READING SHOKUNIN UTAAWASE: IMAGES OF NON-AGRICULTURAL COMMONERS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

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Reading *Shokunin Utaawase:*

Images of Non-Agricultural Commoners and Social Transformations

in Medieval Japan

by

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To my Father, who I wish was here

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction:

Shokunin Utaawase and Its Background

In medieval Japan, both farmering commoners as well as non-agricultural commoners played an important role in society. Studying any commoners, and non-agricultural commoners in particular, is difficult since they were not the primary tax payers and, therefore, had no need to be written about by the government officials and other tax collectors. Fortunately, non-agricultural commoners, known as *shokunin* (職人 artisan or crafts people), sometimes appeared in works of literature, which therefore give us clues in understanding their lives. For example, a smith and a crewman from a ship appeared in the famous *Taketori Monogatari* 竹取物語 [*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*]. However, the first *shokunin*-related literary work, which depicted the lives of *shokunin* themselves, is *Shokunin Utaawase* (職人歌合 the Poetry Contest Depicting Merchants and Artisans). *Shokunin Utaawase* were compilations of poems composed by aristocrats, which were accompanied by drawings, and serve as an important resource for exploring the lives of non-agricultural commoners.

Of the four sets that remain of *Shokunin Utaawawe*, three of them depicted *shokunin* of Kyoto, one of the major commercial cities in medieval Japan. Aristocrats composed these poems in the voice of *shokunin*, and had artists

represent them visually in *Shokunin Utaawase Emaki* (職人歌合絵巻 *Shokunin Utaawase Picture Scrolls*), which depicted each *shokunin* appearing in *Shokunin Utaawase*. Although *Shokunin Utaawase* might not exactly reflect the real lives of *shokunin,* because they were selected by the aristocrats and depicted in the aristocrats' images of these commoners, they still provide invaluable information for us to understand non-agricultural commoners' lives and the larger pattern of social transformation in medieval society.

Four sets of *Shokunin Utaawase* have survived: *Tôhokuin Shokunin Utaawase* 東北院職人歌合 [*Poetry Contest of Merchants and Artisans in Tôhoku Temple*] from 1214, *Tsurugaoka Hôjôe Shokunin Utaawase* 鶴岡放生会職人歌合 [*Poetry Contest of Merchants and Artisans in Tsurugaoka shrine*] from 1261, *Sanjûniban Shokunin Utaawase* (三十二番職人歌合 [Poetry Contest on Thirty-Two Pairs of Merchants and Artisans] from 1494, *Shichijûichiban Shokunin Utaawase* 七十一番職人歌合 [*Poetry Contest on Seventy-One Pairs of Merchants and Artisans*) from 1500. Among them, *Shichijûichiban* is distinct in that its drawings include *gacchûshi* (画中詞 personal comments), which recorded conversations between *shokunin*; the tips of certain occupations; soliloquies of *shokunin*. *Gacchûshi* tell us more about the lives of *shokunin* than poems. Together, these works span three hundred years and serve to frame the bigger picture of changes in society during this time. For instance, the economy became more commercialized; commoners developed their own distinct culture; and women's roles became more restricted.

In order to understand the bigger picture, I divide my discussion into three parts. The first part focuses on *Tôhokuin* and *Tsurugaoka Shokunin Utaawase*, and emphasizes their religious nature. Aside from religion and performing artists, many workers from the *shôen* system were included in both *Utaawase*. When commercial activities were not well developed, the *shôen* system formed the basis for supporting the necessities of the nobles and commoners. Non-agricultural suppliers in this system were regarded as the origin of the so-called *shokunin*. In order to understand *shokunin*, I will also look at the *shôen* system and see what kind of people were in the system.[1]

In the second part, I introduce Iwasaki Kae's interpretation that the forms of *Sanjûniban* and *Shichijûichiban* showed influences from Chinese culture and Buddhism.[2] As the economy was flourishing, various kinds of performing arts, and schools of religion prospered. This growth is reflected in *Sanjûniban* and *Shichijûichiban* by the dramatic increase in the number of sellers, especially spiritual professionals. This section concludes by describing briefly the economic development in the late medieval period.

In the third part, I discuss my three observations in relation to *Shokunin Utaawase*. The first aspect of this discussion focuses on the increase in the number of *shokunin,* and also on the shift in their sequence and pairs in the four sets. By observing the growth in the variety of occupations and categorizing

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[1] Yamamura Kozo says, "Even as late as the early decades of the thirteenth century, most cultivators continued to live on what they planted and could obtain from nearby mountains, forests, and waters. But compared with their ancestors in the preceding century, cultivators were now acquiring more nonagricultural goods, such as pottery..." in his article "the growth of commerce in medieval Japan," *Cambridge*, 345.

[2] Iwasaki Kae, *Shokunin Utaawase: chûsei no shokunin gunzô*. (Tokyo : Heibonsha, 1987), 60, 95, 122.

them, I can suggest the transformation the role religion played in society as well as its relationship to economy. Second, I discuss the division of labor by gender along with the roles of women in the society. Third, as Amino Yoshihiko has discussed in his monograph, *Shokunin Utaawase*, I examine the transformation in the representation of female performing artists, which changed from that of noble women to that of prostitutes.[3] Amino explains this change in terms of the decline in the status of female performing artists over three hundred years. In order to understand the historical background of female entertainers, I also examine shamans, who were considered the origin of female performing artists.

In English publications, no monograph related to *Shokunin Utaawase* has been published. I hope this thesis contributes to our understanding of medieval Japanese history by demonstrating how the perception of *shokunin* transformed over time. Although *Shokunin Utaawase* were representations of *shokunin*, they should provide sufficient insights into how *shokunin* actually lived and worked in the changing economy of medieval Japan. I believe this thesis can provide important research insights regarding *shokunin* to the English-speaking-Japanese Studies academic circle.

The Setting: History from 1200 to 1500

Japan's medieval age, from the twelfth through sixteenth centuries, is characterized by the waning power of aristocrats; the development of warrior government mechanisms over time; the spread of Japanese Buddhist practices throughout society; a transformation in the nature of property holding; and the

[3] Amino Yoshihiko, *Shokunin Utaawase*, (Tokyo: Iwanami seminar book, 1992), 89-116.

emergence of an urban economy and culture.[4] In describing this change the Japanese historian, Kuroda Toshio, introduced the K*enmon* Theory, which posited that the aristocracy, the Buddhist-Shinto religious establishment, and the leading warrior houses together served three different functions: to provide state ritual, to protect the state spiritually and to defend the state for the society.[5] This theory has been challenged by scholars because there was no so-called "medieval state" since Japan was not under a centralized authority.[6] However, Kyoto was a perfect example that supports the *Kenmon* Theory, and this city was the stage for *Shokunin Utaawase*. Through *Shokunin Utaawase*, I will describe historical events in Kyoto as well as the city's transformation corresponding with the changes in *Shokunin Utaawase*.

Aristocrats enjoyed a prosperous age from the end of seventh century to the end of the tenth century. After the Genpei War (1180-1185), the Kamakura Bakufu was founded in 1192, marking the beginning of a warrior age that lasted for almost six hundred years. However, the power of the old aristocrats still existed and was pitted against the Bakufu until the Jôkyû War (1221). After this war, the authority of the aristocrats faded. The Muromachi Bakufu was established in 1394, but it was unstable due to financial problems. Because its own currency could not be trusted the Muromachi Bakufu had to trade with Ming China in order to gain Ming coins. The reputation of the Muromachi Bakufu was destroyed in the Ônin Disturbance in 1467, which almost ruined Kyoto.

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[4] Suzanne Gay, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 2.
[5] Ibid, 4.
[6] Ibid, 4.

Following this, the so-called Sengoku period existed from 1467 to 1573. During this time, powerful warriors occupied their own lands and competed with each other, but they also promoted commercial activities. Commercial activities flourished depending on the location, and improvement in agricultural technology also promoted the growth of a monetary economy. All of these economic changes led to people having a surplus to sell and money to buy goods.

Shokunin Utaawase

Utaawase is a literary game which divides *kajin* (歌人 poets) into the left and right sides. In the game, each poet has to compose a *waka* (和歌 poem) based on designated topics. A *hanja* (判者 the judge) decides which side wins, loses, or draws, then writes his reason as *hanji* (判辞 verdict). This literary form was popular from the beginning of the Heian Period (784-1185). At the beginning, it only served as a form of entertainment, but at the end of the Heian period, its literary quality became more formalized.

Different from *utaawase*, *Shokunin Utaawase* were not composed as a means of entertainment but rather were important for religious or peace prayer. This prayer function and content reflects the particular historical climate in which they were created. *Shokunin Utaawase* were not public literary works at the time they were written. These *Shokunin Utaawase* could have been composed by only one aristocrat since *shokunin* could not make *waka* by themselves. In order to understand the prayer function and content which reflect the time, I will discuss each *Shokunin Utaawase* briefly.

Japanese scholars have approached *Shokunin Utaawase* from various perspectives and using various methods. For instance, art historian Ishida Hisatoyo brings up the question as to *shokunin* were presented by a series of picture scrolls and *utaawase*. He analyzed the formation of the picture scrolls of *Shokunin Utaawase* by introducing *utaawase*, *shokunin*, and *emaki*. The historical background behind the composition of *Shokunin Utaawase* was Gotoba'in (後鳥羽院 Retired Emperor Gotoba 1180-1239)'s effort to promote the cultural authority of the aristocracy whose power was waning in the aftermath of the Hôgen Disturbance of 1156. Literary works sometimes demand new topics in order to seek novelty. As a result, *shokunin* became a new topic for *utaawase*. In the later period, the aristocrats used literary works to show their superior status and dignity in comparison with warriors, who were not as adept at composing poetry. From the Heian to Kamakura periods, many *utaawase emaki* remain. Among them, the most famous and the oldest one is S*anjûrokkasenemaki* (三十六歌仙絵巻 The Picture Scroll of Thirty-Six Poets) by Fujiwara no Kintô (藤原公任 966~1041). In this work, each poet is depicted in a sitting position that resembles a triangle. The drawings of *Tôhokuin* were similar to *sanjûrokkasenemaki*, but in the drawings of the latter three the subjects are shown to be engaged in activity, such as a depicting *shokunin* at work.[7]

Iwasaki Kae approaches *Shokunin Utaawase* as a literary work and has analyzed *waka* and *gacchûshi* in detail. She argues that no *Shokunin Utaawase*

[7] Ishida, Hisatoyo, *Nihon no bijutsu, no. 132: Shokunin zukushie* . (Tokyo: Shibundô, 1977), 29-32.

were public works because *shokunin utaawase* could not be found anywhere in the diaries of aristocrats. If a literary work was published and well known by many people, we could assume that its function was to influence the public and therefore would have a presence in personal writing. However, *Shokunin Utaawase* were only kept by the emperors or some people close to them, indicating that the *Shokunin Utaawase* must have had meanings for the imperial family only. In this regard, she first considers that the aristocrats were motivated to have a connection with Buddha and *chinkon* (鎮魂 requiem) through *Shokunin Utaawase*. Because aristocrats wanted to increase their otherworldly benefits in life, they worked through some spiritual professionals and used religious occasions to compose these *utaawase*. It was considered that a good way to gain a connection with Buddha was through composing *waka* for *shokunin* in Buddhism ceremonies. Second, Gotoba'in was exiled to Oki after his plan to overthrow the power of *buke* in the Jôkyû Disturbance failed completely. After this disturbance, Japan was in chaos for a very long time and some people thought it was because of the malicious spirit of Gotoba'in. Thus, Iwasaki concludes that the latter three *Shokunin Utaawase* were used for *chinkon* of the soul of Gotoba'in since he was the first composer of *Shokunin Utaawase*.[8]

Amino Yoshihiko analyzed *Shokunin Utaawase* from a view of a historian. He uses *Shokunin Utaawase* to exam his theory, that non-agricultural commoners played an important role in medieval society, but their status was gradually diminished in the late medieval period because the power of central government

[8] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase,* 25-27.

was increasing. He first traces the history of *shokunin,* and divides *Shokunin Utaawase* into two periods, the early and the late medieval periods. He notices that in the introduction of *Sanjûniban*, the adjective "lowly" was used for the first time in *Shokunin Utaawase*. Furthermore, *eta* (えた discriminatory groups) appeared in the *Shichijûichiban* but not in other three. Finally, the drawings of *asobi* (遊び female performing artists) changed from that of a sense of noble women to prostitutes. In one word, he concludes that the status of *shokunin* became lower over time.[9]

[9] Amino, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 89-116.

CHAPTER 2

The Early Medieval Period

Tôhokuin Shokunin Utaawase-gobanhon and jûnibanhon (Kyoto)

Tôhokuin was composed in Kyoto in 1214, and *Tsurugaoka* was composed in Kamakura in 1261. Occurring between these two *utaawase*, the Jôkyû Disturbance in 1221 was a significant event. After this showdown between Kyoto and Kamakura for the leadership of the country, the balance of power shifted in favor of the warriors. Gotoba'in was preparing to overthrow the *buke* power when *Tôhokuin* was composed at a *Nenbutsukai* (念仏会 prayer to the Buddha ceremony). Religious activities to pray for the country's peace or the emperor's health in the pre-modern age were an important symbol of power. Gotoba'in (Retired Emperor Gotoba) may have wanted to pray for peace for the *kuge*'s success, and benefaction through *Nenbutsukai* and the *utaawase*.[10] In order to understand *Tôhokuin shokunin utaawase*, it is important to know what function Buddhism served in Heian and Kamakura Japan and what *Nenbutsukai* was.

Buddhism came to Japan from China around the middle of the sixth century. Buddhism spread increasingly within the ruling class partly because it was from China, which was considered a higher civilization than Japan, and the

[10] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 45, 60.

aristocrats needed a higher civilization to authorize their power. Thus, the aristocrats built large temples for Buddhists to preach their principles. Aristocrats also requested that priests perform various ceremonies for the imperial court and for their spiritual and material well-being.[11]

One may further question why Buddhism, an alien religion, was so important to the imperial court. In fact, *kami* was the real base of support for the authority of the imperial family, not Buddhism. However, a medieval document appearing in *Kamakura Ibun* states that "if the teachings of Buddhism decline, *kami* will abandon the nation."[12] Buddhist rituals and ceremonies concretely expressed the religion's role in supporting and guarding the imperial family. Medieval emperors had the obligation and the right to perform and host the teachings of Buddha. One important practice to achieve salvation in this world was *Nenbutsu,* which was performed by reciting the sacred name of Amida Buddha. The function of *Nenbutsukai* was recorded in the monk Genshin's (942-1017) work, *Ôjô yôshû* (Essentials of Salvation), which "showed the longing of sentient beings for the joys of the Western paradise [13]and their desires to be extricated from the disgusting conditions of their world."[14]

Tôhokuin was composed at the *Nenbutsukai*. During this time, conflicts between aristocrats, such as the *Hôgen* Rebellion of 1156 and the Heiji Rebellion of 1159, greatly taxed the waning power of aristocrats, and the warriors had the

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[11] Ôsumi Kazuo, "Buddhism in the Kamakura period," trans. by James C. Dobbins, *The Cambridge history of Japan vol. 3*, edited by Kozo Yamamura, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 544-545.
[12] Taira Masayuki, "Kamakura bukkyōron," *Iwanami Kōza Nihon tsūshi*, vol. 8. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 268.
[13] The concept of Western Paradise in the Pure Land School Buddhism means where the Amida Buddha is. People could gain salvation and happiness in the world.
[14] David J. Lu, *Japan: a documentary history/ Vol. 1: The Dawn of History to the Late Tokugawa Period.* (New York City: An East Gate Book), 121.

chance to take over the leading role of the nation. Gotoba'in wanted to restore the authority of the imperial family. Iwasaki assumes it was not a coincidence that the *Utaawse* was composed at the *Nenbutsukai* before the Jôkyû Disturbance. Apparently, the purpose of *Tôhokuin* was to increase the intention for peace through sacred *Nenbutsukai* and some spiritual professionals.

Tôhokuin was composed in the *Tôhokuin* of *miyako* (都 capital) during the autumn of 1214. The topics were the moon and love. Iwasaki assumed the composer was Gotoba'in, and the *hanja* was monk Jien (1155-1225).[15] *Tôhokuin* was a venerable temple which was built by the wish of *Shôko* 彰子 (988-1074), the daughter of *Fujiwara no Michinaga* 藤原道長(966-1027). The nobles and low status people gathered at the *Nenbutsukai,* which was held on the thirteenth night of the ninth month. Originally, only ten *shokunin* were in the *Tôhokuin* which is called *gobanhon* (五番本 Five Pairs Edition). Fourteen *shokunin* were later added to *Tôhokuin,* also-called *jûnibanhon* (十二番本 Twelfth Pairs Edition). Iwasaki thinks the reason for increasing the number from five *shokunin* pairs to twelve probably has some relation with the Amida Buddha since the other name of Amida Buddha is Twelve-Lights Buddha. *Jûnibanhon* was widely known during the medieval period, while *gobanhon* was rediscovered and became widely known only after the *Meiji* Period. The *hanja* of *gobanhon* was *kyôji (*経師 master of transcribing sutra*)*, but there was no *hanja* for *jûnibanhon*.

[15] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 44.

In *jûnibanhon*, not only were fourteen new occupations added into it, but the pairing and *waka* (poetry) were also changed. The composition of pairs was not a random thing. I focus on the sequence and pairing of religion-related occupations in order to understand the meanings that underlie each *utaawase*. Doctor and ying-yang specialist, who symbolized profit and the promise of elimination of mishaps in this life, were the first *shokunin* pair in both editions. Following the first pair, the sequence of all other pairs shifted. The function of doctor and ying-yang specialist pair must have been the most important target for aristocrats to acquire, so their sequence was unchangeable in both editions. *Kyôji* was the *hanja* in *gobanhon* but became part of the second pair with *busshi* (仏師 sculptor of images of Buddha) in *jûnibanhon*. The reason for listing *busshi* with *kyôji* as the second pair was that pairing probably strengthened the power of praying since they were both related to Buddhism. Shamans and gamblers were the fourth pair in *gobanhon*, but shamans and gamblers were members of the fifth and ninth pairs in *jûnibanhon*. Iwasaki thinks that pairing of shamans in *jûnibanhon* with the blinds is appropriate because both professions belong to the medium category.[16] *Nenbutsukai* is for benefaction of the next life, and with these religion-related occupations, the *utaawase* strengthened this life's profits for aristocrats.

***Tsurugaoka Hôjôe Shokunin Utaawase* (Kamakura)**

Tsurugaoka was composed after the Jôkyû Disturbance and in the new political center, Kamakura. The Jôkyû Disturbance was regarded as a watershed

[16] Ibid, 51-52.

in thirteenth-century Japan. In politics, the bakufu gained authority to negotiate with the court, including the succession matters of the imperial family. In society, communication and transportation between eastern Kamakura and western Kyoto became active. Ideologically, the authority of the emperor collapsed. In contrast, the demands on the emperor's moral behavior[17] became more severe.[18] Kamakura was the center of Kamakura Bakufu, but its literary world was not as good as Kyoto, since samurai were less versed in literature. However, samurai yearned for the literary life of aristocrats, and since they had the authority to decide matters of the imperial family, they made Emperor Gosaga's 後嵯峨天皇 (1220-1272) second son, Prince Munetaka 宗尊親王(1242-1274), who was talented and loved *waka*, the sixth Shôgun. The literary world of Kamakura became prosperous by the efforts of Prince Munetaka.

Improved transportation between Kyoto and Kamkura facilitated cultural communication between the two cities. Fujiwara no Mitsutoshi was the most famous poet during that period and he was invited to Kamakura from 1260 to 1263 at the request of Prince Munetaka, according to the record of *Azuma Kagami* (吾妻鏡 a chronicle of the Kamakura Bakufu 1180-1266). Iwasaki assumes *Tsurugaoka* was the work Fujiwara no Mitsutoshi composed when he was in Kamakura.[19] This effort also symbolized the new *buke* power seeking to prove itself through literary production, which always had been associated with

[17] After the *kuge*'s power waned, Tennō became a symbol of performing state ritual. A symbol should be perfect and sacred.
[18] Murai Shôsuke, "13-14 seiki no nihon-Kyoto Kamakura," *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi*, vol.2. (Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 3-4.
[19] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 71-72.

aristocrats. After the Jôkyû Disturbance, warriors had the power and the means to do what had been the prerogatives of the aristocrats until then, even though the composer was still an aristocrat.

Tsurugaoka was composed at the *Hôjôe* in the Tsurugaoka Hachimangû (鶴岡八幡宮 Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine) in Kamakura on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in 1261. *Hôjôe* was a ritual for praying for peace by releasing animals, and it was the most important event of Tsurugaoka Hachimangû. Tsurugaoka Hachimangû was the religious center of the Kamakura Bakufu, where the shogun would pay homage, and it served as a ritual center for holding prayers and *hôjôe*. Prince Munetaka attended this *Hôjôe* for promoting peace in the Bakufu. Twenty-four *shokunin* related to Tsurugaoka Hachimangû were in this *utaawase*, and the *hanja* was the *kannushi* (神主 Shinto priest) of Hachimangû. The topic was the same as *Tôhokuin,* the moon and love.

Tsurugaoka also can be considered an *utaawase* with a religious theme, because of its connection with the particular occasion on which it was created and also because of its occupational composition. In total, five religious *shokunin* were in the *utaawase*: *sukuyôshi* (宿曜師 astrologists), *jikyôja* (持経者 monk speaking the Lotus Sutra), *nenbutsusha* (念仏者 *Nenbutsu* recite), *sônin* (相人 physiognomist), and *jisha* (持者 shaman). However, unlike *Tôhokuin*, more performing artists appear in *Tsurugaoka*. The first pair is musician/dancer, while female *yûjo*/*shirabyôshi* is the fourth pair and *sarugaku*/folk music player is the tenth pair. In pre-modern Japan, music and dance served the purpose of blessing,

and its origin is derived from religion activities. Thus, from the composition of the *utaawase*, I infer this *utaawase* is for the peace of the *buke*, but by the way of performing arts.

Commerce and Supplies in the Early Medieval Period

Besides spiritual professionals and performing artists in the first two *utaawase*, many producers and barters were included. Sellers appeared only in the latter two *utaawase*, but not in the former two. Indeed, in the early medieval period, goods, rather than money, served as the medium of exchange and payment as well as standards for the measurement of value. Rice that was grown by farmers served as one important exchange means. The *shôen* system was the fundamentally self-sufficient system that provided necessities for the medieval people.[20] Non-agricultural commoners in this system were the original *shokunin*. Unlike the peasants, they were not tied to the land, and they could move freely, depending on their special skills and products. Some of them were so-called *kugonin,* (purveyors to the court) since they provided daily necessities for the court in exchange for corvée and taxes.

Cultivators could live on what they planted and served as corvée to the authority. However, cultivators acquired non-agricultural goods, such as pottery, agricultural implements and household items. These goods were supplied by a group of artisans and traders in agricultural communities on *kokugaryô* (国衙領 public land) and in the *shôen*. According to Yamamura Kozo, these people included weavers, plasterers, dyers, singing puppeteers, carpenters, papermakers,

[20] Amino Yoshihiko, "Commerce and Finance in the Middle Ages: The Beginnings of 'Capitalism'," *Acta Asiatica* (Tokyo), no.81 (Sep, 2001), 2-3.

umbrella makers, and pottery producers. Perhaps the most important of these three groups were the artisans who produced specialized products in exchange for stipendiary paddies from the provincial governors of the *kokugaryô*.[21]

The elite lived in and around the capital region, and obtained their food and other daily necessities from *shôen* dues paid in kind; from artisans, fishermen, and others under their protection as well as from the markets offering an increasing variety of goods. In the Heian period, Kyoto functioned as a commercial city, but goods were produced to meet the needs of aristocrats and not for trade. However, commercial activities began to gather in the capital region once workers and merchants had some surplus to sell in the markets.[22]

Tôhokuin depicts that, *kaji* (鍛冶 smith), *banshô* (番匠 carpenter), *katanatogi* (刀磨 master of whetting swords) and *imoji* (鋳物師 cast metal artisan) supplied metal products, such as pots, kettles, plows and hoes. *Fukakusa* (深草 earthenware maker), *kabenuri* (壁塗 wall painter), *kôkaki* (紺掻 cloth dyer), *mushirouchi* (筵打 mat producer) and *nushi* (塗師 ware painter or producer), and *himonoshi* (檜物師 *hinoki* products producers) provided necessities. Women of Ôhara supplied firewood from the mountains near Kyoto. *Akyûdo* (商人 dealers of goods) in *Tôhokuin* were not sellers. Instead, they were traders who provided goods to the nobles from other areas of Japan or even from overseas. *Ama* was a group of people who lived near the sea, earning their living by fishing or making salt. *Imoji*, *Ama* and *akyûdo* all moved freely depending on their products.

[21] Yamamura, *Cambridge*, 345-346.
[22] Gay, 16.

Shokunin in *Tsurugaoka* were all shrine related people, and they mainly provided necessities to the shrine. The pair tatami maker/bamboo blind changed their name and each was paired with other occupations in *Shichijûichiban,* which reflected the fact that some products were not monopolized by high-level people. This will be discussed in chapter four.

CHAPTER 3

The Late Medieval Period

As I mentioned earlier, the Ônin War (1467) opened the Sengoku period (1467-1568), which was the background behind the compilation of *Sanjûniban* and *Shichijûichiban*. The Ônin War involved nearly all of the shugo houses of central Japan. Gradually, some of them evolved into Sengoku Daimyo, and the authority of the Muromachi Bakufu diminished. A characteristic of the Sengoku period was *gekokujô* (下克上), which means the lower supplanting the upper. If Sengoku Daimyo could not manage their people and resources well, they could be replaced by their own subordinates. Successful Sengoku Daimyo knew how to control their vassals and economic resources. In order to obtain needed financial resources, Sengoku Daimyo adopted measures such as free markets in order to protect commerce within their own domains. With currency available, people did not have to barter.

In this new political and economic context, the authority of officials was challenged by newly rising groups or communities that demanded autonomy. At the upper level, this resistance took the form of "*kokujin* lordship" whereby local *buke* families became the sole proprietors of their own lands, protecting

themselves from higher authority by their own military strength or by *ikki* (一揆 the formation of leagues or compacts) with neighboring *kokujin*. The Yamashiro Ikki (1485-1493) in the south of Kyoto was one example of a compact formed by landholders and peasants, who were bristled at being taxed to repair the palace.

Zen Buddhism was introduced to Japan during the Nara period (710-784), but it flourished and spread through all social classes during the medieval period. For warriors, the teaching of Zen helped them to legitimate their lordship position in the country. For example, Zen expected its practitioners to be sincere; Zen practice called for a direct understanding of self rather than book learning; physical strength was also important in the practice of Zen. All of these practices stimulated warriors to become the main patrons of Zen Buddhism. Furthermore, Zen monks introduced Japanese aristocrats and wealthy merchants to the latest cultural styles from China. All *Shokunin Utaawase* included religious elements, and the latter two were mostly influenced by Zen Buddhism and Chinese culture.

***Sanjûniban Shokunin Utaawase* (Kyoto)**

Sanjûniban was composed in 1494 during the Sengoku Period. Where the *utaawase* was composed was not directly mentioned in the introduction, but the phrase "at the home of *miyako* residents" implies that this took place in someone's house in Kyoto.[23] The name of the composers could not be found, but Iwasaki found that the composer of the twenty-fifth pair is a highly ranked aristocrat, Sanjyônishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537). The topics of

[23]" 都人士女の家" See the introduction of *Sanjūniban in Shokunin Utaawase sōgōsakuin*, edited by Iwasaki, Kae, Hasegawa Nobuyoshi, and Yamamoto Yuiitsu. (Kyoto: Akao Shôbundô, 1982), 97.

Sanjûniban were flower and *jukkai* (述懐 *jukkai*), and were different from the topics of the other three. The reason was stressed in the introduction of *Sanjûniban*, "if we used the moon and love as our topics, we could not avoid being compared to the former two *Shokunin Utaawase*."[24]

Two characteristics set *Sanjūniban* apart from the other three *Shokunin Utaawase*. The *shokunin* in *Sanjūniban* were different from the other three. The only *shokunin* appearing in *Sanjūniban* that also appeared in other *utaawase* were *katsurame* in *Tôhokuin* and *sandô* in *Tsurugaoka*, now referred to as *sanoki*. Sixty-four *shokunin* were in the *utaawase* and sixty-two are unique among the four *Shokunin Utaawase*. Moreover, each *tsugai* (番 sequence) had four *waka* because each *shokunin* composed one *waka* for two topics, that is, the moon and love, in the other three *Shokunin Utaawase*. However, in *Sanjūniban*, from the first to the sixteenth *tsugai*, *shokunin* only composed *waka* for one topic, that is, the flower. From the seventeenth to the thirty-second, *shokunin* composed *waka* for the *jukkai* topic, o there were only sixty-four *waka* in this *shokunin utaawase*.[25]

Sanjûniban was composed in *Meiô* 3 (1494), in the chaotic Sengoku Period. During this time, commoners rioted when asking for *tokuseirei* (徳政令 law for repeal of debt or forfeiture of land), and the term *gekokujô* frequently appeared in documents. Iwasaki thinks that *Sanjûniban* expressed the domestic chaos and the Yamashiro Ikki, which was formed by landowners and farmers.

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[24] Iwasaki Kae, *Shokunin Utaawase sōgōsakuin*, (Kyoto: Akao Shôbundô), 97.
[25] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 85.

Landowners and farmers were working hard on keeping their lands under cultivation after the Ônin War. They hoped that they could return to their normal lives after the horrible war. However, the Bakufu now had a more serious financial problem caused by the war, so it taxed landowners and farmers even more. First, the Bakufu imposed a levy on all provinces for repairing the Imperial Palace. Then, in order to rebuild Kyoto, the Bakufu required more taxes in 1482. The series of policies by the Bakufu caused the rise of the Yamashiro Ikki. The members of this Ikki were landowners and farmers who developed a strong sense of unity. This is because in the late medieval era, villages developed communities in which peasants joined and took collective action. The documents from this time contain evidence that some communities requested their rights by submitting petitions. Peasants were no longer compliant workers for the elite, and these documents tell us how peasants collectively asserted their rights.[26]

Sanjûniban reflected the Yamashiro Ikki from Bunmei 17 (1485) to Meiô 2 (1493). *Shokunin* means non-agricultural people, but the twenty-seventh pair is farmers/yard cleaners. Farmers cannot be found in other *Shokunin Utaawase*. The *waka* of farmer is "farmers gathered together to ask damage compensation from jito. Farmers have a bad reputation due to their rough attitude." The *hanji* (判辞 verdict) for this pair was "famers asked compensation from *jitô*, yard cleaners stood on the yard. Both have logic and elegance, but yard cleaner has an important reputation. Should commoners keep quiet?" [27] Aristocrats regarded farmers as aggressive and rude when they asked for compensation. Lukewarm

[26] George Sansom, *A History of Japan, 1334-1615*. (Stanford University Press, 1961), 236.
[27] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 110.

yard cleaners stood on the yard and looked at the conflicts between *jitô* and farmers. Apparently, aristocrats were not satisfied at *gegokujyo* phenomenon during the Sengoku period, and the *hanji* even suggested that farmers should keep quiet.

Buddhism prospered during the medieval period, and its influence could be found in many literary works. All *Shokunin Utaawase* related to religious practice, with *Sanjûniban* being no exception. *Sanjûniban* was not composed at a *Nenbutsukai* or *Hôjôe*, but the structure and topics reveal the influence of religion. According to Iwasaki, the thirty-two *shokunin* pair in the *utaawase* cannot be considered the product of the passage of time or a simple increase in number. The introduction stressed, "we thirty-odd lowly *shokunin*," and this causes us to question: why stress "thirty-odd?" There were thirty-two *shokunin* in *sanjyûichiban*, and this number is the same as the Bodhisattva in Vimalakirti Buddhism. Vimalakirti Sutra is an important classic of Mahayana, and it is also important for Zen practitioners. Thirty-two Bodhisattva express their opinions about what *funi* (不二) means was the climax in Vimalakirti.[28] The topic, flowers, symbolizes *mei* (明 light), and the second topic, *jukkai*, symbolizes *an* (暗 dark). The first eight pairs composed *waka* containing the flower theme, and the last eight pairs composed *waka* containing the theme of *jukkai*. This makes us think that *shokunin* were expressing their opinions about *mei* and *an,* as Bodhisattva were expressing their opinions about *funi*. In English, Zen Buddhism is regarded

[28] The meaning of *funi* is that even when two objects seem in conflict with each other, in fact, they are not two different beings. For example, birth and death; dirt and purity; defilement and enlightenment seem totally different but they have a fundamental similarity. In order to understand one of them, we cannot ignore the other.

as the "Flower Sermons." This interpretation was based on the story that Buddha held a flower before he started to talk to his disciples. The flower sermon was wordless, and Zen Buddhism concentrated on experience rather than rational creeds. The flower topic in *Sanjûniban* is not a coincidence. Zen Buddhism's strong influence among medieval intellectuals is seen in the form of the *Shokunin Utaawase*.[29]

Four religious occupations were included in *Sanjûniban*, which were *sanoki*, *komusô*, *kôyahijiri* and *junrei*. *Komusô* is a mendicant monk, usually with bamboo flute belonging to Fukeshu, one of the Zen schools. These monks traveled the country asking for alms. *Kôyahijiri* was a monk from Mount Koya belonging to Jish, one of the schools of Buddhism which emphasized *nenbutsu* and preaching. *Kôyahijiri* is paired with *junrei* which means pilgrim, and it is understandable that *junrei* was paired with *Kôyahijiri*. However, can being a pilgrim count as an occupation? Technically, anyone can be a pilgrim. Kuroda Hideo says *junrei* represented commoners in the Sengoku period, and many drawings of *junrei* from this period have survived. The *junrei* drawing in *Sanjûniban* was a typical one: he wears *oizuri* (笈摺 a thin vest), bears a mat on his waist, and wears straw sandals with a cap and a stick on his right side, and a *kanjinihijiri* ladle on his left.[30] Aristocrats were probably interested in *junrei*, but they were not *junrei* themselves. We have to remember that aristocrats were the authors of *Shokunin Utaawase*, and they would choose the occupations in which they were interested in. The most popular *junrei* site was saigokusanjûsansho (西

[29] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 95.
[30] See Picture 5.

国三十三所 temples with kannon icons in Kansai Japan), but *junrei* declined in the late sixteenth century.[31]

Shichijûichiban Shokunin Utaawase **(Kyoto)**

Shichijûichiban is the biggest *utaawase,* which includes one hundred-and-forty-two *shokunin*. As with *Sanjûniban*, we do not know exactly where the *utaawase* was composed. However, some occupations in the *utaawase* could only be found around Kyoto, and some *gacchûshi* imply that the place was Kyoto.[32] Thus, I suggest the stage of this *utaawase* was in the streets of Kyoto. The topics were moon and love, inherited from the former two *shokunin utaawase*, but it was not composed at *Nenbutsukai* or *Hôjôe*. One of the composers of *Shichijûichiban* was Asukai Masayasu 飛鳥井雅康(1436-1509), who was from an academic *kadô kuge* (歌道公家 waka specialist aristocratic family). He composed twenty-four *waka* in *Shichijûichiban*.[33] The judge is not a single person but judges in the crowd. Besides the thirty-four *shokunin* who overlapped with *Tôhokuin* and *Tsurugaoka Hôjôe*, the remaining one-hundred-eight were new occupations. The pictures of *Shichijūichiban* include *gacchūshi*, which took the form of a conversation or soliloquy of *shokunin* and vividly expressed their lives.

Each *utaawase* had its own religious purpose. The purpose of *Shichijûichiban* was to pray for peace when the new emperor, Gokashiwabara (後

[31] Hideo Kuroda, "Sengokuki no minshû bunka", *Iwanamikoza Nihontsushi vol. 10*. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten), 250-252.
[32] The activity areas of women of *Ôhara*, *suai* and *kuramawari* were all around Kyoto. According to the *gacchūshi* of tofu seller, her tofu were from Nara. If she wanted to take tofu to travel, it should not be too far from Nara. So, the medieval commercial center Kyoto was the most possible center of the stage.
[33] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 126.

柏原天皇 r. 1500-1526), ascended the throne. The reign of Emperor Gotsuchimikado (後土御門天皇 r. 1465-1500) was chaotic. The change of emperors was regarded as a start of a new period, and people always hoped that the new emperor would bring good luck. By the statement of imperial change, we can infer that *Shichijûichiban* was written as a prayer for a peaceful age.

The influence of Chinese culture could be found in *Shichijûichiban* as Iwasaki says, seventy-one is not a meaningless number. Chinese poet, Bai Jûyi's (772-846) collection was divided among fifty scrolls as a first volume, twenty scrolls as a second volume and one extra scroll had a large influence on Japanese literature. The editions of Bai Jûyi's collection of works were completed during the Ming Dynasty (1485). The order and organization of occupations in *Shichijûichiban* corresponds to Bai Jûyi's collection of works. The first two pairs in *Shichijûichiban* are male workers such as carpenters, smiths, wall painters and roofers; the forty-ninth and fiftieth pairs are street performers, religious performing artists, folk music player and *sarugaku*. In other words, the first part of *Shichijûichiban* ended with a blessing of performing artiest. Pair fifty-one consisted of female workers, sewers and button makers. Pair seventy consisted of performing artists, musicians and dancers. In *renga* and *haiku* (a form of Japanese poetry), the last sentence must use a blessing depending on purpose. Street performers, religious performing artists, folk music players, *sarugaku*, musicians and dancers were given blessings related to these occupations. The final pair, vinegar maker/*kokoroten* sellers was different from the others, and was regarded as an independent *waka*. Thus, the organization of *Shichijûichiban* is

similar to Bai Jûyi's collection of works. We can conclude that *Shichijūichiban* reflected the influence of Chinese culture on Japanese literary works.[34]

Commerce and Supplies in the Late Medieval Kyoto

The number of occupations in *Shichijûichiban* increased dramatically compared to any of the previous *utaawase*, and most of them were manufacturing and commercial jobs. The population of Kyoto, between periods in which *Sanjûniban* and *Shichijûichiban*, was written grew dramatically and brought wealth to the city during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The capital was more a political city in the early medieval period, but it transformed into the center of commerce.[35] Merchants and artisans continued their roles of providing goods for the residents of the capital, but their services and products expanded throughout the Nambokuchô and Muromachi periods. Kozo Yamamura translated Toyota Takeshi's observation of the composition of occupations in late medieval Kyoto:[36]

> One cannot but be surprised by the large number of small merchants and artisans. In 1460...one finds on both sides of the Gion oji a very large number of persons serving the needs of the temples and shrines...their occupations included, among the artisans, carpenters, keg makers, smiths, tatami makers, markets of Buddhist statues, and others, and among the merchants, those selling rice, brooms, combs, needles, rice cakes, dyes, oils, and sake.

Indeed, these occupations could be found in *Shichijûichiban*, and some of them were the member of za (座 guilds). However, it is difficult to discern which occupations in *Shichijûichiban* were members of za, and which were not. Za

[34] Ibid, 123-125.
[35] *Cambridge*, 377.
[36] Ibid, 378.

emerged from the early medieval, but grew to include new types of za during the Nambokucho period. One characteristic of these new za was that the variety of goods increased. Kozo describes the products of these old and new za in Kyoto as including salt, silk, cotton batting, dyed cloth, fresh fish, dried fish, salted fish, dyes, candies, leathers, various vegetables, and many other products.[37]

[37] Ibid, 379.

CHAPTER 4

The Transformation over Three Hundred Years

In the first part of this chapter, I will explore how the changing and unchanging occupational pairs show the transformation of religion and economy over three hundred years. Sociologist Bucher says, "social division of labor is... generally a historical category, and not an elemental economic phenomenon."[38] Therefore, I will not only look at how economy affected the labor division, but also the historical category. In *Shichijûichiban*, each occupation had its own historical origins which were diverse in different societies. Some occupations remained unchanged from the beginning such as doctor/ying-yang specialist. However, some occupations changed their titles or pairs with other occupations. Also, the sequence of pairs is the other clue to show the transformation over these three hundred years.

In the second part of the chapter, I will see how labor came to be gendered in late medieval Kyoto. Wakita Haruko advocates that we should pay attention to labor division not only in terms of economic necessities but also as caused by

[38] Carl Bucher. *Industrial Evolution.* (New York: Henry Holt. 1901), 295.

gender, areas, and age.[39] I focus on gendered division of labor, and divide the *shokunin* by gender in *Shichijûichiban* into six categories as Table 1. I will analyze the cooperation between men and women and the roles of women who were in commercial or manufacturing houses in medieval society.

In the third part of this chapter, we will narrow our exploration further and see the origin and transformation of shamans and performing artists in medieval society. Performing artists and spiritual professionals are special groups in *shokunin utaawase* since they technically did not produce anything. However, they had significant influence on the pre-modern society. They hardly spoke for their own behalf, and sometimes appeared in literary works or in the diaries of aristocrats. I will interpret their roles and status in medieval society based on *Shokunin Utaawase* and analysis by historians.

The Transformation of Religion and Economy

Several occupations overlapped in four *Shokunin Utaawase*, and their pairs also changed. Form the early to late medieval period, nearly three hundred years passed and one might expect it would be natural for these occupations to change their titles or sequence. However, in *Tôhokunin* and *Shichijûichiban,* some occupations were firmly tied together and their titles remained the same: doctor/ying-yang specialis, sculptor of images of Buddha/master of transcribing sutra or mounting sutra, smith/carpenter, and master of sharpening needles/beads maker. This was also true for performing artists, that is, the pairing of

[39] Haruko Wakita, "Chūsei no bungyô to mibunsei," *Nihon chūseishi kenkyū no kiseki.* (Tokyo: the University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 35.

musician/dancer and *sarugaku*/folk music player in *Tsurugaoka* and *Shichijûichiban*. These occupations could be divided into three categories: religion, music and dancing, and technology. Music and dancing were important elements in religious ceremonies in pre-modern society, so I regard them as the same category. Their titles and pairs remained the same, which shows that they were all very important occupations in medieval society. However, their changing sequence gives us a hint that their importance and roles also changed in medieval society.

Religion sometimes could affect one country's politics especially in pre-modern society. However, the power of religion as a spiritual compensation for people weakened, because humans started to control natural resources and were not afraid of natural power, or their view of natural phenomenon. Doctor and ying-yang specialist were very important religious occupations, and they were the first pair in both *Tôhokuin* editions, but they became thirty-fourth pair in *Shichijûichiban*. Musician and dancer were the first pair of *Tsurugaoka*, but they became seventieth pair in *Shichijûichiban*. The first pair of *Shichijûichiban* were smith and carpenter, which were second pair in *gobanhan*, and third pair in *jûnibanhonn*. I assume that the smiths and carpenters who produced necessities for commoners were considered more important in the late medieval period, so they were the first pair in *Shichijûichiban*. In contrast, religious occupations were not as important as they were in the early medieval period, so they were no longer considered the first pair. Based on the changes in the sequence, I can see a sense

of transformation in medieval Japan with regards to people's attitude toward religion.

Some shifting occupations in the sequence reflect the prospering economy, such as bamboo blind weavers/paper sliding door makers and pillow sellers/tatami makers in *Shichijûichiban*. Bamboo blind weavers and tatami makers were existing occupations in *Tsurugaoka*, and they remained the same titles in *Shichijûichiban*. However, they paired with new occupations, paper sliding door makers and pillow sellers. Tatami makers and bamboo blind weaver belonged to the *Tsurugaoka* Shrine and produced interior decorations for the shrine. However, tatami maker and pillow seller became a pair in *Shichijûichiban* since they both produced bedroom necessities. Bamboo blind weaver and paper sliding door maker both produced barriers for a house. Although tatami makers/bamboo blind weavers is a natural pair since they both produced interior decorations, this change reflected how tatami was popular in commoners' life in the late medieval period. In the early medieval period, tatami was exclusively owned by aristocrats and temples, but it became part of a commoner's bedroom necessities in the late medieval period. This shows some commodities were no longer enjoyed exclusively by the upper-level people and were popularized in the late medieval period.[40]

Earthenware makers in *jûnibanhonn* were called *fukakusa*, but were called *kawaraketsukuri* (土器作 earthenware makers) in *Shichijûichiban*. The changing titles infer that earthenware were no more monopolized by aristocrats, and

[40] Iwasaki, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 158.

popularized around the nation. *Fukakusa* was the place name in Kyoto and a group of earthenware makers who supplied earthenware to aristocrats lived there around the tenth century. However, these people not only supplied the court but also started to sell their products in the market. The demanding to earthenware increased because commoners had more purchasing power in the late medieval period. The place to make earthenware was not only confined in Kyoto but also many places in the nation. The place *fukakusa* was famous only as a village of one of the earthenware maker places but not as a *kugonin* village for the aristocrats and a symbol of earthenware in the Sengoku period.

Gendered Division of Labor in Late Medieval Commerce and Manufacturing in the Late Medieval Period

The government had promoted the idea of *ryôsaikenbo* (良妻賢母 a good wife and wise mother) since the Meiji Restoration (1868). Even today, most people have tended to have the impression that most Japanese women only manage households and men manage outside affairs, or that women mostly handle some light work, and heavy work is men's responsibilities. However, it was apparently not true in commercial and manufacturing houses in medieval society. With the collapse of the *shôen* system and the development of markets, commercial activities flourished, especially in Kyoto and Kamakura, during the late medieval period. Women were required to be able to work outside or carry heavy commodities in order to help a family business.

Hosokawa Ryôichi explains that the roles of men and women in commercial or manufacturing houses were different from agricultural families. Typically in medieval society, men concentrated on producing products at working places, and women took charge of a family or sold products in the market.[41] Table 1 illustrates that *shokunin* increased dramatically, corresponding to the market development, and occupations related to commercial activities numbered thirty-nine in total, of which nineteen were male and twenty were female sellers. There are thirty-four different female *shokunin*, and twenty of them are sellers (59%). On the other hand, workers who produce or fix things represent sixty-two different *shokunin*, of which there were fifty-seven males but merely five females. Male *shokunin* are, in total, in one hundred and eight different kinds of occupations, and over half are producers (52.7%). These numbers prove that commerce was a world equally diverse among men and women; on the other hand, manufacturing had a greater diversity for men. Women sold the products made by men. However, some other occupations, such as brewers and dealers, were occupied by women. We will see these two occupations in the last part of the section.

Cooperation between Women and Men

Gorai Shigeru further explained that a wife carrying what a husband made to the markets and selling it was a common type of cooperation in medieval

[41] Hosokawa Ryōichi, "josei, kazoku, seikatsu," *Nihonshi Koza vol.4 chusei shakai no kozo*. (Tokyo: the University of Tokyo Press, 2004), 207.

commercial and manufacturing families.[42] The typical examples were fish seller and Women of Ôhara which we can observe in *Shichijûichiban*. The female fish seller says "Fish! Very fresh. Have some."[43] In *Shichijûichiban*, the drawing depicts fisherman as a male, and this might infer the cooperation between fishermen and female fish sellers. The women of Ôhara, the ninth pair in *Shichijûichiban*, peddled firewood around Kyoto city from mountains near Kyoto. Their pair in the drawing, a charcoal seller sits on the ground with heavy-looking bundles of charred firewood attached to each end.[44] The *gacchûshi* between them infers that they were a husband and wife or they lived near each other. The drawing suggests that the sale of firewood was a female occupation, while gathering it may have been a man's job.[45] The women of Ôhara had to carry heavy firewood from mountains to Kyoto, and this shows that women had to be able to do heavy work in order to help families in the medieval society. From this example, it is possible to say that the jobs of men were to produce commodities, so they were better off staying at home and doing their work.

Hosokawa provides a counter example that shows how women and men cooperated. Tea sellers mostly sold their tea for visitors to temples in front of temples, and visitors expected that they could "clean" themselves by drinking the tea and most of the tea seller were men. This example suggests that women may have been barred from this occupation because of their inherent spiritual

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[42] Gorai Shigeru, "Chūseijosei no shugyōsei to seikatsu," *Nihon Joseishi vol. 2 chūsei.* (Tokyo: the University of Tokyo Press, 1982), 131.
[43] *Shichijūichiban,* 33.
[44] See Picture 2.
[45] Tabata Yasuko, "Women's Work and Status in the Changing Medieval Economy," trans. by Hitomi Tonomura. *Women and class in Japanese history* / edited by Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko. (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1999), 109.

inferiority according to esoteric Buddhist notions. However, Hosokawa found that many women could also sell tea. Documents show that a woman could succeed in a tea-seller-job if her husband had died. The possibility for success in the tea-seller-jobs for a woman tells us that women could substitute in her husband's place in medieval society, and they faced less discrimination because at least they were able to sell tea in the sacred places such as temples.[46]

Occupations Held by Women: Brewers and Dealers

Starting in the mid-Edo period, the notion that women were polluted spread. As a result, they came to be forbidden to make sake in fear that women would pollute the sake and spoil its taste.[47] But, from ancient through medieval times, women monopolized the sake brewing business. As sociologist Bucher says that it is important to see the historical category in order to gain the full picture of how occupations developed. The possible historical misunderstanding cannot be clarified by only studying the history of Tokugawa period; otherwise, one may misunderstand that women were always prohibited to make sake. Gay supposes the reason why women monopolized the sake brewing business. She states it was because shamans had to make sake for ritual purpose as part of their duties before the Heian period.[48] The *gacchûshi* of female sake seller is "first taste my sake! I also have the now popular half-clear sake." From this *gacchûshi*, we know that women not only made sake but also sold it in the medieval society.

[46] Hosokawa, 207.
[47] *Nihonjoseishi* ed. By Wakita Haruko, Hayashi Reiko, Nagahara Kasuko. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa, 2005), 101.
[48] Gay, The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto, 44.

Suai and *kuramawari* were female and male dealers from the end of medieval to the Edo period. These dealers had to peddle their wares around Kyoto in order to sell and buy second-hand products to customers ranging from aristocrats and monks or *chônin* and *yûjo*. This job required communication skills with clients and good physical vigor to carry products.[49] Two interesting points to recognize is that dealer was one occupation that was most likely dominated by women over time, and the types of the products they sold varied greatly. S*uai* appeared in the documents early in 1212, but *kuramawari* first appeared in *Shichijûichiban* according to the documents. *Suai* also played as dealers between men and prostitutes. This was another example that shows that the roles of women were not only managing household affairs, but also including the roles of communicating with a wide range of clients.

Tabata Yasuko concludes that past scholarship has too often identified men with heavy nondomestic work and women with domestic and light extradomestic work. However, the depictions of women merchants in these drawings suggest a different picture. Women were equal participants in commercial or manufacturing houses, because men had to concentrate on producing products. Women had to be able to work outside in order to sell these products made by men. Women were not only engaged in light works, but they also devoted themselves to physically demanding works.[50]

Spiritual Professionals and Female Performing Artists

[49] The products of *suai* included clothing (old floss, obi), female small articles (comb, face powder containers), and medicine.
[50] Ibid, 111.

Although female *shokunin* mostly devoted themselves to commercial jobs in *Shichijûichiban*, a large portion of female *shokunin* were spiritual professionals or performing artists (26%).[51] In the former two *Shokunin Utaawase*, female *shokunin* were mostly spiritual professionals or performing artists, who were called in the following way: *kannagi* (shamans) in *Tôhokuin gobanhon*; *kannagi* in *jûbanhon*; *yûjo* (prostitutes) and *shirabyôshi* (white-beat dancers) in *Tsurugaoka*.

In this section, I will focus on the roles of female spiritual professionals, mainly on shamans, and performing artists in the early and late medieval period. In the early medieval period, the distinction between spiritual professionals, such as shamans belonging to Shinto, and performing artists were not very clear because both were involved in singing and dancing. *Yûjo*, *shirabyôshi*, and even shamans were called *asobi* (遊び) which means women whose occupations related to singing, dancing or music. The term "*asobi*" also meant "itinerant," another important meaning that characterized these women. People have tended to confuse them throughout history because of their similar characteristics. Barbara Ruch provides her opinions of why they are easy to be confused:

> Dancers, singers, and shamans shared a matrilineal professional line, mother to daughter or female-adept to adopted daughter-disciple. The repertories of singers of tales and songs included some sacred subject matter. Third, shaman ritual usually included dance. All three types tended to be without husbands, independent, and unregulated and to travel in small groups.[52]

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[51] See Figure 1.
[52]Barbara Ruch, "The other Side of Culture in Medieval Japan," *Cambridge*, 526.

The confusing relation and distinction between spiritual professionals and performing artists could be observed from the pairs of *Shokunin Utaawase*. In *Tôhokuin jûnibanhonn,* shamans/the blind were a pair, but in *Shichijûichiban*, this combination was re-ordered, and oracles/shamans and the blind/biwa minstrel became pairs. Shamans and the blind both had the power of the medium and carried instruments with them, so it is not surprising that they were a pair in *jûnibanhonn*. In *Shichijûichiban,* oracles and shamans were spiritual professionals, so it was natural that they were a pair. Biwa minstrel and the blind both play drums and belonged to the performing arts. Even though the pairings in both *utaawase* were natural for the social oral viewpoints of each time period, this change implies that the distinction between spiritual professionals and performing artists became clear in the late medieval period.

Spiritual Professionals-Shamans and Buddhist Disciples

In total, four female spiritual professionals appeared in the *Shokunin Utaawase*, including *kannagi* in *Tôhokuin* and *Shichijûichiban*, *jisha* in *Tsugugaoka* and *Shichijûichiban*, and *bikuni* and *nishû* both in *Shichijûichiban*. *Kannagi* and *jisha* were Shinto-related spiritual professionals, native to Japan. *Kannagi* first appeared in around the seventh century, but they began to affiliate with one shrine in the late medieval period. They were associated with divination jobs, and they specialized in asking messages from kami. They usually carried a bow, a drum, or a bell which served as the divine tools to communicate with kami. *Jisha* was the other indigenous spiritual professional, and her job was to exorcize evil spirits.

Bikuni and *nishû* were Buddhism-related spiritual professionals who first appeared in *Shichijûichiban*. *Bikuni* belonged to Zen Buddhism, and *nishû* belong to Nichiren Buddhism. Different Buddhist schools sometimes had arguments over the ways to practice the Buddhist laws. The *gacchûshi* of this pair records an imaginary conversation in which they assert different opinions.[53]

> *Nishû: Bikuni,* Buddhist disciples have to follow commandments. Could you explain why you can break commandments and drink sake? What is the truth of your school?
>
> *Bikuni*: Buddhism disciples have to follow commandments to avoid being abhorred by commoners. Our way to train ourselves, such as chanting sutra, is the same as yours. But meditation is probably not part of your training. I think this is because of *kyôgebetsuden* (教外別伝).[54]

This conversation is a very interesting record of the arguments between different Buddhism schools through female Buddhism disciples. Apparently, the Zen *bikuni* was very clever to answer the question, and taught her opponents the essence of Zen, *kyôgebetsuden*. The above four *shokunin* were spiritual professionals in four *Shokunin Utaawase*. Shamans, including *kannagi* and *jisha*, were indigenous spiritual professionals and had significant influence on the development of performing arts. In the rest of this section, I will provide a brief history of shamans.

Various names of shamans appeared in documents, such as *miko*, *agato-miko*, *azusamiko ichiko*, *itako*, *aruki-miko*, *kannagi*, and *jisha*. Historians are not really sure how to distinguish among them. Some were affiliated with shrines, and others were dwellers around the country. Still others were migrants, following

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[53] Personal translation. *Shichijūichiban Shokunin Utaawase*. Edited by Iwasaki Kae, Amino Yoshihiko, Takahashi Kiira, Shiomura Kō. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten,1993), 136-137.
[54] *Kyōgebetsuden* means to understand or inform enlightenment through one's spirit.

routes that are as yet unclear. The position of shaman was predominantly held by females, and shamans were widely depicted in medieval literature and paintings.[55]

Historical discourse has been ignoring the importance of shamanism in ancient as well as medieval life. Besides the functions of shamans I described above, shamans played a role of a consultant to powerful people. For instance, the statesman Fujiwara no Kaneie (929-990) would consult with the Uchifushi no Miko (shaman who falls into a trance) attached to the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto before he made any decisions. Novels in the eleventh century invariably include discussions of shamanistic consultations, and until twelfth- and thirteenth-century, shamans appeared frequently in songs and paintings. Since shamans' activities also involved singing and dancing, the influence of shamanism on the fourteenth- and fifteenth century performing arts was enormous.[56]

Shamans were considered divine and virginal in ancient times, but the path of shamans split into several directions during the medieval ages. Some shamans continued to only work for a shrine, and some decided to travel the lands as spiritual mediums and soothsayers. However, the final path was to become performing artists or prostitutes since some of them could not survive by their divine skills alone.[57] According to the documents, we could see how shamans and performing artists influenced each other during this period. In the following section, I will discuss the origin of performing artists and their status.

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[55] Ruch, *Cambridge*, 522.
[56] Ibid, 523-524.
[57] Ibid, 542-525.

Female Performing Artists

The female performing artists who first appeared in the *Shokunin Utaawase* were *yûjo* and *shirabyôshi* in *Tsurugaoka.* They both dressed like noblewomen in *Tsurugaoka* but, in *Shichijûichiban, tachigimi* and *zushigimi,* which were the other names for *yûjo,* were drawn as prostitutes.[58] Amino supposes that these changing depictions probably mean that their image changed over time. Janet R. Goodwin describes three young women dressed elegantly on a skiff alongside Honen Shônin's boat in the *Honen Shônin Eden* (法然上人絵伝), a picture scroll from the early thirteenth-century. Goodwin assumes that these three young women were *asobi* and likely prostitutes since they did not cover their faces.[59] *Asobi* approached Honen's boat in order to ask after the means for salvation. Honen told them that the means of salvation was to recite the *nenbutsu.* The story ended up with the *asobi* retiring to a mountain village, devoting themselves to *nenbutsu* in order to be reborn in Amida's paradise.

Shirabyôshi is a dance form in which women dress in white male attire and dance to a strong beat. The *shirabyôshi* dancers who were popular during the Heian and Kamakura periods are thought to have originated from the ranks of *kugutsu* (傀儡). Another female entertaining occupation was called *yûjo.* The story of *Honen Shônin Eden* implies that *asobi* was regarded by society as an unclean and sinful occupation, so *asobi* needed to rely on sacred power for their salvation. Viewing the changing images of prostitutes in these different drawings,

[58] See Figure 1,3,4.
[59] Janet R. Goodwin, "Shadows of Transgression: Heian and Kamakura Construction of Prostitution," *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 55, Nom. 3 (Autumn 2000), 327.

Amino proposes that these depictions related to the actual historical trend that the status of performing artists declined over the three hundred years between *Tôhokunin* and *Shichijûichiban*.

The social status of entertainers in pre-modern Japan has been a controversial issue among Japanese scholars. Among this debate, Amino Yoshihiko and Wakita Haruko are the prominent scholars who have discussed the issue. Amino stresses that *asobi* originated from the singing women in the court and local offices under the *Ritsuryô* system. As the *Ritsuryô* system collapsed, these performing artists not only worked in the offices but also formed their own group in society.[60] In contrast, Wakita theorizes that entertainers were always outside institutions and dependent on their own organization.

Although historians have different opinions about the origin of *asobi*, they agree that the status of *asobi* was relatively high before the fourteenth-century. Amino supports this opinion for two reasons: first, because *yûjo* and *shirabyôshi* could be the mothers of aristocrats, and no one would have negative comments about it before the fourteenth-century. Second, Japan adopted China's *Ritsuryô* system in the seventh century, but some aspects of this system had been adapted for Japan's situation. For example, in Japan, women could occupy some positions in the court, but China did not allow women to occupy any political positions. Due to this tolerance in the Japanese court, female performing artists sometimes could have a chance to become female officials. Even examples of lower-level female aristocrats who became *yûjo* could be found in documents. However,

[60] Amino, *Shokunin Utaawase*, 106.

these examples could not be found after around the mid-thirteenth century, when *asobi* were labeled as prostitutes. In fact, not only *asobi*, but the status of all women gradually declined. Historians concluded the phenomenon was caused by the marriage system, commerce development, and Buddhist principles. These three factors changed how people regarded women's bodies.

Hitomi Tonomura describes the effects of the changing marriage and inheritance systems in her article, "Re-envisioning Women in the Post-Kamakura Age": "From ancient through medieval times, marriage underwent fundamental changes: to put it simply, from a primarily sexual relationship between a woman and a man to a more publicly elaborate arrangement between two houses (or lineages)."[61] In the earlier period, a so-called marriage meant a couple's relationship became public, but two people still lived in their own houses. Men did not have the responsibility for the lives of women, and in fact, aristocratic women held their own property. Women had an equal opportunity to inherit her family's property since they still lived in their houses even after getting married. The new marriage system not only changed the relationship between two houses, but it also limited the mobility of a woman's body. That is, a woman's body was confined to her husband's house. The transformation in the marriage system reflected and caused a social reevaluation of the woman's body, sexual relationship and the right of inheritance.[62]

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[61] Hitomi Tonomura. "Re-envisioning Women in the Post-Kamakura Age," *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: courtiers, clerics, warriors, and peasants in the fourteenth century*, edited by Jeffery P. Mass. (Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 1997), 146.
[62] Ibid, 146.

The target for the new marriage system was also to consolidate all property in the hands of one son through whom the family name would descend. In the new marriage system, a woman lived in the husband's house, and although her was not shared with her husband, it became the property of the husband's line if she bequeathed it to their children, who carried the husband's line. This caused the woman's family to be reluctant to give her inheritance. After the marriage became patrilocal and inheritance system excluded women, women still were important as the manager of the man's house and household, but there remain a question as to which woman in the house would be the dominant on in this task.[63]

Let us summarize these changes with respect to the social position of entertainers. In the old marriage system, there was not much difference between aristocratic women and entertainers. They were all sexually available to male aristocrats and highly accomplished in literature, art and music.[64] There were many occasions which called dancing women to perform in the court, and entertainers were attractive to male aristocrats and some of them could even become legitimate wives of aristocrats during the late Heian and Kamakura periods. The sons of these entertainers could even have the same opportunities to gain a high court rank. However, under the new marriage system, people started to regard these entertainers as improper women and attached their image to a sense of uncleanness. If a marriage was about two families and property, the family members probably wanted a proper woman to manage their household. Apparently, an entertainer was not a proper woman for most family members.

[63] The women of a household could include the wife, the husband's mother, or concubines.
[64] Hitomi Tonomura. "Re-envisioning Women in the Post-Kamakura Age," 160.

Furthermore, a woman was considered clean since she only had sexual relationships with her husband, but these entertainers could have sexual relationships with several men. Thus, status of *asobi* declined under the new marriage and inheritance system.

Tonomura points out that the economy was another factor that may have caused the decline of the status of entertainers. People began to consume material goods by cash in the late medieval period, and this extended to sexual trade. In the newly commercialized setting, sex became merely a commodity. The bodies of these entertainers were labeled as commodities, the same as food or clothes, and they could be bought and sold easily. If women's bodies could be bought and sold with money, they had no dignity. The status of entertainers therefore declined with the development of markets. This development reflected a larger-scale transformation that occurred in the country's economy and gender relations.[65]

The final factor to cause the status of *asobi* to decline was that Buddhism regarded that sex with a female as a dangerous behavior for men. For women, Buddhism promoted monogamy and chastity, and did not condone women to have sex with more than one partner. As I described in the former chapters, Buddhism had a significant influence on medieval culture. Its principles affected Japanese at all levels. Shinto is the original religion of Japan, and its attitude to sex was open because Japanese creation story was based on sex between two kami. After the woman's body was confined in the husband's house, the moral requirement for

[65] Ibid, 160.

women was emphasized. These entertainers who had sex with more than one man were not proper women under the principles of Buddhism. Their social evaluation and status declined due to the practice of Buddhist principles.

Amino explains that the status of entertainers declined over the three hundred years based on the changing drawings of them. I agree that the status of entertainers declined in the late medieval, but I have a different interpretation about the changing drawings in these two *Utaawase*. When we are analyzing the primary documents, we have to always pay attention to what the author wanted to present to the readers. In the case of *Shokunin Utaawase*, all *shokunin* in *Tsurugaoka* were shrine related occupations, and *Hôjôe* was the sacred occasion to pray for the peace of the Bakufu. It is not surprising that *yûjo* and *shirabyôshi* in this *Utaawase* were presented as higher-level entertainers. Although the occasion in which *Shichijûichiban* was composed could not be found in the introduction, it was not composed at a sacred occasion, such as *Nenbutsukai* or *Hôjôe*. Even though the purpose of *Shichijûichiban* was praying for peace for the nation, I assume the artist simply wanted to capture the lives of commoners. Thus, all occupations in *Shichijûichiban* probably were occupations that could be seen on the streets of Kyoto, and not necessarily of people who worked at the court or in shrines. This is another reason why the drawing of *asobi* in *Shichijûichiban* changed to lower-level *asobi*. The intention of the artists was not to show the readers how their status declined but to represent what was proper for the setting of each *Utaawase*. *Yûjo* and *shirabyôshi* in *Tsurugaoka* might be high-level *yûjo*, such as Kamegiku who was a *shirabyôshi* dancer but famous as the mistress of

Gotoba'in. *Tachigimi* and *zushigimi* in *Shichijûichiban* were apparently prostitutes in the red-light district of Kyoto.

Furthermore, in the early medieval period, only high status people had free time and money for entertaining activities but in the late medieval period, commoners became rich and enjoyed the same kinds of entertainment as aristocrats or warriors did. I interpret the changing drawings as showing that not only aristocrats, but also commoners, had time and money for these types of entertainment. The *gacchûshi* of *tachigimi* and *zushigimi* are really sexual and involved commoner guests as follows:

The *gacchûshi* of *tachigimi*:[66]

Tachigimi 1: Hey, please look at me!

Tachigimi 2: I am not bad looking.

Guest 1: I looked carefully.

Guest 2: Before we arrive in *kiyomizu* temple, please.

The *gacchûshi* of *zushigimi* is:

Zushigimi: Mister, please come in.

Guest: I am from the countryside.

Pimp: I know your face. Come in please.

In these drawing, these guests were apparently not high status people, but they still enjoy entertaining activities. Finally, as I mentioned before, shamans did not have fixed abodes in the early medieval, but as political authorities began to view them as objects of taxation, they began to settle in one place. The same situation

[66] *Shijijūichiban*, 62-63.

could be applied to performing artists. Although some were still itinerant, others, such as *zushigimi*, became fixed to a place to see clients. A pimp appeared in the drawing of *zushigimi*, so I assume that their organization was developed, and women no longer held autonomous power over their profession as they had in early medieval times.

Female *shokunin* mostly played their roles as spiritual professionals or performing artists in the early medieval period. Shamans were of indigenous religious occupation, and influenced the development of performing arts. The distinction between spiritual professionals and performing artists were not clear yet because they were both involved in dancing and singing. The distinction became clear in the late medieval period. However, the status of performing artists declined due to the changing marriage and inheritance system, economic development and the moral concepts of Buddhism. Finally, entertainment was no longer monopolized by aristocrats, but was also enjoyed by commoners.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Four *Shokunin Utaawase* frame the bigger picture of the medieval period: from barter economy to monetary economy; from the elite-centered culture to commoners starting to develop their distinct culture. Moreover, the roles of women in medieval society and their diminished status also could be implied from these *Shokunin Utaawase*. In the early medieval period, barter was the major means to gain necessities, and markets were not well-developed. Commodities were easily monopolized by the elite since they could exercise their power to gain them easily. This type of economy is first depicted in the first two *Shokunin Utaawase*, where most *shokunin* devoted themselves to manufacturing works, but no commercial *shokunin* appeared. In contrast, during the late medieval period, a monetary economy flourished and stimulated the people to make and sell commodities at a price in developed markets. A monetary economy is more efficient than a barter economy as a way of organizing transactions, so commoners had more time and money with which to develop their culture. Some commodities were no longer monopolized by the elite. For instance, tatami and bamboo blinds became ordinary necessities in commoners' houses in the late

medieval period. In the latter pair of *Shokunin Utaawase*, one sees seller appear alongside craftsman.

The changing economy not only brought relative wealth to commoners, but also stimulated cultural development. In ancient Japan, performing arts were created mainly for religious purposes and controlled by aristocrats. The inter-relationship between performing arts and religion still existed during the medieval period. However, performing arts were no longer luxury services only for the elite; commoners could also enjoy them. The performing arts of the late medieval period fused folk elements with classical styles. In *Shichijûichiban* various performing artists and some lower-level spiritual professionals appeared.[67] Although these were not new types of performing arts, their content gradually fused with popular elements. The economic basis of aristocrats was waning, and wealthy commoners could also afford these performing arts, so the content changed.[68]

Religion was an important element for shaping the culture and politics of ancient Japan, but its function in medieval society changed. In any ancient society, religious activities were important for rulers in building a collective consciousness among his subjects. However, as technology developed, the importance of religion diminished. It gradually became spiritual compensation to people, who were more interested in material aspects of their lives. The location

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[67]For instance, *sarugaku* (猿楽 monkey music player), *dengaku* (田楽 folk music players), *senzumanzaihôshi* (千秋万歳法師 two comedians), *shishimai* (獅子舞 lion dancer), and *biwa hôshi* (琵琶法師 blind lute minstrel), *etoki* (絵解 illustrators with pictures), *saruhiki* (猿引 people draw a monkey).
[68] *Shiryō Kyoto no rekishi vol. 1 gaisetsu.* (Tokyo : Heibonsha, 1991), 568.

of the doctor/ying-yang specialist pair shifted from the first sequence in *Tôhokuin* to the thirty-fourth sequence in *Shichijûichiban,* implying that religion was not the main focus for aristocrats in the late medieval period. This change suggests that the place of religion was transforming in medieval Japan.

As economy and society transformed, commoners developed a group-oriented consciousness. G*ekokujô* which means the low overcomes the high, was a distinct phenomenon during the Sengoku period. Peasants no longer stayed silent, and they knew how to request their rights by collective action in the form of petition, desertion, or riot. Peasants organized their association since some wealthy peasants were able to gain a portion of wealth that previously had been held by the elites. Starting in the fourteenth century, weak peasants began to subordinate themselves to powerful peasants. This arrangement helped poor peasants stabilize their livelihood and strengthen their ties to the lands.[69] Peasants used these ties and organizations to request *tokuseirei* or to organize riots. Farmers depicted in *Sanjûniban* suggest they may have been involved in the Yamashiro Ikki, occurring in the late fifteenth century.

Women in commercial and manufacturing houses played different roles from women in cultivators' houses. In the commercial and manufacturing houses, women had the responsibility to sell the products prepared by their husbands. The products they sold included fish, firewood and fans. These were heavy loads and we can see that women's responsibility included the use of much physical strength. These depictions of women at work contradict the modern, mistaken,

[69] Nagahara, Keiji, "The Medieval Peasant," translated by Suzanne Gay, *Cambridge*, 330-331.

impression that women usually stayed at home and handled light housework. In medieval society, men stayed at home and concentrated on producing goods, but women went out and sold them. This raises the question of what is meant by "domestic" work and how it may be gendered in different historical times.

Among the changes that occurred to performing artists, one notable change was the declining status of female entertainers in the late medieval period. This phenomenon was associated with the transformation in the marriage and inheritance systems. Before the fourteenth century, a so-called "marriage" was the sexual relationship between two people, even though each of them still lived in his and her own house. Marriage system gradually changed to patrilocal marriage, and a woman started to be confined in her husband's house. Moreover, families wanted to pool all the resources in one son in order to strengthen the family power during the disordered warrior period. The woman's family would not want the woman to have the same inheritance rights as sons, because, in a patrilineal society in which the children carried the father's line, the property would transfer to the husband's line when she bequeathed it to her children. The status of women gradually declined since they lost independent economic resources. Simultaneously, the husband's family wanted to seek a proper wife for the house to manage the property. Due to these changes, the difference between a noblewoman and a female entertainer became sharply delineated. The status of female entertainers declined and they were labeled as prostitutes and commodities that could be traded for a price during the late medieval period.

Shokunin Utaawase offer us a way to approach the medieval history through the lives of non-agricultural commoners as seen from the eyes of aristocrats. The focus of historians used to be the elite, but commoners were the majority of populations and were significant to history. A society was composed of several variety of social groups. Women and non-agricultural commoners had been ignored by Western historians until recently. Although *Shokunin Utaawase* only show the drawings of particular occupational categories, which were selected by the elites, the drawings still help us to imagine commoners' lives in medieval Japan. The purpose of this thesis was to rediscover medieval Japan through the changing depictions of non-agricultural commoners. They were a part of the society, and inevitably changed their lifestyle corresponding to the historical trend, economic development or marriage system. This thesis has analyzed the *Shokunin Utaawase* and suggested how the depictions of commoners suggest a synthetic pattern of cultural history in the long medieval period.

Table 1

Male (108)	Female (34)	
57(52.7%) １．番匠・鍛冶２．壁塗り・桧皮葺３．研ぎ・塗り師５．檜物師・車作り８．筆結い・筵打ち９．炭焼き１１．山人・浦人１２．樵・草刈１３．烏帽子折１６．弓作り１７．土器作り１９．紙漉き・賽磨り２０．鎧細工・轆轤師２１．草履作り２２．傘張り・足駄作り２３．御簾屋・唐紙師２７．蒔絵師・貝磨り２８．絵師・冠師２９．鞠括り・靴つくり３１．銀細工・薄うち３２．針磨り・念珠挽３３．鏡磨り３８．塩売り３９．玉磨り・硯士４２．筏士・櫛挽４３．畳刺し４４．瓦焼き・笠縫い４５．鞘巻き切り・鞍細工４７．弓取り５３．葛篭作り・皮作り５４．矢細工・筵細工５５．ひきめくり・むかばきつくり５６．金ほり・みずかねほり７１．酢作り	**5(14.7%)** ４．紺掻き・機織６．酒作り５１．縫い物師・組み師５２．摺師・畳紙うり	**PRODUCERS(62)**
19(17.5%) ６．なべ売り７．油売り１０．馬買う・皮買う１５．蛤売り（はまぐり）１６．弦売り１８．饅頭売り・法論味噌売り２１．硫黄箒売り２４．一	**20(59%)** ７．餅売り９．大原１３．扇売り１４．帯売り・白い物売り１５．魚売り１７．挽入売り３３．紅粉解３５．米売り・豆売り３７．豆腐売り・索麺売り３８．	**COMMERCE(39)**

服一銭・煎じ物売り４０．灯心うり・葱売り４１．蔵まわり４３．枕売り５８．直垂売り５９．苧売り６０．薬売り	麹売り４１．すあい５８．白布売り５９．綿売り６０．薫物売り７１．心太売り	
16(15%) ２６．仏師・経師３４．医師・陰陽師３６．いたか４６．ぼろ４９放下・鉢叩６１．山伏６２．禰宜６４．禅宗・律家６５．念仏宗・法花宗６８．山法師・奈良法師６９．華厳宗・倶舎宗	**4(11.7%)** ６１．持者６２．かんなぎ６７．びくに・にしゅ	**SPIRITUAL PROFESSIONALS(20)**
9(8%) ２５．琵琶法師５０．田楽・猿楽６３．競馬組み・相撲取り６６．連歌師・早歌い７０．楽人・舞人	**5(14.7%)** ２５．女盲３０．立ち君・図子君４８．白拍子・曲舞舞	**PERFORMING ARTISTS(14)**
4(3.7%) ４６．通事４７．文者５７．包丁師・調菜		**OFFCIALS(4)**
３６．へた		**OUTCASTE(1)**

FIGURES

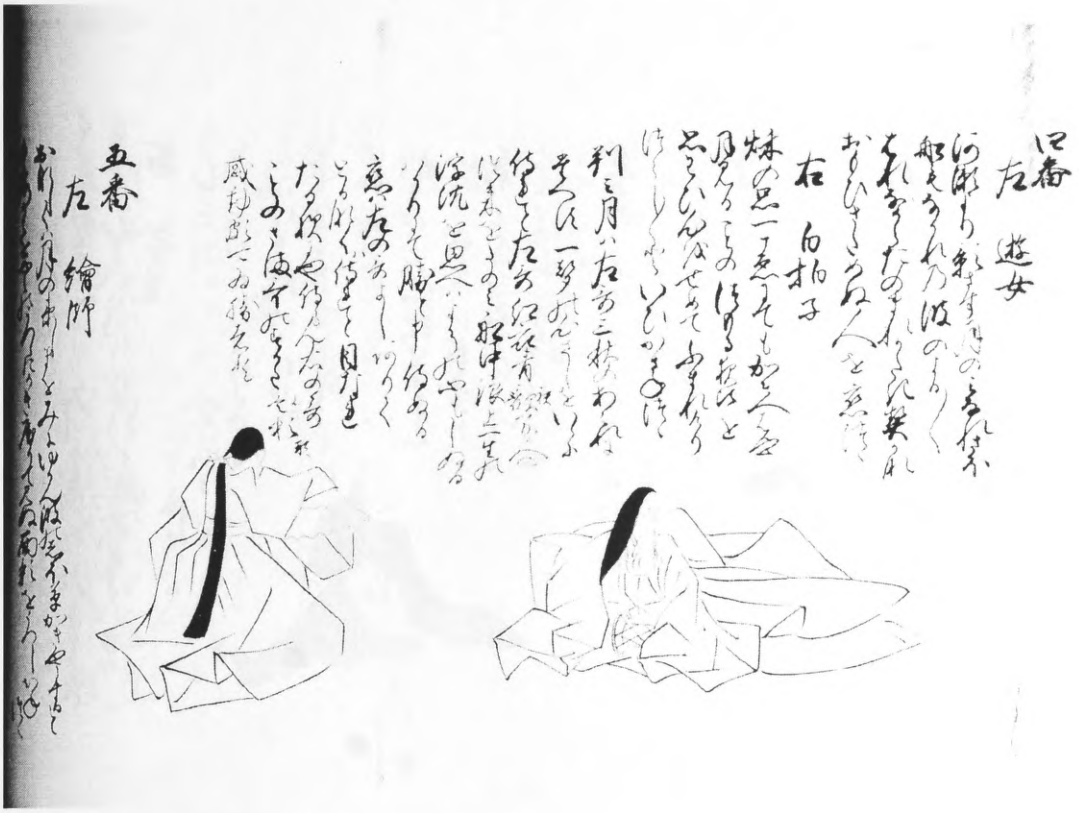

Figure 1 the image of *shirabyôshi* (白拍子) and *yûjo* (遊女) from Tanigawa, Kenichi 谷川健一. *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei vol.30* 日本庶民生活史料集成３０. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1952

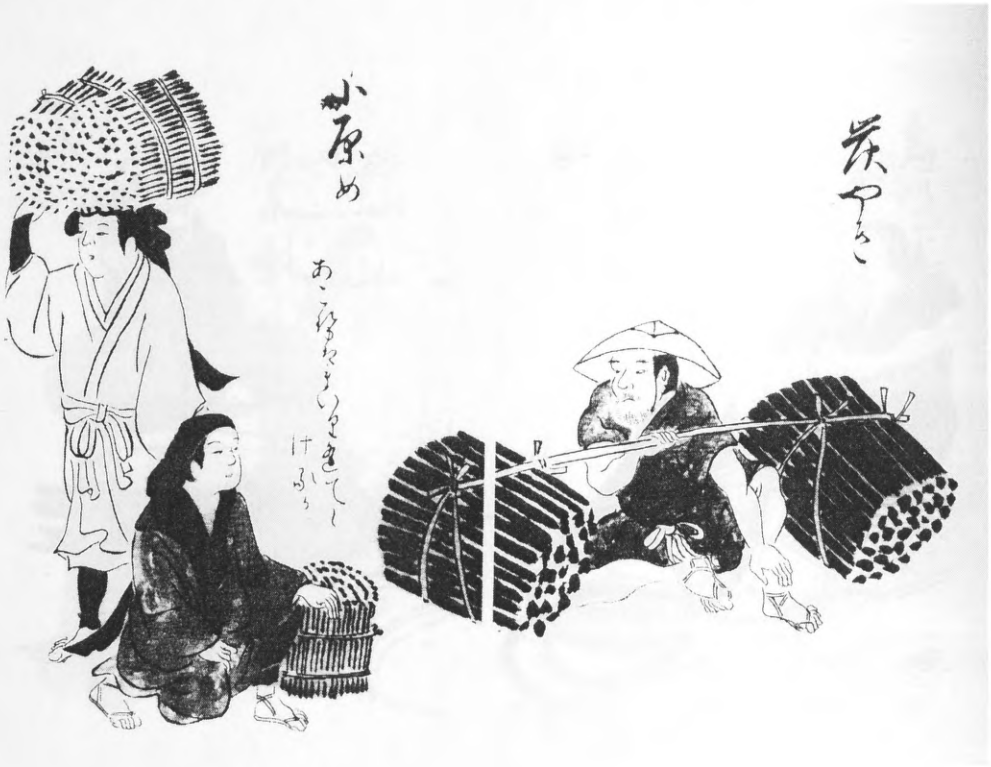

Figure 2 the image of *sumiyaki* (炭焼 charcoal seller) and *Ôharame* (小原女 Women of Ôhara) from *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei vol.30*

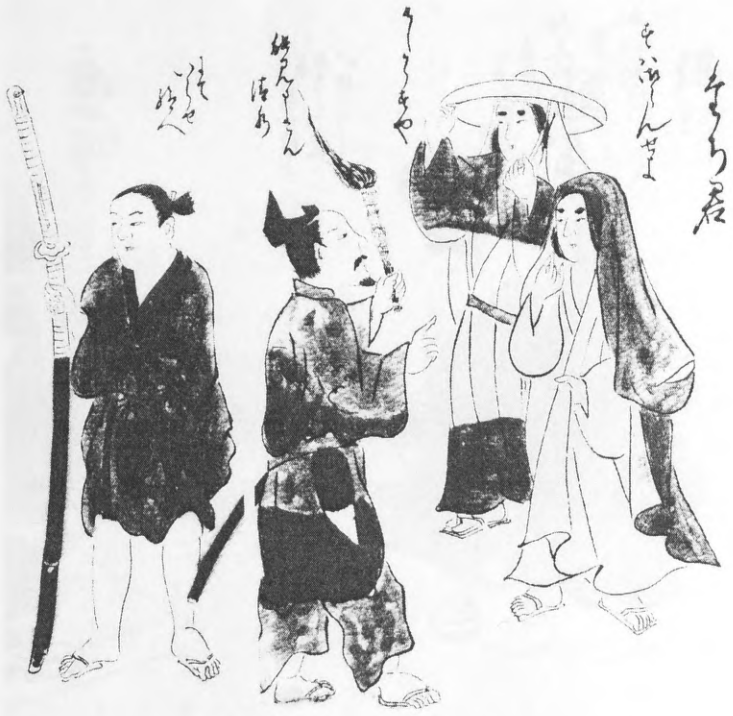

Figure 3 the image of *tachigimi* (立君 prostitutes on the streets) from *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei vol.30*

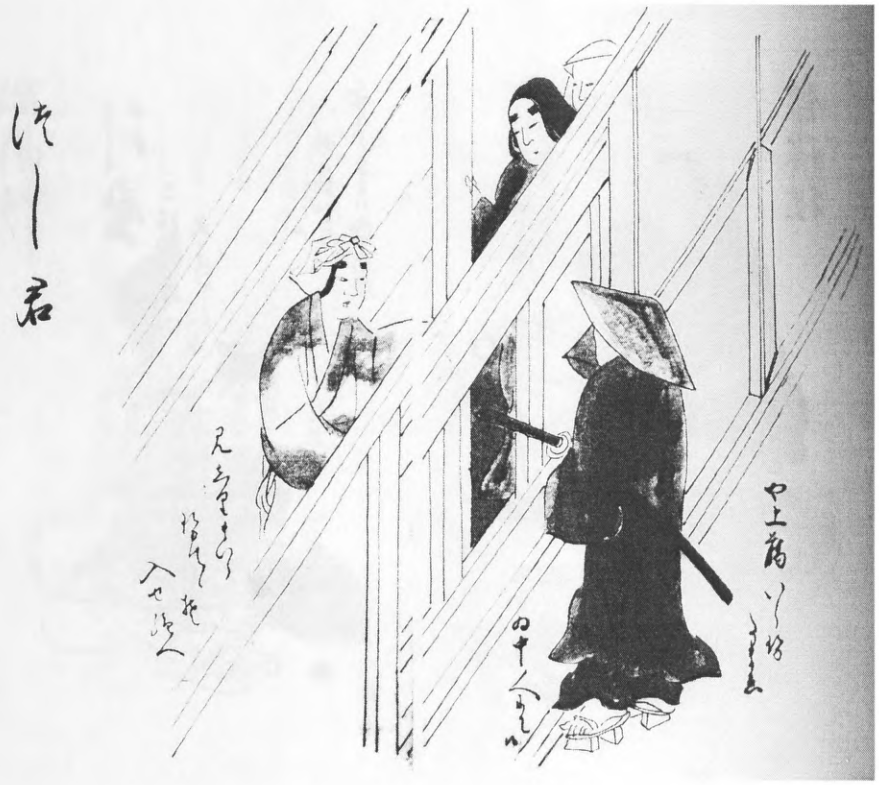

Figure 4 the image of *zushigimi* (図子君 prostitute) from *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei vol.30*

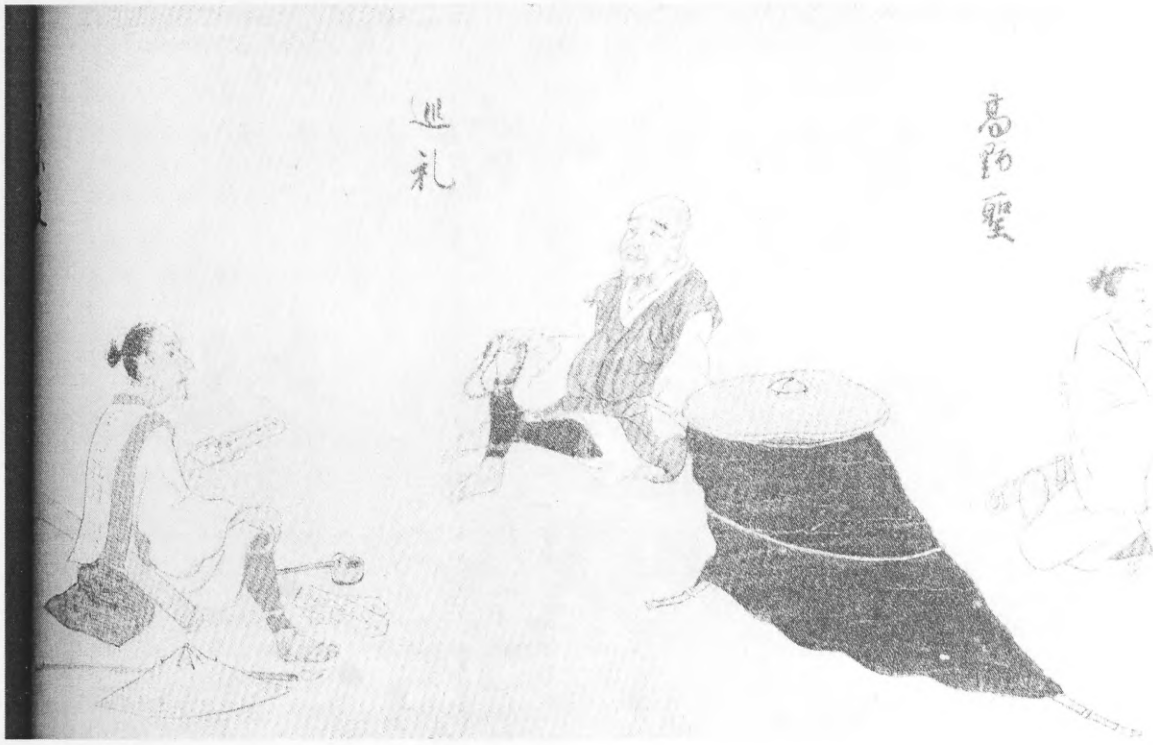

Figure 5 the image of *junrei* (巡礼 pilgrim) and *kôyahijiri* (高野聖 monk from Mount Kōya) from *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei vol.30*

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Occupations in *Tôhokuin Shokunin Utaawase*

Tôhokuin Shokunin Utaawase-gobanhon **東北院職人歌合五番本 (1214, Kyoto)**

１．*kusushi* (医師 doctor)・*onyôji* (陰陽師 ying-yang specialist)

２．*kaji* (鍛冶 smith)・*banshô* (番匠 master of transcribing sutra or mounting sutra)

３．*katanatogi* (刀磨 master of whetting swords)・*imoji* (鋳物師 cast metal artisan)

４．*kannagi* (巫 shaman)・*bakuchi* (博打 gambler)

５．*ama* (海人 fisherman or salt maker)・*kojin* (賈人 dealers of goods)

Tôhokuin Shokunin Utaawase-jûnibanhon **東北院職人歌合十二番本 (1214, Kyoto)**

１．*kusushi*・*onyôji*

２．*busshi* (仏師 sculptor of images of Buddha)・*kyauji* (経師 master of transcribing sutra or reciting sutra)

３．*kaji*・*banshô*

４．*katanatogi*・*imoji*

５．*kannagi*・*mômoku* (盲目 the blind)

６．*fukakusa* (深草 earthenware maker)・*kabenuri* (壁塗 wall painter)

７．*kôkaki* (紺掻 cloth dyer)・*mushirouchi* (筵打 mat producer)

８．*nushi* (塗師 ware painter or producer)・*himonoshi* (檜物師 *hinoki* products producer)

９．*bakuchi*・*funebito* (船人 crew)

１０．*harisuri* (針磨 master of sharpening needles)・*juzuhiki* (数珠引 beads maker)

１１．*katsurame* (桂女 sweetfish seller)・*Ôharame* (大原人 Women of Ôhara)

１２．*kojin*・*ama*

Appendix B

Occupations in *Tsurugaoka Hôjôe Shokunin Utaawase*

***Tsurugaoka Hôjôe Shokunin Utaawase* 鶴岡放生会職人歌合 (1261, Kamakura)**

１．*gakunin* (楽人 musician)・*maibito* (舞人 dancer)

２．*sukuyôshi* (宿曜師 astrologist)・*sandô* (算道 diviner)

３．*jikyôjya* (持経者 monks speaking the Lotus Sutra)・*nenbutsujya* (念仏者 *nenbutsu* recite)

４．*yûjo* (遊女 female entertainers)・*shirabyôshi* (白拍子 white-beat dancers)

５．*eshi* (絵師 artiest)・*ayaori* (綾織 weaver)

６．*akaganezaiku* (銅細工 copper workman)・*makieshi* (蒔絵士 gold (silver) lacquer worker)

７．*tatamisashi* (畳差 tatami maker)・*misuami* (御簾編 bamboo blind weaver)

８．*kagamisuri* (鏡磨 master of mirror sharpening)・*hissei* (筆生 copier)

９．*sumô* (相撲 sumo wrestler)・*bakurô* (博労 beasts seller)

１０．*sarugaku* (猿楽)・*dengaku* (田楽 folk music player)

１１．*sônin* (相人 *physiognomist*)・*jisha* (持者 shaman)

１２．*kikori* (樵夫 woodman)・*gyofu* (漁父 fisherman)

Appendix C

Occupations in *Sanjûniban Shokunin Utaawase*

Sanjûniban Shokunin Utaawase 三十二番職人歌合 **(1494, Kyoto)**

１．*senzumanzaihôshi* (千秋万歳法師 two comedians)・*etoki* (絵解 illustrator with pictures)

２．*shishimai* (獅子舞 lion dancer)・*saruhiki* (猿牽 people draw a monkey)

３．*uguisu* (鶯飼 bush warbler raiser)・*torisashi* (鳥刺 birds stabber)

４．*ogahiki* (大鋸挽 sawyer)・*ishikiri* (石切 miner of rocks)

５．*katsurame* (桂の女 sweetfish seller)・*kazurahineri* (鬘捻 wig or hair maker)

６．*sanoki* (算置 diviner)・*komusô* (虚無僧 mendicant monastic of the Fuke school of Zen Buddhism)

７．*kôyahijiri* (高野聖 monks from Mount Kōya who were sent to preach Buddhism around the country)・*junrei* (巡礼 pilgrim)

８．*kanetataki* (鉦敲 bell knock)・*munetataki* (胸叩 chest beater)

９．*omoteeshi* (表補絵師 mounter)・*haritono* (張殿　a female worker who deals with dyed cloth)

１０．*watashimamori* (渡守 boatmen)・*koshikaki* (輿舁 palanquin bearer)

１１．*nôjin* (農人 farmer)・*niwahaki* (庭掃 yard cleaner)

１２．*zaimokuuri* (材木売 wood seller)・*takeuri* (竹売 bamboo seller)

１３．*yuiokeshi* (結桶師 tub maker)・*hibachiuri* (火鉢売 hibachi seller)

１４．*amechimakiuri* (糖粽売 sugar glutinous rice tamale seller)・*jiôsenuri* (地黄煎売 rehmannia glutinosa pancake seller)

１５．*mitsukuri* (箕造 winnowing basket maker)・*shikimiuri* (樒売 star anise seller)

１６．*nauri* (菜売 vegetable seller)・*toriuri* (鳥売 birds seller)

Appendix D

Occupations in *Shichijûichiban Shokunin Utaawase*

***Shichijûichiban Shokunin Utaawase* 七十一番職人歌合 (1500, Kyoto)**

1. *banshô* (番匠 carpenter)・*kaji* (鍛冶 smith)
2. *kabenuri* (壁塗 wall painter)・*hiwadabuki* (檜皮葺 roofer)
3. *togi* (研 sharpener)・*nushi* (塗士 lacquer ware)
4. *kôkaki* (紺掻 Cloth dyer)・*hataori* (機織 Weaver)
5. *himonoshi* (檜物師 *hinoki* products producer)・*kurumadukuri* (車作 wheel maker)
6. *nabeuri* (鍋売 pan and cooking pots seller)・*sakadukuri* (酒造 Sake brewer)
7. *aburauri* (油売 oil seller)・*mochiuri* (餅売 rice cake seller)
8. *fudeyui* (筆結 brush maker)・*mushirouchi* (筵打 mat producer)
9. *sumiyaki* (炭焼 charcoal seller)・*Ôharame* (小原女 Women of Ôhara)
10. *mumakawau* (馬買はふ horse dealer)・*kawakawau* (皮買はふ leather seller)
11. *yamabito* (山人 mountain people)・*urabito* (浦人 fisherman)
12. *kikori* (木伐 woodman)・*kusakari* (草刈 grass cutter)
13. *eboshiori* (烏帽子折 *eboshi* producer)・*afugiuri* (扇売 fan seller)
14. *obiuri* (帯売 obi seller)・*shiroimonouri* (白物売 face powder seller)
15. *hamaguriuri* (蛤売 clam seller)・*iouri* (魚売 fish seller)
16. *yumitsukuri* (弓作 bow maker)・*tsuruuri* (弦売 string seller)
17. *hikireuri* (挽入売 lathe seller)・*kawaraketsukuri* (土器作 earthenware maker)
18. *mamuchiuri* (饅頭売 manju seller)・*hôromisouri* (法論味噌売 *hôromiso* seller)
19. *kamisuki* (紙漉 papermaker)・*saisuri* (賽磨 dice sharpener)
20. *yorohizaiku* (鎧細工 armour workman)・*rokuroshi* (轆轤師 lathe maker)
21. *zauritsukuri* (草履作 *zôri* (sandals made of rice straw) seller)・*yuwauwahakiuri* (硫黄箒売 sulfur wood broom seller)
22. *kasahari* (傘張 umbrella maker)・*ashidadukuri* (足駄作 wooden clogs maker)
23. *misuya* (翠簾屋 bamboo blind weaver)・*karakamishi* (唐紙師 paper sliding door maker)

２４．　*ippukuissen* (一服一銭 tea seller)・*senjimonouri* (煎じ物売 medicinal herb seller)

２５．　*biwahôshi* (琵琶法師 blind biwa lute minstrel)・*onnamekura* (女盲 blind women who play drum, tsuzumi)

２６．　*busshi* (仏師 sculptor of images of Buddha)・*kyauji* (経師 master of transcribing sutra or mounting sutra)

２７．　*makieshi* (蒔絵士 gold (silver) lacquer worker)・*kaisuri* (貝磨 shell sharpener)

２８．　*eshi* (絵師 painter)・*kaburishi* (冠師 hat maker)

２９．　*marikukuri* (鞠括 *kemari*, Japanese football maker)・*kutsutsukuri* (沓造 footwear maker)

３０．　*tachigimi* (立君 prostitutes on the streets)・*zushigimi* (図子君 prostitutes)

３１．　*shirokanezaiku* (銀細工 silver workman)・*hakuuchi* (薄打 leaf of gold and silver maker)

３２．　*harisuri* (針磨 master of sharpening needles)・*zuzuhiki* (念珠挽 beads maker)

３３．　*benitoki* (紅粉解 red face powder seller)・*kagamitogi* (鏡磨 master of mirror sharpening)

３４．　*kusushi* (医師 doctor)・*onyôji* (陰陽師 ying-yang specialist)

３５．　*komeuri* (米売 rice seller)・*mameuri* (豆売 bean seller)

３６．　*itaka* (いたか read or transcribe sutra for people in order to gain foods)・*eta* (穢多 lowly people)

３７．　*tofuuri* (豆腐売 tofu seller)・*saumenuri* (索麺売 thin wheat noodles seller)

３８．　*shiouri* (塩売 salt seller)・*kaujiuri* (麹売 yeast agent)

３９．　*takisuri* (玉磨 bead sharpener)・*suzurishi* (硯士 inkstone maker)

４０．　*tôjimiuri* (灯心売 lamp wick seller)・*hitomojiuri* (葱売 onion sellers)

４１．　*suai* (牙儈 female dealers)・*kuramawari* (蔵回 male dealers)

４２．　*ikadashi* (筏士 boatman)・*kushihiki* (櫛挽 comb maker)

４３．　*makurauri* (枕売 pillow seller)・*tatamisashi* (畳刺 tatami maker)

４４．　*kawarayaki* (瓦焼 roof tile maker)・*kasanui* (笠縫 conical bamboo or straw hat maker)

４５．　*sayamakikiri* (鞘巻切 short swords maker)・*kurazaiku* (鞍細工 saddle maker)

４６．　*boro* (暮露 beggar with hair)・*tsûji* (通事 interpreter)

４７．　*bunja* (文者 scholar)・*yumitori* (弓取 master of archery)

４８．　*shirabyôshi* (白拍子 white-beat dancer)・*kusemaimai* (曲舞舞 dancer with a specific theme music)
４９．　*hôka* (放下 street performer)・*hachitataki* (鉢叩 religious performing artists)
５０．　*dengaku* (田楽 folk music player)・*sarugaku* (猿楽 *sarugaku*)
５１．　*buimonoshi* (縫物師 sewer)・*kumishi* (組師 bottom maker)
５２．　*surishi* (摺師 motif dyer)・*tataugamiuri* (畳紙売 pocket paper seller)
５３．　*tsuduratsukuri* (葛篭造 clothes basket maker)・*kawagotsukuri* (皮籠造 leather covered basket maker)
５４．　*yazaiku* (矢細工 arrow maker)・*ebirazaiku* (箙細工 quiver maker)
５５．　*hikimekuri* (蟇目刳 signal arrow maker)・*mukabakidukuri* (行縢造 foot covered cloth)
５６．　*koganehori* (金堀 gold miner)・*midukanehori* (汞堀 mercury miner)
５７．　*hôchôshi* (庖丁師 fish handle cook)・*teusai* (調菜 cook)
５８．　*shironunouri* (白布売 white cloth seller)・*hitatareuri* (直垂売 dressing seller)
５９．　*ouri* (苧売 ramie seller)・*watauri* (綿売 floss seller)
６０．　*takimonouri* (薫物売 incense seller)・*kusuriuri* (薬売 medicine seller)
６１．　*yamabushi* (山伏)・*jisha* (持者 shaman)
６２．　*negi* (禰宜 oracle)・*kannagi* (巫 shamans)
６３．　*keibagumi* (競馬組 horse racing jockey)・*sumautori* (相撲取 sumo wrestler)
６４．　*Zenshû* (禅宗 Zen)・*Rikke* (律家 Ritsu school of Buddhism)
６５．　*Nenbutsushû* (念仏宗 Pure Land Buddhism)・*Hotsukeshû* (法花宗 Nichiren Buddhism)
６６．　*rengashi* (連歌師 reanga maker)・*saukautai* (早歌謡 sôka song)
６７．　*bikuni* (比丘尼)・*nishu* (尼衆 female monks)
６８．　*yamahôshi* (山法師 Mountain Monk)・*narahôshi* (奈良法師 Nara Monk)
６９．　*Kegonshû* (華厳宗 Kegon)・*kushajiu* (倶舎衆 Kusha Busshism (six Buddhist schools))
７０．　*gakunin* (楽人 musician)・*maibito* (舞人 dancer)
７１．　*sutsukuri* (酢造 vinegar maker)・*kokorobutouri* (心太売 *tokoroten* seller)

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