

PRINTED, PASTED, TRADED: *NŌSATSU* AS AN INVENTED TRADITION

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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This paper examines the prosperity of *nōsatsu* culture between the 1900s to 1920s. *Nōsatsu* are paper placards created through wood block printing techniques used for pasting or exchanging, which date back to the 18th century. Very little significant research has been done on the reasons for the popularity of *nōsatsu* practices as they moved from a small group of enthusiasts in the late Edo period to become a cultural fad that resonated in modern Japanese society in the Meiji and Taishō periods. In this thesis I argue that *nōsatsu* culture developed in the early 20th century along with *Edo shumi* as a social trend invented through social protest against the government and spurred on by commercialization and the modern mass media. I explore the background of the flourishing of *nōsatsu* culture in the 1920s employing visual analysis of *nōsatsu* slips along with theories on media and social networking.

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I: INTRODUCTION

The topic of my thesis is *nōsatsu*, which are paper placards created through wood-block printing techniques. *Nōsatsu* culture, which thrived in the 19th century among commoners in the city of Edo, changed its characteristics in the early 20th century, gaining a wider audience due to the *Edo shumi* social phenomenon.

There are two types of *nōsatsu*: Mono colored slips with the name and residence of the practitioner used for pasting on buildings and gates of shrines and temples, called *harifuda* (貼札) and *nōsatsu* which are for exchanging at *nōsatsu* exchange meetings with *nōsatsu* group members called *kōkanfuda* (交換札).

Nōsatsu practices of both pasting *harifuda* and exchanging *kōkanfuda* regained popularity and flourished from the 1900s to the 1920s, attracting larger numbers of practitioners from wider areas than before. *Nōsatsu* exchange meetings were held more often in various places and great numbers of elaborate, multi-colored *nōsatsu* were created at that time. Current *nōsatsu* collectors refer to the era as the golden age of *nōsatsu*.

Originally, the community of *nōsatsu* practitioners consisted of townspeople such as artisans and small shop owners who, for the part, came from the working class parts of Edo. Many *kōkanfuda* had intricate designs and displayed skilled printing techniques. Despite that, *nōsatsu* activities were associated with the lower commoner classes.

However, around the 1900s, *nōsatsu* practices gradually came to attract social attention as a number of magazines and newspaper featured *nōsatsu* in articles and announcements. In the 1920s, it extended to the Kansai area, far beyond the Edo/Tokyo environs, for the first time as *nōsatsu* groups were established in Osaka and other parts of Kansai. No substantial discussion has been made on the reason why *nōsatsu* culture flourished in this period and how its characteristics changed because of its growing popularity. In this thesis I argue that *nōsatsu* culture developed in the early 20th century along with *Edo shumi*, a popular trend which looked to the commoner culture of the Edo period with a sense of nostalgia that was then idealized and glorified.

The concept of *Edo shumi* was invented out of a sense of resistance to Japan's efforts to catch up the West and the government's push towards Westernization and industrialization that went along with that. In addition, *Edo shumi* was regarded as a source of a distinct Japanese cultural identity that served to ease feelings of cultural and social inferiority vis-à-vis the West. The popularity of *Edo shumi* was also used for commercial purposes as department stores marketed *Edo shumi* as sophisticated and chic to a targeted customer base. So, *Edo shumi*, for these reasons, was invented and popularized, and *nōsatsu* culture, which portrayed motifs and ideas in slips commissioned by *nōsatsu* practitioners that fit with the *Edo shumi* style also flourished during this time.

I examine changes in the characteristics of *nōsatsu* culture in the light of its nature as a medium. In the 1900-1910s, the *nōsatsu* community grew larger and gained a larger audience moving out of small local community of people shared with cultural interests in Tokyo. The expansion of *nōsatsu* as a medium was also enhanced by the fame of Frederick Starr, an American anthropologist who was one of the most famous Westerners in Japan at that time. His devotion to *nōsatsu* practices was well known throughout Japan.

The networks of people with other *Edo shumi* was also a driving force of *nōsatsu* culture in the 1920s. They collaborated with other *Edo shumi* groups and the size of *nōsatsu* gatherings became larger as mass media often reported on their activities. However, as the popularity of *nōsatsu* in the Kyoto and Osaka area grew, *nōsatsu* practices shifted and developed in different ways in those areas, leaving the essence of *Edo shumi* behind. In the Kansai era, *nōsatsu* culture, as a medium to convey *Edo shumi* faded out.

In the last part of my thesis, I show images of *nōsatsu* to support the arguments presented in the previous chapters. *Nōsatsu* images present not only the aesthetic senses and cultural interests of *nōsatsu* commissioners, but also the cultural and historical trends of society in the certain period when they were created. Visual analysis of *nōsatsu* from the 1920s documents the changes that happened in the *nōsatsu* community as a result of changes in society. Very few studies have been made on *nōsatsu* images analyzed through

the lens of historical facts and social circumstances. The paper provides a visual analysis of *nōsatsu* along with an analysis of the historical, cultural and social backgrounds of *nōsatsu* practices.

In this thesis I will discuss how *nōsatsu* practitioners shared their cultural interests through *nōsatsu* pasting and exchanging in their close local communities before the Taishō period in Chapter 2. Then Chapter 3 argues that *Edo shumi* is an invention of Edo, which, in turn, resulted in a *nōsatsu* boom in the Taishō period. It was a phenomenon mainly created by people who were against the government's policies of westernization and modernization imposed by the Meiji government. I will examine Frederick Starr's catalytic role in the expansion of *nōsatsu* groups and the dissemination of social recognition of *nōsatsu* culture in the Taishō period, explaining how his popularity as an academic celebrity worked to enhance the authenticity of *nōsatsu* as a form of traditional Japanese culture in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 argues that the characteristics of *nōsatsu* groups changed from a medium for a closed local community to one that was a social medium that demonstrated the aesthetics of the Edo period commoner culture in the 1910-1920s when Edo culture was reevaluated and popularized among certain groups. Lastly, in Chapter 6, I will analyze a series of *nōsatsu* slips depicting the Great Kantō Earthquake that were produced in 1924 to illustrate changes in the characteristics of *nōsatsu* as a social medium that can be seen

in that *nōsatsu* series.

II: *NŌSATSU* CULTURE BEFORE 1900S

Nōsatsu, also called *senjafuda* or *fuda*, are paper placards created through wood-block printing techniques. There are two types of *nōsatsu*: mono colored slips with the name and residence of the practitioner used for pasting on buildings and gates of shrines and temples called *harifuda* and *nōsatsu* which are for exchanging at *nōsatsu* exchange meetings with *nōsatsu* group members called *kōkanfuda*. *Nōsatsu* practices, both pasting *harifuda* and exchanging *kōkanfuda* flourished among commoners in the mid to late Edo period (1790-1860s) in the city of Edo.

Origin and practice of *harifuda*

Practices of pasting *harifuda* originated in religious customs but gradually started to intermingle devotion with play. *Nōsatsu* enthusiasts visited the many shrines and temples in the Edo environs to paste *harifuda* as a form of devotion or supplication to deities, but the trips also included elements of play. The Tokugawa government had strict regulations of leisure activities, especially for commoners. Since *nōsatsu* pasting excursions were outwardly religious in nature, the ludic aspects of the practice went, for the most part, unnoticed and unquestioned. The shrines and temples of Edo were important places for leisure and cultural activities.

Sensōji Temple in Asakusa is a good example of the nexus between prayer and

play. People from all social classes mingled together to pray, take part in festivals, view historic sites, eat local delicacies, practice archery, stop off at tea houses and peruse the wide variety of goods for sale at stalls. The temple also held regular sumō tournaments and kabuki performances as well as periodically offering viewings of religious artifacts. Shrines and temples in and around Edo were, thus, for commoners, one of the main venues for travel and for play. And, since religion and play were so closely intertwined, the enthusiasm for visiting shrines and temples was hard to contain (Hur 76-79). *Nōsatsu* practitioners, passionately traipsing to shrines and temples, also wrapped play and religion together in their pasting excursions, thereby largely evading the strictures regarding ludic activities.

In addition, making pilgrimages was also popular in the Edo period. Centered on Sensōji, there were several pilgrimage circuits devoted to Kannon that developed over the 18th century. There was, of course an element of serious religiosity in these pilgrimages, but it is hard to separate the purely religious from aspects of play involved. The pilgrimage that centered on Sensōji as a starting place was especially notable as a circuit that functioned as a form of pleasure for commoners. It provided a good excuse for taking a trip and leaving behind their daily duties and worries for a short time.

People believed that the more temples and shrines they visited and the more

pilgrimages they completed the more merits they could accumulate. This prompted more people to have pilgrimages (Hur 94-95). Pasting *harifuda* had similar benefits so people vied with other to paste at more and more religious sites. Thus, the flourishing of *nōsatsu* pasting in the second half of the Edo period was closely related to the popular practice of making pilgrimages.

Pasting *nōsatsu* slips was a highly competitive form of leisure. They competed on such things as the number of temples and shrines on which they had pasted the slips, how far they traveled to temples or shrines for *nōsatsu* pasting, and seeing who could paste slips in hard to reach places as a sort of a game. A *harifuda* could last at a shrine or temple almost forever if it was printed with ink, which could also satisfy the slip owner's desire for self-aggrandizement (Sekioka 139-140).

Originally, pasting *harifuda* was thought to be a kind of mischievous behavior, somewhat similar to graffiti now. Den Teiken theorized a practice of pasting *nōsatsu* in *Daimi kudoku enzetsu* published in 1790. According to Den, pasting *nōsatsu* is a more pious practice than transcribing or chanting a sutra. Pasting a slip was regarded as having the same potency as praying all day at a temple or shrine. He encouraged *nōsatsu* practitioners to visit as many shrines and temples as possible and to paste large numbers of *harifuda* so that the person could obtain more benefits from the deities (Takiguchi 19-22).

Den's theory contributed to strengthening the idea that *nōsatsu* pasting was a religious behavior for *nōsatsu* practitioners, not merely a form of leisure. The two natures of *nōsatsu* pasting, religious and ludic, still coexist in current *nōsatsu* practices.

Temples and shrines, however, often disapproved of *nōsatsu* pasting and the excessive enthusiasm of *nōsatsu* practitioners was viewed as an extravagant waste of time by some people in society. A scholar of national learning, Kitamura Nobuyo, decried the reckless pasting of slips in his book, *Kiyūshōran* in 1830 (Watanabe 133-138). A *senryū* poem in *Haifū yanagidaru* published in 1822 describes a *nōsatsu* practitioner who was scolded by a Shinto priest at a shrine (Takiguchi 41). Pasting *nōsatsu* was often seen as harmful and unproductive behavior.

Kōkanfuda and groups of exchanging nōsatsu

Nōsatsu practitioners who made trips to shrines and temples to paste *harifuda* began to hold meetings to show and exchange their *harifuda*. From that, they moved to commissioning elaborate multi-color slips to show and exchange at exchange meetings (Kusamori 201). It is not clear when the practice of *nōsatsu* exchanging began, however, the Tokugawa government banned both pasting *harifuda* in shrines and temples and commissioning *kōkanfuda* and holding *nōsatsu* exchange meetings in July 1799, suggesting that *nōsatsu* practices of both pasting and exchanging had already been popular

among townspeople by then (Takiguchi 18-19).

The development of the technique of *nishiki-e*, a multicolor style of wood block printing, facilitated the creation of *kōkanfuda*. *Nishiki-e* used such delicate carving techniques that artists could depict a single thread of hair on a woman's head and highly artistic printing techniques such as gradations and embossing allowed for creating gorgeous prints. *Nōsatsu* slips were created by these same techniques by skilled ukiyo-e artists, carvers, and printers. The various motifs of *nōsatsu* were also inspired by *nishiki-e* themes: kabuki actors, famous landscapes, scenes from popular literature, and legendary and mythical figures.

Other popular motifs of *nōsatsu* includes deities of folk religion such as *Shichifukujin* (seven lucky deities) and *Inari*. From the late 18th century to the mid-19th century, townspeople in the city of Edo believed in a variety of types of deities of Buddhism, Shinto, and folk religion. For instance, *Inari* was considered to be the deity of bountiful harvests and successful business endeavors while *Enma* was the deity associated with healing sicknesses. In addition, there were other popular individual deities that were believed to provide benefits respectively for avoiding fire, lightning, smallpox, and other diseases and disasters as well as wishing success in education and fertility. Among these deities, *Inari* was very popular in the city of Edo. About 128 *Inari* shrines regularly

attracted visitors in the 1860-1870s. *Inari* was originally a deity connected with agriculture, which then became a deity which acted to protect local areas and provide success in business. Edoites often visited shrines and temples when they needed to pray to deities for attaining success in those areas (Miyata 76-99). The various types of gods and deities and their festivals depicted in *nōsatsu* slips show the strong bond of playful characteristics and religious beliefs in *nōsatsu* culture.

Nōsatsu practitioners organized groups called *ren* to exchange group members' individual *kōkanfuda* and commission series of *nōsatsu* slips, collaborating with members of *ren*. Sometimes, a huge *nōsatsu* exchange meeting was held in which participants from several *nōsatsu* groups attended.

They often included ukiyo-e artists and carvers in their group. For instance, famous ukiyo-e artists such as Utagawa Hiroshige were also members of *nōsatsu* groups. For ukiyo-e artists, designing *kōkanfuda* was a good opportunity to showcase their skills and ideas. Since *nōsatsu* were created for and exchanged by a private group or community, they did not have to receive an official censorship seal like prints made for the commercial market did (Sekioka 141).

Nōsatsu practitioners competed to see who could provide the highest quality of *nōsatsu* at their meetings. They competed in size, design and motifs of their slips, the

number of colors of and technique used in making the print. A famous *nōsatsu* practitioner, Ōmatomi, a wealthy master-plasterer who was active in 1850s, commissioned many larger sized *kōkanfuda* with multiple colors, spending a great amount to have them created. After the Ansei earthquake in 1855, the business of construction workers such as carpenters and plasterers enjoyed economic prosperity due to the rebuilding efforts after the earthquake. Some *nōsatsu* practitioners who suddenly had an unexpected increase in wealth led the *nōsatsu* culture of that time, commissioning spectacular large-sized slips (Takiguchi 124-127).

In the 19th century the number of *ren* increased and series of *nōsatsu* slips with distinctive group marks became common. Such marks symbolized the solidarity of the groups as well as the spirit of competition between groups. One of the major *nōsatsu* group which was very active in the early 18th century, Hakkakuren, commissioned a series of *nōsatsu* with the motif of the Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō designed by Utagawa Hiroshige in 1841. Hiroshige's first series of ukiyo-e depicting the Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō published by Hoeidō in 1833 was immensely popular. Hiroshige designed a *nōsatsu* version of the Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō for the Hakkaku-ren (Fig.1) while working on another ukiyo-e series of the Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō from 1841 to 1842. That suggests the Hakkakuren's enthusiasm for *nōsatsu*, as they commissioned a

famous ukiyo-e artist to create a series with a motif which was trending at that time as a way of distinguishing their group from other groups. Another series of *nōsatsu* slips, also commissioned by the Hakkakuren, depicts a parade of people in festive wear at a shrine festival (Fig.2). They are pulling a huge black object - the group mark of the Hakkaku-ren rather than the expected portable shrine. The people in the image are identical but are distinguished from one another by their *nōsatsu* names printed on their attire or on fans they are holding. Here, again the image emphasizes the strong communal bond of the members and the sense of unity of purpose for their own *nōsatsu* group.

The Yoshikiri-ren was a *nōsatsu* group organized by ukiyo-e artists who belonged to the Utagawa Kuniyoshi school and people related to the school. They created a series of *nōsatsu* in which Yoshitsuya, Yoshitoshi, and Yoshikane participated in 1864. One of the slips of this series has the motif of *Hitotsuya*, which was a famous work by Kuniyoshi originally created in 1855 as an offering to Sensōji in Asakusa (Fig.3). Yoshitoshi copied his teacher's piece and re-created into a *nōsatsu* slip. This suggests the Utagawa school's deep involvement and interest in *nōsatsu*. The series also shows that other famous *nōsatsu* practitioners in the mid- 19th century, such as Ōmatomi, Egin, and Hakukatsu from other *nōsatsu ren* joined the *nōsatsu* group, suggesting that some people belonged to multiple *nōsatsu* groups (Sato et.al 50-53).

At times, these groups held joint meetings to exchange their original *kōkanfuda* and socialize together in a larger community of *nōsatsu* practitioners while maintaining bonds within their own groups. In 1859, major *nōsatsu* practitioners, such as Ōmatomi, Sachō, and Daikyū, organized a joint *nōsatsu* meeting of the Chiyoda-ren and Sakamasu-ren in a large restaurant, in which participants enjoyed a party as well as the exchanging of *nōsatsu*. After that, large-scale *nōsatsu* exchange meetings were regularly held until the Meiji Restoration (Watanabe 137-142).

Commissioning the production of *nōsatsu* placards to exchange at meetings was often quite expensive as the creation process required multiple steps and involved several different kinds of artisans to collaborate in making them. *Nōsatsu* group members had to commission new *nōsatsu* slips for every meeting and they tried to create more gorgeous slips than other members. In the late 18th century, the size of *nōsatsu* exchange meetings became larger as more and more *nōsatsu* practitioners came to join the events. A *nōsatsu* image vividly depicted the enthusiasm of people looking eagerly at newly created *nōsatsu* slips at a *nōsatsu* exchange meeting in a large party house (Fig.4). The Tokugawa government tried to control the *nōsatsu* exchanges that went against the austerity ordinances in force at the time by banning larger meetings in 1799, but *nōsatsu* practices were hardly affected by such interdicts and *nōsatsu* practitioners kept commissioning

elaborate, multi-colored slips (Sekioka 134-142).

Creating more colorful and elaborate slips for *nōsatsu* group meetings was, in essence, a form of self-satisfaction, competition or vanity, that held no commercial or productive objective. Since creating luxurious *nōsatsu* slips was an expensive hobby, some *nōsatsu* enthusiasts went broke by spending too much money for having *nōsatsu* created (Nishiyama 27). In this sense, *nōsatsu* practices were costly, unproductive, and a socially frowned upon activity. However, the *nōsatsu* community developed tight-knit bonds through sharing not only enthusiasm for *nōsatsu* but also other forms of popular culture such as *jōruri*, popular stories, and kabuki.

Nōsatsu culture flourished in the Bunka and Bunsei eras (1804-1830) with the development of townspeople culture. Ukiyo-e thrived with a variety of motifs, including beauties, kabuki actors, and landscapes, which were also popular *nōsatsu* motifs in this period. Later in the Ansei period, some *nōsatsu* practitioners who reaped financial benefits from the construction business after the Ansei earthquake commissioned elaborate, multi-color *nōsatsu* slips in larger sizes, demonstrating high levels of woodblock printing techniques and unique and aesthetic designs in the *nōsatsu* slips (Kusamori 201-203).

Revival and flourishing of *nōsatsu* practice

However, with the coming of the Meiji Restoration traditional cultural forms gradually fell

out of favor, replaced by the new trends and fads of the early Meiji period. *Nōsatsu* practice was no exception. Takiguchi Masaya argues that *nōsatsu* practice declined because of the displacement of Edo and the *Haibutsu kishaku*, a movement advocating the expulsion of Buddhism from Japan. However, it seems that a certain number of people were still pasting *haiifuda*. An ukiyo-e artist and former *nōsatsu* practitioner, Yoshitomi, posted a comment on recent *nōsatsu* pasting practices in The *Yomiuri shinbun* on August 15, 1876, criticizing them as outdated, and it was against public morals. Even though many temples were destroyed due to the *Haibutsu kishaku* injunctions, great numbers of shrines remained. Since, originally, *nōsatsu* pasting was closely related to visiting numerous *Inari* shrine in Edo, *nōsatsu* practitioners still had many places to paste *nōsatsu*. However, no *nōsatsu* exchange meetings were held for about 13 years after the Meiji Restoration. In 1880, former members of *nōsatsu* groups gathered for an exchange meeting in November, however, it seems that the group disappeared soon after that. Ōta Secchō, an Edo style calligrapher, hosted a *nōsatsu* exchange meeting on November 23 in 1890 - the same year the three hundredth anniversary of Tokyo was spectacularly celebrated. Two big *nōsatsu* groups, the *Nōsatsu Mutsumi* and *Tokyo Nōsatsu-ren* were established in 1899 and the *Harifuda Dōshi-kai* was established in 1900. Since that time, the three major *nōsatsu* groups have regularly hosted joint and individual *nōsatsu* exchange meetings (Watanabe

186-187).

Takiguchi argues that *nōsatsu* practices re-started in the middle of the Meiji period, due to the contribution of Yamanaka Kyōko who was a *nōsatsu* collector as well as a researcher of Edo culture, including *nōsatsu* traditions. Yamanaka was a major member of The Shūko-kai, an antique collectors' group with a large membership that was active between 1896 to 1944. He learned a lot about *nōsatsu* from *nōsatsu* practitioners who were active in the 1860s. Takiguchi attributed the revival of *nōsatsu* culture in the mid-Meiji period to the activities of Yamanaka and the Shūko-kai. Takiguchi argues that Yamanaka and Takeuchi Hisaichi, the son of a well-known *nōsatsu* practitioner and designer in the 1860s, Tachō, were very influential members of the Shūko-kai who became a driving force of the huge revival of interest in *nōsatsu* culture during the Taishō period (1912-1926). In this period *nōsatsu* culture flourished, led several prominent *nōsatsu* enthusiasts, including Iseman, Ōta Secchō, Takahashitō, and Frederick Starr (194-195). The Shūko-kai played an important role in re-evaluating culture in the mid-late Edo period and shared a sense of nostalgia for the period even as Japan was rapidly modernizing. They regularly published journals that promote their activities in showing and evaluating antiques from the Edo period.

However, the Shūko-kai was a group that consisted of a large number of people

whose collecting interests varied widely. There were sub-groups of collectors by type of antiques such as old coins, books, prints of various kinds and motifs, art objects, folk toys, and so on. *Nōsatsu* was just one genre among other genres for the Shūko-kai. In addition, *nōsatsu-kai* had already revived before the Shūko-kai was established in 1896. An *nōsatsu* slip dated to 1888 clearly shows that a large *nōsatsu* meeting was held in which numbers of active *nōsatsu* groups and practitioners joined at that time (Fig.5). The influence of Yamanaka Kyōko on the revival of *nōsatsu* culture is not clear in the actual activities of *nōsatsu* groups. He wrote an article on Tengu Kōhei, a legendary *nōsatsu* figure who was active in the early 19th century, in the first issue of the Shūko-kai journal, but it is just a brief introduction of Tengu Kōhei and he did not provide any information about *nōsatsu* practices themselves (26-27). A few *nōsatsu* commissioned by Yamanaka himself have been found while numerous *nōsatsu* slips issued by major *nōsatsu* practitioners such as Iseman, Takahashitō, and Ōta Secchō are still in existence. Iseman and Takahashitō were members of the Shūko-kai, but other than them, few actual *nōsatsu* practitioners joined the group.

The Shūko-kai played an important role in promoting *nōsatsu* culture outside of the *nōsatsu* community, however, it was not the solo driving force behind the revival of *nōsatsu* culture in the late Meiji to Taisho period. The flourishing of *nōsatsu* culture in

Taisho should be examined in a larger frame of reference or context in consideration with historical and social factors, other than contributions by members of the Shūko-kai.

A social phenomenon, called *Edo shumi*, which had a new found appreciation for Edo period culture, developed between the 1900s and the 1920s, in which an aestheticized image of Edo culture was invented and appreciated and was instrumental in the revival of *nōsatsu* culture in the same period. *Nōsatsu* practice spread further into society with the dissemination of the concept of *Edo shumi* that occurred at almost exactly same time as the flourishing of *nōsatsu* culture. *Nōsatsu* became well known in society and thrived as it represented the concept of *Edo shumi*. The next chapter will discuss *Edo shumi* and how it boosted the popularity of *nōsatsu* culture.

III: THE TREND OF *EDO SHUMI* IN THE TAISHŌ PERIOD

Nōsatsu practices flourished from the late Meiji to the Taishō period (1900s to 1920s) in connection with the social trend of *Edo shumi* (Smith 2). *Edo shumi* refers, generally, to the Taishō era revival of interest in the popular and material culture of the Edo period. It was a concept invented by people protesting the social values of the mainstream and aiming to establish a unique Japanese identity and, along with that, commercialism promoted *Edo shumi* as a sophisticated trend.

The change in characteristics of the *nōsatsu* community, obtaining social attention in society in Taishō period, was closely related to the emergence and dissemination of *Edo shumi* at that time since *nōsatsu* traditions were regarded as one of the major cultural activities characterizing *Edo shumi*. To examine how *Edo shumi* relates to the popularity of *nōsatsu* in 1900-1920, in this chapter I will discuss the background of the creation and dissemination of *Edo shumi* that enriched *nōsatsu* culture.

Emergence of the concept of *shumi* in the 1900s

Originally, *shumi* refers to a hobby or sense or ability to appreciate beauty. The word *shumi* in Japanese has a variety of meanings. It can refer to a hobby or an interest. It can also refer to the quality often expressed in English by the word “taste” – someone with “good taste,” or something in “good taste,” are examples of “*shumi* no ii XX.” Similarly, *shumi* can refer

to a person's aesthetic inclinations – i.e. one's "tastes" in clothing, music, et cetera. This usage, of course, leads back to the idea of a "hobby" or an "interest": a *shumi* might be a person's feeling of preference for something, or it could be the something that is preferred.

From the late 1900s to the 1910s, when urban consumer culture emerged, the term "shumi" often appeared in society. According to a historian Jinno, people used this term in conversations, and it appeared regularly in monthly magazines. Kunikida Doppo, a journalist and novelist, introduced the term as a translation of "taste" in the magazine titled *Shumi* published in 1907, which refers to the ability or sense to appreciate the beauty of nature, originally used by British Romantic poets. At first, *shumi* in the meaning of taste was considered to be a standard to measure a person's sophisticated sense of beauty, however, later, the term came to include a wider meaning such as individual preferences as the term of *shumi* became familiar to the general public, especially with trends created by commercialism. Department stores used *shumi* concepts, such as a refined sense of taste and appreciation for quality to market their wares to customers with an understanding of *shumi*. Meanwhile, the term of *shumi* as a hobby, a leisure activity for pleasure, was an important notion to communicate between people in urban areas. People with similar hobbies formed group created networks based on their common interests (Jinno 6-13).

Edo shumi as an invention of Edo

Edo shumi was one of the main genres of *shumi* that gained prominence in the 1900s. All of these meanings of *shumi* are at work in the phrase *Edo shumi* as used in the Taishō period. Generally speaking, the phrase could imply (a) Edo aesthetics as a hobby, or (b) the tastes of people in the Edo period, or (c) modern people's interest in (taste for) things from or connected to the Edo period. These could be three very different things, and so it is important to try and understand which (if any) was meant by the phrase as used in the period.

Edo shumi is an imaginary and utopian concept on aestheticism of the cultures and customs from the Kasei and Bakumatsu period (1804-1868) in which commoner culture in the city of Edo flourished. It was created and developed through collages of fragments collected from ukiyo-e, popular stories, and other forms of popular culture demonstrating commoners' practices and customs and thrived from the 1900s and into the 1920s. In fact, some intellectuals at that time criticized *Edo shumi* as an unrealistic, imaginary concept.

Sasagawa Rinpū, who was a historian and art critic, asserts in his monograph, *Edo murasaki* published in 1918, that *Edo shumi* was based on the Edo culture that was only active in the Edo period and *Edo shumi* collapsed with the end of the Edo period. It remained, he further argued, only in literary or art works created in the Edo period, suggesting that current ideas about *Edo shumi* were inventions, and not based on historical

facts (43).

A historian Mitamura Engyo contends in his book *Oedo no hanashi* published in 1924 that the concept of *Edo shumi* was created as an imaginary and arbitrary image of the culture and customs of commoners in Edo. He argues that the concept of *Edo shumi* ignored important differences in social and class backgrounds, that shifted and coalesced over the 300- year history of the of the Edo period to create an integrated concept of Edo culture (1-14). He also cast doubt on the idea that craftsmen in Edo were a major driving force of Edo culture since most of them were not well educated and, for the most part, made up the lower classes of society (30-34).

In fact, *nōsatsu* culture at its peak in the 18th century thrived due to the enthusiasm and activity of commoners, including artisans and merchants. However, although they were from the lower mid-class of commoners, they were not uneducated, illiterate people. For instance, many *nōsatsu* practitioners enjoyed writing poetry and had a solid knowledge of popular stories and kabuki. They were regarded as lower-mid-class, but most of them were foremen or shop owners, who had the time, money, and cultural literacy to participate in *nōsatsu* culture. Therefore, Mitamura's argument on artisans' involvement in the development of Edo culture in the 19th century does not necessarily hold true in many cases as he ignores the gradations among commoners, lumping them all together as lower-class

and uneducated.

According to the historian Iwabuchi Reiji, the concept of *Edo shumi* was created and established as both a political movement to push back against Westernization and modernization emerged in the 1880s and thrived as a commercial trend led by department stores from the 1900s to the 1920s. Iwabuchi argues that the Tokugawa Bakufu retainers and people who opposed the Meiji government, saw in this new concept of Edo a common set of traditions that formed a sort of essence of Japan as a nation in resistance against the push for policies aimed at rapid modernization. In the Taishō period *Edo shumi* became a trend in which department stores marketed variety of goods according to revived and re-created images of Edo culture (50). I will discuss the invention of *Edo shumi* regarding both social and commercial aspects.

***Edo shumi* as a protest**

Edo shumi emerged as a form of a protest against the Meiji government as well as a basis for “creating” a Japanese cultural identity. The concept of Edo culture and society in *Edo shumi* is an invented tradition that is idealized and aestheticized in order to resist the governmental policies to promote westernization and civilization. Former Tokugawa Bakufu retainers and people who were against the Meiji government and mainstream social values employed the idealized image of Edo culture, especially the commoners culture in

the city of Edo, as a source of an authentic Japanese tradition and, therefore, a source of a national Japanese identity (Karlin 121-122) .

After the Meiji Restoration, the Meiji government, which consisted of anti-Bakufu samurai mainly from Satsuma, Chōshū, and other domains in Western Japan promoted policies of rapid westernization and civilization. In order to justify their authority to enact these policies, they worked to completely eradicate the vestiges of the previous era, claiming that the human rights and freedom of people were severely restricted under the tyrannical Tokugawa shogunate. They employed the dichotomy between the Tokugawa shogunate and the new government as backwards and unjust versus modern and proper. That is, the new government ruling system associated with the civilizing measures that came into being after the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate were radically different from the past and were moving Japan into the world as a modern nation-state, whereas the Tokugawa government had stagnated and faltered in the face of the Western powers (Karlin 136-138).

However, former Tokugawa Bakufu retainers and people who were concerned about the government's efforts to abolish everything from the previous period opposed such extremely negative perspectives of the previous era. They tried to evaluate political systems and cultures from the Edo period in favorable ways. For instance, from the view of the circumstances outside Japan and the colonialism of the Western countries, a

favorable retrospective evaluation on Tokugawa shogunate policy started to develop. The Meiji government and their advocates harshly criticized the Tokugawa government's national isolation policy (*sakoku*), arguing that it delayed the "civilizing" of Japan. However, as Western imperialism loomed ominously, historians began to evaluate the *sakoku* policy in a positive way, claiming that the Tokugawa government's isolationist measures protected Japan from invasion by Western countries and, without those policies, Japan would have been colonized like China and other Asian countries were (Gluck, "Invention of Edo" 265-269).

In addition, in terms of the retention of Japanese traditional culture, some scholars argued that Japan's unique culture developed in the incubator of the Tokugawa Shogunate's isolation policies, which kept Japan largely free of foreign influences. Furthermore, from a nationalistic viewpoint, Japan, during the Edo period, came to be seen as progressing towards modernization organically under and without the pressure or stimulus from the West. Japan in the Edo period was a well-established society with high literacy rates, even among the lower classes, and citizens possessed the intelligence and maturity necessary to move into the modern after the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate (Gluck, "Invention of Edo" 268-269).

The image of an idealized Edo was established in association with a growing sense

of nationalism in Japan. After blindly following Western culture in the immediate aftermath of the Meiji Restoration, Japanese people who were discontented with governmental policies of rapid Westernization and denial of Edo culture, started to look back on earlier Japanese history and culture with pride in their “Japaneseness” – especially after defeating both China and Russia in war in the Meiji period. People started to feel that they had caught up with the West and deserved a status that reflected the remarkable and rapid modernization of Japan’s industry, economy, military, bureaucracy and society. Western nations, however, continued to treat Japan as not yet fully developed nor equal and in diplomatic arrangements treated Japan accordingly.

After the Meiji Restoration, the new government drastically promoted Westernization, industrialization, and modernization through introducing new social and political systems and lifestyles of people from Europe and the United States. They employed policies called *fukoku kyōhei* (wealthy country and strong army), *shokusan kōgyō* (encouragement of new industry), and *bunmei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment) to be a civilized nation. The Meiji government enforced a great number of new rules one after another in its haste to catch up with Western countries. (Gluck, “Modern Myth” 18). The government aimed to educate people to develop an identity as Japanese that could contribute to these policies of the new nation. They took samurai principles of loyalty from

the previous era as a model for the ideal Japanese citizen (Pons 37-38). *Risshin shusse* (success and advancement) was a slogan advocated in order to nurture human resources that could be useful for enacting government policies.

The Meiji restoration set people free from the rigid class system that had largely prevented them from moving up in status. Freedom of choosing occupation and freedom of movement were now allowed, providing wider opportunities for success. The Meiji government increased people's desire to be successful in society, which fit with the national ambition of *fukoku kyōhei* and *shokusan kōgyō* to raise Japan to an equal position with the West.

Risshin shusse, being successful in business or getting a higher position in the government, was a dominant social value throughout society (Takeuchi 16-20). Under the Meiji government system, it was believed that opportunities to be successful were equally ensured to anyone, therefore, being successful in society depended on an individual's diligence. Frugality was also a key factor in success (Takeuchi 119). Examples of diligence and frugality were created and provided for the masses in the story of Ninomiya Sontoku, who was from a poor family of farmers and then became a top government official, and set up as an exemplar in textbooks for elementary school students. He was also famous for his statue, showing him reading a book while carrying firewood on his back, emphasizing his

continuous hard work (Shinmura 8).

In addition, the *rakugo* story created by Sanyūtei Enchō, *Shiobara tasukeichidaiki*, became very popular, showing an ideal figure who became a successful businessman after starting as a poor local farmer as well as contributing to society by voluntarily donating social infrastructures. It is a fictional take on *risshin shusse* but uses the real name of an actual merchant in its title. Sanyūtei Enchō was a popular *rakugo* performer but was very close to some governmental officials such as Yamaoka Tesshū, Inoue Kaoru, and Yamagata Aritomo (Yano 69, 117). His *rakugo* story presented an ideal model of the Japanese as promoted by the Meiji government.

Elitism was also featured in print media. *Seikō* (success), a magazine was published from the late Meiji to the Taisho to teach young people how to be successful. The ideology of elitism, *risshin shusse*, was widespread in society, providing models for how ideal citizens could make themselves useful for the new government, and showing clear differences between winners and losers from the viewpoint of the Meiji government. To be successful in *risshin shusse*, diligence and contributions to the nation were essential elements (Takeuchi 120-121). However, such social values according to the governmental policies were criticized in the new era.

A social movement advocating for freedom and democracy in politics, society and

culture called Taishō democracy occurred in the 1900s-1920s. Matsuo Takayoshi, a historian of the Taishō period, defines Taishō democracy as a democratization movement against the political system established in the Meiji era led by urban citizens of the middle-class. They criticized the Meiji government policies of imperialism and expansionism, which was similar to Western countries. Liberal intellectuals and journalists also raised a voice against the government (Matsuo 2-7). Murobushi Takanobu, a major Taishō democracy activist argued that civilization (in the Western sense of the word) held the seed of the ruin of Japanese culture. He claimed that civilization is a general order that automatically and mechanically controls people from outside while culture is an expression of an internal world that is always individual, humanistic, and free from outside power. Therefore, civilization denies culture and Japanese culture had been affected by the kind of civilization brought by Westernization. Other Taishō democrats also shared the idea that the kind of civilization associated with Westernization brought social problems such as poverty in farming villages and political inequality among social classes in Japan (Eizawa 81-83).

With the background of an awakening democracy and freedom movement in Taishō society, the invented image of Edo enhanced the movement of criticizing the government policies of civilization and modernization. *Edo shumi* demonstrated an

opposing ideology against Westernization, industrialization, and elitism that pitted the commoner's culture of the Edo period and it thrived in society.

At the same time, Japanese people were faced with an identity crisis as Japanese. Even though they worked hard to make their country Westernized and modernized and largely reached that objective, Japan was still regarded as an uncivilized country by the West. Japanese people were frustrated with this situation and tried to re-establish Japanese culture as on par or even superior to the West. The Tripartite Intervention by Russia, Germany and France, which forced Japan to return territory it had acquired as a result of the Shimonoseki Treaty that settled the Sino-Japanese War (1895). And in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War (1905), the Portsmouth Treaty, brokered by the United States, was both heavily criticized for conceding too much. Further, negotiations to establish tariff autonomy with the West were difficult and frustrating due to the inherent power imbalance between the two sides even though Japan had made rapid strides towards becoming a modern, civilized nation. When Japan re-encountered the West in the Meiji period, those countries, industrially developed and economically powerful, posed the threat of incursion and imperialism – with China looming large as a nearby example that the threat was real.

According to a sociopsychologist, Kozakai Toshiaki, national identity is established when a nation faces a threat from an outside enemy (13). It was necessary, then,

for Japan to develop a unique national identity that would both differentiate it from the West and elevate its own status. Japan tried to create a shared belief system and common goals to establish a national identity. So, some scholars turned away from or adapted Western concepts and searched for cultural superiority or equality by developing theories aimed at building pride in Japaneseness and fostered a national identity.

Yanagita Kunio, a pioneer in the field of folklore, saw pure Japaneseness in the culture and traditions that had been passed down over centuries in rural areas in Japan (Hashimoto 142-143). Likewise, Yanagi Sōetsu, a Japanese philosopher who focused his studies on *mingei* (folk craft work) argued that Japanese people were superior to westerners in appreciating true beauty with keen sense of appreciation for nature (Kikuchi 40-41). Kuki Shūzō explained that the Japanese aesthetic concept was rooted in the customs of the Edo period in *Iki no kōzō* (Gluck, “Invention of Edo” 270). The common thread in all these works was the notion that the common culture of the folk was fundamental to a unique Japanese national identity. Gluck argues that this romanticized image of Edo as Japanese national tradition was an ideological invention, not based on historical fact. In this invention of Edo, Edo is timeless, general, outside of the class system and imbued with cultural uniqueness (Gluck, “Invention of Edo” 283-284). Through these academic theories on Japanese identity and published materials on Edo culture laced with nostalgia, an

idealized image of Edo was created.

In the early to mid Meiji period, the customs and lives in the Edo in the 19th century was still vividly retained in the memories of people raised in Tokyo as daily life experiences. The culture from the 19th century was still too realistic to create an ideal and aestheticized image to appreciate as *shumi* for them. In the Taisho period, however, there was a clean break from Edo as lived history and Edo as the idealized past so that people who were interested in Edo culture could invent glorified images of Edo culture based on the culture and customs in the 19th century, free from a direct link to the history of that period (Kamiyama 15-16). Thus, *Edo shumi* acted as a kind of protest movement against the government and, also, as the core of an idealized past and an idealized Japanese identity.

Networks of *Edo shumi*

With the growing interest in Edo-related culture as a social trend, networks of Edo culture aficionados expanded. Numbers groups of antique connoisseurs and collectors were established between the 1880s and 1920s in urban areas of Japan. Shimizu Seifū, a folk toy collector, was one of the key persons who facilitated networks of *Edo shumi*. He and other with a shared interest in folk toy collecting created a group called the Chikuba-kai in 1880 for the research of Japanese folk toys. The members of the group included scholars such as Tsuboi Shōgorō and critics and authors such as Uchida Roan and Awashima Kangetsu.

They looked not only back to the Edo period but also to the knowledge brought by Western ideas. Shimizu himself was not an academic but, rather, sort of popular scholar. He also established the Genroku-kai with Takeuchi Hisakazu, a professor of the Tokyo School of Art to propagate and appreciate antiques from the Genroku era (1688-1704). This group grew into a larger group of antique collectors, the Shūko-kai (Kato 50-58).

After the Genroku-kai joined the Shūko-kai, the characteristics of the Shūko-kai changed from an archeological focus aimed mainly at academics to a more popular focus with more *Edo shumi* for people from a variety of social classes. Shimizu often brought part of his collections, including dolls for girls' festivals, *karuta* cards, and his own paintings depicting folk toys to the regular meetings of the Shūko-kai as exhibits. The Shūko-kai also collaborated with doll collectors' groups for gatherings of *Edo shumi* aficionados (Hayashi 42-25).

The Ōdomo-kai was established by collectors of dolls and toys including Shimizu Seifū and other Shūko-kai members in 1909. Originally, it was a small group of toy collectors, aiming to exchange information and knowledge on toys. They held regular meetings with several people at a residence of one of the members. However, this small, private group grew into a larger group in the 1910s. Regular meetings of the Ōdomo-kai gained the attention of the general public and accordingly, they demonstrated their *shumi*

on toys for wider audience outside of the *shumi* community (Jinno 13-17).

Likewise, the influence of the toy collectors' community led by Shimizu was significant in the development and spread of *Edo shumi* (Hayashi 42-51). Toy collecting was, originally, a hobby that could be traced back to the Edo period. People in the toy collection community, including Shimizu and Awashima Kangetsu, were interested in conventional dolls and toys that were thought to be outdated and useless in modern society. Through collecting and learning about toys from the Edo period, they shared their sentiment for a disappearing culture and a defiant attitude towards the government that was actively working to erase much of that past (Jinno 14).

Originally, these groups of antique collectors were marginalized people from former Bakufu retainers or people who deviated from the mainstream of the academic world in the Meiji period and created networks based on their interests in Edo period antiques. Yamaguchi Masao called the network the "loser's league", referring to outsiders of the mainstream social values and systems (Yamaguchi, "Haishagaku" 40-43). They were interested in collecting object including toys and old prints that were considered outdated, useless and unnecessary for the building a modern and industrialized new nation. The existence of networks of *Edo shumi*, thus, suggests protests against the governmental policies and mainstream values of the Meiji period.

***Edo shumi* as a commercial trend**

The concept of *Edo shumi* was also spread through the commercial activities of department stores from the late Meiji to Taishō period with the collaboration of the networks of *Edo shumi* collectors and enthusiasts. Mitsukoshi department store, which had expanded their business from a clothing store, planned to create fashionable merchandise to attract more customers. Their target customers were people in the middle-class from various areas in Japan. In the Meiji period, those people did not have an idea of buying things with good *shumi* (taste) since, before then, they did not have access to affordable products. However, because of industrialization and the development of capitalism, the economic situation of the urban middle-class grew in the 1900s to 1920s. They had time and money to appreciate *shumi* and wanted to buy products with good *shumi* as a proof of their sophistication (Jinno 3-4).

Mitsukoshi organized an advisory group called the Ryūkō-kai to discuss the fashion trends and obtain suggestions for creating merchandise with good *shumi* in 1905. The members of the group consisted of scholars, writers, and artists including Tsuboi Shōgorō, an anthropologist and a moderator of the Shūko-kai, Sasaki Nobutsuna, a tanka poet and scholar of Japanese literature, and Iwaya Sazanami, a children's literature writer. They were all members of groups of antique collectors such as the Shūko-kai and Chikuba-

kai. Moreover, Mitsukoshi also held wide networking connections with groups of antique collectors and *Edo shumi*. Takeda Shinkichi, a manager of Mitsukoshi was one of the founding members of the Ōdomo-kai, which was a group of people who appreciated folk toys and other antique goods and shared nostalgic feelings for the past (Yamaguchi, “Haisha” 122).

In 1912, the Edo Shumi Kenkyū-kai was established within the Ryūkō-kai, suggesting the department store’s growing attention to *Edo shumi*. This tendency became more obvious since the Mitsukoshi department store started to cooperate with groups of *Edo shumi* aficionados. They provide a venue for meetings of the Ōdomo-kai inside the store from 1912 to 1919 and also held exhibitions of the toy collectors’ group at the department store bringing attention to folk toys and *Edo shumi* from the Edo period for their customers. In addition, a magazine for customers of the Mitsukoshi department store called *Mitsukoshi* had articles reporting on the Ōdomo-kai’s meetings to provide information on *Edo shumi*. The activities of *Edo shumi* groups were tied up with Mitsukoshi’s commercial activities, a connection that was mutually beneficial (Yamaguchi, “Haisha” 122-124).

Other department stores, such as Isetan and Shirakiya, followed Mitsukoshi’s strategy, producing unique and fashionable to satisfy their customers’ desire for things with

sophisticated taste originally created by intellectuals and cultural leaders in Tokyo. Department stores created products that were categorized as daily commodities but that were also a sort of art crafts to attract their customers and they proved to be big sellers. Such products were designed with motifs of Japanese culture from the Edo period , including kabuki, *nagauta*, and The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō, showcasing *Edo shumi*. Thus, *Edo shumi*, which was originally born out of a sense of nostalgia and an appreciation for old things from the Edo period by people with a common interest in those things was re-used and re-created as a trend for the department store shopping masses through close ties and collaboration between the stores and the *Edo shumi* networks (Jinno 9-11).

Spread of *Edo shumi* by print media

The spread of the concept of *Edo shumi* in the Taisho period in society was accelerated greatly by the print media that had grown significantly since the 1880s. Numerous of books and journals on Edo period cultural history and culture were published between the 1880s and 1920s. The concept of *Edo shumi* became widespread in society in the Taisho period through magazines and books featuring the social systems and culture in the Edo period. A journal, *Tokyo* (1902), featured the life and culture of the Edo period and was full of illustrations of commoners from various occupations to show images of the city of Edo as

well as essays on famous places in Tokyo and other articles on the *haikai* poetry of Edo, the history of sumo, and theatres in the Edo period. Shibata Ryūsei, a writer and translator, wrote *Densetsu no Edo* (Edo of legend) in 1911, in which Edo legends, stories, and events are romantically and deeply described with the atmosphere of the city of Edo in the 19th century (Ishikawa 794-798).

A monthly magazine titled *Edo Shumi* launched in 1916 by the Edo Shumi-kai provided a wide variety of information and thoughts on customs and cultures of the Edo period. Famous authors such as Miyatake Gaikotsu and scholars and critics joined the magazine to promote *Edo shumi* by giving basic knowledge on Edo customs and culture. Vol.1 of the magazine shows Utagawa Kunisada's ukiyo-e rendering of a dancing woman at a summer festival on the front page. The topics of this volume included an essay about *tenugui awase* in 1860s titled *Furyu Tenugui Awase (3)*" written by Aeba Kōson, a novelist and theatre critic. He noted that the meetings for exchanging *tenugui* (a type of traditional Japanese towel) commissioned by participants were held to appreciate unique and elaborate designs of *tenugui* within the group. The other topics of the magazine included the occupations of literati (*bunjin*) in the Edo period (3:2), pleasure quarters, history of ukiyo-e, and commentaries on *gesaku* (playful literary works) from the late Edo period (1:8-9).

Sassa Seisetsu, who was a scholar of Japanese literature, provides a serialized

essay on *Edo shumi* in the magazine in 1916. He provides the historical background of the distinctive culture of the Edo period, and outlines how the culture including *haikai* poetry, *jōruri* chanting, ukiyo-e, and popular stories developed in different ways in the Kamigata area (Osaka and Kyoto) through and Edo. In addition, in this essay, Sassa analyzes the nature of *Edo shumi*, describing it as social, vulgar, trendy, obstinate, and rebellious. However, these are his general views of *Edo shumi* and he did not provide a specific concept of *Edo shumi* (1:1, 2: 1, 3: 9, 4: 23-25, 5: 13, 6:9).

Books on *Edo shumi* continued to be published in the Taisho period. A book titled *Edo oyobi Edo Shumi* was published by Kokumin Zasshisha in 1912. *Shumi Kenkyu Ōedo* edited by the Edo Kenkyū kai featuring the customs and culture of Edo was published in 1922. *Shin Edo Shumi* authored by Miyakawa Kagetsuen published in 1924 introduces traditional Edo textile patterns. Among these publications on *Edo shumi*, *Fūzoku gahō*, a journal for reporting customs and manners to general public, played a notable role in enhancing *Edo shumi*. In the editorial of the first issue of the journal, Noguchi Katsuichi, the main editor of the journal, who was also a painter and politician from a samurai family, mentioned that the purpose of publishing this graphic journal was to retain past customs and history in the rapidly changing contemporary current society. The journal consisted of three main topics: forgotten customs and manners mainly from the Kasei period, trends of

current Tokyo, and local customs from outside of Tokyo.

The journal was very popular with a large circulation of 38,000 issues in 1889 and 135,000 issues in 1894. It was a monthly journal but sometimes it was published bi-weekly for special editions. Unlike other *Edo shumi* journals, *Fūzoku gahō* targeted a wider audience, with articles on current topics not only in Tokyo but throughout Japan, all the while promoting the culture and customs of the Edo period. It reported on a variety of current trends as well as introducing Edo period culture and customs with many images of lithographs and photographs until the journal was discontinued in 1918 (Tsuchida 7-8). The popularity of the journal contributed to disseminating *Edo shumi* widely in society.

Nōsatsu as Edo shumi

Nōsatsu practice gained publicity and attention through the *Edo shumi* boom. It was a culture that was very popular among commoners in the Edo from the mid-to late Edo period, which was the same time frame targeted by the *Edo shumi* boom. In addition, the characteristics of *nōsatsu* culture originally had a spirit of resistance against authorities. Karlin argues that the culture of Edo commoners represents a rebellious attitude against the Meiji government that was promoting progress and civilization, capitalism and elitism while the *Edo shumi* networks were trying to preserve and retain the culture of the artisan and merchant class of the Edo period.

Some *nōsatsu* images from the early and Taishō era suggest resistance against the mainstream values of society although *nōsatsu* practitioners were not explicitly rebellious towards the Japanese government in the Meiji and Taisho periods. Unlike the Tokugawa retainers or farmers in rural areas who complained that the Meiji government's new social system had brought financial ruin to them, *nōsatsu* practitioners in the early Meiji and Taishō era were mostly artisans and small business owners, who lived in urban areas such as Tokyo and still had time and money to appreciate *nōsatsu* culture. However, the tide of cultural practices and social values in the early 20th century was flowing against the *nōsatsu* practitioners.

Some *nōsatsu* have the motif of *nōsatsu* pasters tussling with monks trying to stop them from pasting *harifuda*. This motif suggests the *nōsatsu* practitioners' belief in the "Freedom of pasting *nōsatsu*". The person is holding a pasting pole called *furidashizao* in his right hand and his *harifuda* with the name of Hakukatsu. This image depicts a battle between a *nōsatsu* practitioner who tried to paste his slip and a monk who tried to stop him (Fig.6). Temples and shrines did not always welcome *nōsatsu* practitioners. Some religious facilities did not allow *nōsatsu* pasting on their buildings. However, enthusiastic *nōsatsu* practitioners even more enjoyed competing to paste *nōsatsu* on such banned places, as a sort of a game. In the Edo period, temples worked as office of resident registration on

behalf of the Tokugawa government. They had the authority to issue permits for moving or travelling (*terauke seido*). Struggles between monks and *nōsatsu* pasters was a running theme throughout the Edo period. The image in Fig.6 depicts a sort of minor revolt against governmental and religious authority that acted to limit the leisure activities of commoners.

Although *nōsatsu* culture did not have a close connection with commercial activities of department stores as the toy collectors' groups, with the increasing social recognition of *Edo shumi*, popularity and interest in *nōsatsu* practices were widespread in the Taishō period. *Nōsatsu* practice expanded outside of Tokyo, the original center of *nōsatsu* culture to other area such as Kansai. In 1916 the first *nōsatsu* group was established and held its first *nōsatsu* exchange meeting in Sakai, Osaka (Fujino 89).

Nōsatsu practice was not only a form of play and leisure, but also went against notions of diligence and frugality that the government was propagating since *nōsatsu* practitioners spent large amounts of time and money in leisure pursuits. Although their *nōsatsu* activities were not directly controlled by the government, socially their practice was not looked upon favorably, and clearly went against the trend of *risshin shusse* promoted by the government. From the perspective of diligence and productivity, *nōsatsu* practices were seen as useless and not conducive to modern progress. Some *nōsatsu* slips implicitly reveal the rebellious attitude toward the social norms that restricted *nōsatsu*

enthusiasts' unfettered leisure activities.

IV: THE ROLE OF FREDERICK STARR IN THE *NŌSATSU* BOOM

Frederic Starr, an American anthropologist, spurred *nōsatsu* practices to greater heights. It was his interest in the traditional commoner culture of the Edo period that added an aura of scholarly recognition to these sorts of customs. With the image of Starr as an academic celebrity who was enthusiastic about Japanese culture and lifestyle of the Edo period created and disseminated by mass media and people from *Edo shumi* networks, *nōsatsu* practices came to represent the sophistication of Japanese culture. His popularity as a Western academic was created and spread widely throughout Japanese society, so that Starr functioned to legitimize *Edo shumi* as distinctive type of Japanese culture that deserved to rank with or above Western cultural standards and values. His fame in Japan had the effect of promoting *nōsatsu* culture, resulting in the expansion of the *nōsatsu* community. Starr's spectacular presence in the media played a crucial role in the flourishing of *nōsatsu* culture in the Taishō period.

Profile of Frederick Starr

Frederick Starr was born in 1858 in Auburn, NY. He became an anthropology professor at Chicago University at 1891. After visiting Japan for the first time in 1904 when he brought a small contingent of Ainu to be exhibited at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, he became fascinated by Japanese folklore and ethnology and visited Japan 16 more times between

1904 and 1933. He was interested in the traditional Japanese culture of commoners, such as pilgrimages, folk toys, match box labels, tattoos, and *nōsatsu*. He was widely considered one of the most famous Westerners in Japan during the 1910-1930s since his activities during his stays in Japan were often reported in newspapers and he was well-known as “Ofuda hakase (Dr. votive slips)” to Japanese people (Smith 2-4). When Starr visited Japan for the second time in 1909, a major newspaper, the *Tokyo Asahi shinbun*, featured his research trip to Asakusa in a series of six articles from October 8 to 14, reporting how he was conversant with Japanese culture in great detail. After that, almost every time he visited Japan, newspapers followed and commented on his activities and movements.

Starr preferred to wear traditional Japanese attire - kimono, *hakama*, *haori*, *zōri* – while he was staying in Japan. Every time he visited Japan, as soon as he arrived at the inn he regularly frequented, he immediately changed his western clothes and put on traditional Japanese clothing (McVicker 179-182). Photos of Starr in newspapers almost always show him clad in kimono. The images of Starr in kimono often appeared in detailed articles reporting activities and events he participated in during his many visits to Japan.

Starr’s networking with *Edo shumi* groups

During his second stay in Japan Starr met Shimizu Seifū, a folk toy collector and a member of several antique collectors’ groups. He introduced Starr to people of both antique

collectors' and researchers' groups who were devoted to the collection and practice of *Edo shumi*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Shimizu was a central figure in the development folk toy groups. His network of *Edo shumi* was not limited to toy collectors and included connections to people with a wide variety of antique collecting interests, including things such as prints and crafts.

Although it seems Starr was not an active member of a *nōsatsu* group, through the activities of the Shūko-kai and other *Edo shumi* related groups, his cultural networks overlapped with the *nōsatsu* community. After he passed away, his friends built a monument to commemorate him. The monument includes names of some major *nōsatsu* practitioners such as Iseman and Takahashitō. Starr's encounter with *Edo shumi* and his effective entrée into networking in the *shumi* groups was largely possible through the influential sway Shimizu had in the *Edo shumi* community (Hayashi 56-57).

Starr attended meetings of antique collectors and researchers, including the Shūko-kai, one of the largest groups of those collectors and researchers who were interested in traditional Japanese culture. Members of Shūko-kai consisted of various types of social classes from nobility to farmers, including merchants dealing dry foods, booksellers, newspaper reporters, haikai poets, scholars, and professors. At their regular meetings, they exchanged information on antiques and folk culture and discussed them, sharing their

interest and excitement in a very relaxed and pleasurable atmosphere (Smith 18).

Starr's networks also included tattoo groups in Tokyo called Chōyū-kai. The Chōyū-kai was a group of people who had full body tattoos. A newspaper article dated September 6, 1932 reported that about 40 members of the Chōyū-kai members got together at a public bath in Hongō, Tokyo to show Starr their elaborate tattoos. According to the newspaper article, Starr was very excited to see their tattoos and impressed by the exquisite techniques used in tattooing such as the gradation of colors displayed on their bodies ("Ofuda hakase to Irezumi no Gunzo") (Fig.7). Major *nōsatsu* practitioners including Iseman and Konsan were also members of the tattoo group and their full body tattoos that had motifs from popular stories from the 19th century are depicted in numerous *nōsatsu* slips, suggesting the close relationship between the two groups (Fig.8).

Starr also joined a group centered on making the Mt. Fuji pilgrimage, the Fuji-kō, a folk religion worshipping Mt. Fuji and the deities of Mt. Fuji, which was popular among commoners in the Edo during the pre-modern era. Starr also actually climbed Mt. Fuji five times and penned a book on Mt. Fuji titled *Fujiyama: The Sacred Mountain of Japan* in 1924. When he climbed Mt. Fuji for the first time, Chōsokabe Ikkō, known as Dr. Mt. Fuji, who climbed the mountain 97 times in his life, joined the trip. He was also an active member of a *nōsatsu* group. A photo of a meeting of the Fuji-kō at Asama jinja shows some

hōnō tenugui, a thin cotton hand towel offered at shrines by shrine supporters, with the names of famous *nōsatsu* practitioners at that time such as Iseman, Takahashitō, Ōkame and Tataume (Fig.9), also suggesting that *nōsatsu* practices were related to Mt. Fuji worship (Starr, "Ofuda" 599-620, 689).

Thus, Starr's involvement in networks of aficionados of Edo period traditional culture brought him into contact with diverse group of people who appreciated *Edo shumi*. Above all, Starr had an especially strong interest in *nōsatsu*. He became an active member of a *nōsatsu* group in Tokyo and he even hosted numerous *nōsatsu* meetings. He also collected thousands of *nōsatsu* prints ranging chronologically from the Edo to the Taisho era. He authored an article titled *The NŌSATSU KAI* in 1917, in which he introduced actual *nōsatsu* practices in detail as well as the history of *nōsatsu* with some images and captions of *nōsatsu* slips. The article shows his deep understanding of *nōsatsu* culture and meanings of images and his enthusiasm in participating in *nōsatsu* meetings (1-22).

Creating a popular academic celebrity

Starr's participation in various cultural events held by *Edo shumi* networks brought significant attention to the events among the Japanese populace. Newspapers reported on each of his visits to Japan and described them in ways that were, by turns, both respectful and humorous. Japanese people saw him as an eccentric scholar who was enthusiastic about

Japanese commoners' culture. The serialized reports of his Sanyō-dō trip were later published as a book (*Ofuda angya*). In the illustrations of this book, he is depicted as the sort of comical character often depicted in humorous Japanese illustrated books (Fig.10). A newspaper article reporting Starr visiting Dozoku to Densetsu no Hakubutsukan (Museum of local customs and legend) in Nara with his western female friends described him in a sort of childish way as he boasted about his knowledge of Japanese folklore to them in a smile-provoking way (Fig.11).

In addition to mass media, people in the *Edo shumi* networks who communicated with Starr also contributed to establishing this comical and friendly image of Frederic Starr. Dolls of Starr with stout bodies wearing kimono were created as gifts for Starr and other *nōsatsu* group participants. The dolls resemble the mascot characters seen in Japan today (Fig.12). In the *nōsatsu* slips featuring Starr's trip on the Tōkaidō, Starr is depicted as a sort of bumbling traveler, similar to and perhaps modelled on Yajirobei and Kitahachi in *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige*, an extremely popular work of fiction from the 19th century that comically depicts their troubles as they journey down the Tōkaidō (Fig.13).

Due to newspaper articles reporting Starr's doings and his speaking events for the general public, as an American professor of anthropology, Starr gained fame and status as a celebrity in Japan. According to Hellmuller and Aeschbacher, celebrity is defined as a

“human pseudo-event” created by the media. Media choose people to be celebrities who have potential news value. For these media celebrities’ talent and achievement are not necessarily important : rather, it is more important for mass media to create celebrities who can captivate audiences. Around the 1900, with the development of mass media, namely newspapers, the concept of “celebrity” shifted so that even if a person had the trappings of celebrity, if the audience did not recognize or accept that person as a celebrity, then the celebrity failed to retain that role (Hellmuller and Aeschbacher 3-21).

Japanese people respected Starr as a professor of the University of Chicago, however, his popularity did not originate from his academic achievement on Japanese culture, but from his socially recognized enthusiasm for the commoner culture of Japan, familiarity with Japanese customs, and his eccentric and friendly character, which was favorably reported in detail by newspapers. Thus, Starr’s image as an intellectual celebrity in Japan was created.

In the eyes of the Japanese public, Starr was seen as scholarly and also affable, knowledgeable but also naïve – characteristics that were shaped and amplified by the mass media. Japanese people, then, felt a familiarity and connection with Starr that was quite different to how other Western academics were viewed Edward Morse (1838-1925) and Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908) who also introduced Japanese traditional culture to the West.

Edward Morse was an American archaeologist who discovered ancient shell mounds in Omori, Tokyo, which was one of the most significant modern archaeological findings in Japan. He became a professor at the University of Tokyo, teaching biology and introducing Darwinism to Japan. Moreover, he was interested in Japanese pottery and ceramics and he became a serious connoisseur with an appreciation of quality, colors, and glazing techniques. Later becoming a collector of Japanese pottery who could precisely tell types, ages, name of creators of potteries (Brooks 9-13). He authored *Nihon tōji mokuroku* a comprehensive catalogue of Japanese pottery in his collection (Ninagawa 311-316).

Ernest Fenollosa was an American philosophy and economics professor at Tokyo Imperial University. After he came to Japan, he became developed an interested in Edo period Japanese art, including ukiyo-e and Japanese painting, and became an esteemed authority on Japanese art. At that time Japanese government was enthusiastically promoting Western things, with art being one of the many cultural forms that were held up to high esteem to the detriment of pre-modern Japanese art, was regarded as base and outdated. Fenollosa promoted exactly that kind of Japanese art and as an art advisor for the Japanese government, he contributed to the preservation of temples and shrines and their art treasures. Before Fenollosa returned to the United States the Emperor, personally, acknowledged his role in reviving an appreciation of Japan's unique and traditional forms

of art (Brooks 3-26).

Compared with Morse and Fenollosa, Western academic celebrities who promoted Japanese culture, Starr's familiarity and accessibility to the general public was notable. One of the reasons for this popularity in Japanese society was Starr's extensive networking with the overlapping groups promoting and collecting antiques, folk toys, votive slip, and matchbox labels as well as the Chōyū-kai. Morse and Fenollosa were also integrated into academic and cultural networks , however, those were mainly made up of a limited number of academics since Morse and Fenollosa, professors at the University of Tokyo, hired by the Japanese government, were part of the larger national academic policies and aims. Starr's networks, by contrast, mainly consisted of antique collectors, such as members of the Shūko-kai, *nōsatsu* groups, tattoo groups, and the Fuji-kō devotees. They were aficionados of *Edo shumi* and not bound to official, governmental academic authorities. In addition, in his self-created role of Ofuda hakase, always clad in Japanese attire and delving deeply into the dusty corners of Japanese art and culture he acted as a sort of a mascot for the *nōsatsu* community, even though he was also respected as a Western academic. Furthermore, newspapers reporting on his activities, whether making pilgrimages, travelling down the old Tōkaidō, or collecting folk art and votive slips, reinforces this friendly image of Frederick Starr as Ofuda hakase, thereby deepening his wide popularity

in Japanese society.

Starr's role in expansion of *nōsatsu* culture

Starr made a major contribution to the expansion of *nōsatsu* culture to areas outside of Tokyo. Originally *nōsatsu* was a practice limited to Tokyo /Edo and Yokohama in the Meiji period. However, thanks to Starr's fame, *nōsatsu* culture spread to the Kansai area. When Starr first visited Osaka in December 1915, people associated in antique collector groups in the Kansai area, including collectors of old books, prints and crafts, met with Starr. At that time Starr was already very famous in Japan as Ofuda hakase. After their meeting with Starr, antique collectors decided to establish the first *nōsatsu*-club in the Kansai region. It was noted that Starr's visit in Osaka sparked the establishment of the first *nōsatsu* group in the Kansai area in the diary of a key member of that *nōsatsu* group.

Aoki Toshitada, who was working for a major newspaper, the *Osaka Asahi shinbun*, met Starr at that time. Aoki, who was also an antique collector with an interest in old manuscripts and historical documents, worked as a liaison between the *nōsatsu* clubs in Osaka, Kyoto, Okazaki, and Tokyo, and the newspaper company in preparing a *nōsatsu* club in Kansai areas and later organizing *nōsatsu* meetings. His diary records details of the preparation and establishment of the *nōsatsu* club and events related to Starr and *nōsatsu*. According to the diary, some antique collectors including him already collected *nōsatsu*,

but there were no actual *nōsatsu* practitioners who commissioned *nōsatsu* slips at the time Starr visited Osaka in 1915 (Aoki 7-15 Dec. 1915).

The first *nōsatsu*-club meeting in Kansai, Kansai Nosatsu-kai was held on June 10th, 1916 in Sakai, Osaka. Fukuyama Hekisui, a match box label collector who was one of the founders of the Nihon Rishi Kinshū-kai, a group that commissioned and collected match box labels. He was also a *nōsatsu* practitioner and he returned to Osaka from one of his visits to Tokyo with some *nōsatsu* slips to use as examples for creating new *nōsatsu*. He had visited Starr earlier at Starr's residence to discuss his match label collection when he was still in Tokyo. He gave 53 match box labels from his collection to Starr and Starr later held an exhibition of the match box labels after he returned to the U.S (Wall text for *Match: as a Magic Fire Starting Tool and Modern Label*). Yasuda Kōseidō in Osaka, who had experience in creating match box labels, did the carving and printing for the Osaka *nōsatsu* slips. Frederic Starr's popularity in Japanese society and among match label collectors, which was also a part of Starr's networking, contributed greatly to the birth of a *nōsatsu* group in Kansai (Aoki 29 Jan.-June 25 June 1916).

Newspapers in Kansai were also involved in the development of *nōsatsu* clubs in Kansai. The *Osaka Maiasa shinbun* and *Sakai taimusu* reported that the first Kansai *nōsatsu* meeting was a great success with numbers of new designs of *nōsatsu* (Fujino

28). *Osaka maiasa shinbun* sponsored the meeting to enhance *nōsatsu* practices in Kansai.

The first *nōsatsu* slips as well as an announcement of the first *nōsatsu* meeting were sent to several local newspapers. In addition, the regulations and rules of the Kansai *Nōsatsukai* were sent to the *Osaka maiasa shinbun*. Later they also send an announcement of *nōsatsu* meetings to newspapers in Tokyo. Gradually, the number of the *nōsatsu* club members increased and about 100 members participated in the third meeting held on October 10th, 1916. It seems that the rapid increase in membership in *Edo shumi* groups was fueled by the press and the popularity of Frederick Starr in those cultural circles (Aoki 7 Dec. 1915- 10 June 1916).

Starr attended *nōsatsu* meeting to welcome him on his way back from a trip to Shikoku, where he made the 88 temple Shikoku pilgrimage. It was not a typical *nōsatsu* meeting but, rather, more like a festival or celebration specifically held to welcome Starr's return to the Kansai area. When he arrived at Sakai station, the mayor of Sakai city was there to greet him and along with thousands of men and women of all ages, who accompanied Starr all the way to the meeting venue. At the entrance of the meeting, a life-size model had been erected and more than 250 people joined the *nōsatsu* meeting that had the theme of cherry blossoms. Before the meeting started, Starr gave a talk about *nōsatsu* culture. With the *nōsatsu* slips created for the meeting, a special gift, a set of postcards of

his photographs, was provided to all of the participants. The *Osaka Asahi shinbun* and other local newspaper sponsored the event and it made headlines in those newspapers. (Starr, “Ofuda” 419-424). The enthusiasm of people for this huge social event showed Starr’s popularity as Ofuda hakase and how his status as an academic celebrity functioned as a powerful driving force in the expansion of *nōsatsu* practices in Kansai.

Invention of Ofuda hakase and the authentication of *Edo shumi*

Frederic Starr’s deep interests in and understanding of Japanese folk and commoners’ culture from the previous era connected him with various groups of *Edo shumi*, especially *nōsatsu* groups. His devotion to *nōsatsu* practice earned him the moniker Ofuda hakase. His appreciation of Japanese culture and his preference for Japanese style clothing drew the attention and curiosity of Japanese. That an American academic had such an interest and understanding of the value of traditional Japanese culture imbued people with a sense of pride in their cultural past even as the government was instituting policies and fostering attitudes what favored the modern and new.

For people engaged in *Edo shumi* activities, especially, Starr’s interest served to verify the cultural authenticity of *Edo shumi*. Starr’s celebrity as an eccentric American academic also worked to promote and spread *nōsatsu* culture. The establishment of the first *nōsatsu* group in the Kansai was greatly inspired by Starr as evidenced by the massive

turnout for the *nōsatsu* exchange meeting held to welcome Starr back from his travels in Shikoku and the headlines featuring the event in major newspapers. Unlike Morse and Fenollosa, whose brilliant accomplishments are still remembered, Starr largely disappeared from the academic and cultural scene. But his memory has been carefully preserved by the *nōsatsu* community, which continues, even now, to respect Starr's devotion to *nōsatsu* culture and his role in reviving *nōsatsu* pasting and exchanging traditions in the Meiji and Taisho eras.

Edo shumi, an invented concept that looked to Edo period commoner culture as a model, was an idea that ran counter to what the Meiji government was trying to accomplish – rapid modernization and Westernization. *Edo shumi* provided an alternate course that, in many ways, was a form of protest and way of creating a distinctive Japanese identity. Frederick Starr's enthusiastic participation in Edo Shumi networks gave an imprimatur of authority to the groups through his status as an American scholar. Starr's popular status in Japan as an academic celebrity, which was created by the mass media and the *Edo shumi* community profoundly contributed to changing the characteristics of the *nōsatsu* community, as it shifted from a closed society with limited membership to wider societal networks of cultural groups that was greatly attractive to the general public.

V: CHANGE IN *NŌSATSU* CULTURE IN THE TAISHŌ PERIOD AS

A MEDIUM

The characteristics of *nōsatsu* culture drastically changed in the Taisho period. In this chapter I will discuss *nōsatsu* practice from the perspective of a medium to argue how social and cultural conditions encompassing *nōsatsu* culture from the 1900s to 1920s influenced the characteristics of *nōsatsu* culture. *Nōsatsu* culture in the Taishō period changed from a medium within a small and close community of *nōsatsu* aficionados to a medium for showcasing and demonstrating *Edo shumi* for the public, and then, in the Kansai area, *nōsatsu*, as a form of wood block print media, changed to reflect the social and cultural situation in Osaka and Kyoto and, so, the essence of *Edo shumi* was blurred and diluted.

Media: Extension of the body

There are various types of media and media are defined in various ways. A media theorist, Arjen Mulder defines media as “means of reaching others” (1). That means media are communication tools to transfer information. According to this definition, *nōsatsu* slips, both *harifuda* and *kōkanafuda* are media since they make information provided on the slips visible to other people. A *harifuda* identifies the slip owners as well as the preferred aesthetic look observed in the font and style used for the design for the name of the slip

owner. Also, pasting slips on hard to reach places on shrines or temples was evidence of the skill and knowledge of the slip owner.

Kōkanfuda, which are created for exchanging at meetings of *nōsatsu* practitioners, are also media, expressing the cultural interests, aesthetic sense, and sense of humor of the commissioner as conveyed in the images and text on the slip. Furthermore, size of the slip, and number of colors and techniques used in a slip display the commissioner's economic status and devotion to *nōsatsu* practices since larger and more colorful slips created with elaborate woodblock printing techniques were quite expensive. In addition, if the slips include a *ren* mark or symbol, this clearly displays the commissioner's connection to the group and involvement in the larger network of *nōsatsu* practitioners. Thus, *nōsatsu* are media to communicate with other people, expressing their identities and sharing their common cultural interests and aesthetic sense for woodblock prints.

Marshall McLuhan, known as a scholar of media theory, describes a medium as an "extension of man" (3). Arjen Mulder explains McLuhan's concept of media by showing how media work as an extension of the human body, by amplifying the body's functions. Media help humans' actions, including moving, seeing, and speaking in more effective ways and on a greater scale as an extension of their bodies (1). For example, electric lights, which can help human see things in a dark place, can be called a medium for this reason.

Mulder defines a medium as an interactive communication tool. Media can send information to others and bring back information into the body from the outer world and expand body's ability as it deals with new issues happening outside of the body. Media flexibly change themselves in tune with circumstances to become more functional to the body (2). However, if a part of the body grows too much, making the extension of the body too long, it could be numbed and then becomes necrotic since the control of the central nerve system of the body cannot reach that area. If a medium develops too far forward, it might collapse and be detached. Similarly, if a medium changes its characteristics in ways that were not originally intended, it could lose the original function for communication and be separated from the original body (64). When examining *nōsatsu* as a medium, an extension of the body of the media happened because of the dissemination of *Edo shumi* between the 1900s to 1920s. Then, *nōsatsu* culture went too far, and lost the function as a medium to pass on *Edo shumi* in Kansai areas.

Characteristics of *nōsatsu* as a medium before the 1900s

I will chronologically analyze changes in *nōsatsu* practice as a medium. First, I discuss the characteristics of the *nōsatsu* community from the mid-19th century to just before the Taishō period. At that time, *nōsatsu* groups were a close community of members, which were comprised of mostly artisans and small business owners living in the east of the Edo

castle, including the Nihonbashi, Kanda, and Asakusa areas (Takiguchi 28-29). After *nōsatsu* culture re-started in the mid-Meiji period, from the late 1880s to 1900s, the characteristics of the *nōsatsu* community were quite similar to that of the late Edo period, in which major members were artisans and merchants from the areas above mentioned as the profiles of major *nōsatsu* aficionados listed in *Nōsatsu Taikan* shows (Nōsatsukai 27-44). Community members shared cultural interests in common and were bound with a strong sense of fellowship.

Nōsatsu practitioners shared information on shrines and temples for pasting *harifuda* using slang that were only comprehensible within the group. For example, they exchanged information on their targeted shrines and temples by using terms such as “father-in-law” and “shamisen”. At “father-in-law” temples and shrines monks or priests complained when *nōsatsu* practitioners pasted *harifuda* there, similar to how a father-in-law complains about his son-in-law or daughter-in-law. “Shamisen” refers to temples and shrines that are good for practicing *nōsatsu* pasting since becoming a good shamisen player, takes a lot of practice. The use of this humorous argot encoded with meaning was understood in the insular community of *nōsatsu* practitioners (Watanabe 153-155).

In commissioning *kokanfuda*, too, *nōsatsu* practitioners in the Edo and Meiji period showed their shared their cultural interests and appreciation of the elaborate and

unique designs of the exchange slips. A *nōsatsu-ren* called the Dodoitsu-ren commissioned a series of *nōsatsu* prints, including lyrics from *dodoitsu*, a sort of comical love song in the 7-7-7-5 syllable pattern, playing on their common enthusiasm for that genre of music (Fig.14).

Within the *nōsatsu* community, beyond individual *nōsatsu* groups, *nōsatsu* practitioners appreciated the cleverness and humor depicted in *nōsatsu* slips that parodied well-known stories, poems, and theatre. A *nōsatsu* slip with the motif of a popular fairy tale, *Urashima Tarō*, designed by Utagawa Yoshitsuna, depicts Urashima Tarō running away from monstrous sea creatures (Fig.15). In the original story Urashima Tarō, a young fisherman saved a turtle. As a reward, Princess Otohime invites Urashima Tarō to her palace deep under the sea, Ryūgū-jō (the Dragon palace). He rode down into water on the back of a turtle. As he departs from Ryūgū-jō, the princess presents him with a jewel encrusted box. In the *nōsatsu* version, however, Urashima Tarō holds a plain wooden box and is shown carrying a pole over his shoulder. *Nōsatsu* people in the know would have quickly recognized that the wooden box was a *gebako*, used for carrying slips, glue, and other implements associated with *nōsatsu* pasting. The long pole he carries, *furidashizao*, used for pasting *harifuda* and he clenches a brush in his mouth for inscribing his name on the slip, suggesting that his trip below the ocean was actually a pasting excursion even

including sea creature palace guards trying to drive him away from the palace. This parody of a classic folk tale would have resonated with the *nōsatsu* community as something that hit close to home – the adventure and danger of pasting.

As the popularity of *nōsatsu* culture grew during the 1800s, *nōsatsu* images were sometimes depicted in popular stories and prints, but they were still regarded as a vulgar form of Edo culture. Most *nōsatsu* people were lower class commoners: carpenters, artisans, firefighters, fishmongers, and greengrocers. So, the more prosperous class looked down on *nōsatsu* practices as something unique to that social ranking (Takiguchi 171).

At that time, the *nōsatsu* community was insular and closed off, made up of people from similar social backgrounds with a shared interest in the popular culture of the time. They commissioned slips for exchange meetings that were held to strict and standardized rules so that each slip had to be framed in black and the sizes multiplied by even numbers of 1-*cho fuda* (48 mm x144 mm) (Watanabe 147). Since most *nōsatsu* group members were denizens of areas for commoners and many of them were artisans the production of *nōsatsu* was largely a community affair, involving paper shop owners, carvers, calligraphers, designers and publishers. And, the tools needed to make *nōsatsu* were produced there by artisans specializing in brush-making and woodcrafts who were also, often, *nōsatsu* practitioners themselves (Takiguchi 124). But *nōsatsu* were not for sale and they weren't

meant to make money. Rather, they were self-commissioned and meant mainly for the purpose of display and distribution at *nōsatsu* meetings or to be pasted. Unlike ukiyo-e, aimed at paying customers, which had to go through official governmental censorship channels, *nōsatsu* prints were created for a self-contained group of fellow enthusiasts so there was no need to try to market or expand *nōsatsu* culture outside of that community. *Nōsatsu*, as a medium, then, worked within a small world of *nōsatsu* practitioners to share information and interest in popular culture and commission *nōsatsu* slips.

Extension of the *nōsatsu* as a medium in the Taishō period

In the early part of the 20th century the characteristic of *nōsatsu* groups changed with the development of the concept of *Edo shumi* and its diffusion throughout society. *Nōsatsu* practices came to be widely known to the general public and some *nōsatsu* exchange meetings were held that were also sort of social events that attracted public attention.

Newspaper articles featuring *nōsatsu* practices started to appear in the late 1900s in major newspapers such as the *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* and *Yomiuri shinbun*. An article in the *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* that appeared on February 7, 1910 featured *nōsatsu* in an interview with Ōta Secchō, who noted that *nōsatsu* culture at that time was flourishing even more than it had during the Tenpō era (1831-1845), in which *nōsatsu* traditions became enormously popular, leading to the creation of more colorful and elaborate *nōsatsu* slips.

On the other hand, the article describes *nōsatsu* exchange meetings as sort of social gatherings, in which religious aspects did not necessarily play a prominent role (“Monozuki Meimeiden” 5). An announcement of the Yokohama Nōsatsu Waragi-kai’s *nōsatsu* pasting outing was posted in the *Yomiuri shinbun* on February 25, 1915, mentioning that anyone could join the event (4).

Magazines also depicted *nōsatsu* culture as a trendy culture representing *Edo shumi*. A popular magazine in the Taishō period, *Fūzoku gahō*, often featured articles on *nōsatsu*. An article reporting on a *nōsatsu* exchange meeting held on January 25, 1916 comments that slips members brought for the meeting were very unique and elaborate, and well represented the ethos of *Edo shumi* (“Jihitsuhanaga Nōsatsu Kōkankai”).

With the combination of the permeation of *Edo shumi* as an aesthetic concept in society and the growing popularity of Frederic Starr, mass media including newspapers and magazines often featured *nōsatsu* culture in the Taishō period (1910s -1920s), representing increasing social awareness of *nōsatsu* practices. Especially, newspapers played a significant role in disseminating *nōsatsu* culture as well as Starr’s character as Ofuda hakase. As Benedict Anderson argues, publishing capitalism created an imagined nation. So, that, newspapers, especially, enhanced the ability of readers to imagine that many people, like them, were receiving the same information at the same time through the print

media. National newspapers, by repeatedly providing people within the nation with information they are interested, create an imaginary community that is called a nation (Anderson 32-36). Considering the power of newspapers to unite readers, articles in newspapers and magazines publicized *nōsatsu* as a cultural type representing *Edo shumi* in the popular mind and made *nōsatsu* familiar and fashionable in the Taishō era.

In addition, *nōsatsu* groups often collaborated with other cultural groups in the Taishō era, which made the *nōsatsu* community socially more recognizable and accessible. In 1916 when an exhibition of various types of prints featuring *Edo shumi* was held, concomitantly a *nōsatsu* exchange meeting was held and *Edo shumi* aficionados other than *nōsatsu* club members also joined the meeting (“Nosatsu Yūshi Edoshumi Tenrankai”). A newspaper article reported that joint a joint meeting of *nōsatsu* group members and match label collectors was held in 1910, suggesting that the *nōsatsu* community was expanding their bounds of activities through collaboration with match label collectors (“Macchi to Senjafuda”). Since *nōsatsu* slips and match box labels are both small-size prints created through woodblock printing techniques and Frederic Starr communicated with people in both groups collaboration between the two groups developed. Fig.16 shows one of a series of *nōsatsu* with a motif inspired by match box labels.

Fūzoku gahō, on December 5, 1914, reported that a *nōsatsu* event titled “Nōsatsu

Kodomo-kai (*nōsatsu* meeting for children)” was held in collaboration with a toy collector group. Participants in this event were both adults and children. In the half of the event, there were exhibitions of a variety of old toys and wood block prints for children, stalls selling candies and toys, as well as street performances. After they enjoyed this festive event, people of the *nōsatsu* group had a *nōsatsu* exchange meeting with the theme of toys (Yūsui 19). The invitation card, seemingly addressed to children, shows that the host of the meeting was Tokutarō, the son of the famous *nōsatsu* practitioner, Iseman (Fig.17). Although the event was presented as a “children’s” event, this was a play on the theme of the meeting – folk toys – and meant for toy collectors and *Edo shumi* aficionados.

These *nōsatsu* meetings that involved other cultural/hobby groups suggest the tendency towards changes in *nōsatsu* practice in the Taishō period. At that time, *nōsatsu* meetings were changing from meetings for members tightly bound to each other with specific shared cultural interests, as in the time before the Taishō era, into a space that became more open and more widely known to the larger public through festive events in collaboration with other *Edo shumi* groups that showcased *nōsatsu* culture within the larger genre of *Edo shumi*.

When considering the *nōsatsu* practice as a medium, as an extension of the human’s body, it extended much further in the early decades of the twentieth century than

it had during the late Edo period by stretching out to include a wider audience of participants and a heightened awareness among the general – especially newspaper-reading – public.

Some of the new audience were people who were greatly interested in *Edo Shumi*, collectors of antiques, including folk toys, wood block prints, and old books. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Frederic Starr's networking of antique collectors as well as other groups of popular culture from the previous era, such as the Fuji-kō, contributed to connect *nōsatsu* practitioners to other groups interested in the culture and customs of the Edo period.

Edo shumi enthusiasts and *nōsatsu* collectors had similar and often overlapping interests so it was natural that they would communicate with each other, especially since their activities were going against the grain in looking back to Edo period cultural traditions when the mainstream movement was geared towards rapid modernization and industrialization at that time.

Another new audience for the medium of *nōsatsu* was people who became interested in *Edo shumi* due to the trends mass media and commercialism created. Articles in newspaper and magazine introduced *Edo shumi* as a stylish trend. The status of Frederick Starr as an eccentric academic celebrity contributed to attract social attention to *nōsatsu*

practices. Young people and people new to Tokyo, often from rural parts of Japan, who were not familiar with *Edo shumi* and, at the same time, were being targeted by department stores as potential customers, were eager to learn about *Edo shumi* as it was considered to be sophisticated and in vogue at the moment (Jinno 24-25). *Nōsatsu* practitioners played a role in creating and leading this trend, by demonstrating their knowledge and appreciation of *Edo shumi*.

Many *nōsatsu* slips from the period includes motifs related to current social events in society as well as displaying typical motifs representing Edo period commoner culture. While motifs of popular Edo commoner's culture, including kabuki, pilgrimage, and characters from popular stories, were repeatedly used in the images of *nōsatsu* slips, new motifs appeared at exchange meetings with specific purposes that did not include popular themes from the Edo period.

For example, series of *nōsatsu* depicting various types of *goshō-ningyō* (palace dolls) was created in 1915 to celebrate the enthronement of the Taishō Emperor (Fig.18). *Goshō-ningyō* are baby or infant figures with plump bodies, large heads, and extremely white skin. They were originally created as an art craft in Kyoto in the early 18th century for the Imperial family and court nobles. When feudal lords from Western Japan paid a courtesy visit to the Emperor or court nobles on the way to Edo for alternate attendance,

the dolls were given by the Emperor or court nobles to the feudal lords. After the Edo period, the dolls became a popular souvenir item in the Kyoto area (“Gosho ningyō”) so *gosho-ningyō* were quite removed from popular culture and, rather, represented Kyoto court culture created for and owned by people in the upper classes.

The *nōsatsu* community commissioned *nōsatsu* slips with the *gosho-ningyō* motif connecting the *nōsatsu* meeting to that imperial cultural artifact and also to the celebration of an event that was important for the imperial family and for the nation as a whole. As I stated in the previous chapter, *nōsatsu* culture, originally, had elements of resistance to authority – whether the government’s authority or the authority of religious institutions. In this instance, however, the *gosho-ningyō* themed meeting shows a reverence for the emperor by marking that imperial event.

Interestingly, the *daimei* of each slip differ from the conventional style. Usually, *daimei* in *kokanfuda* slips were framed by a black rectangle in the slip. However, two *daimei* in this slip are framed by a yellow square with the white Chinese character, *kotobuki*, which means auspicious, in this context. The calligraphy style used for these *daimei* looks more elaborate than the one used normally for exchange slips, giving it an elegant and refined look.

The further expansion of *nōsatsu* culture in the Taishō period in terms of the

audience and motifs suggests that changes in *nōsatsu* as a medium occurred due to the popularization of *Edo shumi* and the visibility of *nōsatsu* practices in society and enhanced by Frederick Starr. The *nōsatsu* community reacted according to the trends of *Edo shumi* and the notability of Starr, adjusting their practices to fit the social needs.

***Nōsatsu* culture in Kansai :Disruption of the medium**

The change in characteristic of *nōsatsu* practice as a medium is more notable in Kansai *nōsatsu* groups. In the Kansai area, including Osaka and Kyoto, in which *nōsatsu* culture spread in the 1910s due to the popularity of Frederick Starr, the *nōsatsu* culture developed in unique ways, different from conventional *nōsatsu* practices in the Tokyo area. Unlike *nōsatsu* groups in Tokyo, *nōsatsu* groups in Kansai did not have traditional rules and customs inherited from the Edo period although they initially learned *nōsatsu* culture from *nōsatsu* practitioners in Tokyo. Many *nōsatsu* practitioners in Kansai enjoyed *nōsatsu* culture along with other collecting and designing activities of *shumi*, such as *pochi-bukuro*, folk toys, auspicious wood block prints, and postcards, often combining them together for the leisure and commercial purposes. In the Kansai area, the essence of *Edo shumi* was shifted and re-formed as *Kyōdo-shumi*, in which the interests in collecting and appreciating antiques and folklore from the previous era were more focused on local attractions and cultural needs, rather than the ones that had been handed down to them from Edo/Tokyo

(Fujino 133-147).

Tanaka Ryokkō, one of the pioneers of *nōsatsu* culture in Kyoto who engaged in *shumi* activities in Kyoto. He was an amateur researcher on folklore as well as a businessman who owned flower shops and a publishing company. He established a publishing company, Kyōdoshumi-sha, in 1917 and published a journal titled *Kyōdo shumi* from 1918 to 1925. Kyōdoshumi-sha managed a variety of activities, including organizing a regular buying club of folk toys and publishing magazines, books and prints, introducing old customs and cultures in Kansai, as well as hosting *nōsatsu* meetings. On December 12, 1920 a *nōsatsu* meeting was held featuring *takarabune*, an auspicious image of a boat filled with treasures (Fujino 135-136). In the Edo period, shrines and temples in Kyoto and Osaka provided various kinds of *takarabune* prints to their visitors. After the Edo period, the custom was discontinued, but in the mid-Taisho period, *takarabune* prints revived among *shumi-ka* people in the Kansai area and later *takarabune* print groups were established and held exchange meetings (Takarabune Korekushon). Although it was a *nōsatsu* meeting, the size of slips with the image of *takarabune* was irregular from conventional *nōsatsu* slips, ignoring the strict rule for the size of *nōsatsu* slips in order to re-create prints with the similar size to the originals

Moreover, in April of 1921, the Kyōdoshumi-sha hosted a *nōsatsu* meeting with

the motif of Gion Festival floats with the purpose of re-creating 35 older prints of the floats. This event took advantage of *nōsatsu* practices to attract social attention to re-creating the older prints of the Gion Festival. Later the host reprinted the *nōsatsu* slips of Gion Festival floats into prints to sell to the public, which was a direct violation of the rule of the *nōsatsu* community that prohibited commercial uses of *nōsatsu* designs (Fujino 137-138).

Both *nōsatsu* meetings held by Kyōdoshumi-sha were sort of events for promoting the sales of prints of *takarabune* and re-prints of old prints of Gion floats. Anyone was welcomed to the meeting just by paying a non-member fee to obtain the *nōsatsu* slips created by the Kyōdoshumi-sha. Tanaka Ryokkō organized a *nōsatsu* group called the Gion-e Nōsatsu-kai only for the purpose of promoting re-prints of Gion floats. He held two meetings for the purpose of calling attention to the Gion float prints that would be sold later. The two *nōsatsu* meetings held by Tanaka and his Kyōdoshumi-sha in Kyoto suggest the use of *nōsatsu* practice for promotion of other events and commercial activities.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, in the Taishō era, collaborations between different kinds of cultural groups related to *Edo shumi* were made with *nōsatsu* meetings. In the Kansai area, more collaborations with or even integration of other *shumi* groups were made. A journal titled *Hakurei* for *nōsatsu* and *pochi-bukuro* practitioners was published in 1926 in Osaka, suggesting many *nōsatsu* practitioners in Kansai were also interested in

commissioning and collecting *pochi-bukuro*.

Pochi-bukuro are small paper envelopes for putting small amounts of money in to give to someone as form of gratitude. “Pochi” means small in the Kansai dialect, and *pochi* in *pochi-bukuro* refers to the size of the envelope and the amount of money in it. Originally, *pochi-bukuro* were used as a gift of appreciation or thankfulness to geisha and other attendees at parties in the geisha district in Kyoto. Variety types of *pochi-bukuro* were created to demonstrate the senders’ artistic and playful sense on the envelopes and *pochi-bukuro* with unique and beautiful designs were saved and collected. Some people hired artists and craftsmen to create elaborate *pochi-bukuro* using woodblock printing technique (Toyoda 10).

Since *nōsatsu* and *pochi-bukuro* are both small size wood block prints with a variety of designs for the purpose of appreciating and exchanging, it seems that practitioners of both practices overlapped and converged in the Kansai area. The contents of the journal include *haiku* poetry and essays on *suzu* (bells). The existence of the journal suggests that the *nōsatsu* was just one of many kinds of hobbies and collecting in the Kansai area.

Some *nōsatsu* practitioners in Kansai tried to establish a new *nōsatsu* culture, which was not just a showcase of Edo traditional culture, but rather, a platform for

experimenting with new aesthetic designs. At the beginning, *nōsatsu* practitioners in Osaka, Sakai, and Kyoto needed assistance from *nōsatsu* groups in Tokyo in setting up their groups, however, gradually they began to attempt to create new and unique designs of *nōsatsu* slips. In particular, many of the new *nōsatsu* practitioners in Kyoto were interested in using *nōsatsu* slips as a showcase of new textile designs since a number of Kansai *nōsatsu* group members were kimono textile designers (Fig.19).

In an article in the journal *Hakurei*, a journal of *nōsatsu* and *pochi-bukuro*, Tanaka Kibun, an Osaka area *nōsatsu* practitioner, criticized *nōsatsu* groups in Tokyo for simply repeating the same Edo period motifs over and over. Tanaka worried that repetition would result in the decline of *nōsatsu* culture. As an example, he points to the *matoi* motif, a common theme in many *nōsatsu* slips. *Matoi* were a kind of banner carried by fire-fighting units Edo, a custom that dates back to the 18th century. *Matoi* were a popular motif for not only fire-fighters but also for ukiyo-e heroes and represented a sense of togetherness and belonging for commoners in the city of Edo. *Nōsatsu* groups in Edo/Tokyo often used the motif as a symbol of Edo culture, however, it was difficult to share appreciation of the motif with *nōsatsu* practitioners outside of Tokyo. He also argues that *nōsatsu* practice had become stagnant compared with other *shumi* activities because the *nōsatsu* community was stuck in the past, clinging to Edo period cultural traditions (13).

The journal *Hakurei* includes an announcement of a *nōsatsu* exchange meeting hosted by the Nihon Nōsatsu Kyōkai, Tanaka's *nōsatsu* group. The motif of the *nōsatsu* slips were nude women and they were depicted in Western style (Fig.20). They hired Shibuya Osamu, a western style painter to design this new style of *nōsatsu*, which was a totally different motif from conventional *nōsatsu* prints. The announcement sarcastically asserts that the purpose of the meeting was to enhance *nōsatsu* culture through the introduction of a brand-new style of images, rather than the traditional ukiyo-e style (31).

These changes in *nōsatsu* practice and new styles of *nōsatsu* slips in the Kansai area were influenced by the transformation of *Edo shumi* in Kansai. Originally, there were no *nōsatsu* groups in the Kansai area. Although *nōsatsu* culture was originally from Tokyo/Edo, in the Taisho period, the Kansai *shumi* community accepted *nōsatsu* as one of their *shumi* practices. A journal titled *Kamigata shumi*, launched in April 1915, states, in its first issue, that the journal was published in order to develop *Kamigata* (Osaka, Kyoto and surrounding areas) *shumi* to confront *Edo shumi*. The journal was popular, with a continuous run until the 1940s. More than 160 authors participated in the journal in total from a variety of cultural areas, including the famous writer Kōda Rohan, the noh performer, Kongō Iwao, and Tanaka Ryokkō (*Zasshi Kamigata Shumiten*).

The journal included serialized articles on the history of *nōsatsu* in the issues of

early spring, fall and winter in 1917 authored by Imai Yūgen along with other articles, mostly on *Kamigata*- related literature, customs, and history, suggesting that *nōsatsu* culture were recognized as a part of *Kamigata shumi* (Imai 21). The Kansai *nōsatsu* community, in which many members were also practitioners of other *shumi* such as *pochi-bukuro* and other types of woodblock prints, were passionate in creating new types of *nōsatsu*, freed from traditional motifs and used *nōsatsu* practices as a form of media to develop and promote *Kamigata shumi* as distinct from and in competition with *Edo shumi*.

Thus, in the Taisho period, *nōsatsu* culture expanded to the Kansai area, due to the dissemination of *Edo shumi* and popularity of Frederic Starr. Then in Kansai, the *nōsatsu* culture was changed and developed in very different ways than it had in Tokyo and the Kantō area because the Kansai *nōsatsu* community adopted the culture as a means to experiment with new aesthetic styles in collaboration with other *shumi* practice as well as commercial activities, going beyond the traditional restrictions and rules of *nōsatsu* practice preserved in Tokyo and Kantō.

The anthropologist Yamaguchi Masao argues that society consists of the center and peripheral. The center represents orders, values and beliefs dominant in society and the peripheral opposes the central, rejecting values promoted by the center. People who belong to the peripheral, since they are located in the area far from the center, are likely to organize

communities with strong emotional bounds in which place of origin and is social class of members is not of importance. Some peripheral communities in early modern Japan were regarded as utopian sites, free from elitism (Yamaguchi, “Bunka” 224-238).

Before the 1900s, *nōsatsu* practitioners used to be located on the margins of society of their anti-mainstream characteristics since *Edo shumi*, the culture they appreciated represented protests against governmental policies such as modernization and industrialization in which diligent and practical business were encouraged. However, as *Edo shumi* became a social boom, *Edo shumi* and practices representing *Edo shumi* sort of joined in the mainstream, attracting attention from the general public. And the very popularity that *nōsatsu* gained as it entered the mainstream fueled the expansion of *nōsatsu* practices into the Kansai area, so that the Kansai area was now on the periphery and began to experiment with different aesthetic styles and patterns of exchange and promotion practices.

From the viewpoint of *nōsatsu* as a media, it appears that extension of *nōsatsu* culture to the Kansai area was beyond the capacity of the Kansai community to maintain. The original *nōsatsu* community, as a limited society with aficionados of *Edo shumi* in the narrow sense, *shumi* of the city of Edo in the early modern era, was disconnected from the *nōsatsu* community in Kansai. As McLuhan argues, too over-extension of a media brings

about necrosis of the extended part of the body, resulting in the part's falling off from the body. In Kansai in the Taishō period, *nōsatsu* culture was a medium to communicate with people who were interested in *Edo shumi*, but, over time, the characteristics and conveyed messages strayed from the original concepts of *Edo shumi*.

In conclusion, the consumption of *Edo Shumi* by both the mass media and commercial activities changed the characteristic of *nōsatsu* practice as a medium. Originally, the *nōsatsu* community was a medium to communicate with members within a close society to share similar cultural interests and aesthetic senses in the city of Edo/ Tokyo before the Taisho period. Then came the development and dissemination of the concept of *Edo shumi*, which was a form of criticism against governmental policies that also acted to establish a national identity rooted in traditional cultural practices. In addition, *Edo shumi* was marketed by department stores and promoted in the mass media as fashionable, thereby serving to reinforce the idea of a national identity set in the past that was both trendy and non-conformist. *Nōsatsu* practices, as media to represent *Edo shumi*, expanded their community. In the process, the *nōsatsu* community came to interact with other cultural and collecting groups, as the *nōsatsu* community collaborated with other *shumi*, including folk toy and match box label collectors, while still retaining their traditional practices and rules.

However, when *nōsatsu* culture reached the Kansai area, the *nōsatsu* community

developed a *nōsatsu* culture that went beyond its original limitations by introducing new styles of *nōsatsu* prints that did not follow the traditional rules and regulations established during the Edo period. They treated *nōsatsu* as a mere medium of wood block print culture that could merge with other *shumi* practices as well as commercial activities. In Kansai area, *nōsatsu* as a medium disengaged from the center (Edo/Tokyo), but extended too far beyond the bounds, breaking bonds with the original essence and message of *Edo shumi*.

In the Kansai area, *nōsatsu* culture disappeared in the early 1930s due to the economic depression and the shifting of interests to postcards and other kinds of prints. Meanwhile, *nōsatsu* groups in Kantō are still active today, holding regular exchange meetings that follow traditional practices with members from areas around Japan, including Tōhoku, Kansai and Kyūshū, preserving the commoner culture and aesthetic sense of the Edo period as is shown in the motifs of recently produced *nōsatsu* slips.

Kansai *nōsatsu* groups significantly changed the original characteristics of the *nōsatsu* community in the Taishō period as they attempted to modify the *nōsatsu* culture based on *Kamigata shumi*. However, Kanto and Kansai *nōsatsu* group members often collaborated for *nōsatsu* exchange meetings, commissioning serialized *nōsatsu* slips together. The series of *nōsatsu* with the motif of the Great Kantō Earthquake discussed in the next chapter is a good example of their collaboration around a shared theme.

VI: SERIES OF *NŌSATSU* ON THE GREAT KANTŌ EARTHQUAKE

As I discussed in chapter 5, the characteristics of the *nōsatsu* community as a medium changed. Originally it was a tightknit, closed community with a limited membership composed of people with common cultural interests centered on Edo *shumi*. However, as Edo *shumi* became culturally fashionable, *nōsatsu* culture began to attract more attention and gain more popularity.

Originally, *nōsatsu* practitioners were active only in Edo/Tokyo and the surrounding areas, however, in the Taishō period, new *nōsatsu* groups were also established in the Kansai area. *Nōsatsu* groups made strides toward becoming cultural leaders by adopting motifs from current social events to widen their audience and demonstrate Edo *shumi* in creating slips for exchange meetings.

A series of *nōsatsu* slips depicting the Great Kantō Earthquake shows such notable changes in the Taishō *nōsatsu* practices. A series of *nōsatsu* slips with the motif of the Great Kantō Earthquake was created just six months after the historical disaster while the city and the nation were still in a chaotic state. In the following section, I will visually analyze some *nōsatsu* slips from the series to demonstrate how *nōsatsu* culture as a medium changed in the Taishō period. The images from the series are evidence of the expansion of the *nōsatsu* community into the Kansai area, Starr's popularity, *nōsatsu* as reportage with

the general public as an audience, and documenting current historical events while also showcasing *Edo shumi* through the use of earlier cultural motifs.

The Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923

The Great Kantō Earthquake happened on September 1, 1923, causing great damage in the Kantō area, mainly in Tokyo and Yokohama. Approximately 105,000 people were killed or left missing and 372,600 buildings were destroyed by the earthquake itself and the huge fire that followed immediately after the earthquake. The fire, fueled by strong winds blowing in after a typhoon, kept burning for 46 hours; destroying 85% to 100% of the buildings in the central and lower areas of Tokyo (Ohara 11).

At that time, having won wars against China in 1895 and Russia in 1905, and enjoying a favorable business climate through exports to Western countries during World War I, Japan was prospering economically and was developing a modern lifestyle. Tokyo had become a modern city with Western style buildings, public transportation systems and other trappings of modern society. The Great Kantō Earthquake brought an abrupt end to this prosperous living. Populated areas in the lower town were turned into burned out fields that were nearly empty (Wada 609-622).

The Uogashi-ren, the *nōsatsu* group that hosted the *nōsatsu* exchange meeting with the theme of the Great Kanto Earthquake, located in Nihonbashi, Tokyo. The group

consisted of people who were engaged at the fish market (Uogashi), that dated back to the 17th century. The major wholesalers in the fish market supported popular culture including kabuki, ukiyo-e, and haikai poetry through their monetary prosperity. The Nihonbashi area is also known as a base of physical distribution, as, during the Edo period, it marked the starting point of the Tōkaidō highway. Since people who were working for the market also lived in the area, they built strong bonds within the community and, naturally for them, the commoner culture in the Edo period was a source of pride (Shiraishi 104). Many *nōsatsu* practitioners had also lived in the Nihonbashi and surrounding areas since the Edo period.

Nōsatsu as reportage

A series of 37 *nōsatsu* slips, including seven greeting slips for hosts of the meeting and one individually commissioned slip, were created with the theme of the Great Kanto Earthquake for the exchange meeting on February 21, 1924. More than 160 *nōsatsu* practitioners participated in commissioning the series. Six people from the Uogashi-ren (Suzusen, Nishiko, Naito, Ōnotomi, Yaguchi and Kitoku) hosted the meeting as seen in the *rensho-fuda* (the first slip) of the series. Although it was the Uogashi-ren that hosted the *nōsatsu* meeting, seemingly only five images were created by people from that group. Most of the *nōsatsu* in this series were created by *nōsatsu* practitioners from other groups or other areas such as Kanda, Asakusa, Itabashi, and Yokohama. From Kansai, at least 13

nōsatsu practitioners such as Konishi Ishizō from Kyoto and Kanagawa Yūmatsu from Osaka joined the meeting. Although the amount of *nōsatsu* slips created for the meeting were few in number it is notable that so many people cooperated in commissioning the *nōsatsu* series since much of Tokyo was still in ruins and the situation was very chaotic.

The *nōsatsu* series is titled *Shinsai zue* (images of the disaster) and sketches the social dislocation caused by the disaster. The first slip of the series commissioned by the hosts of the meeting shows a map of the affected areas in Tokyo which is highlighted in pink. Along with this visual information, the slip includes the date of the earthquake, September 1, 1923, and the precise number of burned buildings during caused by the huge fire that followed the earthquake and lasted for three days. This slip provides information on one of the worst catastrophes in Japanese history, setting the scene for what followed in the series (Fig.21).

The image of an interior of a house with fallen table and broken dishes captured the moment when the earthquake happened. The stopped clock in the center of the image shows the exact time that the earthquake happened: 11:58 AM. And the description in the circle in the upper righthand corner of the slip suggests the cause of the fire after the earthquake since it was widely held that the fire was fueled by flames from people preparing food for lunch (Fig.22).

One of the greeting slips from two *nōsatsu* practitioners who were acting as hosts for the meeting depicts the ruins of the Eitai-bashi Bridge, collapsed in the Sumida River with a hazy image of the city on fire in the background. These images are realistic but not sensationalistic, appearing rather calm with the clear water of the river, and the city on fire seen far in the background, looking almost like a normal sunrise. It seems somewhat serene for a depiction of destruction of such magnitude. These *nōsatsu* images are realistic but implicitly present the enormous damage from the catastrophe (Fig.23).

Frederick Starr, who also suffered damage in the disaster, commissioned a *nōsatsu* slip with his interpreter, Maebashi Hanzan. His slip depicts himself evacuating with Maebashi Hanzan in the middle of the chaotic situation of the disaster. In this image Starr is wearing a yukata, a summer kimono, a pair of *zōri* as well as wearing a boater hat on his head while Maebashi, who is following him carrying lots of baggage, is wearing a suit and leather shoes. Starr is walking calmly and does not look panicked or scared even in such a chaotic situation. Starr's *nōsatsu* slip describes the exact image of him created in the mass media as the Ofuda hakase, relaxed and somewhat comical, always wearing Japanese attire, in contrasting to the depiction of Maebashi wearing Western clothing (Fig.24).

The *nōsatsu* series include slips depicting the upheavals in society that turned normal everyday life into the abnormal after the earthquake. One of the examples of such

images portrays the famous statue of Saigō Takamori in Ueno park (Fig.25). Numerous slips of paper seeking information about missing people and notifications of new addresses of evacuees are attached to the statue, making the statue work as a bulletin board. The placards, calling for information about missing persons, has the name of a *nōsatsu* practitioner, Horigen, who had died in the earthquake as the *nōsatsu* of a monument commemorating the victims of the Great Kantō Earthquake shows (Fig.26). This image of the statue of Saigō Takamori describes the chaotic situation after the disaster as well as commemorates the deceased *nōsatsu* group member in a unique way.

***Namazu-e* motif in the *nōsatsu* series of the Great Kantō Earthquake**

The series include seven greeting slips out of the 37 images in the series. Interestingly, among these *nōsatsu* five images have a catfish motif. Traditionally, catfish have been closely linked to earthquakes. Just after the Ansei earthquake in 1855, a type of prints depicting the earthquake and society after the earthquake with a motif of catfish called *namazu-e* were published. These prints did not follow government regulations that required prints to have the names of artists, publishers, and approval stamp on them. This allowed for a wide variety of *namazu-e*, some including puns and satire. Only two months later the government cracked down on *namazu-e*, even arresting some publishers. But by that time over 250 kinds of *namazu-e* prints had been distributed, achieving universal popularity

(Tokyo Daigaku 32).

Namazu-e are based on the belief that catfish cause earthquakes and that one of the deities of Kashima Shrine is responsible for pressing huge catfish down with a special stone called *Kanameishi* (Fig.27). It was only when the Kashima deity was away that catfish could cause earthquakes to rise up from underground. Many *namazu-e* depicted catfish being suppressed and punished because of their connection to earthquakes (Ouwehand, et al. 173).

Soon after the Ansei earthquake, catfish were depicted as evil creatures causing earthquakes. However, later people in the city of Edo came to regard catfish as symbols of dynamic and favorable social changes as they witnessed change in the economic situation in society after the earthquake. Some *namazu-e* prints depict social phenomena as caricatures. The image of a catfish as a wealthy merchant in fancy attire at a party in a pleasure quarter with artisans shows that the earthquake in 1855 greatly benefitted people working in the construction industry and merchants who sold food and other necessary products for living or materials for construction. Carpenters, in particular, profited. Many prosperous people who owned multiple properties lost them in the earthquake and, moreover they were forced to donate money to assist people suffering after the disaster. So, one result of the earthquake was to redirect the cash flow, so that some lower-class

commoners actually benefited from the earthquake while many rich lost property and money (Tomizawa 97). Some *namazu-e* show people who reaped rewards from the earthquake treating a catfish – representing the earthquake – in the pleasure quarters as a form of thanks for the benefits accruing from the earthquake (Fig.28).

Moreover, there are some *namazu-e* prints that depict a catfish as a sort of a superhero, acting to help society recover. In Fig.29 a catfish, in a parody of Benkei, a legendary warrior monk who was popular in noh and kabuki, standing on a bridge holding *namazu dōgu* (catfish tools), a pun on Benkei's famous *nanatsu dōgu* (seven tools). These types of *namazu-e* prove that people in Edo witnessed the changes in society that brought favorable economic effects for some commoners as a result of earthquakes and disasters and they recognized the positive aspects of the disaster even though it caused huge losses of lives and property (Fig.29).

According to Kitani Makoto, *namazu-e* describing social phenomena after the Ansei Earthquake were appreciated as a kind of charm for protection against natural disasters and for good luck (28). Kitahara Itoko argues that *namazu-e* have an encouraging characteristic for people in Edo who suffered from the disaster. Kitahara points out that by sharing information provided by *namazu-e*, people who survived the disaster but were having a hard time in the chaotic state after the earthquake could be assured and encouraged

to re-build and start a new life and society. That was the reason why *namazu-e* were so popular in Edo society (129-132). Kitani suggests the spread of *namazu-e*, especially ones depicting the positive economic effects of the earthquake worked as a sort of psychotherapy for people in Edo to help them recover from the damage (128). Humor and encouragement in satirical *namazu-e* were intended to work toward healing people's emotions and motivating them to survive the difficult situation.

Nōsatsu images with catfish motifs conveyed various messages derived from *namazu-e* in the late Edo period. Some images of *nōsatsu* were created as prayers for a quick recovery from the earthquake and to protect people from earthquakes. Other images of *nōsatsu* with catfish sarcastically depict changes in society after the earthquake and the hope for positive changes of society in similar ways to the *namazu-e* of the mid-19th century.

The image of two sumo wrestlers, one with the head of a catfish and the other with the head of a red snapper, shows a victorious red snapper (Fig.30). Red snappers are an auspicious symbol because of their red color and because *tai* is part of the word *medetai* (auspicious). In addition, *tai* has a connection with prosperity. Moreover, the fish is a direct reference to the fish market, which was the host of the meeting. This can be seen as encouragement for the fish market that was totally burnt out and forced to move for a swift recovery action.

The *nōsatsu* image depicting a red snapper on a bamboo tray includes the Chinese character for catfish (*namazu*). It shows a wish to suppress earthquakes represented in this image by the Chinese character, 封 (*fū*, suppression). Similar in the image above, the red snapper represents the fish market. This greeting slip was commissioned by a member of the Uogashi-ren. As it includes the image of a red snapper, the slip carries the sense of a prayer to prevent earthquakes and, also, a more positive message that suggests the fish market's future prosperity (Fig.31).

The greeting *nōsatsu* slip commissioned by Noriharu of Shibuya for the hosts of the *nōsatsu* meeting shows the Daikoku deity stamping on a catfish with his foot referencing a type of *namazu-e* showing a catfish being suppressed by a deity of Kashima Shrine, thereby preventing future earthquakes (Fig.32). However, this image depicts Daikoku, a god of wealth, instead of the deity of Kashima. The catfish pressed down by Daikoku is wearing red clothing, which is also unusual for a catfish being punished in *namazu-e*. How should these descriptions be interpreted when compared with the original *namazu-e* in which a catfish is suppressed?

The theme of suppressing a catfish has been applied in various types of images including Josetsu's *Hyōnenzu* which has an image of a monkey suppressing a catfish with a gourd in an *Ōtsu-e* print. In these images, the slipperiness of catfish suggests difficulty in

holding things and handling the situation. In the *nōsatsu* of Daikoku and catfish, too, the catfish (an earthquake) is held down by Daikoku but it seems that the catfish is not completely conquered as Daikoku, holding a large bag on his shoulder, is stamping on the catfish lightly with one foot so that it seems possible that the catfish might be able to slip away.

In terms of the red kimono the catfish is wearing, “wearing a red-kimono” meant going to jail in the Meiji and Taisho era since prisoners at that time had to wear a red kimono in prison (“Akai kimono”). The catfish in this image is caught by the Daikoku deity and will be sent to jail as punishment. Compared with the image of *namazu-e* in which the Kashima deity is suppressing the catfish with the heavy *Kanameishi*, the catfish is not completely suppressed. Imprisonment is a temporal deportation from society and the criminal could return to society. Thus, in this image the catfish has not been fully conquered, and it does not seem that Daikoku is seriously punishing the catfish.

Originally, the Daikoku deity was not responsible for keeping catfish from causing earthquakes. In addition, the mallet he is holding in his hand is not for beating something, but for bringing fortune (*uchide no kozuchi*). It is a miracle mallet that had the power to grant wishes to people. When the earthquake occurred, the Uogashi people had been protesting against the government’s authoritative policy about the fish market. The

government had been planning to move the fish market to an area outside of Nihonbashi and introduce a more modernized market system. Under this new policy, merchants in Uogashi would have to leave Nihonbashi, where they had resided for centuries and adopt a new market system that had the potential for causing business losses, and business privileges they had held since the Edo period (Uogashi Hyakunen Hensan Inkaei 368-373). Thus, this image implies a prayer for the recovery of society after the earthquake, by defeating the catfish. Furthermore, this image suggests the Uogashi people's hope for business prosperity after the disaster, taking advantage of the disaster that could bring favorable changes for their business, including the government's cancellation of the new fish market project that promoted a modern market system.

Some *namazu-e* prints depict social phenomena as caricatures. The image of a catfish in wealthy merchant attire at a party in a pleasure quarter with artisans shows that the earthquake in 1855 brought great benefits to artisans working in the construction industry. Pleasure quarters obtained new customers, parvenus who had never been able to afford a visit to the pleasure quarters before the earthquake. Similar to *namazu-e*, some images in the series of *nōsatsu* of the Great Kantō Earthquake ironically describe the social effects caused by the tragic disaster.

The *nōsatsu* of two geisha who are going to a party held by their patrons portrays

the meeting place with a placard reading catfish (*namazu*), showing that their business is successful thanks to the people who have acquired large amounts of money due to the earthquake. The pattern of daruma dolls in the kimono of one of the geisha represents their resilience since a daruma has the ability to spontaneously rise after it falls (Fig.33). The image showing a construction worker, who has clearly profited from the construction that followed the earthquake, surrounded by women, repeats the same motif seen in *namazu-e* of the Ansei Earthquake of 1855 (Fig.28). The caption of the slip reads “parvenus from the earthquake are very popular among girls”. It also depicts a jealous man who is looking at the construction worker with a sour expression on his face. The construction worker’s jacket reads “Ōtari (big hit)” meaning he earned lots of money from the high demand for construction workers after the earthquake (Fig.34). This *nōsatsu* image seems to be an homage to Ōmatomi, who was a plasterer foreman and commissioned numerous elaborate large scale *nōsatsu* slips in the mid-19th century.

The Great Kantō Earthquake caused a profound impact on Tokyo and Yokohama, cities that had already become quite modern by the 1920s. However, as images showing collapsed Western style buildings demonstrate, even modern buildings were not strong enough to withstand earthquake and fire. Some intellectuals and business leaders, including Uchimura Kanzō and Shibusawa Eikichi, asserted that the earthquake was a punishment

from the gods because of the frivolous and materialistic culture and lifestyle of city life after World War I. The Great Kantō Earthquake revealed skepticism about civilization and Westernization that had developed in the Meiji period (Shikano 307-312).

Under these circumstances, in which modern cities had lost their ability to properly function, it is plausible that people interested in *Edo shumi* in Tokyo looked back to the past, in which the society experienced multiple disasters but then rebuilt and recovered. *Namazu-e* greatly represent *Edo shumi* since they are ukiyo-e that were popular among commoners in 1855. They also had a rebellious characteristic against the government, including sarcasm and challenging the governmental policy on publishing ukiyo-e as *Edo shumi* possessed. *Nōsatsu* practitioners demonstrated *Edo shumi* in their *nōsatsu* with the catfish motif in order to convey messages, including both the prayer for a quick recovery for the city and the hope for positive changes in society after the breakdown of the current stagnated social system, that they passed on after the Ansei earthquake via *namazu-e* in 1855.

Nōsatsu practitioners of the Uogashi-ren lost everything in the catastrophic disaster, and in addition to the damage they incurred from the earthquake and fire, the new fish market system was another issue they were facing. Under such an abnormal, difficult situation, the Uogashi-ren members, who were proud of their long cultural history,

presented *namazu-e* motifs to show the previous culture of the city of Edo, in which fires happened frequently but society always recovered. The *nōsatsu* practitioners from other groups who participated in the *nōsatsu* meeting held by the Uogashi-ren supported the hosts with great respect for their historical background as a center of Edo culture.

The series was created to work as reportage to visually narrate the massive damage caused by one of the most catastrophic disasters in Japanese history. The Uogashi-ren hosted the *nōsatsu* meeting to commemorate the Great Kantō Earthquake although they incurred serious damages and loss. In this social atmosphere in which governmental policies on modernization were criticized, their position as a sort of representative of the commoners' culture in the pre-modern era, as well as victims of the government's economic policies demonstrate *nōsatsu* culture as *Edo shumi*, which included protests against the government and mainstream society that promoted modernization and Westernization. They showed *Edo shumi* in commissioning a series of *nōsatsu* employing the *namazu-e* motif that was originally created in 1855, which depicted hopes for quick recovery of society and an improved economy. The series of the Great Kantō Earthquake well represents how *nōsatsu* in Taishō period worked as a media to play a role model of *Edo shumi* among the wider population.

VII: CONCLUSION

Nōsatsu practices originally started as an individual religious practice, but over time, much of the religious aspect of pasting votive slips gave way to the pleasure of making pilgrimages (travel) and competing with fellow enthusiasts to paste more and in more difficult and hard to reach places. Out of this *nōsatsu* exchange groups formed and the meaning and purpose of *nōsatsu* culture shifted again and added another element: exchange meetings where members traded slips they had commissioned, which were then kept in collections. This required *nōsatsu* practitioners to commission the production of unique slips that entailed hiring a designer, carver and printer to create slips for meeting that were usually centered on a particular theme. These two practices of pasting and exchanging *nōsatsu* flourished in the latter part of the Edo period. Themes for the meetings reflected popular motifs and topics of the Edo period, including kabuki, firefighters, famous places and landscapes, party games/gags, mythical creatures, figures from popular literature, *sumo*, pilgrimage sites, among others. Most practitioners of *nōsatsu* groups were artisans and small shop owners, that is lower class commoners. Thus, the *nōsatsu* community was a close and limited society made up mostly of people from the same social class, connected by shared interests and strong communal bonds.

Nōsatsu practice survived the Meiji Restoration and were revived in the 1880s.

From the 1900s to 1920s, *nōsatsu* culture flourished as one of the cultural groups that gained popularity with the emergence of an interest in *Edo shumi*. *Nōsatsu* was considered an authentic form of *Edo shumi*, which looked to the commoner culture of Edo with nostalgia and an appreciation for the aesthetic sense of that era.

Edo shumi was an invented concept, a reaction against the Meiji government's focus on modernization and Westernization. *Edo shumi* was not necessarily based on specific cultural aspects or the reality of the past, but was, rather, a glorified imagining of Edo period commoner culture. *Edo shumi* enthusiasts were outsiders, on the margins of modernizing Japan, which was looking to the West as the model for modernization and change, while the people who appreciated an idealized Edo culture were looking back to the past.

Edo shumi groups formed in the Meiji period built on shared interests in antiques, folk toys and other aspects of Edo period commoner culture. These groups then became interwoven into overlapping networks of groups and people. This all functioned for these *Edo shumi* groups to fashion a Japanese cultural identity that was at least equal to Western culture and, perhaps, even superior.

Because of the popularity of *Edo shumi* in the Meiji and Taishō eras, department stores used *Edo shumi* networks to commercialize and consume *Edo shumi*. At the same

time, the print media caught onto the craze and began publishing articles about *Edo shumi* and posting announcements about *Edo shumi* events. Thus, through the commercial interests of department stores and print media's interest in a good story, *Edo shumi* concepts spread throughout Japanese society.

Nōsatsu activities, through the popularity and propagation of *Edo shumi*, became widely known as one of the representative forms of *Edo shumi*. Their popularity was further bolstered by Frederick Starr's enthusiastic involvement in *nōsatsu* pasting outings and regular participation in *nōsatsu* meetings. Known as Ofuda hakase, Starr struck an interesting pose, at once a respected American scholar, but also an eccentric, jolly fellow interested in the commoner culture of the Edo period. His role in *nōsatsu* culture and in the *Edo shumi* networks brought a great deal of attention to both and was of major importance in expanding *nōsatsu* beyond Tokyo and into the Kansai area for the first time.

Nōsatsu practice attracted social attention as representation of *Edo shumi*. Frederick Starr's popularity as an eccentric academic celebrity known as Ofuda hakase created by mass media and *Edo shumi* networks boosted social recognition of *nōsatsu* practice and contributed to the expansion of the *nōsatsu* community to the Kansai area in which no *nōsatsu* groups existed before, which led to a significant change in the characteristics of *nōsatsu* culture.

Before the 1900s, the *nōsatsu* community before was a medium meant for a limited and closed society, sharing their own cultural interests. As it was not a commercial medium or medium for the public general, they were, essentially, their own audience. However, as appreciation of *Edo shumi* became more widespread and gained popularity and *nōsatsu* culture, along with it, became trendy the characteristics of *nōsatsu* as a medium changed. As *nōsatsu* culture spread out of its own, heretofore, closed communities and gained the attention of the general public, who read about *nōsatsu* culture as well as *nōsatsu* activities through newspapers and journals, *nōsatsu* played a major role in demonstrating *Edo shumi* for a new audience. Temporary members were welcomed at meetings and *nōsatsu* groups collaborated with other *Edo shumi* groups, such as match box label collectors, to hold exchange meetings. *Nōsatsu* motifs also changed to include images showing societal trends and modern things. This was aimed at attracting people who were outside of *Edo shumi* communities.

The expansion of the *nōsatsu* community to Kansai brought new style of *nōsatsu* practice. Unlike Tokyo *nōsatsu* groups, which prohibited using votive slips or exchange meetings for commercial purposes, the Kansai *nōsatsu* community used themes at exchange meetings to promote sales of other kinds of woodblock prints. Also, Kansai *shumi* groups started to promote traditional Kansai culture as comparable and, perhaps,

even superior to traditional Edo/Tokyo culture. So, *nōsatsu* culture was modified to suit Kansai cultural characteristics and the “original” *nōsatsu* culture that extended out from Tokyo, lost its hold as a medium representing Edo/Tokyo styles and became something unique to the Kansai area.

The series of *nōsatsu* depicting the Great Kantō Earthquake clearly show the deep involvement of the Kansai *nōsatsu* community and Frederick Starr in the *nōsatsu* community during the Taishō period. Some slips depict the devastating damage caused by the disaster as visual reportage. Other slips demonstrate the Edo culture of commoners from the late Edo period with the *namazu-e* motif which was widely portrayed in visual images after the Ansei earthquake of 1855. The *namazu-e* prints represent the vitality and resilience of commoners in Edo by showing the *namazu* either being suppressed or as acting as an auspicious sign of better things to come.

Between the 1900s to 1920s, *nōsatsu* culture flourished in tandem with the *Edo shumi* boom. With the aid of the print media and modern commercial interests, both of which developed the early 20th century, *Edo shumi*, as an invented, idealized cultural concept worked to oppose the Meiji government’s drive towards modernization and quest to catch up the West, by establishing a Japanese identity rooted in the Edo period past that was then modified as it moved outside of Tokyo and into Kansai. *Nōsatsu* practices,

developed and refined as a form of Edo period commoner culture, also underwent changes as it gained popularity among a wider audience along with Edo shumi concepts as the Taishō period *nōsatsu* slips integrated *Edo shumi* interests in folk toys and folk religion as themes thereby folding *nōsatsu* practices into the larger “invention” of Edo.

APPENDIX

FIGURES

Figure 1 : The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō commissioned by the Hakkaku-ren Utagawa, Hiroshige I. *Tōkaidō Gōjusantsugi*. 1833. Woodblock print. OREGON DIGITAL. The Gertrude Bass Warner Collection of Japanese Votive Slips (nōsatsu), 1850s to 1930s.



Figure 2 : Hakkaku-ren pulling their ren mark
Woodblock print. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Album of Votive Slips
(Senjafuda) 1830-1868.



Figure 3 : *Hitotsuya* originally created by Utagawa Kuniyoshi
Utagawa, Yoshitoshi. *Yoshikiri-ren renfuda*.1864. Woodblock print. Satō Mitsunobu, et al.
Edo No Dezain: kikakudō Korekushon. Hiraki Ukiyoe Zaidan, 2009.p.52.



Figure 4 : *Nōsatsu* exchange meeting
Utagawa, Hiroshige I. *Fudakai*.1941. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese
color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.36. Gertrude
Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 5 : *Nōsatsu* slip from 1888
Seiro no Zu. 1888. Woodblock print. *Senjafuda*. edited by Jōichi Miyamoto,
 Tankōsha, 1975.

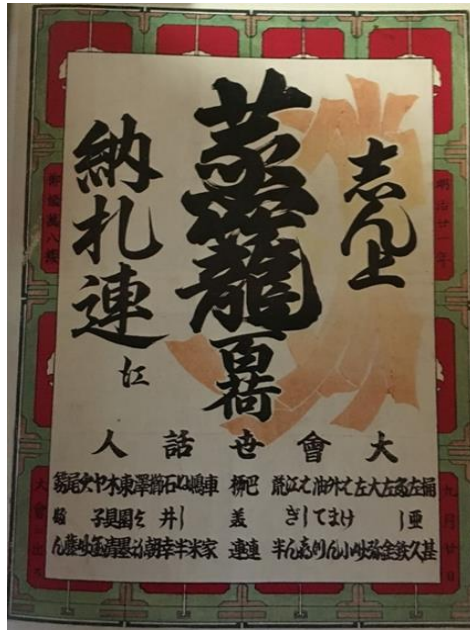


Figure 6 : Monk and *nōsatsu* paster
 Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting
 cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.34. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The
 University of Oregon.



Figure 7 : Photograph of Starr and the Chōyū-kai members
“Ofuda Hakase to Irezumi no Gunzo.” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*. 6 Sept.1932. p. 7.



Figure 8 : *Nōsatsu* showing Iseman's tattoo
Azumano Hana Isami no Kurikara. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.24. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 9: Starr with the Fuji-kō members
Image courtesy of Shigeru Fujino



Figure 10: Book jacket of *Ofuda Angya*
Starr, Frederick. *Ofuda Angya*. Kokusho Kankokai, 2007.



Figure 11: Newspaper article reporting Starr's visit to a museum
Image courtesy of Shigeru Fujino



Figure 12: Doll of Frederick Starr
Image courtesy of Shigeru Fujino



Figure 13 : *Nōsatsu* of Starr's Tōkaidō trip
 Image courtesy of Shigeru Fujino



Figure 14 : *Dodoitsu-ren nōsatsu*
Dodoitsu-ren Renfuda. Woodblock print. *Senjafuda: Edo Korekushon*. edited by
 Matsunosuke Nishiyama and Senrei Sekioka, Kōdansha , 1983. P.26.



Figure 15 : *Nōsatsu* parodying Urashima Tarō
Utagawa, Yoshitstuna. Woodblock print. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Album
of Votive Slips (Senjafuda) 1830-1868.



Figure 16 : *Nōsatsu* including match box labels
Ikeda Rinshu. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards
and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.13. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial
Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 17 : Invitation to a *nōsatsu* meeting for children
Nōsatsu Kodomo-kai. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 18: *Nōsatsu* of a palace doll
Gosho Ningyō Renfuda. Woodblock print. *Senjafuda: Edo Korekushon*. edited by Matsunosuke Nishiyama and Senrei Sekioka, Kōdansha , 1983. P.115.



Figure 19 : *Nōsatsu* of a kimono pattern

Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.39. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 20 : *Nōsatsu* of a nude woman designed by Osamu Shibuya

Shibuya Osamu Ga: Rajo Sanjurokushu Renfuda. Woodblock print. *Senjafuda: Edo Korekushon*. edited by Matsunosuke Nishiyama and Senrei Sekioka, Kōdansha , 1983.

P.117.



Figure 21: The first slip of the series of the Great Kantō Earthquake
Shinsai Zue.Rensho. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called Nōsatsu or Senjafuda].vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.

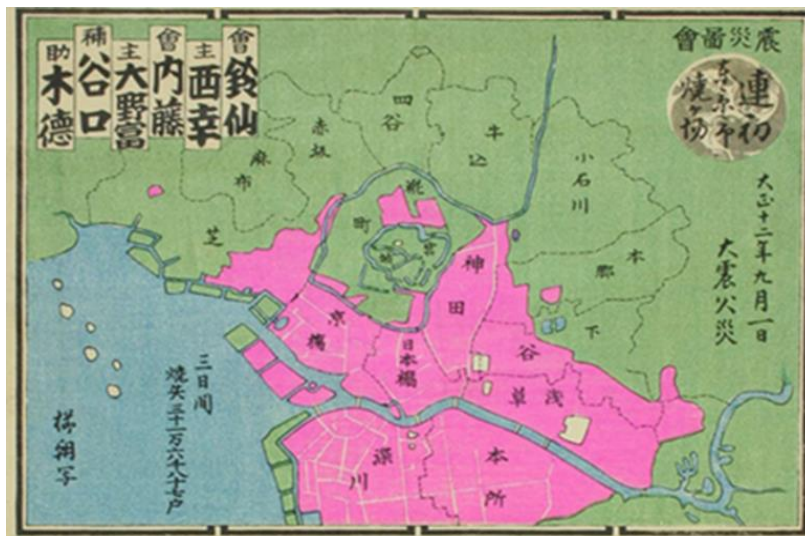


Figure 22 : *Nōsatsu* depicting the moment of the earthquake
Shinsai Zue. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called Nōsatsu or Senjafuda].vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 23: *Nōsatsu* depicting the Eitaibashi Bridge

Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 24: *Nōsatsu* of Starr evacuating with Hanzan

Shinsai Zue. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 25: *Nōsatsu* of the statue of Saigō Takamori
Shinsai Zue. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*]. vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 26: *Nōsatsu* of the monument commemorating deceased *nōsatsu* practitioners
 Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*]. vol.16. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.

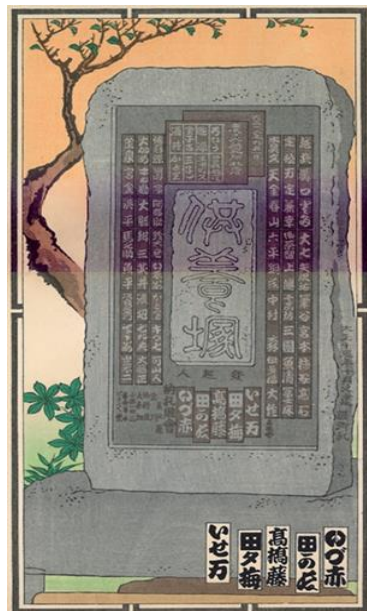


Figure 27: *Namazu-e*: Kashima deity suppressing a catfish with the Kanameishi stone.

Araureshi Taianbi ni Yurinaosu.1855. Woodblock print. Ishimoto Collection, Utokyo academic Archives Portal. General Library in the University of Tokyo, JAPAN <https://da.dl.itc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/portal/assets/aadc77a4-df21-4317-b3f2-59859a33528e>



Figure 28: *Namazu-e*: Catfish and carpenters in Yoshiwara

Image taken from *Namazue : Shinsai to Nihon Bunka*, edited by Noboru Miyata and Mamoru Takada, Ribun Shuppan, 1995.



Figure 29: *Namazu-e*: Benkei's seven tools

Image taken from

<https://www.rekihaku.ac.jp/outline/publication/rekihaku/90/index.html>



Figure 30: *Nōsatsu* of two sumō wrestlers, one with the face of a red snapper and the other with the face of a catfish

Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*].vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 31: *Nōsatsu* for the suppression of catfish
Namazu fuji. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*]. vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 32: *Nōsatsu* of Daikoku
Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*]. vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 33: *Nōsatsu* of two geisha

Shinsai Zue. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*]. vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



Figure 34: *Nōsatsu* of a carpenter at a cafe

Shinsai Zue. Woodblock print. [Collection of the Japanese color-printed placards and greeting cards, called *Nōsatsu* or *Senjafuda*]. vol.15. Gertrude Bass Warner Memorial Library. The University of Oregon.



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