ARTISTIC AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF NŌSATSU (SENJAFUDA)

by

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Nōsatsu is both a graphic art object and a religious object. Until very recently, scholars have ignored nōsatsu because of its associations with superstition and low-class, uneducated hobbyists. Recently, however, a new interest in nōsatsu has revived because of its connections to ukiyo-e. Early in its history, nōsatsu was regarded as a means of showing devotion toward the bodhisattva Kannon. However, during the Edo period, producing artistic nōsatsu was emphasized more than religious devotion. There was a revival of interest in nōsatsu during the Meiji and Taishō periods, and its current popularity suggests a national Japanese nostalgia toward traditional Japan. Using the religious, anthropological, and art historical perspectives, this theses will examine nōsatsu and the practices associated with it, discuss reasons for the changes from period to period, and explore the heritage and the changing values of the Japanese common people.

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DEDICATION

For my beloved husband

David Carl Steinmetz

and my dear mother

Setsuko Takanashi

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INTRODUCTION

When visiting temples and shrines in Japan, visitors usually notice the placards covering the walls, pillars, and roofs. Some of the placards are worn and tattered by the wind and rain, their weathered appearance somehow appropriate for adorning the ancient architecture. These placards are called nōsatsu, senjafuda, or ofuda. Nōsatsu literally means "the placards for payment," senjafuda means "the placards of one thousand temples and shrines," and ofuda means "the honorable placards." At first, the placards were called senjafuda because of their association with senja mairi ("pilgrimages to the one thousand temples"), which was a popular religious practice during the later Edo period (the early nineteenth century).

These placards are pasted by people belonging to the nōsatsu clubs, called nōsatsukai, who go on pilrimages to the temples and shrines to paste the placards. The practice of pasting nōsatsu started as a means of worshipping Kannon, the merciful, compassionate bodhisattva who protects his or her followers in this life and brings them to paradise. During the Edo period (1615-1868), however, it appears the nōsatsukai members were more attracted by nōsatsu itself than by Kannon. This does not mean that they neglected the worship of Kannon. When they went on pilgrimages with their club they both pasted nōsatsu and worshipped Kannon.

The modern nōsatsukai members feel a strong attraction toward

nōsatsu. Ozawa Shōichi, who is one of them, says, "Senjafuda, one year after it is pasted, gets used to the place where it is pasted and begins to live as if its roots had begun to grow. Senjafuda is a creature. The ancient people created this unique thing. I like it."[1] The harmony of nōsatsu and the old architecture touched the Japanese aesthetic. Nishiomi Nagahisa, who has been one of the major nōsatsu fans for more than fifty years, says:

> I think it is because of my faith, and not that I am worshipping something, but I go on pilrimages and paste nosatsu for Kannon. Even if I must leave my business, I cannot help going on pilgrimages and pasting nosatsu whenever I hear the name of Kannon. I have pasted more than one thousand nosatsu by now, at least. It was also playing, in a way. When I was young, I had fun drinking with my friends at an inn after the pilgrimages.[2]

It has been said that the practice of pasting nōsatsu became very secular during the later Edo period, when the pilgrimages were becoming popular. This view is based on the pilgrims' evident lack of devotion toward supernatural beings. Indeed, nōsatsu began to contain elements of entertainment at that time. With the rapid popularization of nōsatsu, there was a time when the Tokugawa government (1615-1868) prohibited the club meetings and enacted penalties in order to prevent extravagance. Many temples also had strong objections to the pasting of nōsatsu because they cluttered walls, pillars, and ceilings. Regulations forbidding the pasting of nōsatsu were often posted. From the temple clergy's point of view it was a mischievous thing to do and people who pasted them were regarded as secular, prankish, or superstitious.

In spite of these objections, this tradition of pasting nōsatsu continues through the activities of the nōstasukai members. Although the government and the temples judge their actions to be harmful or negative, the club members are motivated by some kind of faith, either consciously or unconsciously, as Nishiomi Nagahisa suggests. Nōsatsu pasting is entertainment to them; however, the seriousness of their devotion toward nōsatsu must also be considered. Their action and devotion may not be called religious since it is toward nōsatsu, rather than supernatural beings; however, their actions in the nōsatsukai are according to their own disciplines, rules, and principles--which require much devotion.

Nōsatsu has changed in both appearance and its source of attraction since its origin. The practice began as a means of communicating the devotion people had toward Kannon, as part of devotional pilgrimages.

In the second stage of nōsatsu, during the late Edo period, the supporters of nōsatsu were the rich, uneducated townspeople. Their way of living was different from that of the supporters of nōsatsu in the first stage, before the Edo period, and the function of nōsatsu changed as a result of this change in the way of life and beliefs of its supporters. The Edo period supporters did not believe Kannon was the only merciful bodhisattva. They believed in various kinds of supernatural beings and thought all these merciful supernatural beings had the same power as Kannon. They did not distinguish between Kannon and the other supernatural beings.

Furthermore, the appearance of nōsatsu began to be influenced by ukiyo-e prints, which were the dominant artistic printing and painting form of the late Edo period. Studying nōsatsu as an art object allows for examination of the values, beliefs, and tastes of the members of nōsatsukai during the late Edo period.

By analyzing the changes in nōsatsu and the nōsatsukai during the third stage of nōsatsu, during the Meiji and Taishō periods (1868-1926), evidence can be found for the revival movement of the Edo chōnin ("townspeople") culture in the modern Westernized Japanese society. The anthropological, art historical, and religious perspectives help in examining this stage in nōsatsu's development.

Indeed, there were three motivations for the revival movement of nōsatsu. One is that some people who lived in Tokyo regretted the fact that Japan was being Westernized and that the traditions from the previous Edo townspeople's culture were ill-regarded and disappearing.

Second, ukiyo-e was gradually disappearing from the publishing market. So the artists and traditional ukiyo-e craftsmen--such as wood engravers and printers--were losing their jobs. The majority of them joined the revival movement of nōsatsu. They became members of the nōsatsukai and worked producing nōsatsu.

Third, there was a religious revival in the meaning of nōsatsu. During the Edo period, the religious value of nōsatsu was less important than its artistic value. Since nōsatsu's association with ukiyo-e prints was so strong nōsatsu attracted the art-loving, rich townspeople, regardless of whether or not they wanted to practice their

religious beliefs by using nōsatsu. However, during the revival period, the members of nōsatsukai began to think about the original purpose of nōsatsu. The revivalists of nōsatsu not only reorganized the club's meetings for competing and exchanging nōsatsu, but also organized pilgrimages for worshipping and pasting nōsatsu.

During this revival period, the occupations of the nōsatsukai members changed little from the Edo period. According to the research of Takeshi Watanabe, the occupations of the devoted members of nōsatsukai in 1911 (besides the artists, wood engravers, and printers) were all associated with the craftsmen and merchant class of the Edo period, which included fish market owners, restaurant owner-cooks, grocery market owners, lantern makers, umbrella makers, carpenters, and plasterers.[3] They all lived in Tokyo, and were either former Edo townspeople or were descendents of Edo townspeople. Such people were supporters of the Edo culture during the late Edo period. These nōsatsukai members of the early twentieth century did not accept the Western influence on their daily lives, or at least they were slow to accept it. The fact is that they wanted to continue their previous or present ways of living, despite the Westernizing social and cultural changes around them.

The aesthetic value of nōsatsu cannot be appreciated without understanding what nōsatsukai members continued to believe in or to like, and what was changed with or without their conscious effort. When the significance or meaning of each motif of nōsatsu is found, the cultural, religious, and aesthetic values of nōsatsukai members can be

understood. Clifford Geertz suggests a semiotics of art be studied in order to understand the aesthetics of art objects on a deeper level. Semiotics, a study of signs, is a method of finding what the signs mean in a particular cultural and social context by looking at the society and culture. This is because the objects themselves cannot communicate their meaning. The artists are providing us with information about that society through their art works because they work at the level of the audience's capability to see, touch, feel, smell, and hear. Geertz says:

> If we are to have a semiotics of art, we are going to have to engage in a kind of natural history of signs and symbols, an ethnography of the vehicles of meaning. Such signs and symbols, such vehicles of meaning, play a role in the life of a society, or some part of society, and it is that which in fact gives them life.[4]

Indeed, to try to evaluate art objects technically, without knowledge of what they are about or an understanding of the cullture out of which they have come, will mean missing much of the information that they provide about the ideas and beliefs that the artists tried to express from their life experiences in that culture. Furthermore, such a superficial response that simply sees them as exotic arts will cause misunderstanding of the aesthetic value of the art objects.

Since nōsatsu prints are privately printed, by commission, the motifs of nōsatsu directly reveal what the audience wanted. The ukiyo-e artists, who were commissioned to do the nōsatsu, were members of nōsatsukai, so they either worked together with the patrons to plan the nōsatsu or were free to create it as they wished. They could

freely express their ability and what they wanted to draw without caring about the cost of materials and the reaction of the mass audience. The tastes of the masses would have been an important governing factor if they were printing for the mass media publishing market.

Usually, ukiyo-e prints are said to reveal the aesthetic values of the popular culture during the Edo period; however, the motifs were not directly selected by the mass audience. The publishers were the ones who decided what to print in order to sell the prints to the masses. So the motifs and materials that the artists could use were limited. Herbert J. Gans talks about the popular culture's defects as a commercial enterprise:

> The criticism of the process by which popular culture is created consists of three related charges: that mass culture is an industry organized for profit; that in order for this industry to be profitable, it must create a homogeneous and standardized product that appeals to a mass audience; and that this requires a process in which the industry transforms the creator into a worker on a mass production assembly line, requiring him or her to give up the individual expression of his own skill and values.[5]

As Gans suggests, the purpose of ukiyo-e publishing was to sell. The artists' creativity was limited to use. On the other hand, the process of nōsatsu printing involved the artists' creativity and the satisfaction of the patrons, so that the creator and the user had to be of one mind in order to print nōsatsu. Therefore, nōsatsu reflects various aspects of their values and beliefs in the motifs. The motifs

of nōsatsu are the materialized form of the values and beliefs of the members of nōsatsukai.

Nōsatsu motifs can be divided into three categories: ukiyo-e, religious, and unique subject motifs, with two sub-categories of unique subject motifs: iki and nōsatsukai. The ukiyo-e motifs include beautiful women, kabuki actors, heroes and courtiers of legend and history, children, toys, birds and flowers, scenery, sumo wrestlers, the journey, cartoons, shadow plays, the grotesque (including ghosts and monsters), wars, and satires of the government.

Unique subject motifs can be divided into two categories. One is related to the nōsatsukai activities and the occupations of the members of nōsatsukai. These nōsatsukai motifs may show a man pasting nōsatsu or carpenters building the name of a patron. Such motifs were often used during the late Edo period. The other category, iki, is related to the spirit of the Edokko. Iki motifs, used during the revival period, include firemen and matoi (a fireman's standard); irezum ("tatoos"); cloth designs, such as stripes and parallel lines; and colors, such as blue, grey, and brown.

The religious motifs were usually produced during the revival period. Such motifs include Buddha, Jizō (one of the bodhisattvas), ema (a votive picture of a horse), Shichi Fukojin ("The Seven Gods of Fortune"), seasonal observations and festivals, inari (the fox cult), and goryō shinkō (the belief in worshipping dead spirits). The images based on this goryō shinkō belief can be divided into two categories--depictions of Emperor Kazan and depictions of Tengu Kohei.

Both men were considered originators of nōsatsu.

Each motif reveals some of the tastes, values, and beliefs of the members of nōsatsukai. In order to understand what each motif suggests, the culture and society of the Edo, Meiji, and Taishō periods must first be examined.

Therefore, in this thesis, the social and cultural background of the evolving history of nōsatsu and its devotees will be examined and analyzed in order to learn about the culture in which nōsatsu exists. Furthermore, these observations will be applied to the nōsatsu prints in order to understand what each motif means. The conclusion of this thesis will be that nōsatsu, as an art object, reflects the values, beliefs, and tastes of the members of nōsatsukai.

Notes

[1] Senrei Sekioka, ed., Senjafuda (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1983), the front cover.

[2] Asahishinbun Tokyo Honsha Shakaibu, Shitamachi (Tokyo: Asahishinbunsha, 1984), pp. 78-80.

[3] Takeshi Watanabe, "Senjafuda," in Senjafuda, ed. Tsunekazu Miyamoto, (Kyoto: Dankōsha, 1975), p. 188.

[4] Clifford Geertz, Local Knowledge (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 118.

[5] Herbert J. Gans, Popular Culture and High Culture (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1974), p. 20.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF NŌSATSU

The Origin of Nōsatsu

The first stage of nōsatsu is considered to be from the late tenth century, when it originated, to the early Edo period, shortly before nōsatsu became popular. The story of the origin of nōsatsu centers on Emperor Kazan, who reigned from 984 to 986. Although he was only seventeen years old when he came to power, he soon tired of the vanities of the world and resigned from office to become a Buddhist priest. He was devoted to Kannon, the compassionate, merciful bodhisattva, and made a pilgrimage to the thirty-three sacred places of Kannon. One day, Kannon appeared before him and announced that Kazan's religious adviser, Butsugan, was a reincarnation of Kannon, who was returning to earth to teach Emperor Kazan. Afterward, in accordance with a divine command, Kazan made occasional pilgrimages and, in honor of Kannon, cut his name in the living rock at the sacred places he visited. This is the first suggestion of a nōsatsu of which there is record.[1]

The historical accuracy of this legend is uncertain; however, it is significant that even after the secularization of nōsatsu, nōsatsukai members have continued to believe in this story as evidence for the sacred origin of nōsatsu, and as justification for viewing

their practice as sacred and religious. During the Heian period (794-1197), pilgrimages began to be popular among the common people as a result of their evolving religious beliefs. (Actually, few people went on pilgrimages, but many supported those who did.) They began to be influenced by Amida pietism's idea that one may be assured of rebirth in the Western Paradise. They believed Amida is a compassionate, merciful Buddha who will bring to paradise those who pray and have faith in Amida. The outstanding quality of this divinity is his generosity toward the worshipper, whose every sin he forgives and whom he goes out to meet and welcome into paradise.[2]

Kannon has qualities similar to Amida. Kannon is the personification of divine mercy and, like Amida, Kannon is the great savior of the world, a role for which he is able to assume any form he desires.[3] Both Amida (amitabha) and Kannon (Avalokita or Kuan Yin) were originally male in India; however, when introduced in China, Avalokita (male) and Tara (female) were combined into a sort of female Avalokita, whom the Chinese call "Kuan Yin." Upon introduction to Japan, the Japanese came to pronoune this "Kannon."[4] Furthermore, this image of Amida and Kannon was combined with the divine element of the native Japanese kami after it was introduced to Japan. Although Amida and Kannon have similar characters, Kannon is the one who is associated with pilgrimages.

Many stories are told about Kannon in relation to pilgrimages including, of course, the story of Emperor Kazan's pilgrimages done out of devotion to Kannon, which is cited as the legend of origination for

nōsatsu. Oliver Statler relates another such story, about a priest named Joyo:

> Tradition says that Joyo had ardently prayed for the sight of his dead mother and father dwelling in paradise. Then in a dream he beheld a vision of Kannon--Kannon clad as a pilgrim, holding a pilgrim's staff--who told him that to see what he had prayed for he should go to Mt. Koya, for Koya was paradise here on earth.[5]

The Thirty-three Stations of Saikoku and Eighty-eight Sacred Places of Shikoku were the special pilgrimage routes for those devoted to Kannon. Throughout the Middle Ages, only professional religious ascetics performed such pilgrimages. However, in the late fifteenth century, these pilgrimages began to be popular treks among the common people. This was not a sign of the secularization of the practice, though. The people who went on these pilgrimages and pasted nōsatsu did it out of their devotion toward Kannon.

Nōsatsu first appeared as rock inscriptions, as pilgrims such as Emperor Kazan chipped out their names in connection with devotional pilgrimages for Kannon. Gradually, pilgrims began to use thin boards on which their names and the date were written. Sometimes copper and brass nōsatsu were used. Still later, the practice of using paper placards began to develop. The inscriptions on these were originally written by hand, but were later printed from woodblocks. According to Frederick Starr, this is the first stage of nōsatsu history--from around the tenth century to the late eighteenth century.

Later Developments

The second stage of nōsatsu history begins with the appearance of Tengu Kohei, a samurai of Edo during the Edo Bunka period (1804-1817). He went on pilgrimages from temple to temple and pasted as many nōsatsu as possible. Since this time, nōsatsu ("the placards for payment") also began to be called senjafuda ("the placards of one thousand temples and shrines") with the association of senja mairi ("pilgrimages to the one thousand temples"). After the Edo Kansei period (1789-1800), this senja mairi became the most popular religious practice for the Edo chōnin ("townsmen"). They organized groups to go on pilgrimages together, and made a competition of pasting their name placards on the temples. They believed that the more they pasted, the more grace they would receive.[6] Tengu Kohei pasted in the temples and shrines around Edo, and the practice rapidly spread among the Edo townsmen. At this time, pilgrimages became secondary and the pasting of nōsatsu became primary. Furthermore, there appeared people who collected nōsatsu.

These practices became very popular, and nōsatsukai clubs were formed among such people who were fascinated with nōsatsu. In 1808, Tengu Kohei held a meeting of club members. Each member exchanged nōsatsu, and club nōsatsu were printed using a single nōsatsu or recurring designs or motifs on each member's own name nōsatsu. During the Bunsei period (1818-1829), several clubs started to get together to exchange nōsatsu. Up until this time, nōsatsu were printed in black

and white. However, during the Tempo period (1830-1843), colorful and artistic nōsatsu were first printed, simply for the fun of exchanging them. By the Kaei period (1848-1853), club members began to compete with each other over the beauty of their nōsatsu and meetings were held often. In the Ansei period (1854-1859), exchange had become so popular that five or six meetings were sometimes held in a single month.[7] By this time, nōsatsukai had their own principles, disciplines, and rules to be followed. These principles and disciplines are based on the religious and cultural values produced in the Edo chōnin culture. This is the second stage of nōsatsu history.

As shown above, the nōsatsukai had a dual function. First, the members went on pilgrimages to paste the nōsatsu on temples. Secondly, they were collectors who exchanged nōsatsu among club members and gathered them by going from temple to temple and pulling them down. Because of this dual function of nōsatsukai, two kinds of nōsatsu began to be printed. One kind of nōsatsu is called daimei nōsatsu, which means "name placards." These are pasted on temples. The other kind is called kōkan nōsatsu, which means "exchange placards." This differentiation continues into the present.

In spite of the flourishing development of nōsatsukai during the late Edo period, interest in nōsatsu nearly died out after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Only a few people went on pilgrimages to paste nōsatsu, and no club meetings were held during this period. However, in 1890, Ōta Setchō organized a meeting that is famous for its key role in a great revival of enthusiasm for the ancient custom.[8] From

this time up to the present, the nōsatsukai have had regular meetings every month. This period, of revival, is the third stage of nōsatsu history.

At this time, new membership is increasing, with both the old and young--including junior and high school students--participating in the clubs. One of the nōsatsukai has over four hundred members and finds printing all the members' names on the group nōsatsu difficult.[9]

Notes

[1] Frederick Starr, "Honorable Placards Club," Asia and the Americas, Feb. 1921, pp. 116-117.

[2] E. Dale Saunders, Buddhism in Japan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 170.

[3] Ibid, pp. 172-174.

[4] John Blofeld, Bodhisattva of Compassion (Boulder, Colorado: Shambhala, 1978), pp.22-23.

[5] Oliver Statler, Japanese Pilgrimage (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.), p. 90.

[6] Noburo Miyata, "Edo chōnin no shinkō," in Edo chōnin no kenkyū, ed. Matsunosuke Nishiyama, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973), p. 243.

[7] Nōsatsuchō, J769.952 Ei99, Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library, n.p.

[8] Starr, p. 118.

[9] Watanabe, p. 165.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE SECULARIZATION OF NŌSATSU DURING THE EDO PERIOD

This chapter will consider how and why the role of pilgrimages and nōsatsu came to be called secular and explore the extent to which religiosity was involved in this process of secularization.

Pilgrimages and nōsatsu pasting were not secular activities during the first stage of nōsatsu history because the practitioners had religious faith and felt devotion toward the supernatural beings. They were the professionals, the holy men, or the devotional common people. They went on pilgrimages with feelings of yearning for paradise. They were fed up with this earthly world and searched for the truth of this universe, putting their hope in another world. Through the pilgrimage, they felt they could be assured of salvation through the supernatural beings. Joseph M. Kitagawa analyzes the motivation to go on pilgrimages:

> Such a pilgrimage was an attempt to "experience" salvation physically as an alternative to mental discipline and meditation. It was also believed that by undergoing the inconveniences and hardships of the pilgrimage, one might mollify one's sins and be assured of rebirth in the Pure Land after one's death.[1]

For the pilgrims, the temples were sacred domain and the center of the universe, where they could transcend this world and communicate with the bodhisattva Kannon in the Western Paradise. And they pasted

nosatsu as a remembrance of their visit, thus manifesting their belief in Kannon as their savior. A pilgrim could not always be at the temple, but by leaving his name there, he could continue to worship Kannon through the nōsatsu. So then, going on pilgrimages and pasting nōsatsu are the manifestations of the faith of the pilgrims in Kannon. In light of Mircea Eliade's remarks, then, these actions may be considered sacred:

> A thing becomes sacred in so far as it embodies (that is, reveals) something other than itself. . . . What matters is that a hierphany implies a choice, a clear-cut separation of this thing which manifests the sacred from everything around it. There is always something else, even when it is some whole sphere that becomes sacred--the sky, for instance, or a certain familiar landscape, or the "fatherland."[2]

Temples, pilgrimages, and nōsatsu are the sacred symbols which reveal the pilgrims' nostalgia for paradise; therefore, they are sacred.

Next will be an examination of the change in religious beliefs of the people who went on pilgrimages and pasted nōsatsu during the second stage of nōsatsu history, during the Edo period. At this time, the majority of the pilgrims who practiced nōsatsu pasting were neither professionals nor holy men. They were merchants and craftsmen who lived in Edo. Pilgrimages were an extremely popular religious practice, and there are historical, economic, social, cultural, and religious reasons for the popularity of this practice.

With regard to historical factors, periods of war and peace were important. From the fifteenth century to the seventeenth century, warring involved all Japan, with several strong lords in the country

constantly fighting to be leaders over the whole country. However, after Tokugawa Ieyasu unified the country by defeating the other lords, Japan had a peaceful period. Thereafter, a better transportation system was developed, with roads connecting each province. Then, if people had enough time and money, they could go traveling without so much diffuculty.

Secondly, Japan experienced great economic and urban growth during this period of peace. "Edo, no more than a fishing village in 1590, grew into a vast and crowded city of more than one-half million by 1731, when it was perhaps the world's largest city. Osaka and Kyoto grew less rapidly, but both had populations of 400,000 or more by 1800,"says Thomas C. Smith.[3] Along with the development of cities, money began to be used in the first half of the eighteenth century. More farmers came to the cities and became merchants or craftsmen. They became wealthy and had leisure time.

Thirdly, a social factor contributing to the new prosperity of nōsatsu was found in the government's requirement that these new merchants and craftsmen join guilds. Thus, people who had the same occupation communicated with one another more and associated socially. Sometimes, the guild members would go on a pilgrimage together. In this way, pilgrimages were considered as a kind of traveling, a chance to get away from the busy life of work in the cities.

Fourthly, the development of printing acted as a cultural catalyst, thus allowing many kinds of brochures to be printed--such as travel guides, etiquette books, maps, and so on. These guidebooks were

very popular and served as tools of mass communication, contributing to the sensibility of the popular culture. According to the analysis of James H. Foard, the itinerary used for pilgrimage guidance was organized into the following prescribed order:

> (1) the places to be visited, (2) the legends that gave these places meaning, and (3) the behavior required at each place. The Buddhist scriptural and iconographical traditions concerning Kannon served as a reservoir of symbols for this itinerary.[4]

Besides these descriptions, some guidebooks had lists of local products suitable for souvenirs, the scenery observable along the way, places to stay, and the locally available food. As this information was disseminated, people were encouraged to go on pilgrimages.

Finally, people felt a desire for prosperity in this world--influenced by the economic, social, and cultural changes. Instead of longing for paradise in another world, they wanted to get the grace and protection of Kannon in order to live better lives in this world. Their attitude toward pasting nōsatsu changed, so that it was no longer a manifestation of their modest devotion toward Kannon, but a token of their wishes. Instead of glorifying Kannon, they requested that their wishes come true--to live a healthy, wealthy, long life. They believed that the more they went on pilgrimages and pasted nōsatsu, the more grace they could get from Kannon. They also helped create popular deities who were worshipped during certain periods. Various temples would publicly display their images of Buddha and bodhisattva during specific periods, and those images that were shown

in public became more popular and were worshipped because it was believed that pilgrimages to such temples during those periods brought a thousand times as much grace as otherwise. So more people came to such temples, where the images were shown in public. Furthermore, circuses, plays, festivals, and food vendors became active around these temples, thus attracting more pilgrims to such temples.

In this way, their religious concepts became more worldly and did not have so much association with the transcendental, universal concepts. The important thing for them was to have a good time in this moment. So, they emphasized the entertainment and play element in everything that they did. Therefore, their attitude toward religion itself does appear secular. Interestingly, their religious life was influenced by their secular life, and their secular life was influenced by the Buddhistic world-view.

However, the important thing is that we cannot merely determine that the members of nōsatsukai only saw nōstsu as a source of enjoyment. Their devotion toward nōsatsu was beyond simple playing. Their zeal and enthusiasm in printing good quality nōsatsu, collecting, pasting, and competing with nōsatsu was similiar to that of pilgrims who were devoted to their deities. There is a parallel in the two kinds of devotion.

Then, what did this nōsatsu play really mean to the members of nōsatsukai during the Edo period? First it is necessary to consider the importance of play and festivals within society, and then see how this applies to the Edo townsmen's society, particularly with regard to

nōsatsukai members during the Edo period.

Both play and festivals are associated with entertainment, joy, and pleasure. During this time, people experience different parts of their lives. Festivals began in association with religious beliefs. People celebrated certain things and events with their gods and presented offerings to them. Gradually, however, only the play aspect of festivals began to be emphasized, and now we know many festivals to be devoid of religious content. During this particular time, people escape from the real world and enjoy themselves in a different world. Things or behaviors that are usually prohibited can be considered normal. It is the "reversal time."

Edmund R. Leach, in his essay, "Time and False Noses," describes phases of sacred time as follows: separation, with its rites of sacralization; a marginal state of suspended animation, when ordinary time stops; and aggregation, with its rites of desacralization.[5] He sees time as a "discontinuity of repeated contrasts." One separates from this world upon entrance to the reversal time, which is during festivals or play time. It is the opposite to aggregation, which is the exit to go back to this world again. A marginal or liminal state, which is the period between separation and aggregation, is the time of opposites. Leach calls this liminal state a sacred time, and living in this world is secular or profane time. He illustrates his idea of the liminal state as follows: "In such situations of true orgy, normal social life is played in reverse, with all manner of sins such as incest, adultery, tranvestitism, sacrilege, and lese-majeste treated as

the natural order of the day."[6] In such a liminal period, people can transcend from this structured society limited by space and time, and enjoy their freedom from its limits. Through such freedom, people refresh themselves and renew the cycle of their lives. That is why the pleasure, joy, and entertainment taken from the play aspect of the festivals are so important. They can give new energy, animation, and vitality, enabling one to continue to live in this limited, structured world. So then, it seems plausible that the more severely structured the society is, the more often people will want to be free, to renew their frustrating lives. That is how the Edo townsmen felt under the severe Tokugawa government and the very structured society it produced.

The Edo chōnin ("townsmen") lived in the Ukiyo ("floating and fleeting world"), a culture created by the Edo chōnin. It was a reversal culture, where the bottom class of the structured society--the "untouchables"--were the ideal and heroes of the Ukiyo culture. This was a kind of liminal state, where people escaped from the real world and enjoyed themselves in a reversal world. It was a culture rebelling against the structured society.

The Tokugawa government categorized the whole nation into four classes: samurai ("warrior"), farmers, craftsmen, and merchants. Below these four classes was the lowest class of people, who were the outcasts of society. This lowest class, the untouchables, included criminals, actors, and courtesans. Other than the farmers, most of the classes lived in cities such as Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. These three cities developed differently and had different characters. Kyoto was

the cultural center, devloped by the noble class. Osaka was the economic center, where merchants enjoyed their commerce. Edo was the political center, where the central government was located and where all the local lords occasionally stayed as part of the governmental hostage system called sankinkōtai ("alternate attendance"). The samurai class worked in the government as civil servants. Confucian ethics became part of the Tokugawa government's ideology. According to these ethics, everyone had their own position in society and should behave themselves according to their position. In this way, everyone was forced to live in fulfillment of a stereotype. Individuality was thought to disrupt the harmony of society. Because of the suppression of this society, many contradictions surfaced through various phenomena.

When a merchant behaves himself as a good merchant, according to Confucian ethics, he will work hard so that he will earn lots of money, which is the goal of a merchant. When he becomes rich, he can afford to be extravagant. However, according to the law, merchants were not allowed to live extravagantly. The samurai class members were the only ones allowed to live in such a way. Furthermore, merchants were supposed to work all the time and were not allowed to entertain themselves. The government had very detailed laws for each class. Some merchants were much richer than samurai class members, and yet they could not express it in the structured society.

So, the Edo merchants living in such a society, dominated by the samarai, experienced more frustration than the other merchants in Kyoto

and Osaka, because they had more interaction with the samurai class. They saw the samurai way of living during their daily lives, and some merchants were victimized by samurai. Sometimes merchants became bankrupt because of samurai not returning debts to them, or merchants were killed for little or no reason by the samurai--who were allowed to kill non-samurai. Thus, Edo merchants felt frustrated, challenged, and in competition with the samurai.

The culture of the Ukiyo was the production of such Edo chōnin who felt rebellious toward the highly structured Tokugawa government run by the samurai class. The Edo chōnin rebelled in a passive way, escaping from the structured society and creating their own place where they could freely express themselves.

In this world, the chōnin enjoyed luxuries, the arts, and the life of fashion and pleasure. Playing in the gay quarters and being entertained in the theater were part of the normal cultural fashion in the Ukiyo, but this was prohibited and regarded as evil in the external society. Thus, the floating and fleeting world was a reversal world, so we may consider those in the Ukiyo to be in a kind of liminal state, as defined by Leach. To enter the gay quarters and the theater is a separation from the structured society, to exit is the aggregation, and the interim time between separation and aggregation is spent in participation in the rollicking life of the gay quarters and the theater. Within this time and space, nobody holds a position based on the class system of the external society. Instead, everyone has been leveled to the same social rank. By escaping into such a liminal

state, and refreshing the cycle of their lives, the chōnin could survive even in the oppressive Tokugawa society.

One thing that must be remembered is that these merchants were aware that the Ukiyo was fleeting and changeable. The liminal state does not continue forever. There is a point of exit, to come back to this real world. The oppressed, structured life continues again as the normal cycle of life. Beneath the carefree participation in this decorative, pleasurable world, the chōnin were aware of the harshness of the real life in their deep thought and emotion. The belief that supported this melancholy feeling came from the Buddhistic notion of the sadness and impermanence of life and its pleasures. The Edo novelist Asai Ryoi describes the spirit of the Ukiyo as:

> living only for the moment, turning our full attention to the pleasures of the moon, the snow, the cherry blossoms and the maple leaves, singing songs, drinking wine and diverting ourselves just in floating, caring not a whit for the pauperism staring us in the face, refusing to be disheartened, like a gourd floating along with the river current, this is what we call Ukiyo.[7]

Indeed, the chōnin rebelled against the structured society in a cynical way. It was not a direct challenge, but an escape from reality and the creation of their own way of living, in their own "transcendent" world.

In this way, their cultural point of view was much influenced by the Buddhistic world-view, which was very pessimistic and detached from this world. However, their religious beliefs were also influenced, in like manner, by materialistic, worldly, secular values, as a result of their urbanized life. This suggests that they lost the concept of

paradise and a transcendent world following death--wishing instead to have a better life in this world, because of a change from devotion toward the supernatural world to devotion toward the incurring of benefit in this world. Nevertheless, not all of their worldly needs were satisfied. Some chōnin became so rich that they could lend money to samurai; however, their money power did not change their social status. After losing the concept of hope in another world, they attempted to find freedom and transcend reality by exiting the status quo, structured society and entering the sub-culture of the outcast. Their heroes and ideals were not the saints or holy men, who could achieve the realization of the universe and live in the world detached from this world, but the actors and the courtesans who lived in the pleasurable, utopian world of the Ukiyo where they were free from structured society and could live vigorous, vibrant, individualistic lives.

With such cultural fashions, it is understandable how the usage of nōsatsu changed from the symbol of a belief in Kannon to the object of playing and a form of entertainment. People went on pilgrimages not because of their longing for paradise or to communicate with Kannon, but rather because of their enjoyment of the scenery, interest in famous local products, and their wish to receive grace and profit in this world. The nōsatsu were sometimes pasted for one's own self-advertisement, and to meet the challenge of pasting it in difficult to reach yet conspicuous places--such as the ceiling. In this second stage of nōsatsu, one thing never changed, and this was the

devotional seriousness of the participants. However, their devotion was not toward the supernatural beings, depending on them in order to endure this life and solve life's problems, but toward the pleasure of entertainment, in order to escape the suffering in this world. Indeed, it was a culture without any deep purpose: an escape from, rather than a confrontation with, life's problems.[8] And the Edo nōsatsukai were the product of such a culture, which had momentary pleasure as the basis for its real life ethics.

Notes

[1] Joseph M. Kitagawa, Religion in Japanese History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 72.

[2] Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1966), p. 13.

[3] Thomas C. Smith, The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan (Stanford: Standford University Press, 1959), p. 67.

[4] James H. Foard, "The Boundaries of Compassion: Buddhism and National Tradition in Japanese Pilgrimages," The Journal of Asian Studies, 41, No. 2 (1982), 242.

[5] Edmund R. Leach, "Time and False Noses," in Reader in Comparative Religion, ed. William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, 4th ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979), p. 222.

[6] Ibid., p. 229.

[7] Tom and Mary Anne Evans, Shunga: The Art of Love in Japan (New York: Padington Press LTD., 1949), p. 26.

[8] Ibid., p. 26.

CHAPTER III

VALUES AND ETHICS OF THE EDO CHŌNIN AS SHOWN IN THE PRINCIPLE SPIRIT OF THE NŌSATSUKAI

Sekioka Senrei, a ukiyo-e printer and nōsatsukai member, introduces the next topic. He describes nōsatsu in this way:

> Senjafuda, which was born and raised in Edo, was transmitted along with that unique formation as Edo graphic design by the special collectors' organization, nōsatsukai. This is because senjafuda successfully enabled the spirit--including the aspects of wit, neatness, and competitiveness--to be expressed by its unique atmosphere, which is created by the fusion of letters and pictures, its dynamic composition, and its wild, free usage of colors.[1]

Although later chapters will explore how this spirit Sekioka Senrei mentions is reflected in the appearance of nōsatsu, this chapter will discuss the spirit itself. In order to understand nōsatsu and those involved with it, it is important to understand all three aspects of this spirit: share ("wit"), iki ("neatness"), and hari ("competitveness"). Also necessary is an understanding of how this spirit, that existed in this pleasure-seeking, entertainment-oriented society, was able to be transmitted to later generations.

The stereotypical character of the Edo chōnin culture, in which this spirit was produced, is represented in the word "Edokko" ("Edo native born"). Many things have been said about the definition of Edokko. Nishiyama Matsunosuke says the word "Edokko" began to reveal

the character of Edo chōnin during the Temmei period (1781-1788). He defines the character of Edokko as follows:

> 1. Born in the capital: the Edo chonin began to be proud of living in the same area as the feudal lord, in contrast to other members of the chonin class or farmers who lived in different cities or in the countryside.
> 2. Careless about spending money, and is not stingy, in order to avoid being a slave of money. Even if they spend money today, they can get more money tomorrow by working in the big city where the economic mechanism is located.
> 3. Raised in a good family: it seems to be fictitious, but as the Edo chonin life improved, this became an attributed characteristic.
> 4. The truly native born has a strong consciousness of being born and raised in the center of Edo.
> 5. Having the iki and hari spirit. In short, this is the revelling spirit that is expressed in the gay quarters and theaters.[2]

In this definition, being a native of Edo seems to be a priority. However, just the fact of being native born did not make an individual an Edokko. He also had to have the Edo spirit that was represented in iki and hari. In a description of iki, Kuki Shūzō wrote an esay called "Iki no Kōzō" ("The Structure of Iki"). Here he defines the intrastructure of iki using three categories:

1. First is "coquetry" toward the opposite sex. This coquetry is a dualistic attitude that consists of the possible relationship between the unified self and the opposite sex.

2. The second category is the "high spirit" or "enthusiastic spirit" that is a reflection of the moralistic ideal of the Edo culture. For, the courtesans and actors are the ideals, and, as they are such in a sexual context, coquetry is the ideal attitude. As there is a choice

involved, this becomes an ideal of a moral character, so that these two categories represent the moralistic idealism of Edo chōnin culture. Iki includes not only the dual possibility regarding the opposite sex, but also the challenge that this presents to the consciousness, the choice one can make to take advantage of this dual possibility, and the enthusiastic response to the challenge.

3. The third category is "giving up." The Buddhistic world-view is its background. That is to say, "the indifference" that resulted from escape from attachment, based on the awareness of one's fate. This giving up and disinterest comes from detachment from unselfish participation in reality, after experiencing the harshness and suffering of the Ukiyo.

So, iki is a production of the Edo moralistic idealism and the religious impracticalism that completed the realization of self-existence that comes from coquetry.[3]

In the Ukiyo, the courtesans and the theater actors were central to Edo cultural fashion. They were the ideal of the Edo townsmen. In contrast, then, with the Confucian ethics of the government, the Edo chōnin's moralistic idealism existed in a sexual context and was based on the liminal state. However, it also influenced the normal, secular, structured world. It is important to remember that because of the Buddhistic realization of reality and the fact that detachment from this world involved a sexual context, coquetry was the only possiblility, and this approach to sexuality could never become aggressive. Nevertheless, iki does consist of the attitude of

enthusiasm, so even if the chōnin in the Ukiyo were aware of the fleeting, floating world and did not become overly attached to or concerned over their own life in this world, they could still be "serious" about their life. They took the entertainment and pleasure-seeking very seriously. So, in spite of their disinterest and detachment from this world, they were still cheerful and enthusiastic.

Another aspect of the Edo spirit, hari, means "to compete." It is to insist on one's own subjectivity or point of view, without giving up. One does not admit defeat. Share, another aspect of the Edo spirit, is a sense of wit and humor. This sense of share was expressed especially through the nōsatsukai motifs of the nōsatsu design. This Edo spirit, consisting of share, iki, and hari, supported the ideal of Edokko, which was expressed in the nōsatsukia. Next must be a consideration of how this Edo spirit was expressed in the nōsatsu and nōsatsukai, and how the nōsatsukai can be seen to be a product of Edokko.

First, it must be admitted that the nōsatsukai meeting can be considered a liminal state. During the Edo period, the meetings were almost always held in a tea house. There, the members enjoyed chatting, eating, and drinking. What was different from other meetings or parties was that they exchanged nōsatsu. While they were exchanging, the hari spirit was expressed in the competition that went on for the best quality nōsatsu. Each member brought his or her own nōsatsu and distributed them to everybody. Upon receiving the other person's nōsatsu, the individual member made an informal comment. The

competition was never formally organized. It was kept in each individual's heart. Besides saying that the meeting had the element of entertainment, the reason it can be said to be a liminal state is that social rank was not considered in the nōsatsukai, so, in the meeting, all kinds of people mingled and associated and enjoyed one another as equal members with the same hobby. As a matter of fact, Tengu Kohei, the founder of the nōsatsukai, was a samurai and the chōnin still followed him. The samurai, chōnin, courtesans, craftsmen, actors, and all sorts of people enjoyed exchanging nōsatsu in the meeting. One thing that united all these people was their enthusiasm for collecting nōsatsu. And this enthusiasm can be identified as part of the Edo spirit. The members of nōsatsukai expressed the spirit of iki and hari through this process of producing nōsatsu for exchanging and pasting on their pilgrimages. The members were very serious about good quality, artistic, detailed nōsatsu. It required a lot of talent for the nōsatsu printers and also a tremendous amount of money to produce high quality nōsatsu. Many professional ukiyo-e printers printed such nōsatsu. Members paid for them according to how complicated the design was, and how colorful, so if they wanted large, colorful nōsatsu with a detailed design, it would cost a great deal. But because of their competitive, enthusiastic character, with an attitude of detachment concerning money, the rich members produced such nōsatsu, and the stories of their bankruptcy were not rare among the real Edokko.

The spirit of iki and hari was also expressed on pilgrimages. The members of nōsatsukai felt the spirit of iki and hari with regard to

the place where they pasted nōsatsu. That spirit was shown to the degree that it was pasted high, in a difficult to reach, conspicuous place. The angle at which it was pasted was also considered.

All these criteria were considered a challenge for the nōsatsukai member who wished to show the Edokko spirit. For the outsider, the location of a nōsatsu and its design may mean little; but the real Edokko members were much more sensitive to such things.

Indeed, the nōsatsukai clubs held to a body of principles, rules, and disciplines that were outworkings of the Edokko spirit (they will be further described in chapter IV). So, these forms of entertainment can be considered as having become a religion. The parallel to religion can be seen in the function of nōsatsukai. The actions of the members on the pilgrimages may not appear religious with regard to the worship of Kannon; however, their actions were based on their serious, devotional, religious ethics that were hidden in the foundations of their obvious secularism. They were serious devotees of nōsatsu. From the point of view of the established religious organizations, what they were doing might have looked secular; however, for the members of nōsatsukai, going from temple to temple pasting nōsatsu was a religious manifestation of the belief in karmic merits (kudoku) and divine favor in this world (genseiriyaku). Primarily, the members of nōsatsukai were fascinated by the rareness of nōsatsu; however, they also believed in the fortune coming to them in this world. And their actions were based on their Edo chōnin ethical values. Then, the real Edokko were the ones leading the ethical life and should, therefore, be rewarded

for it. Their belief was unique and was a creative production of the chōnin cultural wisdom. Indeed, the rich chōnin who became bankrupt because of their detachment from money and devotion to nōsatsu were the real heroes. They truly lived the Edo ethic. They were aware of the reality of this fleeting, floating world, so they were not attached to this world; but because of their enthusiasm, they were devoted to nōsatsu in their true spirit until everything was lost. They did not do this because of their stupidity, without seeing reality; but because of their awareness of reality. For them, richness and poverty were undifferentiated. Both existed, facing to each other, at the very edge of reality. Today's dream is tomorrow's despair. They both exist in the same world.

Indeed, the Edo chōnin culture is deeply influenced by the Buddhistic world-view, in spite of its very secular appearance. However, they found their solution in this world, instead of transcending to another world. The Edo chōnin were aware of the melancholic reality of this world, so they realized the necessity to be detached from it. Until here it is Buddhistic; however, what they did was to escape from the restrictive society, to their own created world, the Ukiyo. So, instead of escaping to the other world, which would necessitate faith and dependence on supernatural beings to govern their after-death experience, they instead created their paradise in the gay quarters and the theaters and escaped there from the real world. Within this space and time, it was always the liminal state, where the structured society was absent and time stopped, abnormal things were

considered normal and nobody had their regular identity.

Notes

[1] Senrei Sekioka, ed., Nōsatsu to Senjafuda (Tokyo: Iwasaki Bijutsusha, 1977), p. 1.

[2] Matsunosuke Nishiyama, "Edokko," in Edo chōnin no kenkyū, ed. Matsunosuke Nishiyama (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1973), pp. 43-44.

[3] Shūzō Kuki, "Iki" no kozo, 6th ed. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949), pp. 19-33.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT OF NŌSATSUKAI DURING THE MEIJI AND TAISHŌ PERIODS (1868-1926)

As mentioned above, after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the nōsatsukai almost died out. There are two reasons for this. One reason is that the Meiji government rejected all aspects of the Edo culture, including pilgrimages to the Buddhist temples. This must have made it difficult to hold both the pilgrimages and the meetings of the nōsatsukai. Secondly, the pursuits of the previous culture were considered out of fashion because Japan began to be Westernized and Western values were adopted. Therefore, the practice of nōsatsu must have appeared old fashioned. These two factors combined to totally destroy the Edokko ethical values. The Edo chōnin were mistreated by the Meiji government because they appeared to carry the previous Edo culture within them, and the chōnin began to be ashamed of being influenced by the Edokko social values. Consequently, the real meaning of the Edokko was forgotten.

However, after a few decades, some Edokko began to regret that the Edo culture had been rejected and was disappearing. Ōta Setchō was one such Edokko. He wanted to keep the Edo tradition alive, and became interested in nōsatsu. He organized a meeting of nōsatsukai in 1890 after a long period of inactivity, and this became the starting point

of a great revival of enthusiasm for the "Edo taste." Quite a few former Edo chōnin started to feel nostalgic for the Edo chōnin tradition, and participated in nōsatsukai. From 1890 up until the present time the nōsatsukai have had regular meetings, except during disastrous periods such as the Kantō earthquake in 1923 and the wars. From the revival until now, their function has not changed. More young people are joining the nōsatsukai nowadays. They are interested in maintaining the Edo traditions. However, they have no idea about the Edo spirit of iki and hari, so the elders who lived with the Edo spirit during the Meiji and Taishō periods teach and train them about the real Edokko spirit.

Nōsatsukai members now also go on pilgrimages, with feelings of religious devotion toward Kannon. In these modern times, they have not only revived nōstatsu as one of the Edo traditions, but also the religious devotion toward Kannon. They also continue to follow a few traditional regulations. The regulations are as follows:

> 1. You shall not paste for notoriety.
> 2. You must not go to far places to the neglect of business affairs.
> 3. You must not spend too much money on exchange fuda.
> 4. You must not scribble on the walls when pasting placards.
> 5. You must not be boisterous at meetings.
>
> If you make pilgrimages with piety, obeying these regulations, you will receive the clear blessings of gods and Buddha, will avoid illness and danger, and will gain happiness and the fulfillment of your desires for three generations.[1]
> (Jinjabukkaku Nōsatsukigen "The origin of shrine and temple nōsatsu")

These regulations were established before the Meiji Restoration.

The third regulation, which talks about not spending too much money on nōsatsu, must have been difficult to follow for the Edokko who really possessed the Edo spirit. However, otherwise the rules were generally kept, and these regulations continue to be rules for the nōsatsukai members.

During this modern period, the nōsatsukai are developing in a more religious direction. While the meetings during the Edo period were held in tea houses, now meetings are held in temples or other meeting places where they do not have food or drinks. The purpose of the meetings is more single-minded--to exchange nōsatsu and to go on pilgrimages together. Of course, they still enjoy a little chatting with each other, but they do not expect the meeting to be a source real entertainment.

This difference is a result of their secular cultural background. During the Edo period, entertainment was treated seriously, as a major part of the Edo cultural fashion. It was natural for the Edo chōnin to have an entertainment element in whatever they did. They even found entertainment in grotesque, scary stories, plays, and prints. Sometimes even somebody's death was described humorously. They were serious about not taking anything seriously. In a culture such as that, there was nothing wrong with having a party at the nōsatsukai meetings. On the other hand, in the modern society, nōsatsukai members attend the meetings because they are serious about trying to maintain the Edo tradition and are fascinated by nōsatsu more than anything else. Also, they consider nōsatsu to be religious, and believe they

should be devoted to Kannon. If they wanted to be entertained as the Edo members were, they could go somewhere else to participate in parties and so on. They have many other opportunities to be entertained, but they have the nōsatsukai in order to restore the spirit of Edokko and and Edo culture. So, they gather at the meetings with some kind of purpose other than entertainment.

While the Edo chōnin created their unique culture as a sort of manifestation of rebellion against the restrictive society, the moderns restored the Edo tradition as an expression of rebelling against the Westernized, modern culture. The existence of nōsatsukai is a kind of expression of nostalgia toward the Edokko spirit. Tokyo natives are trying to re-identify themselves as the Edokko. They do not want to be the victims of Westernization. They are proud of their old culture, and they want to transmit the Edo spirit from generation to generation. Through their devotion to nōsatsu, they wish to restore the old values and cultural fashions to those who are interested.

This spirit of the Edokko, then, was created in the culture of the Ukiyo, a liminal state, and expressed rebellion against the Confucian structured society in a passive way. Even after the destruction of the Edo culture, the Edo spirit remained in the nōsatsukai and was thus transmitted to the modern, Westernized Japanese society, restoring the Edo traditions. This third stage of nōsatsu history can be considered a revivalistic movement, as discussed by Ralph Linton in his essay on "nativistic movements" (see below). After the adoption of Western culture, especially in Tokyo (formerly Edo), the Edo chōnin culture was

regarded as inferior to the modern Westernized culture, so the Edokko who were proud of being Edo native born were frustrated with the new cultural values. However, by reviving the Edo production of nōsatsu, they could restore the Edo culture and re-identify themselves as Edokko. By restoring the traditions of the Edo nōsatsukai, modern Edokko felt secure about their identity and began to have self-confidence. Ralph Linton says:

> Failing assimilation, the happiest situation which can arise out of the contact of two societies seems to be that in which each society is firmly convinced of its own superiority. Rational revivalistic or perpetuative nativistic movements are the best mechanism which has so far been developed for establishing these attitudes in groups whose members suffer from feelings of inferiority. It would appear, therefore, that they should be encouraged rather than discouraged.[2]

Indeed, early modern Japan failed to assimilate the introduced Western culture and the old Japanese culture. They simply tried to get rid of the old traditions in order to adopt the new modern culture from the Western world. But not everybody felt satisfied with that way. So, by practicing the old customs again, the Edokko wanted to show the superiority of the old traditions.

Notes

[1] Watanabe, pp. 141-142.

[2] Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," in Reader in Comparative Religion, ed. William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, 4th ed. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979), p. 421.

CHAPTER V

JAPANESE FOLK RELIGION REVEALED IN THE REVIVAL PERIOD NŌSATSU: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

In the introduction, three motivations were given for the revival movement of nōsatsu. One motivation, as discussed in chapter IV, was the existence of a group of people who wanted to restore the Edo chōnin culture, continuing the Edo ethics as the principle of the nōsatsukai. They formed the central group of the nōsatsu revival movement. Secondly, there existed another group of people who wanted to see Edo culture continue. These were the ukiyo-e artists who were losing their jobs in the Westernized Japanese society. This motivation will be discussed in chapter VI. The third motivation will be examined here. This was a religious revival in the meaning of nōsatsu, and this is revealed in the renewed use of religious motifs in the nōsatsu during the Meiji and Taishō periods.

Religion is a belief system that encourages believers to survive vitally in this world with future hope, by giving an answer to the cause of misfortunes in this world and an answer to the question of after-life. If one form of religion does not satisfy the desires of people, it changes. Religion is bound to social and cultural backgrounds, and as these change, religion also changes. T.S. Eliot said, "No culture has appeared or developed except together with a

religion; according to the point of view of the observer, culture will appear to be the product of religion, or the religion the product of the culture."[1] When cultural systems change, the religious systems also change, and so does the art style. And cultures are always changing, as shown throughout human history. The cause of cultural change is found to be the same, regardless of what change takes place. This cause is the desire for satisfaction.

The phenomenon of change occurs when people either get tired of the former system and feel the necessity for change, or are forced to accept the new system by a dominant group. In the former case, change is brought as a result of the desire of the people, hoping for the coming of the new system's satisfaction. Then, even after the change, what the new system provides people with remains the same as what the old system once provided--satisfaction. When people cease to be satisfied with this new system, the change takes place again in order to make people satisfied, just as change occurred when the old system was no longer satsifactory. In the latter case, of forced change, people were satisfied with the old system, but now are not satisfied with the new one and wish to return to the former system, yet cannot. In such a case as this, they may even try to go back historically much further, to the point of their ancestor's traditions. By doing so, those people feel secure about who they are and what they are. Then, in this case, the old traditions serve as a means of satisfaction. In either case, what people want is satisfaction through change.

Therefore, on the surface level, human cultures appear to have

changed throughout history; however, human beings themselves never change. People are always seeking fulfillment of their desires. Buddhism says desire is the result of clinging to this world and is the cause of our suffering. Christianity says man began to have selfish desires because he fell into sin. He rebelled against God and began looking elsewhere for fulfillment. Whatever the cause of desire is, we are aware of the desire existing within us. Art is one of the results of our desires--the desire to create. Through artistic creation, we make a statement of our thoughts or feelings, which are in turn influenced by our own culture. When people have new experiences and their values change, the arts are sensitive enough to respond to such changes.

The motifs of nōsatsu uniquely depict the cultural and religious values of the members of nōsatsukai. By examining the religious motifs of nōsatsu, we can understand the religious beliefs of the Japanese common people and chart both the continuity and the changes in Japanese folk religions over the centuries.

The religious motifs of nōsatsu were not seriously treated during the Edo period. Since the majority of the nōsatsu motifs during the Edo period were ukiyo-e motifs (figs. 10-46), there are only a few from that period using religious symbols. When religious symbols were employed in the nōsatsu design they were used humorously, like the nōsatsu of the nōsatsukai motifs (figs. 47-52). (The ukiyo-e motifs and nōsatsukai motifs will be discussed in chapter VII.) Probably one of the reasons for this is that the nōsatsukai during the Edo period

were started as nōsatsu exchange clubs by the ukiyo-e art lovers, imitating the kyōka ren ("mad-verse poem groups"). Ren is a group of people with a common interest, gathered together. In the kyōka ren, members exchanged surimono (privately commissioned ukiyo-e prints) printed with poems they had composed, striving to better each other in the quality of poems and the printing. This custom was popular among the samurai class and the rich, educated merchants from 1780 to 1830.[2] Since composing a poem required skill and intelligence, the kyōka movement did not spread to the lower classes. The uneducated found nōsatsu pasting an easier practice, as it was more of a physical than an intellectual activity. It consisted of traveling on pilgrimages and competitive pasting. Nōsatsukai began to be organized after nōsatsu pasting was popularized, so the low-class people were probably imitating the kyōka ren in organizing ren. As a result, the religious aspect of nōsatsu was recognized only in regard to its origin, and was not of much importance in the practice of nōsatsu making, pasting, and exchanging.

However, the nōsatsukai members during the revival period began to consider the origin and true purpose of nōsatsu. They felt that they should not only work at producing competitively artistic exchange nōsatsu, but should also devote themselves to worshipping the supernatural beings. Each member was encouraged to pray and meditate before pasting nōsatsu. Before the pilgrimage, they produced a religious motif nōsatsu at the meeting. When pilgrimages were organized by the nōsatsukai, they visited only shrines and temples in

and around Tokyo. According to an 1897 survey, there were 476 shrines and 1287 temples in the Tokyo area.[3] First, all members gathered at one temple or shrine, then individuals went to other temples or shrines to paste nōsatsu. When finished, they gathered again at another temple. The members felt holy during these pilgrimages, and also felt they received merit from their deities as a result of their pilgrimage participation.

Through an examination of the nōsatsu motifs, the nōsatsukai members' beliefs can be discovered. The religious motifs were employed not as a means of worship, nor to reveal what was believed, but were natural choices for a member of the Japanese society to make. In other words, the religious motifs were based on the Japanese folk religion. According to Hori Ichirō's definition, folk religion means a group of rites and beliefs deeply felt by the common people, and supported and transmitted by them from generation to generation.[4] One way this transmission takes place is through images. Visible art objects help in understanding and preserving the rites and beliefs of the ancestors. However, not everything continues unaltered. In each generation, some alteration occurs, and this change is transmitted to the next generation, and remains. Likewise, both continuity and change can be seen in the nōsatsu motifs.

An example of continuation is the hito-gami ("man-god") tradition, one of the foundations of Japanese folk religion. According to this belief, human beings can easily become deified as kami ("supernatural beings"). Hori Ichirō explains this concept as follows:

> Japanese kami are not considered personalities that are any more independent than men but lowly figures dependent on their superiors in either the divine or the social hierarchy and in need of salvation and help. In this context, the superiors, including human beings and ancestors, were believed to be half-kami or even low-ranking kami or buddhas. The beliefs in spirits of the dead and in the intimate connection between men and kami, being linked with ancestor worship and dependence on superiors, are even today, widespread and important.[5]

Indeed, Emperor Kazan and Tengu Kohei are almost worshipped in the nōsatsukai. Emperor Kazan is considered the originator of the practice of leaving nōsatsu as a rememberance of visiting Kannon. Tengu Kohei is regarded as the first man to paste nōsatsu in temples and shrines all over Edo. In 1921, the members of nōsatsukai built a monument for Tengu Kohei, and even today all the members visit his monument on his memorial day to pray for his soul.[6] Many nōsatsu have been printed using these two originators as motifs.

In 1926, the nōsatsukai had a meeting for the exchange of nōsatsu, using as their motif the eighty-eight temples Emperor Kazan is said to have visited on his pilgrimages (fig. 1). This particular nōsatsu is from this collection, and was commissioned by Maebashi Hanzan, the interpreter for Frederick Starr.

Tengu Kohei is a more popular motif. His original nōsatsu was reproduced in 1908 by Ōta Setchō, who was a calligrapher and one of the central figures in the nōsatsu revival movement (fig. 2). During the revival period, the devoted members of nōsatsukai greatly respected Tengu Kohei as a hero. These members, who established a monument to

him, also commissioned this Kohei nōsatsu (fig. 3).

So, these originators are regarded as nearly kami, and are venerated by the nōsatsukai. Also, by following the same pilgrimage routes as Emperor Kazan and Tengu Kohei, the members of nōsatsukai identify themselves with them and feel holy.

Another material form of their faith can be seen in the ema (a votive picture of a horse) (fig. 4). Literally, e means "picture" and ma means "horse." Originally, wooden ema placards were given to the kami by being hung in the temples, as a rememberance of praising kami. According to Yanagita Kunio, the original reason for giving kami a picture of a horse was that the ancient Japanese believed kami came down to earth by riding a horse down from a high mountain top. Therefore, a horse picture was considered holy.[7]

So, the original use of ema is the same as that of nōsatsu. However, ema gradually began to be used to ask kami for grace. The picture on the ema was not necessarily a horse, but a symbol of whatever the worshipper wanted to get from kami. For example, if a worshipper wanted to recover from his sickness, the sick part of his body would be pictured. Various ema pictures that were originally employed for safe pregnancy, a good harvest, curing disease, prosperity, good luck, and so on, were used as nōsatsu motifs. However, I do not believe that the members of nōsatsukai used these motifs for the purpose of asking the grace of kami. Instead, they were depicted because the members knew the ema was used religiously in the Japanese folk culture. All the depicted pictures must have been

commonly used ones found in the shrines. The nōsatsukai may have not known of the original use of the ema; however, they knew they were considered religiously powerful and so the images were considered for use as motifs. As with nōsatsu, the custom of using the ema has continued from the ancient period up until the present, yet the original purpose of use of both nōsatsu and ema has changed. In fact, because of this adaptation in use that accommodated the desires of a new generation, these objects were able to continue through various periods and a changing culture.

Another type of religious motif was based on the belief in merciful Buddhas and bodhisattvas. In this motif, Buddhist images of supernatural beings are pictured. However, the way the commoners believed in them resembles that of the hito-gami tradition.

When nōsatsu was used by Emperor Kazan for the first time in the tenth century, it was dedicated to Kannon, who was a personification of divine mercy. This belief in Kannon was first held by the aristocrats. According to the research of Sawa Takaaki, there is no clear documentation on the extent of Kannon worship in the early Nara period, but by the seventh century, this Kannon faith had grown and spread among the aristocrats.[8] Because the aristocrats and clergy were the two main bearers of culture at that time, there was a close relationship between them, and the clergy taught the aristocrats Buddhism. The aristocrats believed in the merciful bodhisattva not for deliverance from the chain of existences, but for the continuance of luxury, pomp, and comfort into the next world.[9] Emperor Kazan left

this pleasure-seeking, decadent culture and went on pilgrimages to worship Kannon. He realized the perishability of the pleasure in this world, so, instead of invoking the holy name of Kannon in search of a luxurious life-style, he sought imperishable, eternal salvation through pilgrimages.

However, the commoners did not have the opportunity to live a comfortable life. Their life in this world was already full of suffering and poverty. The only hope that they had was to pray to Jizō[10] (Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha) to ask for relief from suffering in the hell-fire of the next world.[11] Saunders says, "Jizo is especially devoted to the help of women and to their children."[12] In other words, Jizō was believed to be a protector of the weak. For them, Jizō was the personification of divine mercy. The influence of the hito-gami tradition created a belief for some that dead-born babies were Jizōs, and were to be worshipped.

Because of their association with the aristocratic culture of the Heian period (794-1192), images of Kannon were made by the well-known artists at that time, and usually Kannon had a delicate, female appearance and fine, gorgeous jewelry (fig. 5). Rich materials such as bronze, copper, gold, and silver overlay the sculptured wood.

On the other hand, the images of Jizō were made from stone by the local artisans (fig. 6). They were much more vulgar-looking by comparison with the Kannon images. Because of their association with children, the Jizō usually look very adolescent and childlike. These stone sculptures are unsophisticated and natural-looking.

These two kinds of images seem to be very different, and it is easy to judge one as sophisticated art and the other as vulgar folk art; however, both of them are similarly important. The images of Kannon are sophisticated-looking because the aristocratic class was their audience. In other words, the artists made these Kannon images in such a way that would allow the aristocrats to understand the divine mercy they represented. In the same way, the images of Jizō were made by the artisans at such a level that the local people could understand them as images of divine mercy. These levels of understanding were the result of their way of living, so that the appropriate images allow them to feel strong emotion toward the images as the images relate to their own life experiences.

This differentiation between the types of supernatural beings and the peoples worshipping them occurred when the supporters of Kannon and Jizō were from two different classes. However, by the time nōsatsu became popular among the commoners, during the late Edo period, this kind of differentiation between Kannon and Jizō and their worshippers disappeared.

During and following the Kamakura period (1192-1333) the commoners believed that if they worshipped kami and prayed sincerely, they would be blessed by kami. In the concept of the commoners, merciful kami included all kinds of supernatural beings, such as Buddha, bodhisattva, dead ancestors, nature spirits, and so on. They did not believe in an almighty god as in the Western tradition; however, they believed that kami will help them if they ask because kami also experienced such

suffering before becoming supernatural beings.[13]

Within this general concept, the commoners had various beliefs that were taught in the established, organized religious institutions, with each institution teaching their own particular interpretation. The foundation of the commoners' way of believing is based on the hito-gami tradition. They practiced their belief through the observation of the rites and festivals instead of studying about it. The fox cult motif and seasonal festival motif reveal their beliefs in a visual way (figs. 7-8).

There are many inari ("the kami of harvest") shrines in Tokyo. According to the research of Miyata Noburo, there were forty-six inari shrines in Edo in 1823.[14] Actually, these inari shrines were not only for the kami of the harvest. During the Edo period, many commoners moved to Edo and erected shrines in accordance with their own various beliefs, so that there were altars for various kinds of kami. Miyata divided the altars into five types: shrines for agricultural kami, for kami of the holy land, for local kami, for house kami, and for the spirit of the fox.

The fox was considered to have a spirit that can possess people, and inari shrines are associated with the fox. Originally, the fox and the harvest had a close relationship. Farmers believed foxes have a special spirit that knows about the future of the harvest and, when a fox looks at a person,, that person can know it too. Gradually, farmers began to be afraid of the spirit of foxes as a messenger of the kami of harvest.[15] Therefore, through the adoration of foxes, they tried

to get merit from these kami.

The commoners who put up these various kinds of altars believed that if they do not treat these kami in the right way, they will do evil things to them; but if they worship them, making an altar, the kami will protect them and be good spirits. This belief system of good and evil spirits has continued to be held by the commoners since the ancient period. Usually this belief in spirits was in conjunction with myths, fairy tales, or folk legends. Sometimes these beliefs engendered superstitions, which may be classified into five groups: beliefs and magic concerning omens, beliefs in divination, fragmentary customs concerning taboos, black magic, and prayers or formulas with magical elements.[16] All these classifications are based on a belief in good and evil spirits. They are not really separate spirits in the folk belief. Depending on the observer's treatment of the spirit, the spirit can be either good or bad. So the commoners tried to make the spirits their protectors, thus giving them confidence. Making altars or inari shrines was one of the ways of treating the spirits in a positive manner.

There were an especially large number of inari shrines in the area where the members of nōsatsukai lived during the revival period. They often went to inari shrines to paste nōsatsu and ask favors of the kami.

The last religious motif to be examined is Shichi Fukujin, the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, who are believed to bring good luck and prosperity to businesses (fig. 9). They are not original Japanese

gods. They are believed to have come across the ocean by boat from China with fortunes.[17] At first, they were believed in by fishermen and farmers; however, during the Edo period, when the commoners began to move into the city and become merchants, this became a belief of the merchants, with prosperity in business being the good fortune sought. Whenever a new store was opened, neighbors gave the new owner a picture of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, thus wishing him good luck for his business.

This motif was often used for nōsatsu. This is because the majority of the nōsatsukai members were commoners, such as merchants and craftsmen. This motif must have appealed to them because it was seen as a good luck sign, and by producing it, it made them feel good.

All these religious motifs do not necessarily look religious; however, when the origins of these motifs are examined, religious beliefs are found to be the source--at some point in ancient times. These beliefs, called Japanese folk religion, naturally evolved by the historical process of change, yet the catalytic agent remains the same--human desire.[18]

Many nōsatsukai members do not have a particular personification of kami in mind when they go to the shrines and temples to worship and to paste nōsatsu. They simply feel something holy when they are on pilgrimages. However, there are various personifications of kami in the Japanese folk religion, and each image has a different kind of power that may be depended on, depending on the believer's troubles or desires. So, different names would be used in different situations.

In other words, one person would worship many kinds of supernatural beings, without concern over betrayal of one because of the worship of another. However, this does not mean that these people worship the images of Buddha or bodhisattva in the same way the sectarian Buddhist would do. Instead, they would transform these images according to the way they want to believe. Their basic belief is based on the existence of spirits: good spirits that protect people and evil spirits that curse people. In other words, one spirit can be either good or bad, so that they worship them in order to be blessed by them, instead of being cursed. Within this framework, many types of religious rites and beliefs are employed. The ema; the images of the dead--Emperor Kazan and Tengu Kohei; and the images of Buddha, bodhisattva, the fox, and the Seven Gods of Good Fortune are employed in order to bring good health, prosperity, good luck, and success. And the practice of nōsatsu is another rite toward this end.

In the modern, Westernized society, however, these beliefs are said to be superstitious. With the development of science and technology, traditional religious beliefs and folk religions were denied and ill-regarded, being considered superstitous, primitive, unsophisticated myths. In such a society that has lost the belief in supernatural beings and the belief system of theodicy, and instead depends on modern scientific and technological power, the anxiety in their heart worsens when they face the reality that some things cannot be proved, or provided, by this modern technology. In this process, people begin to search for the truth and reality after failing in

finding such an answer in the modern technology. And, they look back to the past, trying to find the answer with desperate desire. Or, they alterate the old beliefs within the modern context in order to meet their needs.

Modern nōsatsukai members found such answers in practicing nōsatsu. For these members, nōsatsu has just such an attraction. They feel nostalgia toward the Edo period and the beauty of the old, perishable existence of the visible things.

Indeed, even if the modern Japanese people try to get rid of the old religious beliefs as superstitous, believing in the reliability of technology, it will be impossible because the Japanese way of thinking itself is deeply influenced by the continuity of the folk religion. On the surface level, they can imitate the Western fashion, appearance, and technology. However, their internal feeling has not changed. So, the more they try to be Westernized, the more they look awkward, contradictory, and inferior, feeling sorry that they cannot be totally like Westerners.

However, if people do as the nōsatsukai members do, showing respect for the old customs and restoring them in this modern world, they will feel secure about their identity and even superior to the Westerners--observing the good points of their own traditions.

In this way, the evolution of nōsatsu provides us with a perspective on the social and cultural changes from the tenth century up to the present, and we can see how symbol and ritual--such as nōsatsu and its related production, exchange, pasting, and pilgrimages

were--can have varying meanings depending on the social and cultural background and needs people have. In each stage of nōsatsu history, nōsatsu worked in an affirmative way for the people who believed in it, providing them with security and confidence.

Notes

[1] Quoted in Japan Buddhist Federation, Understanding Japanese Buddhism (Tokyo: Kyotdo Obun Center Co., Ltd., 1978), p. 185.

[2] Theodore Bowie, Art of the Surimono (Indiana: Indiana University Art Museum, 1979), pp. 25-27.

[3] Kōjirō Hirade, Tokyo Fūzokushi (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1968), p. 99.

[4] Ichirō Hori, Folk Religion in Japan (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 2.

[5] Ibid., p. 32.

[6] Sekioka, p. 138.

[7] Kunio Yanagita, "Ema to Uma," in Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū XXVII (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1964), 342.

[8] Takaaki Sawa, Art in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), p. 31.

[9] Kitagawa, p. 58.

[10] A bodhisattva who guides the people and preaches to them during the period of time from the death of Shakyamuni Buddha (the historical Buddha) until the appearance of Maitreya Buddha (the future Buddha).

[11] Kitagawa, p. 59.

[12] Saunders, p. 176.

[13] Minoru Shibata, Chūsei Shomin Shinkō no Kenkyū (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1966), p. 81.

[14] Miyata, p. 253.

[15] Ibid., p. 250.

[16] Yanagita and Keigo Seki, Nihon Minzoku-gaku Nyūmon (Tokyo, 1947), quoted in Hori, Folk Religion in Japan. p. 44.

[17] Kunio Yanagita, "Hyakushō Ebisu kō," in Teihon Yanagita Kunio Shū XIII (Tokyo: Chikuma Shubō, 1963), 29.

[18] Ichirō Hori, ed., Shūkyō gaku jiten (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), p. 707.

CHAPTER VI

AN ART HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF NŌSATSU: ITS CONNECTIONS WITH SURIMONO AND UKIYO-E PRINTS

In describing the art historical aspects of nōsatsu, two perspectives are central--art as social value and art as mirror of society.

Art as social value means that society decides the value of the art object. In other words, the same object can be valued differently depending on the individuals, groups, and, in a large sense, the society. Each individual, group, and society has a different cultural background and, naturally, different tastes. Not only the personal aesthetic, but in a wider sense, time and space, can influence the judgement of an object's value. Art that was produced a long time ago can have value whether or not it satisfies the viewer's aesthetic, because it communicates to us the history and social background of the context in which it was used or appreciated.

In this case, art is a mirror, reflecting the society in which it was produced. In the place and time in which the object was produced, it might not have been treated as art; however, when this object was transmitted into a different culture or into a later period, it may be highly valued in that other society. Roy Sieber suggests:

> Art itself can have a social value. That is, in addition to the utilitarian or associative character of the arts, their very existence indicates that a premium is placed--to some degree, and at some level--on the esthetic of and for itself. . . . The sheer quantity of traditional arts that once existed best attests to the presence of the esthetic as a social value.[1]

Indeed, the value of art is something that is decided. It means that the value is not universal, but very social and local. Then, it often happens that something that has never been valued by one group can be very valuable for others. So then, how can a piece of art be judged fairly? For this, it is necessary to study its cultural background, the intention of the artist, the social groups who appreciated it, what this object tells about its society, and the meaning of its existence in modern society. Although the judge in such a case cannot overcome his bias or subconscious prejudice, examination from various perspectives helps in judging the object in a less prejudiced way.

Indeed, during the Edo period, not all Japanese recognized the artistic value of ukiyo-e prints. Only the Edo townspeople, who lived within the culture that ukiyo-e depicted, valued the prints. After many prints left the country and many ukiyo-e artists died, the modern Japanese began to appreciate ukiyo-e's value, research it, and regret the disappearance of the traditional ukiyo-e prints.

Nōsatsu had a similar fate. Until very recently, it was ignored as both superstitious and as a secular hobby practiced by the uneducated low-class townspeople. Recently, however, some ukiyo-e art lovers have begun to take notice of nōsatsu. They see nōsatsu as a

type of ukiyo-e, like surimono, and recognize that research on nōsatsu has been neglected in the study of the history of ukiyo-e prints. Thus, some research has been done within the last fifteen years.

Although it has not always been obvious, nōsatsu is a very valuable object that reveals the social and cultural change of Japan from the late nineteenth century to the present, and at the same time reveals the continuity of certain social and cultural threads throughout Japanese history. In short, nōsatsu is a mirror that reflects the culture of the Shitamachi, the Low City townspeople: their tastes, feelings, ways of thinking, and lifestyle. The Low City produced most of what was original in the culture of Edo. The merchants and the artisans lived there and it was the heart of Edo culture. Edo was divided into two broad regions. The hilly Yamanote or High City, describing a semicircle generally to the west of the shogun's castle, now the emperor's palace, and the flat Low City, the Shitamachi, completing the circle on the east.[2] The vigor of Edo was in its Low City.

This section of the paper will analyze both the changes and the continuities in Japan's culture and society as seen in a survey of the history of ukiyo-e prints and their social background. Furthermore, it will discuss the artists and townspeople who were and are involved in nōsatsukai activities.

First will be an examination of how nōsatsu began to develop as artistic objects for exchange and collection, thus expanding their function beyond simple name placards to paste on the pilgrimages. It

is noted that nōsatsu ren groups became popular right after the popularization of the kyōka ren groups. Second will be an examination of the artists and changing society in order to demonstrate how nōsatsu began to be closely related with ukiyo-e prints in the mid-nineteenth century. Thirdly will be a discussion of how nōsatsu developed in a different way from ukiyo-e prints, yet kept the traditional woodblock print method of ukiyo-e after the decline of traditional ukiyo-e prints. Fourthly will be an examination of several nōsatsu motifs and examples of each motif. An examination of the motifs indicates the cultural background of the nōsatsukai members.

Different types of motifs tell of aspects of the members' lifestyles. The ukiyo-e motif of nōsatsu produced during the Edo period shows the popular culture of the Edo townspeople. The same motif of nōsatsu produced during a later period reveals nōsatsukai members' feelings of nostalgia for the past Edo culture. The unique subjects motifs of nōsatsu, as shown in the illustrations of men pasting nōsatsu in the temples, and the iki motifs, as shown by the depictions of firemen and tatooed men, indicate the humorous and spiritual aspects of the members, and their pride as the Edokko. Religious motifs of nōsatsu tell what they believed,. As discussed earlier, their religion cannot be determined as either Buddhism or Shintoism, as may at first appear.

So then, the artistic value of nōsatsu can only be decided by first examining every aspect of it. No matter what an outsider might judge to be its value, there are people who enjoy and appreciate it.

It is a fact that nōsatsu plays an important role in the life of the nōsatsukai members.

The Development of Ren: Connections with Surimono and Kyōka Clubs

Many similarities can be found in the function of nōsatsu and surimono ("privately commissioned prints") when they are both treated as a type of ukiyo-e print. This section will discuss how the function of nōsatsukai and kyōka clubs is similar.[3] As a result of adopting the idea of clubs and commissioning, as with surimono, nōsatsu developed as a type of ukiyo-e print during the late Edo period.

Surimono is a type of privately published woodblock print that was especially popular in Japan during the late Edo period (from around 1780 to 1830). Some surimono were distributed as announcements of kabuki and doll theater performances, in celebration of kabuki actors' name changes, or to commemorate personal events. Most, however, were commissioned by poets in kyōka ren groups to exchange as gifts to celebrate the return of spring and the renewal of life and human activity at the beginning of the year.[4] Ren literally means "a group of people with a common interest gathered together." Kyōka poets belonged to affiliated groups in provincial towns. Each group was called ren and consisted of all kinds of art-loving citizens such as upper-class merchants, samurai, and professional artists.[5] Within one ren group, or sometimes among a few ren groups, members exchanged surimono printed with poems they had composed, striving to better each other in the quality of poems and the printing. The best surimono were

appreciated for the way that the design, in relation to the verse, often required a new interpretation of the verse.[6] The illustrations and poems were often only loosely connected and sometimes seem to have no recognizable comnnection.[7] In other words, the illustration is not an interpretation of the poem, but an act of poetic imagination in its own right that requires the reader/viewer to extend his initial, relatively conventional response to the verse. Therefore, the surimono designers needed to be skillful at combining verse and imagery.

Not only the connection with kyōka, but also the quality of surimono differentiated surimono from commercial ukiyo-e prints. For it were used more colors, including gold, silver, and copperdust; mica backgrounds; better paper; and the more luxurious printing technique of blind-printing.[8] Since patrons spent their money freely on surimono, the artists could express themselves and use their skills to the fullest, using the best quality material, without concern for the cost of materials and profit.

Surimono developed earlier than nōsatsu in ukiyo-e print history. The popularity of surimono reached a peak during the Bunka-Bunsei period (1804-1829) with the explosive popularity of kyōka in Edo, while nōsatsu had just begun to develop. Kyōka in Edo began in the Meiwa-Anei periods (1770s) as a form of amusement for a small group of samurai and educated chōnin and spread to all parts of Japan.[9] Samurai and educated chōnin were the supporters of the kyōka clubs because kyōka required an extensive knowledge of classical literature,

and most townspeople simply did not have access to an education. Therefore, kyōka was considered high art by the Edo townsmen.[10]

When comparing surimono with nōsatsu, surimono appears to be a production of the Yamanote--the High City people, and nōsatsu a production of the Sitamachi--the Low City people.

Nōsatsu was originally a religious symbol to show the believer's devotion toward Kannon. Therefore, nōsatsu did not originally start as a type of ukiyo-e. Only the believer's name and hometown were written or printed on nōsatsu; however, people began to form clubs called when the practice became popular, and small groups formed in provincial towns. Each group is called ren. The custom of forming ren groups and competing within one ren group or among a few ren groups and exchanging each others' prints was also employed within the nōsatsukai.

The similarities between nōsatsu and surimono did not happen accidentally. People applied the function of surimono to that of nōsatsu. In other words, ukiyo-e artists and the patrons who were familiar with the function of surimono used nōsatsu in the same way. The radical change of nōsatsu from name placards to a dual function (name and exchange placards) might not have happened if people had not borrowed the idea from surimono. The additional use of nōsatsu as exchange placards works exactly the same as that of surimono.

As mentioned before, surimono was made on commission for individuals or kyōka clubs that dealt directly with artists, making arrangements with persons who specialized in surimono production--artists, who were also expert calligraphers.[11]

Nōsatsu was also made on commission. Each member of nōsatsukai made two kinds of nōsatsu. One is called daimei nōsatsu ("name placards"), and is pasted on shrines and temples. Another is called kōkan nōsatsu ("exchange placards"), and is used to exchange at the ren meeeting. Within one ren, individuals would be told a topic, and they each would produce exchange nōsatsu on this theme. These are called ren nōsatsu, and they all have the same motif, with slight variations. Group nōsatsu, listing all or part of the members of a ren, were also produced. These were exchanged at the meetings of several ren groups. In all cases, competition was important. Usually, patrons (members of nōsatsukai) had ideas for designs and asked artists to paint and print the nōsatsu accordingly.

Since surimono was an art form mainly utilized by kyōka members, artists were rarely asked to make surimono after the decline of the kyōka movement. Under the strict policies of the reformer Matsudaira Sadanobu, who governed from 1787 to 1793, the samurai were encouraged to study the Confucian classics and were prohibited from taking part in the chōnin's lifestyle and reading and writing popular literature, such as kyōka poems. Therefore, after the 1790s, only the samurai poets who did not come under official scrutiny, and the upper-class educated chōnin, continued to participate in the kyōka clubs.[12] However, in the late 1850s and early 60s, the kyōka clubs were poorly organized and poets lacked originality. During the Meiji period, only old people who felt nostalgic recalled the kyōka clubs. Finally, after the Kantō earthquake of 1923, the last kyōka magazine ceased to exist.[13]

However, nōsatsukai have continued their activity up to the present. In fact, the continuing strength of the nōsatsukai activities allowed many late Edo period ukiyo-e artists to work for nōsatsu, and thus helped to transmit the practice to the next generation. Indeed, while the kyōka clubs were declining, the nōsatsukai had their most active period, with many meetings for exchange and competition during the Kaei period (1848-1853).

The artists active from 1770 to the 1830s--such as Hokusai (1760-1849), Hiroshige (1797-1858), Kazan (1793-1841), Utamaro (1754-1806), Shumman (1757-1820), Shigenobu (1786-1832), Shunshō (1726-92), and Toyokuni (1769-1825)--must have printed mostly surimono, but mainly nōsatsu after that period. The artists from the Utagawa school were the most actove during the late Edo period, and they are the ones who did most of the nōsatsu drawings. This group included Kunisada (1786-1864), Kuniyoshi (1797-1861), Yoshitsuna (who worked from 1848-1868), Yoshitsuya (1822-1866), and Hōsai (Kunisada III) (1848-1920).

It was not merely a coincidence that the kyōka clubs had a decline at the same time the nōsatsukai prospered in the 1850s. As mentioned before, until 1829 the kyōka were very popular in Edo. However, the decline began after this period. During the 1830s, the people in Edo as a whole were going through a difficult time becasue of a series of disasters. In 1829 there was a big fire in Edo, in 1832 a famine began, there was a revolt against the government in 1833, another big fire and revolt in 1834, another earthquake in Edo in 1835, and so on.

Almost constantly, every year, people experienced natural disasters and, as a consequence, famine and revolt. In such an atmosphere, people must not have been calm enough to compose poems. On the other hand, they must have been more religious than ever before. In fact, in the 1830s pilgrimages became very popular. So, all this helped to develop and popularize nōsatsu. It satisfied people's need more than kyōka during this, the late Edo period. Unlike the supporters of the kyōka clubs, the supporters of nōsatsu were the low-class, rich, semi-literate chōnin. A majority of the members of nōsatsukai were carpenters, plasterers, and artisans. They were the ones who profitted from the disasters--rebuilding houses after the fires and earthquakes. Therefore, by the 1850s, they became the most active members of nōsatsukai. In this situation, artists were probably asked to print nōsatsu more often than surimono.

Working on surimono or nōsatsu was more profitable than working for the ukiyo-e publishers because the demand came from people for whom money was no object--they used expensive materials, employed engravers who were capable of cutting calligraphic patterns as well as regular designs, and hired reputable artists.[14] So, when artists could not find work in surimono, they would work for nōsatsukai members. Surimono artists thus influenced nōsatsu when they switched to producing it.

After the demise of the kyōka clubs, the old people who were nostalgic toward Edo customs must have joined the nōsatsukai, commissioned artists to make their own ukiyo-e prints, competed,

exchanged cards, and shared their Edo taste by reviving the ren groups.

Development of Kōkan Nōsatsu: Connections with Ukiyo-e Prints

In order to explore the connections between ukiyo-e and nōsatsu, this section will begin by surveying the history of ukiyo-e, noting its golden age during the Kansei period (1789-1800), and its decline, as the government, society, and culture changed. Then, these observations will be combined with the art historical survey of nōsatsu.

The conclusion of this analysis will be that Western influences, such as photography and lithography, led to a decreased necessity for ukiyo-e artists in the publishing world, so that the more traditional ukiyo-e artists moved into nōsatsu printing, which enriched the nōsatsu designs. So the period of decline for ukiyo-e prints overlaps the golden age of nōsatsu, during the Edo period. However, after the death of these ukiyo-e artists, the traditional ukiyo-e type of nōsatsu was no longer made. This fact led nōsatsu into another direction. Although the association of nōsatsu with ukiyo-e was very strong during the Edo period, this was not the original form of nōsatsu. In other words, printing ukiyo-e as nōsatsu was not the main purpose of nosatsu. Its importance is within the spirit of people who paste, exchange, compete, and collect it. So as long as this spirit survives, despite changes in artistic technique, the nōsatsukai activities will continue. Because of the existence of people who put value on nōsatsu, the nōsatsukai will survive in modern Japanese society.

Ukiyo-e at first appeared as paintings for the aristocracy, and

then, developed as prints for the cultivated upper-middle-class audiences. Some of these art-loving, elite audiences (such as the rich merchants and samurai) also joined the kyōka club where they competed with their poems, commissioning artists (usually ukiyo-e artists) to print their poems on surimono using ukiyo-e illustrations. They were the patrons who encouraged artists to produce the better prints. In this way, Suzuki Harunobu (1724-1770) was allowed to produce nishiiki-e ("colorful brocade prints") in 1765. Owing to the new inventions and innovations of the many artists, ukiyo-e reached its golden age during the Kansei period (1789-1800). Kitagawa Utamaro (1754-1806) is famous for his originality in describing the typical type of ideal beautiful woman. Tōshūsai Sharaku depicted kabuki actors in a more impressive way. He emphasized the individualistic features of actors' faces.

Following the development of scenery prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige, ukiyo-e is considered to have declined. During the late Edo period, more ukiyo-e prints were produced for book illustrations and the mass media. Following the Bunka-Bunsei period (1804-1829), ukiyo-e prints became primarily for the urban masses. Prints since this period are said to lack artistic originality. Richard Lane explains:

> Once the same prints were mass produced to sell more cheaply, they gradually became almost parodies of the originals. . . . With the extreme popularization of the form, a fair part of the elite audience lost interest in the prints and withdrew their patronage, thus hastening the decline.[15]

However, the late ukiyo-e should be appreciated for its value in its social and cultural context. Although both ukiyo-e and surimono

may be considered beautiful or sophisticated during their early and golden age, with soft colors and smooth expressions, this is simply because their supporters were highly cultured people who enjoyed composing poems and adopted the elegant tastes of the aristocratic culture. During this peak for surimono and ukiyo-e, then, they can be seen to have more of a high culture aesthetic value as compared with nōsatsu. But nōsatsu had a comparatively low-class audience, for, the late Edo period is the golden age for the urban commoners. Lower-middle and low-class people began to imitate the earlier elite class, forming clubs just as earlier elite supporters had formed kyōka clubs. But they enjoyed humorous, grotesque, and erotic things as entertainment. Therefore, the later ukiyo-e was satisfactory for its audience.

During this period, the artists from the Utagawa school dominated the ukiyo-e world. Usually, it is said that prints during this period are neither sentmental nor idealistic, but decadent.[16] Strong colors and rough styles were used for drawing beautiful women, rather than softer colors and a smooth style, used by Utamaro. Roni Neuer also makes a comment on the nineteenth century ukiyo-e prints, which realistically depicted the atmosphere of the new merchant class.

> The women in the prints are beautiful, but their former feeling of weakness has been replaced by a strong femininity and spirit. . . . Mature femininity, full of worldly wisdom, began to be expressed in ukiyo-e.[17]

What the audience in this period wanted was not the aristocratic type of beautiful woman, but strong, beautiful women who could survive in

the floating world.

Toward the end of the Edo period, the government had both internal and external problems, and Western countries were interested in trading with Asian countries, although Japan was not open to foreigners. After China lost to the English in the Opium War of 1842, the Japanese government was more concerned about the international situation. Many of the intellectual samurai began to be aware of the necessity of opening ports for Westerners. Naturally, there were opposing opinions. Conservative feudal samurai hesitated to open the country without considering the imperialistic practices of the Western countries. Radical intellectuals, however, insisted that it was not realistic to reject the Westerners any more. The commoners, such as farmers, merchants, and craftsmen, felt threatened by the tense atmosphere. They tried to find relief from this tension through grotesque and erotic prints.[18]

After Japan opened to the West, European culture flourished there and Western scientific technology was quickly accepted. Even the common people, who were still used to traditional customs and were bewildered at the flood of unusual objects and ideas, were gradually influenced. Since newspapers did not yet exist, ukiyo-e served to depict these turbulent times at the end of the nineteenth century. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, traditional ukiyo-e techniques began to decline.[19]

After Japan began to be Westernized and realized the difference between Western and Japanese culture, the Japanese began to feel

inferior because of the highly advanced Western scientific technology. Japanese who were aware of this discrepancy lost confidence in the value of their own culture and began to imitate Western culture. So did ukiyo-e painters. Lawrence Smith says:

> The arrival of the Westerners threw the traditional Japanese print into confusion which was to last until the decade 1890-1900. Standards began to collapse as ukiyo-e artists temporarily lost confidence in the value of their style. They found it almost impossible suddenly to absorb European perspective, light and shade, and naturalism into a style which had been based on outline, flat color and methods of composition unique to East Asia.[20]

The Western processes of engraving, lithography, and wood engraving replaced the traditional woodblock. Subject matter was affected by the Western culture, resulting in such motifs as Yokohama-e, a pictorial record of the Americans and Europeans who lived in Yokohama across the bay from Tokyo. The artists during the Meiji period (1868-1912) began to depict current events with a journalistic tendency. During the Edo period, any comment on political affairs had been restricted, so the artists had avoided the direct journalistic tendency--instead using funny satire and an entertainment element.

Thus, nineteenth century Japan was rapidly changing as a result of the contact with Western culture. However, there were a group of people who lived in the Low City of Edo and were big supporters of the former chōnin culture. Nōsatsukai members were among these people. Starr's collection of nōsatsu gives us rich information about these people's attitude toward their lives and the decline of ukiyo-e prints

at the turn of the century.

Although ukiyo-e was declining, nōsatsu had a climax in 1859. Sponsored by Chiyoda ren and Sakasho ren, the nōsatsukai had the largest meeting ever in nōsatsukai history. It is said that six types of daihōshō size (39.5 cm. by 53 cm.) nōsatsu were produced, commissioned by the rich carpenters and plasterers. Most of the Edo residents were facing hard times as a result of the big Edo earthquake of 1855; however, most nōsatsukai members had jobs related to construction--such as carpenters and plasterers, so they could afford to enjoy their wealth.[21]

It is rather ironical that more nōsatsu with a ukiyo-e motif was produced just as ukiyo-e was disappearing. It might be because the demand for ukiyo-e artists in the publishing market was declining, making them more available to the nōsatsukai members, who prefered the traditional ukiyo-e type of prints. Furthermore, some ukiyo-e artists were also members of the nōsatsukai.

Artists like Yoshiku (1833-1904), Yoshitsuya (1822-1866), and Yoshitora (who worked from around 1830 to 1887) were members of Sakashō ren. Their name placards, produced around 1857, can be found in Starr's collection. Besides these three, regular artists of the late Edo period nōsatsukai were Hiroshige I (1797-1858), Hiroshige II (1826-1869), Hiroshige III (1843-1894), Kuniyoshi (1797-1861), Yoshitsuna (who worked from around 1848 to 1868), Yoshiyuki (1835-1879), Kunisada I (1786-1864), Kuninao (1795-1854), Tachō (1832-1881), and Gengyo (Takisa) (1817-1880). Eisen (1790-1848) and

Tōrin are also said to have painted for nōsatsu. Besides Yoshiyuki, they were all Edo residents. The majority of the artists were from the Utagawa school. Tachō and Gengyo were also members of the nōsatsukai. They also invented the nōsatsu calligraphy.[22] Before that, people usually drew their own names on the nōsatsu; however, with the popularization of nōsatsu, special characters for nōsastsu prints were created and drawn by artists.

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan officially began to be Westernized. This time, not only the intellectuals felt Westernization was necessary, but the commoners felt the need to catch up with the quickly changing world. For instance, they had to have their hair cut like the Western men.

Further change was initiated in 1868 when the government began destroying many Buddhist temples and statues. The emperor, said to be a descendent of kami, became the head of the nation, necessitating separation of Buddhism from Shintoism and the destruction of the former. The two religions had become interwoven and undifferentiated in the minds of the commoners. But Buddhism was a foreign religion and denied the idea of a living god, which the government advocated by their ideology that the emperor is the only one who should be worshipped. The nōsatsukai members had a difficult time continuing their activities under these circumstances. While the government was oppressing Buddhism and its practices, it was impossible for the nōsatsukai members to go on pilgrimages to paste nōsatsu. During the Edo period, nōsatsu pasting was sometimes prohibited and punished, and

it was a serious matter. It was laden with political significance in the Meiji period, so that if someone was found pasting nōsatsu, it meant not only breaking the prohibiton, but also rebelling against the new government. Therefore, the nōsatsukai ceased their activities for a while.

Meanwhile, fewer traditional ukiyo-e prints were being published. Photographic prints began to be substituted for ukiyo-e prints. However, there were still some active ukiyo-e artists during the early Meiji period, working in different directions. Kunichika (1835-1900) and Hōsai (Kunisada III) (1848-1920) were traditional ukiyo-e artists who depicted traditional subjects, but attempted to develop a new sensibility. Hiroshige III (1843-1894) followed the traditional technique, depicting Western style subjects in his Yokohama-e prints. Kiyochika (1847-1915) employed Western techniques, such as shading, to make prints exotically foreign, yet not alien to Japanese.[23]

All these different styles of ukiyo-e printing were also employed during the Meiji revival of nōsatsukai. Around 1890, Ōta Setchō, a nōsatsu calligrapher, called a meeting of nōsatsukai. It reminded many Edo residents of their traditional heritage. The craftsmen, carpenters, and plasterers, who resided in the Low City of Tokyo (formerly Edo), quickly joined him in reviving their former hobby. The ukiyo-e artists of the time also became involved. Besides the artists whom I mentioned above, Zeshin (1807-1891), a lacquerer, and Kunimatsu (1855-1944), a ukiyo-e painter, also worked on nōsatsu. Since the market for tradtional ukiyo-e prints was declining, so was the demand

for people employed in their production. But this revival of Edo taste during the Meiji period was a good opportunity for their employment. Wood engravers and printers, who were employed in the tradtional ukiyo-e print process, were in considerably less demand because of the sōsaku hanga ("creative prints") movement. For these sōsaku hanga artists, every aspect of the production process of their prints was important, and this allowed them to express the integrity of their art. So they did the painting, wood engraving, and printing by themselves, while the traditional ukiyo-e artists had the wood engravers and printer do this.[24]

By the end of the Meiji period, many traditional ukiyo-e artists had died, so during the Taishō period, Hōsai and Kunimatsu were the only traditional ukiyo-e artists working on nōsatsu. Other artists were from the Nihonga school ("Japanese painting"). During the Taishō period, the ukiyo-e tradition was broken down into two methods. One is the above-mentioned sōsaku hanga. The other is shin hanga ("new prints"). The latter is a continuation of hte traditional ukiyo-e technique because of the reliance on traditional craftsmen for wood engraving and printing.[25] Kobayakawa Kiyoshi (1898-1948) was one of those who did shin hanga. These shin hanga artists, like Kiyoshi, painted nōsatsu, replacing the traditional ukiyo-e artists.

Because of this printing movement and the absence of traditional ukiyo-e artists, nōsatsu's appearance gradually changed. During the late Taishō period, we find that some nōsatsu are hand-painted instead of being printed, and shin hanga and sōsaku hanga types of beautiful

women are shown, rather than the traditional ukiyo-e type. These women have rather Westernized features, with the colors, lines, and detailed features of Western style illustrations. However, the subject matter became more traditional--with depictions of Edo customs such as seasonal festivals and observances, tatooed men, daimyō gyōretsu ("procession of the feudal lord"), and so on. Indeed, the depiction of the Kantō earthquake of 1923 is reminiscent of the late Edo ukiyo-e, which was used as a news journal--although there is a new sensibility regarding the use of shadow and perspective.

Although the ukiyo-e artists were disappearing at this time, the craftsmen, such as wood engravers and printers, continued their traditions through shin hanga and nōsatsu. In the modern nōsatsukai, although there are various types of artists, the wood engravers and printers have kept the traditional techniques. These people also kept the traditional Edokko spirit in the nōsatsukai. They are the ones who teach the traditional customs through nōsatsukai activities. Thanks to these craftsmen, the nōsatsukai revived and nōsatsu has remained up until now, in spite of many changes in the society and artistic innovations.

Notes

[1] Roy Sieber, "The Arts and Their Changing Social Function," in Anthropology and Art: Readings in Cross-Cultural Aesthetics, ed. Charlotte M. Otten, 1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press, 1971), p. 211.

[2] Edward Seidensticker, Low City High City (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), p. 8.

[3] Kyōka is a comic or "free" variety of tanka, the traditional thirty-one syllable Japanese poem. Kyōka makes extensive use of devices such as allusive variation, word association, and punning to satirize courtliness in classical poetry and make its own thoroughly contemporary statement. (Bowie, p. 25.)

[4] Roger Keyes, Surimono (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1984), p. 11.

[5] Kurt Meissner, Japanese Woodblock Prints in Miniature: The Genre of Surimono (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. tuttle Company, 1970), p. 16.

[6] Keyes, p. 20.

[7] Meissner, p. 20.

[8] Ibid., p. 22.

[9] Bowie, p. 25.

[10] Ibid., p. 26.

[11] Ibid., p. 45.

[12] Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[13] Ibid., p. 38.

[14] Ibid., p. 45.

[15] Richard Lane, Images From the Floating World (New York: G.P. Putnam's Son's, 1978), p. 200.

[16] Ichitarō Kondō, Ukiyo-e (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1959), p. 168.

[17] Roni Neuer, Ukiyo-e: 250 Years of Japanese Art (New York: Windward, 1978), p. 329.

[18] Kondō, p. 163.

[19] Neuer, p. 335.

[20] Lawrence Smith, The Japanese Print Since 1900: Old Dreams and New Visions (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983), p. 9.

[21] Senrei Sekioka, ed., Senjafuda (Tokyo: Graphicsha, 1974), p. 86.

[22] Sekioka, ed., Nōsatsu to Senjafuda, p. 30.

[23] Neuer, p. 356.

[24] Donald Jenkins, Images of a Changing World: Japanese Prints of the Twentieth Century (Portland, Oregon: Portland Art Museum, 1983), p. 4.

[25] Ibid., p. 4.

CHAPTER VII

EXAMINATION OF NŌSATSU EXAMPLES

Ukiyo-e Motifs

This section will examine several examples of ukiyo-e motifs of nōsatsu, comparing them with different types of ukiyo-e prints such as awate-e ("a picture of a crowd of upset people"), and heroes and courtiers of legend and history.

Since the artists for nōsatsu during the Edo period were also ukiyo-e artists, it is natural that most of the nōsatsu during this period resemble ukiyo-e prints. In the senjafuda world, the patrons borrowed ideas from ukiyo-e and reproduced them in nōsatsu; however, they never duplicated these design ideas exactly, but always treated them a little differently. Those variations were also enjoyed by patrons and collectors. The artist's ability to design nōsatsu slightly different than the original ukiyo-e prints is the most important element in nōsatsu.

An example of this is the re-interpretation of the awate-e motif of ukiyo-e. This motif was first popular during the late Edo period, wherein a scene is depicted of a crowd of upset people who do not know what to do in the rapidly changing world. It was a satirical picture against the government. This particular ukiyo-e is by Mukan (fig. 10).

A group of people are having a meeting and composing short satirical poems about things or people that are boring, troublesome for others, in a hurry, happy, or profitable. On the right side, a man is hanging a large sheet of paper that has just been written on. One of the nōsatsu produced in 1859 by Yoshitsuna, with Ōmatomi as the main patron, depicts a big nōsatsukai meeting and looks exactly like the awate-e. The only difference in design is that the nōsatsu includes patrons' names in the same area that the satirical poems were written in awate-e (fig. 11). This nōsatsu was produced to celebrate the first big nōsatsukai meeting when all the ren groups got together in 1859 to exchange nōsatsu. From the depiction of swords, it is evident that there were some samurai members at the nōsatsukai. Individual facial expressions are lively and the figures are energetic. It is interesting to compare this picture with another nōsatsu that depicted the nōsatsukai meeting of 1903 (fig. 12). This invitation to the Tomoe ren meeting was created by Hōsai. In comparing the members depicted in the two different nōsatsu, a change in hairstyles is discernible. Although the commoners can be seen to still be wearing kimonos in the early 1900s, they had their hair cut shorter, like the Western men.

Another popular subject was Karigane Gonin Otoko ("the five men of Karigane"). This is a story about five gangsters in Osaka who were active during the Genroku period (1688-1703), and eventually arrested and executed. This story was played in the doll theaters and kabuki theaters. They became legendary figures, and then they became five stereotypical figures.[1] Many ukiyo-e artists depicted this theme,

as in one example by Shunshō I (fig. 13).

Usually, symbols of each individual name was used on a kimono design. For example, two crossed wild geese were used for Karigane Bunshichi since his surname, Karigane, means "wild goose." A drum and crossed drumsticks were used for Kaminari Jūkurō since his surname means "thunder god," and a Japanese legend says the thunder god causes thunder by playing a drum. The Chinese character An ("peace") is used for An'no Hyōbee from his surname An'no. A fan design and a package tied with cloth are used for Hotei Ichiuemon because ho means "cloth" and tei means "bag." Using these symbols, the five men in Shunshō's illustrations can be identified as follows, from right to left: Bunshichi, Jūkurō, Hyōbee, Ichiuemon, and Sen'uemon. The features of the five different men look more individualized in this example than in representations of this theme by Kunisada (Toyokuni III), who used this subject a few times. Shown is one of his nōsatsu printed in 1860 and, interestingly, nearly the same style of nōsatsu produced again in 1925 (figs. 14-23). Of course, there are some differences in the background and the kimono designs. The patrons' names in the background in the 1925 print reveal the increased membership in this Nōsatsumutsumikai ren group. The unique aspect of nōsatsu is that the names in the background add interest to the original design of the ukiyo-e prints. Interestingly, in these nōsatsu, Kunisada did not use the symbol of each individual's name for their kimono design. Instead, he printed their names on the illustrations. Kunisada did another nōsatsu using this Karigane Gonin Otoko motif (fig. 24). Here, he used symbols to

identify the individuals. Thus, these men can be identified as (from left to right): Hyōbee, Ichiuemon, Sen'uemon, Jūkurō, and Benshichi. When they are compared to the ukiyo-e by Shunsō I (fig. 13), Shunsō I's Bunshichi can be seen to be in the same posing style as Kunisada's Ichiuemon--both are shown making a fist with their right hand and looking down, as if ready to fight. There is also similarity between Shunshō I's posing of Hyōbee and Bunshichi's pose in Kunisada's prints. Both are hiding both arms and looking to the left. This may be one of the six daihōshō size (39.5 cm. by 53 cm.) nōsatsu produced for the big nōsatsukai meeting in 1859. The nōsatsu is large enough to depict the five men all together. The designs on their kimonos depict shōgi (a kind of Japanese chess), tengu ("goblins"), and a basket that is used for dice.

The artist of the last example of the five men series is unknown. It was produced around 1916, so this series might have been done by Hōsai (figs. 25-29). The posing of the five men is almost the same as in Kunisada's illustrations, done in 1860 (figs. 14-23). However, the more recent artist has rearranged the identity of the men posing. For example, he has a man identified as Bunsichi (according to the symbol on his kimono) (fig. 25) posing in the same manner as Kunisada's Jūkurō (fig. 16). The individual features and expressions on the faces of the men depicted by this artist are different from those of Kunisada. Small faces and big feet exaggerate the size of their bodies, making them look like big Western men. High noses and big eyes also exaggerate the character of the men. A little variation was also done

in the kimono designs.

Throughout the entire collection of the five men series, the nōsatsu artists used the same colors for the kimonos and the background. The kimonos are purplish, and several shades of blue are used for the background. Similar poses were repeatedly used, with the kimono styles changed in order to make the illustrations look different. By combining various patterns of symbols on the kimonos with various poses, variations between the prints were achieved.

In addition to Karigane Gonin Otoko, another popular subject for both ukiyo-e and nōsatsu artists from the Utagawa school during the late Edo period was Nansō Satomi Hakkenden (the eight heroes of Bakin's Hakkenden). This was also a well-known story, related in storybooks and plays. During the Meiji and Taishō periods, Hōsai was the only artist who would depict such subjects and, after his death in 1920, such nōsatsu have rarely been produced.

A comparison of ukiyo-e motifs of nōsatsu produced during the late Edo period and during the Meiji and Taishō revival periods follows, using the various depictions of the story of Nansō Satomi Hakkenden as an example. Yoshitsuna and Kuniyoshi will represent the Edo period artists, and Hōsai the Meiji and Taishō period artists.

This story was written by Kyokutai Bakin (1769-?) from 1814 to 1841. Altogether, it contains 106 chapters in nine volumes. It is based on historical events from 1439 to 1488, extending from the late Muromachi to the war period. The plot involves Confucian ethics, a mysterious revengeful ghost, and eight brothers who were related by

their karma. Readers were attracted by the triumphs of the good people in each episode, were excited by the dramatic fighting scenes, and wept over the fate and karma of the heroes and heroines.

This story was very popular during the late Edo period, and played in doll and kabuki theaters. When the Ichimura theater produced this story, ukiyo-e printers such as Kunisada (1786-1864) and Kuniyoshi (1797-1861) made actor prints from the play. The depiction of the scenes in their prints are based on either the play or the illustrations from the storybook.

Scenes from Nansō Satomi Hakkenden were also depicted for nōsatsu by Yoshitsuna, Kuniyoshi, and Hōsai. Kuniyoshi depicted violent scenes, showing the actual fighting scenes. The expressions on the faces are realistic and violent. However, Hōsai depicted the violence in a more stylized way, as in a kabuki mie scene. None of his nōsatsu illustrations depict actual fighting, and the facial expressions are less violent and less realistic. The use of the cartouche made Hōsai's illustrations more symbolic and, if the story is not well known by the viewer, his illustrations are harder to understand. The design of the cartouche tells about each character in this ukiyo-e type of nōsatsu in a kind of shorthand form. For instance, in this cartouche of Fuse Hime ("Princess Fuse"), her name is surrounded by flowers, a flute, an ax, and a basket of twigs (fig. 30). These objects are related to the myths about her, and recall events and settings. The nosatsu shows Fuse Hime holding her will, with her dog-husband sitting next to her and looking at her. In the book illustrations, Fuse Hime appears to be

dead after finishing writing her will, and her dog-husband sadly looks on. In this way, Shigenobu's (1787-1832) depiction is an illustration that truly reflects the story (fig. 31). Hōsai's print, on the other hand, is a symbolic representation of the whole story, because her dog was not actually with her when she was writing her will. He only appeared shortly before she was shot. Hōsai, then, summarizes the whole first chapter by depicting Fuse Hime and her dog-husband together.

What follows is an outline of the first, most important chapter of this story. The chapter begins before Fuse Hime is born, when a war is going on. Her father is a feudal lord, Lord Satomi, and is in a difficult situation during the war time. He killed his warrior's mistress, Tamazusa, who was involved in an intrigue to try to get territory. She was a very bad woman, but before he tried to kill her, she tearfully pleaded to be saved and he felt sorry for her and promised to save her. However, his warriors insisted that he should kill her, and so he decided to kill her. Since his promise was broken, she was very angry and before she died she cursed him maliciously. Her dead spirit became a revengeful ghost and began to haunt his family.

Meanwhile, the war continued. The next year, in 1442, Fuse Hime was born in the Satomi Family. She continued crying from the moment she was born. Here f9ather got a dog for her to protect her from evil spirits. Fuse Hime became a healthy baby, and the dog and she became good friends. In 1457, Lord Satomi was in a difficult situation again and about to lose the war. Out of desperation, he jokingly said to the

dog, "If you bring my enemy's head, I will listen to your favor. I will give you my territory. If you like, I will give you my daughter, Fuse Hime, since both of you are good friends." Yatsufusa, the dog, was excited about this offering and went to the enemy territory and brought back the head of the enemy to Lord Satomi. Fuse Hime's father was very happy to see what Yatsufusa did for him. However, he forgot the promise he made to the dog. This made Yatsufusa so mad he attacked Lord Satomi. When Lord Satomi was about to kill him, Fuse Hime said that it was not fair for Yatsufusa that Lord Satomi broke his promise, so she would marry the dog Yatsufusa. Her father was saddened, but he allowed her to do so when she insisted.

Yatsufusa took Fuse Hime to Mount Tomi. One year later, in 1458, a child appeared to Fuse Hime, playing a flute, and announced that Fuse Hime was pregnant. The child said she would bear eight sons. She was very ashamed to learn she had half-dog children in her womb, so she decided to commit suicide with her dog-husband. When she was writing her will to her parents, she found her rosary, which said, "You started with an animal heart and reached Buddhahood;" but these words turned into a list of eight Confucian virtues: humaneness (jin), duty (gi), politeness (rei), wisdom (chi), filial piety (kō), obediance (tei), loyalty (chū), and faith (shin). When she was about to die, her servant happened to come to save her and to kill Yatsufusa. He killed the dog, but Fuse Hime was also killed by mistake. The servant was ashamed and was about to commit suicide, but Lord Satomi appeared and stopped him from killing himself. They found Fuse Hime was not dead

and she talked to her father. However, in front of both of them, she cut her throat and died.

This first chapter tells of the beginnings of the eight brothers' fate and karma before they were born. The eight letters of Confucian teaching that appeared in the rosary meant the eight sons whose fate was controlled by their parents' karma was a result of a curse by the revengeful ghost of Tamazusa.

Each brother was born in a different place from different parents, but actually they were sons of Fuse Hime and her dog-husband, Yatsufusa. however, each son had a bead with a letter inside, and each son's letter showed his own personality or character. These beads were evidence that they were eight dog-brothers.

Since this tale is so long, hardly anyone read all the volumes, but everyone enjoyed the plot of the story, which contains Confucian teachings, Buddhist beliefs about karma, and Shintō beliefs about evil spirits. All the scenes played in the theater or depicted in the ukiyo-e or nōsatsu prints were the most dramatic and representative ones. Therefore, they were the most recognizable by the audience.

So, Hōsai's nōsatsu of Fuse Hime and Yatsufusa shows the scene in which Fuse Hime is writing her will to her parents after deciding to commit suicide with Yatsufusa because she has been told of her pregnancy. The objects in the cartouche, such as the flute, ax, and basket of twigs, represent her hermit life with Yatsufusa in the mountains and the announcement of her pregnancy by a boy playing a flute.

In comparing the nōsatsu illustrations by Hōsai and Kuniyoshi, their portrayals of the following four of the eight brothers in the story of Nansō Satomi Hakkenden will be discussed: Inuyama Dōsetsu, whose bead letter shows loyalty; Inumura Daikaku, whose bead letter means politenes; Inukai Gempachi, whose letter is faith; and Inuzuka Shino, who has the letter of filial piety.[2] The last names of all eight brothers contain the characters inu, which means "dog." This indicates they had a dog-father.

Hōsai's illustration of Dōsetsu (fig. 32) seems to be based on the actor print by Kunisada, done for the Ichimura theater in 1852 for its production of Nansō Satomi Hakkenden (fig. 33). Dōsetsu's facial expression is like a mie scene in kabuki theater, which comes at the point of a play's climax. However, Dōsetsu's actions in the nōsatsu are slightly different from his pose in the theater print. Kunisada's Dōsetsu moves his hands exactly like in a mie scene, while Hōsai's Dōsetsu moves his hands like a ninja when he uses his magical power. Ninja were Japanese spies who had magical and athletic powers. This is the scene in the story in which Dōsetsu tried to save a woman who is Inuzuka Shino's sister-in-law.

In Kuniyoshi's illustration of Dōsetsu he is also posing ninja-style, like Hōsai's (fig. 34). Probably, Hōsai took the idea from Kuniyoshi's work. However, Kuniyoshi's Dōsetsu has a wilder, more violent facial expression, suggesting Dōsetsu was a strong, well-built man. The facial expression on Hōsai's Dōsetsu is comparatively stylized, based on kabuki theater make-up.

Hōsai's depiction of Daikaku is very similar to the book illustration by Yanagawa Shibenobu (fig. 36). This is the scene of Daikaku praying in front of burning incense. In Shigenobu's illustration, Daikaku's hands are folded and his eyes are closed. However, Hōsai changes that scene slightly. Daikaku holds a bell in his right hand and his left hand is performing a mūdra (a Buddha hand gesture). An incense burner and the beads of a rosary that Daikaku is wearing in Shigenobu's illustration appear in the cartouche in Hōsai's nōsatsu.

Kuniyoshi depicted a totally different scene. Here, Daikaku is killing a revengeful spirit in the form of a monster, cutting its throat with his sword (fig. 37). Kuniyoshi made many ukiyo-e prints using Nansō Satomi Hakkenden as a motif. We can find a similar depiction of this scene in one of his ukiyo-e prints (fig. 38), so he probably used the same scene for nōsatsu. He used blind printing for the white kimono design, enriching the quality of this nōsatsu. The cat expression is very dramatic and violent looking. Although these three artists presented this part of the story differently, they all showed a branch wrapped with white paper in Daikaku's mouth. It probably indicates the magical power that he could have through that symbol.

Both nōsatsu artists show Gempachi and Shino in separate, individual scenes (figs. 39-40). However, the two brothers originally appeared together in the story, in a scene of them fighting each other, and then finding out they are related by their karma. This scene

attracted an audience who knew their fate. It was played in the theater, and many artists printed this scene. Kunisada printed actor prints of these two scenes for the Ichimura theater in 1852, and so did Kuniyoshi (fig. 41). Hosai based his illustrations for these brothers on ukiyo-e prints rather than Shigenobu's book illustrations. Shigenobu's expressions are the least dramatic of the three (fig. 42). He does not especially emphasize this chapter, making it simply one of many chapters in the Nansō Satomi Hakkenden. However, it was a popular scene among the readers, so it was played in the theater and many prints were made of it.

The facial expressions Kunisada gives Shino and Gempachi are probably based on a kabuki mie scene. They show the individuality of each man's face. However, Kuniyoshi's ukiyo-e prints are based on the storybook style of illustration. The features of Shino and Gempachi in his prints do not show the individuality of kabuki actors. (figs. 43-44).

Hōsai must have been influenced by Kuniyoshi's work the most. All the features of the eight brothers are rather similar; however, their make-up is of the kabuki theater variety. They have white skin; slanted eyes painted with pink make-up; long, thin noses; and frowning mouths.

It is also interesting that Kuniyoshi emphasized the roof where Shino and Gempachi were fighting in this scene (fig. 40). By showing the steep roof and putting Gempachi in a mie pose at the lower end of the roof, the viewer feels the tension of the fight. The moon sems to

soften this conflict between the two fighters. In this print of Kuniyoshi's, Gempachi's action is the most similar to Hōsai's depiction.

Unfortunately, no illustrations of Gempachi could be found among Kuniyoshi's series of nosatsu for the purposes of this thesis. However, Shino by Kuniyoshi resembles Hōsai's very much (fig. 46). Both Kuniyoshi and Hōsai depicted the dragon ornament on the roof. Facial expressions are much alike also. However, Kuniyoshi did a better job detailing the hair and eyebrows. Tiny divisions of the hair make it look more real. Both use the following colors for the costume: red, purple, blue, green, and yellow. However, Hōsai's is much brighter than Kuniyoshi's, so that Kuniyoshi's print looks more subtle.

On the basis of the preceding analysis, three observations can be made. One is that in the late Edo period ukiyo-e was more dramatic and violent. Hōsai's prints were produced around 1910. By this time, ukiyo-e was about to disappear and the only supporters left were those who were especially interested in ukiyo-e, such as nōsatsukai members. The reason for producing ukiyo-e type nōsatsu was more out of nostalgia than as a way of depicting current fads and concerns. In other words, Hōsai's depiction of Nansō Satomi Hakkenden is just a shadow of the earlier "good old" type of ukiyo-e, done in rememberance of it, and not the real thing. This is one of the reasons why Hōsai's illustrations lack tension and realistic depiction. On the other hand, Kuniyoshi lived in the age when many commoners demanded that ukiyo-e be more violent and grotesque. Thus, he had to produce such prints.

Second, late Edo period nōsatsu are of higher quality than later nōsatsu. Hōsai's illustrations are comparatively less luxurious and detailed than Kuniyoshi's. Hōsai does not use shadow, blind-printing, or black lacquer. This is a result not only of Hōsai's lack of skill, but also the patron's inability to afford the necessary materials. The late Edo nōsatsukai members spent comparatively more money to print very good nōsatsu. And this evidence is seen in the big nōsatsukai meeting in 1859. Because of technical improvements in the printing system, nōsatsu produced during the revival period are much more colorful: a wider variety of colors were employed and all colors are generally brighter. However, these colors are not natural, but chemical pigments. Also, the quality of the paper decreased because pulp was mixed with the natural material of the inner-bark used to make the paper, and so the paper is less durable and must be thicker to be as strong. For these reasons, the Edo ukiyo-e type of nōsatsu looked more subtle.

Third, Kuniyoshi's depictions show the real fighting action against
a detailed background, a style reflective of his forte--storybook illustration. However, Hōsai's way of presenting each scene is more stylized in that facial expressions and make-up are more like kabuki theater actors'.

In this way, the late Edo nōsatsu were closely related to the ukiyo-e prints. Although it is usually claimed that very few good quality ukiyo-e were produced at the end of the Edo period, artists

were creating high quality ukiyo-e type nōsatsu, but less publicly. Since nōsatsu was made by commission, it never became public despite it quality. Only recently have the special characteristics and aesthetic value of nōsatsu been recognized and come to be appreciated by a broader public audience.

Unique Subjects

There are two subjects found illustrated in nōsatsu that are peculiar to this art form and the nōsatsukai members associated with it, so that they can be said to compose a special category of motifs in nōsatsu. The activities of the nōsatsukai are sometimes portrayed in nōsatsu, and the pasting of nōsatsu on temples and shrines is one such motif. These motifs are dealt with in a humorous, entertaining way; with the inspiration for the illustrations coming mainly from the nōsatsukai members' own experiences--with some humorous exaggeration. Another subject unique to nōsatsu is iki, the spirit of the Edo townspeople. This subject was illustrated in a "still life" manner, using materials from the daily life of the Edo townspeople, such as cloth and matoi (a fireman's standard). Due to the singular portrayal of these subjects in this particular art form, these motifs yield much about the values, beliefs, and tastes of the nōsatsukai members.

Nōsatsukai Motifs

The most popular motif in this category is the "pasting" motif. This first example of the pasting motif was printed by Gengyo. It

shows five men in a shrine (fig. 47). The two men on the right are smoking cigarettes and resting. The man in the middle is writing the phrase, "Spring of the Year of the Ox." This phrase indicates that this nōsatsu was printed in celebration of the New Year of 1853. (This being the Year of the Ox according to the Zodiac system.) Next to this man, a man is pasting two nōsatsu on a wall that already bears six nōsatsu. The nōsatsu on the lower right bears Gengyo's name, the far left nōsatsu shows the wood engraver's name, and the other four have the names of the patrons. A man sitting on the porch is gluing a nōsatsu, preparing it for pasting. From this print, it appears the members of nōsatsukai enjoyed themselves on the pilgrimages. The facial expressions of the five men show great delight in their tasks. The long stick used in pasting nōsatsu in high places is also depicted here. This long stick with a brush was invented sometime during the Junwa (1801-1803) and the Bunka (1804-1817) periods. Before this, people usually pasted nōsatsu with their own hands.[3]

The second "pasting" nōsatsu is by Yoshitsuna and dates from around the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 48). It shows two men pasting nōsatsu in a shrine. This is a very humorous and enjoyable print. While a man is trying to paste up a nōsatsu, a mischievous monkey steals it from him. The man on the right is scolding the monkey and trying to get the nōsatsu back. Both men's facial expressions are cartoonistic and funny. Their pose is also comical--halfway between a kabuki mie scene, which is dramatic, and being upset. All of the names on the nōsatsu on the torii (a sacred gate in a Shintō shrine) must be

patrons' names. It is clear from their dress that they are carpenters and belong to the Chiyoda ren.

The third "pasting" nōsatsu is by Yoshitsuya, and is also from around the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 49). It is also humorous. Two men in a temple find there is no room to paste nōsatsu on a pillar, and begin to paste them even on a fish decoration hanging from the ceiling. Again, the names of the patrons are on the nōsatsu on the pillar.

The final example is by Yoshitsuna. Here, many nōsatsukai members are climbing the head of a big statue of Buddha and trying to paste their name placards (fig. 50). This would seem to be an ideal spot, for pasting high is the goal of the members, and the big statue of Buddha in the Tōdaiji Temple in Nara must be the highest place that they can get to. Using their towels and ladders, they climb up to this difficult place to paste nōsatsu. They must be motivated to do this from they thrill they get out of it. This scene must be fictional, although the nōsatsukai members must have wished they could do this.

Another type of "pasting" nōsatsu shows a hell scene (fig. 51). Here Yoshitsuna pictures men being punsished by the king of hell because, when they were on earth, they put nōsatsu on the walls of temples and shrines, where it was prohibited. This print was commissioned by Ōmatomi, one of the most devoted nōsatsukai members during the late Edo period. He was a boss of the plasterers, but he devoted himself to nōsatsu while his apprentices did his work.[4] So, his printing this kind of nōsatsu makes it appear he must have been aware of what he was doing, but still enjoyed it.

Another kind of motif reflects the occupations of the nōsatsukai members. Ōkyū was another serious nōsatsu devotee during the late Edo period, and the subject of this nōsatsu is very appropriate for his occupation as boss of the carpenters (fig. 52). A number of carpenters are shown building and hanging a big sign with the name "Ōkyū" on it. This nōsatsu, commissioned by Ōkyū, was drawn by Yoshitsuna. It is unique in its use of the commissioner's name as the central design and his occupation as the central motif.

All these nōsatsu deal with the activities and occupations of the nōsatsukai. They are humorous and exaggerate the situations, making them comical. Through these nōsatsu, we can see the humorous bent of the late Edo period nōsatsukai members. This entertaining kind of nōsatsu is peculiar to the late Edo period. Although costly techniques such as blind-printing and black lacquer are not employed, the depictions are very detailed: the background accurately describes the temple and shrine ornaments and symbols, and the people are carefully depicted--showing delighted faces and seeming to possess energy. During the Meiji and Taishō periods this kind of nōsatsu was not produced. Although there are some Taishō nōsatsu depicting men pasting nōsatsu, they are neither original in concept nor humorous. This may be due, in part, to the very severe prohibition against nōsatsu pasting established by the Meiji government, which made the exchange meetings of nōsatsukai much more popular than the pilgrimages. So, any depiction of pasting in nōsatsu during the Meiji and Taishō periods would not have been based on the nōsatsukai members'

experiences, thus preventing the development of this theme.

Iki Motifs

With fewer outside activities, the nōsatsukai during the revival period (the Meiji and Taishō periods), emphasized exchange placards, with nostalgic motifs. Some of these motifs were related to the Edokko spirit (the spirit of the Edoites), which was expressed through cloth designs, matoi, irezumi ("tatoo"), and festivals. These motifs were also used during the late Edo period; however, they became especially popular during the Meiji and Taishō periods. Iki, as these motifs are called, means "neat" or "smart," as discussed earlier. The term originated from the value system of the Edokko, and relates to the spirit they were to possess.

Some kimono designs were considered iki. Iki designs have a dualistic character of "coquetry," "high spirit" or "enthusiastic spirit," and "giving up" (the last a result of the influence of their Buddhistic world-view). According to Kuki Shûzō's observations, parallels and stripes are considered iki for a design because parallel lines have a dualistic character. In order to make parallels, there must be at least two lines. One line cannot make a parallel. Also, parallel lines will never become one line. In a design, stripes best emphasize this parallel lines concept. As for colors, grey, brown, and blue are especially considered iki, because these three colors are between bright and dark. This gives them a dualistic character.[5] Grey is a color between white and black, and brown is between red and

black, so they can be considered either bright or dark. Blue also has a bright element, such as marine blue, and a dark element, such as navy blue.

The first example of this subject is the matoi design (fig. 53), in a nōsatsu by Takahashi Tou, a lantern maker and calligrapher who learned painting from Hiroshige III. He was one of the devoted nosatsukai members during the Meiji and Taishō periods. This nōsatsu has a very stereotypical iki motif: two matoi and cloth designs in the background. The upper part of the cloth's design was one of the most popular designs. It has white, grey, and black squares in strips. The lower design has a brown color, which also symbolizes the iki spirit. Through this visual design, they tried to show the spirit of the Edokko.

The second example of iki is a beautiful woman done by Yoshiyuki around the mid-nineteenth century (fig.54). This is one of a series of twenty-one famous places in Edo. A beautiful woman is shown wearing a kimono with an iki design, standing in the foreground of a famous scene. Yoshiyuki depicted the ideal iki woman during the late Edo period. The entire series uses various shades of blue and grey for the kimono colors. The kimono designs themselves often feature stripes and and parallel lines, which were popular designs at that time. The woman in this nōsatsu obviously has the iki atmosphere: she wears a kimono with the same design as is in figure 53. From the iki point of view, her thin face, thin nose, upwardly-slanting eyes, and small lips are ideal features. The towel on her head, protecting her from the rain,

also shows her iki spirit, suggesting her strong will that challenges the storm.

The third iki example is a fire scene (fig. 55). The artist is unknown and the work was done around 1910. Two firemen with matoi come to put out a fire, an often used motif. Big fires were common in Edo. In 1719 the government created a firefighting system for the city. Usually, carpenters and plasterers became "volunteer" firemen because they were accustomed to climbing on buildings. Gradually, people began to think that firemen, who met the challenge of trying to put out fires, were neat and smart looking. So this style of clothing became popular.[6] Since the nōsatsukai had many carpenters and plasterers in their membership, this motif was often used.

The last iki example is the tatoo seen in a nōsatsu designed by Takahashi Tou in 1916 as a series of ten nōsatsu (fig. 56). Since the meeting was held in August, the motif was also related to the summer. (The seasons were an important theme in nōsatsu.) The members who had tatoos organized a special group to make this nōsatsu. The people depicted in the nōsatsu are the patrons and their names are also shown. The tatoo designs they are sporting supposedly match the tatoos they really had on their bodies. The man shown in this particular nōsatsu is Iseman, one of the most devoted members of nōsatsukai. He was the boss of a fruit and vegetable market during the Meiji and Taishō periods. This tatoo is his real design, and was done by the most famous tatooist at that time. This tatoo is based on Suikoden, one of the most popular stories during the late Edo period.[7] The tatoo

was also considered neat by those whose values were based on the iki spirit.

These iki motif designs are the material form of the spiritual values of the Edoites. They are an excellent source of visual designs to study the values and tastes of these people. The artists are not particularly ukiyo-e artists; however, many of them were members of nōsatsukai. With the help of the wood engravers and printers, the artists were able to depict the traditional Edo atmosphere without having a background in ukiyo-e printing.

Western Motifs and Styles

This section will be concerned with the nōsatsu motifs and illustration styles developed after the advent of Western influence on Japanese society, the ukiyo-e world, and nōsatsu.

The first nōsatsu example presented here is by Tachō and dates from around the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 57). A Western man is painting his name like in a nōsatsu. The subject is totally Western: the man is Western and the house in the background is Western-looking. The use of perspective here is also a result of the Western influence. The idea of showing a Western man drawing his name like in a nōsatsu is a unique and original idea for nōsatsukai.

The second example also has a Western motif (fig. 58). This Yokohama-e type of nōsatsu was printed for the meeting supported by the Yokohama nōsatsukai in 1913.[8] The originals of Yokohama-e prints were done by Yoshikazu (who worked from around 1850 to 1870).

Yoshikazu was a pupil of Kuniyoshi and was also good at illustrating storybooks. Sosan, a member of Tōto nōsatsukai (nōsatsukai in Tokyo) and an artist during the Taishō period, reproduced original work done by Edo period artists. Although the subject is Western, the print method is traditional Japanese. When Yokohama-e prints began to be produced, they must have played a role similar to a newspaper, letting the Japanese commoners know how the Westerners lived in Yokohama through their vivid visualizations of baking bread, cooking meat, washing, ironing, and other domestic chores. By the Taishō period, Yokohama could be seen as an exotic place. Probably that is why the nōsatsukai in Tokyo chose this subject when they had a meeting with the nōsatsukai in Yokohama.

This 1913 meeting was coordinated by both the Yokohama nōsatsukai and the Tōto nōsatsukai. Nōsatsukai were originally started in Edo; however, during the revival period, some people in Yokohama and in Kansai (the Kyoto and Osaka area) followed the Edo taste revival. One reason for their attraction was the interest in pasting nōsatsu in temples and shrines. Second, they were fascinated with the beautiful woodblock prints that they could commission. Nōsatsu activities became very popular during the revival period, and these non-Edokko were also active for a while; however, they did not continue until the present. Some explanations can be given for this. First, the popularity of nōsatsu among non-Edokko was just a phenomenal thing during the Taishō period. Second, many of the members spent too much money producing the prints and went bankrupt. Third, their awareness of the iki spirit,

necessary in the heart of each member, was obscured by the Western influence concerning subject matter and print style as they quickly adopted the new ideas.

As a matter of fact, most examples of the Western influence on nōsatsu come from either the Yokohama nōsatsukai or the Kansai nōsatsukai during the Taishō period. The nōsatsukai in Tokyo tried to make nōsatsu as traditional as possible, using the iki motifs.

The first one was commissioned by Frederick Starr and his interpreter, Maebashi Hanzan, for the Kansai nōsatsukai (fig. 59). In 1917, the Kansai nōsatsukai had a big welcome meeting for Starr, who was famous as Ofuda Hakase ("professor of nōsatsu"). Frederick Starr influenced the popularity of nōsatsu all over Japan. He was an unusual member of nōsatsukai, being an American anthropology professor from the University of Chicago, and was often written about in the newspaper. At that time he had an opportunity to spread the word about what nōsatsukai was and made many Japanese aware of the existence of nōsatsu. During this period, when Starr was active in nōsatsukai, nōsatsu activity approached its peak. This peak can be seen as the second period of prosperity for nōsatsukai, after the largest meeting of 1859. This particular nōsatsu is not really well done as far as the artist's skill goes; however, the woman's features merit attention. Her eyes are big and her eyelashes are emphasized. Her upper lip is larger than her lower lip. As a whole, her face is more Western.

The next nōsatsu was produced in Tokyo (fig. 60). Except for red and black, all the colors used are pastel: pink kimono, blue fan,

yellow sandal, yellow-green cricket, and a soft grey background. The woman's features are also of the non-traditional ukiyo-e type. She has long eyelashes and a big nose, while traditional ukiyo-e type beautiful women have thin, slanted eyes and thin noses. The subject matter is very traditional: a beautiful woman, fan, and insect. It has a summer atmosphere. The woman's action is very delicate and the pastel colors add to the gentle atmosphere of the print. The artist is unknown; however, this artist must have been influenced by the shin hanga ("new print") movement. The artist uses a traditional motif, but adds a new sensitivity that the late ukiyo-e artists did not have, thus portraying the new style of beautiful women.

In the third example of the beautiful woman, a similarity with the sōsaku hanga ("creative print") can be found (fig. 61). It was printed by Miyake, from the Kansai nōsatsukai. In this print, there are not any black lines on the figure, which makes the woman and the background appear as one. It is a rather abstract design. Pastel colors such as blue, pink, orange, green, cherry pink, and grey are used. This use of delicate color compliments and coordinates with the white of the woman's figure. Her bobbed hair style and her shoes make her a very modern type of woman.

Another type of Western influence is the journalistic type of nōsatsu (figs. 62-63). Sensō-e ("war pictures") and illustrations of the big Kantō earthquake were the major social event descriptions during the Taishō period. In 1923, the biggest earthquake in Tokyo destroyed everything, with fires for three days and 316,087 houses

burned. Some of the members of nōsatsukai died. In 1924, the Kansai nōsatsukai held a special meeting for the Tōto nōsatsukai, depicting earthquake scenes on the nōsatsu. In 1926, the nōsatsukai in Tokyo could finally hold a meeting for the dead of the 1923 earthquake. Kunimatsu was the artist for the Kansai nōsatsukai. He humorously depicted the people and funny events that occurred as a result of the earthquake. However, in contrast, the unknown artist who worked for the Tōto nōsatsukai depicted chaotic earthquake aftermath scenes realistically and seriously and the disasterous aspect was emphasized with definite jounalistic bias. After experiencing the real earthquake, members of nōsatsukai in Tokyo must not have been able to make it humorous like the members of the Kansai nōsatsukai could.

The next two Western influenced nōsatsu were done by Kunimatsu (figs. 62-63). They are from a series of twenty-two nōsatsu. In these woodblock prints, the use of color and the style of the prints is similar to lithography. He made use of perspective in his illustrations. In the first one, he depicts a carpenter who becomes rich and is surrounded by waitresses in a cafeteria. The man next to him is looking at him and feeling jealous. The second nōsatsu shows Starr and Hanzan (fig. 63), running away from the earthquake, with Starr holding his studying materials in his hands. Both of these nōsatsu are rather comical and humorous.

In this way, as a result of the Western influence on the Japanese printing world, the artists of nōsatsu changed their styles, colors, and motifs, introducing an abstract shape for a woman, using pastel

colors, and depicting the current events on nōsatsu.

Notes

[1] Genshoku Ukiyo-e Daihyakkajiten Henshūiinkai, Genshoku Ukiyo-e Daihyakkajiten, IV (Tokyo: Ōshūkan Shoten, 1982), 44.

[2] The other four are Inuta Kobungo, who has a bead letter of "obediance;" Inuzaka Keno, whose letter means "wisdom;" Inukawa Sōsuke, who has a letter of "duty;" and Inue Shimbei, whose letter shows "humaneness."

[3] Sekioka, Nōsatsu to Senjafuda, p. 12.

[4] Ibid., p. 24.

[5] Kuki, pp. 91-112.

[6] Genshoku Ukiyo-e Daihyakkajiten Henshūiinkai, Genshoku Ukiyo-e Daihyakkajiten, III (Tokyo: Ōshūkan Shoten, 1982), 45.

[7] Miyamoto, p. 235.

[8] Collection of the Japanese Color-Printed Placards and Greeting Cards, Called Nōsatsu or Senjafuda, J769.952 C685, XIV, Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

CONCLUSION

The examination of nōsatsu is very complex. It is impossible to determine what nōsatsu is really like by only looking at it from one perspective because nōsatsu has many aspects. It was simply a religious object in the beginning; however, during the Edo period, it also began to be treated as art. During the Meiji and Taisho periods, nōsatsu began to symbolize the culture of the Edo townspeople, so that the nōstsukai identified themselves as nationalistic conservatives opposed to the Westernization of Japan.

Therefore, nōsatsu must be examined from not only the religious and art historical perspectives, but also the anthropological and socio-psychological perspectives. Only then can a well-rounded understanding of nōsatsu be obtained.

In modern Japanese society, especially, there is a strong tendency to look at nōsatsu as a type of ukiyo-e. However, it is necessary to first be aware of the cultural context of nōsatsu, as Geertz suggests. When the signs and symbols used as nōsatsu motifs are studied, it is necessary to consider the values, tastes, and beliefs of the nōsatsukai members. And all of these change--signs, symbols, motifs, values, tastes, and beliefs--when society changes, because the members of nōsatsukai are at the same time the members of the Japanese society, so that in each stage of nōsatsu development, they tell something about

Japanese society.

During the late Edo period most nōsatsu had ukiyo-e motifs because the artists who worked on nōsatsu were ukiyo-e artists. However, after the decline of the ukiyo-e prints during the Meiji and Taishō revival periods of nōsatsu, nōsatsu began to have designs other than the traditional ukiyo-e type, using the Western method of perspective and colors, and various motifs.

Ukiyo-e and unique subjects motifs peculiar to nosatsukai were the most common motifs employed during the Edo period, and iki motifs were the most common during the revival period. In modern nosatsukai, there are a variety of artists and many kinds of motifs are illustrated.

When society changes, the members of nōsatsukai change, and so do the illustrations of nōsatsu, because nōsatsu reflects the values, tastes, and beliefs of the members who live in the Japanese society. Up until the Taishō period, the majority of the members were self-employed, working as carpenters, plasterers, craftsmen, restaurant owners, and so on. Howeveer, in the modern nōsatsukai, there are businessmen, students, and even female members. Many of them are not even Edokko, because in modern Tokyo, many of the residents are from different parts of Japan. The composition of the nōsatsukai is changing just as the motifs of nōsatsu are changing, and there are more members than ever before. Nōsatsu attracts many kinds of people. The people who are at the center of nōsatukai, such as artists, wood engravers, and the Meiji or Taishō-born elders, enjoy keeping the Edo taste and traditions in the modern Japanese society. Young people join

to learn about it. Some people enjoy the traveling part of pasting nōsatsu. Others feel religious and holy when they are pasting nōsatsu on pilgrimages. Depending on the individual, the motivations for joining the nōsatsukai are different. So then, a wider variety of people are commissioning nōsatsu and, as a result, the nōsatsu changes. Despite the changes, the majority of the members are attracted by the traditional Edo taste element of nōsatsu. They try to preserve and employ the traditional motifs as much as they can because, in modern Japan, the traditional Edo taste is recognized as part of the Japanese traditional culture, and the modern Japanese feel it as their heritage whether or not they are the Edokko. The Edo taste was part of a specific, local culture in the past, but now it is nationally considered as representative of Japan's cultural heritage.

APPENDIX A

FIGURES

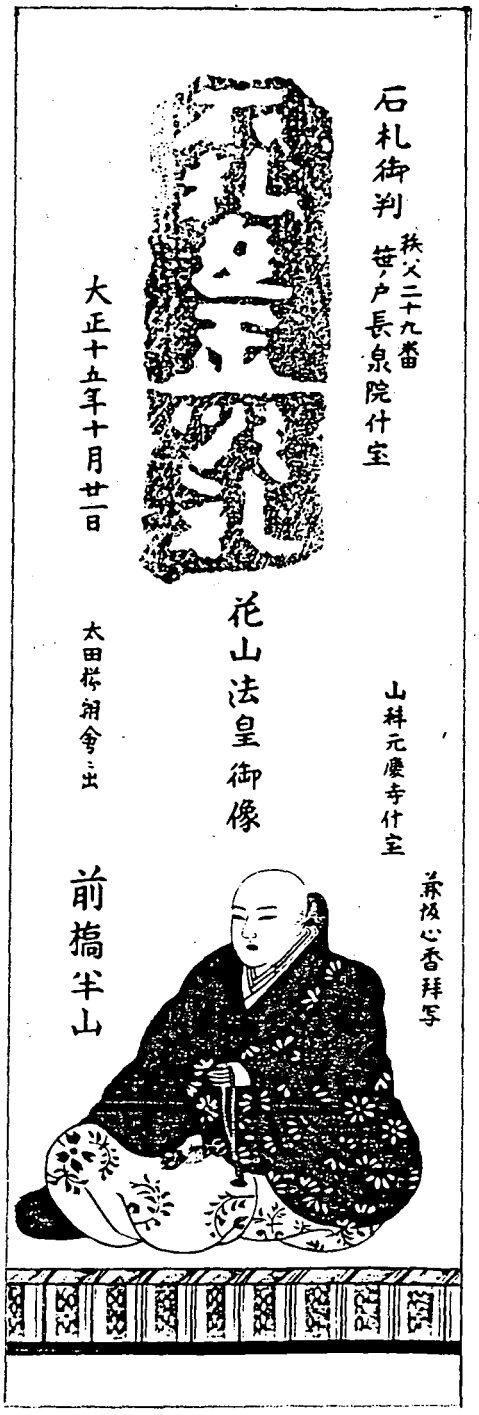

Fig. 1. Kanesaka Shinko: Emperor Kazan, dated 1926. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 37. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

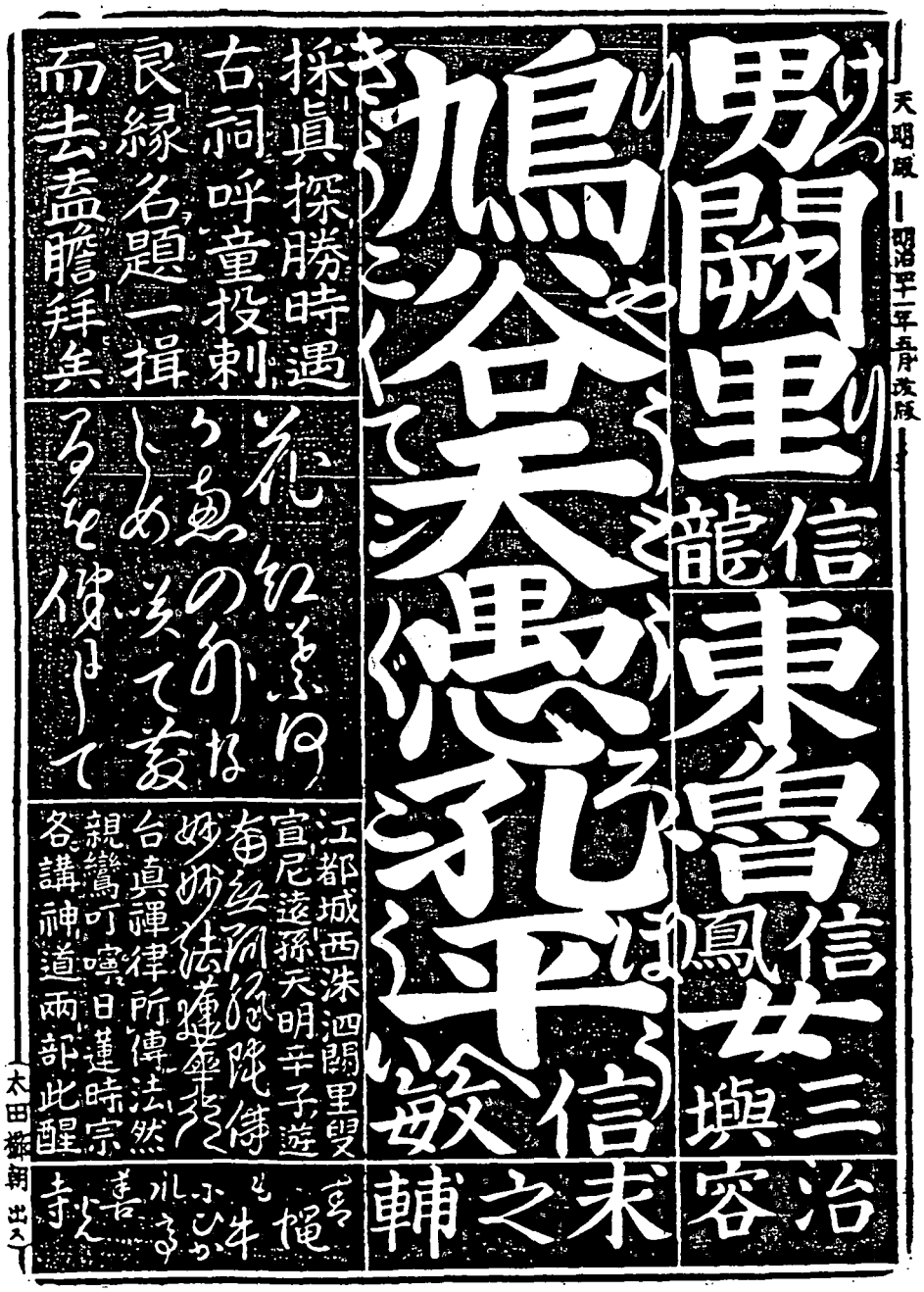

Fig. 2. Ota Setchō: The Reproduction of Tengu Kohei's Daimei Nōsatsu, dated 1908. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 34. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 3. Higuchi Izumi: Tengu Kohei, possibly done around 1910. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 4. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

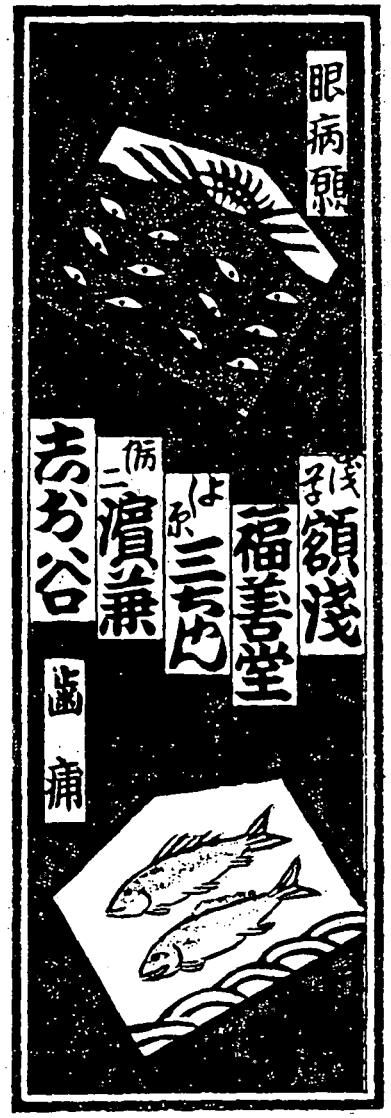

Fig. 4. Ema, no date. University of Oregon Museum of Art, gift of estate of Frederick Starr. 64: 3, 23.

Fig. 5. A series of Thirty-Three Kannon Temples, dated 1925. Sekioka, Senjafuda, fig. 544.

Fig. 6. Takahashi Tou: Jizo, possibly done around 1900s. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 7. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

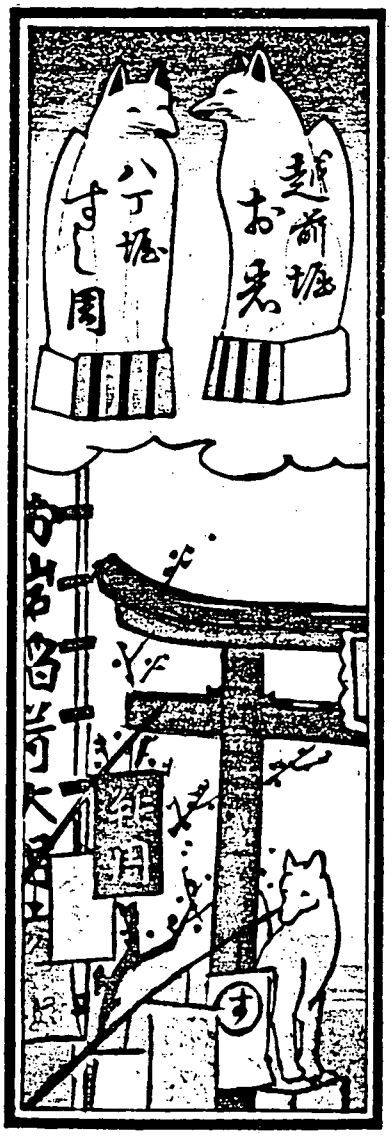

Fig. 7. Inari, no date. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 38. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 8. Utagawa Yoshiiku: Festival, possibly done around 1864. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C6853. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 9. Andō Hiroshige: Shichi Fukujin, done around mid-nineteenth century. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C6852. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 10. Mukan: Awate-e, possibly done around 1860s. Genshoku Ukiyo-e Daihyakkajiten, III, 19.

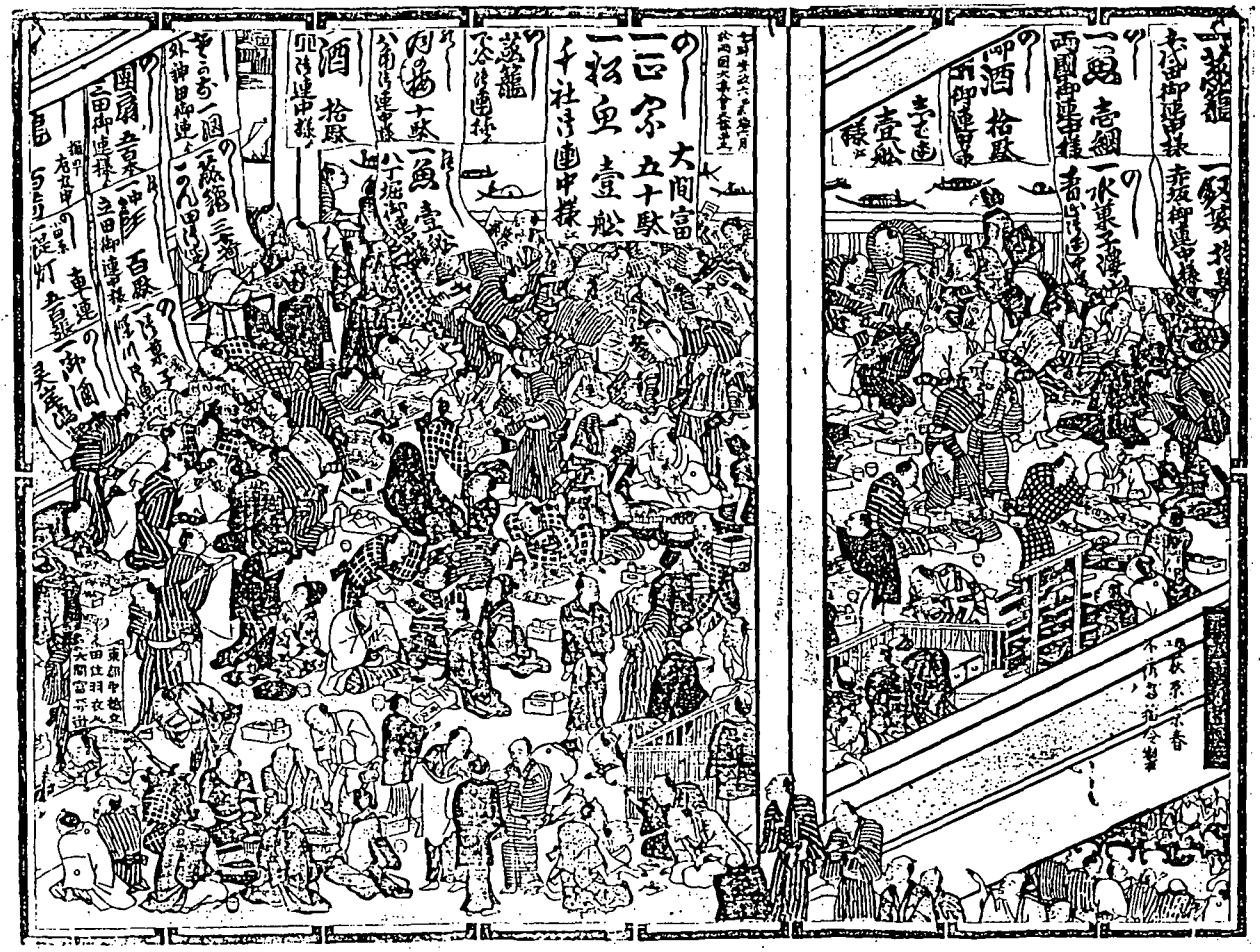

Fig. 11. Utagawa Yoshitsuna: Nōsatsu Ogai, dated 1859. Ishiguro, comp. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 Is 3, Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 12. Baidō Hōsai: Picture of a Nōsatsukai Meeting, dated 1903. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 58.

Fig. 13. Katsukawa Shunshō I: Karigane Gonin Otoko, no date. Genshoku Ukiyo-e Daihyakkajiten, IV, 110.

Fig. 14. Utagawa Toyokuni III (Kunisada): Karigane Bunshichi, dated 1860. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 102.

Fig. 15. Utagawa Toyokuni III: Karigane Bunshichi, dated 1925. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 103.

Left: fig. 16, Utagawa Toyokuni III: Kaminari Jūkurō, dated 1860, Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 104. Right: fig. 17, Utagawa Toyokuni III: Kaminari Jūkurō, dated 1925, Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 104.

Fig. 18. Utagawa Toyokuni III: Hotei Ichiuemon, dated 1860. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 104.

Fig. 19. Utagawa Toyokuni III: Hotei Ichiuemon, dated 1925. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 104.

Fig. 20. Utagawa Toyokuni III: Kokuin Sen'uemon, dated 1860. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 105.

Fig. 21. Utagawa Toyokuni III: Kokuin Sen'uemon, dated 1925. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 105.

Fig. 22. Utagawa Toyokuni III: An'no Hyōbee, dated 1860. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 105.

Fig. 23. Utagawa Toyokuni III: An'no Hyōbee, dated 1925. Miyamoto, ed., Senjafuda, p. 105.

Fig. 24. Utagawa Kunisada: Karigane Gonin Otoko, possibly done around 1859. Ishiguro, comp. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 Is 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

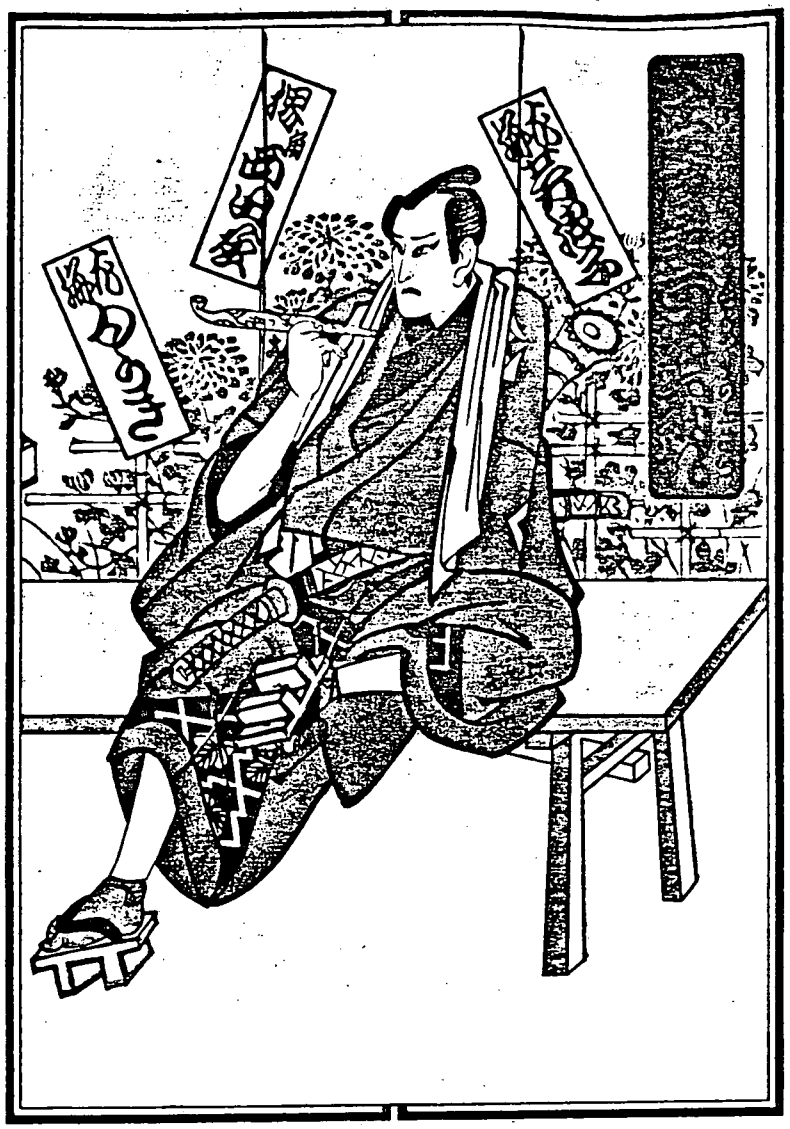

Fig. 25. Karigane Bunshichi, possibly done around 1916. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 22. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 26. Kokuin Sen'uemon, possibly done around 1916. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 22. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

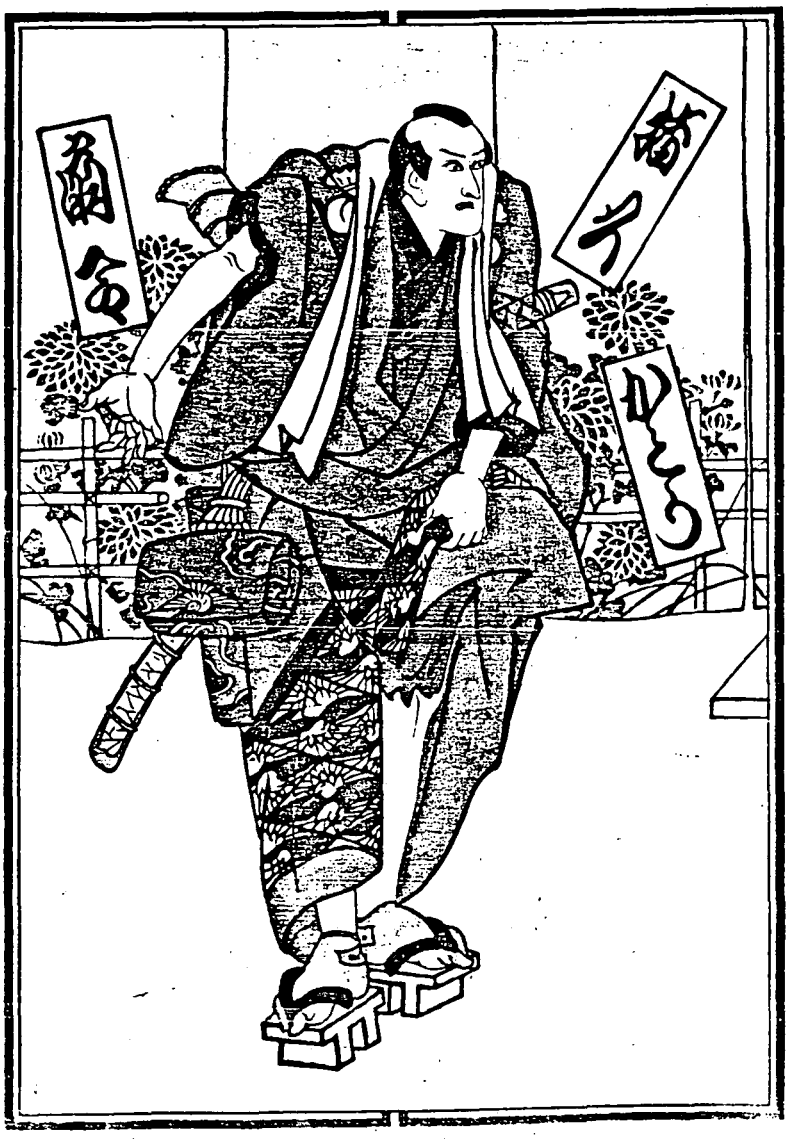

Fig. 27. Hotei Ichiuemon, possibly done around 1916. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 22. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 28. An'no Hyōbee, possibly done around 1916. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 22. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 29. Kaminari Jūkurō, possibly done around 1916. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 22. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 30. Baidō Hōsai: Fuse Hime, possibly done around 1910, Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 31. Yanagawa Shigenobu: Fuse Hime, possibly done around 1814. Bakin, Nansō Satomi Hakkenden, I, 131.

Fig. 32. Baidō Hōsai: Inuyama Dōsetsu, possibly done around 1910. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 33. Utagawa Kunisada: Inuyama Dōsetsu, dated 1852. Bakin, Nansō Satomi Hakkenden, p. 60.

Fig. 34. Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Inuyama Dōsetsu, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Nōsatsushū 納涼札集, J769.952 N84, I, n.p.

Fig. 35. Baidō Hōsai: Inumura Daikaku, possibly done around 1910. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 36. Yanagawa Shigenobu: Inumura Daikaku, possibly done around 1826. Bakin, Nansō Satomi Hakkenden, p. 707.

Fig. 37. Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Inumura Daikaku, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Nōsatsushū, J769,952 N84, I, n.p.

Fig. 38. Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Inumura Daikaku Killing A Giant Cat, dated 1833. The Raymond A. Bidwell Collection of Prints by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, pl. 63.

Fig. 39. Baidō Hōsai: Inukai Gempachi, possibly done around 1910. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library, n.p.

Fig. 40. Baidō Hōsai: Inuzuka Shino, possibly done around 1910. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

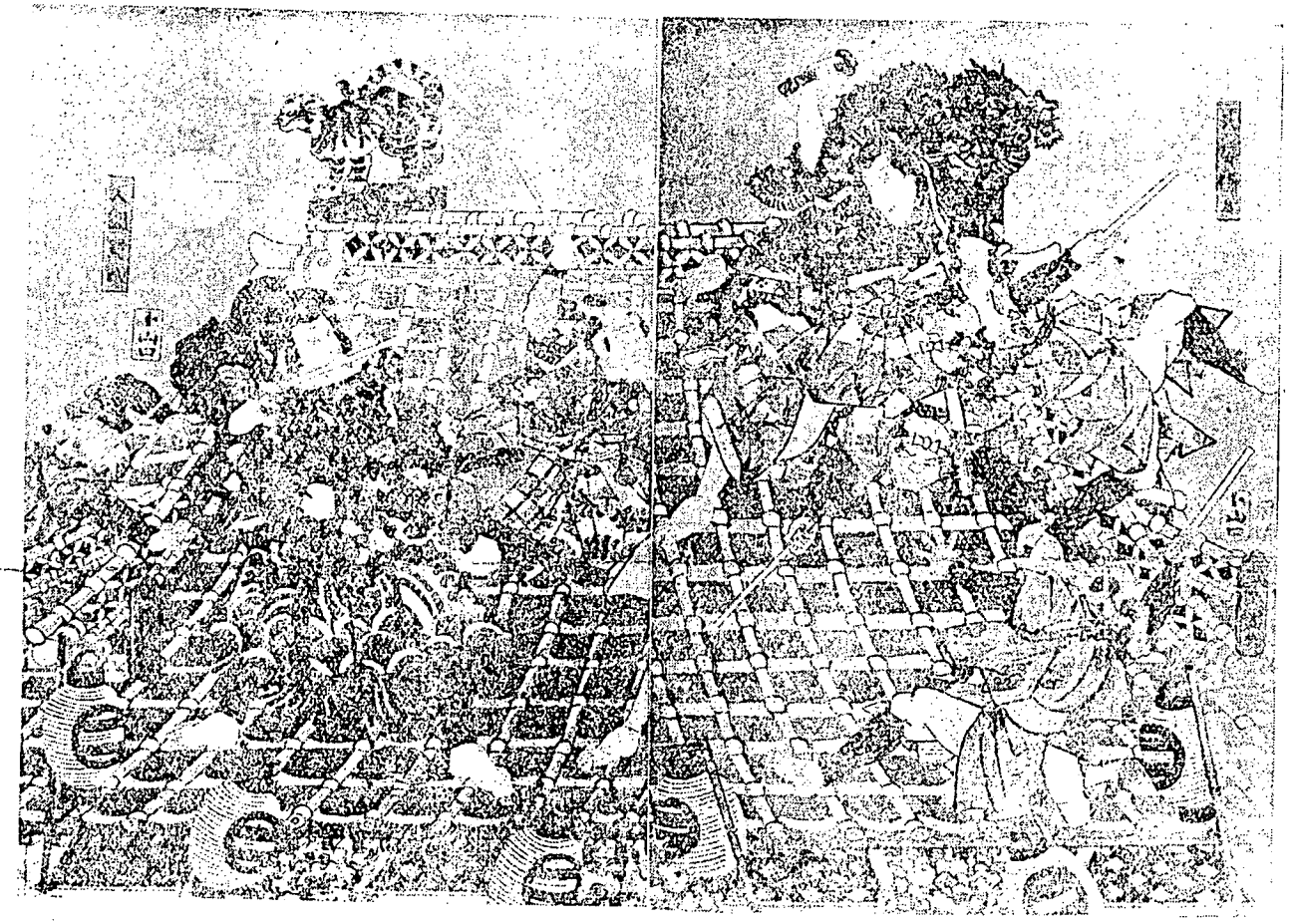

Fig. 41. Utagawa Kunisada: Fighting on the roof of the Hōryūkaku, dated 1852. Bakin, Nansō Satomi Hakkenden, pp. 68, 70.

Fig. 42. Yanagawa Shigenobu: Fighting on the roof of the Hōryūkaku, possibly done around 1820. Bskin, Nansō Satomi Hakkenden, pp. 378-9.

Fig. 43. Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Inukai Gempachi, dated 1830, Robinson, Kuniyoshi, pl. 6.

Fig. 44. Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Inuzuka Shino, dated 1835. Robinson, Kuniyoshi, pl. 6.

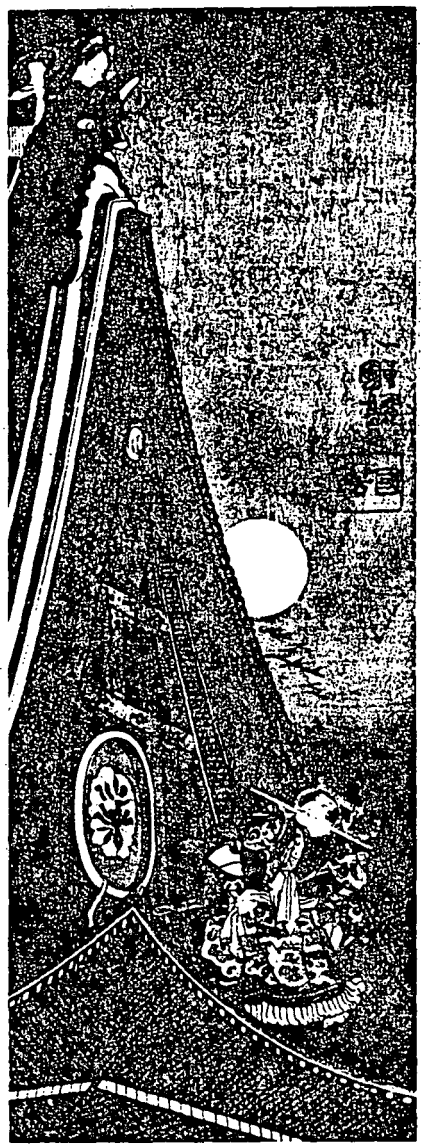

Fig. 45. Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Fighting on the roof of the Hōryūkaku, dated 1852. The Raymond A. Bidwell Collection of Prints by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, pl. 125.

Fig. 46. Utagawa Kuniyoshi: Inuzuka Shino, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Nōsatsushū, J769.952 N84, I, n.p.

Fig. 47. Baisotei Gengyo (Takisa): A group of nosatsukai members pasting nōsatsu at a shrine, possibly done around 1853. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C6852. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 48. Utagawa Yoshitsuna: A mischievous monkey and two men pasting nōsatsu, possibly done around 1864. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C6853. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

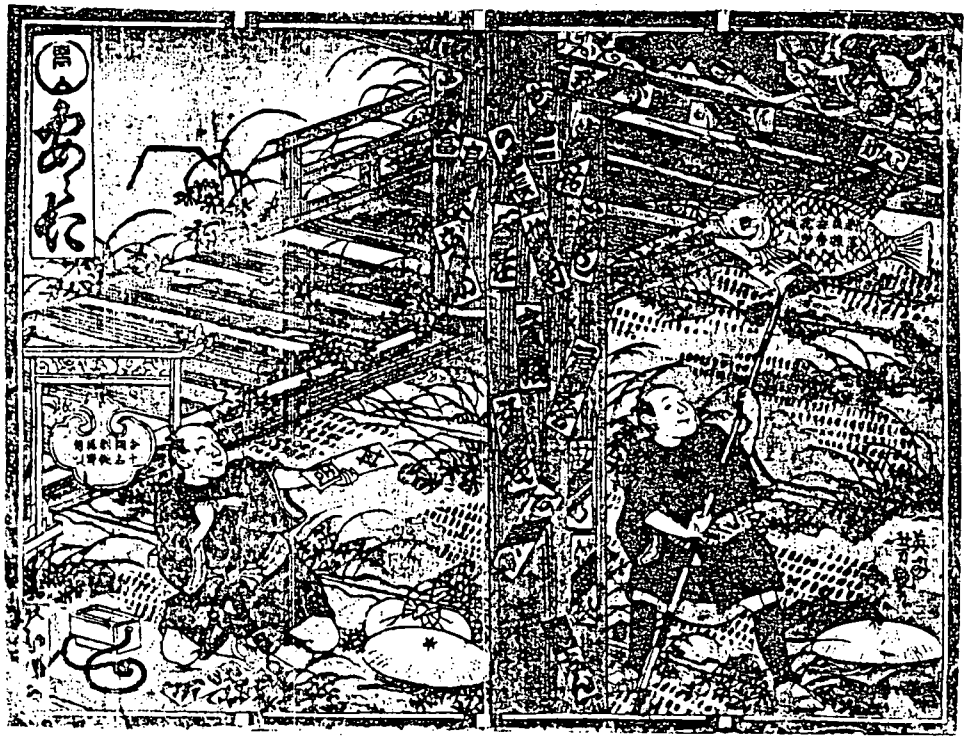

Fig. 49. Utagawa Yoshitsuya: Two men pasting nōsatsu on a fish decoration, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Jinjabukkaku Kaefudahikae 神社仏閣貼札千空　　, J769.952 J564. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

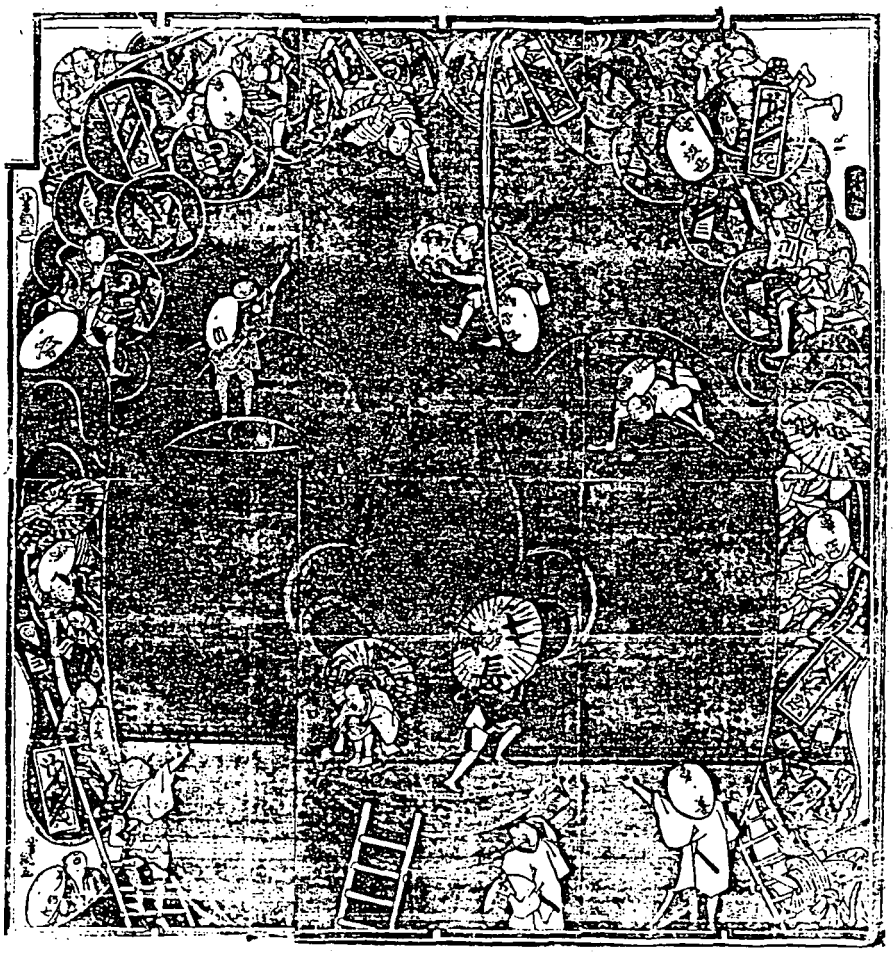

Fig. 50. Utagawa Yoshitsuna: A group of nosatsukai members pasting nōsatsu on a Buddha head, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Ishiguro, comp. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or sanjafuda, J769.952 Is 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

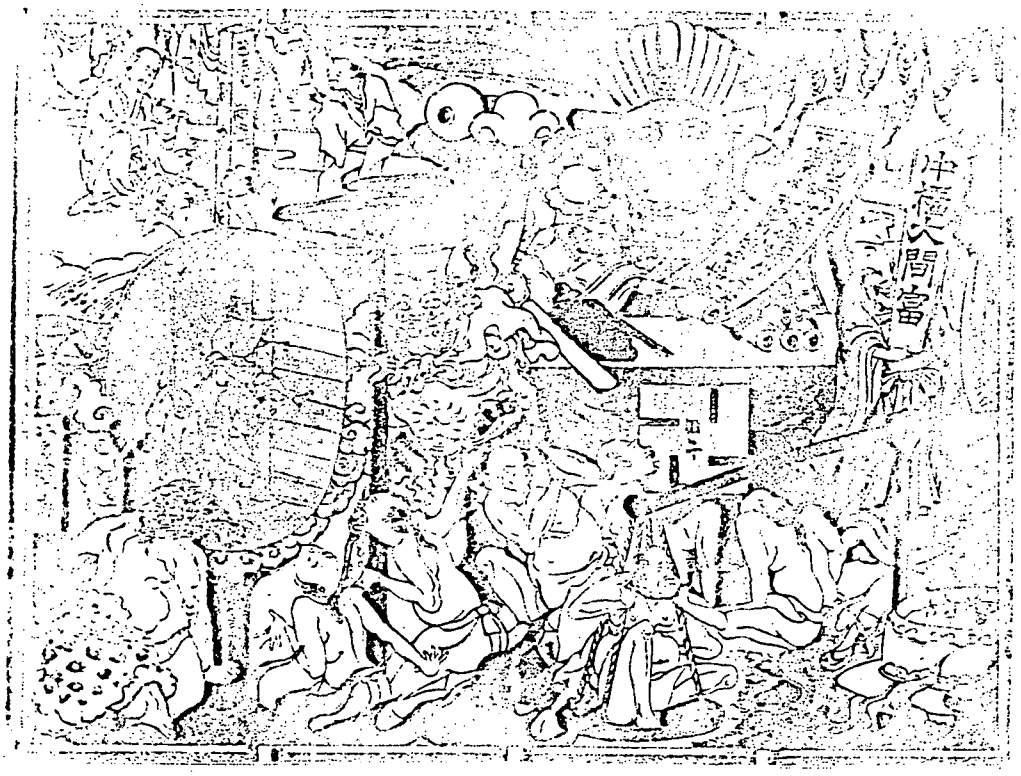

Fig. 51. Utagawa Yoshitsuna: A Hell Scene, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Ishiguro, comp. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 Is 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

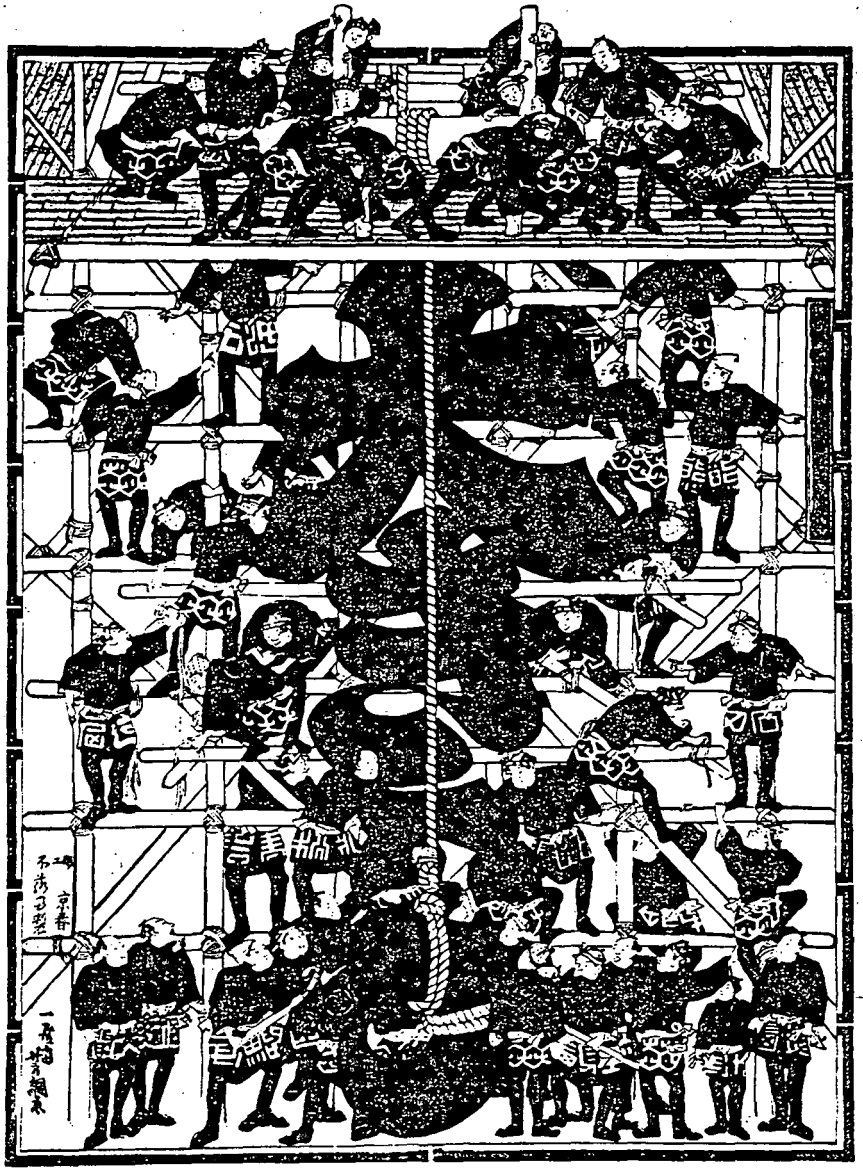

Fig. 52. Utagawa Yoshitsuna: A picture of carpenters building the name "Ōkyū," dated 1859. Ishiguro, comp. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 Is 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

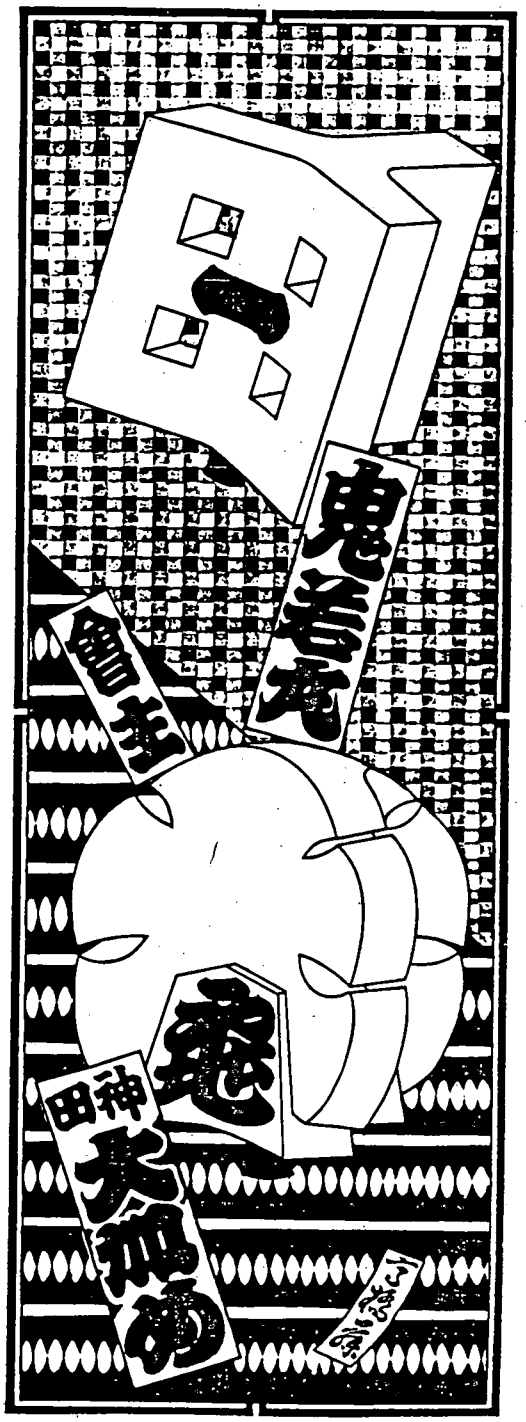

Fig. 53. Takahashi Tou: Matoi, possibly done around 1917. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 26. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 54. Utagawa Yoshiyuki: A series of twenty-one famous places in Edo, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Ishiguro, comp. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 Is 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. N.p.

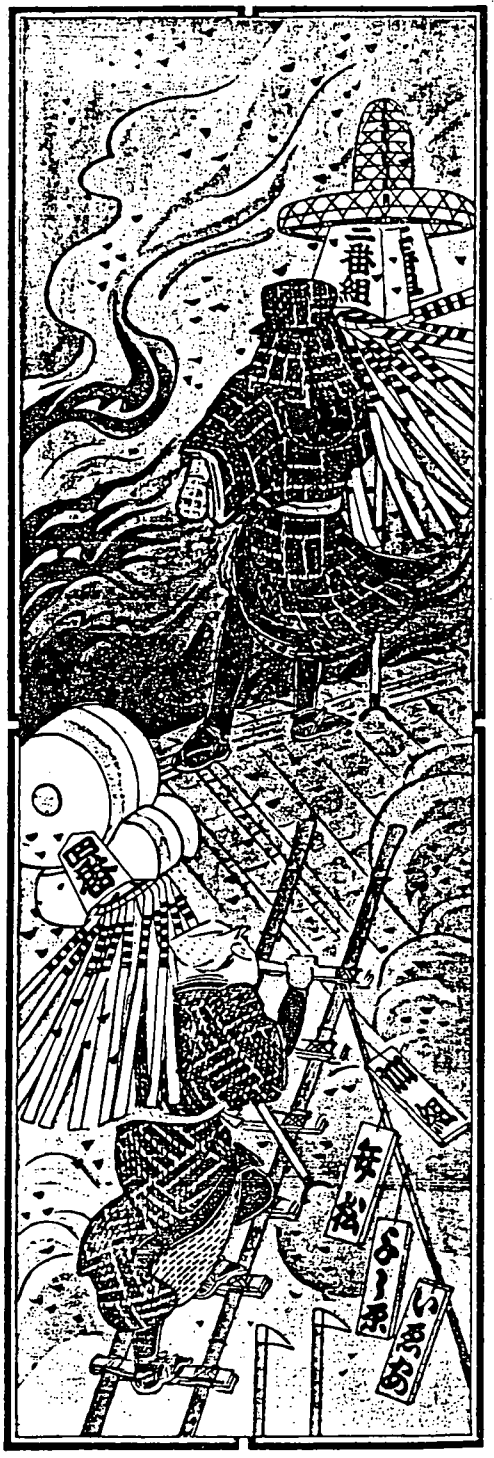

Fig. 55. Firemen, possibly done around 1917. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 26. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 56. Takahashi Tou: Irezumi, possibly done around 1916. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 24. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 57. Tachō: A Western man painting his name like a nōsatsu, possibly done around mid-nineteenth century. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 Is 3. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 58. Sosan: Yokohama-e, dated 1913. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 14. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 59. Kojō: A Beautiful Woman, possibly done around 1917, Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 28. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 60. A Beautiful Woman, no date. Collection of the Japanese-color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 38. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 61. Miyake: A Beautiful Woman, possibly done around 1917, Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 28. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 62. Kunimatsu: A Rich Carpenter, in a series on the Kantō Earthquake, dated 1924. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 33. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

Fig. 63. Kunimatsu: Frederick Starr, in a series on the Kantō Earthquake, dated 1924. Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called nōsatsu or senjafuda, J769.952 C685, 33. Rare Book Collection, University of Oregon Library. n.p.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE CHARACTERS

Amida 阿弥陀

An'ei 安永

An'no 安の

Awate-e あわて絵

Bunka 文化

Bunsei 文政

chi 智

Chiyoda-ren 千代田連

chōnin 町人

chū 忠

daihōshō 大奉書

daimei nōsatsu 題名納札

daimyō gyōretsu 大名行列

Edokko 江戸っ子

Eisen 英泉

ema 絵馬

Fuse Hime 伏姫

Gengyo 玄魚

Genroku 元禄

genseiriyaku 現世利益

gi 義

goryō shinkō 御霊信仰

hari はり，弓長り

Heian 平安

Hiroshige 広重

hito gami 人神

Hokusai 北斎

Hōsai 豊斎

Hotei Ichiuemon 布袋市右エ門

Ichimura 市村

iki いき，粋，意気，生き

inari 稲荷

Inue Shimbee 犬江親兵衛

Inukai Gempachi 犬飼現八

Inukawa Sōsuke 犬川荘介

Inumura Daikaku 犬村大学

Inuta Kobungo 犬田小文吾

Inuyama Dōsetsu 犬山道節

Inuzaka Keno 犬坂毛野

Inuzuka Shino 犬塚信乃

irezumi 刺青

Iseman 伊世万

jin 仁

Jizō 地蔵

Junwa 享和

kabuki 歌舞伎

Kaei 嘉永

Kamakura 鎌倉

kami 神

Kaminari Jūkurō 雷庄九郎

Kannon 観音

Kansei 寛政

Kantō 関東

Karigane Bunshichi 雁金文七

Karigane Gonin Otoko「雁金五人男」

Kazan 花山

kō 孝

Kobayakawa Kiyoshi 小早川清

Kojō 古城

kōkan nōsatsu 交換納札

Kokuin Sen'uemon 極印千右エ門

Kōya 高野

kudoku 功徳

Kunichika 国周

Kunimatsu 国松

Kuninao 国直

Kunisada 国貞

Kuniyoshi 国芳

kyōka 狂歌

Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴

Maebashi Hanzan 前橋半山

matoi 纏

Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信

Meiji 明治

Meiwa 明和

mie 見得

Miyake 三宅

Mukan 無款

nihonga 日本画

ninja 忍者

nishiki-e 錦絵

Nishiomi Nagahisa 西海長久

nōsatsu 納札

nōsatsukai 納札会

ofuda 御札

Ofuda Hakase 御札博士

Ōkyū 大きう

Ōmatomi 大間富

Ozawa Shoichi 小沢昭一

Ōta Sechō 太田櫛朝

rei 禮豊

ren 連

Saikoku 西国

Sakashō-ren 坂升連

sankinkotai 参勤交替

senjafuda 千社札

senja mairi 千社参り

sensō-e 戦争絵

share 洒落

Shichi Fukujin 七福神

Shigenobu 重信

shin 信

shin hanga 新版画

Shintō 神道

Shitamachi 下町

shōgi 将棋

Shōwa 昭和

Shumman 俊満

Shunshō 春章

sōsaku hanga 創作版画

Sosan 素山

Suikoden 「水滸伝」

sumō 相撲

surimono 摺物

Suzuki Harunobu 鈴木春信

Tachō 田蝶

Taishō 大正

Takahashi Tou 高橋藤

Takisa 田キサ

Tamazusa 玉梓

tanka 短歌

tei 悌

Tempo 天保

tengu 天狗

Tengu Kohei 天愚孔平

Temmei 天明

Tokugawa 徳川

Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康

Tomi 富

Tomoe-ren 巴連

Tōrin 等琳

Tōshusai Sharaku 東洲斎写楽

Tōto 東都

Toyokuni 豊国

Ukiyo 浮世

ukiyo-e 浮世絵

Utagawa 歌川

Utamaro 歌麿

Watanabe Kazan 渡辺崋山

Yamanote 山手

Yatsufusa 八房

Yokohama 横浜

Yokohama-e 横浜絵

Yoshiiku 芳幾

Yoshikazu 芳員

Yoshitora 芳虎

Yoshitoshi 芳年

Yoshitsuna 芳綱

Yoshitsuya 芳艶

Zeshin 是真

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