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D. Max MOERMAN

Demonology and Eroticism

Islands of Women in the Japanese Buddhist Imagination

The demonic female, an object of male anxiety and desire, has long been a stock character in Japanese Buddhist literature. This article examines two female realms in the Japanese literary and visual imagination: *Rasetsukoku*, a dreaded island of female cannibals, and *Nyōgogashima*, a fabled isle of erotic fantasy. I trace the persistence and transformation of these sites in tale literature, sutra illustration, popular fiction, and Japanese cartography from the twelfth through the nineteenth century to show how the construction of Japanese identity relies on the mapping of the marginal. In doing so, I argue for the centrality of Buddhism to Japan's cartographic tradition and the importance of cartography in Japanese Buddhist literary and visual culture.

KEYWORDS: *Rasetsukoku*—*Nyōgogashima*—Japanese cartography—Buddhist narrative—visual culture

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FOR THE MALE authors of medieval Japanese Buddhist literature, the female body was an endless source of fear and fascination. “Women,” according to the oft-quoted sutra passage, “are the emissaries of hell; they cut off forever the seed of buddhahood. On the outside they have the faces of bodhisattvas, but on the inside they have the hearts of demons.”¹ The popular genres of medieval literature, such as *setsuwa*, *kana hōgo*, *honjimon*, and *otogizōshi*, are full of deceptive, duplicitous, and dangerous women. Attractive and alluring in appearance, they are invariably devils in disguise: ferocious figures of insatiable passion. Conjured by the fantasies and frustrations of celibate ideals, the demonic female, an object of displaced desire and one of the oldest figments of the Buddhist imagination, remained an obsessive presence in the visual and literary culture of the age.

Buddhist demonology includes many ferocious females but perhaps few more terrifying than the *rasetsu* 羅刹 (Skt. *rākṣasī*), orectic shape-shifting cannibals who seduce men and then literally eat them alive.² Rasetsukoku 羅刹国, the land of these horrific man-eaters, is an isolated realm: an island to the south of the world continent on which we dwell, known in Sanskrit as Jambudvīpa and in Japanese as Nansenbushū 南瞻部洲 or Enbudaishū 閻浮提洲. In Japan, this isle of demonic women appeared first in the literary and visual culture of the late Heian period and for centuries thereafter occupied an enduring and evolving place in the Buddhist imagination.

Rasetsukoku represented a conflicted site of desire and denial, of anxiety and alterity: a realm where the boundaries of religion and sexuality were encountered and explored. It lay forever at the margins of the known world, marking the furthest edge of cultural identity. Yet, like a floating island, it remained unfixed. It drifted, both geographically and semantically, until what was once a land of demons south of India was rediscovered as an erotic paradise south of Japan. In this article I examine the inscription and transition of Rasetsukoku in

1. 外面似菩薩内心如夜叉. KOIZUMI 1993, 212. Taira no Yasuyori 平康頼 (fl. 1190–1200) attributed the passage to the *Nirvana Sutra* (Jp. *Nehankyō* 涅槃經), Nichiren 日蓮 (1221–1282) to the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* (Jp. *Kegonkyō* 華嚴經), and Zonkaku 存覚 (1290–1373) to the *Vimśatikā-vijñaptimātratā siddhi* (Jp. *Yuishikiron* 唯識論). Yet this passage, ubiquitous in medieval Japanese literature, is to be found nowhere in the Buddhist scriptures. See TAMURA 1991, 52–57.

2. On *rākṣasī* in the Indian tradition, see SUTHERLAND 1991, 49–59. These malevolent figures should not be confused with their converted sisters, the Ten *Rasetsu* Women (*Jūrasetsunyo* 十羅刹女), who protect upholders of the *Lotus Sutra*. See FABRICAND-PERSON 2001.

texts, images, and maps in order to locate the demonic feminine in one region of Japanese Buddhist culture. In doing so, I hope to suggest not only how Buddhist views of the world provided maps of meaning for literature and art in medieval Japan, but also how cartography might be understood as a form of fiction.

Textual Grounds and Visual Fields

Rasetsukoku is first found in Japanese literature among the stories of India collected in the Tenjiku 天竺 section of the twelfth-century *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集 (KONNO 1999, 388–94).³ “How Sōkara and Five Hundred Merchants Went to the Land of the Rasetsu” tells of a group of merchants who set sail from Jambudvīpa to the southern seas in search of treasure. They are shipwrecked on an island of beautiful women, and “lust and passion immediately arise in their hearts” (388). They ask the women to take them in and more than willingly follow them back to their compound, an expansive, and exclusively female, gated community where each man takes a wife and enjoys a life of bliss. But their leader Sōkara 僧伽羅 senses something strange about these women and decides one day to take a look around. He discovers, to his horror, a prison of men, some reduced to corpses, scattered bones, and bits of flesh. One of the prisoners tells Sōkara that he too was once a merchant, similarly shipwrecked, who had enjoyed his time in this realm of the senses until the next ship was washed ashore and he and his mates were consigned to this prison to be slowly consumed. He warns Sōkara not to be fooled by false beauty, for the women are in fact *rasetsu* demons. The merchants then pray to the bodhisattva Kannon, who appears as a great white horse, to carry them back to Jambudvīpa. The *rasetsu* women resume their demonic form to pursue their prey. Most of the merchants are able to escape, but one, “thinking of his wife’s beautiful face, loses his grip on the horse, falls into the sea, and is immediately devoured by the demons” (390–91).

The story, however, does not end here. Two years later, the *rasetsu* woman whom Sōkara had taken for his wife appears before him when he is sleeping alone. Looking even more beautiful, she begs him to return. “And if one didn’t know her true nature, one would surely have trusted her” (391). Sōkara, however, is under no illusions, and he threatens to cut her down with his sword. Full of resentment, she appeals to the palace, where the king “lusts after her.” Sōkara announces that “she is a man-eating demon,” but the king, “deeply affected by desire,” ignores the warning and “stays in bed with her for three days.” When the

3. The tale also appears, perhaps a century later, in a nearly identical iteration in *Uji shūi monogatari*. Although Tenjiku belongs to the Three Country (*sangoku* 三國) division of the *Konjaku*’s arrangement of tales situated in India (*Tenjiku*), China (*Shintan*), and Japan (*Honchō*), it is not coterminous with our modern conception of India. On the *sangoku* world view and the semantic range of *Tenjiku*, see TOBY 1994, 323–47 and 2001, 15–45.

woman reappears, with frenzied eyes and a blood-stained mouth, it is already too late. All that is left of the king is “a pool of blood and hair” (392). Sōkara gathers an army, attacks the island, and destroys the women who, “no longer able to conceal their true nature, revert to their *rasetsu* form” (394). Sōkara is victorious; he is made king of the island, which his descendents, we are told, populate to this day.

Like many of the Indian tales in the *Konjaku*, the story derives ultimately from the *jātaka* tradition, the edifying accounts of the Buddha’s previous lives. It is also an origin narrative of the country of Simhala (present-day Sri Lanka), the island kingdom south of the Indian subcontinent. Sōkara, who bears the Japanese name for Simhala, is identified both as the founder of this kingdom and as the Buddha in one of his innumerable prior existences. The tradition of pre-conquest Lanka as an island of *rākṣasī* is not limited to Buddhist literature and is found as well in the two great South Asian epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. Versions of the Simhala *jātaka* appear throughout Buddhist Asia, in Pāli, Prakrit, Sanskrit, Khotanese, Tibetan, Newari, and Chinese collections.⁴ The *Konjaku*’s direct source, however, is the *Great Tang Record of the Western Regions* 大唐西域記 (*Da Tang xi yu ji*), the seventh-century account of the Chinese monk Xuanzang’s pilgrimage to India, in which the tale appears as part of the history of the country of Simhala in the opening section of the eleventh fascicle (*Da tang xi yu ji* 933a–934a).⁵

The lessons of this morality tale are transparent enough. The Buddha (Simhala) leads his five hundred disciples (the five hundred merchants) to seek the three treasures. When they are entrapped and nearly consumed by desire (the *rākṣasī*), the bodhisattva of compassion comes to their aid to ferry them across the sea (of *saṃsāra*) to the other shore (of nirvana or the Pure Land). The simple teaching that illusion leads only to desire and suffering, however, is told as an elaborate adventure of sex and violence in the best tradition of Indian and Japanese Buddhist literature. The haunting figure of the femme fatale, hovering at the boundary between attraction and horror, colors the lure of eros with the threat of thanatos.⁶

4. On the Pali version of the *jātaka* (known as the Valāhasa *jātaka*), see WILSON 1996, 71–76. It is translated in COWELL 1973, 89–91, and in FRANCIS and THOMAS 1916, 99–101. For its appearance in the *Mahāvastu*, see JONES 1956, 70–93. For a Chinese version, see CHAVANNES 1962, 122–26. For its role in the Sinhalese tradition, see HOLT 1991, 46–53. And for a discussion of the tale in the Newari tradition, see LEWIS 2000, 49–87. In the Pali *jātaka* and in the *Mahāvastu*, the horse is identified as the Buddha; in others it is identified as Avalokiteśvara.

5. The *Da Tang xi yu ji*, unlike the other Buddhist sources, presents the story of *Rasetsukoku* as the one of a pair of stories about the origins of Simhala and the second of Xuanzang’s stories immediately follows our tale in the *Konjaku*.

6. The potential for psychoanalytic readings of the tale is of course manifold. For an examination of a different example of the demonic feminine in Japanese Buddhist literature employing the insights of Freud, Lacan, and Kristeva, see KLEIN 1991.



FIGURE 1. Frontispiece to *Lotus Sutra*, Chapter 25, *Heike nōkyō*, 1164, Itsukushima Shrine.

The earliest representation of the tale in Japanese visual culture is contemporaneous with the *jātaka*'s appearance in *setsuwa* literature, but is situated in a different context. As Julia Meech has shown, although images of the *jātaka* are to be found in South, Central, and Southeast Asia, the tale was first depicted in Japan among illustrations of the *Lotus Sutra* (MEECH-PEKARIK 1981, 112). The twenty-fifth chapter of the *Lotus*, known as the “Kanzeon Fumonbon” 観世音普門品, enumerates ten perils from which the bodhisattva Kannon assures protection. Among them is the danger of being shipwrecked on an island of man-eating demons. All ten of the perils were commonly depicted in Chinese *Lotus Sutra* paintings from the Tang and Song, but in the Japanese art of the *Lotus Sutra*, the danger of this demonic isle received special attention (MURASE 1971). The *Heike nōkyō* of 1164 and a late-twelfth-century illuminated *Lotus Sutra* in the Tokugawa Reimeikai, for example, single out the scene for their frontispiece paintings of the twenty-fifth chapter (MEECH-PEKARIK 1981, 114–16). Unlike the Chinese examples, in which the scene is merely one of ten dangers, the Japanese paintings limit the representation of Kannon's omnipotence to this scene alone. Moreover, although ostensibly an illustration of the *Lotus Sutra*, the subject of the Japa-

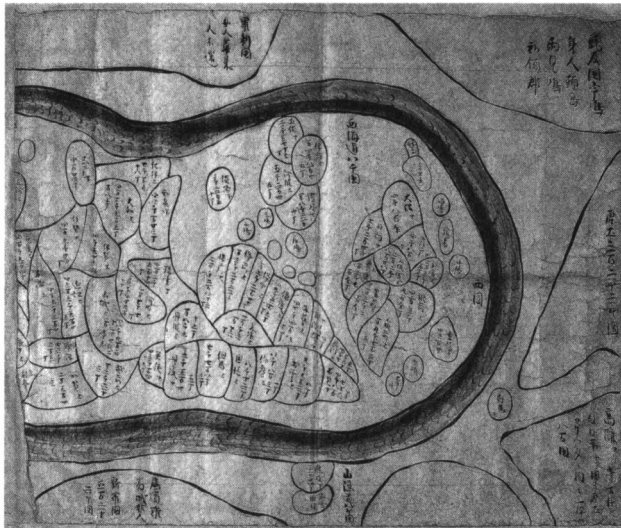


FIGURE 2. Map of Japan, 1305, ink on paper, 34 x 52 cm., Shōmyōji Collection, Kanazawa Bunko.

nese paintings does not in fact derive from the sutra’s text. The *Lotus* refers to the threat of male, not female, demons (*rākṣasa*, not *rākṣasī*). Yet the frontispiece from the Tokugawa collection shows a storm-tossed ship about to make landfall on an island where two alluring women stand beckoning on the shore. There are no alluring women beckoning from shore in the text of the *Lotus Sutra*, only in the *jātaka*. The *Heike nōkyō* frontispiece shows the merchants clinging to a flying white horse pursued by demons (FIGURE 1). There is no flying white horse in the *Lotus Sutra*, only in the *jātaka*. Some of those riding the horse are about to reach the other shore, but others, unable to curb their desire, have fallen into the sea. None of this is from the *Lotus*; all of it is from the *jātaka*.⁷

With visual representations of Buddhist narrative one must be careful, as Eugene Wang warns, not to “presuppose the primacy of the text” and ascribe to the image only an “auxiliary and subservient” role (WANG 2005, 74). Buddhist visuality is informed but not bound by scriptural sources. It is a constructive rather than a derivative medium that can produce narratives as well as reflect them. In the long journey from India to China to Japan, the topos of Rasetasukoku passed from one narrative context to another: a relocation in both textual and spatial terms. In the geography of the Japanese Buddhist imagination, Rasetasukoku—

7. As MEECH (1981, 117–18) has shown, the use of the *jātaka* imagery to depict Kannon’s salvific powers also occurred in earlier Chinese *Lotus Sutra* illustration.

the locus classicus of the demonic female—retained its mobility; it could be transported to other places and extended to other kinds of social space.

Cartographic Images

In this movement across literary genres and visual media, from Buddhist tale literature to the art of the *Lotus Sutra*, the Land of Demon Women entered the corpus of Japanese cartography. On maps of Japan, dating from the early fourteenth through the late eighteenth century, Rasetsukoku was depicted, named, and described along the southern boundary of the archipelago. At once marking and exceeding the border of the map itself, Rasetsukoku set the margins of visibility, the frame in which identity could be imagined, what Ronald Toby has referred to as the “boundary conditions setting what was beyond the limits of ‘Japan’” (Toby n.d., 39).

Rasetsukoku appears on the earliest Japanese maps of Japan, known as Gyōki-style maps (*Gyōkizu* 行基図 or *Gyōki shiki nihonzu* 行基式日本図) because of the ascription of this cartography to the legendary Nara-period monk. The association with Gyōki, however, seems to have developed within the culture of esoteric Buddhism many centuries after the monk’s time. According to the fourteenth-century Tendai source, *Keiran shūyōshū* 溪嵐拾葉集, “the bodhisattva Gyōki traveled around Japan and determined the boundaries of the country... At that time he drew what he saw: the shape of the country as a one-pointed vajra (*tokko* 独鉈)” (*Keiran shūyōshū*, 519a). As the outer form of the country was given a Buddhist reading, so too were its internal structures:

Our country of the Great Japan is divided into five provinces and seven major roads. It is also patterned after the nine-level Pure Land, which like the nine stories of a castle denote the nine divisions of the Diamond Mandala. The five-fold division of the provinces denotes the dharma nature of the five great elements in the Womb Mandala. The seven roads are the seven forms of consciousness of perfect enlightenment producing the subtle attainment of non-duality.
(*Keiran shūyōshū*, 511a)

On what may be the earliest example of such a map, Rasetsukoku defines the southernmost land of this Buddhist cartography (FIGURE 2).⁸ The map, dated 1305 and belonging to the Shingon-Ritsu temple Shōmyōji 称名寺, is incomplete. Only the section depicting the western half of Japan has been preserved, and the archipelago that remains—Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku—is oriented to the south and encircled by the body of a dragon, a serpentine boundary that protects and distinguishes the country from six foreign lands that surround it.

8. On the Shōmyōji map and other Gyōki-style maps, see ŌJI 1996, KURODA 2001 and 2003; UNNO 2005; and DOLCE 2007. ŌJI 1996 (192–3) identifies eleven maps that include Rasetsukoku.



FIGURE 3. Monk Ryūyū, Map of Japan from Five Buddhist Maps, 1402, ink and color on paper, h. 29.2 cm. Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of the Hofer Collection of the Printed and Graphic Arts of Asia in honor of Professor and Mrs. John M. Rosenfield, 1973.66. Photo: Katya Kallsen © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Along the southern edge of the map is an undulating coastline labeled “Rasetsu-koku” and annotated “women here, those who come here never return” 女人華来人不還. Five other land forms complete the frame, orienting and defining Japan both spatially and culturally. In the southwest corner lies the “Great Island of the Ryūkyū country” (*Ryūkyū koku Ūjima* 龍及国宇嶋), whose inhabitants have “the bodies of humans and the heads of birds.” Protruding from the map’s western edge are the “366 provinces of Land of the Tang” (*Kara* or *Morokoshi* 唐土). Filling the northwest corner of the map is the “Country of the Mongols” (*Mōkokoku* 蒙古国), described as “a country larger than the Tang with some 800 provinces.” Another shoreline along the map’s northern edge is labeled the “566 provinces of Silla 新羅国” and “Gandō 廣道,” a land where “there is a castle but no people.”

The Ryūkyū islands, the Chinese continent, and the Korean peninsula are the borderlands that one would expect to find in a Japanese cartography of cultural difference. The presence, and the threatening size, of Mongolia suggests that the map may reflect anxieties following the attempted Mongol invasions of the late thirteenth century. But how did the Land of Demon Women, which in the Buddhist tradition has always been identified with Lanka, the island south of Jambudvīpa, come to be represented as an island south of Japan? A clue may perhaps be found in another passage from the *Keiran shūyōshū*, one of the many examples of the text’s integration of shrine traditions and Buddhist teachings:

The Great Country of Japan is the island that was formed when the brine from the heavenly spear fell into the seas of Jambudvīpa (Nanbudai 南浮提). The country of Japan is Cāmara (Shamara 遮末羅), one of the two islands south of Jambudvīpa. According to the *Abhidharmakośa*, this island is inhabited by *rākṣasī* (*rasetsuba* 羅刹婆) but in truth the *rākṣasī* are [Amaterasu, the deity of] the Ise shrine, who is the manifestation (*suijaku* 垂迹) of Dainichi.

(*Keiran shūyōshū*, 511a)

The *Keiran shūyōshū* has here combined the ancient cosmogony of the *Kojiki* 古事記 and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 with the Buddhist cosmology of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Jp. *Abidatsuma kusharon* 阿毘達磨俱舍論, T no. 1558), a fifth-century compendium of the scholastic traditions of the Sarvāstivāda school. Like the *jātaka* discussed above, the *Abhidharmakośa* describes the island south-east of Jambudvīpa as originally inhabited by *rākṣasī* (see LA VALÉE POUSSIN, vol. 2, 455–56).

Yet Rasetsukoku is represented on the Shōmyōji map not as Japan but rather as an island to Japan's south. It is depicted as such, in the same location and often with the same annotation, for a period of nearly five hundred years. Its presence, however, is always incomplete: a single line tracing a partial shore. Although an island, it is never shown in its entirety. It composes one side of the frame that allows for the cartographic totality and centrality of Japan, but also suggests an oneiric horizon inviting excursions of the imagination to realms located necessarily beyond the known.

Rasetsukoku next appears in Japanese cartography within a hand scroll of five Buddhist maps dated 1402 (ROSENFELD 1973, 104–9).⁹ In the scroll, now in the collection of Harvard University, the archipelago is oriented to the north rather than the south, but the form and location of Rasetsukoku (here rendered Rasetsushū 羅刹州) is otherwise similar to that of the Shōmyōji map (FIGURE 3). An inscription attributes the map's origin to the bodhisattva Gyōki and contains the earliest example of a passage that is to be found on nearly all later maps of this style:

The shape of the country is like the tip of a one-pointed *vajra*. Because of this, Buddhism continues to flourish. The shape is also like that of a wish-fulfilling jewel (*hōju*). Therefore, the country is blessed with such rare treasures as gold, silver, copper, and iron, and the five grains ripen in abundance.

The four other maps included in the handscroll situate Japan within an increasingly expansive Buddhist cosmology. Following the map of Japan is another, labeled “A Map of India according to the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu” (*Tenjikuze Seshin Bosatsu zō* 天竺図世親菩薩造), portraying the continent of

9. The maps were drawn by the monk Ryūyū, and the text was copied by the monk Ryūi.

Jambudvīpa as described in the *Abhidharmakośa*. The next map in the scroll is a diagram of Lake Anavatapta, the mythic lake at the center of the continent encircled by four great rivers. Following this illustration is a plan of Mount Sumeru and its surrounding mountain ranges and seas with the four continents in each of the cardinal directions. The last illustration, taking up the majority of the scroll, is a drawing of the *Abhidharmakośa*'s entire Mount Sumeru-centered cosmology extending from the Eight Hot Hells below Jambudvīpa to the three Realms of Desire, Form, and Formlessness above Mount Sumeru. The scroll thus begins from Japan, underscored by Rasetsukoku, and then expands the frame of vision with each successive map to place the country within the continent, the world, and the universe of a larger Buddhist order.

The third map to include Rasetsukoku is dated circa 1557 and belongs to the Nara Ritsu temple Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺. Its very title, *Nansenbushū Dainihon shōtōzu* 難瞻部洲大日本国正統図 (Orthodox map of great Japan on the continent of Jambudvīpa), articulates Japan's position within a classical Buddhist geography. An inscription similar to the one on the Harvard map ascribes the cartography to the bodhisattva Gyōki and includes the description of the country as both a one-pointed vajra and a wish-fulfilling jewel. Rasetsukoku is also glossed with the familiar phrase, "there are women here; men who travel here do not return" (*nyonin arite otoko ikaba sunawachi kaerazu* 有女人男行則不還). The presence and description of Rasetsukoku was soon standardized when the *Nansenbushū dainihon shōtōzu* was published as a woodblock print in 1598 (Ōji 1996, 193).

This cartographic vision even appeared in sixteenth-century Europe. A map of Japan copied out in a European hand, now in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, preserves Rasetsukoku as the southern extremity of the realm. The island is described in Portuguese as follows: *Nhiun homé esta nesta somente motheres todas e querm vem nesta nad torna ta mais proque os matao* (There are no men here, only women. Men who come here never return because the women kill them). The map was most likely produced in association with the 1582 voyage of four baptized sons of Kyushu daimyo who accompanied Portuguese Jesuits to Portugal, Spain, and Italy. The Japanese delegation returned from Europe with maps quite different from the one they left behind, including a first edition of Abraham Ortelius's 1570 world atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.¹⁰

Ortelius's atlas was one of the sources for large format European-style world maps painted in Japan on six-fold screens from the 1590s to the 1640s. Many of these were produced as sets in which a world map, depicted according to European cartographic conventions, was paired with a map of the archipelago, following Japan's Buddhist cartographic traditions. There remains an uneasy balance

10. On this historic journey, see COOPER 2005 and ELISONAS 2007.

of world views in these paired screens. While the European-style world maps are often entitled, in Latin, *TYPVS ORBIS TERRARVM*, the screens of Japan, like the maps of 1557 and 1598, often bear the title *Nansenbushū dainihon shōtōzu*, together with the inscription that describes the country as both *vajra* and jewel. In one such pair, circa 1625, in the Tokyo National Museum, Rasetsukoku is identified by a rectangular cartouche bearing the descriptive notation first seen on the Shōmyōji map of 1305: “Rasetsukoku: Women here, men who travel here never return” (羅刹国 有女人男行則不歸) (NAKAMURA 1972, plate 10).

Rasetsukoku appears on nearly all maps of Japan printed in the seventeenth century. The *Gyōki bosatsu setsu dainihonkoku zu* 行基菩薩説大日本国図 (Map of the great country of Japan as explained by the bodhisattva Gyōki), published some time before 1651, is clearly based on sixteenth-century models, but, suggesting perhaps a change in readership, renders the name and description of Rasetsukoku largely in the Japanese syllabary. The *Nihonkoku no zu* 日本国之図 (Map of Japan) of 1656 employs a combination of Chinese and Japanese orthography, and on the 1662 edition of the *Fusōkoku no zu* 扶桑国之図 (Map of Japan), Rasetsukoku and its gloss appear largely in *kana* (FIGURE 4). The Land of Demon Women, as depicted and described in the *Fusōkoku no zu*, remained an essential element in the iconography of Japan for the next hundred years. Rasetsukoku continued to define the southern boundary of Japan on the increasingly standardized maps of the country published in popular household encyclopedias such as the *Yamato setsuyōshū shikkai bukuro* 倭節用集悉改袋 of 1741 and the *Daifuku setsuyōshū* 大福節用集 of 1761.

Lands of Women

The *Nihon daihendō zu* 日本大遍道図 (Great route map of Japan) published in 1685 (Jōkyō 2) by Hangiya Jiroemon 版木屋次良右衛門 is in many ways similar to these other late seventeenth-century examples (FIGURE 5). Rasetsukoku (rendered here Rarestukou 羅列国) is depicted as a partial coastline due south of Kii Province with the same protruding peninsula that first appeared in the *Fusōkoku no zu*. The landform, however, is given an additional name. Just to the left of the characters for Rasetsukoku is another label: Nyōshima (or Onna ga shima) 女嶋. Known also as Nyōgonoshima or Nyōgogashima 女護嶋, this island derives from a pre-Buddhist Chinese tradition of a “Land of Women” (Nurenguo 女人国) that dates back more than two millennia.

Although it enjoys a literary history at least as ancient as that of Rasetsukoku, Nurenguo belongs to a different textual tradition. It first appears among the fantastic lands of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (Classic of mountains and seas) compiled between the fourth and the first century BCE. The terse entry in the *Shanhaijing* states only that “the Land of Women lies north of the Land of Shaman Zian. Two

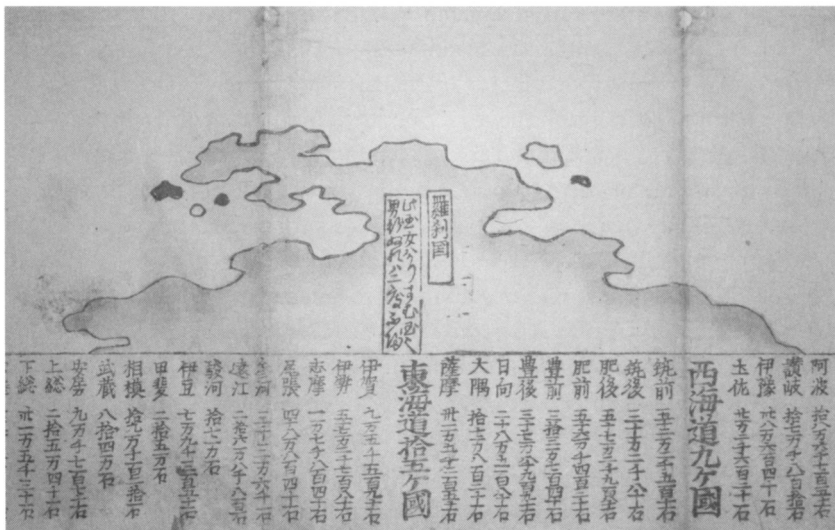


FIGURE 4. Nakabayashi Kichibei, *Fusōkoku no zu* (detail), 1662, woodcut, 38.5 x 49.5 cm, Kyoto University Library.

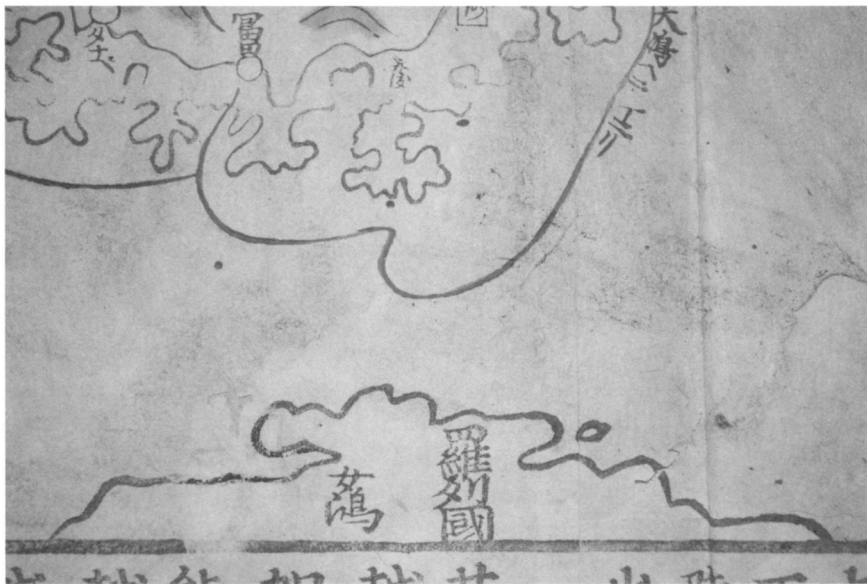


FIGURE 5. *Nihon daihendō zu* (detail), 1686, woodcut, 59.7 x 92.5 cm, Kobe City Museum.

women dwell here in the water, which surrounds them” (STRASSBERG 2002, 173). Guo Pu, in his early-fourth-century CE commentary on the *Shanhaijing*, adds that the women become pregnant by bathing in a Yellow Lake and notes that any boy born to them would die soon after his third year. The mid-fifth-century *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (History of the later Han) explains that “the women become pregnant by looking at their reflection in a divine well” (STRASSBERG 2002, 173). “The Treatise on the Eastern-Yi Barbarians” in the *Weishu* (History of the Wei Dynasty) of 554 also mentions a land in the sea northeast of the Korean peninsula inhabited entirely by women. Xuanzang’s seventh-century *Record of the Western Regions*, the text that introduced Rasetsukoku into Japanese geography, mentions two other lands of women as well. One, southwest of Persia, “is the Western Women’s Country 西女国, which is an island. In it there are only female inhabitants without a single male” (*Da Tang xi yu ji*, 938a). The other, south of Khotan, “is known as the Eastern Women’s Country 東女国, as it is ruled from generation to generation by a woman” (*Da Tang xi yu ji*, 892c).

The Land of Women does not appear on Japanese maps of the archipelago before the late seventeenth century, yet it is found on earlier maps of Japan produced on the Korean peninsula. The earliest Korean world map, the *Honil kangni yoktae kukto chi to* 混一疆理歷代國都之圖 (Map of integrated lands and regions of historical countries and capitals) or *Kangnido* 疆理圖, was completed in 1402, and the oldest copy, dated to around 1470, is housed in the collection of the Ryūkoku University Library (FIGURE 6). The form of the Japanese archipelago was supplied, according to the map’s preface, by a Japanese map that had been presented to the Korean envoy Pak Tonji by the governor of Bishū, Minamoto Mitsusuke (LEDYARD 1994, 274). Although the Land of Women is not to be found on the Ryūkoku copy, Rasetsukoku is depicted as a small, elongated island to Japan’s south. In a later version of the *Kangnido*, however, in the collection of Honkōji 本光寺 in Shimabara, Rasetsukoku has migrated further southwest and is now joined by another smaller island, labeled Land of Women 女国, in the sea just off of the Izu peninsula (FIGURE 7; ŌJI 1996, 100–3).

Both the Land of Women and Rasetsukoku are also found on the earliest known printed map of Japan, again Korean, included in the 1471 text *Haedong cheguk ki* 海東諸國紀 (Chronicle of the countries of the eastern seas) compiled by the Korean statesman Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417–1475).¹¹ The Land of Women is here situated southwest of the coast of Mutsu 陸奥 Province, and beyond it lies Rasetsukoku, which the map labels as “populated by man-eating demons” 有鬼食人. The distances between these islands and the mainland are noted in

11. This map of Japan was informed by the map presented in 1402, as well as by one presented in 1453 by the Japanese monk Tōan, an ambassador from the king of the Ryūkyūs. LEDYARD, 270–71, ŌJI 1996, 99–111.

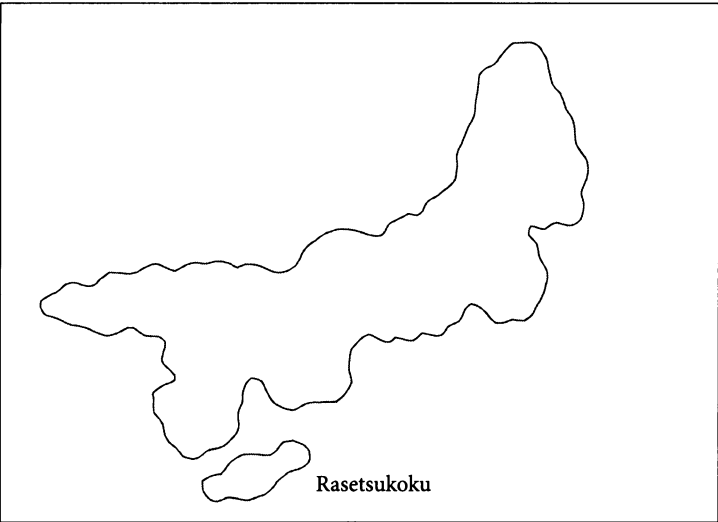


FIGURE 6. Diagram of map of Japan from *Kangni yoktae kukto chi to*, circa 1470. Ryūkoku University Library.

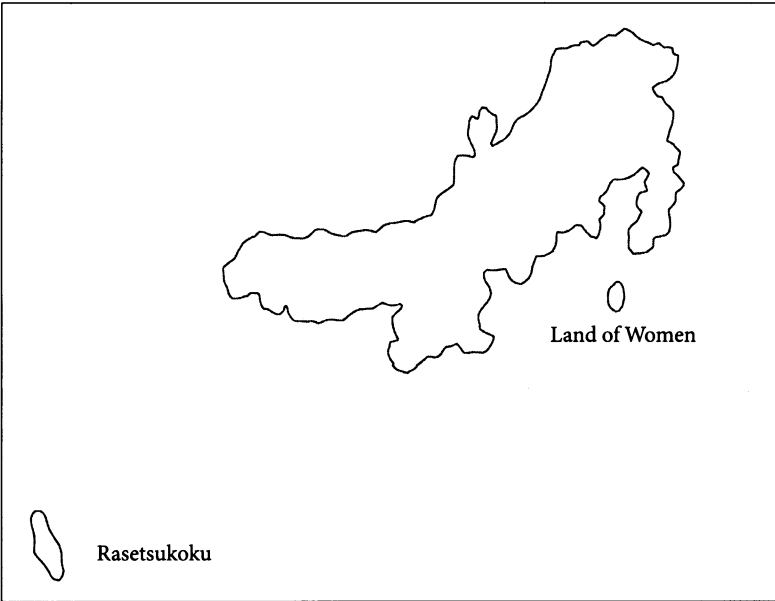


FIGURE 7. Diagram of map of Japan from *Kangni yoktae kukto chi to*, after 1470, Honkōji.

some detail. Beneath the characters for Mutsu is written, “It is 70 ri from here to the capital and 70 ri to Rasetsukoku” 此国都七十里至羅刹国七十里. The Land of Women, which lies between Rasetsukoku and the mainland, is located with a similar degree of specificity: “distance to Mutsu 13 ri” 距陸奥十三里 (FIGURE 8).

The descriptions and images of the inhabitants of the Land of Women that appeared in Japanese texts were similarly based on continental sources, and in particular on the Chinese encyclopedic tradition that flourished in the early seventeenth century. The *Shanhaijing*, which had first mentioned this realm before the Common Era, was published in an illustrated woodblock edition in 1597 in which the Land of Women was represented by an image of two scantily clad figures standing in a pool of water. Another Ming encyclopedia, Wang Qi's 王圻 sixty-volume *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 of 1610, illustrates the reference from the *Hou Hanshu* with a group of naked women gazing into a well. The entry explains:

The Land of Women is in the southeastern seas. The water flows to the east. Lotus flowers one foot across bloom once a year and the peaches have stones two feet long. Long ago a ship drifted there and the women gathered together and carried the ship off. The sailors were all close to death. But a clever man among them stole the boat back at night and they were able to escape. The women conceive children by exposing their genitals to the south wind. According to others, the women become pregnant by looking at their reflection in a well.

(WANG QI, 1970 [1607], vol. 12, 24)

The description from the *Sancai tuhui* seems to be playing, like the twice-named island of the *Nihon daihondō zu*, on two hitherto distinct textual topoi: the demonic snare of Rasetsukoku and the erotic diversion of Nurenguo. The account of shipwrecked sailors who narrowly escape their female keepers by the wits of a single man recalls the Indian *jātaka*, while the details of the inhabitants' aeolian and narcissistic modes of conception anticipates the ethnographic exotica of later East Asian geographies. This conflation of the two traditions may thus have first occurred in the Chinese encyclopedic literature. But we should also be careful not to ascribe the double nature of such islands of women simply to Chinese influence. From Rasetsukoku's earliest Indian elaborations, pleasure and danger together constituted the lure of the foreign.

The imagery and explanations of the Land of Women found in the *Sancai tuhui* were reproduced and expanded in such later Japanese compendia as the *Ikoku monogatari* 異国物語 of 1658 and Terajima Ryōan's monumental *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 of 1713. The *Ikoku monogatari*, an illustrated text that exists in both printed and manuscript editions, catalogues many of the same foreign and fantastic lands found in the Chinese encyclopedic tradition. The entry for the



FIGURE 8. Map of Japan from *Haedong cheguk ki* (detail), 1471, woodcut, 17.6 x 12.3 cm, Columbia University Library.

Land of Women 女人国 constitutes an abbreviation from the *Sancai tuhui* and similarly shows two women staring into a well:

This land is in the northeastern seas. There are no boys in this land. When young boys come here they never return. The women look at their reflection in a well and immediately become pregnant. They give birth only to girls.
(YOSHIDA 1995, 174)

Terajima Ryōan’s description of the Land of Women 女人国 in *Wakan sanzai zue* includes the entire entry from *Sancai tuhui*. Terajima glosses the characters in *hiragana* as Nyoningoku, and in *katakana* as Nyuijin, and notes that the Land of Women 女人国 is “another name for the Island of Women” 女護島. There may also be a trace of the *jātaka* tale in the author’s comment that some sources locate the island in the seas southwest of India. Terajima concludes that “this is the same Land of Women that can be seen in *bankokuzu*” 万国図 (TERAJIMA 1713–1715, vol. 14, 26). *Bankokuzu*, or “maps of the myriad countries,” was a term most commonly used for European-style world maps, either those painted on large format folding screens, or smaller woodblock printed versions that were widely published as single sheet prints and book illustrations from the second

half of the seventeenth century. Most of these simplified printed maps, and some of the painted screens, included renderings of representative peoples from many of these foreign lands (*jinbutsuzu* 人物図).¹² Yet I know of none before the nineteenth century that depict the Country of Women. Matteo Ricci's large, highly detailed, and heavily annotated world map, known in Japanese as the *Konyo bankokuzenzu* 坤輿万国全図, however, does mention a Land of Women. This six-panel Ptolemaic projection of a spherical earth was known in Japan by at least 1605. In his discussion of Europe, Ricci notes: "In the Caucasus there is a Land of Women. This country also has male inhabitants; but if too many are born, they are put to death" (GILES 1918, 378). Ricci, it seems, was referring to the Amazons, whom the Roman historian Procopius located in the Caucasus. Yet many of the other foreign lands Ricci describes (such as the countries of dwarfs, giants, mon-oculi, and dog people) appear in the *Wakan sansai zue* as well.

An Island of Women is also described in the *otogizōshi* 御伽草子 literature of the late-Muromachi period. One such tale, *Onzōshi no shima watari* 御曹子の島, chronicles the fantastical journeys of Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経, who sails from Tosa to visit many of the exotic lands described in the Chinese encyclopedic tradition, including an island of giants with horse's heads and human bodies; an island of men, two inches high, who live 800 years; and an island of women who become pregnant by exposing themselves to the south wind.¹³ This curious detail of the islanders' reproductive practices was described in the *Sancai tuhui* and the *Wakan sansai zue*, and *Onzōshi no shima watari* suggests the same combination of adventure and threat found in the encyclopedia entries. Overwhelmed by the prospect of so many female admirers, Yoshitsune is able to escape the island only by convincing the inhabitants that a larger fleet of sailors is soon to arrive.

Fantasy Islands

If a convergence of the Land of the Demonic Feminine and the Island of Women was suggested by the geographic accounts of East Asian encyclopedias of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the cartography of the period made the link explicit. The twin toponyms of Rasetsukoku and Nyōshima, a doubled isle combining the fantasies of consumption and consummation, inscribed on the *Nihon daihendō zu*, was further perpetuated and popularized by the cartog-

12. On *bankokuzu* and *jinbutsuzu*, see TOBY 1998.

13. For Yoshitsune's visit to the Island of Women, see YOKOYAMA and MATSUMOTO 1973–1985, vol. 3, 367–68, and ICHIKO 1958, 106–8. On the tale itself, see TOKUDA 2002, 192–93. Rasetsukoku, although absent from *Onzōshi no shima watari*, does appear in other *otogizōshi*, such as the late-Muromachi-period *Bontenkoku* 梵天国 and *Kimankoku monogatari* きまん国物語, the earliest edition of which is dated 1529. TOKUDA 2002, 218 and 446.

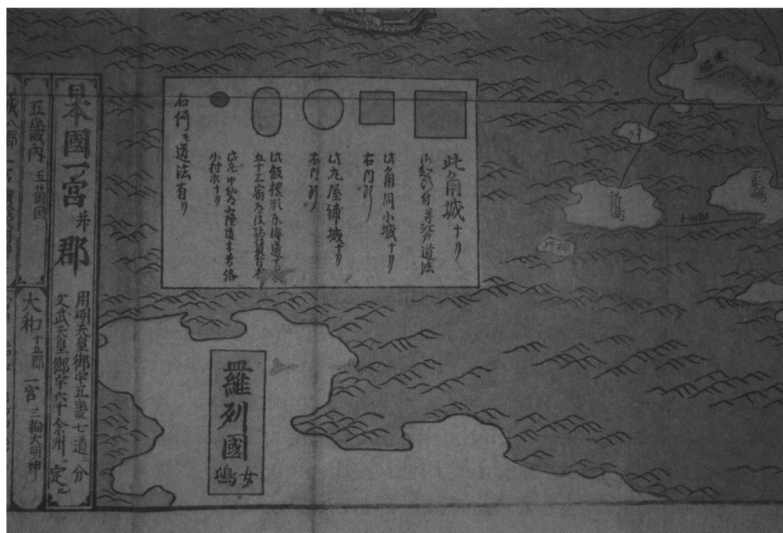


FIGURE 9. Ishikawa Ryūsen, *Nihon kaisan chōrikuzu* (detail), 1691, woodcut, 96.5 x 172.5 cm, Kyoto University Library.

rapher, author, illustrator, and *ukiyo-e* artist Ishikawa Ryūsen 石川流宣 (fl. 1680–1710). In 1687, Ryūsen issued what was to be most reprinted and most copied map of Japan for the next hundred years: the *Honchō zukan kōmoku* 本朝図鑑綱目 (Detailed map of our country). As in the earlier *Nihon daihendō zu*, the land-form protruding from the south is labeled both Rasetsukoku (again rendered 羅列国) and Nyōshima 女嶋. Ryūsen, moreover, like so many of his predecessors, explicitly situates Japan within a Buddhist world. Although Ryūsen's maps would ultimately displace those of the earlier Gyōki-style, he nevertheless prefaces his work by invoking the precedent, and the authority, of Japan's legendary cartographic origins:

The *Nansenbushū dai Nihon shōtōzu* is said to be derived from [the map of] the Bodhisattva Gyōki. Though I have followed it, I have corrected its errors and added highways, and now publish it.

Ryūsen revised his original map and issued it anew, under the title *Nihon Ōezu* 日本大絵図 (Great map of Japan) in 1689, and again, as *Nihon kaisan chōrikuzu* 日本海山潮陸図 (Map of the seas and lands of Japan), in 1691 (FIGURE 9).

Such early revisions, however, were not simply reprintings; each was an entirely new production requiring a new drawing to be made and new blocks to be carved. Although the exact form and orthography of Rasetsukoku often changed throughout these various editions, the place remained omnipresent.



FIGURE 10. Matthaeus Seutter, *Imperium Japonicum* from *Atlas Novus*, Augsburg, ca. 1740, copperplate, 46.5 x 57.5 cm. From LUTZ 1994, pl. 71, Courtesy of the German East-Asiatic Society (OAG), Tokyo.

Ryūsen's map, combining the Land of Demonesses with the Island of Women, was reprinted at least thirty times over the next century.¹⁴

Ryūsen's map of Japan, and his depiction of Rasetsukoku/Nyōgogashima, was even reproduced by European cartographers. Adrien Reland (1676–1718), a professor at the University of Utrecht, for example, relied entirely on a post-1691 edition of Ryūsen's map from the library of Benjamin Dutry, director of the Dutch East India Company, for his 1715 map *Le Japaon divisé en soissante et six provinces*, published in the third volume of Jean Frederic Bernard's *Recueil de voyages au nord* (LUTZ 1994, 194). Reland reproduced the provincial names and boundaries as well as the distinctive filigree contours of Ryūsen's archipelago and proudly announced, in a larger single sheet print issued later the same year by Wilhelm Broedelet, his reliance on the Japanese map provided to him by Dutry. What remained unacknowledged and unnamed, however, was Ryūsen's distinctive hammerhead-shaped outline of Rasetsukoku/Nyōgogashima left floating,

14. Ten different versions were published between 1687 and 1706 by Sagamiya Tahei 相模屋 太兵衛, nine more between 1707 and 1721 by Yamaguchiya Gonbei 山口屋 権兵衛, another in 1730 by Heinoya Zenroku 平野屋 善六, and eleven others between 1745 and 1773 by Izumoji Izumi-no-jō 出雲寺 泉掾 (MIYOSHI 1989).

like an amputated cloud, to the south. Ryūsen, like all of the Japanese cartographers before him, had the balance of Rasetsukoku cut off by the black line of the map's frame. He also had, in the *Nihon kaisan chōrikuzu* of 1691, a small section of the island's northwestern edge cut off where it abuts a large legend tabulating the distances between cities. Reland's first version of the map leaves the partial isle hanging in empty space. In the later single sheet prints of 1715, ca. 1720, and ca. 1740, however, an inset map of Nagasaki has been placed against the island's southern edge, but the gap along the northwest shoreline remains open. Later copies of Reland's map, such as those published by Henri Abraham Chatelain (1684–1743) in his *Atlas Historique* of 1719 and by Matthaeus Seutter (1678–1757) in his *Atlas Novus* ca. 1740, both of which proclaim the Japanese origin of the map but remain silent on their more proximate Dutch source, lower Reland's inset of Nagasaki to expose once again Rasetsukoku's southern extremity (LUTZ 1994, 195; FIGURE 10).

Sex and the Geographic Imaginary

In the culture of floating world, the world of Ryūsen's literary, artistic, and cartographic activities, the Island of Women became an increasingly eroticized topos. Nyōgogashima as a site of male sexual fantasy came to replace Rasetsukoku as a site of male sexual anxiety, or at least the site of a more pleasurable form of sexual consumption. In the literature of Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642–1693) and Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1729–1779), the Island of Women became a pleasure quarter beyond one's wildest dreams. The association was, after all, a natural one. The Yoshiwara and other licensed quarters of the sex trade were, in a sense, islands of women: isolated at the urban peripheries, secluded, confined, surrounded by moats, and often approached by boat. Saikaku's *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* 好色一代男 of 1682, published in the same Genroku era as Ryūsen's maps, celebrates the Island of Women as the final frontier of sex tourism. The libidinal adventures of Yonosuke conclude with the hedonistic hero building a boat on Penis Island and, with seven of his like-minded friends, setting sail from Izu for the Island of Women. Knowing that it would be a destination from which “they weren't ever going to return,” they left Japan fully equipped with “250 pairs of metal masturbation balls, ... 600 latticed penis attachments, 2,550 water-buffalo-horn dildos, 3,500 tin dildos, 800 leather dildos, 200 erotic prints, ... and 900 bales of tissue paper” (IHARA 2002 [1682], 56).

In Hiraga Gennai's *Fūryū Shidōken den* of 1763, the Island of Women is ornately figured as a Yoshiwara-through-the-looking-glass. Gennai's picaresque satire, clearly modeled on *Onzōshi no shima watari*, has his hero (after exploring every place and form of prostitution in Japan) sail off to such foreign countries as the Land of Giants, the Land of the Long Legged People, the Land of the Long-Armed People, and the Land of People with Holes in their Chests until he is

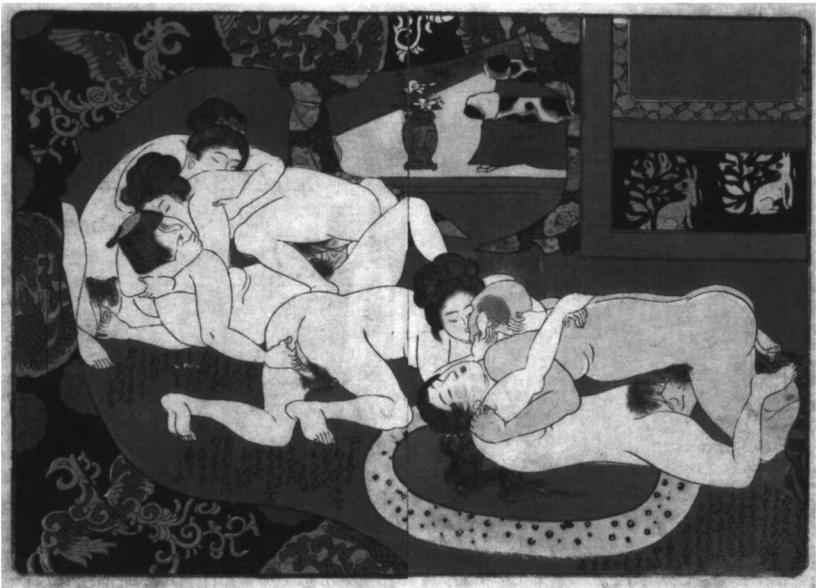


FIGURE 11. Utagawa Kunimaro, from *Nyôgogashima engi no irifune*, circa 1850, woodcut, International Research Center for Japanese Studies Library.



FIGURE 12. Eisen, from *Makura bunko*, 1822, woodcut, Private Collection, Ritsumeikan ARC Database.

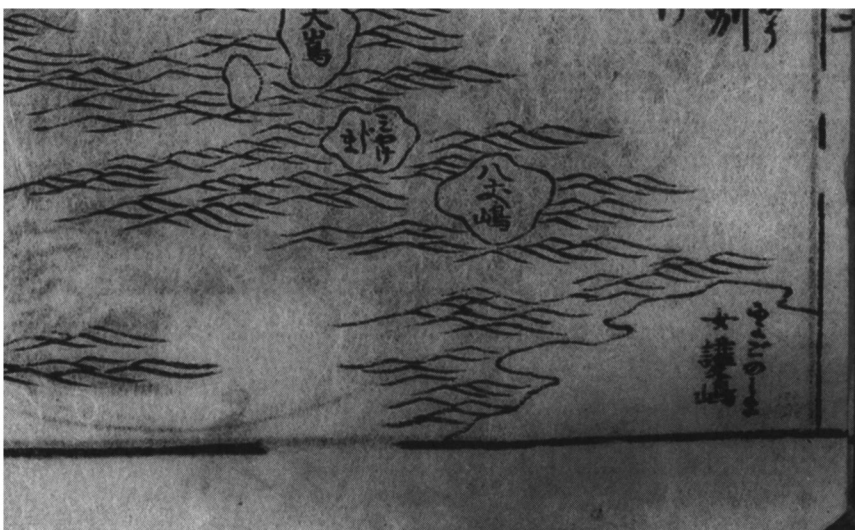


FIGURE 13. Map of Japan (detail) from *Kashiragaki zōho kinmo zui taisei*, 1789, woodcut, 25 x 38 cm, author's collection.



FIGURE 14. Charger with Japanese Map Design, circa 1830–1844, porcelain with blue underglaze, 7.62 x 48.26 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Allan and Maxine Kurtzman (M. 2000.52). Digital Image © 2009 Museum Associates/LACMA/Art Resource, NY.

shipwrecked, together with more than a hundred Chinese sailors, on the Island of Women. In order to most equitably satisfy all of the female inhabitants, the sailors construct a district of male bordellos, with the men all ranked and organized into houses. “The whole place,” Gennai explains, “was modeled after the Yoshiwara licensed quarter in Edo” (HIRAGA 2002 [1763], 505).

At first, the men enjoyed their jobs so much they felt they must be in heaven, and they forgot all about their homelands. But as time passed, they felt less satisfied.... The men had to take customers day and night, and before six months had passed they were all pale and thin. All of the more than a hundred men succumbed to fevers and died, called to the other world by beckoning winds of desire. After they died, their contracts were all transferred to new managers in Amida’s Pure Land.... But somehow [Shidōken] managed to stay not only alive but vigorous. Since he was the only male left, the former customers of the other men also began negotiating to see him, and soon ... he was seeing fifty women a day. But even then his energy wasn’t exhausted. He seemed to be made of iron. The women were amazed, and so was he. When he analyzed his situation, though, he realized he didn’t have much to look forward to. As the only man left, he’d have to keep on doing this for the rest of his life. He liked making love with all of the women, but if this became a settled way of life he knew it would turn into something rather unpleasant.

(HIRAGA 2002 [1763], 506–8)

Having attained such an enlightenment experience, Shidōken is rescued by the sage who first sent him on his travels, is carried through the air back to Japan, and has the Buddhist lessons of his journey explained to him:

Clinging to anything results in great harm.... That is why I sent you to the Island of Women. As a performer there, you saw with your own eyes that sexual pleasure can lose its glamour and even become fatal.

The moral of Gennai’s cautionary tale is thus nearly identical to the Rasetsukoku *jātaka*. And as with the tale of Sōkara’s escape from the realm of demonic desire, it is again Kannon who provides salvation. As the sage explains, “On the Island of Women, the Kannon of Asakusa changed herself into a wooden dildo and stood in your place, saving you from dying, as you surely would have, with all the other men” (HIRAGA 2002 [1763], 511).

The Island of Women is mentioned as well in Chikamatsu Monzaemon’s 近松門左衛門 *Heike nyōgo no shima* 平家女護島 of 1719, Santō Kyōden’s 山東京伝 (1761–1816) *Nishiki no ura* 錦之裏 of 1791, and Takizawa Bakin’s 滝沢馬琴 (1767–1848) *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* 椿説弓張月, serialized from 1807 to 1811. The sexual exploits of the island’s inhabitants (and their intrepid visitors) were also the subject of numerous illustrated books, prints, and paintings. The mid-nineteenth-century tale *Nyōgo no shima engi no irifune* 女護島延喜入船 details

the adventures of three Edo townsmen who set sail for the Island of Women. In three volumes with fifteen full color illustrations by Utagawa Kunimaro 歌川国麿 (fl. 1845–1875), the travelers' encounters with the islanders are depicted in polymorphous variation and graphic detail (FIGURE 11).¹⁵ If *Nyōgo no shima engi no irifune* may be seen as an even more explicit sequel to Saikaku's story, Tsubutegawa Nanryō's 礪川南嶺 *Koi no minato nyōgo no shimada* 恋湊女護生娘 of 1823 may be seen as a similar elaboration of Gennai's. It describes the adventures of a group of young male prostitutes who establish a successful brothel for the female inhabitants of the island.

Nyōgogashima served also as a seemingly inexhaustible topos for *senryū* 川柳 with countless off-color verses composed on the subject.¹⁶ One representative example from the *Haifū yanagidaru* 俳風柳多留 reads,

Matakura no shimeru nyōgo no minami kaze

股くらのしめる女護の南風

Crotches dampen, a south wind is blowing on woman's isle.

(OKADA 1976–78, 177. Translation from GILL 2007, 363)

A print by Eisen 英泉, published in the 1822 *shunga* volume *Makura bunko* 枕文庫, pictures just such a moment with one of the islanders reclining on the rocks, her robes raised and her legs parted, as she enjoys the pleasures of the southern breeze (FIGURE 12).

By the end of the eighteenth century, it seems, the fantasy of the Island of Women had largely replaced the fear of the Land of the Demonic Female. The year 1789 saw the publication of *Kashiragaki zōho kinmo zui taisei* 頭書増補訓蒙圖彙大成, an abridged and reformatted edition of Nakamura Tekisai's 中村惕齋 popular encyclopedia *Kunmo zui* 訓蒙圖彙. Unlike the original 1666 edition, the version of 1789 includes a map of Japan with the usual partial shoreline protruding into the frame from the southeast corner. The familiar landmass, however, is here labeled, in both kana and kanji, not Rasetsukoku but Nyōgonoshima (FIGURE 13).

Until as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the Island of Women belonged to an image of Japan that was mass produced for both domestic and foreign markets. Large Imari-ware dishes from the Arita kilns of Kyushu, decorated with Gyōki-style maps of Japan, were produced in over twenty-five different designs, ranging in size from thirty to fifty centimeters in diameter, throughout the Bunsei (1818–1830), Tempō (1830–1844), and Kaei (1848–1853)

15. FUKUDA 1998, 26–30 and 141–45. An edition with the variant title *Nyōgonoshima takara iribune* 女護島宝入船 is included in SUGIURA 1978, 47–177. In addition to such variant woodblock editions there are at least three painted handscroll versions of the tale.

16. SUGIURA (32–41) lists fifty-eight different *senryū* written about the Island of Women.

eras.¹⁷ The Island of Women, rendered either Nyōgonoshima or Nyōgokoku appear on all of them (FIGURE 14). The cartography of male fantasy had become an export item.

The Return of the Repressed

Yet the Land of Demonesses did not completely disappear from the literary arts of the age. The term *rasetsu* remained, but took on a new and different significance. In the Edo vernacular, *rasetsu* enjoyed multiple meanings. When written 羅刹, it referred to the flesh-eaters of Buddhist legend who arouse men only to devour them. But when written 羅切, it referred to a more explicit form of disfigurement: the severing of the penis (MAEDA 1974, 1044a). This term for castration, which following the Chinese practice entailed removing all of the male genitalia, appears in such Edo period reference works as the *Wakan sansai zue* and in *senryū* collections as well.¹⁸ As the majority of eighteenth-century maps rendered Rasetsukoku phonetically in *kana*, the word remained open to this double entendre. If one were to allow for such a reading, it would seem that the demonic female could, in the words of the medieval warning with which this investigation began, indeed “cut off forever the seeds of buddhahood.” Yet even this sexual fear could be turned into sexual fantasy in the celebration of inversion so characteristic of late Edo culture. In one *senryū*, describing two women in bed, the term *rasetsu* refers not to an act of emasculation but to one of female agency: the removal of a strap-on dildo as the couple trade roles:

Rasetsu shite mata shita ni naru nagatsubone

羅切してまた下になる長局

Castrated again, the lady-in-waiting gets on the bottom.

(OKADA 1954, 250)

Such scenes of female-female sexuality, common to *shunga* and *senryū*, should however be recognized for what they were: fantasies of, by, and for men. This is neither to deny that women had sex with women nor that women were among the consumers of printed erotica. It is simply to note that the production and reception of such imagery was primarily male. For all of the literary, visual, and cartographic transformations explored in this article, a single consistency remains. Whether the object of fear or fantasy, of Buddhist morality or Edo burlesque, of scriptural illumination or cartographic orientation, these islands of women are to be located ultimately within the realm of the male imagination.

17. MIYOSHI 2004, 116–20. For illustrations of these designs, see MIYOSHI 2004, 68–72, and KOBE SHIRITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1984, 93–97.

18. TERAJIMA 1713–15, vol. 10, 8. For examples of such *senryū*, see OMAGARI 1962, vol. 3, 826a, and KASUYA 1995, 816b.

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