

*Kitano Tenjin engi*

# Kitano Tenjin engi

## Overview

### I.

The *Kitano Tenjin engi* (Legends of Kitano Tenjin Shrine) presents the biography of Sugawara no Michizane and miracles associated with him, leading to his deification and the founding of the Kitano Tenmangū Shrine. The eight-scroll Jōkyū version of this handscroll, often referred to as the original version, is reproduced here. Other very old versions include the Kōan version. Both are preserved by the Kitano Tenmangū in Kyōto. The Kōan version has, however, been badly scattered; part of it is now on deposit in the Tokyo National Museum.

The Jōkyū version consists of eight scrolls. Since the text begins, “Until now, in the first year of the Jōkyū era,” we know that it dates from the first year of Jōkyū (1219). Many other versions of this handscrolls were created later, but since most are based on the Jōkyū version, we can infer that such scrolls’ popularity developed after the Jōkyū version was created.

It was the first year of Engi (901) when Sugawara no Michizane was falsely accused of treason by Fujiwara no Tokihira and exiled to Tsukushi (Kyūshū). He died there after three years in exile. Thus, this scroll was not painted until 316 years after the events depicted in it. The text antedates the handscroll; we know that it was completed in the fifth year of Kenkyū (1194), on the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month; it is thus known as the Kenkyū version. Comparison of their texts makes it clear that the text of the Jōkyū version handscroll is based on the Kenkyū version.

The exile of Michizane was a high profile event at the time, and many strongly expressed their sympathy for him. After his death in exile, a lightning strike on the Seiryōden, where the emperor resided within the imperial palace precincts, and other calamities were taken to be vengeful actions by his angry spirit. Those tales were mingled with historical fact and told again and again, with the Kitano Tenjin Shrine (where the spirit of Michizane is enshrined as Tenjin) a focus of transmission. The stories were compiled into one narrative relating the legends behind the founding of that shrine in the fifth year of Kenkyū (1194). The text was evidently written by a Buddhist priest, because it includes, near the end of the text, a mention of the *Rokudō* (the Buddhist six realms of rebirth) in connection with the sudden death of the venerable priest Nichizō of Kinpusen.

The narrative was revised in the Kempō era (1213-1219) to fit the standard origin-legend format. The Kenkyū version from 1194 had the text about the Six Realms and the founding of the Kitano shrine after the main text. The Kempō version includes stories of miracles at the Kitano Shrine. It seems probable that the handscroll section about the Six Realms originally had a textual portion and that the handscroll also included depictions of the founding of the Kitano Tenjin Shrine and of the miracles associated with it. That can be inferred from the surviving preliminary sketches for a ninth volume of the handscroll. Thus, it seems likely that the

handscroll was left incomplete or, if completed, that the textual portion of the eighth scroll and the entirety of the ninth and any additional scrolls have been lost.

For the handscroll to end with only text-free depictions of the six realms in the eighth scroll is all too abrupt. Moreover, in terms of the order of the narrative, it would be more logical to describe the founding of the Kitano Shrine after Emperor Daigo retired into the Buddhist priesthood. That is the order followed in the *Matsugasaki Tenjin engi*, which dates from the first year of Ōchō (1311), a century later than the Jōkyū version.

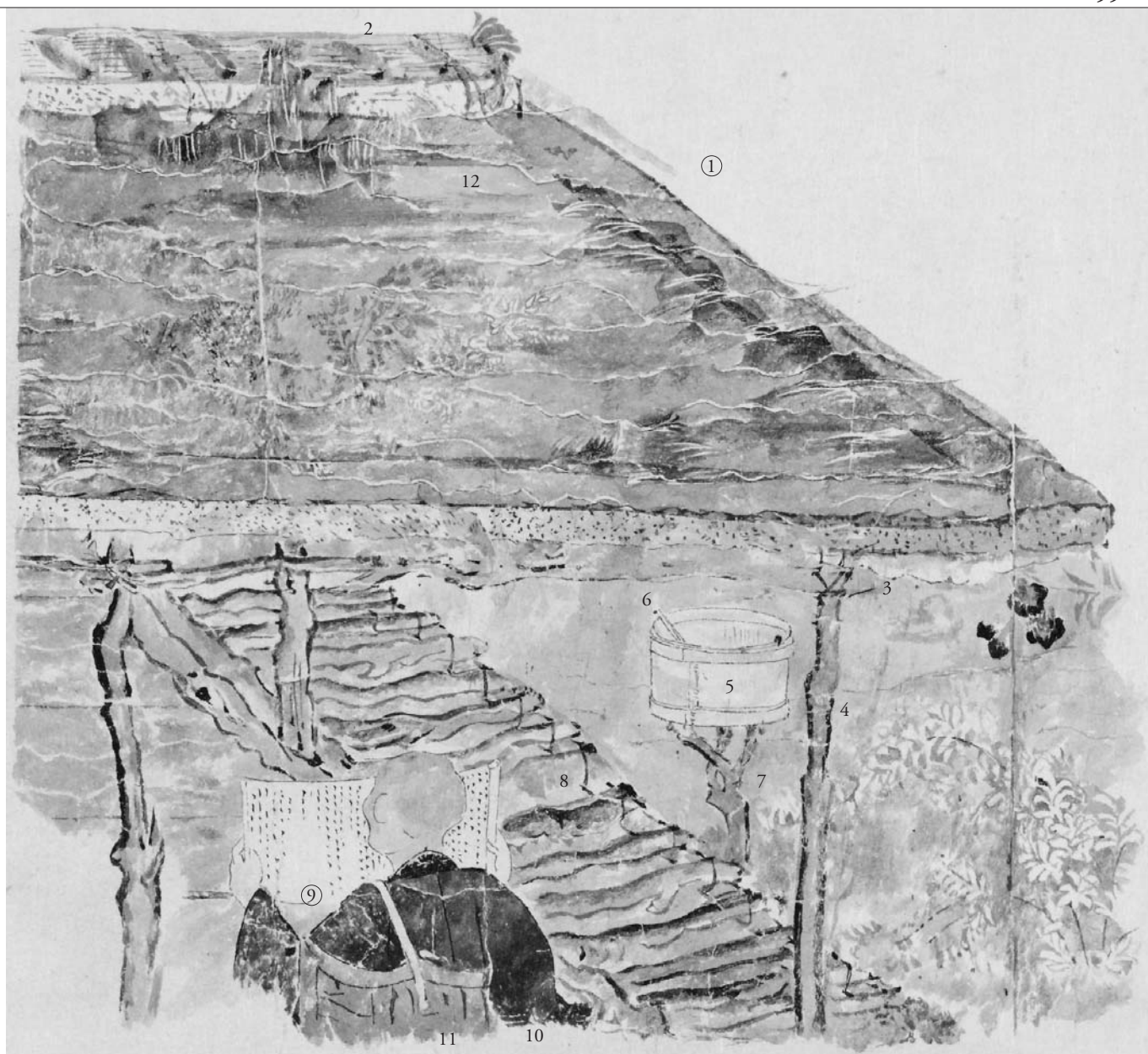
The art historian Minamoto Toyomune has suggested that this handscroll was an offering dedicated to the Kitano Shrine by Fujiwara no Michiie. Since Michiie is known to have written the text for Scrolls 1, 2, and 6, the effusive dedication with which Scroll 1 begins does support Minamoto’s hypothesis.

### II.

Turning to the content of this handscroll and its value as reference material, we should note that Michizane lived from the ninth to the early tenth century, in the early Heian period, while the handscroll dates from the early thirteenth century. The three hundred year gap implies that not only stylistically but in the customs and scenes shown, the scrolls are characteristic of the late Heian period, while depicting a story from three centuries earlier. Here, for example, we do not see the *hikime kagibana* (slit eyes, hooked nose) style used to draw faces, familiar from the early twelfth century *Tale of Genji* illustrated handscroll (*Genji monogatari emaki*). The painting is extremely free in style.

The first section of Scroll 1 shows underlings awaiting their master in front of the mansion of Sugawara no Koreyoshi; they are depicted vividly, in a variety of costumes and poses. In the first section of the second scroll, the scene in which Michizane is engaged in archery at the mansion of Miyako no Yoshika is one of several that shows a number of commoners watching aristocratic pursuits and suggests that ordinary people had rather free access to such great mansions. In the second section, Michizane is ceremoniously presenting fifty felicitations at the Kisshōin Temple, one or two people are listening to the priest reading the sutras, and other people are gathered there very much at their ease. Even during a ceremony, those watching apparently were quite free to situate themselves as they wished. In the first and second sections of Scroll 4, which show Michizane on his way to exile in Kyūshū, the actions and expressions of his underlings and those seeing him off are depicted in great detail.

The second section of Scroll 5, Michizane’s burial, provides a guide to late Heian burial customs. In the eighth and final scroll, the scenes of death, disease, birth, and fire, even if imagined, are extremely valuable in providing information on funerals, illness, childbirth, furniture and supplies, and other details of daily life. These scenes are also depicted in the *Jikkaizu* (Ten Realms) hanging scrolls in the Zenrinji Temple in Kyōto. Thus, we can infer that the *Kitano Tenjin engi* was not only the source of the many Tenjin scrolls created but also the model for subsequent renderings of the *Rokudōe* and *Jikkaizu*.

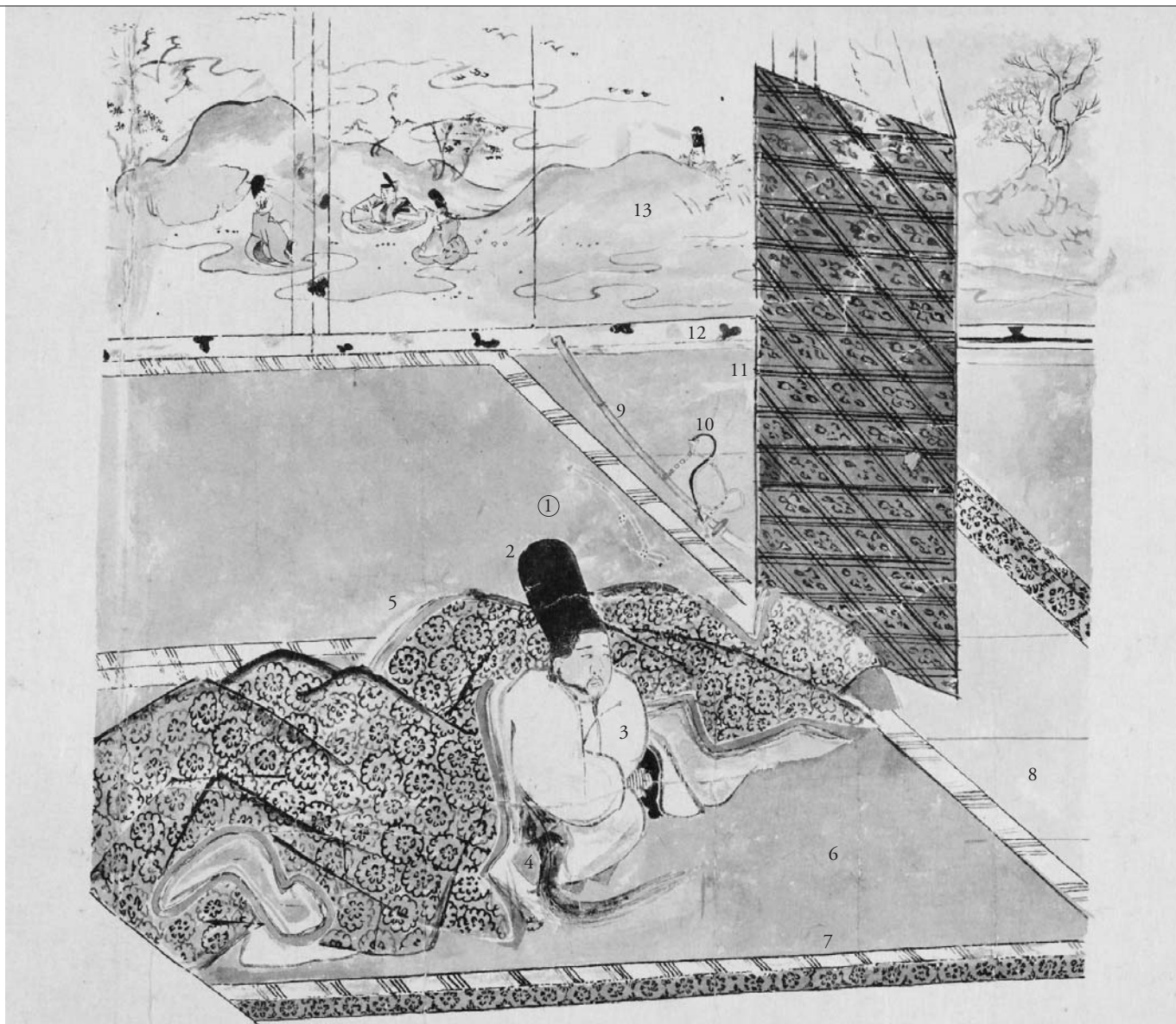


- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| ① <i>kuroki-zukuri</i> house                 | 8 porch (log)              |
| 2 ridge weight                               | ⑨ priest reciting a prayer |
| 3 horizontal beam connecting support pillars | 10 priest's black robes    |
| 4 pillar (natural log)                       | 11 <i>kesa</i>             |
| 5 votive water container                     | 12 thatch                  |
| 6 ladle                                      |                            |
| 7 forked pole                                |                            |

## 99 *Kuroki-zukuri* House

Houses made from wood with practically no alterations made from timber in its natural state were known as *kuroki-zukuri* houses. When an important personage such as the emperor would use such a place to spend the night on his way to exile, then the house would be known as a *kuroki no gosho*, or a *kuroki* palace. The house in the picture is of such a construction, with a roof made of grass thatching and the ridgepole even made of hay wound with rope. The support posts and porch are made from unaltered natural logs, while the posts are attached to each other by means of rope. The

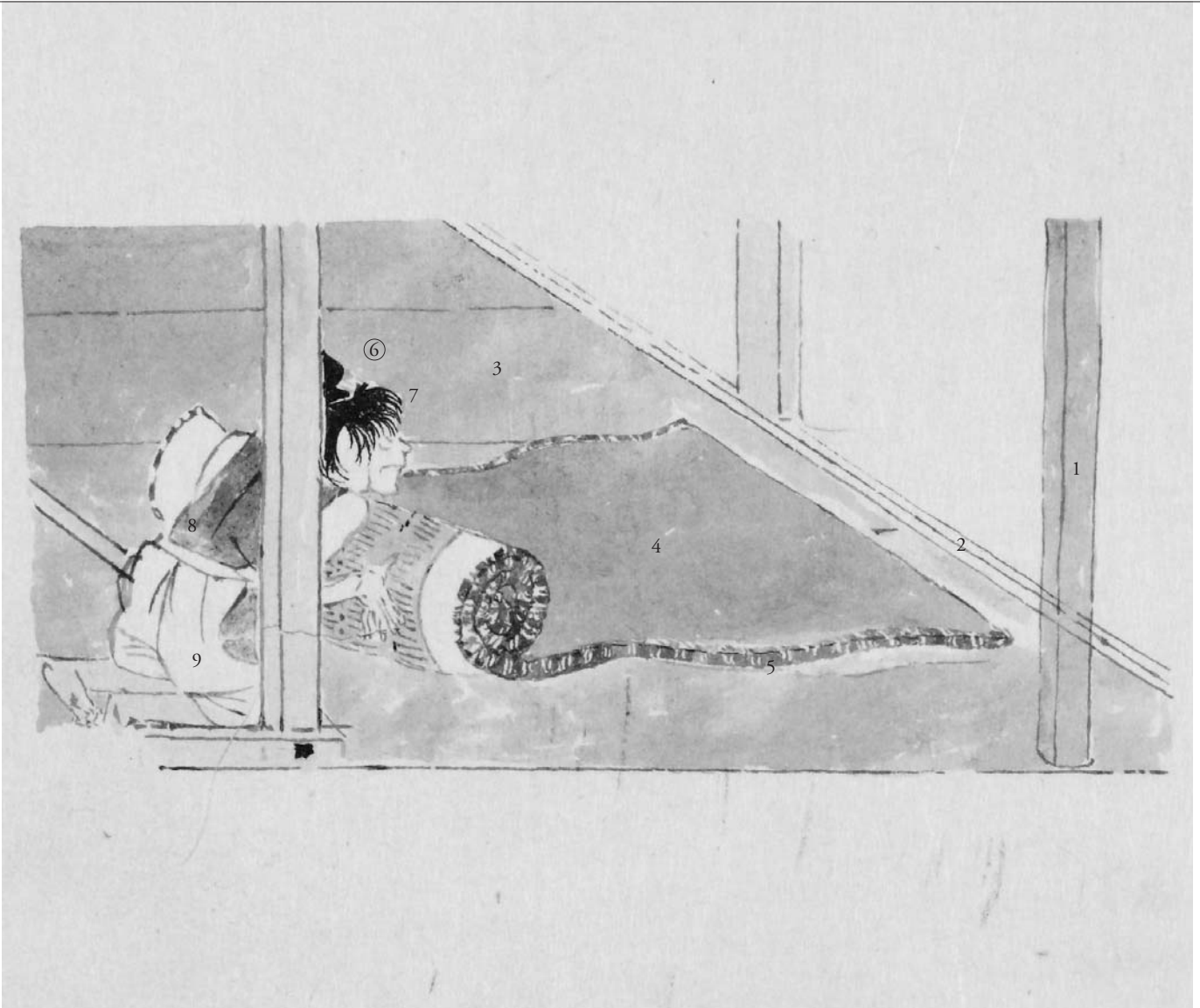
logs of the porch have also not been attached by nails but lashed together by rope. This is probably intended to be a depiction of a poor house of the times. In front of the house, on a support made of tree branches, is a small votive water container. As the house has no walls, nor even screen or lattice shutters standing in their place, it is probably not a house used for actual dwelling. A priest is reading what appears to be a prayer inside the house. As he is not wearing formal clothing, and merely has a *kesa* on over his ordinary *kokui*, we may assume that this is not a special occasion; rather, it is merely a very ordinary scene of everyday life.



- ① aristocrat reclining in illness
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 white robe
- 4 tiger skin rug
- 5 *fusuma*
- 6 *tatami*
- 7 *ungen* pattern cloth edging
- 8 wooden floor
- 9 talisman sword
- 10 cord to attach sword to sheath
- 11 folding screen
- 12 threshold
- 13 sliding door (painted)

## 100 Sleeping Quarters

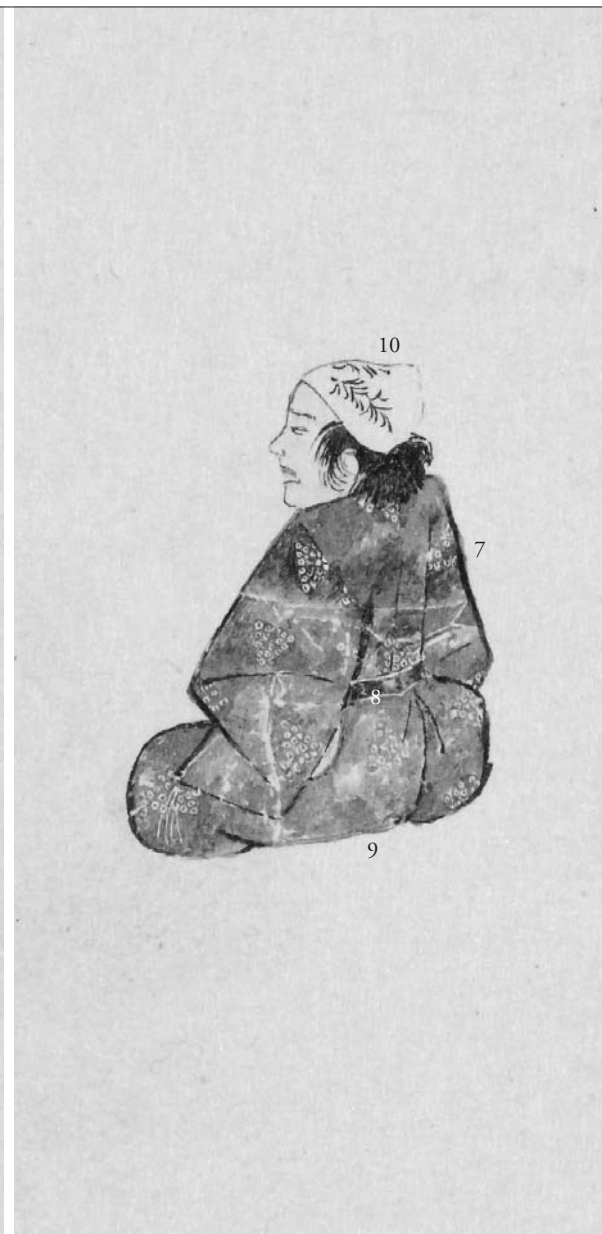
This is a depiction of Fujiwara no Tokihira recovering from illness in his room. Tokihira is wearing an *eboshi*, a white robe, and is covered by a *fusuma*, or type of blanket. A thick *tatami* with *ungen* pattern cloth edging has been laid upon the floor, and a folding screen with a diamond pattern has been set up. The sword laid along the edge of the *tatami* is a talisman sword. A pastoral scene of play is depicted on the sliding door in the background. This picture allows us a valuable insight into the sleeping quarters of the nobility. Sleeping areas were set up as small parts of larger rooms, separated by screens, curtains, and the like. *Tatami* would then be laid, upon which people would sleep directly, covered in a blanket known as a *fusuma*. It is thought that the reason he is wearing an *eboshi* is because he had a visitor. It is not rare to see pictures in which hats are worn even in sleeping quarters, but the *eboshi* itself was a part of the formal regalia of the time. The Japanese originally wore no headwear, but came to adopt them as part of formal wear under the influence of continental culture. As a result, the old customs tended to be maintained in private life, meaning that hats would be removed when sleeping.



## 101 *Tatami*

*Tatami* makes an appearance in the early dictionary *Wamyō ruijūshō*, and was originally a temporary matting which was either rolled up as in this picture or folded and piled up when not in use. It featured decorative edgings on the long edges. The *Tsutsumi Chūnagon monogatari* makes reference to “brocade edging, *kōrai* edging (a design featuring black flower patterns on a white background), *ungen* edging and purple edging”, while the *Makura no sōshi* (*Pillow Book*) also mentions *ungen* edging. The most prized *tatami* edgings were the *kōrai* and *ungen* styles, which were only allowed to be used in imperial buildings or temples, or in the half-mats in front of religious alcoves in other buildings. The *tatami* in this picture has white edging with black patterns, indicating that it is of the *kōrai* style. There were two different types within this category: the *daimon*, which was only to be used by high-ranking imperial officials, and the *komon*, which lower-ranked aristocrats would use, and which we can see in this picture. The man in the sleeveless garment rolling up the *tatami* is probably a servant. A passage from the *Makura no sōshi* detailing the beauty of the patterns on *tatami* edging indicates that these were considered objects of great beauty in this era.

- 1 square pillar
- 2 threshold
- 3 wooden floor
- 4 *tatami*
- 5 *kōrai* pattern cloth edging
- ⑥ man rolling up *tatami*
- 7 untidy hair
- 8 sleeveless kimino
- 9 *hakama*



- ① man leaning on a pile of *ichimegasa*
- 2 *zugin*
- 3 *kosode*
- 4 Buddhist rosary
- 5 *ichimegasa*
- 6 cord for fastening *ichimegasa*
- 7 *hitatare*
- 8 *obi*
- 9 *bakama*
- 10 *bokuō*

## 102 Headwear

This is a picture from Scroll 2. While headwear aside from sedge hats became exceedingly rare from the Edo era, until then it was customary for all males other than children and priests to cover their heads. Tracing history back still further, however, one discovers that headwear was not customary before the *kofun* (tumulus) era, indicating that the custom of covering one's head actually came from overseas. The adoption of the Chinese system of the use of headwear and clothing to indicate status had a particularly significant effect on ancient Japanese clothing customs. In order to wear such headwear, it became necessary to style the hair into a top-knot, but those of lower rank often had short or ungathered hair. As seen in this picture, such individuals would use other means to cover their heads.



## 103 Headwear

This picture, from Scroll 5, depicts a man tying the laces of a priest's *waraji*, or straw sandals. The priest has his head covered in a cloth. The other priest in the picture is wearing a *zugin*, over the top of which he has tied a headband. The ends of the *zugin* have been crossed over in front of his neck. This priest is also ringing a bell. This style of dress is probably related to the masks worn by warrior priests. The priest is also wearing leggings and foot protectors.

- ① priest wearing a white cloth
- 2 white cloth
- 3 wide-sleeved kimono
- 4 *kesa*
- 5 stick with a T-shaped handle
- ⑥ tying the cord of straw sandals (*waraji*)
- 7 hair knot
- 8 *hitatare*
- 9 *sashinuki*
- ⑩ priest ringing a bell
- 11 *zugin*
- 12 cord
- 13 priestly robes
- 14 bell
- 15 bell hammer
- 16 *kesa*
- 17 cloth leggings (*nuno-habaki*)
- 18 foot cover
- 19 straw sandals (*waraji*)



- ① servants carrying ropes attached to a coffin
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 rope
- 4 *kaviginu*
- 5 *ryōtō*
- 6 *sashinuki*
- 7 barefoot

## 104 *Ryōtō*

Scroll 3. This is a depiction of the clothing of two men carrying the ropes attached to the front of the emperor's palanquin. Under the heading of "*saifuku*", or "ceremonial clothing" in the *Gotōdai shōzokushō*, is the following definition: "Clothing worn on religious occasions. Often a *chihaya* is worn over this. *Chihaya* is a woven cloth. It is usually of red brocade or other color." The entry for the twenty-seventh day of the second month, the first year of Hōen (1135) in the diary of Minamoto no Morotoki (*Chōshūki*) also mentions that those accompanying the palanquin in an imperial wore *chihaya*, leggings made of yew and straw sandals. It is said that *chihaya* comes from the words *ichihaya* meaning "quickly", but this is not known for certain. A *chihaya* basically consists of a single strip of cloth with a hole cut in the middle for the head to go through, which then hangs down over the chest and back, where it is tied in place with an *obi*. However, very few high-ranking individuals appear to wear *chihaya* in the picture scrolls; rather, it is the likes of guards and retainers who wore these garments. The *ryōtō* worn in this picture, dangling over the shoulders of the two men to a similar length in both front and back, are very similar to *chihaya*.





## 105 *Chihaya*

From Scroll 5, this is a depiction of the burial of Sugawara no Michizane. The man carrying a torch is wearing a *hitai-eboshi* and an over-garment known as a *chihaya*. While there did exist a custom of wearing *chihaya* at burial ceremonies, this was not universally observed, as seen by the fact that only one of the two men in the picture is doing so. This is not in fact a standard *chihaya*; this one has been made by taking a long piece of white cloth and cutting a vertical slit in it for the head to go through. The other man is wearing a white cloth tied under his chin, which is meant in this case to express his mourning, in much the same way that wearing a white robe would. This is not, however, official mourning dress. *Chihaya* are still worn today, for example by the young men who take part in the *hana no mai*, or flower dance of the Buddha's birthday festival in regions of Aichi prefecture.

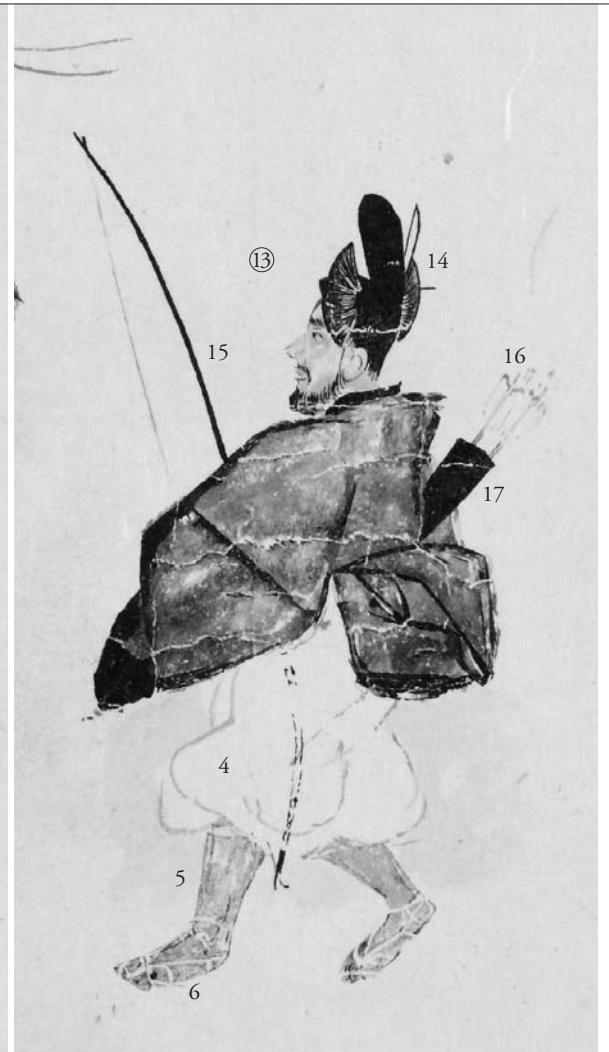
- ① man carrying torch
- 2 *hitai-eboshi*
- 3 *ori-eboshi*
- 4 *hitatare*
- 5 *chihaya*
- 6 barefoot
- ⑦ wearing white cloth on head
- 8 *samurai-eboshi*
- 9 *kosode*
- 10 armor
- 11 fan
- 12 torch



- ① *oni*
- 2 sleeveless kimono (with the right side over the left)
- 3 *obi*
- 4 loincloth

## 106 Loincloth

This is a depiction of an *oni*, or demon, from the depiction of the six stages of life in Scroll 8. Wearing a *chihaya* and a loincloth, he is dragging the dead by their hair. The word *fundoshi*, meaning loincloth, is extremely old, appearing in the *Wamyō ruijūshō* and in Volume 16 of the *Man'yōshū*, in which a beggar's song talks of using a loincloth as makeshift reins for a horse. Indeed, this was common practice, and loincloths were also referred to as *tazuna*, or reins, in the *Yōshabako* and the *Moritake senku*. Loincloths were used as a form of clothing from long ago, and their use was not confined to Japan but spread throughout south-east Asia as well. As the "six stages of life" genre originated in China, it is probable that such garments were worn in China also.



- ① man leading a horse
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 *kariginu*
- 4 *sashimuki*
- 5 cloth leggings (*habaki*)
- 6 straw sandals (*waraji*)
- ⑦ horse
- 8 reins
- 9 bit
- 10 martingale
- 11 sword
- 12 barefoot
- ⑬ retainer carrying a bow
- 14 *kanmuri (saiei)*
- 15 bow
- 16 arrows
- 17 quiver

## 107 *Habaki*

*Habaki* are a type of leggings, also known as *kyahan*, which cover the shins from below the knee, and were in use from very early in Japanese history. Evidence exists that this term was used in the Heian era, in its listing in the dictionary *Wamyō ruijūshō*. This work defines *habaki* as being made from woven yew tree bark and worn when traveling, but as the *Ryōnogige* refers to red *habaki* and white *habaki*, and the *Engishiki* refers to crimson and white *habaki*, they were clearly also made of cloth. This picture features cloth *habaki*.



- ① retainer
- 2 *kanmuri* (*saiei*)
- 3 *oikake*
- 4 *kachie*
- 5 sword
- 6 *sashinuki*
- 7 leggings (*habaki*)
- 8 bow

## 108 *Habaki*

*Habaki*, a type of leggings, were made of a wide variety of materials. As explained earlier, they were commonly made of yew, but it is reported in the *Engishiki* that on the occasion of the greeting of clan representatives on New Year's Day or at an enthronement, retainers would serve their masters wearing *habaki* made of cattail, and hemp shoes. Further, the *Butsugu shōzokushō* notes that it was customary for horse attendants and cart attendants to wear straw *habaki*. The retainers in this picture are wearing *saiei*-style *kanmuri* and what appear to be straw *habaki*. Their footwear are difficult to make out, but are probably of straw. In this way, yew, straw, and cattail were all used as material for *habaki*, while palm wood was later used for the same purpose. These materials would all be woven to make the *habaki*. Wearing these *habaki* was said to make the legs feel lighter and traveling easier, so they were often used on long journeys. However, *habaki* made of cloth also began to gain in popularity over time, and particularly as women in the Kyōto area and the west of Japan did not wear any skirts from the Edo period onward, cloth leggings known as *kyahan* came to be the norm there.



## 109 *Habaki*

These two are retainers responsible for leading master horses. They are wearing *kanmuri* of the *saiei* style, as well as *oikake*, *kariginu* and *sashinuki*. As in the previous picture, they appear to be wearing *habaki* made from straw, but in this case they are clearly wearing shoes on their feet. As we can see here, woven *habaki* of this style were left unwoven and loose at the bottom. Not only did this serve to prevent sand and other debris from entering the shoes, but also protected against rain and snow. Even today, such *habaki* can be seen in the snowy regions of Japan. The *Kokon chomonjū* includes a passage which describes Fujiwara no Sanesada's trip to Kumano to pray, in which he was said to wear "straw shoes and *habaki* for his long walk", which indicates that this style was standard for a long journey.

- ① retainer
- 2 *kanmuri (saiei)*
- 3 *kariginu*
- 4 *sashinuki*
- 5 bow
- 6 leggings (*habaki*)
- 7 shoe
- 8 *oikake*

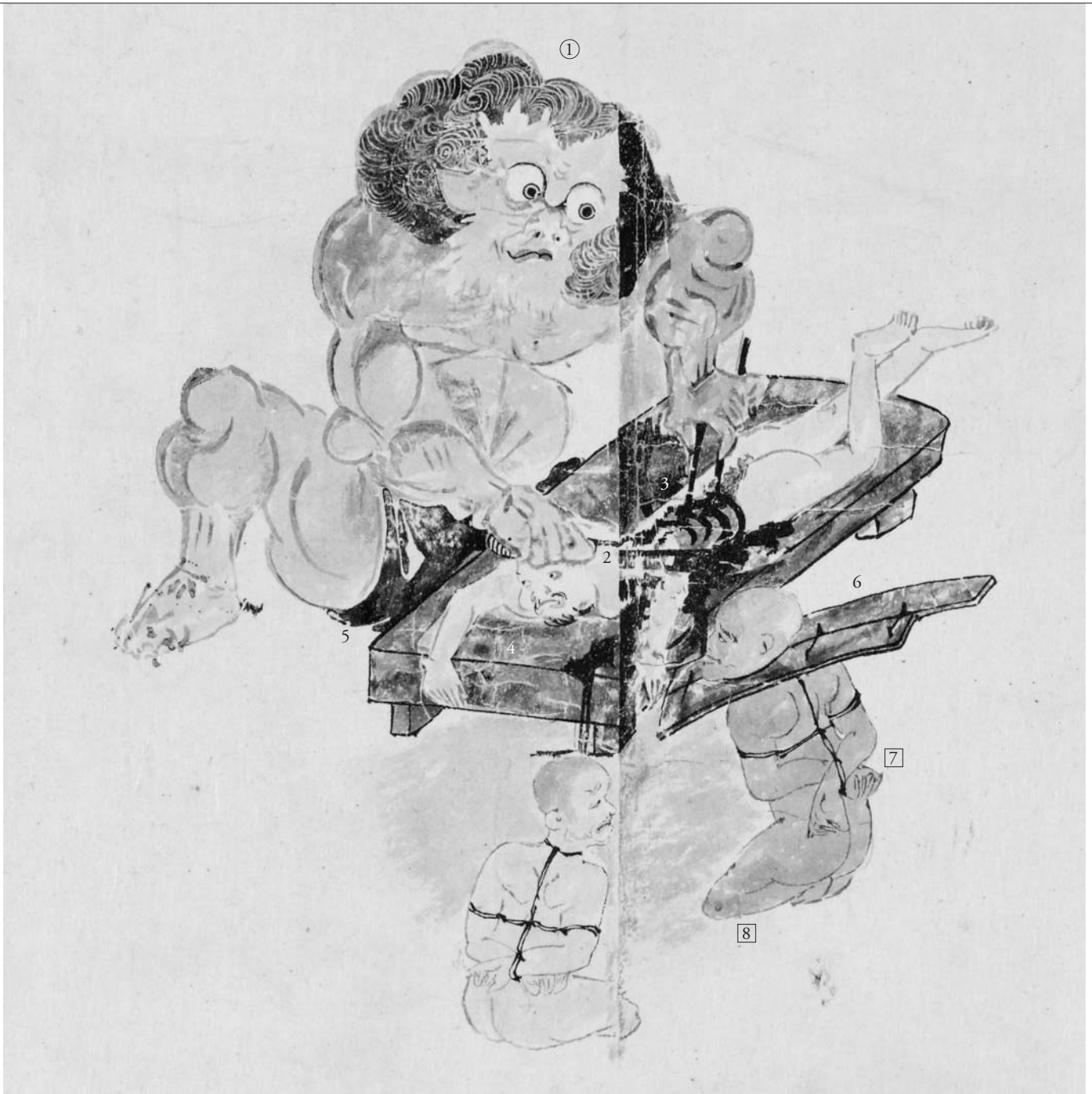
- ① man with a long-handled umbrella
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 long-handled umbrella
- 4 *hitatare* (with sleeves tucked up)
- 5 sword
- 6 *sashinuki*
- 7 barefoot
- 8 bamboo spoke
- 9 umbrella raising mechanism
- 10 stopper



## 110 Long-handled Umbrella

This is from Scroll 6, depicting the scene in which Sugawara no Michizane, having become the god of thunder, attacks the Emperor's house again. This is a depiction of a low-ranked courtier with his sleeves tucked up, wearing a *tate-eboshi* and carrying a sword and a long-handled umbrella, fleeing the scene. The umbrella has been opened, and although most of it is off the page as a result, it is probably of a type known as a *tsumaori*, or umbrella with its brim curved downward. While the framework of the umbrella is almost identical to those in use today, the handle featured a small ring to keep the umbrella up. The handle has been lacquered in black, and since no joints are visible, it must be made of wood rather than bamboo. It is unclear whether the umbrella

portion itself is made of oiled paper, silk or sedge; at the time a variety of materials was used, and many umbrellas were made of sedge if they were not intended to keep out the rain. Naturally, the umbrella was made so that it could be folded. As this umbrella was for use in the court, it was probably made of silk or oiled paper. The length of the handle is between two and two and a half meters.



- |                        |                                    |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ① oni cutting up a man | 5 loincloth                        |
| 2 sword                | 6 pillory                          |
| 3 cooking chopsticks   | 7 hands behind back                |
| 4 chopping board       | 8 sitting with knees held together |

## 111 Chopping Board, Cooking Chopsticks

This is one of the pictures of hell from the *Rokudōe* (illustrations of the six realms of rebirth) of Scroll 7, in which an *oni* has placed a dead man upon a chopping board and is cutting him into pieces. Chopping boards were used when cooking fish or meat. Reference to the use of chopping boards for the preparation of fish and birds for eating are made in the *Utsuho monogatari* and the *Konjaku monogatari*, in which Mimasaka no kuni no Kami is made to stop the practice of live sacrifices by a hunter. Cooking chopsticks were also

used in the preparation of fish and meat dishes. In this picture, the chopsticks appear to have forked ends. Typically, in Japan, cooking chopsticks were of about one *shaku* in length, and were held in the left hand to keep fish or meat in place for cutting with a knife held in the right hand. It appears that touching the food directly with one's hands was not commonly practiced. Incidentally, the depiction of the prisoner with his hands tied behind his back and his neck fixed in a pillory is not merely a fancy of the artist, but reflects the punitive practice of the age.



- |                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 <i>eboshi</i>            | 14 <i>hitatare</i>       |
| 2 sitting with one knee up | 15 <i>hakama</i>         |
| 3 resting on chin on hands | 16 barefoot              |
| 4 <i>kosode</i>            | 17 fruit                 |
| 5 man singing              | 18 wide-sleeved kimono   |
| 6 fruit                    | 19 <i>sake</i> barrel    |
| 7 paper                    | 20 porch                 |
| 8 man singing              | 21 threshold             |
| 9 narrow-sleeved kimono    | 22 pillar                |
| 10 <i>yonobakama</i>       | 23 plank door            |
| 11 man dozing              | 24 porch                 |
| 12 boring chest            | 25 <i>sunoko</i>         |
| 13 fish ( <i>ayu?</i> )    | 26 short supporting post |

## 112 Drinking Party

This is a depiction of the human realm from the *Rokudōe*. It is intended to suggest that enjoyable and relaxed drinking parties such as this one are nothing more than a dream. A woman is giving birth in the adjacent room, but this is not an official party to celebrate this event. The retainers of the household are simply celebrating informally as they see fit. Everyone is relaxed, and drinking *sake*, eating whatever happens to be available with no formal trays, and the dishes are used at random to accompany their drink.





## 113 Drinking Party

This is the continuation of the picture from the previous page. The party-goers sit as they like, either with legs crossed or outstretched in front of them. In the front of the picture, there are two men, one holding a drum and one a chime. These men are probably singers. Informal parties such as this one without even mats or cushions placed on the floor were fairly common in most homes.

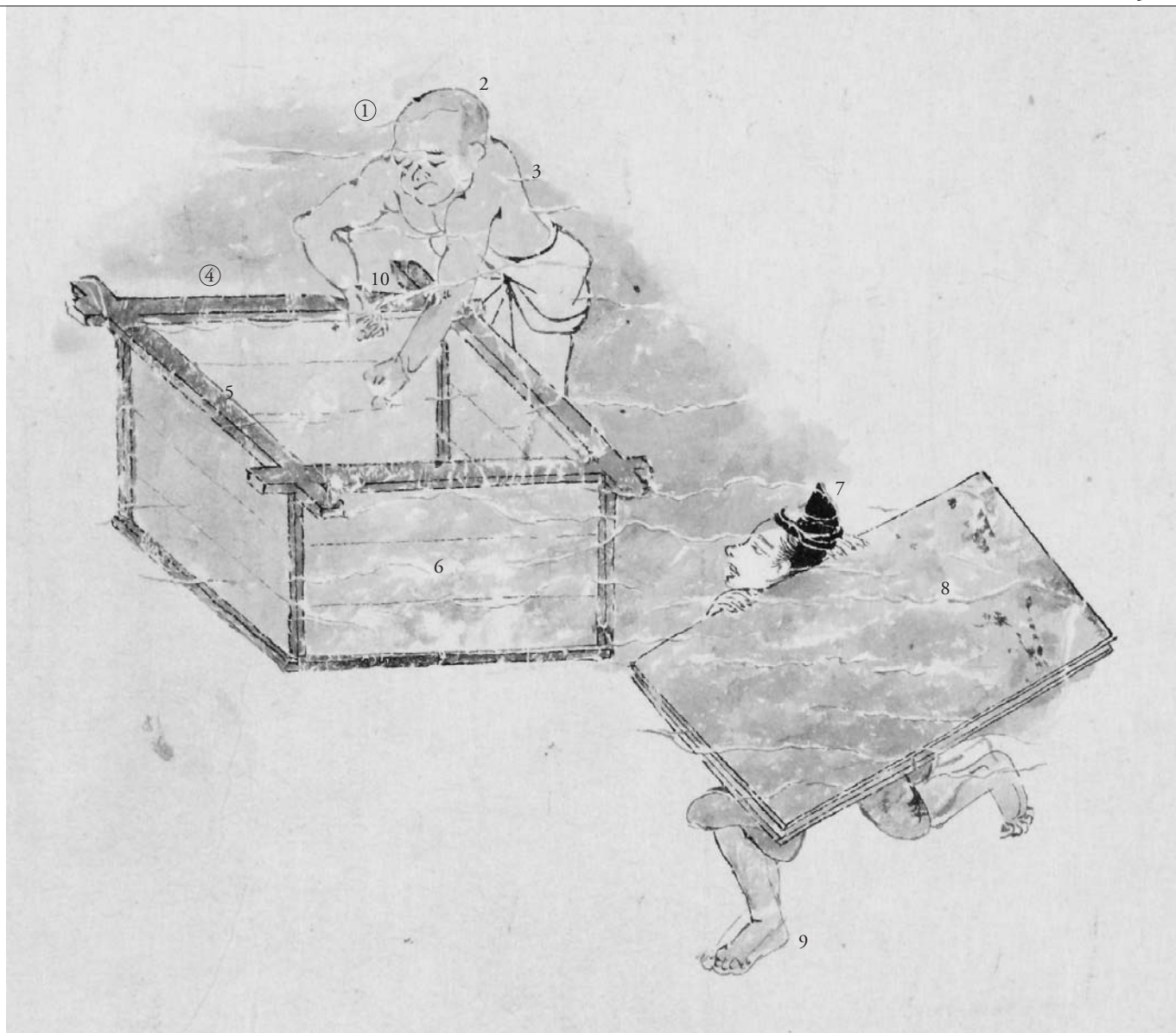
- |                                  |                              |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 <i>eboshi</i>                  | ⑮ man playing hand drum      |
| 2 <i>kosode</i>                  | 16 hand drum                 |
| ③ sitting cross-legged           | ⑰ man holding hand chime     |
| 4 <i>tate-eboshi</i>             | 18 hand chime                |
| ⑤ man stripping to waist         | 19 <i>tate-eboshi</i>        |
| ⑥ sitting with legs outstretched | 20 <i>kariginu</i>           |
| 7 ?                              | 21 threshold                 |
| 8 fruit                          | 22 pillar                    |
| 9 <i>sake holder</i>             | 23 <i>nageshi</i>            |
| 10 <i>bitatare</i>               | 24 ornament for hiding nails |
| 11 sword                         | 25 cupboard                  |
| 12 shaved head                   | 26 spouted bowl?             |
| 13 <i>kosode</i>                 | 27 wooden floor              |
| 14 <i>yonobakama</i>             | 28 <i>sunoko</i>             |



- ① man eating food off a skewer
- 2 meat
- 3 *kanbō*
- 4 "Chinese-style" clothing
- 5 *bakama*
- 6 food on skewer
- 7 skewer
- 8 bird on skewer
- ⑨ man tending fire
- 10 cord
- 11 "Chinese-style" clothing
- 12 *obi*
- 13 fire
- 14 tray
- 15 bowl
- 16 pot
- 17 bucket
- 18 *yusurutsuki*

## 114 Food on Skewers

This is another picture from the *Rokudōe*, from Scroll 8. Pictures of the six realms of rebirth came to Japan from China and were adopted by Japanese painters. This means that the clothing of the individuals depicted tends to be somewhat different from the Japanese norm and hence lacking in realism. However, the depiction of the fire place scene in this picture seems accurately Japanese. What appears to be dumplings have been placed on skewers by the fireside, along with the meat of a plucked bird, which are being roasted by the heat. This cooking style still exists today in rural regions, and this picture indicates that it was in use at this time as well.



## 115 Well

In a scene from the human life section of the six phases of life, people are pulling water from the well in an effort to put out the fire which is raging in the house nearby. Pictures of wells are most common in the *Senmen koshakyō* and also feature in the *Shigisan engi*. However, this well has a truly magnificent well-frame, with wooden boards erected on all four sides. In such cases, the wells themselves also tended to be dug in a square shape. There is no well-beam here, and it seems in this era the water would usually be drawn by hand. This well is in the grounds of a large mansion, and is not for communal use. There is no washing area as commonly seen in depictions of communal wells. It is thought that there were also quite a significant number of such private wells. The man in the foreground is carrying away a folding screen to safety, and from other depictions of musical instruments such as *biwa* and *koto* being carried away, we may gain some insight into the value systems of the day.

- ① man drawing water from the well (unclothed)
- 2 shaved head
- 3 stripping to waist
- ④ well
- 5 well-frame
- 6 wooden plank in well curb
- 7 eboshi
- 8 folding screen
- 9 barefoot
- 10 rope for a well bucket



- 1 *kanmuri* (with *oikake*)
- 2 *kachie*
- 3 cypress wood fan
- 4 arrows
- 5 *bakama*
- 6 bow

## 116 Cypress Wood Fan

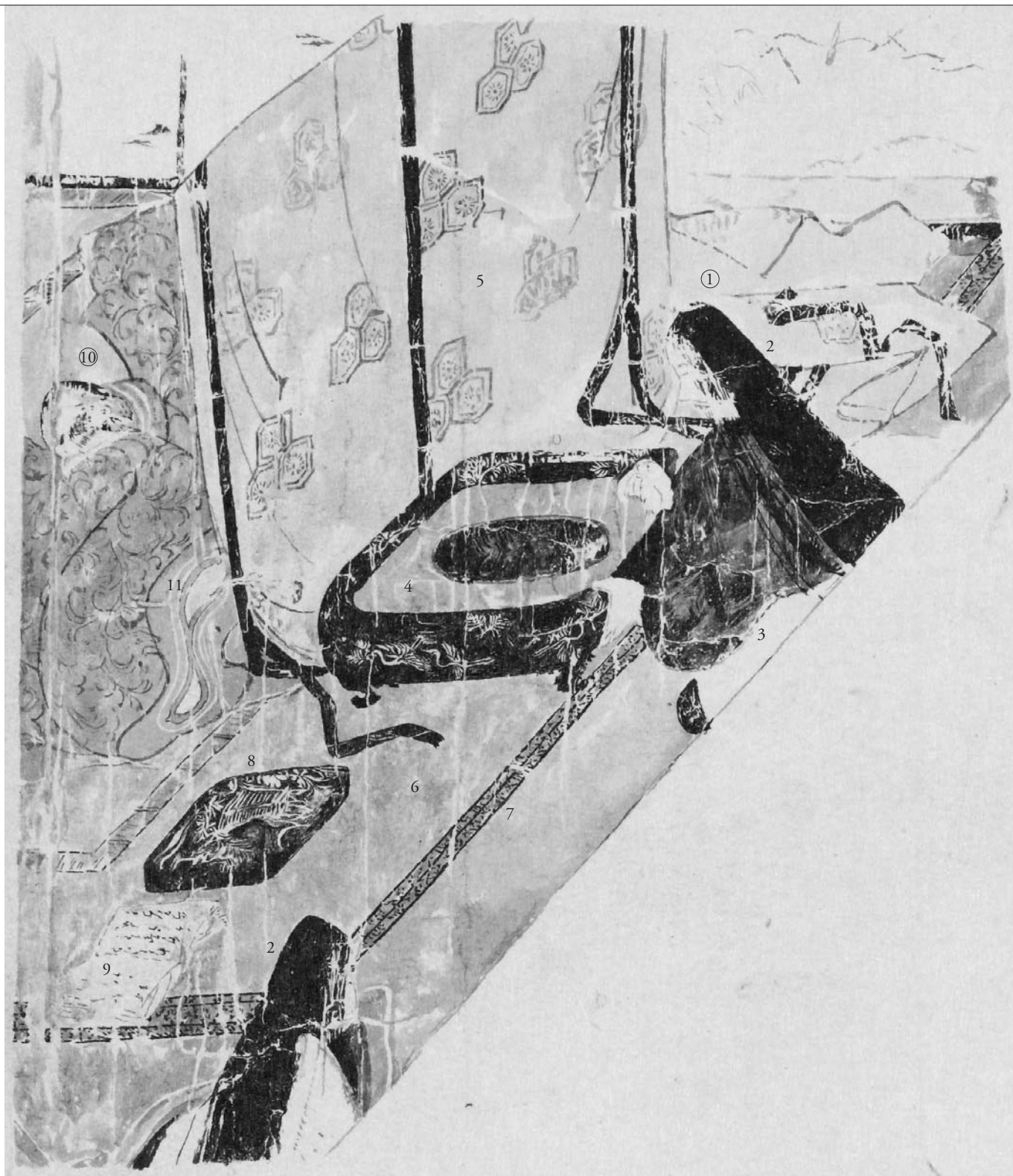
This is a depiction of a retainer from the scene in Scroll 6 where the Emperor Engi takes his orders as a Buddhist priest and surrenders the throne. He is wearing a *kanmuri* decorated with *oikake* and carrying a bow, a quiver of arrows, and a folding fan made of cypress wood. The following passage can be found in the *Heike monogatari kōshō* concerning such fans: "In winter, cypress wood fans are used. These are called *hiōgi*. They are not normally dyed. They are made from twenty-five strips of cypress, strung together with thread. They are then stamped with a crest, or, in the case of children, occasionally decorated with pictures. Children and women occasionally use cedar. These are decorated with pictures of pines and cranes, and tied up with various kinds of thread. The left-over thread is tied into the shape of a plum blossom and attached to the fan." The decoration seen here in the shape of a flower is therefore made of tied thread. Cypress wood fans were for ceremonial rather than practical use.



## 117 Seats

Traditionally there were two types of seat: those known as *koshō* and those known as *gosshi*. The ones in this picture are *koshō*, which were known in everyday speech as *agura* and later as *shōgi*. These chairs all had four legs, but their size and method of creation differed greatly from one to the next. In the *Engishiki* it is mentioned that “those imperial guards below the rank of *shōshō* sat on *koshō* with tiger-skin rugs placed on them”, which suggests that they must have been fairly large. These were most commonly used when sitting outdoors. In the *Gōke shidai* it is mentioned that an animal-skin cloth was draped upon these seats; this is thought to be a means of continuing the tradition started when these first arrived in Japan from the continent. Indeed, in the enthronement ceremony of Emperor Ninkō in 1817, *koshō* were covered in tiger-skins, indicating that this tradition continued to be practiced. Aside from these ceremonial *koshō*, however, simplified versions of these were in use at an everyday level. As in this picture, those used by guards or retainers to rest upon were much smaller and simplified versions of the ceremonial *koshō*.

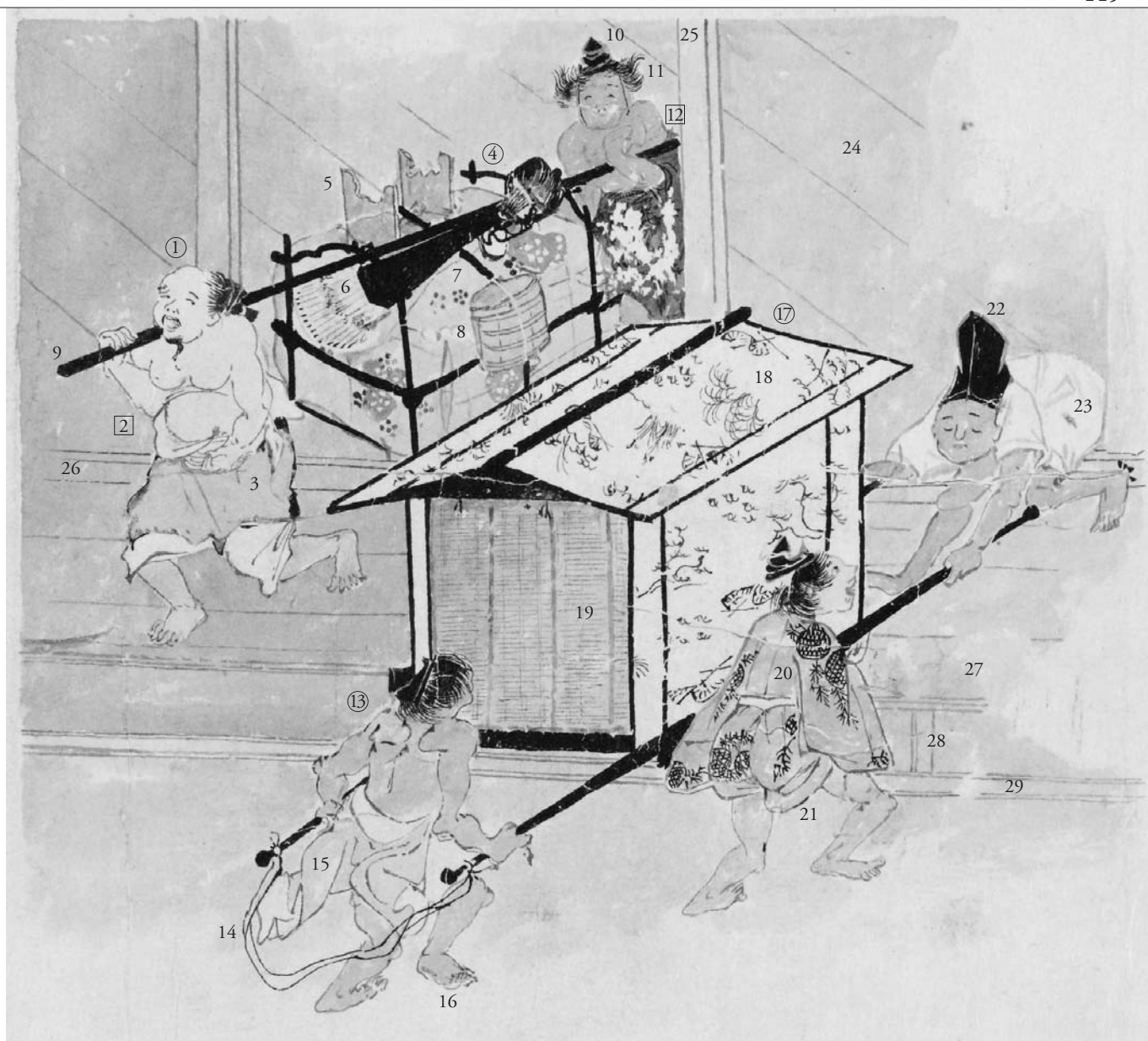
- ① man sitting on seat
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 *kariginu* (plain)
- 4 *hakama* (plain)
- 5 shoe
- 6 stool
- 7 *kosode*
- 8 *yonobakama*
- 9 flint sack
- 10 *ori-eboshi*



- ① woman sitting in front of the brazier
- 2 wearing one's hair down
- 3 *uchigi*
- 4 brazier
- 5 curtain stand (patterned)
- 6 *tatami*
- 7 *kōrai* pattern cloth edging
- 8 letter box (laquered)
- 9 letters
- ⑩ man sleeping
- 11 *fusuma*

## 118 Brazier

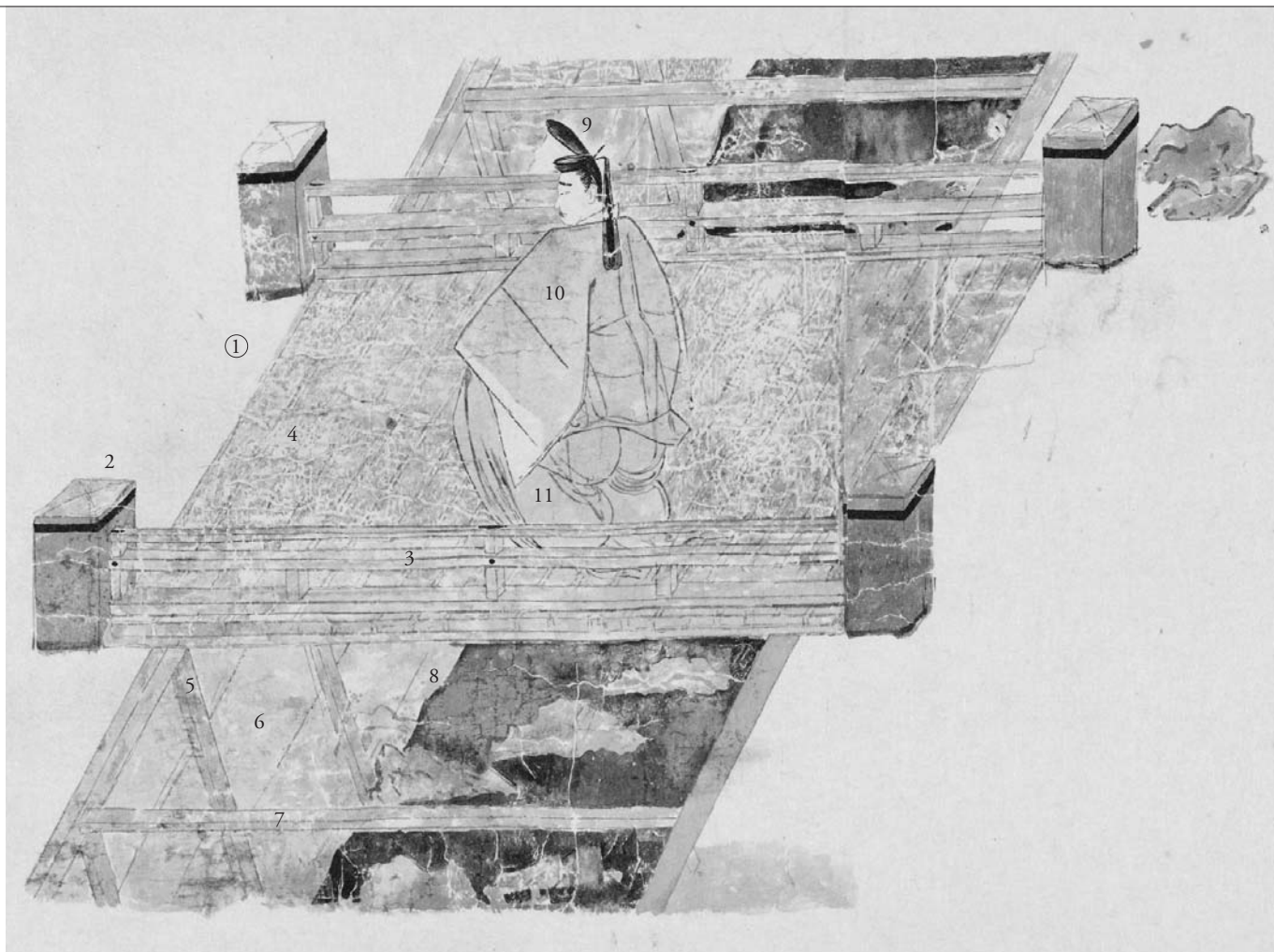
*Hibachi*, or braziers, also known as *hioke*, have a very long history in Japan, stretching back to the times when the Japanese began to live their lives at floor-level. In the *Makura no sōshi* (*Pillow Book*) it is noted that "braziers are for warming one's hand in front of ... and even for warming one's feet by", especially for those who are over a certain age, indicating that their use has not changed at all over the years.



## 119 Palanquin

This is a scene of a house fire, and the palanquin is among the objects being hurriedly carried to safety. Palanquins were used to carry aristocrats and were shouldered by man-servants. There were many shapes and styles of palanquin, but this appears to be of the type known as a *hari-koshi*, which was very similar to the *ajiro-koshi* and the *sode-koshi*. As can be seen from the picture, this palanquin is roofed and has a roof ridge, so it was also called a *munetate-koshi*, or “roofed palanquin”. It would have been carried by between six and twelve servants. Palanquins were commonly used on such occasions as pilgrimages or visits to shrines or temples.

- |                                      |                               |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ① man shouldering a storage case (?) | 16 barefoot                   |
| ② stripping to waist                 | ⑰ roofed palanquin            |
| 3 <i>uwaginu</i>                     | 18 palanquin roof (patterned) |
| ④ storage case                       | 19 bamboo screen              |
| 5 armrest                            | 20 <i>hiitare</i>             |
| 6 arrows                             | 21 <i>hakama</i>              |
| 7 quiver                             | 22 <i>tate-eboshi</i>         |
| 8 food container                     | 23 short sleeved kimono       |
| 9 carrying pole                      | 24 plank wall                 |
| 10 <i>samurai eboshi</i>             | 25 pillar                     |
| 11 untidy hair                       | 26 threshold                  |
| ⑫ holding carrying pole in the arms  | 27 porch                      |
| ⑬ man stripping to waist             | 28 short supporting post      |
| 14 strip of cloth for carrying       | 29 foundation                 |
| 15 <i>uwaginu</i>                    |                               |



- ① plank bridge
- 2 main post
- 3 railings
- 4 bridge plank
- 5 stake
- 6 horizontal planks to prevent to slippage
- 7 beam
- 8 moat
- 9 *ikan*
- 10 *hō*
- 11 *sashinuki*

## 120 Wooden Bridge

There were many different types and styles of bridge built for safe passage across water. This picture is of a bridge outside the residence of Sugawara no Koreyoshi, Michizane's father and a great scholar who achieved the qualifications of *monjō hakase* and *tōgū gakushi*, before going on to become a state official and achieving the third rank. His house, known as the Sugawara-no-in, was located to the south of Kade-nokōji in Karasuma-ōji. It was said to be an entire city block in size, which means it was fairly substantial. There was an outer moat around the property, with a raised earthen wall around the house itself. This is a good representation of the houses of aristocrats of this era, but the moat around this one is distinctive in that it is not banked with stone, but has the

soil kept back by stakes driven in and horizontal planks placed on the flanks of the moat. Support beams have then been wedged between the opposing banks to ensure that the pressure from the soil does not cause the wooden banks to break. The bridge is wooden; most probably round logs were first placed across the moat, which were in turn covered with the planks we can see in this picture. The bridge has railings on both sides, which run from main posts on either side. While this is an extremely common type of bridge often seen even today, it is of great interest to discover that such bridges were already being built in the Heian era. As the moat is very narrow, there is no need for mid-bridge support posts in this case. The practice of keeping back soil with wooden planks on the edges of moats or ditches can still be widely seen today.





- ① *oni* holding iron tongs
- 2 iron tongs
- 3 water jug
- 4 loincloth (colored)
- 5 loincloth (plain)
- 6 iron chain
- 7 wearing one's hair down (tied with cord)
- 8 arrow

## 121 Iron Tongs

This is a depiction of hell from the six realms of rebirth in Scroll 7. An *oni* is prying open the mouth of a dead person with iron tongs, and pouring water in the mouth from a flask. Iron tongs were used primarily for picking up hot coals, and were mostly made in the same way as chopsticks: from two separate sticks either made entirely of metal or with metal tips. Alternatively, there also existed iron tongs of the type seen in this picture. This type is described as *tetsumata* or forked iron tongs, in the *Wakan sansai zue*. In notes they are also called *huri* and *kanamata*. Such tongs have long been used by blacksmiths. Using the principle of levers, they allow for a very strong grip on items, and were very useful for such

tasks as the fortification of iron.

The chain attached to the neck of the dead person is not of the type commonly seen today. While today's chains are typically made up of a series of rings, this chain features a ring at each end connected by a tightly wound section in between. Such chains were often used in old pastoral regions to tie cattle. This style ensured that the chain remained strong with no risk of tangling and no risk of the chain breaking at the connection point of each ring. The presence of such chains in this picture scrolls allows us to see that they were in use from as early as this era. In the foreground is a man who has been shot with a number of hawk-feather arrows. While the picture itself is obviously purely fictional, such tools and weapons are realistically depicted.



- ① oni holding an adze
- 2 adze
- 3 line drawn by ink-rope
- 4 loincloth

## 122 Adze

This is a depiction of hell from Scroll 7. An *oni* is scraping away at a dead person with an adze. The adze was known by different names in different areas of Japan. In the *Wamyō ruijūshō* it is written as *te-ono*. In the Kantō region it is known as a *chōna*, while in Kansai it is known as a *chon'no*. In the *Yōshūfushi* it is described as “an object used by craftsmen with a curved blade of around five *sun* in diameter and with a two *shaku* wooden handle. One holds a piece of wood firmly between one’s legs and uses both hands on the adze handle to shape the wood. This is known as a *chōna* or an *ono*. They

are made by blacksmiths in Yamato-ōji and near the Inari shrine.” This description accurately fits the adze in the picture. In the same work it says that the adze is used to shape the wood. Until the early modern age, there were no shaping saws or jack-planes, so everything from the construction of a square post to the smoothing out of a plank of wood required the use of an adze before the finishing of the job with a smaller chisel-like implement. The dead person’s body has been marked by a rope dipped in ink, along the lines of which the *oni* is carving. Depictions of hell frequently feature such tools, but it is thought they were all in actual use by craftsmen and tradesmen at the time.



- ① oni holding a chisel
- 2 wooden mallet
- 3 chisel
- 4 loincloth (colored)
- ⑤ oni holding a spear plane
- 6 spear plane
- ⑦ crying out
- 8 wearing one's hair down (tied with cord)
- ⑨ woman crying

## 123 Chisel, Spear Plane

This is a depiction of hell, as part of the six realms of rebirth from Scroll 7. The dead are being tormented: one is being cut with a chisel, another is being scraped with a spear plane, and a third is crying nearby. The term *yariganna*, or spear plane, appears in the *Wamyō ruijūshō* as *kana* and in the *Senchū Wamyō ruishūshō* as *kanna* or *yariganna*, and is defined as “a plane, occasionally with a curved head”. It is also called *namasori* and written with the characters for “curved sword”. This informs us that the type of spear plane we see in the picture had been in use for some time. These implements were used for smoothing wood, while chisels were used for splitting or creating holes in wood. Even for splitting large pieces of timber, a saw would not usually be used; rather, a chisel would be driven into the wood along

lines created by ropes dipped in ink. If the wood was so large that this would not split it, then a wedge would be driven in to assist the process. This same technique was used for creating wooden planks from large blocks of timber. It was only discovered recently that a wooden mallet would be used for driving in the chisel. When planks or logs were to be moved long distances, a hole would always be driven into their ends with a chisel, so that a rope could be inserted to make handling easier. With all of these uses, the chisel was a very widely used tool.



- ① *oni* drawing a line with an ink-rope
- 2 ink-rope
- 3 line drawn by ink-rope
- 4 wedge
- 5 inkpot
- 6 loincloth

## 124 Rope Dipped in Ink

This is a depiction of hell from Scroll 7, in which two *oni* are using a rope dipped in ink to draw lines on a dead person. Such ink-ropes were used from long ago and feature in the *Wamyō ruijūshō* as “a metaphor for anything on a very straight line”. An inkpot was required for the use of an ink-rope. In this picture, the inkpot is under the knee of the *oni* on the left. Cotton or some other substance would be dipped in the inkpot, and then the rope would be drawn through this ink-stained cotton. The opposite end of the rope is tied around a spool. The rope would have a pin attached to one end, which would be driven into the wood, after which, with the rope in place, the rope would be pulled up and allowed to strike the wood, leaving behind a clear mark. In this picture,

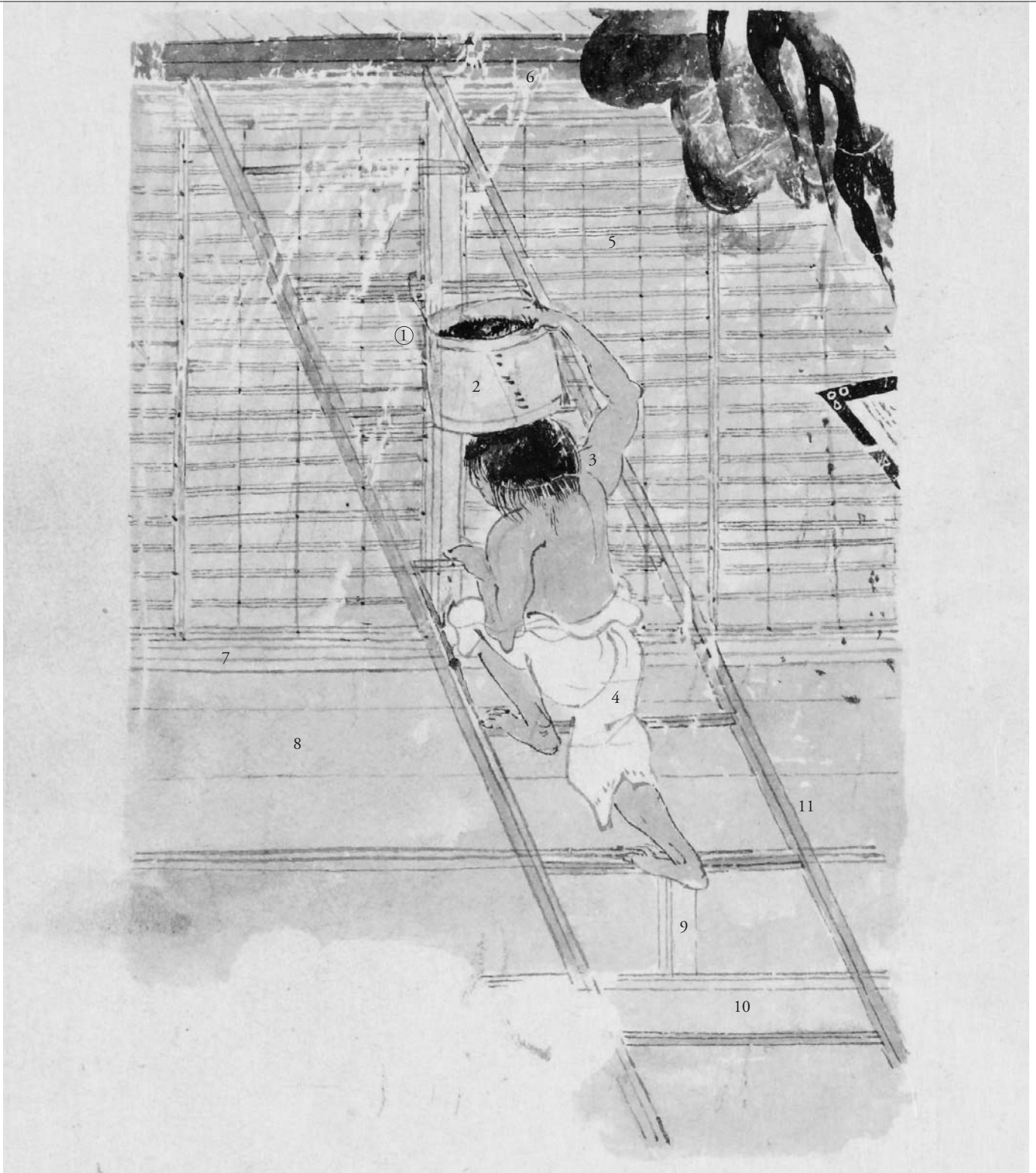
the *oni* on the left is pulling the rope in the air ready to release it, while the *oni* on the right is holding the other end down, in place of a pin. This method was used from very early on as the most efficient means of drawing a long straight line. It is thought that this technique came across from the continent at the same time as the architectural techniques used for building temples, shrines and palaces, but this is unproven. Mention of ink-ropes is made in the fifth volume of the *Man'yōshū*, proving the extent of their history. “The task completed, on the day of return, as through the gods had set an ink-rope across the ship’s bow to guide it, the ship will sail straight from the cape of Chika to the shores of Ōtomo Mitsu.” The inkpot would also have placed in it a small length of split bamboo known as a *sumisashi* which would be used in place of a brush.



- ① man holding a winnow
- 2 *eri-bōshi*
- 3 sleeveless kimono
- 4 *kosode*
- 5 winnow
- 6 bowl
- 7 barefoot

## 125 Winnow

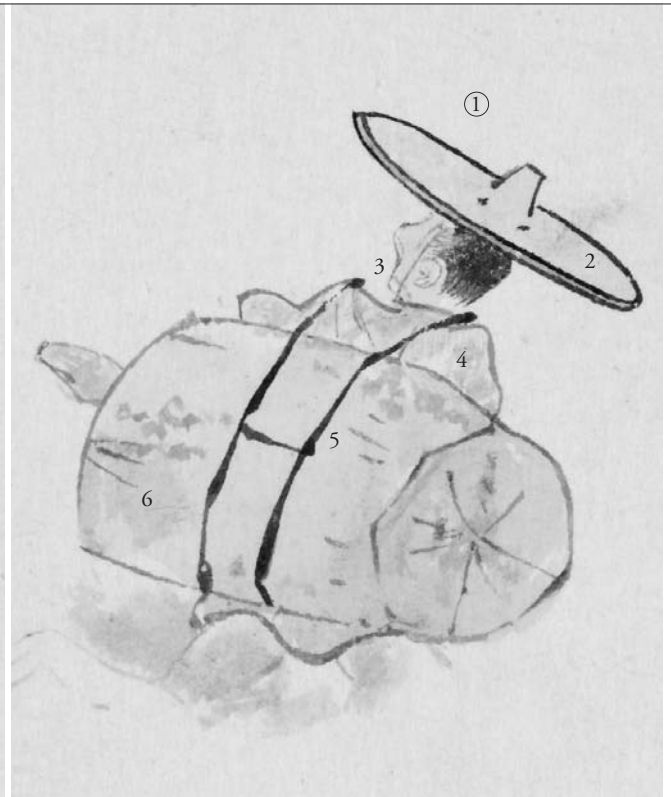
A man wearing a headscarf known as an *eri-bōshi*, a *kosode* and a sleeveless kimono over the top of this is on his knees using a winnow. The winnow he would have used has not changed up until today. There is a record of a winnow being bought for two sheaves of rice in Kuwabara no shō in Echizen (Fukui Prefecture today) in the Tōdaiji Temple documents of the seventh year of Tenpyōshōhō (755), indicating the extent of their history. Winnows were usually made of bamboo, wisteria or black kudzu vine. It is noted that at the Kōtai Jingū in Ise (Mie Prefecture today), winnows from Nabari in Iga (Mie Prefecture today) were used. It is said that there were 360 *chōbu* of fields growing bamboo, wisteria and black kudzu in Iga. According to the *Engishiki*, Yamato also produced winnows, but it is thought that originally each farmer would have made his own. Winnows were used both for carrying harvested crops and for sifting out chaff, pebbles and the like from the crops when there was no wind. The crops would be tossed in the air and caught again in the winnow, and the gust thereby generated would sweep away the unwanted materials. This process was called *hiru*. This was a necessary process for all farmers.



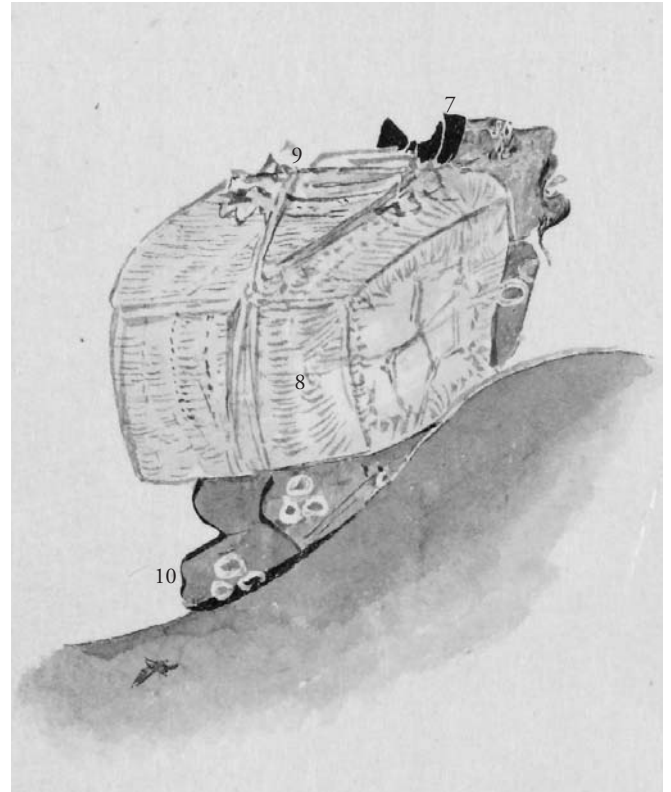
- ① man carrying container on his head
- 2 wooden container
- 3 untidy hair
- 4 *yonobakama*
- 5 *mairado*
- 6 base plank upper roof
- 7 threshold
- 8 plank porch
- 9 short supporting post
- 10 foundation
- 11 ladder

## 126 Carrying on One's Head

An undressed man is climbing a ladder carrying a bucket of water on his head in order to put out a fire. While there are several depictions of such a carrying style in the picture scrolls, they are almost all women; it is very rare to see a man carrying an object on his head in this way. In this case, he is doing so because he has to climb a ladder, but men did occasionally carry objects on their head in ordinary circumstances as well.

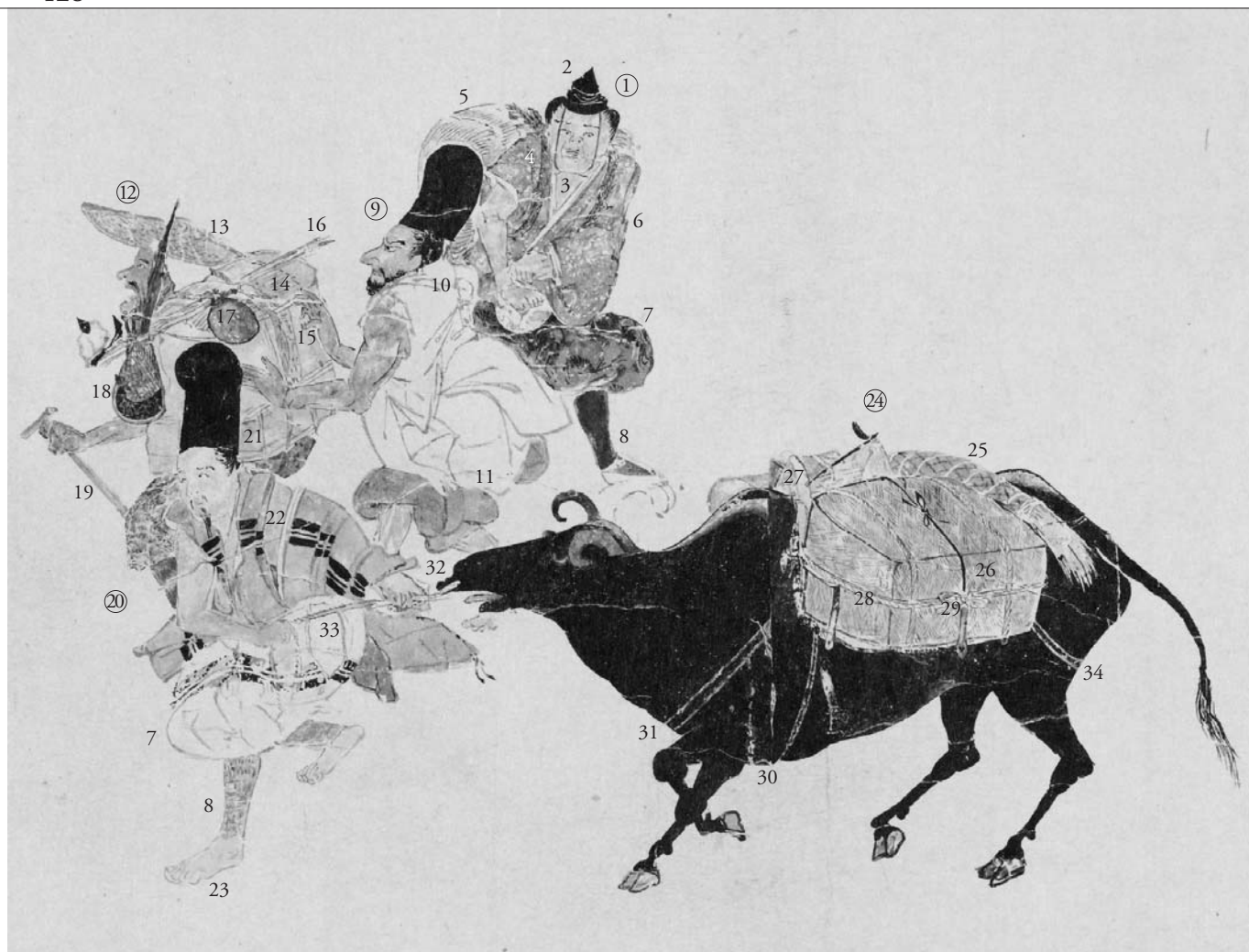


- ① man carrying luggage on his back
- 2 sedge hat
- 3 sedge-hat fastener
- 4 uwaginu
- 5 shoulder strap
- 6 wooden mortar
- 7 samurai-eboshi
- 8 horizontal bale of rice
- 9 shoulder strap
- 10 hakama
- 11 eboshi
- 12 kosode
- 13 hakama
- ④ pack
- 15 frame pack
- 16 shoulder strap
- 17 luggage
- 18 luggage cord
- 19 luggage
- 20 wooden plank



## 127 Carrying on One's Back

Originally, there were two means for people to carry goods: on their shoulder and on their back. The most common method used in the Kyōto region was to carry goods on a pole held over one shoulder, but it was not uncommon to see people carrying goods on their back either, particularly when carrying heavy items such as bales of rice or wooden mortars. The item carried by the man in the top right of the picture is probably a wooden mortar base. This would be placed on its end with the mortar on top. The individual in the bottom picture is carrying a rice bale, while the person in the top left is carrying a traveling box. As can be seen from the picture, the part held directly against the back is made of wooden planks, and had either two legs, or three legs like a *hokai*. Many travelers carried such boxes on their journeys.



- ① man carrying rice bale
- 2 *samurai-eboshi*
- 3 *eboshi* cord fastener
- 4 shoulder strap
- 5 bale of rice
- 6 *kosode*
- 7 *hakama*
- 8 leggings (*habaki*)
- ⑨ man loading luggage on other's back
- 10 cord to tuck up sleeves
- 11 *sashinuki*
- ⑫ man carrying luggage on his back
- 13 sedge hat
- 14 luggage wrapped in straw
- 15 bale of rice
- 16 support stick
- 17 flint sack
- 18 pheasant
- 19 stick with a T-shaped handle
- ⑳ man leading ox
- 21 *tate-eboshi*
- 22 *hitatare*
- 23 straw sandals (*waraji*)
- ㉔ ox carrying luggage
- 25 straw rain-cape
- 26 travel case
- 27 bale of rice
- 28 luggage cord
- 29 knot
- 30 girth
- 31 martingale
- 32 nose ring
- 33 reins
- 34 crupper

## 128 Carrying by Ox

Various methods of carrying things are depicted in the *Kitano Tenjin engi*. In this picture, there are two people carrying things on their backs, and a third leading a pack-ox. It was common to carry things by ox at this time. The most common way of doing this was to attach a pack-saddle to the ox's back, and attach the baggage evenly on either side. In this case, the baggage appears to be travel cases, which have been tied down with matting. Ordinarily, a boy with the specific job of looking after the oxen would be leading the ox, but this picture is of the time when Michizane had to leave the capital in exile to Kyūshū, and the ox is being led by one of his retainers. This retainer is wearing a *tate-eboshi*, a *hitatare* and leggings. The man at the top of the picture is carrying a bale of rice on his back, while the man at the top left of the picture is having his burden put on his back by the man behind him. From their headwear and stick with a T-shaped handle, it appears they are ordinary bearers.





## 129 Man Fallen on His Back

This is a scene in which lightning strikes the Seiryōden. The man in this picture has been shocked by the lightning and is lying on his back. His *kanmuri* has come flying off and his topknot is disheveled, but its thinness is probably due to his lack of hair. His clothes are so baggy that his arms and legs are not visible. At this time, the *ei*, decorative ribbons hanging from the *kanmuri*, were thin and soft. Under these formal clothes were worn *hitoe* or *kinu*. This combination was called “*kasane*”, and a *nubakama* also worn. This man was probably a courtier of the fourth rank or above.

- ① man fallen on his back
- 2 hearknot under *kanmuri*
- 3 *hō*
- 4 *nubakama*
- 5 *tatami*
- 6 *tatami* edging
- 7 round pillar
- 8 *kanmuri*
- 9 wooden floor
- 10 threshold



- |                                 |                            |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ① man fallen facedown           | 8 <i>sashinuki</i>         |
| 2 <i>kanmuri</i>                | 9 footwear                 |
| 3 <i>oikake</i>                 | 10 bow                     |
| 4 hearknot under <i>kanmuri</i> | ⑩ man running              |
| 5 <i>kachie</i>                 | 12 cord for tying the hair |
| 6 <i>sekitai</i>                | 13 <i>kariginu</i>         |
| 7 arrows                        | 14 one foot bare           |

### 130 Fallen Man and Running Man

This is a scene of some retainers fleeing from the lightning striking the Seiryōden. One man has fallen over, while the other is running away. The *kanmuri* of the fallen retainer has a *saiei* and decorations known as *oikake* on either side. His hair has been tied in a vertical topknot. From this and the previous picture we may deduce that such topknots were normal at this time. The running man wearing a *kariginu* and a *nubakama* wears his hair loose; ox-herds and the like would wear their hair in this way with no headwear. However, this man is wearing footwear, and ox-herds were normally bare-foot. When wearing an *eboshi*, this man would probably have tied his hair up or put it in a topknot. Either a *nae-eboshi* or a cloth headwear would have been worn on top of such hair. As headwear were worn on an everyday basis at this time, it is

difficult for us to know what kinds of hairstyles were used. This is one of the few resources we have to indicate hairstyles, and it shows that hairstyles, too, differed according to rank.



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| ① man carrying a basket on his head             | 10 untidy hair                            |
| 2 woven basket                                  | 11 <i>kosode</i>                          |
| 3 <i>kyōgi</i> ?                                | 12 apron                                  |
| ④ stripping to waist                            | 13 straw sandals ( <i>shikire-zōri</i> )  |
| 5 barefoot                                      | 14 short hair                             |
| ⑥ woman carrying a wooden container on her head | 15 <i>bito</i>                            |
| 7 ?   | ⑬ man carrying a cloth bundle on his head |
| 8 bundle of <i>kyōgi</i>                        | 17 cloth bundle                           |
| 9 wooden container                              | 18 <i>kosode</i>                          |

### 131 People Fleeing and Carrying Belongings

This is a scene from the housefire in Scroll 8. Three adults are fleeing the fire, each carrying objects on their heads. On the far left is a man. We have already seen a man carrying an object on his head. While this is an emergency situation, it is thought that this technique was used on an everyday basis. However, as a topknot made such a method impossible, it was only practiced by a certain sector of the population: specifically, priests or men of the lower classes with their hair let down. We may assume that the topless man on the left of the picture is a priest. He is carrying on his head what appears to be *kyōgi*, thin pieces of wood used for writing sutras on, in a shallow rectangular basket. The woman in the center of the picture is carrying a bucket on her head. Its contents are unclear. She is wearing a *kosode* with a white

apron tied around the waist, and has *shikire-zōri* with an untied heel on one foot. The child accompanying her has simply slipped her arms through the sleeves of her kimono, without tying it at the waist. She has short hair, but is nonetheless a girl. The woman on the right is also wearing a *kosode* and is barefoot, with a bundle on her head probably containing kimono. This scene also features individuals carrying things on their back, shoulders, and in their hands, but the picture here features only those using their heads to carry belongings.



- ① man with face coverd
- 2 *zukin* to cover head and face
- 3 Buddhist rosary
- 4 sedge hat
- 5 *kinukazuki*
- 6 priestly robes
- ⑦ man holding a child
- 8 child
- 9 untidy hair
- 10 *samurai-eboshi*
- 11 *kariginu*
- ⑫ holding the child with just the left arm
- ⑬ man carrying woman on his back
- 14 *samurai-eboshi*
- 15 *hitatare*
- 16 *sashinuki*
- 17 barefoot
- ⑱ supporting the woman with a sword placed horizontally
- 19 sword
- 20 *kinukazuki*

### 132 Holding and Carrying on the Back

These two pictures are from Scrolls 2 and 8 respectively. The top picture depicts four people: a woman in *kazuki* style and a man with a priest-style *zukin* and a sedge hat on his back, and a man holding a child behind them. The fact that he is holding the child under his left shoulder with just his

left arm is of interest. This technique, which can be seen still today in south-east Asia, prevailed in Japan as well at this time.

The bottom picture is of a man carrying a woman on his back, using a horizontally held sword to support her. It was usual to employ some means of support when carrying someone on one's back.



### 133 Carrying on One's Back

This is a scene from Scroll 4 of people watching as Michizane leaves for exile in Kyūshū. Among them are two pairs in which one person is carrying the other on the back. The pair at the top of the picture is a man carrying a woman on his back, with a stick held horizontally at his back upon which she is standing. The other pair is a woman carrying a child. She carries the child directly on her back, over which she wears a kimono. This method of carrying children has continued down through the years.

- ① woman carrying her child on her back
- 2 headwear
- 3 kimono for carrying children
- 4 child
- ⑤ wearing an *uchigi* over her head, and covering her mouth with her sleeve
- 6 *ichimegasa*
- 7 *nae-eboshi*
- 8 *kosode*
- 9 *hakama*
- 10 untidy hair
- 11 sleeveless kimono
- ⑫ man carrying a woman on his back
- ⑬ supporting the woman with horizontal pole
- 14 straw sandals (*waraji*)
- 15 *kariginu*



- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| ① man watching an event | 5 shoe                                  |
| 2 <i>tate-eboshi</i>    | 6 fan with the rising sun painted on it |
| 3 <i>kariginu</i>       | 7 beard                                 |
| 4 <i>nubakama</i>       | ⑧ watching from a fork in the tree      |

### 134 Bystanders Watching Event

This is a depiction from Scroll 2 of a group of people watching Michizane practice archery at the mansion of Miyako no Yoshika, from behind a tree. When such activities were held in the mansions of aristocrats, it was common practice to allow ordinary people to enter into the grounds to watch. These would often include women, children and priests. The three people in this picture are not necessarily of high rank. The man on the left is wearing an *eboshi* and a *kariginu*, and holding a fan with the rising sun depicted on it. The man in

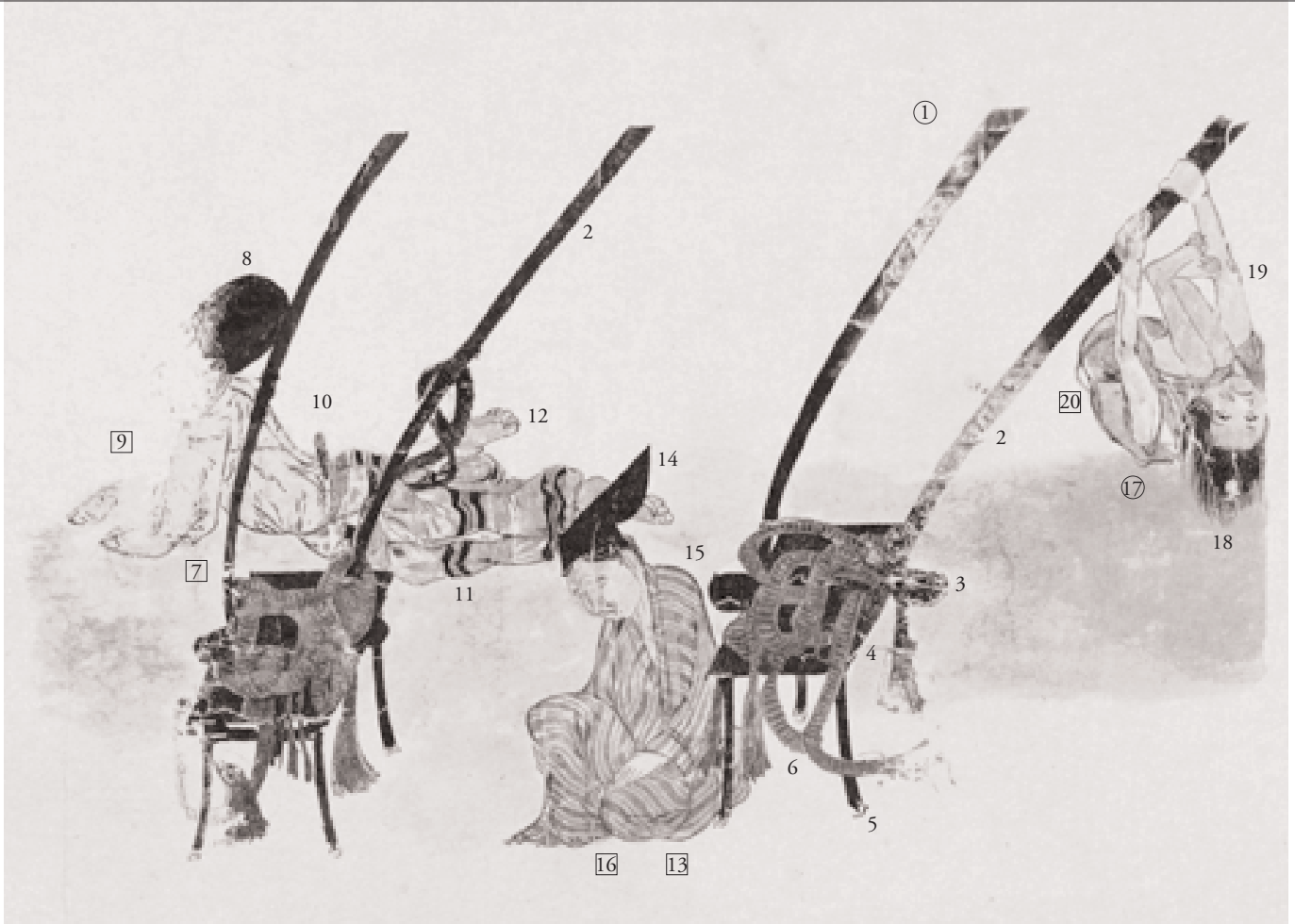
the center is wearing a *tate-eboshi*, *kariginu*, *nubakama* and shoes. The individual peering through the fork in the tree appears to be a woman, and she wears no headwear. It was almost guaranteed that when aristocrats would travel or hold some sort of event, ordinary people would gather in this fashion, as testified by the frequency of such depictions in the picture scrolls. Word of mouth concerning these events would then rapidly spread throughout the community. Incidentally, this is thought to be the first depiction of a fan with a rising sun painted on it in any picture scroll.



## 135 Sitting on the Ground

This is a depiction of Michizane's house from Scroll 1. Three men are relaxing beneath the porch; one is lying down, while the other two are sitting directly on the ground. Sitting on the ground would become an act of the utmost degradation in the Edo era, but at this time it was commonly done in the Kyōto region, as proved by the frequency of the depiction of this custom in the picture scrolls. One reason for this may well have lain in the fact that the soil of the Kansai region was very sandy, and would not significantly dirty any clothing directly touching it. While waiting for their master, retainers would often become bored and play games, chat, or as in this picture, nap.

- ① man sitting directly on the ground
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 *kariginu*
- 4 *sashinuki*
- ⑤ resting leg on the knee
- 6 beard
- ⑦ sleeping on one's arm
- 8 shoe
- 9 *samurai-eboshi*
- 10 *hitatare*
- 11 sword
- 12 straw sandals (*zōri*)
- 13 barefoot
- ⑭ sitting with one knee up and one extended
- 15 porch
- 16 framework
- 17 balustrade
- 18 step for removing footwear
- 19 plum tree



- |                                      |                                      |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ① oxcart                             | 11 <i>sashinuki</i>                  |
| 2 shaft                              | 12 barefoot                          |
| 3 yoke                               | 13 sitting on the ground             |
| 4 <i>shiji</i>                       | 14 <i>ori-eboshi</i>                 |
| 5 <i>sagiashi</i>                    | 15 <i>kosode</i>                     |
| 6 rope                               | 16 sitting with one knee up          |
| 7 lying on the stomach on the ground | 17 child hanging from the cart shaft |
| 8 <i>tate-eboshi</i>                 | 18 untidy hair                       |
| 9 resting chin on hands              | 19 sleeveless kimono                 |
| 10 <i>hitatare?</i>                  | 20 playing on the shaft              |

### 136 Sitting on the Ground and Hanging from Cart Shafts

This is a depiction from Scroll 1 of in front of the house of Sugawara no Koreyoshi. The two sets of handles and *shiji* indicate that two ox carts have been parked here. *Shiji* are the four-legged stools seen in the picture, whose legs are known as *sagiashi*. On top of the *shiji* are the yokes for the oxen. These were placed upon the necks of the oxen, and were lashed to the beasts with rope. On the top right of the picture is a child playing on one of the cart shafts. The child has untidy hair and is wearing a sleeveless kimono. The carts of aristocrats were not out of bounds for children by any means; no one would scold them for playing on or around them. Below the handles on the left, a man is lying on his stomach directly on the ground, with his chin on his hand. To these people, most likely retainers of someone visiting Sugawara, the issue of sitting on the ground was not of major concern.

The other man is also sitting on the ground with one knee raised. Both men are barefoot. The man lying down has on a *hitatare* and a *sashinuki*, while the sitting man is wearing something like *kosode*. Aside from the *eboshi*, their clothing is not too dissimilar from that seen today. This reveals that in terms of the everyday life of the commoner, there are many parallels between this period and today.





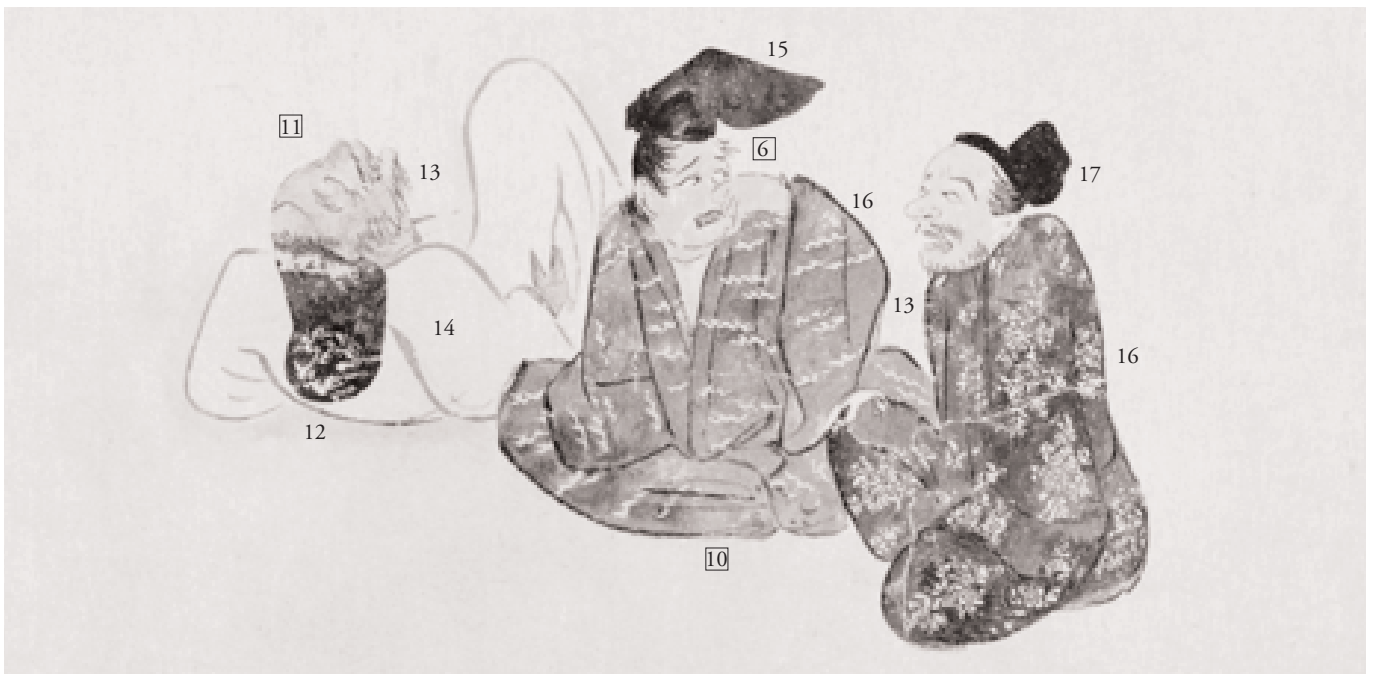
- |                                 |                                      |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ① priest blowing his nose       | 13 framework                         |
| 2 shaved head                   | 14 round pillar                      |
| 3 raised collar worn by priests | 15 ornament for hiding nails         |
| 4 priestly robes                | 16 <i>tatami</i>                     |
| 5 <i>kesa</i>                   | 17 <i>ungen</i> pattern cloth edging |
| 6 table                         | 18 curtain hanging                   |
| ⑦ man lying on his back         | ①⑨ blowing one's nose with paper     |
| 8 <i>tate-eboshi</i>            | ②⑩ man blowing his nose with hand    |
| ⑨ holding hand to face          | 21 <i>kariginu</i>                   |
| 10 <i>kariginu</i> (patterned)  | 22 <i>hakama</i>                     |
| 11 <i>sashinuki</i>             | 23 leggings ( <i>habaki</i> )        |
| 12 fan                          | ②④ blowing the nose with one's hand  |

## 137 Blowing One's Nose

These pictures are from Scrolls 2 and 4. The picture on the right is of Michizane's fiftieth birthday celebrations at the Kisshōin Temple. The priest holding the piece of white paper to his face is blowing his nose. Individuals of high rank used white paper for this purpose, as indicated by several pictures of this type. The man lying in front of the priest is sleeping with his head on the threshold. Depictions of birthday rituals often involve attendees in a variety of very relaxed poses, seemingly oblivious to the formal proceedings. This very informal and free attitude seems to have been the style at the time for such events.

The picture on the left is of a retainer wiping his nose with his hand in the scene in which Michizane mounts the oxcart for his journey of exile to Dazaifu. Those who did not use

paper used their hands in this manner. This would have been a very common scene in everyday life.



- ① priests crying
- 2 shaved head
- ③ stripping to waist
- 4 white robe (*kosode*)
- 5 barefoot
- ⑥ crying with one's hand to one's face
- ⑦ crying with one's hand on one's head
- ⑧ crying while looking upward
- ⑨ supporting the body from behind with one's hands
- ⑩ sitting cross-legged
- ⑪ crying while lying on one's back
- 12 *tate-eboshi*
- 13 beard
- 14 *kosode*
- 15 *ori-eboshi*
- 16 wide-sleeved kimono
- 17 *nae-eboshi*

## 138 People Crying

This is a depiction of people crying in sadness at the departure of Michizane for Tsukushi (Fukuoka Prefecture today) in Scroll 4. The top picture features four priests sitting on the ground and crying. One has the back of his hand held against his face. The use of the back of the hand to wipe away tears and to wipe one's nose was seen as early as this era. The bottom picture features the same custom, as well as one other man looking up and crying unrestrainedly, similar to what can be seen today. Crying with one's hand on one's head was also a common crying custom. While not seen here, in the original scroll there was also a man crying lying on the ground.



- ① man baring one shoulder
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 beard
- 4 wide-sleeved kimono
- 5 *sashinuki*
- 6 barefoot
- ⑦ baring one's shoulder on the left side
- 8 headstall
- 9 reins
- ⑩ man with topknot
- 11 long hair tied into topknot with cord
- 12 halberd

### 139 Man Baring His Shoulder and Man with a Topknot

These pictures are from Scrolls 4 and 2 respectively. The top picture is of a man of low social standing, positioned behind the oxcart of Michizane as he leaves for Tsukushi (Fukuoka Prefecture). He is stripped to the waist on one shoulder. In such cases, the picture scrolls usually show men stripped on the left shoulder. Most laborers would wear sleeve-holding straps, but some would strip on one side in this manner.

The lower picture is of a follower of a warrior priest at the Kisshōin Temple during Michizane's fiftieth birthday celebrations. He is of low rank, but has his hair in a topknot of a style which is thought to precede directly the *chonmage* style of later years.





- 1 *tate-eboshi*
- 2 *kanmuri*
- 3 *oikake*
- 4 *kanmuri* (without *oikake*)
- 5 moustache and goatee beard
- 6 moustache with beard on cheek and jaw
- 7 moustache and goatee beard
- 8 moustache and beard on jaw
- 9 moustache

### 140 Varieties of Beards

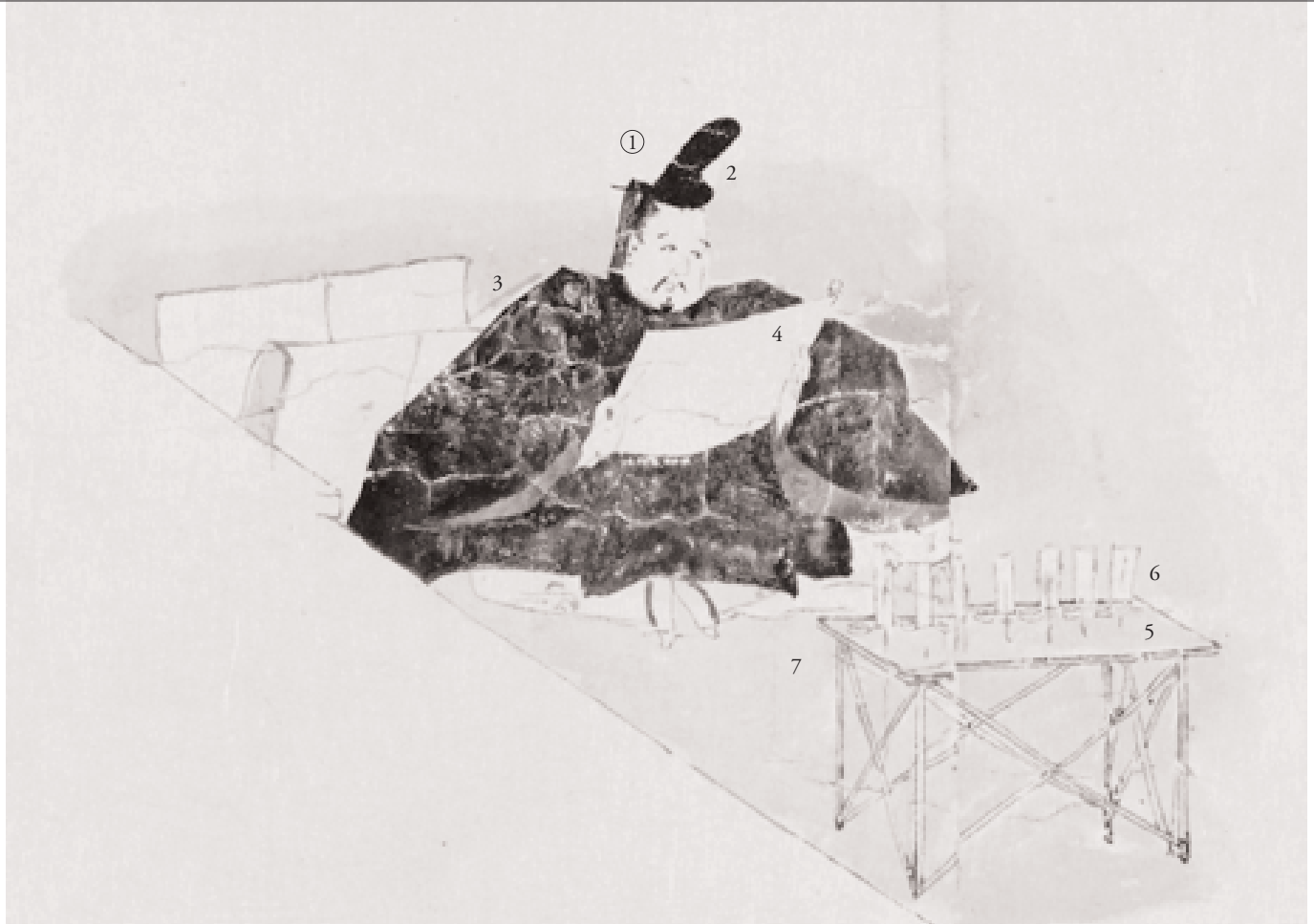
The *Kitano Tenjin engi* features an extremely high number of men with facial hair; not only that, each is depicted in a very individual manner. The Japanese have never been a particularly hirsute race, so there are a number of men in the scrolls who have no facial hair. It seems that those who were able to grow their facial hair did so as a kind of fashion accessory, but there are few examples of richly detailed cheek or jaw beards in picture scrolls. There are just two examples of the full beard in the above picture; the remainder are mostly thin moustaches or small goatee beards. Such facial hair was occasionally kept in shape by shaving, but traditionally excess hair would be plucked. The fact that facial hair was rare among the lower classes was not necessarily because they shaved it off. Incidentally, the common face shape of the time was rounder than today's, and often bottom-heavy. This may well have been a particular trait of the Kyōto region.



## 141 Childbirth, Ritual Bow-plucking

This is a childbirth scene from Scroll 8. The long-haired woman behind the screen with her back toward us to is giving birth, and the woman holding her is the midwife. In Japan, women would give birth sitting down. When labor began, the mother-to-be would either be supported from behind or, as in this picture, from in front, by another woman. The woman on the right is probably a *miko*, a type of ritualist. She has Buddhist prayer beads slung over her shoulder. The man on the porch in the foreground is plucking a bow, in a ritual for driving away demons. Such rituals took place during childbirth, as a prayer for the good fortune of the newborn child. A childbirth scene from the *Gaki zōshi* was included in this series earlier, and a comparison of the two pictures will give a good indication of the customs of the age. While this scene takes place in a wealthy home, it is meant to indicate that even the wealthy must endure pain and hardship, one such event being childbirth.

- ① man performing a bow-plucking ritual
- 2 *tate-eboshi*
- 3 *kosode*
- 4 *hakama*
- 5 bow
- ⑥ *miko*
- 7 wearing one's hair down
- 8 *uchigi*
- 9 *kosode*
- 10 Buddhist rosary
- ⑪ midwife (holding woman giving birth)
- ⑫ woman giving birth
- 13 wearing one's hair down
- 14 lattice shutter
- 15 metal shutter hook
- 16 pillar
- 17 bamboo screen
- 18 *ji-nageshi*



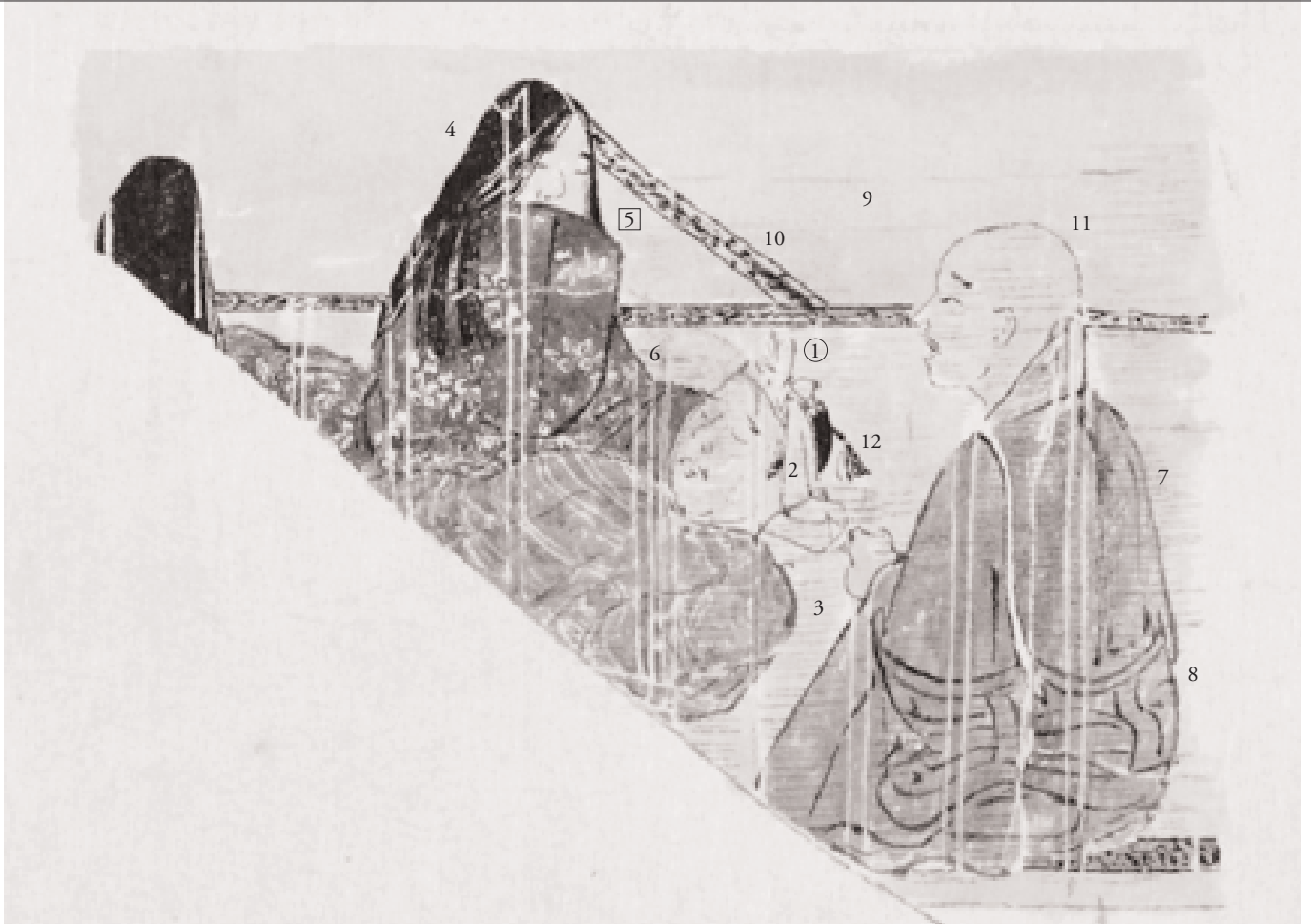
- ① man reciting a prayer
- 2 *kanmuri* (*sokutai* attire)
- 3 *hō* and *kyō*
- 4 prayer
- 5 table
- 6 votive stick
- 7 rough straw matting

## 142 Prayer for Childbirth

This is a continuation of the previous picture from Scroll 8. As the birth drew near, almost everything in and around the birthing room would be changed so that it was white in color. Curtain hanging, folding screen, screen stand, *tatami* edging and the like would all be changed for white replacements, as would the inner and outer garments of the women involved: *karaginu*, *omotegi*, *uchiginu*, *uchigi*, *hitoe* and *mo* would all be changed to white, a white *hakama* would be worn over a crimson *hakama*, and white fans would be used. This would continue until the seventh night after the birth. Here, however, an *onmyōji*, or ritual-performer, is dressed in colored clothing. He has placed a small table in the garden near the house, upon which he has erected seven *heigushi*, or votive sticks used in rituals. He is reading a prayer. While it is not visible in this picture, in the original a type of priest known as

a *yamabushi* is stationed outside the birthing room to pray for a safe birth. The extent of the ritual involved enables us to perceive just how major an event childbirth was.

As regards the *heigushi*, a variety of styles were used. From the fact that they are depicted elsewhere in a scene of hell in which the *gaki*, or hungry ghosts, are eating, we can see that they were also used in Buddhist rituals.



- ① man reclining in illness
- 2 headband tied in a knot on one's forehead
- 3 *kosode*
- 4 wearing one's hair down
- 5 covering one's mouth with a sleeve
- 6 *kosode*
- 7 priestly robes
- 8 *kesa*
- 9 *tatami*
- 10 *ungen* pattern cloth edging
- 11 shaved head
- 12 topknot

## 143 Invalid

This is a scene from the six realms of rebirth series of Scroll 8, depicting the struggles of human existence. The man in the center of the picture is extremely ill, and has called for a priest to pray because he knows he will not survive. There are in fact three priests in the picture in total, although all but one are not visible in this extract. He is reading sutras at the bedside of the ill man. His raised collar indicates that he is of the Tendai sect. The invalid is lying on his back with a headband tied around his temple. He has removed his *eboshi*. Some historians theorize that *eboshi* were kept on even while reclining, but the picture scrolls feature a number of cases in which people lying down have removed their headwear. In this picture it appears that the man has removed his *eboshi* and wears a headband due to the fact that he is ill, but this is not necessarily due to illness. Also, there

are a number of examples of the sick wearing headbands, but there also was a custom of wearing a headband while sleeping. In the Tōhoku region, it was common practice up until fairly recently for old women and girls to wear headbands known either as *binjime* or *hachimaki* while sleeping. This custom is said to have arisen from a desire to keep the pillow and bedclothes clean from hair wax, but whatever the origin, it is extremely old. In cases of illness, both men and women would commonly wear headbands. The woman by the invalid with her sleeve drawn over her mouth is intended to be expressing sadness. Such poses were commonly adopted by women up until the late Meiji period.



- |  |                              |  |
|--|------------------------------|--|
| ① man carrying coffin                        | 14 armor                     | 27 <i>kosode</i> (patterned)           |
| 2 coffin                                     | 15 arm guard                 | 28 torch                               |
| 3 carrying pole                              | 16 <i>hitatare</i>           | 29 <i>tate-eboshi</i>                  |
| 4 rope                                       | 17 <i>hakama</i>             | 30 <i>hitatare</i> (patterned)         |
| 5 <i>ori-eboshi</i>                          | ⑱ guard with cheeks covered  | 31 <i>hakama</i> (patterned)           |
| 6 <i>hitai-eboshi</i>                        | 19 white cloth               | 32 <i>hitatare</i> (patterned)         |
| 7 <i>hitatare</i>                            | 20 arrows                    | 33 <i>hakama</i> (patterned)           |
| 8 stick to prop things while a carrier rests | ㉑ shading eyes with the hand | 34 <i>hitatare</i> (patterned)         |
| 9 spear ?                                    | 22 paddle-shaped stick       | 35 <i>hakama</i> (plain)               |
| 10 shaved head                               | 23 white robe                | 36 <i>ori-eboshi</i>                   |
| 11 bell                                      | 24 abdominal armor?          | 37 <i>kosode</i> (comma-shaped design) |
| 12 barefoot                                  | 25 halberd                   | 38 fence                               |
| 13 helmet                                    | 26 <i>samurai-eboshi</i>     |  |

## 144 Funeral Procession

From Scroll 8. See the following section for explanation.





- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ① man carrying halberd                           | 11 spade   |
| 2 halberd  | ⑫ pushing down on the spade with the foot to dig |
| 3 <i>samurai-eboshi</i>                          | 13 cord to tuck up sleeves                       |
| 4 cord to tuck up sleeves (white <i>kosode</i> ) | 14 <i>kesa</i>                                   |
| 5 loincloth                                      | 15 spade   |
| 6 <i>sashinuki</i>                               | 16 loincloth                                     |
| 7 barefoot                                       | 17 hoe   |
| 8 shaved head                                    | 18 <i>tate-eboshi</i>                            |
| 9 Buddhist rosary                                | 19 loincloth                                     |
| 10 spade handle (T-shaped)                       | 20 shovel  |

## 145 Burial

This is a depiction of a burial from Scroll 8, and will be considered in conjunction with the preceding picture. Burials in Japan were conducted at night from long ago, with only a small number of people carrying the body out to its burial spot. Guards carrying a halberd and others carrying torches would always accompany the group. Those carrying the coffin would wear a white *hitai-eboshi*. A priest would also accompany the coffin, ringing a bell. The halberd and paddle-shaped sticks held by the guards were intended to keep evil spirits at bay. While cremation became increasingly popular from the Heian era, burial continued to be common as well. Further, while deep holes were dug for burial, such as in this picture, occasionally no hole would be dug and the coffin would be simply left on the ground. Agricultural implements

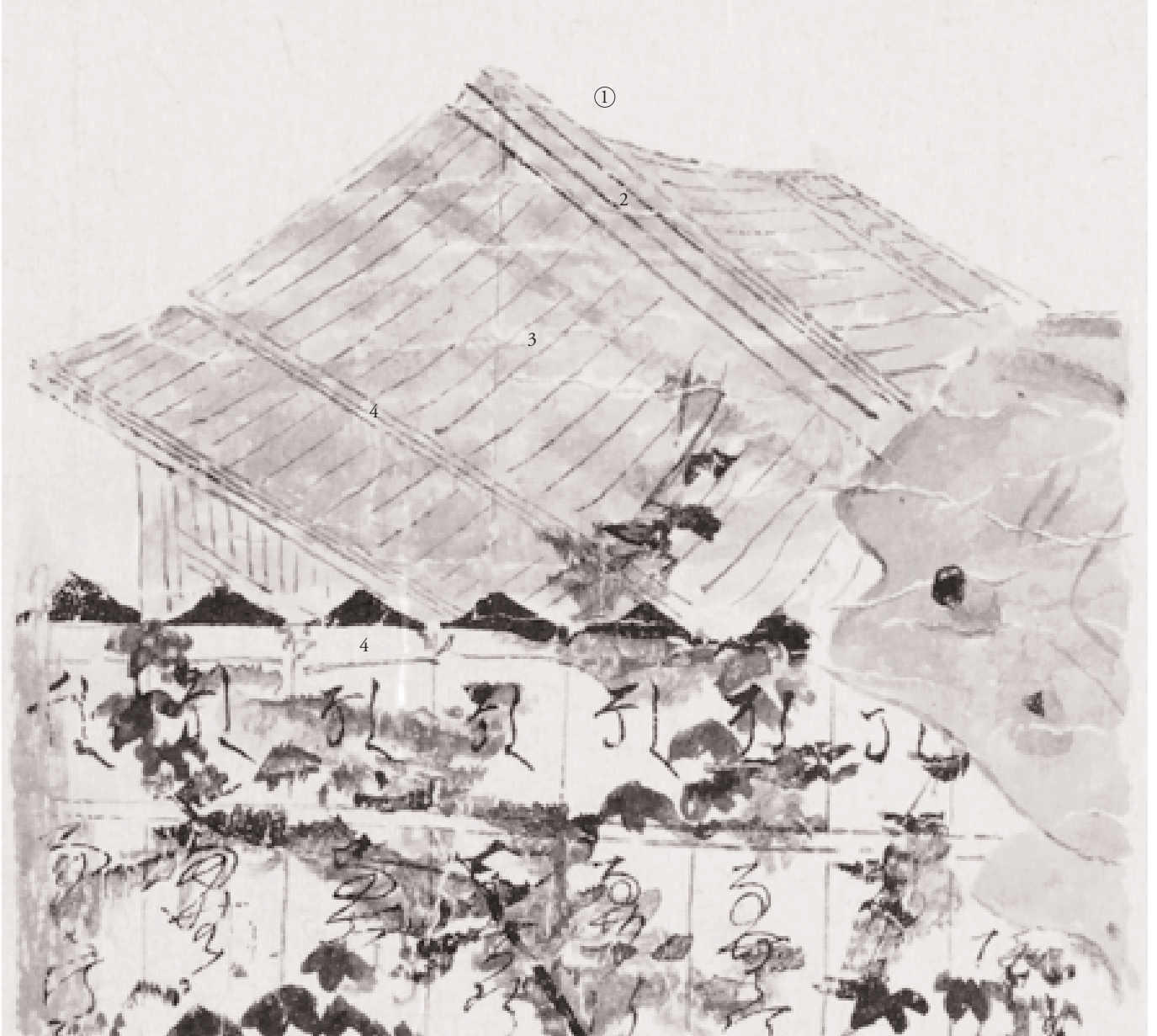
such as hoes, shovels and spades are all being used in this instance to dig the hole. When working, people would sometimes use cords to tie back their sleeves, or tuck up their garments. Therefore, it is also clear that the diggers are all wearing loincloths, and are dressed in white. White clothing was used in all significant events, such as birth and death.



- ① corpse
- 2 crow
- 3 dog
- 4 clothing
- 5 rough straw matting
- 6 *sotoba*
- 7 stake in cemetery fence

## 146 Cemetery

This is a depiction of a desolate cemetery from Scroll 8. Some coffins have been buried deep in the earth, as in the previous picture, but other dead bodies have simply been left on the ground. These bodies have not been put in a coffin, but merely left on top of a bed of straw on their backs, covered in a kimono. The heads of the dead have been shaved, while crows and dogs are picking at the bodies. The body in the lower half of the picture has almost entirely been devoured by dogs. It is thought that this sort of treatment for the dead bodies of commoners was typical for this time. It seems that those for whom *sotoba* and mounds of earth were created were in the minority.



## 147 *Tamaya*

In cases in which bodies were buried, the cemetery would have in one corner a *tamaya*. A *tamaya* was a building to which the coffin would initially be carried, where it would stay while offerings of fragrant flowers would be made, before being buried. This building seems a little small for a *tamaya* of this era, but in later times, individual *tamaya* would be constructed over every grave upon burial. In time, these would sometimes develop into temples. In front of the *tamaya* are *sotoba*, upon which there is writing in Sanskrit. These are to console the dead, and they have been lined up quite close together. This sort of scene can be found today at the Oku-no-in at Mount Kōya in Wakayama or Osore-zan in Aomori, but originally this would have been a common sight at any cemetery. The vines growing all over the *sotoba* suggest the desolation of the place; indeed, at this time, cemeteries were extremely lonely and foreboding places to which people would never generally go.

- ① *tamaya*
- 2 ridge
- 3 plank roof
- 4 *sotoba*



1 mountain bird  
2 sotoba

### 148 Sotoba

This is a depiction from Scroll 8. The custom of placing *sotoba* on top of graves is thought to have become commonplace from around the tenth century. In the entry of the third day of the fifth month in the third year of Tenroku (972) in the *Jie Daisōjō goyūigou*, it is noted that “a temporary *sotoba* should be erected, under which a hole of three to four *shaku* in length should be dug, into which the bones are to be placed, before being refilled. A new stone *sotoba* is to be made within 49 days to replace the wooden one, and this will be used as a marker for his disciples when they visit his grave.” The role of the *sotoba* is explained clearly here. It served as a grave-marker, and would eventually be replaced by a stone version. The one in this picture is wooden, so we may assume that it marks a fresh grave. However, poor people could not replace the wooden *sotoba* with a stone one, and therefore would leave the wooden one there permanently. A mountain bird has alighted upon the *sotoba*, probably in search of human flesh to eat.

While *sotoba* were erected in cemeteries in this fashion, similar prayer monuments, known as *kuyōhi*, began to be built in temple grounds or on roadsides from around the same time. It is a combination of *sotoba* and *kuyōhi* which has evolved into modern day headstones.

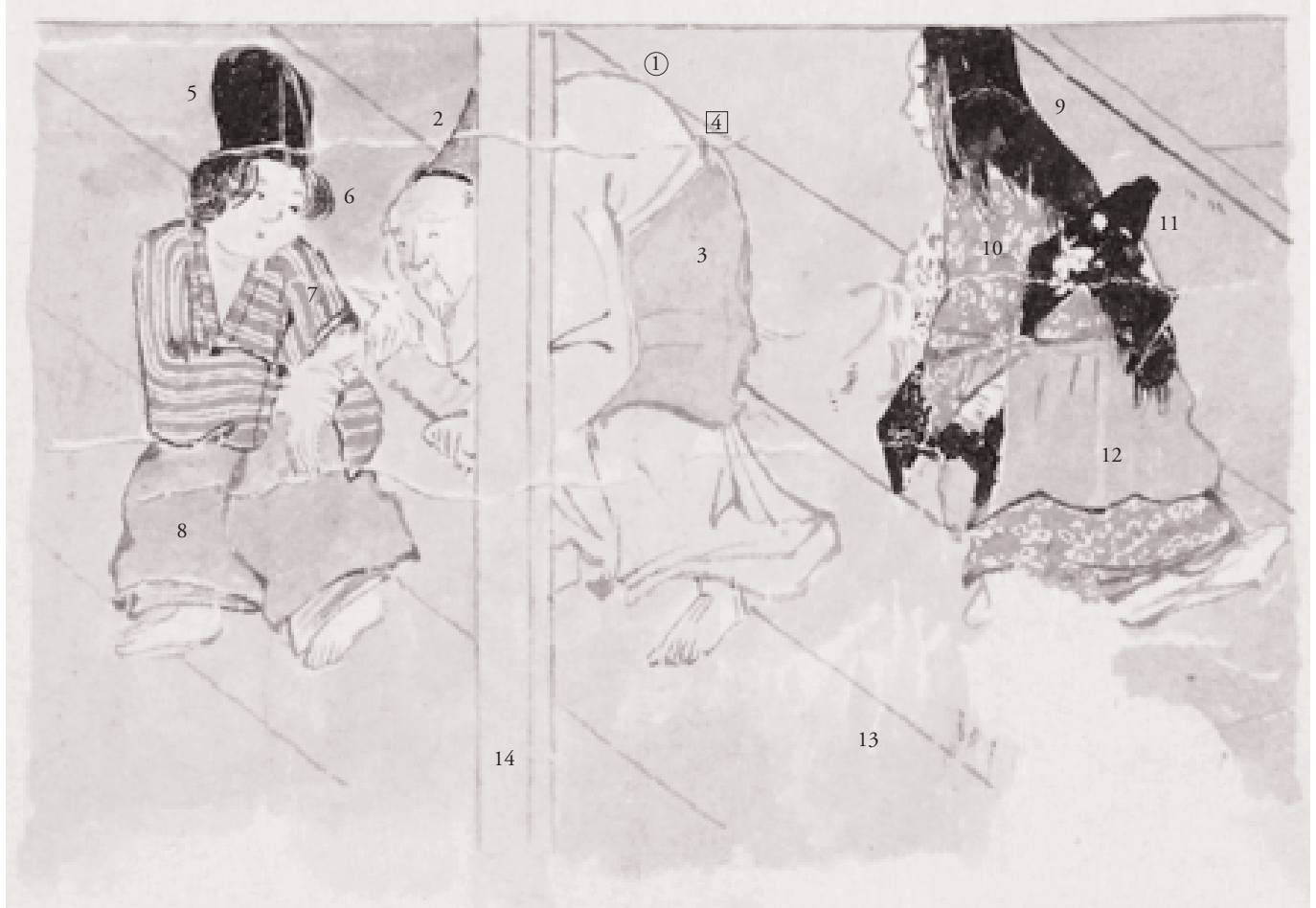


- 1 *gaki*
- 2 specially shaped rice (*gakimeshi*)
- 3 small dish
- 4 table
- 5 votive paper

## 149 *Gaki* and *Gakimeshi*

This is a depiction of a *gaki*, or “hungry ghost” of Buddhist lore, from Scroll 8. The work *Gaki zōshi* discusses *gaki* in detail; the concept of the *gaki* spread throughout Japan with the arrival of Buddhism. The sutras known as *Urabon-kyō*, *Shōhōnenjo-kyō* and *Enkōgakidarani-kyō* all discuss *gaki*. The *Urabon-kyō*, in particular, features a story in which Mokuren Sonja rescues his mother, who has an evil heart, from becoming a *gaki*. This story was also represented in pictorial form, with the production of a work known as the *Mokuren Henbun*. *Henbun* as a genre were a type of picture scroll from China, the earliest of which were discovered in the area of Dunhuang. Dunhuang lies on the transport network to north-west India, and it is thought that Buddhism entered China from India via this route. The concept of the *gaki*, therefore, also entered China from India with the advent of Buddhism, and then on to Japan. The *Man'yōshū* features poems which suggest that statues of *gaki* were erected in major temples,

while the *Shōhōnenjo-kyō* sutra lists 36 different types of *gaki*. *Gaki* were believed to be the souls of those who had failed to reach Nirvana because of the impurity of their actions or souls, and it was also believed that these *gaki* would possess people who performed terrible acts, bringing about great unhappiness. *Gakimeshi*, or rice for the *gaki*, would be offered, along with votive sticks to keep the *gaki* at bay in times of death or other such occurrences.

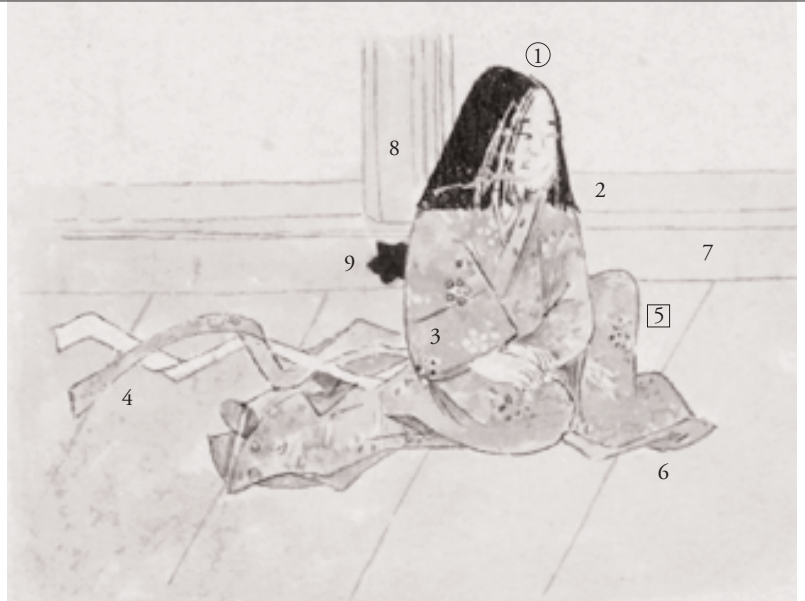


- ① old man
- 2 eboshi
- 3 apron
- ④ hunched over through age
- 5 tate-eboshi
- 6 untidy hair
- 7 kosode
- 8 hakama
- 9 wearing one's hair down
- 10 kosode
- 11 small table
- 12 apron
- 13 plank porch
- 14 pillar

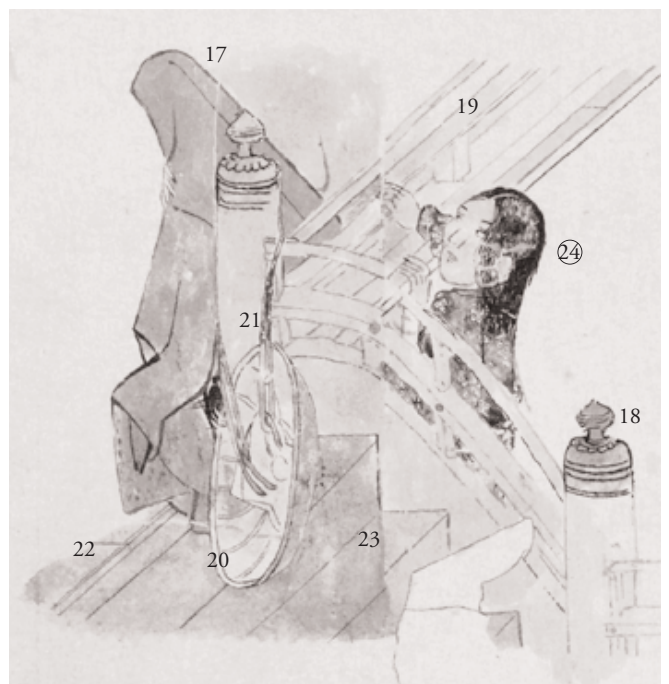
## 150 World of Children

This is a picture from Scroll 8 of children, commonly depicted in the picture scrolls. This frequent appearance of children is significant. Most of the children depicted in these scrolls lived in the Kyōto of the Heian period and middle ages, an era in which class distinctions and rituals and manners were of utmost importance; in this context they were free from such social constraints, and were free from the control of adults. Not only was this freedom due to the lack of responsibility required of children, but indeed it is believed that children were seen as in some way sacred during this era. In Scroll 1 of the *Kitano Tenjin engi*, a god is depicted in the form of a child, visiting the house of Sugawara no Koreyoshi. This visit brought about the birth of Michizane. In the *Kokawadera engi*, also, the Senju Kannon transforms into a

child to visit the house of a rich man in Shibukawa. Gods and Buddhas were said to borrow the shape of a child in order to work wonders on the earthly plane. As a result, children were considered very important, and allowed to do much as they pleased. The characteristic of the depiction of children in the scrolls is the great sense of freedom and fun they enjoyed. Here, a boy is wearing an eboshi on top of his loose hair, and is dressed in a kosode and hakama, pretending to be an adult. The girl has her hair down too, and has an apron tied around her waist and in carrying a small table at her side. This is in fact a scene of a house-fire.



- ① girl with hair cut at shoulder length
- 2 shoulder-length hair
- 3 *kosode*
- 4 cloth sewn on a child's kimono
- ⑤ sitting with one knee up
- 6 wooden floor
- 7 *ji-nageshi*
- 8 pillar (chamfered)
- 9 ornament for hiding nails
- ⑩ child sitting cross-legged
- 11 unidy hair
- 12 unclothed
- 13 round fan
- 14 *kosode*
- ⑮ sitting cross-legged
- ⑯ child facing away
- 17 *kinukazuki*
- 18 ornamented pillar top
- 19 balustrade
- 20 *ichimegasa*
- 21 cord for fastening *ichimegasa*
- 22 plank porch
- 23 steps
- ⑳ girl looking while holding on to the balustrade



## 151 Children

These are depictions of children from Scrolls 2 and 6. The picture on the top is of a child of the upper classes, with hair cut at shoulder length and left hanging long. The middle picture is of two children with loose hair sitting cross-legged. One is holding a fan. They are watching the celebrations for Michizane's fiftieth birthday at the Kisshōin Temple and imitating the behavior of the retainers who are waiting for the masters. The picture at the bottom is of a girl watching the ceremony from beneath a porch.



- |                    |                                   |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ① man sitting      | ⑦ sitting in a cross-legged style |
| 2 shaved head      | ⑧ boy holding a sword             |
| 3 beard            | 9 wearing one's hair down         |
| 4 <i>hitatare</i>  | 10 sword                          |
| 5 cord             | 11 fan                            |
| 6 <i>sashinuki</i> | 12 <i>bitoe</i> (wide-sleeved)    |

## 152 Children

This is Scroll 2, from the scene in which Michizane is practicing archery. The child is probably a servant. A courtier in a *tate-eboshi* and *kariginu* is seated in front and to the left of the child, but cannot be seen in this picture. To the right of the child is a man with a shaved head wearing a *hitatare* sitting cross-legged. They are probably servants of the courtier attending the practice just out of sight in this picture. There is another child in a *suikan* just out of sight who is probably a higher-ranked attendant. The child in this picture has his hair let down but tied at the back, is wearing a wide-sleeved *kosode* and is carrying a sword. The sword probably belongs

to the courtier. He is carrying a fan in his left hand, with which he is also grabbing the tip of the sword's scabbard. It is not at all unusual for a child to be acting as an attendant to a high-ranking adult; some of these acted as *chigo*, or sexual partners to the man they served. In most cases they were good-looking boys kept as a sort of pet. There are many examples of boys of this status in the *Kitano Tenjin engi*.



- ① man blowing a conch shell
- 2 *kanbō*
- 3 cord
- 4 conch shell
- 5 “Chinese-style” clothing
- 6 arm guard
- 7 waist band
- 8 *hakama*
- 9 shin-guard
- 10 shoe
- 11 saddle
- 12 stirrup
- ⑬ horse
- 14 reins
- 15 martingale
- 16 bit
- ⑰ messenger
- 18 *tate-eboshi*
- 19 *kariginu*
- 20 *sashinuki*
- 21 *obi*
- ⑳ sitting on one’s heels with knees together
- 23 message
- 24 balustrade



### 153 Conch Shell, Messenger

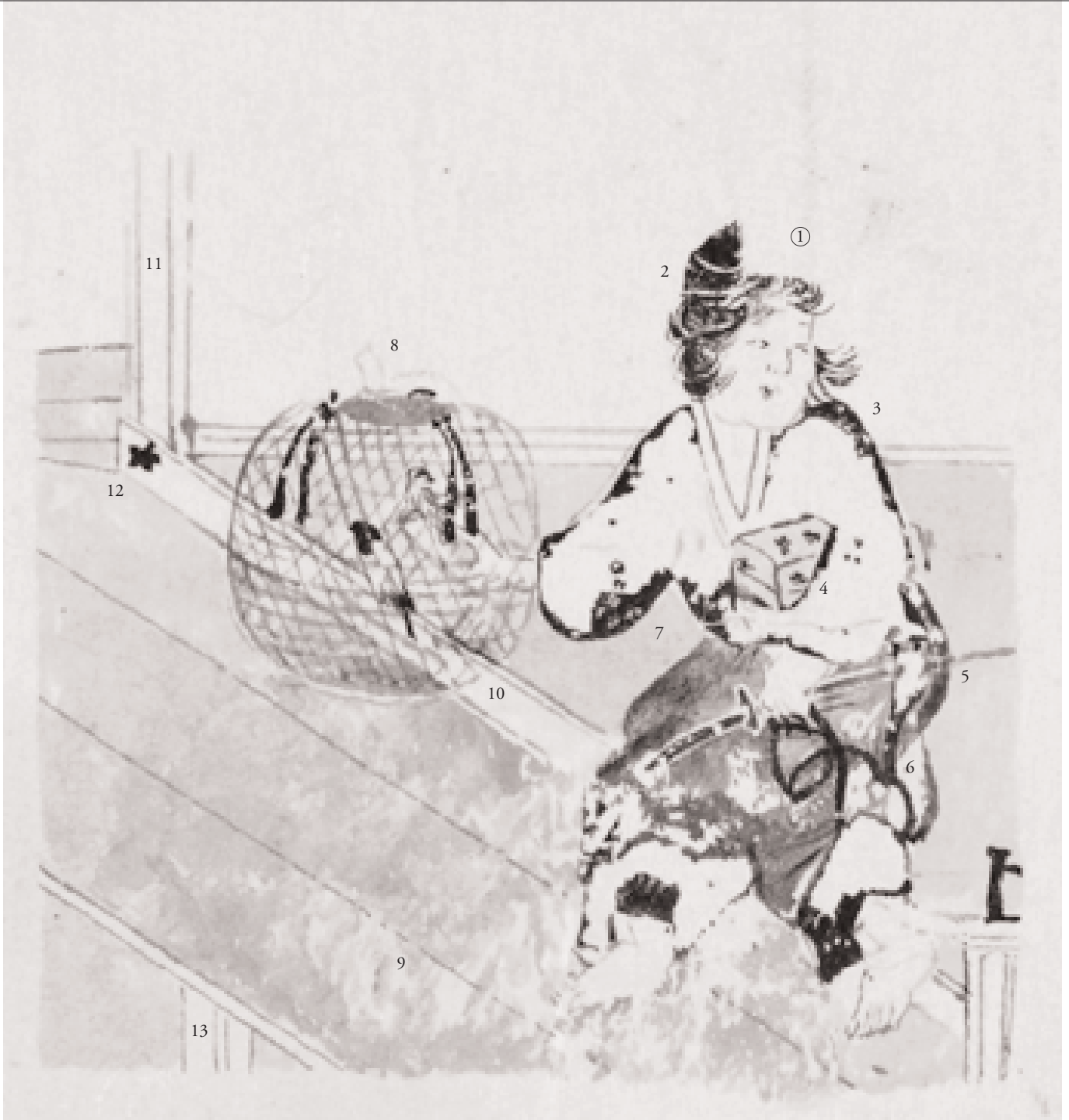
These pictures are from Scroll 8 and 1 respectively. There were a wide variety of methods of long distance communication in ancient Japan, the most common of which were the use of fire or sound, or the use of a messenger to send a written message. For the use of light or sound, a code system would be devised beforehand. One such technique was the use of a conch shell, which could be blown into to produce a loud sound. Above all, though, the use of a messenger was the most common method of communication. Almost all long-distance communication used this method; the only disadvantage is the long time this required. Conch shells were often used over relatively short distances, and in battle.



- 1 *biwa* case
- 2 wearing one's hair down (tied)
- 3 *kosode*
- 4 *go* board
- 5 *hakama*
- 6 untidy hair
- 7 white *kosode*
- 8 falling face down
- 9 *ori-eboshi*
- 10 short sword
- 11 *sashinuki*
- 12 barefoot
- 13 hot-water container
- 14 wooden container
- 15 lid of wooden container
- 16 lacquered plates and bowls

### 154 *Biwa, Go Board*

This is a depiction of a *biwa*, a type of lute, and a *go* board, popular amusement items of the day, from Scroll 8. They are being salvaged during a house-fire. *Biwa*-playing was enjoyed by all classes, while *go* was a pursuit of the aristocracy. The tableware falling from the bucket carried by the tripping woman appears to be lacquer ware.



## 155 Bird Cage

From Scroll 8. See picture number 20 for a description of a bird cage.

- ① man carrying a bird cage
- 2 *eboshi*
- 3 *kosode*
- 4 box
- 5 sword
- 6 cord to attach sword to sheath
- 7 *hakama*
- 8 bird cage
- 9 plank porch
- 10 *nageshi*
- 11 post
- 12 ornament for hiding nails
- 13 short supporting post



- ① woman with *kinukazuki*
- 2 *uchigi*
- ③ covering one's mouth with a sleeve
- ④ traveling attire
- 5 straw sandals (*zōri*)
- 6 Buddhist rosary
- 7 *kinukazuki* (patterned)
- 8 hair cut at shoulder length
- ⑨ child with *kinukazuki*
- 10 *uchigi*
- 11 protective amulet
- 12 *kosode*

## 156 Protective Amulet

This is a depiction of some of the onlookers watching Michizane's archery display in Scroll 2. The two women are wearing *uchigi* pulled up over their heads and are carrying Buddhist prayer beads, and so are probably nuns. The little girl behind them is wearing a *kosode* and an *uchigi* over her head, with a protective amulet hung around her neck. The purpose of the amulet is to keep oneself safe; the bag hung around her neck contains *mamorifuda*, or strips of paper with good luck incantations written on them, from various temples and shrines. It was common practice for women and children to wear protective amulets around their necks in this fashion.



## 157 Head Shaving

This is a depiction of the Emperor Engi (Daigo) having his head shaved as repentance to the soul of Michizane for his act in exiling him, from Scroll 6. Anyone wishing to become a priest had their head shaved. Additionally, doctors and Confucian scholars would also have their heads shaved, as would nuns, who were called *ama* or *bikuni*. The act of having one's head shaved set one apart from ordinary people, and clothing would also differ. If an emperor or former emperor shaved his head he would become a *hōō*, or a former emperor who has taken Buddhist vows.

The historical facts of the relevant incidents are as follows. Sugawara no Michizane was exiled to Dazaifu on the twenty-fifth day of the first month in the fourth year of Shōtai (901), where he died on the twenty-fifth day of the second month in the third year of Engi (903). Fujiwara no Tokihira died on the fourth day of the fourth month in the ninth year of Engi (909), and the former Emperor Uda took his Buddhist vows on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month in the next year (910), undergoing the ceremonies at the Enryakuji Temple. The Emperor Daigo abdicated on the twenty-second day of the ninth month in the eighth year of Enchō (930), dying seven days later. Earlier, on the twenty-sixth of the sixth month in the same year, lightning struck the Seiryōden, after which the Emperor fell ill and died. This picture scroll was put together based upon these historical events.

The Emperor here is in his *gyokuza*, or chamber, and is having his head shaved by a priest behind a bamboo screen.

- ① priest shaving head
- 2 priestly robes
- 3 *kesa*
- 4 shaved head
- 5 razor
- ⑥ using a razor to cut off hair
- 7 thick *tatami*
- 8 *ungen* pattern cloth edging
- 9 threshold
- 10 sliding door
- 11 bamboo screen
- 12 lintel
- 13 round pillar



- ① thunder god
- 2 mallet
- 3 loincloth
- 4 *hire*
- 5 drums
- 6 lightning bolt

## 158 Thunder

This is a personified depiction of thunder, from the scene in which lightning strikes the Seiryōden in Scroll 5. Thunder is depicted as having two horns, untidy hair, naked but for a loincloth and a cloth known as a *hire* cast about its shoulders, and carrying a drumstick to pound at the drums all around it. It is riding on clouds, and emitting bolts of lightning. It has already been explained, in the analysis of an image of thunder from the *Senmen koshakyō*, that this image of thunder as an *oni* striking drums is extremely old, reaching back at least as far as the *Inga-kyō* sutra. In the *Wamyō ruijūshō*, thunder is called *ikazuchi* or *narukami*. Originally, however, it seems that this was not the image Japanese people had of thunder. According to Volume 1 of the *Nihon shoki*, “One source says that Izanagi drew his sword and cut Kagutsuchi into three pieces. One of these became the god of thunder.” So thunder was considered to be a large, snake-like creature. In Volume 14 of the *Nihon shoki*, we see the following: “In the seventh year, autumn, the third day of the seventh month, Emperor Yūryaku commanded Chiisakobe no Sugaru thus: ‘I want to see how the god of Mount Mimoro looks. You are a man of

great strength, so go and capture him.’...So he climbed Mount Mimoro, captured the huge serpent, and presented it to the Emperor...It caused thunder to sound and its eyes flamed...Then the Emperor gave it a new name, Thunder.” Here too, thunder is described as snake-shaped. However, at the beginning of the *Nihon ryōiki*, it is told how Thunder comes down to stomp upon the stone grave marker of the dead Sugaru, and gets trapped in a crack in the pillar, suggesting that it is humanoid in form. Further, the same work goes on to detail how in the time of Emperor Bidatsu, Thunder fell to earth in Katawa in Aichi County in Owari (Aichi Prefecture), and became a young man, who impregnated a woman before returning to the heavens. The child born thereafter became a novice at the Gangōji Temple, and grew into Dōjō-hōshi, famous for his strength. Thus, the image of thunder as taking human form began to take root at this time. This image, however, was imported from the continent, but from an early age began to become the established image through its use in pictorial representations.



- 1 cypress bark roof
- 2 ridge
- 3 lattice work
- 4 pigeon
- 5 white dog



## 159 Pigeons and Dog

These picture are from Scroll 1 and 5 respectively. Pigeons are seen today flocking around temples and shrines, but they originally lived any and everywhere. In this picture, they are on the roof of the house of Sugawara no Koreyoshi. Stray dogs were more common than dogs kept as pets at this time; the one in this picture is scavenging at the dead bodies in the cemetery where Michizane is being buried.



- ① oxherd
- 2 *suikan* (patterned)
- 3 *hakama*
- ④ sitting cross-legged
- 5 straw sandals (*waraji*)
- 6 whip
- 7 reins
- 8 ox
- 9 horn (white)
- 10 curbstone
- 11 wearing one's hair down (tied)

## 160 Ox

The ox depicted in this scene is of the white-horned variety, which appeared in the *Sungyū ekotoba* as a famous breed; indeed, it was the first specified breed of cattle in Japan. The reason they were specified as a particular breed was probably due to their rarity. After this, many other breeds came to be named. Judging from its horns, the ox in the picture appears to have been presented to the emperor from Mikuriya in Uno, Hizen. *Mikuriya-gyū* were large, with long horns, thick legs, bones, skin and flesh. Many famous cattle from the era were of this kind. In front of the ox sits an ox-herd. Ox-herds were usually young men of seventeen or eighteen years of age, but they were occasionally older.

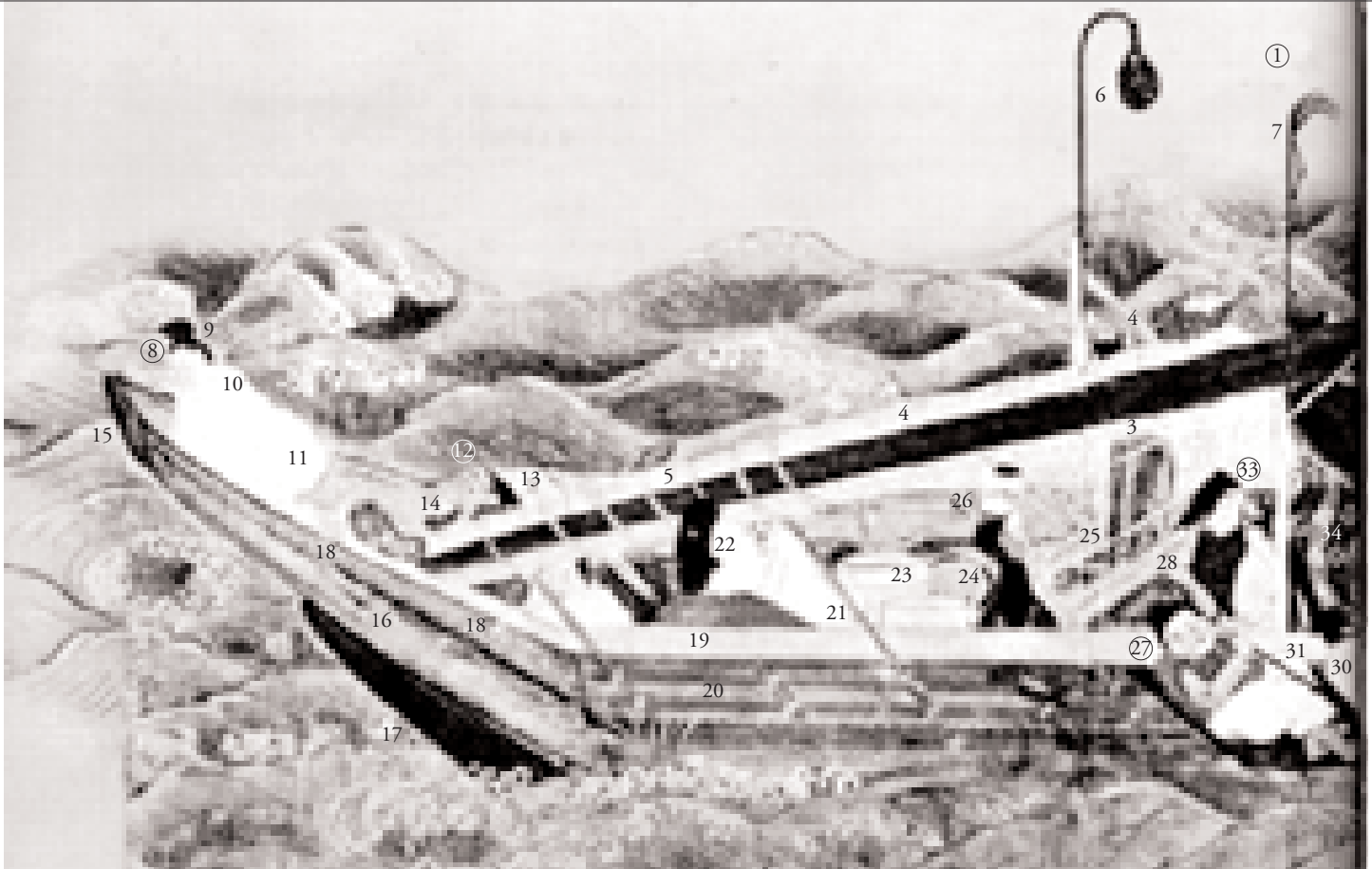




## 161 Mixed-colored Ox

Cows and oxen are depicted frequently throughout the picture scrolls. The majority of these are pulling carts, but there are also some depictions of cattle in pasture. This particular ox is pulling a cart. From the fact that its horns are pointing backwards, we may ascertain from the classification found in the *Kokugyū jūzu* that this is an *Awaji-gyū*. The *Awaji-gyū* is described in this volume as “having a narrow head, horns whose tips point upward, and tough flesh. They are short in stature but strong, and good at pulling weights.” The short legs and stocky body of this ox suggests that it is an *Awaji-gyū*. Most oxen were white, black or brown in color, with mixed-colored cattle such as this one not uncommon either. All cattle had with them a ox-herd who would control their movements. It is said that only higher-ranking aristocrats were allowed to ride in an ox-drawn carts, which became quite gorgeous.

- ① mixed-colored ox pulling a cart
- 2 nose ring
- 3 shaft
- 4 martingale
- 5 crupper



## 162 Boat

The boat depicted in this picture is probably from the late Heian period. It is a large boat designed for Inland Sea journeys, and was the one in which Michizane was exiled. Reference to Kenji Ishii's book *Japanese Boats* reveals that this boat is of a type known as a *jun-kōzōsen*, midway between the simple, hollowed log style of ancient times and the modern, multi-piece design known as a *kōzōsen*. It demonstrates certain complexities of construction, notably the box-like design of the prow and the projecting flanks at the stern, which suggest links with later more sophisticated designs. The flanks of the boat are into two sections with the upper part in wickerwork. Thwarts run through the flanks of the boat, creating lattice works upon which planks were placed to create places for the rowers to sit. The main *yakata*, or hip-shape roofed area, is a space for passengers, and is found behind the main mast. The length of the *yakata* is roughly five and a half meters, while its width is the entire width of the boat. The roof is made of wooden planks. A second *yakata* is found behind the main one, in the stern, housing the helmsman. There are posts known as *tatsu* in front of and directly behind the main *yakata*. These are now known as *yokogami*. These posts would be used for leaning the mast against, or for tying the halyard to when the sails were up. There is just one mast, which is collapsible when not in use. The sail is made of woven straw, which made it heavy and difficult to handle, particularly when wet. Thus, to ensure the stability of the boat, the oars would be used whenever possible. There are ten oars in all on the boat, which are each made of a single piece of wood, and may be used as a pole as

well as an oar. The bottom of the boat has been dug out. This is perhaps the most detailed representation of a boat in all of the picture scrolls.

At the very bow of the boat is a person known as a *jisai*, who prayed for a safe voyage but who was sacrificed to protect the boat in times of danger. It is for this reason that he is clothed in white. Directly behind this is where the crew would sleep under straw matting. Passengers would sleep in the main *yakata*, while the stern *yakata* was reserved for the ship's captain and other important personnel, as well as the helmsman.

From the end of the Heian era, ship-building techniques began to develop dramatically. *Jun-kōzōsen* were thus a first step in the development of ships for full-scale ocean voyages.



- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| ① large boat for Inland Sea voyage                 | 26 arrows                  |
| 2 mast   | ②7 man rowing              |
| 3 mast stand                                       | 28 <i>eboshi</i>           |
| 4 woven straw sail                                 | ②9 stripping to waist      |
| 5 halyard  | 30 <i>uwaginu</i>          |
| 6 beacon lantern                                   | 31 oar                     |
| 7 ?  | 32 <i>hakama</i>           |
| ⑧ <i>jisai</i> , man who prays for the safe voyage | ③3 woman wearing hair down |
| 9 <i>samurai-eboshi</i>                            | 34 curtain (patterned)     |
| 10 <i>suikan</i>                                   | 35 lattice shutter         |
| 11 <i>hakama</i>                                   | 36 metal shutter hook      |
| ⑫ man dozing                                       | 37 bamboo screen           |
| 13 <i>nae-eboshi</i>                               | ③8 main roofed area        |
| 14 <i>kosode</i>                                   | 39 plank roof              |
| 15 pointed bow                                     | 40 post                    |
| 16 flank of boat                                   | ④1 small roofed area       |
| 17 bottom of boat                                  | 42 plank roof              |
| 18 nail hole                                       | 43 roof ridge              |
| 19 wickerwork siding                               | 44 horizontal bar          |
| 20 rowing base                                     | 45 wickerwork wall         |
| 21 thwart  | 46 gable ornament          |
| 22 <i>tate-eboshi</i>                              | 47 ?                       |
| 23 wooden container                                | 48 rudder                  |
| 24 rope  | 49 <i>kariginu</i>         |
| 25 bow   |                            |