, 1992: 25, 32.

²³ Fortini Brown, 1996: 213.

²⁴ Curran, 2009: 7.

²⁵ Ibid: 8.

community and were used as carriers of a political narrative. The popularity and significance bestowed to the *entanglements* in the novel can be inferred from the fact that in 1677, the *Obelisco della Minerva* was erected in front of the Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome comprising a smaller Egyptian obelisk on an elephant-shaped base following a draft by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680). (fig. 61, 62)

The fact that *entanglements* were chosen to represent the self-images and interests of communities in Kyoto and Venice in the last decades of the fifteenth century is especially intriguing due to the fact that each location marks one of the final points of the so-called Silk Roads. Numerous *entanglements* were designed in the cultural territories between, such as in Persia. My study has presented circumstances that led to the creation of three inkstone cases in the late fifteenth century. It has been shown that the Japanese *reed-script* designs were neither a marginal phenomenon nor manufactured for mere aesthetic pleasures but designed to function as transmitters of significant socio-cultural content.

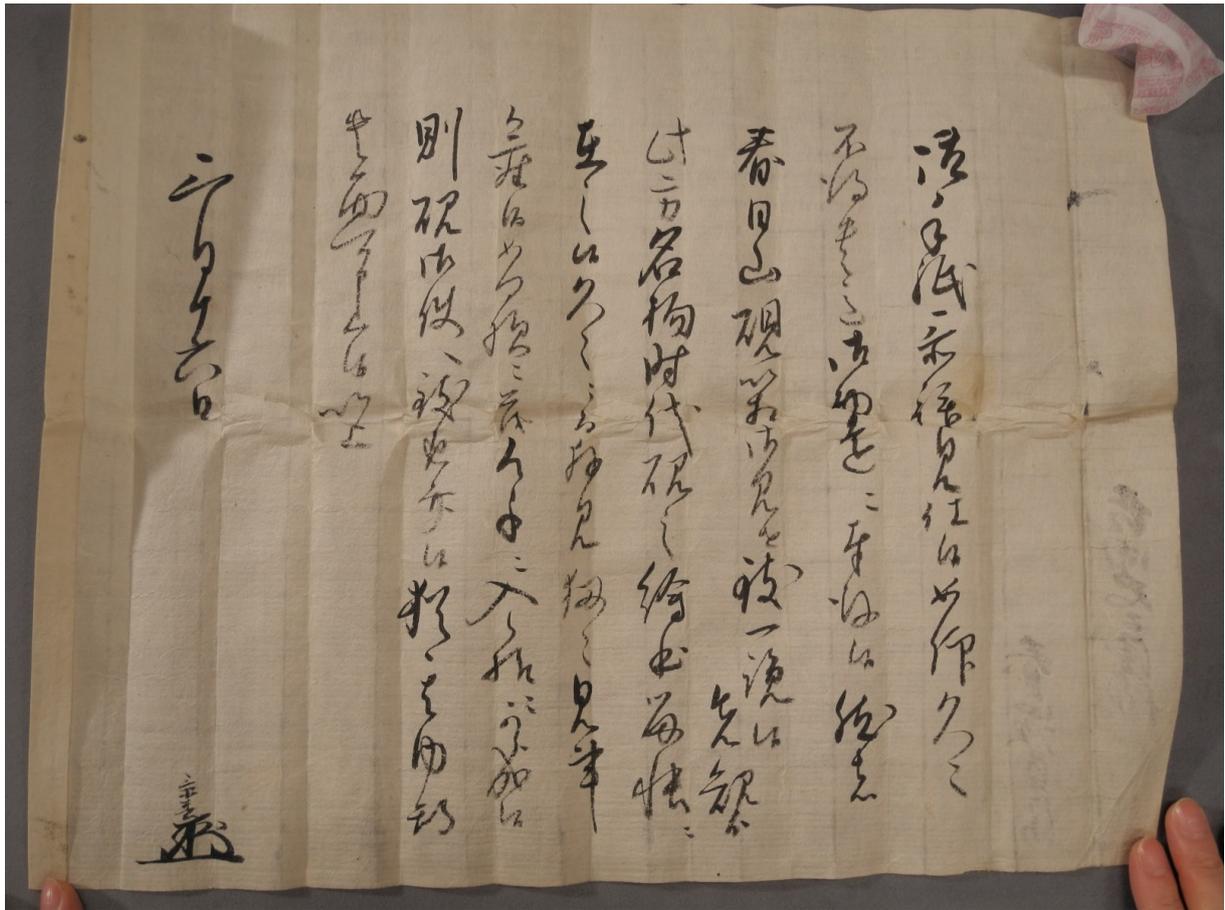
Appendix A



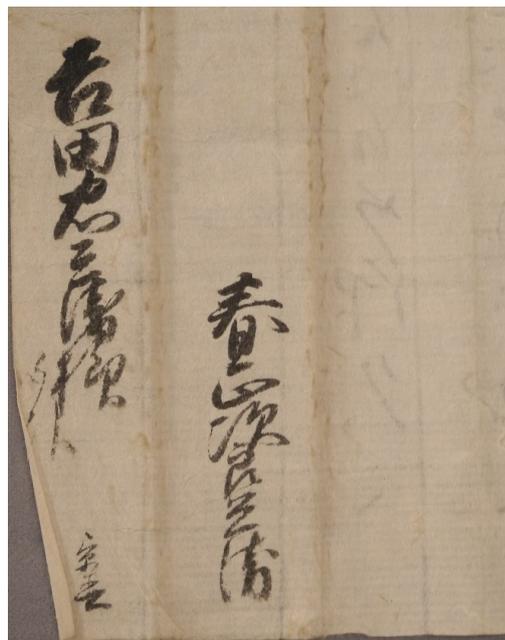
Documents and storage container, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, personal photograph



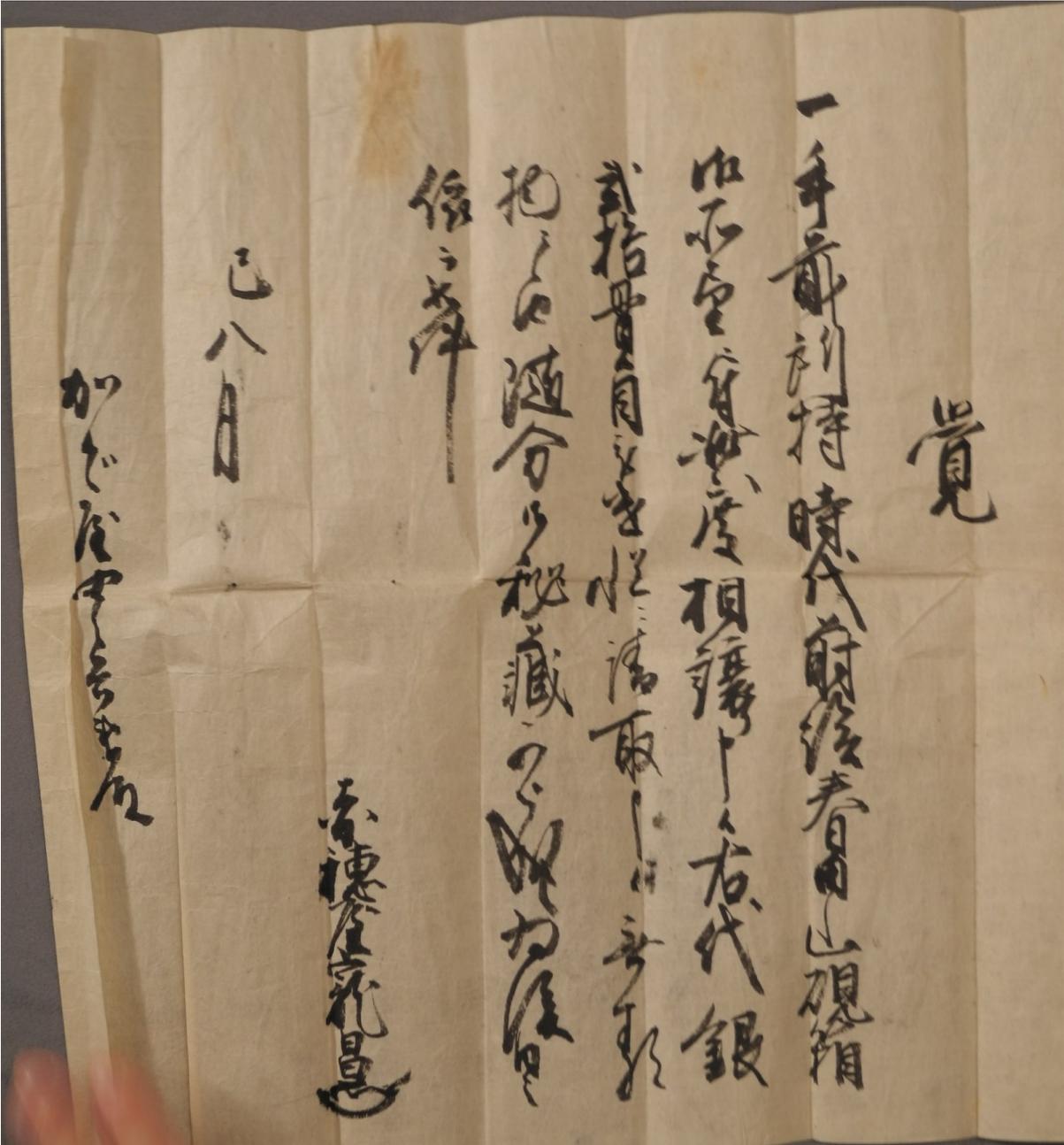
Documents, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, personal photograph



Document certifying authenticity, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, personal photograph



Reversed side of the document certifying authenticity, personal photograph



覚

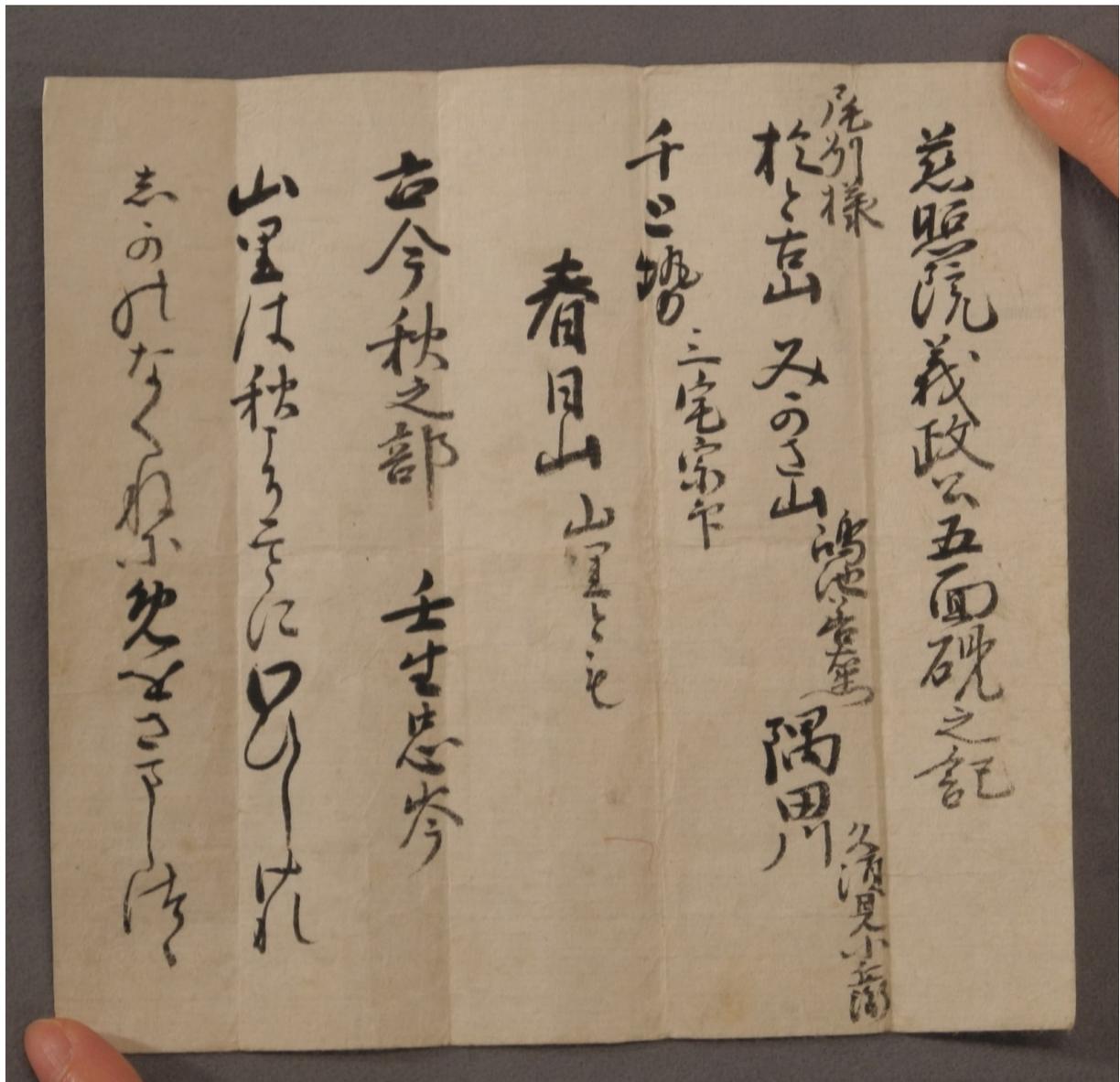
一十年前持時代前法春自山廻箱
此石室有世度相鑿一古代銀
式指骨自山廻箱取一古代銀
物之適合少秘藏之此物後
信之序

加賀屋中書

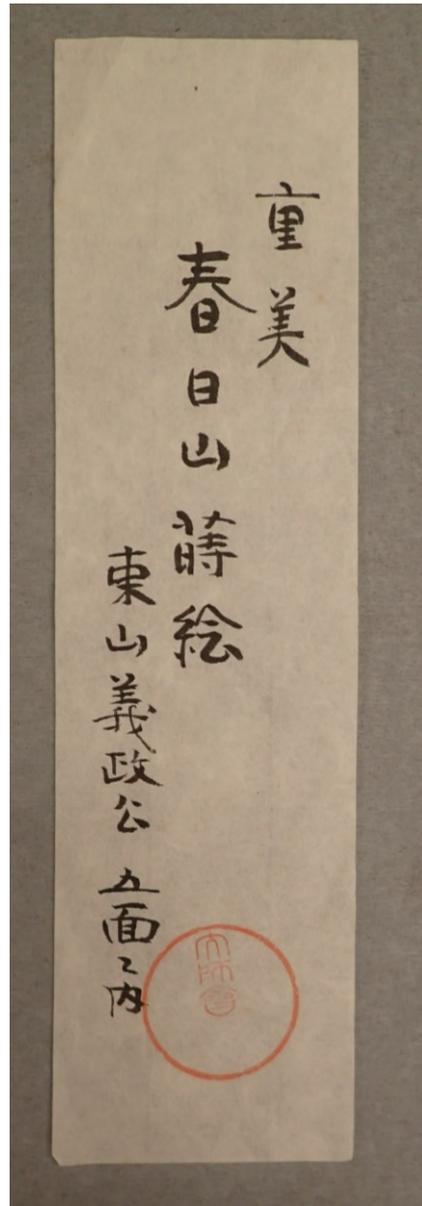
己未年

加賀屋中書

Document with title "Memorandum", Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga, personal photograph



Document with the list of Yoshimasa's Five Inkstone Cases, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga* personal photograph



Document certifying the Inkstone Case belonged to Yoshimasa's Five Inkstone Cases, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*, personal photograph

Appendix B

Translation of the Inscription by Kūkai on the Commemoration Stele, Masuda Reservoir. 826. In Matsuda, William John. *Beyond Religious: Kūkai the Literary Sage*. PhD Dissertation. University of Hawaii. 2014: 90-96. Pro Quest. Accessed 2016.10.12.

The following year, in 826, Kūkai composed a stele commemorating the completion of the Masuda Reservoir in Yamato Province. One of the greatest public works projects of the early Heian period, the reservoir was created by damming the Takatori River in order to provide drought relief to farmers in the province. While the actual reservoir no longer exists, archaeological evidence indicates that it had a surface area of approximately forty hectares. As can be seen in the stele text below, the project had a troubled history: it was originally ordered by Saga, but was suspended following his abdication. Only after his successor Junna commissioned two new court nobles as project overseers was the reservoir completed. The text of Kūkai's congratulatory stele is as follows:¹

若夫。感星銀漢下灑之功深。湖水天地上潤之德普。故能。中卉因之而鬱茂。蟲卵賴之而長生。至若。八氣播植。五才陶冶。北方之行偏居其最。坎之為德。遠矣哉皇矣哉。

The merit showered by the Heavenly Lake² and the Milky Way is deep. The virtues nourished by the lakes and oceans spread across the land. Therefore, the grasses are lush and verdant, and insects thrive. When the Eight Spirit³ bring forth plants and the Five Talents⁴ create myriad objects, the waters from the north work their best. The virtues of water – how vast, how grand!

粵。有益田池。兩尊鼻子之洲。八鳥初道之國。地是漢諳之舊宅。号則村井之故名。去弘仁十三年仲冬之月。前和州監察藤納言紀大守末等。慮亢陽之可支。歎膏腴之未開。占斯勝處奏請之。論詔既應。

Here is Masuda Reservoir. Located in the land of the gods Izanagi and Izanami, on the islands of Hanako,⁵ in the realm where the giant crow first led Emperor Jinmu.⁶ This land is the former residence of Amazora.⁷ The former name of this area is Murai. In the winter months of the thirteenth year of Kōnin, Councilor Fujiwara, the Inspector of Izumi Province, and Lord Ki,⁸ considered ways to prevent drought, and lamented that farmland remained undeveloped. They selected this excellent site and petitioned the emperor, and their request was granted.

爰則。令藤紀二公及円律師等勦功。未幾皇帝遊駕汾。藤公從之辭職。紀守亦遷越前。今上。膺堯揖奏。馭舜宝凶。照玉燭乎二儀。撫赤子於八嶋。簡伴平章事国代檢国事。並拔藤広任刺史。兩公檢校池事。於焉。青鳧引塊。数千之馬日聚。赤馬馭人。百計之夫夜集。既而。車馬轟轟而電往。

The emperor directed Lords Fujiwara and Ki, and Vinaya Master En⁹, among others, to commence work. Shortly thereafter, the emperor left the Imperial Palace to set out on a progress.¹⁰ Consequently, Lords Fujiwara resigned his post, and Lord Ki was ordered to Echizen Province. Emperor Junna assumed the throne of the treasured realm that Saga graciously relinquished.¹¹ The brilliant authority of the emperor illuminates both heaven and earth, and shows its mercy to the people throughout the land. Emperor Junna selected Councilor Ōtomo no Kunimichi to oversee affairs in the province, and appointed Fujiwara no Fujihito¹² to serve as the province's governor. Lords Ōtomo and Fujiwara inspected the construction of the reservoir. Ships carried the soil away, and thousands of horses were brought daily. Carriages brought people, and hundreds of workers assembled day and night. The sound of passing carriages traveling quick as lightning reverberated. .

男女礮々而靄婦。土霏々而雪積。堤倏忽而雲騰。宛如靈神之埏埴。還疑洪鑪之化產。成也不日。畢也不年。造之人也。弁之天也。爾乃。池之為狀也。左龍寺。右鳥陵。大墓南聳。畝傍北峙。來眼精舍鎮其良。武遮荒壟押其坤。十餘大陵連綿虎踞。四面長阜邈迤龍伏。雲蕩松嶺之上。水激檜隈之下。春繡映池觀者忘歸。秋錦開林遊人不倦。

Men and women made their way there in a thunderous roar. Soil piled up like snow, and in an instant, the dykes rose up like clouds. It was as though the gods kneaded the earth with their mysterious powers, or perhaps fired it in a giant kiln. It did not take days to start construction, nor did it take years to finish. The reservoir was built by humans, but with the consent of the heavens. The reservoir took shape, with the Dragon Temple¹³ to the left and Emperor Suizei's mausoleum to the right. Graves lie to the south, and Mt. Unebi towers to the north. The Kumedera temple guards the northeast, and Emperor Senka's mausoleum is to the southwest. The mausoleums of numerous great emperors are spread out, majestic like crouching tigers, and the broad hills surrounding the area lie in wait like a dragon. The clouds billow above the pine forested peaks, and water drips down beneath the cypress. The embroidery of spring reflects on the water's surface, and those who view it forget to return home. The autumn brocade opens itself in the forests and visitors never tire of the sight.

鴛鴦鳧鴨戲水奏歌。玄鶴黃鵠遊汀爭舞。龜鼈延頸鮒鯉掉尾。淵獺祭魚林鳥反哺。泊如。積水含天。疊山倒景。深也似海。広也超淮。咲昆明之非儔。晒耨達之猶少。虎嘯鼓濤則驚汰泼漠。龍吟決堤則容与不飽。襄陵之罔象。不得溢其塘。焦山之女魃。不能涸其底。六群蒙潤萬澮。

Mandarin ducks and wild ducks frolic in the water, singing songs. Aged cranes and white swans with yellowish hues playfully flutter along the water's edge. Turtles stick out their necks and carp whip their tails. River otters display the fish they have caught, and crows in the forest bring food to their mothers. When the swollen waters consume the heavens, and the rows of mountains cast their reflections upon the water, the reservoir is deep like the ocean, and wider than the Huai River. I laugh, Kunming Lake is not in the same league as this one, and I sneer at the small size of the Anavatapta Lake.¹⁴ When tigers growl and strike the waves, billows are formed, spilling into the Milky Way. When dragons sing and breach the embankments, water flows out leisurely and inexhaustibly. Even the water spirits who ascend the hills cannot make the water overflow the embankment. The god of droughts cannot dry up the reservoir. Fields in six districts benefit from this water, and innumerable fingers of water steadily flow.

一人有慶兆民賴之。舞之蹈之。詠千箱以擊腹。手之足之。唱萬歲而忘力。歎蒼海之數變。策銘詞乎余筆。貧道不才當仁。固辭不能。課虛吐章。迺為銘曰。

When the emperor does something benevolent, the masses benefit. Their hands and feet dance with joy, and they thump their bellies in celebration of the abundant harvest. They clap their hands and stomp their feet, forgetting the fatigue of their labors. The emperor laments the vicissitudes of the world¹⁵ and has asked that my brush compose these commemorative words. As a lowly Buddhist monk I have no talents to speak of, yet as this is a request from the emperor I cannot decline. I follow my empty mind and churn out these words to produce the following poem:

| | |
|------|--|
| 希夷象帝 | In the era before the emperor, before there was form or sound, |
| ノ一未明 | When heaven ¹⁶ and earth had yet to come into being, Before |
| 盤古不出 | Pangu, the creator of the universe, appeared |
| 国常无生 | When Kuninotokotachi-no-mikoto had yet to be born |

| | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| 元氣倏動 | The primordial force began to move |
| 葦牙乍驚 | The young reeds suddenly stirred |
| 八風扇鼓 | The Eight Winds fanned and blustered |
| 五才縱橫 | The Five Agents spread out |

日月運轉
山河錯峙
千名森羅
萬物雜起

The sun and the moon revolved
Mountains and rivers formed
Trees and grasses with countless names appeared,
As myriad substances congeal and rise

藤膚既隱
稷杭爰始
天池人池
灑霑功似

Linteng and *depibing* have already vanished¹⁷
The grains have started to appear
The great ocean and this man-made lake
Gush forth and quench the land

前堯後禹
慮厚恤人
智略広運
慈悲且仁

Emperor Yao and Emperor Yu
Thought deeply about the people and with concern for them
Their wise strategies were carried far and wide
Compassionate, merciful and benevolent

機事不測
成功若神
潤物如雨
榮人似春

Their deeds cannot be measured
Like the gods, they performed meritorious deeds
Like the rain, they replenished the things below
Like the spring, they allowed people to prosper

綸綍雷震
有司創功
紀藤薙草
果績円豊

The emperor's edict booms like thunder
A multitude of officials commence their deeds
Lords Ki and Fujiwara plowed the grass
Their accomplishments are perfect and abundant

伴相施計
原守在公
良才奇術
民具靡風

Minister Ōtomo laid out his plans
And Lord Fujiwara assumed his duties
With superb talents and marvelous skills
The commoners bow to their authority

爰有一坎
其名益田
掘之人力
成也自天

There is a reservoir here
Its name is Masuda
Dug by human power
Completed by Heaven

車馬霧聚
男女雲連
婦来似子
畢功不年

Carriages and horses gather like mists
Men and women trail like clouds
They come and go as if children
Their task completed in less than a year

深而且広
鏡徹紺色
混漾渺瀰
瞻望罔極

Deep, yet vast
Like a mirror, the waters are clear and blue
Deep and wide, the waters are endless
The view across the reservoir is without limit

百溪之宗
萬派之職
魚鳥涵泳
虬龍斯匿

The sources of a hundred mountain streams
The master of myriad waves
Fish and fowl frolic in the water
Horned dragons seclude themselves here

畎澮汎溢
畝畚播殖
孳々我芸
稔々我穡

Irrigation ditches overflow
Newly opened rice fields are planted
We plant rice until the fields are lush and green
We harvest the crops when they have ripened

如抵如京
足兵足食
井田我事

Like islets, like the capital,
There are enough soldiers, and enough food
We dig wells and mind the fields

堯帝何力

Why would we need Emperor Yao's strength?

¹ SRS 2:12.

² 感池 above is likely a scribal error for 咸池. In traditional Chinese cosmology, 咸池 is the lake where the sun bathed. It is also the constellation of five stars responsible for the Five Grains (Tōdō, 209; Imataka et al., 224).

³ When the Eight Spirits are in accord with the Eight Correct Principles 八正, the rains and winds are in good order. The Eight Correct Principles are the correct forms of the Eight Winds 八風 (Watanabe, and Miyasaka, 192). There are various schemes regarding the nature and direction of each of these eight winds, but each “wind” is assigned a cardinal direction, and an attribute (hot, cold, cheerful, etc.)

⁴ These are the five elements of metal, wood, water, fire and earth (Watanabe and Miyasaka, 192).

⁵ This is the name of the first island that Izanami and Izanagi reared (Watanabe and Miyasaka, 192).

⁶ The story of a giant crow leading Emperor Jimmu from Kumano to Yamato after he subjugated the Eastern Barbarians can be found in the *Nihon shoki* (Imataka et al., 225).

⁷ The identity of Amazora 漢語 is unknown (Imataka et al., 225)

⁸ The identities of these two cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but the prevailing view is that Councilor Fujiwara refers to either Fujiwara no Otsugi 藤原緒嗣 or Fujiwara no Tadamori (or Mimori) 藤原三守, and Lord Ki is likely Ki no Suenari 紀末成 (Imataka et al., 225).

⁹ Since the text above identifies this individual only as 円律師, there is some debate regarding his identity.

Medieval commentaries suggest that it was the Hossō monk Shin'en 真円, but there is no textual basis for this assertion. Kūkai actually had a disciple named Shin'en, (same characters), so he also could be the *vinaya* master in question (Watanabe and Miyasaka, 192, 496).

¹⁰ This refers to Emperor Saga abdicating the throne in 823.

¹¹ In Kūkai's narration above, he refers to Emperors Saga and Junna as Yao and Shun, the mythical Chinese sage emperors. Yao's abdication of the throne is regarded as a virtuous act, since he decided against bequeathing the realm to his degenerate son Danzhu, instead granting it to Shun, a capable minister.

¹² Ōtomo no Kunimichi 大伴国道, Fujiwara no Fujihiro 藤原藤広 (Imataka et al., 225).

¹³ This is a reference to the Ryūgenji 竜蓋寺, which is now known as Okadera 岡寺 temple (Watanabe and Miyasaka, 193). The temple is located in the Takaichi District of Nara Prefecture, and today is affiliated with the Buzan 豊山 sect of Shingon Buddhism (Nakamura, 90).

¹⁴ This is a reference to the mythical lake at the center of the Buddhist world.

¹⁵ The phrase 蒼海之數變 above is an adaptation of the line “[I] have already seen the pines and oaks wither away and become firewood/Moreover, I hear the mulberry fields are under the sea” 已見松柏摧為薪更聞桑田變成海 found in the poem “In Place of Grieving for the White-Haired Old Man” 代悲白頭翁 by Liu Xi-yi 劉希夷 (ca. 651-ca. 678) (Tōdō, 605, 1622).

¹⁶ The text in the NKBT and KDKZS use a vertical line to represent “heaven.” Here, it is substituted with a katakana *no* ノ due to software limitations.

¹⁷ *Linteng* 林藤 and *depibing* 地皮餅 appear in *Abhidharmakosa* 俱舍論 (*Treasury of Abhidharma*). These substances were created at the beginning of the world, when people shifted from feasting on their feelings of joy to substances they could perceive with their senses. During this transition, a variety of substances appeared and disappeared, until “fragrant rice” 香稻 remained (Watanabe and Miyasaka, 497).

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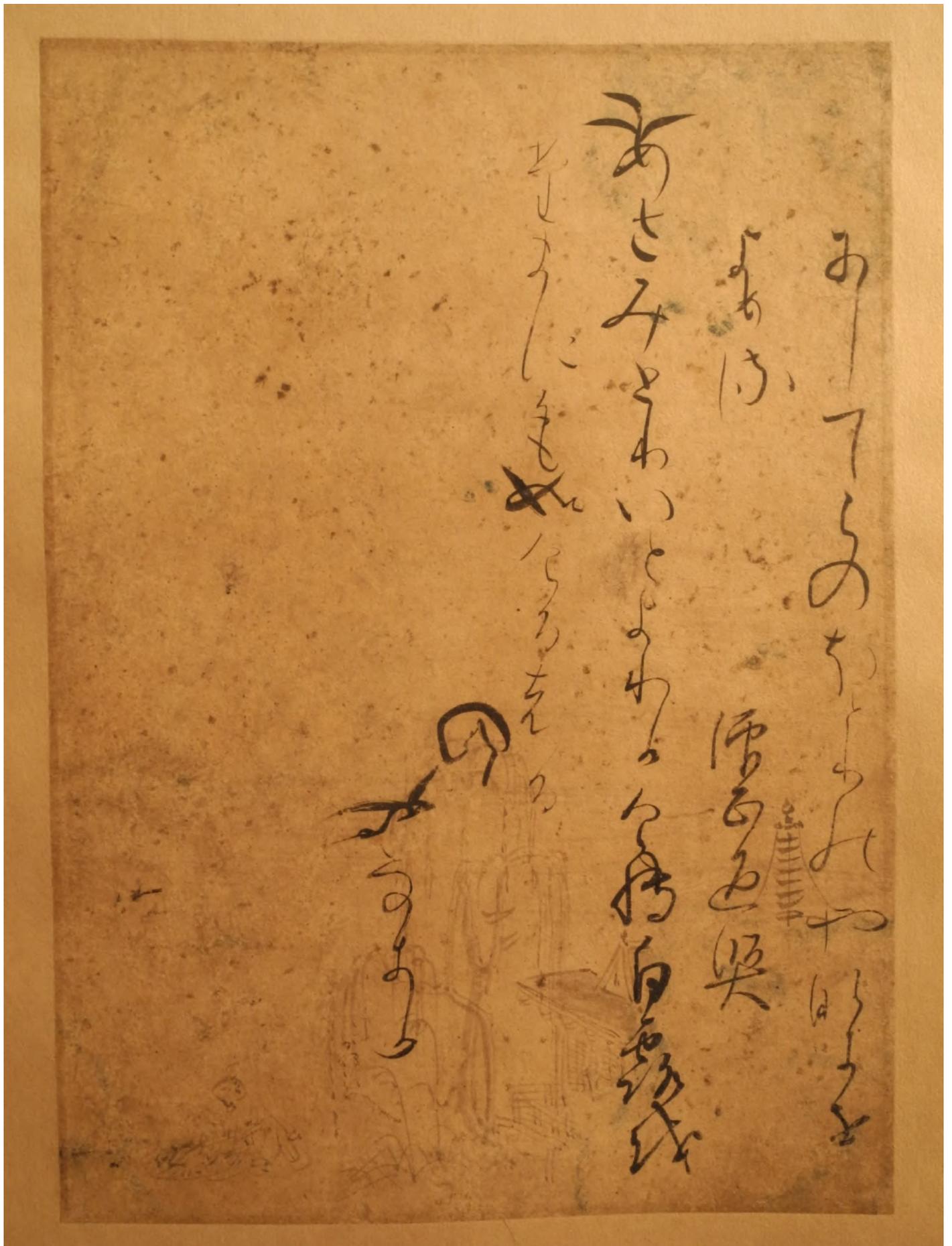


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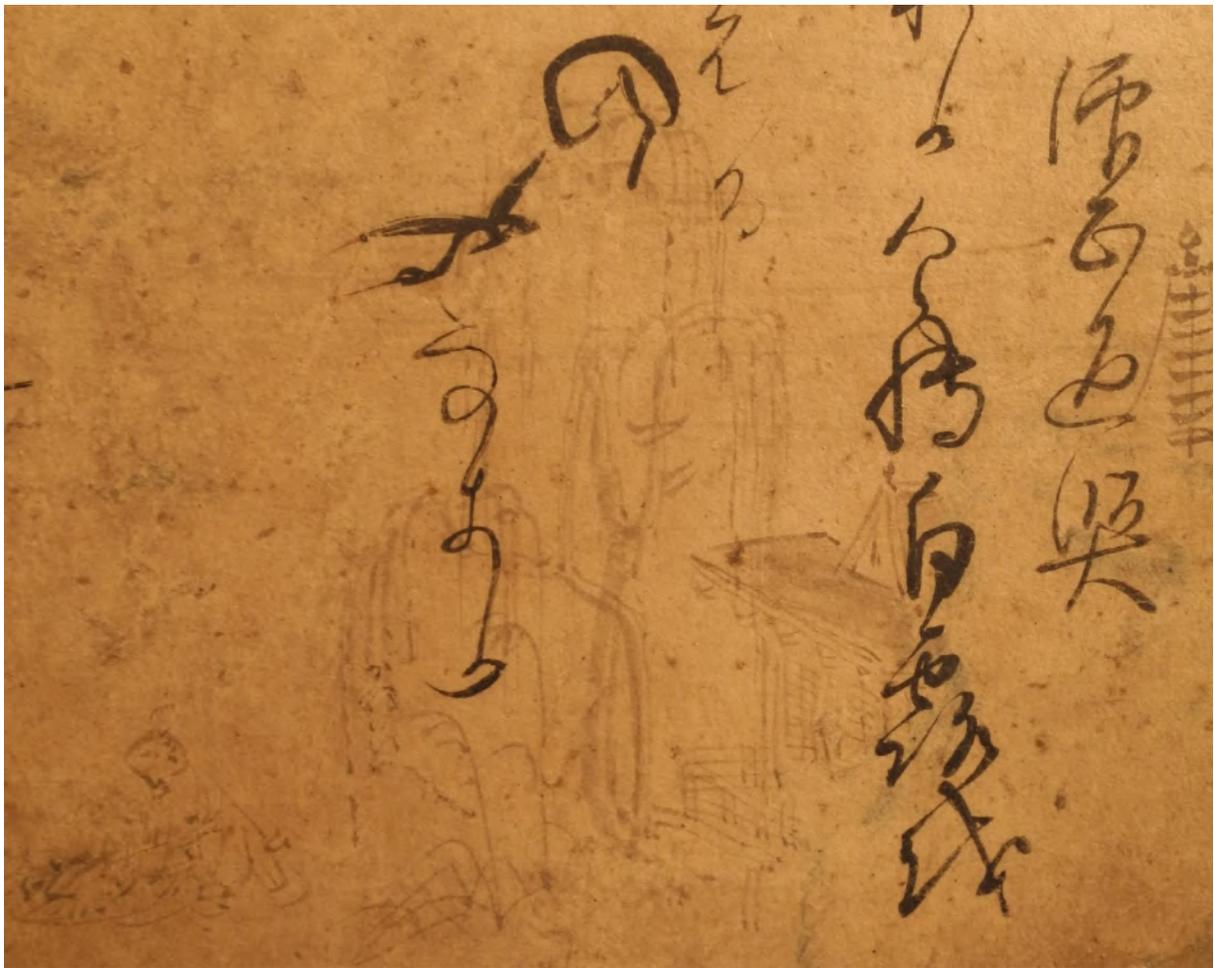


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Fig. 2d: Curved Stream Banquet. Kamigamo shrine, Kyoto. Submitting a poem.



Fig. 2e: Timbale at the annual Curved Stream Banquet. Kamigamo shrine.

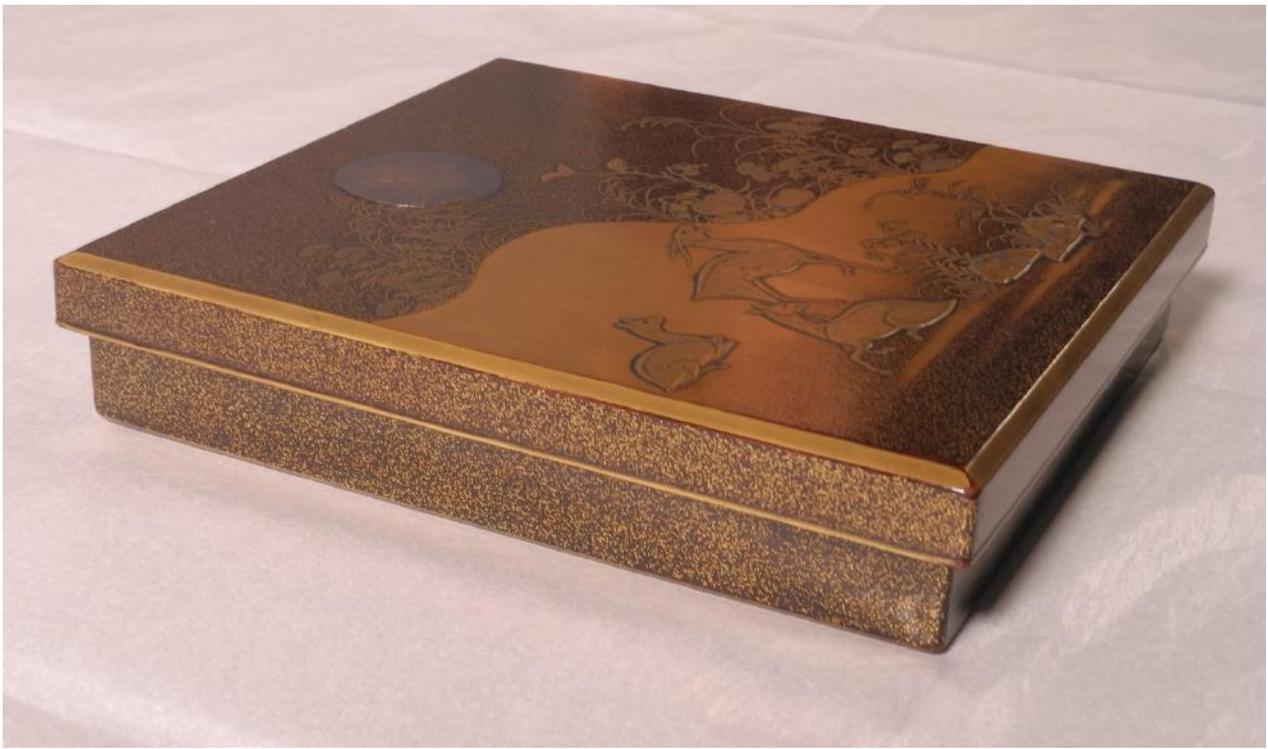


Fig. 3a: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Kasuga* (*Kasuga no yama maki-e suzuribako*). Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 24.0 x 22.1 x 4.3 cm. Nezu Museum.



Fig. 3b: Dimmed light simulating candle light conditions (of the Higashiyama period). Exterior side of the cover, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*



Fig. 3c: Detached parts, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*



Fig. 3d: Storage container, *Inkstone Case Mt. Kasuga*

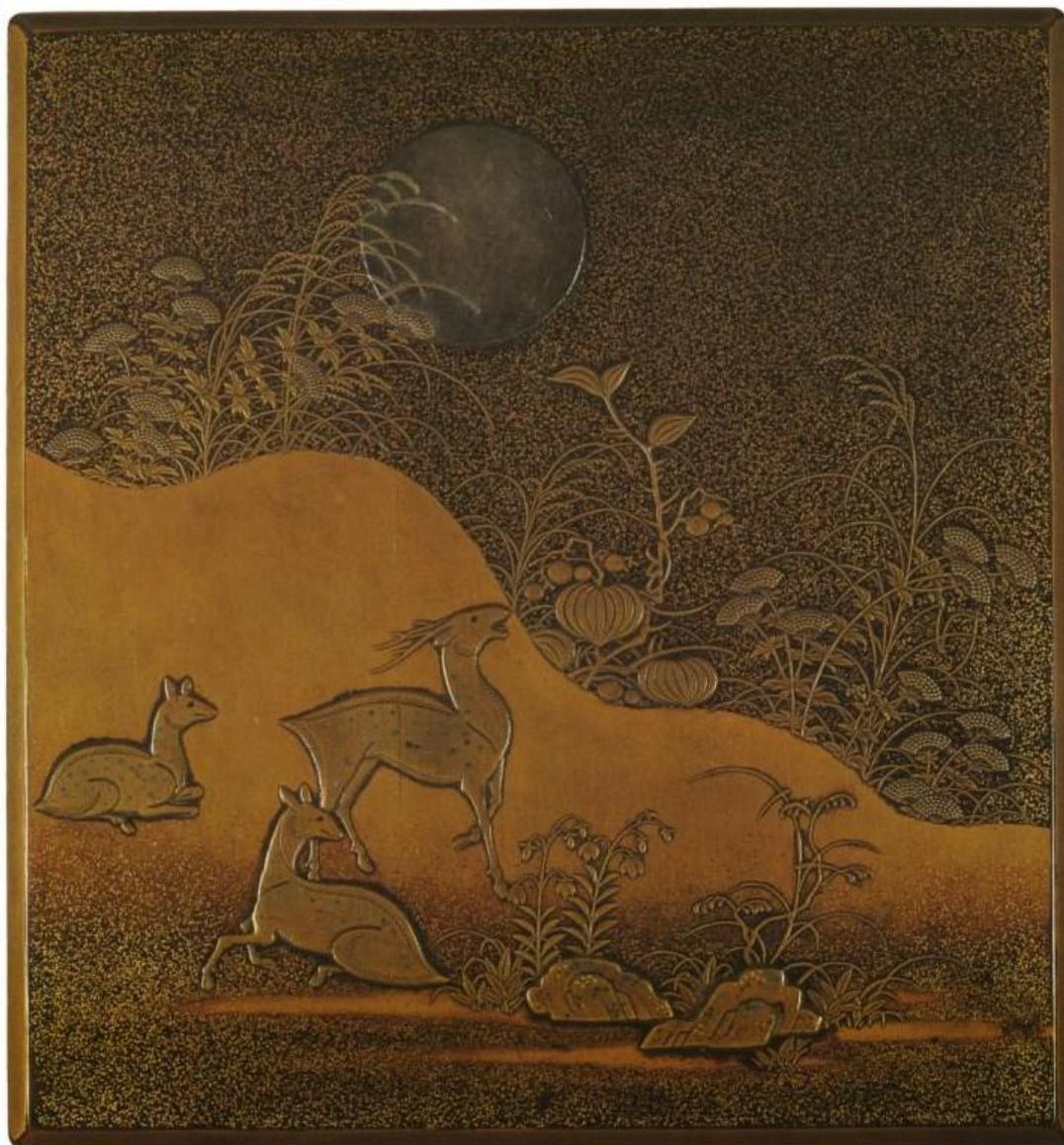


Fig. 4a: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Kasuga* (*Kasuga no yama maki-e suzuribako*). Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 24.0 x 22.1 x 4.3 cm. Nezu Museum. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 4b: Exterior side of the cover.
Detail *ke* (け)



Fig. 4c: Exterior side of the cover
Detail *re* (連)



Fig. 5a: *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Kasuga*. Interior side of the cover.

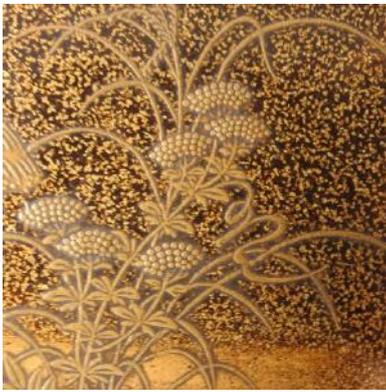


Fig. 5b: Interior side of the cover. Detail *ha* (盤).



Fig. 5c: Interior side of the cover. Detail *koton* (こと).



Fig. 6a: *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Kasuga*. Lower register.



Fig. 6b: Detail



Fig. 7: Unverified. *Map of the Boundaries in Four Directions of the Tōdaiji Temple* (Tōdaiji sankai shishi zu). Japan. 756. Map. Ink and vermilion on hemp. 299 x 223 cm. Imperial Household Agency, Shōsō'in Repository.



Fig. 8: Unverified. Replica of the *Map of the Boundaries in Four Directions of the Tōdaiji Temple* from 756. Japan. Before 1936. The demarcated place for deity is the square amidst the four trees. Image database, Nara Women's University.



Fig. 9a: Unverified. *Saddle with a Late Autumn Shower (Shigure raden kura)*. Japan. National Treasure. Late twelfth/early thirteenth century. Saddle. Lacquer, black pigment, and mother-of-pearl on wood. 29.7 x 41.8 cm. Eisei Bunko Collection.



Fig. 9b: *Saddle with a Late Autumn Shower*. Detail.



Fig. 10 (left): Unverified. *Sacred and Radiant Kasuga Divinity (Kasuga myōjin myōgō)*. Japan. Muromachi period. Hanging scroll. Ink on paper. 90.1 x 37.0 cm. Personal collection



Fig. 11 (right): Unverified. *Mandala of the Sacred Name of the Kasuga Deities*. Japan. Fifteenth century. Hanging scroll. Ink, color, and gold von silk. Without mounting 70.4 x 19.8 cm, with mounting 134.6 x 33.7 cm. Museum of Yale University.



Fig. 12: Unverified. *Kasuga Deer Mandala (Kasuga shika mandara)*. Japan. Fourteenth century. Ink, colors, and gold on silk. 76.5 x 40.5 cm. Nara National Museum.



Fig. 13: Kōami workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio* (*Shio no yama maki-e suzuribako*). Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 25.6 x 23.7 x 5.2 cm. Kyoto National Museum. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 13a: Detail *shi* (志).



Fig. 13b: Detail *ho* (本).



Fig. 13c: Detail *no* (能).



Fig. 13d: Detail *yama* (山).



Fig. 13e: Detail *sa* (散).



Fig. 13f: Detail *shi* (新).



Fig. 13g: Detail *te* (亭).



Fig. 14: Kōami workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio (Shio no yama maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 25.6 x 23.7 x 5.2 cm. Kyoto National Museum. Interior side of the cover.



Fig. 14a: Detail *kimi* (君).



Fig. 14b: Detail *ka* (加).



Fig. 14c: Detail *mi* (見).



Fig. 14d: Detail *yo* (代).



Fig. 14e: Detail *wo* (遠).



Fig. 14f: Detail *ha* (盤).



Fig. 15: Kōami workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio (Shio no yama maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 25.6 x 23.7 x 5.2 cm. Kyoto National Museum. Lower register.



Fig.16: Unverified. Replica of the *Illustrations of the Treasures of the Southern Section of Hōryūji Temple* (*Illustrations of the Treasures of the Southern Section of the Hōryūji Temple* (*Go hōmotsu zue nanbu hōryūji*)) from the twentieth century. Japan. 1842. Illustration in a woodblock printed booklet. Ink on paper. n/a. National Institute of Japanese Literature.



Fig. 17a: Unverified. *Writing Desk with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers* (*Chidori no buntai*). Japan. Fifteenth century. Low table. Lacquer, black pigment, gold and metal applications on wood. 31.7 x 55.2 x 10.5 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 17b: *Writing Desk with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers.*



Fig. 18: Unverified. *Writing Desk with the Sprinkled Picture of Seashore and Pines.* (*Hamamatsu maki-e buntai*). Japan. Fifteenth century. Low table, gold particles and black lacquer on wood with metal applications. 33.3 x 57.1 x 10.0 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 19a: Unverified. *Small Chinese-style Chest with Mother-of-Pearl and the Sprinkled Picture of Mudplovers (Sawachidori maki-e raden kokarabitsu)*. Japan. National treasure. Twelfth century. Chest. Lacquer, mother-of-pearl, gold particles, black pigment, and metal applications on wood. 30.5 x 39.9 x 30.0 cm. Kongobuji Temple, Wakayama prefecture.



Fig. 19b: *Small Chinese-style Chest with Mother-of-Pearl and the Sprinkled Picture of Mudplovers*. Detail.



Fig. 20a: Unverified. *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of the Palace of Longevity (Chōseiden maki-e tebako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Thirteenth-fourteenth century. Box. Lacquer, gold, silver, black pigment, and metal applications on wood. 20.4 x 31.6 x 17.7 cm. Tokugawa Reimeikai Foundation. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 20b: *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of the Palace of Longevity*. Interior side of the cover.



Fig. 21a: Unverified. *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field (Akino maki -e tebako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Thirteenth century. Box. Lacquer, gold, mother-of-pearl, black pigment, and metal applications on wood. 24.7 x 33.5 x 15.3 cm. Tōyama Memorial Museum, Saitama prefecture.

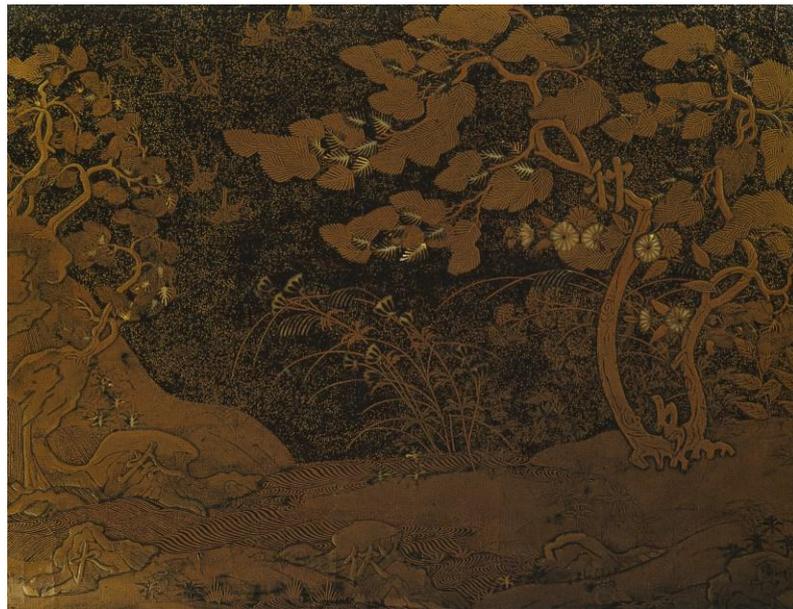


Fig. 21b: *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field*. Exterior side of the cover. Detail.



Fig. 21c: *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field*. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 21d: *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field*. Interior side of the cover.

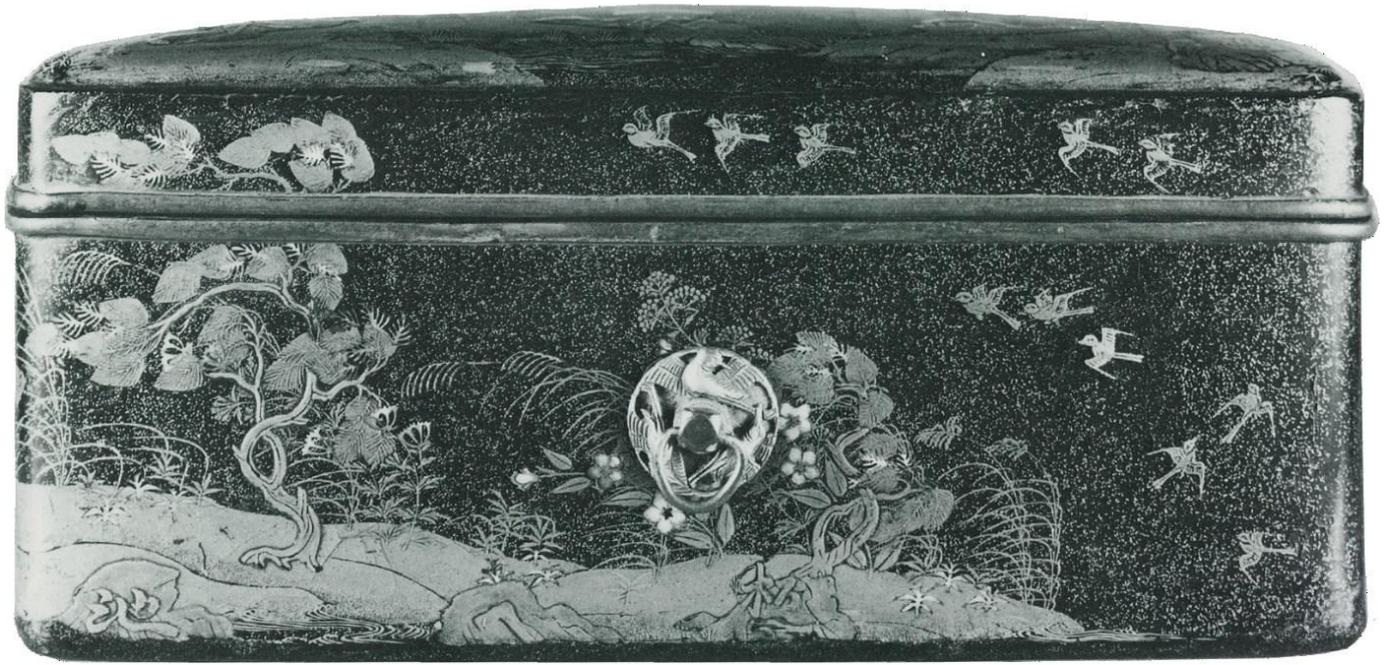


Fig. 21e: *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field. Side part.*



Fig. 21f: *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field. Side part.*

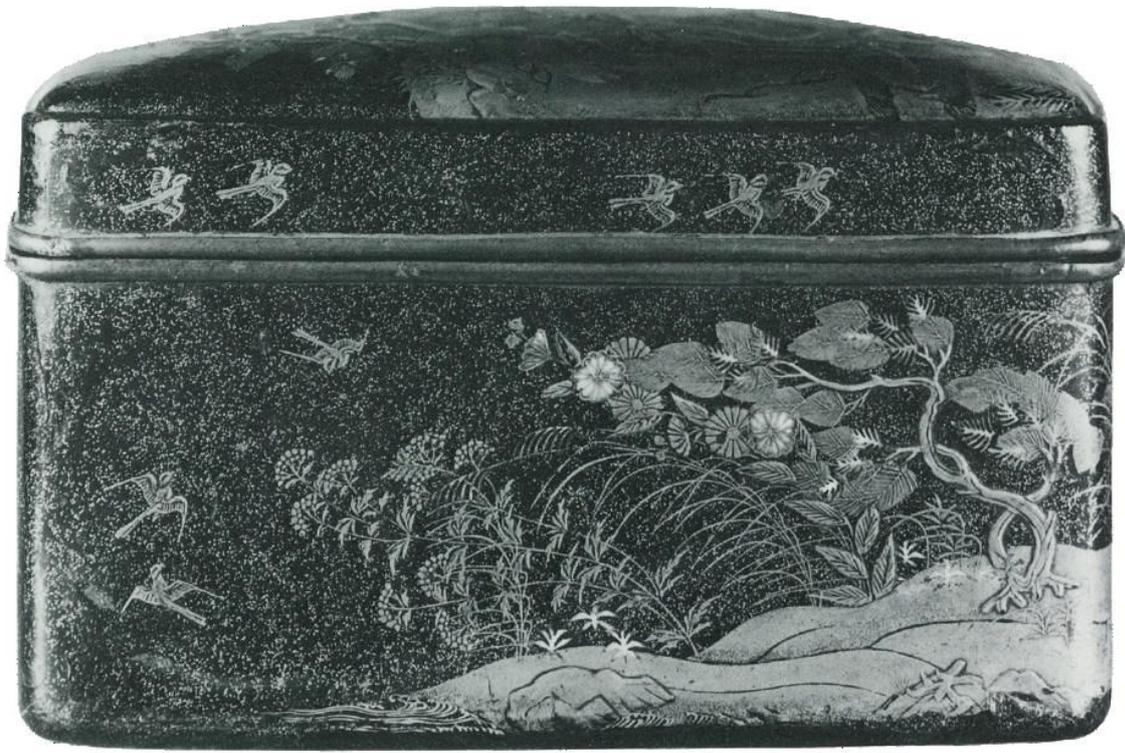


Figure 21g: *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field. Side part.*

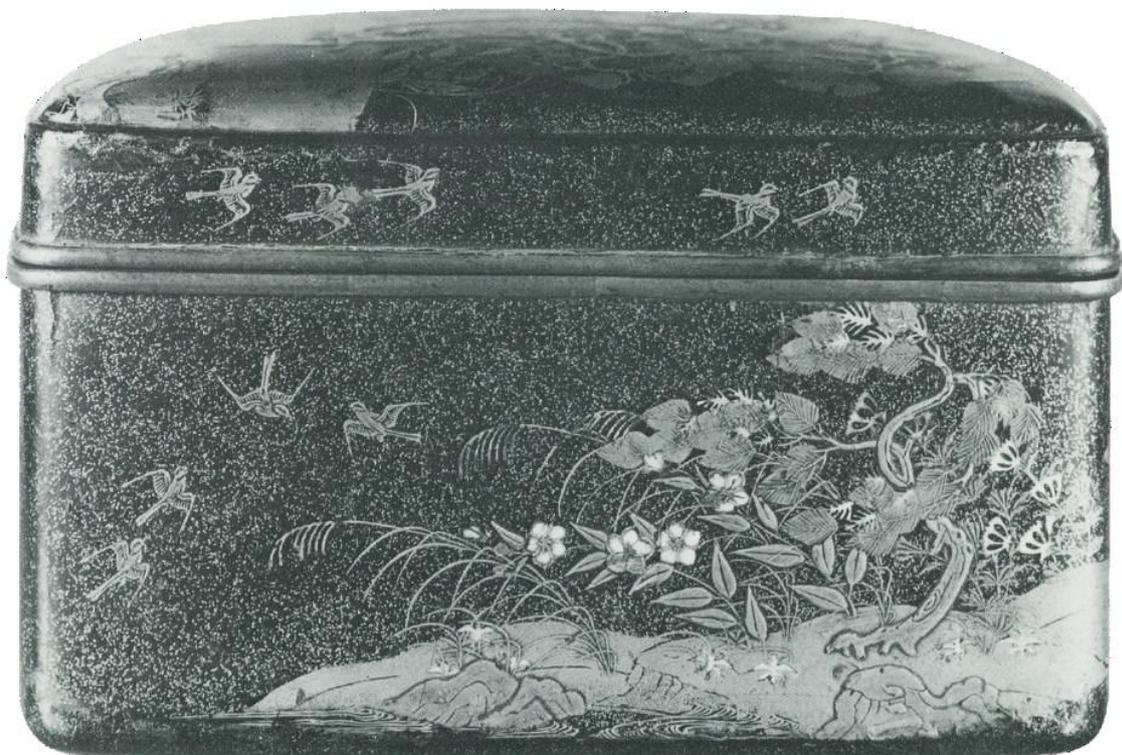


Fig. 21h: *Toiletry Case with Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field. Side part.*

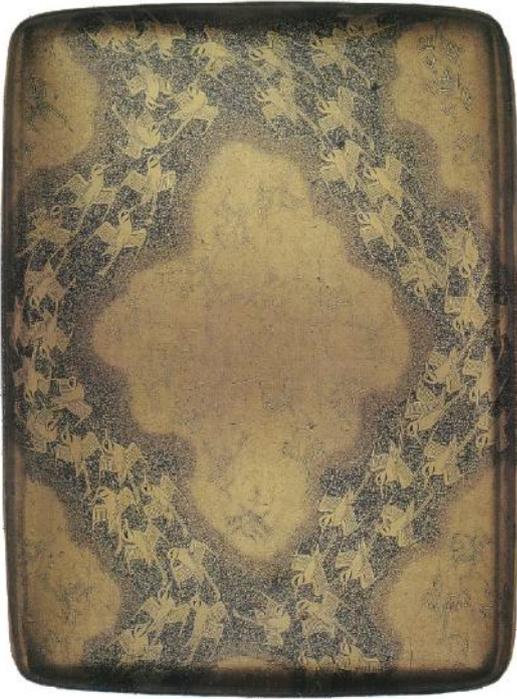


Fig. 22a: Unverified. *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers (Chidori maki-e tebako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Fourteenth century.

Box. Lacquer, gold, black pigment, metal applications, wood.
35.8 x 26.0 x 20.7 cm. Nomura Art Museum, Kyoto

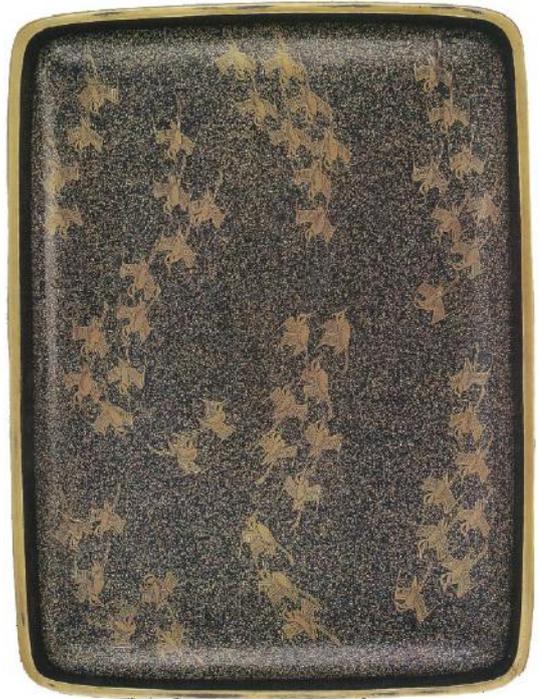


Fig. 22b: Unverified. *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers*. Interior side of the lid.



Fig. 22c: Unverified. *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers*



Fig. 23a: Unverified. *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers (Chidori maki-e tebako)*. Japan. Fourteenth century. Box. Lacquer, gold, and metal applications on wood. 25.7 x 34.7 x 19.0 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Fig. 23b: *Toiletry Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Plovers*. Interior side of the cover



Fig. 24: Tesshū Tokusai. *Geese and Reeds (Roganzu)*. Japan. Dated 11th month, 1343. One of a pair of hanging scrolls. Ink on silk. 110.4 x 44 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 25: Muqi Fachang. *Wild Geese Descending on Sandbank*. China. Thirteenth century. Handscroll. Ink on paper. 33.0 x 109.5 cm, Idemitsu Museum of Arts.

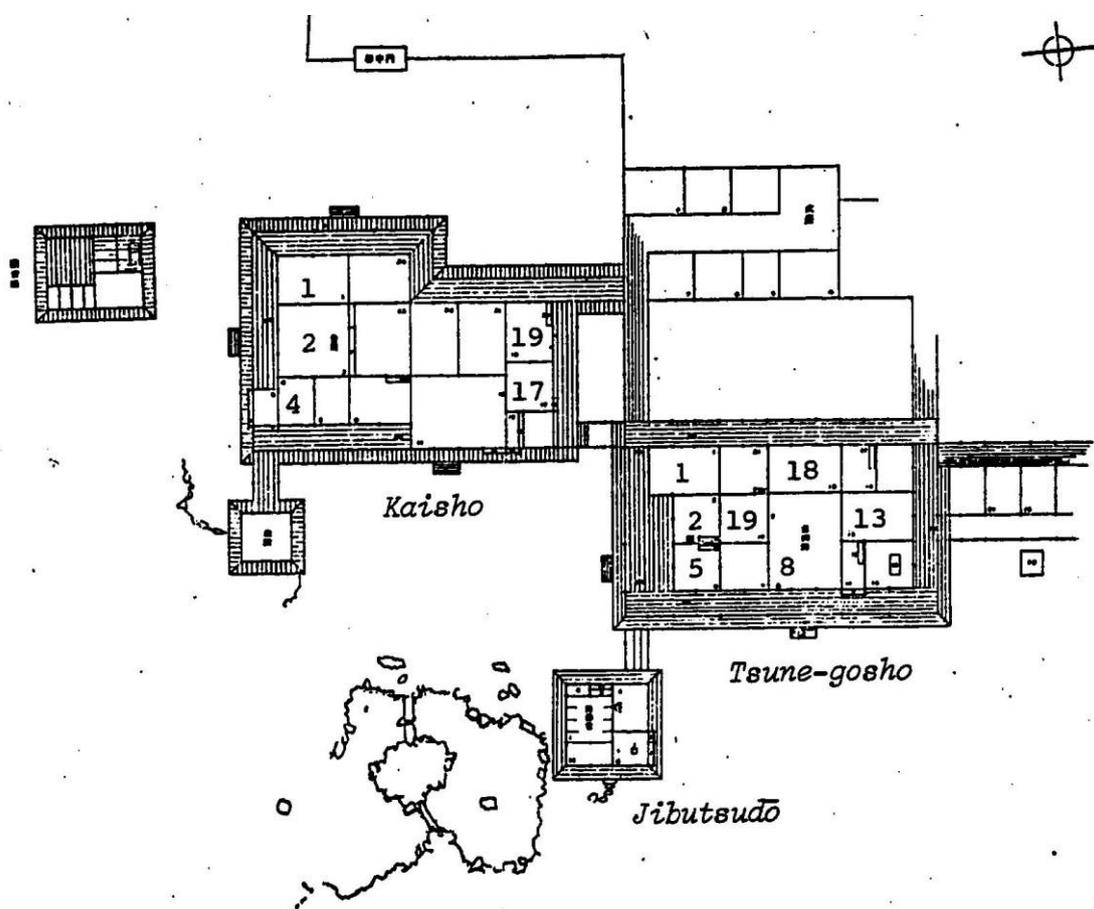


Fig. 26: Horiguchi Sutemi. *Rooms in the Ashikaga Mansion*. Architectural drawing, pen on paper. *Tsune-gosho*: 1: *Nishi no mu-ma* (West Six-ma Room), 2: *Kōsaku no ma* (Ploughing Room: 4 ma), 5: *Hakkei no ma* (Eight Views Room: 4 ma), 8: *Hiru no goza-sho*, 13: *Kita no ochi-ma*, 18: *Oyudono no ue* (6 ma), 19: *Go-shinshō* (4 ma)

Kaisho: 1: *Nishi no mu-ma* (West Six-ma Room), 2: *Saga no ma* (9 ma), 4: *Kari no ma* (3 ma), 17: *On-nando*, 19: *O-chayu no ma* (3 ma)



Fig. 27a: Unverified. *The Garden of the Abbot's Quarter (Hōjō tei'en)*. Japan. National treasure. Late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Garden. Rocks, moss, and white gravel. 22.75 x 9.35 x 23.20 x 5.55 x 3.80 x 0.55 cm. Ryōanji Temple, Kyoto.



Fig. 27b: *The Garden of the Abbot's Quarter*. Detail.



Fig. 27c: *The Garden of the Abbot's Quarter*. Detail.

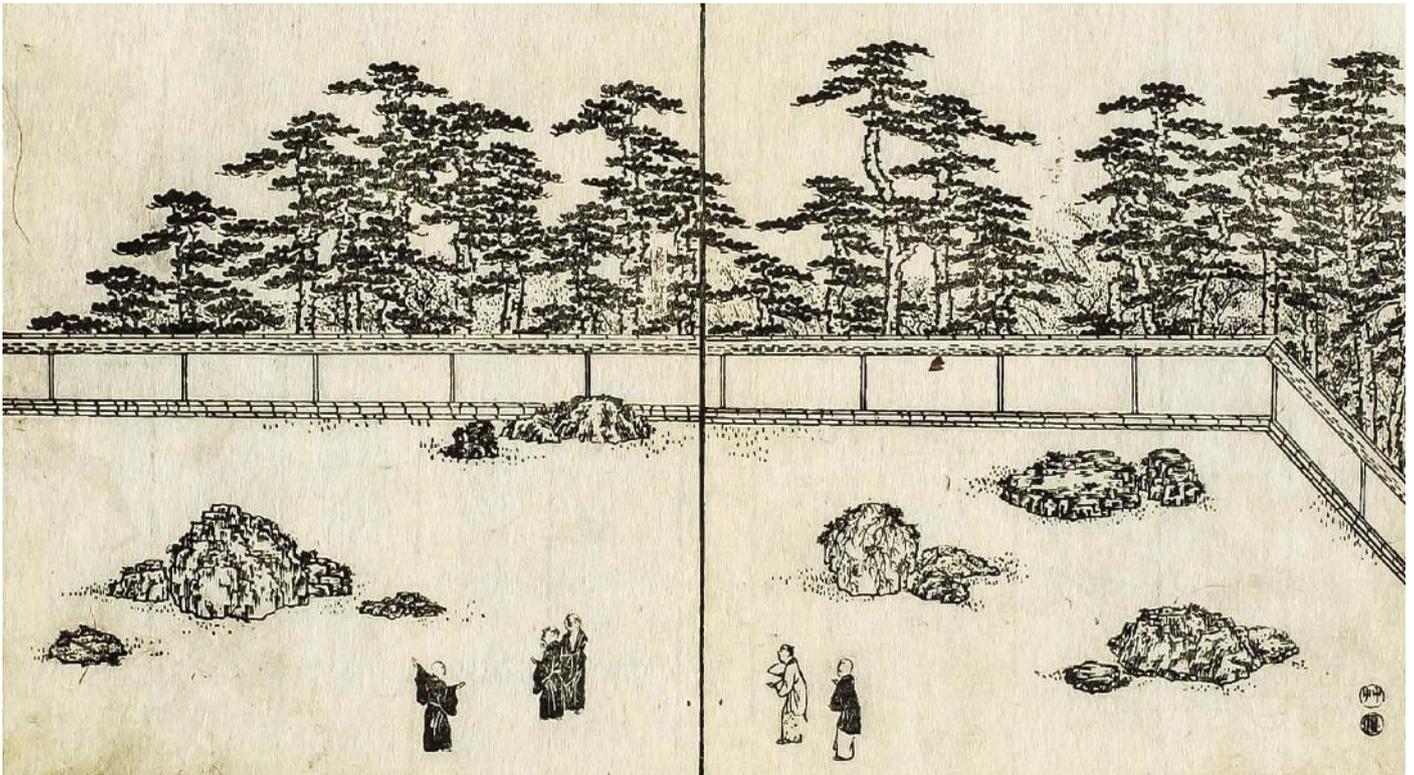


Fig. 28: Akisato Ritō. *Pictorial Guide to Gardens in Kyoto*. 1799. Illustration in a woodblock printed booklet, ink on paper. 25.5×18 cm.



Fig. 29: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Saga (Saga no yama maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important Cultural Property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 27.6 x 24.2 x 5.5 cm. Nezu Museum. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 30: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Saga (Saga no yama maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important Cultural Property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 27.6 x 24.2 x 5.5 cm. Nezu Museum. Interior side of the cover.



Fig. 30b: Interior side of the lid.
Detail *miyuki* (御幸).

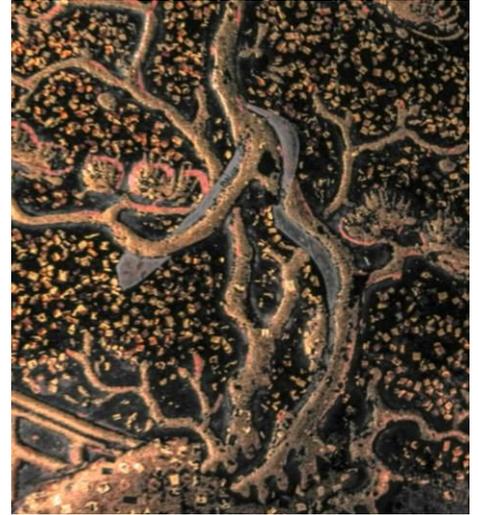


Fig. 30c: Interior side of the lid.
Detail *no* (乃).



Fig. 30d: Interior side of the lid
Detail *taenishi* (絶尔し).

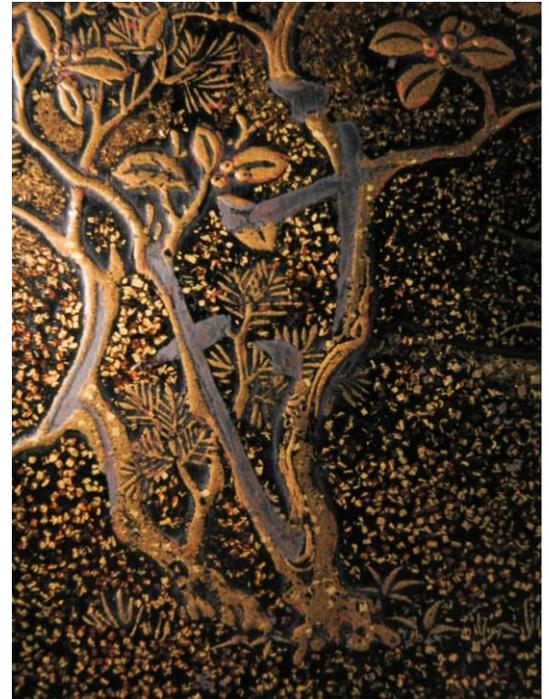


Fig. 30e: Interior side of the lid
Detail *chiyo* (千代).



Fig. 31: Sherina Helbert. *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Saga*. Digital drawing. 2017. Interior side of the cover.

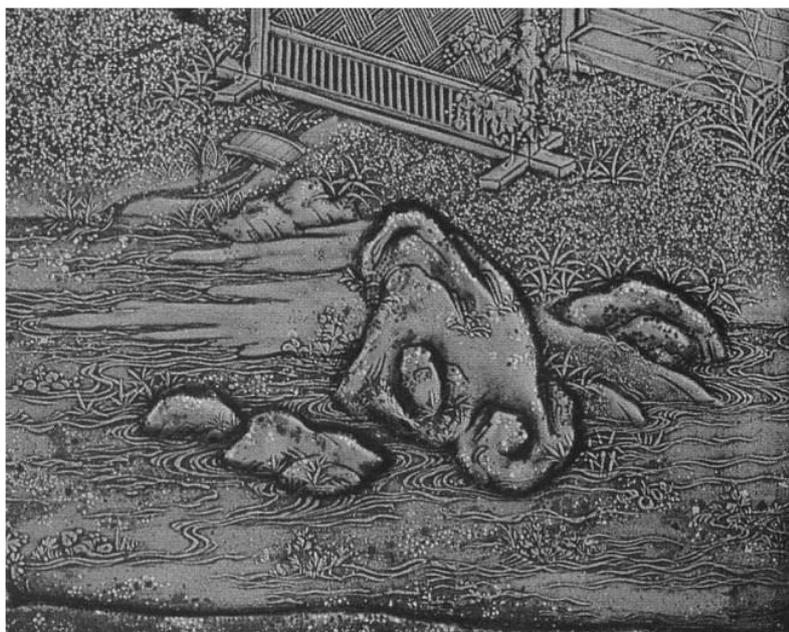


Fig. 32: Buddhist trinity stones (*sanzon seki*) in the design of *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*



Fig. 33a: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Saga* (*Saga no yama maki-e suzuribako*). Japan. Important Cultural Property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 27.6 x 24.2 x 5.5 cm. Nezu Museum. Lower register.

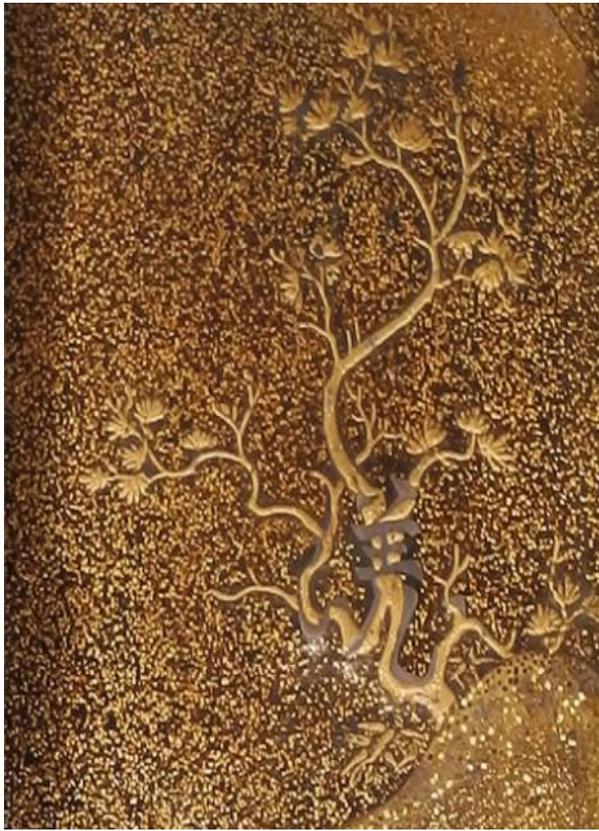


Fig. 33b: Lower register. Detail *sa* (嗟).

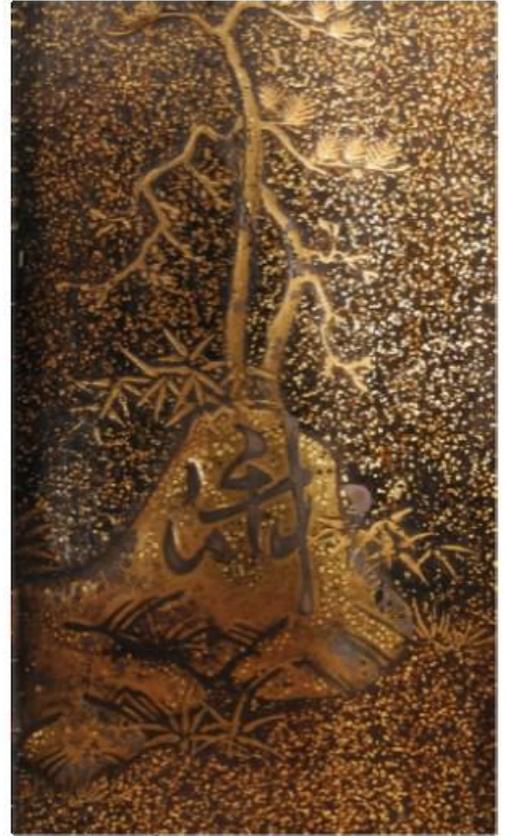


Fig. 33c: Lower register. Detail *ga* (峨).



Fig. 33d: Detail water-dropper



Fig. 33e: Detail timbale. Exterior side of the lid



Fig. 33f: Detail beveled lid



Fig. 33g: *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*

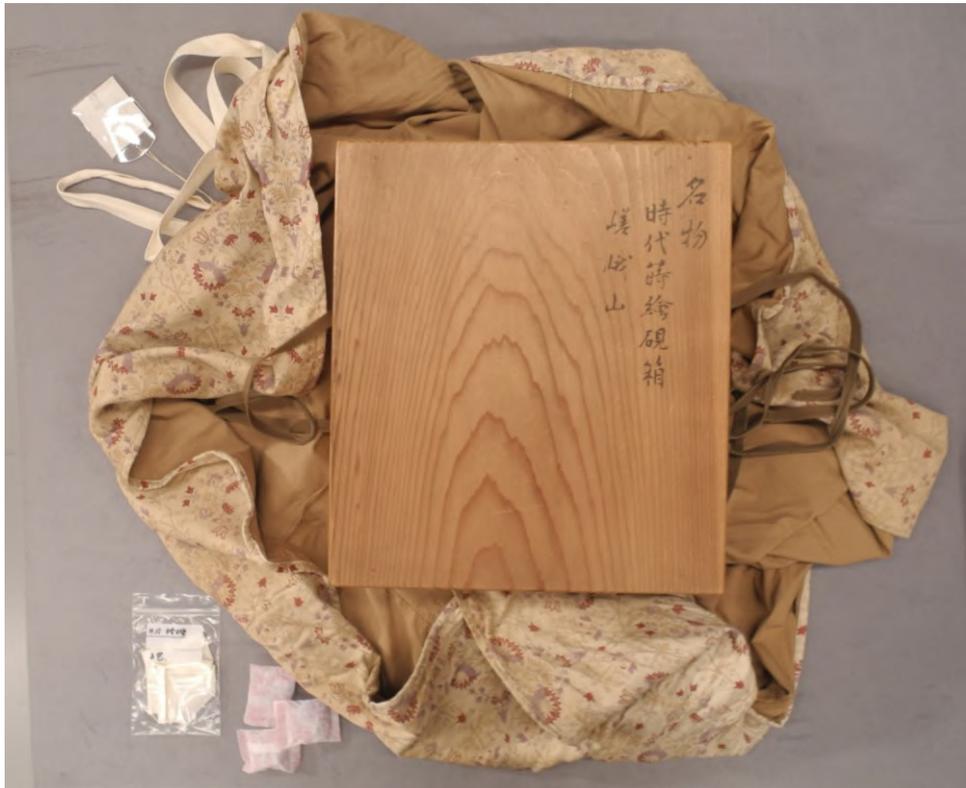


Fig. 33 h: Storage case of *Inkstone Case Mt. Saga*



Fig. 34a and 34b: The missing corner of the main sanctuary. Iwashimizu Hachimangu Shrine at Mt. Otoko. Japan.



Fig. 35a: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with a Sprinkled Picture of a Block for Beating Clothes (Kinuta maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 24.8 x 22.9 x 5.1 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 35b: *Inkstone Case with a Sprinkled Picture of a Block for Beating Clothes*. Interior side of the cover.

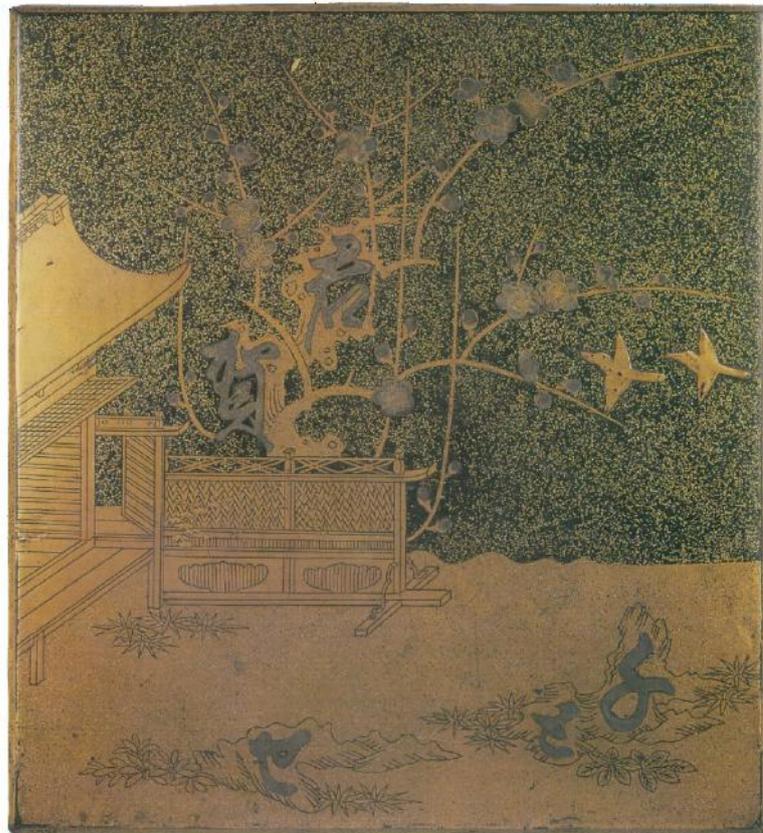


Fig. 36a: Kōami workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with a Sprinkled Picture of a Thousand Years (Chitose maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 22.7 x 20.9 x 4.2 cm. Fujita Museum, Osaka. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 36b: *Inkstone Case with a Sprinkled Picture of a Thousand Years*. Interior side of the cover.



Fig. 37a: Unverified. *Inkstone Case with a Sprinkled Picture of Petals on Shirakawa River (Hana no shirakawa maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment and gold on wood. 24.0 x 22.1 x 4.3 cm. Nezu Museum, Tokyo. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 37b: *Inkstone Case with a Sprinkled Picture of Petals on Shirakawa River*. Interior side of the cover.



Fig. 38a: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio* (*Shio no yama maki-e suzuribako*). Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 24.7 x 22.8 x 5.2 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Exterior side of the cover.



Fig. 38b: *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Shio*. Interior side of the cover.



Fig. 39: Igarashi Dōho (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of an Autumn Field (Akino maki-e suzuribako)*. Japan. Important cultural property. 17th century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, silver, coral, and mother-of-pearl on wood. 24.0 x 22.0 x 4.8 cm. Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of Art. Exterior side of the cover

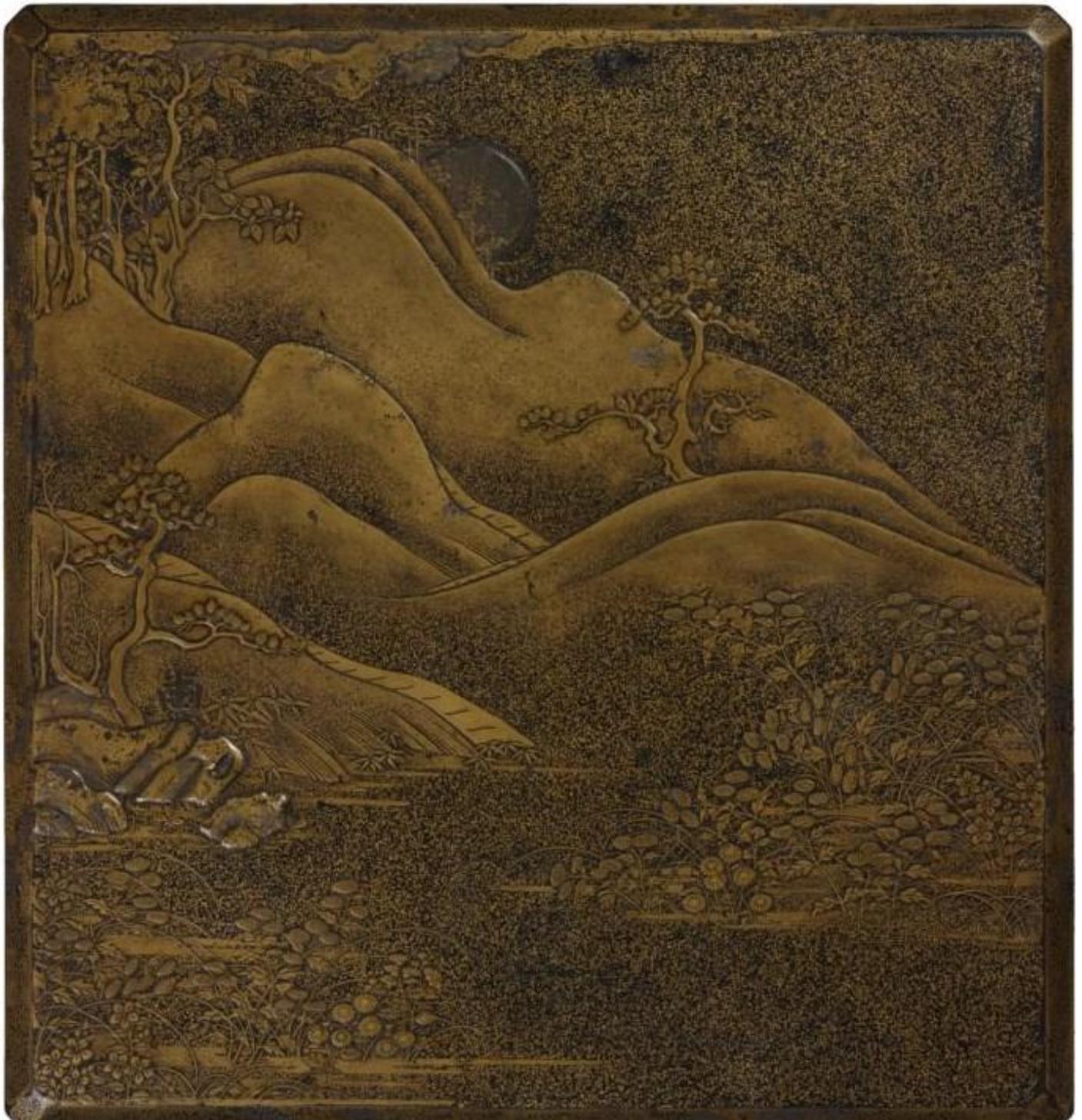
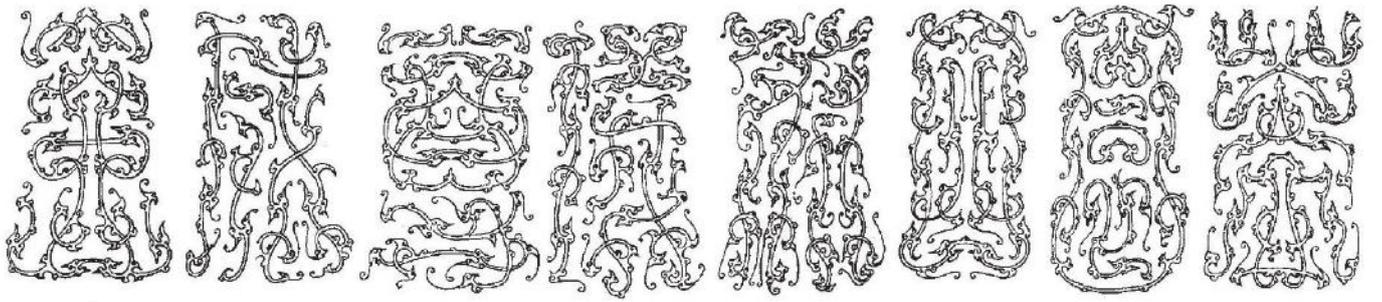


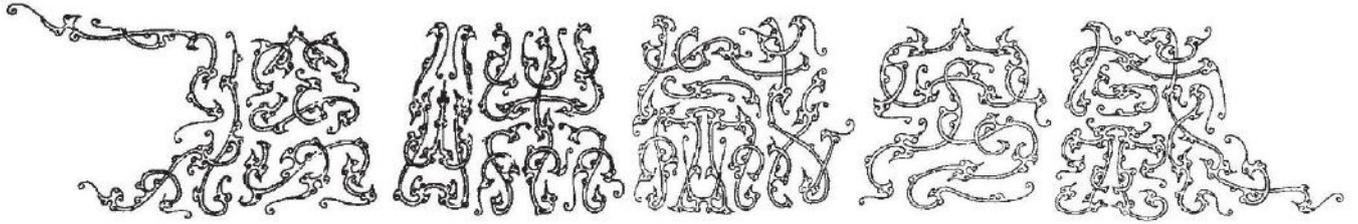
Fig. 40a: Igarashi workshop (attr.). *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Otoko* (*Otoko no yama maki-e suzuribako*). Japan. Important cultural property. Fifteenth century. Lacquer with black pigment, gold, and silver on wood. 22.7 x 21.4 x 5.0 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Exterior side of the cover.



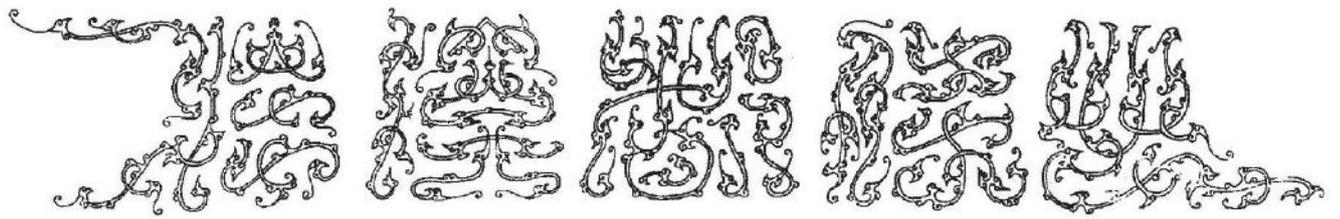
Fig. 40b: *Inkstone Case with the Sprinkled Picture of Mt. Otoko*. Interior side of the cover.



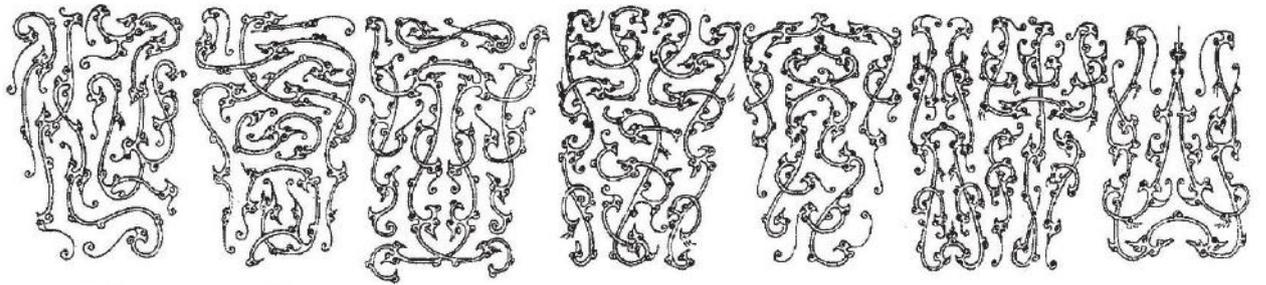
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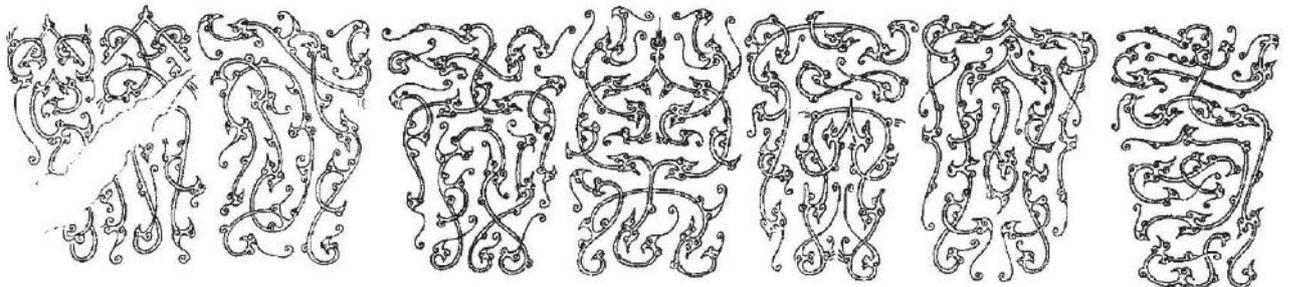
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Fig. 41: Francois Louis. Characters in the lower register of vessel A with references in standard script. Drawing and print. Ink on paper. 2003.

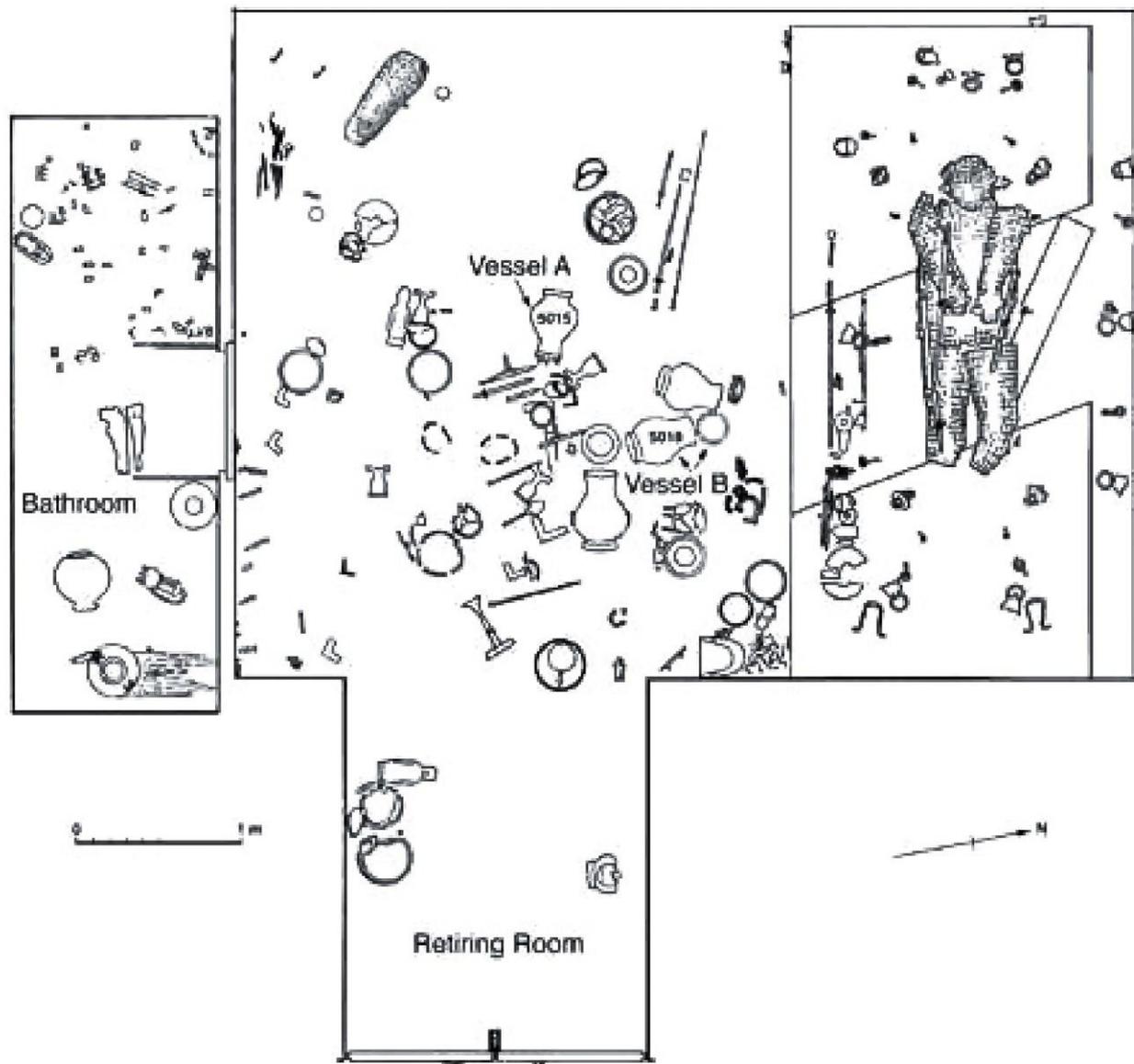


Fig. 42: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. *Plan of Liu Sheng's Tomb*. Drawing. Ink on paper. 1980.

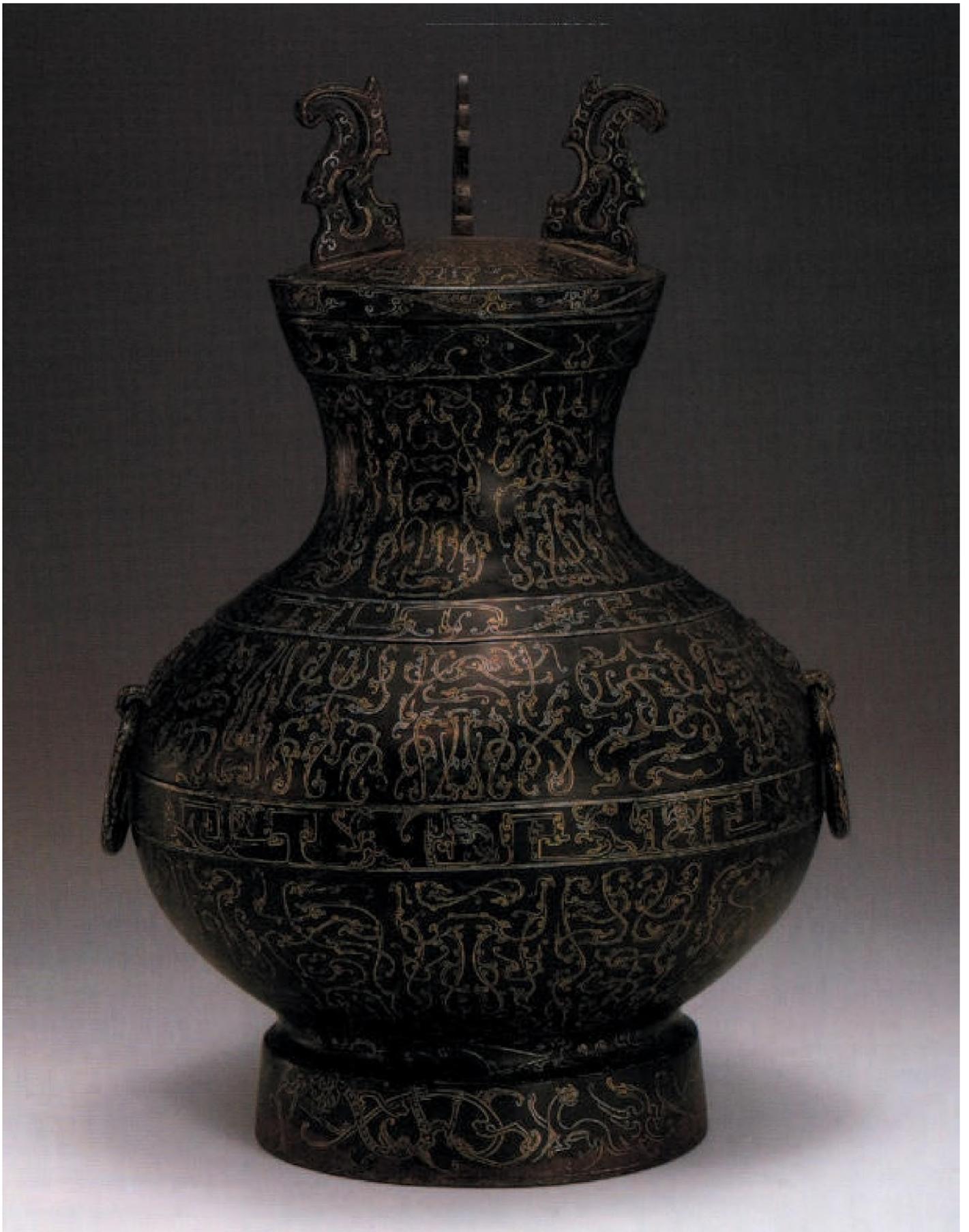


Fig. 43: Unverified. *Vessel with Bird-Script (Cuo jinyin niao zhuanshu hu)*. China. Second century BCE. Wine vessel. Bronze, gold, and silver. 44.2 x 28.5 cm. Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang.

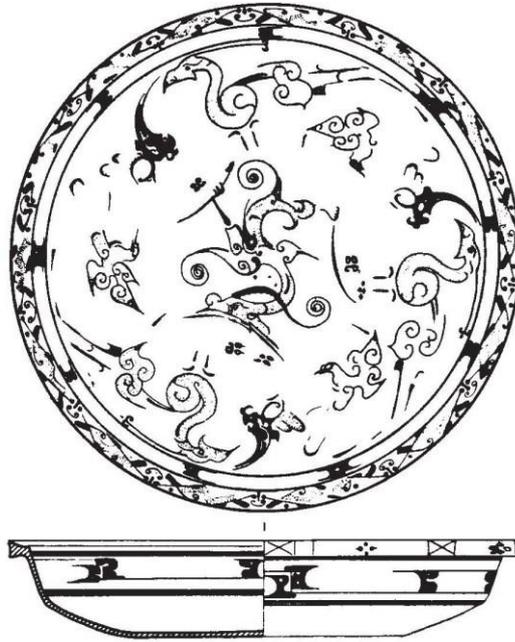


Fig. 44: Unverified. *Ornamental Designs on a Southern Lacquer Dish*. China. Third century BCE. Lacquer and black pigments on wood. 28.8 cm. Tomb 135, Yangjia shan, Jiangling, Hubei.

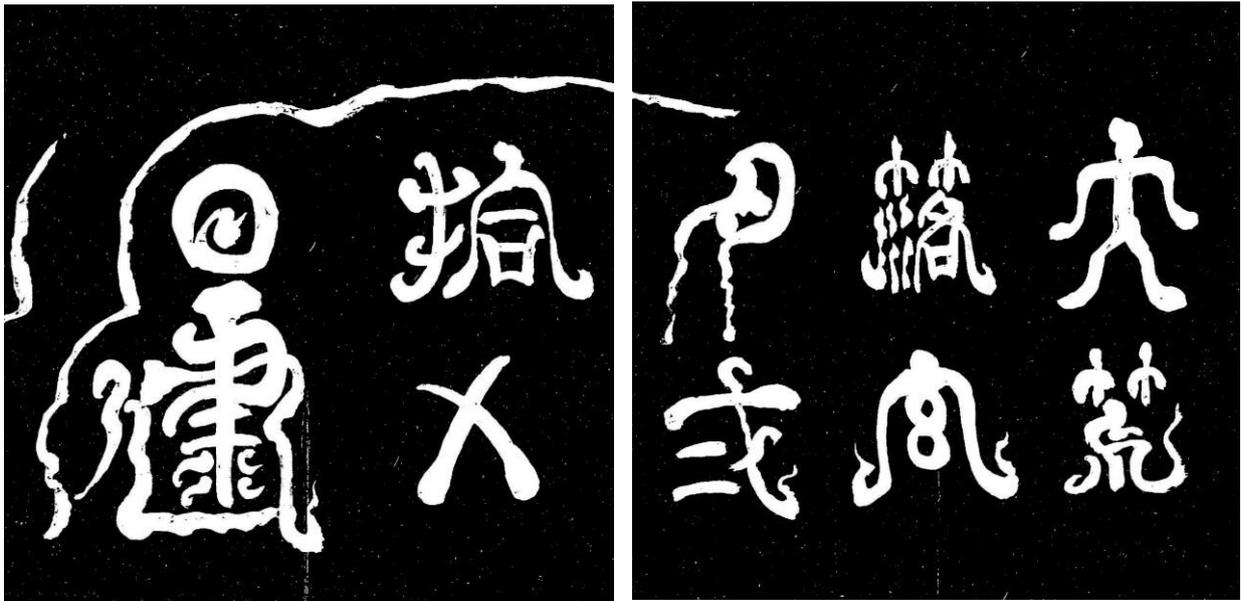


Fig. 46a and 46b: Kūkai. *Inscription on the Masuda Reservoir Monument (Masuda ike no himei)*. Japan, 825. Rubbing. Ink on paper.

Fig. 45: Unverified. The Japanese replica of Xiao Ziliang. *Compendium of Seal and Standard Scripts from Ancient and Modern Times (Kokin tenrei buntai) Phoenix Script (Sakuhō sho)*. Japan. Important cultural property. Thirteenth century. Handscroll. Ink on paper. 1120 x 31.5cm. Bishamondō Temple, Kyoto



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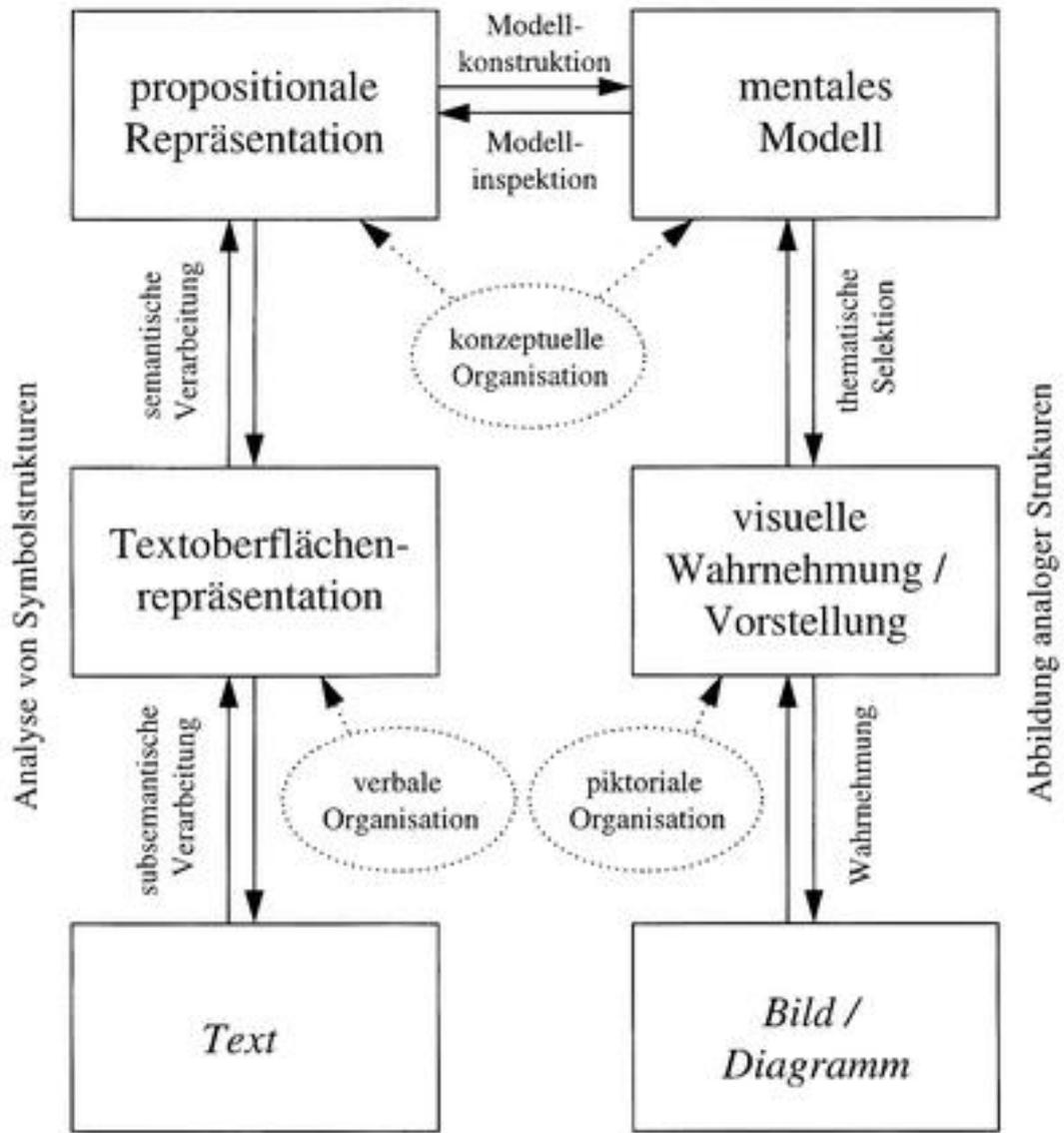


Fig. 47: Wolfgang Schnotz and Maria Bannert. *Einflüsse der Visualisierungsform auf die Konstruktion mentaler Modelle beim Text- und Bildverstehen*. Diagram. Ink on paper. 2003.

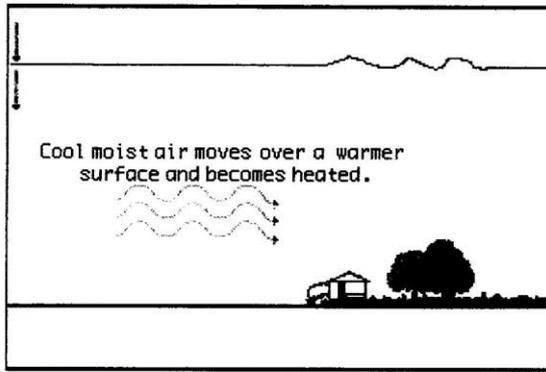
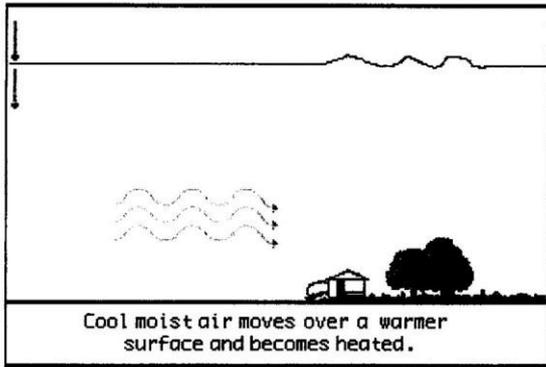
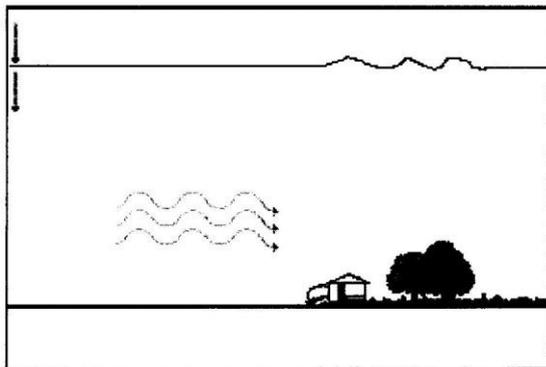


Fig. 48: Roxana Moreno and Richard Mayer. *Fig 1. Diagram. Ink on paper. 1999.*

Pictorial composition with integrated text at reference points



Pictorial composition with a separated text compartment.



Pictorial composition without text.

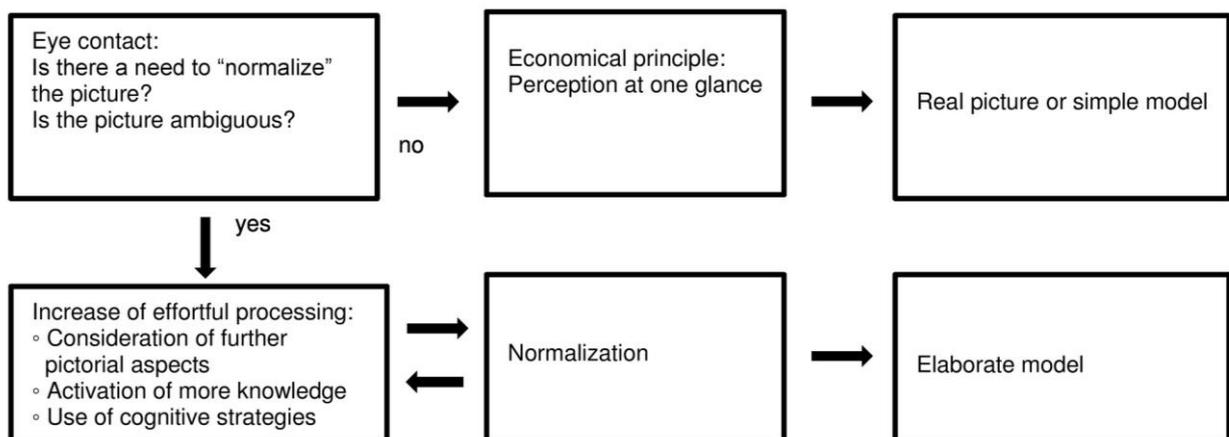


Fig. 49: Jörg Zumbach. *Cognitive Processes to Comprehend Simple and Complex Depictions after Weidenmann. Diagram. Ink on paper. 2010. Translated from German.*

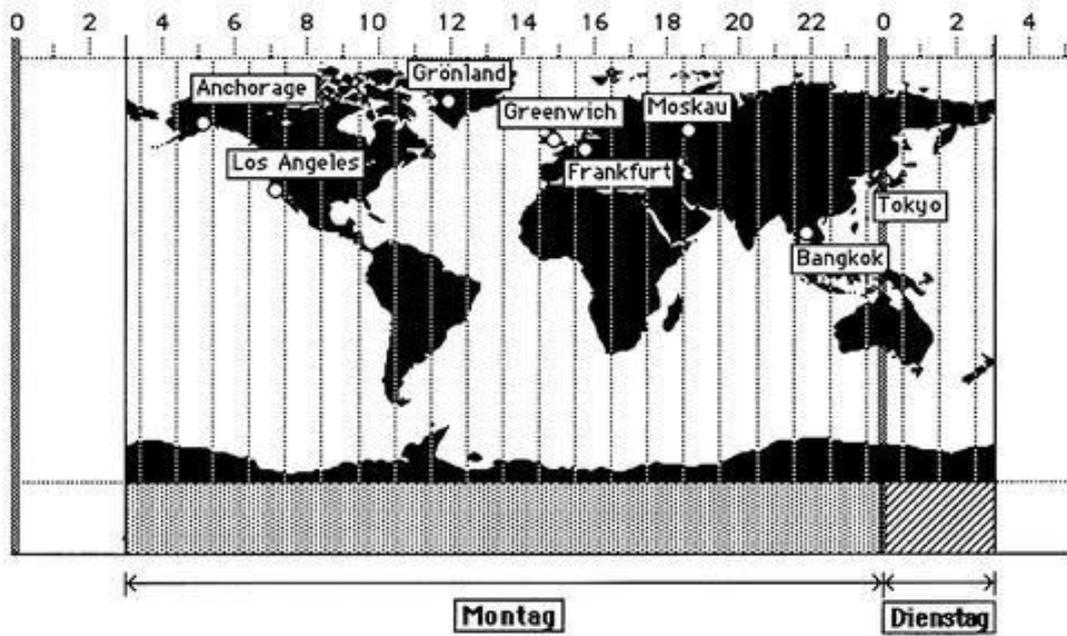


Fig. 50a: Wolfgang Schnotz and Maria Bannert. *Carpet with Map-like Depictions of the Time Zones*. Diagram. Ink on paper. 1999.

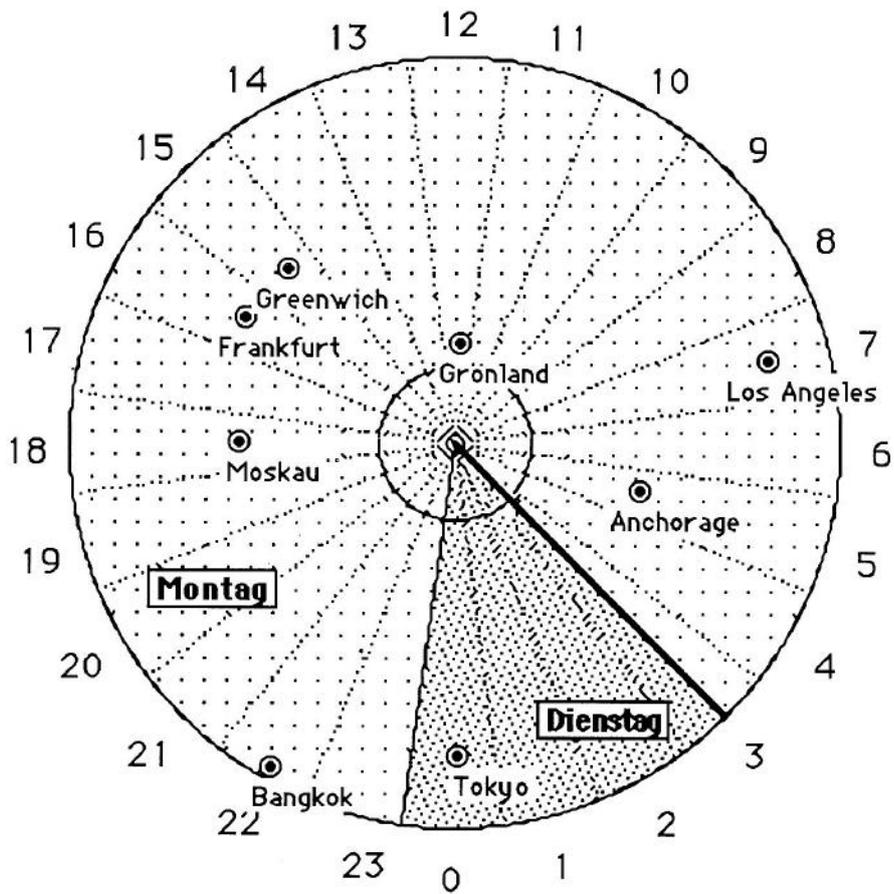


Fig. 50b: Wolfgang Schnotz and Maria Bannert. *Circular Depictions of the Time Zones*. Diagram. Ink on paper. 1999.

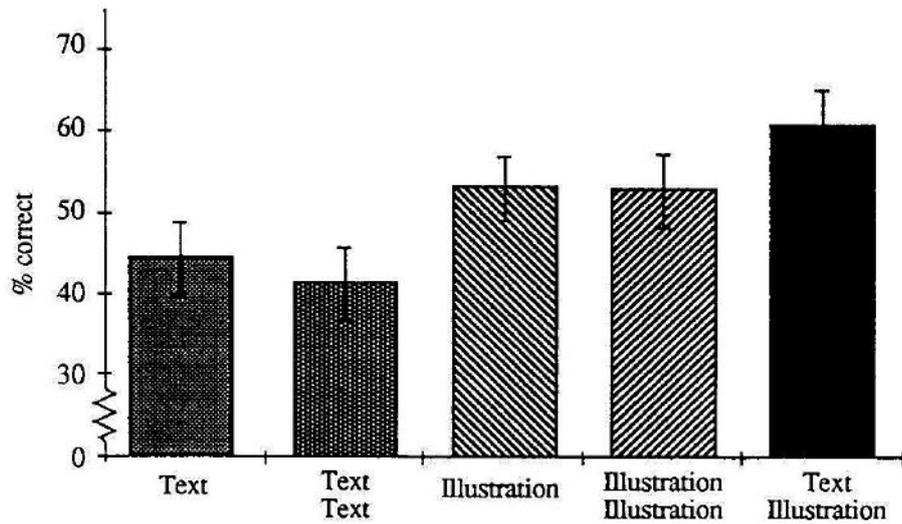


Fig. 51: Kenneth Purnell and Robert Solman. *Additive Dual Coding Effects of Text and Illustrations on the Comprehension of Geographical Material*. Diagram. Ink on paper. 1991.

| Pictures | Concrete Words | Abstract Words |
|---|----------------|----------------|
|  | Piano | Justice |
|  | Snake | Ability |
|  | Clock | Ego |
|  | Pencil | Moral |
|  | Lobster | Bravery |
|  | Cigar | Amount |
|  | Star | Theory |
|  | House | Freedom |
|  | Pipe | Grief |

Fig. 52: Allan Paivio. *List of Concrete Objects (Pictures), Concrete Words, Abstract Words*. Diagram. Ink on paper. 1971.

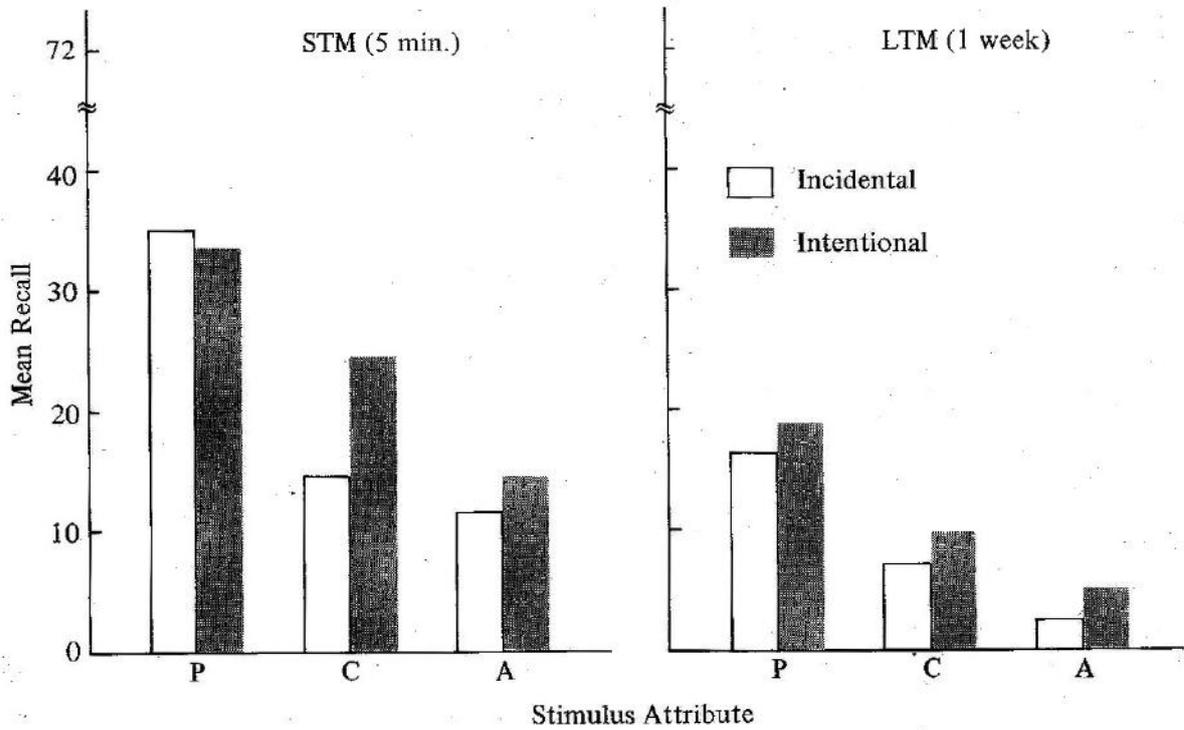


Fig. 53: Allan Paivio. *Free Verbal Recall for Pictures (P), Concrete Words (C), and Abstract Words (A) after Different Retention Intervals and Under Intentional or Incidental Learning Conditions.* Diagram. Ink on paper. 1971.

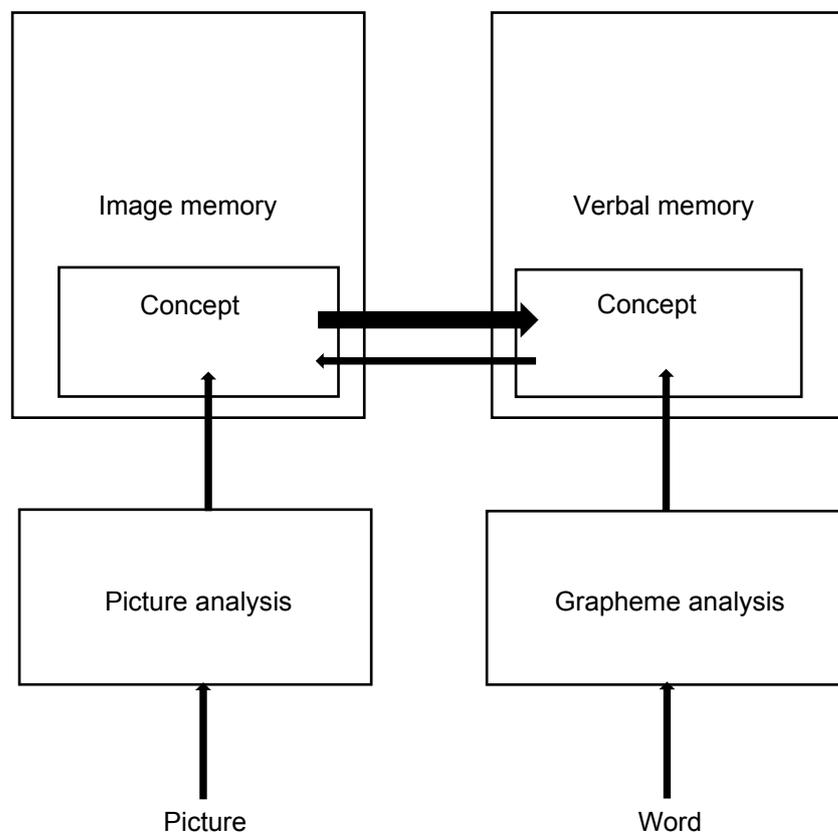


Fig. 54: Jörg Zumbach. *Memory Systems after Paivio.* Diagram. Ink on paper. 2010. Translated from German.



Fig. 55a: Skirtfront piece (*hiraao*) as part of the garment of a civil officer in the Heian period. Doll and historical attire.



Fig. 55b: Skirtfront piece as part of the garment of a military officer in the Heian period. Doll and historical attire.



Fig. 56: Unverified. The Sequence of Initials in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* forming the Phrase “POLIAM FRATER FRANCISCUS COLUMNA PERAMAVIT.” Venice. 1499. Compilation of single woodcut illustrations in the novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Ink on paper.

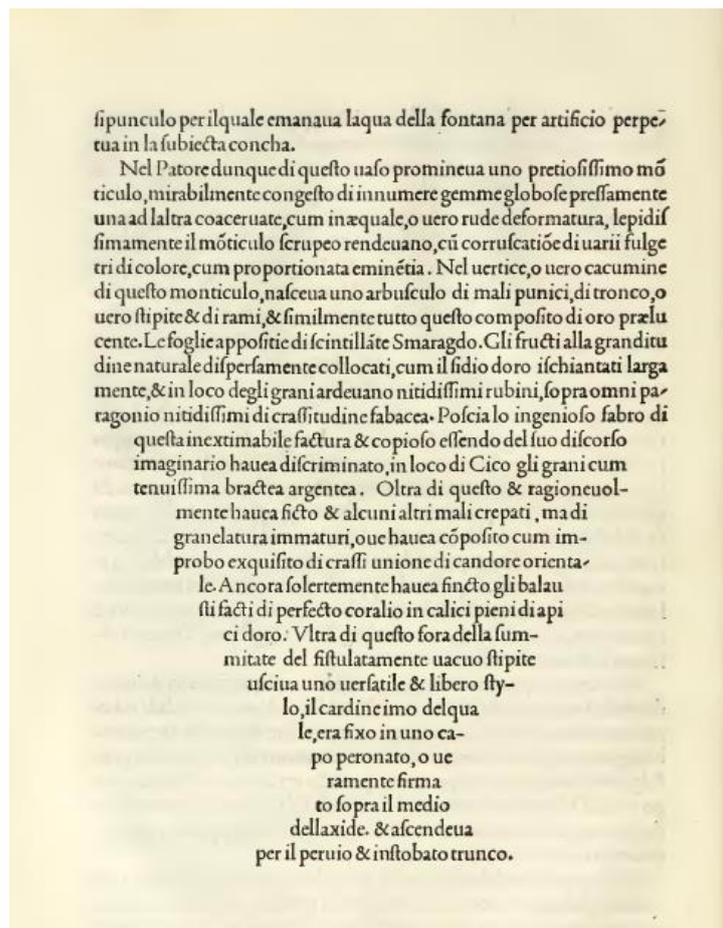


Fig. 57: Unverified. *Text in Shape of a Vase*. Venice. 1499. Woodcut illustration in the novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Ink on paper.

dena ad intrare nella Elephantina machina exuiferata.

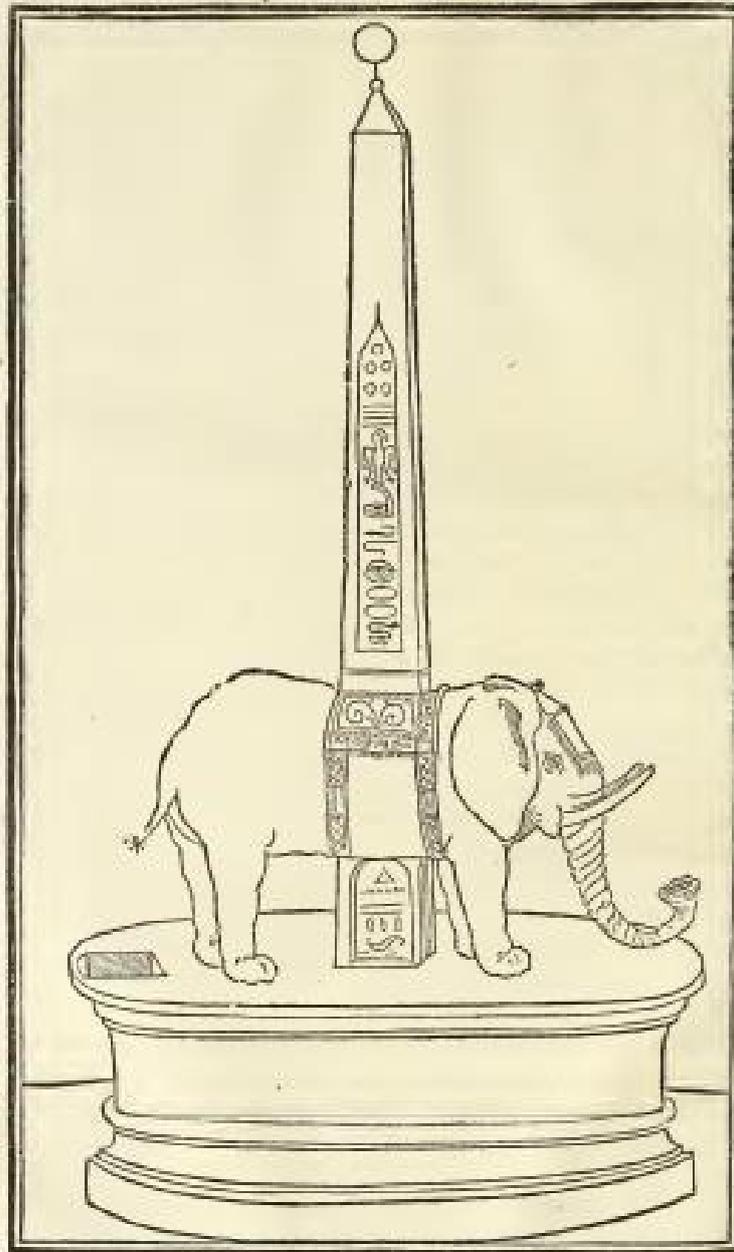


Fig. 58: Unverified. *The Obelisk of the Elephant Sculpture*. Venice. 1499. Woodcut illustration in the novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Ink on paper.

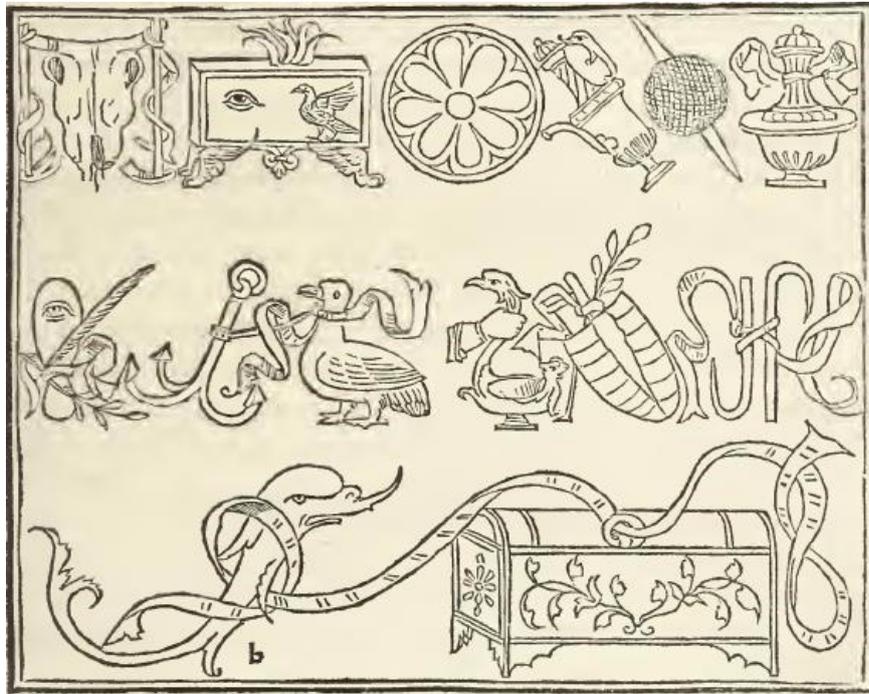


Fig. 59: Unverified. *Ex Labore Deo*. Venice. 1499. Woodcut illustration in the novel *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Ink on paper. 8.3 x 10.2 cm.

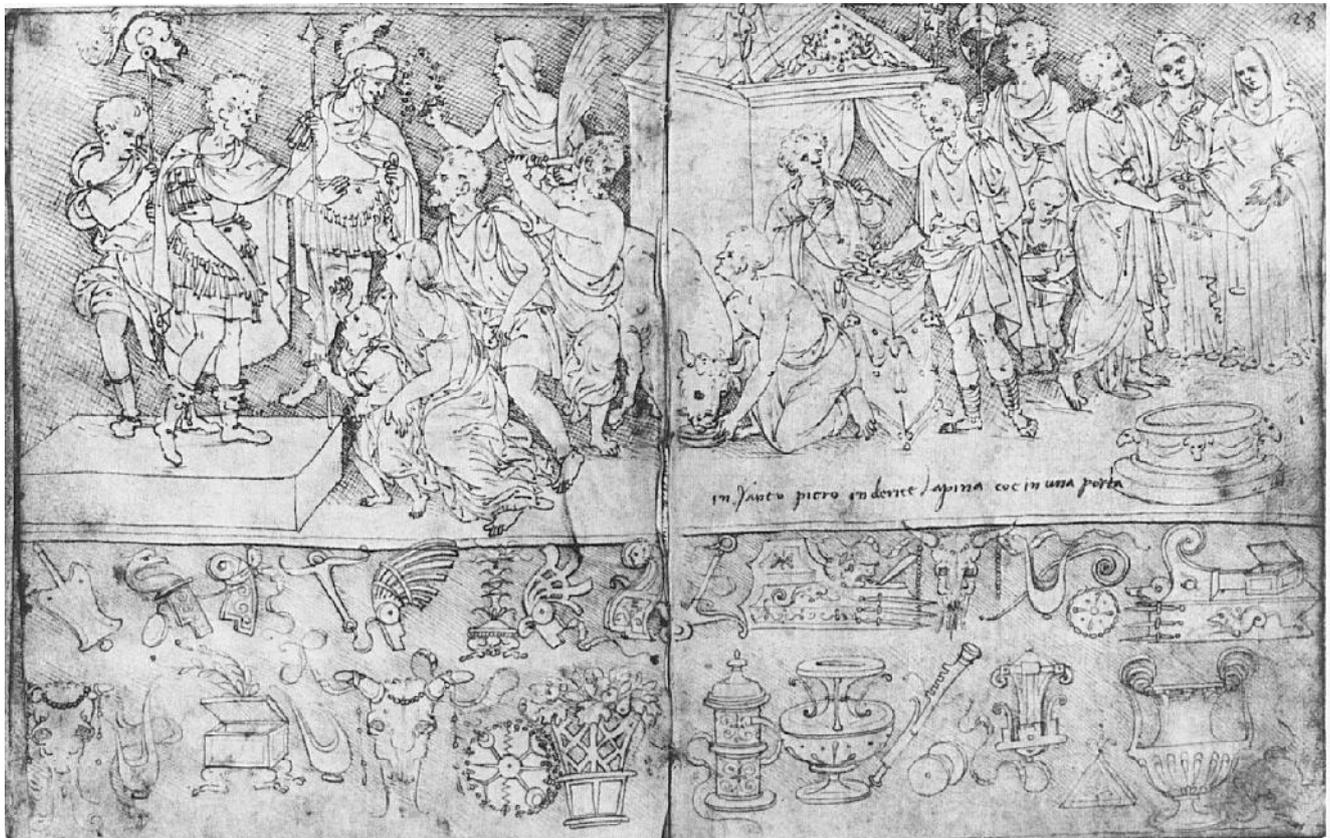


Fig. 60: Amico Aspertini. *The Temple Frieze of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura*. Rome. 1500-1503. Reproduction from 1986. Drawing in the Codex Wolfegg. Ink on paper. 22.5 x 17 cm.



Fig. 61: Gian Lorenzo Bernini/Unverified. *Obelisco de la Piazza della Minerva*. Italy/Egypt. 1667 (elephant)/587 BCE (obelisk). Sculpture. Marble (elephant)/rose granite (obelisk), 722 cm (height of the elephant)/547 cm (height of the obelisk).



Fig. 62: Unverified. *Obelisco de la Piazza della Minerva*. Obelisk. Egypt, 587 BCE. Installed as part of the sculpture in Florence in 1667. Sculpture. Rose granite with metal applications. Height 547 cm.