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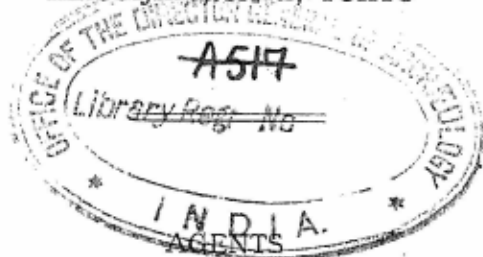
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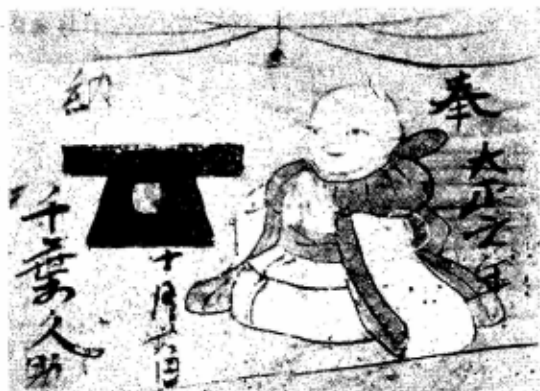
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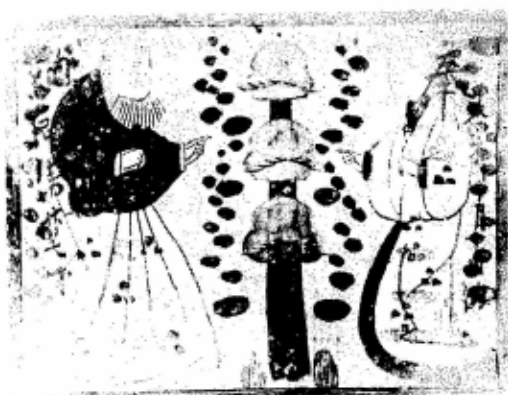
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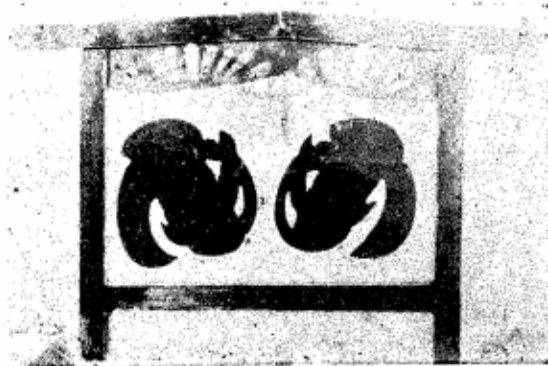
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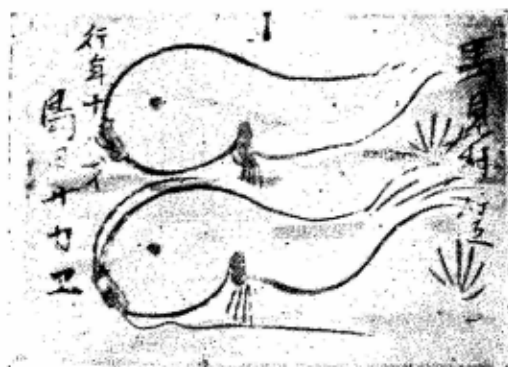




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EMA

FREDERIC STARR

Read November 26, 1919

Ema are used throughout Japan. My attention was drawn to them on the first day of my first visit to Japan in 1904. Dr. Henry Loomis, my old acquaintance, had invited me to dine with him. As we went up the Bluff at Yokohama, he called my attention to a small shrine by the roadside, where various small boards with crude designs painted on them were hung. The shrine was one to the god of medicine, Yakushi, and the painted boards were *ema* offerings given by sufferers. All were of one kind. Each bore two black designs that looked like pictures; in reality these were the character *me*, meaning eye; one of them was reversed in the writing and the two characters were so handled as to resemble and pictorially suggest a pair of eyes. These *ema* had been left by persons who had suffered from eye troubles. Such was my introduction to *ema* more than fifteen years ago. Since then I have collected such painted boards in many parts of Japan and have a collection numbering hundreds. They present some curious and interesting points for investigation. While they perhaps occur in every part of Japan their distribution is extremely variable. In some regions they are rare, while in others they are remarkably frequent.

Ema serve three more or less distinct purposes. They may be prayers, thank-offerings or protective-charms. They are often prayers. A person desiring some favor from a deity may hang an *ema* at his shrine. In such a case it may be assumed that the gift gratifies the deity and ensures his favor. The presence of many prayer *ema* at a shrine increases the popular appreciation of the god's power. Again an *ema* may

be given to the god in recognition of an answered prayer or a gratified desire. This is the commonest occurrence. The worshipper makes his petition; if it is granted, he gives the *ema*. This is in the nature of a votive offering. The stimulating psychological effect of such *ema* at a shrine is easily appreciated. A shrine where many thanks *ema* have been left is clearly that of a god ready to hear and answer prayer. Worshippers flock to the place and the accumulation of painted boards—whether prayers or thanks—increases. The third use of *ema*, as protective charms, is much less common. An example is found in a district a little to the north of Tokyo. Here, in several villages, a small *ema* with two *oni* (demons) on it is to be seen over every door. It is believed to protect the house against thieves—perhaps also from fire and misfortune. This *ema* is brought from a shrine far up in a neighboring mountain and its virtue is but for a year. With the year's end a new one is secured. At some houses five or six are nailed up over the door; their difference in age is evident from difference in weathering.

The word *ema* means a horse-picture and it is probable that the first *ema* were pictures of horses. In all districts many of them are still such. These horse-pictures have a variety of different ideas associated with them. Why should the picture of a horse have come to be thus used? Why should it have special efficacy?

The horse is a frequent symbol in Japan. It means success, or attainment of desire. We find it used in many associations. In Boshu one often sees crudely made straw horses thrown up onto the thatched roofs of country houses. In some districts there will be one or more on every roof. They are made for use in connection with the *tanabata* festival on the seventh day of the seventh month. They are thrown up in hope of luck; if they remain the thrower gets his wish. Instead of a straw horse, a piece of paper with the character for horse written upon it may be thrown up in the same way. Geisha girls often have the character for horse written on the membrane of their

samisen, to secure good fortune. Perhaps this symbolism attaches to the horse because he runs directly or swiftly to his goal. However that may be, the first *ema* were really pictures of horses and were used as indicative of a desire or its fulfillment. Later, other pictures with other meanings were used.

Where and how do we find *ema*? Almost everywhere in Japan. They occur at both temples and shrines, but there are certain temples and shrines where they are most likely to be used—as these sacred to *Yakushi*, *Kwannon*, *Inari*, *Ziso*, *Fudo*, and *Hachiman*. They are also left at small wayside shrines, at roadstones, at sacred stones and sacred trees, indicated as such by being garlanded with straw ropes hung perhaps with *gohei* strips. They are usually hung to the building, or object of respect by a string or loop, but they may often be nailed in place; they may simply be laid before the shrine, or stacked into a pile. At the little Kume-no-heinai shrine, Asakusa, they are neither hung nor nailed, but laid horizontally in a neat pile. At many shrines and temples there is a special building for *ema*, the *ema-do*. These may be quite fine structures, placed in a conspicuous part of the temple grounds; they are often at the sides and are hung within with *ema*, often large pictures, well-framed, making some art pretention. Let us look at some examples of *ema-do*:

a) *Soma* is a district famous for the raising of horses and as the place of manufacture of a well-known pottery. The name means a running horse and the potters of the district use marks with designs of running horses. The ware is relatively cheap, but has a good reputation and well-marked character. We visited one maker, who is the thirteenth generation of his house. A friend took us to the district shrine. It has an *ema-do* somewhat unusual in having only the front open, the other three sides being solidly built. It was filled with *ema* and other votive objects. Most of the *ema* literally deserved the name, being pictures of horses. They were of all grades of workmanship from small simple boards a few inches on a side with crude pictures, up to great pictures carefully painted in fine

frames. The finest was a large picture of running horses, put up about a hundred years ago by the eleventh generation of the potter family that we had visited. There was also an *ema*, somewhat similar, of large size and good workmanship, but inferior, which was the offering of the present representative of the house. Most of the *ema* here, however, were put up by breeders of horses and had reference to their business. There were also in this *ema-do* some votive objects, such as horse-collars, horse-shoes and horse-teeth. These were either attached directly to the wall or were fastened to a wooden board, like an *ema*, and hung. All had reference to horse-breeding. We often find votive objects at shrines and temples. They are not really *ema*, but in purpose, symbolism and use, they are like them. There are some of these here in the exhibit today and in this discussion they will be treated as the *ema* proper.

b) The *ema-do* at Kotohira, Shikoku is interesting. The shrine is sacred to Kōmpira, god of travellers. The main buildings are on a level height, which is approached by a wonderful stone stairway of many hundreds of steps. The *ema-do* stands at the very edge of the level space and looks down upon a fine prospect. It is typical, being open at the four sides. It is full of *ema* and votive-objects. There are many large *ema*, most of them representing boats, scenes of sea travel, naval battles and the like; more striking, however, are wooden models of boats of various kinds. There are scores of them and many are large and carefully made. Many are dated with the year in which they were given and some of these are old. They are as good as the specimens in ethnographic museums. In fact this *ema-do* in itself is almost an ethnographic museum so far as Japanese watercraft are concerned.

c) At *Itsukushima* (Miyajima) was formerly one of the great displays of *ema* in Japan. You all know the peculiar form and arrangement of the buildings of this noble shrine. The broad, low, red and white, buildings on pile-supported platforms over the sea, are unique and striking. The three main buildings are connected by two long, low, galleries. Until lately

these were filled with *ema*. There were hundreds of them covering the walls. Many were of large size; some were by real artists, and not a few of them were actually works of art. Unfortunately—for they were a quaint and characteristic feature—they have been cleared away as rubbish and the galleries are now cleared save for some few art treasures in formal cases. So many, so varied, and so interesting were these old *ema* that a Japanese work in five volumes was devoted to their enumeration, description and illustration.

But our subject is not these large and pretentious art efforts. We shall confine our attention to the small, crude, simple paintings on boards and the votive-objects left by common people at popular places of worship. If we are to have clear ideas, we must have a classification of our material. The following is, I believe, a practical grouping :

EMA AND OTHER VOTIVE-OBJECTS

A). *Representative*

1. Offering
2. Worshippers { pictorial
 indicative
3. Deity { actual
 attribute, or messenger

B). *Symbolical*

- C). *Magical* { pictorial
 verbal

These simple board pictures are representative, symbolical, magical. In *representative ema* the picture represents the idea of the worship act itself in some way. This may be by the representatives of the offering, the worshipper, or the deity. The offering is usually *mochi* cakes or jars of *sake*; the picture may represent either or both. The worshipper may be represented; the picture may represent a child, a man or woman, a child with a parent kneeling before the shrine. Sometimes the worshipper and offering may be represented together. The worshipper may be represented otherwise than by a direct

picture; thus the year animal of the birth-year of the worshipper may be shown—this is one of the commonest of *ema* types and at popular shrines a veritable menagerie may be displayed upon the walls. The indirect representation of the worshipper finds its limit in *ema* upon which are written such indications as "a man of the horse year," "a woman of the year of the boar," "a male of the snake year," "a man thirty years old," "a female of nineteen years." The deity may be represented. The direct representation of a deity is uncommon, and when it occurs, it is the less important gods or gods derived from actual human beings that are represented. Buddhas are rarely, if ever, pictured; Zizo is rather frequently found; *tengu* are common; Tenjin occurs. Far more common than the representation of the deity is the picturing of some attribute or messenger of the god. Thus a fox or a pair of foxes often represents Inari; Fudo's sword is common; a snake is often the messenger of Benten; the common *ema* at Tenjin shrines bears the picture of Sugawara Michizane's faithful bullock. The second group, *symbolical ema*, is large and badly defined. Here the picture may suggest a general, unspecified desire. Thus, the original simple picture of a horse might give no clue to the advantage sought. Usually, however, symbolic *ema* give, through their designs, a clear suggestion of what is wanted. The symbolism may be simple and transparent; it may be deeper and not immediately evident. Most interesting however of the three groups are the *magical ema*. This group grows out of the preceding, and the two classes merge or shade into each other. It is often difficult or impossible to decide whether a given *ema* should be considered symbolical or magical. The magical *ema* may be supposed to have coercive force, compelling the desired result. As examples of such *ema* of difficult determination are those of the baby in the bath and the woman spurting milk from her breasts. These may perhaps merely symbolize the desire that the bathing child be good or that the milk may be abundant but perhaps they may compel the result. Admitting the uncertainty in these cases, it may seem to be mak-

ing a fine distinction to assert that the baby-at-the-barber *ema* is surely magical. There can be no question that in many *ema* an actual magic power to secure the result is attributed to the picture. There is however another kind of magical *ema*, where the picture does not at all represent the object desired but gives a word, which through *double-entendre* exerts a magic force. These are of all *ema* the most curious and demand the most careful examination. What is meant by a magical verbal *ema*?

In many parts of Japan a curiously twisted bit of rope is hung upon wayside stones. These stones are usually field gods of fertility. The first time one sees the twisted rope he thinks nothing of it; some child may have hung it there in play. When he has seen it a number of times, the observer sees that there must be a meaning in it and that it has always the same form. He *may* guess that it is a monkey—but, if he does not, inquiry develops the fact. Why are these rope monkeys hung upon the rice-field stones? Because the word *saru* (pronounced, not written) has two meanings. *Saru* is "monkey" it is also "away," "keep off," "begone." Hung to the stone it drives away harmful influences from the fields. The three monkeys, so common at the base of stones to Koshin, god of roads, are in the same way magical, warding off harmful sights, words, sounds. At that wonderful place, Tennoji, is a monkey-shrine. Near by is a cage with three living monkeys; an attendant sells small saucers of food to mothers, who come with ailing babies. They buy the little dishes of food, touch the ailing parts of the little ones with the food and then give this to the monkeys to eat. Why? That the monkey (*saru*) may take off (*saru*) the sickness. In the actual shrine there are hundreds of offerings, evidence of cures effected. Some of them are real *ema*, boards with the three monkeys painted on them; more are clean whitewood boards neatly frame-bordered, upon which are fastened little figures of three monkeys made of cloth. The idea in all of these cases is magical, based upon the double meaning of the word *saru*.

In the collection here exhibited most of the variations shown by *ema* are seen. They affect form, material and medium. The *ema* of Tokyo are not the *ema* of Osaka, and those of Shikoku are not like either. The board of *ema* may be as thin as a card; it may be thick and substantial. It is usually rectangular and the long dimension may be either vertical or horizontal. The board may be plain, or it may be framed with black strips. The common type at Tokyo is pentagonal, the sides and bottom being straight, while the top consists of two low slopes from a higher middle point; the board is thin, and the whole is framed with five black strips; the free ends of the top strips and the lower ends of the side-strips projecting. The common type at Nara, Kyoto and Osaka is a rather thick board, rectangular, without framing. The famous *ema* of Midzushijinja and Otejinja have a black strip at top only, which projects at the two sides. Sometimes the board, instead of having a painted design, has objects fastened upon it by wires or threads—as swords, *sori*, monkey figures, breasts, etc. The material of *ema* varies somewhat. While most are wood with the designs painted directly upon it, the design may be printed upon paper which is then pasted upon a wooden board or a thick card; this is the common occurrence in Shikoku and occurs in the double-eels *ema* of Mishima-shrine, Kyoto. In Tosa we find an altogether peculiar development, the pentagonal *ema* being made of paper pasted upon an exceedingly frail support of bamboo splints. A curious paper *ema* from Miharu is called *shioji-ema* by Japanese collectors. It consists of a well made light frame of wood over which a covering of paper is stretched on both sides. These peculiar *ema* were made until recently by two old men, both of whom have died since 1917; at present there is no maker of them and it is probable that the type will disappear. At one time porcelain *ema* were made, probably at Seto, Nagoya. They were of the pentagonal framed type and all that we have seen were real *ema*, with a horse-picture in blue. A dated *ema* of this kind in the possession of Mr. Koyama of Kyoto was offered in

the year Tempo 3 (1832). As to *medium*, *ema* are usually painted. Only exceptionally and locally do we find anything else. Some with lacquer designs hail from Narai in the Kiso district. This is not to say that the *ema* is of lacquer-work, but only that the design is rather crudely painted with lacquer. At Sugamo they sometimes make *Inari ema* with fox designs, chiseled out in low relief and covered with a kind of white enamel. A curious variant is found at Kinosaki, where the designs are made with brightly colored straws, flattened, and glued in place. Feeling some doubt as to these *ema* being really offered, believing that they might be mere *miyage* for sale to travellers, we made a trip to Kinosaki to determine the matter. There is no question of their actual use. Plenty of them may be seen at the Yakushi shrine, showing all degrees of fading and weathering from exposure.

While there are local peculiarities and while a few forms like the paper *ema* of Tosa, the *shoji ema* of Miharu, and the colored straw *ema* of Kinosaki are actually characteristic, it is not true that every *ema* can be certainly identified geographically. Several varieties may occur in one district. Thus, the curious little, unframed, thin rectangles of Senju occur in the same region as the pentagonal, thin, black-framed type most common at Tokyo. There are marked differences between places in the abundance of *ema*. Osaka-Kyoto-Nara mark a region of frequency; Tokyo is a centre, so is Sendai. It is no accident that the one discussion in English regarding *ema* was written by Dr. de Forest; he lived for many years at Sendai. Yet, if one goes over the old highway from Tokyo to Sendai, he passes through a district where there are almost none. Probably the greatest abundance is around Ashikaga. Many curious types are found in that region and they are used at many shrines and temples. Two of these shrines are astonishing. Both are at Isobemura, just outside of Ashikaga. One is Midzushi-jinja, where sufferers with venereal diseases go. Before the shrine are quantities of *ema*, fresh offered; when the accumulation becomes too great, the *ema* are removed and

stacked away in two sheds, both of which are now full; these sheds are perhaps fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and seven feet high. There must be thousands of *ema* in them. Ote-jinja is almost in sight from here. The name means "great-hand" and the *ema* bears a picture of two hands. They are left by those who desire hand-skill in weaving, the great local industry. Here again we find sheds for the storing away of old *ema*, but there are four sheds, all full, and the *ema* are so closely packed that there is absolutely no space wasted.

Something should be said of the artists and art of common *ema*. Two examples will suffice. At Sugamo, Tokyo, is an *ema* painter, whom we have watched at work. His three main designs are a horse, a cock and Jizo. These are all old and conventional. He claims to paint sixty of the horse or cock in an hour. A pile of the thin clean boards lies before him. One color is used at a time and is applied to all the boards before another color is taken. The white backgrounds are first smeared; then, perhaps, the black lines are applied: then the red may be daubed in—and then the other colors. The relation of lines and parts may not be at all evident; the work is purely mechanical. When all is done, they are remarkably alike. The designs are traditional and fixed. The framing-strips are tacked on after the painting is finished. The artist claims to be the fourth generation in this kind of painting; his great grandfather painted *ema* one hundred years ago. It is probable that the horse and cock are just as they were then. The Jizo is undergoing some variation. Another interesting *ema* artist lives at Senju on the edge of Tokyo. He paints an entirely characteristic and curious series of small, thin, unframed *ema* for country people. He is the third generation in the art and claims that his designs are line for line exactly as his grandfather painted them. I believed at first that he painted all twelve of the year animals. He has however, but four designs and they have no reference to the calendric beasts. His predecessors painted a fifth, which he has abandoned. His designs are horse, ox, cock, fox.

The one that he has given up is, curiously, the monkey. The horse and ox of his series are hung near fields and places where the farmers wash vegetables; the cock is kept in the kitchen; the fox is used at rice-fields, the fox being Inari or Inari's messenger.

It would be a mistake to think that a given design may have but a single meaning; it may have various applications. Thus,—a *horse* may merely relate to a wish or desire of any kind; it may be a year animal and represent the worshipper; it may have definite relation to horse-breeding; or it may have an altogether peculiar and non-evident symbolic meaning, as in No. 37. So the *ox*, may have various meanings. It is often the year animal, representing the worshipper; it may relate to agricultural operations; it may be Tenjin's black bullock; it is sometimes verbally magical. The picture of a snake may be a year animal, a god, or the messenger of Benten—and, hence, sometimes, the bringer of lucky dreams.

Since 1904, I have been acquiring *ema*. My collection is one of the best. It represents wide travel, much pilgrimage, hard labor. How do I get my *ema*? Quite frankly—I usually simply *take* them, wherever found. But I never rob a poor shrine, meagrely served. Where the god is popular and abundantly supplied, I have no compunctions. Of course, when an attendant or priest is present, I ask for them, if it seems desirable. The mere statement that "Ofuda Hakushi" wants *ema* is usually all that is necessary. Sometimes it is suggested that we take specimens from the stack or from an inconspicuous spot, so that recent worshippers may not notice the disappearance of their offerings and be offended. There are shrines and temples, where the priest feels aggrieved if we take no *ema*, and one of my good priest friends seems unhappy if we go away without a baby in the bath. Once only, in all my experience, have I been refused. It was in Tokyo. The *ema* in question is one of the most interesting, the design being two crossed reaping-knives and a basket of cut-stuff, the whole depending on the two meanings of the word *kusa* (cf. No. 59).

No one knows the painter or the place of sale. The *ema* are firmly nailed upon the temple-wall in regular lines, so that the removal of one would be immediately evident; the old priest watches with an eagle eye and threatens condign punishment to anyone who takes one. I cannot show you *this ema*, but through the kindness and interest of many priests and *kannushi* I am able to show you many and explain their meaning.

As to literature there is little that treats directly of *ema*. Just now there are many Japanese interested in the subject and making collections. There are scattered articles of little importance in collectors' magazines. Four books deserve mention, only one of which is in English.

1. "*Ema*" *The Votive Pictures of Japan*. J. H. De Forest, 1914.
2. *Shokoku Ema Hyakushu*. (Collection of One Hundred Ema from all Provinces). Daruma-ya, Osaka 1917.
3. *Ema Kagami*. (Mirror of Ema). Tanaka Shunji. Kyoto. 1917 and onward to the present.
4. *Itsukushima Ema Kogami*. (Mirror of the Ema of Itsukushima). 5 vols. Osaka: Bunsei; rep. Tempo 2 (1831).

CATALOGUE OF *EMA* AND OTHER VOTIVE OBJECTS EXHIBITED,
WITH COMMENT

The specimens here shown, with few exceptions, were loaned by Mr. Maebashi Hambei of Tokyo, my own collection being in the United States.

A. REPRESENTATIVE

Offering:

1. *Mochi cakes*; small shrine, near Suzume-no-miya.
2. *Sake in jars*; " "
3. *Mochi cakes and worshipper*; Tochigi.
4. *Saba-fish*; Saba-Inari, Shiba, Tokyo.

This but indirectly represents the worshipper. The

5. *Iwashi-fish*: Banno-ji, Ashikaga.

Worship r :

6. *Child and Worshipper*; Ichigen-Kwannon, Nara.
This and the next are among the commonest of *ema*.
7. *Child and Mother*; Ichigen-Kwannon, Nara.
8. *Dress and feet* (female worshipper); Midzushi-jinja,
near Ashikaga.

q. *Dress and feet* (female worshipper) : Midzushi-jinja.

10. *Snake* (year symbol); Ichinomiya-mura, Tosa.

11. *Snake* (year symbol); Sendai.

12. *Horse* (year symbol); Kinosaki.

13. *Tiger* ("); " "

These two are colored-straw designs. No *ema* call for more labor in the making or are more striking in appearance. Not only is the workmanship on the-

design good, the support and the frames are carefully made of clean wood.

14. *Dog* (year symbol); Ichinomiya-mura, Tosa.
15. *Twelve calendric animals*; " "

Deity:

16. *Jizo*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

This *ema* has always been of rather large size and on thick board at this painter's. It has however become somewhat more elaborately painted, recently. The more common *Jizo ema* around Tokyo are on thinner board.

17. *Tengu*; Tenno-jinja, near Ashikaga.

These are, of course, usually used only at mountain shrines.

18. *Inari fox*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

An example of the highest "development" of *ema*. This maker, whose old traditional forms (Nos. 20. 23) are typical and characteristic, here runs to extraordinary fancies. Form, material, design, technique are all unusual. Leaping foxes, with jewels and *torii* are elements in the designs, but they are variously combined and postured. The relief of the figures, produced by chiselling, and their coloring with paint or enamel are exceptional.

19. *Ox*; Sakura Tenjin, Nagoya.

A new idea in *ema*. The use of Sugawara Michizane's bullock as an *ema* design for Tenjin shrines is common enough. This *ema* varies from the ordinary (a) in that it is sold directly from and by the shrine; and (b) in that it is authenticated by being branded with the shrine mark. Its sale has aided in developing a special fund for the erection of a curious monument. Though recently devised, this *ema* is popular and frequently offered.

20. *Foral*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

21. *Crab*; Komatsu-jima, Shikoku.

Here the design is printed on paper and pasted on to a board. This method is common in Shikoku and rather unusual elsewhere. The crab is said to here be the messenger of the god.

B. SYMBOLICAL.

22. *Hawk*; Miharu.

The famous "*shoji-ema*" of Miharu. The two old painters had a special style, which was shown in only five or six designs, of which this hawk(?) was the most peculiar. Its meaning is not clear.

23. *Horse*; Sugamo, Tokyo.

Typical, as is the same painter's cock (No. 20). Traditional in design and execution. Probably neither is intended as a year animal; No. 20 is probably a messenger or attribute of the deity, while this is merely the symbol of a wish or desire.

24. *Old Man and Woman*; Horiuji.

The famous couple of the Takasago pine tree; symbolical of a happy and long-continued married life.

25. *Samurai*; Kume-no-heinai shrine, Asakusa.

This is the only *ema* that is left at this popular little Tokyo shrine; Kume-no-hinai was a samurai of qualities; the *ema* is left by girls desiring a good betrothal.

26. *Ox*; Senju, Tokyo.

27. *Fowls*; Senju, Tokyo.

Two of the traditional types particularly mentioned in the paper. That all four (five) of these designs represent calendric animal is fortuitous, as they are certainly symbolical (or magical) and not representative of the worshipper.

28. *Hands*; Ote-jinja, Isobe-mura, near Ashikaga.

This is the *ema* of which four sheds-full are stored

away. It is given to secure skill and strength of the hand in weaving.

29. *Wooden hand*; Ote-jinja, Isobemura.
Votive object, not an *ema*. Left at the shrine in connection with desire for skill or for cure.
30. *Eyes (me)*; Yakushi-do, Ikegami.
This is one of the commonest and least-varied of *ema*. It is offered, chiefly at Yakushi shrines for eye-troubles. The *ema* that first attracted my attention. It is also common at Hachiman shrines. At Hachiman shrines also one finds frequently curious writings of the character *me* (eye) either in simple lines like ordinary writing or in arranged forms or combinations, such as *torii*. Also *torii* of tin, iron, or wood, may be offered, which are covered with the character written many times.
31. *Wooden drills*; Minenoyakushi, Horiuji.
Votive object, not an *ema*. Such drills are found at many shrines. They may be given singly or in groups of ten, as here. They relate to deafness. One desiring cure, takes one home that has been offered at a shrine; he prays and makes an offering; if a cure results, ten tied together are returned with or in place of the one borrowed. Hundreds of such drills may be seen at some shrines. The symbolism is evident and needs no explanation.
32. *Wooden legs*; Takakura, Kyoto.
Votive object, not an *ema*. Offered with reference to leg troubles, as *kakke*, rheumatism, etc.
33. *Teeth gripping iron anchor*; Senju, Tokyo.
Offered in connection with toothache in hope of strength, firmness and health of the teeth. The shrine is a wee structure by the roadside, but is usually well supplied with this *ema*.
34. *Nails*; Kugi-nuki Jizo, Kyoto.
Kugi-nuki Jizo extracts splinters, thorns, nails, tacks,

etc. from sufferers.

35. *Tin zori*; Ashi-jinja, Ki.

Zori attached to a board, *ema*-fashion, as here or separate, are offered to the *Niō* at many temples, also to Idate (god of swiftness) and to Hachiman. They are of tin, iron, or fibre and of all sizes from miniatures to giants. They are related to endurance and strength in walking, running, and the like.

36. *Fudo Swords*; Sendai.

Here we have a true *ema*, with two Fudo swords painted on board. Common also are *ema* boards with one or two small swords attached to them by wires. Separate swords of all sizes are also often left as votive objects, at Fudo shrines. In all these cases, it is usually one of two ideas that is present—either firmness in resolve and resistance or force in removal and excision is desired.

37. *Horse led by monkey*; Susaki-jinja, Nagoya.

A most curious design. It refers to a well-known Chinese saying—"desire of horse, heart of monkey." The two animals are considered the embodiment of lust. The *ema* was probably offered by some young man, who desired strength to resist the temptations of the flesh.

38. *Gambling implements*; Fudo, Fukagawa, Tokyo.

This Fudo temple is a favorite with gamblers who wish to abandon the vice. The firmness and immovability of Fudo are the basis of their preference.

39. *Lock, heart and sake-tub*; Ikomayama.

The presence of a heart (either as picture or character) with a lock indicates the locking of the heart against whatever vice may be suggested by the other elements of the design—as cards, dice, drink, etc. This *ema* was probably offered by a woman, in behalf of another person, whose identity was veiled by the use of Roman letters in the indicative in-

scription.

40. *Honda's grave*; Ishin-ji, Osaka.

The monument here represented marks the grave of a man who tarnished a character notable for bravery and prowess by his proneness to drink. Rebuked and taunted by his father, he committed *harakiri*. His grave is visited by drunkards who are desirous of reformation. The many *ema* here are usually left, however, by parents, wives, or friends on behalf of the victims.

41. *Chessman* ("kosha"); Nikko.

Votive object, not a true *ema*. This gigantic chessman copies the piece which, in actual play has a straight move forward any number of open squares; it can neither swerve nor retreat. These are offered by women who desire easy child-birth. The idea is—may the little one go straight forward like this piece in chess.

42. *Eels in union*; Mishima-jinja, Kyoto.

To secure a happy and prosperous married life, abundant children, and easy child-birth. A famous shrine, well patronized. The enormous number of eggs laid by a single female eel is a well-known fact.

43. *Inscribed rounded pebbles*; Ichite-ji, Dogo, Shikoku.

Votive object, not a true *ema*. These pebbles are left by women who desire easy-birth. The symbolism is analogous to that of No. 41.

44. *Cucumber*; near Tokyo.

The *kappa* is a water monster, with some of the features of a turtle and some of a man; he is an expert swimmer and delights in seizing boys who are swimming in the river and dragging them down to devour them; he is however fond of cucumbers and is of divided counsel in their presence. Boys therefore mark their names on cucumbers and throw them into the water as substitute offerings for them-

selves. This *ema* might be given at the end of a season in recognition of an escape from *kappa*, through this subterfuge.

45. *Deer*; Kasuga shrine, Nagoya.

An extremely modern *ema*, probably due to the success of No. 19. Like that one, this is sold at the shrine and is branded with the shrine-mark; it is also similar to it in general style and workmanship. Whether it is meeting with success I cannot say, as it was presented to me and I have not seen the shrine. Numbers 18, 19 and 45 have special interest as showing the latest development of the *ema* idea.

C. MAGICAL

Pictorial :

46. *Woman spurring milk*; Hotei-jinsha, Tenno-ji.

It seems to me reasonable to hold that there is more than mere symbolism in this *ema* and the next seven numbers. The pictures not only symbolize the thing desired, they are probably themselves conceived to have coercive force. The milk of this mother *must* be abundant because the picture so represents it, the baby in the bath and the boy at the barbershop *must* be good because they are so in the picture. No student of magic would consider proof of the claim necessary.

47. *Baby in bath*; Ichigen-Kwannon, Nara.

48. *Boy and barber*; Kurodani, Kyoto.

49. " " "

50. *Separating couple*; Enkiri-Inari, near Ashikaga.

This Inari aids in separation. The commonest demand made at the shrine is for separation of unhappy couples. Two types of the *ema* occur,—with the couple standing, or seated—but in both they look

scornfully away from each other. This shrine is also visited with other separation ideas in view—as of insect pests and fruit, or disease parasites and silk worms. Occasionally *ema* are left for these two purposes.

51. *Separating couple*; Enkiri-Inari, near Ashikaga.

52. " and *enoki*; Itabashi, Tokyo.

A famous tree near Tokyo, "the separation *enoki*," is much visited. It is in decay and the mere shell of the lower trunk remains. This is garlanded with the straw rope hung with *gohei* strips. The *ema* here are much like the preceding but have a representation of the tree.

53. *Separating couple*; near Tokyo.

The idea is the same as that of the last three *ema*, but there is a touch of pathos that an aged couple like the famous pair of the Takasago pinetree should "agree to disagree."

Verbal:

54. *Three monkeys (saru)*; Tenno-ji, Osaka.

With this we come to the *ema* with magical power through a verbal-play. The double-meaning of *saru*—"monkey" and "away" has been sufficiently explained.

55. *Cuttlefish (ebo)*; Yakushi, Meguro.

The cuttlefish is a common *ema* at Yakushi shrines. The form of the creature is also often made of cloth and hung at these shrines. They are offered for the cure of warts and such growths. The wordplay here is not actually on the name of the cuttlefish. *Ebo* is at once the name of wart and the suckers on the cuttlefish arms.

56. *Lamprey eel (yatsume)*; Atago shrine, Sendai.

The lamprey, with a line of eight pores on each side back of the head is called *yatsume*, "eight eyes." The *ema* is given for strength and cure of eyes.

57. *Sixteen eyes (yame)*; Yakushi, Ashikaga.
Eight eyes give *yame* (sixteen would double the idea as there are a pair of eyes); *yame* is also an eye-disease. The *ema* is given for its cure.
58. *Ska'e, or ray*; Hirota jinja, Osaka.
For the cure of piles. It is apparently a great success as there is a great heap of the *ema* at the shrine. There may be a word-play here; *akai*—"skate" and "red" (the inflamed condition?).
59. *Ox (kusa)*; Tenno-ji, Osaka.
The ox is here conceived as eating grass or herbage (= *kusa*); a certain disease of the skin is *kusa*. The *ema* relates to the cure of this disease. The idea is that the disease may be eaten away or disappear, as the herbage disappears before the grazing ox.
60. *Catfish (namazu)*; Mine no yakushi, Horiuji.
The word *namazu* is the name of the catfish and of a skin disease. The *ema* is given in reference to the cure of the disease.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF EMA

Note: The numbers in parentheses refer to the preceding catalogue.

REPRESENTATIVE

1. Mochi cakes and worshipper. Tochigi. (No. 3).
2. Mother and child, worshipping. Inogon Kwannon, Nara. (No. 7).
3. (Female worshipper); dress and feet. Mizushi-jinja, Ashikaga. (No. 8).
4. (Worshipper; year animal); tiger. In straw. Yakushi, Kinomaki.
(No. 13).
5. (" "); twelve animals. Ichinomiyama-mura,
Tosa. (No. 14).
6. (" "); dog. Ichinomiyama-mura, Tosa. (No. 15).
7. Deity; Jizo. Sugamo, Tokyo. (No. 16).
8. Deity; Inari (fox messenger). Sugamo, Tokyo. (No. 18).

SYMBOLICAL

9. Hawk. Paper ema ("shoji ema"). Miharu. (No. 22).
10. Old man and old woman. Mine-no-Yakushi, Horiuji. (No. 24).
11. Ox. Senju, Tokyo. (No. 26).
12. Cock. Senju, Tokyo. (No. 27).
13. Hands. Ote-jinja, Isobemura, near Ashikaga. (No. 28).
14. Eyes: *me* character. Ikegami, near Tokyo. (No. 30).
15. Teeth-anchor. Senju, Tokyo. (No. 33).
16. Lock-heart-*sake*. Ikomayama. (No. 39).
17. Honda's grave. Ishin-ji, Asaka. (No. 40).
18. Eels in union. Mishima-jinja, Kyoto. (No. 42).

MAGICAL-PICTORIAL

19. Milk supply. Hotel-jinja, Tenno-ji, Osaka. (No. 46).
20. Baby in bath. Ichigen Kwannon, Nara. (No. 47).
21. Boy at barber-shop. Kurodani, Kyoto. (No. 48).
22. Couple separating; *enoki*. Itabashi, Tokyo. (No. 52).

MAGICAL-VERBAL

23. Skate; play on *aka-i*. Hirota-jinja, Asaka. (No. 58).
24. Ox; play on *kusa*. Tenno-ji, Asaka. (No. 59).
25. Catfish; play on *namazu*. Mine-no-Yakushi, Horiuji. (No. 60).

THE SAKURADA AFFAIR

By Ernest W. Clement. Read April 21, 1920

Doubtless, most, if not all, of us are inclined to pass along the streets of Tokyo without thinking of the historic associations of places. There are, it is true, some spots which have a well known and definite historic interest, such as the temple called Sengakuji, with the tombs of the famous Forty-Seven Ronin. But there are other places, the historic memories of which have been obscured or even obliterated by the lapse of time and the march of modern civilization. We think of Uyeno now in connection with cherry blossoms, or the conservatory of music, or the museum, or an ephemeral exhibition: and we are not likely to recall the facts that on July 4, 1868, it was the site of a battle between the forces of the last Shogun and the Imperial Army; and that it was the Abbot of Kwaneiji, a Buddhist temple at Uyeno, whom the Tokugawa put up as a rival of the late Emperor, Meiji Tenno. Here and there, throughout the city of Tokyo, we may find Buddhist temples, like Tozenji and Zempukuji, which once provided shelter for the ambassadors of Western nations and were the scenes of fierce attacks by the anti-foreign ronin. The present arsenal at Suido-bashi was the site of one of the three Mito Yashiki in Yedo; the First Higher School is the site of another Mito Yashiki, and now marks its historic character with a monument in honor of Shu Shunsui, a Chinese Ming scholar who took refuge with the famous Mito Prince, Mitsukuni (or Giko) in the 17th Century. The Imperial University is located in the grounds of the old Kaga Yashiki of the mighty Maeda family.

To-day, I want to remind you that, if you board a tram-car at the foot of this hill and go as far as you can in a direct but not exactly straight line north, you will make the first sharp turn at Sakurada Mon, or Sakurada Gate. You may know it only from sad experiences as one of the most difficult places to make a transfer, if you are bound for Bancho or Aoyama, since those cars have already filled up to their full capacity (or beyond) at the previous stop at Hibiya Park! At almost the very spot where you stand waiting for a chance to get on a car was the scene, just sixty years ago today (by the old lunar calendar) of an important incident in Japanese history. It is known as the Sakurada Affair.

It occurred on the old lunar calendar 3rd day of the 3rd month, the date of the famous "Girls' Festival," or "Dolls' Festival," which fell that year (1860) on March 24 (not March 23rd or 25th, as stated in various accounts). (But this year it falls on April 21). That festival is one of the Five Festivals (Go-Sekku), which came on the 1st day of the 1st month, the 3rd day of the 3rd month, the 5th day of the 5th month, the 7th of the 7th month, and the 9th day of the 9th month (all old calendar). It was the custom of the Tokugawa Shogunate to hold a kind of levee in the castle of Yedo on each of these festivals. As March 24 was so near the Spring Equinox, it is not strange that a storm of sleet and snow was raging. From that circumstance, as well as from the fact that the principal participants in the affair did not survive to write up the story with all the embellishments of a modern newspaper, it is a little difficult to ascertain with certainty the details of what did happen. The best that can be done is to piece together several versions of the tragedy. [See Note A.]

The chief victim of this tragic affair was Ii Naosuke, Kamon-no-Kami, Lord of Hikone, Tairo (literally, "Chief Elder"), that is, Prime Minister of the Shogun, who was a minor, and, since the Emperor was merely a figure-head, practically the Regent of Japan. He had dared to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the American Consul-

General, Townsend Harris, and to have it signed July 29, 1858, without waiting for the Imperial approval; and he had followed this up by making similar treaties with Holland, Russia, Great Britain and France. In "Mito Yashiki" (p. 263), it is expressed as follows:

"He defied the conservative element in the land, and, metaphorically speaking, snapped his fingers in the face of the Emperor himself."

Lloyd, in "Every-Day Japan" (p. 151), expresses it a little more mildly, in the following words: "Like Nelson at the Battle of the Baltic, he put the telescope to his blind eye, and refused to see the frantic signals of recall which the Imperial Court at Kyoto was making to him."

All this had brought down upon him the wrath of the ultra-Imperialists under the lead of Nariaki, the Old Prince of Mito, who, on account of his autocratic manners and methods, had dubbed him the "swaggering Prime Minister." He knew that he was marked for death whenever a favorable opportunity should present itself; he had been advised by a friend to resign and thus avoid danger. He only replied: "My own safety is nothing, when I see great danger threatening my country." Even that very morning, he had been warned again; but, like Julius Caesar, he paid no attention to the prophesied dangers of his "Ides of March," but went out to his fate.

It's mansion was situated on the hill about where the War Department and General Staff Office are now located. It was, therefore, only a little way that he had to go in his palanquin to the Shogun's Castle. Even for that short distance he was escorted by a retinue of retainers both for display and for protection. And, as the retinues escorting other lords, coming from other directions, all had to converge upon the same spot, it produced more or less confusion, which, added to the storm then raging, made a stage setting eminently suited to carrying out the conspiracy to a successful issue.

The other chief actors in this tragedy were eighteen Samurai, seventeen of Mito and one of Satsuma, all ronin.*

The available reports of this affair are more or less colored according to sympathy with one side or the other; or are purposely indefinite and obscure to avoid offending one party or the other. In fact, there is, in many points, what appears to be "doctored" evidence. Yet we may be able to construct a story that gives a good general idea of the "Sakurada Affair."

One thing seems to be pretty clear, that when Lord Ii in his palanquin had reached a certain pre-arranged spot, a few persons, who had apparently been idly hanging around there for the mere purpose, a common one, of watching the various feudal trains go by, rushed out in front of the Ii retinue. It was, of course, a very rude performance to break into the progress of daimyo, as the Englishman Richardson learned to his sorrow two years later at Namamugi near Tsurumi. It would seem that the rush of Ii's retainers to avenge this affront left Ii's palanquin comparatively unprotected, so that others of the assaulting party were able to reach the palanquin without much difficulty. The attackers had easily divested themselves of the straw rain-coats or other means with which they had been disguised to look like innocent by-standers. But Ii's retainers, taken so completely by surprise, were, some of them, slain before they could divest themselves of the coverings with which they had protected their armor and weapons from the storm. Consequently, the unarmed Lord of Hikone fell an easy victim to his fierce assailants.

According to one report, the men who succeeded in reaching Ii first demanded of him an explanation of his conduct and engaged in a discussion with him concerning the right and wrong of his policy, and then assassinated him. But, while such a procedure was quite in accord with the conventionalities with which a vendetta was performed in those feudal days (compare the procedure of the Forty-seven Ronin), yet, in this

* See "Mito Civil War," Vol. XIX. Pt. 2., T.A.S.J.

case, it seems unlikely that there was time enough for such a formality. A counter-attack by some friendly Tokugawa retainers, or by those of the Shogun himself, was altogether too imminent to allow such a diversion, however interesting it might be.

There are also contradictory reports concerning the disposition made of Ii's head. One statement is that the man who started off with it was unable to effect his escape and was compelled to take refuge from his pursuers in the moat, where he was finally permitted unmolested to commit harakiri in the orthodox fashion. It seems much more likely that he ran off with a decoy head, while, by a prearranged plan, the man with the real head of the high victim succeeded in effecting his escape. It is stated that Ii's head was carried to Mito and exhibited to his old rival, Nariaki, who is said to have gloated over it and spat upon it. But the Mito adherents deny the truth of that report.

It is also affirmed, with much more plausibility that the head was taken to Kyoto and publicly exposed there with the inscription, "This is the head of a traitor who has violated the most sacred laws of Japan—those which forbid the admission of foreigners into the country," then carried back to Yedo and cast one night into the grounds of the Hikone Yashiki.

One of the most interesting features of this affair illustrates one of the curious old customs of Feudal Japan. It was an unwritten law that the estate of a daimyo who suffered death violently and away from home would be either confiscated or reduced. It was, therefore, necessary to avoid such disgrace by officially concealing the exact truth. Hence according to Dickson's "Japan" (p. 438), the principal gentleman in the late Regent's service reported as follows: "This morning while my master was on his way to the *shiro* (castle) to pay his respects to the Shogun, an attack was made upon his train. In the scuffle one man was killed, and the servants of Ii brought the body to the house here." That is certainly a remarkable

example of the way in which the fact can be told and yet the truth concealed. And this fiction was maintained by the Shogun's officials in their reports to the foreign representatives in Yedo. Alcock, who was then the British Minister to Japan, reports as follows in "The Capital of the Tycoon" (p. 348): "To my inquiries after his (II's) health and offers of surgical aid from the Legation, the Ministers for many days merely returned civil messages, declining the assistance, and giving bulletins of his health informing me, truly enough, that 'he was not worse!'"

Even more astounding is the statement made in Dickson's "Japan" (pp. 439-440), that II himself wrote to the Shogun to the effect: "I proposed going to the levee at the palace and was on my way there; when near the Sakurada Gate and in front of the joint guard of Matsudaira Osumi-no-Kami and Uesugi, about twenty men were collected. They began to fire pistols, and afterwards with swords attacked me in my norimono. My servants thereupon resisted and killed one of the men—the others ran off and escaped. Having received several wounds, I could not pay my intended visit to the Shogun and was obliged to return to my house. Now I send the names of such of my servants as were wounded."

It is also reported in Dickson's "Japan" (p. 440) that "upon receiving intelligence of this attack, the Shogun sent to the Regent a present of ginseng root and to inquire more particularly as to his health and condition."

According to another old custom of the vendetta, poems had been worked with the needle upon coats left by the assassins. One poem said: "Let us take and hoist the silken standard of Japan and first go and fight the battles of the emperor." Another read: "My corpse may dry up with the flowers of the cherry, but how can the spirit of Japan relax?" (Dickson's "Japan," p. 440).

According to still another old feudal custom, the assailants issued a statement giving their reasons for the deed. This is

summed up in Satow's translation of "Kinsei Shiriaku, (p. 16) in the following terms :

"They accused him, firstly, of possessing himself of the person of the young Shogun and of dismissing and appointing officials as his own selfish objects suggested ; secondly, of receiving enormous bribes and granting private favors ; thirdly, of having driven away the Princes of Owari, Mito and Echizen, thereby depriving the Shogun of the support of those who were most nearly allied to him by blood ; fourthly, of having deluded His Highness Kujo, by means of Manabe Shimosa-no-Kami and Sakai, the Shogun's Resident (in Kyoto), besides confining Prince Josen-In and many Court nobles, and putting a number of samurai and common people to death ; and fifthly, of being frightened by the empty threats of the foreign barbarians into concluding treaties with them without the sanction of the Mikado, and under the pretext of political necessity. These five crimes being such as neither the gods nor men could pardon, they, as the representatives of divine anger, had chastised him." [See Note B.]

It is not without interest to take notice of the excuses made by certain persons for not interfering with the vendetta. For instance, when the commander of the guard was asked why he allowed "men in disguise with small sleeves and drawn swords," to pass his guard and loiter about, he replied : "There was a heavy fall of snow at the time. I noticed the men once, and they disappeared ; but I acknowledge my fault—I am much to blame in the matter. But what shall I do now ? Shall I cut off my men's heads ?" Another replied to a similar query as follows : "This morning at 9 o'clock many men passed, but whether they were porters or soldiers, I cannot tell. Several passed with blood-stained swords in their hands. I was on the point of arresting them, but, as there was much snow falling, I could not see them distinctly, or where they went."

It is also interesting to see how Mito was able to absolve himself from all responsibility, as shown by the following letter to the Shogun: "I am told that some men who were formerly in my service, but who were dismissed, have gone this morning to the Sakurada Gate and killed Ii Kamon-no-Kami. They appear to have gone to Hosokawa, wishing that he would take them into his employ. A messenger from Hosokawa has brought me this information. I am very sorry; it has caused me much distress. I could not employ so many servants and was obliged to reduce my establishment, while some men who would not obey me went away of their own accord. On this account I am unable to arrest or punish such men, and must trust to the servants of the Shogun doing so, while I must try to find those who have absconded. But the Shogun is powerful while I am comparatively powerless; I, therefore, beg the assistance of the Shogun."

It will not be considered out of place, I am sure, for me to add here the simple statement that, while the Mito Ronin thus wreaked vengeance upon the man who had heaped indignities upon their Old Prince, it was only a few months that the latter survived to enjoy his triumph. For he died in September 1860, and is said, by an unproven rumor, to have been poisoned by the Bakufu (Shogunate) party. His death took place also on a festival day, the 15th day of the 8th month, old calendar, when, by immemorial custom the Japanese people flock to the parks and other public places or to special localities to view the silvery autumn (or harvest) moon. But, even to their death, the faithful surviving vassals of Nariaki used to shut themselves up in their houses and refuse to desecrate the memory of their master by indulging in the merry pastime of *tsukimi* (moon-viewing). He received the posthumous name of Reikko (Orderly Prince).

It remains now to consider the effects of the assassination of Ii; and, in that connection, to say something about his life and work. Iyenaga says that "his family was called the Dodai or foundation-stone of the power of the Tokugawa dynasty";

and characterizes him as "bold, ambitious, able and unscrupulous," "the Richelieu of Japan." In "Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan" (p. 53), it is expressed as follows: "The Ii family was the pillar, so to speak, of the Tokugawa Shogunate." If Ii was really the kind of man that is pictured for us by many writers, it was evidently a good thing that he was removed from the scene of action.

But we must also give him due credit for what he had done, and may well quote the words of Gubbins, as follows: "There can be little doubt that the Regent's direction of affairs greatly assisted the work of reopening Japan to foreign intercourse." We should also quote a sentence from "Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan" (p. 182), as follows: "Thus it was Lord Ii who laid the foundation of Yokohama, which today stands a grand monument to that statesman's foresight." The book from which that quotation is made was itself published in connection with the unveiling of the statue of Ii at Yokohama in 1909, the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of that port to foreign trade. And it was one of the interesting revenges of history, as we may learn from the same book (p. 39), that, while Ii Naotake was one of the elder councillors of the Shogunate in 1639 and signed the ordinance which closed Japan for over two hundred years, it was Ii Naosuke, a direct descendant, who assumed the leading role in the drama of doing away with this selfsame policy of exclusion and of opening the country to foreign commerce at the sacrifice of his own life. And it is supremely appropriate that the statue, or monument, of Ii Naosuke Kamon-no-Kami should stand on Nogeyama in Yokohama, which is itself a monument in his honor.

There is another important phase of this part of our theme; and that concerns the relation of Ii to the Shogunate. In "A Life of Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa" (p. 42), it is stated that "his death was an irreparable blow to the Tokugawa Government." Gubbins says (p. 118) that "after his death the fall of the Shogunate was only a question of time." In "The Awakening of Japan" (p. 137), Okakura expresses it more

poetically in the following words: "The icy structure of Tokugawa tyranny melted away like the snows of Sakurada beneath the warm blood of the devoted ronins." Fukuchi, in "Bakufu Suiboron," or "The Decline and Fall of the Shogunate," writes as follows: "What an evil day the 3rd of the 3rd month of the 1st year of Manen (March 24, 1860) was to the Shogunate! The death of the Tairo, the adviser of the Shogun, by the hand of assassins, proved to be a fatal blow to the administration." "How unexpected it was that the death of the Tairo so suddenly precipitated the downfall of the Shogunate!" *

It may not be unfair to state that the removal of Ii might naturally have retarded the process of the development of foreign relations—a process which, indeed, did move very slowly after his death. And yet it is difficult to "guess" what might have been, had Ii lived longer. Instead therefore, of wasting time upon surmises, let us note rather what did happen.

Gubbins, in the book previously cited, writes (p. 124) as follows: "The deaths of the two rival statesmen (Ii and Mito) may have had the effect of diminishing to some extent the bitterness of party feeling, but it is doubtful if the country was the gainer in the end. Their removal from the scene left Japan without any master mind to control a difficult situation," And, as already noticed, the loss of Ii was fatal to the Shogunate, which needed to be overthrown in the interests of national unity. It may, therefore, be said that both Ii's life and death contributed to the similar ends of opening and unifying Japan.

* See also Note C.

NOTES

A

There are, of course, brief allusions to the Sakurada Affair in all histories of Japan. There are short accounts in such works as Satow's English version of "Kinsei Shiriaku" and "Genji Yume Monogatari"; Lloyd's "Every Day Japan"; Black's "Young Japan"; Morsman's "New Japan"; Reed's "Japan"; Adams's "History of Japan"; Trent's "Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan"; and Heco's "Narrative of a Japanese." Longer and better reports and comments (on the Affair) may be found in "Agitated Japan," which is the English version (Henri Satoh's) of Shimada's "Kaikoku Shimatsu" Akimoto's English version of Nakamura's "Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan"; Alcock's "Capital of the Tycoon"; "The Progress of Japan, 1853-1871," by Gubbins; Dickson's "Japan"; and Macclay's novel, "Mito Yashiki," which, with the addition of the fancies of fiction, yet gives a very vivid description of the Sakurada Affair, with its background.

B

The substance of the principal paper, according to "Agitated Japan" (pp. 137-140), is as follows:

While [we are] fully aware of the necessity for some change in policy since the coming of the Americans to Uraga, it is entirely against the interest of the country and a shame to the sacred dignity of the land to open commercial relations, to admit foreigners into the castle, to conclude a treaty, to abolish the established custom of trampling on the picture of Christ, to permit foreigners to build places of worship of their evil religion, Christianity, and to allow the three Ministers* to reside in the land. Under the excuse of keeping

* American, British and French.

the peace, too much compromise has been made at the sacrifice of national honor. Too much fear has been shown in regard to the foreigners' threatenings. Not only has the national custom been set aside, and the national dignity injured, but the policy followed by the Shogunate has no Imperial sanction. For all these acts the Tairo Baron Ii Kamon-no-Kami is responsible.

Taking advantage of the youth of the Shogun, he has assumed unbridled power. In order to effect his own end, his autocracy has gone so far as to confine, under false charge, the Princes and Barons who would be faithful and loyal to the cause of the Imperial Cabinet and the Shogunate. He has proved himself an unpardonable enemy of this nation. The power of government in his hands will be too dangerous for the harmonious relation of the Imperial Cabinet and the Shogunate, for he has gone so far as to interfere with the Imperial succession. Our sense of patriotism could not brook this abuse of power at the hands of such a wicked rebel.

Therefore, we have consecrated ourselves to be the instruments of Heaven to punish this wicked man, and we have assumed on ourselves the duty of putting an end to a serious evil by killing this atrocious autocrat. Our conduct, however, does not indicate the slightest enmity to the Shogunate. We swear before Heaven and earth, gods and men, that our action is entirely built on our hope of seeing the policy of the Shogunate resume its proper form and abide by the holy and wise will of His Majesty the Emperor. We hope to see our national glory manifested in the expulsion of foreigners from the land. Thus will the whole nation be established on a basis as firm and unmoveable as Mount Fuji itself.

Dated, 3rd month, 7th year of Ansei [1860].

Signed by Hasuda and sixteen others.*

* * * * *

* The Satsuma man did not sign the paper.

And when some of the survivors who had surrendered themselves were asked by the judges to give in writing their reasons for killing the Regent, their answer was as follows * : " We have good reasons. From the time of Jimmu Tenno to the present day the Japanese nation has never received any insult from a foreign nation ; now five foreign nations have made treaties, and all through the Empire the people are angry and sorry and vexed. If he does not care for this, he makes himself an enemy to the nation, and therefore we killed him. We have no other reason."

* * * * *

And in still another statement, made to Hosokawa Etchu-no-Kami, may be found the following sentences † : " For some time we argued with the Go-Tairo. We told him that he was a bad man. We spake to him about foreigners coming to the country, about the export of gold, about his receiving money as bribes from foreigners."

* * * * *

At that time, " the streets of Yedo were placarded with squibs against the party of the late Regent and those in favor of foreigners. One of these accused the late Gotairo of enriching himself by foreign trade at the expense of the people of Japan, and others were obscure allusions to the founder of the family. Another, by turning the characters of his name upside down, makes of it: ' A [gentleman's] head swept away is very good.' " ‡ [*Kami no kesa nao ii* from Ii Naosuke no Kami].

C

It is interesting, in this connection, to note further comments made upon " The Sakurada Affair " by Fukuchi in his " Decline and Fall of the Shogunate " (Chap. XIII), from which we make the following extracts :—

" There are so many accounts of the Sakurada Affair, that the author scarcely feels the necessity of repetition, nor can he

† * Dickson's " Japan," p. 445.

‡ " " " p. 448.

to-day bear to recall the cruel deed. Most of the assassins were Mito *ronin*. The reasons for their assassination of Ii, according to documents found on their persons, were something like the following: first, his arbitrary action in signing the treaties without Imperial sanction; second, his opening of three ports to commerce, and his granting residence to foreigners in Yedo; third, his arrest and cruel punishment of the supporters of the *Sonjo** principle who were implicated in the secret edict given to Mito; and fourth, his punishment of nobles, barons and government officials who were of prominent families upon the pretext of the same offense. But, in reality, the things which most offended that party were, doubtless, the confinement of the old Mito Prince and the failure to appoint Hitotsu-bashi as the Shogun's heir. Ii Tairo was probably worthy the name of one of the greatest statesmen; he was a hero of the last days of the Tokugawa Government, a man of daring and prompt decision; he took all responsibility for the welfare of the country upon himself, and boldly carried out what he believed to be best for the nation in defiance of public opinion and at the risk of his own life. The author would not hesitate to count him as one of the most noted prime-ministers of the Tokugawa Government. Yet, in spite of all these merits, his actual work shows not a few blunders in the course of his career as Tairo. He was stubborn in doing business; confided in the wrong persons; appointed a young and undeveloped boy as the Shogun's heir instead of a wiser and older prince, in a critical time; dismissed some Shogunate relatives, barons and officials who were men of ability; was very haughty, delighted in arbitrary rule; drove away those who were not agreeable to him, and dealt with political criminals too severely. It may be hard to answer the public charge that he wielded political power by taking advantage of the youthfulness of his master [Shogun].

"As to calling the assassins 'ruffians' [*bōto*], it may be necessary to add here a few words. In all probability, they

* Abbreviation of *Sonno Joi*.

felt not a particle of personal resentment against Ii and accomplished their bloody work in broad daylight at the sacrifice of their own lives. It was nothing but a political affair. In particular, these men have been not only pardoned for their crime, on the ground that they were declared to have done good service in the reforms of the Meiji Era, but they have also been ranked among 'loyal retainers'; and in the history of Meiji their deed is actually recognized as a magnificent achievement. And yet the author has called them 'ruffians' and may incur the displeasure of some critics. He is himself conscious that the use of the word 'ruffians' is unjustifiable in one sense; but, in writing a history of the Shogunate and discussing it fully historians should not consider at all the Meiji Government, or change their opinions on account of the existence of the Meiji Government. They must put themselves in the place of the Bakufu and become of the Bakufu, to understand its real condition, make a straight-forward statement, and reach the right conclusion. Therefore, let historians call the assassins 'righteous men' or 'loyal retainers,' or eulogize them with whatever glorious terms they wish in writing the history of the Meiji Reformation; yet, in writing the history of the Bakufu, it is their duty to make a clear and positive statement, that those men who murdered the prime minister of the government were 'ruffians' or evil-doers. Take, for example, the cases of the assailants of Iwakura at Kuichigai of Akasaka [1874], or of Okubo at Kioizaka [1878], or of those who attacked the English representative [Sir Harry Parker] in Kyoto [1868] on his way to the Imperial audience, or of the man who just the other day [1891] attempted to kill the Czar-wich of Russia. What have the historians who have written the histories of the Meiji Era called them? Have they not called them 'ruffians?' If so, what is the difference between those who killed the *Sangi* Okubo at Kioizaka and those who murdered the *Tairo* Ii of the Shogunate at Sakurada; or between those who wounded the *Udaijin* Iwakura of the Meiji Government at Kuichigai and those who attacked the *Go-rojiu*

Ando of the Shogunate Government [1862] at Sakashita? There is no difference whatever in the eyes of historians; and yet some are looked upon as ruffians, while others considered righteous men. Is that right? Those who threatened or assassinated government officials; those who committed murder under the name of 'the punishment of heaven'; those who schemed to create foreign complications by injuring or killing foreigners; those who attacked or burned foreign legations (without mentioning the Sakurada and Sakashita Affairs):—all these men and their deeds, the author, attempting to write the history of the decline and fall of the Shogunate, calls plainly 'ruffians' and 'outrages,' [*ōkyō*] no matter what words of praise the Meiji historians may give to them. Not only that, the author is willing to go so far as to state that there were traces of involuntary incitement of political offenses in the conduct of the contemporary *sonjō* party; for it not only tolerated those who so strenuously opposed and obstructed the home and foreign policies of the Bakufu that their acts sometimes amounted to violations of law, but also bestowed upon them profuse praise as 'loyal retainers,' even after the Meiji Reformation."

Here are also a few sentences from Fukuchi's comments on Mito:

"The death of the Old Prince unfortunately served to precipitate the fall of the government [Shogunate]. While there may be a great deal to be said about the motions and acts of the man, he was nevertheless a hero of his age, leader of the *sonjō* party, and at the same time a believer in the importance of the Shogunate. Had he lived longer the government might not have gone down so soon. Though the Mito knights often resorted to violence to carry out their *sonjō* principles under his encouragement, they might as easily have been pacified by his personal influence, and the government might never have met such a disaster as losing its power so easily. After his death, however, the anti-foreign and loyalist spirits became fierce and unbridled."

**On the proposed Identification, by the late Rev. Arthur
Lloyd, of the term Abraxas with the Japanese
Buddhist expression for the Five
Elements,—a-ba-ra-ka-kia**

By JAMES TROUP,

formerly H.B.M.'s Consul General at Yokohama.

At the International Congress for the History of Religions, held at Oxford in 1908, referring to the late Shingon and Tendai Sects of Buddhism, Mr. Lloyd stated:—"The connection between these sects and Alexandria is shown by the use of the word Abraxas, of which I have recently found three instances in Japanese literature." Again, in a lecture delivered before the Asiatic Society of Japan, Mr. Lloyd stated:—"A short time ago, while preparing a paper on the case of the dead in Japan for Hastings' Encyclopedia, my attention was first directed to the analogies to be found between the Japanese Shingon and the Gnosticism of Egypt during the first and second centuries, A. D. It is not my intention to delay you with this. I will merely call your attention to the fact, mentioned elsewhere, of the use of the two remarkable words, Abraxas and Caulacau, in modern Japanese Buddhism, on the one hand, and in the early Gnosticism of men like Basilides and Nicholas of Antioch, on the other, which shows us that the contact between certain forms of Christianity and parts of what is now included under the head of Japanese Mahayana must have been very early indeed."

Again, in a note to another lecture delivered before the Society, (Transactions, Vol. 35. p. 208, note 2, ad fin.) Mr. Lloyd says:—"Abarakakiun is the Abraxas of the Egyptian Gnostics, e.g. Basilides." Again, in another lecture, reported

in the same Volume, at p. 242, Mr. Lloyd says: "We have found traces of the doctrines of Basilides in the peculiar God of the secret Shingon,—Abarakakusu,—and we know that there must have been a good deal of interchange of thought between India and Egypt."

At one of the meetings in Japan Mr. Lloyd has been reported as saying that it was his intention to deposit in the library of the Society, for further examination, the Japanese books on which he relied as containing the word Abraxas. This, unfortunately, he appears not to have been able to do before his death. I have referred to the Librarian, at the time, of the Society, Mr. Sweet, on this subject; and he has informed me that he could find no trace of the books which Mr. Lloyd intended to put in the Society's Library, but he was aware of Mr. Lloyd's intention regarding this. I have made further inquiries as to the existence of the volumes among the books which Mr. Lloyd left, but regret that this had not resulted in the discovery of the volumes or of their titles.

There can, however, be no doubt as to the identity of the Japanese term which he took to represent the word Abraxas. On this point reference may first be made again to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 35, p. 208, note 2, ad fin., where Mr. Lloyd says:—"Abarakaki-un is the Abraxas of the Egyptian Gnostics," etc. Giving this formula also in the body of this note, he refers to the Tsuzoku Bukkyo Gi-mon Kai-to Shu. Vol. 1., p. 504, etc. as containing the dharani, a-ba-ra-ka-ki-un.

On a reference to this passage in a copy of this book now in my possession, I find that, from the page referred to onwards, the author discourses on the subject of the Five Gross Elements,—“go-dai,—which when a sixth is added, are termed “roku-dai”,—the six gross elements. At page 509 he gives, in parallel lines, a comparative view of the series, thus:—In the first line the names of these elements, in the ordinary Chinese characters, earth, water, fire, air, (space, the void); and, for the sixth, (consciousness, spirit).

In the second line he gives, in Chinese characters used phonetically, or, what is known as Chinese-Sanscrit, the Sanscrit names of the elements. To these phonetic Chinese characters he adds Japanese kana letters alongside, reading a-ba-ra-ka-kiya-un, the Japanese Sanscrit pronunciation of the same. This corresponds to the series of six as above given by Mr. Lloyd. In one of the other parallel lines of the page the author enumerates the geometrical forms of the elements,—the cube, sphere, triangle, half-moon (or crescent), and the form for the apex,—as we are accustomed to see them in the sotoba, or elemental stupa.

In Mr. Lloyd's book, "The Creed of Half Japan," he reiterates, in several passages, the statement that the terms Abraxas and Caulacau (or Caulaucu) are to be found in Japanese Buddhism. At page 38, in a note, he refers to the book *Tsuzoku Bukkyo Gi-mon Kai-to Shu*, which has just been noticed above, as a source on which he has relied for this statement. What has just been said, in our reference made to this book, covers the essential points on which remark seems to be called for; but I would suggest that the "six hieroglyphics" "of Egyptian origin," mentioned in the note are the Brahmi letters with which the Sanscrit terms for the elements are written in Japan.

It is quite clear from this that the series a-ba-ra-ka-kia, with "un", refers to the elements; and there will be many instances of the occurrence of the formula in Japanese Buddhist literature.

Again, on a reference to *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, containing Mr. Lloyd's article on the Disposal of the Dead in Japan, we find, at page 489:—"The Sotoba carried in the procession has inscribed on it the Sanscrit characters kha-la-ka-va-a, representing the Five Skandas,—as an alternative, the Five Elements which compose the Universe. In the Shingon we have the pair of formulae, a-ba-ra-ka-kia and kha-la-ka-va-a,—in Irenaeus the Gnostic term Abraxas and Caulacau.

And at p. 490 of the Encyclopedia, under Ceremonies of the Shingon, in note 4, referring to "Invocation of the Universe and Atoms," Mr. Lloyd says:—Here the dharani refers to the Five Exterior Elements; it is, Omabira un-ken,—earth, water, fire, wind, void. This name appears often as am-bam-ram-ka-kan, and as a-ba-raka-kia. It is almost certainly the Gnostic Abraxas,—a conclusion in which we are strengthened by the fact that the Gnostic Gaulacau also seems to appear Gnostic Caulacau."

As regards the above passage where Mr. Lloyd states that "Irenaeus says that Caulacau—Mundus, (cf. vol. II, p. 428, note)"—I am unable to identify this reference unless it be to Irenaeus Contr. Haer. Book I, cap. XXIV, section 5, ad fin. (Edn. Ad. Stieren, Leipsic, 1853, Tm. I, p. 246.) There the text, speaking of the Basilidians, is: *Nomina quoque quaedam affigentes quasi angelorum, annuntiant hos quidem esse in primo coelo, hos autem in secundo; et deinceps nituntur cccclxv ementitorum coelorum et nomina et principia et angelos et virtutes exponere. Quemadmodum et mundus nomen esse, in quo dicunt descendisse et ascendisse salvatorem esse Caulacau.*" Reference should be made to the note (5) of the edition of the text, where he points out that the portion of the extract which refers to Caulacau was held by Grabius, the earlier editor, to be certainly mutilated or corrupt. The note is too long to be quoted in extenso, but the following may be gathered from it:—that Grabius says Theodoret took the text to imply that the name Caulacau was the name given to the Saviour,—that Epiphonius, speaking of the Nicolaitans, said that they applied it to one of the Archons—(see Migne, Patrologia Graeca, Tom. 41, p. 323, Epiphanius adv. Haeres. xxv. 3); but that, notwithstanding the corruptness of the text, the meaning of Irenaeus may be conjectured to have been that the Basilidians applied the name Caulacau,—meaning "line upon line, (an expression founded on Isaiah xxviii, 10,)—not to the Saviour, but to the world, as the world seemed to them a double line, in which the Saviour descended and ascended.

Thus far Gräbius Neander's view is that the world here indicated may naturally be taken to refer to the world from which the Saviour descended and into which he ascended the highest of all lines or ranks of the spiritual world. There would appear to be no ground, in any case, for taking this passage to mean that the term *Caulacau* bore the signification, or was the equivalent of the word *Mundus*, meaning the physical world of the elements.

Again, at page 492 of Hastings' Encyclopedia, note 3, we find a statement similar to what has been quoted above from the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, namely :—"The fivefold scale of Elements is represented by a-ba-ra-ka-kia. When a sixth element, (*alaya*, consciousness) is added, the word becomes a-ba-ra-ka-kia-un".

Thus again the word which Mr. Lloyd takes to be the term *Abraxas* is a-ba-ra-ka-kia, the Japanese pronunciation of the Sanscrit series a-va-ra-ha-kha,—the five elements, the components of the universe. In this series a means earth, va water, ra fire, ha air, and kha space, or the void. (These terms are detailed, with the Brahmi letters expressing them, in an article by the present writer, on the Japanese *sotoba*, or elemental stupa, which appears in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for October 1919).

The series which Mr. Lloyd takes to represent the term *Caulacau* would appear to be nothing more than the same series as that which he takes to be *Abraxas*,—but read in the inverse order. Here he adopts, mostly, the Sanscrit form of the series, which, as written in the romanized form usually employed, is :—kha-ha-ra-va-a. He, however, takes the Japanese ka in place of ha, substitutes for ra the syllable (in Sanscrit the letter) la, inverts the order of the syllables ka and la thus obtained, and so arrives at the series :—kha-la-ka-va-a, which he identifies with *Caulacau*. The writing of ka for ha in the series, and the inversion of the order, are arbitrary and irregular. The substitution of la for ra is inadmissible; they are different letters and not interchangeable. In a note at page 63 of the Creed of

Half Japan, Mr. Lloyd defends this substitution on the ground that Japanese has no "l" sound, and "kha-la-ka-ba (sic) a" is always written in Sanscrit letters. We are dealing here, however, with the terms for the Five Elements, and the Third Element (fire) is, in Sanscrit "ra" and not "la".

This series, he states, represents the Five Skandas,—“the Five Forms of Mundane Consciousness, and, as an alternative, the Five Elements.” (This alternative in the interpretation of a series representing the five elements will be elucidated by a reference to Monier Williams' Sanscrit Dictionary, sub voc. Skandā, Vishaya, Gūno.)

But that the series a-va-ra-ha-kha,—Japanese, a-ba-ra-ka-kia, and the cognate terms mentioned above, should represent the word Abraxas, and be derived from it, as would seem to be the intention of Mr. Lloyd,—if I am not doing him an injustice,—is quite unnecessary to suppose. Nay more, the identification of the term a-ba-ra-ka-kia with the Indian designation of the five elements is beyond room for doubt, and any derivation of it from another word,—one identified with another system and bearing a totally different meaning,—like Abraxas,—is in this way not merely unnecessary, it is inadmissible.

The word Abraxas is formed of seven letters, a-b-r-a-x-a-s which in the Greek arithmetical notation together make up the number 365. In the Gnostic system, particularly that of Basilides, the number of Heavens was reckoned at 365,—whence the whole series was called Abraxas, or (at later dates) Abrasax, which has the same numerical value. The name was applied according to Hippolytus, to the Great Ruler (Archon) of these 365 Heavens. In his *Refutatio-Omnium* Lib. VII, c.26, he says that there existed (in his time) among the Basilidians, a treatise in which “they allege that there are 365 Heavens, and that the Great Archon of these is (called) Abrasax, from the fact that his name comprises the computed number (psypho-calculus) 365; so that, of course, the calculation of the title includes all things, and for this reason the year consists of so many days.”

(The English is from Macmahon's translation in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library in Translation, cap. 14.)

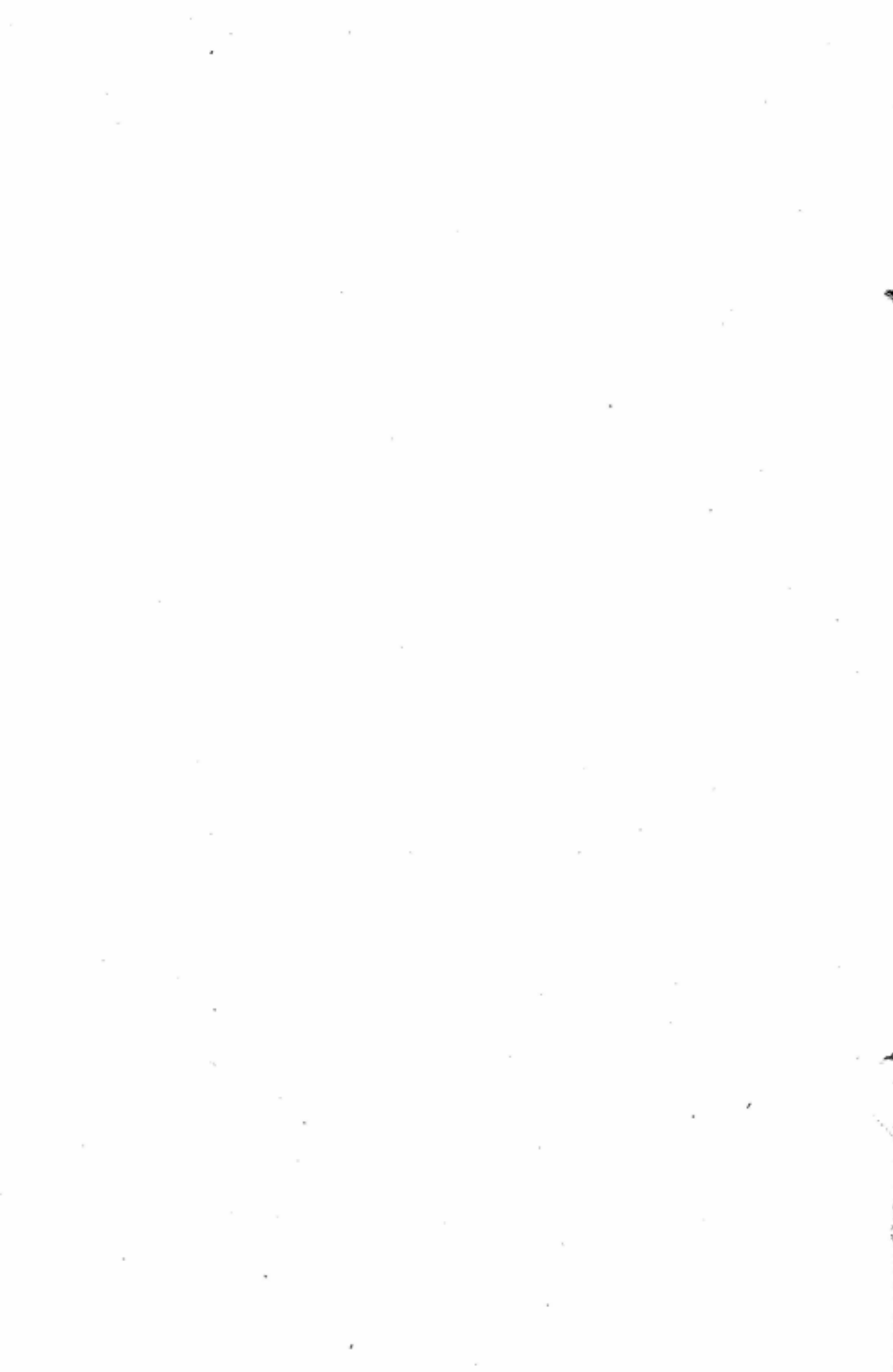
Various attempts to explain the term Abraxas-Abrasax have been made; but the connection between the word, as expressing the number 365, and the number of days in the year, seems beyond doubt (see Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, pp. 152-3). If we just invert the reasoning in the passage quoted above from Hippolytus, and say that, because the year consists of 365 days, therefore the number of Heavens came to be reckoned at 365, and the comprehensive name Abraxas,—being an articulate word expressing the number 365—thus, came to be applied to the Great Ruler of these Heavens, we have, probably, an indication of the process by which this name came to be evolved.

Further Abraxas is identified with the Sun-God.

The word has no reference to the five elements; any resemblance in sound between it and the series a-ba-ra-ka-kia is purely fortuitous.

The subject of the connections between Buddhism and the religions of Western Asia is a highly interesting but still an obscure one, and has to be approached with due critical caution.

Note:—An exposition of the subject of the terms for the elements, discussed in this paper, will be found in the Dictionary of Buddhism, recently published in Tokyo, the Bukkyo Dai-ji-ten, compiled by Oda Tokuno, and revised by Nanjio, Takakusu, and others.



REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1919

*Read and Approved at the Annual General Meeting,
January 1920.*

The following is an account of the Society's work during 1919:—

Five General Meetings of the Society were held during the year as compared with eight in 1918. The falling off is due to the fact that certain arrangements which had been made for meetings in the spring could not be carried out. Subjects dealt with at the meetings were as follows:—

January 29th (At the Chuotei Restaurant, Tokyo)—Lecture by Dr. S. H. Wainright on "The Rule of Persons and the Rule of Law."

As this was the annual general meeting the lecture was preceded by the presentation of the annual report of the Council for the year 1917 and the election of officers. Afterwards a public dinner was held and was attended by many members and friends of the Society.

February 19th (At Keio University)—Lecture by Mr. Noritake Tsuda, of Ueno Imperial Museum, on "Early Shinto."

March 19th (At Keio University)—Informal Lecture by Professor K. Asakawa, of Yale University, on "A Social View of Shinto."

November 26th (At Keio University)—Lecture by Dr. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, on "Ema." The lecture was illustrated by a

collection of Ema from various parts of Japan.

December 17th (At Keio University)—Lecture by Mr. A. L. Sadler, of the Peers' School, Tokyo, on "Japanese Swords." The lecture was illustrated by a number of specimens from Mr. Sadler's collection.

WORK OF COUNCIL

Council meetings have been held regularly during the year.

The Council have to report the following matters which have engaged their attention :—

(1) PUBLICATIONS

The Society printed Vol. XLVII containing Ship Construction in Japan by Professor F. P. Purvis, The Ten Buddhistic Virtues by the Rev. G. W. Bouldin, and Japan's Transition from the Rule of Persons to the Rule of Law by Dr. S. H. Wainright. The volume also includes the newly compiled catalogue of the Society's Library.

In addition to the above a second reprint of the Supplement to Vol. X, the Kojiki, has been undertaken and is almost completed. The Society has also reprinted Vol. XXXVIII, Part 3.

The great rise in the cost of paper and printing has rendered it necessary for the Society to reduce its output and to use cheaper paper.

(2) ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

The work of the Organization Committee has comprised arranging for (1) lectures, (2) contributions to the TRANSACTIONS, and (3) a series of notes on Current Progress in Japan, together with a book-review.

(1). As detailed above, 5 lectures have been delivered before the Society during the year 1919. For the near future, 9 lectures are definitely in prospect.

(2). Six papers have been offered for publication in the TRANSACTIONS. Two have been accepted for publication; two are now under consideration; one lengthy and very valuable work had to be declined because the Council did not feel justified in incurring at present the considerable financial responsibility that would have been involved. Eight papers are known to be in preparation, which will probably be offered for publication in the TRANSACTIONS.

(3). The Organization Committee and the Council have both given careful consideration to the advisability of establishing in the TRANSACTIONS a special department devoted to notes on current progress in Japan. Both committees have proceeded slowly as it is felt that the success of such a feature would largely depend upon the continuity with which it was maintained. Suggestions from members as to plan and scope of such notes would be welcomed.

(3) REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

During the greater part of the year I was absent from Japan.

I call attention to the fact that it is the intention of the Council to publish the complete catalogue of the Society's Library which I made last year. This ought to draw the attention of the members to the valuable collection of books open free of charge to all members; even in the country too for the trifling cost of postage.

The Library has received one work of unusual interest—the Autobiography of Raphael Pumpelly. The author came to Japan in 1864 by the invitation of the Shogunate, and his vivid and extremely racy account of Japan in that disturbed period is as pleasing as the contemporary records of Bruce-Mitford. Those readers who dip into the work for the sake of

the snap-shots of Japan (before "snap-shots" were heard of) colours and sketches in black and white made by Mrs. Salwey will find the whole work engaging their interest as deeply as the chapters on Japan. This autobiography is not the only work of Dr. Pumpelly in our library. His earlier book "Across America and Asia" is on our shelves.

We have lately received from Mrs. C. M. Salwey of Sunhill near Boldre, Hampshire, England, a collection of water-colours to illustrate her book on the Fans of Japan.

Mrs. Salwey has been a close student of Japanese art and of Japanese psychology for many years, and has taken a lively and intelligent interest in the work of our Society, to which she has before now given specimens of her literary skill. She now enriches us with these charming pictures.

They are :

1. Fan Target.
2. Fans carried by officers.
3. Hachimantaro's Fan. Pink.
4. Court Fan.
5. War Fan.
6. Fan of Umpire of Wrestling Match.
7. Flat iron war fan.
8. Folding iron war fan.
9. Carved Ivory Fan.
10. Hachimantaro's Fan (reverse).
11. Chinese flat silk fan (distribution of rice and food to the poor).
12. Hand-painted folding Fan (children at play).
13. Hi-no-ki Fans.
14. Kitchen Fan.
15. Fan used at Cha-no-yu for handing cakes.
16. Waterproof Fans.

I regret that we have no suitable glass case in which to keep these pictures safe and clean, and where they may be seen.

CHARLES F. SWEET, Librarian.

(4) HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT. 1919

RECEIPTS

To Balance brought forward at 31st Dec. 1917 ...	¥ 674.89	
„ Memberships		
(A) Annual	¥ 1,015.00	
(B) Arrears	135.00	
(C) Life subs. a/c.	731.00	
(D) Library (30 yrs.)	120.00	
(E) Entrance fees	105.00	2,106.00
To Transactions sold		744 18
„ Murdoch's History Vol. I sold		95.00
„ Interest, exchange and sundries		39.70
		<u>¥ 3,659 77</u>

EXPENDITURE

By Management a/c	¥ 320.66	
„ Library a/c		
Assistant	¥ 140.00	
Insurance	15.00	
Books and Binding		155.00
„ Transaction a/c		
Printing	¥ 1,005.58	
Packing and Distribution	161.60	
Insurance	100.71	
Other per contras	39.35	1,307.34
„ Murdoch's History a/c		
Per contras		10.50
„ Rent and Meetings a/c		243.20
„ Adverse Exchange and Sundries		40.87
„ Balance carried forward		
Special a/c	¥ 459.95	
Ordinary a/c... ..	1,122.25	1,582.20
		<u>¥ 3,659.77</u>

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS 1915 to 1919

RECEIPTS

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
To Membership	1,525 00	1,510.50	1,911.00	1,490.00	2,106.00
„ Transactions sold	247.00	494.87	323.75	603.44	744.18
„ Murdoch's History sold...	125 00	100 00	210 00	45.00	95.00
„ Interest and Sundries ...	10.96	46.50	34.78	23.50	39.70
Total	1,907.96	2,151.87	2,479.53	2,161.94	2,984.88
Balance brought forward ...	348.90	491.49	1,073 89	378.73	674.89
	<u>2,256.86</u>	<u>2,643.36</u>	<u>3,553.42</u>	<u>2,540.67</u>	<u>3,659.77</u>

EXPENDITURES

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
By Transactions published...	1,178.20	842.12	2,283.14	1,128 30	1,307.34
„ Murdoch's History... ..	26.25	17.00	112.50	2 00	10.50
„ Library	234.96	205.00	135.00	217.00	155.00
„ Administration	78 06	252.85	281.75	266.35	320.66
„ Rent and Sundries... ..	247.90	252.50	362.30	252.13	284.07
„ Furniture	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1,765.37	1,569 47	3,174.69	1,865.78	2,077.57
Balance carried forward ...	491.49	1,073.89	378.73	674.89	1,582.20
	<u>2,256.86</u>	<u>2,643.36</u>	<u>3,553.42</u>	<u>2,540.67</u>	<u>3,659.77</u>

MEMBERSHIPS

There have been recorded during the year 4 deaths, (2 Life M., 2 Annual M.), 8 resignations, and 11 names have been removed for non-payments of dues or on account of communications from the Society being returned undelivered. On the other side 22 members (15 Annual, 7 Life) have been elected; 14 have been transferred from Annual to Life Membership on payment of balances.

Honorary Members on roll of Society...	26
" " " living ...	6
Life Members	175
Annual Members	249
Libraries (30 years)...	19
Libraries (Annual)	12
Total	<u>461</u>

PROPERTY

The most recent report of the stock of Transaction from the Agents is in August 1919. The property of the Society may be put as follows:—

Balance carried forward	¥ 1,582.20
Transactions say... ..	12,000.00
Murdoch's History Vol. I say... ..	800.00
Library (Insured value)	50,000.00
Total	<u>¥ 19,382.20</u>

12.1
12.2

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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