

**POLITICAL AND RITUAL USAGES OF PORTRAITS OF
JAPANESE EMPERORS IN EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES**

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This dissertation examines portraits of Japanese emperors from the pre-modern Edo period (1603-1868) through the modern Meiji period (1868-1912) by questioning how the socio-political context influenced the production of imperial portraits. Prior to Western influence, pre-modern Japanese society viewed imperial portraits as religious objects for private, commemorative use; only imperial family members and close supporters viewed these portraits. The Confucian notion of filial piety and the Buddhist tradition of *tsuizen* influenced the production of these commemorative or mortuary portraits. By the Meiji period, however, Western portrait practice had affected how Japan perceived its imperial portraiture. Because the Meiji government socially and politically constructed the ideal role of Emperor Meiji and used the portrait as a means of propaganda to elevate the emperor to the status of a divinity, it instituted controlled public viewing of the images of Japanese emperors. Such differences between the private and public functions of imperial portraits suggest that imperial portraits from the pre-modern and post-Meiji periods developed for different purposes, moving from a religious, commemorative purpose to a more secular, political one. By examining the psychological responses to the representations of Japanese emperors through primary documents,

including official documents, diaries, and letters, I show that images exerted an emotive force on viewers. I also address the following questions: 1) What makes the portrait more than an image? 2) What gives that image meaning? 3) And how can a portrait become the focus of devotion? Imperial portraits, whether used for religious or political reasons, maintain a spiritual connection to reality and illustrate the power of representation. I conclude that this research on portraits of Japanese emperors will help scholars understand how the power of representations did affect changes in behavioral patterns from the Edo to the Meiji periods.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

One of the recognized functions of any official state portrait is to document the social and political status of the sitter. However, until the Meiji period (1868-1912), official imperial portraits in Japan were not meant for public display. Due to a ritualized spiritual component, these portraits were viewed privately by imperial family members and close supporters. While this specific populations commissioned portraits of pre-Meiji emperors for commemorative purposes, the Meiji government ordered imperial portraits of Emperor Meiji for a new political purpose. I argue that the imperial portraits from the pre-modern and Meiji periods do not share the same roots, but were separately developed for different purposes. By analyzing the religious and political usages of the imperial portraits, this dissertation claims that there is a break in imperial portrait practice in Japan, and that although portraiture in both the pre-modern and post-Meiji periods has many similarities, it does not share the same origins. While the earlier concept of portraiture developed from the traditional Chinese portrait practice, the later concept of portraiture emerged from Western discourse.

In both pre-modern and Meiji periods, imperial portraits were not simple visual records of emperors; instead, they were the end products of numerous representational choices. By analyzing the purpose and function of imperial portraits, I will use this research to show that images exerted an emotive force on viewers.¹ I explore the human psychological responses to Japanese imperial portraiture by examining the primary documents, including official

¹ The notion of power of images in this dissertation is based on David Freedberg's theory on this matter. See the section on Power of Image in this chapter for further discussion. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989 and 1991).

documents, diaries, and letters, to understand the interactions between portraits and viewers in a ritual setting (i.e. mortuary and political contexts). The study of Japanese imperial portraiture and the power of images raises the following pertinent questions: 1) What makes the portrait more than an image? 2) What gives that image meaning? 3) And finally, how can a portrait become the focus of devotion? The following chapters will examine how socio-political power influenced the artistic production of imperial portraits and the specific ways in which these various usages emerged. This research on portraits of Japanese emperors will help scholars understand how the power of representations can affect changes in behavioral patterns from the Edo to the Meiji periods.²

² This dissertation primarily investigates portraits of emperors. It does not extensively cover the portraits of Empress Consorts and people from other classes, such as warriors, merchants, and artists, despite the relative importance of these other portraits. While this dissertation presents Japanese emperors as superior sovereigns, my intention is not to oversimplify the role of emperors because emperors were not always the absolute rulers in Japan. Not all Japanese emperors were as well respected as one might believe today. Some emperors were murdered or exiled, while others became an angry spirit and/or cursed the court. For example, in 592, Soga no Umako 蘇我馬子 (c. 551-626), advisor to Emperor Sushun 崇峻 (?-592, r. 587-592), murdered the emperor. Another example focuses on Emperor Kazan 花山 (968-1008, r. 984-986, 65th). After Emperor Kazan retired, a jealous man attempted to murder the emperor when he mistakenly thought the emperor had a relationship with his lover in 996. This incident is known as *Kazan hōō shūgeki jiken* 花山法皇襲撃事件. According to the *Hyakurenshō* 百鍊抄 (a compilation of diaries written by 13th century court officials) and *Eiga Monogatari* 栄華物語 (the historical story of the Fujiwara clan written by anonymous writer(s) in the 11th century), two Fujiwara brothers, Korechika 藤原伊周 (974-1010) and Takaie 隆家 (979-1044), shot arrows at the emperor in 996. Two imperial attendants died from this incident but, although some arrows pierced the sleeves of the Emperor Kazan, he was unharmed. *Hyakurenshō* 百鍊抄, in *Kokushi taikēi* 國史大系 11, compiled by Kurokawa Katsumi 黒板勝美 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1965), 9. and *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語, *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集, vol. 33 (“Mihatenuyume” chapter), edited by Yamanaka Yutaka 山中裕, (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1998), 229-230. The third illustration centers on Emperor Sutoku 崇徳 (1119-1164, r. 1123-1141, 75th). According to the *Hōgen Monogatari* 保元物語, after Emperor Sutoku died in exile, his angry spirit allegedly returned and cursed the court. *Hōgen Monogatari* 保元物語, compiled by Shida Itaru 信太周, in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 日本古典文学全集 41 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 2002), 205-405. As these examples suggest, the status of Japanese emperors was not as concrete as one might expect. Therefore, at the end of the Edo period, the government felt the need to reestablish the significance of the emperors that resulted in a change in imperial portrait practice in the later Meiji period. As such, an analysis of the evolving significance of imperial portraits requires a careful historical, political, and religious contextualization.

1.1 DEFINITIONS OF PROBLEMATIC ENGLISH TERMS

At first glance, the terms “imperial,” “emperor,” and “portrait,” would seem to be straightforward. However, a closer examination of the terms reveals how complicated and problematic these words are. Scholars often use the term “imperial” to describe *kōshitsu* 皇室, the Japanese sovereignty. Similarly, they almost always translate *tennō* 天皇 as “emperor” in both scholarly and non-scholarly publications. However, recent scholarship has reexamined these terms. For example, by analyzing the emergence of Japanese kingship and the process that shaped the early state formation, Joan Piggott, a historian, points out that Japan was never an empire; therefore, she does not use terms such as empire, emperor, and imperial.³ Even though Japanese leaders adopted the Chinese-style monarchy as their model, the Japanese state remained segmented rather than vertically subjugated. Piggott describes this structure as centered rather than centralized.⁴ She argues that kinship was the primary bonding mechanism as the early state matured in the eighth century. According to Piggott, Japanese king-makers chose the title *tennō* (“Heavenly Sovereign”) rather than the Chinese title *tenshi* 天子 (“Son of Heaven”).⁵ As such, those titles symbolically reflected the difference between Japanese and Chinese rulership. Based on Piggott’s observations, words such as “imperial” and “emperor” are technically incorrect when applied to Japan.

Because of this, the following question occurs: what English word can best describe *kōshitsu* and *tennō*? Other terms, such as royalty, monarch, ruler, and sovereign, still do not adequately convey the Japanese meaning of the words. Due to the lack of a better word, and even

³ Joan Piggott argues that the term empire is “strongly associated with a martial political formation founded on conquest” but Japanese emperors did not conquer their realm. Joan R. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 8-9.

⁴ Ibid., 9 and 234.

⁵ Ibid., 9. *Tenshi sekkon miei* (天子撰関御影 *Portraits of Emperors and Regents*), a 14th century painting scroll, has the word “*tenshi*” in its title. However, the title of this scroll might have been given later.

though these words are not technically correct, I will employ these terms (i.e. “imperial portraits” and “portraits of emperors”) throughout this dissertation. In this dissertation, Japanese “imperial portraits” will only refer to portraits of *tennō*.

The English term “portrait” also appears straightforward at first: a visually expressed likeness which represents the physiognomy (face and body) of a specific individual. However, the purpose of imperial portraits complicates this definition. For example, *The Dictionary of Art* even titles its first section under portraiture as “problems of definition” because equating portrait with physiognomical likeness leads to problems.⁶ When analyzing portraits, one cannot always expect a equivalence between the appearance of the sitter and his or her image. There are many reasons for this. First, artists often create an idealistic appearance of their sitters. This is especially true when they depict those from the upper-class. Second, different artists can depict the same sitter very differently. For example, scholars have noted that two 14th-century portraits of retired Emperor Hanazono 花園 (1297-1348, r. 1308-1318, 95th) from Chōfukuji and Myōshinji look quite different. Third, if more than one portrait is painted of the same subject and they are similar, then scholars must also consider the possibility of artist(s) copying from a pre-existing portrait. Finally, since it is impossible to have seen a sitter who lived before the modern period, one cannot positively state that the portrait resembles its sitter. Because of the above reasons, to base the definition of portraits solely on likeness of an individual is problematic. The term “portrait” in this dissertation will broadly refer to a personalized representation of individuals of known identity. This general definition includes invented portraits of individuals who lived in an earlier time and portraits of legendary and mythical characters, such as Emperor Jinmu (神武, the first emperor of Japan). The definition also includes images with idealized

⁶ Jane Turner, *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 25 (New York: Grove’s Dictionaries, Inc., 1996), 274.

and/or general facial features, if the images come with documented identifications, such as inscribed names and ranks.

Since portraits visually express and convey ideas, they are generally categorized as art. However, in Japan, portraits were historically not considered as art due to ritualistic ways of viewing these images. Therefore, when analyzing a portrait from Japan, it is also important to place the portrait in the historical context from which it came rather than exclusively focusing on its artistic value. Since the pre-modern Japanese artists, sitters, commissioners, and viewers all associated portraits with death rites, they were indifferent to the concept of art and artistic value. Because family members and relatives customarily commissioned portraits of their loved ones for commemorative (or longevity) purposes, they would not have used portraits to embellish a room. Instead, mortuary portraits were perceived as vessels in which the spirit of the deceased temporarily resided. Hans Belting, a scholar of Medieval and Renaissance Art, states that the decorative concept of art belongs to the study of post-Renaissance theory;⁷ thus, this artistic concept should not be applied to objects from the Classical period. Belting's statement also applies to Japanese imperial portraiture because the Japanese do not consider portraits as art objects. Thus, viewers of these portraits today should not only evaluate the portraits on aesthetic grounds but should also appreciate their purpose and the historical background.

Because the earlier concept of portraiture in Japan developed from the traditional Chinese practice of portraiture, an understanding of the Chinese words for “portraits” yields a clearer comprehension of how these words influenced the Japanese terms for portraits. Both Chinese and the pre-modern Japanese used various terms to refer to portraits. Two common words, *xiang* 像 and *zhen* 眞, describe “portraits” in Chinese. The Chinese widely use the

⁷ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art (Bild und Kult)*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), xxi.

umbrella term *xiang*, which literally translates as the verb “to resemble” and as the noun “representation,” for portraits. *Zhen*, another commonly used term, means “real” and “genuine;” it was used as early as the Six Dynasties period (220-589) to designate memorial portraits of emperors and high officials.⁸

In addition to these main terms, Ebine Toshio 海老根聰郎, a scholar of portraits of Chinese Chin Monks, lists 32 other terms describing portraits.⁹ Influenced by Chinese concepts and terms, pre-modern Japanese also used various terms to refer to imperial portraits. For example, while the “Murasakino” chapter of the *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語, compiled in the 11th century, contains the term *miei* 御影,¹⁰ *Gotobain goryō takuki* 後鳥羽院御霊託記, a 13th century imperial record, refers to two portraits of Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽 (1180-1239, r. 1183-1198, 82nd) as *ei* 影.¹¹ Furthermore, in the fourth month of 1499, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537) wrote several times in his diary, *Sanetakakōki* 実隆公記, about a portrait of Emperor Goen'yū 後圓融 (1359-1393, r. 1371-1382, 5th emperor of the Northern Dynasty). Sanetaka referred to the portrait as *miei*, *shin'ei* 宸影, *gyoe* 御ゑ, and *son'ei* 尊影.¹² Within the same month, Sanetaka uses different words to refer to the same portrait of Emperor Goen'yū. In his diary, written in the mid-17th century, Dharma-prince Gyōjo 堯如 (1640-1695) of the

⁸ T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, “On the Ritual Use of Ch’an Portraiture in Medieval China,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993): 160.

⁹ These terms are: *xiezhen* 写真, *xieshen* 写神, *zhuanzhen* 伝真, *xiezhao* 写照, *xiemao* 写貌, *zhuanxie* 伝写, *zhuanzhen* 伝神, *zhuanmao* 伝貌, *yurong* 御容, *shengrong* 聖容, *zhenrong* 真容, *shenyu* 神御, *shenzhuan* 神伝, *zhenxiang* 真像, *xiaoxiang* 小像, *zhuanying* 伝影, *yingmao* 影貌, *xiyan* 喜顔, *jiyan* 記顔, *jiyan* 紀顔, *xirong* 喜容, *yingtang* 影堂, *huaxiang* 画像, *xiangren* 象人, *zhuanzhao* 伝照, *shourong* 寿容, *shouxian* 寿像, *shouying* 寿影, *yixiang* 遺像, *zhuixie* 追写, *shenjyi* 神儀, *jirong* 記容. Ebine Toshio 海老根聰郎, “Chinsō sadan 頂相瑣談: Zōkeishutai o megutte 造形主体をめぐって,” *Yamatobunka* 大和文華, vol. 115 (August, 2006): 1. “Yirong 遺容” should be added to Ebine’s list above.

¹⁰ *Eiga monogatari*, 524.

¹¹ *Gotobain goryō takuki* 後鳥羽院御霊託記, *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, vol. 33a (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 1976), 213.

¹² Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆, *Sanetakakōki* 実隆公記, vol. 3b (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 2000), 640, 641, 644, and 645. See the entries on 1499 (Meiō 8) 4.20, 21, and 27.

Myōhō-in 妙法院 temple uses the term *gojuei* 御寿影¹³ to describe a portrait of Emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾 (1596-1680, r. 1611-1629, 108th).¹⁴

Karen Gerhart, a Japanese art historian, differentiates the terms used to signify portraits to emphasize how different words have different connotations. She describes *shōzō* 肖像 as meaning an “image [that] resembles” and *eizō* 影像 as meaning an “image [that] reflects.” Gerhart then states that the secular upper class favored the term *shōzō* and *eizō*, while Buddhist monks more often used the aforementioned term *shin* in medieval Japan.¹⁵ Even from the same time period, different terms for portrait were used, depending on one’s social status.

Contemporary use of the terms is *shōzō* for portraits in general and *shōzōga* 肖像画 for portrait paintings. Even though *shōzō* and *shōzōga* have almost identical meanings, the two words have subtle differences that are often difficult to differentiate. *Shōzō*, which means “portraits,” serves as the umbrella term that includes *shōzōga*, whose final syllable emphasizes the medium of painting. According to *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, *shōzō*¹⁶ first appeared in *Sanetakakōki* in 1529.¹⁷ Specifically, on 1529 (Kyōroku 享禄 2) 3.20,¹⁸ Sanetaka mentioned a

¹³ There are two types of portraits. The first, longevity portraits (*juzō* 寿像), are created while the sitter is still alive, and the second, a more common form, are posthumous portraits (*izō* 遺像). Both Karen Gerhart and Quitman Eugene Phillips have explained these terms and gave an in-depth historical background. For example, Gerhart points out the main difference between longevity and posthumous portraits as follows: While artists generally made longevity portraits from life (usually a number of years prior to the subject’s death), they often made posthumous portraits after the subject’s death. Gerhart suggests that posthumous portrait is the earlier practice than the longevity portrait. Longevity portraits became common in response to the increasing mobility of eminent monks. For more information, see Karen M. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 153-158. Quitman Eugene Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475-1500* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 150-151.

¹⁴ Gyōjo 堯恕, *Gyōjo Hossin’nō nikki* 堯恕法親王日記, in *Myōhōin shiryō* 妙法院史料, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1976), 193. See the entry on 1667.2.20.

¹⁵ Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*, 157.

¹⁶ Quitman Eugene Phillips explains that “*shōzō* seems to have comprised all paintings of specific people, whether painted first hand or not.” Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 152.

¹⁷ *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 2001), 184.

¹⁸ This diary entry was written on the twentieth day of the third month of 1529. Japan used the lunar calendar until the third day of the twelfth month in 1872 (Meiji 5). Therefore, this dissertation abbreviates dates by year, month,

portrait located in a Buddhist Hall where he offered incense (夢庵肖像於持仏堂焼香).¹⁹ This ritual context suggests that Sanetaka offered incense for the repose of the departed soul of the person in the portrait. It is not clear that *shōzō*, as described by Sanetaka, was a painting or sculpture; however, it is clear that it was made for a private mortuary function based on the traditional Chinese portrait practice.

Unlike the term *shōzō*, which existed before the 16th century, the word *shōzōga* was introduced relatively late in the 19th century. *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, which offers a separate entry for *shōzōga*, states that the word *shōzōga* first appeared in *Fūzokugahō* 風俗画報 in 1891, more than three centuries after Sanetaka's mention of *Shōzō*. *Fūzokugahō* claims that it is necessary [for the Japanese artists] to create portraits [of politically and socially important persons] because people in developed countries (which imply Westerners) create images of brave heroes.²⁰ Therefore, the dates of publication and the context suggest that the term *shōzōga* referred to the politically motivated imperial portraits from the Meiji period that emerged out of a Western discourse.²¹ The existence of various terms describing “portrait” in Japanese culture clearly shows that no straightforward definition exists. The lack of specific terminologies, as explained above, complicates the understanding of imperial portraiture in Japan.

1.2 POWER OF IMAGES

The following section includes a wide range of examples that explore the power of images in traditional Japanese cultures. These textual examples represent folklore-like beliefs rather than

and day, until 1872.12.3. The standard solar calendar will be used for the events occurred after January 1, 1873 (Meiji 6).

¹⁹ Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Sanetakakōki*, vol. 7, 399.

²⁰ *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 7, 184.

²¹ Because extant written records mainly focus on the ruling class, it is difficult to learn about popularization of portraiture among the commoners in the pre-modern Japan.

accurate historical facts as the writers of these records constantly and consistently claim that images have supernatural power. Such a compilation of case studies helps to assess how the viewers' psychological and behavioral responses to images are a reflection of the common belief in the power of images in pre-modern Japan.

Mention of various psychological and behavioral responses to images occurred throughout history and across cultures. David Freedberg, an art historian who specializes in 16th- and 17th-century European painting, provides insight into the power of images. Although Freedberg does not focus on the power of images in East Asian cultures, his work can help us better understand the relationship between the images and viewers. According to Freedberg, the term “response” refers to the symptoms of the relationship between image and beholder. He explains:

I will consider the active, outwardly markable responses of beholders, as well as the beliefs (insofar as they are capable of being recorded) that motivate them to specific actions and behavior. But such a view of response is predicated on the efficacy and the effectiveness (imputed or otherwise) of images. We must consider not only [the] beholders' symptoms and behavior, but also the effectiveness, efficacy, and vitality of images themselves; not only what beholders do, but also what images appear to do; not only what people do as a result of their relationship with imaged form, but also what they expect imaged form to achieve, and why they have such expectations at all.²²

Freedberg suggests that a link exists between the images and viewers. The power of images, therefore, depends upon the vitality of the images as well as the perceptions of the viewers. Those viewers who approach the images with certain expectations will have a stronger response

²² Freedberg, xxii (Introduction).

to the images than those individuals without expectations. The anecdotes that appear in this section will illustrate how belief in the power of images arouses emotions and evokes psychological and behavioral responses from beholders. These anecdotes also provide a foundation for future chapters where an understanding of the power of images will clarify why imperial portraiture exerts such a significant effect on viewers.

1.2.1 Spiritual Power in Japanese Portraits

A study of the chronological development of the spiritual power associated with secular portraits in pre-modern Japan is hampered by a lack of examples. Even though artists from the early periods undoubtedly painted faces of secular individuals, not many of them exist today.²³ While relatively many Buddhist paintings and sculptures from the Heian period remain to date, portraits of secular individuals, regardless of social status, are uncommon. It is easy to imagine that lower-class Japanese did not have the financial means to commission portraits. The lack of early portraits may be also due to the fact that portraits usually lose their significance soon after the death of the sitter. However, these two explanations do not apply to imperial portraits. Since the Japanese imperial family never lost its official status as supreme rulers, it never lost its significance. The art historian Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀 offers an alternative explanation for the paucity of portraits from early periods. In his essay “Kamakura bunka 鎌倉文化,” Akamatsu suggests that emperors and upper-class court nobles from the Heian period and earlier

²³ For example, carpenters, who built Hōryūji 法隆寺 in Nara in the early 7th century, left line drawings of male faces in the structure of Konjikidō Hall 金色堂 and the pagoda. From the late 8th century to the early 9th century, artists painted two male faces at the back panel of the *Taima mandara zushi* 当麻曼荼羅厨子, a wooden shrine for Taima mandara at Taima temple 当麻寺 in Nara. The use of the back panel suggests the hidden nature of the drawings. Today, it is impossible to determine whether or not these faces are portraits of actual persons or representations of graffiti. See *Shōwa shizaichō* 昭和資財帳: *Hōryūji no shihō* 法隆寺の至寶: *Kaiga* 絵画 6 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1986), 172-173. Katsuragi City History Museum 葛城市歴史博物館 exhibited the wooden panel from August 13 to 16, 2010. See *Nara shinbun* on August 13, 2010.

often resisted having their portraits painted because of their fear that political enemies might use their images to abuse and curse (*juso* 呪詛) them.²⁴

Scholars often refer to the following entries from *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 to reinforce Akamatsu's theory on the paucity of portraits in the pre-Kamakura periods. On 1173 (Jōan 承安 3) 9.9 and 12.7, Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207) wrote in his diary, *Gyokuyō*, of a mural project at Saishōkōin 最勝光院.²⁵ He writes that retired Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 (r. 1155-1158) commissioned Fujiwara Takanobu 藤原隆信 (1142–1205) to paint scenes from three imperial processions. Kanezane, who did not want to be included in the mural, exclaimed that he was fortunate to miss these processions.²⁶ Although Kanezane represents only one individual, his negative reaction toward the mural project may indicate that other courtiers in the 12th century also disliked being portrayed by artists.

On the other hand, other scholars, such as Ikeda Shinobu and Fujiwara Shigeo, have offered a more political interpretation of this event.²⁷ They explain that Kanezane was pleased to

²⁴ Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松 俊秀, “Kamakura bunka 鎌倉文化,” *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi* 岩波講座日本歴史: *Chūsei* 中世 1, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1967), 323-324. Although Akamatsu's theory still holds some prominence in the field, some Japanese scholars such as Yonekura Michio 米倉迪夫 and Fujiwara Shigeo 藤原重雄 argue that the theory is out of favor among some Japanese researchers. (Personal interviews conducted in August, 2009).

²⁵ Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実, *Gyokuyō* 玉葉, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai 名著刊行会, 1993), 318-319 and 332. In his diary, *Kikki* 吉記, Fujiwara (Yoshida) Tsunefusa 藤原(吉田)経房 also mentions this mural project. Fujiwara (Yoshida) Tsunefusa 藤原(吉田)経房, *Kikki* 吉記 1, in *Zōho shiryōtaisei* 増補史料大成 29 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1965), 19.

²⁶ Kanezane does not say anything about if he thought the portrait would be used against him. Furthermore, Akamatsu should not treat a group scene the same as a portrait of one person.

²⁷ Ikeda Shinobu 池田忍, “Inseiki niokeru gyōjie seisaku o megutte 院政期における行事絵制作をめぐる: Saishōkōin gosho shōjie no saikentō 最勝光院御所障子絵の再検討,” *Gakushūin daigaku bungakugaku kenkyū nenpō* 学習院大学文学部研究年報, 34 (1987): 1-17. Fujiwara Shigeo 藤原重雄, “Saishōkōin gosho shōjie nohto 最勝光院御所障子絵ノート: Gyokuyō kiji no kaishaku o megutte 玉葉記事の解釈をめぐる,” in *Harukanaru Chūsei* 遙かなる中世 13 (March, 1996): 28-41. Also see Itō Daisuke 伊藤大輔, “Shōzōhyōgen niokeru kotoba to mono 肖像表現における言葉と物: Nise-e no ichizuke o megutte 似絵の位置づけを巡って (Chū kinsei niokeru shōgyō to gijutsu, jujutsu shinkō 中・近世における生業と技術・呪術信仰),” *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyūhōkokusho* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告, vol. 157 (March, 2010): 175-194.

miss the procession because he did not want to be seen as a close supporter of retired Emperor Goshirakawa, the focus of the procession. I agree that it is more likely that Kanezane was not afraid of curses, but rather, disliked being associated with those who participated in the imperial procession illustrated in the mural.

However, in spite of my agreement with the political interpretation by Ikeda and Fujiwara, my research reveals that some 12th-century individuals saw a link between imperial portraits and curses. In the fifth book of *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, Jien 慈円 (1155-1225) wrote about the tension between the retired Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 (1127-1192, r. 1155-1158, 77th) and Emperor Nijō 二条 (1143-1165, r. 1158-1165, 78th). Jien explains that although their relationship thrived during the period from 1159 (Heiji 平治 1) to 1162 (Ōhō 応保 2), it changed after the following incident:

But then it was heard that the Emperor [Nijō] had been subjected to a curse. Lord Sanenaga reported that because an effigy of the Emperor had been drawn at the Upper Kamo Shrine, the effects of a curse were being manifested. By tying up and questioning one of the male mediums at the Shrine, it was disclosed that the curse had been inflicted upon the Emperor by such Go-Shirakawa aides as [Minamoto] Sukekata. So on the 2nd day of the 6th month of 1162, Sukekata was relieved of his position as Director of the Palace Repairs Office.”²⁸

This episode suggests that a portrait of Emperor Nijō was used to inflict a curse. Even though Jien does not elaborate on the manifestation of the curse, this incident does prove that there was a superstition that associated cursive powers with portraits in the late Heian and the early

²⁸ Jien 慈円, *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, in *Kokushi taikō* 国史大系 14 (Tokyo: Shūeisha 秀英舎, 1901), 509. Also see *Gukanshō*, JHTI, book five, 238. Translated by Delmer M. Brown and Ichiro Ishida. Delmer M. Brown and Ichiro Ishida, *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukansho, an Interpretive History of Japan Written in 1219* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 117.

Kamakura periods, which, as Akamatsu suggested, might have caused a paucity of portraits. Therefore, I think scholars should not simply dismiss the Akamatsu theory on paucity of early portraits, but clearly further research is still necessary on this issue.

The paucity of portraits changed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when a type of portrait called *nise-e* 似絵 (lit: likeness picture)²⁹ became popular among the courtiers. *Nise-e* realistically captures the essence of the individual sitters. Similar to today's caricature artists, *nise-e* artists, including Fujiwara Gōshin 藤原豪信 (d.u.), emphasized the most unique facial features of their sitters. Despite the alleged paucity of portraits from the early periods, especially of imperial portraits, and the reluctance of the upper-class to being portrayed, volume eleven of *Kokonchomonju* 古今著聞集 states that retired Emperor Gohorikawa 後堀河 (r. 1221-1234) liked *nise-e* and hired Fujiwara Nobuzane 藤原信実 (1177?- c. 1266) to depict lower class courtiers and soldiers.³⁰ Furthermore, during the 14th century, the court commissioned a handscroll of portraits of 21 emperors in *nise-e* style. This imperial portrait scroll, known as *Tenshi sekkan miei* 天子撰関御影, covers the reigns from Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156, r.

²⁹ Furukawa Miyuki 古川躬行 defines a portrait done with respect as “portrait” and a caricature created for pleasure as “*nise-e*.” Furukawa Miyuki 古川躬行. “Nise-e 似絵,” in *Kurokawa Mayori zenshū 2* 黒川真頼全集: *Teisei zōho* 訂正増補: *Kōko gafu* 考古画譜 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1911) chapter nine. Although it has not been sufficiently discussed, most scholars, including Akamatsu Toshihide and Miya Tsugio, believe that the taboo gradually dissipated in the early Kamakura period when a new type of portraiture became popular that could capture the photorealistic, physical likeness of the sitter. *Nise-e*, which reflects warriors’ taste for realism, may have emerged from the warrior culture. Like the warriors, courtiers during the Kamakura period became more realistic and fact-oriented and no longer feared superstitions. Akamatsu, “Kamakura bunka,” 324. And Miya Tsugio, *Nihon bijutsu kenkyū 10* 日本美術全集: *Kamakura no kaiga* 鎌倉の絵画: *Emaki to shōzōga* 絵巻と肖像画 (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha 学習研究社, 1979), 177. On the other hand, Itō Daisuke, another art historian, differently categorizes *nise-e* and portraits. Itō states that *nise-e* emerged along with *gyōji-e* 行事絵, pictures of current events, in the late Heian period. Itō Daisuke, “Shōzōhyōgen,” 175-194. and Itō Daisuke 伊藤大輔, “Nise-e no egakaretaba 似絵の描かれた場: Iwayuru jusoron o shiyani いわゆる呪詛論を視野に,” *Kokka* 國華, vol. 1274 (December, 2001): 9-18. More research is necessary to investigate how portraiture eventually evolved into a more acceptable practice in Japan.

³⁰ Tachibana Narisue 橘成季, “Gohorikawa-in no goji sakyōgon no daifu Nobuzane oshite hokumen nado no kage o kakashimetamōkoto 後堀河院の御時左京権大夫信実をして北面などの影を描かしめ給ふ事,” story #404, *Kokonchomonju* 古今著聞集, vol. 11, in Shimada Isao 島田勇雄 and Nagazumi Yasuaki 永積安明 ed., *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 84 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1966), 321.

1107-1123, 74th) to Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339, 96th).³¹ More research is necessary to investigate how traditional and *nise-e* portraiture eventually evolved into a more acceptable practice in Japan. If, as Akamatsu previously suggested, the courtiers first objected to the commissioning of their portraits due to their fears of curses, then why did the court commission a handscroll painting of *nise-e* portraits of emperors that captured their likeness? Further research on the development of *nise-e* may help us better understand how imperial portraiture eventually evolved into a more acceptable practice in Japan.

In addition to the malicious uses (cursive powers) of portraits, portraits of the deceased and living were also associated with positive spiritual power in pre-modern Japan. On 937 (Jōhei 承平 7) 8.6, *Shōmonki* 将門記³² states that when Taira no Yoshikane 平良兼 (d.u.) fought against his nephew, Masakado 将門 (? - 940), he brought death portraits of Takamochi 高茂 (d.u.), his late father, and Yoshimochi 良茂 (d.u.), his late brother (Masakado's father), to the battlefield. By doing so, he must have thought that the spirits of his late father and brother would protect him during the conflict.³³ In this way, Yoshikane also claimed his legitimacy to rule the Taira clan.

Portraits garner power not only by substituting for the deceased sitter, but portraits of the living also exerted mystical power. In the aforementioned 1254 compilation *Kokonchomonju*, Tachibana Narisue 橘成季 introduces an episode describing the spiritual power of a living monk's portrait. Tachibana states that in the third month of 1002 (Chōho 長保 4), retired

³¹ Aligned together in order of succession (except for Gokōgon), it perhaps is intended to suggest the continuity of the imperial line.

³² The writer of *Shōmonki* is anonymous.

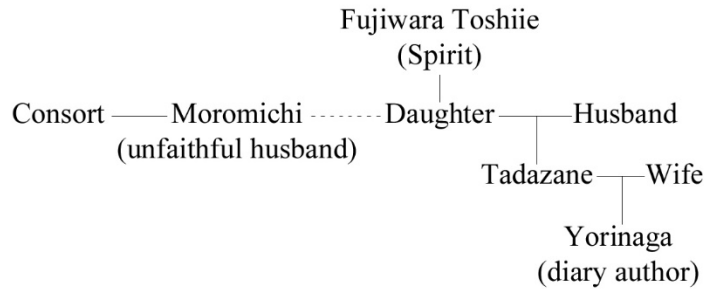
³³ *Shōmonki* 将門記, in *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 41 新編日本古典文学全集, edited by Yanase Kiyoshi 柳瀬喜代志 et al. (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 2002), 33-34. Takamochi 高茂 is written as 高望 and Yoshimochi 良茂 are written as 良望, 良持, in the other editions of *Shōmonki*. Moreover, some editions states that Yoshimasa 良将 is Masakado's father.

Emperor Hanayama 花山 (968-1008) visited an important Tendai Buddhist monk he admired named Shōkū 性空 (910-1007)³⁴ at Engyōji 圓教寺 on Mount Shosha 書写. The emperor secretly brought along the painter, Kose no Hirotaka 巨勢広貴 (d.u.) whom he commissioned to paint a portrait of Shōkū without the monk's permission. A sudden earthquake that caused the “mountains roaring and the earth shaking” occurred before the artist had painted a small birthmark/mole on the face of Shōkū. When the earthquake hit, the surprised artist dropped his paintbrush on the portrait and, oddly, the ink smear was at the exact location of the monk's birthmark. After the earthquake ended, Shōkū told Emperor Hanayama that it was caused by the emperor's order for the portrait.³⁵ The monk's statement may suggest that either nature reacted in a negative way to the creation of this portrait or nature aided the artist by helping him create an “exact” copy. This incident made the emperor admire the monk even more than he had before. In the 13th century, when Narisue included this story in his compilation, this portrait of Shōkū was still kept at the Engyōji Temple at Mount Shosha.

Taiki 台記, a diary written by Fujiwara Yōrinaga 藤原頼長 (1120-1156), also incorporates an example of the spiritual power of portraits. In an entry written on 1145 (Kyūan 久安 1) 12.24, Yōrinaga records a story his father, Tadazane 藤原忠実, had told him about the spirit of Yōrinaga's great grandfather, Toshiie 俊家. This diagram illustrates the relationships of the individuals in the story:

³⁴ Shōkū is also known as Shosha Shōnin 書写上人.

³⁵ Tachibana Narisue 橘成季, “Hanayama-in Shosha Shōnin Shōkū no zō o utsusashitamōkoto 花山院書写上人性空の像を写さし給う事,” story #386, *Kokonchomonju*, 310-311.



According to the story, the spirit of Toshiie granted the wish of his daughter, who later gave birth to Tadazane, by punishing Moromichi 師通, her unfaithful first husband. After a bitter divorce, Tadazane's mother commissioned a portrait of her deceased father Toshiie (Tadazane's grandfather). She worshipped in front of the portrait and pleaded to Toshiie for revenge. Toshiie soon appeared to her in a dream telling her not to worry because he would act on her behalf. Soon after, Moromichi passed away, probably because of Toshiie's act of revenge.³⁶ This story exemplifies the belief in the connection between a portrait and the sitter's spirit and that a portrait was thought to function as a connection between the living and the dead. In this case, the portrait (or the spirit of the painted deceased) protected the daughter.

It was also believed that the spirit of the deceased resided in his or her portrait. According to *Fujisawa Shōjōkōji kiroku* 藤沢清浄光寺記録, after the death of Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339, 96th), a paranormal event happened. Emperor Godaigo, or perhaps the spirit of the emperor, temporarily appeared at the moment when the artist completed a portrait of the emperor by painting the pupils of the eyes.³⁷ This fourteenth-century episode suggests that the act of dotting the eyes transmitted the spirit of the emperor and allowed it to reside within the

³⁶ Fujiwara Yorinaga 藤原頼長, *Taiki* 台記 1, edited by Zōho Shiryōtaisei Kankōkai 増補史料大成刊行会, in *Zōho Shiryōtaisei* 増補史料大成 23 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1989), 167.

³⁷ *Fujisawa Shōjōkōji kiroku* 藤沢清浄光寺記録. See the section under “Godaigo tennō mikage no koto 後醍醐天皇御影事.” 国立公文書館 Kokuritsu kōbunshokan (National Archive of Japan), call number: 192-0553.

mortuary portrait, thereby infusing the image with life (spirit).³⁸ The power of portraits lies in their ability to make the spirit of the deceased come alive.

According to *Chinsō reigen ki* 頂相靈驗記, written on 1331 (Genkō 元弘 1) 9.3. a disciple of Hōtō Kokushi 法燈国師 brought a scroll portrait of his late master to Myōgoku 明極, a monk from Kenchōji, and requested him to write inscriptions and sign the painting in preparation for Hōtō Kokushi's 33rd death anniversary. Unfortunately, Myōgoku was sick that day, so he left the rolled-up portrait on a nearby folding screen without working on it. Three days later, Myōgoku's room shook, and the portrait jumped up and hit the screen four times. Myōgoku then understood that the spirit of Hōtō Kokushi residing in the portrait was urging him to complete the task.³⁹ Fourteenth-century Japanese not only considered the portraits as containers for the deceased spirit of the sitter, but they also associated portraits with supernatural powers.

1.2.2 Spiritual Power in Japanese Portrait Sculptures

Portrait statues exerted power in similar ways to portrait paintings. In his diary, *Taiki*, Fujiwara Yorinaga wrote on 1155 (Kyūju 久寿 2) 8.27 that his enemies had accused him of vandalizing an image of *tenkō* 天公,⁴⁰ located on Mt. Atago.⁴¹ When allegedly visiting this world, the spirit of

³⁸ This story derived from the Chinese theory by Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (c. 345-406), a painter from the Sixth dynasty, and the famous Tang dynasty story of painted dragons flying out of the wall as soon as the artist painted the pupils of the dragons' eyes. For Gu, the act of dotting the eyes transmits the spirit and allows it to reside within the image, infusing the image with life. Susan Bush and Shih Hsio-yen, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA; and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1985), 14. and Audrey Spiro, "New Light on Gu Kaizhi: Windows of the Soul," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, no. 16 (Fall 1988): 12-13. For the story of painted dragons (*hualong dianjing* 畫龍點睛), see Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記, vols. 10, in *Huashi congshu* 畫史叢書 I, compiled by Yu Anlan 于安瀾, 1962 (Taipei; Wen-shih-che, 1972), 90.

³⁹ *Chinsō reigen ki* 頂相靈驗記, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 續群書類從, vol. 13b (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1926), 1069.

⁴⁰ According to *Kokugo daijiten*, *tenkō* refers to *tentei* 天帝 and/or *jōtei* 上帝 ("Lord of Heaven"). In this incident, *tenkō* refers to Emperor Konoe.

⁴¹ Fujiwara Yorinaga, *Taiki* 2, 168. The primary text does not specify whether the image (像) of *tenkō* is a painting or sculpture.

Emperor Konoe 近衛 (1139-1155, r. 1141-1155, 76th) spoke through a *miko* (巫 female spirit medium)⁴² that he had died of an eye-related illness because someone had pounded nails into the eyes of his image.⁴³ Upon investigation, it was determined that the image did have nails inserted into its eyes exactly as the spirit of the emperor had described. Monks residing on Mt. Atago reported that the vandalism had occurred five or six years prior to 1155.⁴⁴ Though enemies of Yorinaga accused him of cursing Emperor Konoe by vandalizing the image, there were doubts about his guilt due to the time lapse between the heinous act and the emperor's death. If the vandalizing of the image had occurred five or six years prior, as the monks claimed, it is unlikely that the monks would have left the nails intact for so many years. Despite discrepancies of time, this episode still suggests that it was common to believe in the spiritual connection between an image and the sitter; here, the image and the emperor. This incident, along with many of the following ones, describes the portraits' direct connection with the spirit of the deceased that then links the deceased to the living.⁴⁵

A record titled *Goharetsu no oboe* 御破裂之覚, compiled in 1608 by an anonymous monk from Tōnomine 多武峰 temple, lists numerous “splinter” incidents.⁴⁶ Prior to a natural disaster (e.g. earthquake) or a political conflict (e.g. betrayal, disloyalty, or wars), wooden statues of Fujiwara no Kamatari 藤原鎌足 (614-669), the founder of Fujiwara clan,

⁴² For more information on *miko*, see Lori Meeks, “The Disappearing Medium: Reassessing the Place of Miko in the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan,” *History of Religions*, vol. 50, no. 3, New Studies in Medieval Japanese Religions (February, 2011): 208-260.

⁴³ The diary did not state to whom the spirit of Emperor Konoe spoke.

⁴⁴ Fujiwara Yorinaga, *Taiki* 2, 168.

⁴⁵ As Chapter two will explain, there are two types of portraits. The first one, a longevity portrait (*juzō* 寿像), is created while the sitter is still alive, and the second one, a more common form, is a posthumous portrait (*izō* 遺像).

⁴⁶ *Goharetsu no oboe* 御破裂之覚 in *Shintō taikēi* 5 神道大系: *Jinja hen* 5 神社編: *Yamato no kuni* 大和国, Compiled by Sakamoto Tarō 阪本太郎 et al. (Tokyo Seikyōsha 精興社, 1987), 304-316.

spontaneously splintered to predict the impending catastrophe.⁴⁷ By using a record called *Haretsushū* 破裂集, compiled by an anonymous author in the early 17th century,⁴⁸ Kuroda Satoshi 黒田智, an art historian, found that the record contains entries on 38 incidents from 898-1614.⁴⁹ Kuroda also counted 14 other incidents documented in historical records, such as *Taiki* (12th century), *Gyokuyō* (12th century), *Moromori ki* 師守記 (14th century), and *Sanetakakōki* (15th century), where statues of Fujiwara no Kamatari (or his spirit residing in the statues) had forewarning powers.

Sō Chōgen kishōmon 僧重源起請文 from the Kamakura period reinforces the idea of portraits having spiritual power. Chōgen 重源 (d.u.) told his disciples to house a wooden statue of him at Amidaji temple.⁵⁰ To chastise those individuals who went against his will, Chōgen asked his disciples to leave the statue outside the temple and close the gates. He also told them to stop practicing rituals, striking gongs, and offering flowers, incense and food. Perhaps Chōgen hoped that the lack of such rituals conducted in front of the portrait would free his spirit from the portrait. Chōgen then promised that he would release illnesses and an “evil army (*magun* 魔軍).”⁵¹ Again, this episode may suggest that Chōgen, by physically separating himself from the portrait, gave himself the power to attack the enemies of the temple while still allowing the portrait to serve as a guardian of the temple.

⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that Kamatari’s head and face, the focus of portraits, cracked more often than other parts of his body.

⁴⁸ According to Kuroda Satoshi, *Haretsushū* was written at the beginning of the early modern period (*kinsei* 近世, c. 1568-1867).

⁴⁹ Kuroda Satoshi 黒田智, *Chūsei shōzō no bunkashi* 中世肖像の文化史 (Tokyo: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 2007), 185-186. For more information on “exploding” statue of Fujiwara Kamatari, see chapter five of *Chūsei shōzō no bunkashi*.

⁵⁰ It is unclear whether the portrait of Chōgen was a death portrait or not.

⁵¹ *Sō Chōgen kishōmon* 僧重源起請文, *Suō Amidaji monsho* 周防阿弥陀寺文書, in *Kamakura ibun* 鎌倉遺文, compiled by Takeuchi Riō 竹内理三, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō 東京堂, 1971), 174 (text # 292).

In a story written in 1478, Nakahara Harutomi 中原春富 (d.u.) describes a visit from abbot Seishū 聖秀 (d.u.) who told him a supernatural tale about two wooden portrait sculptures at Sennyūji. During the Ōnin War, Sennyūji monks wanted to transport two portrait sculptures of Emperors Gokōgon and Goen'yū from the temple to a safer place. However, Emperor Goen'yū appeared in the dream of a caretaker of the sculptures and ordered him not to relocate the portraits from Sennyūji. Despite the dangers of the Ōnin War, the monks stored the portraits at the temple. When a battle neared, the Sennyūji monks removed only the heads of the sculptures and took the heads to a more secure environment.⁵² Though they had to abandon the temple in the end, the monks' concerns for the portraits and the way they rescued them reflect their belief that the portraits, like the emperors they represent, have the capability of guarding the monks and their temple against danger.

As the above textual references to portrait sculptures at Sennyūji exemplify, it was believed that the spirit of the person represented in the portrait also resided in the portrait. This became evident when Sennyūji celebrated the opening of its Reimei Hall in 1669, the site where imperial portraits and spirit tablets were housed. In accordance with Emperor Gomizunoo's order, the monk Tenkeisaidō 天圭西堂 (d.u.) presided over the "Eye Opening Ceremony (*kaigen kuyō* 開眼供養)" of a newly constructed wooden portrait sculpture of Emperor Shijō.⁵³ The monks called to the spirit of the emperor and invited it to reside in the sculpture through this pupil-painting ceremony, consecrating the portrait of the emperor.

⁵² Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, *Sennyūji shi* 泉涌寺史: *Honbun hen* 本文編 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1984), 213.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 378.

In 1713, the monks relocated this portrait of Emperor Shijō to a recently built temple behind the Reimei Hall.⁵⁴ Because the monks viewed the portrait as an embodiment of the emperor, they could not simply move the sculpture to the Spirit Hall as if it were an ordinary object. Instead, the Sennyūji monks organized an elaborate ceremony (*gosenza shiki* 御遷座式) for this relocation. This ritual reflected the philosophy that transporting an imperial portrait from one hall to the other was similar to a procession of the emperor himself. As these examples suggest, pre-modern Japanese considered portrait sculptures not only as a formal representation, but also as a source of spiritual power.

The topic of spiritual power that derives from the portrait's main function of commemorating the deceased sitter will be discussed in depth in the following chapter. The majority of the above examples are stories based on superstitions, not records of historical facts, and represent the common belief of the spiritual power of figural representations in pre-modern Japanese society. Although it is true that the Japanese gave special emphasis to imperial portraits due to the nature of the subject, they traditionally viewed all portraits as more than mere mirror representations of an individual's outward appearance. Therefore, these examples of the spiritual power of portraits provide insight into the purpose and function of the imperial portraits discussed in Chapters two to four.

1.3 STATE OF THE FIELD OF JAPANESE IMPERIAL PORTRAITURE

Scholars both in and outside of Japan have given little attention to the study of Japanese portraits. The following reasons may explain the lack of attention given to this subject until relatively recently. First, the scarcity of extant original examples of early portraiture has been a

⁵⁴ Ibid., 416.

problem, making it difficult to find examples. The lack of original paintings by the traditional masters of figure painting has especially discouraged further scholarship in this field. Because of their interest in aesthetically pleasing “masterpieces,” scholars did not consider the quality of the extant portraits worthy of their time and effort. Secondly, the Japanese, like the Chinese, view landscape paintings as a worthy scholarly genre due to their deep, philosophical interpretive value. As a result, Japanese scholars traditionally look down upon figure paintings. Later Japanese artists and connoisseurs, therefore, generally place figure and portrait paintings on a lower artistic level than landscapes. This historical disinterest in portraiture in Japan set the course of scholarship today. Such disinterest leads to the third reason why Japanese portraits have been neglected: a deficit of textual documentation, including both primary and secondary sources, has discouraged many scholars from further exploring this topic. Japanese classical literature rarely mentions portrait painting. Fourth, in the West, scholars might have given little attention to Japanese portrait painting because these images lack “realistic” depiction. By applying such Western art criteria as volume and perspective to judge Japanese figure paintings, Western art historians might have dismissed Japanese figure paintings as not worthy of study.

Within the genre of Japanese portraiture, the study of the subcategory of imperial portraits lacks research and publication. First, since imperial family members and close retainers commissioned portraits to commemorate the late emperors and privately used the portraits during imperial commemorative ceremonies before the Meiji period, scholars might have not known about the existence of these portraits until the second half of the 20th century. Second, Japanese scholars viewed their emperors as divine until the end of World War II and did not consider imperial portraits an appropriate academic subject until recently. Scholars needed time to adjust to the concept of emperors as acceptable research subjects. Therefore, most publications on

imperial portraiture did not appear until the late 20th century. As a result, not many scholarly publications on imperial portraits exist. Most publications are primarily biographical studies of the emperors that gloss over any examination of the portraits in their socio-political context; they rarely consider the cultural and religious significance of the pictures.

The third reason why the study of pre-modern imperial portraits has been neglected is because past scholars, both in Japan and the West, who studied the Kamakura through the Edo periods, have focused on the imperial court loss of power due to the rise of the *bakufu* 幕府, the warrior governments. For example, when the retired Emperor Gotoba and the active Emperor Godaigo attempted but failed to overthrow the *bakufu* in 1221 and 1333, respectively, the *bakufu* exiled these emperors. Furthermore, the severe poverty of the imperial court slowly but inevitably caused the ruination of the imperial palace. Therefore, until recently, many scholars dismissed or minimized the emperors' role in shaping medieval and pre-modern Japanese history and did not study pre-modern imperial portraits.⁵⁵ This attitude may explain, in part, the emphasis placed on warrior portraits and the lack of interest in the study of imperial portraits from the Kamakura to the Edo periods.⁵⁶ Through the careful examination of historical

⁵⁵ Scholars, such as Herman Ooms, exemplify this attitude. Ooms, who focuses on the Tokugawa government's quest for a new, sole center of authority, argues that the Tokugawa leadership skillfully used the emperor to eventually "rob" him of his prestige and authority. Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998).

⁵⁶ A case study of a hanging scroll portrait of a warrior in the collection of the Moriya family exemplifies the emphasis placed by scholars on warrior portraiture. Akamatsu Toshihide (a historian), Fujimoto Masayuki (a historian), Hagino Minahiko (a historian), Kuroda Hideo (a historian) Kuroita Katsumi (a historian), Shimosaka Mamoru (a literature and history professor), and Tani Shinichi (art historian) all discussed the true identity of the warrior. Akamatsu, Toshihide 赤松俊秀, "Moriyakebon den Ashikaga Takauji zō ni tsuite 守屋家本伝足利尊氏像について," *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 250 (1969): 66-67; Fujimoto Masayuki 藤本正行, "Moriyake-bon busō kiba mushazō sairon 守屋家本武装騎馬武者像再論," *Shigaku* 史学 53-4 (1984): 25-39; Fujimoto Masayuki 藤本正行, "Moriyake shozō busō kiba mushazō no ichikōsatsu 守屋家所蔵武装騎馬武者の一考察," *Kacchū bugu kenkyū* 甲冑武具研究 32 (1974); Hagino Minahiko 萩野三七彦, "Moriyake-bon den Ashikaga Takaujizō no kenkyū 守屋家本伝足利尊氏像の研究," *Kokka* 国華 vols. 906 and 907 (Sept. and Oct., 1967): 7-23 and 7-13; Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男, "Kibamushazō no zōshu 騎馬武者像の像主: shōzō to 'Taiheiki' 肖像と太平記," in Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男, *Shōzōga o yomu* 肖像画を読む (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1998) 23-52.

documents, diaries, and letters, however, recent scholarship⁵⁷ reveals that the court, despite its decreased influence, remained a symbol of political authority. As recent scholarship proves, the institution established by the court has such deep roots that the warrior governments had no choice but to seek sanction from the emperor to legitimize their rule.

Finally, limited accessibility to original imperial portraits and related documents has also discouraged scholars from exploring this field. Most of the primary documents are currently housed either in the Imperial Household Agency or at temples, both of which are reluctant to exhibit their holdings to scholars. Because the general public can now apply for permission to use such archives as the Kunaichō Shoryōbu (Imperial Household Agency Library) and because some temples have established galleries to openly exhibit these portraits to the public, the time is ripe to research imperial portraiture.

Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美, "Ashikaga Takauji no gazō nitsuite 足利尊氏の画像について," *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 (1920): 31-1; Shimosaka Mamoru 下坂守, "Moriyake-bon kibamushazō nitsuite 守屋家本騎馬武者像の像主について," *Gakusō* 学叢 4 (1982); Tani Shin'ichi 谷信一, "Shutsujin ei no kenkyū 出陣影の研究: Jizōin bon wa Ashikaga Yoshihisa zō naru koto 足利義久像なること," (Research on mounted-warrior portraits: That the Jizōin painting is a portrait of Ashikaga Yoshihisa), *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 67 (July 1937): 269-79; and 68 (August, 1937): 352-61.

⁵⁷ For example, Cameron Hurst argues that the warriors from the Kamakura period needed to act on behalf of someone with the proper pedigree. Elizabeth Berry suggests that Hideyoshi, like Yoritomo and all later shoguns, strengthened the base of his legitimacy with an imperial endorsement due to his skepticism of his vassals and their questionable alliances with him. Bob Wakabayashi explains that Japanese society perceives imperial court ranks and titles as reflections of the hierarchy of intra- and inter-class status recognized throughout Japan. He adds that the Japanese base their perceptions of honor and self-esteem on their given titles and their royal pedigrees. After examining the *Kuge shohatto*, shogunal edicts designed to regulate the behavior of the court, Lee Butler concludes that the *bakufu* is not a destroyer of the court tradition but a supporter of it. Cameron G. Hurst, "The Kōbu Polity: Court-Bakufu Relations in Kamakura Japan," in Jeffrey P. Mass, *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History* (Stanford University Press, 1982), 1-28; Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "In Name Only: Imperial Sovereignty in Early Modern Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 17.1 (1991): 25-57; Lee Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan 1467-1680: Resilience and Renewal* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002); Lee Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulations for the Court: A Reappraisal," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 54:2 (December, 1994): 509-551.

1.3.1 State of the Field of Japanese Imperial Portraiture: Previous Publications on Pre-modern Imperial Portraits

Although the scholarship is sparse, some scholars have researched pre-modern Japanese imperial portraiture and published their findings. For example, Akamatsu Toshihide raised the aforementioned concept of *habakari* (cursing rituals) to explain the scarcity of imperial portraits before the 13th century in Japan. Allegedly, courtiers first detested commissioning portraits because they feared malicious users would exploit and/or vandalize them. Even though Akamatsu's idea seems too simplistic, his theory still holds some prominence in the field as a way to explain the paucity of imperial portraits from the Heian period (794-1185). Other recent scholars often mention Akamatsu's theory, but they have not convincingly challenged it, perhaps due to a lack of evidence. Although no publications give alternative explanations, Japanese scholars, such as Fujiwara Shigeo 藤原重雄 and Yonekura Michio 米倉迪夫, consider Akamatsu's theory outdated. Some scholars, including Fujiwara and Yonekura, speculate that more portraits must have been created in the Heian period but the lack of information makes it difficult to prove such speculations. The lack of research conducted on portraits from the Heian period is most likely to blame for the influence Akamatsu's theory has had, and I advocate for a much needed reexamination of this subject.

Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男, a Japanese historian, published several short articles on imperial portraits.⁵⁸ He then compiled some of these articles and wrote a book titled *Ō noshintai*

⁵⁸ Kuroda also wrote an article on Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339, 96th). Kuroda discusses on how the artists used symbolism to represent the emperor as a deity in a 14th century portrait. This Daitokuji portrait characterizes the emperor as the Son of Heaven, Shinto deity, and Shōtoku Taishi (574-622). To symbolize his imperial authority, Emperor Godaigo wears an imperial robe and sits beside a sword of Izumo Shrine. The emperor also appears as a Shinto deity guarded by Komainu, a pair of shrine guardian dogs. Since Shōtoku Taishi belief was popular in the 14th century, Kuroda suggests that the artist depicted Emperor Godaigo as a reincarnation of Shōtoku Taishi. Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男, "Go-Daigo tennō to Shōtoku Taishi 後醍醐天皇と聖徳太子," *Rekishī o yominaosu 歴史を読み直す* 3 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1994).

ō no shōzō 王の身体王の肖像. In the imperial portrait chapter, Kuroda visually analyzes the portrait of Emperor Godaigo, which Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 introduced⁵⁹ and introduces a group of imperial portraits from the Edo period, which is the focus of my second chapter.⁶⁰ Like other historians, he discusses the biographies of the emperors. However, unlike other historians, Kuroda tries to obtain more information from a visual analysis of these portraits.

Because a lack of information makes it difficult to research portraits from the Heian period (9th -10th centuries), Fujiwara Shigeo investigates portrait paintings, which were retroactively painted several centuries later, of emperors from this time. Although retroactive depictions of historical emperors are not reliable records of the period, scholars can collect other information, such as the reason for the retrospective creation of these portraits.⁶¹ In addition, by exploring the provenance of a portrait of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786-842; r. 809-823, 52nd) created in the 14th century, Fujiwara investigates how these imperial portraits were treated in the 20th century.⁶² Because Fujiwara's essay is a short chapter in a book on Japanese portraits, Fujiwara could not elaborate on his thesis. However, his publication is important because he reminded other scholars to expand their research beyond the time period in which the sitter was active.

Murashige Yasushi 村重寧 (1998) and Miyajima Shin'ichi 宮島新一 (1994 and 2010) turn to the textual records to learn more about imperial images. In his overview of imperial

⁵⁹ Kuroda was inspired and influenced by Amino Yoshihiko's 1986 book. Amino Yoshihiko 網野喜彦, *Igyō no ōken* 異形の王権 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1986).

⁶⁰ Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男, *Ō noshintai ō no shōzō* 王の身体王の肖像 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1993): 248-275. Kuroda also investigates a scroll painting titled *Tennō sekkan miei* 天皇撰関御影. However, he mainly discusses the identification of nine monks in the scroll and the date of creation of the scroll.

⁶¹ Fujiwara Shigeo 藤原重雄, "Heian shoki tennōzō no shōzōshi 平安初期天皇像の肖像誌," in Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男, *Shōzōga o yomu* 肖像画を読む (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1998), 141-174.

⁶² A German person purchased a portrait of Emperor Saga in 1906. The German government gave the portrait back to Emperor Shōwa 昭和 (1901-1989, r. 1926-1989, 124th) as a gift in 1935. See Tokyo Asahi shinbun 朝日新聞 (morning edition) on 1935 (Shōwa 昭和 10) 8.16. How this person originally purchased the painting is unclear.

portraiture in *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術, Murashige effectively uses extant textual records.⁶³ For example, he introduces *Masukagami* 増鏡, a 20-volume imperial history written by Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388) and compiled in the mid-14th century. An entry in *Masukagami* states that Fujiwara Nobuzane 藤原信実 (1177?-c. 1266) portrayed Emperor Gotoba before the emperor retired and became a monk.⁶⁴ This textual document identifies the artist and the provenance of the portrait contextualizing Japanese portrait practice. Similar to Murashige, Miyajima has also compiled primary documents related to Japanese portrait practice. Specifically, in his first book, Miyajima chooses to focus on portraits of Emperors Goshirakawa 後白河 (r. 1155-1158) and Gotoba because relatively more information on their portraits is available. In his second book, he also applies visual analysis and includes a section on the portrait of Emperor Godaigo.⁶⁵ Miyajima even identifies the building where Emperor Godaigo sits within the Imperial Palace in Kyoto.⁶⁶ Miyajima's two books on Japanese portraiture not only have sections on imperial portraits but also contain chapters on broader topics such as portraits of monks, poets, shoguns, warriors, and women. Since extant records on portraits are limited, Murashige and Miyajima share many of the same resources, such as *Masukagami* introduced above. Both Murashige and Miyajima have successfully illustrated that careful examination of historical records can supplement the lack of original imperial portraits and enrich this field of study.

⁶³ Murashige Yasushi 村重寧, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 387: *Tennō kuge no shōzō* 天皇公家の肖像, published by Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 国立博物館, (Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂, 1998).

⁶⁴ This portrait was later given to Gotoba's mother.

⁶⁵ Daitokuji 大徳寺 in Kyoto owns this 13th-century portrait of Emperor Godaigo. In this portrait, the emperor faces a courtier, Madenokōji Nobufusa 万里小路宣房 (1258-1348).

⁶⁶ Miyajima Shinichi 宮島新一, *Shōzōga no shisen* 肖像画の視線: Minamoto Yoritomo zō kara Ukiyo-e made 源頼朝像から浮世絵まで (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1996, 2010), 21-26.

Komatsu Shigemi, another historian, analyzes the group images of 21 emperors in the *Tenshi sekkan miei* 天子撰関御影, a set of three handscrolls created in the late 14th century. While two scrolls cover portraits of *sekkan* 撰関 regents and *daijin* 大臣 ministers from the Heian (794-1185) to the Kamakura (1185-1333) periods, the third scroll covers the reigns from Emperors Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123, 74th) to Godaigo. Aligned together in order of succession (except for Gokōgon), this handscroll confirms a continuity of the imperial line. The *Tenshi sekkan miei* scroll is depicted in the style of *nise-e*, which literally means “likeness picture.” With *nise-e* portraits, artists from the Kamakura period portrayed their sitters by capturing the essence and personality of each individual. Due to this style, scholars are uncertain whether to categorize this handscroll as a collection of imperial portraits. The study of the *Tenshi sekkan miei* scroll and the definition of *nise-e* are still in early stages but, thus far, no one has yet successfully explained what triggered this change of style or analyzed the influence of this stylistic change on Japanese imperial portraiture.⁶⁷

Andrew Goble emerges as the only scholar with any publications on pre-modern imperial portraiture in English. Influenced by research done by Kuroda Hideo, Goble expands Kuroda’s iconographic examination by giving attention to historical background in order to contextualize the portraits of Emperor Godaigo. Goble then suggests that Ashikaga Takauji, a warrior ruler who rebelled against the emperor, became interested in pacifying the spirit of the emperor by commissioning commemorative imperial portraits.⁶⁸ Even though the iconographic analysis by Kuroda and contextualization by Goble have contributed to the study of these portraits of

⁶⁷ Scholars such as Miyajima Shinichi 宮島新一 have published overview of Japanese portraits. I have limited my list here in order to focus on pre-modern imperial portraiture. Miyajima Shinichi 宮島新一, *Shōzōga* 肖像画 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1994). See the bibliography at the end.

⁶⁸ Andrew Goble, “Visions of an Emperor,” in Mass, Jeffrey P. *The Origins of Japan’s Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 113-137.

Godaigo, they do not address how and where these portraits were displayed and who had access to them, information crucial for understanding the usage of imperial portraits.

Although these scholars published documents on non-imperial portraits, publications by Quitman Eugene Phillips (2000), James Dobbins (2001), Gregory Levine (2001), and Karen Gerhart (2009) introduce the Japanese portrait practice during the medieval period to English readers. Phillips, who specifically researched portraits of the late 15th century, focuses on the process of making portraiture. By examining the production of images, both of the living and of the recently deceased, he investigates the social aspects, such as patronage, of portraits of secular elites. For example, Phillips refers to the diary written by Kisen Shūshō 龜泉集証 (d. 1493), the Zen chief monk of the Inryōken 蔭涼軒 cloister at Shōkokuji 相国寺, on auditioning various painters for his portrait commission. Phillips argues that “portrait commissions in an institution did not always automatically go to a painter-in-service or to an attached atelier.”⁶⁹ Furthermore, influenced by Tani Shin’ichi 谷信一, Phillips introduces *kamigata* 紙形, a sketch or study of a sitter done prior to making a portrait.⁷⁰ He explains that the Japanese attitude toward portraiture emphasized integrating the marks of individual identities with the attributes appropriate to their social identities, not turning them into representations of inner selves.⁷¹ Phillips concludes that a physical likeness was not the first priority in pre-modern Japanese portraiture.

Expanding the influential research on Chinese portraits of Chan (J: Zen) monk paintings by T. Griffith Foulk, Robert H. Sharf, and Elizabeth Horton Sharf,⁷² James Dobbins, a scholar of religion, examines the use of Japanese monk portraits. In his investigation of a portrait of

⁶⁹ Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 149.

⁷⁰ Tani Shin’ichi 谷信一, “Toyo Taikō gazōron 豊太閣画像論,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究, vol. 92 (1939), 286.

⁷¹ Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 164.

⁷² T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, 149-219. and Elizabeth Horton Sharf, “Chinzō and Ōbaku Portraiture,” *Contacts Between Cultures. Eastern Asia: Literature and Humanities*, edited by Bernard Hung-Kay Luk, vol. 3 (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press), 1992:621 and 422-427.

Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1263), the founder of Jōdo Shinshū, Dobbins explains that since the 13th century, Shin Buddhism in Japan was centered on images of Amida Buddha as well as portraits of Shinran.⁷³ By studying religious texts, Dobbins analyzes the way such portraits functioned as pictorial displays of the patriarchal lineage, as sacred embodiments of exalted persons, and as substitutes for the deceased in commemorative rituals.⁷⁴

Gregory Levine, an art historian, explains how the mid-17th century statue of a Zen monk transformed into the statue of the founder of the Kōrin'in 興臨院 Temple in Kyoto.⁷⁵ This might imply that the main focus of the statue of the founder lay in creating lineage and tradition, not in establishing verisimilitude, authentic identity, or an effigy of the sitter. It might also suggest that the alteration of the monk's identity to determine temple history was more important than the attainment of the likeness of the temple founder.

By treating the portraits of the noble family of Nakahara Moromori 中原師守 (act. 14th c) as “material culture,” not as art, Gerhart explains portraits as instruments of mortuary rituals.⁷⁶ She analyzes the commemorative usage of the images by placing these 14th century portraits of the Nakahara family in their original Buddhist ritualistic context. Furthermore, by referring to the funerary procession scene from *Nichiren Shōnin chūgasan* 日蓮聖人註画讃 painted in the late 15th to early 16th century, Gerhart argues that a painted scroll carried by one monk in the

⁷³ James C. Dobbins, “Portraits of Shinran in Medieval Pure Land Buddhism,” in Elizabeth Horton Sharf and Robert H. Sharf, *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001): 19-48.

⁷⁴ Akamatsu Toshihide also focuses on a portrait of Shinran, known as the “Kagami” portrait at Nishi Honganji. Judging from the 12 horizontal crease lines running across the painting, Akamatsu suggests that this portrait was once folded before it was later mounted as a hanging scroll. He proposed that this compactly folded painting may have been placed inside a wooden sculpture of Shinran for veneration purpose. Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, “Shinran zō nituite 親鸞像について,” *Bukkyō bijutsu* 23 仏教美術: *Shōzō bijutsu tokushū* 肖像美術特集 (Tokyo: 思文閣出版, 1954), 60-62.

⁷⁵ Gregory P.A. Levine, “Switching Sites and Identities: The Founder’s Statue at the Buddhist Temple Korin’in,” *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 83, no. 1 (March, 2001): 72-104. Also see Gregory P.A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

⁷⁶ Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*.

procession is a portrait of the deceased. The presence of this portrait explains how portraits were used in funeral rites as well as at the memorial services by this time. Because pre-modern portraits were objects of mortuary rituals, they were privately used and were not meant to be publicly displayed. Gerhart's discussion on the distinction between art and material culture, analysis of the mortuary functions of portraits of lay persons, and descriptions of imperial funerals (e.g. Emperor Goichijō) is helpful when analyzing pre-modern imperial mortuary portraits. Although research done by Phillips, Dobbins, Levine, and Gerhart do not focus specifically on imperial portraits, their research does enrich the analysis of various aspects of pre-modern imperial portraiture.

1.3.2 State of the Field of Japanese Imperial Portraiture: Previous Publications on Modern Imperial Portraits

Although publications on imperial portraits are limited, many of those that do exist focus on portraits of Emperor Meiji. Those scholars listed below have both inspired and aided me in my research of portraits of Emperor Meiji.

Sasaki Suguru 佐々木克, a historian who researches the imperial processions of Emperor Meiji, explains that the shift in political circumstance is reflected in the eventual change in the artistic representation of the emperor in woodblock prints.⁷⁷ After visually analyzing some woodblock prints on imperial processions, Taki Kōji 多木浩二 has written the most important publication on *goshin'ei* 御真影 (1888, Meiji 21), where he discusses the political and religious aspects of the “official” portrait of Emperor Meiji. The artist of *goshin'ei* depicted Emperor Meiji as a political and military authority and Taki suggests that the Meiji government

⁷⁷ Sasaki Suguru 佐々木克, “Tennōzō no keiseikatei 天皇像の形成過程,” in *Kokumin bunka no keisei* 国民文化の形成, edited by Asukai Masamichi 飛鳥井雅道, (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1984).

effectively used the portrait as a means of propaganda to elevate the emperor to the status of a divinity.⁷⁸

Iwamoto Tsutomu 岩本努, a historian who analyzes the psychological effects of the official portrait of Emperor Meiji on the Japanese, focuses on several case studies of *goshin'ei*-related deaths. His findings suggest that the Japanese considered the portrait as the emperor himself. Iwamoto investigates how the Japanese people eventually treated the portrait of the emperor as a holy object in itself — an icon infused with a meaning that went beyond the simple appearance of the emperor.⁷⁹

In addition to historians, scholars of education have touched upon this topic of portraits of Emperor Meiji in relation to the *Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo* 教育ニ関スル勅語, better known as *Kyōiku chokugo*, the *Imperial Rescript of Education*; this document structured the new national educational system and defined the Japanese national moral codes. (Chapter four will analyze in depth the relationship between this document and imperial portraits). Scholars, such as Kobayashi Teruyuki 小林輝行, Ono Masaaki 小野雅章, and Satō Hideo 佐藤秀夫, approach this topic from the field of education.⁸⁰

Furthermore, two museums held exhibitions on imperial images, one in 1998 and the second in 2001, resulting in two catalogues. First, an exhibition catalogue was published along with the exhibition, “Portrait of Emperor Meiji,” held by the Meiji Jingū Hōmotsuden 明治神宮

⁷⁸ Taki Kōji 多木浩二, *Tennō no shōzō* 天皇の肖像 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1988 and 2002).

⁷⁹ Iwamoto Tsutomu 岩本努, *Goshin'ei ni junjita kyōshitachi* 「御真影」に殉じた教師たち (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten 大月書店, 1989)

⁸⁰ Kobayashi Teruyuki 小林輝行, “Naganokenka shogakkō e no goshin'ei no kafu to sono fukyū I-III 長野県下諸学校への「御真影」の下付とその普及 (I-III),” *Shinshū Daigaku kyōikugakubu kiyō* 信州大学教育学部紀要, vols. 68, 69, and 70 (February, March, and July, 1990); Ono Masaaki 小野雅章, “1930 nendai no goshin'ei kanri genkakuka to gakkō gishiki 1930年代の御真影管理厳格化と学校儀式: Tennō Shinkō no kyōsei to gakkō kyōiku 天皇信仰の強制と学校教育,” *Kyōikugaku kenkyū* 教育学研究, 74(4) (December, 2007); Satō Hideo 佐藤秀夫, “Wagakuni shōgakkō ni okeru shukujitsu taisaibi gishiki no keisei katei わが国小学校における祝日大祭日儀式の形成過程,” *Kyōikugaku kenkyū* 教育学研究, vol. 30, no. 3 (September, 1963): 542-553.

宝物殿 (Meiji Shrine Treasure Hall).⁸¹ The Meiji Shrine held this exhibition in 1998 because the year marked the 130th anniversary of the Charter Oath.⁸² This catalogue includes detailed captions and an informative essay on the historical background of images of imperial family members. However, readers should keep in mind that the Meiji Shrine, which was established in 1920 to deify Emperor Meiji and glorify his achievements, published the catalogue. As such, the catalogue may contain opinions that are nationalistic and favor the emperor system.

The second catalogue was published for the exhibition titled “*Ōke no shōzō* 王家の肖像: Meijikōshitsu arubamu no hajimari 明治皇室アルバムのはじめ (Portraits of Royal Family: The Beginning of Meiji Imperial Family Album)” held at Yokohama Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 神奈川県立歴史博物館 (Yokohama Prefectural Museum of History) in 2001.⁸³ In the catalogue, Yokota Yōichi 横田洋一, the museum curator, wrote a comprehensive essay on images of Emperor Meiji. In addition to discussing the development of *goshin'ei*, this catalogue contains information about the imperial family portraits and the lithographic images of these portraits. These prints of Emperor Meiji surrounded by his wife and children represent the emperor as the head of his family and as the unifying leader of his nation. Thus far, this is the most important museum exhibition (and catalogue) on imperial images.

Wakakuwa Midori 若桑みどり, an art historian influenced by Taki, is the only scholar who has analyzed the portraits of the wife of Emperor Meiji, Empress Consort Haruko 美子

⁸¹ Meiji Jingū 明治神宮, *Meiji Tennō no Goshōzō* 明治天皇の御肖像 (Tokyo: Meiji Jingū 明治神宮, 1998).

⁸² Through this “Imperial Oath of Five Articles,” Emperor Meiji pledged allegiance to *kami* (the Japanese gods) and stated to the nation his basic policy.

⁸³ Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 神奈川県立歴史博物館. *Ōke no shōzō* 王家の肖像: *Meiji kōshitsu arubamu no hajimari* 明治皇室アルバムのはじめ. Yokohama: Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 神奈川県立歴史博物館, 2001.

(1849-1914).⁸⁴ As reflected by the above exhibition catalogues and the publication by Wakakuwa, scholars are expanding their research on imperial portraits beyond *goshin'ei* by including images of imperial women and children.

Although research on modern imperial portraiture in English is still scarce, documents written in English do appear in publication. One of the most influential of these English writings comes from Takashi Fujitani, a historian who was inspired by the aforementioned research by Taki. Fujitani concentrated on dual images of the portraits of Emperor Meiji.⁸⁵ Fujitani takes Taki's study further by analyzing the portraits from a gender perspective—how the perception of the emperor shifted from a feminine to a more masculine appearance. He mainly focuses on the 1888 portrait of Emperor Meiji but does not cover his other earlier official portraits.

Second, Mikiko Hirayama, an art historian, examines the portraits of Emperor Meiji and discusses the various aspects of the development of the portraits.⁸⁶ In her article, Hirayama summarizes what has been researched in Japan. Unfortunately, the page restrictions of the magazine limited Hirayama's ability to elaborate on her thesis.

Third, Donald Keene, a Japanologist who has many publications on Emperor Meiji, included a section on portraits of Emperor Meiji in a book titled *Births and Rebirths in Japanese Art*.⁸⁷ Keene explores how the emperor was a reluctant sitter for his portraits. However, in his chapter, Keene mainly focuses on the biography of Emperor Meiji and his personality and tastes in art.

⁸⁴ Wakakuwa Midori 若桑みどり, *Kōgō no shōzō* 皇后の肖像 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 2001).

⁸⁵ Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

⁸⁶ Hirayama, Mikiko, "The Emperor's New Clothes: Japanese Visuality and Imperial Portrait Photography," *History of Photography*, vol. 33, no. 2 (May 2009): 165-184.

⁸⁷ Donald Keene, "The First Emperor of Modern Japan," in *Births and Rebirths in Japanese Art*, edited by John T. Carpenter and Mark Poysden, (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2001), 141-161. See "Portraits of Meiji" section from pp. 145-153. Since March 2012, after acquiring his Japanese citizenship, the author has officially changed his name to Kiin Donarudo (鬼怒鳴門).

In summary, both Japanese and Western art historians have devoted few studies to this subject of imperial portraiture, especially the portraits from the pre-modern periods. Until recently, past studies have primarily dealt with biographical identifications of the imperial sitters and concentrated on the political status of the sitters. Because the previous studies were mostly done by scholars outside the discipline of art history, they have not adequately adopted art historical approaches of visual analysis. These studies have also not addressed issues such as 1) the method and reason for creating portraits of Japanese emperors; 2) the intended audience of the portraits; and 3) the manner in which images were either displayed or hidden from view. The following chapters will not only reinforce research done by previous scholars, but it will expand that research by addressing such topics as the portraits' location, usage, patronage, and purpose.

1.4 ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD

Not only have scholars overlooked the subject of Japanese imperial portraits (reasons presented and discussed in the State of the Field section), but they have also tended to emphasize the historical and biographical studies of the emperors without focusing on the function of imperial portraiture. In my dissertation, I will expand the association between imperial portraits and the portraits' religious and political usages in Japan during the 18th and 19th centuries. Specifically, my investigation includes the mortuary aspect of imperial portraits, which has not received significant attention. By focusing on the function of these imperial portraits, my research will enrich the field of Japanese art history and other fields of Japanese studies. It provides a different perspective on how to view and interpret imperial portraiture and gives new insights into religious and political practices surrounding imperial portraits during the Edo and Meiji periods. Portraits convey nuanced ideas of the self, social structure, and history and offer visual clues about the

subject that are as informative as textual records. In addition, portraits often reflect socio-political ideals. Understanding the context of a portrait's creation can convey information on the historical circumstances surrounding the sitter. Because artists frequently create idealistic representations of their subjects, the choices they make to achieve this ideal resemblance often reflect cultural values. Therefore, images can convey a sub-text of what the society considers important and worthy. My research, which gives more understanding of the social ideals reflected in portraits, leads to a better grasp of the shifting Japanese history during the Edo and Meiji periods.

The current paucity of scholarly publications in English makes my findings on Japanese imperial portraiture especially important. In summary, my unique contribution to the field is to examine the images of Japanese emperors from the perspective of an art historian who contextualizes these portraits and highlights the political and religious usages of portraits of the Japanese emperors.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

For my methodology, I use primary documents, including official documents, diaries, letters, and newspaper and magazine articles that are located in libraries, archives, and temples. To conduct in-depth research on my topic, I have read primary sources in Japanese, Chinese, and English (for the Meiji period), and also referred to secondary sources written by experts of Japanese art history, as well as scholars of anthropology, education, history, literature, religious studies, and sociology.

In addition to focusing primarily on written records, I treat visual images – paintings, prints, and photographs – as historical evidence in a manner similar to such scholars as Amino Yoshihiko and Kuroda Hideo. To gain an in-depth understanding of Japanese imperial

portraiture, I place art objects in their proper historical context and then question why the art objects look the way they do. As anthropologist Edward Bruner has noted, social scientists “have long given too much weight to verbalizations at the expense of visualizations, to language at the expense of images.”⁸⁸ The following chapters will demonstrate the effectiveness of collecting historical information by referring to visual images as evidence. Like written documents, paintings have shortcomings as reliable historical sources because their production could be self-serving and/or politically motivated. However, despite their limitations, visual representations might still contribute to a better understanding of the past. Thus, in order to gain more insight into history, I will use visual materials as well as textual analysis.

To better contextualize art objects, I look more widely into interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary sources in the humanities and include studies by scholars from other fields, because publications outside my discipline can strengthen both my research and argument. Such interdisciplinary methods suit my research approach because my dissertation will incorporate relatively broad thematic issues, such as the visual and social identities of the emperors in terms of social, political, and ritual circumstances.

Because employing Western methods to analyze Asian art presents a constant challenge, in the following chapters, I only apply Western methodologies when deemed applicable. For example, as applied in Chapters three and four, the Western theories of Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) (*Mechanical Reproduction*, 1935) and Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) (*Iconography and Iconology*, 1955) will play a role in the methods I adopt in approaching my research.⁸⁹ I believe

⁸⁸ Edward Bruner, “Introduction,” in *The Anthropology of Experience*, edited by Edward Bruner and Victor W. Turner, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 5.

⁸⁹ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, originally published: Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, 1935. Internet resource: www.jahsonic.com/WAAMR.html
Erwin Panofsky, “Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art,” *Meaning in the Visual Art: Papers In and On Art History* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1955), 28-30.

that a cautious use of these theories will shed new light on my topic, enabling me to reexamine imperial portraiture from a fresh perspective.

In summary, to investigate Japanese imperial portraiture and to gauge the role of portraiture in Japanese society, I will use interdisciplinary (multidisciplinary) approaches, analyses of art objects, and examinations of primary and secondary sources in Japanese and English. By combining methodologies of formal analysis and historic research, my investigation will not only enrich the field of art history, but will also have relevance to such related fields as anthropology, religious studies, and sociology.

1.6 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS: CHAPTERS TWO – FIVE

1.6.1 Chapter Two: Commemorative Portraits of Japanese Emperors at Sennyūji

Temple: Their Ritual and Political Functions in the Edo Period (1603-1868)

In Chapter two, I will discuss the religious and political usages of a set of memorial portraits of emperors created during the Edo period (1603-1867). Sennyūji 泉涌寺, established in the mid-ninth century and located in Kyoto, serves as a family memorial temple for the imperial family and houses 29 imperial portraits. The first section of Chapter two explores how Sennyūji became an imperial memorial temple, while the second part of this chapter focuses on the religious and political purpose of these imperial portraits. I discuss the traditions of *tsuizen* (conducting memorial rituals for the deceased) and *gyakushu* (an act performed to increase one's own chance of elevated reincarnation) to demonstrate how the court nobles, both donors and deceased, benefited from this mortuary portrait practice.

In the third section, I contend that another purpose of this portrait collection is to confirm the authority of both the court and the temple through a pictorial genealogy of the imperial

family. Thus, the absence of two portraits of empresses from the temple's collection becomes significant. Despite conducting the funerals for Empresses Meishō (r. 1629-1643) and Gosakuramachi (r. 1762-1770),⁹⁰ Sennyūji does not have portraits of these empresses. I attribute this omission to 1) the empresses lacking heirs or supporters to commission a portrait for them, and 2) the Edo government questioning the acceptance of these empresses for inclusion in the pictorial lineage tree.

This chapter will further challenge the current state of limited available resources on Sennyūji portrait collection by expanding the research through an examination of the portraits in the framework of their original intent. Specifically, Chapter two will focus on such issues as the portraits' commissioners, painters, and the purpose for their creation in order to provide a better understanding of the pre-Meiji imperial portraits and mortuary culture with deep imperial roots.

1.6.2 Chapter Three: Unofficial Images of Emperor Meiji

The second half of my dissertation (Chapters three and four) highlights the representations of Emperor Meiji (r. 1868-1912) and the relationship between the imperial images and the general public. Chapter three examines the early Meiji-period images, which the government did not sponsor; this chapter sets the stage for Chapter four, which closely analyzes the official, state-sponsored portraits of Emperor Meiji in the mid- to late-Meiji period.

I begin Chapter three by briefly introducing why and how the Meiji government revived the emperorship and established the emperor as a symbol of national unity. In Chapter three, I examine the changes in the political and religious status of the sovereignty at the end of the Edo and the beginning of the Meiji periods. My goal is to elucidate how the new government created

⁹⁰ Even though I address the wife of Emperor Meiji as Empress Consort Haruko, I do not refer Meishō and Gosakuramachi as Empress Regnants because they were transitional rulers. For more information, see the section titled Accessions of Empresses Meishō and Gosakuramachi in chapter two.

an ideology around Emperor Meiji which affected portrait production and practice discussed in Chapter four. This third chapter uses articles from newspapers, such as *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* 東京日日新聞, and printed images to illustrate the various attitudes of the public toward Emperor Meiji and his image. By focusing on the imperial processions of Emperor Meiji, my investigation shows how the artistic representation of the emperor in woodblock prints reflects the shift in political circumstances. In the early Meiji period, as Sasaki Suguru and Taki Kōji explain, print artists often used the imperial chariot to indicate the presence of the emperor. By the mid-Meiji period, however, artists began to actually depict the emperor. I suggest that the visual shift in the depiction of Emperor Meiji reflects the emerging political ideology of making the Emperor more accessible, compared to his inaccessibility in the first half of the Meiji period.

1.6.3 Chapter Four: *Goshin'ei*: Official Portraits of Emperor Meiji

Chapter four focuses on the official portraits, called *goshin'ei*, that present Emperor Meiji as a political and divine ruler. The most famous portrait, created in 1888 (Meiji 21), is a black and white photograph of a conté crayon drawing of the emperor. I suggest that once the Japanese government offered this official portrait to public institutions, the portrait became more than an image of the emperor: it became a substitute of Emperor Meiji who symbolized the nation. This chapter presents four conditions that explain why the portrait of Emperor Meiji was not only a focus of political desires and aspirations, but also an object of devotion: 1) Construction of the ideal image, which represented a perfect identity for Emperor Meiji; 2) restricted circulation, which added prestige to the possession of imperial portrait; and 3) ritualistic treatment of the image, which linked the portrait with the emperor; and 4) the medium of photography, which

helped manipulate the general public to treat a photographic portrait of the emperor as if the emperor himself.

1.6.4 Chapter Five: Epilogue

In the concluding chapter, I first analyze the final portrait of Emperor Meiji and the funeral of emperor in order to better understand the changing functions of imperial portraits. Even though this early 20th century photograph of Emperor Meiji was connected to the death of the emperor, it was valued for its links with the historical person and the event, not with any religious ritual. This final portrait shows the shifting roles of imperial portraits at the end of the Meiji period.

In both pre-modern and post-Edo Japan, imperial portraits were considered as substitutes of emperors. By investigating the religious and political usages of imperial portraits, I conclude that pre-modern Japanese imperial portraiture, though it evolved its own identity, has roots in Chinese culture. On the other hand, although Chinese prototypes have influenced post-Edo portraits, portraiture from modern Japan is mainly based on Western discourse; they do not share the same purpose or function. I argue, therefore, that the portrait practice has evolved through Japanese history to serve a more public and political function than it initially did.

By analyzing the shifting roles and effects of Japanese imperial portraiture, I attempt to advance the notion that images of emperors were intended to evoke a sense of power. Understanding the power of these images will provide scholars with more insight into how Japanese rulers developed their imperial authority during the Edo and Meiji periods through portraits. My dissertation, which combines methodologies of formal analysis and historic research, emphasizes diverse aspects of Japanese imperial rule.

2.0 COMMEMORATIVE PORTRAITS OF JAPANESE EMPERORS AT SENNYŪJI TEMPLE: THEIR RITUAL AND POLITICAL FUNCTIONS IN THE EDO PERIOD (1603-1868)

Sennyūji 泉涌寺, established in the mid-ninth century⁹¹ and located in Kyoto, is also known as “*Mitera* 御寺 (Imperial Temple).”⁹² Sennyūji serves as a *bodaiji* 菩提寺 (family memorial temple)⁹³ for the imperial family and houses a large cache of 29 imperial portraits.⁹⁴ Sennyūji periodically displays the portraits of the late emperors and their treasures in the Shinshō Hall 心照殿, a small hall built in April 2004 within the precincts of the temple.⁹⁵ Tourists who visit the exhibition hall see these portraits out of their original context and are unaware of the portraits’ primary function.⁹⁶ Unlike the later Meiji-period imperial portraits, which will be discussed in chapters three and four, these imperial portraits from the Edo and earlier periods were initially used for memorial services held at the temple. Today they are displayed as art objects with the

⁹¹ Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀 states that the temple was established in 855. Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Honbun hen*, 27. *Kokushi daijiten* states that the temple was established in 856. *Kokushi daijiten* 国史大辞典, compiled by Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Inkai 国史大辞典編集委員会, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1993), 476.

⁹² Even though *mitera* literary means “honorable temple,” I translated it as “imperial temple” because the Japanese character, 御, is usually used to honor anything related to the imperial family. For example, even though *gosho* 御所 literary means “honorable place,” it refers to the “imperial palace.”

⁹³ Sennyūji is the imperial family temple also known as Kōgein 香華院. This memorial temple is where incense (*kō* 香) and flowers (*ge* or *hana* 華) are offered to the imperial ancestors. In addition, Sennyūji’s web address of “*mitera.com*” emphasizes its imperial heritage. Sennyūji website: <http://www.mitera.org/> (accessed on September 6, 2013).

⁹⁴ Akamatsu lists only 24 imperial portraits in his report; however, my onsite research at Sennyūji reveals that the temple currently houses 29 portraits of pre-Meiji emperors. In addition, Nishitani Isao 西谷功, a curator at Sennyūji, confirmed that the temple owns two more portraits of Emperor Taishō. (Personal interview with Nishitani Isao in March, 2011).

⁹⁵ Sennyūji website: <http://www.mitera.org/> (accessed on September 6, 2013).

⁹⁶ On the contrary, the Shinshō Hall does not house the Emperors’ spirit tablets, which are also used for memorial services, and the museum never displays them in its gallery space.

intention of pleasing the viewers' eyes.⁹⁷ When I visited the Shinshō Hall in person, I saw some of the portraits displayed behind glass cases in a museum-like setting. Because the portraits are not placed above an altar with offerings used to pay homage to the late emperors, visitors today are largely unaware of the significance of these portraits as mortuary ritual objects.

My research will explain how Sennyūji was established as an imperial memorial temple that then came to house its large number of imperial mortuary portraits in the Edo period by exploring the history of the temple through textual documents. I will then explain the mortuary practice called *tsuizen* and discusses how this is the primary function of the imperial portrait group at Sennyūji.

The second section of this chapter discusses the political usage of these imperial portraits at Sennyūji. After showing that the pre-modern imperial family used portraits of emperors as commemorative objects (religious usage), my research reveals that their second function was affirmation of imperial lineages. Specifically, I argue that the Japanese imperial family and court used the Sennyūji portraits not only to memorialize the dead emperors but also to confirm their authority by creating a pictorial lineage of the imperial family. Furthermore, by housing the imperial portraits, the temple also legitimized its own status as the imperial family temple. If the portraits were intended as a pictorial genealogy, then the absence of two portraits of empresses from the temple's collection becomes significant. Even though Sennyūji held the funerals of the Empresses Meishō 明正 (1623-1696, r. 1629-1643, 109th) and Gosakuramachi 後櫻町 (1740-1813, r. 1762-1770, 117th), and houses the empresses' spirit tablets, the temple does not house their portraits.⁹⁸ This section argues that because portraits were used as a visual display of the

⁹⁷ It is important to note that this exhibition space is called a "temple hall," rather than a "museum 美術館." Further research is needed to clarify if Sennyūji intends its portrait collection to function in a ritual or art context.

⁹⁸ Japan has had ten empresses: the Empresses Suiko 推古 (554-628, r. 592-628), Kōgyoku 皇極 (594?-661, r. 642-645), Saimei 齋明 (594?-661, r. 655-661), Jitō 持統 (645-702, r. 690-697), Genmei 元明 (661-721, r. 707-715),

imperial lineage, only those rulers deemed acceptable during the Edo-period would have been included in the Sennyūji portrait group.

2.1 VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE PORTRAITS OF EMPERORS AT SENNYŪJI

Both in style and composition, the imperial portraits of emperors at Sennyūji share similarities. Most of the painters illustrated emperors in a formal and stiff pose, seated alone against a blank background. They also depicted their subjects sitting on a square mat (*shitone* 茵) placed on another raised ceremonial mat (*agetatami* 上畳) with decorative silk edging. None of the painters of these portraits chose to emphasize each emperor's unique facial features, nor did they communicate specific emotions through facial expressions. The only variations among the images are the emperors' clothing. The emperors's attire represents each sitter's status, and there are three categories of emperors indicated by their clothing. First, emperors who died while on the throne (i.e. Emperors Takakura, Gokōmyō, Momozono, Gomomozono, Ninkō, and Kōmei) are dressed in formal court attire called *sokutai* 束帯, with a black headdress with a long cloth tail, called an *ikan* 衣冠. Second, emperors who were already retired at the time of their death (i.e. Ōgimachi, Goyōzei, Gosai, Higashiyama, Nakamikado, Sakuramachi, and Kōkaku) wear a less formal court robe called *nōshi* 直衣 (everyday clothes) and a simple black *eboshi* 烏帽子 hat without a tail. Third, among the retired emperors, those who were ordained as Buddhist monks prior to their death (i.e. Uda, Goshirakawa, Kōmyō, Gomizunoo, and Reigen) wear Buddhist monastic robes called *hōe* 法衣. Regardless of the type of dress, painters depicted these emperors

Genshō 元正 (680-748, r. 715-724), Kōken 孝謙 (718-770, r. 749-758), Shōtoku 稱徳 (718-770, r. 764-770), Meishō 明正 (1623-1696, r. 1629-1643), and Gosakuramachi 後櫻町天 (1740-1813, r. 1762-1770). Ten out of the 125 emperors were empresses; eight of these reigned in the seventh and eighth centuries. Empress Kōgyoku became Empress Saimei, and Empress Kōken became Empress Shōtoku. Therefore, eight women became the empresses throughout the Japanese history.

in a formal manner with two exceptions. The portrait of Emperor Antoku 安徳 (1178-1185, r. 1180-1185, 81st) who became an emperor at age three and died at age eight⁹⁹ is shown playing on a raised ceremonial mat. The second exception is the portrait of Emperor Yōkō 陽光 (d. 1586), who died before he was enthroned.¹⁰⁰ He was replaced by his son, Emperor Goyōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617, r. 1586-1611, 107th), who gave his late father the honorable title of “Emperor” Yōkō as an act of filial piety. In his portrait, Emperor Yōkō is dressed in a casual court robe called *kariginu* 狩衣, a hunting robe. Based on the generic facial features and the attention paid to specific types of robes, the artists seem more concerned with the status of the emperors than the personality of each individual.¹⁰¹

All emperor portraits at Sennyūji are in the form of hanging scrolls. Unlike large wooden statues, which are meant to be continually on display, painted portraits in hanging scroll format are only occasionally hung and can be easily stored away. Furthermore, unlike a handscroll, which is meant to be seen by a single person, hanging scrolls invite a larger, though private, audience. Although relatively similar, the size of these images varies. Twenty out of twenty-nine portraits have a known measurement ranging from 32” to 55.3” in length and 16” to 25” in width. Since the sizes vary, the court probably did not closely regulate the imperial portrait-making process. It is likely that the artists did not intend for the monks at Sennyūji to hang these painted portraits of late emperors as a group or at the same time.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ I apply the Japanese counting system to determine the age of Emperor Antoku. He was born on 1178.12.22 and died on 1185.4.25. He reigned from 1180.5.18 to 1185.4.25. By U.S. count, Antoku became an emperor at age one and died at age six.

¹⁰⁰ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 6, 449-450.

¹⁰¹ This dissertation focuses on the commemorative, ritualistic aspects of the Sennyūji portrait collection; however, future research should examine the robes of each emperor in greater depth.

¹⁰² Furthermore, only a few emperors, such as Emperor Gomizunoo and Goenyū, face left and others face right. This also suggests that these portraits were not displayed together as a group.

Despite the value of individually examining each of the 29 emperors' portraits, this chapter will approach the portraits as a group in order to determine the purpose of imperial portraits at Sennyūji. Although I do not believe these portraits were simultaneously displayed together, I do suggest that a group approach, rather than an approach that concentrates on each portrait's visual qualities, better explains the portraits' ritual and political functions.

2.2 CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH THE PORTRAIT COLLECTION AT SENNYŪJI

Analyzing the portraits at Sennyūji is challenging for several reasons. The amalgamation of Buddhist temples in the early Meiji period led to the moving of some of imperial portraits and spirit tablets to Sennyūji in 1876 (Meiji 9). For example, my onsite research revealed the following: 1) two portraits of Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-931, r. 887-897, 59th) were added to the Sennyūji collection from Rendaiji 蓮台寺 and Hōkongō-in 法金剛院; 2) the portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa was transferred from Shirakawadera 白河寺; 3) the portrait of Emperor Takakura 高倉 (1161-1181, r. 1168-1180, 80th) was moved from Seikanji 清閑寺; and 4) the portrait of Emperor Antoku 安徳 (1178-1185, r. 1180-1185, 81st) was taken from the former collection of Chōrakuji 長樂寺.¹⁰³ Therefore, some of the imperial portraits did not originally belong to Sennyūji before the Meiji period. The portraits added later are of the emperors from much earlier periods than those discussed in this chapter; therefore they do not affect my discussion. However, when analyzing Sennyūji's pre-modern portraits as a whole, one must first separate the portraits

¹⁰³ Sennyūji allegedly received portraits of Emperors Murakami 村上 (926-967, r. 946-967, 62nd) and Seiwa 清和 (850-881, r. 858-876, 56th) from Shōjōke-in 清浄華院; however, these two portraits are not in the most recent temple treasure list. My onsite research reveals that the two portraits are not currently stored at Sennyūji. Nishitani speculates that these portraits were perhaps returned to Shōjōke-in at some point or lost in a fire.

added later to the temple collection from the original portraits and then consider the significance of the additions in the historical context.

According to the temple curator, Nishitani Isao 西谷功, the situation becomes more complicated because people considered Sennyūji and its subtemples, such as Unryū-in 雲龍院 and Hiden-in 悲田院, as one united temple under Sennyūji during some periods of history. For example, Sennyūji's treasure list, from as recent as 1985, included the portrait of Emperor Goen'yū 後圓融 (1359-1393, r. 1371-1382, 5th emperor of the Northern Dynasty).¹⁰⁴ However, Nishitani believes that this portrait has always been kept at Unryū-in, not at Sennyūji.¹⁰⁵ Sennyūji and its subtemples function as separate entities today; however, in the past, when Sennyūji monks moved to one of these subtemples after their retirement, they took some relics and ritual implements from Sennyūji with them. Even today, Unryū-in houses some objects whose inscriptions clearly state "property of Sennyūji."¹⁰⁶ It is possible that the monks freely transferred some portraits between these temples so that reconstructing the original portrait collection of Sennyūji is a complicated process.

Sennyūji currently houses portraits of only seven emperors who were active before the 106th Emperor Ōgimachi 正親町 (1516-1593, r. 1557-1586, 106th). Six portraits out of the seven were not painted during the reign of that emperor, but were painted much later in the Edo period. Because extant records are not sufficient, it is impossible to determine whether original portraits from earlier times were either lost or never existed. One major reason for this inconclusive data is the political turmoil that likely damaged the temple's records and portrait collection. For example, a conflict between Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 (1288-1339, r. 1318-1339, 96th) and

¹⁰⁴ *Sennyūji shi* 泉涌寺史: *Shiryō hen* 資料編, compiled by Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1985), 351-354.

¹⁰⁵ Personal interview with Nishitani Isao in March, 2011.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Shogun Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358) caused some damage to the temple buildings in 1336.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, at the height of the political upheaval of the Nanbokuchō period (the Northern and Southern Courts period, 1336-1392), the Ashikaga army set fire to Sennyūji and stole some valuable Buddhist objects.¹⁰⁸ The temple recovered some of its holdings within a month only to be robbed of its relics, sculptures, and treasures again in 1359.¹⁰⁹ A century later, as a result of the Ōnin and Bunmei Wars, which lasted from 1467 to 1477, the temple and a majority of its surrounding buildings were once again destroyed.¹¹⁰ The temple was fully restored in 1668, two centuries after the wars ended.¹¹¹ However, disastrous fires in 1841, 1858, and 1882 repeatedly eradicated most of the buildings at the Sennyūji temple complex.¹¹² Sennyūji was demolished and rebuilt several times throughout its long history, thus making it difficult to reconstruct Sennyūji's portrait holdings in earlier times. The history of the temple, as well as its destruction and newly acquired portraits, makes it difficult for scholars to analyze the imperial portrait collection as a whole.

2.3 HISTORY OF SENNYŪJI

The history of Sennyūji is crucial to analyzing the commemorative function of the imperial portraits at the temple. Sennyūji is an imperial family temple located in the Higashiyama district of Kyoto. Two theories exist as to the origin of the temple. The first states that Kūkai 空海 (774-

¹⁰⁷ Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Honbun hen*, 112-113.

¹⁰⁸ Uemura Teirō 上村貞朗, et al., *Kojijunrei* 古寺巡礼: *Kyoto Sennyūji* 京都泉涌寺, vol. 27 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 2008), 97. Originally from the *Betsuin Nishina hōjo ryōsho monjo funshitsu jō* 別院二階方丈料所文書紛失状.

¹⁰⁹ Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Honbun hen*, 131.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 206-7, and Uemura Teirō, 97-98. Nanto Kōfukuji's 南都興福寺 *Daijōin nikki mokuroku* 大乘院日記目錄 states that even though the temple buildings of Sennyūji burned down, the monks rescued the temple's relics. Unfortunately, the text makes no mention of portraits.

¹¹¹ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 8, 476.

¹¹² Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Honbun hen*, 433 and 449, and Uemura Teirō, 99.

835) built the temple during the Tenchō 天長 period (824-834),¹¹³ while the second attributes the temple's construction to Fujiwara Otsugu 藤原緒嗣 (774-843) for Priest Jinshū Shōnin 神修上人 (d.u.) in 855.¹¹⁴ Initially called Hōrinji 法輪寺, the temple later became known as Sennyūji 仙遊寺 (“temple of immortals at leisure”).¹¹⁵ Although abandoned in the mid-Heian period, the monk Shunjō 俊苧 (1166-1227)¹¹⁶ re-established the temple in the early Kamakura period.

Shunjō was born in Higo 肥後 (present-day Kumamoto prefecture).¹¹⁷ He studied both Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台 Buddhist teachings at Jōrakuji 常樂寺 under Shinshun 真俊 (d.u.).¹¹⁸ Shunjō then spent twelve years from 1199 to 1211 in Southern Song-dynasty China learning Chan (J: Zen) practices from Meng'an Yuancong 蒙庵元聰 (d.u.), Buddhist law from Ruan Liaohong 如庵了宏 (d.u.), and Tiantai (J: Tendai) from Beifeng Zongyin 北峯宗印 (d.u.).¹¹⁹ Upon Shunjō's return to Japan in 1211, Utsunomiya Nobufusa 宇都宮信房 (1156-1234), who administered the Buzen 豊前 area (today's Fukuoka prefecture), donated land to

¹¹³ If this first theory is correct, then Sennyūji was originally a Shingon sect temple. As explained later in this chapter, Sennyūji historically practiced Jōdo, Shingon, Tendai, Zen, and Buddhist law (*Ritsu* 律). Due to the Meiji government's regulation, Sennyūji has officially aligned itself with Shingon sect since 1907.

¹¹⁴ While *Yamashiro Meisekishi* 山城名跡志 states that Kūkai built the temple, *Fukaki hosshi den* 不可棄法師伝, compiled by Shinzui 信瑞 (?-1279) in 1244, credits Fujiwara Otsugu. Shinzui 信瑞, *Fukaki hosshi den* 不可棄法師伝, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 續群書類從 9a (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1925), 53. Fukaki was Shunjō's formal nickname (*azana* 字: a name given to adult men, used in place of their given name in formal situations). Shunjō used this nickname, which means “the one who cannot be thrown away,” based on a childhood incident. According to *Fukaki hosshi den*, his parents gave him up and left him under a tree when he was a baby. He was unharmed by wild animals until his sister safely rescued him after three days and brought him back home. Shinzui, 45.

¹¹⁵ Note that the name of the temple shares the same pronunciation, Sennyūji, but is written with different *kanji* characters. Shinzui, 53 and *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 8, 476.

¹¹⁶ *Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Inkai* 日本仏教人名編纂委員会, *Nihon bukkō jinmei jiten* 日本仏教人名辞典 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1992), 335. For more information on Shunjō, see Ishida Mitsuyuki 石田充之, *Kamakura bukkō no seiritsu no kenkyū* 鎌倉仏教の成立の研究: *Shunjō ritsushi* 俊苧律師 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1972).

¹¹⁷ Shinzui, 45.

¹¹⁸ Shinzui, 45-46.

¹¹⁹ Uemura Teirō, 95. and *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 8, 476. Other well-known Japanese monks, such as Kūkai and Saichō, spent three and two years in China, respectively. Eisai, who also went to China twice, spent a total of five years there. Shunjō studied in China for twelve years; therefore, he was deeply influenced by the Chinese culture.

build a temple.¹²⁰ In 1218, Shunjō oversaw the completion of the major part of the Song-style temple. Upon completion, Shunjō changed the characters used to write Sennyūji from 仙遊寺 to 泉涌寺 (“temple of spring water”) referencing the clean water well at the temple.¹²¹ Shunjō used his versatile educational background in Buddhism to transform Sennyūji into an educational institution for four Buddhist teachings (*shishū kengaku* 四宗兼学): Shingon, Tendai, Zen, and Buddhist law (*Ritsu* 律).¹²² In the early 13th century, noblemen, who were familiar with Buddhist teachings from Tang-dynasty China (618-906), became interested in Buddhist texts from Song-dynasty China (960-1279). Shunjō had returned to Japan after spending 12 years in Song-dynasty China with the most updated Buddhist teachings.¹²³ Due to Shunjō’s remarkable accomplishments and the temple’s exceptional educational programs, Shunjō and Sennyūji became reputable. In 1224, Shinzui 信瑞 (?-1279) wrote in *Sennyūji Fukaki Hosshi den* 泉涌寺不可棄法師伝 that Shunjō ordained retired Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽上皇 (1180-1239, r. 1183-1198, 82nd), retired Emperor Tsuchimikado 土御門上皇 (1196-1231, r. 1198-1210, 83rd, first son of Emperor Gotoba); retired Emperor Juntoku 順徳上皇 (1197-1242, r. 1210-1211, 84th, third son of Emperor Gotoba); and retired Emperor Gotakakura 後高倉 (1179-1223, father of

¹²⁰ Shinzui, 53. Nobufusa is also known as Nakahara Nobufusa 中原信房.

¹²¹ *Fukaki hosshi den*, 53. Note that the name of the temple shares the same pronunciation, Sennyūji, but is written with different *kanji* Chinese characters. This fresh spring water well is still at the temple today.

¹²² Sennyūji website states that the forth one is *jōdo* 浄土 instead of *ritsu*. Tanaka Sumie states that Sennyūji taught five Buddhist teachings (Jōdo, Shingon, Tendai, Zen, and Buddhist law). Tanaka Sumie 田中澄江, et al., *Kojijunrei* 古寺巡礼: *Kyoto Sennyūji* 京都泉涌寺, vol. 28 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 1978), 79. Due to the Meiji government’s regulation, Sennyūji alined itself with Shingon sect since 1907. The specific reason behind choosing Shingon over the other Buddhist sects is unclear. However, this choice makes sense if Kūkai, the founder of Shingon sect, indeed established Sennyūji. Sennyūji website: <http://www.mitera.org/history.php> (accessed on September 6, 2013). In March, 2011, during a personal interview, Nishitani Isao told me that dividing Buddhist teachings into different sects is problematic and meaningless in Sennyūji’s case because the temple historically practiced various kinds of Buddhist teachings without consciously distinguishing each sect.

¹²³ *Sennyūji shi: Shiryōhen*, 31.

Emperor Gohorikawa).¹²⁴ No extant historical record clearly indicates why these emperors chose to be ordained by Shunjō at Sennyūji. However, one reason might be that Shunjō's knowledge of Song-Buddhist texts and teachings impressed these emperors. In the second month of 1220 (Shōkyū 承久 2), Shinzui also recorded that retired Emperor Gotoba donated 10,000 *hiki* 疋 of silk, while retired Emperor Gotakakura, his older brother, donated 15,000 *hiki* of silk to Sennyūji.¹²⁵ These contributions suggest that Shunjō built strong ties with the imperial family and his temple received their financial support. In 1224, Emperor Gohorikawa 後堀河 (1212-1234, r. 1221-1232, 86th) declared Sennyūji as one of the *goganji* 御願寺, imperial temples that emperors, empresses, or princes either established or endorsed.¹²⁶ Following Shunjō's death in 1227, imperial support continued. Sennyūji was designated a *mitera* 御寺, imperial temple, by 1420.¹²⁷

Subsequent emperors continued to support Sennyūji by granting Shunjō posthumous honorable titles. For example, Shunjō was given the title of Daikō Shōbō Kokushi 大興正法国師 by Emperor Gokomatsu 後小松 (1377-1433, r. 1382-1412, 100th) in 1411, Daienkaku shinshō Kokushi 大円覚心照国師 by Emperor Nakamikado 中御門 (1701-1737, r. 1709-1735, 114th) in

¹²⁴ More research is necessary on why these Emperors chose to be ordained by Shunjō. *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 8, 476; and Sennyūji website: <http://www.mitera.org/imperial2.php> (accessed on September 6, 2013). Japanese emperors receive multiple names at certain stages of their lives. For example, the current Japanese Emperor, Akihito 明仁 (b. 1933-), had the name Tsugunomiya 継宮 as a child. He will be addressed as the Emperor Heisei 平成 after his death. This paper uses posthumous names of the emperors to avoid unnecessary confusion. Retired Emperor Gotakakura never ruled as an emperor due to the Jōkyū War.

¹²⁵ *Sennyūji shi, Shiryō hen*, 35. One *hiki* is approximately 20 meters long. This type of donated silk, in place for monetary contribution, is called *junken* 准絹.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 38; and Tanaka Sumie, 86. In addition to imperial support, Sennyūji enjoyed support from the military government. According to the Sennyūji website, Shunjō also ordained Hōjō Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225) and Yasutoki 泰時 (1183-1242, r. 1224-1242, 3rd Kamakura shogun). Later, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598) also financially supported Sennyūji. *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 8, 476.

¹²⁷ Although Sennyūji may have had earlier recognition as a *mitera*, it was not until 1420 (Ōei 応永 27) 5.3 that it received formal recognition. In that year, one of Emperor Gokomatsu's female attendants referred to Sennyūji as *mitera* in an official document she wrote (*Nyōbo hōsho* 女房奉書). Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi, Honbun hen*, 14.

1726, and Gachirin Daishi 月輪大師 by Emperor Meiji 明治 (1852 – 1912, r. 1867-1912, 122nd) in 1883.¹²⁸

Sennyūji's later importance was its function as a memorial temple for the imperial family.¹²⁹ The first emperor buried there was Emperor Gohorikawa. However, it took the death of Emperor Shijō 四条 (1231-1242, r. 1232-1242, 87th) to establish the precedent for the temple serving as the location of future imperial funerals.¹³⁰ Although no historical record indicates why Emperor Shijō's funeral took place at Sennyūji, chapter four of *Masukagami* 増鏡, a tale written by Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320-1388) after 1338 in the early Muromachi period, offers possible explanations.¹³¹ An episode found in chapter four claims that Emperor Shijō was the reincarnation of Shunjō, the cleric who had reestablished Sennyūji in the early thirteenth century. At a very young age, before children are able to verbalize their thoughts, Emperor Shijō miraculously declared he was the reincarnation of Shunjō.¹³² A second story, also introduced in *Masukagami*, notes that when Shunjō appeared in a dream,¹³³ he declared he had been reincarnated as Emperor Shijō in order to aid Sennyūji.¹³⁴ Despite unreliable documentation

¹²⁸ Sennyūji website: <http://www.mitera.org/imperial.php> (accessed on September 6, 2013).

¹²⁹ For more information, see *Sennyūji monjo* 泉涌寺文書. Shiryōhensanjo 史料編纂所 at Tokyo University owns a copy of *Sennyūji monjo*.

¹³⁰ When I visited Sennyūji in 2008, Mr. Yamazaki and another Sennyūji temple attendant, as well as the brochures distributed by the temple at its gate, stated that Emperor Shijō 四条 (1231-1242, r. 1232-1242) was the first emperor buried at Sennyūji. On the contrary, a book published by the temple in 1985 states that the first emperor buried there was Emperor Gohorikawa 後堀河 (1212-1234, r. 1221-1232). When I returned to the temple in 2011, Nishitani told me that the first emperor buried at the temple was Emperor Gohorikawa. This inconsistency needs to be investigated further to understand why the temple favors Emperor Shijō over Gohorikawa as the initiator of this tradition of imperial burial at Sennyūji. *Sennyūji shi*, *Shiryō hen*, 343.

¹³¹ *Masukagami* covers the 150 years of history from 1180 to 1333. Even though Nijō Yoshimoto is the most likely author, scholars have not agreed on the author of *Masukagami*. For more information on other hypothesis, see Yamagishi Tokuhei 山岸徳平, et al., *Ōkagami* 大鏡, *Masukagami* 増鏡: *Kanshō nihon koten bungaku* 鑑賞日本古典文学 14 (Tokyo, Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1976), 185-188.

¹³² Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基, *Masukagami* 増鏡, in *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系 21. no. 2, edited by Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1965), 44.

¹³³ The text does not state whose dream it was.

¹³⁴ Nijō Yoshimoto, *Masukagami*, 44-45. and Nijō Yoshimoto, *Masukagami*, Mikamiyama 三神山 chapter (chapter four), in *Nihon koten bungaku taiei* 日本古典文学大系: *Jinnō shōtōki* 神皇正統記 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波

concerning the reasons for using Sennyūji as a burial site for emperors, it is clear that the temple grounds house the mausoleums of Emperor Shijō and succeeding emperors.

In addition to the legends, there is yet another reason for the imperial family to make Sennyūji an imperial temple. Retired Emperor Gotoba unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the military government in Kamakura and brought about the Jōkyū War 承久の乱 in 1221 (Jōkyū 承久 3). After Gotoba's rebellion was put to an end, the Kamakura military government exercised its political authority and exiled retired Emperors Gotoba and Juntoku. The government also replaced Emperor Chūkyō 仲恭 (1218-1234, r. 1221-1221, 85th),¹³⁵ who was only a toddler at that time, with Emperor Gohorikawa who was not closely related to the exiled retired emperors. Under these complicated circumstances, holding an imperial funeral for Emperor Gohorikawa's line might have been considered a challenge to both the government and Gotoba's imperial line. Threatened by such pressure, all the temples in Kyoto declined to hold an imperial funeral for Emperor Shijō; Sennyūji was the only exception and it stood up for the occasion. Furthermore, since Emperor Shijō was the only son of Emperor Gohorikawa and was without children of his own who could succeed him, there was no political and financial benefit in supporting the emperor.¹³⁶ The Gohorikawa line of the imperial family may have thus rewarded Sennyūji by making it an official imperial temple to show its gratitude. Another possibility suggests that the other temples created these stories about Emperor Shijō to justify the temples' refusal to hold a

書店, 1965), 296. *Senchaku dengū ketsugishō uragaki* 選択伝弘決疑鈔裏書 (vol. 2), compiled by Ryōchū 良忠 (1199-1287) in 1248, also suggests that Emperor Shijō is a reincarnation of Shunjō. Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Honbun hen*, 65.

¹³⁵ Due to the Jōkyū War, Emperor Chūkyō was forced by the Kamakura bakufu to retire only after 81 days in the position. His reign was the shortest in the Japanese imperial history.

¹³⁶ Nakamura Naokatsu 中村直勝, "Sennyūjiten ni yosete 泉涌寺展によせて," in Ishikawa Tadashi 石川忠, *Kyoto mitera Sennyūji ten* 京都御寺泉涌寺展 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1972), section 4. (This exhibition catalogue does not have page numbers). Another theory is that the temples in Kyoto refused to hold a funeral for Emperor Shijō to show the military government in Kamakura their anger. Nakamura Naokatsu, section 5 and Tanaka Sumie, 70.

funeral for the Emperor. These other temples, perhaps in fear of imperial punishment, created the reincarnation tale to imply that Sennyūji was exclusively responsible for Emperor Shijō.¹³⁷

Lastly, the establishment of the relationship between the temple and the imperial family may come from Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193-1252), a courtier who supported both Shunjō and Sennyūji. According to the aforementioned *Hosshinden*, Michiie, who held the positions of Regent (*sesshō* 摂政 and *kanpaku* 関白),¹³⁸ often listened to sermons by Shunjō and received some Buddhist scrolls from him as gifts.¹³⁹ Michiie also had a close bond with the imperial family. Michiie's younger sister was one of the wives of Emperor Juntoku, while his eldest daughter, Yoshiko 尊子 (1209-1233), was one of the wives of Emperor Gohorikawa and gave birth to Emperor Shijō. Therefore, when Emperor Shijō died, Michiie perhaps requested Sennyūji to hold the funeral.¹⁴⁰

Throughout its subsequent history, many funerals for emperors were held at Sennyūji. Beginning with Emperor Gokōgon 後光嚴 (1338-1374, r. 1352-1371, 4th emperor of the Northern Dynasty), who built the Unryū-in 雲龍院 subtemple in the precinct of Sennyūji in 1372, Sennyūji held funerals for all succeeding emperors until Emperor Kōmei 孝明 (1831-1866, r. 1846-1866, 121st).¹⁴¹ A total of twenty-five emperors' tomb mounds (*misasagi* 陵), five ash mounds (*haizuka* 灰塚), and nine graves (*haka* 墓) are located within the temple precinct of

¹³⁷ Nakamura Naokatsu, section 7. Also see Fujii Manabu 藤井学, "Tennōke no bodaiji Sennyūji no zenbō 天皇家の菩提寺泉涌寺の全貌," *Rekishi dokuhon* 歴史読本 44(7), no. 708 (1999): 180-185.

¹³⁸ Although scholars often translate both *sesshō* and *kanpaku* as Regent, *kanpaku* specifically means Regent for adult (or mature) emperor.

¹³⁹ *Sennyūji shi*, *Shiryō hen*, 42-43. Originally written by Shinzui.

¹⁴⁰ Murai Yasuhiko states that Michiie's granddaughter served Emperor Shijō as well. Murai Yasuhiko 村井康彦, "Kyō no tennōryō 京の天皇陵," in Uemura Teirō 上村貞朗, et al., *Kojijunrei* 古寺巡礼: *Kyoto Sennyūji* 京都泉涌寺, vol. 27 (Kyoto: Tankōsha 淡交社, 2008), 110.

¹⁴¹ Uemura states that the funeral for Emperor Gohanazono 後花園 (1419-1471, r. 1428-1464, 102nd) was an exception. As a result of the severe damage and destruction to Sennyūji due to the Ōnin War 応仁の乱, Hiden-in 悲田院, a Sennyūji affiliated temple located on the outskirts of Kyoto, held the funeral for Emperor Gohanazono in 1470. This information needs to be confirmed. Uemura Teirō, 97.

Sennyūji.¹⁴² By the reign of Emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾 (1596-1680, r. 1611-1629, 108th), the status of Sennyūji as an imperial temple was well established. Even today, there are eight annual and eight monthly commemorative ceremonies held for specific emperors and empresses at Sennyūji.¹⁴³ According to the temple attendant Yamazaki Tetsuji 山崎哲次, because of the temple's imperial association, Prince Akishinomiya Fumihito 秋篠宮文仁 (b. 1965-)¹⁴⁴ frequently visits the temple, and the Emperor Akihito 明仁 (b. 1933- , r. 1989- , 125th) and Empress Michiko 美智子 (b. 1934-) occasionally visit the temple.¹⁴⁵

Sennyūji was one of many imperial family-affiliated temples that co-existed in Japan. In the Heian period, emperors often built Buddhist temples and designated the existing temples as imperial temples. These temples, which regularly conducted ceremonies for the health and peaceful reign of the emperors, are called *goganji* 御願寺.¹⁴⁶ Under this umbrella term of *goganji*, are *chokuganji* 勅願寺, temples either built or given the designation by direct order of emperors.¹⁴⁷ Due to the status of *goganji*, temples benefited from land additions and financial

¹⁴² Both the Sennyūji website and Uemura do not clearly define the differences between the tomb mounds and graves. Visitors are prohibited to enter the tomb area making it impossible to compare the two. Sennyūji website: <http://www.mitera.org/institution.php> (accessed on September 6, 2013). Uemura Teirō, 33.

¹⁴³ Eight annual commemorative ceremonies are held for Emperor Kōmei 孝明, Empress Eishō 英照皇太后, Emperor Meiji 明治, Empress Shōken 昭憲皇太后, Emperor Taishō 大正, Empress Teimei 貞明皇后, Emperor Shōwa 昭和, and Empress Kōjun 香淳皇后. Eight monthly commemorative ceremonies are held for Emperor Shijō 四條, Emperor Kōmei 孝明, Emperor Meiji 明治, Empress Shōken 昭憲皇太后, Emperor Taishō 大正, Empress Teimei 貞明皇后, Emperor Shōwa 昭和, and Empress Kōjun 香淳皇后. Emperors and empresses listed above represent the last three generations of rulers and their wives, except for Emperor Shijō to whom Sennyūji has a special connection. Sennyūji website: <http://www.mitera.org/event.php> (accessed on September 6, 2013).

¹⁴⁴ Prince Akishinomiya Fumihito is the Director (*sōsai* 総裁) of an organization called Mitera Sennyūji o mamoru kai 御寺泉涌寺を護る会 (Association for Conserving Sennyūji Temple).

¹⁴⁵ Personal interview with Mr. Yamazaki in August, 2009.

¹⁴⁶ Examples of imperial temples include Daikakuji 大覚寺 and Ninnaji 仁和寺, Daigoji 醍醐寺, Shienji 四円寺, and Rokushōji 六勝寺. Nishiguchi Junko has compiled a list of *goganji* from the reign of Emperor Kanmu 桓武 (737-876, r. 781-806, 50th) to Emperor Murakami 村上 (926-967, r. 946-967, 62nd). See Nishiguchi, *Heian jidai no jiin to minshū*, 49. Also see Nishiguchi Junko 西口順子, “Heian jidai shoki jiin no kōsatsu 平安時代初期寺院の考察: Goganji o chūshin ni 御願寺を中心に,” *Shisō* 史窓, vol. 28, 1970.

¹⁴⁷ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 5 (1985), 595 (*goganji*). Also see *Nihon bukkyōshi jiten* 日本仏教史辞典, edited by Imaizumi Yoshio 今泉淑夫, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1999), 324-325 (*goganji*); *Sōgō bukkyō*

support from the imperial family, the court, and the government.¹⁴⁸ Since the reign of Emperor Shirakawa 白河 (1053-1129, r. 1073-1087, 72nd), they have behaved more or less as private temples for the imperial family.¹⁴⁹ Until the abolishment of the Buddhist movement in the early 1870s (the early Meiji period), emperors continued to give imperial status to selected temples. The imperial family members used these temples for various purposes including accession, tonsure, funerals, and residences for retired emperors.

Today, Sennyūji claims the status of *mitera* 御寺 (imperial temple), while the other temples, due to their loss of (relative) prominence, define themselves as *kōshitsu ni yukari no aru tera* (皇室にゆかりのある寺, temples with imperial affiliation). This designation raises the question of what separated Sennyūji from the other temples, since they also claimed impressive establishment stories on how they came to be regarded as imperial temples? The imperial family, court, and/or the government initially chose Sennyūji to become *the* imperial temple that houses many imperial tombs, spirit tablets, and portraits, but why this occurred is subject to speculation. In the 15th century, during the Ōnin War (1467-1477), many of the imperial temples, including Daikakuji 大覚寺 and Ninnaji 仁和寺, were burned. Although they were reconstructed by the mid-17th century, the lag in the rebuilding process might have caused them to decrease in prominence. However, this event alone cannot explain the special status given to Sennyūji

daijiten 総合仏教大辞典, edited by Sōgō Bukkyō Daijiten Henshū Inkai 総合仏教大辞典編集委員会 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2005), 394 (*goganji*) and 1009 (*chokuganji*). These dictionary entries give general definitions of *goganji* and *chokuganji*; however, these definitions must have shifted and slightly different from time to time. For more information, see the following two books: 1) Nishiguchi Junko 西口順子, *Heian jidai no jiin to minshū* 平安時代の寺院と民衆, (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2004) and Maruyama Hitoshi 丸山仁, *Inseiki no ōke to goganji* 院政期の王家と御願寺, (Tokyo: Takashi Shoten 高志書店, 2006).

¹⁴⁸ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 5 (1985), 595-596 (*goganjiryō* 御願寺領). The temple and the imperial family added to their wealth by keeping the tax money generated from the land ownership (i.e. grains etc.). Nishiguchi, *Heian jidai no jiin to minshū*, 47-54.

¹⁴⁹ Nishiguchi, *Heian jidai no jiin to minshū*, 56-57.

because Sennyūji was also destroyed by fire during the Ōnin War and did not recover from the damage for a long time.

Nishiguchi Junko explains that many imperial temples flourished during the reign of the ruler who initially gave them imperial status, but often declined after their death. For example, Nishiguchi explains how Kōchi 光智 (894-979), the head priest at Todaiji 東大寺, attributed the economic decline of his temple to the imperial family favoring the newer imperial temples, such as Hōshōji 法性寺.¹⁵⁰ Temples going in and out of favor may explain the decline of other imperial temples. However, the reason why the succeeding emperors continued to support Sennyūji for centuries remains unclear.

Sennyūji stands out among imperial family-affiliated temples for two reasons that can account for why Sennyūji received different treatment and came to house all the portraits. First, a shift in funeral practices from cremation to burial in the early Edo period made Sennyūji unique.¹⁵¹ Prior to the funeral of Emperor Gokōmyō 後光明 (1633-1654, r. 1643-1654, 110th) in 1654, the court cremated emperors. This practice allowed multiple temples, such as Fukakusa Hokkedō 深草法華堂, to keep portions of the cremated ashes.¹⁵² In fact, Fukakusa Hokkedō houses the cremated ashes of twelve emperors from Gofukakusa 後深草 (1243-1304, r. 1246-1259, 89th) to Goyōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617, 1586-1611, 107th).¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Nishiguchi, *Heian jidai no jin to minshū*, 57. Furthermore, supported by multiple emperors from different time periods, some temples like Daigoji 醍醐寺 fell out of favor and then come back in favor. Nishiguchi states that these temples were called *nidaigogan* 二代御願 (“second generation” *gogan*), *sandaigogan* 三代御願 (“third generation” *gogan*), and so forth, and then *daidai gogan* 代々御願 (“all generation” *gogan*).

¹⁵¹ According to *Sankei Shinbun* 産経新聞 published on April 27, 2012, the Kunaichō announced on April 26, 2012 that it is considering the possibility of cremation for the current emperor and empress when the time comes. Allegedly, both emperor and empress prefer cremation over burial in order to simplify the tradition of imperial funeral. Cremation will decrease the cost of funerals, which are funded with tax money.

¹⁵² Kunaichō Homepage: <http://www.kunaicho.go.jp/ryobo/> (accessed on September 6, 2013).

¹⁵³ Fukakusa Hokkedō houses the cremated ashes of twelve emperors of the Jimyōin 持明院 (Northern court) branch of the imperial family. (Exception is the 95th Emperor Hanazono. Kunaichō states the location of the tomb of

Reasons for the change in mortuary custom from cremation to burial may have come from Chinese traditions that have preferred burial over cremation. Emperor Gokōmyō was a supporter of neo-Confucian studies¹⁵⁴ and may have given more value to burial as a funeral rite.¹⁵⁵ Timothy Brook, a sinologist, explains that the reason Daoists and Confucianists do not practice cremation is because it destroys the *qi* that remains in the bones of the body.¹⁵⁶ Daoists also oppose cremation and support the preservation of the “immortal body” for an after-life. Either of these beliefs may have had an influence on Emperor Gokōmyō.¹⁵⁷ Cremated ashes can be kept at multiple temples; however, an intact body is kept at one temple—in this case, Sennyūji. Whatever the reason for this shift from cremation to burial, Sennyūji became the final resting place for a number of emperors.

Emperor Hanazono as Jūraquin no ue no misasagi 十樂院上陵 in Kyoto). In the 13th century, two rival branches of the imperial family emerged: the Jimyōin branch, descended from the 89th Emperor Go-Fukakusa, and the Daikakuji 大覚寺 branch, descended from the 90th Emperor Kameyama. Almost all the emperors from the Jimyōin branch were buried at Fukakusa in the late Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods. The official Kunaichō sign for Fukakusa lists: Emperors Gofukakusa 後深草, Fushimi 伏見, Gofushimi 後伏見, Gokōgon 後光嚴, Goen'yū 後円融, Gokomatsu 後小松, Shōkō 弘長, Gotsuchimikado 後土御門, Gokashiwabara 後柏原, Gonara 後奈良, Ōgimachi 正親町, and Goyōzei 後陽成. Scholars such as Edmund Gilday attribute these burials to the “intensified desire to assert imperial filiality, continuity, and legitimacy in light of the Northern-Southern Courts' succession disputes.” Gilday also points out that during the 12th century, there had been some cases of corporal burials such as the ones of Emperors Daigo 醍醐 (885-930) and Murakami 村上 (926-967). Edmund T. Gilday, “Bodies of Evidence: Imperial Funeral Rites and the Meiji Restoration,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 27, no. 3/4, Mortuary Rites in Japan (Fall, 2000): 276.

¹⁵⁴ Gilday, 277.

¹⁵⁵ The body of Emperor Gokōmyō was buried at Sennyūji in 1654.

¹⁵⁶ Timothy Brook, “Funerary Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 49, no. 2 (December, 1989): 465-499. *Qi* is often translated as “life-force” and/or “vitality.”

¹⁵⁷ In addition, a legend also suggests a theory that explains this change in burial practice. *Zōi shoken den* 贈位諸賢伝, compiled by Tajiri Tasuku 田尻佐 (1863-1929) in 1927, provides another explanation. According to the record, Oku Hachibei 奥八兵衛 (?-1669), an official fish distributor of the imperial palace, allegedly heard that Emperor Gokōmyō wanted to be buried rather than cremated because cremation is not a virtuous funeral rite. Soon after the death of the emperor in the ninth month of 1654, Hachibei convinced the courtiers to change the imperial funeral tradition from cremation to burial by telling them about the wish of the emperor. Hachibei succeeded; the tradition of imperial cremation ended in the mid-17th century. Tajiri Tasuku 田尻佐, *Zōi shoken den* 贈位諸賢伝 (Tokyo: Kokuyūsha 国友社, 1927, and Tokyo: Kondō Shuppansha 近藤出版社, 1975) In *Zōi shoken den*, Tajiri compiled short biographies and achievements of individuals who were given special ranks (*shizoku* 士族) between 1868 and 1927. Oku Hachibei, from the 17th century, was one of them. (Also see *Kokushi daijiten*). Furthermore, the burial of Emperor Shijō might have influenced this shift from cremation to burial. *Kokugaku* 国学 (lit: national study) did not influence this shift because this patriotic thought did not become popular until later in the mid-Edo period. See chapter four for more information on *kokugaku*.

For the burials of Emperor Gokōmyō and subsequent emperors, the imperial family first followed the traditions and rites of cremation when transferring the imperial bodies to Sennyūji. After performing the cremation rituals, the family secretly buried the bodies of the emperors instead of cremating them. Since the death of Emperor Gokōmyō in 1654 (Jōō 承応 3), the imperial family and the temple “pretended” to cremate the bodies of emperors in the Buddhist funeral tradition; instead of cremation, however, they secretly buried the intact bodies. Although more than a dozen emperors were buried since the death of emperor Gokōmyō, this change of funeral rites from cremation to burial was kept hidden (*gomitsugyō* 御密行) and not made an official practice until the death of Emperor Kōmei.¹⁵⁸ The reasons for hiding the change in mortuary custom from cremation to burial are unclear. One theory suggests that cremation was not in accordance with Buddhist funeral practices at the time. Another theory is that the imperial family and government pretended to cremate emperors in order to maintain the tradition begun in the 8th century with Empress Jitō 持統 (645-703, r. 690-697, 41st). Although the reason for this two-step procedure is unclear, it is clear that since the funeral of Emperor Gokōmyō, the imperial family and court began to bury the bodies of the emperors at Sennyūji. Thus, Sennyūji became the only temple to house the tombs of the subsequent emperors.

Second, Sennyūji was unique because it enjoyed continuous imperial financial support throughout history. This fact is important because most temples lost their status and the financial aid from their patrons (*danka* 檀家) during the early Meiji period. In the second half of 1868, the government passed a series of regulations called *shinbutsu bunri no rei* 神仏分離令 (edicts of

¹⁵⁸ *Kōmei tennō ki* 孝明天皇紀, ed. Heian Jingū 平安神宮, vol. 5 (Kyoto: Heian Jingū 平安神宮, 1969): 935-936. Also see *Meiji Tennō ki (MTK)* 明治天皇紀, edited by Kunaichō 宮内庁, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1968), 459-460. According to Asukai Masamichi 飛鳥井雅道, Toda Tadayuki 戸田忠至 (1809-1883), who was involved in the restoration of imperial tombs, voiced his opinion that burial should be the official practice for imperial funeral. Asukai Masamichi, *Meiji taitei* 明治大帝, (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2002), 119. Also see Gilday, 277.

separating Buddhism and Shintoism). This idea of separating the two religions to emphasize and distinguish the native Japanese culture from a foreign imported religion was not a new one; however, by officially recognizing this notion as a state policy, the Meiji government legally forced a clear separation. For example, these edicts banned Shinto priests from: 1) worshipping Buddhist icons and objects; 2) keeping Buddhist objects; and 3) performing Buddhist rituals.¹⁵⁹ Even though the original aim of these edicts was not to destroy or abolish Buddhism, they did eventually lead to an anti-Buddhist movement (*haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈, Abolishment of Buddhism) in the early Meiji period.¹⁶⁰ This persecution of Buddhism led to *jiinhaigō* 寺院廃合 – the destruction and amalgamation of Buddhist temples. At the height of the destruction, the government turned some temples into schools and government offices and Nationalists destroyed Buddhist objects. Despite the unfavorable circumstances and reduced support of Buddhism from the imperial family, Sennyūji was able to survive. It was perhaps possible because of the temple's distinguished past as an imperial temple.

After the Meiji government replaced the imperial Buddhist funeral and entombing ceremonies with Shinto funeral rituals in the early Meiji period, the government remained uncertain concerning the proper handling of the imperial Buddhist ritual implements. For example, spirit tablets (*ihai* 位牌 or *gosonhai* 御尊牌)¹⁶¹ of the historical emperors kept at the imperial palace in Kyoto, became a problem. Although the government tried to abolish Buddhist rituals, it was not feasible to destroy the spirit tablets. Therefore, the government temporarily

¹⁵⁹ Sakamoto Ken'ichi 阪本健一, *Tennō to Meiji ishin* 天皇と明治維新 (Tokyo: Akatsuki Shobō 暁書房, 1983), 196. Buddhist and Shinto syncretism was so deeply rooted in Japanese culture that Buddhist and Shinto thoughts were not easily distinguished and separated.

¹⁶⁰ James Edward Ketelaar, a scholar who focuses on persecution of Buddhism in 19th century Japan, believes that such separation without destruction was impossible. James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹⁶¹ *Ihai* are small wooden tablets engraved with a posthumous name given to the deceased after his or her death. It is often placed on a Buddhist altar.

moved the imperial tablets to Mizuyakushiji 水薬師寺,¹⁶² then to Kyōmeikyū 恭明宮 at Hōkōji 方広寺,¹⁶³ and finally, on March 14, 1873 (Meiji 6), to Sennyūji.¹⁶⁴ The Reimei Hall 霊明殿 at Sennyūji currently houses an array of spirit tablets, ranging from those of early emperors, such as Tenji 天智 (626-671, r. 668-671, 38th) and Kōnin 光仁 (709-781, r. 770-781, 49th), to those of more recent emperors, including Emperor Shōwa 昭和 (1901-1989, r. 1926-1989, 124th).¹⁶⁵ Although other members of the imperial family are buried at Sennyūji, the temple keeps only the spirit tablets of emperors, suggesting that the temple is especially reserved for the emperors.¹⁶⁶

As the temple history clearly shows, Sennyūji has been an important imperial temple, even during the anti-Buddhist movement. Although current scholarship cannot explain the reason why the succeeding emperors continued to support the temple (especially from mid-13th to mid-17th centuries), the above background information provides a better understanding of the commemorative function of the imperial portraits at the temple that will be discussed next.

¹⁶² John Breen states that the transfer of *ihai* tablets happened in 1871. See John Breen, “Ideologues, bureaucrats and Priests: on “Shinto” and “Buddhism” in early Meiji Japan,” in *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, ed. John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), 241. Mizuyakushiji, established in 902 with a support from Emperor Daigo 醍醐, is a Shingon sect temple in Kyoto.

¹⁶³ Hōkōji, originally established in 1595 by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, is a Tendai sect temple located in Kyoto.

¹⁶⁴ Sakamoto Ken’ichi 阪本健一, *Meiji shintoshi no kenkyū* 明治神道史の研究, (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1983), 487-488. Also see Sakamoto Ken’ichi 阪本健一, *Meiji ishin to Shintō* 明治維新と神道, (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan 同朋舎出版, 1981).

¹⁶⁵ Sennyūji houses the spirit tablet of Emperor Shōwa because the anti-Buddhism sentiment eventually decreased.

¹⁶⁶ Kuroda, *Ō no shintai ō no shōzō*, 277. The main hall of Sennyūji is located at the bottom of the *sandō* 参道 path. This gradual downhill from the main gate to the hall is unique to Sennyūji. Perhaps, the temple structured its complex this way so that the imperial visitors can walk down to the temple, emphasizing the temple’s submissive position. (The temple was not open to the public until relatively recently).

2.4 PORTRAITS AS COMMEMORATIVE RITUAL OBJECTS

An examination of the *tsuizen* tradition provides a better understanding of the mortuary portraits at Sennyūji. *Tsuizen*, an act of conducting memorial rituals for the deceased,¹⁶⁷ stems from Confucian and Buddhist traditions. It is closely associated with the Confucian concept of filial piety especially as it applies to filial sons and daughters who display sorrow for their parents' deaths and carry out sacrifices. In the same fashion, followers should do the same for their rulers. It also stems from the Buddhist concept of *ekō* 廻向¹⁶⁸ – the belief that the living can transfer their merit to specific individuals for their relief after death.¹⁶⁹ *Shi wang jing* 十王經 (*The Scripture on the Ten Kings*), a tenth-century Chinese sutra states:

The Law is broad and forgiving. I allow you to be lenient with the compassionate and filial sons and daughters of all sinners. When they cultivate merit and perform sacrifices to raise the dead, repaying the kindness shown in giving birth to them and supporting them, or when during the seven sevens they cultivate feasts and commission [representations] in order to repay their parents' kindness, then you should allow them to attain rebirth in the heavens.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ *Tsuizen* concept is also known as *tuisen* 追薦, *tsuifuku* 追福, *tsuishu* 追修 and *yoshū* 預修. *Shin bukkyō jiten* 新・佛教辞典, ed. Nakamura Hajime 中村元 (Tokyo: Seishin Shobō 誠信書房, 2006), 393, and *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 9, 207.

¹⁶⁸ The notion of *ekō* (*parinama*) seems to go against the Buddhist rule of *jigōjitoku* 自業自得 (*kammassakata*) that everyone is responsible for his or her own actions and will eventually pay the consequences. The following books attempt to explain such inconsistency in Buddhist teachings: Fujimoto Akira 藤本晃, *Kudoku ha naze ekō dekiruno* 功德はなぜ廻向できるの? (Tokyo: Sanga サンガ, 2008) and Kajiyama Yūichi 梶山雄一, 'Satori' to 'ekō' 「さと」と「廻向」: *Daijōbukkyō no seiritsu* 大乘仏教の成立 (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin 人文書院, 1997).

¹⁶⁹ How Confucian ancestor worship influenced this Buddhist belief will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁷⁰ Translated by Stephen Teiser. Stephen F Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 210. In his footnote 136 on page 210, Teiser translates “zao-jing zao-xiang 造經造像” as “commission scriptures and commission statues.” The Chinese widely use the umbrella term *xiang* 像, which literally translates as the verb “to resemble” and as the noun “representation,” for portraits. Therefore, I modified his translation and inserted “representation” in place of “statues.” For more information, see Foulk and Sharf, 159-160.

When the *tsuizen* practice began is unclear; however, it most likely predated the following early 8th century sutra.

According to Matsuura Shūkō 松浦秀光, a scholar of Buddhism, the oldest existing text on *tsuizen* is from a Chinese sutra called *Shou leng yan jing* 首楞嚴經 from 705.¹⁷¹ The sutra introduces a tale of an ascending king offering a Buddhist commemorative ritual for his deceased father. In medieval Japan, it was believed that King Enma (閻魔大王 C: *Yanmo dawang*; J: *Enma daiō*) and the Ten Kings of Hells (十王 C: *Shitian*; J: *Jūō*) judged the deceased after death.¹⁷² To determine the realm where the deceased should be reincarnated, the Kings assessed the deceased according to the severity of the actions he or she committed during their lifetimes. By offering food and libation, chanting and copying sutras, and creating and dedicating Buddhist images and portraits of the deceased on behalf of the deceased, the living could influence the Kings to reach a positive decision. These offerings had the potential to cancel out any negative actions the deceased had previously committed.

In the Heian period, this Chinese practice of *tsuizen* spread to Japan. As Gerhart, in her aforementioned book discusses, a majority of the early Japanese portraits served a commemorative purpose. She explains portraits as instruments and objects of mortuary rituals used during Buddhist funerary rites and commemorative ceremonies.¹⁷³ Her research reveals that

¹⁷¹ Matsuura Shūkō 松浦秀光, *Zenke no sōhō to tsuizenkuyō no kenkyū* 禅家の葬法と追善供養の研究 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin 山喜房仏書林, 1972), 239. The original *Shurangama Sutra*, written in Sanskrit, was brought to China from India and translated into Chinese. According to the sutra *Kanjō zuigan ōjō juppō jōdo kyō* 灌頂隨願往生十方淨土經 (also known as *Kanjōkyō* 灌頂經, c: *guan ding jing*), seven commemoration offerings will allow the deceased to get out of the hells. The *Jigokubosatsu hongankyō* 地藏菩薩本願經, and *Jizōbosatsu hosshin in'en jūō kyō* 地藏菩薩發心因緣十王經 (also known as *Jizō jūō kyō* 地藏十王經), also reinforce this practice. Moreover, originating in Buddhism and influenced by Daoism, a sutra called *Araō juki shishū gyakushu kinana ōjō jōdokyō* 閻羅王授記四衆逆修生七往生淨土經 (also known as *Yoshū jūō kinanakyō* 預修十王生七經) elucidates this mortuary practice.

¹⁷² Ten Kings of Hells are known as *Shi tian*. This belief was established by the late Tang dynasty, China.

¹⁷³ Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*. Her research shows the changing functions of mortuary portraits from the 14th through the 15th centuries. See chapter six on portraits.

portraits changed function from the 14th century to the 15th century. Gerhart refers to *Moromoriki* 師守記, a mid-14th century diary written by Nakahara Moromori 中原師守, a courtier. Moromori mentions a (group?) portrait of his late parents and sister. Moromori's father died on 1345 (Kōei 康永 4) 2.6., six months before his wife—Moromori's mother—passed away. Although Moromori makes no mention of portraits at the funerals of his parents, he later commissioned commemorative portraits of his parents and his late sister and conducted a Buddhist ritual in front of the image(s). This event validates the idea that this portrait (these portraits), which no longer exist today, initially served a commemorative purpose. To further substantiate the commemorative role of portraits, Gerhart examined a number of detailed records on imperial funerals, such as the one on Emperor Goichijō 後一條 (1008-1036, r. 1016-1036) in *Eiga monogatari*. She again found no mention of portraits during imperial funerals and concluded that, prior to the 15th century, portraits did not play a major role in the actual funeral but were used mainly during memorial services. However, due to the influence of Zen Buddhism, portraits come to play a major role in later funerals.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, by referring to *Kennaiki* 建内記 written by Madenokōji Tokifusa 万里小路 時房 (1394-1457)¹⁷⁵ and the funeral procession scene depicted in the late 15th to the early 16th century scroll titled *Nichiren Shōnin chūgasan* 日蓮聖人註画讃,¹⁷⁶ Gerhart suggests that the portraits were used during funerals to provide a temporary resting place for the spirits of the deceased. This use of portraits at funerals is less known compared to the portraits' commemorative function.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 177.

¹⁷⁵ *Kennaiki* states where portraits were hung for Yoshimochi's funeral in 1428. Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death*, 64 and 172. *Kennaiki* states where portraits were hung for Yoshimochi's funeral in 1428.

¹⁷⁶ *Nichiren Shōnin chūgasan* in *Zokuzoku Nihon emaki taisei: Denki, engi hen*, vol. 2, ed. Komatsu Shigemi (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993). p. 70 (bottom panel).

2.5 COMMEMORATION OF THE LATE EMPERORS

There is no available primary source that details the use of imperial portraits in funeral,¹⁷⁷ but many textual documents indicate that the imperial portraits were used for commemorative purposes.¹⁷⁸ There is evidence that the imperial family used emperors' portraits for *tsuizen* rituals. For example, according to an entry on 1088 (Kanji 寛治 2) 8.17 in *Eiga monogatari*, Nijōin 二条院¹⁷⁹ (1027-1105), a daughter of Emperor Goichijō 後一條 (1008-1036, r. 1016-1036), commissioned a memorial portrait of her father; she then dedicated it in the mid-Heian period at a newly built temple hall for commemoration.¹⁸⁰ Even though this image of Emperor Goichijō does not exist today, the written records indicate the commemorative function of the portrait kept in a Buddhist temple.

A half century later, Buddhist monks displayed a portrait of Emperor Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123, 74th) during his mortuary rituals. Nakamura Kōji, an art historian, explains that these monks chanted Buddhist sutras in front of the portrait.¹⁸¹ The act of chanting Buddhist sutras in front of the image of a deceased emperor suggests the *tsuizen* function of the portrait.

¹⁷⁷ According to *Tettsū Gikai zenshi sōki* 徹通義介禪師喪記, a Sōtō 曹洞宗 zen sect record written in 1309, hanging of portrait of upper-class Zen Buddhist monk was a part of zen funerary practice. Tettsū Gikai was active from 1219-1309. Kawaguchi Kōfū 川口高風, *Kunchū* 訓注: *Tettsū Gikai zenshi sōki* 徹通義介禪師喪記, in *Tettsū Gikai zenshi kenkyū* 徹通義介禪師研究, compiled by Azuma Ryūshin 東隆真 (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku 大法輪閣, 2006), 405 and 408-410. Also see p. 399 for a list.

¹⁷⁸ It is still unclear if the imperial family used portraits of the deceased emperors during the imperial funerals (not commemorative services).

¹⁷⁹ Nijōin, also known as Shōshi 章子, should not be confused with Emperor Nijō 二条 (1143-1165, r. 1158-1165, 78th) who was also called Nijōin after he retired.

¹⁸⁰ *Eiga monogatari*, 524. Idewa no ben 出羽弁 (b. 996 or 1007), an attendant who served Nijōin, composed a poem about this emotional dedication in the late 11th-century *Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集. Idewa no ben 出羽弁, poem #593, in *Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集, compiled by Fujiwara Michitoshi 藤原通俊, ed. Kubota Jun 久保田淳 and Hirata Yoshinobu 平田善信, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1994), 194-195. (いかにして写しとめけむ雲居にてあかず別れし月の光を).

¹⁸¹ Nakamura did not footnote his reference. Nakamura Kōji 中村興二, “*Tennō kizoku ei ni tsuite* 天皇貴族影について,” *Kokka* 國華, vol. 1218 (April, 1997): 16. Loaned by Manganji 満願寺, Kyoto National Museum currently

The “Ōhara gokō 大原御幸” chapter of *Heike monogatari* states that Kenreimon’in 建礼門院 (1155-1213), the mother of the late Emperor Antoku, memorialized the death of her son with his portrait. In her residence at Jakkō-in 寂光院, Kenreimon’in placed a Buddha Triad [on an altar] at the middle of the wall. To the left was a painting of Fugen bodhisattva; to the right were portraits of Shandao 善導 (J: Zendō, active 613-681), an influential Chinese Pure Land Buddhist monk, and the late Emperor Antoku. The text states that Kenreimon’in also placed eight scrolls of the Lotus Sutra and nine scrolls of the teachings written by Shandao.¹⁸² Such placement of Buddhist paintings, a portrait of the emperor, and sutras suggests a Buddhist altar setting. She may have chanted sutras in front of these images to commemorate her son and the members of the Taira clan who drowned during the Battle of Dannoura in 1185.

In his diary, *Hanazono tennō shinki* 花園天皇宸記, Emperor Hanazono wrote on 1331 (Genkō 元弘 1) 11.22 that sutras were read in front of a portrait of Emperor Gotoba.¹⁸³ The next day, sutras were read again in front of the portrait.¹⁸⁴ The following year, on 1332 (Genkō 2) 2.22, some rituals were conducted in front of a portrait of Emperor Gotoba.¹⁸⁵ From the text, it is unclear whether Emperor Hanazono wrote about one portrait or three different portraits of Emperor Gotoba. Emperor Hanazono used the word, *ei* (影; lit. shadow), which does not specify the medium of the portrait(s). Although these short journal entries do not clarify whether the

houses this portrait of Emperor Toba. For more information on this portrait, see Mori Tōru 森暢, “Toba jōkō no mie ni suite 鳥羽上皇の御影について,” *Kokka* 国華, 725 (1952): 260.

¹⁸² Mihashi Tokugen 御橋恵言, *Heike monogatari* 平家物語: *Hyōshaku* 評釈 3 (Tokyo: Zokugunshoruijū kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 2000), 602. And Helen Craig McCullough, trans. *The Tale of the Heike* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988): 432.

¹⁸³ Emperor Hanazono 花園, *Hanazono tennō shinki* 花園天皇宸記 2, in *Zōho shiryōtaisei* 増補史料大成 3 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1975), 176.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 195.

portraits of the emperor were paintings or sculptures, they do confirm the commemorative use of these portraits.

Furthermore, Abbess Shōzan Gen'yō 照山元瑤 (1634-1727), the eighth daughter of the Emperor Gomizunoo, perpetuated this ritual of remembering the dead by painting and donating several portraits of her father to temples the emperor had patronized before his death.¹⁸⁶ Manpukuji 萬福寺 in Kyoto holds one of these portraits by Gen'yō. Every ninth month 19th day, the anniversary of Emperor Gomizunoo's death, Manpukuji displays the portrait of the emperor, probably for a limited group of family members and close followers.¹⁸⁷ Today, as in the case of Emperor Gomizunoo, the temple regularly exhibits these mortuary portraits for special death anniversaries.¹⁸⁸

Portraits of dead emperors, similar to the paintings of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other Buddhist deities, function as both offerings and as recipients of offerings. The belief in portraits as offerings is important to consider when analyzing the portrait collection at Sennyūji.

2.6 COMMEMORATIVE PORTRAITS OF EMPERORS AT SENNYŪJI

There is solid evidence that, by the 15th century, portraits were used in commemorative services at Sennyūji. In preparation for Emperor Goen'yū's one-hundred-year memorial service (*hyakunenki* 百年忌) that took place at Sennyūji in the fourth month of 1492,¹⁸⁹ the imperial

¹⁸⁶ Gen'yō was also known as Princess Teruko 光子 before she took her tonsure. She studied painting under both Kanō Yasunobu 狩野安信 (1613-1685) and Takuhō Dōshū 卓峯道秀 (1652-1714). Takuhō Dōshū, an Ōbaku 黄檗 Japanese Zen sect priest-painter, was a student of the eminent painter Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602-1674). Patricia Fister, *Art by Buddhist Nuns: Treasures from the Imperial Convents of Japan* 尼門跡と尼僧の美術 (New York: Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies, 2003), 27.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 51.

¹⁸⁸ The commemorative portraits of Emperor Gomizunoo at Sennyūji will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁸⁹ A diary entry prior to the memorial service on 1492 (Entoku 延徳 4) 4.26 from *Oyudononoue no nikki* お湯殿の上日記, a record kept by women serving in the imperial palace, indicates that the imperial family made a payment not in cash but in textile called *donsu* 緞子 for the 100th memorial service for Emperor Goen'yū at Sennyūji.

family ordered Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (1434?-1525) to create a new memorial portrait painting of Emperor Goen'yū for use during his milestone memorial service.¹⁹⁰ Although Sennyūji already owned a wooden portrait sculpture of Emperor Goen'yū, both the court and the temple felt it important to order portrait painting to mark the one-hundred-year memorial service.

There is an interesting story associated with this portrait of Emperor Goen'yū. Seven years later in 1499, Sennyūji Abbot Senpaku 先白 (d.u) requested that Emperor Gotsuchimikado 後土御門 (1442-1500, r. 1464-1500, 103rd) to add an inscription in the space above the figure of Emperor Goen'yū. The 1499 (Meiō 明応 8) 4.21 entry of *Sanetakakōki* states that Kazunaga 和長 (d.u.), a poet, delivered a poem to Sanetaka that Emperor Gotsuchimikado then inscribed on the portrait of Emperor Goen'yū on the 27th of that same month.¹⁹¹ This additional inscription project took place in the fourth month of 1499, the 107th death anniversary month of Emperor Goen'yū (d. 1393 (Meitoku 明德 4) 4.26). The timing suggests that the project played a role in the dedication to memorialize the emperor. The timing further indicates that the display of the portrait for the memorial service might have inspired Abbot Senpaku to initiate this inscription project.

By the early seventeenth century, the time when the imperial portraits housed at Sennyūji were created, Buddhist believers commonly practiced *tsuizen*. As previously explained, *tsuizen* is closely associated with the Confucian concept of the relationship between parents-sons

Oyudononoue no nikki お湯殿の上日記, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Heibunsha 平文社, 1987), 259-260.

¹⁹⁰ Murashige, *Nihon no bijutsu*, 13.

¹⁹¹ Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Sanetakakōki*, vol. 3b, 644. *Sanetakakōki* (1499.4.27) includes a letter from Emperor Gotsuchimikado to Sanetaka, who designed the format of the inscription. The emperor thanked Sanetaka for providing him with detailed instructions on how and what to inscribe on the portrait. The emperor also expressed his frustration for making a mistake. He wrote a wrong *kanji* for *michi* 道 on the painting. Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Sanetakakōki*, vol. 3b, 644-645. Sennyūji/Unryū-in currently own(s) this portrait which is designated as an Important Cultural Treasure 重要文化財. The correction made on the misspelled word on the portrait is still visible, authenticating the painting.

(children) and rulers-followers. Most of the Sennyūji portraits with sufficient donor data verify this tradition. The following list gives the donor information and, in some cases, the artist information, for the Sennyūji portraits.¹⁹² In instances of textual support, I specifically used the term “painted” for the donors who actually painted the portraits. In instances without textual evidences, I assumed that the donors had commissioned an artist to paint the portraits.

- The tenth son of Emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾 (1596-1680, r. 1611-1629, 108th), Dharma-prince Gyōjo 堯如 of Myōhōin 妙法院 (1640-1695), painted two portraits of his father. Extant records confirm that Gyōjo actually painted at least one of these portraits and that Emperor Gomizunoo then added inscriptions on one of them.¹⁹³
- The eighth daughter of Emperor Gomizunoo, Princess Teruko 光子 (also known as Fumyōin no miya 普明院宮 and Gen'yō 元瑤; 1634-1727), made two portraits of her father. The latest inventory list of imperial portraits at Sennyūji records that Fumyōin no miya (Fumyōin no miya onhitsu 普明院宮御筆) drew the first portrait, and Gen'yō (Gen'yō kōshu ga 元瑤公主画) painted the second one. An annotation for the second portrait states, “It is said that the body is drawn by Tan'yū.” As previously mentioned (in a footnote), Gen'yō was a student of Kanō Yasunobu and Takuhō Dōshū, a student of Kanō Tan'yū.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, it is probable that Gen'yō actually painted the face of Emperor Gomizunoo, while Kanō Tan'yū completed the rest of the portrait.
- Genchin 元椿 (1668-1749) and Shaku Keidan 釋景團 of Manpukuji 万福寺, Kyoto, each donated a portrait of Emperor Gomizunoo. Genchin is better known as

¹⁹² Based on a list from *Sennyūji shi: Shiryōhen*, 351-352 (translated by Yuki Morishima) and the latest (probably made in the last 100 years) inventory list of imperial portraits at Sennyūji.

¹⁹³ Gyōjo, vol. 1, 192-193. See the entries on 1667.2.13, 18, and 20.

¹⁹⁴ Fister, *Art by Buddhist Nuns*, 27.

Hyakusetsugenyō 百拙元養, who was an Ōbaku Buddhist monk known for his painting skill.¹⁹⁵ Because Genchin was only twelve years old when the emperor died, he probably created this portrait for later imperial commemorative services. Although no extant record identifies Shaku Keidan, the inventory list at Sennyūji states that he was from Manpukuji, a temple Emperor Gomizunoo had patronized before his death.

- Otagi Michifuku 愛宕通福 (1634-1699) commissioned a portrait of the 110th Emperor Gokōmyō 後光明 (1633-1654, r. 1643-1654).¹⁹⁶ Although not dated, the portrait was most likely painted shortly before or after the death of Emperor Gokōmyō because of its commemorative purpose. Michifuku held the fifth rank from 1647 to 1658¹⁹⁷ and although he had a relatively low rank within the court, he had an important connection to the imperial family. His daughter Fukuko 福子 (1656-1681)¹⁹⁸ was a consort of Emperor Reigen (a half-brother of Emperor Gokōmyō) and gave birth to Dharma-Prince Kanryū 寛隆 (1672-1707).¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ *Nihon bukkyō jinmei jiten*, 685.

¹⁹⁶ Nojima Jusaburō 野島寿三郎, *Kugyō jinmei daijiten* 公卿人名大事典 (Tokyo: Nichigai Associates 日外アソシエーツ, 1994), 172. Michifuku is also read as Michitomi and Michiyoshi. See the 1732 (享保 17) 8.9 entry in *Kaiki* 槐記 for how highly regarded Michifuku was. *Kaiki* was written by Yamashina Dōan 山科道安 (1677-1746), who recorded information told him by a courtier, Konoe Iehiro 近衛家熙 (1667-1736) between 1724 and 1735. Yamashina Dōan 山科道安, *Nihon kotenbungakutaikei* 日本古典文学大系: *Kaiki* 槐記, in *Kinsei zuisōshū* 近世随想集 96, edited by Nomura Takatsugi 野村貴次 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1965), 468-469. Also see the footnote on 399.

Also see *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 2, 841 for more information on the Otagi family.

¹⁹⁷ *Kugyō bunin* 公卿補任, *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikēi* 新訂増補 国史大系, compiled by Kuroita Katsumi 黑板勝美, vol. 56 (Kokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunsha 吉川弘文社, 1964-1965), 20. The highest rank Michifuku attained was a Provisional Senior Counselor, second rank (*Gondainagon jūni* 権大納言従二位).

¹⁹⁸ Fukuko 福子 was also known as Minamoto naishi no tubone 源内侍局.

¹⁹⁹ Dharma-prince Kanryū was a Shingon Buddhist monk at Ninnaji. *Reigen tennō jitsuroku* 3 霊元天皇実録, edited by Fujita Jōji 藤田譲治 and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真之 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō ゆまに書房, 2005), 1095.

- Dharma-prince Kōben 公辨 (1669-1716), the sixth son of Emperor Gosai 後西 (1637-1685, r. 1654-1663) and a Tendai sect monk at Rinnōji temple at Nikkō, commissioned a portrait of his father, the 111th Emperor Gosai.²⁰⁰
- Princess Masuko 益子 (1669-1738), the tenth daughter of Emperor Gosai and a niece of Emperor Reigen 靈元 (1654-1732, r. 1663-1687), commissioned a posthumous portrait of the 112th Emperor Reigen in 1732.²⁰¹
- Princess Masako 栄子 (1673-1746), the third daughter, commissioned a portrait of Emperor Reigen.
- Dharma-prince Kōkan 公寛 of Rinnōji (1697-1738), the third son of the 113th Emperor Higashiyama 東山 (1675-1709, r. 1687-1709), commissioned a portrait of his father.
- Kushige Takanari 櫛笥隆成 (1676-1744), a Senior Counselor (*Dainagon* 大納言) and an uncle of the 114th Emperor Nakamikado, drew a portrait of the Emperor (Kushige Zendainagon Takanari gyō hitsu 櫛笥前大納言隆成卿筆). Takashige's sister, Yoshiko 賀子 (1675-1710), was the mother of Emperor Nakamikado.²⁰²
- An unknown member of the Kazahaya 風早 family, holding the position of Lesser General (*Shōshō* 少将), commissioned a portrait of the 115th Emperor Sakuramachi 櫻町 (1720-1750, r. 1735-1747). Considering the active years of Emperor Sakuramachi, the

²⁰⁰ Kōben was the sixth son of Emperor Gosai. For more information on the Rinnōji temple, see *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 14, 676-677.

²⁰¹ This portrait is currently missing; however, Akamatsu included it in the temple treasure list compiled in 1985. Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Honbun hen*, 417.

²⁰² Kasahara Hidehiko 笠原英彦, *Rekidai tennō sōran* 歴代天皇総覧: *Kōiha dōkeishō saretaka* 皇位はどう継承されたか (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Shinsha 中央公論新社, 2001), 275. Also see *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 10, 100.

donor of this portrait, “Kazahaya,” is likely to be Kimio 公雄 (1721-1787), who held the position of a Lesser General from 1738 and 1753.²⁰³

- Hiramatsu Tokiyuki 平松時行 (1714-1786), a courtier ranked as Provisional Middle Counselor, second rank (*Gonchūnagon jūnii* 權中納言從二位), commissioned a portrait of the 116th Emperor Momozono 桃園 (1741-1762, r. 1747-1762).²⁰⁴
- The latest inventory list at Sennyūji indicates that a Kuze 久世 member of the third rank (*sanmi* 三位) drew (*hitsu* 筆) a portrait of the 118th Emperor Gomomozono 後桃園 (1758-1779, r. 1770-1779). The third-ranked courtier from the Kuze family who served during the active years of the rule of Emperor Gomomozono was Michine 通根 (1745-1816) who was well known for his artistic talent.²⁰⁵ Michine attained the third rank in 1775, and remained in the position until 1792 (Emperor Gomomozono passed away in 1779).²⁰⁶ Michine also had an important imperial connection because his daughter, Motoko 根子 (d.u.), was an attendant/consort (*nyōbō* 女房) of Emperor Kōkaku 光格 (1771-1840, r. 1779-1817), who became the 119th emperor.²⁰⁷
- Toyooka Harusuke 豊岡治資 (1789-1854) created portraits of the 119th Emperor Kōkaku and the 120th Emperor Ninkō 仁孝 (1800-1846, r. 1817-1846). Harusuke, who held upper

²⁰³ *Kugyō jinmei daijiten*, 184. *Kugyō bunin*, vol. 56, p. 426. The highest rank Kazahaya Kimio attained was a *Gonchūnagon* (Provisional Middle Counselor). *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 3, 250.

²⁰⁴ *Kugyō bunin*, vol. 56, p. 351 and 460. The highest position Tokiyuki held was a *Gonchūnagon Shōnii* 權中納言正二位. *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 11, 1075, and *Kugyō jinmei daijiten*, 680.

²⁰⁵ Atomi Gakuen Joshi Daigaku 跡見学園女子大学 owns a copy of *hyakunin isshu* 百人一首 (*One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets*; ID # 002000). Kuze Michine did the calligraphy and illustrations for the album; his contributions show that he was a fine artist.

²⁰⁶ *Kugyō bunin*, vol. 56, p. 534, p.570. and vol. 57, p. 86. The highest rank Michine attained was a Provisional Senior Counselor (*Gondainagon*) in 1805. *Kugyō jinmei daijiten*, 272.

²⁰⁷ *Nyōbōshidai* 女房次第.

third rank (*shōsanmi* 正三位)²⁰⁸ and the position of Minister of Treasury (*Ōkurakyō* 大藏卿), was well-known for his painting skill.²⁰⁹ According to *Kōmei tennō ki* 孝明天皇紀, in the ninth month of 1846 (*Kōka* 弘化 3), Harusuke was ordered to paint (画かしむ) the portrait of Emperor Ninkō.²¹⁰

- Tsutsumi Akinaga 堤哲長 (1827-1869) commissioned the portrait of the 121st Emperor Kōmei. At the time of Emperor Kōmei's death, Tsutsumi held positions of Honorary Consultant (*hisangi* 非参議), third rank, and Mayor of the Right Capital District (*ukyō no daibu* 右京大夫).²¹¹ He was also the head imperial chamberlain (*jijūchō* 侍従長) for Emperor Kōmei.²¹²

As this list from Sennyūji shows, close attendants of emperors, in addition to the immediate members of the royal family, customarily donated memorial portraits of emperors for special occasions.²¹³ In some cases, they not only donated but also painted memorial portraits. For example, a diary entry on 1664 (*Kanbun* 寛文 4) 6.2 from *Gyōjo hosshinnō nikki* 堯恕法親王日記 states that while Gyōjo painted the face of his father, Emperor Gomizunoo, Kanō Tan'yū,

²⁰⁸ It is also read as *ōimitsu no kurai*. *Kugyō jinmei daijiten*, 541.

²⁰⁹ *Kugyō bunin*, vol. 57, p. 263-264, 396, and 432. *Jinbutsu refarensu jiten* 人物レファレンス事典 (Tokyo: Nichigai Associates 日外アソシエーツ, 1996), 1705. For more information on the Toyooka family, see *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 10, 447. Toyooka Harusuke was also known as Fujiwara Harusuke.

²¹⁰ *Kōmei tennō ki* 孝明天皇紀, (from Shiryō Hensanjo Dainippon shiryō sōgō dētabēsu 史料編纂所大日本史料総合データベース). See the ninth month of 1846 (*Kōka* 3). (大藏卿藤原治資「豊岡」に命して、仁孝天皇の聖像を画かしむ). The record does not indicate who ordered Harusuke to paint the portrait of Emperor Ninkō. I could also translate the above sentence as “Harusuke ordered someone in the Toyooka clan to paint the portrait of Emperor Ninkō,” which makes Harusuke a commissioner. However, Harusuke was known as a skilled artist making me think that he was the painter. Since Harusuke painted the portrait of Emperor Ninkō, it is likely that he also painted the portrait of Emperor Kōkaku.

²¹¹ *Kugyō bunin*, vol. 57, p. 536 and 571. *Jinbutsu refarensu jiten*, 1600.

²¹² *Kugyō jinmei daijiten*, 506.

²¹³ Because these upper-class courtiers had a higher rank than *hisangi* (Honorary Consultant), they could meet with an emperor at the Imperial Palace. For more information, see the Inaccessibility of Imperial Portraits section in this chapter.

a professional artist, finished the portrait.²¹⁴ Three years later, Gyōjo depicted the emperor again and stated that he alone painted the entire portrait himself.²¹⁵

While it is not unexpected for the immediate family members to order or paint portraits of a deceased emperor, high ranking officials (supporters/attendants) ordering portraits is unusual and needs to be carefully examined. It is surprising that the above list includes not only the top ranking courtiers, but also middle ranking ones. Unlike Senior Counselor Kushige Takanari and Provisional Middle Counselor Hiramatsu Tokiyuki, the following courtiers were officers but not as highly ranked: Otagi Michifuku; an unknown member of the Kazahaya family in the position of Lesser General (Kazahaya Kimio); an unknown member of the Kuze family holding third rank (Kuze Michine); Toyooka Harusuke; and Tsutsumi Akinaga. A personal relationship with the imperial family must have been an important requirement of a donor and/or painter of imperial portraits. In addition, having a certain high court rank may have been a prerequisite. Because these imperial portraits were used for commemorative services (not for political propaganda, etc.), personal devotion to the deceased emperor and imperial family also must have been a motivation for these donors to create portraits.

Although it was a common practice for those who were close to the late emperors to create imperial portraits, there are two exceptions that were painted centuries after the deaths of two emperors. First, the aforementioned portrait of Emperor Goen'yū from 1499 and second, the portrait of Emperor Shijō from 1641. The portrait of Emperor Goen'yū is the only portrait at Sennyūji allegedly painted completely by a professional artist.²¹⁶ The imperial family may have

²¹⁴ Gyōjo, vol. 1, 30 and 32. See entries under 1664.5.4 and 1664.6.2. This portrait was given to Hanjuzanmai-in.

²¹⁵ Gyōjo, vol. 1, 193. Also see the entry on 1680 (延宝 Enpō 8) 8.19. Gyōjo, vol. 2, 211. This portrait was given to Sennyūji. These two portraits painted by Gyōjo were both created while Emperor Gomizunoo was still alive.

²¹⁶ Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Honbun hen*, 234. Kanō Tan'yū assisted Gyōjo with painting Emperor Gomizunoo, however, he did not paint the face of the emperor. Naruse Fujio claims that the portrait of Emperor Goyōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617, r. 1586-1611, 107th) was painted by Kanō Takanobu 狩野孝信, the father of Tan'yū. However,

ordered a professional artist to paint the portrait in this case because nobody personally knew Emperor Goen'yū, who had died one hundred years earlier. Second, Nakanoin Michimura, a Provisional Senior Counselor (*Gondainagon*), ordered a replacement portrait of Emperor Shijō, believed to be Shunjō's reincarnation, because the original portrait had been destroyed in the Ōnin War. According to the inscription on the back of the painting, the new portrait was dedicated to Emperor Shijō for use during his four-hundredth-year memorial service held at Sennyūji in 1641.²¹⁷ Since then, this portrait of Emperor Shijō has been kept in the Reimei Hall within the precincts of Sennyūji.²¹⁸ No written record identifies the artist commissioned by Michimura, however, I assume that a professional artist was chosen for this project since none of Emperor Shijō's close relatives and supporters were alive to paint him four hundred years after his death.

Regardless of who painted the imperial portraits housed at Sennyūji, the following episode suggests that these portraits were reserved especially for commemorative rituals in the 18th century. In 1784, Sennyūji exhibited its treasures for twenty days at Dairyūji 大竜寺 in Nagoya. The exhibition publicly displayed many imperial objects, including emperors' personal belongings donated to Sennyūji. The following year, Enkōan 猿候庵 (1756-1831), a painter and writer from Nagoya, published a booklet, which pictorially documented the exhibition.²¹⁹ In this booklet, the artist illustrates the general public enjoying the display of the imperial treasures and

Akamatsu does not identify the artist for the portrait of Goyōzei and leaves it as anonymous. Since Naruse does not provide any reasons for his claim, I do not include this portrait of Emperor Goyōzei as the third exception. Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄, *Nihon shōzōgashi* 日本肖像画史: *Nara jidai kara bakumatsu made tokuni kinsei no josei yōdōzō o chūshin toshite* 奈良時代から幕末まで、特に近世の女性・幼童像を中心として (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論美術出版, 2004), 51.

²¹⁷ *Sennyūji shi: Shiryōhen*, 381-382.

²¹⁸ Emperor Gomizunoo later commissioned a wooden portrait sculpture of Emperor Shijō in 1666.

²¹⁹ Nagoya-shi Hakubutsukan 名古屋市博物館, *Enkōan no hon* 猿猴庵の本: *Sennyūji reihō haikenzu Saga reibutsu kaichōshi* 泉涌寺靈宝拝見図 嵯峨靈仏開帳志 (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Hakubutsukan 名古屋市博物館, 2006), 7-29 (especially 14-27). Enkōan is an artist name of Kōriki Tanenobu 高力種信 of Owari 尾張.

Buddhist artifacts. For instance, visitors are shown viewing Emperor Gomizunoo's prayer beads and robe, Emperor Nakamikado's censor and ink stone, and Emperor Gomomozono's screen painting, sword, pillow, and bedding. Judging from the illustrations of the exhibition, Sennyūji monks included the emperors' personal items in the exhibition, but they chose to exclude the portraits and spirit tablets of the emperors. Perhaps the late-18th-century Japanese monks considered mortuary portraits and spirit tablets as objects only to be used for rituals and deemed it disrespectful to publicly display them.²²⁰

To memorialize the deceased emperors, the immediate members of the royal family and supporters of the emperors created portraits at Sennyūji for a variety of reasons: annual death anniversaries; special mortuary occasions, such as milestone death anniversaries (e.g. 100th year); and the building of a new temple hall. The monks then annually brought out the portraits to commemorate the deceased's death date. These commemorative portraits were reserved for religious function rather than for public display.

2.6.1 Reverse Rite (Gyakushu 逆修)

In addition to *tsuizen*, some emperors presumably used their portraits for another practice called *gyakushu*. Practiced since the Heian period in Japan, the *gyakushu* reverse rite is an act performed while one is alive to increase one's chance of reincarnation into a better realm.²²¹ Although *tsuizen* relies upon surviving family members to make food offerings, chant and copy sutras, and dedicate portraits to a deceased person, *gyakushu* allows a living person to

²²⁰ Since the available exhibition includes no list of objects, it is impossible to know the full content of the exhibition. Possibly, the artist chose not to depict portraits and spirit tablets (ritualistic objects).

²²¹ 逆修 can be pronounced as *gyakushu*, *gyakushū*, or *gekishu*. This concept is also known as *yoshū* 予修. See *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 4, 290. and *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 4, 222-223.

accumulate merits in preparation for his/her own death through similar behaviors.²²² *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* explains this concept:

...A person can during life commission this scripture or the various images of the Honored Ones, and it will be noted in the dark registry.

On the day one arrives, King Yama will be delighted and will decide to release the person to be reborn in a rich and noble household, avoiding [punishment for] his crimes and errors.²²³

On the day one arrives, one will expediently attain assigned rebirth in a place of happiness. One will not dwell in intermediate darkness for forty-nine days, and one will not have to wait for sons and daughters to attempt posthumous salvation.²²⁴

When the deceased appears in front of the Kings of Hells for the last judgment, merits accumulated while alive may influence them to make a more favorable decision. Chapter eleven of the *Kanjōkyō* 灌頂經 from the mid-8th century states that if the deceased practices *gyakushu* for thirty-seven days while alive, he or she can gain unlimited benefits.²²⁵ Furthermore, volume two of the *Jizōbosatsu hongankyō* sutra 地藏菩薩本願經 states that if a person dies without practicing *gyakushu*, the deceased can receive only one seventh of the *tsuizen* benefits dedicated by his/her relatives.²²⁶ The rest of the benefits will be distributed to those family members who practiced *tsuizen*. Without *gyakushu*, the benefits caused by *tsuizen* are diminished.

²²² The aforementioned sutra called *Yoshū jūō kinanakyō* introduces both *tsuizen* and *gyakushu*. While *nana nana sai* 七七齋 refers to the dedications offered to a deceased, *kinanasai* 生七齋 refers to Buddhist dedications offered before one's death.

²²³ Translated by Stephen Teiser. Teiser, 87.

²²⁴ Translated by Stephen Teiser. Teiser, 204.

²²⁵ *Nihon bukkyōshi jiten*, 194.

²²⁶ *Jizōbosatsu hongankyō* sutra 地藏菩薩本願經, chapter 2.

Many, including emperors, believed in this concept of *gyakushu*. For example, in the late 15th century, Emperor Gotsuchimikado commissioned a set of paintings of the Ten Kings held at Jōfukuji 浄福寺 in Kyoto for his salvation. The writing on the inside of the box for the paintings (*uragaki* 裏書) states: “These pictures are from the Entoku 延徳 era (1489-1492). They are for the *gyakushu* rites of emperor Gotsuchimikado....”²²⁷ As such, it was typical to donate paintings of deities and to copy sutras; however, the following example suggests that imperial portraits were also donated to temples as part of *gyakushu* rites.

According to Emperor Gotsuchimikado, he commissioned a portrait of himself in 1489 (Entoku 延徳 1), eleven years before his death in 1500, and had it installed in the Hanjūzanmai-in 般舟三昧院 in Kyoto.²²⁸ On 1489.12.23, the monk Zenkū 善空 (d.u.) presided over *mandara* rituals and a memorial service for this longevity portrait (*juzō* 寿像).²²⁹ By dedicating his own portrait to a temple and conducting a memorial service, it is possible that the living emperor proactively accumulated merit in preparation for his last judgment.

A second example is the portrait of Emperor Gomizunoo that was donated to Sennyūji while the emperor was still active. The portrait was painted by the tenth son of Emperor Gomizunoo, Dharma-prince Gyōjo of the Myōhō-in temple. The portrait was then donated to Sennyūji in the second month of 1667 (Kanbun 7).²³⁰ At the time of the donation, Emperor Gomizunoo was still alive because he personally added an inscription to the painting.²³¹

²²⁷ Tani Shin'ichi 谷信一, “Tosa Mitsunobu kō 土佐光信考: Tosaha kenkyū no isseisu 土佐派研究の一節 2,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 103 (July, 1940): 211. and Quitman Eugene Phillips, “Narrating the Salvation of the Elite: The Jōfukuji Paintings of the Ten Kings,” *Art Orientalis* 33 (2003): 129.

²²⁸ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 11, 778, and *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 2, 126. Also see Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan*, 151. Emperor Gotsuchimikado established the Hanjūzanmai-in after the Ōnin War.

²²⁹ Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, *Sanetakakōki*, vol. 2a, 347, and *Oyudononoue no nikki*, vol. 2, 126.

²³⁰ Gyōjo, 192-193. Gyōjo also painted another portrait of Emperor Gomizunoo and donated it to Hanjūzanmai-in in Kyoto in 1664.

²³¹ A *shikishi* with two *waka* poems composed and inscribed by Emperor Gomizunoo is pasted on the top right corner of this painting.

In order to gain benefits after life, some emperors, such as Emperors Gotsuchimikado and Gomizunoo, participated in the *gyakushu* rite. They donated their own portraits to temples in the same way that they donated ritual objects and copied sutras. Some emperors perhaps expected return merit for dedicating their portraits to temples and for ordering Buddhist services before their death.

2.7 INACCESSIBILITY OF IMPERIAL PORTRAITS

As I have shown, the imperial family used the portraits of deceased emperors for commemorative purposes, not for public display. Only family members and some trusted individuals were able to view them. Therefore, only those who were eligible to attend commemorative ceremonies would have seen the portraits.²³² There is no textual record that clearly identifies those eligible to see the portraits but it is likely that *kugyō* 公卿 (Ministers of the Council of State who held the third rank or higher)²³³ would have seen the imperial portraits. In addition to *kugyō*, the courtiers listed as *tenjōbito* 殿上人 might also have been permitted to view the portraits since some of the commissioners of imperial portraits at Sennyūji were ranked lower than third rank. *Tenjōbito*, which consists of senior nobles ranked fifth or higher (including *kugyō*),²³⁴ were allowed to enter the Seiryō-den 清涼殿, the private quarters of the emperor, and have an audience in the Imperial Palace. Receiving permission to see the emperor in person

²³² It is possible that the mortuary portraits might have been draped with cloth during the ceremony because the presence of the portrait is more important than seeing of the portrait. For more information on this notion, see the discussion on *hibutsu* in the following section.

²³³ *Kugyō* includes *Daijō daijin* 太政大臣 (Chancellor), *Sadaijin* 左大臣 (Minister of the Left), *Udaijin* 右大臣 (Minister of the Right), *Dainagon* 大納言 (Senior Counselor), *Chūnagon* 中納言 (Middle Counselor), *Sangi* 参議 (Advisors on the Council of State), and *Hisangi* 非参議 (Honorary Consultant).

²³⁴ Thomas Donald Conlan, *State of War: the Violent Order of Fourteenth Century Japan* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 408. Conlan does not state how many upper-class courtiers were listed as *tenjōbito*. This statistic is important because it might indicate how many people had access to the imperial portraits.

might also have allowed the *tenjōbito* to view the imperial portraits at Sennyūji. However, it is debatable whether or not *tenjōbito* were allowed to see the portraits of other deceased emperors whom they did not serve.

Most of the other non-imperial portraits from the pre-modern period were also used for mortuary purpose, therefore they, too, were always private. However, the imperial portraits were especially inaccessible to the public because the faces of Japanese emperors were not for the public viewing. Sissela Bok, a philosopher, explains that privacy is “the condition of being protected from unwanted access by others – either physical access, personal information, or attention. Claims to privacy are claims to control access to what one takes – however, grandiosely – to be one’s personal domain.”²³⁵ Based on her definition, I argue that restricted access to the portraits of emperors was not a matter of simple privacy. Rather, an emperor’s face was sacred and should never be seen by the public.

The desire to maintain the privacy of the imperial family and the belief in the sacredness of the emperors resulted in the portraits at Sennyūji being kept from public eyes. The manner that pre-modern Japanese artists portrayed emperors in handscrolls supports the belief that the imperial portraits had a sacred component. For example, Yamamoto Yoko 山本陽子, an art historian, focused on depictions of emperors in handscroll paintings (*emaki* 絵巻) from the 12th-14th centuries. Yamamoto explains that many artists did not illustrate the faces of the emperors, but instead painted only the lower half of the emperors’ bodies hiding the faces. Specific examples from *Shigisan Engi* 信貴山縁起 (12th century), *Kitano Tenjin* 北野天神 (13th century, Jōkyū-bon), and *Nayotake Monogatari* なよたけ物語 (early 14th century) prove that artists from

²³⁵ Sissela Bok, *Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 10-11. Bok admits that privacy and secrecy often overlap. She states that “privacy need not hide; and secrecy hides far more than what is private.” Ibid., 11. Bok’s interpretation derives from Georg Simmel’s works on privacy.

the medieval period intentionally blocked or hid the face of the emperor with objects, such as bamboo blinds and silk curtains, to show respect toward the emperor.²³⁶

Historical evidence supports Yamamoto's theory that artists depicted emperors in painted scrolls in a way that was intended to honor the sanctity of the emperors. On 1444 (Bunan 文安 1) 2.30, Nakahara Yasutomi 中原康富 (1399-1457) wrote in his diary, *Yasutomiki* 康富記, that retired Emperor Sukō 崇光 (1334-1398, r. 1348-1351), the third emperor of the Northern Dynasty, "sealed by imperial order (*chokufū* 勅封)" the portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 (1127-1192, r. 1155-1158, 77th). Nakahara then specifically stated that only the retired emperor could see the portrait (院ならでは無御拝事也).²³⁷ Although it might be an exaggeration that only the retired emperor had access to the portrait (and it could also be a unique case for this particular portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa), I interpret this record to suggest that only a limited and select audience could view the portraits of emperors.

In addition to scholarly and historic findings, legends also can help to explain the limited display of the imperial portraits. This notion of the invisibility of sacred and powerful beings has roots in ancient Japan. Prior to the importation of Buddhism, the Japanese believed that *kami*, their local gods, were invisible. If someone accidentally saw a *kami*, the witness would be cursed and have bad luck. *Hitachi no kuni fudoki* 常陸国風土記, a document from the early 8th century,

²³⁶ Yamamoto Yōko 山本陽子, "Emaki ni okeru tennō no sugata no hyōgen 絵巻における天皇の姿の表現," *Museum*, 564 (February, 2000): 49-72.

²³⁷ Nakahara Yasutomi 中原康富, *Yasutomiki* 康富記 2, in *Zōho shiryōtaisei* 増補史料大成 38 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1975), 35.

states that if someone were to see Yatsu no kami 夜刀神, a snake god with horns, he or she would produce no offspring and his/her family would soon become extinct.²³⁸

The Sujin chapter of *Nihonshoki* shows that the idea of *kami* not appearing in front of non-divine beings was a wide-spread notion, not only a regional belief. In this legend, the princess Yamato-toto-hi-momo-so-bime no Mikoto complained that she had never seen the face of her husband Oho-mono-nushi no Kami (god) because he only visited her at night. Upon her request, he appeared in front of her in the morning by taking the form of a beautiful little snake.²³⁹ This tradition of the “inaccessibility” of divine beings in the early periods may explain why the Japanese of the pre-Heian period were initially hesitant to depict their emperors, individuals whom they considered sacred.

Although the Buddhist monks did not hide the portraits of emperors from the public, they did practice *hibutsu* 秘仏 (lit: sacred Buddhas), which may shed light on the closed display of portraits at Sennyūji. Some sacred Buddhist statues were kept in a shrine away from public view and only displayed on special occasions. As Fabio Rambelli, a scholar of Religious Studies, explains, hidden Buddhas, whose concealment in the inner sanctum symbolizes their secret nature, evoke infinite power and potentiality.²⁴⁰ Likewise, portraits of emperors have an embedded spirit and should also be seen in a controlled way. Hiding sacred images illustrates that their invisible presence strengthens their sacredness. The secretive nature of imperial

²³⁸ *Hitachi no kuni fudoki*, JHTI, 54. Translated by Michiko Yamaguchi Aoki. Michiko Yamaguchi Aoki, *Records of Wind and Earth: A Translation of Fudoki with Introduction and Commentaries* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Association for Asian Studies Inc., 1997), 50.

²³⁹ W.G. Aston, trans. *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, Chapter 5: Emperor Sujin 崇神, (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1975), 381. Because Oho-mono-nushi no Kami took the form of a snake, Yamato-toto-hi-momo-so-bime no Mikoto, the princess, got frightened and screamed. Shame motivated the god (husband) to flee from the princess and to ascend Mount Mimoro. The princess, who regretted her behavior, stabbed herself in the pudendum and died.

²⁴⁰ For more information on *hibutsu*, see Fabio Rambelli, “Secret Buddhas: The Limits of Buddhist Representation,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 57, No. 3 (Autumn, 2002), 271-307.

portraits gives them more importance than the public presentation of portraits and, as a result, implies respect toward the sovereignty of their emperors.

2.8 PORTRAIT AS AN ALTARPIECE

Not only did mortuary portraits symbolize the spiritual existence of the deceased, they also functioned as if they were substitutes for the deceased. Instead of rituals conducted in front of imperial tombs, portraits were used to commemorate the deceased. This may be because all things associated with death (tombs, cemeteries, and the deceased's body) were impure and contaminated (*kegare* 穢れ).²⁴¹

Surprisingly, this concept of impurity extends to imperial tombs. Even emperors who supposedly were “living gods” could not avoid death and its impurity. Superstitious Heian court nobles created regulations on how to deal with death-related impurity and wrote in their diaries about how they detested impurity. Texts such as *Murakami tennō goki* 村上天皇御記 from the 10th century, *Nenjūgyōji hishō* 年中行事秘抄 from the 13th to 14th century, and *Shokugenshō* 職原鈔 from the 14th century, suggest that even imperial death was impure. An entry in the *Murakami tennō goki*, dated 966 (Kōhō 康保 3) 12.10, states that the officers of the *nosakishi* 荷前使,²⁴² who manage imperial tombs, should not attend court functions during the “sacred

²⁴¹ Although cemetery scenes from the famous handscroll painting titled the *Gaki zōshi* 餓鬼草子 from the 12th century should not be taken as verifiable fact, they may indicate such a practice and belief. In the scroll, cemeteries were depicted as a place where decaying bodies were scattered about and where hungry ghosts roamed. These scenes suggest that tombs were inappropriate places to visit and commemorate the deceased in early Japanese history. Also, the early Japanese, perhaps in recognition of Buddhism, which considered a body without a soul as insignificant, allegedly left bodies decaying in places such as cemeteries and riverbanks.

²⁴² Although the reasons for the termination are unclear, the court ended the positions of *nosaki* in the 12th month of 1350. Tanaka Satoshi 田中聡, et al., “Ryōbosairei no rinen to henshen 陵墓祭礼の変遷,” *Bessatsu rekishi dokuhon* 78 別冊歴史読本: *Rekishi kenshō Tennōryō* 歴史検証天皇陵 (Tokyo: 新人物往来社, 2001), 54-55.

months.”²⁴³ *Nenjūgyōji hishō*, written in the Kamakura period, clearly states that although the imperial tombs have similarities to *kami*-related matters (*shinji* 神事), [all tombs] are impure (*fujō* 不浄).²⁴⁴ Therefore, such impurity should be separated from “*kami*-related” issues. Furthermore, around 1340, Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293-1354) noted in *Shokugenshō* that the officers from *Shoryōryō* 諸陵寮 (the Department of Imperial Tombs) are referred to as *kinki no kan* 禁忌之官, which literally means “officers of taboos.”²⁴⁵ As such, in medieval Japan, death and tombs, including imperial ones, were thought of as impure.²⁴⁶

2.8.1 State of the Imperial Tombs in the Ninetenth Century

Because burial places were traditionally seen as impure, imperial portraits served as a “purer” way to commemorate the deceased. This interpretation of the relationship between imperial tombs and portraits may be too simplistic. However, the neglected state of 19th-century imperial tombs must be considered when analyzing the mortuary portraits because many tomb mounds were not thought to be ideal places to conduct commemoration rituals. *Shūryō no kenpaku* 修陵の建白,²⁴⁷ an initial condition report submitted to the government by Toda Tadayuki 戸田忠恕 (1847-1868),²⁴⁸ the lord of Utsunomiya clan on 1862 (Bunkyū 2) 8.14, provides insight into the

²⁴³ *Murakami tennō goki* 村上天皇御記, in *Zōhoban shiryō taisei* 増補版史料大成, ed. Zōhoban Shiryō Taisei Kankōkai 増補版史料大成刊行会, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1975), 191. The author did not define the “sacred months.”

²⁴⁴ *Nenjūgyōji hishō* 年中行事秘抄, in *Gunshoruijū* 群書類従 6, compiled by Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 1983), 560.

²⁴⁵ Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房, *Shokugenshō* 職原鈔, in *Gunshoruijū* 群書類従 5, compiled by Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai 続群書類従完成会, 1960), 616.

²⁴⁶ As the story of the death of Izanami in the *Nihonshoki* indicates, death pollution could even infect a deity.

²⁴⁷ A copy of *Shūryō no kenpaku* 修陵の建白 is kept at the Imperial Household Agency Library in Tokyo.

²⁴⁸ Even though Toda Tadayuki 忠恕 (1847-1868), the lord of Utsunomiya, signed and submitted this report, he was not directly responsible for compiling the raw data for it because he was only 14-years-old in 1862. Instead, Toda Tadayuki 戸田忠至 (1809-1883) actually conducted the field research. (Note that the pronunciation of the name Toda Tadayuki is the same as the Lord of Utsunomiya, but the last characters (恕 and 至) are different.

state of the imperial tombs in the 19th century.²⁴⁹ According to the report, the neglected state of imperial tombs required immediate attention.²⁵⁰ *Shūryō no kenpaku* further claims that no restoration had occurred since the Kamakura period.²⁵¹ Despite the exaggeration of this claim, the content does highlight the terrible state of these tombs.²⁵²

The restoration record states that the restoration of more recent tombs at Sennyūji cost the government 17,105 *ryō* 両, which is approximately 20 percent of its entire restoration budget.²⁵³ This large expenditure suggests that the government spent more time and money on either elaborating the tombs of more recent emperors or restoring these tombs due to their poor condition. Because of the deteriorated condition of many of the imperial tombs, these tombs were not considered as sacred places for rituals before the Meiji period. Again, it is too simplistic to conclude that the commemorative portraits were established because of the impurity of the

²⁴⁹ Earlier in the 1808, both Gamō Kunpei 蒲生君平 (1768-1813) and Yamamoto Tan'en 山本探淵 researched imperial tombs. Gamō compiled a list of tombs titled *Sanryōshi* 山陵志 and Yamamoto drew the tombs in *Sanryō-zu* 文化山陵図. Gamō Kunpei 蒲生君平, *Sanryōshi* 山陵志, in *Shinchū Kōgakuōsho* 新註皇学叢書, ed. Mozume Takami 物集高見 (Tokyo: Kōbunko kankōkai 広文庫刊行会, 1927). Furthermore, Utsunomiya domain was not the only domain which was interested in imperial tomb restoration. For example, Tokugawa Nariaki 徳川斉昭 (1800-1860) of Mito domain pleaded with the government to restore the tomb of Emperor Jinmu 神武 (according to *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*, Emperor Jinmu was the first emperor of Japan) in September 1834, before the 2500 year anniversary of Jinmu's accession in 1840. However, the government rejected this idea. Toike Noboru 外池昇, *Tennōryō no kindaiishi* 天皇陵の近代史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan 吉川弘文館, 2000), 19.

²⁵⁰ The research team included such historians as Tanimori Yoshiomi 谷森善臣 (1818-1911), Sunagawa Kenjirō 砂川健次郎 (1816-1883), Kitaura Sadamasa 北浦定政 (1817-1871), and Hiratsuka Hyōsai 平塚瓢斎 (1794-1875), and a painter, Okamoto Tōri 岡本桃里 (1806-1885). Toike, 32.) When Toda arrived at Kyoto, he saw the neglected condition of the imperial tombs. In his report, *Bunkiyūdo sanryō shūho kōyō* 文久度山陵修補綱要, dated 1862.12.4, he remarked that many local farmers cultivated the land on some of the imperial tombs and planted crops, such as wheat. For more information, see Toda Tadayuki, *Bunkiyūdo sanryō shūho kōyō* 文久度山陵修補綱要 (The Imperial Household Agency Library owns the original). Also see Toike Noboru 外池昇, *Tennōryōron* 天皇陵論: Sei'ikika bunkazaika 聖域か文化財か (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社, 2007), 51.

²⁵¹ *Shūryō no kenpaku*. Toike, *Tennōryō no kindaiishi*, 18.

²⁵² The report also suggests the political benefits of restoring the imperial tombs; such restoration would better educate Japanese citizens about their history and, therefore, build a stronger nation. *Shūryō no kenpaku*. Toike, *Tennōryō no kindaiishi*, 17-19. The project to locate and restore the tomb mounds of the historical emperors would also result in a visible genealogy of the imperial line. Such well-restored and marked imperial tombs were intended to re-establish and strengthen the authority of the emperors.

²⁵³ Calculation based on information on pages 300 and 302 of *Bunkiyū sanryō zu* 文久山陵図. Toike Noboru 外池昇. et al. *Bunkiyū sanryō zu* 文久山陵図. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社, 2005. (The original is currently kept at Kunaichō shoryō bu 宮内庁書陵部).

tombs. However, the appalling state of the tombs before the restoration in the late 19th century suggests that these death portraits offered the court nobles a safe place (i.e. Sennyūji) to conduct imperial commemorative rituals.

2.8.2 Transformations of the Imperial Tombs

Upon receipt of the report by Toda, one of the improvements the government made to the imperial tombs was to create an altar area (*haijo* 拝所) at each imperial tomb. On 1862 (Bunkyū 2) 10.26, Toda discussed with Nonomiya Sadaisa 野宮定功 (1815-1881), a courtier in charge of this project, the idea of fencing off the mounds and creating an altar area for each tomb by building a *torii* 鳥居 gate and marking it with an engraved stone pillar.²⁵⁴ Toda's suggestion helped transform imperial tombs into sacred places for commemoration.

Despite the creation of new altar areas, however, imperial tombs were still considered polluted. Six years later in 1868 (Meiji 1), Meiji politicians held a meeting to determine whether or not imperial tombs were polluted. According to an entry (1868.4.7) in *Fukkoki* 復古記, Tanimori Yoshiomi 谷森善臣 (1818-1911), an imperial tomb researcher, claimed that imperial tombs were pure because emperors, both during their lifetime and after their death, were deities. In Tanimori's opinion, Buddhist teachings gave a false notion of impurity to the imperial tombs.²⁵⁵ This 1868 meeting defined the imperial tombs as pure. The government's decision that the imperial tombs are not polluted was important because it gave the Shintō priests, who were prohibited from any contact with impurity, the opportunity to oversee imperial funerary rituals. In September 1869 (Meiji 2), the government created a Division of Imperial Tombs (*Shoryōryō*

²⁵⁴ Toike, *Tennōryō no kindaishi*, 36-37.

²⁵⁵ See the section under "Sanryō okegare no shingi 山陵御穢ノ審議." *Fukkoki* 復古記 4, edited by Kawamata Keiichi 川俣馨一, vol. 71 (Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki 内外書籍, 1929), 263-264. See the section under 1868. 4.7.

諸陵寮) within the Imperial Household Agency's Department of Sacred Rituals (*Jingikan* 神祇宮). In January 1871 (Meiji 4), the Meiji government passed a law called *Agechirei* 上知令, which officially separated the imperial tombs from Sennyūji.²⁵⁶ The Department of Sacred Rituals eventually took over the management of imperial tomb mounds.²⁵⁷ This may have caused the Buddhist commemorative, ritualistic function of the imperial portraits to decline as the tombs were now equipped with a space for Shintō rituals. Such positive transformation of these tombs from pollutants into sacred places might have resulted in imperial death portraits losing their prominence as private, ritual objects in the late 19th century.

2.9 VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF LINEAGE

In addition to their commemorative function, the imperial portraits at Sennyūji serve to confirm the lineage of emperors. The source of this notion of memorializing late emperors as a way to create a visual genealogy lies in the Chinese portrait tradition. The notions that were put forth by Buddhists and mixed with Chinese imperial portrait practice may have affected the tradition of imperial portraiture in creating a visual lineage of the Japanese emperors. Chinese textual records, written as early as the Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasties, confirm the existence of portrait halls in monasteries in China.²⁵⁸ T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf state that by the Tang dynasty, the Buddhist portrait halls housing portraits and spirit tablets “served to

²⁵⁶ Due to the policy of Buddhism-Shinto separation, the land, including the imperial tombs, owned by Sennyūji was decreased from 200,000 *tsubo* 坪 (660,000 square meters) to one fifth of the original, 40,000 *tsubo* (132,000 square meters). Uemura Teirō, 14. Since the temple lost its land and imperial support, it is easy to imagine that the temple experienced financial trouble.

²⁵⁷ Takagi Hiroshi 高木博志, *Nihonshi riburetto* 日本史リブレット 97: *Ryōbo to bunkazai no kindai* 陵墓と文化財の近代 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 2010), 23. Sennyūji website states that Kunaishō took charge of imperial tombs in 1878 (Meiji 11). <http://www.mitera.org/history.php> (accessed on September 6, 2013). In March, 1886 (Meiji 19), the Imperial Household Agency's Shoryōryō began to manage the tombs. Even today, their office is located in the vicinity of Sennyūji.

²⁵⁸ Helmut Brinker and Kanazawa Hiroshi, “ZEN Masters of Meditation in Images and Writings,” translated by Andreas Leisinger, *Artibus Asiae* (Supplementum), vol. 40, (1996): 114. These structures were called *zutang* (Patriarchs' Halls), or *zhentang* (Likeness Halls).

establish the credentials of the monastery and the resident abbot.”²⁵⁹ These monastic portrait halls, like the Chinese imperial portrait halls, displayed painted and sculpted portraits of deceased distinguished monks. Buddhist temples created a visual lineage of their abbots embodied in the selection and arrangement of portraits enshrined in those halls. As a result, the abbacies of specific monasteries used those halls to legitimize denominational claims.²⁶⁰ Like the portraits of Chinese Chan Buddhist monks, the imperial portraits memorializing late emperors create a visual genealogy of the imperial family. Previous research on portraits of monks provides an understanding of the ritual and political functions of the imperial portraits at Sennyūji.

Images of Chinese monks were an important feature of Buddhist practice in Japan. When Kūkai 空海 (774-835), the patriarch of Shingon 真言 Esoteric Buddhism, returned to Japan from China in 806, he brought back Chinese Buddhist portrait practice. Prior to his departure, Kūkai commissioned Tang Chinese court artists like Li Zhen 李真 (d.u.) to paint the five great masters of Shingon Buddhism.²⁶¹ Through the portraits of his masters, Kūkai confirmed his qualification as a Shingon teacher in Japan.

Other Japanese Buddhist sects, such as Zen, later adopted this Chinese practice of visualizing their lineage by creating portraits of their masters and then venerating the portraits at portrait halls. *Chinsō* (also known as *chinzō*) portraits of Zen Buddhist abbots originated in the Chinese Chan Buddhist practice and became popular during the Kamakura and Muromachi

²⁵⁹ Foulk and Sharf, 175.

²⁶⁰ Foulk and Sharf raise a controversial discussion of *chinzō*. They state that “while portraits of medieval Buddhist abbots do appear in a wide variety of institutional and ritual contexts, there is simply no evidence that such portraits were ever given by masters to their disciples as ‘certificates of enlightenment’ or ‘proof of dharma transmission.’” Ibid., 207.

²⁶¹ Miyajima, *Shōzōga*, 45. The five great masters are Subhakara-simha (J: Zenmui 善無畏; 637-735), Vajrabodhi (J: Kongōchi 金剛智; 671-745), Yixing (J: Ichigyō 一行; 683-727), Amoghavajra (J: Fukū, C: Bukong, 不空; 705-774), and Huiguo (J: Keika 惠果; 746-805).

periods. Similar to the Chinese Chan portraits, *chinsō* abbot portraits create a visual genealogy in addition to serving as a focus for ritual offerings and as a means for remembering the deceased. As a result, the abbacies of specific monasteries used those halls to legitimize denominational claims.

In addition to this use of portraits of monks, it is highly likely that the Japanese imperial court in the Edo period was also aware of practices during the Chinese Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) dynasties of creating lineage through imperial portraits. The practice of the Chinese court controlling the placement of the portraits had begun in the Song dynasty (960-1279). According to *Songshi* 宋史, the court issued an order to collect all imperial portraits that were scattered in temples around the capital.²⁶² Gathering the portraits of previous emperors to the palace exemplifies the court's desire to manage the imperial portraits. It also indicates that the Chinese court understood how limited access to the royal portraits increased the portraits' importance and how the portraits became symbols of the emperors' power and legitimacy to rule China.

In Qing China, contemporary with the Edo period in Japan, the Hall of Imperial Longevity (Shouhuang dian 壽皇殿) housed the Chinese royal ancestral portraits and tablets.²⁶³ This Hall, constructed by Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 (1678-1735, r. 1722-1735) and restored by Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 (1711-171799, r. 1736-1795), is located in Jingshan, the imperial park opposite the north gate of the Forbidden City. It is possible that the Japanese people of the Edo period knew about this Hall and its contents because, like it, the Reimei Hall at Sennyūji housed a series of imperial portraits that created a visual lineage of the emperors. Both the Japanese

²⁶² Tuo Tuo 脱脱, *Songshi* 宋史, vol. 8 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局; Shanghai: Xinhua Shudian 新華書店, 1997), *juan* 109: 2626.

²⁶³ Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 157-158.

imperial court and Sennyūji recognized that the creation of a visual genealogy of the emperors to legitimize and strengthen the emperors' status also had political benefits.

According to Miyajima Shin'ichi, the aforementioned *Hanazono tennō shinki* suggests that the matter of succession was reported in front of a portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa. The entry on 1343 (Kōei 康永 2) 4.13 states that during the political turmoil of the Nanbokuchō period (the Northern and Southern Courts period, 1336-1392), retired Emperor Kōgon of the Northern Dynasty visited the Chōkōdō Hall 長講堂 and dedicated a document regarding the line of succession (定置 継体事) in front of a portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa. Miyajima states that paying respect to the portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa meant acquiring a seal of approval from the emperor concerning the legitimization of the succession.²⁶⁴ Even though almost 150 years passed since his death, Emperor Goshirakawa remained an important figure because he was considered to have legitimate lineage. Whether or not the 14th-century courtiers perceived the portrait as the emperor, it is certain that they believed that the portrait of Emperor Goshirakawa approved and confirmed the imperial accession.

Based on the above examples of visualizing lineage, it is likely that the Sennyūji group of imperial portraits validates both 1) the emperors' authority and 2) the temple's authority by housing a pictorial lineage of the imperial family. The collection of pictorial lineage establishes the credentials Sennyūji needed to secure its position as the memorial Imperial Temple.

2.10 LEGITIMIZING SENNYŪJI'S STATUS AS AN IMPERIAL TEMPLE

In addition to creating a visual lineage of the emperors, Sennyūji's portraits, together with the temple's imperial spirit tablets and tombs, legitimized and maintained Sennyūji's claim as the

²⁶⁴ Miyajima, *Shōzōga*, 87.

imperial *bodaiji* (family memorial temple). The most important responsibility of Sennyūji was to hold commemorative ceremonies for the late emperors. Regularly having such services assured the privileged status of the temple and also guaranteed financial security for Sennyūji through donations the temple received from the court, imperial family, and government.

Although how and when the portraits arrived at Sennyūji may be uncertain, it is clear that, in some cases, Sennyūji not only accepted donations of emperor portraits, but also actively collected imperial portraits to secure its position as an imperial temple. For example, Dharma-prince Gyōjo painted a portrait of his father, retired Emperor Gomizunoo, which he then donated to Hanjuzanmai-in in Kyoto in 1664 (Kanbun 寛文 4). In the second month of 1667 (Kanbun 7), after Sennyūji clerics discovered this donation, they politely requested the court to give them another portrait of retired Emperor Gomizunoo.²⁶⁵ On 1667.2.13, the court, on behalf of Sennyūji, asked Gyōjo to create another portrait of his father. According to the *Higashiyama Sennyūji saikō hinamiki* 東山泉涌寺再興日次記 on 1667.2.21, the temple received the portrait painted by Gyōjo.²⁶⁶ As this episode suggests, Sennyūji clerics persistently sought imperial portraits to endorse Sennyūji as the imperial family temple.²⁶⁷ Like portraits of abbots (*chinsō*), Sennyūji monks passed down imperial portraits as material proof of the legitimacy and authority of the temple.

The rise of the shogunate between the late 12th and the late 19th century threatened the status of Sennyūji as an imperial temple. After the Jōkyū War in 1221, the power structure between the court and the warrior government changed. Although Japanese emperors continued

²⁶⁵ Gyōjo, vol. 1, 192-193. See the entry on 1667.2.13. Names of the Sennyūji clerics are unknown.

²⁶⁶ *Higashiyama Sennyūji saikō hinamiki* 東山泉涌寺再興日次記, in *Sennyūji shi: Shiryōhen*, 131. Both Fister and Gerhart suggest that Gyōjo painted the face of Emperor Gomizunoo, because Tan'yū was not allowed to see it. Fister, *Art by Buddhist Nuns*, 51. Karen M. Gerhart, "Kano Tan'yū and Hōrin Jōshō: Patronage and Artistic Practice," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 55, no 4, (December, 2000): 503.

²⁶⁷ It is unclear whether Sennyūji already owned a portrait of Emperor Gomizunoo or it needed one to fill in a hole.

to reign, they lacked actual ruling power from the Kamakura to the Edo periods.²⁶⁸ Under these circumstances, Sennyūji's imperial endorsement did not guarantee the temple's privileged position. To make the situation more complicated, all shoguns, from the Kamakura to the Edo periods, strengthened the base of their legitimacy with an imperial endorsements. The warrior rulers needed to act on behalf of someone with the proper pedigree because they questioned their alliances with their vassals. Specifically, because the Japanese base their perceptions of honor and self-esteem on their given titles and their royal pedigrees, the climb of the warrior houses to sociopolitical preeminence in Japan has roots in the warriors' fear that they will be labeled as "an enemy of the emperor." Many scholars believe that the warrior governments supported the emperor system as a way to legitimize the power of the shogunate. They argue that the warriors needed to act on behalf of someone with the proper pedigree.²⁶⁹ The institution established by the court had such deep roots that the warrior governments had no choice but to seek sanction from the emperor to legitimize their rule. The more the warrior governments politically dominated the court, the more they tried to join the court nobles on social and cultural levels. In order for Sennyūji to get support from the government as well as the court, therefore, the temple had to tread through turbulent water.

To survive this politically complicated time (i.e. from the Kamakura to the Edo periods), Sennyūji also had to function with flexibility. Sennyūji survived because it was willing to affiliate with both the imperial court and warrior governments. For example, by the Genroku 元

²⁶⁸ By the 1660s, the government, not the court, was financially in charge of the repair of Sennyūji. For example, in 1664 (Kanbun 寛文 4), the temple officials first had to ask Emperor Gomizunoo, the symbol of the court, to request funds from the Tokugawa government to repair the Reimei Hall, where the imperial spirit tablets were kept. (*Sennyūji shi, Shiryō hen*, 354.) This situation illustrated the sensitive balance of power between the court, as embodied by the emperor, and the warrior government. The process of request shows that the court neither had the authority nor the financial means to oversee the restoration of its own family memorial temple; the court now needed the governmental approval and support.

²⁶⁹ See the books by Cameron Hurst (1982), Cornelius Kiley (1982), Jeffrey Mass (1974), Lee Butler (1994 and 2002), Mary Elizabeth Berry (1982), and Bob Wakabayashi (1991). See the bibliography at the end for more information.

禄 era (1688 -1704), the Tokugawa government named Sennyūji as one of the Sankanji 三官寺 (Three Official Temples) in Kyoto, together with the two memorial temples for the Tokugawa clan: Chion-in 知恩院 and Yōgen-in 養源院.²⁷⁰ Because Sennyūji was a malleable entity, it was able to change its political and religious roles as circumstances within the temple, court, and the warrior governments shifted.

Existing records do not reveal who initiated the gathering of imperial portraits of emperors at Sennyūji. However, in some cases, Sennyūji monks actively sought imperial portraits to endorse Sennyūji as the imperial family temple. To build the imperial portrait collection and to conduct commemorative ceremonies, the Sennyūji monks needed at least one portrait per emperor; therefore, it makes sense that they actively sought and secured at least one portrait of each emperor around the time of each emperor's death. According to this theory, the temple does not need more than one portrait per each deceased emperor. The fact that the temple owns six portraits of Emperor Gomizunoo (all from the 17th century), two of Emperor Reigen, and two of Emperor Kōmei suggests that the immediate family members and close followers voluntarily donated imperial portraits to Sennyūji to pay their respect for the deceased emperors—as part of *tsuizen*. The multiple copies of imperial portraits imply that determining the identity of who initiated the creation and donation of these portraits is complicated.

As previously mentioned, the various sizes of the imperial portraits at Sennyūji indicate that neither the temple, the court, nor the government closely regulated painting, donating, and collecting portraits. Furthermore, the size variation (range from 32” to 55.3” in length and 16” to 25” in width) also suggests that, at the time of the creation, the artists probably did not intend for the monks at Sennyūji to hang these painted portraits of late emperors together in a large

²⁷⁰ *Sennyūji-shi, Shiryō hen*, 414.

audience hall as a way to awe the viewers or to display their lineage. Judging from the well-preserved condition of these painted portraits, Sennyūji monks likely hung each painting briefly to commemorate its respective sitter on his death anniversary. Whether the Sennyūji portraits were hung together or not, owning the portraits proved the temple's status as an imperial memorial temple, thereby making the temple deserving of financial support from both the government and the court.

2.11 PORTRAITS OF EMPRESSES MEISHŌ AND GOSAKURAMACHI

Sennyūji Temple houses 29 imperial portraits spanning ten centuries of rulers. Of particular interest are the painted representations of 14 out of 16 consecutive rulers from 1557 to 1866, with the only two omissions being the two empresses of this period, the 109th Empress Meishō 明正 (1623-1696, r. 1629-1643, 109th) and the 117th empress Gosakuramachi 後櫻町 (1740-1813, r. 1762-1770, 117th). Even though the funerals of these empresses were held at Sennyūji, the temple currently does not have their portraits. If the assumption that Sennyūji's portrait collection represents the line of imperial genealogy is correct, then the absence of two portraits of Empresses from the temple's imperial portrait collection becomes significant. Do these missing portraits mean that 1) the empresses' portraits were never made or 2) their portraits have been lost or destroyed? In either case, unlike the aforementioned portraits of Emperor Shijō, the two portraits were never (re)placed to complete the collection. The following section analyzes what the absence of these two empresses' portraits reveals about the role of empresses in the early modern period in Japan and how the portraits at Sennyūji do represent a line of "legitimate" imperial lineage.

2.11.1 Accessions of Empresses Meishō and Gosakuramachi

The absence of the two portraits reflects the attitude of the court and Sennyūji towards the empresses. Some scholars, such as Origuchi Shinobu 折口信夫 (1887-1953), claimed that empresses in ancient Japan (7th and 8th centuries) had more significant power than those who ruled later. On the other hand, other scholars, such as Inoue Mitsusada 井上光貞 (1917-1983), have suggested that empresses were “transitional rulers” and not intended to be included in the imperial lineage.²⁷¹ Although scholars believe that the empresses in ancient Japan had some ruling power, Empresses Meishō and Gosakuramachi, from the 17th and 18th centuries, respectively, functioned more as transitional leaders than sovereigns. The two empresses from the Edo period occupied a transitional status because they filled a void in the imperial line that occurred when Emperors Gomizunoo and Momozono abdicated before their eligible male successors were ready to assume sovereignty.

The absence of the two portraits of the empresses at Sennyūji reflects the court’s negative attitude towards the empresses as demonstrated by the following. The 109th Empress Meishō,²⁷² originally known as Okiko 興子, became an empress at age eight on 1629 (Kan’ei 寛永 6) 11.8.²⁷³ By assuming the role of empress, Meishō ended an 859-year drought in which no female had ruled since Empress Shōtoku 稱徳 (718-770, r. 764-770, 48th). According to *Takasuke sukune hinamiki* 孝亮宿称日次記, a diary written by Ozuki Takasuke 小槻孝亮 (d.u.), and *Sukekatsu kyōki* 資勝卿記, a diary written by Hino Sukekatsu 日野資勝 (1577-1639), Emperor

²⁷¹ Origuchi Shinobu 折口信夫, “Jotei kō 女帝考,” *Origuchi Nobuo zenshū* 折口信夫全集 (Tokyo: Chōōkōron sha 中央公論社, 1956 and 1973), 1-23. and Inoue Mitsusada 井上光貞, “Kodai no Jotei 古代の女帝,” *Tennō to kodai ōken* 天皇と古代王権 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1965 and 2000), 221-267.

²⁷² In the following section, I suggest that the two empresses were “transitional rulers” and not intended to be included in the lineage. However, Empresses Meishō and Gosakuramachi were numbered as the 109th and 117th rulers, respectively, because they officially ascended to the throne, regardless of their transitional status.

²⁷³ *Gomizunoo tennō jitsuroku* 後水尾天皇実録, ed. Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治 and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真行 (Tokyo: Yumani Shoten ゆまに書店, 2005) 674-680.

Gomizunoo, the father of Empress Meishō, wrote to the upper-class courtiers on 1629 (Kan'ei 6) 5.7. that his illness was worsening and he would retire as emperor to concentrate on his treatment.²⁷⁴

Although Emperor Gomizunoo attributed his retirement to his illness, his retirement also symbolized a form of protest against the Tokugawa government. The government, fearing on alliance among the court, the regional feudal lords, and religious leaders against the Tokugawa government, established a law called *Kinchū narabi kuge shohatto* 禁中並公家諸法度 (Regulations for the Court and Courtiers) in 1615, which significantly reduced the authority of the emperor and his court. Using this new regulation with its seventeen rules, the government restricted such emperor's power, as his ability to appoint court members and prosecute malicious individuals.²⁷⁵

Another conflict, called *Shie jiken* (紫衣事件 the Monks' Purple Robe Incident) in 1627 (Kan'ei 4), emerged between the court and the Tokugawa government. Traditionally, when the court promoted high-ranking Buddhist monks (regardless of their sects) they presented them with new robes. This practice represented the authority of the court and provided the court with a good source of income. When Emperor Gomizunoo promoted some monks from such well-respected temples as Daitokuji 大徳寺 without the state's permission, the government voided the

²⁷⁴ *Gomizunoo tennō jitsuroku*, 655-656. Both Ozuki Takasuke and Hino Sukekatsu state that Emperor Gomizunoo also wants to abdicate because he cannot receive *kyū* 灸 (moxibustion) treatment for his illness while he was the emperor. See the entry on 1629. 5. 19. Ibid., 655. Hora Tomio 洞富雄 suggests that no "doctors" were allowed to damage the sacred body by giving moxibustion treatment. Therefore, Emperor Gomizunoo retired in order to receive a proper treatment. Hora Tomio 洞富雄, "Jōi to kyūji 讓位と灸治," *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史, vol. 360 (May, 1978): 82-87.

²⁷⁵ Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫, *Gomizunoo in* 後水尾院 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1982), 38-52. Takano Toshihiko lists all seventeen rules of *Kinchū narabi kuge shohatto*. Takano Toshihiko 高埜利彦, *Edo bakufu to chōtei* 江戸幕府と朝廷, *Nihon ribureto* 日本リブレット 36 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 2001), 10-17. Also see *Kokugo daijiten*, vol. 4, 696. *Kinchū narabi kuge shohatto* is also known as *Kinchūgata gojōmoku* 禁中方御条目. *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 4, 683. The Emperor Gomizunoo states his frustration in *Gokyōkunsho* 御教訓書 which is currently kept at the Higashiyama Gobunko library 東山御文庫 in Kyoto.

promotions.²⁷⁶ It can be seen from this incident that the government had more authority than the court. Emperor Gomizunoo protested the change by entering into early retirement. The fact that he did not consult with the Tokugawa government regarding this abdication prior to making the decision also indicates Emperor Gomizunoo's protest.²⁷⁷ On 1629 (Kan'ei 6) 5.11, courtiers, including Sanjōnishi Saneeda 三条西実条 (1575-1640)²⁷⁸ and Nakanoin Michimura,²⁷⁹ traveled from Kyoto to Edo to inform Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604-1651, r. 1623-1651) the decision of Emperor Gomizunoo to abdicate and the ascension of Empress Meishō to the throne.²⁸⁰

Another reason for his abdication is that Emperor Gomizunoo may have also thought he could gain more ruling power and freedom as a retired emperor since these newly established restrictions for the emperor and his court did not extend to a retired emperor. In fact, in 1634 (Kan'ei 11), three years after Meishō became an empress, the Tokugawa government officially recognized the abdicated Emperor Gomizunoo as the Regent who exerted power and actually made the decisions of state on behalf of Empress Meishō.²⁸¹ Despite the three years it took for

²⁷⁶ Fujita Satoru 藤田覚, *Tennō no rekishi* 天皇の歴史 6: *Edojidai no tennō* 江戸時代の天皇 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2011), 64-66. Also see Takano, *Edo bakufu to chōtei*, 17-20. *Kokugo daijiten*, vol. 6, 464 and *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 6 (1985), pp. 646-647.

²⁷⁷ Takano Toshihiko 高埜利彦, Imatani Akira 今谷明, and Nomura Gen 野村玄 discussed this abdication in detail. Takano Toshihiko, "Edo bakufu no chōtei shihai 江戸幕府の朝廷支配," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究, vol. 319, (March, 1989): 53-55. Imatani Akira 今谷明, *Buke to tennō* 武家と天皇: *Ōken o meguru sōkoku* 王権をめぐる相剋 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1993), 192-232. Nomura Gen 野村玄, *Nihon kinseikokka no kakuritsu to tennō* 日本近世国家の確立と天皇 (Osaka: Seibundō 清文堂, 2006) 109-138.

²⁷⁸ Sanjōnishi Saneeda was a court noble ranked as *Naidaijin* 内大臣 (Inner Palace Minister).

²⁷⁹ Even though Nakanoin Michimura was previously mentioned as a Provisional Senior Counselor (*Gondainagon*), he was ranked as a *Buke densō* 武家伝奏 at this time. A *buke densō* was in charge of communication between the court and the Tokugawa government.

²⁸⁰ *Gomizunoo jitsuroku*, 655. The abdication took place on 1629 (Kan'ei 6) 11.8.

²⁸¹ Nomura, 118-119. Nomura refers to *Michifusa kōki* 道房公記 written by Kujō Michifusa 九条道房. See the entry on 1637 (Kan'ei 14) 12.3. Shiryōhensanjo owns a copy of *Michifusa kōki*. Gomizunoo ruled as the retired emperor to four of his children who ascended to the throne: Empress Meishō (the 2nd daughter), Emperor Gokōmyō (the 4th son), Emperor Gosai (the 8th son), and Emperor Reigen (the 16th son). Interestingly, Sennyūji portrait collection includes the portraits of the three sons, but not of the empress, once again reflecting the low status of empresses during the Edo period.

the Tokugawa government to recognize the retired emperor's position as Regent, Gomizunoo was probably deeply involved in court politics during the first three years of his young daughter's reign. Furthermore, even though the reign of Empress Meishō lasted for 14 years, the research by Takano Toshihiko reveals that the empress did not participate in important imperial ceremonies, such as *Kochōhai* 小朝拝 (Lesser New Year Salutation), further suggesting that she was a transitional ruler.²⁸²

Although Emperor Gomizunoo had fathered two sons and three daughters, both of his sons had died at young ages. Therefore, he only had daughters who could succeed him. Enthroning his eight-year-old daughter reflected the emperor's protest against a government that did not accept female accession. Although Empress Meishō did ascend to the throne (and was officially counted as an empress), her rule was considered a transitional one and reflects the low status of females during the Edo period.

To appease the court, Emperor Gomizunoo justified his decision of enthroning his daughter by assuring the court that his daughter would give up her position as empress should he and his wife give birth to a son (who would be Meishō's brother).²⁸³ Evidence does not clarify whether or not the potential birth of a son was a pre-condition to Emperor Gomizunoo's retirement but it is clear that Empress Meishō was a transitional ruler from the beginning. According to *Konoeki monjo* 近衛家文書, most of the courtiers passively agreed to the plan to make Meishō the empress.²⁸⁴ However, Karasumaru Mitsuhiro 烏丸光広 (1579-1638)²⁸⁵

²⁸² Takano, *Edo Bakufu to chōtei*, 45.

²⁸³ *Gomizunoo tennō jitsuroku*, 656. Originally from *Takasuke sukune hinamiki* 孝亮宿称日次記. Ozuki Takasuke included a copy of the letter (*oboegaki* 覚書) in his diary. See the entry on 5.19.

²⁸⁴ These upper-class courtiers agreed to Emperor Gomizunoo's plan by stating that "there is no other choice." *Konoeki monjo* 近衛家文書, vol. 9. Shiryōhensanjo owns a copy of *Konoeki monjo*.

²⁸⁵ Karasumaru Mitsuhiro was a court noble ranked as Provisional Senior Counselor, second rank (*Gondainagon shōnii* 権大納言正二位).

expressed his doubt: “Even though empresses have existed in ancient times, I am not certain about the decision.” Mitsuhiro concludes by stating this matter requires further discussion.²⁸⁶ Even though Mitsuhiro did not clearly state this, scholars such as Araki Toshio 荒木敏男 believe that Mitsuhiro thought “Emperor Gomizunoo should wait until the birth of a son, a crown prince-to-be, before retiring,”²⁸⁷ thereby avoiding any rule by a woman.

One hundred nineteen years after Empress Meishō, on 1762 (Hōreki 宝暦 12) 7.27, Toshiko 智子, a daughter of Emperor Sakuramachi, became the 117th Empress Gosakuramachi at age 23. Empress Gosakuramachi ascended to this position because of the sudden death of her brother, Emperor Momozono. At the time of Emperor Momozono’s death, the crown prince, the son of Emperor Momozono, was only five-years-old; therefore, Gosakuramachi became a transitional ruler until the young emperor matured enough to assume his position as the ruler.²⁸⁸ Mibu Chiin 壬生知音 (d.u.) wrote in his journal, *Chiin sukuneki* 知音宿祢記, on 1762.7.20, that “[Gomomozono] is too young; therefore, enthrone [Gosakuramachi] *for the time being*.”²⁸⁹ Accordingly, once the crown prince turned 13 and became mature enough to take over the position, Empress Gosakuramachi abdicated after eight years on the throne. These examples illustrate that the court in early modern Japan considered empresses as transitional, inappropriate rulers.

While some Japanese viewed immortal female deities as pure, they probably perceived mortal females, including empresses, as impure. The notion of women’s blood as a pollutant

²⁸⁶ *Konoeki monjo* 近衛家文書, vol. 9.

²⁸⁷ Araki Toshio 荒木敏男, *Kanōsei toshite no jotei* 可能性としての女帝: *Jotei to ōken kokka* 女帝と王権国家 (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten 青木書店, 1999), 272.

²⁸⁸ Kasahara, 278-279.

²⁸⁹ Araki, 286. Araki quotes Mibu Chiin 壬生知音, *Chiin sukuneki* 知音宿祢記. Mibu Chiin was a courtier who had the rank of *jusanmi* 從三位 (Junior Third Rank).

became widespread when China introduced the *Blood Pond Sutra* 血盆經 by the 14th century.²⁹⁰

In early modern Japan, as in China, menstruation and the blood shed at childbirth were considered pollutants. Even the empress was not exempt from this perception. As a result, Empress Gosakuramachi, due to her “female impurity” at age 23, required more extensive planning for her accession ceremony than did the eight-year-old Empress Meishō.²⁹¹ Hirohashi Kanetane 広橋兼胤 (1715-1781) wrote in his diary *Hakkaiki* 八槐記 on 1764 (明和元) 7.5 that the Regent (*sekkan*) Konoe Naizen 近衛内前 (1757-1778) ordered Kanetane to organize the accession ceremony around the empress’s menstrual cycle.²⁹² The accession ritual could only take place when Empress Gosakuramachi was free from the impurity caused by her menstrual blood. As this episode exemplifies, the notion of female impurity influenced all women, regardless of their social status. The absence of portraits of these two empresses from the Sennyūji collection may reflect this preconceived notion of women as impure.

In addition to being women, Empresses Meishō and Gosakuramachi have something else in common: They did not have any children of their own who would have practiced *tsuizen* on their behalf.²⁹³ Having no offspring may partially explain the absence of the empresses’ portraits;

²⁹⁰ Steven Sangren points out three different interpretations for the belief in the dangerous power of menstrual blood: “The first looks to the emotional significance of death and birth, the second to women’s social role, and the third to the system of ideas about pollution.” Steven Sangren, “Female Gender in Chinese Religions Symbols: Kuan Yin, Ma Tsu, and the ‘Eternal Mother,’” *Signs* 9 (1983): 11. Monoko Takemi, “‘Menstruation Sutra’ Belief in Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 10, no. 2/3 (1983): 229-246. and Sugawara Ikuko 菅原征子, “Ketsubon no ryūfu 血盆の流布,” *Sinkō to josei no kegare* 信仰と女性の穢れ: *ketsubonkyō shinkō ni miru josei no jikoshuchō* 血盆経信仰にみる女性の自己主張 (Osaka: Toki Shobō 朱鷺書房, 1999), 102-104.

²⁹¹ Meishō might have been considered pure at age eight when she became an empress because she did not yet have her period. However, she ruled for 14 years until she was 22, making her impure (i.e. she became a mature adult) by the time she abdicated.

²⁹² Araki, 288.

²⁹³ The empresses must have remained single during the Edo period. Miyake Kōtarō explains that the court prohibited the empresses to marry and have children for fear of tainting and breaking the imperial bloodline. Therefore, this regulation forbade the empresses to have any children who could create the mortuary portraits on behalf of the empresses. The ancient empresses did not have such restrictions on marriage; however, Empresses Genshō 元正 and Kōken 孝謙/Shōtoku 稱徳 remained single. Miyake Kōtarō 三宅孝太郎, *Tennōke ha kōshite tsuzuitekita* 天皇家はこうして続いてきた (Tokyo: Besuto Shinsho ベスト新書, 2006), 34. Miyake does not

however, it is still unusual that siblings, close friends, or attendants did not commission portraits and donate them to Sennyūji as a devotional act for the deceased empresses. One hundred years later, in 1865 (Keiō 慶応 1), Momo Setsuzan 桃節山 (1832-1875) of Matsue domain 松江藩 wrote *Saiyū nikki* 西遊日記, on the occasion of his trip to Kyūshū that may shed some light on how offspring and followers were responsible for making their superiors' portraits. In it, Momo criticizes two of his friends for visiting the studio of Ueno Hikoma 上野彦馬 (1838-1904), a famous photographer from Nagasaki, and making photographic portraits of themselves. Photography was a newly introduced technology from the West and his friends were curious to experience this new medium. Momo refused to join them because he believed that one should not commission his/her own portraits. Instead, a sitter's offspring (*shison* 子孫) and/or disciples (*monjin* 門人) should initiate and commission portrait making.²⁹⁴ Though this episode is from much later period, it helps to explain in some measure the missing portraits of the empresses, as these women were not married and did not have any children nor followers to create portraits for them.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, if we assume that the portraits once existed, people from the later period did not create any replacement portraits for the empresses because they were not deemed to be acceptable rulers.

Curiously, while the portraits of the empresses do not exist, Sennyūji does house spirit tablets for both empresses. Based on the Chinese example, I suggest that the portrait paintings were considered less formal and were used for more intimate ceremonies than those for spirit

provide a citation for this information. Araki Toshio states that the prohibition of marriage for the empresses was an unwritten rule. Araki, 170.

²⁹⁴ Momo Setsuzan 桃節山, *Saiyū nikki* 西遊日記, in *Nihon shominseikatsu shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民生活史料集成 20: *Tanken, kikō, chishi* 探検・紀行・地誌 (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō 三一書房, 1972), 661.

²⁹⁵ Empress Gosakuramachi did not have any siblings who were still alive at the time of her death. On the other hand, Empress Meishō had five half-siblings who were still alive when she died. Further research is necessary on the reasons why they did not create a commemorative portrait for Meishō.

tablets. Ebrey explains how the Song dynasty (960-1279) Chinese court differentiated among portrait paintings, portrait sculptures, and imperial spirit tablets as follows:

The most formal and most Confucian version of ancestral rites were conducted at the Supreme Shrine (T'ai-miao [太廟]), where the ancestral spirits were represented by inscribed tablets rather than images. The most spectacular and most Taoist versions were conducted at several temples where the ancestors were represented by painted clay statues. The most intimate and informal versions were conducted by palace servants and the emperor in two halls within the palace, where the ancestors were represented by portrait paintings.²⁹⁶

By referring to *Xu Zizhitongjian xhangbian* 續資治通鑑長編 from the mid-11th century, Ebrey explains that Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (1010-1063, r. 1023-1063) went once every three years to the Supreme Shrine²⁹⁷ where the spirit tablets were kept. When visiting the Supreme Shrine, the emperor had to make gifts to everyone who participated in the ceremony; therefore, this event probably was a large affair, both spiritually and financially. Emperor Renzong, responding to the complaints of investigating censor Cai Ping 蔡稟 (1002-1045) about the frequency of his imperial visits to the Supreme Shrine, replied that he makes offerings in person to the portrait paintings at the Hall of Filial Longing for Imperial Forebears (Qinxian Xiaosidian 欽先孝思殿) located within the palace every morning and evening. The emperor argued that making offerings before portrait paintings at the palace was equal to making offerings before spirit tablets in the

²⁹⁶ Patricia Ebrey, "The Ritual Context of Sung Imperial Portraiture," in Cary Y. Liu and Dora C. Y. Ching, *Arts of the Sung and Yüan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting* (Princeton, NJ: The Princeton University Art Museum, 1999), 76.

²⁹⁷ On the Supreme Shrine, see Yamauchi Kōichi 山内弘一, "Hokusō jidai no taibyō 北宋時代の太廟," *Jōchi shigaku* 上智史学 35 (1990): 91-119.

Supreme Shrine and that both exemplified his filial devotion.²⁹⁸ This argument shows that a hierarchy between the spirit tablets and the mortuary portraits existed in Song China and that spirit tablets were more formal (higher rank) than the portraits.

The above story conveys imperial ancestral practice in Song China, not in Japan; however, Chinese imperial tradition may explain why Sennyūji houses spirits tablets of the two empresses but not empresses' portrait paintings. I suggest that spirit tablets of the empresses were made and stored at Sennyūji because Sennyūji held state funerals for the empresses. Regardless of the circumstances of their accession, these empresses did officially ascend to the throne. However, their portrait paintings were omitted (or were never replaced) because they perhaps did not have supporters to conduct commemoration rites for them.

This omission of the two empresses reflects a negative attitude toward the empresses in particular and perhaps all females in general during the early modern period in Japan. It suggests that gender made these women unworthy of inclusion. The absence of the empresses' portraits serves to emphasize that portraits at Sennyūji created a pictorial imperial lineage of those rulers considered acceptable at that time.

2.11.2 Inclusion of Emperor Yōkō

Despite the exclusions of these empresses, the Sennyūji collection does include a portrait of Emperor Yōkō 陽光 (d. 1586), a ruler who did not actually rule. Emperor Yōkō, the first son of Emperor Ōgimachi and known as the crown prince Sanehito 誠仁親王, died before he was enthroned. As a result, his son, Emperor Goyōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617, r. 1586-1611, 107th), became the 107th emperor. As an act of filial piety, Emperor Goyōzei gave his late father the

²⁹⁸ Ebrey, *Sung Imperial Portraiture*, 80. Originally from *Xu Zizhitongjian xhangbian* 續資治通鑑長編, compiled by Lii 李燾 (1115-1184), *juan* 142:3423. See the entry on 1043.8.16.

honorable title of “Emperor” Yōkō.²⁹⁹ Emperor Yōkō was included in the portrait collection of Sennyūji, unlike the two empresses. This case further emphasizes that having offspring and close supporters and being male were the keys to having your portrait at Sennyūji.

The omission of the portraits of Empresses Meishō and Gosakuramachi from the series of imperial portrait collection at Sennyūji implies that the two empresses were not worthy of inclusion. This emphasizes that portraits at Sennyūji created a pictorial imperial lineage but only those rulers considered acceptable.

2.12 CONCLUSION

The Japanese from the Edo period used the Sennyūji portraits of their emperors as ritual objects in mortuary memorial services. As the traditions of *tsuizen* and *gyakushu* elucidate, the late emperors benefited from portraiture-making and ritual offerings. Furthermore, the series of portraits not only served as a visual lineage of the imperial sovereign, but the series also legitimized Sennyūji’s status as the imperial *bodaiji* family memorial temple. By examining the portraits in the framework of their original intent of memorializing the deceased emperors and serving as a visual lineage of the imperial sovereign, this chapter provided a better understanding of the purpose of the imperial portraits in the Edo period Japan. By analyzing the portraits of Emperor Meiji, the following chapters three and four will show how the commemorative use of imperial portraits in the pre-modern period changed in the Meiji period.

²⁹⁹ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 6, 449-450.

3.0 UNOFFICIAL IMAGES OF EMPEROR MEIJI

After opening its ports to the West at the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912), Japan experienced a rapid social, cultural, and political transition. In an effort to unite Japan, the new government created an ideology around Emperor Meiji (1852 – 1912, r. 1867-1912, 122nd), the symbol of Japanese culture and historical continuity. Specifically, different stages of representing the emperor for three distinct purposes emerged at this time: 1) representing the emperor by a large phoenix cart paraded for the public, intended to suggest his unapproachableness; 2) depicting the emperor attending various events, to render him more approachable; and 3) portraying the emperor as a divinity in the official portrait called “*goshin’ei* 御真影,” thus returning him to the status of divine and unreachable being. These three stages rapidly followed each other during the early to mid- Meiji period.

Chapters three and four together analyze how changes in the depictions of Emperor Meiji reflect the contemporary sociopolitical ideologies of the Meiji period. While chapter three focuses on the first two stages by examining unofficial print images of Emperor Meiji, chapter four examines the third stage by studying the official portraits of Emperor Meiji created in 1872 (Meiji 5), 1873 (Meiji 6), and 1888 (Meiji 21). Although chapter three primarily emphasizes images of Emperor Meiji in journalistic prints rather than imperial portraiture, it provides a strong foundation and an important sociopolitical framework essential for understanding analysis in chapter four of the official portraits of the emperor. Specifically, chapter three examines woodblock prints of imperial processions and images of Emperor Meiji attending events.

Scholars, following the lead of Sasaki Suguru³⁰⁰ and Taki Kōji,³⁰¹ have pointed out how images of Emperor Meiji moved from the invisible (inaccessible) to the visible (accessible). However, they have not yet focused on the target audience and functions of printed imperial images. Unlike the official portraits produced by the government for propaganda, printed images of Emperor Meiji were consumed by commoners out of curiosity. Therefore, these prints reflect how commoners, not the government, perceived the emperor. By placing the prints in their original context, this dissertation takes previous scholarly research one step further by analyzing how the visual shift within the print depictions of the emperor reflect the rapidly changing sociopolitical culture and why the government did not strictly ban the sales of these prints in the first half of the Meiji period.

3.1 REVIVAL OF JAPANESE EMPERORSHIP

To comprehend how changes in the depiction of Emperor Meiji reflected the political ideology, it is important first to understand why the Japanese leaders revived the emperorship and established Emperor Meiji as a symbol of national unity during the end of the Edo period (1603 – 1868) to the early Meiji period.

According to the legend, Emperor Jinmu 神武 (d.u.) became the first emperor of Japan around 660 B.C.E. The Japanese today claim that Jinmu's imperial succession has been continuously maintained to the present Emperor Akihito 明仁 (1933 -).³⁰² In the late 12th century, the Minamoto feudal clan took political and military power away from the royal court. Beginning with the rise of the Kamakura shogunate (1185-1333), Japanese emperors reigned but

³⁰⁰ Sasaki Suguru, "Tennōzō no keiseikatei," 183-238.

³⁰¹ Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*.

³⁰² Emperor Akihito's posthumous name is Emperor Heisei 平成.

did not rule. During the Edo period (1603-1868), the Tokugawa *bakufu*, a feudal government located in Edo (present-day Tokyo), ruled Japan. By the end of this period, the emperor did not have much direct influence over the country. Emperor Meiji, who was the 122nd emperor of Japan, reclaimed his authority during the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (Meiji 1).

Three closely related reasons explain why the Japanese leaders revived the emperorship and established the emperor as a symbol of national unity in the late-Edo-to-early Meiji periods. The first reason for this revival can be attributed to the 1853 demand made by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858) of the United States to end *sakoku*, Japan's closed foreign relations policy. When Perry visited Japan, some Japanese politicians and intellectuals were already well aware of the dangers of Western political activities and colonization in Asia. To face the foreign power and maintain its independence, Japan required a rapid modernization, especially of its military's technology. Although Japan needed to unite, the Tokugawa government was not ready to entirely discard its political system and confront the inevitable threat posed by the West. Fearing a political civil upheaval would provide Western countries an opportunity to colonize Japan, Japanese political leaders and intellectuals realized that a peaceful removal of the Tokugawa government was essential for unifying Japan and deterring possible conquest. As a result, the new government created an ideology around Emperor Meiji which revived the emperorship and united the country.

Taisei no hōkan 大政奉還 (a historic event which means "The Return of Political Rule to the Emperor") which occurred in 1867, explains the second reason. Since numerous opposing samurai groups existed in Japan at that time, a civil war seemed to be inevitable. Unification of Japan was only possible under the emperor, the leader who possessed legitimate ruling power over the government. In 1867, the Tokugawa government and the feudal lords (*daimyō* 大名)

“returned” their lands and power to the emperor. By eliminating the warrior government, the new Japanese leaders achieved the abolishment of the traditional feudal domain system in 1871 (Meiji 4) and established the prefecture system (*haihanchiken* 廃藩置県). Under the law, this abolition of the old tradition made all Japanese, regardless of class and origin, equal; it united them under the one and only common ruler, the emperor.

The third reason for the revival is expressed as *sonnōjōi* 尊皇攘夷 (“Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians”), the emperor-centered ideology of Chōshū, a feudal domain which played an important role in the events leading to the Meiji Restoration. The politicians and intellectuals persuaded, or rather manipulated, the groups of low-class samurai soldiers from the Chōshū and Satsuma domains, who were dissatisfied with the Tokugawa policies, to rebel against the government. “*Sonnōjōi*” became their slogan. These lower class soldiers, who believed in renewed nationalism under the emperor, played a significant role in shifting the power back to the ruler.

Historians Albert Craig and Thomas Huber have analyzed this emperor-centered ideology of the Chōshū. While Craig focuses on such institutional factors as the political and economic circumstances of the Chōshū to explain the origin of this ideology,³⁰³ Huber emphasizes personal factors. Huber shows how Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830-1859), a teacher of the *Mitogaku* 水戸学, the national studies that originated in the Mito domain, influenced a generation of Chōshū students to revere the emperor and become reformers.³⁰⁴ Because the Chōshū reformers who supported emperorship played a key role at the end of the Edo period, they succeeded in making Emperor Meiji a symbol of national unity.

³⁰³ Albert M. Craig, *Harvard Historical Monographs 47: Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

³⁰⁴ Thomas M. Huber, *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan: Chōshū and Meiji Restoration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981).

Kokugaku 国学, another national study organization similar to the *Mitogaku*, focused on the “true” national spirit before the importation of Confucianism and Buddhism from the continent. Four scholars established *Kokugaku* as an educational subject: Kadano Amumamaro 荷田春満 (1669-1736), Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769), Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), and Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776-1843). Hirata, in particular, advocated a return to the basic Japanese traditions and supported imperial authority, which influenced the *sonnōjōi* soldiers at the end of the Edo period. With different segments of the population working together, Japan successfully united under the name of Emperor Meiji. However, the same politicians who had initially mustered the troops tactfully betrayed those soldiers by ultimately opening Japan to the West.

As a result, the Meiji Restoration was a well-planned and controlled revolution. Because it was carried out in the name of the emperor, it legitimized the formation of the Meiji government; therefore, the new Japanese leaders needed to emphasize the shift of ruling power from the Tokugawa warrior government to the emperor. Under such circumstances, the Meiji government wanted Emperor Meiji to be more visible so that the general public could better conceptualize his existence.

3.2 PROCEDURE OF REVIVAL

Even though the Tokugawa shogunate theoretically ruled the nation as a whole, in reality, numerous regional domains existed and ruled locally. Therefore, most of the commoners were ignorant about national politics and did not understand the significance of a unified Japan. To construct a culture of emperor-centered nationalism among the commoners, the Meiji leaders emphasized rituals. Instead of forcing a sense of obedience in its followers, the Meiji government

peacefully and effectively rebuilt the superiority of the emperor by enacting new traditions and imperial ceremonies. Eric Hobsbawm, a historian, defines “invented tradition” as follows:

“Invented tradition” is taken to mean a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, [invented traditions] normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past...

[T]he peculiarity of “invented” traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.³⁰⁵

Hobsbawm’s theory sheds insight into the newly invented or revived Japanese traditions at the beginning of the Meiji period. He explains that formalizations and constructions of new traditions occur when a society goes through a rapid transformation.

Carol Gluck, another historian, has written about how the Meiji government used its restoration of ancient practice to raise public awareness and to display the power of the Emperor.³⁰⁶ Fujitani Takashi reinforces Gluck’s research and also takes it one step further by emphasizing how the Japanese rooted their new traditions in the culture of older customs. In order to institute Japanese nationalism, the government maintained the hierarchical relationship between the emperor and the general public, but also created a more intimate emperor/public

³⁰⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-2.

³⁰⁶ Carol Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

bond by inventing new traditions based on old traditions.³⁰⁷ This continuity of tradition helped to legitimized the authority of Emperor Meiji.

Even though most modern Japanese believe that most imperial ceremonies originated in the earlier Nara-Heian periods when the court flourished, many of these court-related ceremonies actually did not appear until the first year of Meiji. The emperor only observed two major (*daisai* 大祭) and three minor (*shōsai* 小祭) ceremonies before the Meiji Restoration; however, after the Meiji Restoration, the government increased the major ceremonies to thirteen and the minor ones to nine.³⁰⁸ The government perceived these newly established rituals as a way to remind the public of the religious and political authority of the emperor.

Furthermore, the government established new holidays at the beginning of the Meiji period, notably the emperor's birthday. Although the observance of the emperor's birthday as a holiday had begun as far back as 775 C.E., the custom had been long lost.³⁰⁹ With the implementation of new and re-introduced imperial ceremonies and holidays the government made Emperor Meiji more prominent.

Moreover, in 1873 (Meiji 6), the government ordered scholars to research the locations of the imperial tombs. Using historical records such as the *Kojiki* 古事記 and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 from the eighth century and the *Engishiki* 延喜式 from 927, scholars attempted to

³⁰⁷ Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, chapter three, 105-154.

³⁰⁸ The five original ceremonies are as follows: two major ceremonies: *Ninamesai* 新嘗祭 and *Kannamesai* 神嘗祭; the three minor ceremonies: *Saitansai* 歳旦祭, *Kinensai* 祈年祭, and *Kensho mikagura* 賢所御神樂. The court revived many of the newly added ceremonies from the ancient ones, such as *Shihōhai* 四方拝, *Yoori* 節折, and *Ōharae* 大祓. Murakami Shigeyoshi 村上重良, *Nihonshi no naka no tennō* 日本史の中の天皇: *Shūkyōgaku kara mita tennōsei* 宗教学から見た天皇制 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2003), 167-168. These ceremonies differ from *nenjūgyōji* 年中行事 (annual festivals). According to Murakami, the rituals for major ceremonies were conducted by Emperor Meiji himself. On the other hand, the rituals for the minor ones were conducted by court priests and attended by the emperor. It is not a requirement for the emperor to conduct or attend *nenjūgyōji*. For more information on *daisai* and *shōsai*, see Murakami's chapter 7, 164-199. Fujitani calls such modern invention of imperial traditions including celebrations of war victories, imperial funerals, weddings, and anniversaries as "imperial pageantry." Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 1996.

³⁰⁹ Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852 – 1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 159.

document the locations of the imperial tombs of both mythical and historical emperors.³¹⁰ For example, according to these historical documents, three theories existed for the location of the Emperor Jinmu's tomb.³¹¹ When scholars could not determine the truth, Emperor Kōmei, the father of Emperor Meiji, announced his decision of Jinmuden 神武田 as the official tomb site for Emperor Jinmu on 1863.2.17.³¹² Therefore, these recently discovered historical facts might be new in origin and even invented (fabrication of history). Since scholars cannot positively prove these “facts,” information on how they determined the location of the tombs is neither easy to obtain nor widely researched and/or published.

Not only did the Meiji government (re)introduce old and new rituals, but it also modified existing ceremonies by eliminating foreign factors from Japanese tradition. For example, the accession ceremony held in 1868 (Meiji 1) reinforced Japanese nationalism through the elimination of Chinese-style robes and Buddhist rituals that had originally been imported from the Asian continent.³¹³ By reviving old traditions and creating new ones at this time, the government restored the ancient practices, raised public awareness, and displayed and re-established the power of the emperor.

³¹⁰ As briefly explained in chapter two, Toda Tadayuki 戸田忠至 (1840-1883) was responsible for this restoration of imperial tombs in 1862 (Bunkiyū 文久 2). It is known as Bunkiyū no shūryō 文久の修陵. For more information, see Mogi Masahiro 茂木雅博, *Tennōryō toha nanika* 天皇陵とは何か (Tokyo: Dōseisha 同成社, 1997), Toike Noboru 外池昇, *Tennōryō no kindaishi* 天皇陵の近代史 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2000),

³¹¹ Toike, 42-57. The three locations are: 1) Jinmuden (also known as Misanzai ミサンザイ, supported by Tanimori Yoshiomi 谷森善臣), 2) Tsukayama 塚山, and Maruyama 丸山 (supported by Kitaura Sadamasa 北浦定政 and Hiratsuka Hyōsai 平塚瓢斎).

³¹² As explained in the previous chapter, Japan used the lunar calendar until the third day of the twelfth month in 1872 (Meiji 5). Therefore, this chapter abbreviates dates by year, month, and day until 1872.12.3. The standard solar calendar will be used for events that occurred after January 1, 1873 (Meiji 6).

Emperor Meiji announced the change from lunar calendar to the standard solar one on 1872.11.9. *Daijōkan nisshi* 太政官日誌: Meiji 5, vol. 97, in *Nihon kindai shisō taikō* 日本近代思想大系 2: *Tennō to kazoku* 天皇と華族, ed. Tōyama Shigeki 遠山茂樹 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1988), 31-32.

³¹³ On the contrary, according to the *Meiji tennō ki*, an official court record of the reign of Emperor Meiji, the government incorporated a globe in the ceremonial room, perhaps to symbolize the modernity and the international authority of Emperor Meiji. *MTK*, vol. 1, 805.

3.3 THE FIRST STAGE: UNREPRESENTED EMPEROR MEIJI IN THE EARLY PROCESSION PRINTS

In addition to creating new rituals and fabricating history, the government organized a series of imperial processions during the first two decades of the Meiji period to make Emperor Meiji more visible as the pinnacle of the new ruling class. To fulfill the public's curiosity about the emperor, numerous prints on imperial trips were published. For example, many print artists depicted one of the first imperial processions which took place in the fall of 1868 (Meiji 1). On 1868.9.20, Emperor Meiji left Kyoto for Tokyo for his first visit. The day before arriving in Tokyo, the emperor and the imperial procession crossed a temporarily built bridge made of hundreds of small boats tied together. Sakigakesai Yoshitoshi 魁斎芳年 (1839-1892)³¹⁴ created the *Bushū Rokugō funawatashi no zu* 武州六郷船渡図 (*The Picture of the Rokugō River Crossing*) to capture this 1868 (Meiji 1) 10.12 crossing.³¹⁵ While the title of the print emphasizes location, it fails to include any reference to the emperor or what is happening in the print. Using the title only to mention location is reminiscent of *meisho-e* 名所絵, the landscape woodblock prints of famous places from the Edo period, and can be seen in many contemporary Meiji prints with the emperor as their subject. Such un-naming of the emperor will be discussed in depth later in this chapter.

In the middle of the print, Yoshitoshi depicted only a cart with a golden phoenix (*hōren* 鳳輦) on top to represent the emperor. The cart is carried by people dressed in traditional court attire.³¹⁶ Although some equestrians appeared in the procession, people in royal dress, not horses,

³¹⁴ Yoshitoshi is also known as Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年. He studied under Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1797-1861) with Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋晩斎 (1831-1889).

³¹⁵ *MTK*, vol. 1, 863. Marujin 丸甚 was the publisher of this print.

³¹⁶ Two red carts in front of the largest cart might have carried two of the three imperial regalia of Japan (*sanshu no jingi* 三種の神器). According to *Kōshitsu jiten* 皇室辞典, the emperor always traveled with the *Kusanagi*

slowly carry the cart. To emphasize the authority and greatness of the emperor, Yoshitoshi made the phoenix cart much larger than the marching participants and the village houses in the background. By depicting the scene from a bird's eye view, the artist also suggested that the viewers of the print could observe the royal procession without being noticed. This distance, which does not allow the viewers to participate in the procession, does succeed in maintaining the imperial hierarchy.

Although the emperor cannot be seen in the print, the large red flag decorated with the sixteen-petal white chrysanthemum, the Japanese imperial flower, at the front of the procession indicates the presence of Emperor Meiji. The purple banners lining the path through the village further illustrate that this is a royal procession. It is significant that the procession is coming out of the pine tree forest, because native Japanese beliefs, currently referred to as Shinto, *kami* 神 deities are believed to manifest in pine trees.³¹⁷

In particular, pine trees customarily symbolize a place where Shinto deities descend to earth and dwell. For example, the early 16th century *noh* play titled *Hagoromo* demonstrates this idea of a pine tree being a sacred place where *kami* descend (and ascend).³¹⁸ Because of their symbolic protective power, pine trees often mark sacred places in Japan.³¹⁹ Richard Gardner, a

ceremonial sword (*Kusanagi no tsurugi* 草薙劔) and the *magatama* jewel (*Yasakani no magatama* 八坂瓊勾玉) on any overnight trips away from the palace before June, 1946. Murakami Shigeyoshi 村上重良, *Kōshitsu jiten* 皇室辞典 (Tokyo: Tokyodō shuppan 東京堂出版, 1980), 70-71. See the section under “*kenji* 劍璽.”

³¹⁷ For example, *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 compiled in the early eighth century, contains a story of Ku-ku-no-chi 句句廼馳, a tree god born to Izanami no Mikoto 伊弉冉尊 and Izanagi no Mikoto 伊弉諾尊, the creator gods of Japan. *Nihongi*, 22. Aston translates Ku-ku-no-chi as “the ancestor of the trees” in the Age of the Gods chapter 神代上.

³¹⁸ Royall Tyler, “Hagoromo,” *Japanese No Dramas* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 96-107. The authorship of the *Hagoromo* is unknown. Pine trees imply “waiting for *kami* 神を待つ (松);” they indicate the presence of gods and the site where *kami* descend.

³¹⁹ Furthermore, *Takasago* written by Zeami 世阿弥 (1363-1443) introduces two main characters, who are the incarnation of pine trees. In the second act, a priest follows the old pine deity of Takasago to the Sumiyoshi region; there he meets a god called Sumiyoshi no Myōjin 住吉の明神. The pine deities in *Takasago*, like those pine trees in traditional Japanese culture, are sacred symbols. Toward the end of the play, pine trees becomes “a sign of an auspicious reign,” expressing the magnificence of the past and present of the ruling class. Royall Tyler, “Takasago,” *Japanese No Dramas*, 277-292.

noh theatre scholar, states that “religious symbols take on meanings not only in terms of broad cultural contexts but also in terms of their strategic use in particular social and political situations.”³²⁰ Therefore, in addition to decorative purpose and sacred significance, Yoshitoshi must have employed the pine trees as a symbol of power and authority in a political sense.³²¹ As a result, the pine tree implies the presence of Emperor Meiji.

Another print, *Tokyo-fu Gofukubashi Minami-dōri enkei no zu* 東京府呉服橋南通遠景之図 (*A Distant View of the Gofuku Bridge in Tokyo*) by Ichiyōsai Kunitaru II 二代一曜斎国輝 (1830-1875) also suggests the imperial presence through visual representation. This print shows a phoenix cart in place of Emperor Meiji without identifying the emperor in its title. Kunitaru published this print during Emperor Meiji’s first stay in Tokyo in 1868 (Meiji 1).³²² The print depicts an orderly imperial procession passing over the traditional wooden Gofuku Bridge; simple wooden houses and commoner shops line both sides of the main street. While it is not obvious how many people actually carry the *hōren* cart, the artist suggests an impressive number by painting many guards and servants surrounding the palanquin. The general public on the sides of the streets bows down before the procession. This prostrating in front of the ruling class clearly indicates a hierarchical separation between the noble men and the commoners. To symbolize the auspicious nature and longevity of the emperor, the artist also painted cranes flying over the procession. Like Yoshitoshi, Kunitaru chose to depict the scene from a bird’s eye view to give the viewers the feeling of sneaking a look at the royal procession without prostrating. Kunitaru also illustrated the imperial palanquin larger than the surrounding

³²⁰ Richard A. Gardner, “Takasago: The Symbolism of Pine,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 47, no. 2 (Summer, 1992): 204.

³²¹ For more information on symbolism of pine trees, see chapter one of Karen M. Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), 30-31.

³²² Emperor Meiji stayed at his imperial residence (previously known as Edo Castle) from 1868.10.13 until his departure on 1868.12.8. He arrived back in Kyoto on 1868.12.22. See *MTK*, vol. 1, 865, 921, and 934.

architecture. This juxtaposition accentuates the impressive size of the palanquin and emphasizes the power of the emperor who sits inside the cart.

Woodblock print artists such as Yoshitoshi and Kunitaru in the early Meiji period often used the imperial palanquin to express the existence of the emperor. Not painting but implying the presence of a powerful person was a clear indication of “authority.” Although this style prevented the viewers from seeing the emperor, it also encouraged them to idealize him. Many artists in the pre-modern era chose this indirect method to express the emperor by placing him behind a *byōbu* 屏風 panel screen or a *misu* 御簾 bamboo curtain. The aforementioned theory by Yamamoto Yoko suggests that in many 12th-14th-century *emaki*, artists from the medieval period did not illustrate the faces of the emperors but painted only the lower half of their bodies to show respect.³²³

Furthermore, the unique “wrapping culture” of Japan supports this practice of hiding away important objects.³²⁴ Joy Hendry studied the purpose of social, political, and ritual wrapping of the Japanese imperial family from an anthropologist’s point of view. Hendry argues that if the imperial family were “too accessible, too unwrapped, their position would be weakened and the whole system would eventually be destroyed.”³²⁵ Even though Hendry’s essay addresses the imperial family today, her analogy yields a better understanding of the invisibility of the imperial family in the earlier periods. The Japanese artists generally remained consistent to this wrapping tradition throughout Japanese history.³²⁶

³²³ Yamamoto Yōko, “Emaki ni okeru tennō no sugata no hyōgen,” 49-72.

³²⁴ It is a similar idea as the aforementioned *kami* and *hibutsu*. See “Inaccessibility of Imperial Portraits” section in chapter two for more information.

³²⁵ Joy Hendry, *Wrapping Culture: Politeness, Presentation, and Power in Japan and Other Societies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 127.

³²⁶ The exceptions would be the aforementioned *Tenshi Sekkan Mie* and the memorial portraits of the late emperors. Although the artists illustrated the faces of emperors, they did not create these depictions for non-imperial members to see.

Interestingly, Sir Ernest Mason Satow (1843 - 1929), a British diplomat and Japanologist who assisted British Minister Sir Harry Smith Parkes (1828 - 1885), wrote in his memoir that the emperor was not sitting inside of the large *hōren* palanquin during the imperial procession on 1868 (Meiji 1) 11.26, but was carried in an *itagoshi* 板輿, a smaller, less-noticeable enclosed chair. Satow states: “The Mikado’s black-lacquered palanquin was to us a curious novelty...Old Daté, who rode between it and the closed chair in which the Mikado was really seated, nodded to us in a friendly manner.”³²⁷ The *Meiji tennō ki* 明治天皇紀 (MTK),³²⁸ an official court record during the reign of Emperor Meiji, confirms Satow’s account by stating that Emperor Meiji rode in an *itagoshi* from Kyoto until the procession reached Shinagawa in the morning of 1868 (Meiji 1) 10.13. The emperor then changed his sedan chair for a more elaborate palanquin only hours before the procession reached the imperial palace in Tokyo.³²⁹ Since Emperor Meiji perhaps did not ride in the grand palanquin during most of the trip, the inclusion of the palanquin may have been simply as a symbol for the commoners.³³⁰ Regardless of the size and type of the cart, it is significant that Emperor Meiji was not visible to the public. As the woodblock prints reflect, the government wanted to create an illusion that the emperor was too important to be seen.

3.4 NISHIKI-E WOODBLOCK PRINTS

An examination of the history of *nishiki-e* 錦絵 prints provides a strong foundation for looking at printed images of Emperor Meiji. *Nishiki-e*, multicolor woodblock prints, were developed during

³²⁷ Ernest Mason Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1921), 391.

³²⁸ Although I rely on the *MTK* as a source of information, I recognized that these government records might show bias in favor of the Imperial Household Agency. I balance this potential bias by referencing documents with less political association.

³²⁹ *MTK*, vol. 1, 863 and 865.

³³⁰ In addition to impressing the commoners, the government prepared the empty palanquin for security reasons. It is then interesting that the emperor actually rode in the palanquin on the last day of the trip, since the commoners could not see inside of the palanquin anyway.

the Edo period (1603 - 1867). The 250 years of the Edo period gave Japan an unprecedented time of peace, bringing cultural prosperity and the formation of a consumer society. Therefore, unlike the traditionally appointed court painters, whose art mainly served the nobility, the *nishiki-e* artists were craftsmen whose prints, while not deemed as “high” art, resonated with the commoners. Edo prints emerged as an accessible art created by middle class artists for middle class people.

Meiji prints were the continuation of Edo prints; both were quickly published in great numbers as affordable art for everyone. Publishers were able to quickly produce these prints because woodblock prints were created by more than one artist. The print making process includes a master painter who designs the print, several carvers who carve the multiple woodblocks for each color, and the printers who use barens to transfer ink to paper. This mechanical procedure ensured a quick turnaround and made reporting of current events possible. In addition, society placed no restrictions or limitations on who could purchase these prints. Textual records indicate that a Meiji print was priced at around seven *sen* 銭, which was about the cost of a bottle of *sake* at that time.³³¹ Unlike the more costly traditional paintings, all people could inexpensively purchase these multi-colored prints and, if they chose to, discard them. Until photography became accessible and common, *nishiki-e* was the most convenient and popular medium for journalistic reporting of current events and trends. Compared to Edo-period prints, Meiji-period prints focused more heavily on illustration and visual news rather than on being aesthetically pleasing.

³³¹ One *yen* 円 corresponds to 100 *sen*; therefore, 7 *sen* is 0.07 *yen*. A bottle (one *shō* 升) of average (middle level) *sake* cost eight *sen* in 1881 (Meiji 14). Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, *Nedanshi nenpyō* 値段史年表: *Meiji Taishō Shōwa* (Tokyo: Shūkan Asahi 週間朝日, 1988), 156.

The mass-production of journalistic prints during this period led to an increase in quantity but a decrease in quality. In the 30-year-span of the Meiji period, more prints were produced possibly than the total number of prints published in the 200 years of the Edo period.³³² Some scholars have suggested that Japanese artists used Western synthetic bright red and purple paints to hide the low quality of the mass-produced prints.³³³ As addressed in the previous chapters, pre-modern portraits of the emperors, rare in Japan, assumed the status of revered objects; they were placed in shrines and temples because of their association with veneration. Instead of treating the images of Emperor Meiji with respect, the Japanese people during the Meiji period casually used these prints to fulfill their curiosity. Historically, artists did not paint emperors for the public's gaze; however, this mass-produced print technology and the political climate of the Meiji period transformed the way the public viewed the Emperor.

With society and politics rapidly changing during the Meiji era, commoners were curious about current news and events; thus, the demand for *nishiki-e shinbun* 錦絵新聞 (a type of illustrated newspaper) was high. Public demand, therefore, determined *nishiki-e* production. Because the Emperor touring the nation was a sensational event for the general public at the time, these procession prints, often categorized as “*gyōretsu-mono* 行列物,” became popular at the beginning of the Meiji period. If these processions had not raised public curiosity, later artists might not have even considered making the Emperor their subject.

³³² Taki Kōji 多木浩二, “Tennō no shōzō 天皇の肖像,” in *Shisō* 史窓, no. 740 (February, 1986): 13.

³³³ Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, *Ukiyo-e no kanshō kiso chishiki* 浮世絵の鑑賞基礎知識 (Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂, 2000), 145.

3.5 SIGNIFICANCES OF THE IMPERIAL PROCESSIONS

As the aforementioned prints illustrate, these processions during the Grand Tours of Japan symbolize the shift of power from the Tokugawa government to Emperor Meiji. Prior to Emperor Meiji, the Edo-period emperors almost never ventured outside the Imperial Palace (Kyoto Gosho 京都御所) in Kyoto. After Emperor Gomizuno-o visited Nijō Castle 二条城 at the beginning of the Edo period in 1626 (Kan'ei 寛永 3), the twelve succeeding emperors never officially traveled out of the palace for approximately 240 years.³³⁴ This practice of isolation began to change when Emperor Kōmei 孝明 (1831-1867), the father of Emperor Meiji, took two short trips within Kyoto in the spring of 1863 (Bunkyū 文久 3). Emperor Kōmei, in his concealed palanquin, journeyed to the Kamowake Ikazuchi Shrine 賀茂別雷神社 and Kamomioya Shrine 賀茂御祖神社 on 1863.3.11 and to Iwashimizu Hachimangū 岩清水八幡宮 on 1863.4.11.³³⁵ The purpose of these short trips at the end of the Edo period was political; at these shrines, the Emperor prayed for the protection of the nation from the danger caused by foreign powers. Although Emperor Kōmei finally emerged from his palace, these were the only two official trips he ever took.

Ōkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通 (1830-1878), a nineteenth-century politician originally from the Satsuma domain, masterminded the procession events of Emperor Meiji. In 1868 (Meiji 1), Ōkubo stated in *Ōsaka sento no kenpakusho* 大坂遷都の建白書, that Emperor Meiji, like the

³³⁴ Sasaki, *Bakumatsu no tennō*, 18. These twelve emperors (Meishō, Gokōmyō, Gosai, Reigen Higasiyama, Nakamikado, Sakuramachi, Momozono, Gosakuramachi, Gomomozono, Kōkaku, and Ninkō) did not officially travel. They might have traveled out of the palace for personal reasons; however, their private visits were not well documented.

³³⁵ Sasaki, *Bakumatsu no tennō*, 160.

rulers from the West, should be more visible to the general public.³³⁶ Early Meiji leaders such as Ōkubo believed that assigning the Emperor a public role through imperial processions would serve the following purposes: 1) presenting the ruler to the nation; 2) “taming” the north and northeast parts of Japan to reinforce the new hierarchy and imperial authority;³³⁷ 3) building a positive relationship with the public by providing the public with wine, food, and money; and 4) educating the Emperor by showing him his country.³³⁸

The late-19th-century Japanese were familiar with the tradition of processions through *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代, the feudal domains’ processions to and from Edo, and the Tokugawa shogunal trips to their founder’s mausoleum at Nikkō during the Edo period. A procession provided a clear way to visualize authority. To make a grand impression, 3,300 people traveled together with the 15-year-old Emperor Meiji for the first trip from Kyoto to Tokyo in 1868 (Meiji 1); they distributed money and alcohol to the public as they proceeded to Tokyo.³³⁹ After

³³⁶ Ōkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通, “Ōsaka sento no kenpakusho 大坂遷都の建白書,” in *Ōkubo Toshimichi monsho* 大久保利通文書, vol. 2 (Yamaguchi 山口: Matsuno Shoten マツノ書店, 2005), 191-195. The original document is currently housed at the Osaka Furitsu Nakanojima Library 大阪府立中之島図書館. “Osaka” in the title is written as 大坂. The document was published before the Japanese government unified the name (*kanji*) of the city to 大阪 at the beginning of the Meiji period. Several years later, the *MTK* entry on 1872 (Meiji 5) 5.7 states that the Rikugunshō 陸軍省, the Japanese Army, also reinforced Ōkubo’s opinion in its publication titled “*Zenkoku yōchi junkō no kengi* 全国要地巡幸の建議,” *MTK*, vol. 2, 673-674.

³³⁷ In 1869 (Meiji 2), the Meiji government renamed the area of Ezo to Hokkaido and established Hokkaido Kaitakushi 北海道開拓使 (the Hokkaido Colonization Office) to control the northern part of Japan. For more information, see “Kaitakushi no jidai 開拓使の時代” chapter in Funatsu Isao 船津功, et al., *Kenshi* 県史 1: *Hokkaido no rekishi* 北海道の歴史 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha 山川出版社, 2010).

³³⁸ Through these imperial tours, the Imperial Household Agency might have desired to revive the *kunimi* 国見 practice, a “land-viewing ritual” performed by the emperors in the ancient times. However, it is unlikely that Ōkubo Toshimichi, who suggested that Emperor Meiji should be like the rulers from the West, emphasized the pre-eighth century land-viewing ritual. For more information on *kunimi*, see Gary L. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 23-29. For *Man’yōshū* poems on *kunimi*, see *Man’yōshū* 萬葉集, in *Nihon kotenbungaku zenshū* 6 日本古典文学全集, ed. Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1994). 1) *Kunimi* from Mt. Kagu (*MYS* 1:2, p. 24); 2) *kunimi* poem written by Kakinomoto Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 in the late 7th century (*MYS* 1:36-38, pp. 46-48). For English translation, see *The Ten Thousand Leaves* (book one), trans. Ian Hideo Levy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 38 and 56-58.

³³⁹ Matsuo Masato 松尾正人, *Meiji ishin to bunmei kaika* 明治維新と文明開化 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2004), 148-9. This trip was not the first time Emperor Meiji left Kyoto. He traveled to Osaka on

taking several shorter trips to Osaka and Tokyo, Emperor Meiji went on six Grand Tours known as *rokudai junkō* 六大巡幸 through Japan.³⁴⁰ The Emperor took six major trips to 1) Kinki, Chūgoku, Shikoku, and Kyūshū from 1872 (Meiji 5) 5.23 to 1872.7.12; 2) Tōhoku and Hokkaidō from June 2 to July 21, 1876 (Meiji 9); 3) Shin'etsu, Hokuriku, and Tōkai from August 30 to November 9, 1878 (Meiji 11); 4) Kōshin and Kinki from June 16 to July 23, 1880 (Meiji 13); 5) Tōhoku and Hokkaidō from July 30 to October 11, 1881 (Meiji 14); and 6) Sanyō from July 26 to August 12, 1885 (Meiji 18). During these tours, Emperor Meiji visited places such as government offices, city and town halls, schools, military facilities, industrial factories, shrines, and courts.³⁴¹

The government primarily chose sea routes for Emperor Meiji's 1872 (Meiji 5) trip. One reason behind this choice lay in the desire of the Japanese leaders to present their Emperor as the leader of the Japanese navy. In addition, the government valued the sea routes as less expensive and less troublesome than the land roads due to the cost of road repairs and clearings. However, the Emperor mainly traveled on a land route beginning with the 1876 (Meiji 9) tour to Tōhoku and Hokkaidō because the roads offered more opportunities for the commoners to see and experience the imperial processions compared with the sea. For example, the distance between Kyoto and Tokyo on the Tōkaidō highway route was approximately 309 miles (500 kilometers). Because the royal procession traveled on foot and relied on manpower, not horses, to pull the Emperor's vehicle, the journey took 24 days with an average 12.9 miles (20.8 kilometers) per

1868.3.21, and stayed there for approximately fifty days. He took two nights and three days to travel 27 miles (43 kilometers) from Kyoto to Osaka.

³⁴⁰ The Grand Tours of Japan taken by the emperors are called *junkō* 巡幸 while trips with a single destination are called *gyōkō* 行幸 (also read as *gyōgō* and *kyōkō*). For the crown princes, empresses, and dowager empresses, the term *junkei* 巡啓 and *gyōkei* 行啓 are used respectively.

³⁴¹ See Hara's comprehensive list for the locations of imperial visits. Hara Takeshi 原武史, *Kashika sareta teikoku* 可視化された帝国 (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō みすず書房, 2001), 28-35.

day.³⁴² This deliberate decision to travel slowly reflects the main purpose of the procession: to carefully display the renewed power of Emperor Meiji and his court to the public.

Moreover, by the late 1870s, the government granted commoners the opportunity to communicate with the Emperor as he traveled through their villages. For example, on September 1, 1878 (Meiji 11), several commoners from Urawa, Chiba prefecture, had a chance to directly plead (*jikiso* 直訴)³⁴³ to the Emperor regarding reclamation of Koganegahara and the related land tax. Not only did Emperor Meiji connect with the commoners by listening to their concerns, but he also stayed overnight at temples, schools, city halls, and even at the houses of some wealthy and famous locals during the tours. Such direct communication would have been more difficult if the Emperor were traveling via sea.³⁴⁴

A land journey, while slower than a sea voyage, did fulfill an important purpose of the tour by making the Emperor more visible and more accessible to the people. Ironically, the placement of the emperor in these processions also reinforced his status at the top of the social and political hierarchy. Thus, the splendid processions during the first part of the Meiji period simultaneously placed the Emperor physically closer to the people but also reminded the people of his political authority.

³⁴² Matsuo, 148.

³⁴³ Even though the word *jikiso* means “directly plead,” it does not necessarily suggest that these commoners had face-to-face interactions with Emperor Meiji. It is more likely that the commoners either shared their concerns in front of the imperial cart or relied upon an attendant to deliver their message to the emperor.

³⁴⁴ Nakayama Tadayasu 中山忠能, *Nakayama Tadayasu nikki* 中山忠能日記 4 (original title: *Seishin sei* 正心誠意), ed. Nihonshiseki Kyōkai 日本史籍協会 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press 東京大学出版会, 1973), 681-682. Another reason could be that the sea route was prone to natural disasters. Such imperial relatives as Nakayama Tadayasu (1809-1888) strongly opposed to the emperor traveling on a ship because it is unsafe.

3.5.1 Idealized and Unidealized Responses to the Processions

The aforementioned prints by Yoshitoshi and Kunitaru show how commoners respectfully welcomed the procession by prostrating. Some extant written records confirm such a reception. The *MTK* states that in July, 1876 (Meiji 9), many viewers in the Hichito area, Aomori prefecture, prostrated on the ground and worshipped the Emperor as the imperial procession passed through their villages. It also reports that the people, in their eagerness to properly welcome the Emperor, even cleaned the roads and houses that are one *ri* 里, approximately 2.5 miles (four kilometers), away from the official pathway of the procession.³⁴⁵

William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928), an American who was a teacher in Japan in the 1870s, also reported a similar account in his journal:

All the villages and towns were gaily decorated, and the line of route to Nikko was crowded with people, all eager to catch a glimpse of their beloved Emperor. The county people as a rule took off their shoes, or rather stepped out of their clogs and sandals, and voluntarily prostrated themselves as their sovereign passed by.³⁴⁶

Griffis observed how the Japanese farmers decorated their towns and villages and gathered on the Nikkō Kaidō highway to welcome the procession. Griffis reported that these farmers voluntarily took off their shoes and prostrated while the procession passed.

The rules on how to welcome and respect the Emperor were not yet well-regulated at the beginning of the Meiji period. Even though *Tōjun nisshi* 東巡日誌 written in 1868 (Meiji 1), states that commoners were permitted to welcome the imperial procession while standing as in

³⁴⁵ *MTK*, vol. 3, 667.

³⁴⁶ William Elliot Griffis, *The Mikado: Institution and Person* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915), 258.

the Western custom,³⁴⁷ the Japanese did not know how to respectfully hail their Emperor. In his memoir, Naitō Aisuke 内藤愛輔 (d.u.) recalls the time he greeted the imperial procession in Fuchū on the Kōshūkaidō highway in 1880 (Meiji 13). Naitō and his fellow villagers were uncertain how to receive the imperial procession because they had previously paid respect to the processions of daimyō by prostrating. While they waited for the imperial procession for approximately thirty minutes, a police officer told them to revere the Emperor by standing. Naitō was surprised that the Meiji Restoration had so quickly modernized such welcoming customs.³⁴⁸

Their proximity to the Emperor made the commoners become superstitious. An anonymous non-Japanese author wrote about this trend in “The Imperial Progress,” an article that appeared in *The Japan Weekly Mail* on June 19, 1880 (Meiji 13). He reports that “[a]s an instance of the reverence accorded to the Mikado, it is recorded that, during his tour in the north in 1876 (Meiji 9), in many places holes were literally dug in the ground over which he sat by people eager to obtain even a handful of earth considered sacred by contact, however remote, with the Imperial person.”³⁴⁹

In his diary, Yamaguchi Masasada 山口正定 (1843-1902) reinforced the newly-developed superstitions associated with the Emperor. During the Grand Tour of December 1881 (Meiji 14), Emperor Meiji stayed at the house of Watanabe Sakuzaemon 渡辺作左衛門 (d.u.), the second wealthiest landowner of Sakata in Yamagata prefecture. Once the Emperor departed,

³⁴⁷ *Tōjun nisshi* 東巡日誌. Meijibunka Kenyūkai 明治文化研究会, *Meijibunka zenshū* 明治文化全集 1: Kōshitsu hen 皇室篇 (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōron sha 日本評論社, 1992), 234. The *Ōmiya-shi shi* 大宮市史, the *History of Ōmiya City*, states otherwise. Prostration was compulsory during the imperial procession in Ōmiya in 1870 (Meiji 3). Ōmiya Shiyakusho 大宮市役所, “Meiji sannen gyōshin nikki 明治三年行幸日記,” in *Ōmiya-shi shi* 大宮市史: Shiryō hen 資料編 3 (Ōmiya: Ōmiya Shiyakusho 大宮市役所, 1993), 926.

³⁴⁸ *Meiji tennō Fuchū anzai kinwaroku* 明治天皇府中行在所謹話録. Compiled by (interviewed by) Ōmuro Ichigorō 大室市五郎 (Fuchū, Tokyo: Fuchū Shidankai 府中史談会, 1940), 14. Naitō was 24 years old at the time of procession.

³⁴⁹ Anonymous author, “The Imperial Progress,” in *The Japan Weekly Mail*, June 19, 1880 (Meiji 13), in *Nihon kindai shisō taikēi* 日本近代思想大系 2: *Tennō to kazoku* 天皇と華族, ed. Tōyama Shigeki 遠山茂樹 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1988), 103.

villagers from near and far wanted to visit Watanabe's house to see his rug on which Emperor Meiji had sat and his pillar decoration that the Emperor had touched. These superstitious visitors believed that touching the items with which Emperor Meiji had come into contact would provide them with good health and insure that pregnant women in their families would have safe and easy deliveries. Watanabe reported that he even had to give out tickets because approximately 10,000 people visited his house in ten days.³⁵⁰ The superstitions that defined the Emperor as a source of good fortune helped build a positive reputation for the Emperor.

Furthermore, Park Jin Woo 朴晋雨 and Suzuki Shizuko 鈴木しづ子 emphasize that the imperial processions did succeed in uniting the villagers and in expanding the undeveloped countryside.³⁵¹ The 1876 (Meiji 9) imperial procession to the Kuwano village development in Fukushima prefecture demonstrates this positive aspect of the processions.

Although the prints depicted the procession in an orderly way and emphasized that everyone treated the Emperor as a superior being at the beginning of the Meiji period, the following accounts contradict these conclusions. The actual processions were not as well organized as one might imagine. For example, Ernest Satow recorded in his diary that “[t]he display [of the imperial procession] could not be described as splendid, for the effect of what was oriental in the courtiers' costumes was marred by the horribly untidy soldiers with unkempt hair and clothing vilely imitated from the West.”³⁵² Satow described the 1868 imperial procession as such because the dress code for the procession was not yet regulated at this time. Therefore, each participating courtier and military guard wore a different style, both Japanese and Western

³⁵⁰ Yamaguchi Masasada 山口正定, *Yamaguchi Masasada nikki* 山口正定日記, December 19, 1881 (Meiji 14), in *Kenseishi hensankai shūshūbunsho* 憲政史編纂会収集文書. (microfilm #224-28: Shonai shiryō Meiji jidai 資料明治時代 3, at the National Diet Library). Also available in *Tennō to kazoku*, 112.

³⁵¹ Park Jin Woo 朴晋雨, “Tennō junkō kara mita tennōsūhai to minshū 天皇巡行からみた天皇崇拜と民衆,” in *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究, no. 309 (May, 1988): 1-26. and Suzuki Shizuko 鈴木しづ子, *Meiji tennō gyōkō to chihō seiji* 明治天皇行幸と地方政治, (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha 日本経済評論社, 2002).

³⁵² Satow, 391. The procession took place on November 26, 1868 (Meiji 1).

clothes in various colors.³⁵³ The aforementioned woodblock prints, however, show orderly processions in which all the participants wear the same tidy uniform.

Despite the acknowledgment of a class system in the Meiji period, the superiority of the Emperor was not yet a concrete notion among the commoners at its beginning. In his article “Gojunkō no ki 御巡幸ノ記 (The Record of Imperial Processions),” published in the *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞 on July 5, 1876 (Meiji 9), Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香 (1833-1905) pointed out that many ordinary people in Sendai showed little respect for the royal procession. Commoners with dirty faces and muddy feet, farmers weighed down by their farming tools, and mothers nursing naked babies sat around and indifferently watched the procession. Some of these people even took a nap while waiting; officials rudely awakened them so they could venerate the procession as it passed.³⁵⁴ The newspaper also reported that the number of spectators sharply declined on rainy days.³⁵⁵ Furthermore, a writer noted that some people who did not know how to properly welcome the Emperor often failed to remove their hats or neglected to fold up their parasols.³⁵⁶

In addition to their lack of proper manners, commoners further contradicted the positive images presented by the prints by greeting the processions in a negative way. An untitled editorial article in the *Chōya shinbun* 朝野新聞, published May 10, 1878 (Meiji 11), exemplifies how some individuals reacted unenthusiastically toward the procession. Before the Grand Tour

³⁵³ Osakabe Yoshinori 刑部芳則, *Yōfuku, sanpatsu, datto* 洋服・散髪・脱刀: *Fukusei no Meiji ishin* 服制の明治維新 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2010), 22.

³⁵⁴ Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香, “Gojunkō no ki 御巡幸ノ記,” in *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞, newspaper number 1374, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā 日本図書センター, 1994), 14 (original page number 626). Kishida wrote about the incidents he saw on June 30 in his article published on July 5. The *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* published an article titled “Gohatsuren no ki 御発輦の記” on June 3 followed by a series of 37 articles titled “Gojunkō no ki 御巡幸ノ記” that covered the imperial processions in June and July, 1876 (Meiji 9).

³⁵⁵ Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香, “Gojunkō no ki 御巡幸ノ記,” in *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞, newspaper number 1349, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā 日本図書センター, 1994), 214 (526).

³⁵⁶ Fujitani, 165.

began, the author published his disapproval of this upcoming event. He criticized such pleasure trips as unnecessary and said that the travel expenses should not be covered with public money (*kōhi* 公費).³⁵⁷ Once the tours began, the *Tokyo Akebono shinbun* 東京曙新聞 on May 20, 1880 (Meiji 13) reported that the welcoming event for the imperial procession had become a burden for the residents of Nagano prefecture. The article listed the expenses associated with the preparation for the procession. The local government charged each household in Nagano prefecture 3 *yen* 73 *sen* 1 *ri* to pay for the Japanese national flags, festive lanterns, new street lamps, and road repairs.³⁵⁸ As described in the newspaper articles, some Japanese did not support the imperial processions because they were required to pay for them and received nothing in return.

Furthermore, we know that some commoners secretly sang a short and comical song about how they preferred the reign of the Tokugawa over the reign of Emperor Meiji. The lyrics of this song include: “Kin-san kaeshite Toku-san yonde moto no Nihon de kurashitai 禁サン返シテ徳サン呼ンデ元ノ日本デクラシタイ (Return Mr. Kin [to where he belongs], then call Mr. Toku, we would like to live in the old Japan).” Although this song indirectly referred to the Emperor as “Mr. Kin,” the 19th century Japanese people understood that Mr. Kin implied

³⁵⁷ *The Chōya shinbun* 朝野新聞, May 10, 1978 (Meiji 11), vol. 1408, in *Chōya shinbun* 7 (Tokyo: Perikan Sha ぺりかん社, 1981).

³⁵⁸ I calculated the fee per household by dividing the total cost (57,833 *yen*) by 15,500 households. *Tokyo Akebono shinbun* 東京曙新聞, vol. 186, May 20, 1880 (Meiji 13), in *Tokyo Akebono shinbun fukkokuhan* 復刻版, vol. 33 (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 2006), 68 (446). Similarly, the *Osaka Shinpō* 大阪新報 (*Osaka Newspaper*), on May 29, 1880 (Meiji 13), reported that the local government charged each household 3 *yen* 53 *sen* 3 *ri* for the procession preparation. *Osaka Shinpō* 大阪新報, vol. 733, May 29, 1880 (Meiji 13), in *Nihon kindai shisō taikēi* 日本近代思想大系 2: *Tennō to kazoku* 天皇と華族, ed. Tōyama Shigeki 遠山茂樹 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1988), 93-94.

Emperor Meiji because the 19th century term “*kinchū* 禁中” meant the imperial court. As a result, the song reflects the frustration of the common people toward the “new” ruler.³⁵⁹

After the government hired a private detective to gather information on the public reaction toward the imperial procession to Kamakura, that detective compiled the *Gyōshin ni tsuki dōro kenbun hōkoku* 行幸二付道路見聞報告 (*The Report on the Roadside Public Opinions on the Imperial Processions*). On April 1873 (Meiji 6), he reported that some residents in Hotogaya and Tozuka were not impressed with the imperial procession because it was not as elaborate as the daimyō processions during the Edo period.³⁶⁰ Because the detective relied upon eavesdropping and other secretive techniques to gain information, he was able to gather and record the honest opinions and reactions of the commoners. Hara Takeshi 原武史, a historian who studies imperial Grand Tours in the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa periods, reports that only 74 people participated in the Grand Tour in 1872 (Meiji 5), while 360 people accompanied Emperor Meiji for the 1880 (Meiji 13) tour. These numbers do not even reach one tenth of the people who participated in large processions held by the feudal domains in the Edo period.³⁶¹ Thus, while some commoners appreciated the imperial processions, others disapproved of them.

While visual images as sources of historical information can be effective, these images, like textual documents, are not absolutely reliable sources. Instead, they reflect the perspective of the often self-serving commissioners. Therefore, one must carefully contextualize the images when analyzing them. These prints represent the idea of the Emperor visualized by the artists and publishers who created them. Although these artists and publishers had no government

³⁵⁹ *Gyōshin ni tsuki dōro kenbun hōkoku* 行幸二付き道路見聞報告 190, in *Sanjōke monsho* 三条家文書, in Obinata Sumio 大日方純夫, “Minshū wa tennō o dōmite itaka 民衆は天皇をどう見ていたか: 1873 nen Kamakura gyōshin endō tansakusho o tegagari toshite 1873 年鎌倉行幸沿道探索書を手がかりとして,” in *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究, no. 323 (July, 1989): 70.

³⁶⁰ *Gyōshin ni tsuki dōro kenbun hōkoku*, in Obinata, 69.

³⁶¹ Hara, 35.

affiliation, they still illustrated the ideal, modern Japanese state that the government and customers desired to see. Furthermore, publishers favored idealized scenes instead of reality to sell more prints, avoid potential government censorship, and remove negative depictions of imperial system.

3.5.2 The End of Emperor Meiji's Processions

As the processions achieved their goals of creating a new symbol of rulership and of educating the young Emperor,³⁶² the number of processions gradually decreased. The Grand Tours of Japan by Emperor Meiji ended with the 1887 (Meiji 20) tour to the Kinki and Tōkai regions. Shorter trips and day trips replaced these long tours. Takashi Fujitani explained that one reason for the discontinuation of Grand Tours was due to the tours' anachronistic ceremonial style. Because the processions were regional, not centralized, the citizens in various parts of Japan rarely participated in the same rituals at the same time. Therefore, these tours did not represent a true national communion: "[The procession] was not conducive to the idea of temporal coincidence—the idea that all the people of the nation lived in the same time. In this regard, the imperial progress could not be an adequate focus of national communion."³⁶³ Furthermore, financial factors may also have led to the discontinuation of the Grand Tours of Japan. Regardless of the reasons for this termination, the processions had successfully emphasized the authority of Emperor Meiji and enabled the Emperor to become visible to the commoners.³⁶⁴

³⁶² According to early Meiji leaders, such as Ōkubo Toshimichi, one of the four purposes for organizing imperial processions was to educate Emperor Meiji about his nation. See "Significances of the Imperial Processions" section in this chapter.

³⁶³ Fujitani, 202.

³⁶⁴ In the mid- to late Meiji period, Crown Prince also traveled throughout Japan. For more information on the Crown Prince's trips, see Hara, *Kashika sareta teikoku*.

3.6 THE SECOND STAGE: IMAGES OF EMPEROR MEIJI AS A HUMAN BEING

Just as the general public reconstructed its notion of the emperor system, so did procession prints rapidly change the tradition of “non-depiction” of the Emperor. The government in the second decade of the Meiji period gradually made the emperor more accessible and visible by involving him in political, military, and cultural events. As a result, woodblock print artists used both the emperor and empress consort as subjects for their work. According to Julia Meech-Pekarik, Emperor Meiji was riding in an open carriage in and around Tokyo as early as 1872 (Meiji 5).³⁶⁵ William Elliot Griffis, who witnessed this visual shift, reflected the situation in his memoir as follows:

Gradually, the mystery play of medieval and musty Mikadoism gave way to modern reality...When Mutsuhito visited the Strand Palace he rode not in a screened bullock cart but in an open carriage... the people stood as usual, gazing at their sovereign, just as civilized people do in other parts of the world...What had once been a mysterious idol seemed now to have a human soul.³⁶⁶

Furthermore, Griffis, who witnessed the emperor communicating with merchants in simple clothes, exclaimed as such:

The merchant face to face with the Mikado? The lowest social class before traditional divinity? It was a political miracle!...The doctrine of the divine descent of the Mikado has been very useful in times past; but its work is done...Japan will win the respect of civilization by dropping the fiction.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization* (New York and Tokyo: John Weatherhill, 1986), 105.

³⁶⁶ Griffis, *The Mikado: Institution and Person*, 198-199.

³⁶⁷ William Elliot Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc, 1973), 564-566. Harper & Brothers in New York first published *The Mikado's Empire* in 1895.

Although limited to procession routes, the emperor became more visible and more accessible to the commoners through frequent public appearances. These public appearances added another dimension to the emperor's relationship with his subjects: not only did the emperor observe his people, but the people also saw the emperor. As the Japanese politicians desired, the emperor became a public figure; images of Emperor Meiji in popular prints reflect this shift from invisible to visible and from private to public.

However, the government continued to refuse to popularize official portraits of the emperor and the empress consort in 1872 and 1873 (Meiji 5 and 6). To feed their curiosity about their royal leaders, therefore, the Japanese commoners in the late 19th century, embraced the more easily accessible woodblock print images of the emperor. While the exact dates of production of many prints of Emperor Meiji are unclear, one of the first known prints was published in 1877 (Meiji 10): *Seikanron no zu* 征韓論之図, *Picture of the Discussion of the Takeover of Korea*, painted by Yōshū Chikanobu 楊州周延 (1838-1912)³⁶⁸ in 1878 (Meiji 10). This print exemplifies the typical *jiji nishiki-e* 時事錦絵 that illustrates a current event. The print also demonstrates the new trend of including the emperor in the visual arts.³⁶⁹

In 1871 (Meiji 4), Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825-1883), the head ambassador (*tokumei zenken taishi* 特命全權大使), led the Iwakura Mission (*Iwakura kengai shisetsudan* 岩倉遣外使節団),³⁷⁰ on a two-year diplomatic tour of the United States and Europe. During this trip, Iwakura's Japanese ambassadors, including Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909) and Ōkubo

³⁶⁸ In addition to this print, *Daiikkai naikoku hakurankai no zu* 第一回内国博覧会図, the *Picture of the First Exposition in Japan*, which visualizes the imperial couple in traditional clothes was also published in 1878 (Meiji 10).

³⁶⁹ Yōshū Chikanobu was also known as Hashimoto Chikanobu 橋本周延. Matsumoto Heikichi 松本平吉 was the publisher for this print.

³⁷⁰ The Iwakura Mission is also known as the Iwakura Embassy in English.

Toshimichi, had the opportunity to observe modern Western nations. Upon their return to Japan from the Mission in 1873 (Meiji 6), these forward-thinking politicians learned about a plan in which Japan would take over Korea. Chikanobu designed a scene that captures these more progressive politicians trying to stop the invasion. Because Chikanobu and the majority of print artists came from the lower class, they were not in a position to actually witness imperial events. Since they were never present at these events and meetings, they instead worked from second- or third-hand accounts of news stories. On most occasions, Chikanobu and his colleagues based their images of the emperor and his proceedings on textual descriptions and their imaginations. Unable to produce an individualized, mirror image of Emperor Meiji, the artists in the early Meiji period satisfied the general public's curiosity by employing generic and idealized facial features of a typical hero or ruler to express Emperor Meiji.

In the *Picture of the Discussion of the Takeover of Korea*, Chikanobu portrayed the emperor and other politicians wearing Western-style military uniforms in a room furnished with Western furniture and carpet. The artist captured the emperor and such important Meiji leaders as Etō Shinpei 江藤新平 (1834-1874), Itagaki Taisuke 板垣退助 (1837-1919), Iwakura Tomomi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1828-1877), and Sanjō Sanetomi 三條實美 (1837-1891) debating the pros and cons of invading Korea, an action first suggested by Saigō in 1873 (Meiji 6). The text, in a box on the top right, explains the scene and the political situation with Korea. While Chikanobu clearly labeled the names of these well-known politicians in the red cartouches next to them, he did not create a cartouche for the emperor. Yet, the artist did clearly convey the distinctive social and political hierarchy that defined society at that time, as well as the trend towards Westernization. Although these politicians all have animated facial expressions and assume active poses, only the emperor sits stolidly at the top left-hand corner

where he attentively listens and calmly observes the meeting; this positioning convinces the viewers that the emperor is more confident and assertive than the rest of the politicians.

Emperor Meiji resembles the other politicians in terms of size, similarity of military uniform, and the type of chair in which he sits. A superficial glance at the print, then, shows the emperor as one of the group, but a closer examination reveals that the emperor is separated from the rest of the people due to his hat with gold trim, his tiger fur cushion, and his position under purple chrysanthemum banners and a rolled up bamboo curtain. Emperor Meiji sits as an authoritative figure overseeing the meeting, letting his subordinates discuss the issue while he makes the final decision. This image makes the viewers understand that the emperor is the leader among the politicians, not an unapproachable divine figure separate from them. By allowing the mass distribution of such journalistic images of Emperor Meiji in woodblock prints, the Japanese government reinforced the existence of the imperial sovereignty and created a stronger bond between the emperor and his people.

3.6.1 Significance of Westernized Attire

Unlike the previous procession prints, *Picture of the Discussion of the Takeover of Korea* emphasizes the emperor's power through Emperor Meiji's Westernized attire, not the number of his guards and attendants. The viewers recognized the emperor's Western dress, facial hair, and Westernized-stance as indicatives of his status. Although late-19th-century Japan considered foreigners as peculiar, it greatly appreciated exotic foreign objects and advanced technology. At this time, those with access to foreign items were often the ones in power; therefore, possession of expensive foreign items, especially when accompanied by wealth and intelligence, signified high social and political status. The emperor, as the ruler of Japan, could not afford to lose his

ethnic Japanese identity, but his choice of Western style dress differentiates him from the commoners. The government changed the dress code for men (*fukusei kaikaku* 服制改革) on 1871 (Meiji 4) 9.4.³⁷¹ More than eight months later, on 1872 (Meiji 5) 5.23, the emperor first appeared outside of the palace in Western clothes during his trip to the Hama Rikyū Detached Palace.³⁷² Despite some initial resistance towards the West, the majority of the Japanese eventually adopted many aspects of European culture and advanced technology. From the 19th-century Japanese point of view, such rapid changes dealt more with modernization and less with Westernization. The value of foreign culture and advanced technology lay in its potential to improve Japanese society, not in its Western appearance.

The concept of “*wakon yōsai* 和魂洋才 (Japanese spirit and Western achievements)” was created to legitimize Westernization. The Japanese justified their interest in all things Western by labeling the Westernization fad as a superficial one that would fade like similar stylish trends. Another popular notion among the Japanese in the early Meiji period was “*oitsuke oikose* 追いつけ追い越せ,” roughly translated as “catch up and go beyond.” This slogan suggested that the Japanese must not only reach the same level as the West, but must also surpass Western technology in order to achieve acceptance by and equality with the West. To meet Western standards, the Japanese did not hesitate to overturn unfair trade treaties and to increase their political and military power. Although Japan still exhibited some animosity toward Westernization, it also accepted Western culture because it did not define its relationship with the West as one of conquered and conquerors. Nineteenth-century Japanese insisted that they

³⁷¹ *Dajō ruiten* 太政類典, in *Nihon kindai shisō taikēi* 日本近代思想大系 2: *Tennō to kazoku* 天皇と華族, ed. Tōyama Shigeki 遠山茂樹 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1988), 12.

³⁷² *MTK*, vol. 2, 691.

would not allow Westernization to change their core Japanese values, but in the end, they embraced and supported an assimilated lifestyle.

Even though the royal family did not accept assimilation as a natural occurrence, the emperor still became an emblem of the country's assimilation due to the efforts of the Meiji reformers. As the leader of the nation, the emperor had a great influence on his people. For example, as seen in the print, he set the standard by cutting his topknot (*chonmage* 丁髷) on April 20, 1873 (Meiji 6), and the general public followed his example soon after.³⁷³ According to Inoue Isao 井上勲, a historian, only 10% of the population had short hair in 1872 (Meiji 5), 20% in 1875 (Meiji 8), 40% in 1877 (Meiji 10), 80% in 1882 (Meiji 15), and 98% in 1887 (Meiji 20).³⁷⁴

Wearing a mustache was also a new custom to the Japanese in the early Meiji period. The author of “Hige nakereba tōtokarazu 髯無ケレバ貴カラズ (One is Not Honorable Without His Facial Hair),” an article from the *Chōya shinbun* on June 19, 1881 (Meiji 14), states that Edo-period Japanese did not wear beards and mustaches, and they shaved before going to work. The author of the article humorously criticizes the Meiji-period politicians who were so proud of their facial hair, noting that the rest of the people with thin facial hair, including the author himself, would never be successful.³⁷⁵ This article suggests that the upper-class politicians, influenced by the West, had recently begun to grow beards and mustaches because they associated facial hair with sociopolitical success. Therefore, distributing prints of the emperor with short hair and facial hair must have conveyed a certain positive and progressive message that influenced

³⁷³ MTK, vol. 3, 47.

³⁷⁴ Inoue Isao 井上勲, *Bunmei kaika* 文明開化 (Higashimurayama 東村山: Kyōikusha 教育社, 1986), 73.

³⁷⁵ Manshunsei 萬春生, “Hige nakereba tōtokarazu 髯無ケレバ貴カラズ,” *The Chōya shinbun* 朝野新聞, June 19, 1881 (Meiji 14), vol. 2326, in *Chōya shinbun* 13 (Tokyo: Perikan Sha ぺりかん社, 1982). Also see Mizutani Mitsuhiro 水谷三公, *Nihon no kindai* 日本の近代 13 (*A History of Modern Japan*): *Kanryō no fūbō* 官僚の風貌 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronshinsha 中央公論新社, 1999), 10.

Japanese society. At the same time, Emperor Meiji's Westernized attire gave a favorable impression to Westerners. The emperor's new appearance, illustrated in many prints from the second decade of the Meiji period, symbolized Japan's renewed identity as a modern nation.

3.6.2 Images of the Imperial Couple

In the second stage, artists began to illustrate not only the emperor, but also the imperial couple in journalistic prints. The following prints, produced approximately 20 years after the first image of an imperial procession, show a change in artistic approach. Instead of the invisible emperor of the first decade of the Meiji period, the artists of the second decade of the Meiji period chose to depict the emperor with the empress consort. Japanese artists were becoming accustomed to the notions of Emperor Meiji as a human being and as an imperial husband.

One of the earliest prints of this type, *Charine daikyokuba goyūran no zu* チャリネ大曲馬御遊覧之図 (*Depiction of Enjoying the Charine Circus*) in 1886 (Meiji 19),³⁷⁶ exemplifies the shift from presenting only the emperor to visualizing the emperor and empress consort together. In this print, Yōshū Chikanobu again did not directly identify the humanized emperor and empress consort, but used elaborate Western garb and imperial décor to imply the royal status and authority of the couple. As a result, Chikanobu became the first print artist to depict both royal spouses wearing Western clothes.³⁷⁷ On November 1, 1886 (Meiji 19), the emperor and the empress consort went to the Fukiage Palace to witness the equestrian acrobatic performance by Charine and his troops from Italy.³⁷⁸ *MTK* states that some newspaper reporters were allowed to attend this public event. Therefore, even if it was not open to the public, commoners knew about

³⁷⁶ Hashimoto Naoyoshi 橋本直義 was the publisher.

³⁷⁷ Wakakuwa, 230.

³⁷⁸ Emperor Meiji showed his enjoyment of the performance by rewarding Charine with 2,000 yen. *MTK*, vol. 6, 651. Dowager Empress Eishō also went to see the performance in Tsukiji on November 19, 1886 (Meiji 19). *Ibid.*, 657.

this well-publicized show and were curious to learn more about it from this woodblock print. It is remarkable that artists not only depicted the emperor in political or militaristic situations, but also showed him in cultural settings that emphasized his personable aspect. This trend suggests that commoners were becoming more familiar with the idea of the emperor as a human being.

In this print, Chikanobu filled a circus arena with a plethora of performers and a great deal of action. One performer, while carrying a woman on his shoulders, stands directly on top of two galloping horses. A female performer leaps through a hoop from the back of a horse, an elephant dances on a barrel, and two one-legged acrobats form a pyramid with the help of a cane; the back of the stage contains animals (possibly lions) in cages. All the Japanese spectators in Western dress sit at the right side of the print. Although female courtiers surround the royal couple, it is easy to identify the emperor and empress consort because of the traditional purple banners with the imperial chrysanthemum crests that hang over them and bamboo blinds that surround them. The emperor and empress consort sit at a long table, the position of which allows them a better viewing of the performance. They are seated in the traditional Japanese seat of honor in front of a painted folding screen. Thus, their position in front of the screen also suggests their significance. Furthermore, the ornate tablecloth, the large size, and elaborate outfits of the two figures also indicate their importance.

Images of the imperial couple, such as Chikanobu's *Depiction of Enjoying the Charine Circus*, reflect a change in the male attitude toward Japanese women, especially Empress Consort Haruko 美子 (1849-1914),³⁷⁹ and in the imperial marital tradition. In this print, the empress consort no longer wears traditional robes, but instead appears in Western dress. The empress consort began to wear Western-style dresses in 1886 (Meiji 19), 14 years after the dress

³⁷⁹ Empress Consort Haruko's birth name was Ichijō Masako 一条勝子. She is later known as Dowager Empress Shōken 昭憲皇太后.

code changed for the emperor. According to *MTK*, the empress consort, wearing a Western dress, attended a graduation ceremony at Kazoku Jogakkō 華族女学校,³⁸⁰ the Court Women's School, on July 30, 1886 (Meiji 19).³⁸¹ This is the first official record of Empress Consort Haruko wearing Western-style clothes. While the change in the court dress code for male courtiers and politicians occurred in 1872 (Meiji 5), the change for women came much later in 1887 (Meiji 20). With a hint of irony, Empress Consort Haruko, in *Kōgō oboshimeshisho* 皇后思召書, attributed this change of dress code to an old Japanese tradition. She claimed that both Japanese men and women wore two-piece clothes in ancient times; therefore, by changing the dress code, Japanese women were reviving their old tradition, not incorporating Western styles into their dress.³⁸²

Similar to the male royalty, Japanese men began wearing Western clothes much earlier than Japanese women of both imperial and commoner status. Because Meiji Japanese considered European dress to be more formal business attire than their traditional clothes, Japanese men in the Meiji period often wore a suit to work and changed into a Japanese kimono in the evening after work. European dress, therefore, came to have a public association. The delay in dress code change for women is then significant because it means that women were expected to stay home and keep the Japanese traditions alive, while the men were expected to be more public and modern.

Erwin von Baelz (Bälz) (1849-1913), a German doctor who resided in Japan during the sociopolitical evolution of the early Meiji period, told Itō Hirobumi that he opposed Japanese women wearing Western dresses. Itō smiled and replied, “All that you say may be perfectly sound, but so long as our ladies continue to appear in Japanese dress they will be regarded as

³⁸⁰ Kazoku Jogakkō was a precursor of the Gakushūin Jogakkō 学習院女学校.

³⁸¹ *MTK*, vol. 6, 622. See the entry on July 30, 1886 (Meiji 19).

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 680-681. See the entry on January 17, 1887 (Meiji 20).

mere dolls or bric-à-brac.”³⁸³ Itō implies that the foreigners would not take Japanese women seriously unless they wore Western dresses. Therefore, the images of the empress consort in European dress, such as the one in this print, made statements about how the Japanese and non-Japanese in the 19th century viewed Japanese women.

The change in the empress consort’s dress code at this time signified that Empress Consort Haruko now had a public role to play. In addition to the outfit worn by Haruko, the coupling of the emperor and empress consort also sends a message. The artists in the second decade of the Meiji period began to depict the imperial couple participating in important state affairs. For example, Yōshū Chikanobu created *Kenpō happu-shiki no zu* 憲法発布式之図, the *Picture of the Promulgation of the Constitution*, in 1889 (Meiji 22), to visually report the February 11, 1889 (Meiji 22) historic constitutional event.³⁸⁴ Chikanobu, like other artists of imperial-themed prints, added purple chrysanthemum banners to indicate the imperial nature of this event. In this scene, Emperor Meiji gives Kuroda Kiyotaka 黒田清隆 (1840-1900), the Prime Minister, the constitution that Itō Hirobumi compiled using the German model.³⁸⁵ Chikanobu again relies upon Western dress to define authoritative figures. He consistently dresses all the Japanese officers in Western military uniform and the female court attendants in ornate Western-style clothes to show their status. Without exception, the Japanese male courtiers wear a hat and carry a sabre; as explained earlier, their facial hair is indicative of modernization. The artist included several foreign diplomats attending the ceremony to emphasize the international authority of the emperor; however, by depicting them in colorful costumes, he

³⁸³ Erwin O. E. von Baelz, *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor: Erwin Baelz*, ed. Toku Baelz, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: The Viking press, 1932), 239.

³⁸⁴ Sasaki Toyokichi 佐々木豊吉 published this print.

³⁸⁵ *MTK*, vol. 7, 207. The Constitution was actually stored inside of a box; therefore, the attendants could not have seen the paper document during the ceremony. Chikanobu depicted the document (paper) to make it more dramatic or he simply did not know that the constitution was in the box. *Ibid.*, 206.

separated these foreigners from the rest of the Japanese officers dressed in black. Chikanobu also distinguished the imperial couple by making them larger than and separate from the rest of the participants and by having the emperor stand on a raised stage. The internationally decorated room contains paper screens, Japanese banners, marble tiles, a chandelier, and Western style chairs.

The significance of this print lies in Chikanobu's acknowledgement of the empress's actual participation in this state affair by depicting her in the print. Although Empress Consort Haruko rarely attended any previous official state events, *MTK* confirms her participation in this political event.³⁸⁶ The emperor is shown standing on a double layered platform in the middle of the room, while the standing empress consort sits on a single platform on the left.³⁸⁷ The artist does not treat the imperial couple equally, but he does surprise the viewers by including the empress consort in this political event.

The day after the Promulgation of the Constitution, the Meiji government planned an elaborate procession and festivities. To describe this event, Inoue Tankei 井上探景 (1864-1889)³⁸⁸ created the 1889 (Meiji 22) *Kenpō happu: Gotsūren no zu* 憲法発布御通輦図, the *Picture of the Promulgation of the Constitution: The Imperial Procession*. Tankei depicted the celebratory procession going through the streets of Tokyo. In the middle of the print, the emperor and empress consort, both wearing Western dress, can be seen sitting together on an elegant Western-style open carriage with a golden phoenix on top; several horses with beautiful

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 206.

³⁸⁷ Japanese emperors customarily received their audiences while seated. In this print, however, Emperor Meiji is conducting business standing up due to the influence from the West.

³⁸⁸ Tankei studied under Kobayashi Kiyochika 小林清親 (1847-1915). Tankei is also known as Inoue Yasuji and Yasuharu 井上安治.

harnesses pull the carriage.³⁸⁹ Attendants, looking dignified with their impressive mustaches and Western-style military uniforms, ride horses in an orderly manner behind the imperial chariot. By adding stone and brick buildings with glass windows in the background, Tankei expressed the modernity appropriate for this new era marked by the Promulgation of the Constitution.

Spectators, also in Western attire, line the street to welcome the procession; while none prostrate themselves, they do take off their hats and wave to show their respect. By depicting all these viewers much smaller in size than the chariot and by giving them generic features, Tankei emphasizes their lower status compared to that of the imperial family. In the foreground, a teacher leads a group of students. Tankei clearly identifies the youth of the students by showing them smaller than their teacher and by not giving them facial hair. Although a string of festive red and white lanterns block the full name of the school written on the purple flag, observers can read the words, “*kōritsu* (公立 public)...*kō* (校 school),” implying that the government encouraged even the young students to attend the parade.

At first glance, it seems as if Tankei were simply depicting the celebration; however, a closer scrutiny of the painting shows that he was conveying much more significant news than simply reporting on the festive event. By showing the imperial couple sharing a ride and being seen together in public, Tankei created a unique scene for the late 19th century Japanese viewers.

3.6.3 Imperial Marriage Practice

The Japanese audiences from the Meiji period would have understood the deeper message Tankei tried to convey through the *Promulgation of the Constitution: The Imperial Procession*. The imperial couple riding together in the same carriage signifies a more equal relationship

³⁸⁹ This six horse carriage for formal occasions is currently part of the permanent collection at the Hōmotsuden (宝物殿 Treasure Museum) at the Meiji Jingū 明治神宮 in Tokyo.

between the emperor and empress consort. Alice Mabel Bacon (1858-1918), an American teacher who taught English at the Court Women's School, wrote the following about the Promulgation Festival:

Upon this occasion, for the first time, the emperor and empress rode in the same coach, and it is really a great step up, so far as the women of the country are concerned. The theory hitherto has been that the emperor is too far above his wife in dignity to appear in public with her in the same carriage, but yesterday, by riding with her, he recognized the fact that his wife is raised by her marriage to his own social level. It is a formal adoption of the Western idea in regard to the position of the wife.³⁹⁰

Like Bacon, Ottomar von Mohl (1846-1922), a German diplomat who resided in Japan from 1887 to 1889,³⁹¹ also acknowledged that the emperor and empress consort appearing in front of the public and riding together in the cart are meaningful. Von Mohl saw this as a new chapter of Japanese imperial traditions because the custom of the emperor and empress consort appearing together in the public did not exist in Japan prior to this event.³⁹² Not even ordinary Japanese men brought their wives to a business setting. The women they did invite to join them were not upper class ladies, but instead were professional female entertainers. Prior to this point, therefore, artists depicted only Emperor Meiji in his chariot without Empress Consort Haruko.

Similar to all historic Japanese emperors, Emperor Meiji practiced *ippu tasai* 一夫多妻, a polygamous marriage. Von Mohl, who criticized the practice of polygamy, labeled this custom

³⁹⁰ Alice Mabel Bacon, *A Japanese Interior* (Boston, New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1894), 133.

³⁹¹ The Meiji government employed approximately 3,000 foreign advisors before 1885 (Meiji 18). Kanamori Shigenari 金森誠也, "Note from the editor," in Ottomar von Mohl, *Doitsu kizoku no Meiji kyūteiki* ドイツ貴族の明治宮廷記 (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha 新人物往来社, 1988), 204.

³⁹² Ottomar von Mohl, *Am Japanischen Hofe* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1904), 227-228.

as “Sultan’s Harem.” He explained that Emperor Meiji currently had six wives, but tradition allowed a Japanese emperor to acquire up to 12 wives.³⁹³ Von Mohl then carefully observed that the Japanese leaders were aware of the Christian monogamous belief; they chose not to openly discuss this issue.³⁹⁴ William Elliot Griffis also expressed his disapproval toward the Japanese concubine practice: “[S]o long as the institution of concubinage exists in Japan, home-life can never approach in purity and dignity to that in Christian countries.”³⁹⁵ For Emperor Meiji to earn the respect of the West, the Meiji government advocated the abolishment of such “barbaric” customs and encouraged Emperor Meiji to adopt the Christian practice of monogamous marriage. Von Mohl testified that the emperor found it difficult to adjust to this new custom. In one journal entry, he recorded the inability of the emperor, a ruler raised according to Japanese custom, to treat his wife as a partner in the Western manner. For example, the emperor showed uneasiness when escorting his wife to a banquet or similar events.³⁹⁶ Von Mohl also reported that Emperor Meiji refused to walk alongside Empress Consort Haruko during the Chrysanthemum Festival, even though both Tokudaiji Sanenori 徳大寺実則 (1839-1919) and Hijikata Hisamoto 土方久元 (1833-1918) of the Imperial Household Agency requested him to do so twice.³⁹⁷ Despite Emperor Meiji’s reluctance to change imperial marital practice and elevate the status of Japanese women, the Meiji government continued its efforts to bring Japan in line with the Western standard. It wanted to impress the world so that Japan could attain a secure place in the

³⁹³ Mohl, 47.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 48.

³⁹⁵ William Elliot Griffis observed that “a Japanese has but one legal wife, but he may have two or three more women if he chooses, or can support them. One wife, if fruitful, is the rule” for the Japanese commoners. Griffis, *The Mikado’s Empire*, 556.

³⁹⁶ Mohl, 49-50.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 136. The Imperial Household Agency was originally known as Kunaishō 宮内省 instead of Kunaichō 宮内庁. After World War II, on May 3, 1947 (Shōwa 22), the Agency had to reduce in size from 6,200 to less than 1,500 workers and changed its name to *Kunaifu* 宮内府. On June 1, 1949 (Shōwa 24), the Agency changed its name again from Kunaifu to Kunaichō. For the modern history of Kunaichō, see <http://www.kunaicho.go.jp/kunaicho/kunaicho/kunaicho-nenpyo.html> (accessed on September 6, 2013).

global political arena. Although their print depictions may not reflect reality, Tankei and the other artists responded to this government-stimulated philosophical change by illustrating the imperial couple together.

3.7 SECOND STAGE: LITHOGRAPHIC GROUP PORTRAITURE

In addition to woodblock prints, lithographic prints (*sekibanga* 石版画)³⁹⁸ of Emperor Meiji became popular in the early 1880s. Lithography, which uses simple chemical processes to engrave and etch images on a smooth stone surface, was invented by Johann Alois Senefelder (1771-1834) in 1798 and imported to Japan in the early 1870s.³⁹⁹ Because this printing technique allowed for more detail, Japanese artists were able to depict more naturalistic images than those seen in traditional woodblock prints. Until recently, scholars have overlooked lithographic prints of the Meiji period; however, a few scholars such as Mashino Keiko 増野恵子, an art historian, recently suggested that publishers widely circulated unofficial lithographic images, as well as woodblock prints, of Emperor Meiji.⁴⁰⁰ Some scholars have counted approximately 200 extant lithographic prints of Emperor Meiji.⁴⁰¹

Lithographic prints in the 1870s and 1880s follow the trend of woodblock prints by openly showing the emperor as a human leader. Unlike the woodblock prints, these lithographic prints often focus more closely on the facial features of the emperor because the medium allowed the artists to give a more detailed expression of him. Although some journalistic lithographic

³⁹⁸ Japanese people today more commonly refer to lithography as *ritogurafu* リトグラフ not as *sekibanga*.

³⁹⁹ *Kokushi daijiten*, 312.

⁴⁰⁰ Mashino Keiko 増野恵子, “Meiji tennō no imēji no hensen nituite 明治天皇のイメージの変遷について: Sekihanga ni miidaseru tennōzō 石版画に見いだせる天皇像,” *Bijutsushi kenkyū* 美術史研究 (Waseda Bijutsushi Gakkai 早稲田美術史学会), vol. 38 (December, 2000): 43-60.

⁴⁰¹ Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Ōke no shōzō*, 17.

prints exist, these prints primarily resemble portraiture. The artists emphasized the emperor's political and personal relationships by creating lithographic group portraits.

3.7.1 Lithographic Images of Emperor Meiji with His Political Allies

Both during the first decade of the Meiji period and the even more productive 1880s, artists created many lithographic prints of the emperor and his political allies. Most of these lithographic prints of Emperor Meiji were based on the 1873 (Meiji 6) official photographic portrait (which will be analyzed in depth in the next chapter). Although limited to a few special occasions, artists did have the opportunity to observe the publicly displayed 1873 portrait and to then produce their own versions. These artists still created their prints from their imagination; however, by the second and third decades of the Meiji period, the artists became more concerned with capturing the physical likeness of the emperor. They worried that some commoners, who might have seen Emperor Meiji during the imperial processions, might compare their interpretations of the emperor with the reality of the emperor. Artists also feared criticism from those who might have seen the 1873 portraits on holidays at City Hall and other public places. Although the photographic portrait of the emperor was taken many years ago, most of the print images of the emperor from the second and third decades of the Meiji period closely resemble the 1873 portrait. The passing of time had given Emperor Meiji an older and more mature appearance; however, the print artists throughout the 1880s continue to base their images of the emperor on this 1873 image. The 1873 portrait eventually became something like a symbol or code for Emperor Meiji. Artists employed this “code” to express the emperor because the commoners, even the ones who had not seen the emperor in person, could easily recognize this

figure as their emperor. These lithographic images of Emperor Meiji circulated among the commoners until a few years after the commission of the 1888 (Meiji 21) portrait.

An anonymous artist designed *Dainihon teikoku kōki goshōzō* 大日本帝国高貴御肖像, *Portraiture of the Japanese Imperial Nobilities*; this print was published by Mokuseidō 木盛堂 in Tokyo in October 6, 1885 (Meiji 18). Based on the 1873 portrait, this lithographic print depicts Emperor Meiji as a political and military leader. Three larger and more elaborate medallions with decorative borders appear in the middle of the print. These medallions contain the most important three figures of the imperial family: Emperor Meiji at the top, the Dowager Empress Eishō 英照 (1833-1897) in the lower right, and the Empress Consort Haruko in the lower left. Beneath the emperor and almost next to but slightly lower than the dowager empress and empress consort is Haru no miya Yoshihito 明宮嘉仁 (1879-1926, r. 1912-1926, 123rd), the six-year-old Crown Prince who later became Emperor Taishō 大正. Although his medallion is both smaller than the medallions of the other three and placed in the lowest position, the Crown Prince still demonstrates his importance by appearing in the center of the print. While these four principal figures are unnamed, individually engraved cartouches identify the eleven courtiers framed in simpler medallions surrounding the imperial family. The prominent male courtiers on the right side of the print include: Arisugawa no wakamiya 有栖川若宮, Arisugawa no miya 有栖川宮, Fushimi no miya 伏見宮, Komatsu no miya 小松宮, and Kitashirakawa no miya 北白川宮. On the left are the corresponding wives of these male courtiers; they are identified as “wife of so-and-so.” Only the woman directly under the Crown Prince is identified with her own name: Yanagiwara Naruko 柳原愛子 (1859-1943). Because Empress Consort Haruko was infertile, Yanagiwara was the actual birthmother of the Crown Prince. Therefore, she is placed directly

beneath the emperor and the prince. Since this print was published before the amendment of the court female dress code, all the women wear the traditional court dresses, while the men appear in the Western military uniforms. Yet again, these traditional court robes express the ideas of female inferiority, obedience, and submissiveness.

It is significant that the dowager empress is placed on the right side of the print with the powerful male courtiers while the empress consort is placed on the left with the other submissive wives. Von Mohl remarked that in Japan, the dowager empress was more valued than the empress consort.⁴⁰² Influenced by Confucius filial piety, Emperor Meiji respected his mother more than his wife. The placement of these two women in the print reflects this power structure. In addition, Yanagiwara is positioned below her son. Such hierarchical placements, as well as the inclusion of the birth mother, are also based on the court ranking and the Confucian belief of filial piety. The artist visualized the powerful reign of Emperor Meiji through this group portrait: the solid court structure and the legitimate successor to continue his legacy.

3.7.2 Lithographic Images of Emperor Meiji with His Family

Dainippon teishitsu goson'ei 大日本皇室御尊影, the *Portrait of the Japanese Imperial Leader*, created by Kamijō Yomotarō 上条與茂太郎 in October, 1902 (Meiji 35), represents lithographic prints depicting the emperor as the head of the imperial family. Prior to this time, the European concept of royal family group portraits was new to the Japanese. Once the representation of the emperor as a monarch had become a well-established notion, commoners may have developed more interest in the emperor as a caring, fatherly figure; therefore, commoners may have been motivated to form a more intimate relationship with the emperor. In this print, Emperor Meiji sits

⁴⁰² In his journal, von Mohl does not specify who considered the dowager empress more important than the empress consort. He probably meant Emperor Meiji, the court, and the Japanese society. Mohl, 48-49.

on an elaborate armchair on the right side, while Empress Consort Haruko stands directly behind him as an expression of her unconditional support. The Crown Prince and Princess stand on the left. Six young princes and princesses of various ages occupy the middle of the print. Since the Crown Prince and Princess did not have any daughters, the four princesses in the print probably are the daughters of Emperor Meiji: Tsune no miya Masako 常宮昌子 (1888-1940), Kane no miya Fusako 周宮房子 (1890-1974), Fumi no miya Nobuko 富美宮允子 (1891-1933), and Yasu no miya Toshiko 泰宮聡子 (1896-1978).⁴⁰³ Two boys, one a toddler and the other an infant, wear Western dress, suggesting they are the grandsons of Emperor Meiji: Michi no miya Hirohito 迪宮裕仁 (Emperor Shōwa 昭和, 1901-1989, r. 1926-1989, 124th) and Atsu no miya Yasuhito 淳宮雍仁 (1902-1953).⁴⁰⁴ This print was published in 1902 to celebrate the birth of Yasuhito.

To show respect, everybody is standing while the emperor is seated. The standing pose places the family members in a lower position than the emperor who sits on his throne. In Japanese culture, a standing person is generally considered to be less important than a seated one. Therefore, Japanese emperors customarily received audiences while seated.⁴⁰⁵ By making the emperor sit while others stand in this print, the artist implies the hierarchical relationship within the family. Hirohito, holding the string of a toy carriage and highlighted by himself in the front middle, stands out because the princesses in *kimono* stand clustered together. All the adults,

⁴⁰³ Even though Empress Consort Haruko bore no children, Emperor Meiji had 15 children with his five official consorts or ladies-in-waiting (*sokshitsu* 側室). The print does not include the three children of Emperor Meiji who died before 1902: Hisa no miya Shizuko 久宮静子 (the fifth princess, 1886-1887), Mitsunomiya Teruhito 満宮輝仁 (the fifth prince, 1893-1894), and Sada no miya Takiko 貞宮多喜子 (the tenth princess, 1897-1899). The print also excludes the older children of the emperor.

⁴⁰⁴ Except for Emperor Taishō, Emperor Meiji did not have any other sons who were still alive in 1902; therefore, these two boys depicted in the print must be the grandsons of Emperor Meiji. Emperor Meiji had two more grandsons, but they were born after 1902.

⁴⁰⁵ On 1872 (Meiji 5) 5.15, Watson (d.u.), a British ambassador, suggested that Emperor Meiji should follow the Western custom and receive his audience while standing. Although the Imperial Household Agency first rejected this request, it eventually complied with this Western custom. *MTK*, vol. 2, 682-683.

as well as the older and younger boys, are in Western dress that reflect their public side, while the female children are in traditional clothes that, as previously analyzed, show their lower and more private status.

To a certain extent, the viewers can relate to the emperor as a human being with personal relationships. Later prints, such as this one by Kamijō, suggest the increase of curiosity by commoners toward the hierarchy of the court and the structure of the imperial family.

3.8 REASONS THAT MADE IT POSSIBLE TO DEPICT THE EMPEROR

In the pre-Meiji era, the government would not have allowed such a casual depiction of the leader of Japan by commoner publishers and artists. By this time, commercial publishers, not the government, produced these images of Emperor Meiji in order to satisfy the curiosity of the general public. Because the government perceived the later official portraits as mirror images of the emperor, it demanded respectful treatment of these portraits. However, the government at the beginning of the Meiji period rarely censored the *nishiki-e* depictions of the emperor. I propose it was for the following four reasons.

First, the prints served as free publicity for the government. As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the Meiji Restoration was carried out in the name of the emperor, and to legitimize the formation of the new reign, the government needed to promote the emperor system. As long as the printmakers depicted the emperor in a positive manner, the government did not interfere with their artistic endeavors. Even though the government recognized that both sellers and buyers could mistreat the printed images of the emperor, the government also understood the benefit of such widely circulated positive representations of the emperor. Rather than censor the prints, then, the government successfully used them to manipulate the opinions of

the general public. Politicians viewed these prints as a way to make all people, including the feudal lords, believe that the emperor controlled policy making. The positive and powerful prints made the emperor visible to the public, something that the government welcomed. This use of print technology to show the emperor to the public was new in the modern era.

Second, the *nishiki-e* depictions were not purported to be official images. Both publishers and artists followed a tacit tradition that allowed depicting the emperor only if the prints did not specifically name Emperor Meiji. The government did not consider any print to be an official imperial image unless it clearly identified the emperor, and so publishers and artists chose generic titles that never identified him. For example, to avoid a straightforward identification, they often used titles such as *Noble Man Overseeing Military Practice*. A more forthright example discussed earlier is Chikanobu's *Picture of the Discussion of the Takeover of Korea* which names all of the characters in the print except for the emperor. Although the viewers understood that the "Noble Man" and the elaborately dressed man depicted in the center of the Chikanobu print both represented Emperor Meiji, the prints only implied his identity. Despite this tacit recognition, the lack of any blatant labeling of the emperor prevented the prints from ever being considered as official portraits. Photographic portraits,⁴⁰⁶ on the other hand, became substitutes for the emperor. As the following chapter will explain, the differences between the two media and their distribution treatments illustrate that the use of photography for *goshin'ei* was a conscious choice and was important in attaining the goal of the government to promote the emperor system.

⁴⁰⁶ Here I mean photographic portraits of Emperor Meiji rather than images depicting him in events such as processions.

Third, government officials overlooked the print depictions of Emperor Meiji because the artists always placed him within a specific event and/or setting.⁴⁰⁷ Although the general public garnered some journalistic information on the imperial and political activities of the emperor through these prints, neither the general public nor the government ever considered these depictions as official portraits of Emperor Meiji. The artists focused more on capturing his social function rather than replicating the likeness of his face. These print images, then, lacked identifiable features, but did have journalistic components. Therefore, the *nishiki-e* prints, which more closely resembled news reports than royal portraits, were often overlooked.

The late-19th-century Japanese also treated journalistic photographs of Emperor Meiji differently from the official imperial portrait. On March 13, 1955, Yokoseki Aizō 横関愛造 (d.u.) wrote an article in *Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞 regarding the 1898 (Meiji 31) death of Kume Yoshitarō 久米由太郎 (1852-1898), a 46-year-old school principal of the Shinshū Ueda Jinjō Elementary School⁴⁰⁸ Yokoseki claimed that the public falsely accused Kume of losing the *goshin'ei* because the photograph of Emperor Meiji, which was destroyed in a school fire, had been a commemorative photograph from the imperial trip to Ueda.⁴⁰⁹ Because the photograph was not the official portrait gifted from the Imperial Household Agency, Kume was found innocent. According to Yokoseki's analogy, non-official photographs of the emperor, such as

⁴⁰⁷ Moriya Katsuhisa et al., "Urban Networks and Information Networks," *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1990), 120.

⁴⁰⁸ Under the old educational system in Meiji, students went to a *jinjō shōgakkō* 尋常小学校 (elementary school) for grades one through six. While *chūgakkō* 中学校 (junior highschool) offered grades seven through twelve, *kōtō shōgakkō* 高等小学校 ("upper" elementary school) only offered grades seven and eight. Students who went to the *kōtō shōgakkō* usually could not financially afford to attend *chūgakkō*. After *chūgakkō*, some students advanced to *kōkō* 高校 (highschool) for grades 13 through 15 before entering university.

⁴⁰⁹ Yokoseki Aizō 横関愛造, "Omoide no sakkatachi 思い出の作家たち: Kume Masao 久米正雄: Kakanakatta chichi no jisatsu 書かなかった父の自殺," *Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞 (morning edition), March 13, 1955 (Shōwa 30), 5. In this article, Yokoseki falsely states that Kume Masao never wrote about his father's death. See Yamagishi Ikuko 山岸郁子, "Goshin'ei shōshitsu no monogatari 御真影焼失の物語: Kume Masao chichi no shi 久米正雄 父の死," *Gobun* 語文, vol. 80 (June, 1991): 43.

this one, were not considered as embodiments of the emperor. Therefore, some Japanese commoners distinguished between prints and photographs of events that Emperor Meiji participated in from official portraits. This categorization might have caused the Meiji government to overlook the circulation of the aforementioned images of Emperor Meiji.

Lastly, the public rarely took seriously *nishiki-e* prints, which were reflections of the popular tabloid medium. Although scholars today largely regard these prints as art, the prints were actually tabloids in the Meiji era. Journalistic prints reporting on current events began in the 1840s in the late Edo period. Scholars today refer to these journalistic prints as *jiji nishiki-e* 時事錦絵, “current-event-prints” which visually convey information.⁴¹⁰ By the beginning of the Meiji period, *Nishiki-e shinbun* 錦絵新聞, a type of visual newspaper, became popular. By commissioning such artists as Utagawa Yoshiiku 歌川芳幾 (1833-1904),⁴¹¹ both Esōshiya 絵草紙屋 and Gusokuya 具足屋, the famous *nishiki-e* publishers, took an article published in the *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* and created a pictorial version of the report.⁴¹² These prints often comically related rather serious events. *Namazu no chikara kurabe* 鯰の力競べ (*Catfish Wrestling*), by an anonymous artist, is an example of such an entertaining article. Because the Japanese customarily attribute earthquakes to the movement of catfish (*namazu* 鯰), which allegedly live underground, artists depicted a fight between a catfish and a local deity to express

⁴¹⁰ For more information, see the research done by Asai Yūsuke 浅井勇助, Higuchi Hiroshi 樋口弘, and Suzuki Jin'ichi 鈴木仁一.

⁴¹¹ Utagawa Yoshiiku, also known as Ochiai Yoshiiku 落合芳幾, studied under Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1798-1861).

⁴¹² Print artists often cited the name of the source newspaper and its edition number on their prints. *Yūbin hōchi shinbun* 郵便報知新聞 soon followed the same format as the *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*. The Kinshōdō 錦昇堂, a print publisher, commissioned Tsukioka Yoshitoshi 月岡芳年 (1839-1892) to depict current events based on the *Yūbin hōchi shinbun* articles.

the severe earthquake that caused 7,000 to 10,000 deaths in Edo on 1855 (Ansei 安政 2) 10.2.⁴¹³

These pictorial newspapers, which often covered such subjects as love affairs and murder cases, targeted a less intellectual population than the readers of actual newspapers; they fulfilled the curiosity of the commoners.⁴¹⁴ Therefore, late-19th-century Japanese defined these popular prints as commercial communication tools, not as a serious journalism.

The following three prints document that the *nishiki-e* artists, even with imperial subjects, focused more on entertainment than accurate reporting as a reaction to the popular trend of the *Nishiki-e shinbun* 錦絵新聞. A processional print by artist Yoshitoshi, *Tōkaidō Ōikawa fūkei no zu* 東海道大井川風景之図, the *Landscape View of the Ōi River on the Tōkaidō Highway*, exemplifies such erroneous reporting.⁴¹⁵ Yoshitoshi modeled his subject on the Emperor Meiji's trip to Tokyo. In this dramatic scene, the artist chose to depict the imperial procession swimming across the strong current of the Ōi River. The flags and banners flapping in the air suggest harsh windy conditions. Many servants struggle to swim, and others simultaneously carry the invisible emperor in the imperial cart. This desperate crossing of the Ōi River did not take place in reality because, as the 1868.10.4 entry of *MTK* proudly reported, a temporary bridge had been built over the river in time for the procession.⁴¹⁶ It is, however, much more dramatic and visually interesting to present the event as Yoshitoshi did. This print was actually published before the procession even reached the Ōi River. Despite its inaccuracies, this print shows the anticipation the Japanese people had for the imperial trip to Tokyo and the entertainment value of such prints.

⁴¹³ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 1, 384.

⁴¹⁴ Some other examples include such reports titled as 1) “Sumo Wrestlers Took a Great Active Part in a Fire (#111);” 2) “A Geisha in Niigata Region Eloped and Attempted to Suicide (#428);” and 3) “A Man Grown Up as a Woman Married with a Man (#813). See *Nihon Nishiki-e Shinbun Shūsei* 日本錦絵新聞集成 (CD-ROM), compiled by Tsuchiya Reiko 土屋礼子 (Tokyo: Bunsei Shoin 文生書院, 2000).

⁴¹⁵ *Nishiki-e shinbun* resembles a tabloid newspaper. Even though it focuses more on entertainment value, it is still considered to be a newspaper reporting actual events.

⁴¹⁶ *MTK*, vol. 1, 854-855.

The *Rokugō River Crossing*, a second example by Yoshitoshi that was analyzed earlier, also reflects inaccurate reporting. According to some written texts, preparation for the emperor and his procession to cross the river on 1868 (Meiji 1) 10.12⁴¹⁷ involved the anchoring of two hundred boats, the tying together of wooden logs, and the placing of the logs over the boats to temporarily create a floating bridge across the river.⁴¹⁸ In this print, flimsy ropes tied the boats together side by side in an orderly manner. Realistically, such a structure would not have been stable enough to hold the weight of the entire procession at one time. To deal with this challenge, the floating bridge was probably built straight across the river to connect the two shortest distances, but Yoshitoshi, more concerned with aesthetic beauty over accuracy, depicted the bridge as a long, curved one. Yoshitoshi's image, despite the exaggeration, impressively conveyed the imperial river crossing.

The third example, *Rokoku kōtaishi gochaku no zu* 魯国皇太子御着之図, the *Picture of the Arrival of the Russian Crown Prince*, by Kunimasa V 五代国政 from 1891 (Meiji 24), captures the anticipation that surrounded the arrival of Nicholai Aleksandrovich Romanov (1868-1918), a Russian Prince, at Shinbashi Station.⁴¹⁹ Purple chrysanthemum banners indicate that this is an official national event, while fluttering flags of different foreign countries symbolize Japan's new international awareness. Kunimasa painted a large train behind the officials to symbolize Japan's modernity. The animal-shaped kites, the red and white lanterns, and the Western-style marching band all express a festive atmosphere created to welcome the Russian Prince. The officials in black Western military uniforms stand straight to express their confidence. Among these figures, only the emperor in the middle appears isolated from the rest.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 863.

⁴¹⁸ Tanba Tsuneo 丹波恒夫, *Nishiki-e ni miru Meiji tennō to Meiji jidai* 錦絵にみる天皇と明治時代 (Tokyo; Osaka; Kitakyūshū; Nagoya: Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1966), 187.

⁴¹⁹ Fukuda Kumajirō 福田熊次郎 was the publisher of this print.

By reaching out his right arm to the foreign visitors while holding a sword in his left hand, Emperor Meiji conveys to his viewers that he is in charge of this reception.

Although Kunimasa gave a convincing report of the event through his print, he actually completed the print before the event ever occurred. History provides a more accurate account of the event than that drawn by Kunimasa. According to *MTK*, on May 11, 1891 (Meiji 24), while Nicholai was touring Ōtsu near Biwa Lake, Tsuda Sanzō 津田三蔵 (1855-1891), a Shiga prefectural police officer who was guarding the prince, suddenly turned around and attacked him with a sword.⁴²⁰ Two deep gashes on his head caused the Russian Prince to cancel the scheduled diplomatic tour to Tokyo. The day after the assault, Emperor Meiji visited the wounded Nicholai at the Jōban Hotel in Kyoto where he was recovering.⁴²¹ Despite the imperial plea that he stay in Japan and visit Tokyo, Nicholai decided to leave Japan upon his father's order. On May 19, Nicholai invited Emperor Meiji to dine on his ship docked in Kōbe to show his gratitude, and then he hurriedly left Japan later that evening.⁴²² Because of this incident, known as *Ōtsu jiken* 大津事件, Kunimasa inadvertently published the *Arrival of the Russian Crown Prince*, illustrating an event in Tokyo which did not actually occur. Furthermore, when Franz Ferdinand (1863 -1914),⁴²³ the Duke of Austria, visited the Shinbashi station two years later in August, the publisher recycled Kunimasa's woodblock by changing the Russian flag to the Austrian flag and then updating the title of the print. It is clear that the publishers did not consider the accuracy of *nishiki-e* as a critical issue.⁴²⁴

⁴²⁰ *MTK*, vol. 7, 811. Allegedly, Tsuda was infuriated because Nicholai was first touring around the Western part of Japan before visiting Emperor Meiji to show his respect. For more information, see the entries from April 27 (the day Nicholai arrived Nagasaki) to May 19 (the day he left Japan) in the *MTK*, vol. 7.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 818-819.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 830 and 831.

⁴²³ His full name is Franz Ferdinand Karl Ludwig Josef von Habsburg-Lothringen.

⁴²⁴ Kanagawakenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan currently houses this print.

Since the Edo period, *nishiki-e* traditionally parodied current and historical events, and incorporated imaginary details to entertain and inform their audience. Rather than emphasizing Emperor Meiji's role as a political leader, *nishiki-e* treated him as a "hero" in a story. As long as the prints depicted the emperor in a positive manner, the government rarely interfered with the artists or with the publishers. Because the government did place a strict regulation on photographs of the emperor, as the following chapter examines, it is evident that the government treated the *nishiki-e* prints differently from the official portraits.

3.9 THE GOVERNMENTAL BAN ON IMPERIAL PRINTS

According to an April 20, 1881 (Meiji 14) article in the *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*, commoners could purchase these imperial prints and lithographic images of the emperor and empress without a great deal of difficulty.⁴²⁵ The government primarily tolerated these unregulated purchasing and publishing activities; however, it occasionally banned printed imperial images. For example, in 1874 (Meiji 7), some prefectures such as Tokyo prohibited the sale of the imperial images. On February 14, 1881 (Meiji 14), the Imperial Household Agency sent letters to each prefecture and to Kabayama Sukenori 樺山資紀 (1837-1922), the General of the Police Force (*keishisōkan* 警視總監), which forbade the purchase and sale of *nishiki-e* prints and fan paintings depicting Emperor Meiji, Empress Consort Haruko, and the dowager empress.⁴²⁶ On July 15 of the following year, the government extended its ban to include the sale of all imperial portraits.⁴²⁷ This later ban corresponded with the increase of popularity of lithography in the early 1880s. Lithography may have made the government uneasy because this medium, even more than that

⁴²⁵ *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*, April 20, 1881 (Meiji 14). vol. 2806, 5-6. Microfilm.

⁴²⁶ *MTK*, vol. 5, 276.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 741.

of woodblock prints, gave the Japanese artists more freedom to create naturalistic depictions of the emperor. The government intensified this ban in the early 1880s in preparation for the 1888 official portrait and the rituals associated with it.

By the 1890s, the government no longer needed to enforce any ban due to the contemporary patriotic political climate. Japan engaged in both the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895, Meiji 27-28), the first war won against a foreign nation, and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905, Meiji 37-38), the first victory against a Western nation. These wars and victories created a sense of patriotism that helped the Japanese government cultivate an emperor-centered nationalism among its citizens. Therefore, by the end of the Meiji period, Japanese commoners, some willingly and some out of fear, treated the images of Emperor Meiji with care and respect. Regardless of the governmental ban, the fact that the people wanted to illegally purchase and sell the prints confirms an increased interest in the imperial family among the commoners.

3.10 CONCLUSION

Since Emperor Meiji symbolized Japanese culture and historical continuity, such rapid shifts in representing the emperor, from completely invisible to relatively accessible, could only have occurred under the changing social and political climates of the early Meiji period. These imperial images represent more than simple visual records of events as they happened; instead, they embody sociopolitical messages. At this time, the identity of the emperor was constantly being renegotiated and reconstructed. By examining these shifting representations, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the construction of the emperor's identity and how the general public perceived him.

Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, a historian who studies medieval European kingship, explains that a king has “two bodies,” an analogy that also applies to Emperor Meiji:

The King has two Capacities, for he has two Bodies, the one whereof is a Body natural, consisting of natural Members as every other Man has, and in this he is subject to Passions and Death as other Men are; the other is a Body politic, and the members thereof are his Subjects, and he and his Subjects together compose the Corporation...and he is the Head, and they are the Members, and he has the sole Government of them; and this Body is not subject to Passions as the other is, nor to Death, for as to this Body the king never dies...⁴²⁸

Both chapters three and four show how Meiji Japanese artists used unofficial printed images and the official portrait to illustrate the two bodily aspects of Emperor Meiji. While chapter three presents one body of the emperor as a humanized political leader and father of the imperial family, the following chapter four will emphasize his other body as a divinity free from human limitations. The Japanese used the prints to satisfy their curiosity about the emperor as a man; these print images of Emperor Meiji set the stage for the government to use the official portraits of the emperor as propaganda. With the *goshin'ei*, discussed in the next chapter, the people were instilled with reverence for the official imperial portraits as if they were the emperor himself.

⁴²⁸ See Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), 13.

4.0 ***GOSHIN'EI*: OFFICIAL PORTRAITS OF EMPEROR MEIJI**

While artists created mortuary portraits of emperors for private commemorative functions in pre-modern Japan, the Meiji government made the portraits of Emperor Meiji public and used them for propaganda. Because the emperor represented, expressed, or symbolized a “nation,” the official portraits of Emperor Meiji, often paired with portraits of Empress Consort Haruko, cultivated a sense of national unity and became a new means of establishing bonds of loyalty. This chapter analyzes how the Japanese government, by the mid-Meiji period, successfully formed a ritual culture around imperial portraits, using them as a political tool.

The Meiji government ordered portraits of Emperor Meiji on three separate occasions. After analyzing the development of portrait-making by examining the portraits from 1872 and 1873, this chapter focuses on the official portrait called *goshin'ei* 御真影, which appeared in 1888 (Meiji 21) and treats Emperor Meiji as a political and divine ruler. *Goshin'ei* is a black and white photograph of a conté crayon drawing of Emperor Meiji, who wears a Western-style military uniform while sitting confidently holding a sword. Once the Japanese government officially circulated the 1888 portrait to public institutions, such as schools, the portrait became more than an image of Emperor Meiji: it became a substitute for Emperor Meiji, signifying the nation and its national value. The official circulation of imperial portraits promoted a ritualized practice of emperor devotion, which eventually treated the portrait of the emperor as both a political and devotional object, an icon infused with deeper significance.

The official portrait of Emperor Meiji raises such pertinent questions as: 1) what makes the portrait more than a piece of paper; 2) what gives the image such meaning; and 3) how can such a portrait become a focus of desires and aspirations. Four conditions explain why the portrait of Emperor Meiji was transformed into an object of devotion: 1) constructed ideal image, 2) restricted circulation, 3) ritualistic treatment of the image, and 4) the rise of the medium of photography. After defining the term *goshin'ei*, this chapter will explore these four conditions to answer the above questions.

4.1 THE TERM “GOSHIN’EI”

Goshin'ei, which literally means “honorable true shadow,” served as the official portrait of Emperor Meiji, unlike the unofficial woodblock and lithographic representations of the emperor reflecting the popular culture of the time. According to extant official records, such as *Goshashin kafuzumi jinmeibo* 御写真下付済人名簿, the Imperial Household Agency originally referred to the portraits of Emperor Meiji as *goshashin* 御写真, “honorable photographs.” Although *shashin* exclusively refers to photography today, this term was originally used to describe “realistic” paintings before the introduction of photography in Japan in the mid-19th century.⁴²⁹ In China, from where the term originated, the same characters (*xiezhēn* 写真) historically meant depicting lifelike portraiture. As explained in chapter one, while the literal meaning of *zhēn* 真 is “true,” “real,” or “genuine,” the Chinese used this term for portraiture, especially memorial portraits of emperors, high officials, and priests, as early as the Six Dynasties period.⁴³⁰ In the 20th-century Japan, the portrait of Emperor Meiji became better known by the public by the term *goshin'ei*

⁴²⁹ *Kadokawa kogo daijiten* 角川古語大辞典, compiled by Nakamura Yukihiro 中村幸彦 et al., vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1987), 250.

⁴³⁰ Foulk and Sharf, 160.

than *goshashin*. The term *goshin'ei* was historically reserved for images of Japanese emperors and religious leaders, such as Buddhist deities and abbots, which were for the purpose of worship and commemoration. The words *goshin'ei* and *goshashin* were used interchangeably at the beginning of the Meiji period by both the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaishō 宮内省)⁴³¹ and the Ministry of Education (Monbushō 文部省). Besides these two terms, Japanese laws and regulations also referred to the portraits of Emperor Meiji as *miei* 御影 (alternatively read as *goei*, the honorable shadow), *goseiei* 御聖影 (the honorable sacred shadow),⁴³² and *goson'ei* 御尊影 (the honorable respectful shadow). Today, when Japanese scholars use the term *goshin'ei*, they usually refer to the official portrait of Emperor Meiji created in 1888 (Meiji 21).

4.2 CONSTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL IMAGE

Portraits usually represent more than an unintentional snapshot of a sitter; instead, portraits often reflect an ideal image of the sitters as perceived by the artist and/or commissioner. Artists often produce portraits as a way to honor wealthy, cultured, and authoritative patrons.⁴³³ To indicate the social status of the sitter, artists tend to include such identifying details as dress, objects, and background settings in the portraits.

The following sections visually examine official portraits of Emperor Meiji taken at three different times, in 1872 (Meiji 5), 1873 (Meiji 6), and 1888 (Meiji 21). By comparing and contrasting these portraits, the way the government developed the idealized representation of Emperor Meiji becomes apparent. The 1888 portrait, which was more tactfully constructed and

⁴³¹ The Imperial Household Agency was called Kunaishō 宮内省 instead of Kunaichō 宮内庁 until after World War II (1949).

⁴³² *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 7, 1137. According to the *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, the term *goseiei* was first used in the *Tokyo asahi shinbun* newspaper in June 6, 1905 (Meiji 38).

⁴³³ John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 50.

effectively used than the earlier portraits of 1872 and 1873, demonstrates how these portraits reflect the contemporary sociopolitical circumstances of the early to mid- Meiji period.

4.2.1 The First Portraits in 1872

The original purpose of creating an official portrait of Emperor Meiji lay in Japan's foreign affairs policy. By the mid-19th century, Western foreign affairs ministers had established a tradition of exchanging portraits of their leaders. In 1871 (Meiji 4), as mentioned in chapter three, Iwakura Tomomi led the Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe. Although Iwakura's primary goal was to renegotiate the unfair treaties,⁴³⁴ he and his contingency also became aware of the custom of portraiture exchange. As a result, Iwakura and his fellow Japanese ambassadors felt obligated to follow this tradition. *MTK* records the commission process of the imperial portraits.

During a temporary return to Japan from the Iwakura Mission, Itō Hirobumi and Ōkubo Toshimichi, two of the four vice-ambassadors, submitted a request to the Imperial Household Agency in the second month of 1872 (Meiji 5).⁴³⁵ They asked for official portraits of Emperor Meiji so they could exchange these royal images with the leaders of other countries. Not only did the Agency agree to this request, but it also promised to produce portraits of the sovereign as soon as possible. However, the process took longer than anticipated, and the Agency could not prepare the imperial portraits before Ito and Ōkubo's departure to rejoin the Mission in May.

⁴³⁴ The Meiji government thought that the foreign treaties of 1858, which it inherited from the Tokugawa government, were unequal and unfair. The new government wanted to renegotiate the old treaties or to replace them with new treaties. For more information, see Kunitake Kume, *Japan Rising: The Iwakura Embassy to the USA and Europe 1871-1873* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). and Ian Nish, *The Iwakura Mission in America and Europe: A New Assessment* (Richmond, Surrey, U.K.: Japan Library, 1998).

⁴³⁵ *MTK*, vol. 2, 739.

MTK also reveals insights about the clothing the emperor wore for his official portraits. Based upon textual records and images, the emperor dressed in two different outfits—*sokutai* 束帯 formal court dress and *okonōshi* 御小直衣 less formal court attire—for his official portraits taken in the eighth month of 1872 (Meiji 5).⁴³⁶ Uchida Kuichi 内田九一 (1844-1875), a professional photographer born in Nagasaki, took collodion processed photographs of Emperor Meiji, Empress Consort Haruko, and Dowager Empress Eishō in traditional dress for this photo session; he then officially submitted 72 portrait photographs to the Agency on September 15.⁴³⁷ However, four months earlier, on 1872 (Meiji 5) 4.7, a foreign designer came from Yokohama to custom-make the emperor's first Western style clothes.⁴³⁸ Therefore, even though the emperor owned a set of Western-style clothes by the time of the first photo shoot, this decision confirms that the Agency and the government made a conscious decision to dress the emperor in traditional garb for his first official photographs.

The first photo session therefore captured the emperor in traditional attire. These court robes, which originated in the Heian period (794-1185), had become the most respected, ceremonial garments for the emperors by the Meiji period. The robes symbolized the long history and tradition of the Japanese court, thereby further enhancing Emperor Meiji's authority. The stiff and puffed-up robe with square shoulders, made the emperor look bigger than his actual size. In the first picture, the emperor wore a *sokutai* 束帯, formal court dress. The emperor wears

⁴³⁶ The exact date of the photo shoot is unknown. Although Uchida created the first official photographic portraits of Emperor Meiji, it was not the first photo shoot Emperor Meiji experienced. According to *MTK*, an anonymous photographer took pictures of the emperor with some twenty people, including ministers, servants, and even two foreigners, during the imperial visit of the Ship Factory in Yokosuka on 1871 (Meiji 4) 11.23. The emperor wore *okonōshi* (explained in the main text) for this occasion. *MTK*, vol. 2, 599. For more information on and diagrams of *sokutai* and *konōshi*, see *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 8, 628-630 and vol. 5, 937 respectively.

⁴³⁷ *MTK*, vol. 2, 739. The record indicates that Uchida submitted 72 photographs of the emperor and the dowager empress. The reasons why the Imperial Household Agency chose Uchida for this job is unclear. However, there were not many Japanese photographers who were experienced at this time.

⁴³⁸ *MTK*, vol. 2, 666.

a black *ryūei no onkanmuri* 立纓の御冠, a formal crown with a long, thin piece of cloth protruding high up above his head. In order to capture the entire crown on a limited picture plane, the photographer had to take the picture from afar. As a result, this composition creates a large negative space that minimizes the emperor within the space. Since the royal face is small, it is difficult to see the emperor's features. The emperor also wears a pair of *on'uenohakama* 御表袴 (loose-fitting pants) and a pair of striped, high *onsōkai* 御挿鞋 (clogs). These oversized pants and clogs also make the Emperor look larger. The photographer did not pay close attention to how the bottom of the pants fell over the shoes; the untidiness unintentionally makes the portrait less formal. The emperor lightly holds with both hands an *onshaku* 御笏 (wooden scepter) or *onhiōgi* 御檜扇 (cypress folding fan), which rests on his lap. Because the emperor wore this outfit at his enthronement ceremony five years earlier, his appearance represents the decision of the Imperial Household Agency to dress the emperor in his most formal imperial attire for this diplomatic portraiture.

The second portrait shows the emperor dressed in a less formal ceremonial court robe (*okonōshi*). He wears a pair of loose-fitting pants (*okiribakama* 御切袴), and a black crown (*okinkoji no okanmuri* 御金巾子の御冠); he carries a folding fan (*onsuehiro* 御末広). Although this crown also has a long, thin cloth protrusion called *ei* 纓, the cloth has been folded and clipped with *kojigami* 巾子紙, a gold foiled square paper.⁴³⁹ Since the emperor wears a simpler, less formal robe in this second photograph, the Oriental carpet under his chair seems more decorative and luxurious compared to the simple rug used for the first picture. The emperor

⁴³⁹ For a diagram, see *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 2, 791.

appears more informal in this second photograph also because of the untidy folds of his sleeves.⁴⁴⁰

In both pictures, the emperor wears his hair long and tied up. His lack of facial hair and his expression both accentuate his youthfulness, inexperience, and naivety. Additionally, both portraits have similar compositions. The emperor stiffly sits on a black lacquered traditional Japanese throne with decorative gold trim. By looking slightly to the viewers' right, the ruler exposes his right ear. The plain background and stiff pose in both portraits remind the viewers of the imperial portraits at Sennyūji.

In both portraits, the emperor sits next to a traditional lacquered table upon which rests a long, embellished sword. This ceremonial sword not only represents the emperor as a military leader of Japan, but also symbolizes the *Kusanagi* sword (*Kusanagi no tsurugi* 草薙劔), one of the three imperial regalia of Japan (*sanshu no jingi* 三種の神器).⁴⁴¹ Allegedly, Ninigi-no-Mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊, legendary ancestor of the Japanese imperial line, brought these regalia to Japan.⁴⁴² Therefore, a sword next to Emperor Meiji visually declares the emperor as a descendant of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, who makes the emperor a legitimate ruler of Japan.

The photographs were developed and ready in June, and the Imperial Household Agency immediately sent them to the Iwakura Mission in England in the eighth month of 1872 (Meiji 5).⁴⁴³ In addition, in the following year, Nara prefecture requested a portrait of Emperor Meiji to

⁴⁴⁰ While the first picture was most likely used for such diplomatic functions as the portrait exchange, further research is needed to explain the use of this less formal second picture.

⁴⁴¹ The three Regalia consist of the *Kusanagi* ceremonial sword (*Kusanagi no tsurugi* 草薙劔), the *Yata* mirror (*Yata no kagami* 八咫鏡), and the *magatama* jewel (*Yasakani no magatama* 八坂瓊勾玉).

⁴⁴² *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, "The Age of the Gods II 神代下," Japanese Historical Text Initiative (JHTI) at University of California at Berkeley: <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/JHTI/> p. 180.

⁴⁴³ Taki, *Tennō no Shōzō*, 100-101. According to the latest study by Higashino Susumu 東野進 and his team, Uchida Kuichi took the photographs of Emperor Meiji on 1872 (Meiji 5) 4.12 and 1872.4.13; however, Ōkubo did not think the portraits of the emperor in his traditional clothes were appropriate. Therefore, yet another set of portraits of the emperor in Western clothes were taken in May by Uchida and were delivered to the Iwakura Mission

employ for ceremonies on such holidays as the New Year and the birthday of Emperor Meiji. The Imperial Household Agency fulfilled this request on June 4, 1873 (Meiji 6), by presenting a portrait to Nara prefecture.⁴⁴⁴ This marks the first time that a prefecture requested and received a portrait of the emperor.

4.2.2 The Second Portraits in 1873

On October 8, 1873 (Meiji 6), Uchida once again photographed Emperor Meiji, who this time wore a military uniform.⁴⁴⁵ Uchida submitted two types of pictures, whole body and bust portraits of the emperor, to the Agency on October 10, 1873 (Meiji 6).⁴⁴⁶ As a diplomatic measure, the Imperial Household Agency immediately sent a copy of this new portrait, instead of the 1872 portrait, to foreign countries such as Italy.⁴⁴⁷ On November 7, 1873 (Meiji 6), the Agency permitted requests of this new, updated portrait from all prefectures.⁴⁴⁸

This 1873 portrait of Emperor Meiji drastically differs from the portraits taken only the previous year. In this portrait, the emperor still exudes the youthful appearance that characterizes his first portraits taken when he was 21, but his facial hair and demeanor show his evolving maturity. As explained in the previous chapter, the facial hair of the emperor has sociopolitical significance because it was not customary for Japanese young adults at that time to grow facial hair. Therefore, the emperor's facial hair demonstrates Western influence and the effort to make the young emperor more mature and powerful according to the Western custom.⁴⁴⁹ As discussed

in August. If Higashino's assessment is correct, scholars have not yet found these photographs of the emperor in Western clothes that were taken in 1872 (Meiji 5).

⁴⁴⁴ *MTK*, vol. 3, 78.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ Mizutani, *Kanryō no fūbō*, 10. Also see *Chōya shinbun* on June 18, 1881 (Meiji 14). Male courtiers from the Heian period (794-1185) wore facial hair as seen in the *Tale of Genji* scroll. It is possible that the facial hair of

in depth in chapter three, his short hair with a part in the middle demonstrates that he is a progressive thinker who is open-minded about modernity.⁴⁵⁰ The government reinforces this attitude and status through the clothes the emperor wears. While some imperial relatives, such as Nakayama Tadayasu 中山忠能 (1809-1888), opposed changing the Japanese court dress code, Meiji politicians such as Ōkubo Toshimichi, realized that modernizing (Westernizing) the court dress code would have positive political impacts.⁴⁵¹ In March, 1872 (Meiji 5), Chancellor Sanjō Sanetomi 三條實美 (1837-1891) and Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1828-1877), two of the most important politicians at that time, had a discussion on the new Western-style dress code for Emperor Meiji. Sanjō and Saigō then assigned Miyajima Seiichirō 宮島誠一郎 (1838-1911), who consulted with Yoshii Tomozane 吉井友実 (1828-1891), to conduct research on an appropriate design for the new Western-style military uniform for Emperor Meiji.⁴⁵² Based on the research done by Miyajima and Yoshii, it was decided that Emperor Meiji should wear a Western military uniform in his 1873 portrait to emphasize his status as the commander-in-chief.

Emperor Meiji's jacket, whose design was taken from various uniforms of Western countries,⁴⁵³ is black wool with gold trim and numerous replications of the chrysanthemum motif, the Japanese imperial crest. The design of the hat was based on a French military hat.⁴⁵⁴ In choosing a black velvet French hat covered with white feathers, the emperor and his government visually demonstrate their knowledge of not only French uniforms, but also French military power. The white slacks with a gold braid on each side sharply contrast with his black jacket and shiny black shoes. Such an outfit represents Japan's modernization as a protective measure

Emperor Meiji was meant to link him back to the traditional custom. However, considering his Western-style military uniform, it is more likely that his facial hair was chosen based on Western custom.

⁴⁵⁰ The emperor cut his hair on April 20, 1873 (Meiji 6). *MTK*, vol. 3, 47.

⁴⁵¹ Osakabe, 17.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 64-67. Both Miyajima Seiichirō and Yoshii Tomozane are important upper-class politicians at the time.

⁴⁵³ *MTK*, vol. 3, 77-78.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

against the threat of the West. The emperor sits in a Western armchair and grasps a Western saber, again emphasizing his status as a military leader. While the saber replaces the traditional sword, it still reminds the Japanese viewers of the legendary *Kusanagi* sword, which legitimizes the sovereignty of Emperor Meiji. The carpet with its intricate patterns, a luxurious and rare commodity at that time, seems to reflect the image of wealth and power that the government hopes to convey through the portraits. His nontraditional look, combined with Western props, expresses the high sociopolitical status, wealth, intelligence, and modernity of the Japanese emperor.

Because he slouches in his chair, however, Emperor Meiji's posture contrasts with these positive, regal attributes. His arms in front of his body make him look smaller, and his crossed legs give him less authoritative appearance. In another less known variation of this portrait taken at the same time, the emperor presents a slightly different appearance. While he still relaxes his right leg, his arms no longer diminish his stature. In this version, the emperor keeps his arms wide open – his right hand holds the arm of a chair his left hand holds his saber. Based upon portraiture of contemporary male monarchs in Europe, these two 1873 portraits illustrate the intent of the Meiji government to establish Emperor Meiji as a modern ruler. However, they also demonstrate the photographer's amateur understanding of Western portraiture practices.

Two possible reasons may explain why the government commissioned Uchida to take another set of photographs of Emperor Meiji only a year after the first set. On June 3, 1873 (Meiji 6), the government officially designed a military-style uniform for the emperor;⁴⁵⁵ therefore, it perhaps needed another photograph of the emperor wearing a Western military uniform. Moreover, the government might have thought that the official portraits for diplomatic exchange should show the emperor in the Western-style uniform.

⁴⁵⁵ MTK, vol. 3, 77-78.

4.2.3 Traditional Versus Western Attire

As discussed in chapter three, late-19th-century commoners positively equated Western attire to modernization, advanced technology, authority, and wealth. However, Western attire meant more than simply impressing the Japanese commoners. By wearing Western dress, Emperor Meiji and his politicians hoped to gain international recognition and approval from Western countries. Two British men described their impression of Emperor Meiji in traditional attire in the following excerpts. Working as an interpreter, Ernest Satow had an opportunity to have an audience with the emperor and to see his face during the meeting at Ozaka in May 1868. Satow describes the emperor as follows:

His complexion was white, perhaps artificially so rendered, his mouth badly formed, what a doctor would call prognathous, but the general contour was good. His eyebrows were shaven off, and painted in an inch higher up. His costume consisted of a long black loose cape hanging backwards, a white upper garment or mantle and voluminous purple trousers.⁴⁵⁶

Satow's account illustrates that the emperor's traditional white make-up, shaved eyebrows, and voluminous robe seemed strange to him.

Another British diplomat who is less known in Japan also accompanied Sir Harry Parkes and Ernest Satow to the audience with the emperor. Baron Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford (1837-1916), in his memoir of his stay in Japan from 1866 to 1906 reports the following impression of Emperor Meiji:

[Emperor Meiji] was at that time a tall youth with a bright eye and clear complexion: his demeanour was very dignified, well becoming the heir of a dynasty many centuries older than any other sovereignty on the face of the globe.

⁴⁵⁶ Satow, 371.

He was dressed in a white coat with long padded trousers of crimson silk trailing like a lady's court-train. His head-dress was the same as that of his courtiers, though as a rule it was surmounted by a long, stiff, flat plume of black gauze. I call it a plume for want of a better word, but there was nothing feathery about it. His eyebrows were shaved off and painted in high up on the forehead; his cheeks were rouged and his lips painted with red and gold. His teeth were blackened. It was no small feat to look dignified under such a travesty of nature; but the *sangre azul* would not be denied.⁴⁵⁷

Based on these accounts by the two British men, the Japanese leaders possibly feared that their emperor in traditional attire would create a negative impression of Japan. The fact that Emperor Meiji no longer has shaved off eyebrows (even in the 1872 portrait) shows how the government carefully considered the pros and cons of keeping the traditional attire.⁴⁵⁸

An episode of the Iwakura Mission may better exemplify this apprehension. While a Western-style uniform symbolized forward, progressive thinking, traditional Japanese costume represented backward thinking. An article on page five of the *New York Times* published on January 17, 1872 (Meiji 5) reported the arrival of the Iwakura Mission two days earlier on the 15th.

The Embassy and suite, with the exception of the Prime Minister,⁴⁵⁹ arrived here in the most outlandish English ready-made garments of all styles since the flood, but have already discarded them for the most fashionable clothing attainable here.

⁴⁵⁷ Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford, *Mitford's Japan: The Memoires and Recollections, 1866-1906, of Algernon Bertram Mitford, the First Lord Redesdale*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi (London; Dover, N.H.: Athlone Press, 1985), 120.

“*Sangre azul* (blue blood)” means “noble blood.”

⁴⁵⁸ To my knowledge, no extant document states when exactly Emperor Meiji stopped shaving his eyebrows.

⁴⁵⁹ New York Times misidentified Iwakura Tomomi as the Prime Minister of Japan.

The Prime Minister still adheres to the native costume of richly embroidered satin.⁴⁶⁰

The members of the Mission hastily acquired and changed into new and more stylish clothes so that the Americans would better respect them.

Furthermore, as seen in a photograph taken in San Francisco at the beginning of the Mission, the members of the Iwakura Mission already wore short hair and Western clothes, but Iwakura Tomomi, the head of the Mission, still appeared with a topknot and the traditional *kimono*.⁴⁶¹ According to Sasaki Hiroyuki 佐々木高行 (1830-1910), who was a member of this Mission, Iwakura finally got a Western-style haircut and changed his outfit in Chicago due to the persuasion of his son, Iwakura Tomosada 岩倉具定 (1851-1910). Tomosada told his father that, as the leader of the Mission, he should avoid giving a barbaric, uncivilized impression and should instead choose to wear a modern outfit.⁴⁶² These two episodes demonstrate how much the Japanese ambassadors cared about updating their appearance and how they were aware that their new look could earn respect from the Americans.⁴⁶³ This notion also applies to the emperor;

⁴⁶⁰ “The Japanese: Landing of the Entire Embassy at San Francisco,” in *New York Times*, January 17, 1872. p. 5. This article suggests that Iwakura Tomomi took pride in his traditional dress.

⁴⁶¹ The other figures in the photograph are (from left): Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允 (also known as Katsura Kogorō 桂小五郎, 1833-1877), Yamaguchi Masuka 山口尚芳 (1839-1894), Itō Hirobumi, and Ōkubo Toshimichi. It is interesting that even Iwakura in *kimono* is wearing a pair of Western style shoes and carrying a tall silk hat in the photograph.

⁴⁶² See the section under 1872 (Meiji 5) 1.14. Sasaki Hiroyuki 佐佐木高行, *Hogohiroi* 5 保古飛呂比 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1974), 288-289. I translated Iwakura’s “*kindachi* 公達” as “son.” *Hogohiroi* consists of twelve volumes and is also known as *Sasaki Hiroyuki nikki* 佐々木高行日記, *The Diary of Sasaki Hiroyuki*. Sasaki was a politician originally from the Tosa domain.

⁴⁶³ This claim is not farfetched considering the negative attitude toward Chinese traditional dress and hairstyle displayed by Augustus Frederick Lindley (1840-1873), a British navy officer. In 1866, Lindley wrote: [Chinese people’s] shaven head, tail, oblique eyes, grotesque costume, and the deformed feet of their women, have long furnished subjects for the most ludicrous attempts of caricaturists... The Chinese are known as a comparatively stupid-looking, badly-dressed race; the disfigurement of the shaved head not a little causing this. If Lindley’s harsh comment toward the Chinese is any indication, it is reasonable for the members of the Iwakura Mission to be concerned about Iwakura Tomomi’s Japanese attire. Augustus Frederick Lindley, *Ti-Ping Tien-Kwoh* 太平天国: *The History of the Ti-Ping Revolution* (London: Day & Son Ltd., 1866), 67.

therefore, the Meiji government decided to discard the emperor's traditional attire for the 1873 portrait.

4.2.4 The Third Portrait in 1888

Because the previous official portrait photograph of Emperor Meiji was taken in 1873 when the emperor was 22, the Japanese government felt an urgent need to update the royal portrait to give to foreign diplomats. As a result, a third portrait was commissioned in 1888 of the then 37-year-old emperor. Due to its much wider circulation among the general public, this portrait is the best known of all the official portraits of Emperor Meiji. The term *goshin'ei* ("honorable true shadow") usually refers to this version of the official portrait of the emperor.

To illustrate the divine and absolute power of the emperor, the 1888 portrait was carefully planned and framed. In this portrait, a mature Emperor Meiji wears an air of dignity, visually representing his unquestionable authority. He wears his hair short and is shown with a much thicker, darker moustache and beard. The emperor confidently sits alone in front of a plain background and looks directly at the viewer. He holds a saber in his left hand, while his right arm rests on the table. This pose, which fills the majority of the picture space, makes him look larger, more authoritative, and more powerful than he actually is. In both the 1873 and 1888 portraits, his Western-style military uniform with gold braids indicates not only his power and leadership over the Japanese military, but also his worldliness and modern progressive thinking. However, in this latter portrait, medals, usually indicative of military achievements, bedeck his uniform.

Takashi Fujitani, a historian of modern Japan, has pointed out that this transformation from the traditional to more modern attire represents a metamorphosis of Emperor Meiji from

“feminine” to “masculine.”⁴⁶⁴ The portraits taken in 1872, 1873, and 1888 illustrate how Emperor Meiji was progressively masculinized via images and finally emerged as the commander-in-chief. His physical appearance drastically changed from feminine, passive, and nonmartial to masculinized, active, and militaristic.⁴⁶⁵ Fujitani explains that “[t]hrough the image of their monarch, Japan’s leaders represented their nation, state, and people not as childlike, weak, dependent, or womanly, but rather as virile and mature. This pictorial allegory asserted Japan’s right to independence from subordination by the Western power.”⁴⁶⁶

The January 14, 1888 (Meiji 21) entry of *MTK* describes the process of creating the *goshin’ei* portrait of Emperor Meiji. Frustrated by questions about the out-of-date imperial portrait, Itō Hirobumi, the previous Minister of the Imperial Household Agency, suggested the idea of an updated portrait to the emperor. However, the emperor refused to comply with the requests because he disliked having his photo taken.⁴⁶⁷ The Agency then had to take an extreme measure. Hijikata Hisamoto 土方久元 (1833-1918), the new Minister of the Imperial Household Agency, was the mastermind behind this portraiture-making scheme: He decided to create a portrait without the emperor’s permission.

On January 14, 1888 (Meiji 21), the emperor was scheduled to travel to Shiba Park. Hijikata seized upon the opportunity by ordering Edoardo Chiossone (1832 – 1898), an Italian artist employed by the Japanese Mint Bureau, to study the appearance of the emperor during the journey.⁴⁶⁸ Chiossone had another occasion to directly see the face of the emperor from the front

⁴⁶⁴ See Fujitani’s chapter 4, 171-194, on “gendering” of Emperor Meiji. Because this notion may reflect the Western perspective of Fujitani, it may require further analysis.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁶⁷ *MTK*, vol. 7, 7-8. Why the emperor disliked having his photo taken is unclear.

⁴⁶⁸ Chiossone was born in Arenzano, a town west of Genova, in Italy. He also painted famous Japanese politicians such as Kido Takayoshi, Ōkubo Toshimichi, and Sanjō Saneyoshi. For more information on biography of Chiossone, see Meiji Bijutsu Gakkai 明治美術学会. *Oyatoi gaikokujin Kiyossōne kenkyū* お雇い外国人キョッソーネ研究

during dinner on the same day. Chiossone hid behind a folding screen in a room adjacent to the dining room and secretly drew the emperor for the royal portrait.⁴⁶⁹

In addition to written records, a photograph of Chiossone sheds more insight into the process of imperial portrait making. In this photograph, Chiossone wears the same military uniform with medals that Emperor Meiji wears in the *goshin'ei* portrait. The artist sits on the same Western armchair and strikes the appropriate, dignified pose of a ruler. Because everything in this photograph, from the hat on the table to the angle of the chair, is the same as in the portrait of the emperor, it is easy to assume that Chiossone posed for the imperial portrait himself and used this photograph as a study. Under normal circumstances, a foreign artist being allowed to wear imperial military dress seems impossible. However, because the Agency desperately wanted a new official portrait, it allowed Chiossone to use his body as a model of the emperor. By using a Westerner (himself) as a model, Chiossone enhanced the royal portrait with a bulkier and bolder image of the emperor. Created by an Italian artist, the 1888 portrait shows a much better understanding of Western portraiture style. For example, the body of Emperor Meiji fills the majority of the picture plane and his pose is authoritative, as explained earlier. Under the supervision of Chiossone, Maruki Riyō 丸木利陽 (1854-1923) then spent several weeks taking photographs of the drawn portrait in order to get the best result.⁴⁷⁰

Upon completion of the *goshin'ei* portrait, *MTK* records that Hijikata met with the emperor to show him the portrait, explain the situation, apologize for his guilty conduct, and seek the emperor's forgiveness. When the emperor did not respond, Hijikata asked him to autograph the portrait so that he could give it to a foreign diplomat. Hijikata understood the emperor's

(Tokyo: Chūōkōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版, 1999) and Kumamoto Kenjirō 隈元謙次郎, "Edoarudo Kiyosōne ni tuite エドアルト・キヨソーネに就いて 1 and 2," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究, vol. 91 (July, 1939): 263 (17)-273 (27) and vol. 92 (August, 1939): 295 (15)-305 (25).

⁴⁶⁹ *MTK*, vol. 7, 7-8.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 336-337.

writing his name on his portrait as a sign of imperial pardon.⁴⁷¹ The emperor was perhaps satisfied with his new portrait, because the Agency officially and openly rewarded Chiossone for his work. A year after Chiossone completed the assignment, the Imperial Household Agency showed its gratitude to the artist by holding a banquet with the Agency's prominent High Officers at the Hama Rikyū Detached Palace in Tokyo on August 19, 1889 (Meiji 22). The Agency presented Chiossone with a bronze vase and a censer with the imperial crest to honor his service. Moreover, the Agency gave Chiossone 100 yen as compensation for the weeks he spent on advising Maruki Riyō on photo shooting the original drawing.⁴⁷² The Agency handsomely rewarded Chiossone for successfully incorporating the nuanced style used for depicting the authority of European monarchy in this 1888 portrait of Emperor Meiji.

4.2.5 Portrait of Empress Consort Haruko

Although portraits of Empress Consort Haruko, the wife of Emperor Meiji, create pairs with the portraits of the emperor, scholars often overlook the empress consorts' portraits. Two types of portraits, based on two separate photographs of Empress Consort Haruko exist today. In the first type of portrait, she wears traditional robes, but in the second portrait, she appears in a Western dress.⁴⁷³ The dating of the first portrait is uncertain. However, *MTK* clearly recorded three incidents of portrait-making for Empress Consort Haruko in 1872 (Meiji 5), 1873 (Meiji 6), and 1889 (Meiji 22) to form pairs with the portraits of Emperor Meiji. While scholars agree that the portrait of Empress Consort Haruko in Western dress was taken in 1889 (Meiji 22), many

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 7-8.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 336-337.

⁴⁷³ Two variations of the portraits of Empress Consort Haruko in her traditional robe exist. In these portraits, only the opening angle of the fan is slightly different; therefore, I will count these as one.

publications disagree by labeling the one in traditional clothes as either 1872 (Meiji 5) or 1873 (Meiji 6).⁴⁷⁴

MTK states that on 1872 (Meiji 5) 8.5, Dowager Empress Eishō received portraits of the emperor and empress consort previously taken by Uchida Kuichi.⁴⁷⁵ On 1872 (Meiji 5) 9.3, Uchida then took a photographic portrait of the dowager empress.⁴⁷⁶ Although *MTK* does not specify what the empress consort wore for this photo shoot, considering the year and the fact that the emperor was in his traditional clothes, all three sitters must have worn traditional clothes for this first photo session in 1872. A year later, on October 14, 1873 (Meiji 6), *MTK* reports that an unspecified photographer took some photographic portraits of the empress consort wearing Japanese traditional dress.⁴⁷⁷ Such a “mismatched” pair (the emperor in Western dress and the empress in traditional dress) reveal the gender policy of the Meiji government as explained in chapter three. While the men were expected to be more modern and play public roles, women were expected to keep the Japanese traditions alive by being obedient and submissive. Although the record does not specify the photographer, Uchida, the same photographer as the emperor’s portraits, probably took the pictures of the empress consort. Some scholars speculate that this existing portrait of the empress consort was taken in 1873 (Meiji 6) to make a pair with the portrait of the youthful emperor wearing military uniform taken a week before on October 8, 1873 (Meiji 6).⁴⁷⁸

In this portrait, Empress Consort Haruko no longer displays the traditional, shaved eyebrows with painted dot-shaped eyebrows (*mayuzumi* 黛). Instead, her arched eyebrows are

⁴⁷⁴ For example, while *Meiji tennō no goshōzō* 明治天皇の御肖像 (p. 16) and *Kōgō no shōzō* 皇后の肖像 (p. 23) state that this portrait of Empress Consort Haruko in a traditional robe was taken in 1872 (Meiji 5), *Ōke no shōzō* 王家の肖像 (p. 31) states it was done in 1873 (Meiji 6). Meiji Jingū, *Meiji tennō no goshōzō* 明治天皇の御肖像.

⁴⁷⁵ *MTK*, vol. 2, 739.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 739.

⁴⁷⁷ *MTK*, vol. 3, 139.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 134.

nicely groomed according to the contemporary European style. Since it is recorded that the empress consort abandoned the custom of shaving off her eyebrows on March 3, 1873 (Meiji 6),⁴⁷⁹ her beautifully shaped eyebrows also indicate that the photograph was taken in 1873, not in 1872. The ornate oriental carpet on which Empress Consort Haruko stands reinforces this dating because this same carpet was used as a prop in the 1873 (Meiji 6) photograph of the emperor. In addition, the dowager empress consort stands on the same simple rug as in the 1872 portrait of Emperor Meiji. Therefore, it is likely that Empress Consort Haruko also posed on the same textile in the 1872 portrait. If this is true, then scholars have not yet discovered the 1872 (Meiji 5) portrait of Empress Consort Haruko, which the dowager empress supposedly received on 1872 (Meiji 5) 8.5.

Regardless of exact dating, this first portrait of the standing Empress Consort Haruko against a plain background reflects the Japanese sociopolitical circumstances of the early 1870s. In this portrait, the empress consort wears traditional, multi-layered robes (*onkōchiki* 御小桂)⁴⁸⁰ with the imperial circular double parrot design (*ōmu no maru* 鸚鵡丸), and a pair of long baggy pants (*on'nagabakama* 御長袴). She wears a metal hair pin (*osaishi* 御釵子) in her voluminously tied up hair and carries a cypress folding fan (*onhiōgi* 御檜扇) with an ornate design of bamboo and clouds.⁴⁸¹ Although it represents her high status, the open fan with tassels placed just below her face is so large that it takes the viewers' attention away from her face.

⁴⁷⁹ Empress Consort Haruko also abandoned the custom of teeth blackening (*ohaguro* 鉄漿 or 御齒黒) on March 3, 1873 (Meiji 6). *Rekidai kōgō jinbutsu keifu sōran* 歴代皇后人物系譜総覧 (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha 新人物往来社, 2002), 278, and Kanagawa Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 72. The original source is in *Kōgō gūshiki nikki* 皇后宮職日記. On December 13, 1856, based on the narrative of Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan, *The Illustrated London News* negatively introduced the practice of teeth blackening of married Japanese women. Like the case of the emperor, the Japanese government perhaps feared that the empress consort with black teeth would create a negative impression of Japan. "Characteristics of Japan: The United States' Expedition." *The Illustrated London News* (reprinted copy), ed. William Little, vol. 29b no. 834 (December 13, 1856), (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō 柏書房, 2000), 260-261 (590-591).

⁴⁸⁰ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 5, 442-443. It is also pronounced as *onkōchigi*.

⁴⁸¹ Meiji Jingū, 16.

Japanese empresses traditionally wore this formal outfit for state ceremonies and rituals, so here the formal dress of Empress Consort Haruko represents her status as the empress of Japan.

The second portrait of the empress consort forms a pair with the *goshin'ei*. On June 14, 1889 (Meiji 22), Suzuki Shin'ichi 鈴木眞一 (1834-?) took photographs of the empress.⁴⁸² The following day, Maruki Riyō took more photographs of the empress.⁴⁸³ In this 1889 (Meiji 22) portrait, Empress Consort Haruko in modern European dress stands in a European-style room. The Imperial Household Agency prepared a Western-style room as a backdrop for the empress consort to indicate her authority and sophistication as explained in chapter three. The cost of her dress, which was purchased from Germany, was approximately 12,000 to 130,000 yen, the equivalent of the cost of building a palace.⁴⁸⁴ Such a large amount of money spent on the outfit indicates the government's commitment to dressing Empress Consort Haruko in proper Western attire. The empress consort wears a pair of long gloves and a tiara, a three-strand necklace, and bracelets; all accessories are meant to be indicative of her high status and wealth. However, she is missing her dress train in the back. The long, flowing train was later added to the empress consort's dress;⁴⁸⁵ this indicates that the photographer and the Japanese leaders were not knowledgeable of the Western court dress code that equated the train with the status of the wearer.

⁴⁸² Suzuki Shin'ichi studied under Shimooka Renjō 下岡蓮杖 (also known as Sakurada Hisanosuke 桜田久之助, 1823-1914).

⁴⁸³ *MTK*, vol. 7, 287. The intention behind the government commissioning two different photographers in two consecutive days is unclear.

⁴⁸⁴ Itō wrote to Kagawa Keizō 香川敬三 on July 25, 1886 (Meiji 19). *Kagawa Keizō Monsho* 香川敬三文書, in Sakamoto Kazuto 坂本一登, *Itō Hirobumi to Meiji kokka keisei* 伊藤博文と明治国家形成: *Kyūchū no seidoka to rikkensei no dōnyū* 「宮中」の制度化と律憲制の導入 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館 1991), 188. Also see footnote 19 on p. 197. The Japanese prime minister's annual salary was 9,600 yen in 1886. Asahi Shinbunsha, *Nedanshi nenpyō*, 113. Also see Wakakuwa, 58 and 113.

⁴⁸⁵ Satō Hideo 佐藤秀夫, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō* 続現代史資料 8: *Kyōiku* 教育 I (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō みすず書房, 1994), 7. The train was “fixed and added” (修正加筆) later.

By applying Western gender theories, I clarify the iconography and symbolism of the portrait of Empress Consort Haruko. Haruko's Western attire, and the traditionally bound books and beautiful flowers on the table next to her, provide valuable visual clues to understanding this portrait. While her Western dress represents the ideas of the modern, progressive upper-class, the flowers intended to suggest her feminine beauty. The long vase with handles on the table is in the shape of an ancient Chinese bronze vessel (*gu* 觚) symbolizing her understanding and respect for ancient tradition. Furthermore, the eight books on the table are a result of Empress Consort Haruko commissioning scholars Motoda Nagazane 元田永孚 (1818-1891), Fukuwa Bisei 福羽美静 (1831-1907), Kondō Yoshiki 近藤芳樹 (1801-1880), and Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹 (1828-1902).⁴⁸⁶ The volumes include the *Fujo kagami* 婦女鏡 and *Meiji kōsetsuroku* 明治孝節録, both examples of Confucian didactic literature. These books signify that the empress consort, despite being a modern thinker, still valued the traditional Confucian ideology that defined the role of the Japanese woman as one of submission and support.

Besides its visual merit, the portrait of Empress Consort Haruko demonstrates political significance when paired with the official portrait of Emperor Meiji. Until the Meiji period, artists depicted Japanese emperors without their empress consorts. It is meaningful, then, that portraits of the empress consort were commissioned to create a pair with the *goshin'ei*. This pairing of the portraits reflects contemporary political circumstances. As explained in the previous chapter, Emperor Meiji, like all the previous emperors, practiced polygamy. The pairing of the portraits represented a monogamous marriage, which was a Western concept. To earn respect from the Western Christian countries and to show the Japanese commoners the change in

⁴⁸⁶ Wakakuwa, 114-115. and Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 7. Nagazane is also known as Nagasane and Eifu.

imperial marital policy, the Meiji government emphasized the marital position of Empress Consort Haruko by presenting her portrait with that of Emperor Meiji.

However, Empress Consort Haruko stands while the emperor sits in an armchair. For the Japanese viewers, such different stances of the imperial couple imply their traditional hierarchical relationship as a couple. As will be explained later in this chapter, Giuseppe Ugolini (1826-1897), who painted a pair of portraits of the imperial couple in 1874 (Meiji 7) based on the 1873 portraits, perhaps felt otherwise.⁴⁸⁷ Although the empress consort was standing in the photograph, Ugolini decided to paint her sitting down. This Italian artist perhaps thought it was not appropriate for a man (the emperor) to sit before his female partner (the empress consort) and thought it would look better if they both took a seated pose. Based on Japanese custom, the portrait photographers, Uchida and Maruki (and probably Suzuki), after consulting with the Meiji government, decided to have the emperor sit while the empress consort stood. Empress Consort Haruko's standing pose may not seem detrimental at first, but it actually places her in a lower position than the emperor who sits on his chair. Such hierarchical representation reflects the Confucian value of filial piety.⁴⁸⁸ As a pair, these official portraits further elevated the status of Emperor Meiji.

4.3 RESTRICTION OF CIRCULATION

Like the idealization of imperial sitters, restricted access transformed this portrait into an object of devotion. The *goshin'ei*'s ritualistic meanings and effects were created through the distribution process of the imperial portraits by the government to the general public. Having control over the gaze of a mass audience was crucial to establishing and maintaining the

⁴⁸⁷ *MTK*, vol. 3, 332.

⁴⁸⁸ The commissioning of portraits of the dowager empress, together with the creation of the portraits of the imperial couple, also reflects the power structure of the court based on the Confucian value in the early Meiji period.

importance of *goshin'ei*. Walter Benjamin (1892 - 1940), a German literary and cultural critic, analyzed how “mechanical reproduction” destroys uniqueness and authenticity, which he labeled as the “aura.” By “aura,” Benjamin meant the sense of awe and reverence a viewer experiences in the presence of exceptional works of art. His analogy could reasonably explain why the Japanese government strictly limited the distribution of *goshin'ei*. Endless reproduction would have diminished the portrait’s value by turning the portrait into something popular and mundane.⁴⁸⁹ With easy accessibility, the portrait loses its aura and encourages a casual way of gazing. As a result, the photographic portrait would have lost its power and authority over its viewers. Since the “aura” resided in the minds of spectators, it was important for the government to limit the portrait’s distribution in order to prevent the “aura” from disappearing.

The Imperial Household Agency initially gave imperial portraits only to selected upper-class courtiers, such as Kujō Michitaka 九条道孝 (1839-1906) and Matsudaira Yoshinaga 松平慶永 (1828-1890).⁴⁹⁰ Once the Agency decided to expand the circulation to public institutions, the practice of distribution of the imperial portraits was institutionalized. The process was closely controlled, with the portrait being presented to schools, military facilities, local government offices, and so forth, throughout the country. From the beginning, it was never compulsory to have a *goshin'ei*, but rather it was voluntary. Public institutions were allowed to request the government to provide them with a portrait; however, only selected institutions were able to receive one. Since they were not allowed to purchase or trade the portrait, it became a status symbol to have an imperial portrait. This rather slow hierarchical distribution and limited access

⁴⁸⁹ Benjamin, Internet resource: <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm> (accessed on September 20, 2013).

⁴⁹⁰ See the *Goshashin kafuzumi jinmeibo* 御写真下付済人名簿 (*The Distribution Lists of the Imperial Photographs*) at the Imperial Household Agency Library.

made the possession of *goshin'ei* prestigious. And such careful handlings successfully kept the portrait from becoming proletariat and demystified.

4.3.1 Institutionalized Distribution Process

Giving an imperial portrait to a public institution was a complex official procedure. First, a school, village, or city had to send its request for a portrait to its county office. Once approved, the request went to 1) the prefectural office, 2) the Ministry of Education, and 3) the Imperial Household Agency. If granted, the acceptance letter and the portrait followed the reverse path, ending at the school, village, or city that had originally initiated the request.

Prior to the creation of the 1888 portraits, the Imperial Household Agency began to present a limited number of portraits of Emperor Meiji to certain upper-level schools. For example, government colleges (*kaisei gakkō* 開成学校, the forerunner of community colleges) and national schools (*kanritsu gakkō* 官立学校, the forerunner of national universities) received their portraits in 1874 (Meiji 7). In September and October of 1886 (Meiji 19), teachers' colleges in Okinawa and Tokyo, respectively, received their copies of the portraits.⁴⁹¹ Therefore, by 1889 (Meiji 22), when the Ministry of Education requested that the Imperial Household Agency give the 1888 portraits to public high schools (*Kokuritsu kōtō shōgakkō* 公立高等小学校), the system of “gifting” imperial portraits had become a well-established one. The following year in 1890 (Meiji 23), all the middle schools in Japan received permission to request the portraits. Even then, the government only granted these institutions permission to request; it did not promise

⁴⁹¹ Kobayashi Teruyuki 小林輝行. “Naganokenka shogakkō e no goshin'ei no kafu to sono fukyū I 長野県下諸学校への「御真影」の下付とその普及 (I).” *Shinshū Daigaku kyōikugakubu kiyō* 信州大学教育学部紀要. vol. 68 (February, 1990): 146. The government gave the imperial portraits to Okinawa early on perhaps because Okinawa was finally added to the Japanese prefecture system in 1879. The desire of the government to reinforce its rule over this recently annexed island is reflected in this early distribution to Okinawa.

approval of the request. This slow and uncertain gifting system built high anticipation toward receiving the portraits. Therefore, those schools selected to receive the special imperial gift felt a sense of pride.

Extant documents illustrate the high status of the imperial portraits and the difficulty in obtaining a set of portraits. On May 1, 1891 (Meiji 24), Inagaki Shigetame 稲垣重為 (d.u.), the county chief, wrote such a document on behalf of the Matsumoto Jinjō Elementary School.⁴⁹² In that letter, Inagaki requested imperial portraits of Emperor Meiji, Empress Consort Haruko, and the Crown Prince, arguing that the school deserved the honor of receiving such esteemed gifts. Specifically, the school had a close tie to the imperial family because Emperor Meiji had stopped there when traveling through Matsumoto in June of 1880 (Meiji 13). Even though Inagaki understood that the Imperial Household Agency rarely granted imperial portraits to elementary schools at this time (in the late 1880s), he pleaded for an exception. The county chief submitted the letter to the prefectural office, which then forwarded the letter to the Ministry of Education. After giving its approval, the Ministry eventually sent the request to the Imperial Household Agency in Tokyo.

According to school records kept by the teachers of the Matsumoto Elementary School, the school received a favorable response in regards to the gift of the imperial portrait on October 19, 1891 (Meiji 24).⁴⁹³ Although the school had originally requested three portraits of Emperor Meiji, the empress consort, and the crown prince, the Imperial Household Agency granted the school only one portrait of the emperor in honor of the emperor's visit in June 1880 (Meiji

⁴⁹² *Matsumoto Jinjō Shōgakkō nishshi* 松本尋常小学校日誌, in *Shiryō Kaichi gakkō* 史料開智学校 1: *Gakkōnissshi* 学校日誌 1, compiled by Satō Hideo 佐藤秀夫 (Nagano: Densan Shuppan Kikaku 電算出版企画, 1988), 85. According to the journal entry on May 2, 1891 (Meiji 24), Matsumoto Elementary School sent its request to Inagaki on April 28.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 89-90. See Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 64-67 for the related official letters.

13).⁴⁹⁴ As this example demonstrates, obtaining portraits was not automatic. This limited, controlled distribution of imperial portraits was calculated to create an air of honor and achievement, thereby increasing the psychological value of each portrait.

From the early Meiji period, the government carefully handled the circulation of imperial portraits, forbidding any circulation of other unauthorized photographs of the emperor. On March 3, 1874 (Meiji 7), Uchida Kuichi, an officially appointed court photographer, requested that the government return to him the negatives of the photographs of the emperor he had taken a few years earlier so that he could reproduce and sell the image. Even though Ōkubo Ichiō 大久保一翁 (1818-1888),⁴⁹⁵ the Prefectural Director of Tokyo, and Tokudaiji Sanetsune 徳大寺実則 (1840-1919), the Minister of the Imperial Household Agency, agreed and forwarded this request to the Imperial Japanese Council of State, Sanjō Sanetomi denied Uchida's request on March 24.⁴⁹⁶ No extant primary record clearly states the reason for denial. However, this decision helped the Japanese Council of State maintain limited access to the portrait, which kept alive the “aura” of the portrait; saturating the market with the imperial images would diminish their value.

In addition, the prohibition of printing a portrait of Emperor Meiji on paper money in the early Meiji period reflects the persistent resistance of the Japanese toward depicting their emperor. Because European nations customarily printed portraits of rulers on their monetary bills, Thomas William Kinder (1817-1884), the director of the Japanese Imperial Mint from 1870-1875, suggested in 1872 (Meiji 5) that the Japanese government print a portrait of Emperor

⁴⁹⁴ *Matsumoto Jinjō Shōgakkō nisshi*, 90.

⁴⁹⁵ Ōkubo Ichiō is also known as Ōkubo Tadahiro 大久保忠寛.

⁴⁹⁶ Although this request by Uchida Kuichi was eventually denied, it is interesting that both Ōkubo and Tokudaiji thought Uchida's request for his negative was reasonable. *Nihon kindai shisō taikei 2: Tennō to kazoku*, 38-39.

Meiji on Japanese paper money.⁴⁹⁷ However, the Japanese government vetoed this idea because it considered it disrespectful to print a portrait of the emperor on bills that commoners would handle.⁴⁹⁸ Thus, in the early Meiji period, printing a portrait of Emperor Meiji on money was banned, since using the money for goods would dishonor the emperor. This careful treatment of the imperial portrait reinforces the government's determination to maintain the high status of the emperor.

Although the government closely controlled the spread of the portraits from the early Meiji period onward, it did not have total control over the circulation of the portraits. According to an article in the *Chōya Newspaper* on June 3, 1875 (Meiji 8), the government fined Horiuchi Motonobu 堀内元信 of Mie prefecture and Matsumoto Kōtarō 松本寛太郎 of Mita Shinmachi 75 *sen* each because Horiuchi sold Matsumoto 23 portraits of Emperor Meiji and Empress Consort Haruko.⁴⁹⁹ It is interesting that the author of the article argues that these two offenders did not deserve punishment because their behavior stemmed from their desire to better know the emperor. Furthermore, as explained in chapter three, the Japanese government occasionally enforced the ban on the selling and purchasing of imperial portrait prints in the local markets throughout the Meiji period. This ban proves two points: 1) the government carefully avoided flooding the market with both unofficial and official portraits and 2) merchants sold unauthorized, unofficial portraits in the market, indicating the popularity of the portraits among commoners.

⁴⁹⁷ MTK, vol. 2, 773. It was recorded on 1872 (Meiji 5) 5.19. Kinder was known in Japan as Kindoru キンドル more information on Kinder, see Roy S. Hanashiro, *Thomas William Kinder and the Japanese Imperial Mint, 1868-1875* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1999).

⁴⁹⁸ Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 101-105. Also see chapter seven (pp. 77-88, especially pp. 79-80) of Uemura Takashi 植村峻, *Shihei shōzō no rekishi* 紙幣肖像の歴史 (Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu 東京美術, 1989).

⁴⁹⁹ Takagi Noboru 高木登, "Shin'ei no kin o ronzu 真影ノ禁ヲ論ズ," *The Chōya Newspaper* on June 3, 1875 (Meiji 8), vol. 537, in *Chōya shinbun* 1 (Tokyo: Perikan Sha ペリかん社, 1981). Takagi's article responds to the earlier article in *Chōya shinbun* vol. 533 published on May 29, 1875.

4.3.2 The Official and Unofficial Copies of Portraits

To build national patriotism among students, Yoshikawa Akimasa 芳川顯正 (1842-1920), the Minister of Education, requested on August 12, 1890 (Meiji 23) that Hijikata Hisamoto 土方久元 (1833-1918), the Minister of Imperial Household Agency, should amend the current regulation so that elementary schools and kindergartens would have access to the official portrait.⁵⁰⁰ A month and a half later on October 4, the Imperial Household Agency responded to Yoshikawa's request by suggesting a new "official copy"⁵⁰¹ system of dispersing Emperor Meiji's portraits.⁵⁰² Although the Agency could not comply with the request to gift official portraits to all the schools, it did acknowledge the important educational and political (patriotic) values of portrait veneration to cultivate loyalty to the emperor among students.

MTK states that since schools would be responsible for making duplications under the new system, it would minimize the government's time and cost of distributing the official portraits to elementary schools and kindergartens.⁵⁰³ One year and seven months later, on May 21, 1892 (Meiji 25), Tsuji Shinji 辻新次 (1842-1915) of the Ministry of Education sent letters to the prefectural offices permitting elementary schools and kindergartens to make copies of the official portraits of the emperor and empress consort.⁵⁰⁴ Why it took the Ministry over a year and a half to send the permission letters is unclear; however, the letters were eventually forwarded to all the prefectures throughout Japan.

⁵⁰⁰ *MTK*, vol. 7, 644-645. Higher educational institutions than elementary schools and kindergartens were already allowed to request the portraits since December 6, 1889 (Meiji 22). *Ibid.*, 424.

⁵⁰¹ All the correspondence letters from the government do not have a specific, standardized term for the official copies of the portrait of Emperor Meiji. However, Japanese scholars today use the term *fukusha goshin'ei* 複写御真影.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 644-645.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, 645.

⁵⁰⁴ Monbushō 文部省, *From Meiji 20 to Meiji 26 Monbushō reikiruisan* 自明治20年至明治26年文部省例規類纂, originally compiled by Monbu daijin kanbō monshoka 文部大臣官房文書課 in 1924, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Ōzorasha 大空社, 1987), 2.

Reproducing the imperial portraits was never a casual matter. According to the permission letters, all the care and precautions taken for the *goshin'ei* also applied to the official copies. For example, Tsuji not only ordered each prefectural office to oversee the process of duplication of the imperial portraits, but he also required each office to submit a report on the procedure and a list of which schools owned the official copies of the portraits.⁵⁰⁵ These reports typically included information on how the schools were selected and the names of the photographers who duplicated the imperial portraits. Although schools may have found it less complicated to apply for these copies than for the official portraits, they still had to apply to the prefectural offices; only the selected schools received permission to duplicate the portraits.⁵⁰⁶ In addition, these elementary schools and kindergartens formally welcomed the copies as they would have done with the original by holding a receiving ceremony (*haitaishiki* 拝載式), which will be discussed in the next section.⁵⁰⁷ Such special treatment suggests that the general public considered even the copies as a substitute for Emperor Meiji. The major difference between the official copies and the original *goshin'ei* is that the schools (or the prefectures) now had to pay for the reproduction. As such, even distribution of the official copies of the *goshin'ei* was limited.

To demonstrate its concern over the spread of the imperial portraits, the Ministry of Education, on June 17, 1892 (Meiji 25), again sent letters to the prefectural offices regarding the regulation of *unofficial* copies.⁵⁰⁸ This time, its concerns addressed the unofficial copies acquired from the local markets. The Ministry of Education insisted that schools housing these unofficial

⁵⁰⁵ Monbushō, vol. 1, 2. Also see *Naganokenchō monsho* 長野県庁文書, “Kōbunhensatsu Meiji 25 nen Shōgakkounobu 公文書編冊明治二十五年小学校之部.”

⁵⁰⁶ There were cases of rejected applications due to the poor condition of school facilities.

⁵⁰⁷ Yamamoto Nobuyoshi 山本信良 and Konno Toshihiko 今野敏彦, *Kindai kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogi* 近代教育の天皇制イデオロギー: *Meiji gakkō kyōiku no kōsatsu* 明治学校教育の考察 (Tokyo: Shinsensha 新泉社, 1973), 91.

⁵⁰⁸ “Unofficial” copies of *goshin'ei* are not the same as the illegal ones. Monbushō, vol. 1, 2-3.

copies must file for permission from the prefectural offices; it took this action to ensure they were high quality prints that were produced by registered publishers and had passed the inspection process.⁵⁰⁹ For example, a June 24, 1892 (Meiji 25) letter issued by Kagawa prefecture explicitly states that schools can request permission to use unofficial lithographic portraits of Emperor Meiji from registered publishers for school rituals. If a school successfully obtained permission from the local government, it could use its unofficial copies of *goshin'ei* in rituals on imperial holidays.⁵¹⁰

The following documents from Nagano prefecture exemplify the filing process for permission. Following the decree on April 5, 1893 (Meiji 26), the mayor of Asakawa village and the principal of the Asakawa Jinjō Elementary School together requested permission from the Nagano prefectural office to use, for school ritual, an unofficial lithographic copy of the imperial portrait created by Okamura Masako 岡村政子 (1858-1936) and published by Shin'yōdō 信陽堂 of Tokyo. In its April 7 response to this letter, the Prefectural Director asked the village mayor to submit the portrait with the publisher catalog for inspection. On May 2, the Asakawa Jinjō Elementary School received permission to use this unofficial copy of the *goshin'ei*.⁵¹¹

Although elementary schools in Nagano were already allowed to request and officially copy the imperial portraits (if granted), some schools, including the Asakawa and Ōsawa Jinjō Elementary Schools in Nagano, still requested permission to use unofficial copies acquired on

⁵⁰⁹ Records from Hokkaidō, Kagawa, Nagano, and Toyama prefectures exemplify this. Information on Hokkaidō and Kagawa prefectures can be found in Monbushō, vol. 1, 3-4. For Toyama prefecture, see Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 78-79.

⁵¹⁰ Monbushō, vol. 1, 3-4.

⁵¹¹ See document numbers 354 and 425: *Chokugotōhon narabini fukusha* 勅語謄本並ニ複写: *Goshin'ei kōfuzumi gakkōmei torishirabe kaitōan* 御真影交付済学校名取調解答案 sent from the Nagano Prefectural Director to the Ministry of Education on April 24, 1899 (Meiji 32). In Kobayashi Teruyuki 小林輝行, "Naganokenka shogakkō e no goshin'ei no kafu to sono fukyū III 長野県下諸学校への「御真影」の下付とその普及 (III)," in *Shinshū Daigaku kyōikugakubu kiyō* 信州大学教育学部紀要, vol. 70 (July, 1990): 29-30.

the market.⁵¹² Kobayashi Teruyuki 小林輝行, a historian, presumes that this situation occurred because the unofficial copies involved less paperwork and fewer financial constraints. The unofficial portraits of the emperor and empress consort sold by a store cost the schools 40 *sen* each,⁵¹³ while an official copy of the portraits duplicated by the prefecture would have cost them 4 *yen* 50 *sen* each, approximately 11 times more. Furthermore, Kobayashi reports that in February 1896 (Meiji 29), the Asakawa Elementary School eventually applied for the official copy, regardless of the cost.⁵¹⁴ This decision to replace the unofficial copy with the official one despite the cost indicates a hierarchical relationship between the two copies. While schools must receive government permission to obtain official copies of *goshin'ei*, it must have been easier for the schools to purchase unofficial copies.

Scholars have not yet located the lithographic portraits of Emperor Meiji by Okamura Masako. However, my investigation suggests that both *Daigensuiheika goson'ei* 大元帥陛下御尊影 (*The Portrait of the Great Military Leader of Japan*) by Tanaka Ryōzō 田中良三 (d.u.) published by Shōbidō 尚美堂 in Tokyo on June 4, 1905 (Meiji 38), and *Daigensuiheika goshin'ei* 大元帥陛下御真影 (*The Portrait of the Great Military Leader of Japan*) by Kusunishi Torajirō 葛西虎治朗 (d.u.) published by the Seiundō 青雲堂 in Tokyo on September 23, 1909

⁵¹² Ibid., 29-30. Officially copied portraits were either printed or hand copied.

⁵¹³ Sasaki reports that a print of Emperor Meiji cost 15 *sen* in 1881 (Meiji 14). Sasaki Suguru 佐々木克, *Bakumatsu no tennō Meiji no tennō* 幕末の天皇明治の天皇 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2005), 254. According to the *Meiji zenki shomoku shūsei* 明治前期書目集成, vol. 40 (April, 1881, Meiji 14) 10, a deluxe size print of Emperor Meiji by Kamei Shiichi 亀井至一 (d.u.) published by Matsuda Atsutomo 松田敦朝 (d.u.) cost 75 *sen* which is five times more than usual. Naimushō toshokyoku 内務省図書局, *Meiji zenki shomoku shūsei* 明治前期書目集成: *Shuppanshomoku geppō* 出版書目月報, ed. Kimura Takeshi 木村毅, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Meiji Bunken 明治文献, 1972), 33.

Meiji zenki shomoku shūsei 明治前期書目集成, vol. 2 (*Shomoku geppō* 書目月報) ed. Meijibunken Shiryō Kankōkai 明治文献資料刊行会. (April, 1972). In Mashino Keiko 増野恵子, “Meiji tennō no imēji no henshen nituite 明治天皇のイメージの変遷について: Seppanga ni miidaseru tennōzō 石版画に見いだせる天皇像,” *Bijutsushi kenkyū* 美術史研究, vol. 38 (December, 2000): 55.

⁵¹⁴ Kobayashi, “Naganokenka shogakkō e no goshin'ei no kafu to sono fukyū III,” 30-31.

(Meiji 42) exemplify such unofficial but registered lithographic portraits. These high quality lithographic prints were almost exactly the same as the 1888 original photograph in format and pose. Tanaka slightly modified the original by making the emperor hold a scroll in this print; this paper document gives the emperor an air of importance. Unlike the earlier, less realistic prints, these lithographic portraits clearly identified the emperor by titles in both Japanese and English on the print. Although it cannot be proven at this time due to the lack of extant records, it is possible to assume that these two high quality lithographic portraits were unofficial copies produced by publishers registered with the government. As such, it appears that the government permitted these unofficial duplications of *goshin'ei* because it wanted all the schools to have imperial portraits, unofficial or official, for conducting rituals on holidays. Therefore, the government did not deny the curiosity of the general public toward the imperial portraiture; it desired to keep the high quality and limit the quantity of them by controlling the distribution process of the imperial portraiture.

4.4 RITUALISTIC TREATMENT OF THE PORTRAIT

The *goshin'ei* went through a process of formalization and ritualization. According to Ernst Hans Gombrich (1909 - 2001), an influential art historian, “the common denomination between the symbol and the thing symbolized is not the ‘external form’ but the function.”⁵¹⁵ As analyzed in chapter three, the Meiji government invented new traditions of emperor veneration. The government successfully created state rituals⁵¹⁶ by using the imperial portraits. Catherine Bell, an expert on ritual studies, states that “ritualization is always strategic. Its interests are always

⁵¹⁵ Ernst Hans Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 4.

⁵¹⁶ Scholars agree that it is difficult to define what “ritual” is. For various definitions and study on rituals, see the following two books: 1) Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 and 2009); and 2) Ronald L. Grimes ed., *Readings in Ritual Studies* (UpperSaddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1996).

vested, functioning to dominate, therefore it is inherently political.”⁵¹⁷ To make the portrait a ritual object, the process of receiving the portrait itself soon became ceremonial. Therefore, it is important to study the regulations on how to properly receive a *goshin’ei* issued by the Japanese government in 1891. The careful and ritualistic handlings of *goshin’ei* successfully kept the portrait from becoming proletariat and demystified.

The 1872 and 1873 portraits of Emperor Meiji were not treated as sacred relic-like objects. For example, when such schools as Nagano-ken Jinjō Shihan Gakkō and Nagano-ken Jinjō Chūgakkō wrote letters to the government to request a gift of the portrait, they stated that “we would like to display the portraits of the emperor and empress consort in an assembly hall on the school campus so that students can pay their respects.”⁵¹⁸ Therefore, any student was initially able to look at the imperial portraits at any time of the day and year, and no special rituals and protections were compulsory.

The situation gradually changed with the 1888 portrait. Schools such as Toyooka High School in Hyōgo prefecture voluntarily held a ceremony even before the government made it mandatory in 1891. On September 13, 1890 (Meiji 23), one record shows that more than seven hundred students and teachers from the Toyooka High School marched to the local government building to receive the official portrait of Emperor Meiji. Upon receiving it, they fired ceremonial rifles and sang the national anthem. The car carrying the school principal with the portrait was carefully guarded by fifty students with guns. Over two thousand people awaited the arrival of the *goshin’ei* on campus, and they continued the ceremony for the rest of the day.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁷ Catherine M. Bell, “Constructing Ritual,” in *Readings in Ritual Studies*, ed. Grimes, Ronald L. (UpperSaddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1996), 21.

⁵¹⁸ *Shinano kyōikukai zasshi* 信濃教育会雑誌. vol. 40 published on January 25, 1890 (Meiji 23). See Kobayashi, “Naganokenka shogakkō e no goshin’ei no kafu to sono fukyū I,” 146.

⁵¹⁹ Iwamoto, *Goshin’ei ni junjita kyōshitachi*, 15.

The next day, the portrait of Emperor Meiji was displayed for public viewing, and over four thousand people paid their respects to the portrait of the emperor.⁵²⁰

Alice Mabel Bacon (1858-1918), who was a teacher at Kazoku Jogakkō, the Court Women's School in Tokyo, explained this portrait-worshipping ritual on February 11, 1889 (Meiji 22), again prior to the governmental regulation of 1891, as follows:

The teachers were engaged in bowing to the Emperor's picture, a ceremony which is fortunately not required of foreigners. I am afraid that I could not bring myself to do it, for I think it is of the nature of an act of worship; at any rate, it is too much like that for me to want to perform it. The Emperor's picture is kept in a room that is only opened for this ceremony, or for the Empress when she visits the school. The teachers high enough in rank to be received at court are not expected to bow before the picture, but all of the others must do so on special occasions, such as the Emperor's birthday, New Year's Day, etc.⁵²¹

Since Bacon's father was a pastor and she grew up as a devout Christian, the practice of bowing before the portrait of Emperor Meiji was too ritualistic for her.⁵²² She did not accept the worship of an emperor. Fortunately for Bacon, the Meiji government considered foreigners as outsiders and did not require them to bow before the imperial portraits. While this exception is understandable, it is interesting that the teachers "high enough in rank to be received at court" were also not expected to bow in front of the portraits. This hierarchical relationship among the teachers could have been unique because Bacon worked for a court-affiliated school. In addition,

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁵²¹ Bacon, 132-133.

⁵²² Alice Bacon's father, Leonard Bacon (1802-1881), was a well-known pastor of the Center Church in New Haven, Connecticut. New England Historic Genealogical Society, *Memorial Biographies of New England Historic Genealogical Society*, vol. 8 (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1907), 82.

Bacon's account proves that, in the case of the Court Women's School, the portraits were not on public view all the time, but were brought out only for special occasions.

As such, some schools voluntarily held ceremonies to pay respect to the imperial portrait before the government regulated the rituals in 1891. However, ritualistic treatment of *goshin'ei* became mandatory after the decision of the government to use the portrait as an educational tool of propaganda on imperial holidays.

4.4.1 Portrait Rituals on Imperial Holidays

Because the imperial portraits were distributed to many schools, proper handling and protection of the portraits became an issue. On June 17, 1891 (Meiji 24), the Ministry of Education regulated mandatory rituals to be conducted in front of the portraits on imperial holidays at elementary schools. The mandate is titled “Ritual Regulations of Holidays and Festivals for Elementary Schools (Shōgakkō shukujitsu daisaijitsu gishiki kitei 小学校祝日大祭日儀式規定).”⁵²³ In order to raise nationalism and patriotism in the younger generation, the Ministry of Education promoted a wider spread of imperial portraits and promulgated a code of rituals on national imperial holidays. Prior to the decree, the commoners considered imperial holidays as days of rest and did not conduct any special ceremonies. This decree required elementary school teachers and students to perform rituals and preached the virtue of Emperor Meiji on the holidays to promote patriotism. A closer examination of the ceremonies conducted on imperial holidays facilitates a better understanding of the imperial portraits.

A June 17 letter from the Ministry of Education to the prefectural offices stated that elementary school teachers and students must gather at their assembly hall on campus to observe

⁵²³ *Monbushō Kunrei* (文部省訓令 decree) number four. Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 67-68.

Genshisai 元始祭 (the January 3rd celebration of the origin of the Japanese emperorship), Kigensetsu 紀元節 (the February 11th celebration of the ascent of Emperor Jinmu), Kan'namesai 神嘗祭 (the October 17th harvest festival at Ise Shrine 伊勢神宮), Tenchōsetsu 天長節 (the November 3rd birthday of Emperor Meiji), and Niinamesai 新嘗祭 (the November 23rd harvest celebration by feasting on the year's crop). On these holidays, the elementary schools must conduct the following rituals:

- First, the principal, the teachers, and the students must celebrate the imperial holidays by bowing to a pair of portraits of Emperor Meiji and his empress consort.⁵²⁴
- Second, the principal or a teacher must read aloud the *Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo* 教育ニ関スル勅語 (better known as *Kyōiku chokugo*, the *Imperial Rescript of Education*, which will be discussed later).
- Third, in order to evoke and foster a sense of Japanese patriotism, the principal or a teacher must speak about one of the following: a) swearing allegiance to the *Rescript*; b) exultation of the glorious virtue and accomplishments of the historical emperors; or c) the origin of the holiday being celebrated.
- Fourth, the principal, teachers, and students should sing together appropriate songs related to the particular holiday they are celebrating.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁴ The Imperial Household Agency allowed those elementary schools which had not yet received the imperial portraits to omit this step of viewing the portraits.

⁵²⁵ “Shōgakkō shukujitsu daisaijitsu gishiki kitei 小学校祝日大祭日儀式規定 (The Ritual Regulations of Holidays and Festivals for Elementary Schools)” by the Ministry of Education, decree number four passed on June 17, 1891 (Meiji 24). (See Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 211). As a part of establishing new traditions, in addition, the Ministry of Education ordered musicians to create children's songs for Kigensetsu and Tenchōsetsu in 1888 (Meiji 21). Izawa Shūji 伊沢修二 (1851-1917) composed and Takasaki Masakaze 高崎正風 (1836-1912) wrote the lyrics for the song for Kigensetsu, and Oku Yoshiisa 奥好義 (1858-1933) composed the song and Kurokawa Mayori 黒川真頼 (1829-

The Ministry of Education further states in the decree that elementary school principals, teachers, and students must gather and conduct the aforementioned rituals of viewing the portraits and singing on New Year's Day.⁵²⁶

At the end of the decree, after defining the calendar and the rituals which all the elementary schools in Japan should observe, the Ministry interestingly encouraged the teachers to make their students play/exercise outdoors or in the gym so that the students will be refreshed and have fun after the ceremonies on these occasions. It even suggested that schools give their students some sweets or memorial gifts after venerating the portraits on these holidays to give them positive reinforcement.⁵²⁷ As intended, some students came to associate the ceremonies with sweet treats and looked forward to the imperial holidays.

According to the original regulation passed by the Ministry of Education, there were ten mandatory ceremonies per year for elementary schools.⁵²⁸ Schools followed this order for two years until the Ministry of Education reduced it to three. If schools held rituals too frequently, participants would become bored and lose their respect and interest which goes against its educational purpose. On May 5, 1893 (Meiji 26), the Ministry of Education issued a new rule stating that elementary schools need observe only Kigensetsu, Tenchōsetsu, and New Year's

1906) wrote the lyrics for the song for Tenchōsetsu. The Ministry of Education incorporated these songs into the rituals on the imperial holidays. Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 97 and 99. For the Monbushō decree number four, see Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 67-68.

⁵²⁶ Principal, teachers, and students conduct the rituals of speech (three) and singing (four) on Kōmyō tennō sai 光明天皇祭 (Emperor Kōmyō Day: the January 30th memorial day for the father of Emperor Meiji), Shunki kōrei sai 春季皇靈祭 (spring imperial spirits day: imperial ancestors' day during the spring equinox in March), Jinmu tennō sai 神武天皇祭 (Emperor Jinmu Day: the April 3rd death date of Emperor Jinmu), and Shūki kōrei sai 秋季皇靈祭 (fall imperial spirits day: imperial ancestors' day during the fall equinox in September).

⁵²⁷ *Shōgakkō Shukujitu Daisaijitsu Gishiki Kitei*, The Ministry of Education, decree number four, rule numbers four and seven. Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 67-68. For example, on November 3, 1889 (Meiji 22), students of Urushiyama Elementary School in Yamagata prefecture each received two sweet rice cakes after the Tenchōsetsu ceremony. *Nanyōshishi henshū shiryō* 南陽市史編集資料: *Urushiyama shōgakkō nissshi* 漆山小学校日誌, vol. 31, Originally written by the teachers of Urushiyama Elementary School (Yamagata: Nanyōshi kyōiku iinkai 南陽市教育委員会, 2001), 31.

⁵²⁸ The ten mandatory ceremonies are: New Year, Genshisai, Kōmyō Tennō sai, Kigensetsu, Shunki Kōrei sai, Jinmu Tennō sai, Kan'namesai, Shūki Kōrei sai, Tenchōsetsu, and Niinamesai.

Day, but left the other seven holidays up to the schools.⁵²⁹ By reducing and simplifying the mandatory veneration of the portraits and reading of the *Rescript* from ten down to three holidays per year, the Ministry ensured that the children had a positive experience with the rituals.

4.4.2 The *Imperial Rescript of Education*

Not only did the government use imperial portraits as a way to celebrate imperial holidays, but the government, through its *Imperial Rescript of Education* (hereafter *Rescript*) of 1890, also wrote a guideline for special occasions called *the Ritual Regulations of Holidays and Festivals for Elementary Schools*.⁵³⁰ The *Rescript* structured the new national educational system and defined the Japanese national moral codes. The government placed this document, in conjunction with the official portraits of the Emperor and Empress Meiji, in every school throughout Japan until the end of World War II. Every school child memorized this document. Since schools used both the portraits and the *Rescript* on imperial holidays, a closer examination of the *Rescript* will provide a better understanding of the imperial portraits.

The development of the *Rescript* originated during the Meiji Restoration. To counteract the social and political disunity of this period, the government revived and restored traditional values as a way to unite the citizens. The *Rescript* demanded that the Japanese people cultivate a sense of belonging and identify themselves as loyal citizens of Japan. Even though forward-

⁵²⁹ Ministry of Education decree number 9. In Satō Hideo, “Wagakuni shōgakkō ni okeru shukujitsu taisaibi gishiki no keisei katei,” 50.

⁵³⁰ The *Imperial Rescript of Education* is different from *Rikukaigun gunjin ni tamawaritaru chokuyu* 陸海軍軍人に賜はりたる勅諭 *Gunjin chokuyu* 軍人勅諭, the *Imperial Rescript to the Soldiers and Sailors*, composed by Nishi Amane 西周 (1829-1897) and given by Emperor Meiji to his soldiers and sailors on January 4, 1882 (Meiji 15). The *Imperial Rescript to the Soldiers and Sailors* is included in Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 471-474. (See pp. 482-478 for English translation).

thinking politicians, including Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847-1889),⁵³¹ originally opposed the propagandistic *Rescript* at the early stage, they eventually compromised and helped create this manifesto to foster the patriotism of all citizens, especially the youth. An English translation of the *Imperial Rescript on Education* is as follows:

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible

⁵³¹ Mori Arinori was the first Minister of Education.

for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence,
in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji.

(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)⁵³²

The *Rescript* takes the form of a personal message from Emperor Meiji to his citizens. The emperor began his speech by stating how the Japanese historical emperors established the nation and fostered its national virtue. The center of the nation and the origin of the nation's education have roots in the traditional faithfulness and piety of the Japanese citizens. The emperor emphasized twelve virtues, including harmony in all relationships, an education of cultural and intellectual richness, a respect for the country's laws, and a devotion to the nation. Because Emperor Meiji claimed that the historical emperors bequeathed these teachings to the people, the citizens of Japan have an obligation to follow these moral codes. Together with his citizens, the emperor swore to abide by these virtues. The *Rescript*, therefore, seems to focus on traditional moral values to balance the threat from the Western-based education and culture.

Despite the similarity between these moral codes and the Confucian and Buddhist ideologies, the policy of the new government forbade the *Rescript* to make any mention of these old and allegedly backward religious values. In 1907, for example, the Ministry of Education published an English translation of the *Rescript* with the following caveat: "Our education has had no connection with religion since olden times, and the new system is also entirely free from any sacerdotal influence. Secular morality has always been taught in the schools and forms the

⁵³² The *Imperial Rescript on Education* is in Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 459. For English translation, see p. 465. Several English versions of the *Rescript* exist; this is the official translation by the Ministry of Education published in 1907. Also see Elise K. Tipton, *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2008), 60. The contemporary reactions to the *Rescript* are discussed in Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (CA: Stanford University Press, 1969), 122-140.

distinctive feature of our [educational] system.”⁵³³ Although this Note was published 17 years after the creation of the *Rescript* for English readers, the Ministry clearly stated that the *Rescript* had no foundation in ancient religious teachings. Instead, the *Rescript* presents these moral codes as traditional Japanese values based on the teachings of the historical Japanese emperors. The unity of Japan, perhaps, necessitated this kind of nationalist education. Both the *Rescript* and the 1888 portrait played ritualistic roles in the celebration of the imperial holidays.

By creating the *Rescript*, the Japanese leaders attempted to establish Japanese nationalist education and patriotic moral codes. Takashi Fujitani explains that the practice of state rituals on imperial holidays serves as an effective way to create a true national communion:

[These rituals] enabled the people of the nation to imagine a simultaneous link: regardless of where they lived, they could believe themselves to be joined at exactly the same moment in history that was marked by the ceremonial event.⁵³⁴

Therefore, these simultaneous ritualistic participations in various parts of Japan have more impact than such regional events as the processions of the early Meiji period. The Meiji government valued the physical expression of the rituals to heighten the notion of emperor veneration. Yoshikawa Akimasa, the Minister of Education, encouraged educators to not only chant the *Rescript* and provide information to the students, but also serve as role models for their students. Yoshikawa argued that Japan, like Western countries, should put a portrait of their emperor (king) on campus as a way to spontaneously develop the patriotism of their students.⁵³⁵

Eki Kazuyuki 江木千之 (1853-1932), the politician who initiated the *Elementary School Code*

⁵³³ Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 462-463.

⁵³⁴ Fujitani, 202.

⁵³⁵ Yoshikawa Akimasa 芳川顯正, “Kyōiku chokugo kanpatsuchokugo Yoshikawa Monshō kyōiku ikensho 教育勅語渙發直後芳川文相教育意見書,” in *Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo kanhatsu 50 nen kinen shiryō tenran zuroku* 教育に関する勅語渙發五十年記念資料展覽図録, exhibition catalog, Sūgakukyoku 数学局 (Tokyo: Naikaku insatsukyoku 内閣印刷局, 1943), 134. Also, Kagotani Jirō 籠谷次郎, *Kindai Nihon ni okeru kyōiku to kokka no shisō* 近代日本における教育と国家の思想 (Kyoto: Aun Sha 阿吽社, 1994), 49 and 52.

(*Shōgakkōrei* 小学校令), noted that an educational system dependent upon books can teach the greatness of the historical emperors, but does not evoke patriotic feelings among the students. To cultivate a sense of nationalism requires reading the *Rescript* to gain an understanding of the theory behind the rituals involving imperial portraits and then enacting such rituals as bowing to the imperial portraits and singing about the glorious achievements and virtue of the emperors on certain holidays.⁵³⁶

To make the *Rescript* more understandable to all people, the Ministry of Education, in 1911 (Meiji 44), standardized the pronunciation of the *Rescript* in the *Jinjō Elementary School Ethics Textbook* (*Jinjō shōgaku shūshinsho* 尋常小学修身書).⁵³⁷ Through this standardization, the government ritualized the reading of the *Rescript*.⁵³⁸ The government did this so that Japanese citizens, regardless of where they lived, could perform the state rituals in unison on imperial holidays.

I propose two theories to elucidate the relationship between the *goshin'ei* and the *Rescript*, and the imperial holidays. The first proposes that the government passed the *Ritual Regulations of Holidays and Festivals for Elementary Schools* on June 17, 1891 (Meiji 24) to eliminate any mistreatment of the portraits and the *Rescript*. Because schools conducted the

⁵³⁶ Eki Kazuyuki 江木千之, *Eki Kazuyuki okina keirekidan* 江木千之翁経歴談 1, ed. Eki Kazuyuki okina keirekidan kankōkai 江木千之翁経歴談刊行会 (Tokyo: Eki Kazuyuki okina keirekidan kankōkai 江木千之翁経歴談刊行会, 1933), 106. Also, Kagotani, 48-49.

⁵³⁷ In addition, the intonation and speed (pace and rhythm) of reading varied depending on local dialect and personal preference. In 1930 (Shōwa 5), the government regulated the reading speed and tone by using such punctuation symbols as “、” “。” “。” A scholar, Watari Shōsaburō 亘理章三郎 elaborated this regulation by adding “.” and “◎” as well as inserting such words as “osaeru 抑 (lightly)” and “chikara o ireru カヲ入レル (with force).” This regulation of intonation also suggests the government’s intention to reinforce this national *Rescript* ritual with the imperial portraits. Watari Shōsaburō 亘理章三郎, *Kyōiku chokugo to gakkō kyōiku* 教育勅語と学校教育 (Meikeikai 茗溪会, 1930), 704-707.

⁵³⁸ For example, Watari Shōsaburō 亘理章三郎 (1873-1946), an educator, listed many localized variations of word pronunciation found in the *Rescript*. According to Watari, depending on the geographic location of the readers, the term *kokutai* 国体, which refers to the national constitution, can be pronounced as *kokutei*, while the phrase *kono gotokiwa* 是ノ如キハ (“this, therefore,”) can be pronounced as *kakuno gotokiwa*. Watari, 627.

voluntary rituals with the portraits and the *Rescript* prior to this regulation, the government regulated the ceremonies as an afterthought. Furthermore, the government regulated the rituals to promote and popularize the portrait and the *Rescript*. According to this second theory, the Meiji government passed the *Regulation* because it had wanted both the portrait and the *Rescript* to create state rituals and promote loyalty to the emperor. In addition, the government permitted kindergartens and elementary schools to officially copy⁵³⁹ *goshin'ei* in May of 1892 (Meiji 25), a year after it passed the *Ritual Regulations of Holidays and Festivals for Elementary Schools*; this approval explains the desire of the government to equip all the schools with *goshin'ei* portraits so that the educators could effectively implement rituals on campuses. If the government did not supply the schools with the portraits and the *Rescript*, the government could not enforce the state rituals.

Understanding the *Rescript* and its distribution process would lead to a better comprehension of *goshin'ei*. Although the government simultaneously used the imperial portraits with this propaganda document, the methods of distribution fundamentally differed. While selected schools only received the portraits upon request and after a painstakingly long and complicated process, the government distributed equal numbers of copies of the *Rescript* to every school. Moreover, the *Ritual Regulations of Holidays and Festivals for Elementary Schools* states that individuals must bow to a pair of portraits of Emperor Meiji and Empress Consort Haruko during the rituals, but the *Rescript* does not require this action.

Lastly, the different treatment of the two events (receiving ceremonies for the *Rescript* and the portrait) is apparent in the length of the school journal entries. While a teacher of Urushiyama Elementary School of Yamagata prefecture wrote 27 lines for a Tenchōsetsu⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁹ Officially copied portraits were either printed or hand copied.

⁵⁴⁰ Tenchōsetsu is the November 3rd birthday of Emperor Meiji.

ceremony involving *goshin'ei*, he did not even mention the receiving of the *Rescript* on November 10, 1890 (Meiji 23). Four days later on the 14th, he simply stated in one line that the government ordered the school to conduct a reading of *Rescript* ceremony.⁵⁴¹ Similarly, Kaichi Gakkō in Nagano also treated the receiving of a *goshin'ei* differently by keeping a separate journal for the event which took place on November 3, 1891 (Meiji 24).⁵⁴² Unfortunately, the content of the record is unknown because this section of the journal is now missing. However, the fact that the teachers prepared a separate sheet of paper for the portrait receiving ceremony suggests that the school treated the portrait of Emperor Meiji specially. Furthermore, on January 17, 1891 (Meiji 24), a teacher of the Matsumoto Elementary School wrote just five lines describing their receiving of the *Rescript*.⁵⁴³ The difference is apparent as the next section introduces the long and detailed school's journal entry on the receiving of the *goshin'ei*. Such fundamental differences in distribution and treatment show that both the government and schools considered the portraits as more important than the *Rescript*.

4.4.3 Case Study: The Use of *Goshin'ei* and the *Rescript* in Rituals at the Matsumoto Jinjō Elementary School

While *The Ritual Regulations of Holidays and Festivals for Elementary Schools* presents the basic order and structure of the ceremony for each imperial holiday, the local prefectures had the freedom to elaborate and add more activities to this format. Although the Ministry retained the right to regulate the rituals, the Prefectural Director could make the rules concerning the details of the ceremonies. The Matsumoto Jinjō Elementary School in Nagano Prefecture serves as an

⁵⁴¹ *Nanyōshishi henshū shiryō*, 127 (vol. 30) and 52 (vol. 31).

⁵⁴² *Kaichi gakkōnisshi* 開智学校日誌, in *Shiryō Kaichi gakkō* 史料開智学校 1: *Gakkōnisshi* 学校日誌 1, compiled by Satō Hideo 佐藤秀夫 (Nagano: Densan Shuppan Kikaku 電算出版企画, 1988), 44.

⁵⁴³ *Matsumoto Jinjō Shōgakkō nisshi*, 80.

ideal case study because the teachers kept detailed journals that describe the school's *goshin'ei*-related rituals and how those rituals elevated the *goshin'ei*. The following represents a rough translation of the journal entries kept by the teachers.⁵⁴⁴

As soon as the Matsumoto Jinjō Elementary School received notification from the Imperial Household Agency through the Ministry of Education that it would receive the gift of a portrait, the teachers and students began their preparations for the *haitaishiki* 拝戴式, the receiving of the imperial portrait. During a meeting on October 24, 1891 (Meiji 24), the school decided to simultaneously hold the portrait-receiving ceremony and Tenchōsetsu, the celebration of the birthday of Emperor Meiji, on November 3. After discussing the details of the events, the entire school devoted both October 29 and October 30 to rehearsals.⁵⁴⁵ The school record on November 2, the day before the celebrations, indicates that both students and teachers were busy preparing, practicing, and reviewing the procedures.⁵⁴⁶

In another school entry dated November 3, the evening after the ceremony and celebration, the teachers recorded some details of these events. At 9 a.m. that day, the final preparation began; the teachers and students marched until they reached the *Shintōbunkyo* 神道分局, a religious office of a Shinto sect. Because the Prefectural Director was sick that day, his secretary presented the portrait to the school principal.⁵⁴⁷ The principal immediately stored the portrait in a box, which the teachers had earlier delivered. Using the Shinto religious office as the setting in which the school received the *goshin'ei* gave the portrait a religious connotation. Moreover, the principal stored the portrait in the pre-arranged box at once without presenting it to the others. This indicates that the portrait, like the emperor himself, embodies importance.

⁵⁴⁴ Teachers of Matsumoto Elementary School kept a detailed school journal from 1888 (Meiji 21) to 1908 (Meiji 41). Ibid., 52-62.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 90.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

Because peeking at the body of the emperor without a proper welcome signifies an act of disrespect, the principal waited until the ceremony to present the portrait to the teachers, students, and others.

After singing the national anthem, the procession returned to the school; many people lined the street to watch. However, due to the request by local residents to share in this honor, the teachers and students changed their original route by traveling further south to Iida and Honmachi Townships. The procession had the following order from front to back: 1) a *kundō* 訓導 teacher⁵⁴⁸ and the physical education teacher; 2) fourth graders; 3) the school principal with the portrait box; 4) two guards each on either side of the box; 5) the mayor of Matsumoto, the deputy mayor (*kyōyaku* 助役), and school assistants (*gakujigakari* 学事掛); 6) third graders; 7) second graders; and 8) first graders. Various government staff members, such as Town Senators from different ranks (members of *chōkaigi[in]* 町会議[員] and *machiyakubain* 町役場員), and students from the home economics division (*saihōka* 裁縫科) gathered outside the school gate to welcome the procession.⁵⁴⁹

According to the school journal, the ceremony on the school campus, like the earlier receiving ceremony, also followed a particular order. Someone, perhaps the principal, placed the imperial portrait on a *takamikura* 高御座, an imperial-style throne appropriate for the emperor. With the approval of the school principal, all those in attendance bowed. When the principal removed the curtain from the portrait, a bell was rung, signaling the people to stand at attention; after the opening remarks by the principal, all attending listened to the national anthem. The rest

⁵⁴⁸ *Kundō* 訓導 were licensed teachers equivalent to today's *kyōron* 教諭.

⁵⁴⁹ *Matsumoto Jinjō Shōgakkō nisshi*, 90.

of the ceremony proceeded as follows: 1) the principal paid his respects⁵⁵⁰ to the portrait and gave a speech; 2) a representative of the teachers paid his or her respects to the portrait and read a congratulatory statement; 3) third grade female students played a song; 4) the county director (*gunchō* 郡長), the county clerk (*gunshoki* 郡書記), the mayor, and the deputy mayor paid their respects to the portrait; 5) the Town Senators paid their respects the portrait; 6) fourth grade female students played a song; 7) everyone recited the *Imperial Rescript of Education*; 8) the *kundō* teachers paid their respects; 9) temporary teachers (*jugyōseiyō* 授業生傭) paid their respects; 10) female teachers paid their respects; 11) school assistants paid their respects; 12) a representative of the students (*seitosōdai* 生徒総代) paid his or her respect to the portrait; 13) second grade female students played the national anthem;⁵⁵¹ and 14) all those in attendance bowed before the portrait and left the ceremony. After the ceremony, parents of the students were allowed to look at the portrait for approximately 20 minutes. The older students performed gymnastics and dance in front of their parents to make this special day more enjoyable. The organizers, including the government staff members and teachers, then held a banquet. All these activities concluded at 1:30 p.m. On the following day, with police officers guarding the portrait of Emperor Meiji and the campus, the residents of Matsumoto were permitted to view the portrait.⁵⁵² As such, the Matsumoto Elementary School elaborated the ceremony by adding more activities to this mandatory observance. The school allowed the students' parents and relatives as well as neighboring residents to also observe the ceremonies on campus.

These detailed school journal entries indicate the high value of the imperial portrait to the people of Matsumoto. To receive the portrait required days of planning and organizing. Every

⁵⁵⁰ I translated “*haiga* 拝賀” as “to pay one’s respect.”

⁵⁵¹ They played “*Kimi ga yo* 君が代,” “*Tama no miyai* 玉の宮居,” and “*Amatsuhikage* 天津日影.” This record does not specify what kind of musical instruments students used to play these songs.

⁵⁵² *Matsumoto Jinjō Shōgakkō nisshi*, 90-91.

step of the elaborate ritual had to be done to perfection in order to pay proper tribute to the portrait of Emperor Meiji. The complexity of this ceremony illustrates that the people showed special respect toward the portrait. They might have treated the portrait as an object embodying Emperor Meiji because the school record states that they placed the portrait in “imperial throne(s) (*gyokuza* 玉座 and *takamikura*)” during the ceremony.⁵⁵³ To them, the portrait was never a mere image of the emperor.

4.4.4 The *Goshin’ei* Placement on School Campus

The appropriate place to house the imperial images also demonstrates the importance of the portraits even when they are not in use. On April 8, 1891 (Meiji 24), the Ministry of Education required Japanese schools to secure a safe place to store the imperial portraits. Once schools received the portraits, they should respectfully place the images in a safe and appropriate spot in their school buildings (*kōsha* 校舎).⁵⁵⁴ The careful placement of the portraits within the school building, often together with a copy of the *Rescript*, shows that the Japanese public treated the images of the royal couple as more than papers. For example, those schools with multiple floors kept the portraits on the top floor; if they kept the images on the first floor, the students and teachers walking on the second floor and above would be showing disrespect of the emperor and empress consort by symbolically stepping over the imperial portraits. Unfortunately, this respectful placement of the portraits on the top floor proved to be a bad location in emergencies. As this chapter will later detail, this difficult access to the portraits resulted in many deaths.

⁵⁵³ The journal states that the portrait of Emperor Meiji was first placed on a *gyokuza* 玉座 (lit: jade throne) before the ceremony. From the record, it is unclear whether there were two different thrones or one that the author referred to with two different names (*gyokuza* and *takamikura*). While *gyokuza* is an umbrella term for imperial throne, the *takamikura* (housed at the imperial palace in Kyoto) is used for major imperial ceremonies such as the accession ceremony and the first of the year audience. *Matsumoto Jinjō Shōgakkō nisshi*, 90.

⁵⁵⁴ Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 63-64. On 17 November 1891 (Meiji 24), the Ministry of Education amended this rule from storing the imperial portraits “in school buildings (*kōsha* 校舎)” to “on campus (*kōnai* 校内).” *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Many Japanese educators, especially the school principals in charge of protecting the portraits, lost their lives attempting to “rescue” the imperial portraits from burning school buildings.⁵⁵⁵

Furthermore, a record found in Toyama prefecture shows an interesting difference in treatment of the portrait and the *Imperial Rescript of Education*. According to the Toyama prefectural law of January 15, 1900 (Meiji 33), schools should dedicate an entire room to the imperial portraits, but were not required to do so if they owned only the *Rescript*.⁵⁵⁶ In that case, the school was allowed to use a section of the teachers’ lounge (*shokuin shitsu* 職員室) to keep the document. This regulation on where to keep the portrait and the document proves that the Japanese people, at least in Toyama prefecture, considered the imperial portraits more significant than the words of the emperor. Although the words of Emperor Meiji were important, the official portraits were treated as embodiments of the emperor himself.

4.5 MEDIUM OF PHOTOGRAPHY

The *goshin’ei* was actually a photograph taken by Maruki Riyō of the realistic Western style conté crayon drawing done by Edoardo Chiossone. It is important to emphasize that the *goshin’ei* is not a true photograph of Emperor Meiji, but it is a photograph of a drawing. Because modernization was welcomed in Meiji Japan, photography that was introduced to Japan in the late 1840s was also welcomed.⁵⁵⁷ The medium of photography, an instrument of evidence, made the public believe that the idealized drawing was a real representation of the emperor. Not only

⁵⁵⁵ In March 1907 (Meiji 40), the City of Sendai sent a request to the Ministry of Education asking for permission to keep the imperial portraits in one place in its city hall because schools in Sendai did not have means to safely protect the portraits. The Ministry of Education eventually changed its original regulation and gave permission to the City of Sendai in April. *From Meiji 30 to Taishō 12 Monbushō reikirisu* 自明治 30 年至大正 12 年文部省例規類纂,” compiled by Monbushō 文部省 (Tokyo: Monbu daijin kanbō monshoka 文部大臣官房文書課, 1924), 581 (original). Hyogo and Mie prefectures filed a similar request. See, Monbushō, vol. 1, 6-7.

⁵⁵⁶ Toyama, number six. Kobayashi, “Naganokenka shogakkō e no goshin’ei no kafu to sono fukyū II,” 205.

⁵⁵⁷ Doris Croissant, “In Quest of the Real: Portrayal and Photography in Japanese Painting Theory,” in *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-century Japanese Art*, ed. Ellen P. Conant (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 158. The earliest text known that translates daguerreotype was written in 1852.

does my research explain how the government treated the photographic portrait differently from the woodblock print images, but it also compares the characteristics of the two media by applying the theories of photography to understand why the government chose photography over print to create the official portrait of Emperor Meiji.

4.5.1 Japanese Importation of Photography

Many Western discourses of history and theories of photography may be applied to Japan; however, to situate the portraits of Emperor Meiji in the sociopolitical framework of the time requires that scholars understand the Japanese reaction to this new technology. Early-19th-century Japanese artists were aware of *camera obscura* as a Western tool for drawing, but photography did not reach Japan until the mid-19th century.⁵⁵⁸ Specifically, the history of photography in Japan began in Nagasaki with the importation of the daguerreotype⁵⁵⁹ from Dutch merchants. Ueno Shunnojō 上野俊之丞 (1790-1851), a merchant and a scholar of Dutch studies in Nagasaki, wrote in his journal that the Dutch brought a daguerreotype, known in Japanese as *ginban shashin* 銀板写真 or *dagereotaipu* ダゲレオタイプ, to Nagasaki. Ueno initially failed to purchase this camera in 1843 (Tenpō 天保 14); however, he succeeded in buying the device in 1848 (Kaei 嘉永 1) when the Dutch merchants returned to Nagasaki.⁵⁶⁰ While it may be possible that the Japanese merchants saw and imported cameras earlier, this

⁵⁵⁸ *Camera obscura* means “dark room” in Latin. It was also called *shashinkyō* 写真鏡 and *donkuru kâmeru* ドンクル・カーメル. Sangyō nōritsu tanki daigaku 産業能率短期大学, *Shashin no kaiso Ueno Hikoma* 写真の開祖 上野彦馬: *Shashin ni miru Bakumatsu Meiji* 写真にみる幕末明治 (Tokyo: Sangyō Nōritsu Tankidaigaku Shuppanbu 産業能率短期大学出版部, 1975), 216.

⁵⁵⁹ A daguerreotype is an early type of photograph originally developed by a French painter and chemist Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) in 1839. *Gazette de France*, a French newspaper, announced this new process on January 6, 1839. Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 18-19.

⁵⁶⁰ *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 7, 217.

journal entry left by Ueno is the first extant record about the importation of the daguerreotype to Japan.

For the next ten years, due to the high cost of photography, the government and provincial domains supported the study of daguerreotype. Both considered daguerreotypes as science projects rather than devices to create art or portraits. Following a series of experimentation with this new technology, Ichiki Shirō 市来四郎 (1829-1903) and other Japanese “scientists” successfully transferred an image of Shimazu Nariakira 島津斉彬 (1809-1858), the 28th lord of Satsuma domain, onto a silver plate for the first time on 1857 (Ansei 安政 4) 9.17.⁵⁶¹

The use of daguerreotype waned when collodion, a new photographic process discovered in 1851 by Frederic Scott Archer (1813–1857), an English engraver and sculptor, was imported to Nagasaki at the beginning of the Ansei period (1854-1859).⁵⁶² This new wet plate photo process, known in Japanese as *shippan shashin* 湿板写真 (also known as *nureita* ぬれ板, *namatori* なま取り, and *garasutori* ガラス取り), quickly became popular.⁵⁶³ Two large improvements distinguish collodion from daguerreotype. Unlike the 1839 daguerreotype, which took five to sixty minutes of exposure for development, depending on the strength of the light,⁵⁶⁴ the collodion process only required fifteen to sixty seconds of exposure.⁵⁶⁵ Another advantage of

⁵⁶¹ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* 6, (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), 185. Eliphalet Brown Jr., an American artist who came to Japan with Commodore Matthew Perry, took the first daguerreotype photographs in Japan. Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York; London: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2007), 73.

⁵⁶² Newhall, 59. Ozawa Takeshi 小沢健志, *Nihon no shashinshi* 日本の写真史: *Bakumatsu no denpan kara Meijiiki made* 幕末の伝播から明治期まで (Tokyo: Nikkōru kurabu ニッコールクラブ, 1986), 12.

⁵⁶³ Ozawa, *Nihon no shashinshi*, 38.

⁵⁶⁴ Rosenblum, 17.

⁵⁶⁵ Nathan G. Burgess wrote about the collodion process in *The Photographic Manual* in 1863. He stated that “[t]he time of exposure in the camera is entirely a matter of judgment and experience. No defined rules can be laid down, but usually in a strong light...from fifteen seconds to one minute will answer.” Nathan G. Burgess, *The Photographic Manual* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1863), 42. Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三 (1832-1870) wrote in *Shashinkyō zusetsu* 写真鏡図説 in 1867 (Keiō 慶応 3) that the collodion process takes approximately six

collodion is that while the daguerreotype produces only one original, the collodion creates negatives that allow photographers to duplicate images. Thus, the collodion process soon replaced daguerreotypes in both the West and Japan.

Despite the highly technical component of collodion, the process still made photography more accessible to Japanese photographers. As a result, photography became a new occupation in Japan. Photographers such as Shimooka Renjō 下岡蓮杖 (1823-1914) of Yokohama, and Uchida Kuichi and Ueno Hikoma 上野彦馬 (1838-1904), both from Nagasaki, opened their photo studios to the public.⁵⁶⁶ However, although the collodion process made photography more accessible, the Japanese general public was still fearful of cameras.⁵⁶⁷

Therefore, most of Shimooka's first customers were non-Japanese. To appeal to his foreign clients, Shimooka dressed his sitters in *kimono* and Japanese armor. He also created opportunities for his customers to take photographs with a Japanese girl as a way to add an exotic, ethnic flavor to the photographs. Due to various superstitions, Shimooka had a difficult time finding a Japanese model who would pose in front of the camera. When Shimooka finally found a girl in his neighborhood to model, he had to generously pay her two to three dollars per sitting or 13 to 14 dollars per day.⁵⁶⁸ The value of a dollar at that time is unclear, but it is easy to imagine that this represented an enormous amount of financial gratitude.

to seven seconds of exposure on a sunny day and 20 to 50 seconds on a cloudy day. Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三, *Shashinkyō zusetsu* 写真鏡図説 (*Traite de photographie microscopique*) (Edo: Izumiya Hanbei 和泉屋半兵衛, 1866-1868) in *Edo kagaku koten sōsho* 江戸科学古典叢書 38, ed. Aoki Kunio 青木國夫 (Tokyo: Kōwa Shuppan 恒和出版, 1983) 339-340.

⁵⁶⁶ *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. 6, 185.

⁵⁶⁷ According to Ozawa, the Japanese people of the 19th century superstitiously believed that a camera could take away the sitter's spirit and that the act of photography could shorten the sitter's lifespan. Ozawa, *Nihon no shashinshi*, 59. Even though Ozawa does not provide any proof or source of his theory, this idea appears to be widely accepted among the Japanese scholars.

⁵⁶⁸ It is interesting that Shimooka paid his models with the foreign currency. This may be because his clients, mainly non-Japanese, paid the photographer in dollars. *Mitsukoshi taimusu* みつこしタイムス, Meiji 43, in Ozawa, *Nihon no shashinshi*, 59 and Sangyō nōritsu tanki daigaku, 219.

Photography did not become popular among the Japanese until the mid-1860s.⁵⁶⁹ By the mid- to late- 1870s, over one hundred photo studios conducted business in Tokyo.⁵⁷⁰ In 1887 (Meiji 20), Ueno Hikoma, the third photographer mentioned above, charged one yen per wallet size print (*meishi-ban* 名刺判), two yen for a cabinet size print (*kyabine-ban* キャビネ判), and five yen for a quarter cut print (*yotsugiri* 四切).⁵⁷¹ Ozawa Takeshi, an expert historian of Japanese photography, explains that an employee of Nagasaki prefecture annually earned an average of 120 yen.⁵⁷² Therefore, photographs were still relatively expensive when the 1888 portrait was created, but were available for the general public for special occasions.

One possible explanation for the growing popularity of photography might stem from the 1871 (Meiji 4) government ban of the traditional sword and topknot hairstyle. Upper class Japanese and former samurai felt that this edict robbed them of their prestigious status, which their swords and hairstyle represented. Therefore, both the upper and middle classes embraced photographic portraits as a way to capture their legacy by having their portraits taken with swords and topknots. Together with a nostalgia for traditional Japan, the rush to have a photographic portrait before the change of the dress codes promoted photography.

In addition, the Japanese government was surprisingly forward-thinking about this new technology. In 1876 (Meiji 9), the Meiji government passed a regulation titled *Shashin jōrei* 写真条例 which guaranteed five years of copyright (*chosakuken senbai* 著作権専売) for the photographers. In 1887 (Meiji 20), the government replaced this regulation with a *Shashinbanken jōrei* 写真版權条例, a new law which reinforced and extended the copyright

⁵⁶⁹ Images of actors, prostitutes, and landscapes were sold as early as 1871 (Meiji 4). Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai 日本写真家協会, *Nihon shashinshi* 日本写真史 1840-1945 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1971), 446.

⁵⁷⁰ Rosenblum, 73.

⁵⁷¹ Ozawa, *Nihon no shashinshi*, 89. Cabinet prints measured 5.5 in. x 4 in.

⁵⁷² Ibid., 89.

period from five to ten years.⁵⁷³ These actions show that the government did not treat photography as a magical device, but perceived it as a technological product for business.

4.5.2 Reasons for Using Photography for *Goshin'ei*

By 1888, the government already had a plan to widely distribute the 1888 portraits to the public; therefore, drawing and painting were not good media for this purpose. Photography was a convenient tool to make duplicate images, as were woodblock prints. The government chose photography as a duplication tool because prints had associations with tabloids, as explained in the previous chapter. If there is a hierarchy of artistic mediums, prints are not high on the list because they were for casual use by commoners. On the other hand, photography was a new, Western technology, a medium which impressed the 19th-century Japanese.

Although lithography was also a newly imported medium, the government chose photography over lithographic prints for the official portrait of Emperor Meiji. Some Western theorists, such as American writer Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809 – 1894), thought drawing was an inferior medium for making real likenesses compared to photography because drawing can create a fake reality.⁵⁷⁴ However, the advantage of using a realistic drawing over portrait photography is that the artist could idealize the emperor in a drawing. Unlike photographers who capture a precise reality, artists can take reality and add their ideas and intents to their drawings, thereby expressing their own interpretations. Ernst Hans Gombrich explains that “[t]he painter...who wants to ‘elevate his style’ disregards the particular and ‘generalizes the forms.’

⁵⁷³ Nihon Shashinka Kyōkai, 446-447.

⁵⁷⁴ Oliver Wendell Holmes, “The Stereoscope and the Stereograph,” *The Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art, and Politics*, vol. 3 (1857), 8.

Such a picture will no longer represent a particular man but rather the class or concept ‘man.’”⁵⁷⁵

Unlike photographers, artists can filter their work through their own eyes, eliminating undesirable features and characteristics and creating an idealized portrait. Furthermore, as mentioned before, an additional reason for using a drawing stemmed from the emperor’s distaste at having his photograph taken; this antipathy towards photographs was ironic since the emperor accepted Westernization and modernization with open arms.⁵⁷⁶

Drawing could create a grander image of the emperor; however, it was crucial for the *goshin’ei* to be perceived as a straight photograph. It was important to make the public believe that the idealized drawing was a “real” representation of the emperor. Thus, the drawing had to be absolutely realistic, in other words, “photographic.” In *Camera Lucida*, a prominent art historian, Roland Barthes (1915 - 1980), explains how photography’s referent is not the same as the referent of other systems of representation because a photograph could testify to the existence of a reality. Barthes states that “from a phenomenological viewpoint, in the photograph, the power of authentication exceeds the power of representation.”⁵⁷⁷ By using a camera, an instrument of evidence, to create *goshin’ei*, the unquestionable existence of the emperor could be confirmed.

Such a notion of the camera as a superior recording device could manipulate the general public to believe that the impeccable portrait was a “real” representation of the emperor.⁵⁷⁸ Photography, possessing an evidential force,⁵⁷⁹ does not convey emotion, intelligence or morality, distinctive characteristics which distinguish humans from machines. Lorraine Daston

⁵⁷⁵ Gombrich, 2. Also see John Berger, “The Changing View of Man in the Portrait,” *Selected Essays: The Look of Things*, edited by Geoff Dyer (New York: Pantheon Books, 2001), 98-102.

⁵⁷⁶ *MTK*, vol. 7, 7.

⁵⁷⁷ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photograph*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 88-89.

⁵⁷⁸ The other benefit of taking a photograph of the portrait drawing is that photographic technology allows an easy mechanical reproduction of the image.

⁵⁷⁹ Barthes explains that photograph possesses an “evidential force.” Barthes, 88.

and Peter Louis Galison define this concept as “Mechanical Objectivity.”⁵⁸⁰ By eliminating human agency, Mechanical Objectivity flatly denies observers’ subjectivity and personal idiosyncrasies which directly interfere with truth. Thus mechanically-made photographs can reproduce reality most accurately, while human are incapable of even seeing the truth.

Andre Bazin (1918 - 1958), a French film theorist, also claims that drawing is an inferior medium for making likeness compared to photography, because no matter how skillful the artist, his work cannot escape his subjectivity.⁵⁸¹ As for a mechanically created photographic portrait, only the nonliving agent intervenes between the emperor and his reproduced image. In a perfectly focused photographic portrait, all the minute details are captured, representing an infinity of different perspectives. On the other hand, a drawing would have produced mere impressions of the emperor, which might be inadequate.

Bazin went even further, saying that with photography, “we are forced to accept as real the existence of the [person] reproduced...Photography enjoys a certain advantage by virtue of this transference of reality from the thing to its reproduction.”⁵⁸² Simply put, according to Bazin, a photograph of X is X.⁵⁸³ This perception of photographs being interchangeable with the object being photographed explains the belief that the photographic portrait is physically the subject himself, embodying the actual person who is presented in the photograph. Maya Deren (1917 - 1961), a film director and critic, also agrees with the concept by stating that “a specific reality is

⁵⁸⁰ Lorraine Daston and Peter Louis Galison, “The Image of Objectivity,” *Representations*, vol. 40 (1992), 81-128.

⁵⁸¹ André Bazin, “The Ontology of the Photographic Image,” *What is Cinema?* edited by Hugh Gray (Berkeley, CA, and London: University of California Press, 1967), 12. On the contrary, it is also important to remember that to people like Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), cameras produce images indiscriminately without any intelligent selective principles. Thus, photography is inferior to drawing because cameras are mindless instruments not suitable for creating art.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁸³ Interestingly, to Bazin, it did not matter how a photograph looked; the image did not even have to be recognizable to be interchangeable with the object being photographed.

the prior condition of the existence of a photograph, the photograph not only testifies to the existence of that reality but is, to all intents and purposes, its equivalent.”⁵⁸⁴

Such a notion might be derived from the idea that the photograph does not involve a human agent, an aspect which is unique to the medium. William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), the inventor of photography, once remarked that photography is not taken by a photographer, but is the action of light upon sensitive paper that is impressed by “Nature’s hand.” The mid-nineteenth century widely accepted this concept that photography is a “sun drawing,” and images imprint themselves on a paper.⁵⁸⁵ This relationship between a photograph and an object being photographed is similar to the relationship between fingers and fingerprints; in this sense, without one, the other cannot exist.

In certain instances, the government chose oil painting over photography. For example, in 1874 (Meiji 7), through Nakayama Jōji 中山讓治, an ambassador to Italy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs commissioned an Italian artist, Giuseppe Ugolini of Milano (1826-1897) to paint a pair of portraits of the imperial couple to hang at the imperial palace in Tokyo.⁵⁸⁶ Since Ugolini had never seen Emperor Meiji, he based his oil paintings on the photographic portraits done in 1873 (Meiji 6). Even though the government could have easily hung duplicates of the photographic portraits they already had, it chose the medium of oil painting for this purpose. This is because the Meiji government planned to hang this pair of Japanese imperial portraits along with Ugolini’s other oil painting portraits of world leaders at the palace in Tokyo.⁵⁸⁷ To

⁵⁸⁴ Maya Deren, “Cinematography: The Creative Use of Reality,” in *Film Theory and Criticism*, edited by Gerald Mast et al. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 62.

⁵⁸⁵ Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, Paternoster Row, 1844), 4.

⁵⁸⁶ *MTK*, vol. 3, 332. According to the *MTK* entry on November 5, 1874 (Meiji 7), these portraits were submitted to Emperor Meiji one day before on November 4.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 332. *MTK* stated “hang the portraits at the palace (肖像を宮中に掲げん),” but did not specifically mention where these portraits were hung within the palace.

establish this portrait collection, the government employed oil painting, a more conventional medium than photography, to show its understanding of Western portrait tradition. Although building a portrait collection of world leaders was a newly invented custom for the Meiji leaders, the long-established medium of oil painting helped the government achieve the illusion of tradition.

4.6 *GOSHIN'EI* AS A DEVOTIONAL OBJECT

The Meiji Japanese eventually treated the portrait of the emperor as an icon infused with more than simple appearance. This dissertation does not make the claim that viewers “equated” the image with its sitter, or that they accept as fact that the picture and the person were equivalent. Viewers may be able to distinguish between a living person and his or her image, yet at the same time believe (or act as if) the presence or spirit of the sitter inhabited the image. The portraits, then, are not doubles—mirror copies—of the sitter, but are instead surrogates—close alternates—of the sitter.

Bazin uses prehistoric cave paintings in France to illustrate how an image can become a substitute for real animals. For example, the arrow-pierced murals on the cave wall indicate that ancient hunters used to shoot painted animals to ensure a successful hunt with real animals. Bazin suggests that the painted animals are “a magic identity-substitute for the living animal[s].”⁵⁸⁸ In this case, the representation of an animal is united with an actual animal during

⁵⁸⁸ Bazin, 10. Bazin might have thought that no one believed in the ontological identity of model and image any longer; however, it is still possible to find an example of such belief even in the contemporary America. Irish singer Sinéad O'Connor ripped a photograph of Pope John Paul II into pieces on *Saturday Night Live* on October 3, 1992. In this case, the photograph of the pope became the pope himself. The act of ripping the photograph offended many viewers, Christians and non-Christians alike. The other example is a family of a murder victim to carry a picture of deceased into the courtroom during the trial in order to confront the accused with the image of his or her victim. The picture of the deceased becomes the deceased and his/her spiritual presence is felt. Moreover, portraits often serve as icons in funeral and memorial rituals today.

the pre-hunting ritual. The same analogy can explain why *goshin'ei* serve as a substitute for the emperor in ritual.

An examination of some case studies of *goshin'ei*-related deaths demonstrates that the Meiji Japanese treated the photographic imperial portrait as if it were Emperor Meiji himself. In addition to the notion of a portrait as a “substitute” of the sitter, the emperor-centered nationalistic mentality, cultivated during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895, Meiji 27-28) and the subsequent Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905, Meiji 37-38), caused these *goshin'ei*-related fatalities. In June 1896 (Meiji 29), Tochinai Taikichi 栃内泰吉 (1842-1896), a teacher of the Hakozaki Jinjō Elementary School in Iwate prefecture, lost his life trying to save the emperor's portrait from the Sanriku Daikaishō 三陸大海嘯 tsunamis.⁵⁸⁹ These tsunamis, which occurred as a result of the Sanriku Earthquake of June 15, 1896, reached 24 meters (78.74 feet) in height and killed more than 36,000 people.⁵⁹⁰ The tsunamis took Tochinai along with the imperial portraits. On the following day, he was found almost dead on a beach but still clenching the portraits.⁵⁹¹ On June 17, 1896 (Meiji 29), *Kyōikutōshi* 教育塔誌 dramatically reported that the imperial portraits were “saved” because Tochinai did not let go of them until his death.⁵⁹² Tochinai was later rewarded for his ultimate sacrifice.⁵⁹³ Although 36,000 people died, the death of Tochinai received the most media attention because it was the first incident related to saving an imperial photographic portrait.

⁵⁸⁹ The Sanriku Coast is a coastal region on the Pacific Ocean in northeastern part of the island of Honshu, Japan (Aomori, Iwate, and Miyagi prefectures).

⁵⁹⁰ *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, vol. 6, 415.

⁵⁹¹ Iwamoto, *Goshin'ei ni junjita kyōshitachi*, 41-45.

⁵⁹² *Kyōikutōshi* 教育塔誌, June 17, 1896 (Meiji 29), in Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 345. *Kyōikutōshi* was published by Teikoku Kyōikukai 帝国教育会.

⁵⁹³ Iwamoto, *Goshin'ei ni junjita kyōshitachi*, 43-48.

Soon after the death of Tochinai, such publications as the *Fūzokugahō* 風俗画報, *Kyōikujiron* 教育事論, and *Tokyo asahi shinbun* 東京朝日新聞 all praised and honored Tochinai's brave rescue.⁵⁹⁴ Surprisingly, some intellectuals criticized these publishers and the government for promoting the death as a royal act. For example, an article in the *Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友 states that although the Japanese should respect the portrait of Emperor Meiji, no one should die for a photograph.⁵⁹⁵ While the author sympathizes with Tochinai and his death, he does not agree with Tochinai's rescue effort. Instead, he encourages his readers to live longer so they can actually serve the nation.

Furthermore, Jōhokuinshi 城北隠士 (d.u.) took a similar stance in the *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞.⁵⁹⁶ In order to give his readers a new perspective, Jōhokuinshi compared the relationship between Emperor Meiji and Tochinai to a relationship between a father and his son. The author stated that a son should not die for a photograph of his father because a photograph, unlike a human life, can be reproduced. The son should stay alive and serve his living father. A person who dies for a photograph is either a fool or someone who desires fame. Jōhokuinshi also criticized these publishers for praising Tochinai's behavior. It is notable that Jōhokuinshi and other intellectuals could criticize the government for these sacrificial deaths at this point. Later in

⁵⁹⁴ See the article titled 1) "Tsunami higairoku 海嘯被害録" in the *Fūzokugahō* on July 25, 1896 (Meiji 29). (Reprint page 23). In this article, Tochinai's name is misspelled as Tochida 栃田; 2) "Sanwa Issoku 惨話一束" in the June 26, 1896 (Meiji 29) issue of the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* 東京朝日新聞 (vol. 3477). (Kikuzō II Visual 聞蔵 II ビジュアル); and 3) the *Kyōikujiron* on July 5.

⁵⁹⁵ The July 4, 1896 (Meiji 29) article titled "Kunren shitaru chūgishin 訓練したる忠義心" in the *Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友 exemplifies this attitude. Anonymous, *Kokumin no tomo*, ed. Meiji bunken 明治文献, vol. 303 (Tokyo: Minyūsha 民友社), 1-4 (also page numbered as 231-232 and 1465-1468). Microfilm wheel no. 18.

⁵⁹⁶ Jōhokuinshi (a penname for Kitamura Sōsuke 北村宗助), took a similar stance in "Totsutotsukaiji 咄々怪事," his article that appeared in the *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞 on the same day that the previous article appeared in the *Kokumin no tomo*. Jōhokuinshi, *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞, July 4, 1896 (Meiji 29), vol. 1938, p. 3. microfilm. Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1863-1957) established both *Kokumin shinbun* and *Kokumin no tomo*. Tokutomi founded *Kokumin shinbun* in 1890 and published *Kokumin no tomo* from February 1887 (Meiji 20) until August 1898 (Meiji 31). See *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 5, 695-696.

the Taishō (1912-1926) and Shōwa (1926-1989) periods, this kind of political criticism would have been more difficult. Therefore, these articles show that the authority of the emperor was still evolving during the Meiji period.

Many readers, however, responded negatively to Jōhokuinshi's article and sent their opinions to the *Kokumin shinbun*. Three days later on July 7, *Kokumin shinbun* published two editorials disagreeing with Jōhokuinshi's opinion. After identifying Jōhokuinshi as a "monster," one writer argued that the Japanese citizens should not treat the portrait (*seiei* 聖影, "sacred shadow") of Emperor Meiji like a regular photograph because the "sacred shadow" is the spirit of schools. He adds that protecting the *goshin'ei* is the job of school teachers and the duty of all Japanese citizens.⁵⁹⁷ By comparing this incident to the guarding of the national flag during wars, the second writer stated that the Japanese people should not think about the pros and cons [of protecting a photograph], but instead should focus on the mental and spiritual significance of the *goshin'ei*.⁵⁹⁸ On the following day, yet another writer ridiculed Jōhokuinshi in the *Kokumin shinbun* by commenting that even a three-year-old child knows better than Jōhokuinshi that the *goshin'ei* is the most important [thing]. This writer clearly believed that defending the *goshin'ei* meant protecting Emperor Meiji (*seitai* 聖体, "holy body"); as a result, protecting the *goshin'ei* to death is the highest duty/honor (*honryō* 本領) a Japanese can achieve.⁵⁹⁹

Similar to the *Kokumin shinbun*, other publications, including the *Kyōikujiron Magazine*, also criticized Jōhokuinshi and his publisher.⁶⁰⁰ The articles and editorials following the death of

⁵⁹⁷ Hanzōmongaisanshi 半蔵門外散史, *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞, July 7, 1896 (Meiji 29), vol. 1940, p. 5. microfilm.

⁵⁹⁸ Kōjimachi no ichihoi 麹町の一布衣, *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞, July 7, 1896 (Meiji 29), vol. 1940, p. 5. microfilm.

⁵⁹⁹ Okitenshi 冲天士, *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞, July 8, 1896 (Meiji 29), vol. 1941, p. 5. microfilm. Token 兎軒 and Daichūshin 大忠臣 also wrote similar editorial articles in this issue.

⁶⁰⁰ *Kyōikujiron*. vol. 405. June 5, 1896 (Meiji 29).

Tochinai helped the *goshin'ei* establish the notion of Emperor Meiji's embodiment. Therefore, not sacrificing one's life for the *goshin'ei* meant being disloyal to the nation. The Japanese public came to equate the mistreatment of the imperial portrait with unfaithfulness to the emperor.

By 1907 (Meiji 40), once the Russo-Japanese War had ended, the Japanese public endorsed protecting the *goshin'ei* as an accepted practice. An editorial published in *Kahoku shinpō* 河北新報 on January 26, 1907 in response to the January 24th fiery death of Ōtomo Motokichi 大友元吉 (1855-1907)⁶⁰¹ of Sendai Daiichi Junior High School, exemplifies this attitude.⁶⁰² The author emphasizes how those people in charge of protecting the imperial portraits suffer from this responsibility.⁶⁰³ On January 28, the same newspaper published a follow-up editorial which suggested a further investigation on how to safely protect the imperial portraits from fire.⁶⁰⁴ Instead of defining an imperial portrait as a photograph and arguing over the worth of the imperial portraits, these publications focused more on how to safeguard the portraits. Thus, the second editorial encouraged its readers to develop a manual to protect the *goshin'ei*.

Despite these editorial articles, more *goshin'ei*-related deaths continued to occur.⁶⁰⁵ A letter sent from the Ministry of Education to the prefectural offices on May 25, 1892 (Meiji 24), suggests why school principals continued their desperate attempts to rescue the portrait.

⁶⁰¹ *Kahoku shinpō* reads 元吉 as both Motokichi and Genkichi.

⁶⁰² “*Goshin'ei to jinmei* 御真影と人命,” *Kahoku shinpō* 河北新報, January 26, 1907 (Meiji 40), vol. 3469 (page 1).

⁶⁰³ School fires were common because almost all the schools in this period were built with wood. For more information on the death of Ōtomo Motokichi, see “*Daiichi chūgakkō no shōshitsu* 第一中学校の焼失: Shukuchokuin *goshin'ei* o hōjishite shōshitsu 宿直員御真影を奉持して焼死す (‘Fiery Death at the Daiichi Junior High School’ in *Kahoku shinpō*, vol. 3468 (page 5) on January 25, 1907 (Meiji 40) issue). See the articles published on the 28th for a photograph of Ōtomo and detailed information on his funeral. *Kahoku shinpō*, vol. 3471 (page 5) on January 28, 1907 (Meiji 40).

⁶⁰⁴ “*Goshin'ei Hōanjo* 御真影奉安所,” *Kahoku shinpō*, vol. 3471 (page 1) on January 28, 1907 (Meiji 40). The author suggests that local schools regularly keep *goshin'ei* in a safe (*kinko* 金庫) and take it out only on holidays.

⁶⁰⁵ For examples of the *goshin'ei* related deaths in the Taishō and Shōwa periods, see Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 345-371.

According to the letter, the government required that the principals return the imperial portraits if their schools close down or fail to keep their high reputation.⁶⁰⁶ Therefore, the government, not the schools, owned the portraits; the government allowed the school principals to serve as temporary keepers of the *goshin'ei*. As a result, the school principals also viewed saving the portraits as a way to save their jobs.

Unfortunately, numerous people—young and old, male and female—lost their lives in order to “rescue” the *goshin'ei*.⁶⁰⁷ These fatalities prove that the *goshin'ei* was considered an object of spiritual importance rather than a mere photograph which could be easily reproduced and replaced. To them, the *goshin'ei* substituted Emperor Meiji and symbolized their nation and its national value.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Since the aura of *goshin'ei* resided in the minds of the spectators, the existence of this aura had a close relationship to the portraits' distribution process and ritual functions. John Tagg, a Western photo theorist, eloquently stated the need to “look to the conscious and unconscious process, the practices and institutions through which the photograph can incite a phantasy, take on meaning, and exercise an effect. What is real is not just the material item but also the discursive system of which the image it bears is part.”⁶⁰⁸ The Japanese government needed to control closely the distribution process and usage of the portrait. The unique value of *goshin'ei* had its basis in ritual, and photographic medium was crucial to creating the “phantasy.” The photograph, therefore, effectively developed the notion of “presence” in images and helped to

⁶⁰⁶ Satō, *Zoku gendaishi shiryō*, 67.

⁶⁰⁷ The first female fatality was a 23 year old teacher named Sugisaka Taki 杉坂タキ (1900-1923), who attempted to save the portrait from a burning building in 1923 (Taishō 12). I will not discuss this case in my dissertation because she died in the Taishō period.

⁶⁰⁸ Tagg, 4.

construct the absolute power of the emperor. Four conditions transformed the 1888 portrait of Emperor Meiji into an object of devotion: 1) construction of the ideal image, 2) restriction of circulation, 3) ritualistic treatment of the image, and 4) the rise of the medium of photography. By meeting these four conditions, the *goshin'ei* exemplifies a spiritual connection to reality and illustrates the power of representation. By analyzing the human psychological responses to the portraits of Emperor Meiji, this chapter elucidates how images could exert the emotive force to affect viewers.

5.0 EPILOGUE: FINAL PORTRAIT OF EMPEROR MEIJI

At the beginning of the Meiji period, imperial portraiture underwent a functional transformation due to the influence of Western portrait practices. This change signified a break from the pre-modern Japanese practice of using mortuary portraits to commemorate the deceased. However, as discussed here, the funeral of Emperor Meiji illustrates that his portraits did not have any practical functions related to Buddhist death rituals as did those of his predecessors.

For approximately 20 years after 1888, no official portrait of Emperor Meiji was produced.⁶⁰⁹ Ogura Kenji 小倉俟司 (1861-1946?), an army photographer, took three snapshots of Emperor Meiji looking down at a map during military exercises and simulations in Nara prefecture in 1908 (Meiji 41), Okayama prefecture in 1910 (Meiji 43), and Fukuoka prefecture in 1911 (Meiji 44).⁶¹⁰ Due to the long distance between the emperor and the photographer, all three photographs of Emperor Meiji are out of focus. One of the photographs, most likely the one taken in Fukuoka a year before the emperor's death on July 30, 1912 (Meiji 45), was later enlarged and rotated 45 degrees clockwise; this manipulated image is the final portrait of Emperor Meiji.⁶¹¹ Because the emperor was originally looking down at a map, his posture seems awkward in the vertical position. This photograph was released upon the death of Emperor Meiji; to memorialize the deceased emperor, newspapers and magazines published the photograph. In addition to publications, this photographic portrait was incorporated into memorial postcards and photo-collages. For example, an anonymous artist printed a photo-collage, which includes the

⁶⁰⁹ Some artists produced new prints and oil paintings of Emperor Meiji by copying from the 1888 *goshin'ei*.

⁶¹⁰ Meiji Jingū, *Meiji Tennō no Goshōzō*, 20-21.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

portrait with eight other photographs taken during the funerary procession, state funeral, and interment of Emperor Meiji.⁶¹² Even though further research is necessary to identify the target audience for such memorabilia and the distribution method for these memorabilia, one thing is clear: these images were used to publicly memorialize the emperor, not as objects of private Buddhist funerary rites.⁶¹³

Since the imperial family no longer officially held Buddhist funeral and commemorative services, the function of this final portrait of Emperor Meiji was different from the pre-Meiji mortuary portraits.⁶¹⁴ The state funeral of Emperor Meiji on September 13, 1912, was the first Shinto-style imperial funeral after centuries of Buddhist imperial funerals.⁶¹⁵ As a result, the government had to create new Shinto-style funeral rituals for Emperor Meiji. Based on the available textual records and photographs of the pre-funeral procession, funeral, and interment of Emperor Meiji, Shinto ceremonies did not require a portrait of the deceased. For example, *MTK* records a detailed account of what was being carried—torches, drums, white and yellow banners, quivers and arrows, banners with the design of the sun and moon—during the national funeral procession for Emperor Meiji; however, the emperor's portrait was not listed as a part of the grand funeral procession.⁶¹⁶

Although photographers openly documented the funerary objects listed above, they did not include images of Emperor Meiji. It is possible that the photographers chose not to take

⁶¹² Ibid., 23.

⁶¹³ According to the portrait list compiled by Akamatsu in 1985 and the latest inventory list kept at Sennyūji, the temple does not own any portraits of Emperor Meiji. However, the temple currently holds an annual commemorative service for the emperor. Sennyūji might use a spirit tablet of Emperor Meiji instead of a portrait during the commemorative service.

⁶¹⁴ To my knowledge, the imperial family neither commissioned any mortuary portraits nor unofficially held a Buddhist funeral for Emperor Meiji because of the separation of Buddhism and Shintoism as explained in chapter two. When the imperial family and/or Sennyūji revived the tradition of imperial Buddhist commemorative services needs further investigation.

⁶¹⁵ Even though Toda Tadayuki argued that Emperor Kōmei, the father of Emperor Meiji, should be buried in Shinto-style, the imperial funeral in 1867 was still a mixture of Shinto and Buddhist funeral. Therefore, this imperial funeral was not a helpful precedent for the one of Emperor Meiji. *MTK*, vol. 1, 455-474.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., vol. 12, 839.

pictures of the portrait of Emperor Meiji out of respect for the emperor. However, had a portrait appeared at this Shinto funeral, the painted portrait would have been rolled up, and textual documents would have noted the presence of the portrait. After the funeral, a train took the body of the emperor from Tokyo to Kyoto to the emperor's final resting place in the Fushimi Momoyama 伏見桃山 burial site in Kyoto.⁶¹⁷ Dr. Wilhelm Von Oehler, a German newspaper reporter who visited and paid his respects at the Fushimi Momoyama burial site within ten days of the funeral, confirmed that the portrait of Emperor Meiji was not displayed after the funeral either. Oehler was surprised that even though Japan is a "country of arts (Land der Kunstfertigkeit)," no painting or sculpture decorated the imperial burial site.⁶¹⁸ He then remarked that only simple buildings in Shinto-style marked the site, but even these structures were temporary and would be burned at the end of the ritual.⁶¹⁹ Even though paintings and sculptures did not lavishly decorate the burial site, the funeral must have been majestic. For the funeral of Emperor Meiji, the Japanese government budgeted a large sum of money; therefore, a limited budget did not cause the absence of a portrait of the deceased.⁶²⁰ This imperial funeral does not suggest that the funerary and commemorative functions of a portrait had completely vanished from Japan by this time.⁶²¹ However, since the state funeral for Emperor Meiji was in the Shinto

⁶¹⁷ Allegedly, Emperor Meiji himself chose and requested his burial site years before his death. I say "allegedly," because the emperor's wish to be buried in Momoyama, Kyoto was not officially recorded in writing. It was based on what the emperor told his consorts over a dinner conversation. *MTK*, vol.12, 830. Many officials and the residents of Tokyo wanted the burial site to be in Tokyo. Since their wish was not granted, they pledged to build the Meiji Shrine (Meiji Jingū 明治神宮), which is now located in Shibuya, Tokyo. *Ibid.*, 831.

⁶¹⁸ This simple burial practice might have surprised Von Oehler, however, it was not a surprise to the Meiji Japanese because portraits of Japanese emperors never embellished burial sites.

⁶¹⁹ Von Oehler, Wilhelm "Am Grabe des Mikado," *Schwabischer Merkurs* (Newspaper dated on October 23, 1912), in Mochizuki Kotarō 望月小太郎, *Sekai ni okeru Meiji tennō* 世界における明治天皇 (*The Late Emperor of Japan as a World Monarch*), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Hara Shobō 原書房, 1973), 238. Also see vol. 1 for Japanese translation. Mochizuki, vol. 1, 449.

⁶²⁰ The Japanese government budgeted 1,545,389 yen, which was a large sum of money in 1912. *MTK*, vol. 12, 832. See the entry on August 24, 1912.

⁶²¹ Portraits began to lose their religious function at the imperial level. Commoners still practiced Buddhist funerals at this time.

style and did not adhere to the commemorative rites of a Buddhist funeral, it did not require the presence of the emperor's portrait. Although Emperor Meiji maintained his divine status, even at the new Shinto style funeral, portraits of emperors lost their commemorative function.⁶²²

5.1 CONCLUSION

This dissertation examines portraits of Japanese emperors from the Edo and Meiji periods by questioning how the socio-political context affected the production of imperial portraits. Prior to Western contact, pre-modern Japanese society viewed imperial portraits as religious objects for private use; it never publicly displayed these portraits. As chapter two demonstrates, close relatives and followers used imperial portraits for private commemorative purposes in pre-modern Japan. The Confucian notion of filial piety and the Buddhist tradition of *tsuizen* influenced the production of these commemorative or mortuary portraits. However, as discussed in chapters three and four, the Meiji period incorporated Western portrait practice, resulting in a change that allowed for controlled public viewing of the images of the Japanese emperors. The Meiji government socially and politically constructed and transformed the ideal role of Emperor Meiji: First, both Emperor Meiji and his image changed from that of unimaginable mythical persona into a leader of the nation; then, both the Emperor and his image reverted into an unreachable status. Such differences between the private and public functions of imperial portraits suggest that imperial portraits from the pre-modern and post-Meiji periods separately developed for different purposes. This dissertation argues that Japan experienced a break in imperial portrait practice; although portraiture in both the pre-modern and post-Meiji periods has many similarities, it does not share the same origins. By examining the psychological responses

⁶²² Emperor Meiji was deified and enshrined at Meiji Shrine in Shibuya, Tokyo in 1920 (formally dedicated in 1920, completed in 1921).

to the representations of Japanese emperors, this dissertation analyzes how images could exert an emotive force to affect viewers. Despite a break in imperial portrait practice in Japan, imperial portraits maintain a spiritual connection to reality and illustrate the power of representation.

Therefore, my dissertation has multi-faceted significance. First, the current paucity of scholarly publications in English on Japanese imperial portraiture makes my findings important. I did onsite research of primary sources written in Japanese to add authenticity to my results; my research took me to Sennyūji, the National Archives, and the Imperial Household Library. Moreover, I have made a unique contribution to the field by examining the images of Japanese emperors from the perspective of an art historian who contextualizes these portraits and highlights the socio-political and religious usages of portraits of the Japanese emperors. The notion of contextualization and the usages of these portraits distinguish my dissertation from the works of others. Most previous publications primarily focus on biographical studies of the emperors. Even though more scholars contextualize the portraits of Emperor Meiji, they have not done any in-depth examination of the pre-modern portraits of Japanese emperors. Finally, with this dissertation, I have begun to examine Japanese imperial portraiture by adopting a more interdisciplinary approach that includes studies by scholars from other fields and that combines methodologies of formal analysis and historical research.

While my dissertation addresses and answers some questions, many more questions remain. Therefore, my dissertation represents the beginning of a long-term study needed on this subject. It is my hope that my investigation not only enriches the field of art history, but it will also have relevance to such related fields as anthropology, religious studies, and sociology.

APPENDIX A

TWENTY-NINE PORTRAIT PAINTINGS OF EMPERORS AT SENNYŪJI⁶²³

- 59 Uda 宇多, Edo period (867-931, r. 887-897, 59th emperor), (moved from the Rendaiji 蓮台寺 in 1876)
- 59 Uda, Edo period, (moved from Hōkongō-in 法金剛院 in 1876)
- 77 Goshirakawa 後白河 (1127-1192, r. 1155-1158, 77th), Edo period, (moved from Shirakawadera 白河寺 in 1876)
- 80 Takakura 高倉 (1161-1181, r. 1168-1180, 80th), Edo period, (moved from Seikanji 清閑寺 in 1876)
- 81 Antoku 安德 (1178-1185, r. 1180-1185, 81st), Edo period, by Takuma Hōgen 宅間法眼, (moved from Chōrakuji 長樂寺 in 1876)
- 87 Shijō 四條 (1231-1242, r. 1232-1242, 87th), Edo period, by Sōgen 宗言 in 1641, (replacement)
- N2 Kōmyō 光明 (1321-1380, r. 1336-1348, Northern dynasty 2nd), Edo period
- N2 Kōmyō 光明
- N5 Goen'yū 後圓融 (1358-1393, r. 1371-1382, Northern dynasty 5th), Muromachi period, by Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信, 重要文化財 (currently at Unryū-in)
- N6, 100 Gokomatsu 後小松 (1377-1433, r. 1382-1412, 100th), Edo period⁶²⁴
- 106 Ōgimachi 正親町 (1516-1593, r. 1557-1586, 106th), Azuchi-Momoyama period (1572-1596), by Kawamura Chōrō 川村長老
- Yōkō 陽光 (d. 1586), Edo period
- 107 Goyōzei 後陽成 (1571-1617, r. 1586-1611, 107th), Edo period, by Kanō Kōshin 狩野孝信?
- 108 Gomizunoo 後水尾 (1596-1680, r. 1611-1629, 108th), Edo period, by Myōhōin Monzeki Gyōjo Hosshinnō 妙法院門跡堯如法親王, writing by Gomizunoo
- 108 Gomizunoo, Edo period, by Myōhōin Monzeki Gyōjo Hosshinnō
- 108 Gomizunoo, Edo period, by Ringūji no Miya Teruko Naishinnō 林宮寺宮光子内親王 (also known as Gen'yō Naishinnō 元瑤内親王)
- 108 Gomizunoo, Edo period, by Ringūji no Miya Teruko Naishinnō (also known as Gen'yō Naishinnō)
- 108 Gomizunoo, Edo period, by Shaku Keifu 釋景團
- 108 Gomizunoo, Edo period, by Mototsubaki 元椿 in 1704
- (Missing 109 Meishō)

⁶²³ Based on onsite research at Sennyūji in March, 2011.

⁶²⁴ Portrait of Emperor Gokomatsu is included in Higo Kazuo 肥後和男, *Rekidai Tennōzu* 歴代天皇図 (Tokyo: Akita Shoten 秋田書店, 1975), 189. However, Akamatsu, *Sennyūji shi: Shiryō hen*, published by Sennyūji, does not include this portrait. Nishitani confirms that this portrait is currently not in the Sennyūji collection. Further clarification on this matter is needed.

- 110 Gokōmyō 後光明 (1633-1654, r. 1643-1654, 110th), Edo period, by Otagi Michifuku 愛宕通福
- 111 Gosai 後西 (1637-1685, r. 1654-1663, 111th), Edo period, by Rinnōji no Miya Kōben
Hosshinnō 輪王寺宮公辨(弁)法親王
- 112 Reigen 靈元 (1654-1732, r. 1663-1687, 112th), Edo period, by Fusako? Naishinnō 栄子
内親王
- 112 Reigen 靈元 (1654-1732, r. 1663-1687, 112th), Edo period, by Onna Ninomiya
Masuko Naishinnō 女二宮益子内親王(missing?)
- 113 Higashiyama 東山 (1675-1709, r. 1687-1709, 113th), Edo period, by Rinnōji no Miya
Kōkan Hosshinnō 輪王寺宮公寛法親王
- 114 Nakamikado 中御門 (1701-1737, r. 1709-1735, 114th), Edo period, by Kushige Dainagon
Takanari 櫛笥大納言隆成
- 115 Sakuramachi 櫻町 (1720-1750, r. 1735-1747, 115th), Edo period, by Kazahaya 風早,
Shōshō 少将 (Lesser General)
- 116 Momozono 桃園 (1741-1762, r. 1747-1762, 116th), Edo period, by Hiramatsu Tokinari
平松時行
- (Missing 117 Gosakuramachi)
- 118 Gomomozono 後桃園 (1758-1779, r. 1770-1779, 118th), Edo period, by Kuze 久世,
sanmi 三位 (third rank)
- 119 Kōkaku 光格 (1771-1840, r. 1779-1817, 119th), Edo period, by Toyooka Harusuke 豊岡
治資
- 120 Ninkō 仁孝 (1800-1846, r. 1817-1846, 120th), Edo period, by Toyooka Harusuke 豊岡
治資
- 121 Kōmei 孝明 (1831-1866, r. 1846-1866, 121st), Edo period, by Tsutsumi Akinaga 堤哲長
- 121 Kōmei 孝明, Edo period

APPENDIX B

FIFTY-THREE SPIRIT TABLETS AT THE REIMEI HALL, SENNYŪJI ⁶²⁵

Tenji 天智	Kōnin 光仁	Kanmu 桓武
Saga 嵯峨	Junna 淳和	Montoku 文德
Seiwa 清和	Kōkō 光孝	Daigo 醍醐
Murakami 村上	Kazan 花山	Shirakawa 白河
Goshirakawa 後白河	Takakura 高倉	Antoku 安德
Gotoba 後鳥羽	Tsuchimikado 土御門	Gohorikawa 後堀河
Shijō 四條	Gouda 後宇多	Godaigo 後醍醐
Gomurakami 後村上	Kōgon 光嚴	Kōmyō 光明
Sukō 崇光	Gokōgon 後光嚴	Goen'yū 後圓融
Gokomatsu 後小松	Shōkō 稱光	Gohanazono 後花園
Gotsuchimikado 後土御門	Gokashiwabara 後柏原	Gonara 後奈良
Ōgimachi 正親町	Yōkō 陽光	Goyōzei 後陽成
Gomizunoo 後水尾	Meishō 明正	Gokōmyō 後光明
Gosai 後西	Reigen 靈元	Higashiyama 東山
Nakamikado 中御門	Sakuramachi 櫻町	Momozono 桃園
Gosakuramachi 後櫻町	Gomomozono 後桃園	Kōkaku 光格
Ninkō 仁孝	Kōmei 孝明	Meiji 明治
Taishō 大正	Shōwa 昭和	

⁶²⁵ *Sennyūji shi: Shiryō hen*, 346.

APPENDIX C

TWENTY-FOUR EMPEROR'S TOMBS 御陵 AT SENNYŪJI⁶²⁶

- 87 Shijō 四条 (d. 1242)*⁶²⁷
 N4 Gokōgon 後光厳 (d. 1374)*
 N5 Goen'yū 後圓融 (d. 1393)*
 N6, 100 Gokomatsu 後小松 (d. 1433)*
 103 Gotsuchimikado 後土御門 (d. 1500)*
 104 Gokashiwabara 後柏原 (d. 1526)*
 105 Gonara 後奈良 (d. 1557)*
 106 Ōgimachi 正親町 (d. 1593)*
 107 Goyōzei 後陽成 (d. 1617)*
 108 Gomizunoo 後水尾 (d. 1680)*
 109 Meishō 明正 (d. 1696)*
 110 Gokōmyō 後光明 (d. 1654)*
 111 Gosai 後西 (d. 1685)*
 112 Reigen 靈元 (d. 1732)*
 113 Higashiyama 東山 (d. 1709)*
 114 Nakamikado 中御門 (d. 1737)*
 115 Sakuramachi 櫻町 (d. 1750)*
 116 Momozono 桃園 (d. 1762)*
 117 Gosakuramachi 後櫻町 (d. 1813)*
 118 Gomomozono 後桃園 (d. 1779)*
 119 Kōkaku 光格 (d. 1840)*
 120 Ninkō 仁孝 (d. 1846)*
 121 Kōmei 孝明 (d. 1866)*

No tomb, but only funerals were held at Sennyūji:

- * 101 Shōkō 称光 (d. 1428)
 * 102 Gohanazono 後花園 (d. 1464)

* Yōkō 陽光 (d. 1586)

Memo: The Nanbokuchō period (1330-1393)

- | | | |
|---------|----|-------------------|
| Missing | S1 | 96 Godaigo 後醍醐 |
| | S2 | 97 Gomurakami 後村上 |
| | S3 | 98 Chōkei 長慶 |
| | S4 | 99 Gokameyama 後龜山 |

⁶²⁶ *Sennyūji shi: Shiryō hen*, 339-341.

⁶²⁷ * indicates that funeral also took place at Sennyūji. Ibid., 343-344.

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