



The Stuff of Dreams: Kawanabe Kyōsai's Nirvana Painting of Matsuura Takeshirō

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JAPANESE CULTURE IS REplete with protocols for the anticipation of death. Best known is the “death poem” (*jisei*), often prepared years in advance, but other customs as well enabled the completion before death of things that normally came after. Portraits, for example, most commonly executed as memorials to those deceased, were given the hopeful name of “long-life image” (*juzō*) when done of a living person. Even funerals could be held in advance as a form of preparation for death, a custom known as “reverse-order practice” (*gyakushu*).¹

Matsuura Takeshirō (1818–1888), a famed explorer of Hokkaido in his middle years and celebrated antiquarian later in life, went far beyond all such conventions, setting forth in his early sixties on a variety of inventive and unprecedented projects that anticipated his own death, while creating artifacts of lasting historical and artistic interest. The best known of these, which I have described in detail in these pages and elsewhere, was the One-Mat Room, a tiny study constructed as an addition to his Tokyo house, made from wood fragments donated by friends throughout Japan.² Each piece of wood had a history as part of a noted shrine or temple, so that the entire assembly was an inventory of famous sites of Japan and of his own personal network.

Wholly different in conception and execution was Matsuura's other major project of the same years, a painting that he commissioned from the prolific and versatile artist Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889) (fig. 1). The large hanging scroll takes the form of a traditional “nirvana painting” (*nehanzu*) of the death of the historical Buddha, lying on a bier, surrounded by grieving deities and disciples. In this case, the dying Buddha is replaced by the “napping” Matsuura, and the mourners are mostly things he owned—actual objects or images from paintings in his collection.³ After introducing the *nehanzu* itself, I will present the argument that Matsuura's likely inspiration for such an anticipatory nirvana painting, showing a living person as if dead, was an earlier such depiction of the celebrated Zen monk-painter Sengai Gibon. That painting offers a revealing comparison with Matsuura's effort over a half-century later.

Finally, as a coda to the saga of Matsuura's efforts to anticipate his death in creative ways, we end at the curious mountain known as Mount Ōdai, or Ōdaigahara, the rainiest spot in all Japan. In his “manifesto” concluding *A Solicitation of Wood Scraps* (*Mokuben kanjin*), the 1887 catalogue of wood

< FIG. 1. Kawanabe Kyōsai. *Hokkai Dōjin Taking a Nap Under the Trees* (*Hokkai Dōjin juka gosui zu*). Japan. Meiji period, 1886. Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper. 152.6 x 84.2 cm. Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture

pieces donated to the One-Mat Room, Matsuura had declared that he wished to have his remains buried atop that much-feared mountain, which he had started climbing and mapping in his final years.

THE EXPLORER OF THE NORTH REACHES OLD AGE

Matsuura gained his most lasting fame in his twenties/thirties as an intrepid explorer of the region then known as Ezo; today, the islands of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kurile chain. His six voyages to the north, from 1845 to 1858, extended the efforts of earlier explorers not only by Matsuura's insistence on moving inland and up the rivers, but also by his sympathetic encounter with the Ainu people, whose language he learned and customs he documented in both words and pictures.⁴ After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, he worked for the new government, but soon parted ways—although not before coining the name “Hokkaidō” for the new prefecture to the north, along with a standardization of countless local place names. He settled down in a new Tokyo residence, becoming a leading antiquarian of the early Meiji period (1868–1912).

Matsuura spanned the profound transformation of nineteenth-century Japan, with the mid-point of his seventy-year life coinciding with Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853. Past fifty at the time of the Meiji Restoration, he responded to the Westernizing era that followed with energy and imagination. Very much a product of the late Edo period (1615–1868), he carried the urbane wit of Edo culture into his last years.

Samurai ancestry may have disposed Matsuura to a greater preparedness for death at any time. But for someone who faced the hazards of travel, it was his real-life experience as an explorer that seems to have forged his intimations of mortality. During his first provincial travels, he fell desperately ill in Nagasaki in 1837. A Zen monk who helped nurse him back to health urged him to enter the priesthood out of gratitude for his recovery. Matsuura did so, and became a Zen priest in Hirado. He never really settled down to monastic life, however, and continued to travel, abandoning the formal priesthood after five years, and soon setting out on his explorations of the far north.

After his return in 1857 from the fifth of six expeditions, Matsuura fell seriously ill once again—so critically that on the eve of the year 1858, he wrote his first (and last known) death poem: “When I die, don't burn me, don't bury me, just abandon me in a newly cleared field, and watch for the autumn harvest.”⁵ This unsentimental verse reflects Matsuura's composed, even defiant, feelings about death, presaging the inventive projects in anticipation of death that would follow—including his choice of a very different type of burial from the offhand method here proposed.

In 1877, his sixtieth year (*kanreki*), Matsuura shifted gears in the way he lived his life and faced his death. Starting a year later, he began making annual trips to western Japan to connect with antiquarian friends and to visit sacred sites, journeys that he chronicled in small-format,

woodblock-printed volumes that he published each year.⁶ The earliest pieces of wood donated for the One-Mat Room date from 1879, revealing that the idea had already been in his mind. His regular religious devotions came into sharper focus—in particular his worship of Tenjin, the deification of the Heian courtier and scholar Sugawara no Michizane (845–903), who in time became the patron saint of learning and writing.⁷ In his first dream of the year 1881, Matsuura envisioned a pilgrimage circuit of twenty-five shrines dedicated to the Tenjin cult and donated bronze mirrors and stone markers at each of them. In 1882, he drafted his last testament, *One Thousand Tortoises, Ten Thousand Cranes* (*Senki bankaku*, a metaphor for longevity), providing detailed instructions for his funeral and successive memorial services, including guest lists and menus.⁸

A NIRVANA PAINTING FOR THE “RECLUSE OF THE NORTHERN SEAS”

The *nehanzu* depicting Matsuura in place of the dying Buddha was the final ambitious project that he undertook in his early sixties, commissioned from Kyōsai in 1881. Traditional *nehanzu* were important ritual objects in the Buddhist calendar, displayed on the anniversary of the Buddha’s death.⁹ There even emerged a variety of “alternative” *nehanzu*, analyzed in two issues of *Impressions*.¹⁰ Particularly numerous were woodblock prints of recently deceased kabuki actors shown in the posture of the dying Buddha, surrounded by mourning fans. In all such variants, however, the figure replacing the Buddha was already dead. In Matsuura’s case, the body is alive and well—described in the proper title of the painting as *Hokkai Dōjin Taking a Nap Under the Pines* (*Hokkai Dōjin juka gosui zu*). “Hokkai Dōjin” was an art name (*gō*) that Matsuura used from 1859, said to mean “Recluse of the Northern Seas.”¹¹

The One-Mat Room enjoyed public display and acclaim when donated in about 1908 by the Matsuura family to the Nanki Bunko (a private Tokyo library created by the head of the Kii branch of the Tokugawa line). The Matsuura *nehanzu*, however, remained a protected private treasure of the family after Takeshirō’s death in 1888, shown only rarely to outsiders. Of the few to inspect it in detail was the American anthropologist Frederick Starr (1858–1933). He had developed a strong interest in Matsuura after seeing his Ezo maps and paintings of Ainu life when first visiting Japan in early 1905 to organize a group of Ainu for participation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis later that year. Excerpts from Starr’s field notes give this account of his visit to Matsuura Magota, Takeshirō’s grandson, in May 1909:

On the wall, screened as in a tokonoma was a hanging kakemono . . . wherein Mr. Matsuura is represented dying as Buddha died. It is an astounding production and occupied its painter seven years of intermittent toil. Its artist was Kyosai . . . largely painted during Matsuura’s lifetime, but he is said to have really occupied the position represented when he died. The style is the usual one for Buddha entering into Nirvana; above the couch on which he lies is a table on which stand three divine figures that are copies of Nara originals; above and below are grouped various gods—among them

the seven gods of fortune are conspicuous; even Hotei weeps. Below these are rough and rugged stones heaped together, natural but all recalling one and another gods—natural or erosional sculptures. Below these are grouped toys and votives, all of the things which were his favorites; among the medley, the black wooden horse of Oshu is conspicuous. All these strange and incongruous elements are chosen from one and another interest or fancy of the old man. He is represented with the long strings of magatama and kudatama which it was his custom to wear.¹²

Starr's description of the *nehanzu* would remain the most detailed in any language until the painting was donated by the Matsuura family to the newly established (1994) Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum in Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture. The work was restored, and put on public display for the first time in fall 1999. In the intervening decades, only one small photograph of the painting had ever been published, in an obscure journal in 1926. Only in the twenty-first century have photographs of Kyōsai's masterpiece finally been made available, revealing its full rich color and astonishing detail.¹³

Published research on the painting began in 1999 with articles by Fujita Noboru, a Kyōsai scholar who assembled valuable evidence from Kyōsai's "picture diary" (*enikki*) about the Matsuura *nehanzu*.¹⁴ In 2004, Hayashi Shōtarō wrote a summary of the high points of what is now known about the painting.¹⁵ Since then, further suggestions have been provided by Yasumura Toshinobu and Kishi Fumikazu.¹⁶

Important new data were discovered in restoration of the Matsuura *nehanzu*, in the form of an inscription by Takeshirō himself on the cylindrical wooden roller onto which the painting is mounted:¹⁷

"Old Man Hokkai Taking a Nap Under the Pines." Based on an 1881 draft by Kawanabe Kyōsai, completed in March 1886. Mounted by Chōbei on July 5. Recorded and sealed by Old Man [Hokkai].

In addition, the original box inscriptions (*hakogaki*) were made public for the first time. The top of the lid bears the title, "Hokkai Dōjin Taking a Nap Under the Trees," which differs from Matsuura's roller inscription only in dropping the "Dōjin" in his *gō* and replacing "pines" with "trees." On the inside of the box lid is a Chinese (*kanbun*) dedication by Ono Kozan (1814–1910), a Confucian scholar and celebrated poet of Chinese verse (*kanshi*), and a next-door neighbor of Matsuura. In the dedication, Ono refers to the painting as showing "Hokkai Dōjin pleasantly dreaming (*muchū no raku*) under the trees." This mention of dreaming will become clearer when we consider the Sengai precedent.

Matsuura's roller inscription credits a Kyōsai "draft" (*kō*) as the genesis of the *nehanzu* in 1881, but this was probably no more than a preparatory sketch, and little or no progress seems to have been made until "Kyōsai's oath," dated December 22, 1884.¹⁸ Kyōsai was notoriously unreliable about completing work on time, so Matsuura extracted this promise to ensure that he complete both the *nehanzu* and a set of votive paintings (*ema*) for the shrines of the Tenjin pilgrimage circuit devised by Matsuura in 1881.¹⁹ As an incentive, Matsuura offered Kyōsai, a voracious collector of "old



FIG. 2. Kawanabe Kyōsai. *Picture Diary (Enikki)*. Japan, Meiji period, January 22, 1885. Album; ink on paper. 24 x 17 cm. Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum, Warabi City, Saitama Prefecture



FIG. 3. Kawanabe Kyōsai. *Picture Diary (Enikki)*. Japan, Meiji period, February 22, 1885. Album; ink on paper. 24 x 17 cm. Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum, Warabi City, Saitama Prefecture

paintings,” four works by famous Japanese masters as part of his payment. Matsuura had Kyōsai further pledge that if he failed to complete the specified paintings, he would allow Matsuura to have the work executed by a hack painter (*bon-eshi*), and then attach Kyōsai’s own signature.

In his oath, Kyōsai described the *nehanzu* as having been started “last year,” in 1883, two years after the “draft”; progress is recorded in the picture diary that Kyōsai kept for much of his life. Fujita Noboru studied this evidence, and showed that it documents actual work on the *nehanzu* from at least October 1883.²⁰ Progress seems to have remained slow, until 1885, when the picture diary conveys a new sense of activity and urgency. Matsuura was probably anxious to have the painting finished in 1886, when he also planned the completion of the One-Mat Room to celebrate his seventieth year (by Japanese count) in 1887.

Two vignettes from Kyōsai’s picture diary provide revealing circumstances of the making of the *nehanzu*. Each day was allotted a single sheet of paper, typically crammed with lively and humorous sketches of events in Kyōsai’s busy life. In the center portion of one page, we see the entire *nehanzu* displayed to the left, as Matsuura, leaning on an armrest, points at it; beside the painting are three pigment dishes (fig. 2). Fujita takes this as clear evidence that the painting was at Matsuura’s home, and indeed Kyōsai had promised to visit twice monthly to work on the commission. A maid to the



right frantically raises her arms, exclaiming, “From Matsuura-sensei!” Fujita interprets this as a messenger dispatched by Matsuura to Kyōsai’s home with an urgent request related to the painting—perhaps a new collectible to be added to the array, perhaps some correction. Fujita interpreted Matsuura’s expression as “peeved” (*shibui hyōjō*).²¹

Just one month later in the picture diary, in the center we see two activities in progress under the title “I visit Matsuura-sensei to get his approval” (fig. 3). In the upper part, the *nehanzu* is spread out on the floor, and Kyōsai (wearing eyeglasses) wields his brush over the central part of the painting, while his apprentice Yaso (Yasoemon, Mano Kyōtei, 1874–1934) assists. Just below, Matsuura hands over a note for twenty yen to Kyōsai’s daughter-apprentice Toyo (Kawanabe Kyōsui, 1869–1935), showing that a substantial payment for the painting was made even before its completion one year later (and in addition to the four paintings promised earlier).²² The mobilization of two assistants to work with him on the *nehanzu* suggests the amount of effort that Kyōsai lavished on this painstaking work. At last, the painting was completed, as recorded on the roller, in March 1886, and mounted in July. By the Japanese manner of counting, which includes the full first and last calendar years of a given period, Matsuura’s grandson was not exaggerating when he related to Frederick Starr that the painting had required “seven years of intermittent toil.”

HOKKAI DŌJIN NAPPING UNDER THE PINES AS A NIRVANA PAINTING

At first glance, Kyōsai’s painting of Matsuura Takeshirō in place of the dying Buddha seems to conform to late-Edo conventions for a standard *nehanzu* as seen in a woodblock print by the ukiyo-e artist Nishimura Shigenaga (1697–1756) (fig. 4). Within a grove of trees is a large bier on which the body reclines laid out face forward. Around it gather mourners, human and divine, with a menagerie of animals below. Beyond is a river, and to one side, women led by a priest descend on a cloud.

Closer inspection of the Matsuura *nehanzu*, however, reveals many differences; as we become aware that this is a “*mitate*,” a parodic updating of an established form. As in the Shigenaga print, the grove of trees always consists of four pairs of straight-trunked sala trees with oval leaves, half in flowering green and half in autumnal brown. In the Matsuura version, it becomes a grove of pine trees, with at least a dozen twisted trunks shown in detail; the effect is more natural, more Japanese.

In standard *nehanzu*, Lady Maya, mother of the historical Buddha, who died when he was seven days old, ascends to Tusita Heaven, and descends on clouds with female attendants to witness his death, guided by the monk Anaritsu (Skt. Aniruddha), a leading disciple of the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni. In Kyōsai’s version, Lady Maya is transformed into a *tayū*, the highest rank of courtesan in the Yoshiwara pleasure quarter of Edo, shown with young *shinzō* and *kamuro* attendants. Most figures in this work are either modeled directly on actual works in Matsuura’s collection, or representative of a particular painter or painting style; Kyōsai was a careful

< FIG. 4. Nishimura Shigenaga. *Death of the Buddha*. Japan. Edo period, late 1720s. Hand-colored woodcut. 45.6 x 30.3 cm. Honolulu Museum of Art, Gift of James A. Michener, 1957 (13866)



FIG. 5a. Bag and inscribed bamboo staff. (Detail of fig. 1)

The staff is inscribed in minuscule characters above the bag with a phrase from the 1228 koan commentary *The Gateless Barrier*. In response to a koan posed by the monk Pa-chiao (“If you have a staff, I will give you a staff; if you have no staff, I will take it from you”), Wumen (Mumon) commented with the phrase, “It helps you to cross the stream when the bridge is broken down.” Only this phrase is clearly legible on the staff (see figure 6). I am grateful to John T. Carpenter for his help in identifying this source. For the entire section, see Robert Aitken, *The Gateless Barrier: The Wu-men kuan (Mumonkan)* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), 265–69. The association of the *nehanzu* staff with that of Pa-chiao would have come naturally to Matsuura, given his training as a Rinzai Zen priest. Below the bag appears the date 1886 and the signature of the calligrapher, Kusakabe Meikaku.

FIG. 5b. Bag. Japan. Edo period. Textile: China, Ming dynasty, 17th century. Silk tapestry. 5.5 x 15 cm. Courtesy Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo

student of past painting styles. The head of the courtesan, for example, is close to one illustrated by Kyōsai as the style of Miyagawa Chōshun (1683–1753).²³

More difficult to identify is the figure escorting the Lady Maya group, the sword-bearing dancer to the right, who must correspond to the guide Anaritsu. This appears to be a female performer of an *otoko-mai*, or “man’s dance,” wearing a single sword and using a fan, but lacking the usual court cap. The identity and source of the figure remain uncertain. We can only note that the costume is brown and gray in keeping with male chic.

Another distinctive feature of a conventional *nehanzu* is the bag that hangs from a tree to the left, thought to be a marker of the career of Shakyamuni as a wandering monk (fig. 5a). In later stories it was interpreted as a bag of medicines for the dying Buddha. Takeshirō used the pouch, now in the Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo, to wrap a small, round lacquer box for a short necklace made from some of his most precious jadeite *magatama* beads (fig. 5b.) The bag was identified by Andō Shiju in 1926, probably based on information from Matsuura’s grandson, as made from a fragment of prized Chinese textile from the Wanli era (1573–1620), the sort of fabric Japanese tea masters used to make bags for their Chinese tea caddies.²⁴

Although missing in the Shigenaga print, the medicine bag is usually accompanied by a walking staff; in the Matsuura *nehanzu*, it is a crooked length of bamboo that extends from above the brocade bag down to the ground. It was identified by Andō as an actual staff that had belonged to the *kanshi* poet Ōtsubo Shibutsu (1767–1837). It is itself inscribed by the well-known calligrapher Kusakabe Meikaku (1838–1922), a good friend of Matsuura, with the date 1886 and a phrase about a staff from a thirteenth-century Zen koan commentary, *The Gateless Barrier* (Ch. *Wu-men kuan*; J. *Mumonkan*).

THE RED-LACQUERED DISPLAY TABLE

Unique to the Kyōsai painting is the display table between the background pines and Matsuura’s one-mat bier (fig. 6). This appears to be a single banquet-length surface, but it is three separate tables placed end to end. They have red-lacquered tops and curved black-lacquered legs inlaid with mother of pearl. Known as “mother-of-pearl tables” (*radenshoku*), they were often used for flower and incense offerings before Buddhist altars. We do not know if Matsuura used such tables for his collection, but they are in contemporary Meiji-period style and the religious association is in keeping with the objects seen here—an array of figurines, with thirty-eight separate items in all.²⁵ The gnarled trunks of the ancient pines in the background stand as witnesses themselves, with gaping facelike hollows, adding to the complexity of the overall tableau.



FIG. 6. Table with figurines. (Detail of fig. 1)

A single figure dominates the assembly, a towering statuette of Guanyu, a powerful Chinese general of the third century, who was early deified in China and whose fame in Japan spread widely with translations and illustrations of the Ming novel *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Here, his elaborate halberd projects high into the clouds, and his fierce red visage surveys the scene below.

Until only recently, just four of these objects were known to have survived, all in the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, where they were first displayed at a special 2001 exhibition. The only one of the four that clearly reveals how Kyōsai brought to life the objects in his painting is a tiny iron casting of Daikoku, one of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, who becomes an animated participant in the front row, far right (figs. 7a, b).²⁶ Two others in the family collection are figurines of Chinese sages, one of Zhuangzi (around fourth century BCE) in his Japanese guise as the bodhisattva Myōraku, reclining on an empty wine jar (front row, center, below Guanyu, and the other of the Daoist sage Laozi, a bearded figure in a yellow robe shown on the *nehanzu* table in the front row to the left (figs. 8a, b).²⁷ Both now appear to be exceptional as objects that were reserved in the family collection as works of artistic value, complete with boxes and inscriptions that describe their provenance. As such, they offered little opportunity to Kyōsai for artistic improvement, especially under the constraint of reducing the painted size to about one-third that of the original.



FIG. 7a. Daikoku. Cast iron. 4 cm. Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture



FIG. 7b. Daikoku. (Detail of fig. 1)



FIG. 8a. Laozi. Japan. Edo period. Earthenware. 18 cm. Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture

Although they do not survive, two other figurines are known from works by Kyōsai: the opening images of the two volumes of *The Pleasures of Scattering Clouds* (*Hatsuun yokyō*, 1877 and 1882), woodblock-printed albums documenting Matsuura's prized antiquarian acquisitions. It is a remarkable work of careful description, edited and annotated by Matsuura himself, with illustrations by various acquaintances. In Kyōsai's *nehanzu*, the two figurines are shown more as physical objects "brought to life." Both represent historical figures of the ancient period; Tachibana no Moroe (684–757), a Nara-period politician, seen on the far right wearing a black court cap; and Sakanoue Tamuramaro, an early Heian general who subdued the Emishi in northern Japan, is the armored figure in the row behind Daikoku and to the left.²⁸

Our understanding of the original objects on the table, however, and of their depiction by Kyōsai, underwent a quantum leap with the revelation of a long-hidden treasure trove of Matsuura's antiquities that surfaced last year in the Seikadō Bunko in Tokyo, introduced first in a detailed catalogue edited by the archaeologist Uchikawa Takashi of Kokugakuin Daigaku, and then in an exhibition.²⁹ It remains unknown how and when Matsuura's collection, most of which is packed into five wooden boxes designed and inscribed by Takeshirō himself, found its way into the Seikadō collection, formed by Iwasaki Yanosuke (1851–1908), the brother and successor of Iwasaki Yatarō, founder of the Mitsubishi conglomerate. The critical source for identifying specific objects is an inventory of the collection in the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum.³⁰

The importance of the Seikadō Bunko collection for the Matsuura *nehanzu* lies most dramatically in the actual *magatama* necklace that Matsuura wears in the painting, but even more revealingly in eighteen of the original objects depicted on the red-lacquered tables. We will return shortly to the necklace, and here look in some detail at the items from the table display, which account for half of the total array. Ten of the eighteen objects are Buddhist, of which five are generic figures of the Buddha, two are bodhisattvas (one Jizō and one Kannon) and three are poet-priests. The two Buddhist items of greatest interest are the brightly painted clay Kannon



FIG. 8b. Laozi. (Detail of fig. 1)

FIG. 9a. Sarutahiko. Earthenware with hand coloring. Japan. Late Edo period. 17.5 cm. Courtesy Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo

FIG. 9b. Sarutahiko. (Detail of fig. 1)



holding a lotus flower to the left of Guanyu, identified in the inventory as “Chinese-made,” and the hanging Buddha just to the left of Guanyu’s head.³¹ The latter has an 8.8 mm gilt-bronze Buddha embedded on each side of a carved wooden mount that is 25.6 cm high. Uchikawa Takashi has noted the rather un-Japanese look of these icons, which may be of Southeast Asian origin. Also of Buddhist lineage, if not strictly a Buddhist icon, is the wooden figurine to the far rear right of Prince Shōtoku, mounted on the black colt that in legend he used to fly over Mount Fuji.

Three of the objects represent Shintō deities. To the far left is a roof tile of the twin deities of Ikaho Shrine in Gunma Prefecture (known for the curative powers of its hot springs); in the front row left of center sits “Okame,” or “Otafuku,” a comical folk figure with round cheeks and a broad brow. In the inventory, she is identified as her prototype, the Shinto deity Ame no Uzume, famed for the lewd dance by which Amaterasu was lured from her cave, as recounted in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

Most appealing of the three Shintō gods in the Seikadō collection, however, is Sarutahiko, known in myth as a god of the land (*kunitsukami*) who guided Prince Ninigi, grandson of Amaterasu, from the High Plain of Heaven to the islands of Japan, and in time became known as the patron saint of travelers. The object itself in the collection is a benign figure holding a branch in one hand and a staff in the other (fig. 9a). His robe is hand-painted in green, his face and hands a reddish brown; the inventory notation, “Made by the dollmaker Sōemon,” identifies it as a Fushimi folk doll, made with clay forms in the river port of Fushimi just south of Kyoto, site of the famous Inari Shrine. The “Sōemon” here is surely a later generation of Ikaruga Sōemon, who was said to have begun the Fushimi doll tradition in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.



Turning to Kyōsai’s version of Sarutahiko (fig. 9b), we see an image that clarified and brightened his standard iconography, featuring a long nose (said to be the model for flying *tengu* goblins), red face and long beard. In Kyōsai’s refashioning, the basic image is maintained, but made more human, while still letting us know that this is a supernatural god.

Two other figures from the collection that appear on the table are wholly distinctive. One is the stern kneeling warrior in the front row, right of center (fig. 10a). It is identified in the inventory as “Warrior (*musba*),” made by Tensensō Shūzan. The artist Yoshimoto Shūzan (1700–1773) was an Osaka painter trained

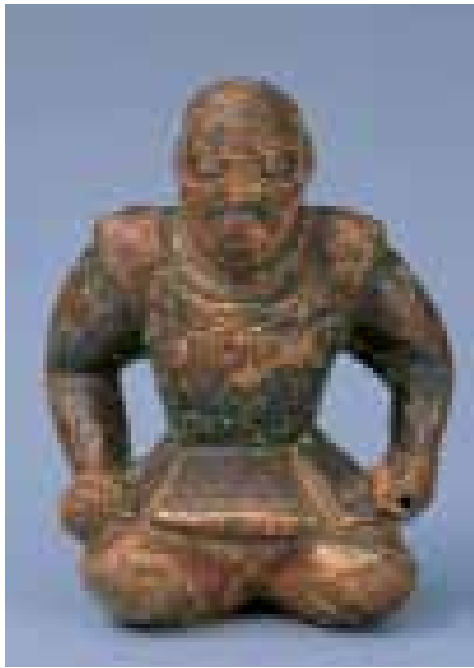


FIG. 10a. Yoshimoto Shūzan. Warrior.
Japan. Edo period, 18th century. Wood.
8.2 cm. Courtesy Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo



FIG. 10b. Warrior. (Detail of fig. 1)

in the Kano school, who was also reputed to be a skilled carver of netsuke miniatures. This samurai figure is 8.3 cm high—larger than a usual netsuke, but still diminutive. In Kyōsai's depiction, his attitude of fierce determination makes up for what he lacks in size (fig. 10b). In an array dominated by buddhas, gods and figures from legend, this generic warrior stands out for his commanding presence.



FIG. 11a. Funerary figurine (*shabti*). Egypt.
Middle Kingdom (before 14th century
BCE). Faience. 7.5 cm. Courtesy Seikadō
Bunko, Tokyo

The final, most unusual object to consider is the ghostly-green statuette that appears to be lurking in the second row back, below and right of Sarutahiko. This is an ancient Egyptian funerary figurine called *shabti* or *ushabti* (J: *shabuti*), made by the process known as Egyptian faience that leaves a lustrous blue-green surface (fig. 11a). Such figurines were imagined as workers who performed labor on behalf of the deceased, and found in large numbers in the tombs of the elite.³² The actual object is only 7.5 cm in height, almost entirely devoid of bodily or facial features, either because of mass production or damage over time, leaving a yellowish cast on the left and a pocked surface (fig. 11b). Kyōsai's depiction nicely captures the mysterious form and alluring colors, lending it an appropriate air of exotic mystery.

There remain numerous figures on the table that are difficult to identify with precision. The only ones distinctive enough to mention are these four: Zaō Gongen, the central deity of the Shugendō mountain cult with which Matsuura felt a special affinity (back row, third from right, holding aloft a *vajra* ritual implement); Mazu (J: Maso), the Chinese goddess of the sea (shown just below and to the right of Zaō, a female with a squarish cap); the familiar kabuki combination of Minamoto no Yoshitsune and his faithful companion, the warrior-monk Benkei (together on a base to the left, in colorful costume); and the seated poet-saint Hitomaro, with his distinctive cap (front row, far left).³³



FIG. 12. Matsuura Takeshirō on bier, including wife to right. (Detail of fig. 1)



FIG. 11b. Egyptian funerary figurine. (Detail of fig. 1)

In surveying the entire tabletop display, taking into account what we now know about the surviving originals, three features stand out. First, most of the figures can be characterized as possessing some amuletic power. Well over half are in some way Buddhist; about one-quarter are from the pantheons of Shintō and folk religion; and most of the remainder are personages from history and legend worthy of reverence. Second, they are small in actual size—an average of 13 cm in height.³⁴

Finally, despite the bright colors of Kyōsai's painting, the surviving pieces look and feel *old*—worn, chipped and faded, appropriate to the category of “old things” (*kobutsu*) to which they were assigned. In short, Matsuura selected these objects for their religious/cultural symbolism, their manageable size and their apparent antiquity.

Most important, we know that all held deep personal meaning for him and were things he wanted as a protective presence at his transition.

PROTAGONIST AND LEADING ACTORS

Let us now move downward to the large group of figures surrounding Matsuura's bier, inspecting first the detailed portrait of the “napping” protagonist himself (fig. 12). He does not appear to be dead or dying, but dreaming; his right elbow strongly supports his head, and his left hand seems to grasp part of the complex necklace that he wears (fig. 13). We now know that it consists of 243 separate items, mostly curved *magatama* (including some prized specimens made of jadeite), cylindrical *kudatama* and round crystal beads.³⁵

Kyōsai captures the complexity of the arrangement of beads, which probably emulates a pattern used for necklaces worn in historical times for Shintō shrine ceremonies. Matsuura was considered one of the great



FIG. 13. *Magatama* necklace. Japan. Yayoi period, with some beads dating from Jōmon to Meiji periods. Jadeite, jasper, agate, talc, crystal and glass. Courtesy Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo



FIG. 14. Matsuura Takeshirō with *magatama* necklace. 1885. Photograph. Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture



FIG. 15. “Beware of Flames” (*Hi no yōjin*) tobacco pouch signed by Iwaya Ichiroku (1834–1905) at request of Matsuura Takeshirō. Japan. Meiji period, early 1880s. Faux-leather paper (*gikakushi*). 19.5 x 15 cm. Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture

magatama collectors and connoisseurs of his era, when they were being unearthed in ever greater numbers. The sole surviving photograph of him shows him wearing this necklace (fig. 14). After Edward Sylvester Morse visited Matsuura at his home in late 1882, he described him as having the “greatest collection of these objects in Japan,” and was shown an assortment of necklaces on specially designed display stands in the tokonoma alcove.³⁶ [For Morse, see the essay by Jonathan Reynolds in this issue. Ed.]

In the hanging scroll, Matsuura wears a patchwork vest and padded robe (*doteru*). His left hand clasps, together with one of the *magatama* strands, a tobacco pouch with a conspicuous inscription, “Beware of flames” (*Hi no yōjin*). Like the *magatama* beads, this faux-leather paper (*gikakushi*) pouch was one of his trademarks. He was in the habit of replacing it every year with a new one inscribed by a different acquaintance; one such pouch survives in the family collection (fig. 15).³⁷ Its inclusion here suggests that each person signing a “Hi no yōjin” pouch must have considered it a special favor to be asked. (Ironically, Matsuura generally shunned tobacco, so the pouch served more as a decorative ornament connecting him to friends and their homages than a functional accessory.) In Kyōsai’s staging, Matsuura has a serene countenance and a look of casual elegance.

Shown at the foot of the bier to the right, clothed in black mourning dress and reaching out to touch his foot, is Matsuura’s wife, Tō. She fits the conventional iconography of the “Old Woman” (*rōba*) who appears in the same posture in standard *nehanzu*.³⁸ Here the widow-to-be covers her face with her right arm, denying any sense of personal identity beyond the white family crest on her robe.³⁹ Matsuura’s grandson Magota reported that after the death of his “tough” grandfather, his “frail” grandmother always appeared much as she was depicted in the *nehanzu*.⁴⁰ She is also one of the few in the entire painting who seems genuinely overtaken by grief.

No previous commentators have considered the identity of the distinctive figure in the dress of a Confucian scholar lying on his side in front of the bier to the left (fig. 16). His relaxed position is shared in the painting only



FIG. 16. “Ananda” figure. (Detail of fig. 1)

FIG. 17. Ono Kozan at age 96. From Ono Hōsui, ed., *A Short Biography of Ono Kozan* (*Ono Kozan-ō shōden*) (Toyohashi: Toyohashi-shi Kyōiku Inkai, 1931), frontispiece



by Matsuura himself. In conventional *nehanzu* iconography, the prostrate central mourner signals Ananda, the favorite disciple of the Buddha, always shown stretched out in front of the bier in monk’s garb, usually facing to the right, with eyes closed (see the example in fig. 4). The figure here is even physically closer to the bier than most examples of Ananda, lying directly to the lower left, more diminutive than Matsuura, but almost able to touch his arm. The suspicion is strong that this is someone of special intimacy.

The figure also has the look of a real person. One obvious candidate immediately emerged: the poet Ono Kozan, Matsuura’s old friend and neighbor, and the one who composed the dedication for the lid to the box in which the *nehanzu* is stored—an intimate linkage to the painting itself. I soon discovered a photograph of Kozan that seems to clinch the case (fig. 17). Although taken some two decades later, when Kozan was ninety-six, the resemblance is plausible, particularly the eyes. Kyōsai’s painting shows a much fuller face, and has a slight element of caricature that only makes the resemblance more persuasive.

This injection of a sympathetic portrait of a close living friend into the Matsuura *nehanzu* adds an even stronger personal element to the painting as a whole, and reminding us that the One-Mat Room, which was taking shape in the same years, was similarly a commemoration of friendships.



FIG. 18. Center group around bier.
(Detail of fig. 1)

In fact, Kozan had contributed one of the three prefaces to *A Solicitation of Wood Scraps*, the printed catalogue of the One-Mat Room.⁴¹ Kozan had first met Matsuura in 1849, so they were longtime friends when both settled in 1872 on the same plot of land in Kanda Goken-chō. Kozan would certainly have stopped by Matsuura's house from time to time during 1883–86, when work on the *nehanzu* was in full swing, and he doubtless made suggestions about the creation in progress. The abundance of imagery derived directly from Chinese culture may reflect his influence. Matsuura likely asked Kyōsai to place him in the honored position of Ananda, the one closest to him.

It has been proposed that the imposing figure in black court dress directly above Matsuura's wife is Iwakura Tomomi (1825–1883). Iwakura was a court noble whom Matsuura came to know through his own imperial loyalist activities in the Bakumatsu era (1854–68). The identification is based on the recollection of Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872–1963), a well-known scholar of Japanese literature, whose father took him to visit Matsuura in spring 1882, when Nobutsuna was only nine years old. Near the end of the visit, the host pointed to a scroll hanging in the corner of the room, saying “This is a picture of my nirvana. I am sleeping under the trees. That noble is Count Iwakura. My favorite dog and cat are also there.” Iwakura died just

over a year after Sasaki's visit, so Matsuura may have decided that it would be inappropriate to include his portrait in the *nehanzu*.⁴² The figure may represent Tenjin.

THE GALLERY OF MOURNERS AROUND THE BIER

Surrounding Matsuura's bier are thirty-eight mourners (excluding the three living people discussed above), of which seven are conceived as pairs (fig. 18). Like the figurines on the red tabletops, these are images drawn largely from Matsuura's collection—but of two-dimensional paintings (some of which are now in the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum), rather than three-dimensional sculptures. The distinction is crucial; in effect, the works themselves were not copied, but the figures within them were *extracted* and reconstituted as mourners.

Even so, most do not appear to be mourning at all. Only six (two pairs, two single figures—about 15 percent of the total) are clearly weeping, all indicated by hands raised to their eyes.⁴³ Most of the other faces around the bier are routine and impassive. The weepers (strategically spaced around the bier) seem little more than a perfunctory gesture to the *nehanzu* convention of pervasive grief, with the exception of the stylized court noble to the far right, probably a version of Tenjin, whose personal grief would be of great solace to the dreaming Takeshirō.

Some of the paintings that served as models for the *nehanzu* were shown in the exhibition of *Hokkai Dōjin Napping Under the Pines* in early 2001.⁴⁴ These six hanging scrolls are the indisputable sources for nine of the figures gathered around the bier, a bit under 25 percent of the total.⁴⁵ Most follow the original models closely, but some have clever rearrangements—one a

FIG. 19a. Kano Korenobu. Detail of *Gentleman Fishing (Kōshi tsuri zu)*. Japan. Muromachi period, 16th century. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 77.4 x 33.8 cm. Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture

FIG. 19b. Gentleman fishing. (Detail of fig. 1)





FIG. 20. Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu.
(Detail of fig. 1)

FIG. 21. Kawanabe Kyōsai. *Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu by Fujiwara Nobuzane*, from *Kyōsai's Talks on Painting (Kyōsai gadan)*, vol. 3, 34V-35R. Japan. Meiji period, 1887. Color woodblock-printed illustrated book. 25.5 x 32.2 cm (double page). Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



painting by Kano Korenobu (c. 1501–1540) of a Chinese gentleman fishing with his servant boy holding a basket for the catch, is a classic depiction of the idyllic life of a Confucian recluse (fig. 19a). Kyōsai repositioned the two figures, taking the fishing rod from the gentleman and placing it alongside the servant and his basket, and turning both into weeping mourners (fig. 19b).

As for the twenty-odd figures for which no surviving models are known, we can assume that they derive from paintings in Matsuura's collection that were later dispersed. Hayashi Shōtarō speculated that two of these are represented in the *nehanzu*. One relates to the figure of Jurōjin (another of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune), whose tall cap projects directly into the space below Matsuura's necklace. Probably this is taken from the painting by Kano Motonobu (1476–1559), mentioned in Kyōsai's oath as "Jurō." The reclining deer at the upper center of the animal group may have been adopted from the same painting, as it has the iconic marks of the white deer that conventionally accompanies Jurōjin. The "arhat (*rakan*)" mentioned in the oath as the work of "Chō Densu," a medieval Zen painter-monk now more commonly known as Minchō (1352–1431), may have reappeared as the arhat weeping and extending an incense burner toward Matsuura's back (just above his left hand).

Although not mentioned by Hayashi, the third of the four paintings in Kyōsai's oath—a court poet by Fujiwara Nobuzane (1176–1265)—is the model for the noble in black to the far upper right (fig. 20). The courtier represents Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu (921–991), one of the Thirty-Six Poetic Immortals, and although the painting itself does not survive, it became one of Kyōsai's proudest acquisitions, documented and reproduced in detail in *Kyōsai's Talks on Painting* (fig. 21).⁴⁶ This supports the contention that imagery from at least one of the four paintings that Matsuura gave Kyōsai appears in the *nehanzu* as a direct copy, and that the Motonobu Jurōjin and the Minchō *rakan* were employed similarly.

The fourth painting given to Kyōsai by Matsuura, described as a “screen by Moronobu,” remains the only one that cannot plausibly be connected to any of the actual images in the *nehanzu*. The only candidates for the style of the ukiyo-e artist Hishikawa Moronobu (1630/31?–1694) are those in the Lady Maya group mentioned above, but this link remains unpersuasive.

Many figures around the bier can be identified by iconography, if not by specific models. Particularly conspicuous are three separate versions of “Tenjin Visiting China” (Totō Tenjin), based on the legend that he miraculously flew to China in 1241 (over three centuries after the death of the historical Michizane) and became a Chan (Zen) initiate. This version of Tenjin appears in Daoist garb, holding a plum branch; it was a motif of particular appeal to Takeshirō, given his own experience as a Zen priest.⁴⁷ Other figures surrounding the bier include the Zen patriarch Bodhidharma (just below the lower right corner of the bier); the Indian lay practitioner of Buddhism Vimalakirti (J: Yuima) (directly above Takeshirō’s feet); the Chinese demon-queller Shōki (right of Hotei); and the Chinese female immortal Kasenko (C: He Xiangu) (left of Takeshirō’s head).⁴⁸

THE ANIMAL KINGDOM BELOW

The bottom register of conventional Japanese *nehanzu* is reserved for a wide variety of beasts, birds, fish and even insects, all mourning the Buddha’s death. The Matsuura *nehanzu* fits the model in a general way, but with odd variations and additions that can only be explained with reference to the principal himself (fig. 22).

FIG. 22. Bottom register animals. (Detail of fig. 1)



One key to the logic of this curious mix was advanced by Fujita Noboru after he first saw the actual *nehanzu* at the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum in fall 1999.⁴⁹ The critical document, he discovered, was a recollection in 1926 by Takeshirō's grandson Magota about the family house in Kanda Goken-chō:

He built the Kanda Goken-chō house in 1872. It was an area of former daimyo mansions, now abandoned and overgrown. The lot was some 4000 *tsubo* [1.3 ha] surrounded by a mud wall topped with tile. Of this, he rented 600 *tsubo*, of which half was given to his friend Ono Kozan for a house. . . . The rear area into which the One-Mat Room projected was planted in red pines, willows, a bamboo grove, plums, apricots, and pears. It was a veritable *rus in urbe*, secluded and quiet. The garden around the One-Mat Room had stone sculptures of the Sixteen Rakan and the Seven Gods of Fortune, with antique roof tiles scattered here and there. But most of the surrounding area was fit for the nests of spiders, bats, and snakes. Foxes would appear from time to time, and the cries of rails and geese echoed across the pond.⁵⁰

This description enables us to understand much of the lower *nehanzu* as an evocation of the unkempt garden behind Matsuura's home, of which the completed One-Mat Room would become a viewing platform. Crucial to this identification is the mention of stone images, the Sixteen Rakan and the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, which appear in the *nehanzu* below left and right, each painted a spectral gray in an abbreviated manner.

Frederick Starr described these groups as “rough and rugged stones heaped together” all evoking gods in “natural or erosional sculptures.” Starr did not specifically identify the “gods” involved, or how precisely they might have recalled any one god in particular. But Kyōsai's painting skillfully captures both the sense of grotesquely shaped natural rocks and the specificity of the gods represented. The Seven Gods group shows five of the seven (missing Bishamonten and Benzaiten), all distinguishable; the Sixteen Rakan number just twelve, each clearly articulated. We may suspect that the painted rocks are even more expressive than the actual rock-gods in Matsuura's back garden—which were available to Kyōsai for close study while he worked on the *nehanzu*. (The two *shishi* lions between those two groups may also be garden ornaments, but clearly carved out of stone, rather than natural rocks.)

Between and below the stone groups are numerous living creatures of the sort expected to be in such an untamed back garden in this area of mid-Meiji Tokyo. Many can be linked to the water of the pond—frogs, turtles, a carp, an eel, a goose and other water fowl or small birds—sixteen varieties in all. Closer to home, quite literally, are the spotted family dog and cat to the lower right, identified as such to Sasaki and his young son while the painting was underway.⁵¹

The white deer of Jurōjin has already been mentioned. Two monkeys to the far lower right are copied directly from a pair of scroll paintings in the family collection by the Muromachi-period artist Fusō Shūkō.⁵² Other animals that may have been adopted from Matsuura paintings are a crow, mule, toad and ox (all on the right-hand side), and to the left of the white deer, a



FIG. 23. Saitō Shūho. *Nebanzu* of Sengai Gibon. Japan. Edo period, c. 1834. Hanging scroll; ink and light color on paper. 132.7 x 63.5 cm. Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo

end of his life. The resulting painting was predictably something of a hodgepodge. In the words of Matsuura's biographer Yoshida Takezō, who had actually seen the painting in the Tokyo home of Matsuura Kazuo (Takeshirō's great-grandchild), it was a work "lacking in elegance (*gakaku*)—but interesting and unusual."⁵⁴

myna bird pecking at a persimmon and a hawk. Two are figurines, an elephant and a *baku* (a mythical Chinese beast said to eat dreams), both near the rump of the white deer in the center.

A distinctive set of objects is the group of nine wooden or papier-mâché folk toys. Matsuura was not known for collecting such objects, but if he did (as these depictions suggest), he was an early pioneer of a practice that would unfold in the late Meiji period and soon develop into the veritable cult that it remains today.⁵³ Dominant among the toys is the "colt of Miharu" (Miharugoma), the black decorated horse sold in the Miharu market in Fukushima Prefecture, and known to bring luck in raising healthy children. Others are deer from Kasuga Shrine in Nara; a bullfinch from Dazaifu Tenmangū Shrine in northern Kyushu; and a tiger, monkey, jointed snake, lion-dance mask and fish-shaped temple drum. As Starr understood, most such "toys" were votive trinkets sold near shrines and temples.

All are either physical objects or painted representations, and, in principle, Matsuura's possessions. Kyōsai may have inserted his own version of a theme or image, but Matsuura must have agreed it was appropriate to his own concerns. The overall image is of an old man taking a nap, surrounded by objects of meaning to him. Frederick Starr called these "strange and incongruous elements" chosen to suit the "fancy of the old man." But this overlooks the most important commonality: objects with talismanic power—not a "collection" of objects to be bought or sold, but rather symbolic representations of the deities and venerables Matsuura dreamed of gathering around him at the

THE SENGAI PRECEDENT

The very idea of depicting a person still alive as if he were the dying Buddha seems so startling, even sacrilegious, that no one considered the possibility that Matsuura was not the first to come up with it. In its daring and originality, it seemed comparable only to the famous *Vegetable Nirvana* of Itō Jakuchū (1716–1800), of about 1780, depicting the Buddha as a giant radish, surrounded by numerous other vegetables and fruits as mourners. As Moerman notes, the idea “might seem blasphemous to some,” but he calls on the work of Yoshiaki Shimizu to argue that it was a Zen-influenced work of memorialization inspired by Jakuchū’s own family business as greengrocers.⁵⁵ Matsuura’s idea seems utterly different—similarly permeated by Buddhist sentiment, but far more materialistic in replacing the mourners with one’s objects of admiration.

At the start of this essay, I indicated that there does exist a clear precedent: a *nehanzu* of the Zen painter-monk Gibon Sengai (1750–1837) by Saitō Shūho (1769–1859). Like the Matsuura *nehanzu*, it not only shows a still-living person in place of the recumbent Buddha, it also includes personal possessions among the mourners. The painting survives today in two versions, one of which is in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo (fig. 23). The other version is in the temple Shōfukuji in Fukuoka—the first Zen temple in Japan, founded in 1195, of which Sengai was abbot from 1789 to 1811.⁵⁶

The Sengai *nehanzu* by Shūho is a more modest painting than Kyōsai’s work. It is smaller in each dimension by about 20 cm, and painted mostly in ink, with some flesh tones and brighter colors added. While Kyōsai’s *nehanzu* provides painstaking colorful detail, requiring years for completion, Shūho’s *nehanzu* is in a light, rapid style and was probably finished quickly. The painting is unsigned, but the identities of the artist and of the body on the platform have been long preserved as oral tradition at Shōfukuji.

The poem to the top right is by Futagawa Sukechika (1767–1836), a samurai retainer of the Kuroda domain of Fukuoka who became known as a master of calligraphy, as well as a composer of various forms of verse. His poem builds on one of Sengai’s own *waka*, titled “A Signature for My Painting and Calligraphy,” which provides only the first four phrases of a 5/7/5/7/7 *waka*, leaving an empty space for one of his own art names (*gō*) in place of the final seven-syllable phrase: “The flow of my brush as I write is like white clouds left to the winds. . . .”⁵⁷

As his poem for the *nehanzu*, Sukechika provided his own seven-syllable phrase, “Left to the brush” (*fude ni makasete*), but placed it at the *start* of the poem rather than in the space provided by Sengai’s template, thereby echoing Sengai’s own final phrase “left to the winds” (*kaze ni makasete*). Sukechika’s complete poem might thus be rendered: “Here left to the brush: [as Sengai wrote,] ‘The flow of my brush as I write is like white clouds left to the winds.’” In other words, whereas Sengai turned over the flow of his brush to the winds, here the *nehanzu* painting is itself “left to the brush.” This must refer to the large brush that appears at the bottom of the painting, from which issues a cloudlike balloon like those from the

early Edo period in popular illustrations to represent a dream.⁵⁸ We shall return to the possible identity of this particular brush in a moment.

The second poem, upper left, is by another Fukuoka samurai, Saitō Gurendō (d. mid-1830s), who made his career in Edo (perhaps stationed in the Kuroda domain mansion), and became known in the world of *kyōka* poetry after study under Akera Kankō (1740–1799), a master of the genre. He presumably returned frequently to Fukuoka to participate in *kyōka* circles there, where he would naturally have come into contact with Sengai. His verse, a *kyōka* in form and spirit, reads: “Like a fart quickly vanishing, a dream seen by a napping brush, with plants and trees: insentient, yet sentient.”⁵⁹ Here, Sukechika’s elegant image of the brush as a dream driven by clouds is brought abruptly down to earth by the simile of a fart that “quickly vanishes,” using a vulgar image for the venerable poetic themes of evanescence and transcendence. Then a new and critical connection is made: the dream depicted is something “seen by a napping brush,” a notion that continues to personify the brush itself.

And, finally, we come to the third poem, by Sengai himself, a seventeen-syllable *hokku* to the lower left of the pine trees: “On the pine branch: is it a hanging turd? *Nattō* soup.”⁶⁰ We just encountered similarly scatological imagery in the evanescent fart of Gurendō’s *kyōka*, and we will see it again in the depiction of a foul-smelling bucket within the painting. Suffice it to say that such a down-to-earth mentality is common to Zen, and typical of Sengai’s paintings. The specific reference is to the straw packet seen hanging from the left-most pine branch, an obvious parody of the venerable medicine bag in standard *nehanzu* (which was respectfully followed by Kyōsai). Even today, many Japanese will recognize this straw bundle as the distinctive packaging (now mostly from the Mito area) for the fermented soybeans known as *nattō*, long a staple of the Zen temple diet and today popular throughout Japan. The excretory reference is to the distinctive fermented odor of *nattō*—known to have been a favorite dish of Sengai.⁶¹

Turning to the painting itself, we note that the grove of trees consists of pines, rather than sala trees, a key similarity to the Matsuura *nehanzu*. Very different, however, is the treatment of the Lady Maya retinue, seen in the Matsuura *nehanzu* as a group of Yoshiwara courtesans. Here, the descent is not from the clouds, but from a hanging scroll, from which a small balloon exudes, yielding a tiny depiction not of anything Buddhist, but rather the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, a stock Daoist theme of poetic reclusion. Within the balloon-cloud is a group of seven miniscule standing figures, while the bamboo grove where they habitually gathered remains behind in the scroll painting itself. We may imagine that a Zen monk like Sengai, steeped in Chinese learning, would have been pleased by this motif.

Moving down into the painting, we see a plain, white, blocklike bier, decorated on the two visible sides with simplified cloud patterns, suggesting some sort of elevation and allusion to the “white clouds” of Sukechika’s verse. Sengai’s resting body faces away from the viewer, a clear rejection of *nehanzu* convention. His head is pillowed on his arm; his garb is extremely simple—a plain white garment with a sash. We must assume that he is

sleeping, indifferent to our attention, and the image of a nap (introduced in Sukechika's poem as that of the brush itself) seems appropriate, especially in the details of a fan next to his head, and the careful delineation of all five toes on a single foot.

Around the dream-cloud platform are assembled fifty-odd figures, of which about three dozen are mere ciphers. But closer inspection of the others reveals appealing variation—some half-dozen grieving, but many others smiling or laughing. The overall impression is that of a lively social gathering, rather than a wake. Three figures in particular attract our attention. First are the only two women in the entire group, especially the one who occupies the canonical position of the “Old Woman” at the foot of the bier, her left hand reaching out to touch Sengai's waiting foot, while she remains at a respectful distance. Just above her is the other woman in the group, wiping her tears with a sleeve. Sengai had very dedicated women followers, of whom the most likely candidate for the “Old Lady” is Ogiō Ino, the wife of a greengrocer in Hakata (the port area of Fukuoka), who has been described as a great “fan” of Sengai, and became a nun after his death. The other woman might be a separate “Ino,” who took care of Sengai's daily needs after his retirement.⁶²

The other striking figure is the prostrate monk to the middle right, who calls to mind the the Ananda figure in all standard *nehanzu*, but who here irregularly faces left and is placed to the right. Most oddly, he seems almost a laterally reversed image of Sengai on the bier above. Although he must represent someone close to Sengai, his identity remained a mystery until I raised the issue with Nakayama Kiichirō, a Sengai expert at the Fukuoka Art Museum.⁶³ Nakayama immediately proposed Tange Tōi, who succeeded Sengai as abbot of Shōfukuji following Sengai's retirement in 1811 at age sixty-two. Tange was Sengai's closest disciple, but also known as a “difficult” one because of his stubbornness, which may explain his isolated and prostrate position in the *nehanzu*. Tange would later cause Sengai further strife when he was exiled from the Fukuoka domain in 1837 for political reasons, obliging Sengai to return and fill in as abbot at an advanced age and in poor health. At any rate, Tange seems the obvious candidate for this unorthodox version of the disciple Ananda.

SENGAI'S THINGS

Let us finally turn to the intriguing mixture of objects at the bottom of the Sengai *nehanzu* in figure 23. The Japanese *nehanzu* convention called for an assortment of birds and beasts in this lower area, with many of the faces visibly grieving. In contrast to the numerous animals in the Matsuura *nehanzu*, the only natural world seen here is the nonsentient plant kingdom. Over ten types of edible vegetables are shown, most in an array to the lower right that includes a mountain yam (*yama-imo*), turnip, radish, mushrooms, water chestnuts, bamboo shoot, lotus root and some eggplants. These are the ingredients of the everyday vegetarian diet of a Zen monk like Sengai. Above, we find a group of plants not for eating but for display in pots, doubtless a hobby of Sengai. Most elaborate is a pine

FIG. 24. Sengai *nebanzu* and some of his personal possessions, Sengai exhibition at Tōkyū Nihonbashi department store, Tokyo, 1986. Courtesy Shōfukuji Temple, Fukuoka



bonsai, resting on a small wooden table with curved legs rather like the display tables in the Matsuura *nebanzu*. The table itself, along with several other objects that belonged to Sengai and survive at Shōfukuji, was placed in an alcove beneath the *nebanzu* in a 1986 exhibition (fig. 24).⁶⁴ There are also some oddly shaped rocks of the sort prized in Chinese and Japanese literati culture; the one below and a bit to the left of the wooden stand in the *nebanzu* appears in the exhibition photo, figure 24, immediately in front of the same stand. These reflect Sengai's participation in a group of "rock lovers" (*aisekitō*) that included Futagawa Sukechika.⁶⁵

Also included are more practical objects from the Sinophile literati culture in which Sengai lived. Some are writing tools, including two inkstones and an ink screen, an accessory intended to keep dust away from the inkstones. We also find a pair of writing brushes and three rolled-up calligraphy scrolls; various accessories for the Chinese-style *sencha* steeped-tea ritual, with seven cups near the center having bird figures; to the left, two heating devices for tea water; and below them, two typical *sencha* teapots.

Predictably, there is also a variety of Buddhist ritual objects, including two censers (one in the shape of an elephant, another of a bird), and a *hossu*, the horsehair "fly whisk" that was a symbol of priestly authority (foreground of figure 24). Bowls, cups, a larger teapot, a flower case, two gourds for water or perhaps *sake*, a purse with a clasp and a pouch with drawstring (perhaps for seals or medicine) convey a sense of daily life. We also find a straw hat with high crown, a pair of eyeglasses to the bottom left, and a mechanical alarm clock with weighted cords.⁶⁶

While most objects in the Sengai *nebanzu* seem functional, some have symbolic weight. Yatsunami Hirokazu, a curator at the Idemitsu Museum

and an expert in the work of Sengai, has made some interesting suggestions about such hidden meanings. For example, the two long looping strands recall strings of Buddhist prayer beads. These are not the familiar compact circles of beads, however, but are drawn as long coils that Yatsunami identifies as fragments of decaying rope. This motif is used in several Sengai paintings as a metaphor for misguided judgment, as a strand of rope can be mistaken for a snake under the dim light of the moon, yielding an erroneous preconception of danger at night.⁶⁷ The moral lesson is that having an unbiased viewpoint is the basis for correct living. If correct, this suggests that other serious Zen-related didactic messages may be included in the *nehanzu*.

Also provocative is Yatsunami's observation that objects near the center of the painting are either knocked on their sides (a potted plant and two red-lacquer cups), or shown upside down (a small mask of Otafuku, whom we saw as a figurine in the Matsuura *nehanzu*). These objects, Yatsunami suggests, are shown in a toppled posture of grief over the nirvana of Sengai. Like the didactic meaning of the rope strands, this representation of mourning brings to the Sengai painting a higher level of Buddhist philosophy and sentiment than is immediately apparent.

The last object to consider in figure 23 is the large barrel-like tub left of center with a ladle resting on the edge, over which stands a man in a woven bamboo hat and dressed as an ordinary servant, conspicuously holding his nose. On and below the tub are scalloped lines that may indicate the emanation of odors. A night-soil bucket comes to mind, but the ladle seems out of place. Perhaps this is rather a link to Sengai's poem about *nattō* soup, which explicitly alludes to a foul smell. In a large Zen temple like Shōfukuji, *nattō* soup might have been served in the refectory from just such a large vat, by just such a temple servant. So this humorous vignette is likely another reflection of the abbot's personal pleasures.

THE CREATION OF THE SENGAI NEHANZU

What exactly were the circumstances in which Shūho's painting of the nirvana of Sengai was created? As the painting is undated, we must search for other evidence within the painting itself. Most obvious, it was a group effort of Sengai and three younger men with whom he was known to be intimate, produced in some relaxed venue, the atmosphere likely enhanced by drink (which Sengai much enjoyed). The first commentators on the painting in 1986 referred to its clearly "playful" quality, one characterizing it as a *giga*, or "playful painting."⁶⁸

The most intriguing feature of the painting is the striking conception of a large brush that "dreams" the scene of Sengai's nirvana. To explain this, I draw on Uratsuji Kendō's unorthodox biography of Sengai.⁶⁹ Uratsuji proposed that the source for the dreaming brush was a curious project that Sengai undertook in 1832, at the age of eighty-two, to erect a stone monument adjacent to his retirement residence at Shōkokuji, declaring his "farewell to brushes" (*zeppitsu*).⁷⁰ This declaration by Sengai that he would

not use his brushes anymore was apparently a plea to followers to stop besieging him with requests for paintings. The monument inscription announces, as his final poem: “Casting away my brushes in the dark harbor of Hakata, I let the waves and wind cleanse my sins of writing.”

As always, a *waka* verse harbors various layers of meaning, but at the most literal level, Sengai declares that he has thrown his brushes (or his one symbolic brush) into Hakata Bay.⁷¹ Moving directly to the *nehanzu*, we can imagine that the vortex from which the large brush emerges represents the dark waters into which Sengai had cast his brush(es), which now surface with a vengeance to realize Sengai’s death. But Sengai’s declaration proved short-lived; he produced many more paintings in his remaining five years.

I am also informed by Nakayama Kiichirō that in advance of the actual stone monument declaring his *zeppitsu*, Sengai had produced paintings of the proposed monument itself.⁷² Hence, word that he intended to “abandon the brush” must have spread quickly among the *haikai* and *kyōka* circles of Hakata in which Sengai was so deeply embedded, and it became a widespread topic of conversation. Nakayama suggests that a gathering of Sengai and his closest friends took place not long after the *zeppitsu* monument went up, in the tenth month of 1832. Perhaps a flash of group inspiration provoked the image of a brush reappearing from the depths of Hakata Bay to dream of Sengai’s own death. I concur with Uratsuji in positing a date of “about 1833” for this brilliant *nehanzu* parody.

MATSUURA AND THE SENGAI NEHANZU

A direct connection between the Sengai and Matsuura *nehanzu* was recently made by Yamamoto Mei, curator of the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum since its founding in 1994. In a joint research project to study Matsuura’s complex regional networks of antiquarian acquaintances, Yamamoto joined with Miura Yasuyuki of the Historical Museum of Hokkaido to investigate the case of Etō Masazumi (1836–1911), born into a samurai family of the Fukuoka branch domain of Akizuki (where Shūho was an official painter for over two decades).⁷³ Etō became a member of the new Shintō bureaucracy of early Meiji, and chief priest of the Dazaifu Tenmangū Shrine in Fukuoka from 1873. Because Dazaifu was a major center of the Tenjin cult (as Michizane’s place of exile and death), Etō became an obvious contact for a dedicated Tenjin worshipper like Matsuura.

The relationship between the two men was complex, as the proud Kyushu samurai scion-turned-Shintō-priest competed in collectibles and antiquarian knowledge with Matsuura, whom he both admired and envied. At some point in the later Meiji period, Etō composed a manuscript entitled *A Record of Regrets (Ikanroku)*, which catalogued his collecting energies and anxieties, “regretting” things he had been unable to acquire, things he owned that others coveted, things he had failed to buy when he should have, things that were stolen—and so forth.

Of the twenty-eight topics in *A Record of Regrets*, one chronicled Etō’s relationship with Matsuura. He recorded that Matsuura had made twelve

visits to Kyushu between 1878 and 1887 to carry out pilgrimages of the great temples and shrines of the area, and would always stay with Etō when stopping by Dazaifu. He then elaborated his resentment of Matsuura's repeated efforts to acquire his prized painting by the celebrated Kano Tan'yū (1602–1674) of a White-Robed Kannon (Byakue Kannon). Etō refused to sell the painting, but he relented and agreed to “loan” it. The painting was never returned, and survives today in the collection of the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum. It is prominently depicted in the *nehanzu*, as Etō discovered when he called at Matsuura's home in Tokyo in March 1886. Although Matsuura was away on travels at the time, his wife brought out the *nehanzu*—which would have just been completed—for Etō's inspection. Etō described what he saw:

It was a large hanging scroll, and when I took one look at it hanging in the tokonoma alcove, I saw that he had imitated Sengai, the late abbot of Shōfukuji, who commissioned Saitō Shūho to make a painting of his own nirvana in the manner of the Buddha. So Takeshirō had Seisei Kyōsai paint his nirvana, and it is a large and lively work. Looking closely, one sees Takeshirō lying on a platform, and around him are gathered a Confucian scholar [presumably Ono Kozan, the “Ananda” figure], the Old Woman [Takeshirō's wife], a sumō wrestler [presumably the large-bellied Hotei], and various birds and beasts, appearing to lament his nirvana. Above is a row of large pines, and in front [of the bier] hangs that scroll of the White-Robed Kannon. I realized how I had been duped, and was very angry.⁷⁴

By Etō's account, Matsuura “imitated” (*mogi shi*) Sengai in commissioning a painting of his own *nirvana*, something that would not have been possible unless Matsuura had seen it on one of his many trips to Kyushu. We should recall that Matsuura had trained as a Zen priest in Kyushu, so must have been familiar with Sengai's career as the abbot of Shōfukuji.

With this presumption that Matsuura had direct knowledge of Sengai's *nehanzu*, what might he have learned from it? Foremost was the possibility of a nirvana painting of a living person. By Uratsuji's account, Sengai explicitly requested a “living *nehanzu*” from Shūho, so Matsuura may have felt justified in following the example of a celebrated but modest Zen master.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Several basic similarities stand out between the two paintings, features that had no precedents in conventional *nehanzu*. First was a motif already mentioned—the grove of pine trees that replaced the canonical eight pairs of sala trees. Looking over the many types of variant *nehanzu* that D. Max Moerman has surveyed, all the trees that appear in the background are standard sala (although some have no trees at all, and Jakuchū's use of cornstalks makes his work a total outlier). In Sengai's case, the inspiration might have come from the pine grove (*matsubara*), where the friends of the painter Shūho had held his welcome-back party in about 1830–31, and which (according to Uratsuji) led to Sengai's request for a “living *nehanzu*.” At any rate, the pine precedent may have inspired Matsuura.

Other continuities from Sengai to Matsuura center on the themes of dreaming and napping. Ono Kozan, in his dedication on the storage box, referred explicitly to the Kyōsai painting as showing Matsuura's "pleasure of dreaming" (*muchū no raku*). The reclining figure's beatific mien does suggest reverie. The idea of napping has an even more direct link, between the "nap" (*hirune*) in the Gurendō poem on the Sengai *nehanzu*, and the "nap" (*gosui*) in the formal title of the Matsuura work. Of course, the later *nehanzu* lacks the association between "a dream seen by napping brush," and his "farewell brush" that returns from Hakata Bay to dream of Sengai's nirvana. And because it is Sengai's own brush, we imagine that Sengai *himself* is napping and dreaming of the way in which he might wish to enter nirvana. This basic continuity with Matsuura is the way the napping dreamer is envisioning his departure from the world as a way of preparing for it.

But we must finally attend to what is both a similarity between the Sengai and Matsuura *nehanzu*, and the most fundamental difference between them: namely, the nature of the mourners. Both paintings deviate from the *nehanzu* formula of deities and followers around the bier, and creatures of the animal kingdom below. In the case of Sengai, deities are absent, but human beings are numerous. Most have the look of good friends at a party. In the case of Matsuura, only two or three demonstrably real human beings are shown.

The Matsuura *nehanzu* operates at two distinct levels: that of physical objects in the real world that were in his possession; and that of the worlds *beyond* those things that they represented. This was the insight of Kishi Fumikazu, who drew on Krzysztof Pomian's notion of a "collection" as something that exists to represent invisible worlds by means of visible things.⁷⁵ So every "thing" from Matsuura's collection that Kyōsai depicted was inevitably linked to other worlds: Daoist wizards and recluses; Buddhas and bodhisattvas; legends and deified historical actors; and sacred shrines, temples and mountains.

Sengai's "things" are objects in the real world, intended for daily use and enjoyment. They are things to eat, to cultivate and to use as tools. The creatures in the lower register of Matsuura's portrait relate to the unkempt garden he saw from his house, or represent other "invisible" worlds. None of what Matsuura includes in his *nehanzu* is any way useful. In this sense, it is pure art.

REQUIEM FOR THE DREAM

Matsuura first climbed Mount Ōdai (known simply as "Ōdai") in the spring of 1885, a year when progress on the One-Mat Room and Kyōsai's *nehanzu* were picking up speed, each aiming at completion the following year. Matsuura wrote that he long wished to climb the mountain, but had been unable to find a guide. Since childhood, he would have been familiar with Ōdai, which lies in the mountains behind his birthplace on the coast of Ise Province, and was in his time a place to be feared, the reported home of ferocious serpents and wild beasts.





FIG. 26. Mount Ōdai. (Detail of fig. 25)

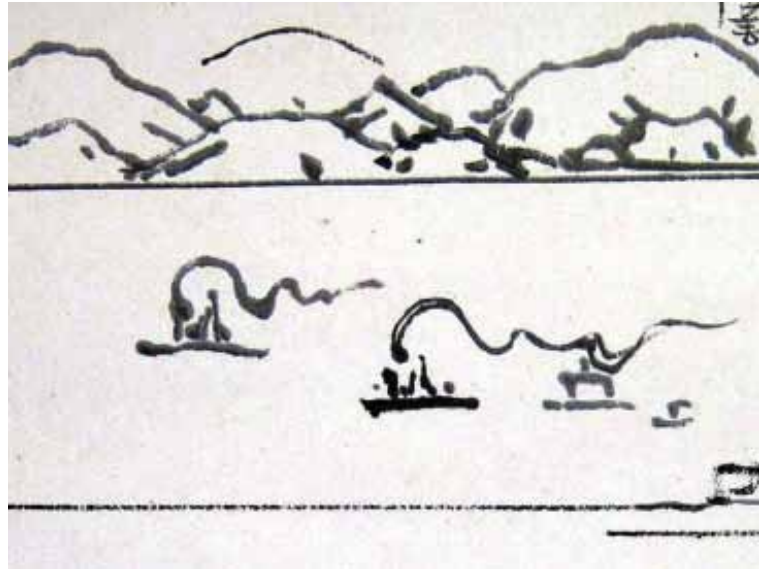
Over time, however, he came to know Mount Ōdai for its geographical importance as a source for three major watersheds. Through them, Ōdai represented the sacred sites to and through which these three rivers flowed: the Miyagawa flowing east to the Ise shrines; the Kumano heading south to the great triad of shrines forming the Kumano complex; and the Kinokawa, which flows past to the west. The latter provides access to Yoshino, a great center of the Shugendō mountain cult that was close to Matsuura's heart, and to the Shingon Buddhist headquarters at Mount Kōya.

Beyond its spiritual significance, Ōdaigahara appealed to the rationalist in Matsuura, who saw it as the object of baseless fear and superstition. He wrote with contempt of the belief that the Ōdai waters were provided by a single vast lake at the summit, knowing as an explorer that rivers usually began at the head of valleys. In the end, his interest in this wet and gloomy place was personal, closely linked to the preoccupation with death that drove all his efforts in his final years. He certainly approached the mountain with the spirit of an explorer, but not in the closely descriptive manner in which he had surveyed and recorded Hokkaido.⁷⁶ But his exploration of Ōdai was overall more intimate, a way of establishing a connection with the region in which he was born, a region that was home to so many sacred sites (fig. 25).

Matsuura's first description of the Ōdai region was in his annual self-published travel account for 1885, *A Record of 1885 (Itsuyū shōki)*.⁷⁷ He begins with a statement of his conviction that widespread misunderstanding of

< FIG. 25. Matsuura Takeshirō. *Panoramic View of the Summit of Mount Ōdai (Ōdai sanchō chōbō no zu)*. Japan. Meiji period, June 1885. Hanging scroll; ink on paper. 178.5 x 96.7 cm. Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum, Matsusaka, Mie Prefecture

This ink panorama shows how Matsuura envisioned his final resting place.



FIGS. 27a, b. Left: three travelers; right: steamships entering Nagoya Bay. (Details of fig. 25, lower right and upper left)

Mount Ōdai needed to be corrected. His actual account of travel through the Ōdai area is concrete and unsentimental, filled with the names of places he visited, observations of local geography and numerous map and landscape illustrations. This journey set the pattern for his spring trips in 1886–87, both of which concluded with visits to Ōdai. He always set out from Yoshino to the southeast of the mountain, proceeding up the Kinokawa River and then along adjoining ridges on to Ōdai, finally returning in the opposite direction to the northwest along the Miyagawa River down to the Ise Shrines—thus beginning with prayers to Buddhist deities and ending with thanks to the native gods. Each of his three trips lasted from eleven to fourteen days, accompanied by one or two helpers. They carried all provisions on their backs, and camped in the wild in the manner to which Matsuura was long accustomed.

Matsuura's topographical landscapes in ink constitute the most impressive legacy of his journeys to Ōdai. He constantly sketched both views and maps as he traveled, pulling them together into finished works after his return to Tokyo. Some of these provided illustrations for his annual travel accounts, but by far the most important was the huge scroll that he painted immediately after his return from his first visit to Ōdai, *Panoramic View of the Summit of Mount Ōdai* (figure 25). Following the title is the notation, "Created in haste in June 1885 upon returning home," and in the upper left a poem: "I have come to the farthest recesses of these deep mountains, where neither the lay devotee [En no Gyōja] nor pilgrim saint [Saigyō] has entered yet," expressing Matsuura's pride in entering territory that the great religious pioneers of Mount Yoshino and Mount Kōya had neglected.⁷⁸

Seen from a distance, the Ōdai panorama offers an expansive view that begins below, in the manner of a Chinese landscape, with a scene on the Kinokawa River along which three tiny travelers (Matsuura and his two guides) ascend (fig. 26). The next level up shows the transition from riverbed to the ridge road—the same route that the paved highway ascends today.

In the center of the painting, we look down on a majestic panorama of Ōdai, not as a single peak, but as a basinlike area that rises to numerous peaks around the circumference, then falls off into valleys below (fig. 27a). The literal meaning of Ōdaigahara as a “great platform plain” is misleading, as it is filled with streams and valleys. (It was also heavily forested until the devastating Isewan Typhoon of 1959 passed directly through the area, leaving a ruined landscape that became infested with bamboo grass, deer and tourists). But it remains a topography that yields numerous waterfalls, notably the two dramatic ones seen here in the center: Center Falls (Naka no taki) to the left and East Falls (Higashi no taki) to the right, plunging to the Higashinokawa River below. Along the upper margins of the basin, a single peak stands out just left of center; this is Hidegatake (“Sunrise Peak”), the highest point of Ōdai at 1695 meters.

Finally, the upper third of the painting recedes in the manner of Western perspective, a powerful influence in the late Edo period. Close analysis reveals that this is essentially the view to the northwest from Hidegatake, where a digital view identifying distant sites is posted on the observation deck in what is remarkably close to the horizontal span covered here by Matsuura, ranging from Chita Peninsula on the far side of Ise Bay to the left, down to Owase on Kumano Bay to the far upper-middle right.

The panorama was also meant to be inspected from a much closer distance, at which numerous small rectangular cartouches become visible, each about a quarter-inch wide and indicating upward of two hundred place names. Beyond the mountain along the coast of Ise Bay, fishing boats lie moored in the harbors, and in the distance we can make out tiny steamships plying the seas and casting off long spirals of smoke (fig. 27b). On the horizon just right of the row of distant mountains is the tiny silhouette of Mount Fuji itself, proudly aloof—no need for a label here!

It is unclear whether in June 1885, when he painted this landscape, Matsuura had already chosen Mount Ōdai as his gravesite, a decision that was made public only two and a half years later, when he declared in *A Solicitation of Wood Scraps*, his catalogue to the One-Mat Room, that “When I die, I would ask that this place be torn down, the wood used to burn my remains, and the ashes then removed to Mount Ōdai.”⁷⁹ This painting provides a sublime expression of how he envisioned Ōdai—as a protective cradlelike space with rushing waters tumbling from its rim.

The year 1886 was a climactic one for Matsuura’s coordinated efforts to leave a record of his preparation for death. Kyōsai’s *nehanzu* was completed in March, and Matsuura set out again in early April for a trip to the west, visiting Ōdaigahara for the second time on his return in May. The *nehanzu* was mounted in July, and the One-Mat Room was assembled in the fall, reaching completion with the final draft of *A Solicitation of Wood Scraps* on the last day of the year, at which point Matsuura Takeshirō turned seventy. In March of 1887, he began what was to be his final trip west, an ambitious journey that took him through thirty provinces in sixty-eight days, reaching north Kyushu and returning again through the Ōdai region for the third and last time. To cap off his travels, as though he soon anticipated his end,



FIG. 28. The author beside Matsuura Takeshirō's memorial grave at Mount Ōdai. May 27, 2013. Photo: Kimie Smith

he scaled Mount Fuji in July, an eight-day trip that he chronicled in his last published journal in November. It was his first ascent of Japan's most sacred peak, something that he seems to have been saving for the end.

By the winter of 1887–88, Matsuura had every reason to feel that he had completed all his missions in life, and all his preparations for death. On February 4, he toppled to the floor from a stroke while visiting a friend, and was carried back to his home in Kanda Goken-chō. He died there early on the morning of February 10, and as Frederick Starr reported, he is said at the time of death “to have really occupied the position represented” by Kyōsai in the *nehanzu*. His son, Kazuo, decided against using the One-Mat Room to burn his father's remains. He did, however, honor Matsuura's wish to be buried on Mount Ōdai, where a memorial tablet was erected in September 1889 above a mound containing some of his teeth that had been reserved from the family grave in Somei Cemetery in Tokyo (fig. 28).⁸⁰ The monument crumbled over the years, but

was rebuilt in 1965—and remains today as a proud elegy in the woods atop the mountain that he himself chose as his final resting place. ❀

I could not have accomplished this research without Yamamoto Mei, Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum in Matsusaka, and Yatsunami Hirokazu, Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo, who shared with me their expertise. Uchikawa Takeshi, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo, helped me understand the figurines in the collection of Seikadō Bunko, while Nakayama Kiichirō, Fukuoka Museum of Art, provided key insights into the Sengai *nehanzu*. I am also grateful to D. Max Moerman, Barnard College, Columbia University, whose article in *Impressions* 29 set the stage for my own research, and to Kishi Fumikazu, Dōshisha University, Kyoto, who published an important article on the Matsuura Takeshirō *nehanzu* and shared with me his research materials.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to D. Max Moerman for this suggestion.

2. Henry D. Smith II, “Lessons from the One-Mat Room: Piety and Playfulness Among Nineteenth-Century Japanese Antiquarians,” *Impressions* 33 (2012): 55–69. See also Henry D. Smith II, *Taizansō and the One-Mat Room / Taizansō: Matsuura Takeshirō no Ichijōjiki no sekai* (Tokyo: Hachiro Yuasa Memorial Museum, International Christian University, 1993).

3. For a study of Kyōsai in English, see Timothy Clark, ed., *Demon of Painting: The Art of Kawanabe Kyōsai* (London: British Museum Press, 1993).

4. For Matsuura and the Ainu people, see Donald Keene, *Modern Japanese Diaries* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), 148–63.

5. *Ware shinaba / yaku na uzume na / araoda ni / sutetezo aki no / minori o ba miyo*. See Yokoyama Kendō, *Matsuura Takeshirō* (Tokyo: Hokkai Shuppansha, 1944), 69.

6. For Matsuura's travel diaries, see Yoshida Takezō, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō kikōshū* (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1975), vols. 2–3. Variant manuscript versions have been published by the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum.
7. Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1986), especially ch. 8: “Michizane as Tenjin,” 307–36.
8. A brief description of *Senki bankaku* is provided in Yokoyama, *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 202, but the original document has not survived.
9. The term “*nehanzu*” dates from Meiji; the usual term in the Edo period (and in Matsuura's lifetime) was “*nehan* [no] *zō*.” I have used “*nehanzu*” throughout as shorthand for paintings that were probably not known as such when they were created.
10. D. Max Moerman, “Dying Like the Buddha: Intervisuality and the Cultic Image,” *Impressions* 29 (2007–2008): 25–57. See also Christine Guth, “Memorial Portraits of Kabuki Actors,” *Impressions* 27 (2005–2006).
11. Yamamoto Mei, *Hokkaidō no nazuke-oya, Matsuura Takeshirō: Ainu minzoku to kōryū shita Isejin no shōgai* (Matsuura Takeshirō, Namer of Hokkaidō: The life of a native of Ise province who interacted with the Ainu people) (Matsusaka: Jūroku, 2007), 51–53, where he explains that the meaning “Recluse of the Northern Seas” (*kita no umi no yosutebito*) was provided by Takeshirō's grandson, Matsuura Magota. Yamamoto also discovered “Hokkai Dōjin” on an 1859 painting in the Motoori Norinaga Museum; see *Yomiuri shinbun*, April 25, 2009.
12. Entry for May 3, 1910, Frederick Starr Papers, University of Chicago Library, Box 15, field notebook #8, 1909, pp. 61–62. Starr wrote the first biography of Matsuura: “The Old Geographer: Matsuura Takeshiro,” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 44, pt. 1 (Feb. 1916): 1–19. For Starr, see Donald McVicker, *Frederick Starr: Popularizer of Anthropology, Public Intellectual, and Genuine Eccentric* (Plymouth, UK: AltaMira Press, 2012).
13. Color reproductions of the Kyōsai painting appear in Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō: Jidai to hitobito* (Matsuura Takeshirō: His era and acquaintances) (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā, 2004), 52, cat. no. 3–1, and Yasumura Yoshinobu, “Kawanabe Kyōsai hitsu, Takeshirō nehanzu” (The Takeshirō *nehanzu*, painted by Kawanabe Kyōsai), *Kokka* 1360 (Feb. 2009), 25.
14. Fujita Noboru, “Matsuura Takeshirō to Kyōsai no kōryū” (Interactions between Matsuura Takeshirō and Kyōsai), *Kyōsai* 64 (Nov. 1999): 14–26, and Fujita Noboru, “Matsuura Takeshirō to Kyōsai no kōryū (sono ni)” (Interactions between Matsuura Takeshirō and Kyōsai, part 2), *Kyōsai* 65 (Jan. 2000): 4–12.
15. Hayashi Shōtarō, “Takeshirō mitate no nehanzu no sekai” (The world of the *nehanzu* parody of Takeshirō), in Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*: 74–75.
16. Yasumura Toshinobu, “Kaiga no bu” (Paintings), in Mikumo-chō Kyōiku Iinkai and Matsuura Takeshirō Kinenkan, eds., *Matsuura Takeshirō kankei rekishi shiryō mokuroku* (Catalogue of historical materials related to Matsuura Takeshirō), Matsuura Takeshirō kankei rekishi shiryō chōsa hōkokusho 2 (Mikumo-chō: Editors, Nov. 2004): 9–12; and Kishi Fumikazu, “Meiji jūkunen no gyarari-ga: Matsuura Takeshirō korekushon no yokubō ni tsuite” (A gallery painting of 1886: Desire in the collection of Matsuura Takeshirō), *Bijutsu Forum* 21, no. 12 (2005): 104–15.
17. For photos and transcriptions of the texts on the roller and storage box of the Matsuura *nehanzu*, see Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 53.
18. “Kyōsai no issatsu” (Kyōsai's oath) was reproduced as a frontispiece illustration in *Shosai* 3 (May 1926), and transcribed in Andō Shiju, “Kuchi-e ni tsuite” (About the frontispiece illustrations), *Shosai* 3 (May 1926), 28. The document was then in the collection of Ichishima Shunjō (1860–1944); see Fujita Noboru, “Ichishima Shunjō kyūzō no Matsuura Takeshirō ate Kyōsai shojō ‘Kyōsai no issatsu’” (Kyōsai's document addressed to Matsuura Takeshirō, *Kyōsai's Oath*, from the former collection of Ichishima Shunjō), *Kyōsai* 107 (September 2011): 31–39. The original document is now in the Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum; see Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 67.
19. The set of *ema* seems never to have been completed; see Kamiyama Fumiko, “Matsuura Takeshirō no Tenmangū nijūgo reisha hōnō to Kawanabe Kyōsai” (Kawanabe Kyōsai and the offerings by Matsuura Takeshirō to twenty-five sacred Tenmangū shrines), *Kyōsai* 72 (January 2001): 15–25.
20. Fujita, “Ichishima Shunjō kyūzō no Matsuura Takeshirō ate Kyōsai shojō ‘Kyōsai no issatsu,’” 36.

21. Fujita, “Matsuura Takeshirō to Kyōsai no kōryū (sono ni),” 10.
22. Fujita, “Matsuura Takeshirō to Kyōsai no kōryū (sono ni),” 11. The total cost of the *nebanzu* is unknown, as there may well have been further payments.
23. Uryū Masayasu, ed., *Kyōsai gadan* (Kyōsai’s talks on painting) (Tokyo: Iwamoto Shun, 1887), vol. 3. I am grateful to both Timothy Clark and Oikawa Shigeru for pointing out this connection.
24. Andō, “Kuchi-e ni tsuite,” 27.
25. I am indebted to *Impressions*’s Julia Meech and to Monika Bincsik at the Metropolitan Museum for identifying this type of table.
26. See Fujita Noboru, “Matsuura Takeshirō kyūzō no Kyōsai sakuhin: Matsuura Takeshirō Kinenkan Tokubetsuten ‘Hokkai Dōjin juka gosui zu to sono shūhen’” (Works by Kyōsai in the former collection of Matsuura Takeshirō: Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum special exhibition “*Hokkai Dōjin Napping Under the Trees* and related works”), *Kyōsai* 74 (Oct. 2001): 2–9. The same findings are shown, with detailed color images, in Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 52–61.
27. The Zhuangzi figure is identified from the box inscription as made by the Kyoto potter Miura Ken’ya (1821–1889), hand-painted by Kyōsai. That of Laozi was a product of the kiln in Edo, located in what is now the Kōrakuen garden in Tokyo, of the Tokugawa clan of Mito; see Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 54, cat. no. 3-3.
28. The original wooden carving of General Tamura is among the objects collected by Matsuura that have recently been discovered at the Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo. For illustrations of the original and of Kyōsai’s illustration in *Hatsuun yokyō*, see *Matsuura Takeshirō ten* (Matsuura Takeshirō exhibition) (Tokyo: Seikadō Bunko, 2013; and Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 55.
29. Uchikawa Takashi, ed., *Seikadō Bunko zō Matsuura Takeshirō shūshū kobutsu mokuroku* (Catalogue of the collection of antique objects by Matsuura Takeshirō in the Seikadō Bunko) (Tokyo: Seikadō Bunko, 2013); and Matsuura Takeshirō ten.
30. *Zōhin mokuroku* (Collection catalogue), manuscript, 16 folded sheets bound as book, Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum. The undated list is in a hand not of Matsuura himself, but is assumed to be a copy of a list that he compiled when assembling the collection late in his life. It appears in modern type in Uchikawa, ed., *Seikadō Bunko zō Matsuura Takeshirō shūshū kobutsu mokuroku*, 224–45, and records many objects (especially paintings) that are not in the Seikadō Bunko collection.
31. This painted Kannon is likely the object described in Andō, “Kuchi-e ni tsuite,” 27, as a “Song-dynasty sculpture.”
32. The inventory shows that Matsuura acquired the *shabti* from Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911), a Jōdō Shinshū Buddhist priest of reformist bent and wide international connections.
33. The Hitomaro image is one of three carved wooden figures, all surviving in the Seikadō Bunko collection and all appearing in the *nebanzu*, that are identified in the Matsuura inventory as the work of Ton’a (or Tonna, 1289–1372), a Buddhist priest and leading *waka* poet of the Kamakura and Nanbokuchō periods (1185–1392). The other two depict poet-monk predecessors of Ton’a, Henjō (816–890) and Saigyō (1118–1190, one of Matsuura’s great idols); in the *nebanzu*, they appear in the front row, the third figure from left and right, respectively, and share a similar reclining pose to the Hitomaro image. It is said that Ton’a carved one hundred (or perhaps three hundred) identical images of Hitomaro, one of the patron saints of poetry, for offering to Osaka’s Sumiyoshi Shrine, a center of the Hitomaro cult. All were made of cryptomeria (*sugi*), and featured removable heads. Other similar such wooden figures, presumably from the same group, survive in Chion’in Temple, Kyoto, and at Kashima Shrine, Shirakawa, Fukushima Prefecture; see <<http://www.city.shirakawa.fukushima.jp/view.rbz?cd=944>>.
34. Data from the Seikadō collection make it clear that Kyōsai did not try to adjust the size of all the originals to the same degree; the thirteen objects appearing in the *nebanzu* range from roughly one-quarter to two-thirds reduction from the originals.
35. See Uchikawa, *Seikadō Bunko zō Matsuura Takeshirō shūshū kobutsu mokuroku*, 13–16, for a complete list of the necklace components.
36. Edward S. Morse, *Japan Day by Day* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), vol. 2, 365–66.
37. Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 53, cat. no. 3-2.

38. For the prototype of the aging widow of Malla, see Moerman, "Dying Like the Buddha," 27.
39. The Matsuura family crest is *kaji no ba*, the leaf of a tree of the paper mulberry family.
40. Andō, "Kuchi-e ni tsuite," 27–28.
41. Smith, *Taizansō and the One-Mat Room*, 83–85.
42. This speculation is supported by the absence of any figure that reasonably represents Iwakura. Hayashi Shōtarō proposed that the imposing figure in court dress directly above Matsuura's wife might be Iwakura, but the iconography accords with Tenjin, whose prominence here is a natural reflection of Matsuura's deep reverence for that deity. Kishi Fumikazu suggested that this figure could indicate *both* Tenjin (as the historical Sugawara no Michizane) and Iwakura. The more likely scenario is that Sasaki and his father were shown the early "draft" version of the *nehanzu*, which did envision a cameo of the living Count Iwakura, but that the idea was abandoned after Iwakura's death. See Hayashi, "Takeshirō mitate no nehanzu no sekai," 75, and Kishi, "Meiji jūkunon no gyarari-ga," 110–11. Sasaki's account may be found in Sasaki Nobutsuna, *Meiji-Taishō-Shōwa no hitobito* (People of Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa) (Tokyo: Shinjusha, 1963), 274–75.
43. Of the weeping figures, one is the plump Hotei to the left, of which Starr noted that "even Hotei weeps." Another is the couple painted in the style of Iwasa Matabei (upper left of the bier), and the fisherman taken directly from Matsuura's painting by Kano Korenobu. A third is the court noble to the far right, probably a version of Tenjin, given his similarity to the daily portraits of Tenjin that Kyōsai painted later in his life. Several of these "daily Tenjin" (*nikka Tenjin*) devotional exercises survive in the collection now in the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum; see Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 64, cat. no. 3-16.
44. Fujita, "Matsuura Takeshirō kyūzō no Kyōsai sakuhin," 3–5.
45. For the six paintings, see Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 56–61, cat. nos. 3-5, 3-6, 3-7, 3-9, 3-11 and 3-12.
46. The Nobuzane portrait of Yoshinobu also appears prominently in several vignettes of Kyōsai's picture diary, as documented by Fujita, "Ichishima Shunjō kyūzō no Matsuura Takeshirō ate Kyōsai shōjō 'Kyōsai no issatsu,'" 34–36. Fujita seems to have been unaware, however, of the conspicuous appearance of the painting in *Kyōsai gadan*.
47. The three Totō Tenjin, all marked by a distinctive cap and a plum branch, are located behind and to the left of the Tenjin figure above the upper right corner of the bier; just to the left of Daruma below the lower right corner; and the seated figure to the left of the lower left corner. For the Totō Tenjin legend, see Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane*, 327.
48. For these identifications, see Hayashi, "Takeshirō mitate no nehanzu no sekai," 74–75, and Kishi, "Meiji jūkunon no gyarari-ga," 108–12. Only Kishi mentions Yuima and Kasenko.
49. Fujita, "Matsuura Takeshirō to Kyōsai no kōryū (sono ni)," 7.
50. Matsuura Magota, "Sofu Takeshirō" (My grandfather Takeshirō), *Shosai* 3 (May 1926): 11–13. For more details on the Goken-chō house, see Yoshida Takezō, *Hyōden Matsuura Takeshirō* (The life of Matsuura Takeshirō) (Tokyo: Shinjusha, 1961), 259–61.
51. Sasaki, *Meiji-Taishō-Shōwa no hitobito*, 275.
52. Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō*, 61, cat. no. 3-13.
53. Frederick Starr described Takeshirō as "a connoisseur in odd and quaint things, in toys and antiquities," but the mention of toys may well have been based solely on the evidence of the *nehanzu* itself. Starr, "The Old Geographer: Matsuura Takeshiro," 12.
54. Yoshida, *Hyōden Matsuura Takeshirō*, 301.
55. Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Multiple Commemorations: The Vegetable Nehan of Itō Jakuchū," in James Sanford et al., eds., *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Arts of Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), and Moerman, "Dying Like the Buddha," 27–28.
56. For the Shōfukuji version, see Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, ed., *Zen no sekai to Sengai ten* (Exhibition of the world of Zen and Sengai), exh. cat. (Tokyo: Tōkyū Hyakkaten, 1986); and Fukuoka Art Museum, ed., *Sengai ten* (Sengai exhibition) (Fukuoka: Fukuoka Art Museum, 1986); also Fukuoka City Museum, ed., *Nihon saisho no zendera: Hakata Shōfukuji* (Japan's first Zen temple: Shōfukuji in Hakata), exh. cat. (Fukuoka: Fukuoka City Museum, 2013). For the Idemitsu version, see Idemitsu Museum of Arts, ed., *Botsugo 170 nen kinen: Sengai, Zenga ni asobu* (In commemoration of 170 years since his death: Sengai, Playing with

- zenga) exh. cat. (Tokyo: Idemitsu Museum of Arts, 2007); Idemitsu Museum of Arts, ed., *Yūtopia: Egakareshi yume to rakuen* (Utopia: Dreamland and paradise depicted), exh. cat. (Tokyo: Idemitsu Museum of Arts, 2009); and *Sengai to Zen no sekai* (Sengai and the world of Zen) (Tokyo: Idemitsu Museum of Arts, 2013).
57. *Waga kakeru/fude no yukue wa / shirakumo no / kaze ni makasete / . . .* The poem is from the collection of Sengai poems entitled *Suteobune* (Abandoned skiff); see Hirowatari Masatoshi, *Sengai oshō Suteobune* (Abbot Sengai's *Abandoned Skiff*) (Tokyo: Bunken Shuppan, 1998), 16. A painting of plum blossoms that bears this verse, followed by the *gō* "Muhōsai," is mentioned in Uratsuji Kendō, *Hakata Sengai* (Sengai and Hakata) (Fukuoka: Nishi Nihon Shinbunsha, 1990), 164 and 179; Uratsuji does not, however, provide any image of the painting, or information about its location, and I have found no other extant works of Sengai with the poem.
58. Kenji Kajiya, "Reimagining the Imagined: Depictions of Dreams and Ghosts in the Early Edo Period," *Impressions* 23 (2001): 86–107.
59. *Kieyasuki / he no gotoki fude no / hirune seshi / yume no kusaki no / hijō ujō mo.*
60. *Matsugae ni / tarekaketa kuso ka / nattō-jiru.*
61. For Sengai's love of *nattō*, see Hirowatari, *Sengai oshō Suteobune*, 121.
62. Uratsuji, *Hakata Sengai*, 205–6.
63. Nakayama was curator of the Sengai exhibition at the Fukuoka Art Museum in 1986. I spoke with him on June 6, 2013.
64. This display was included in both of the Sengai exhibitions in 1986 (see note 56 above). For many of the same objects in the Shōfukuji exhibition in Fukuoka, see Fukuoka City Museum, ed., *Nihon saisho no zendera*: 129–38.
65. Uratsuji, *Hakata Sengai*, 141, and Hirowatari, *Sengai oshō Suteobune*, 116–18.
66. The straw hat closely resembles one worn by Tokiwa Gozen (1138–c. 1180), mother of Minamoto no Yoshitsune, in a Sengai painting, but presumably it was also a real object in Sengai's possession; see Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, ed., *Zen no sekai to Sengai ten*, 51.
67. See Furuta Shōkin, *Sengai* (Tokyo: Idemitsu Museum of Arts, 1985), 90–91; the image also relies on a pun on "*kuchinawa*" as both "rotting rope" and an old word for "snake."
68. The commentary for the 1986 Tōkyū Department Store exhibition said that Sengai "playfully requested the painting" (*tawamurete egakashimeta*) of Saitō Shūho; see Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, ed., *Zen no sekai to Sengai ten*, 12.
69. Uratsuji, *Hakata Sengai*, 179–88. Uratsuji Kendō (1909–?) was a Fukuoka native who trained in Tokyo as an art historian and returned after the Pacific War to become head priest of Ichigyōji, a Jōdo temple near Shōfukuji. Uratsuji wrote a biography of Sengai, providing details of his life that can be found nowhere else. Nakayama Kiichirō has told me of his astonishment in reading Uratsuji's book in 1990, and asked the author where he got all his inside information, such as details of the creation of the *nehanzu*. Uratsuji answered, "I just imagined it" (*sōzō shimashita*). Although Uratsuji's account cannot be taken as reliable history, his imagination nevertheless offers stimulating suggestions.
70. For a photograph of the *zeppitsu* monument, see Uratsuji, *Hakata Sengai*, 182. The monument still survives, but is not open to the public.
71. *Sumizome no / sode no minato ni / fude sutete / sho ni shi haji o / sarasu namikaze.* Various double meanings are at work here: "black-dyed" (*sumizome*) suggests the black robes of a monk; *sode no minato* ("Harbor of sleeves"), an ancient name for Hakata Bay, also implies weeping on one's sleeves.
72. One such painting of the *zeppitsu* monument-to-be is illustrated in Suzuki, *Sengai: The Zen Master*, 33; the painting survives in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts. The actual stone monument is shown in a photograph in Furuta, *Sengai*, 37.
73. Miura Yasuyuki and Yamamoto Mei, "Chikuzen no kuni no 'kōkoka' Etō Masazumi to Matsuura Takeshirō: Etō Masazumi *Ikanroku* o chūshin ni" (Matsuura Takeshirō and the antiquarian Etō Masazumi of Chikuzen province, with a focus on Etō Masazumi, *A Record of Regrets*, *Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kimenkan Kenkyū kiyō* 40 (March 2012): 21–43.
74. For the complete text of this section (ch. 8), see Miura and Yamamoto, "Chikuzen no kuni no 'kōkoka' Etō Masazumi to Matsuura Takeshirō," 40–41.
75. Kishi, "Meiji jūkunon no gyarari-ga," *passim*, and Krzysztow Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, UK and Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1987), of which the seminal essay is

“The Collection: Between the Visible and the Invisible,” first published in 1978.

76. The mountain was familiar to local residents (from among whom Matsuura was able to recruit competent guides), and various explorers from the Wakayama domain had left records from the early eighteenth century on, as detailed by Satō Sadao, “Bannen o Ōdaigahara tanken ni kaketa ‘Hokkaidō’ no nazuke-oya Matsuura Takeshirō (Matsuura Takeshirō, Namer of Hokkaidō, who spent his last years exploring Ōdaigahara) in *Ōmine sanmyaku Ōdaigahara, Yamakei Kansai* 4 (June 2004): 116.

77. The printed text of *Itsuyū shōki* appears in Yoshida Takezō, ed., *Matsuura Takeshirō kikōshū* (The travel diaries of Matsuura

Takeshirō), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1975–77), II: 74–100.

78. *Ubasoku mo / hijiri mo / imada wakeiranu / shinzan no oku ni / ware wa kini keru*. The poem also appears in *Itsuyū shōki, Kikōshū* 91.

79. Smith, “Lessons from the One-Mat Room,” 64, and Smith, *Taizansō and the One-Mat Room*, 26–30.

80. Matsuura’s monument at Ōdai lies today within an area of environmental protection, for which special permission is required (as a result of damage by too many visitors). Few visit it today, with the notable exception of a group visit each summer by students from the junior high school in Mikumo, the area in which the explorer was born, and where the Matsuura Takeshirō Memorial Museum is now located.