E. J. Stallman
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Feudal Kamakura.

FEUDAL KAMAKURA

OUTLINE SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF KAMAKURA

FROM 1186 TO 1333

By J. E. DE BECKER

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PREFACE.

Living in the old town of Kamakura, I have naturally become intensely interested in its ancient history, and this little book practically contains a few stray leaves from my note book relative to the rise of the Feudal system in what is known as the "Kamakura Age," which term is applied to the period commencing in 1186 and ending in 1333.

No attempt has been made at literary embellishment, and I have merely jotted down, in simple language, such facts as have been brought to my notice in the course of reading up the subject. If the results of my study are deemed worthy of consideration by persons interested in Japanese history, it will afford me considerable gratification. There is absolutely nothing new in the book, and everything it contains has been culled from existing Japanese and foreign sources. All I have done is to collate the facts and present them in an English dress.

The whole of the chapters have already been published in the *Japan Herald* as a series of special articles, and I have to

thank the Editor of that journal for his courteous permission to reproduce them in book form.

I desire to acknowledge that in compiling the various articles I have received invaluble encouragement and assistance from the venerable historian Dr. Shigeno and my wife.

J. E. DE BECKER.

Yui-ga-hama, Kamakura, Japan.

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I.

"THE KAMAKURA AGE."

The eastern provinces had long been identified with the Minamoto family, and many and various were the historical associations which formed a strong connecting link between them and that illustrious house. It was for this cogent reason that when in the 4th year of *Jishō* (1180) Minamoto Yoritomo raised an army in the East, he subsequently fixed the seat of his military government (*Bakufu*) in Kamakura, the spot hallowed by the memories of his forefathers, making it a special point to pacify and attach to his person, as retainers and supporters, all the great families of Musashi, Awa, Kadzusa, Shimōsa, Kōtsuke, Shimotsuke, Hitachi, and Sagami provinces.

Profiting by the object lesson which he had received in seeing the ignominious fall of the Taira clan owing to their want of popularity, Yoritomo zealously strove after the *aura popularis*. Taking advantage of the spirit of loyalty which existed, he outwardly preserved a scrupulously correct attitude towards the Imperial House; and knowing how the priests had hated the Taira family, he sought to win their co-operation by insisting upon proper deference being paid to all religious institutions, and by exempting shrines and temples from certain burdens. As for the mass of the people, he appears to have done much to ameliorate their condition and striven by the even administration of justice to renew the prosperity of the country at large.

After overthrowing the Taira in the west, he organized a new system of government called the *Bakufu* (or *Shōgunate*), and systematically developed the real feudal system of Japan. "When he came into power, each province had a local governor, while each one of the *Kuge* or Court nobles, as well as the heads of the large noble families, had on their estates administrators who were responsible to their masters only, and claimed to be exempt from all provincial jurisdiction. Proper government was therefore an impossibility, until Yoritomo brought order

out of chaos by appointing officers, called *shugo* (high constables) and *jitō* (superintendents) respectively, for each province and estate, whose duty it was to oversee the police, military, and administrative business of their respective districts, and to be responsible to himself as General Superintendent." To all those offices he appointed his own retainers, on whose loyalty he could count; and to give an appearance of legality to his arrangements, he made such strong representations to the Court that he not only obtained confirmation of the appointments, but was himself appointed as *Sō-tsui-ho-shi* (General Superintendent of Police). "Thus all actual power, administrative and military, fell into the hands of the military classes as represented by Yoritomo, and the Imperial Court was shorn of all its dignities, except the prerogative of conferring rank and grades of honour." Yoritomo further assumed the title of "General Superintendent of the sixty-six provinces," and after having conquered Mutsu and Dewa (Oshiu and Ushiū), pacified Kyūshiū, and united the whole country under his domination, he obtained for himself the title of *Sei-i-Tai-Shōgun* which had never been bestowed upon any but princes of the blood or members of the Minamoto clan.

Thus the actual authority was entirely transferred to Kamakura, and as the glory

of the Imperial House waned and paled, so the star of the Minamoto waxed and shone, and the prestige of the military government carried all before it. In this manner Yoritomo was enabled to control State affairs from Kamakura, and the erstwhile fishing village grew in importance until it began to rival the Imperial City of the West.

Pope has well said in his "Odyssey":—

"Few sons attain the praise
Of their great sires, and most their sires disgrace"

and the Japanese have not overlooked the fact that, while heredity often transmits qualities from parents to their children, more often than not a distinguished man has no brilliant sons to succeed him. Yoritomo died at the comparatively early age of 53, leaving two sons—Yoriiye and Sanetomo. Yoriiye succeeded his father as *Shōgun*, but he was an utterly stupid weakling and "entirely under the influence of his mother Masako, and his maternal grandfather, Hōjō Tokimasa." The latter seeing Yoriiye's feebleness, tried to set him aside. Yoriiye resented this, and tried to assert his rights, but was in the end shut up in the Temple of Shūzenji "in the province of Idzu, where he was assassinated. The successor of Yoriiye was Sanetomo, his younger brother; but the real power was in the hands of Hōjō Tokimasa, who governed with the title of *Shikken* or Administrator,

an office which remained for some time in the hands of the Hōjō family." Sanetomo was also a weakling who loved childish games and intercourse with women. He was a mere figure-head who utterly neglected his duties as a ruler, and he, too, finally perished by the hand of an assassin. The Hōjō family, using to the full the paramount influence they had acquired as relations of Masako, the widow of Yoritomo, aimed at seizing the supreme power, and the ultimate result of their earnest endeavours was the accomplishment of this vicious purpose. Gradually they planned to cut off all the branches of the house of Minamoto, and to exterminate such great families as refused allegiance and were too strong to be subjugated by ordinary means. After Sanetomo had been assassinated, they formed a *Bakufu* or *Shōgunate*, consisting of their own creatures, and held the whole administrative power in their own hands. By this time the Hōjō could easily have become *Shōguns* themselves, but in view of the high regard the people still had for persons of noble lineage, they wisely refrained from assuming the title, and invited a prince from the house of Kujō (a noble family in Kyōto who was related to the Minamotos) to take office. But the *Shōgun* so set up was a nonentity and all his power was taken from him by the *Shikken* or administrator of the Hōjō

family. Thus the *Shōguns* became mere puppets in the hands of a line of *Shikken*, and the real government of the country was carried on exactly as it pleased the Hōjō to dictate; but meanwhile the various "great territorial lords, each ruling his own territory aad surrounding himself with faithful military retainers," grew stronger, and this paved the way for a severe civil war later on.

After the Hōjō had established themselves in Kamakura, and assumed the reins of administration, they often abused their power and acted contrary to the Imperial wishes; so the ex-Emperor Go-Toba endeavoured to rid the State of the tyrants, but failed most miserably. The ex-Emperor Go-Toba was banished and died in prison, while his son Tsuchimikado, likewise ex-Mikado, went into exile and died. The third and youngest ex-Emperor was exiled to Sado, while the reigning Emperor Chūkyō was deposed. This complete defeat of the Imperial party sadly weakened the Throne, added additional strength and prestige to the house of Hōjō, and supplied a disgraceful precedent in Japanese history for the banishment of a sovereign by his own subjects. Having made himself supreme, Yoshitoki, the Hōjō *Shikken*, organized the Kamakura administration in such a manner that the office of administrator should become hereditary in

his own family. Moreover, under the pretence of guarding the Imperial Capital (but in reality to spy out what was going on in the Court) he placed governors (*Tandai*) in North and South Rokuhara. This enabled the Hōjō to supervise the administration in the "home provinces," and at the same time to transfer the office of *Kebiishi* to the *Bakufu*.

The manners and tastes of the people, which had been greatly influenced by the effeminacy of the Kyōto nobles, now underwent a gradual change, and a martial spirit was developed. The composing of poems and playing of music fell into disfavour, and hunting and fencing became popular amusements. The rise of the *Zenshū* sect exercised a beneficent effect in impressing upon the minds of the people that if they desired to overcome the "seven lusts" and lead simple unostentatious lives, they must not listen to a multitude of various doctrines, but must look in their own hearts, and by introspection and intuition find the Buddha and the truth. In other words, the *Zen* sect aroused the consciences of men, and revealed to them a perpetual source of light in their own hearts. This period also saw the rise of that great code of Japanese chivalric ethics which more than anything else has tended to bring out all that is noblest in Japanese character.

Thus the *Shôgunate* of Kamakura prospered year by year, and as the *Shôguns* were nonentities, the Hōjō *Shikken* flourished also. Hōjō Yasutoki, one of the *Shikken*, was especially solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, and compiled a code of laws calculated to ameliorate many hardships and secure justice. He was strictly economical and diligent and was a constant example to his officers. Advised by a priest that if he built a temple to Buddha, he would govern in peace, Yasutoki drove the "holy man" away in disgust, laconically observing: "How is peaceful rule possible if one wastes treasures and devours the people?" Another of his shrewd remarks was: "In deciding Government issues you must not make too absolute a use of military methods of decision. The art of Government is in literature." Whenever there was a famine, he opened his granaries and distributed their contents; or he would erect a place wherein to give succour to the indigent. Thus placed in a high position, and while exposed to the storms of ambition, Yasutoki maintained a humble spirit and attended faithfully to the business of government; ever endeavouring to ameliorate the lot of the people, and studying the causes underlying the tranquillity or disturbance of the State. His rule, therefore, abounded with good examples, and

naturally tended to raise the dignity of the Kamakura Government, and the force of his personality became a living law which men admired and willingly obeyed. Altogether, his administration was so advantageous to the country, that, when he died in 1240, at the age of sixty, the whole Empire mourned his loss.

The next prominent Hōjō was Yasutoki's son, Tokiyori, who succeeded to the office of *Shikken* in due course.

This man was economical to the verge of parsimony, but his administration showed great consideration for the people, and while he maintained his exalted station with becoming dignity, his justice and kindness tempered everything. He adhered to the code of Yasutoki, and performed duties which (the *Nihon Gwaishi* says) "were far greater than any other man could have borne." In 1256 Tokiyori abdicated, and then, disguised as a travelling monk, travelled through the whole of the provinces for the purpose of seeing with his own eyes how things really were; and on the way he set right many crying wrongs by rescuing several persons who had been unjustly treated and robbed of their rights in consequence of false charges.

Under Yasutoki and Yoritoki, Kamakura reached the climax of her prosperity, and in those days there was a proverb which said *Kwantō hak-kōku wo motte Nihon-*

koku ni taishi, Kamakura wo motte Kwantō hak-koku ni tai su (The eight provinces of the Kwanto can match the whole of Japan, while Kamakura can match the whole of the eight provinces).

From the time of Tokiyori, the custom of choosing *Shōgun* from the princely house of Kujō was abolished, and Princes of the blood were invited to take office, the selection of suitable persons being arbitrarily made by the *Hōjō*.

About this period the famous *Haya-hiru-ban* guards were organized, the members of which were invariably selected from among *samurai* proficient in martial exercises, such as fencing, archery, equestrianism, etc.; or from among warriors skilled in music, the art of composing poetry, and accomplishments of a kindred nature. From this latter fact it would appear, that, even in the stern Kamakura age, many persons belonging to the military caste were as well versed in the polite arts as in matters pertaining to the profession of arms.

Early in the time of Hōjō Tokimune (the son of Tokiyori) a serious difficulty arose between China (then under the sway of the Yuan Dynasty) and this country, which culminated in a rupture and led to the great Mongol invasion. By the united and patriotic efforts of all classes, the enemy was utterly discomforted

and danger averted; but no sooner had the sword been sheathed, and the foreign foe vanquished, than domestic trouble arose.

At the time of the national crisis, nobles, retainers, priests of all religions, and everybody in Japan, worked earnestly and harmoniously together in the common cause; but now that the vessels of the enemy had been sunk, and "the waves of the four seas were no longer disturbed," the good understanding between all classes was destroyed by avarice and ambition, and an internecine quarrel commenced relative to the distribution of rewards. Enormous sums had been spent on offerings to the Gods and Buddhas (to whom incessant prayer for victory had been offered by their devotees), for the construction of forts and other defences, and for the equipment of the army. This involved the *Bakufu* in great financial distress; but, blinded with greed, the clergy greedily clamoured for further rewards, claiming that the blessing of victory had been given by their pseudo-theurgical performances and mummery. The warriors, too, demanded substantial recognition of their meritorious deeds. The *Bakufu*, however, could not satisfy these demands, because their own warriors—both officers and men alike—were entirely exhausted by the long coast defence, and the whole population was in acute distress. To patch up the

situation and tide over the difficulty, the authorities had recourse to unsound methods of administration, and in the 6th year of Ei-nin (1297) they issued an edict fixing the prices of necessaries and rates of interest on loans. The military class profited by this edict, but the mass of the people, among whom the rich and poor had now to a great extent changed places, were exceedingly dissatisfied, and the murmur of discontent grew louder and more ominous year by year.

The Hōjō family now began to dispute among themselves for the supreme power, while in reality their authority was being taken from them by their own retainers. The descendants of the Minamoto, who had been neglected as not worthy of being feared, had now, after a lapse of many peaceful years, grown powerful, and were not content to submit to the caprices of the Hōjō family. *Shugo* and *Jitō*, now strong and influential in their respective provinces and manors, began to chafe against the interference of the *Bakufu* in their local affairs; while the descendants of many *samurai*, who had lost their all in the service of the Emperor in the war of *Shôkyû* (1219), regarded the Hōjō as their bitterest enemies, and were on the alert to seize the first opportunity of revenge. Moreover, from the time the Hōjō commenced to choose *Shôgun* from the ranks

of princes or great nobles, their soldiery were influenced by the effeminate Kyōtō manners, and as early as Sadatoki's time (1266-1307) they had become enervated by habits of ease and luxury to such an extent that many were compelled to sell their estates to pay for their debauchery.

Takatoki succeeded to the office of *Shikken*, but being weak and sickly by nature, the power fell into the hands of strong retainers. Bribery and corruption became the rule. Judicial decisions were swayed by money, and in times of want the Kamakura government officials, acting the part of petty usurers, refused to sell their stores of grain to the people except at famine prices. All this tended to increase the discontent, the voice of popular complaint grew louder and louder, and finally the Hōjō found themselves cordially hated by all classes of the people.

After the war of *Shôkyû* (1219) the power and prestige of the Imperial House had vanished, especially in the case of the Emperor Go-Saga, who, having been enthroned by the Hōjo family, refrained from attempting to exercise any authority, and left all important affairs of state in the hands of the *Bakufu* This naturally brought about a change in the position of the court nobles, and in course of time they also came to hold nominal rank without being able to effectually exercise the

authority of office. The sons of the Emperor Go-Saga were divided into two hostile factions and branches—Jimyō-in and Daikaku-ji. These quarrelled over the throne and estates, and both sides bitterly resented an attempt made by the Hōjō to reconcile them. The Emperor Go-Daigo, a comparatively able ruler, who sprang from the Daikaku-ji branch, brooded bitterly over the situation and schemed to regain the ancient prestige for his race. Taking advantage of the weakened condition of the *Bakufu*, he raised an army and attacked the Hōjō. Unfortunately, Go-Daigo was badly defeated and was banished to the Island of Oki; but the spirit of the times was against the *Bakufu*, and, although the first attempt failed, the royalist party finally succeeded in capturing Kamakura and overthrowing the Hōjō in the 3rd year of *Genkô* (1333). This happened 141 years after the establishment of the *Bakufu* by Minamoto Yoritomo.

II.

CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

1. Organization of Society.

Minamoto Yoritomo, having succeeded in forcibly wresting away the power from the Taira family, who had paid but scant respect to the Crown, deemed it necessary, both from a political point of view, and as generally expedient, to honour the Imperial House. He also strove to achieve popularity among the people by upholding the principle of "worshipping and reverencing the Gods and Buddhas." While the actual power of the Government was indeed transfered to the *Bakufu*, the ancient dignity of the Crown remained (at least outwardly) unimpaired.

The Hōjō family, in spite of their being mere retainers of the Minamotos, were indeed audacious enough to banish an

Emperor, but, well knowing how the mind of the nation had been moulded through centuries since the foundation of the country, they more than once exhorted their subjects to revere the Imperial dynasty. The idea of the inviolable character of the Japanese throne was therefore never rooted out from the popular mind, and the spirit of loyal deference to the Emperor was preserved intact.

The *Bakufu* actually exercised vicarious authority under the Crown. In the same manner as of yore, members of the Fujiwara family continued to be appointed to the offices of *Sesshō* (1), *Kwambaku* (2), and *Daijin* (3), but their powers were greatly curtailed as compared with former times. Yoritomo aimed at reducing the powers of the *Sekke* (4), and so, by causing Kujō Kanesane to be appointed to the office of *Nairan* (Controller of the Imperial Court), divided the power of Konoe Motomichi, the then *Sesshō*. He also caused the houses of Kujō and Konoe to supply a *Kwambaku* and *Sesshō* by turns. Later the Kujōs divided into two Houses—Ichijō and Nijō—, and from the Konoes sprung the house of Takatsukasa. Hōjō Sadatoki divided the power of the Crown by causing the two branches of the Im-

1. *Sesshô*—a regent, not exactly.
2. *Kwambaku*—Prime Minister, not exactly.
3. *Daijin*—Minister, not exactly.
4. *Sekké*—the noble Houses who were entitled to the rank of *Sesshô* or *Kwambaku*.

perial House—Daikakuji and Jimyōin —to furnish an Emperor alternately; and at the same time the five Houses of Konoe, Kujō, Nijō, Ichijō and Takatsukasa were determined as the "*sekke*"—viz. the Houses who were entitled to the rank of "*Sesshō*" and "*Kwambaku.*" They were known as the "*Go-sekké*" (five *sekké*). All this was done for the purpose of reducing the power of the great Fujiwara family.

The head of the *Bakufu* was the *Shōgun*, and even after the real power of administration had been transferred to the house of Hōjō, a nominal *Shōgun* had his place in the body politic. The whole of the military classes and great families were (theoretically) under his authority; in other words, his retainers. The official organization of the *Bakufu* was so arranged as to govern all the affairs of State through three great departments, known respectively as the *Mandokoro*, the *Monchūjo*, and *Samurai-dokoro*. The *Mandokoro* was an office in which the general governmental affairs were transacted, its chief official being called a *Bettō* (Commissioner), and its minor officials consisting of *Rei*, *Anshu*, *Chikaji*, etc. It had also its *Hyōjōshū*, *Hikitsuke-shū*, and *Yoriai-shū*. The *Monchūjo* was an office where lawsuits were decided, its chief official being called a "*Shitsuji.*" The *Samurai-dokoro* was an office where matters regarding the promo-

tion and degradation of retainers were dealt with, outrageous conduct of retainers examined, their criminal acts punished, soldiers for the night-watch and attendants chosen, and in times of war a council was held there to deal with military affairs. Its chief official was also called "*Bettō.*"

Kyōto, Kinai (5) and Saikoku (6) were governed by the Rokuhara "*Tandai*" (Governor); in Tsukushi an official called the *Chinzei-bugyō* was stationed, and later on he was assisted by the Nagato "*Tandai*"; in Mutsu, Dewa and Ezo were placed officials called *Ôu Bugyō*, and *Ezo Kwanryō*. Each province had a *Shugo* (High Constable) whose chief business was to investigate and decide various matters, while in each manor was a *Jitō* (Superintendent), whose duty it was to collect the rice levied on the people as a land tax.

At this time certain districts were under the direct supervision of the Imperial Court, and these were called *Kokuryō*. Some again were owned by powerful families or monasteries; such lands were called *Shōen*, and were governed by either *Dai-kwan* or *Shôji*.

The *Bakufu* had an inherent right to govern all the land in the sixty-six pro-

5. Kinai—the five provinces of Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izuma and Setsu.
6. Saikoku—Western provinces.

vinces of the Empire, but it refrained from exercising its prerogatives in the above-mentioned districts. The edicts of the Government were, therefore, issued from three distinctly different sources—from the Imperial Court, the *Bakufu*, and the *Ryōké* (proprietor). After the *Shōkyū* Disturbance (1219-1221) the *Bakufu* confiscated three thousand manors belonging to the adherents of the Crown, and redistributed them among such meritorious retainers as had fought for its cause, making them the respective *Jitôes* of these manors. This class of *Jitō* differed in the extent of their authority from those that had been previously appointed, for they not only supervised the collection of taxes, but administered all other governmental affairs. In other words, they had vested in themselves the right of ownership as well as the authority of Governor. Such *Jitō* were called *Shimpō* (newly appointed), while the others were called *Hompō* (regularly appointed). The increase in the former class of *Jitō* was equivalent to the extension of the lands governed by the *Bakufu*, or, in another sense, of its governing power, so such increase was greatly desired by the *Bakufu*.

Both Buddhist priests and *Shintō* officials gradually became powerful owing to the *Bakufu's* upholding the principle of "reverencing and worshipping the gods and

Buddha." Yoritomo forbade his subjects to plunder the possessions of *Shintō* shrines and Buddhist temples under a severe penalty, and placed them outside the jurisdiction of *Jitō* and *Shugo*, so that those officials could not even make an arrest within the sacred precincts without the permission of the clergy. This edict was called "The prohibition of *Shugo nyūbu*," and was carried so far that in Yamato province no *Shugo* was appointed, on the ground that it contained so many lands belonging to these privileged priestly orders.

Later on the churchmen abused their power and privileges, and fought against each other. More than once they rudely forced their way into the Imperial Palace with a *Mikoshi* (sacred car), as they had done in the preceding age. Hōjō Yasutoki, angered by the conduct of the priests of *Kôfukuji*, who made light of the Imperial commands, confiscated the latter's lands and appointed a *Shugo* and *Jitô* to govern the province of Yamato. He also sent retainers to intercept the priests on the way leading to Nara, ordering them to kill all the turbulent churchmen if they dared to offer resistance. The priests were greatly troubled, and finally apologized to him for their evil deeds. Upon this, Yasutoki withdrew the *Shugo* and *Jitô* he had ap-

pointed, and restored the lands to the priests, and, from this time, the chastened bonzes of Nara quieted down a little.

But some priests continued obdurate and violent. For example, the priests of the *Enryaku-ji*, in the 6th year of *Kôan* (1283), forced their way into the Imperial Palace, cut down the *misu* (thin bamboo blinds), and went as far as to break the *shôji* (sliding screens) of the *Nen-jū-kô-ji*. The private life of the priests also became corrupt, and those who violated the Buddhist precepts increased day by day. In their leisure times they fought against each other, ate meat, abused little boys and violated women; and when they had spent all their substance in riotous living, they would collect money under the pretence of repairing temples or holding Buddhist masses, and this again they would spend in debauchery. Indeed, most of the collections then made under the pretence of pious purposes were in reality made to fill the pockets of the priests.

Besides this, they earned money in various disgraceful ways. For instance, some haunted the streets begging for rice or money, doing what then was called "*Amida no Hijiri*." Some played *Shakuhachi* (such were called "*boro-boro*") and some of them went so far as to peddle goods (such were called "*Maisu*").

Not only was the distinction between the priestly orders and laity thus confused, but the condition of the lower classes much disturbed. Since the preceding age, the "shaving of the head and the wearing of black clothes" had come to be easily granted. Among the priests not only were those who had been compelled to take vows by reason of disappointments or being tired of the world, but there were many persons who would shave their heads simply on account of a slight illness, or because they were drawing nearer to death by reason of age, declared that their cherished desire as thus accomplished. Some of them added the word "*Amida*" (Buddha) to one latter of their names and called themselves "So-and-so *Amida*," while others would prefix to their names the word "*Dō*" (the way) or *Myō*, and call themselves "*Dō-So-and-so*" or "*Myō So-and-so.*" Such men were comprehensively called "*Zemmon*," and such women "*Zenni.*" Imitating the example of *Taira-no-Kiyomori*, who had exercised authority after having his head shaved, no small number of the high officials wore the tonsure and remained in office. For example, there was Miyoshi Yasunobu, the *Shitsuji* (Chief Justice) of the *Monchūjo*, in Kamakura, who served in the Government after he had become a lay bonze. Such examples were followed by many persons

of the military class, and it is said that the petition presented to the Government regarding the *Go-sebai-Shikimoku*, signed by some fourteen or fifteen persons, contained the signatures of three who were described as "*Shami*" (priests). On the death of Hōjō Tokiyori, so many men and efficers shaved their heads in memory of the illustrious dead, that the Government found it necessary to order the *Shugo* (High Constables) of every province not to allow the people to shave their heads without special permission.

2.—The Medical Profession.

After the abolition of the examination system, the profession of medicine was monopolized by the house of Wake (和氣) and Tamba (丹波). In those days there were some persons called "*ha-dori*" (teeth-takers) whose chief occupation was to extract decayed teeth from the mouths of their patrons.

3.—Sundry.

The fortune-tellers were known as *Onyôshi* and *Agata Miko* (縣神子). Among the carpenters and traders were *Kôshô* (skillful carpenters), *Banshô* (番商) and *Mokudô* (木道); *Fukinushi* (roofers); *Kabenuri* (plasterers); *Kaji* (blacksmiths); *Imonoshi* (founders); gold, silver and iron *Saiku* (mechanics); *eshi* (painters); *busshi*

(Buddhist idol-makers); *Yumiya-saiku* (bow and arrow makers); *konkaki* (紺掻) and *somedono* (dyers); *aya-ori* (artificial weavers); *suri-nuimono-shi* (tailors); *himo-no-shi* (box-makers); *rokuroshi* (makers of articles made by lathes); *shikkō* (lacquerers); *makie-shi* (gold and silver lacquerers); *kami-koshi* (paper makers); *kara-kami-shi* ("*kara-kami*," makers); *kasa-hari* (hat-makers); *mino-uri* (straw rain-coat sellers); *eboshi akyûdo* ("*eboshi*" traders); *kushihiki* (comb-makers); *shusha oshiori yaki* (cosmetic makers); *fukakusadoki-tsukuri* (earthenware potters); *koshū* (wine-sellers); *sudzukuri* (vinegar makers), etc., etc. Of the farmers and fishermen were *sanyô* (silk worm cultivators); *bakurô* (horse trainers); *maki-shi* (cattle raisers); *sumiyaki* (charcoal makers); *ryôshi* (hunters): *karyûdo* (hunters); *kwaisen-nin* (sailors); *kako* (common sailors); *kan dori* (pilots); *gyokaku* (fishermen); *ama* (fisherman), etc., etc. Of the actors and musicians were *Dengaku*, *Shishi-mai*, *Kwairai-shi*, *Biwa-hoshi*, etc. There were some who got their living by the practice of the military arts and wrestling. The peddlers trudged along with umbrellas in their hands, and boxes on their backs in which they carried their wares. There were also women who went round peddling goods which they carried on their heads. At such places as Yodo, Owatari, Eguchi,

and Kanzaki, in the neighbourhood of Kyōto, or Kewaizaka, Oiso, Seki-no-shita near Kamakura, and at many other places throughout the country, numbers of courtesans plied their immoral trade. The men who were infatuated with such women and visited them frequently were called *kô-zuma* (little husbands), while the women themselves were called *kô-gimi* (little mistresses). In Kyōto, as early as the close of the Heian age (782-1158), there were many professional dancers known by the name of *Shirabyōshi*. These women were generally more or less educated and refined, so they were called to the presence of nobles when they were entertaining friends and wished to amuse their guests by providing an exhibition of singing and dancing. The rich and nobles frequently bestowed upon them very liberal presents, often invited them to share their couches; and from time to time these girls even became the wives or concubines of men of position. Some of these dancers, being very rich, were large landholders. *Katsurame*, as a certain class of dancers were then called, were originally natives of the town of *Katsura*, in the suburbs of Kyōto, who earned their living by selling smelts caught in the river Katsura; but later they became harlots or dancers. Even as late as the Muromachi age (1334-1567), these women were still flourishing.

The Daimyōs of that time were divided roughly into two classes, viz. *Shugo Daimyô* and *Ichizoku Daimyô*. The name "*Kajin*" was applied to all classes of *Daimyô* or *Shômyô*. In the house of *Samurai* were employed *rôdô*, *wakatô*, *chūgen*, and *shimobé*. The custom of buying and selling servants still existed, and there were even merchants known by the name of "*ninshô*" (men merchants), who made this business their chief occupation. These "*ninshô*" were strictly prohibited by the *Bakufu*, but in the 2nd year of *Kwanki* (1230), when there had been a great famine in the country, this prohibition was removed. The authorities then permitted the sale and purchase of servants, and it was also decreed that any person who had rescued those who were actually starving, could, as compensation for his assistance, make them his servants for a long time. In the first year of *Ninji* (1240), an edict was posted in every street and *sekisho* (barrier guard-house) to the effect that those who had been selling and buying men or maid servants should be called down to the Kwantō, and those who had been sold should be released when found; but these evil practices could not be easily abolished; so later, in the 3rd year of *Shô-ô* (1290), the *Bakufu* prohibited it more severely. It was then decreed that any person violating this prohibition

should have his cheeks branded with hot irons. But notwithstanding all this legislation, the practice still continued to exist.

With regard to the mode adopted by the *Bakufu* for taking the census, nothing definite seems to be known. At one time the *Bakufu* ordered those who had no profession (who were very numerous) to report themselves, and then sent them into the country to be employed as agricultural labourers. In those days there were many outlaws, but when Yoritomo originated the office of *Shugo* (High Constable) in every province, these gentry were partially suppressed for a time. After his death they again made their appearance and ravaged the country, and, indeed, it was said that the "mountains and seas were filled with thieves and robbers."

Sometimes they formed a gang whose members often reached to the number of thirty or forty, and, carrying lighted torches with them, boldly entered and plundered houses, no matter whether the buildings were private or official. They massacred many innocent people, sometimes forced their way into *Shintō* shrines or Buddhist temples and stole their treasures, and even violated Imperial mausolea to abstract the jewels buried there. In the time of the Emperor Go-Horikawa (1222-1232) they even got into the Imperial palace and stole a sword belonging to the throne. Such

gangs were often joined by the youths of noble birth, and by villainous priests; and all classes, high and low, suffered extremely from their lawlessness. This being so, in the first year of *Rekinin*(1238), Hōjō Yasutoki buil t "torch houses" in the streets of Kyōto, where guards, burning torches, were on duty throughout the night. Later on this example was followed by Kamakura. In every province — especially in Dewà and Mutsu — there were many robbers who robbed travellers. Consequently, in the first year of *Kôgen* (1256), the Government ordered the *Jitô* of Oku Omichi to put *Banshu* (guards) in every post town to guard the road.

III.

CIVIL LAW.

Subsequent to the establishment of the *Bakufu* Government in Kamakura, Minamoto Yoritomo organized the system of military feudalism, and, as a consequence, his legislative efforts were directed towards consolidating his position as a great feudal chieftain and military director rather than towards ameliorating the condition of the masses.

Owing to the well-nigh superstitious veneration which had been accorded to the Imperial House from time immemorial, Yoritomo hit upon the expedient of enlisting the sympathies of the nation by professing the utmost loyalty to the Throne. This necessitated the issue of commands to the people to reverence the Emperor and consider his person as Heaven-descended,

divine, sacred, pre-eminent, and inviolable; although it must be borne in mind that so far as Yoritomo was concerned, he simply compelled the reigning Sovereign, *nolens volens*, to bestow the title of *Sei-i Tai-Shōgun* (Generalissimo) upon him, and thus publicly confirm the position which he himself had already attained and held by sheer force of arms. Taught by the bitter experiences of the House of Taira, in order to placate the priesthood, and thus win the support of the spiritual leaders of the people, Yoritomo also upheld the principle of adoring the Gods (*Kami*) and Buddhas, and urged the building and upkeep of religious edifices.

It was essentially a military age; the science of jurisprudence was as yet practically unknown, and, generally speaking, the laws were very simple. They did not deal with the needs of all sections of the nation, but were more calculated to support the existing system of government than anything else. Treason, rebellion, misprisions, contempts, and murder "were (naturally under the circumstances) dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the law"; but to judge from the condition of society at that time, the provisions of the civil laws relating to the facts of ordinary social life were few and inadequate, and custom must have chiefly guided the proceedings and determinations of judicial

officials in the majority of cases. It is true that the *Taihô* Statutes (the Era of *Taihô* commenced in 701 and ended in 704) had not been actually repealed, but they had been modified and changed, and had, moreover, been subjected to religious (Buddhistic) influence; and when the Imperial power declined, they became practically a dead letter within the jurisdiction of the *Shôgun*, although more or less operative within the jurisdiction of the Central Government.

In the first year of Jō-ei (貞永 1232) Hōjō Yasutoki, the *Shikken* (Prime Minister of the Shôgun's Government), taking advantage of the diminution of the power of the Imperial Court, and of the proportionate theoretical increase of that of the Shōgunate, decided to improve the laws and institutions of the country so far as lay in his power; and in the same year he caused the compilation of a Code of fifty-one Articles which was known as the *Go-sei-bai-Shiki-moku* (御成敗式目), "August Code of Justice."*

* The *Code of Taihō* was compiled by Fujiwara-no-Fuhito by Imperial command, in the first year of *Taihō* (A.D. 701) in the reign of the Emperor Mommu. Subsequently, in the reign of the Emperor Genshō in the 2nd year of Yōrō (A.D. 718) the same personage was commanded by the Sovereign to remodel the Code. Thus modified, it was called the Code of *Yōrō* (*Yōrō-Ryō*). The original *Taihō* Code had for its basis the laws of the T'ang Dynasty of China, but these latter had been modified so as to conform to the established customs and usages of Japan. When it was revised in A. D. 718, it was

This work was based upon the customs and usuages of the administrative systems of the Central Government and the Shōgunate, but the whole was tempered with a certain amount of logical theory which more or less modified the conventional order of things and adapted the laws to prevailing conditions. The Code distinctly commanded the people to reverence the Gods and Buddhas, and to repair their shrines and temples; also to venerate and honour the Imperial Dynasty. It defined the office and functions of *Shugo* (守護, High Constables) and *Jitô* (地頭, Superintendents of great estates) and warned them against any improper abuse of their powers; established rules for the guidance of retainers in the matter of inheritance and distribution of their estates, and laid down the proper procedure to be observed in the filing and conduct of lawsuits. Later on the *Go-sei-bai-Shikimoku* was often supplemented by additional articles as the necessity arose. These additional regulations were known as "Supplementary Shikimoku" (*Shikimoku Tsui-ka*). This Code of laws was binding upon all officials holding office under the *Shôgunate*, and governed everything

divided into ten volumes dealing with governmental and ceremonial matters, and ten volumes connected with miscel aneous, civil and criminal matters. As is usual in the case of ancient law, the Code provided punishments of great severity; bu', strange to say, it not only contained provisions for remission and commutation, but for appeal to a higher authority.

within the jurisdiction of the *Bakufu*; but the Imperial Court and its Provincial offices were at first exempt from its operation, because "it was neither definitely intended nor explicitly provided that persons under the direct control of the Central Government should be brought within the purview of the Kamakura Statutes, or that the Codes and regulations of the former Government should be replaced by those of the latter. Nevertheless, such extension of the scope of the Shōgunate laws, and such restriction of the operation of the Central Government, did naturally follow as a consequence of the decay of the Imperial authority, and the development of feudal sway, so that finally the legislative enactments of the Kamakura Administration came to be enforced throughout the whole Empire."

RULES OF INHERITANCE.— Succession to the headship of a House was, as now, known as "*Katoku Sôzoku*"; and in the case of the *Bakufu's* retainers, persons succeeding to the headship of a House, and acquiring estate as heirs-at-law, were required to obtain the recognition of the Government before their title obtained legal validity.

During the Kamakura era, the doctrine of primogeniture became firmly established, as both law and custom decreed that the eldest son should be the heir, succeed to his father's name, and inherit the family

estate by right of representation. Such son was known both by the name of "*Katoku*" (family leader) and by that of "*Sôryô*" (general director). The latter word was more frequently and appropriately applied to the head of the main stock of a family who was entitled to supervise all the branch families, and upon whom fell the duty of encouraging, supporting, and (when necessary) pacifying such branch families. In case of the latter being in arrear in the payment of taxes, the *Sôryô* was bound to urge payment; and, in addition to all these duties, he was expected, in his capacity of its "*danna*" (financial patron of a Buddhist temple), to plan the prosperity of the temple in which were preserved the mortuary tablets (*i-hai*) of his ancestors, and in the burying ground of which his ancestral graves lay. As the oldest son had similar duties towards his family, it is very likely that this was the reason why he also was called "*Sôryô*." While the theory of the law was that the legitimate eldest son inherited the family estate, when a person had no male issue by his lawful wife he could appoint his son by his concubine, or some entire outsider, as heir.

To prevent abuses which arose in consequence of wholesale adoption, the *Bakufu* forbade certain persons from being adopted and thus inheriting land which carried

certain privileges with it. For instance, persons who followed the professions of medicine or fortune-telling were not permitted to abandon such professions and be adopted by *samurai* with a view to inheriting estates. Neither were persons who had been given special posts as retainers, on account of their knowledge of certain arts, allowed to adopt lads who possessed no skill in such arts. All these measures were taken to prevent special arts from being lost.

HUSBAND AND WIFE.—There were no fixed rules regarding marriage, but universal custom supplied the omissions of positive law. The possessions of a wife were not necessarily incorporated and consolidated into those of the husband, therefore she could possess them separately during her coverture. Consequently, if the possessions of a husband were confiscated for felony, such confiscation did not affect the separate property held by the wife; but to this rule there were certain exceptions, for in grave cases (like treason, murder, and robbery with violence) the wife's estate could also be confiscated.

A husband could divorce his wife when and as he pleased, and if a male child was born after the divorce the husband had a title to its custody. If the child happened to be a female, then the wife was its natural and legal custodian.

If the divorce was the result of a grave offence on the part of the wife, she was not allowed to lay claim to the estate of her former husband, even in virtue of a written agreement to that effect which she might hold. On the other hand, the husband was not allowed to deprive his divorced wife of any property (which he had already transferred to her) if she could prove that she had been divorced without any fault on her part. When a wife (or a concubine), after being divorced, contracted a second alliance, her estate could be confiscated.

Disposal of Estates.— Everybody was allowed to distribute their property as they pleased. It was in a man's power to give or bequeath it, not only to his eldest son, but even to his sons by concubines, his daughters, or other relatives. Property which was not disposed of while the owner was still living, the *Bakufu* was bound to dispose of with due care, but in case there were none to receive it, the property was to be contributed to *Shintō* shrines or Buddhist temples. Such steps were called *Betsu On-Hakarai* (special arrangement).

Verifications of the transfer of property had to be made by means of Deeds of Transfer, and transfers of land required the approval of the Government. Transfers of land by a father or grandfather

could be afterwards cancelled, but not those by a brother, uncle or nephew.

When a widow who had an estate transferred to her by her former husband contracted a second marriage, the estate was to be confiscated and given to a son of her former husband. In case there was no such son, the estate was to be disposed of by the Government by *Betsu On-hakari* (special arrangement).

When a woman who was not really a member of the family, but belonged to the class of *Kwairai-shi* (puppet showers), *Shirabyôshi* (dancers) or *Joro* (courtesans) got an estate from a man by stratagems, such estate could be confiscated if she did not remain single and loyal to her former husband to the very last.

SALE AND PURCHASE.—The disposal of an estate was in the power of the owner, but a *samurai* was not allowed to sell any land which had been given to him by his lord (*Go-on-chi*); but he was entitled to sell whatever he had inherited from his ancestors. Later on a *samurai* was forbidden to sell to any person belonging to an inferior class even what he had inherited from his ancestors. To sell an estate it was requisite to have the approval of the *Jitô*, and to exchange written documents. Such documents were called *Koken* (沽券) or *Kokyakujô* (沽却状), Deed of Sale. To such documents it was required to attach

Hana-oshi or *Kwa-ô* (a signature written in a distinctive style), and they had to be jointly signed by some outside persons as *Kuchi-ire* (introducer) or *Ukenin* (security).

Borrowing and Lending.—Loans could be contracted with or without interest. Interest was then colloquially called *Ashi*. A loan with interest was called *Nenki Moto-sen-Gaeshi* (年紀本錢返), and such interest was agreed upon by mutual consent. A loan without interest was called *Make-mono Dę-age* (負物出擧). The rate of interest was limited by law, the interest of *De-age-sen* (money lent) not being allowed to exceed fifty per cent. a year, and that of *De-age-ine* (rice lent) to exceed one hundred per cent. even for more than 480 days. In both cases it was forbidden to add interest to the principal. Bonds for payment with interest beyond the legal limit were void. When a period of ten years had passed by without taking any legal action for the payment of a loan, no lawsuits on that account would be accepted by the authorities.

During the *Kenchô* period (1249—1255) the people of Kamakura had come to refuse lending money without security. Such custom compelled borrowers to put their clothing or furniture in pawn, but as this afforded a scheme for thieves or robbers to borrow money on stolen goods, and not unfrequently gave rise to trouble between

the owner of the goods and the lender of the money, it was later ordered that persons proposing to lend money on things were first to make searching inquiries as to the names and abodes of the borrowers.

The term for a mortgage of land was limited to a period of twenty years, on the expiration of which the land was to pass into the hands of the money-lender, but the land of a *samurai* could not be forfeited to a mortgagee.

Sometimes men or maid-servants were given in pawn, but the term was limited to a period of ten years, at the expiration of which time the servants were at the mercy of the new master's will.

Library) also declined, but later was restored to its original state by Uesugi Norizane.

In Kyōto were many families who had their own family schools, among which those of *Meikei* (明經) of the Kiyowara, and *Myōhō* (明法) of the Nakahara family, were specially renowned; but these private institutions merely handed down certain knowledge from generation to generation, and were not open to students generally. Naturally, the craving for study gradually died out, some of the Emperors being half educated, and many of the highest nobles utterly illiterate.

As for the warriors, they, as a class, were eager to master the military arts, but considered book-learning as either something entirely beneath them or a study only suited to shaven-pated monks. It is said that among the five thousand Kamakura cavaliers who went to attack Kyōto in the time of the Shōkyū (1219) disturbance, there were among them only a few who could read the decree of the retired Emperor. Moral education was also left entirely to the discretion of the parents, who were at liberty to teach their children after their own fashion. Such being the position of affairs, the influence of learning upon the minds of the people in this dark age was extremely slight.

Religion.—As compared with ordinary

book learning, religion exercised a far more powerful influence on the mind of the general public. The religious feeling prevailing among the masses remained much the same as of old, and a misdirection of the recognition of supernatural power had bred a spirit of superstition which filled the minds of men with unreasoning fear of gods and devils. When Taira-no-Kiyomori made light of the gods, sent his messengers into the sacred precincts of the *Dai-jin-Gû* (temple of the Sun-goddess) of Ise, and imposed upon its priests the duty of providing rice for his soldiers, when he attacked the *On-jō-ji* monastery (*Mii-dera*) at Ishiba (near Otsu), and when he reduced the two temples of *Kōfuku-ji* and *Tōdai-ji* at Nara and massacred their truculent priests, the people looked at one another in consternation and said: "In a few short years that *Zemmon* (a lay-bonze), his sons and grandsons will assuredly be defeated and destroyed." Yoritomo, accepting the teachings of history as a warning, endeavoured to make amends for the disrespectful and impolitic conduct of Kiyomori. He not only bestowed additional estates upon the Imperial Shrines of Ise, but punished those who had taken part in injuring its priests; and in numerous edicts he declared that there was no spot of land within the entire Empire which did not in truth belong to the Shrines

of the Sun Goddess. The Government of Kamakura, as part of its fixed policy, repeatedly impressed upon the people that its guiding principle was to adore the Gods as well as the Buddhas, as was clearly expressed in the *Go-Seibai Shikimoku* (Code). The Taira family had for ages venerated the shrine of Itsukushima, in Aki, but after their downfall, and during the Minamoto supremacy, the Hachiman Shrine of Tsuru-ga-oka began to flourish, and this latter, being dedicated to the God of War, was much frequented by *samurai*.

Buddhism, notwithstanding the hold it had upon the affections of the people, failed to maintain its ancient dignity owing to the lax conduct of its priests, who had entirely forfeited the respect and confidence of their flocks. For priests of a serious religion to bear about trumpery tinselled *mikoshi* (sacred cars containing a sacred emblem), and chase through the streets of Kyōto waving *shingi* (divine sticks) appeared childish and undignified. Moreover, it was impossible for the people to retain their former respect towards the Buddhist ceremonial and symbolism when they often saw the Buddhist images cast down outside the temples and trodden under the mailed heels of *samurai*. It was also impossible to believe that the so-called "protection of Buddha" was anything but a hollow sham, when priests whom

they had been taught to reverence as "living Buddhas" were seen lying dead on the battle-fields, notwithstanding the coats of mail which they wore beneath their so-called "robes of patience" (*ninniku no koromo*).

Moreover, in that age of battle and turmoil, when civil society was utterly disorganized, the normal rules of moral obligations in a state of partial suspension, and men's attention completely absorbed in the arts of war, there were but few who had the leisure or inclination to investigate the abstruse principles of Buddhist esotericism, or to enter the penetralia of its profound doctrines and test its truth. Kōben, a priest of Togano-o, once said "*Were Buddhism a religion such as it is represented to be by the present generation of monks, it would be the worst in the whole world,*" and this was, indeed, the feeling of most good persons who regretted its decadence.

But an age of extreme decline and laxity often precedes one of great prosperity and enthusiastic revival. The deplorable condition of Buddhism, which had lasted from the end of the preceding era to the beginning of the present, prompted many priests to a sense of duty, and caused them to attempt to arouse the country from its religious degradation by preaching many new principles. These

worthy reformers, in view of the terrible immorality of the times, found it impossible to urge the people to accept such profound doctrines as "*Kwam-bō-Kwam-butsu*" (to contemplate the law and perceive the Buddha), or *Is-shin san-gwan* (one thought and three kinds of meditation) of the *Tendai* sect, which was far too recondite for popular comprehension. They recognized that reformation must be a work of time, and that national taste and depravity could not be changed all at once, so they now endeavoured to explain Buddhism in such a way as to show the people how to procure its blessings in an easy manner.

About the time of the Emperor Takakura, a priest named Genkū (also known as Hōnen Shōnin) founded the Jōdō sect, exhorting the people not to rely on their own power, but simply to utter the sounds of the six characters *Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu* (Namu Mitâbhâya - Buddhâya," We humbly adore Thee, Eternal Buddha!") In other words, Genkū taught them to give up self-effort, and to rely upon an unseen and divine power, declaring that this was the easiest manner of attaining perfect illumination. Such was the principle known as *Sen-shu-nen-butsu* (Praying earnestly to Buddha with a whole and undivided heart). As both the ritual and paraphernalia of the Jōdō

sect were impressive, and the liturgies touching in the extreme and couched in words calculated to arouse the deepest emotions of the human heart, many people, of all classes and ranks, were induced to embrace Genkū's doctrine. Now this principle of *sen-shu-nen-butsu* was by no means an invention of this period, for it had been already practiced since the time when, about the *Tenreki* era (946-957), a priest named Kuya had established a reading room in Kyōto, where he taught both priests and people the prayer of *Shō-myō-sam-mai* (devoting oneself to prayer and meditation and fervently reciting the name of Buddha). Later on, in the times of the Emperors Toba and Sutoku, a priest named Ryōnin (also called *Shō-ō-Taishi*), the founder of the *Yū-zū-nem-butsu* sect, declaring that he had received an inspiration from Amida *Nyōrai*, spread the doctrine of *Yū-zū nem-butsu*, and many nobles and officials, headed by Toba Jōkō (Father of the Emperor) himself, are said to have been converted to the doctrines of the sect. Genkū, a priest belonging to the same sect, founded the *Jōdō* sect, and the principle of *sen-shu-nem-butsu* rapidly gained ground. One of Genkū's disciples, a priest named Han-en (also called Shinran *Shō-nin*) made this principle manifest more than ever before, and founded the *Jōdo-Shinshū*. He exhorted the people not to

pay attention to any other service, but to pray simply and solely to Amida to enable them to attain the state of *jō-butsu* (to enter Nirvana). Moreover, he permitted the priests to marry and to eat fish and flesh, and all this liberality encouraged many priests, as well as innumerable laymen, to join his sect. After these two great sects had gained ground, some zealots went so far as to throw away their *Hokekyō* (*Saddharma-Pundarîka-Sûtra*—Lotus of the True Law) into the river, on the ground that all Buddhist images or sacred books—excepting the "Three *Mida*" (*Amitâbha, Avalôkitês Vara* and *Mahasthâma*) and "*Sambu-Kyō*" (larger *Amitâyus-sûtra*, smaller *Amitâyus-sûtra*, and *Amitâyus dhyâna-sûtra*)—were useless, while others even dared to use the heads of the stone images of Jizō (*Kshitigarbha*) as pestles for their pepper mortars.

The adherents of the *Tendai* sect, greatly enraged by all this, obtained the help of the government and got both Genkū and Han-en banished into distant provinces. But there was something in the air which favoured the doctrine which inculcated perpetual prayer, so the persecution only served to increase the zeal and strengthen the union of the reformers. Genkū and Han-en secured pardon and liberty, and, ere long, they found many believers even among the nobility and members of the

Imperial family. No outward pressure being of any avail, the only thing left for the *Tendai* sect to do was to combat the ever-increasing influence of their opponents by establishing a creed more calculated to attract and captivate the hearts of men than that of their rival churches. At length, in the time of the Emperor Go-Fukakusa, there arose a talented priest from among the adherents of the *Tendai*. This priest was the famous Nichiren. Great as he was, Nichiren found it impossible to make headway with the doctrine of *Kwan-nen Kwam-pō* (the law of meditation) in that degenerate age, so he, too, preached to the people the importance of faith. He even went so far beyond the limits of the *Tendai* sect as to make the five characters *Myō-hō-ren-ge-Kyō*" (The *Sûtra* of the Lotus of the Good Law) the keynote of faith, and attributed to it such marvellous efficacy that, said he, even one who had no knowledge of its meaning, if he would only say the words "*Namu-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* (We humbly adore Thee, oh Sutra of the Lotus of the Good Law!) would receive the same benefit as one who thoroughly comprehended its purport—just like a child at the breast who receives its mother's milk without discriminating as to taste and yet draws the same benefit and nourishment from the lacteal flow as one capable of discrimination. This monk went down to

Kamakura and there founded the *Hokké* (*Nichiren*) sect, and by roundly abusing and strongly denouncing all other sects strengthened the faith in his own. He encouraged his followers to repeat the *daimoku* (formula) of his sect in lusty tones, and, to make the doctrine more attractive, he hit upon the modern Salvation Army's tactics, and appealed to men through display and noise. His drums and quasi-military forms appealed to the tastes of the rough and ready Kamakura warriors far more than the methods of other reformers, and, as the number of his military adherents increased, the sound of drums could be heard far and wide among the hills and dales of the *Shōgun's* city. Nichirō, one of Nichiren's disciples, went to the Kwantō, and Nichizō, another disciple, to Kyōto and the Kinai, and spread the doctrine of the sect in their respective spheres of work. Nichiren, however, was a politician as well as a religious teacher, and he soon published a work discussing questions of State policy, and criticized the Hōjō family with more candour than caution. His somewhat intemperate attacks and caustic epigrams brought a veritable hornet's nest about his head, leading to persecution and two successive sentences of banishment; but, in the end, his enthusiasm triumphed, and he was allowed to resume his pro-

pagandism. Behind the mere symbolism of the Nichiren sect (which is really only intended for the unthinking part of humanity) lies a sub-strata of solid truth and pure reason, explaining the abstract laws of contemplation and practice which form the functions of the human soul, even though the subject may not be actually conscious of their action on his brain. Nichiren taught psychism, and the doctrine that every man can attune himself to nature in such a manner as to control all things, tranquilize his mind, and attain enlightenment; and when his teachings are examined apart from their ceremonial settings and vulgar shams, they will be found to contain a doctrine based upon a very high conception of the universality of a Supreme Being.

Nichiren's adherents increased year by year.

Dōgyō, another famous priest, who was a contemporary of Nichiren, also preached to the people, urging them to have faith in another and not to rely on their own power.

The practice of *Yū-zū-nembutsu* (circulation of remembering Buddha), which had apparently been abandoned by the people for a long time after the death of the priest Ryō-nin, was thus revived, and from this time the *Dai-nembutsū-shū* sect began to gain ground. This tendency of the public

to believe in salvation by faith gave rise to another sect called the *Ji-shū*. The *Ji-shū* was founded by the priest Chishin (also called Ippen Shōnin), who was also contemporary with Nichiren. This priest sprang from the *Jōdo-shū*, and travelled round the country preaching and praying to Buddha after the fashion of *Kūya-Shōnin*. The principle he held was this: Though the service of praying to Buddha may suit this degenerate age, as is maintained by the Jōdo-shū, it is altogether a mistake to think it a final and infallible means of salvation, for such is unable to destroy all self. A person can only be saved by praying to Buddha, casting aside all distinction between self and others, for such is the real meaning of *ta-riki hon-gwan*, "relying on another power and securing salvation."

About this time there was another sect of Buddhism which was very popular among the upper classes of Kyōto and Kamakura. This was no other than the *Zen-shû*. The origin of the *Zen-shû* is traced back to Gi-kū (義空), a *T'ang* priest who came over to this country in the reign of the Emperor Saga, and who, staying in the western *In* of *Tōji*, taught the people the doctrine of *Zen*. The Emperor Saga often received him in audience, and the Empress built for him the temple of *Dan-rin-ji* in Saga. But it ended there,

and practically died out for a time. In the days of the Emperor Gotoba, a priest named Eisai went to China, then under the *S'ung* Dynasty, where he learned the Zen doctrine, and on his return spread it in this country. This was the beginning of the *Rinzai-shū*. In the second year of Ken-nin (1202) Minamoto Yori-ie built for him the *Ken-nin-ji* temple. Later, Eisai came to Kamakura and succeeded in persuading the Hōjō family to believe in his doctrine. The Hōjō built for him the *Jufuku-ji* temple, and after that the *Zen-shû* began to gain ground among the Kamakura warriors. Sometime afterwards, Dōgen, one of Eisai's disciples, returned from China and proclaimed the Sōdō-shū. Hōjō Tokiyori, the then *Shikken*, received from him "*botsatsu-kai*" (ordination). The same *Shikken* also invited a *S'ung* priest named Dōryū (道隆) from China, and built for him the *Kenchô-ji* temple. His son Tokimune invited another *S'ung* priest named Sogen (祖元), and for him built the *Engaku-ji* temple. The Emperor Kameyama also believed in the *Zen* doctrine, and by donating the *Zen-rin-kyû*, built the *Nanzen-ji* temple. Fujiwara Michi-ie, the then *Sesshō*, built for a priest named Ben-en (also called Sei-ichi-koku-shi), who had been in China, the *Tōfuku-ji* temple. After this time the *Zen-shû* prospered through the Kamakura and Muromachi ages. The chief feature of this sect was to inspire its followers directly with

the "*heart mark*" of Buddha by "device and diligent practice," and not to teach its doctrines by words or letters as did other sects. Such practices were called *Fu-ryu-mon-ji* (不立文字) *Kyo-ge-betsu-den*, (教外別傳, special transmission independent of a common teaching, and not established on any letter or word), *Jiki-shi-nin-shin* (直指人心, introspection and intuition), *Kenshô-jô-butsu*, (見性成佛, to see the nature of the Buddha). Now, the *Nenbutsu-shû* maintains the principle that there is an "easy way of securing salvation through the power of another," while the *Zen-shû* insists upon the necessity of acquiring it by one's own power and hard work. Both run to extremes, but both agree in rejecting as useless all formal ceremonies such as "Incantations and lengthy prayers," and seek only after ease of mind. This indifference to outward appearances caused the arts of Buddhist sculpturing and painting to wane, for naturally the ornaments of the temples and other luxuries were not so much admired and esteemed as of old, and severity, simplicity, and plainness thus became the general fashion of the age.

V.

ART, INDUSTRY, COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE IN THE KAMAKURA AGE.

Any attempt to compile a thoroughly satisfactory and comprehensive account of the industrial history of the Kamakura age is foiled at the very outset by many difficulties. One of the chief of these is the fact that the materials furnished by historians and writers generally are meagre in the extreme, for all ancient authorities have treated the subject most perfunctorily or dismissed it in a few short and contemptuous sentences. When it is remembered that in days of yore traders were regarded as "despicable creatures with paltry aims and low moral standards," it is hardly surprising that native authors paid but scant attention to recording com-

mercial matters. This marked tendency to look down upon members of the merchant class as persons to be merely tolerated, but not admitted to the ranks of respectable subjects, was probably brought about owing to the unique constitution of the Japanese social fabric, the underlying spirit which led to the organization of the peculiar feudal system, and "the predominance of aristocratic militarism and of the artistic spirit." Under these circumstances it is only possible to present a brief sketch of the prevailing economic conditions, based upon the very fragmentary references found scattered here and there in various books; but as half a loaf is better than no bread at all, it is hoped that even this will prove interesting to students of Japanese medieval institutions.

As is stated elsewhere, Kamakura in the twelfth century was a small insignificant village inhabited only by a few farmers and fishermen; but just as the advent of Commodore Perry changed Yokohama from a little hamlet into the foremost seaport of Japan, so the rise to power of Minamoto Yoritomo transformed Kamakura into a great City which rivalled the Imperial Capital at Kyōto and became the seat of a military government that dictated the entire policy of the Empire for nearly one hundred and fifty years.

At the beginning of the Kamakura age, both the agricultural industry and commerce of Japan must have been suffering acutely from the shocks and jars of continuous and blighting wars, but, upon the establishment of the *Bakufu*, the Kamakura Government, with the cordial approval of the Imperial Court in Kyōto, adopted measures calculated to ameliorate the condition of the masses, and by relieving the people of many of the heavy burdens they had been forced to bear, rescued the rank and file of the nation from a state of the utmost exhaustion. The *Bakufu*, moreover, caused much barren land to be reclaimed and put under cultivation, and facilitated and improved the irrigation of fields throughout the country.

No sooner had Yoritomo established himself in Kamakura, than a host of merchants and artizans poured into the new city, opening stores and markets hither and thither until every available spot was occupied and the place became the centre of trade and industry; thus leading to a marked decline in the commercial prosperity of Kyōto. Not only did the merchants of Kamakura deal in domestic manufactures, but also in various articles imported from China and Korea, and this led to a considerable shipping trade in course of time. In the 3rd year of *Kempô* (1215) Hōjō Yoshitoki fixed the

number of merchants allowed to trade in the City, and in the 2nd year of *Hôji* (1248) Hôjô Tokiyori appears to have issued a certain number of permits authorizing the holders thereof to carry on business, thus creating virtual monopoly; but prior to this traders had been prohibited from opening stores in any and every place they might choose to select. In the 3rd year of *Kenchô* (1251) it was decreed that no shop should be opened except in one special quarter of the City, and in the 2nd year of *Bun-ei* (1265) the government set aside nine places in which persons were at liberty to carry on trade. That Kamakura must at one time have become a thickly populated place, is shown by the fact that more than twenty-three thousand people are said to have been crushed to death in the City upon the occasion of the great earthquake of the 1st year of *Ei-nin* (1293).

As trade developed in Kamakura, the government gradually passed sumptuary laws and framed innumerable rules calculated to restrict and control traders. It also appointed a high official — whose title was *Chi-Bugyô* — to act as a kind of general superintendent or overseer of matters relative to commerce *etcetera*. This official is supposed to have occupied a position similar to that of the modern *Shi-Chô* (Mayor), but he exercised far

wider powers and appears to have had authority to interfere with everybody and everything.

The various important trades were roughly divided into various classes, and special departments were organized for each in the market-places. There was a Silk Department (*Kinu-za*), a Charcoal Department (*Sumi-za*), a Department for selling round boxes and other articles made from their strips of *hinoki* wood (*Himono-za*), a Fuel Department (*Senda-zumi-za*), a Horse-dealers' Department (*Bashô-za*), and a Fish and Salt Department (*Ai-mono za*). These seven Departments were known as the *Shichi-za*.

There were some smaller retail dealers who had no special departments reserved for them, and these men hawked their goods from door to door. These were called either "*te-uri*" ("*hand-sellers*") or "*furi-uri*" ("shaking-sellers"), both of which terms are equivalent to the modern "*bote-furi*" (hawker or peddler). They carried their wares on their backs, were armed with swords for self-defence, and almost invariably carried umbrellas to protect them from rain and sun.

In thriving commercial cities and towns there existed a class of money-lenders known by the name of *Kari-age*, whose business was to lend money at an exorbitant rate of interest. All kinds of usury laws were

passed for the purpose of controlling these men, but, needless to say, they could not but become a dead letter when both borrower and lender were mutually interested in evading their provisions. In the 2nd year of *Karoku* (1226) it was forbidden to accept a higher rate of interest than 50 per cent. per annum, and it was further decreed that any agreement providing for interest in excess of the legal rate should be considered null and void. In the era of *Rekinin* (1238), in the reign of the Emperor Shijō, it would seem that some merchants had managed to secure official positions through the influence of impecunious clients, for an Ordinance was issued prohibiting Governors of provinces from appointing as their deputies merchants to whom they owed money. Apparently some of these officials were deeply in debt, and to settle their difficulties were in the habit of selling offices to their creditors. In this era there seemed to be a mania for contracting debt, without reflecting that a day of reckoning must come, and the result of this wholesale borrowing of money was that the rich waxed richer, while the poor grew poorer and poorer. Naturally the borrowers fell into great straits, and their desperate position bred a spirit tending to repudiation. The Government, whose sympathy was with the borrowers, finally decreed that no suits would be entertained for the

recovery of interest. This happened in the 3rd year of *Ei-nin* (1295), in the reign of the Emperor Fushimi. The attempt to prevent usury was entirely unsuccessful, and the law proved nugatory in actual practice. It is difficult to say what the average rate of interest was in the Kamakura age, but judging from old notes and bonds which are still extant (and allowing for the variable periods named therein) it would seem that interest varied from five to eight per centum per month. These old instruments were generally written in Chinese and Japanese script mixed (*Kana-majiri*), and most of them do not bear the name of a guarantor. In the 7th year of Kenchō (1255) it was ordained that no loans should be contracted without giving and taking security, so persons who wanted to borrow money were accustomed to pledge their clothes or other movables as collateral. As it was then found that many stolen articles were pledged by thieves, and that this resulted in frequent lawsuits between the rightful owners and the pledgees, the authorities ordered pawnbrokers to keep accurate records relative to their transactions and to note down the names and domiciles of the pledgers. With regard to pledges of land, the period of duration was fixed at twenty years, and if the loan was not paid at the end of that term the land became the property of the pledgee. Later

on it was forbidden to foreclose upon and acquire the domains of members of the military class under a deed of pledge. Moreover, in cases where persons of low class, who were not military retainers, held pledges of land in respect to the estates of knights, the debtor was to control such land, the creditor's interest being restricted to the right to the fruits and profits so long as the debt remained unpaid; and after the principal sum had been settled the owner's rights in the property vested completely in him. This check on the conscience of a certain class of mortgagees was practically akin to that interposition of equity to supply the deficiencies of the English Common Law known as "equity of redemption," and was originally introduced to secure borrowors from unjust foreclosure as well as to prevent lands held on consideration of military service from falling into the hands of what were suggestively termed "*gehai*" or "*shimo no tomogara*" (*profanum vulgus*). Pledges of land were very numerous, but extant documents vary greatly in their terms and conditions periods of redemption, rate of interest, etc. The deeds were generally written in Japanese *kana* mixed with Chinese ideographs, and sometimes bore the names of witnesses (*shōnin*) or intermediaries (*kuchi-ire-nin*). The rates of interest charged appear to have

varied from sixty to ninety-six per centum per annum, which fact is in itself enough to show how precarious was the position of persons acting as capitalists.

During the Kamakura era an institution known as *kae-sen* (change-money) was introduced into commercial circles and greatly facilitated the settlement of accounts between merchants. This word *kae-sen* was the generic name for all transactions relating to bills of exchange and remittances by means of instruments of credit. Under the new system, a person could procure bills drawn on merchants in distant provinces, which were duly honoured upon the bearer proving his identity by exhibiting the counterpart and writing a specimen signature for comparison. By this means merchants were enabled to remit money safely in the course of their trading operations, and before long the system became firmly rooted. It would appear that these bills of exchange were copied from those of China, in which country they came into existence in the reign of the Emperor Hsien Tsung (憲宗) of the Tung (唐) dynasty. This method of remittance had been naturally developed in China owing to the great size of the country and the immense distances which separated commercial centres; and, in the course of trade, the system was gradually adopted by the Japanese merchants, who learnt to

fully appreciate its manifest advantages.

In those early days there were no regular inns, and in consequence of this inconvenient state of things a class of merchants known as *Toi-maru* (wholesale commission merchants) sprang into existence. These men received consignments of goods from various provinces and sold them in the markets, and when the owners of goods travelled on business they were in the habit of putting up at the houses of these *toi-maru*.

PRICES.—In the third year of *Kenkyū* (1192) the price of a piece of dyed cloth was 20 *mon**; one *shaku* (15 inches) of good silk from Hachijō 20 *mon*; one *tan* (10¾ yards) of hempen cloth dyed with indigo 20 *mon*; one *tan* (10¾ yards) of dark blue cloth without crests dyed upon it 2 *mon*; a pair of *setta* (sandals with leather soles) 6 *mon*. In the following year (1193), for the purpose of determining the prices of commodities, a decree was issued in which the price of one *koku* (5 bushels) of rice was fixed at one *kwammon*†. After that, in the 4th year of *Kenchō* (1252), the *Bakufu*, distressed by the rise in the prices of daily necessaries, caused by a severe famine, enacted laws governing transactions (*bai-bai-hô*), by

* A small perforated coin or cash, one thousand of which went to the *Kwan*

† One thousand *mon* in cash, or one *ryo*, which nominally equals one yen. Of course the purchasing power of the money was infinitely greater than in modern times.

which the prices of commodities were determined. *Saké* brewing was reduced to a specified minimum so as to prevent a useless consumption of rice required for food. The people were also forbidden to urge others to buy goods at low prices, or to beat down legitimate prices, and it was further forbidden to urge others to buy or sell against their will.

In the 5th year of *Kenchô* (1253), owing to the great influx of officials and soldiers, the price of commodities rose abnormally and great inconvenience was experienced owing to the absence of a fixed system of weights and measures. Thereupon Hōjō Tokimune settled standards and prices for various articles—for instance, one hundred *mon* for one horse-load of charcoal or three bundles of firewood, and fifty *mon* for one horse-load of roofing rushes, straw, or rice-bran. In the 6th year of *Kenchô* (1254) prices again rose and were again regulated, and the same thing happened in the 4th year of *Kôan* (1281) and the 2nd year of *Gentoku* (1330).

In the 4th year of *Kôan* (1281), when the Mongols attempted to invade Japan, domestic trade was seriously affected owing to the fact that the shipping trade with the South-west was paralysed, and the city was placed under martial law.

Currency.—Coinage having been discontinued for a considerable time, Sung money

was now imported from China to make up the deficiency of currency; but in the 4th year of Kenkyū (1193) the use of Sung money was forbidden, because the Japanese coins that had been cast in *Kwampyô* (889-897), *Engi* (901-922), and Tentoku (957-960) were badly worn and could not be exchanged at par with Chinese currency. In the 3rd year of *Kôchô* (1263) the use of *kiri-sen* (broken, clipped, or otherwise defaced coins) was also forbidden. In the third year of *Karoku* (1227) the use of cloth used as money (called "*Jumpu*" 准布) was prohibited, and copper coins chiefly employed. After that, the use of *kirisen* was stopped for a second time, but the supply of copper coin not being sufficient to meet the demand, Hōjō Tokimune sent merchants to China (then under the Sung dynasty) in the 2nd year of *Kenji* (1276), in the reign of the Emperor Go-Uda, with some gold, ordering them to exchange it for copper money. The deficiency of currency was thus made up. In the beginning of *Kemmu* (1334-1337) copper coins were cast bearing the inscription 乾坤通寶 (*Ken-kon tsû-hô*) or "Current treasure of the Universe," and paper money was issued which passed current equally with the metal tokens. This seems to have been the first paper money issued in Japan. It was at this period also that the term

hiki (匹‡) came to be used in calculating money as an auxiliary numeral, one *kwan* (貫§) corresponding to 100 "*hiki.*" For instance, in quoting the price of rice a person would say—75 *koku* of rice costs 8,000 *hiki.*

Weights and Measures.—These remained pretty much as in the preceding age, but no definite system existed, and measures varied considerably according to locality. It would appear as if the different barons used varying weights and measures within their respective jurisdictions, because in ancient deeds granting estates, and in agreements of sale, it became customary to annex a sketch of the measure-box locally used for measuring rice—rice, of course, being the standard of value in old Japan. It is stated as a sober fact that in the era of *Ei-nin* (1293-1298), in the days of the Emperor Fushimi, eleven kinds of *shô* (a measure of 18 litres) were employed in measuring oil used in the lamps of the Daibutsu Hall of the Tōdai-ji Temple at Nara, and if so many varying measures were used in one temple, it can be well imagined what confusion existed throughout the country at large in respect to weights and measures.

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‡ "*A foot.*" This was applied to 10 cash.

§ "*Strung-together*" This is applied to ten strings of money strung together

PRODUCTS AND MANUFACTURES.—The principal articles of sale, and the names of the places from whence they emanated are as follows:—

PLACE.	PRODUCT.
IN KYŌTO AND THE PROVINCES OF THE KINAI:—	
Otoneri	*Aya* (figured silk stuff).
Rokujō	Dyed cloth.
Iguma	Dark blue cloth.
Uji	Cloth.
Omiya	Silk.
Karasumaru ..	Eboshi (ceremonial hats).
Tejima	Straw mats.
Saga	Earthenware.
Nara	Swords.
Ohara	Firewood.
Ono	Charcoal.
Oshiba	*Mayuzumi* (ink for painting eyebrows).
Shirodono ...	Fans.
Niinaji	*Mayu-dzukuri* (eye-brow pencils).
Anekōji	Needles.
Kurama	*Ki-no-me-dzuke* (pickled buds of the *sansho*).
Daigo	*Dzukin* (hood-like caps).
Higashi-yama...	Turnips.
Nishiyama ...	*Tokoro-ten* (a seaweed).
Yodo	Carp.
Kawachi ...	Pans.
Idzumi	Vinegar.
Kaga	Silk.
Tamba	*Seigo* (silk cloth).
Mino	Jōhō silk.
Owari	Hachijō silk.
Shinano	Cloth.
Hitachi	Tsumugi (rough silk cloth).
Kōdzuke	Cotton wool.
Musashi	Stirrups.
Sado	Shoes.
Ise	*Kiribu*.

Place.	Product.
Iyo	*Sudare* (bamboo blinds.)
Sanuki	*Enza* and *danshi* (kinds of paper.)
Harima	*Sugihara* (a kind of paper.)
Bizen	Swords.
Kōya	Razors.
Dewa	Bridle-bits.
Kai	Ponies.
Nagato	Cows and oxen.
Oshiū	Gold.
Bitchiū	Iron
Echigo	Salted salmon.
Oki	Ear-shells.
Suō	Mackerel.
Omi	*Funa* (fish).
Tosa	Timber.
Noto	Rice-pots.
Wakasa	*Shi-i* (*quercus cuspidata*).
Dazaifu	Chestnuts.
Uga	*Kombu* (edible seaweed).
Matsuura	Sardines.
Oshiū	Lacquer.
Chikugo	Cereals.
Yezo	Salmon.

The Government of the City of Kamakura appears to have been vested in two high officials known respectively as *Hokendan Bugyô* and *Chi-Bugyô*. From about the middle of the Kamakura era these offices were held by two members of the *Mandokoro* or Central Administration, in addition to their other duties. These officials co-operated in the control of Municipal affairs and were so closely connected in their functions that finally their official titles became fused into one term including both—*Hoko-Bugyô*. The real duties of the

Hokendan Bugyô were those of a Police Magistrate, while those of the *Chi-Bugyô* were those of a modern Mayor. The former detected and punished crime, and sat in judgment on civil cases, while the latter attended to municipal affairs pure and simple.

On the whole, Kamakura seems to have been fairly well governed, and while famine, war, and the attempted invasion of Kublai Khan, did serious damage to the cause of commerce, trade gradually developed. The Hōjō family has been terribly abused by Imperialist writers, but the historical truth appears to be that their general policy was prudent and their adminstration judicious, and so far as is ascertainable they seem to have done their best to foster trade and industry. The embryo of a police-force was established, regulations put in force calculated to protect life and property, and some provision made for appealing against improper legal decisions. Taxes were levied upon the people in various forms, but in return for this the communications of the country were improved and rendered safer, and many illegitimate local impositions and barrier tolls removed. Taxes took the form of personal service, levies of provisions, and payments of money, but gradually the Hōjō family collected their taxes in money in lieu of service and commodities. The

first record we have of personal service being exacted is in *Kôchô* (1261-1264) when the then *Shôgun* visited Kyōto. Taxes on rice-fields amounted to one hundred *mon* per *tan* (300 *tsubo*), and the service of one horse and two men on each five *tan* (1500 *tsubo*). The tax on ordinary upland fields was half that levied on the rice-fields. In the event of any person evading the service, it had to be performed by the people of his village.

Sword-making.—Immediately following the battle-age of *Gem-pei* (Minamoto and Taira) factions, people naturally coveted reliable weapons, so the art of sword-making made great progress. Nagafune, Awadaguchi, Rai, Namihira Kaji, Hakata Kaji, and other makers were well known throughout the country for their swords, and attained great fame as sword-smiths.

Pottery.—The art of making porcelain was first introduced into this country by an Owari man named Katō Kagemasa (also known as Toshiro) who, in the reign of the Emperor Go-Horikawa (1222-1232), went to China and acquired that valuable art. On his return, he settled at Seto-mura in Owari, and began making porcelain. His productions were most ingenious, and during several generations the family produced many celebrated workmen, and so great was the influence exercised on Japanese Keramics by the achievement of

the Seto potters, that *Seto-mono* (wares of Seto) came to be used—as it still is—as a generic term for Keramic productions. In the reign of the Emperor Go-uda (1275-1287), a man in the province of Omi invented a ware known as "*Shigara-Yaki*", About the same time, *Bizen-yaki* was made in Bizen.

The art of lacquering, as compared with the preceeding age, had somewhat retrograded, owing to the impoverishment of many Kyōto nobles, who had been the best patrons of makers of such luxurious articles. It was but natural that the showy and brilliant "*Hirabun-makie*," adorned as it was with gold and silver, did not suit the simple and plain tastes of the stern Kamakura-warriors; it was in this age that "*Kamakura-bori*" (wood carved to show the figures in relief, which is then covered with cloth and lacquered) was invented, which, with all its simplicity, has in it a certain charm and beauty. The *Mokuran-bori* was a modification of *Kamakura-bori*; *Echizen-bori* and *Odawara-bori* also belonged to the same class of work. In first year of *Sho-ô* (1288) in the reign of the Emperor Fushimi (1288-1298), the priests of the *Negoro-ji* temple, at Nishi-Sakamoto, had their tables, cups, dishes, and the like, lacquered in red or black. This lacquer was called *Negoro-nuri* and its Kyōto imitation was called *Kyô-nenuri*.

About the age of *Genkô* (1331-1333) the *Konrinji-nuri* was invented.

ARCHITECTURE.—Architecture did not make any noteworthy progress during the Kamakura age owing to the fact that the *Bakufu*, which made frugality one of its chief principles, did not undertake the construction of many costly or substantial official buildings. Frequent occurrence of fire and robbery, however, caused the invention of mud plastered storehouses (*dozô*) for the use of merchants.

GLYPTIC ART.—This developed owing to the frequent construction and repair of great Buddhist temples at the beginning of the Kamakura age, and this naturally increased the demand for sculptured Buddhist idols, carved altars, tables, panels, etc. Among other renowned sculptors of the age, were Naritomo (成朝), Kōkei (康慶), Unkei (運慶), Jō-kaku (定覚), and Kwaikei (快慶), and among these Unkei and Kwaikei are acknowledged to have been the greatest. Later on, this art of sculpturing Buddist images greatly declined, owing to a falling off in the construction of new Buddhist temples. Some great temples, indeed, were subsequently built, but such sects as the *Zenshû* or *Nembutsu-shû* affected to despise outward show and ornament in their temples, so Japanese glyptic art never recovered its ancient position, although the engraving of such small things as *Tsuba* (sword-

guards) or *Menuki* (sword-hilt ornaments) afterwards attained remarkable excellence.

Drawing and Painting.—About the end of the preceding age, there lived many famous artists such as Fujiwara-no-Motomitsu, Fujiwara Takayoshi, and Toba-no-Sōjō Kakuyū, while in the Kamakura age Tosa Mitsunaga, Sumiyoshi Keion, Fujiwara Nobuzane and others lived and flourished. These artists chose for their subjects all the common objects of every day life, and never allowed themselves to be fettered within narrow or conventional limits. The productions at the beginning of this age were characterized by a bold and vigorous style, and were not in the least influenced by the weakness and effeminancy of those produced at the end of the *Heian* (782-1158) era. The house of Tosa was founded by Motomitsu, became known in the time of Takayoshi, and rose to prominence in the time of Mitsunaga. This house produced many famous artists, who for a long period maintained their illustrious family name. The house of Takuma was best known as a line of Buddhist painters. At the end of this age lived Takuma Eiga, who, for the first time in history, blended the Chinese style of drawing with that of the pure Japanese school. Such a tendency at this time foretold the future ascendency of the Chinese style in the Muromachi age (1334-

1567) and it is supposed to have been caused by the paramount influence of the *Zen-shū* (one of the Buddhist sects).

self-indulgence, and a standard of high living, than they become excessively fond of ostentation and pretence. This breeds a fickle and insincere disposition among all classes, which finally results in the decadence of the native and perhaps even culminates in national disintegration and extinction.

The inhabitants of the eight provinces to the east of the Hakone mountains—collectively known as the Kwantō,— being far removed from the Imperial City of the West, had not as yet been influenced by the pomp and extravagance of Kyōto, and they therefore retained their plainness of living and simplicity of heart. The morals of the Kyōto people remained at the same low ebb as had characterized them in the previous age, but the rise of the feudal system and its concomitant militarianism could not but effect them to some extent. Even the effeminate scions of the Fujiwara family were influenced by the example of the haughty warriors by whom they were surrounded. This brought about a desire to adopt the profession of arms and study military science, for the young men began to aspire to wear armour, to wield the sword, and to lead bodies of troops into the field. Their martial ardour now impelled them to emulate the spirit of the true warrior class and adopt the principles of "*bushi-dō*," and it will be interesting for

us to inquire what the sentiments of the warriors of that age were.

From the remotest days of antiquity, the most remarkable and distinguishing characteristic of the Japanese people has been their warlike spirit, which from the earliest periods of their national existence has been sedulously cultivated and encouraged. Anciently two families — the Mononobe and Otomo — were allotted, as their hereditary office, the duty of guarding the gates of the Imperial palace. These families, through generation after generation, handed down the spirit of loyalty, teaching their children the arts of war, purifying their aspirations, and urging upon them that under no circumstances must they ever disgrace the family name. Otomo-no-Yakamochi (a great poet and warrior who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Kwammu, 782-805) sang as a warning to his family:—

In the august age
Of gods and goddesses,
The far-off doors
Of Heaven were opened;
And on Takachiho's peak
The God descended.
With the brave sons of Okume,
Armed with bow and arrow;
Ever leading his army,
Marching through mountain and river,
Crushing rocks and the roots of trees,
Conquering the whole land,
Worshipping all the gods,
Pacifying the people,

Sweeping and purifying
This isle of *Akitsu-shima*
Then built he a palace Imperial,
With pillars great and mighty,
In Unebi of Kashiwabara,
In the province of Yamato,
Where he governed
All under the Heavens.
The " line of the sun "
Shall last for ages eternal
While ever faithful and loyal
Shall the Okume remain
Striving with heart and soul
For the sake of their master
The Emperor august.
From age to age,
Shall the story be told,
By sire to son,
Of the spotless name
Won by their fathers,
As an example
Bright and good
To they who hear it.
Children of the Otomo,
Beware ye to guard the name
Given to thee by thy fathers!
Oh, ye brave sons of the Otomo!

In another song he sang:—

The great ancestors of Otomo
Their name was Okume.
They swore an oath and said,
" If we go over the seas,
The waves may entomb our corpses;
If we go into the mountains,
The sod may cover our remains;
But where'er we go,
We will perish by our Emperor's side,
And ne'er turn back to seek for life.
The unsullied name they won of old,
Has been handed down to us, their children.
The families of the Otomo and Saegi
They say are the greatest of the fathers

Who pledged themselves to their Emperor.
So take a bow in thy hands,
Gird a sword in thy belt,
And morning and evening
Guard ye well the gates of the palace.
Hark ye to the words of the Emperor!
'Except thee We have none to guard Us.'"

These songs (which are difficult to translate) show that the spirit of loyalty is an immemorial heritage of the Japanese race, which has been so ingrained in the course of centuries that it has taken firm hold upon the minds and hearts of all until it has become a general characteristic of the nation, and the Imperial name a veritable fetish to conjure with. Such had been the universal sentiment of the warriors in the olden time, but in the *Heian* period (794-1186) the *samurai* of Kyōto and the surrounding five provinces (*Go Kinai*) had already lost much of their ancient spirit, owing to the enervating influences of the prevailing taste for empty show and idle luxury. In the eastern provinces, however, partly owing to their valour, and partly also to the fact that they led simpler and more strenuous lives, the military classes retained their soldier-like instincts and love of fighting. "We may be struck by arrows on our foreheads," said they, "but never on our backs," and when, in the reign of the Emperor Uda, the bandits from Shiragi (a part of Korea) at-

tacked the island of Tsushima, Fumimuro Yoshitomo, the Governor of the island, addressed his men, saying:—"Prizes will be awarded to those who are shot on the forehead; but those who are wounded in the back will be slain." In the war of the *Go-San-nen* (later three years war—1088-1091) Minamoto Yoshiye prepared separate seats for the brave and the cowardly, thus stimulating the courage of his troops. The *samurai*, irrespective of whether they occupied the position of officers or were members of the rank and file, considered it a burning disgrace to show their backs to the enemy, were keenly alive to any imputation cast on their honour, and feverishly anxious to cover their family names with glory. They thought it utterly dishonourable for a *samurai* to survive his lord if the latter were in peril, or not to save another from danger at the risk of his own life. Their own dishonour they believed to be the dishonour of parents, family, house, and all connected with them. This intense sensitiveness prevented even the humblest *samurai* from surviving any serious disgrace, and this again led the warriors to value their lives but lightly when their good name and honour were at stake; and for anyone to allege that a *samurai* had fled in fear from an enemy was an insult so deadly that it could only be wiped out by blood. Especially after

the Taira and Minamoto clans had distinguished themselves by military exploits, this brave warlike spirit was fostered and nurtured by both the rival factions and most earnestly infused among their troops. Thus the natural qualities of the *samurai* had been brought out by careful education, and by this time *bushidō* had attained to a singular degree of development. The feudal history of no other country can hardly furnish us with a parallel example of the peculiar chivalrous relations which existed between lord and vassal, general and soldier, and between the various *samurai*. The code of ethics governing these relations was known as *chūgi-no-michi* (the way of loyalty) or *bushidō* (the way of the warrior), and a *samurai* who did not act in conformity with its principles was considered as no true *samurai*, but a *fukaku-mono* (a culpably negligent fellow), or a *hito-kattai* (leprous fellow). When a man had once earned such an unenviable reputation, it was well-nigh impossible to retrieve his name, his disgrace remaining even after death, and following him to the grave. Wealth or poverty made no difference to the disgraced *samurai*, and Society frowned so sternly upon him that he became a by-word of reproach among his fellows, and lost all caste and countenance. On the other hand, when a *samurai* acted the part

of a Bayard, and performed his duty to the full in an exemplary manner, not only his friends but his enemies would never hesitate to praise him with the utmost generosity. Such being the practice of the warrior classes, men descended from illustrious families were so proud of their ancestors that on the field of battle, when even a moment was precious to them, they would narrate to the enemy, in a kind of chant, the history of their house and the splendid achievements of their forefathers. This is known in Japanese as *Uji-bumi wo yomu* (to read one's family record).

The Taira family, influenced by the effeminate Fujiwaras with whom they were associated for a considerable time, lost much of their primitive *samurai* spirit; yet in the battle of Yashima or Dan-no-ura, they shouted to each other, saying, "We must die, one and all, in this battle, and leave our good name to future ages. Let us never allow ourselves to be laughed at for cowardice by those eastern fellows." The Kwantō men had been developing their warlike spirit and practising military arts for many years. A contemporary writer has praised their valour and skill in war in these words:—"Their ponderous bows are *San-nin-bari* [a bow which cannot be bent by less than three persons] or *Go-nin-bari* [not less

than five]; their quivers (which match these bows) hold fourteen or fifteen bundles of arrows. They are very quick in shooting, and each arrow kills or wounds two or three persons, the impact being so powerful as to pierce two or three thicknesses of armour at a time; and they never fail to hit their mark. Every Daimyō has at least twenty or thirty of such archers, and even the owner of a small barren estate has two or three. Their horses are very excellent, for they are carefully selected while as yet in pasture, and then trained after their own peculiar fashion. With five or ten of such excellent animals each, they go out hunting deer or foxes and gallop up and down mountains and forests. Trained in these wild methods, they are all splendid horsemen who know how to ride but never how to fall. It is the habit of the *Bandō-musha* (*Kwantō-bushi*) that, in the field of battle, if a father be slain, the son will not retire, or if a son be killed, the father will not stop, but, stepping over their dead, they will fight to a man." This passage well describes a phase of their life, but while their hearts were as hard as iron as fighters, their lives were by no means wanting in poetic sentiment, but, on the contrary, their mutual friendships often revealed great sweetness and gentleness of character. When Yoritomo raised an army against

the Taira, his enemy, Oba Kagechika, requested Shibuya Shigekuni to take as captives the wives and children of Sasaki Sadatsuna and his brothers, who had taken sides with the Minamoto leader. But Shigekuni refused the request and said "I have given them an allowance, for we had a long-standing promise. Now still faithful to their old affinity, they have taken sides with Yoritomo. I do not wish to make their wives and children captives when they have acted so chivalrously." Kagechika recognized the conclusive force of this argument and gave up his project forthwith. On the defeat of Yoritomo in the battle of Ishibashi-yama, this man, Shigekuni, again saved the brothers by hiding them in his fire-proof warehouse. Thus was a *samurai* loyal and true to his old friends.

It was this class of *samurai* that had assembled under and sworn fealty to Yoritomo. Yoritomo, who had observed the result of general effeminacy in the case of the Taira, was ever careful to cultivate their warlike spirit, and adopt a severe military regimen. He therefore assiduously promoted such military exercises as *Kasa-kake*, *Yabusame*, or *Inu-oi-mono* with the parties of Takeda, Ogasawara, and others, and often went a-hunting to Nasu-no or Fuji-no. At the same time he endeavoured to improve the

habits and manners of his *samurai*, and admonished them against behaving themselves in a rough and vulgar manner. Mean and cowardly conduct was especially prohibited, while punctiliousness in the fulfilment of agreements was as strictly ordered. When Sasaki Sadashige fought with some mountain priests, and owing to the latter's accusation was sentenced to banishment, Yoritomo was greatly grieved over the matter and caused a letter to be sent to his (Sadashige's) father, Sasaki Sadatsuna, in which he warned all young *samurai* in the words:—

"Now that the whole country has been brought under the control of Kamakura Dono (Yoritomo himself) and hereby is protected, each and every person (even those whose possessions are hardly large enough to stick the point of a gimlet in, as well as those who possess great estates aggregating one or two hundred *chō*) is required to sacrifice his life, when necessary for the sake of his lord, by way of recompense. His life, therefore, is not his own, but his lord's. This being so, he must take care of himself, be patient, and not act rashly or carelessly; if the enemy is weak, he must not look down upon him with contempt, must not act in an excited manner, but must plan to do everything decently and in order. Envy, hatred

and malice often cause great trouble, but the men with whom your son fought were not worthy *samurai* at all. They were mere humble priests. His own quick temper has brought this calamity upon himself in connection with ignobie persons. If a man is so reckless with his life, how can he reward his lord in the day of necessity? An act like this is to be regarded as rather an act of cowardice."

Such were Yoritomo's moral instructions. He wanted all his men to be willing to sacrifice their lives for his cause, and, by way of encouraging them, bestowed upon *samurai* whose valour far excelled their fellows, honourable titles such as *Nippon-busô-no-Yumitori* or *Nippon-busô-no-yûshi* (both meaning "A warrior unrivalled in the whole of Japan"); and to receive such a praise from him was valued far more highly by a *bushi* than to receive the grant of a great domain.

The *samurai* of those days, in their eagerness to be loyal to their respective lords, were apt to disregard the dignity of the Emperor, and Oba Kageyoshi once said:—"While in the army we are bound to obey the order of the Shōgun, but not the decree of the Emperor," whereas Yoritomo, who often expressed his high regard for the Imperial House, is said to have once forbidden a priest named Chōgen to call him *Kimi* (lord), for, he said

to the priest, the word *Kimi* should only be applied to the Emperor and not be loosely used. Even the Hōjō family, whose audacity went to the extent of banishing an Emperor, often expressed their veneration for the Imperial House.

The daily exercise of the *samurai* of those days consisted of *Yabusame*, *Kasakake*, *Ushi-oi-mono*, *Inu-oi-mono*, *Kasaka*, *Marumono-asobi*, wrestling, etc. The opening ceremony of the *Yumi-ba* (archery ground) of the *Bakufu*, which was held at the beginning of each New Year, was participated in by expert archers and horsemen, and it was regarded as a great honour for a *samurai* to be selected to take part in these tournaments. At the beginning of the latter half of this age there was a time when *Kamakura-bushi* began to devote themselves to art and literature, and neglected their military exercises, but Hōjō Tokiyori denounced this tendency very severely and regulated the matter. The *Bushidō* spirit was therefore preserved throughout this age, and at the downfall of Kamakura, when Hōjō Takatoki committed suicide, several hundred of his hereditary retainers are said to have killed themselves and followed their master even into another world.

there were only a few fishermen's cottages scattered here and there in the shadow of the hills, and that they were about all worth mentioning. In the sixth year of *Kôhei* (1063), Minamoto Yoriyoshi, the governor of Iyo, was appointed to the office of "*Chinjufu-Shō-gun*" (head officer of a local government) and passed through this place on his way to Mutsu, when he stopped here, and having been especially desirous to offer up certain prayers, built a shrine dedicated to the worship of the Hachiman of Iwashimizu. This was the origin of the Tsuru-ga-oka Hachiman. Some years afterwards, he was appointed governor of Sagami, and, on coming to Kamakura married the daughter of Taira-no-Naokata, who bore him a son who was named Yoshi-ie. From this time forward this locality became an hereditary estate of the Minamoto family. In the fourth year of Jishō (1180) Minamoto Yoritomo raised an army against the Taira, but was defeated at the battle of Ishibashi-yama and was forced to fly to the province of Awa. While staying in the last named place, he was advised by Chiba Tsunetane to remove his headquarters to Kamakura on the ground that, not only was the place well protected by nature from attack, but it also had been closely related to the Minamoto family for many years. On his removal to Kamakura, which took place in the same year,

he transferred the shrine of the Tsuruga-oka Hachiman from Yui-ga-hama to Okura-yama, and in the first year of *Juei* (1182) straightened the old and crooked road which led from the temple to Yui-ga-hama, thus facilitating the path for travellers who came to worship at the Hachiman Shrine. He also built a residence for himself at Okura and lived there. The barons of the Kwantō, as they gradually yielded to his power, also came and lived here and the latter were followed by numerous traders who built markets, opened stores, and laid out streets; so Kamakura soon practically became the capital of all the eastern provinces, as was stated in a short poem (*uta*) which ran:—

"*Out of so many counties* of *Adzumaji* (eastern road)
How comes it about,
That Kamakura alone began to prosper?"

The Kyōto people who came to Kamakura and saw the fleets of vessels casting anchor in the harbour of Yui-ga-hama declared that it resembled the bay of Otsu, and those who saw the streets lined with beautiful houses compared it to the town of Oyodo. The red lacquered picket fences of the Tsuruga-oka Shrine shone in the moonlight, while the snow-white "*Gohei*" (strips of white paper emblematic of cloth offerings) fluttered in the breeze. The residence of the Shōgun, though plainly built, was still the palace

of a great Japanese ruler; lofty and beautiful, it stood in its spacious courtyard, paved with stones and surrounded by vermilion fences, its roof towering up into the heavens, and the very cool tint of its pale green "*Misu*" (fine bamboo blinds) seemed emblematic of the peaceful happiness of the place.

At the foot of the southern hill, stood the *Ô-mi-dō* (built in memory of Minamoto Yoshitomo) in the neighbourhood of which, after the steep rocks were leveled, a new "*Dōjō*" (Buddhist reading room) was opened, near which many "*Zen*" priests inhabited cottages built in rows. At the foot of the eastern hill was the Ni-kai-dō, the great phoenix-shaped tiles on the roof of which shone in the sun, and the sound of whose bells reverberated over hill and dale in the morning frosts. At the beach of Yu-i was a great statue of Amida which, during the *En-ō* (1239) era, had been built by a Tōtōmi priest, named Jōkō, with the contributions he had collected from all classes of people. The statue was 80 feet in height, and the temple which enshrined it was a twelve-storied building. After the *Zen-shû* had gained many converts in this city, the *Jukufu-ji* temple was first built in Ogi-ga-yatsu, and this was followed by the construction of other great temples such as the Kenchō-ji of Kobukuro-zaka and the Engaku-ji of

Yama-no-uchi. By this time the city of Kyōto was not quite what it had been in the halcyon days of the Fujiwara family, and it is highly probable that the Prince Hisa-akira was greatly astonished upon his arrival at Kamakura, where he had been invited in the second year of Shō-ō (1289), by its beauty and splendour rivalling even Kyōto itself, whereas he had expected to find nothing but an out-of-the-way and insignificant town.

The city of Kamakura was governed by a "*Hokendan-bugyô*" and a "*Ji-bugyô*" both of whom belonged to the *Mandokoro*. The duty of the "*Hokendan-bugyô*" was to patrol the "*ho*," inquire into wrongs and judge them, while the "*Ji-bugyô*" dealt with the matters regarding roads, houses, trade, etc. The word "*ho*" (保) signified a group of inhabited houses. These two kinds of "*bugyô*" were inclusively termed "*hoho-bugyô*." In the third year of *Kempô* (1215), the number of various classes of traders in Kamakura was fixed, and a sharp line of demarcation drawn between *samurai* and the other inhabitants. In the first year of *Ninji* (1240) sentries were posted at every street corner, where they kept fires burning throughout the night for the prevention of robbery, which had increased as the city prospered. In the third year of *Kwangen* (1245) "Five rules of the street" (*Shigai*

no go-soku) were issued, which required the people (1) to repair the roads, (2) forbade them to narrow the streets by extending the eaves of their houses, or (3) by opening shops, (4) to build houses over ditches, and (5) to walk about at night except for special reasons. It was also ordered that every man should keep torches in his house, so that, in case such occurences as robbery, murder, night attack, etc., should happen he might light them and assist in capturing the offenders; also that the names of good-for-nothing rogues and loafers should be notified to the authorities, so that they might be sent into the country to be employed in agriculture. In the third year of *Kenchō* (1251), the limits of the business town were fixed, and merchants were forbidden to open shops beyond such limits. Later, in the second year of *Bun-ei* (1265), nine streets were set apart as places for trade, and in these places it was forbidden to dig up the roads and build ordinary dwelling houses. Some of the nine places are O-machi, Ko-machi, Uo-machi, Koku-machi, the place below Musashi-ōji, Sujikae-bashi, and Okura-tsūji.

Prosperous as it was, Kamakura was by no means a safe place to live in, for, being situated near the sea, when the waves were high, the houses near the shore were in con-

stant peril of being washed away; being windy, frequent fires often reduced a great number of beautiful residences into ashes; being surrounded by rocky hills, when rainy weather lasted for a long period, hills crumbled down, rocks gave way, and many persons were crushed to death. Also being near to the Fuji volcanic system, frequent shocks of earthquake did great damage, and especially in the great earthquake shock of the first year of *Einin* (1293), hills crumbled, houses fell, and the total loss of life is said to have reached the extraordinary number of more than 23,000 souls!

PROVINCIAL COMMUNICATIONS: The removal of the political centre from Kyōto to Kamakura greatly enhanced the prosperity of the eastern coast of the country, owing to the increased communication between these two places. It took about seven days for the postmen to go from the one to the other, while ordinary travellers spent 13 or 14 days on the journey. The traveller from Kyōto to Kamakura would start upon his long pilgrimage at Awada-guchi, and turning southward along the Hori-michi, reach the *Sekisho* (barrier gate) of Osaka-yama, which constituted the boundary line between Yamashiro and Omi. After passing the *Sekisho* he would come to Shinomiya-gawara, Otsu-no-ura, Uchide-no-hama,

and Awazu-no-hara, successively; then to the celebrated "*Seta-no-nagahashi* (long bridge of Seta), on which he would view and enjoy the beautiful scenery of the lake on the left, and that of the mountains on the right. Then he would go through the towns of Noji, Shinowara, Kagami-no-shuku, and Mabuchi-no-sato. Beyond the last named place was the *Chōkwō-ji* temple —better known by the name of *Mu-saku-ji*. On the farther side of Kasawara was the forest of Oiso, where the wearied traveller would drink from the celebrated well of *Same-ga-i* and forget for a while the heat of the summer day. Then he would come to Kashiwabara, Fuwa-no-sekiya of Mino, Kasanui-no-eki and to the river Sunomata which formed the boundary line between Mino and Owari spanned by the *Uki-hashi* (floating bridge). Then the towns of Kuroda, Ichi-no-miya, Geko, Kayatsu, Furuwatari, would follow. Beyond the town of Furuwatari was the temple of Atsuta where, even in those early days, the old grand trees, time-worn, red lacquered fences, and similar solemn and venerable sights, would inspire the traveller with a feeling of respect not unmingled with awe. Then he would pass by the beach of Yobitsugi which would be followed by Narumigata, Crossing over Futamura-yama, he would enter the province of Mikawa, where

he would pass through the towns of Chirifu, Yatsu-hashi, Yahagi-no-shuku successively. Crossing over the river Yahagi, Mount Miyaji, and the ascent of Akasaka, he would come to the plain of Motono where no mountains nor even hills could be seen—only a vast expanse of level land. Being so open, extensive, and destitute of land-marks, Hōjō Yasutoki had planted willow trees along the road so that the travellers might not lose their way. Passing by the town of Toyohashi, and crossing Kōshi-yama, he would reach the province of Tōtōmi. On arriving at the town of Hashimoto, which faces the sea on the south and the lake on the north, he would enjoy the beautiful scenery of the promontory jutting far out into the sea and gracefully embroidered with ever-green pine trees. Crossing over the bridge of Hamana, and passing through the town of Ikeda, he would come to the ferry of Tenryū-gawa, where the stream was deep and the current rapid, and where many a life was lost with the boats when the volume of water increased in times of flood. Landing on the other side of the river which was near Kokufu of Mitsuke, he would begin to climb the ascent from the valley of Sayo-no-naka-yama. On the summit of the ascent was the shrine of *Koto-no-mama-sha*, and at the foot was the town of Kikugawa. He would have no trouble in

crossing the river O-i (which forms the boundary of Tōtōmi and Suruga) on an ordinary day, but when the floods were out would find it impossible. Passing through the towns of Fujieda and Okabe, and crossing over Uzuno-yama he would reach the town of Tegoshi. Resuming his journey, he would cross the river Warashina, pass by the Ejiri-no-ura, and stop at Kiyomigaseki for a while to enjoy the grand views of the boundless ocean on the right, as well as those of the endless chain of the mountains on the left. Passing by the towns of Yui and Kambara, and the river Fuji, he would come across the beautiful scenery of Ukishima-ga-hara, on the north of which stands Fujiyama, and by which is a long lake extending from east to west, immediately followed by Sembonmatsu-bara. Passing through the town of Kuruma-gaeshi and crossing over the river Kise, he would arrive at Mishima, the capital of Izu, where he would worship the Mishima Myōjin. Then he would cross over the steep ascent of the Hakone range and enter the province of Sagami. Here some travellers would take the course passing through Yumoto to Sakaragawa, while some others preferred the road leading from Kisegawa, *via* Take-no-shita, Ashigara-yama and Seki-no-shita to Sakara-gawa. Then passing by the beach of Oiso, and Koiso, and crossing

the Sagami-gawa, he would pass through Togami-ga-hara, cross the Katase-gawa, pass by the beach at Ejiri, across Hirayama of Koshigoe, travel along the Shichi-ri-ga-hama, and passing by Inamura-ga-saki would reach Yui-ga-hama, which was the entrance of Kamakura.

During the *Bunji* (1185-1189) era, Minamoto Yoritomo promulgated post-road regulations, and ordered the people, including even those belonging to great families and *Shōen*, of all the provinces west of Izu and Suruga up to Omi, to supply the *Bakufu's* messengers and "*Zasshiki*" on their way to Kyōto with horses and provision. He ordered Adachi Kiyotsune, the *Zasshiki* (official name) to superintend matters connected with the roads, hotels, and ferries on the public roads between Kamakura and Kyōto, and also ordered the *Shugo* of each province west of Suruga to post night-watches along the Kyōto-Kamakura road for the purpose of protecting travellers by turns. Beside this he established many new post towns, and these, with the old ones, were made to protect the official express running between Kyōto and Kamakura, as well as the carriers of the goods of the *Shōgunate*. Later, during the *Kempō* (1213-1218) era, it was ordered that every *Jitō* whose jurisdiction was situated on the bank of a river or seaside should provide

himself with ferry boats so as to remove obstacles thrown in the way of travellers, and that the expenses needed for that purpose should be defrayed from the rice grown in fields belonging to the government. But later, the *Jitō*, out of selfish motives, levied taxes on the towns adjoining such places and put them into their own pockets. Such evil practices troubled people in no small degree, and so much so that the system was abolished in the seventh year of *Kōan* (1284). Travellers mostly carried "*Hoshi-ii*" (rice cooked and then dried) with them, and slept in the fields as they did in the previous age. They also took oiled cloth, oiled skin, *kae-gawa*, and similar things with them for the purpose of covering themselves when they slept in the open. In summer days they had pieces of thin silk sewn on their hats and hung them around their bodies to protect them from the heat of the sun as well as from the bites of poisonous insects. Such were called "*Mushi-no-tarei*" (hanging clothes for guarding against insects). To sum up in a few words, though the roads had been greatly improved by this time they were still in a very imperfect condition, and on account of the numerous highwaymen infesting the highways, the difficulty of travelling in those days was very great.

VIII.

WEDDINGS, FUNERALS AND RELIGIOUS RITES.

MARRIAGE.—The old custom of leaving a wife at her father's house to be visited by the husband was still observed by some people, while others had already adopted the new mode of marriage, which consisted in taking the wife to the husband's house. The immoral customs of the higher classes remained the same as in the preceding ages. There were many married men who kept concubines in separate houses to which they habitually resorted. There were many fathers who committed adultery with their son's wives, and brothers with their brother's wives. Even in the Imperial palaces were found cases of fathers and sons loving the same woman, or courtiers engaging in licentious acts in

broad day-light. Some *bushi* married women merely for the purpose of creating relationship with their fathers, or as a means of guaranteeing their already established friendship by keeping their daughters as security, while others offered their daughters to their enemies in order to prove to the latter that they entertained no farther hostile feelings against them.

According to the laws of the *Bakufu* (*Shikimoku*), a retainer who had committed adultery with the wife of another, no matter whether the act was perpetrated with violence or with mutual consent, was punishable by the confiscation of his estate and dismissal from office. If such a person had no estate he was to be banished into a distant country, and the woman was similarly punished. A retainer who insulted a woman on the road by catching hold of her was not allowed to attend to his official duties for one hundred days by way of punishment. When such an offence was committed by a servant, he was to be punished by having one of his *bin* (the hair on the side of the head) shaved off; and if by a priest, the punishment was suitably modified.

In the fourth year of *Shô-ô* (1291) additional Articles were added to the laws.

Under these supplementary laws, in case of a headman of a village, or a common villager or the like, committing adultery

with another's wife, if such a fact had only been reported by rumour, he was not to be subjected to punishment. But if the fact had been alleged in Court by an accuser, and was substantiated by proofs, the offender was to be sentenced if a *nanushi* (head man of a village) to a fine of ten *kwammon*, and if a villager to five *kwammon*. The woman was also similarly punished.

BIRTH AND THE RITE OF *Gembuku* (ceremony of shaving the forelock and being recognized as an adult).—The custom of a woman wearing a *haraobi* (an abdominal band used by a pregnant woman) tied on by the hands of her husband in the fifth month of her pregnancy, appears to have originated about this time, and the alleged reason for this was to prevent the overgrowth of the child. In the month of parturition the pregnant woman was removed to another house. There also existed a curious custom of causing a *koshiki* (a vessel for steaming food in) to roll over the roof when the woman in child-bed suffered from stagnation of the placenta. If the child was a boy, the *koshiki* was rolled towards the south, and, if a girl, towards the north. The resemblance in pronunciation between the words "*koshi-ke*" (which means fluoralbus) and "*koshiki*" (which means a vessel) enables the phrase "To let down a *koshiki*" to be understood in two ways, and

this fact seems to have given rise to the curious idea. This custom had originally prevailed among the people of the lower classes only, but in later periods it came to be adopted even in the Imperial family. The Imperial family were in the habit of procuring the "*koshiki*" (vessel) to be used for this purpose from the village of Ohara, near Kyōto, on the ground that the word "*Ohara*" also meant a "great belly." The custom of scattering rice at the time of parturition prevailed as in the preceding age. The people also tied knots in a gloss-silk string corresponding in number to the sneezes the woman might make, and loudly recited *norito* (Shintō prayers) near her head.

On the first night of parturition a feast congratulatory of easy labour was held. On the third night, the ceremony of *susuri-gayu* (the ceremony of sipping rice gruel) was celebrated in order to congratulate the woman upon being so well as to be able to take rice gruel. The fifth, seventh, and ninth nights, and the fiftieth day, after parturition were also occasions of celebration, and so was the 111th day, when the ceremony called "*Ika-momoka*" was held. The *Mana* ceremony, which was intended to celebrate the first feeding of a child, was generally held when the child was three years old. The ceremony was also called "*Gyomi-iwai*" (fish-rejoicing) because fish

was served on this occasion. When a child was six or seven years old the ceremony of the first wearing of armour (*yoroi-ki-zome*) was celebrated.

The age to which a boy must attain before the ceremony of *gembuku* could be celebrated was not fixed, but generally it was held between the ages of six and fifteen years. Formerly, it was mostly celebrated at night, but from about this time it began to be held in the daytime as well. To a *bushi*, this ceremony of *gembuku* was of special importance. The man who put on the *kwan* (a hat or *eboshi*) was generally the head of the clan, or some distinguished member of the family who was regarded as the wisest and the most proficient in such matters of ceremony. Sometimes a general undertook the office for his favorite retainers. Such men were called "*Eboshi-oya*" (hat-parents—something like our "Godfathers") while the youths thus crowned were called "*Eboshi-go*" (hat-children). They were also called "*Keiyaku-oya*" (parents by agreement) and "*Keiyaku-go*" (sons by an agreement) as the effect of the ceremony was to create a relation by agreement almost similar to that of father and son. It was customary to bestow a name upon a son which included a part of his father's name. The eldest was mostly given a name ending with the word "*Tarō*," the

second "*Jirō*," the third "*Saburô*" the fourth "*Shirō*." There were many persons who usurped official names without due permission.

FUNERALS AND RELIGIOUS RITES FOR THE DEAD.—The people of those days avoided using the word "*Sōji*" (funerals), and called them by the names of "*Kitsuji*" (lucky matter), or "*Katsuji*" (victorious matter). The following is an outline of the funeral rites adopted by the Kyōto nobles. When a man died, his body was laid down with its head towards the north and covered with cloth. Near its head a folding screen or *kichō* was set up, lights were kindled and incense burnt. The lights were carefully watched so as not to let them go out until the funeral was over. In summer, a cup filled with good vinegar was placed near the nose of the corpse so as to prevent any bad odour. The watchers, both priests and others, attended the remains by turns, reciting prayers for the dead. The coffin was generally made of wood, was about 6 *shaku* and 3 *sun* long, 1 *shaku* and 8 *sun* wide, and 1 *shaku* and 6 *sun* high, and was covered with cloth. The bottom inside was thickly covered with earthenware reduced to powder and mixed with incense. This prevented the body from shifting as well as absorbed any secretions. Over the body was placed a covering called *nogusa-*

ginu, on which a "Mandala," representing the Buddhist Paradise, was painted. A quantity of sand was scattered over this, and then *gofū* (charms) or *o-kyō* (prayer books) belonging to the dead, were placed in the coffin. Then the coffin was left, with its head towards the north, until the day of the funeral.

Early in the morning of the day of the funeral, a rough kind of fence (*aragaki*) with a *tori-i* was erected around the *kisho*, and a *kisho-ya* was built. The *kisho-ya* was a place where the remains of the dead were cremated. It was about 14 *shaku* high, covering a space of 20 *shaku* square, in the centre of which was the furnace. The funerals were held at night, as in still more ancient times, and it was *de rigueur* for those who attended them to be dressed in white. After the Buddhist services were over, the coffin was placed on a wagon drawn by an ox, with the head of the body placed towards the back of the vehicle. The priests walked immediately in front of the wagon, while torch-bearers went ahead of the procession. Persons carrying little incense-burners went along with the coffin, which was followed by the friends and servants of the deceased, together with other mourners. After the coffin was carried out, the house was cleaned and the brooms used in the cleaning thrown away into rivers or in remote places, because they were considered

defiled. After cremation, the priests and relatives of the dead picked the bones out of the ashes, and, putting them in a vessel, took them to the *Sammaido*, where they were stored. On the way home from funerals, persons avoided coming back facing towards the *kimon* (north-east). On the occasion of a funeral everything which tended to associate the idea of repetition was strictly avoided, for the reason that such a mournful event ought never to be repeated. So careful were people, that when binding up the coffin care was taken not to make knots in ropes which turned the same way twice. After funerals, *kisho-ya*, *ara-gaki* and all were destroyed. A sepulchre was built, *sotoba* erected, pine trees planted at all sides, and ditches dug so as to surround the grave. The coffin for the remains of Fujiwara Hidehira, the great chief of Mutsu, who died about the beginning of this period, is said to have consisted of five boxes, of which all but the innermost were lacquered.

After funerals were over, fish or birds were set free, and prayers offered for the benefit of the dead. The custom of holding Buddhist services on the 49th day, and the first anniversary of the dead, had existed long before, but those held on the other anniversaries began about this time. On the 3rd and 13th anniversaries prayers were offered for the happiness of the dead.

The services were held in Buddhist temples, and offerings of ten kinds, or of *Issai-kyō* (a collection of all the sacred writings of Buddhism) were made. The friends and relatives of the dead attended the services, and the priests were given presents of swords, money, cattle, etc. The rich often erected tens of thousands of *sotoba* for the benefit of the dead, and this custom lasted throughout the following age (Muromachi age). A practice which was called "*Tama yobai*" was prevalent among the uneducated classes by which, as they believed, they came into contact with the spirits of the dead. There were also *miko* (sorceresses) who claimed that they could communicate with the spirits of the dead, and who pretended to perform necromancy by means of sounding bow-strings.

of the "*Hireita.*" The gates in vogue were "*Hira-mon,*" "*Kakubi-mon,*" or "*Agetsuchi-mon,*" "*Mune-mon*" not being used. "*Hira-mon*" was a kind of a gate with a roof flattened a little on the top. The "*Kabuki-mon*" had no roof but was composed simply of a timber placed horizontally across two upright posts. This latter style of gateway had originally been in use among people of the lower classes only, but now that frugality and simplicity became the fashion among the *bushi*, it was adopted by the higher classes. The "*Agetsuchi-mon*" (lit. "Earth on it" gate) appears to have derived its name from its original mode of construction, which was to place some earth on the top of the gate; but later on this practice of placing earth on the top was discontinued, and the name came to be applied to a peculiar style of gate building. The "*Yagura-mon*" was sometimes adopted. This was a gate which has a *seiro* (a kind of tower) built upon it. This kind of gate had originally been used only in fortresses, but later was erected even in the residences of the *bushi* for the purpose of self-protection. While using the "seiro" for the sake of convenience it is not intended to mean such strong structures as were erected at a later period under that name. All that is meant is a rough and plain tower simply built of boards. These kinds of gates were all

provided with strong doors, and a number of smaller gates were cut in the walls here and there. Inside of the front gate (*O-mon*) was another gate which went by the name of "*Heichû-mon*" (gate inside the fences). Inside of the *heichû-mon* was a "*Tôzamurai*," which was a hall entirely floored with boards where the guards were quartered or arms kept. Next to the "*Tôzamurai*" were the stables. Passing by the *Tôzamurai* one could reach the *chû-mon*. Beside the *chû-mon* was a place with a boarded floor and the *kutsu-nugi* (the place where the shoes were taken off). The hall next to these places was called "The hall of the *Chû-mon*." This hall was furnished with windows and lattice-work which in later ages were called the "Windows of *Jikken* (actual examination)." By passing the *chû-mon* one could reach the main building (*tonomo*), which was also called "*Kaku-den*." A visitor requesting admittance in front of the main building would soon be answered by a "*soja*" (usher) inside, who would subsequently escort him into the house. As to the residential portion of the average building, it did not differ very much from that of ordinary residence. It was furnished with "*chō-dai*" (a raised dais for distinguished persons), a "*nurigome*," an "*Irori-no-ma*," where a fire was made, a "*Zen-sho*," where the dining tables were kept, a "*Niedono*" where meats were

cooked, a "*Tsubone-beya*," used as a dwelling place for wives and concubines, some galleries or corridors, some small gardens (*senzai*), etc.

In the houses of the poorer class of *samurai* there were no "*chō-dai*" (raised seats), but using the "*Nuri-gome*" (fireproof rooms) as sleeping places they called them "*chō-dai*." The house were mostly roofed with shingles or thatched with rush. The residences of the rich were provided with *baba* (a ground for training horses or practising archery) and *Kemari-no-tsubo* (football grounds).

The *bushi*, speaking generally, were as simple in their manners as they were in nature at all periods, and especially was this so in the Kamakura age, when frugality and diligence were so assiduously encouraged by the *Bakufu*. The houses of *bushi*, therefore, were neither large nor elegant. Even the powerful Yoritomo had for the gate of his residence an *agetsuchi-mon* and *hireita* for its walls. The following story is told of Hōjō Yasutoki, *Shikken* of the Bakufu. The board fences of the residence of this wise ruler had fallen into decay and were looking very shabby, so some of his officers, anxious to win his favour, said to him:—"If your Excellency will simply give us orders to do so, we will consult among ourselves and build walls of earth for you." But he declined to

entertain this proposal saying:—"I appreciate the kindness of you all, but such an undertaking would naturally give trouble to the people if a great number of workmen are employed in the neighbourhood. If the fates were against me, even though my house were surrounded by walls of earth, I should be ruined, while, on the contrary, if they are for me, why should I need to fear?"

But, as time passed, the people gradually fell into luxurious habits, and the greatest attention was paid to the construction of houses, especially as regarded beauty and grandeur of appearance. The *Bakufu*, therefore, in the first year of Kōchō (1261), published an order prohibiting its retainers to build houses at a cost incompatible with their rank and fortune. Owing to this, and to other causes, the residences of *samurai* remained simple and unadorned for a considerable time. Even in the residence of a *Daimyô*, the master slept in the *hosodono*, his retainers inside the *chūmon*, while the servants enjoyed their nightly repose on the floor of the stables.

But towards the close of the Kamakura age, both the *Daimyô* and *shômyô* grew more and more extravagant in the way of living, and went so far as to compete with one another in their prodigality. By this time, the doctrines of the "*Zen*" sect had come to gain ground, especially among the

bushi, many of whom adopted the practice of "*Zazen*," and in consequence of this had their houses built after the model of *Zen-shū* temples. By this mode of construction the *chū-mon* was called "*Genkwan*," while they chose certain rooms in their houses to which they gave the name of "*Shoin*." Now the name "*Genkwan*" can never be appropriately given to a dwelling place. It is derived from the words of Rōshi (老子) "*Gen-no mata gen Shûmyô no mon*" (玄之又玄衆妙之門) and is by no means a correct name. The name of "*Shoin*" (reading-room) had originally been given by *Zenshû* priests to their study rooms. In ancient styles of architecture, the sitting room of a nobleman was made the front and back of the space traversed by the roof beam and was surrounded by a *hosodono* (corridor), which place in turn was surrounded by a kind of bamboo matting. The light of the sun was intercepted and prevented from entering by the *shitomi-gôshi* (lattice work that can be opened or closed by elevating or lowering it), and the chamber was made as dark and uncomfortable as it was inconvenient In order to remove these objectionable features in their buildings, the priests made the *harima* (the space traversed by the roof-beam) longer, and caused the *shoin* to project forward. They also abolished the *shitomi-gôshi* and adopted *akari-shôji* (paper shutters) for letting in

light, and at the same time the folding doors were replaced by sliding ones. Such was the construction of a *shoin*, and being very convenient in many respects it came to be generally adopted by the military classes.

Since the preceding period it had become the prevailing custom of the Kyōto nobles to build villas and lay out gardens. In the garden they constructed artificial hills, dug ponds, built fantastic rockeries, and caused rivulets to flow so as to imitate the natural physical aspects of a country. The art of gardening was thus caused to develop and made great strides in progress. At first the design of a garden was usually drawn by a painter, but later the priests originated the "Mode of Tate-ishi" (立石, rockery). It was also at this time (the *Ken-nin* era) that Gokyogoku Yoshitsune wrote his "*Suku-tei-ki*" (How they lay out gardens). His style was a mixture of the old "*Shinden* system," and of the rockery of the Buddhist priests, modified by the "Avoidance of certain directions" (方角禁忌) recommended by fortune tellers. His book treated of the construction of ponds, islands, waterfalls, brooks, lanes, rockeries, dry landscapes, etc. With regard to the formation of ponds, stork-shaped and tortoise-shaped ponds are mentioned, and as to islands, it described the construction of "*Yama-jima*"

(mountain island), "*No-jima*" (field island), "*Mori-shima*" (forest island), "*Iso-jima*" (coast island), "*Kumo-gata*" (cloud shaped), "*Kasumi-gata*" (mist shaped), "*Shuhama-gata*" (beach-shaped), "*Kata-nagare*" (One-sided current), "*Higata*" (Dried beach) "*Matsu-gawa*" (pine bark).

Treating of waterfalls it described how to form "*Muka-i-ochi*" (falling forward), "*Kata-ochi*" (falling on one side), "*Tsutai-ochi*" (falling along something), "*Hanare-ochi*" (falling separately), "*Ayatori*" (falling like *aya*), "*Nuno-ochi*" (falling like a cloth), "*ito-ochi*" (falling like a string), "*Kanase-ochi*" (falling in layers), *sayu-ochi* (falling on the left and the right), "*Yoko-ochi*" (falling athwart), etc. The brook which flowed from East to South and then to the West was considered as ordinary, and that which flowed from West to East as extraordinary. When there was no pond, but only a brook, a lane was marked out. On level ground with no hills nor lanes, rocks were set up, and a garden with no pond or brook, but only standing rocks, was called "*Kare-sansui*" (dry landscape). In "*Kare-sansui*" the garden was furnished with lanes, mimic villages, or the like, besides the standing rocks. There were many different styles for standing rocks, such as "like an ocean," "like a great river," "like a mountain and a river", "like marsh land", "like

reeds," etc. Even among the *bushi* of Kamakura there were some who had their gardens furnished with standing rocks. They also admired plants planted in flower pots. Walls and fences were many and various, such as *Kara-gaki*, *Suki-gaki*, *Shiba-gaki*, *Tsui-gaki*, *Egaki*, etc.

the *Tendai* sect prayers, for Yukinaga was a priest of Eizan. To the notes were given such names as *hiki-ku*, *go-ku*, etc. The following is an extract from the *Heiké-Monogatari*, describing the drowning of the late Emperor (the Emperor Antoku):—

"Nii-dono (the widow of Kiyomori) had long before expected this, and so, without showing the least sign of excitement, she put on a sombre-hued garment, tucked up the skirt of her trousers, took the Sacred Gem under her arm, girded the Sacred Sword on her waist, and carrying the child Emperor in her arms, came quietly out upon the gunwale of the boat, when she said: 'Though I am but a woman I will not suffer myself to be delivered into the enemy's hands, but I will escort the Emperor to the bottom of the sea. Let those who think likewise haste to follow me.' The Emperor was only eight years old, but looked much older. His person was so exceedingly handsome and beautiful that everything around him seemed brightened, and his long raven-black hair curled loosely down his back. 'Widow,' said he confusedly, 'where are you going to take me?' Upon this, Nii-dono burst into tears and said 'Don't you know it as yet? Your Majesty was born to be an Emperor by the merit of good and benevolent acts done in a former life, but owing to unlucky destiny your fate has come to an

end. Now, therefore, first face towards the East and bid farewell to the Great Shrine of Isé, and then turn to the West and say your prayers, asking Buddha for a reception in His "*Holy Land of the West.*" This world is called "*Zokusan Hendô,*" is small and petty as a grain of millet, and is full of cares and sorrows. Yonder, on the wave, is a beautiful city called "*Gokuraku Jodô,*" the Land of Perfect Bliss. It is thither that I am going to take you.' Thus comforted, young as he was, the child-Emperor shed tears, and joining his tiny hands together turned to the East and took leave of the Great Shrines of I-sé and the Shrine of Hachiman, and then, turning to the West, offered prayers to Buddha. This done, Nii-dono took him in her arms and comforted him, and saying, 'There is a beautiful city at the bottom of the sea,' threw herself overboard and sank in the waters of the ocean. Alas, how sorrowful it is that the merciless wind of Spring scatters the blooming flower! What a pity it is that the rough waves of the sea should swallow up the Imperial body. The Imperial palace is called '*Chōsei,*' which means long life, and its gate '*Furō,*' which means 'Never to get old,' but, notwithstanding all this, here was an Emperor turned into the drift of the bed of the ocean before he was ten! To speak of the matter of reward and punishment in

the case of this perfectly virtuous Emperor is sheer nonsense. It was as if the dragon above the clouds descended from on high and became a fish at the bottom of the sea!"

Dengaku (a muscial and dancing performance), which had originally only been popular among peasants, had now become an art, and was exclusively performed by Buddhist priests. In the course of time it was divided into two styles—old and new—and each vied with the other to show their respective skill, this competition resulting in mutual improvement. At last *dengaku* became so comprehensive as to include almost every branch of the arts of music and dancing. Of its performance the "*Nō* of Hōnen Shōnin," the "*Nō* of Ono-no-Komachi", the "*Nō* of Atsumori,' and the "*Nō* of a woman avenging herself upon the enemy" were representative of their respective branches. At last they went so far as to wear wigs and disguise themselves as women. Hōjō Takatoki was exceedingly fond of this kind of entertainment, and having summoned *dengaku* players in great numbers from all quarters of the country, placed them under the care of his generals, one under each general, and made them entertain guests with their performances upon festival occasions. When these players performed their parts with more than usual success, the spec-

tators, headed by Takatoki himself, often took off their garments and presented them to the players, and sometimes the hall was filled with piles of garments. The money thus wasted aggregated an enormous amount. *Sarugaku* (comic dancing) also prospered, and performances were often held in the presence of the Emperor and distinguished *bushi*. *Imayo* (ballads) also prevailed at the beginning of this period, and were sung by female dancers (*Shirabyoshi*). Later on an imitation of *Imayo*, which was called "*Enkyoku*," was performed at entertainments. It was first sung simply accompanied by a drumming of the hands or feet, but in later periods with dancing which was called "*Kusemai*," or, as it was called in the Muromachi (1334-1567) era, *O-atama*. Among the dances performed by the priestly classes was "*En-nen-mai*," a dance performed by a boy (holding a fan) to the accompaniment of a drum or the beating of time with the hands. Of the pieces belonging to this were "*toko-harai*," "*sengi*," "*haraitsuyu*," "*kariya*."

In the reign of the Emperor Gosaga, En-man, a *sarugaku* player from Yamato, composed a song consisting of sixteen chapters, and following the mode of dancing adopted by *En-nen-mai*, *Shirabyoshi*, and the like, and mixing with it *Kyoku-mai* and *Monogatari*, originated the "*Okina-*

mai," a new mode of dancing which was exclusively performed at *Shintô* festivals. This is what was called the "Nō of *Sarugaku*." Some of the sixteen chapters are "*Bashō*," "*Tōhoku*," "*Genji*," "*Kuyō*," "*Nishikigi*," etc. The dance known as "*Senshū-banzai*" prevailed as in the last period.

The people of those days, especially the Kyōto people, who were always distinguished from others by reason of their being exceedingly loquacious, were very fond of ridiculing others by taking advantage of their failures or divulging secrets; so many a lampoon was found posted on the walls of the Imperial palace or purposely dropped on the banks of the Kamo river. The gates and pillars of every great temple were covered with those writings, and all topics of conversation of the day soon became the subjects of anonymous poetry. Such practices were not limited to the people of the lower classes, but many nobles (of whom Kujō Koremichi was known to be one) took pleasure in this kind of mischief. It is said that at the close of the Tenkei (938-940) disturbance, when the head of Taira-no-Masakado, the great traitor, was exposed to public view, Fujiwara Sukesada composed a poem which ran: –*Masakado wa, komekami yori zo kirarekeru, Tawara Toda ga hakari-goto nite.*" ("Masakado has been cut on the *komekami*

[the temple of the forehead] by the stratagem of Tawara Toda." *Komekami* also means "chewing rice," and "*Tawara*" a bag for rice; hence the pun.)

In the case of Yoshitomo, whose head was likewise sent to Kyōto and exposed to public gaze, some one posted an *uta* (poem) on the wooden pole on which the head was stuck. The poem read:—"*Shimotsuke wa ki no kami ni koso nari ni kere, yoshi to mo mienu ake tsukasa kana.*" ("Shimotsuke has now become the top [*kami*] of the wood. The governor, red with blood, doesn't look very nice." The sound "*kami*" has two meanings, "governor" and "top." "*Yoshitomo mienu*" means also "Does not look nice." Hence the pun.) Yoshitomo had once been the Governor of Shimotsuke. In the third year of Jishō (1179), when Taira-no-Shigemori died, some one posted on the wall of the Imperial palace seven or eight pieces of paper, on which were written that Shigemori had died on account of the evil influence of the spirit of Saikō. When Kiyomori removed his palace to Fukuhara, some one erected a post near the gate of the Toji on which was written:—"*Saki izuru hana no miyako wo furisutete, kaze Fukuhara no suye zo ayauki*" ("Leaving the capital where flowers are blooming, and going to Fukuhara where the wind is blowing is a perilous act." The sound

fuku of *Fuku*hara means to blow. Hence the pun.) In the fourth year of the same period (1180), Minamoto Yoritomo revolted against the Taira. An army was sent to suppress him under the command of Taira-no-Koremori, but it returned without accomplishing anything, alarmed by the noise of water birds in the river Fuji, without meeting the enemy. Upon this, some one wrote a lampoon on the wall of Kiyomori's palace which read:—"*Fuji-gawa no zeze no iwakosu mizu yori mo hayaku mo otsuru Ise Heishi kana.*" ("Swifter they ran than the water of the Fuji-gawa which rolls over the rocks—the Heishi of Isé.") It was said that this was composed by some mischievous Nara priest.

When Minamoto Yoshitsune took his flight from Kyōto with Minamoto Yukiiye, because of his being on bad terms with his brother Yoritomo, some one scribbled on the gate post of his residence at Horikawa, Rokujō:—"*Yoshitsune wa sate moto mitsuru yo no naka ni izukue tsure to Yukiiye osawa*" ("I wonder where did Yoshitsune take Yukiiye, in this world so full for him?" "Yuki" of Yukiiye means "going;" hence the pun).

Flower-viewing in the spring mornings, viewing the moon on autumnal nights, gathering young plants, picnics, fishing, gathering mushrooms, excursions for view-

ing autumnal leaves, and many other kinds of out-door amusements, which varied according to the seasons, remained almost the same as in the last period. Of the pastimes, *te-mari-tsuki* (striking a ball with the hand), *ke-mari* (kicking a ball), *kai-oi* (covering a shell), *hen-tsuki* (a literary game), *uta-awase* (another literary game), *senzai-awase*, *sugoroku-go* (a game resembling that of checkers), *ran-go* (complicated *go*), *go-hajiki* (snapping *go*), *shōgi* (chess), *shōgi-daoshi*, and the like were mostly played among the higher classes, and meetings were often held for playing these games. Of these the most popular pastime among the nobles was *uta-awase*, the number of *uta* composed at a meeting often reaching from 600 to 1,500. Since the appointment of the Princes of the Blood as *Shōguns*, these pastimes were introduced to Kamakura, and meetings for them were often held.

Meetings for *renka* (connecting poems) were also frequently held. Among the lower classes, *sugoroku* (in which money was staked) was most popular. "*Shichi-han*" (*lit.* Seven and half), "*Shi-ichi-han-sen* (*lit.* a quarter sen) and "*Megachi*" were also popular games. The leader was called "*Do.*" The "*Do*" had originally been the name given to a round case in which dice were kept, but, owing to the fact that the leader always held the case, he himself

came to bear that name. These games very often resulted in quarrels and brawls which not unfrequently led to casualties, or forced many persons who had lost their property at play to become thieves and robbers. On this ground, in the fourth year of *Katei* (1238), the *Bakufu* prohibited *sugoroku* through all classes, although later, in the second year of *Kangen* (1244) it was allowed to be played by *bushi* only, while *Shi-ichi-han-sen* and *megachi* were prohibited to all classes.

Children's sports consisted of *taka-ashi* (wearing high clogs), *ude-kurabe* (comparing the strength of arms), *me-kurabe* (comparing eyes), *kata-guruma* (riding on the shoulders of another), *inji*, *hifu*, *take-uma* (bamboo horse), etc. Toys used were *mukisai*, *soma*, *koma* (tops), etc.

XI.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR, CEREMONIES, ETIQUETTE, ETC.

The ceremonies performed at the Imperial Court remained almost the same as in the preceding age. The *Bakufu* of Kamakura celebrated the feast of *Oban* on the first day of the year. "*Oban*" originally meant steamed rice coloured with red beans, but in later periods it became the name of a feast. The feast of *Oban* was announced by the Hōjō. On that day those who had been invited to the feast repaired to the *Bakufu* in cotton garments (every day, not official clothes), headed by the two *Kokushi* (governors) of the provinces of Musashi and Sagami, and the members of the Board of Administrative Councillors (*Hyô-jô-shû*), and sat in order in the yard, when they were received in audience by

the *Shôgun* (sitting with his face towards the south), who gave them presents. Among the attendants of the *Shôgun* on these occasions were some whose duty was simply to raise the *misu* (a blind made of fine bamboo strips), some who took charge of swords, some who took charge of bows and arrows, and some who attended to the foot gear. The feast was generally followed by another ceremony called *Mi-yuki-hajime* (first travelling of the *Shôgun*), when the *Shôgun* paid a visit to the residence of his *shikken* (first Minister). The feasts of *Oban* were held successively on the 2nd, 3rd, 7th and 15th, and the expenses of these entertainments were defrayed by old and illustrious families, such as those of Chiba, Miura, Oyama and Utsunomiya. Many other presents, such as bows and arrows, swords and harness, were also offered to the *Shôgun*. Early in the first month the *Shôgun* paid homage to the Hachiman Shrine of Tsurugaoka, and next to the two other temples. By the "two other temples" is meant the two *Gongen* of Izu and Hakone. A few days before his departure for these places, a *shôjin-ya* (house for religious purification) was built, to which he removed and devoted himself to religious abstinence and purification. There was also a ceremony of *Hyôjô-hajime* (opening of the council). About the

8th a meeting called "*Shin-kei-kwai*" was held. In the middle of the month the ceremony of *Yumiba-hajime* (opening of the archery ground), which was also called "*Mato-hajime*" (the first use of the target), was performed, in which about ten archers participated. There was also the ceremony of *mari-hajime* (first football match).

In the fourth month the special fête of the Hachiman of Tsurugaoka was celebrated. On the 1st of the fifth month, and the 14th of the eighth month, the *Kagura* (dancing accompanied with music performed to entertain the god) dances were performed in the same temple. On the fifteenth of the eighth month, the *Hôjôe* (the Buddhistic ceremony of liberating living things from confinement and saying prayers) was performed, and upon this occasion the *Shôgun* was expected to be present. On the 19th of the same month, in the race ground of Tsurugaoka, the races of *Yabusame* (shooting on horseback while the horse is galloping), *agema*, and *keiba* (horse races) were held, and at these the *Shôgun* was also present. At the *higan* of spring and autumn (spring and autumnal equinoxes) the service of *Hokke-zampô* (a Buddhist service) was performed in the ancestral hall of the Imperial palace.

The following is a brief description of the march of Princes of the Blood, or the

Shôgun, and their suites, in those days. Foremost of all go a body of soldiers in the van, then knights in ordinary garments (not Court robes), and then Court nobles and *denio-bito* (those who were admitted into the Imperial palace), all dressed in Court robes. Then came the carriage of the *Shôgun* (or a Prince), guarded on either side by *bushi*, dressed in Court robes and armed with swords. These were followed by two officials who took charge of the swords and bows and arrows respectively. Then again came knights in ordinary garments and last of all the soldiers of the rear-guard. The procession was under the control of *Oidebugyô* (commissioner of going and coming), an office which was held additionally by *Gosho-bugyô* (the commissioner of the Imperial or *Shôgun's* palace).

The greatest ceremony of the *bushi* classes was that which was performed when the *Shôgun* of Kamakura received an official appointment to the office of *Sei-i-Tai-Shôgun*. On that occasion an Imperial messenger, bearing an Imperial order of appointment, was sent from Kyōto to Kamakura. When the messenger, clothed in a robe of State, reached the temple of Tsurugaoka, he was received by a representative from the *Shôgun*, attended by a large number of warriors, all of whom were clad in full armour. There the *Shôgun's* delegate reeeived the Imperial order,

and after presenting to the Emperor's messenger one hundred *ryô* in gold dust, returned to the *Shôgun's* palace. The *Shôgun*, who had remained in his palace all this time, came out as far as the porch to receive the Imperial order. After the ceremony was over, the *Bakufu* invited the Imperial messenger, entertained him with wine, and gave him presents. They also entertained him with *Oban*. Such is a brief description of the ceremony held when Yoritomo was appointed to that important office. In later periods the Imperial orders of appointment were often sent to Rokuhara (the *Bakufu's* agency) in Kyōto, and most of the *Shôguns* of the Imperial issue were appointed to the office while they were yet in Kyōto, and then came down to Kamakura. At any rate, the ceremony seems to have become very plain and simple. In the Muromachi age, on the occasion of Ashikaga Yoshinobu's inauguration, the ceremony was conducted in accordance with the precedent set in Yoritomo's time; he also repaired to the Imperial palace to thank the Emperor for the favour which had been bestowed upon him. Throughout the ages of Kamakura and Muromachi, these ceremonies of the *Shôgun's* inauguration remained pretty much the same, though they differed from each other in their degree of pomp and splendour. This

ceremony was followed by many other ceremonies, such as *Kissho-Hajime*, *Han-hajime*, *Yumi-hajime*, *Hyōjō-hajime*. The ceremony of *Kissho-hajime*, as it was performed in the Muromachi age, generally took place on such grand occasions as the inauguration of a *Shôgun*, or his promotion in rank, or the removal of his residence, or the rites of *gembuku* being held in the *Shôgun's* family. It consisted in ordering "*Kissho-bugyô*" to write three compositions on Deities, agriculture, and taxation, and, after having these documents sealed and signed by the *Shôgun*, in sending them out, first to the provinces of the Kwantō and then to the rest of the country. All this simply meant that the orders of the *Shôgun* should be issued in conformity with the old customs of the country. The ceremony of *Han-hajime* began in the Muromachi age and was performed by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, the third *Shôgun* of the Ashikaga line, in the first year of *Bunchû* (1372). This was to celebrate the beginning of the administration of a new ruler. It consisted in contributing estates to the *Shintô* shrines (Great Shrines of Ise) and in deciding legal matters relating to the lands owned by it. With this ceremony the office of *Han-hajime-bugyô* was originated, which was also called *Ai-bugyô*, because of the striking resemblance it bore to that of *Kissho-bugyô*.

At that time, in Kyōto, the ceremony of the first shooting of the bow of Hachiman was performed on the 19th day of the first month. On the 17th day of the second month people went to worship the *Kwan-non* of Shimidzu, and consequently Higashiyama, Toribe-yama, and the neighbouring places were crowded with visitors all day and all night. On the 25th the fête of the Kitano Temple was held, and on the 15th day of the fifth month the villagers assembled at Atago with burning torches. On the 16th day of the sixth month they prepared *mochi* and cakes, each 16 pieces in number, and performing a religious rite called "*Momodori-no-tsukue-mono*," worshipped Sukuna-bikona-no-Kami, which, according to their belief, prevented an epidemic. On the night of the 15th day of the seventh month a long pole, on the top of which hung a lantern, was erected in front of every house throughout the city of Kyōto, in honour of the spirits of the dead. Fires were also kindled on the surrounding hills, and at night the scene was exceedingly impressive. At the end of the twelfth month the people of Yawata and Matsuo presented to the Imperial Court bamboos to be used for decorations at the beginning of the new year, and the people of Yase and Ohara presented the *Shimenawa* (straw ropes for the New Year decorations), while

the pine-trees were always offered by the people of Miare-yama. These bamboos and pine trees were planted by the gates of the Imperial Palace, the *Shimenawa* fastened on them, and the new year was welcomed. Some maintain that such customs were originally those of the lower people, but that in course of time they came to be adopted by the higher classes. On the night of Tsuina (generally the last night of the twelfth month) cakes made from Okera (bot. *Atractylis ovata*) and Tsugumi (a small bird —the *Meruta fuscaia*) were broiled, and offered to the Emperor, together with boiled rice. This was said to be effective in preventing an epidemic. On the same night the *Kamon-tsukasa* (head keeper of the Imperial gardens) presented to the Emperor sardines placed between two sticks, also a spear made of *hiiragi* (a plant with thorns—the *Osamuthus aquifolium*). It is most probable that this old custom gave rise to that of later periods of adorning the eaves of the house in the beginning of a new year with the heads of sardines, the twigs of *hiiragi*, and roots of *nin-niku* (garlic). On New Year's Day every ominous or unlucky word was strictly avoided. The word "*Ine-tsumu*" (to pile up rice-plants) was used for the everyday words "*Ine wo oku*" (placing down rice plants); "*Taira-kasanuru*" (to pile up and accumulate peace and serenity) for "going to

bed"; *kagami* (a "mirror," because *mochi* cakes offered to *Shintô* gods on ceremonial occasions were termed "*Kagami-mochi*" or "mirror-shaped cakes") for *mochi* (rice-cake); "drawing new water" (*waka-midzu-aguru*) for "crying"; "*koyuru*" (to cross over) for being kicked; "*ashiwara*" (for boiled rice*).

* This probably refers to the fact that Japan is spoken of in the *Ko-ji-ki* as *Toyo ashiwara no chi aki no nagai-ho-aki no midzu-ho no kuni* (The-luxuriant-reed-plains-the-land-of-fresh-rice-ears-of-a-thousand-autumns,—of-long-five-hundred-autumns.)

or rooted out. The portion thus bared was called "*saka-iki*" (upward breathing), and this was but the beginning of the "*saka-yaki*" (the shaven part of the head) of later periods. This by-and-bye became a regular custom, and people were careful not to show their hair when wearing "*eboshi*." The *bushi* had their hair shaved above the forehead more extensively than common people, and by wearing their *eboshi* (ceremonial hats) so as to show the full extent of their foreheads, endeavoured to put on as brave and imposing an appearance as possible.

Ornaments worn or used in Kyōto became so very expensive that the Court often warned the people in regard to this matter. In the fourth year of *Bunji* (1185-1190) an order was issued prohibiting *Kebi-ishi* (police commissioners) and *Konoeshi* (chief officials of the Imperial Guards) to adorn their carriages, horses or servants with gold and silver brocade or other costly materials on the occasion of the Kamo Festival. But the anniversary of the Kamo temple being the greatest of all the celebrations of the year, this prohibition was disregarded, and as time passed they again renewed the practice of vying with each other as to the splendour of their equipages and apparel. In the first year of *Ninji* (1240-1242), the Court prohibited Shintō officials from using luxuri-

ous clothing or carriages, and in the first year of *Kôan* (1278) further prohibited their imitating those of their superiors.

The *bushi* of the *Kwantô* observed strict economy in their living, as ordered by Yoritomo. It is told of Toshikane, the then Vice-Governor of Chikugo, who was exceedingly fond of splendour, that when he repaired to Yoritomo's palace gorgeously attired in more than ten thicknesses of wadded silk robes, Yoritomo immediately cut off the skirts of his (Toshikane's) beautiful garments with his own sword, and severely reproved the Governor for his luxurious habits. Such an action on the part of their master made the vassals more stringent than ever in their observance of austere frugality, and thus the *bushi* were kept comparatively free from the extravagance and profuseness then prevailing amongst the nobles. In the first year of *Kôchô* (1261), an order was issued prohibiting persons visiting the Kwantō on official business from dressing expensively and above their station in life.

The *bushi* at peace wore a *shitatare* (long robe) or *suikan* (a peculiar kind of robe), and covered their heads with *eboshi*, but there were many—especially among such officials as chamberlains and the like—who wore neither *shitatare* nor *suikan* on account of the long sleeves impeding their free movement. Such attire was called *te-*

nashi (without hands). The commoners adopted *eboshi* or *hakama* (loose skirt-like pantaloons), but not *shitatare* or *suikan*. The home costume of the women of the *bushi* class appears to have been as simple and frugal as that of the men. They wore "*tsubo shozoku*" (jar-like attire) when going out, as in the old times, and considering it immodest to expose their faces, covered them with *Kaburi-ginu* (covering silk), *Shime-gasa*, *Egasa*, *Nuri-gasa*, etc. In the fifth year of Kenchō (1253) the *Bakufu* issued an order relative to robes to be worn by priests and women.

FOODSTUFFS.

Since the Neiraku (645-782) era, the cultivation of barley had been encouraged with a view to providing against famine (the failure of rice crops), but the people appear to have disliked it, although some of the poorer classes had by this time come to live on barley, as is proved by an *uta* (short poem) of the priest Muju Hōshi: —

I maintain a bare existence on rice, gruel and barley,
Pretending to like them.

Kowa-meshi (glutinous rice soaked in water and steamed) formed their everyday meal as of old. The Kyōto people had already at the close of the previous age commenced eating midday meals besides breakfast and supper. Even the Buddhist

priests, who were in the habit of eating only once a day, had become less able to curb their passions, and now ate a noon meal which they called "*Hiji*" (untimely), and finally the priests of the mountain (Hiyei) and Nara partook of food three times a day. The Hiyei priests called their evening meal "*Koto.*" They ate their noon meal about the *hitsuji-saru* (from 1 to 3 o'clock p.m.) hour, and in the evening assembled at *Saka-no-shita* or its vicinity to take their supper, which manner of eating was called by them "eating by *seji.*" Kōben, the priest of Togano-o, was renowned for his great virtue, yet at noon he always ate cake or something like it as his "*Hiji*," saying that he was a "dog-*bushi*" (*inu-samurai*). But the priests of the *Ris-shū* sect take only two meals a day even to this day.

The *bushi* of the eastern provinces adhered to their old customs and ate nothing at noon. Their food was simple and frugal. Hōjō Tokiyori is said never to have taken two kinds of food (besides rice) at one time. One evening, so the story goes, he invited Nobutoki, one of his relatives, to eat with him. Bringing out a *chōshi* (a metal vessel from which *saké* is poured into drinking cups) and a *kawara-ke* (an unglazed earthen vessel), he said to Nobutoki: "I have invited you because I was too lonely to drink this

saké alone. I have nothing to take with it, and now everybody has gone to bed. Go and search for something that we can eat with the *saké*." Nobutoki arose and went into the kitchen, and, by the light of a paper lantern, looked all over the kitchen until he found out a small unglazed earthen dish with a little *miso* (bean sauce) on a shelf. Bringing it in he said: "I have found this." Tokiyori replied: "That is sufficient," and they both talked over the *saké* during the whole night. Such was the simplicity and parsimony of *samurai* in those days.

Entertainments were prevalent, and those given by the Kyōto people were distinguished for their extravagance. The materials of the *shōkon* (first dishes) consisted of *kurage* (jelly fish), *noshi-awabi* (dried sea-ear), *hoya* (tunicate), etc. The materials of the *kezurimono* (food served in thin flakes like shavings) consisted of dried bonito, *maruawabi* (round sea-ear), octopus, trepang (*namako*), etc. Fresh meats consisted of *tai* (a species of sea bream), *suzuki*, *koi* (carp), *funa* (roach) *nayoshi*, dab, pheasant, wild goose, duck, lark, snipe, copper pheasant, rabbit, etc. Salted *saba*, the dried flesh of fowls, rabbits, deer, and dolphins; the roasted skins of pigs, palms of the feet of bears, flesh from the legs of the *tanuki*, *kidori*, or monkeys, sauce of fowls, *miso* of crabs,

bowels of sea-rats, dolphins, cuttle-fish, *sazae* (turbo cornatus), clam, small dried fishes, etc., were also used for food. The *tenshin* (food taken between meals) consisted of *suisen* (水饌), *onso* (温糟), *kasudori* (糟鶏), *betsu-yôkan* (鼈羊羹), *rochôkan* (鱸腸羹), *ikan* (猪羹), *shô-yôkan* (掌羊羹), *satôyôkan*, *undon*, *manjû*, *kishimen*, *kempin*, *onbei* (温餅), *sembei* (煎餅), *yakimochi*, *okoshi-gome*, *hoshi-ii*, *ko*, etc. By the word *tenshin* was meant the food prepared to be taken between regular meals. The fruits consisted of green chestnuts, pounded chestnuts, *kushi-gaki* (persimmons strung and dried on a stick), *zukushi* (over-ripe persimmons), dried jujube, pears, *shii*, *kuwai* (arrow head) berry, *yuri-gusa*, *yuzu*, oranges, kum-kwat, sweet chestnuts (甘栗), melons, *sawa-nasu*, etc. The materials for soup consisted of *tôfukan* (豆腐羹), *karashikan* (搦羹), *setsurin-sai* (雪林菜), *fushô* (腐掌), *ra* (羅), *wasabi*, *kanjiru* (寒汁), etc. Vegetables consisted of *senroppu* (繊蘿蔔), *gobo*, sea weeds, *udome* (烏頭布), *arame*, *fuki*, *kabura* (turnip), pickled *myôga*, steamed *komo* (薦子), *nasu* (egg plant), pickled lettuce, cucumber, sweet *natto*, parched beans, *sono-mame*, *seri*, *suwame* (酢和布), blue *nori* (edible sea weeds), *hikiboshi* (曳干), *amanori* (甘苔), *shio-nori*, *matsudake* (mushrooms taken from pine trees), *hira-take* (a species of mushroom).

The utensils used at meals were *chôshi*, *sage* (提), cups, bowls, *taka-sakazuki* (tall

wine cups), *kake-ban*, dishes, *sakazuki* (wine cups), etc.

The entertainments given by the *bushi* were very simple and frugal. Hōjō Tokiyori once paid homage to the temple of Tsurugaoka, and on his way home sent a message to Ashikaga Yoshiuji informing the latter of his visit. On his coming, Yoshiuji entertained him with wine, the first cup of which was accompanied with dried sea-ear, the second with shrimps, and the third with parched rice-cake; and yet Yoshiuji was no mean *bushi*, for he was, indeed, *Shô-shi-i Sama-no-kami* in rank (the first grade of the fourth rank of honour and the chief of the bureau of military horses). This example will show how frugal were the *bushi* of those days.

As to the manner of giving and receiving wine cups in a feast there were several modes, such as *omoi-zashi* (passing a wine cup out of love or friendship), *omoi-dori* (receiving wine from a person one loves), *yoko-dori* (seizing a cup which was intended for another person), *omoi-gaeshi* (returning a cup of wine out of love or friendship). In the fourth year of *Kenchô* (1252) the *Bakufu* issued an edict prohibiting the selling of *saké* (wine) throughout the city of Kamakura. It was also ordered that in all the provinces and cities of the whole country the making of *saké* was to be suspended. The *saké* jars owned

by the inhabitants of Kamakura at that time are said to have numbered 37,274. Later, the prohibition against selling *saké* was again put in force, and upon this occasion all the *saké* jars in Kamakura were destroyed, saving one for each house on the condition that it should not be used again for making *saké* but only for other purposes. In the second year of *Ninji* (1241) the *Bakufu* issued an order prohibiting the people from all such luxurious practices as serving guests on the occasion of a feast with fancy cakes. Such prohibitions of luxury had already been ordered, but the frequent violation of the rule, especially in the time of a great feast, compelled the *Bakufu* to repeat their order.

The bonito caught in the adjoining seas of Kamakura were renowned as the chief product of the district, but prior to the middle of this age they had not been served in the dishes for respectable people, but only in the form of *katsuo-bushi* (dried bonito). Heads of bonito were not eaten even by servants, and were thrown away, but at the end of the age bonito came to be served even on the table of the Emperor. Salmon was caught in the province of Echigo, but the people of the provinces of the *Chûgoku* and *Tôkaidô* ate it but very seldom. In the sixth year of Bunji (1190), Sasaki Moritsuna (*Shugo* of Iyo Province)

presented Yoritomo with a salmon *sowari* (sliced dried fish) which so greatly pleased the latter that he composed an *uta* (poem) which means in substance:

"*The kind heart of the sender of this present is as clearly seen as that of this sowari.*"

(A *sowari* being a fish split open and dried, its inside is clearly seen.)

There was a proverb then popular which said "If a man eat carp, his *bin* hair (the hair on the sides of the head) will not hang loosely during that day." Of fowls, the pheasant was most highly valued as food. Eggs were eaten even by the Buddhist priests, who called them by the name of "*Kaiko.*" There were many priests who ate animal food secretly, although none dared to do so in public; but since the establishment of the *Ikko-shū* sect by the priest Hanyen, who allowed his disciples to take wives and eat meat, the priests belonging to that sect ate meat publicly.

Tea had already been in use as early as in the ages of *Neiraku* and *Heian*, but prior to the Kamakura age its use had ceased. In the second year of *Kenkyū* (1191) the Priest Eisai brought some tea seeds from the district of Kōnan on his way home from China, and planted them at Seburi-yama in the province of Chikuzen. The teas thus grown in that district were called "Iwagami-*cha*." At a later period,

the Priest Eisai wrote a book on tea entitled "*Kitcha Yojoki*" (on tea drinking for the benefit of one's health), in which he praised the virtues of tea. In his preface to the book he says: "Tea is a wonderful medicine for improving health, and miraculous for prolonging life. The mountains and valleys where it is produced will become sacred; the man who takes it will enjoy long life. It is highly valued in India and China, and there was a time when it was esteemed even in this country." Nakatomi Sukehara, a Shintō official of the Kasuga temple, was interested in the tea plant, and cultivated it in the vicinity of Yukidoke-no-sawa of Kasuga-no. Kōben, the priest of Togano-o, planted it in the valley of Togano-o, and used it as a beverage. He also advised other priests to take it on the ground that it prevented sleepiness and refreshed and cheered the heart. This is the origin of the Togano-o tea. Afterwards, he transplanted some of the tea plants at Uji, thus making a beginning of the Uji-*cha*. After that time, it was cultivated in Nin-naji, Daigo, Hamuro, and many other places, and the demand for it increased proportionately. In the ages of *Neiraku* and *Heian*, tea was made by decoction after having been ground in a stone mill, and some persons added a kind of sugar to improve its taste. It was the *matcha* (powdered tea) originated by the priests Eisai and Kōden,

that in later days was widely used in tea-making meetings.

Ice, as in the preceding periods, was preserved in icehouses, and served on the tables of the nobles in summer-time. It was mostly served in the form of *Kezuribi* (ice-shavings). The Kamakura *Bakufu* also brought snow down from the top of Fuji-yama and valued it very highly; but on the ground that such practices gave trouble to the people, the custom was abolished in the third year of *Kencho* (1251).

THE END.

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