Basic Japanese Etiquette Rules
and Their Popularization

Four Edo-Period Texts, Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated

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In the genre of Edo-period house encyclopedia – under this heading I classify setsuyōshū 節用集 (lit. “compilation for occasional use or for [time]-saving use”), ōrainmono 往来物 (“[helpful] things for the coming and going [of letters]”, ōzassho 大雑書 (“voluminous writings on miscellaneous [things]”), and chōhō-ki 重宝記 (“records of weighty treasures”) – one of the most representative works is the [Time]-Saving [Compilation] for Countless Generations as an Inexhaustible Storehouse 永代節用無尽蔵 (Eitai setsuyō mujinzō)1 of 1831 (Tenpō 天保 2). Based on an earlier work by a certain Kawabe Sōyō 河辺桑陽, it was revised and enlarged by Hori Gennyūsai 原根元齋 and Hori Genpo 原根甫 and met major reeditions (with some variations) in 1849 (Kaei 嘉永 2) and 1864 (Bunkyū 文久 4), with a considerable number of copies surviving.2 As the title suggests this book counts among the setsuyōshū. Works of this genre made their first appearance during the 15th century as collections of


2 This is the [Time]-Saving Encyclopedia for Countless Generations as an Inexhaustible Storehouse 永代節用大全無尽蔵 (Eitai setsuyō daizen mujinzō), published 1752 (Hōreki 宝暦 2). Henceforth quoted as Mujinzō 1752.

3 The edition I used bears the year 1849 (Kaei 2). This edition (as the one from 1864) has the addition Dai Nihon 大日本 fixed before the title which thus reads Great [Time]-Saving [Compilation] of Japan for Countless Generations as an Inexhaustible Storehouse 大日本永代節用無尽蔵 (Dai Nihon eitai setsuyō mujinzō). Henceforth I quote as Mujinzō 1849.

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words for the composition of poems and, since the Edo-period, of letters. They were conceived as dictionaries that “enabled users to convert Japanese vernacular-words into their corresponding literary Chinese characters”. However, from the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century a change in appearance and character took place. While still being dictionary-like collections of words, the “compilations for [time]-saving use” incorporated sections on topics such as divination, etiquette, artistic pursuits and so forth. The emerging character of these works as encyclopedias containing the knowledge of their time was further enhanced when in the following decades up until the middle of the 19th century ever more sections of general interest were included. In the Muijizō 1849, e.g., the reader will glean information on an extraordinary range of subjects. The list of contents bears 160 entries covering areas such as: calendar and astrology, astronomy, geography (maps of the world, Japan, major cities and their environment, post stations along major highways, the imperial palace), scenic views (e.g. Mount Fuji, cherry blossom in Yoshino 吉野), ethics (exposition of Confucian virtues), history (order of prehistoric and historical imperial palaces and capitals, numismatics, heroes – mostly warriors – of China and Japan, celebrated literary figures), government (positions in the imperial as well as the shōgunal government, list of noble court families, list of regional lords with their family crests and banners), practical knowledge (“secular civility” (rules of etiquette on pp. 81b to 84a, letter-writing, paper-folding, presenting gifts; use of the abacus; man-woman complementarity, care during pregnancy), cultural pursuits (flower arrangement, tea ceremony, Japanese chess and Go, music, Noh theatre-masks, Sumo wrestling, Kabuki theatre, poetry), religion (deities of China and Japan). All this makes up the first half of Part One of the Muijizō 1849.


5 To distinguish the former type of lexicographic dictionaries from the encyclopedic type the earlier setsuyōshū are called “antiquarian compilations of [time]-saving use” 古本節用集 (kohon setsuyōshū).

6 As in many other setsuyōshū as well as encyclopedia-like exemplars from other genres the pages of the Muijizō 1849 are divided into two or three areas with two or three different topics running parallel to one another.
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The second half consists of a list of emperors with the noteworthy events of their reigns in the upper third of each page and a Chinese character dictionary below. Part Two continues in the same vein with the dictionary covering two thirds of each page and a list of Buddhist schools and their main temples running through the top third. At the end of this part information on palmistry (手相, tesō) and other divinatory or geomantic knowledge, Chinese characters used for auspicious name-giving, portraits of famous personalities from Chinese history, illustrations of artisans and other professions, as well as a list of the Korean syllabic script is offered. Yokoyama Toshio has taken special interest in the study of the distribution and readership of the encyclopedic type of setsuyōshū. He left no doubt that works of this category which he compared to “encyclopedias for daily use” had been popular among well-to-do readers in cities as well as the countryside who apparently had taken an interest in “literary elegance as well as in observing various taboos prescribed by onmyōdō, that is the Yin-Yang school of astrology and geomancy”. Yoko-
yama characterized setsuyōshū as one of the factors that gave stability to 19th century Japanese society and considered them to have been a means for divulging knowledge that formerly counted as the reserve of the court nobility (kuge). He therefore likened this phenomenon to a “kugefication” of society.

Turning to the Mujinzo 1849, I would like to draw attention to the section informing about the basic rules of etiquette, thereby pointing to the principles

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7 YOKOYAMA 1999: 200. In this English summary Yokoyama elaborated on the impressions he had first stated in 1984 after conducting an extensive study of surviving setsuyōshū exemplars. Cf. YOKOYAMA 1984 for a first delineation of ideas and for a detailed analysis of usage YOKOYAMA Toshio, KOJIMA Mitsuhiko 小島三弘, SUGITA Shigeharu 杉田繁治: Nichiyō kyakkō gata setsuyōshū no tsukawarekana. Ikoguchi shintakkō no denzan gazo shori ni yoru shiyō ruikei sekihatsu su no kokoromi 日用百科型類用集の崩れたか。雑口がちの歴史化にに関する。国立史跡専門家会 sekihatsu su no kokoromi 日用百科型類用集の崩れたか。国立史跡専門家会 sekihatsu su no kokoromi 日用百科型類用集の崩れたか。国立史跡専門家会 sekihatsu su no kokoromi 日用百科型類用集の崩れたか。国立史跡専門家会


9 YOKOYAMA 1989: 248; 1999: 200. In the concern over “literary elegance” and matters of astrology and geomancy, Yokoyama sees a reflection of the predilections and habits of the medieval court nobility. The term “kugefication” was “designed to grasp the popular trend of emulating various aspects of court culture”. 1999: 200.

10 Neither the Mujinzo 1849 nor the other texts I will introduce state that their selection of etiquette rules is a selection of the most basic rules. In fact, they give no reason at all for their choice of subjects. That it is a choice, however, not only with respect to the degree of

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at work in the composition of house encyclopedias, and, for that matter, in works of etiquette in general. The section entitled “The Form for the Various Rules of Etiquette [According to the Original School of [House] Ogasawara” 小笠原流諸礼之式 (Ogasawara ryū shorei no shiki) explicitly attributes its information to that school of etiquette, whose name alone guaranteed authoritative information on the etiquette for every situation of life and had become synonymous with correct behaviour as such.\textsuperscript{11} This section extends over six

\textsuperscript{11} The spatial proximity of the Muromachi shogunal government in Kyoto to the imperial court and the cultural influence the latter had on the former spurred on the elaboration and fixation of etiquette rules among the warriors during Muromachi times. It is no wonder, then, that already Edo-period texts aver that the third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu 賀茂氏基 (r. 1368–94), charged those three families reputed for their expertise in matters of etiquette – Imagawa 今川, Ise 伊勢, and Ogasawara 小笠原 – with the compilation and recording of rules of etiquette. According to one tradition this resulted in The Large Book with the Teachings of Three [Schools of Etiquette] in One 三箇に通大具能 (Sanji ittō ōzōshi). The Ogasawara family tradition prides itself on a long history of teaching matters of etiquette that began as early as the days of the Kamakura shogunate. Cf. the homepage

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pages and consists of twenty-six short paragraphs with accompanying illustrations above the text. I leave open the question whether the paragraphs contain a summary of the rules of etiquette as specifically taught by the house of Ogasawara. For one the name Ogasawara was extensively used during the Edo-period to bestow legitimacy on any kind of etiquette text without always entailing an explicit connection with the family of that name. Secondly the

of Ogasawara-ryu.com, the self-presentation of one of the surviving branches of the family, active in etiquette instruction in present-day Japan. According to this tradition, Ogasawara Nagakiyo 小笠原長清 (1152–1242) made a start when he instructed the first Kamakura shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (r. 1192–99), in mounted archery. His descendant Sadamune 真宗 (1292–1347) is said to have served the emperor Goz Uri 高麗 (r. 1318–39) and Sadamune’s son Masanaga 政長 (1326–65) the founder of the Muromachi shogunate, Ashikaga Takauji 資徳尊氏 (r. 1338–58). Their heirs, as lords of the province Shinano 長野 (modern Nagano prefecture 長野), tutored the Ashikaga rulers ever since. Historically this account rests on shaky feet as especially FUTAKI Kenichi made clear. Cf. FUTAKI Kenichi 二木謙一: Chūsei buke girei no kenkyū 中世武家儀礼の研究 (A Study of the Ceremonial Rules of Propriety Among Medieval Warrior Houses), Yoshikawa Kō Bunkan 1985. The author argues that it was not the Shinano Ogasawara but the Kyoto branch family that served as shogunal instructors, the position of teachers for mounted archery becoming established much later than the house tradition asserts, in fact as late as the times of the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori 義教 (r. 1429–41). FUTAKI’s arguments seem to have been accepted by Japanese specialists. Cf. HIGUCHI Motomi 髙見元美, “Ogasawara ke oyobi Ogasawara ryū” 小笠原家及び小笠原流 (House Ogasawara and the Ogasawara School), in: Dai shōreishū 大諸礼集 (Great Collection of Various Rites [of House Ogasawara]), ed. SHIMADA Isao 島田勇雄, HIGUCHI Motomi, Tōyō bunko 562–63, Heibon Sha 1993, Vol. 1: 209. However, HIGUCHI stresses that even when the Shinano Ogasawaras, reputedly the main line of the family, did not serve as instructors to the Ashikaga shoguns, there can be no doubt that they were well known for their expertise in the etiquette of mounted archery. Ibid. This family line took an interest in other areas of etiquette than archery in the days of Ogasawara Nagatoki 小笠原長政 (1514–83) whose name is connected with a large number of etiquette texts that count among the most representative works of the Ogasawara school. It is true of the Kyoto branch, too, that its main area of interest used to lie in the etiquette of mounted archery and that its knowledge of other areas was the outcome of incorporating knowledge imparted to it by the Ise family as late as the beginning of the 16th century. Cf. FUTAKI 1985, HIGUCHI 1993, Vol. 1: 224–25.

12 The dissemination of information about Ogasawara-style etiquette to a broader public owed much to the work of Mizushima Bokuya 水島卜也 (1607?–97). Bokuya had studied Ogasawara etiquette under Saitō Hisanari 桑原久政, who himself was a student of Kōke Sadanari 小池長成, a specialist in Ogasawara etiquette and a retainer in the service of the Ogasawara branch family that ruled the domain of Kokura 小倉 in northern Kyūshū 九州 since 1632. Later Bokuya established himself in Edo as a teacher of etiquette. Such was his fame that the shogunal government consulted him – and not the descendants of houses Ogasawara and Ise – on the occasion of the hair-growing ceremony 童髪 (kamiokiki; when children turned two or three years old they were allowed for the first time to let their hair grow, an event that was marked by a special ceremony) of shogun Tokugawa Tsuna-

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contents of the text in the *Mujinzo* 1849 are much too general to be attributed to a distinct school. Another aspect to be considered in this context is the marked difference between the representative books of etiquette written or compiled by members of the Ogasawara family mostly prior to Edo times and those texts of popular appeal of the Edo-period that made use of the

yoshi’s 徳川綱吉 (c. 1680–1709) son Tokumatsu 徳松. Historians do not agree as to which of the branches of house Ogasawara served as the basis of Bokuya’s teachings. ISHIKA Hiko 石岡久夫 holds that he had been instructed in the tradition of the Kyoto branch, whereas in the same dictionary SUZUKI Keizô 鈴木敬三 states that Bokuya stood in the tradition of the Shinano branch. ISHIKA Hisao “Ogasawara ryû” 小笠原流 (Ogasawara School), in: KOKUSHI DAIBUTEN HENSHU IINKAI 国史大辞典編纂委員会 (ed.): *Kokushi dai jiten* 国史大辞典 (Great Dictionary of Japanese History). 15 vols., Yoshikawa Kô Bunkan 1979–96, Vol. 2, 1980: 737; SUZUKI Keizô: “Buke kōjitsu” 武家故実 (Cases of Precedent from Olden Times Among Warrior Houses), in: ibid., Vol. 12, 1991: 106. The latter seems plausible insofar as the Ogasawara descended from the Shinano branch of the family. Higuchi concludes from Bokuya’s works that he stood in the tradition of the Kyoto branch as well as the Shinano line, as several anecdotes concerning him would suggest, too. Cf HIGUCHI 1993: 222. The subjects of Bokuya’s works support this view as they cover all domains – general etiquette as well as that of warfare – in which the Kyoto and the Shinano branch of house Ogasawara had specialized. Of the 136 works listed in the *Complete Catalogue of National Literature* under Bokuya’s name, eight bear “Ogasawara” in their title. *Kokusho shobunroku* 国書総目録, 9 vols., Iwanami Shoten 1989–91, Vol. 9: 865. As among this large number there are several that are identical with works attributed to Ogasawara Nagatoki (cf. n. 11) it is more than possible, as HIGUCHI argues (1993: 222), that a number of supposedly Nagatoki’s works actually had been compiled by Bokuya. On the other hand, how much of this originated by Bokuya’s own hand again is difficult to ascertain as contributions by Bokuya’s student Itô Kôshi 伊藤幸氏 have to be taken into consideration, too. Ibid. Be that as it may what commonly became known as Ogasawara etiquette during the Edo-period depended to a considerable degree on contributions by Mizushima Bokuya and his school. SUZUKI 1991:106. However, even during Edo times doubts were voiced as to the authenticity of Bokuya’s teachings. The famous paragon of house Ise, Ise Sadataka 伊勢貞大 (also called Teiji; 1717–94), accused Bokuya of making up things that had no ground in the Ogasawara tradition. Teiji zakki 貞丈雑記 (Teiji’s Mixed Records), ed. SHIMADA Isao, Tôyô bunko 444, 446, 450, 453, Heibon Sha 1985, Vol. 1: 17, 73 (for a full account of Sadataka’s evaluation cf. “Additional Material” at the end of this introduction). On the other hand, Sadataka was well aware, that instruction in the teaching of the Ogasawara school was solely conducted by men outside the Ogasawara house proper, not by its own branches. The latter had declined as masters of etiquette together with the Muromachi government at the end of the 16th century. The Kyoto branch did not regain a position as teachers of etiquette in the service of the shogun. The etiquette for mounted archery and warfare in which the Shinano family line had taken a strong interest, had already been transmitted to a branch family, the house of Akasawa 安沢 at the end of the Muromachi-period. At the beginning of the Edo-period Akasawa Tsunenao 赤沢常直 adopted the family name of Ogasawara and entered the service of the shogunal government as a teacher of (mounted) archery (1604). It is in this capacity that the descendants of this branch are still active today. Hartmut
name “Ogasawara” as kind of a trade-mark. Whereas the first represented the traditional genre of “[courteous] knowledge and facts [based on cases of precedent] from olden times” 有職故事 (yūsoku kōjitsu) and did not primarily explain the concrete behaviour expected in any given situation such as eating in those parts that dealt with food and meals but introduced the various utensils used during a formal meal and the dishes to be served, the second represented an entirely different and new type. Exemplars of the latter type are the genuine precursors of modern etiquette books inseasof they concentrate on how to perform certain acts with various degrees of elaboration.

What is of interest there is the fact that the selection of topics for the twenty-six paragraphs attributed to the Ogasawara school as well as their contents down to the exact wording are not original. They draw on a tradition that can be followed back at least one hundred years to the beginning of the 18th century. A similar choice of topics with a nearly identical wording in a similar number of paragraphs arranged in a nearly identical format can be found in a large number of house encyclopedias, with the earliest exemplar that I could ascertain dating from 1713. The topics selected are: greeting on


13 Generally the expression referred to the customs, ceremonies, the style of clothing, the paraphernalia used for courtly events at the imperial palace and the residence of the Ashikaga shogun in Kyoto.

14 There were passages on concrete behaviour, to be sure, but they did not use up as much space as paragraphs on items of tableware and so on. On this subject and on the qualitative breach with Edo-period etiquette books cf. Michael Kinske: “Rei wa 'inshoku' ni hajimarun. Edo jidai no shokui saho ni tsuite no ichikōsatari” ‘礼’は「飲食」に始まる。江戸時代の食事作法についての一考察 ("Rules of Etiquette” begin with “Eating and Drinking”.

Reflections on Edo-period Table Manners), unpublished typescript 1997.


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the road, offering something on a fan, using a fan, entering or leaving a room, appreciating a hanging scroll or a flower arrangement, drinking tea, filling a wine cup, accepting a wine cup, serving tidbits of food accompanying rice wine, enjoying incense, handing over a knife, admiring the workmanship of a sword, setting up a folding screen, nose-blowing, hanging up a calligraphic

Setsuyō jirinzō: “Illustrated Explanation of the Various Rules of Etiquette” 諸礼之図抄 (Shorei no zushō), 28 §§, a 1795 (Kansei 天明) reprint of the 1782 (Tenmei 天明) original, ① The Time-Saving Compilation for Japan as a Storehouse for Ten Thousand Years 日本雑用万歳抄 (Nihon setsuyō mansaijō): “Various Rules of Etiquette in Illustrated Form” 諸礼之図式 (Shorei no juzui), 28 §§, 1785 (Tenmei 5), ② The Time-Saving [Compilation Promising] Great Wealth as a Sea of Long Life and Luck 大慶用萬歳抄 (Taihō setsuyō jufukukai): “A Mirror of How to Teach Discipline [According to the Various Rules of Etiquette] 諸礼鏡方鏡 (Shorei shitsukagata kagami), 24 §§, 1799 (Kansei 11). ③ The Time-Saving [Compilation] with Ten Thousand Treasures as a Storehouse for Riches and Honours 万宝藏用富貴鏡 (Banpō setsuyō fūkiroku): “The Proper Form for the Rules of Etiquette” 諸礼之法式 (Shorei no hōshiki), 27 §§, 1802 (Kyōō 昭和), ④ The Great Time-Saving Compilation for Literary Circles 文会用深大成 (Bunkai setsuyōshiki taisei): “Illustrated Explanation of the Various Rules of Etiquette” 諸礼鏡抄 (Shorei zushō), 26 §§, 1819 (Bunsei 2), ⑤ Mujingō 1849: “The Form for the Various Rules of Etiquette [According to the Original School of [House] Ogawara”, 26 §§, 1849, ② The Great Learning of the Various Rules of Etiquette 諸礼大学 (Shorei daigaku): “Various Rules of Etiquette in Illustrated Form” 諸礼之図式 (Shorei no juzui), 18 §§, late Edo-period. Some works I left out in this list show similarities in the illustrations and an almost identical wording in corresponding paragraphs. The Compilation of the Ten Thousand Ways of Teaching Discipline for City-Dweller Households 町家方鏡方縁 (Chōka yorou shitsukakata) of 1778 (An'ei 永永) 7) contains a collection of 22 §§ with no title. The illustrations and headings mostly correspond to those in the texts above. Still I hesitated to classify this work in the same class for two reasons: 1. the paragraphs lack any kind of explanatory comment except for the first two. 2. there are three paragraphs in this collection that have no correspondence in the other texts. One concerns the smoking of tobacco in a pipe (§ 4). The other two (the only ones carrying a written commentary) have religious subjects (paying reverence in front of Shintō deities in § 1 and in front of Buddha in § 2), which makes this collection remarkable. On the other hand, there is a number of texts with a choice of subjects similar to the titles listed above but with greater elaboration, some deviant paragraphs, and with a different visual format. Cf. e.g. The Storehouse of Brush and Ink for Texts of Practical Use [Leading to] Happiness and Long Life 福寿用文鏡墨 (Fukuyu yōban kanboku): “Illustrated Explanation of an Instruction for Teaching Discipline According to the Common Practice of Our Age” 当流諸方指南図解 (Tōryō shitsukagata shinpan zukai), 1734 (Kyōō 19), The Completely Revised Great Edition of the Time-Saving Compilation of Japan 使銃用鏡方改大全 (Yamato setsuyōshikai kaisai taihō): “An Illustrated Explanation of How to Teach Discipline [According to the Various Rules of Etiquette Commonly Accepted in Our Age] 当流諸礼鏡額鏡抄 (Tōryō shorei shitsukagata no ekō), 1826 (Bunsei 9), The Paedagogic Mirror for Young Learners in Form of the Syllabary Poem 幼学以流諸歌鏡 (Yōgakuryū roka uzu osukagami): “An Illustrated Explanation of the Various Rules of Etiquette Commonly Accepted in Our Age” 当流諸礼図式 (Tōryō shorei zushō), 1838 (Tenpō 9), and The Time-Saving

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scroll, caring for and placing candles, helping to put on a kimono, accepting and folding a kimono, carrying an dining table, setting down an dining table, sitting at an dining table and eating, acting as a companion, filling a bowl of rice, "drawn-in" side-dishes, refilling a bowl of soup, refilling a bowl of cold soup, eating noodles, peeling a melon, and using a toothpick. There are only slight variations among the texts, some contain paragraphs on peeling melons, eating noodles, enjoying incense, or using a toothpick while some do not. All the other topics are dealt with in all exemplars. Another, albeit minor, difference concerns the degree of brevity: some collections favour even more concise explanations at least with regard to certain rules, than do the remainder. All paragraphs have their place in the context of paying a visit and entertaining guests. Their numerical order, however, is not the same from text to text nor does their sequence follow any structural principles, with the exception that the paragraph on greeting in most cases is placed at the beginning (or at least near it) and those on serving food and rice wine and their consumption stand together, generally near the end of the collection.

Although there are some variations in the wording and in a few instances some rules are given together in one paragraph while appearing in distinct paragraphs in other texts, the collection in the Mujinzo 1849 shares these characteristics. This should suffice to make clear the dependence of all exem-

[Compilation] for Great Luck as an Inexhaustible Storehouse 大福節用無尽蔵 (Daifuku setsuyō mujinzo): "Illustrated Explanation of the Various Rules of Etiquette" 諸礼儀従抄 (Shorei zushō), 1861 (Man' en 万延 2). The same considerations hold true for a large number of texts especially addressed to women, e.g. Colourfully Dyed Paper with Letters of Practical Use for Women 女用文色紙ezier (Onna yōbu shikizhiyOTES); "Various Rules of Etiquette for Women" 女諸礼 (Onna shorei), new edition 1762 (Hōreki 12). Sources: ②5③⑤⑥⑦⑨⑩ are contained in the Great Collection of [Time]-Saving Compilations 清用集大系 (Setsuyōshā taikei, Ōzora Sha 1993–95; ①③⑤⑩ I found in the Great Collection of [Helpful] Things for the Coming and Going [of Letters] 往来物大系 (Oraiemono taikei, Ōzora Sha 1991–94; for ⑥ I used a surviving wood-block print edition but it is also included in the Setsuyōshā taikei (vols. 75–76).

16 Cf. n. 31 in the following translation.
17 This is true for ④, ⑥, and ⑦.
18 ① represents an exception to these general characteristics as it consists only of twelve paragraphs starting with those on eating and drinking. It even appears as if the first half of the common listing of topics had been omitted, leaving only those dealing with consumption. Lack of structural stringency can be observed in most pre-modern texts of etiquette. A rare and therefore interesting exception is the above-mentioned Storehouse of Brush and Ink for Texts of Practical Use [Leading to] Happiness and Long Life. The collection of etiquette rules in this work arranges its paragraphs in two parts, with rules concerning the behaviour of the host and those of the guest.

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plars – including the Mujinzo 1849 – on a common model over a period of
more than one century. If one point of difference between the Mujinzo 1849
and the other exemplars is singled out it concerns the mode of graphic
presentation. All examples rely on an explanation of their rules in a written
as well as a graphic, almost comic-style presentation. But whereas all others
isolate one written rule together with a corresponding picture within the
bounds of one frame – with the result that the whole arrangement looks as if
a number of cards resembling the well-known cards with poems from the
poetic collection Single Poems by One Hundred Poets 百人一首 (Hyakunin
isshu)19 had been laid out in a string – the Mujinzo 1849 chooses to separate
text and graphics. The text is shifted to the bottom of the page, while the
corresponding action, so to speak, takes place in the center of the page.20 The
pictoral presentation of each etiquette rule is identical to that in the other
collections. However, while the latter are devoid of context or background,
the illustrations for single rules in the Mujinzo 1849 are set within different
rooms of a large mansion – which is open to the reader’s view slightly from
above – where they are presented in synchronic order, with a scene of greeting
at the entrance to eating of noodles and melons in the innermost room open
to the surrounding garden.

Returning to the title and the relation to the Ogasawara family it strikes the
eye that despite identical contents all exemplars are headed by different
titles, but none contain any allusion to the Ogasawara family except the
Mujinzo 1849. I would surmise that these collections presented the most
common rules of etiquette which rested on such broad acceptance in society
that affiliation to a certain school of etiquette was outweighed by their degree
of standardization and consensus.

In the following I shall set up a concordance of the Mujinzo 1849 text with
three representative examples from other house encyclopedias. One will be
the chapter “How to Teach Discipline [According to] the Etiquette Rules of
Japan” from The Rulebook of Ten Thousand Treasures for [Circumspect]
Decision-Making as the earliest exemplar I could definitely establish so far.21

19 Based on a 13th century selection of one hundred poems by different famous poets, a
game developed where players had to find the card with the full text of each poem after
the game master had read aloud another card with only a part of the poem. Written on
shells during the Middle Ages, through the influence of European playing cards introduced
to Japan at the end of the 16th century paper cards came into use in the first half of the
Edo period.

20 In the upper area at the top of the page an altogether different text may be placed.

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Next follows "The Proper Form for the Ten Thousand Rules of Etiquette" from the *Mujinzo* 1752. This was chosen because it is the text which the compilers of the *Mujinzo* 1849 purportedly revised and enlarged but also because it is the first example of a fully-fledged version to date. Third will be "The Proper Form for the Rules of Etiquette" from *The [Time]-Saving Storehouse of Riches and Honours with Ten Thousand Treasures*. This is half a century removed from the *Mujinzo* 1752 and thus a good link with the later "Form for the Various Rules of Etiquette [According to] the Original School of [House] Ogasawara" in the *Mujinzo* 1849. Together these four texts will convey a vivid impression of how much standardization had progressed and of how little variance came about over many decades. A numerical index will show that of twenty-six paragraphs in both *Mujinzo* 1752 and *Mujinzo* 1849, twenty-five *Mujinzo* 1752-paragraphs have a correspondence in the *Mujinzo* 1849. Only § 10 (incense burning) has not been included in the latter. Of the other twenty-five *Mujinzo* 1752-paragraphs §§ 7–8 as well as §§ 19–20 have been paired in the *Mujinzo* 1849 to form § 21 and § 12 respectively. This leaves three paragraphs in the *Mujinzo* 1849 which are not found in the *Mujinzo* 1752. Of these, however, § 23 (noodle eating) and § 26 (melon serving) can be found with almost identical wording in the *The [Time]-Saving [Compilation] with Ten Thousand Treasures as a Storehouse for Riches and Honours*. Only with § 19 (toothpick usage) is there no correspondence in any of the other texts. This paragraph may be the only original contribution of the *Mujinzo* 1849 to this genre of concise introductions to basic rules of etiquette.

This degree of invariability is all the more astonishing when compared with the frequent need with which etiquette rules had to be adapted to the

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21 I assume that there are still older exemplars. A strong clue for this can be found in the imprint of the 1768 (Meiwa 5) reprint of ③. There it says that the original edition was printed Genroku 元禄 11 (1698). Even taking for granted that this earlier version existed, I found no proof for a surviving copy. It is neither included in one of the reprint series published by Özora Sha nor is there an entry in the *Complete Catalogue of National Literature* or in other catalogues giving a clue in this respect. Therefore, I could not verify whether the Genroku-edition already contained a collection of etiquette rules similar to the one in ③ (or if it really existed for that matter).

22 Both already appear as §§ 17–18 in ③.

23 In other more elaborate etiquette texts rules for toothpicking are noted at a much earlier date. Cf. e.g. §§ 42–43 in Kihara Ekiken's 賢願玄軒 *Secret of the Rites for Eating* 賢軒口訣 (Shokuren kuketsu), *Ekiken Kai* 賢軒会 (Hg.): *Ekiken zenshū* 賢軒全集 (Ekiken's Complete Works), Vol. 1, 1910, reprint 1973: 311.
fast-moving times in the following one hundred and fifty years. There was change or development in the genre of etiquette rules during the Edo-period, too, as the example of the rules for eating grilled fish shows.24 However, rules that had become established as standard could look on a longer period of validity or acceptance than those of the following so-called modern period. This is a general statement, of course, that does not preclude the fact that in ‘modern’ times, too, there might have been rules that were less affected by change and the process of adaptation and therefore enjoyed a longer period of validity. That might be especially true of those of a more fundamental nature, such as greeting or eating in company.

Additional Material: Ise Sadatake on Mizushima Bokuya

Ise Sadatake certainly was partial to the tradition of his own family and it must have vexed him that at least one branch of House Ogasawara had found service with the shōgunal government as instructors of etiquette and another even had been entrusted with a regional lordship, whereas the fortunes of his own family after a long tradition of service to the Ashikaga shōgunate were at low ebb.25 This might explain why Sadatake could not completely hide a smug feeling of glee at the embarrassment the rivals of his family should have felt at the activities of people like Mizushima Bokuya who draped their own teachings with the name “Ogasawara”. Although his account may be exaggerated it leaves not much doubt that Bokuya and his students had been successful in spreading their teachings nor about the fact that Sadatake was highly apprehensive of the popularization of etiquette rules which met the trend of time under the heading of an old and hallowed tradition.26

25 After the end of the Ashikaga shogunate some decades intervened before the Ise family found employment again in 1637 (Kan’ei 14) with the new Tokugawa government, as councilors on questions of etiquette and wardens of the Ise family traditions – with a mediocre income. Even this status was endangered when Sadatake was only ten years old. In 1725 he lost his father and the following year his thirteen year old brother who had succeeded to the family headship, also died. Still being a child, Sadatake’s brother had left no direct heir and thus the family line was declared extinct and its lands confiscated. However, the government deplored the extinction of such an old family and some months later allowed Sadatake to succeed to the family headship bestowing the old family holdings on him.
Basic Japanese Etiquette Rules

On the schools for the various rules of etiquette: Among the proponents of the various rules of etiquette in Edo in this age, many instruct people while calling [themselves followers of the] Ogasawara School. As to the originator [of this practice], among the retainers of Ogasawara Ukon no Taifu Sadayoshi 小笠原右近夫要成27 there was a certain Oike Jinnoji Sadanari 小池甚之丞貞成28. [This man] received the [Ogasawara] teachings [directly] from Ukon no Taifu, he studied and transmitted [the Ogasawara] style and methods and had a large number of students. Among Sadanari’s students was one Saitho Saburo Uemon Hisanari 斎藤三郎右衛門久也 who again had a student by the name of Mizushima Den’emon Motonari 水嶋伝右衛門元也. [This man] later used the pen name “Bokuya”. At the time when the hair-growing celebration for the young prince Lord Tokumatsu, [the son of] Lord Palace-of- Everlasting-Laws 常憲院29, was to be held, it was decreed that Hotta Masahide [with the rank of] Gouvernor of Tsushima 嶋田津島守政英30 should present the white-hair-[head-dress] 仰白髪 (oshiraga)31. Thereupon the Gouvernor of Tsushima ordered this Mizushima to make the white-hair-[head-dress] and presented it [to the shogunal court]. Since this incidence, [Bokuya] became widely known, and [the number of his] students was tremendous. This Mizushima person made up a lot of things by himself that had no grounds in the [tradition of] House Ogasawara and instructed students according to his own inventions. While receiving these [teachings], down to the students of Mizushima’s [own] students one and all invented a lot of things as they deemed fit and saw them to be widely practiced. As a result of this, those who call [themselves followers of the] “School of [House] Ogasawara” all differ from each other, and [in their teachings] things are numerous, that have lost [foundation in] the facts [based on cases of precedent] from olden times. A look at their books [will show], that they have recorded diverse fanciful inventions and that things are numerous that cause one to hold one’s belly with laughter. For House Ogasa-

27 Sadayoshi (1546–95) was the son of Ogasawara Nagatoki (cf. n. 11). As a warrior of renown he was involved in the period of internecine warfare at the end of the 16th century, owing allegiance to the Tokugawa family in the end.

28 Cf. n. 12.

29 The fifth Tokugawa shogun, Tsunayoshi. “Palace-of- Everlasting-Laws” is Tsunayoshi’s posthumous name (okarina).

30 A direct retainer of the Tokugawa family, Masahide (1638–88) belonged to the entourage of Tsunayoshi’s son Tokumatsu.

31 During the ceremony (cf. n. 12) this head-dress made from raw silk threads was placed on the child’s head and (symbolically) combed.

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wara this certainly will be annoying. Because in present times it has spread throughout society, various regional lords, too, make use of this Mizushima School. For the educated this is a laughing matter. Is it not something deplorable? However, as it may have consequences for [some] people to say such things, it is better not to talk indiscriminately. When I borrowed a lot [of books] from a man who owned Mizushima’s [secretly] transmitted writings 伝書 (densho) and had a look [at them], I found a postscript at the end of the books which stated: “This book of such and such a title records the beginning of learning [based on a] blending of old things and new ones for students and has made it be deeply hidden [therein]. May future scholars correct my mistakes. Most respectfully. Year, month, day. Mizushima Bokuya Motonari.” Thus it was written. Judging from the words “blending of old things and new ones” one can know that Bokuya made up many things [by himself].

(Comment) Men who have studied and looked at the old books from Japan and China do not trust in inventions. That is why people who trust the Mizushima School all are without learning and unlettered.
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Index of paragraphs
(with the *Mujinzo* 1752-paragraphs as point of reference)

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(1) = Banpô gozeibai shikimoku, 1713, (2) = *Mujinzo* 1752
(3) = Banpô sessuyô fûkigusa, 1802, (4) = *Mujinzo* 1849

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1. The Rulebook of Ten Thousand Treasures for Circumspect Decision-Making (Banpō gaseibai shikimoku, 1713)

How to Teach Discipline
[According to] the Rules of Etiquette of Japan (Warei shitsukegata)

1. The posture (tei) for cutting a wick (shin): In case of only one candle holder one should cut the candle’s wick while standing. If, however, there are several candle holders, one should take the candles off and then cut the wick.3

2. About how to drink ordinary tea (isune no cha): In case of tea served on a tea tray (cha-dai), one should take it together with the tea tray, put the tray down [on the floor], and hold only the tea-bowl (tenmoku) and drink [from it]. If there is another guest (aiyaku), one should only take the tea-bowl and drink [from it]. The serving person should be aware [of this rule], too.

3. How to hold a dining table (zen): The dining table is held firmly with the left thumb fastened to the edge [of the table] so that one will not let it fall even when stumbling, and the right hand is attached

2. The [Time]-Saving Encyclopedia for Countless Generations as an Inexhaustible Storehouse (Eitai setsuyō taizen mujinzo, 1752)

The Proper Form for the Ten Thousand Rules of Etiquette (Yorozu shorei no hōshiki)

1. How to greet on the road: When encountering a noble person (kinin) or one’s lord, one has to greet by lowering both hands so that the fingers touch the back of one’s foot and by bending down the head. This is the proper form [of greeting].

2. When placing something on a fan (ōgi) and offering it [to someone], one has to present it with [the item’s] end showing to the noble person’s right [hand] so that he can directly take and use it. One has to place [the item to be presented] in such a way that it does not get entangled in the folds of the fan, and one has to be careful not to drop it.

3. About how to use a fan: In front of a noble person a fan should not be used. When it gets extremely hot one should open [the fan] halfway, place one hand [on the knees]
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3. The [Time]-Saving Storehouse of Riches and Honours with Ten Thousand Treasures

万宝節用富貴蔵

(Banpo setsuyō fūkigura, 1802)

The Proper Form for the Rules of Etiquette 諏礼之法式

(Shorei no hōshiki)

1. How to greet on the road: When encountering a noble person or one’s lord, one has to greet by lowering both hands so that the fingers touch the back of one’s foot and by bending down the head. This is the proper form of greeting. ⑤

2. When placing something on a fan and offering it [to someone], one has to present it with [the item’s] end showing to the noble person’s right [hand] so that he can directly take and use it. One has to place [the item to be presented in such a way that it] does not get entangled in the folds of the fan, and one has to be careful not to drop it.

3. When looking at a hanging scroll hanging (kakemono) or a flower arrangement 生花 (ikebana)⑥, one has to leave [open a space of] one tatami mat in front of the decorative niche 床 (toko)⑦, place one’s hands on the floor and look at [the scroll

4. The Great [Time]-Saving [Compilation] of Japan for Countless Generations as an Inexhaustible Storehouse 大日本 永代節用無尽蔵 (Dai Nihon eitai setsuyō mujinshō, 1849)

The Form for the Various Rules of Etiquette [According to] the Original School of [House]

Ogasawara 小笠原流諸礼之式

(Ogasawara ryū shorei no shiki)

1. When encountering a noble person or one’s lord on the road, one has to greet by lowering both hands so that the fingers touch the back of one’s foot and by bending down the head. This is the proper form of greeting. ⑧

2. When entering or leaving [through a] paper-sliding door 縦子 (shōji)⑨, one kneels down, places the left hand on the tatami mat, opens [the door] gently with the right hand, stands up and after passing the sliding-door, one kneels down in the same way as above and closes [the door] あとさす (ato o sasu). As a rule, when one is about to enter [through] a door 戸立具 (torettegumi), one should clear one’s throat こわづくろひすべし (kowazukuroi subeshi) a little.
to the edge of the right [side of the] dining table for handling it [deftly] あしらいに (ashirai ni).

4. How to set down a dining table
It has to be set down with a small, slant towards the guest's left knee, neither touching his knee nor being too far removed. From the position where [the dining table] has been set down at first, one has to push it another four or five parts 分 (bu) [of the way towards the guest] with both hands and then retreat.

5. The posture for eating rice 飯 (ii)14: One should start to eat [with one's] chopsticks beginning with the rice 食 (meshi)15. As for the covers [on the diverse bowls] one should take them off again beginning with the rice, then the soup 汁 (shiru)16, and thereafter one takes the cover off the side-dishes さい (sai)17. It is impolite to leave something without taking the cover off and making sure what is inside.18

6. Because acting as a companion 相伴 (shōban)19 serves the entertainment of the [main] guest, one should not appear late. One should not praise things excessively in the same way as the main guest, and with consideration for the host's feelings one should refrain from scolding and deprecating the serving persons. One should not depart before the [main] guest.

and fan one's bosom むね (mune)20 a little bit. It is not necessary to fan one's neighbour / guest.21

4. When entering or leaving [through a] paper-sliding door13, one has to kneel down, place the left hand on the tatami mat and open [the door] gently with the right hand. After standing up and passing the sliding-door, one has to kneel down in the same way as above and close [the door] 后を立 (ato o iatsu). As a rule, when one is about to enter [through a] door 戸立て (totate), one should clear one's throat a little.

5. When looking at a hanging scroll or a flower arrangement14, one has to leave [open a space of] one tata- mi mat in front of the decorative niche12, place one's hands on the floor and look at [the scroll or the flower arrangement] in a pose of admiration. It would be a great impoliteness not to look at the thing the host has put up for [the guest's] entertainment. What is more, one should not give praise indiscriminately.

6. About how to drink ordinary tea5. When it is served on a tea tray5, one should take it together with the tea tray, put the tray down [on the floor], and hold only the tea-bowl6 and drink [from it]. If there is another guest and if [the tea] is

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or the flower arrangement] in a pose of admiration 感する庭にて (kanzuru tei ni te). It would be a great impoliteness not to look at the thing the host has put up for [the guest’s] entertainment 駄走 (chisd). What is more, one should not give praise indiscriminately.

4. When entering or leaving [through a] paper-sliding door, one has to kneel down, place the left hand on the tatami mat and open [the door] gently with the right hand. After standing up and passing the sliding-door, one has to kneel down in the same way as above and close [the door] (ato o tatsu). As a rule, when one is about to enter [through] a door 戸建具 (to tategu), one should clear one’s throat a little.

5. About how to use a fan: In front of a noble person a fan should not be used. When it gets extremely hot one should open [the fan] halfway, place one hand [on the knees] and fan one’s bosom a little bit. It is not necessary to fan one’s neighbour / guest.

6. About holding forth a wine cup 瓶 (sakazuki). While one has not yet finished drinking one’s cup, one should turn to one’s neighbour / guest and announce: “I should like to offer you [this cup].” Now one should drain the cup, let [the

3. For accepting a small-sleeve-kimono 小袖 (kosode) or skirt trousers 裄 (hakama) one has to receive them folded on both hands, raise them to one’s face, then draw away the right hand, while [the garment thus] hangs from the left hand take the collar part and the skirt that are hanging down now with the right hand and get up.

4. When offering something on a fan, one has to present it with [the item’s] end showing to the noble person’s right [hand] so that he can directly take and use it. One has to be careful that the offered item does not get entangled in the folds of the fan or falls down.

5. When looking at a sword 腰のもの (koshi no mono), one should have a good look at the sword’s workmanship and praise it. If one is prompted to inspect the [blade] inside, one has to turn the sharp edge on top, draw forth [the blade] a little bit by sliding down the sheath along one’s breast and look at it. One should not draw [it] forth completely.

6. Tea should be served by placing it on the left hand and attaching the right hand along [the tea bowl]. The drinking person should take the tea he is served together with the tray, put the tray down [on the floor], hold only the teacup and
7. Refilling the soup: One has to refill the soup on a tray ぼん (bon), cover it with another cover 外のふた (hoka no futa) in the kitchen 勝手 (katte), bring [the soup bowl to the guest’s place], take off the cover, place it on one side of the tray and hold forth [the soup to the guest].

8. The posture for filling in rice: Rice should not be refilled on a tray. One should take the bowl that the guest holds forth with one’s left hand firmly by the rim of the bottom いとぞこ (iiozoku), serve [rice] with the right hand and offer [the bowl] directly.

9. About “drawn-in”-side-dishes 引き揚げる (hikizai): One has to accept “drawn-in”-side-dishes with one’s hands and raise them slightly. The person who “draws” them, too, should take [the guest’s cover] to his own side こなたへ取て (konata e torite), when it is held forth, and fill もる (moru) it.

10. The posture for holding forth a wine cup: While one has not yet finished drinking one’s cup, one should tell [one’s neighbour / guest]: “I should like to offer you [this cup].” Now one should drain the cup, let [the last drops] drip down [by turning the cup], and place it on the tray. It should not be put down [on the floor].

served on a tea tray, one should only take the teacup. The serving person should be aware [of this rule], too.

7. About holding forth a wine cup: While one has not yet finished drinking one’s cup, one should turn to one’s neighbour / guest and announce: “I should like to offer you [this cup].” Now one should drain the cup, let [the last drops] drip down [by turning the cup], and place it on the tray. It should not be put down [on the floor].

8. How to accept a wine cup: When a wine cup [is passed around] arrives in front of oneself, one has to take it together with the tray, [hold] the tray with the left hand, and the wine cup with the right hand, take [the cup off the tray], place the tray on the floor, attach the left hand to the rim of the bottom [of the cup], and raise it. As a rule it is a sign of respect that the accepting person いたたく物 (ita-daku mono) bows his head.

9. About holding a relish [served together with rice wine]: The relish should be held forth with the end of the chopsticks pointing upward a little bit, if it is a superior [whom one serves]. In case of someone inferior one should hold [the relish] with the end of the chopsticks pointing downward. When the other
last drops] drip down [by turning the cup], and place it on the tray.
It should not be put down [on the floor].

7. About holding a relish 看 (sakana) [served together with rice wine]: If it is a superior 上はい (jôhai) [whom one serves, the relish] should be held forth with the end of the chopsticks pointing upward a little bit. In case of someone inferior 下輩 (gehai) one should hold [the relish] with the end of the chopsticks pointing downward. When the other raises [the relish] one has served, one should show courtesy by bowing one's head, too. [But] it is not proper to raise the chopsticks.

8. About how to drink ordinary tea: When it is served on a tea tray, one should take it together with the tea tray, put the tray down [on the floor], and hold only the teabowl and drink [from it]. If there is another guest, one should only take the teacup. The serving person should be aware [of this rule], too.

7. About how to blow one's nose: Preferably, one should retreat to the next room and blow [it there]. If one cannot retreat, one should turn to the lower seat 下座 (geza) and blow [one's nose] three times, with a light noise at first, a little bit louder next time, and light again [at the end].

8. Setting up a folding screen 屏風 (byôbu): [First] one has to part it in two along the middle, [then] one opens it to the left and the right. [A screen with] a picture in [black] ink, one has to place at the top seat, [one with] a picture in colours at the lower seat. [A screen with] handwriting in ink should stand in a higher place than [one with an] ink drawing.

9. How to hang up a hanging scroll: In case of [only] one scroll no order [has to be considered]. In case of a set of three scrolls 三幅 对 (sanpuku tsui) one has to hang up the middle one [first] and then the left and right one. For hanging them up, one has to hold the notched bamboo [stick] in the right hand and the scroll in the left, and hang it on the hook 折釘 (orikugi) in the decorative niche, hold the roller.
11. The posture for accepting a wine cup: One has to take the wine cup together with the tray, [hold] the tray with the left hand, and the wine cup with the right hand, take [the cup off the tray], place the tray on the floor, attach the left hand to the rim of the bottom [of the cup], and raise it. As a rule it is a sign of respect that the accepting person bows his head.

12. The posture for serving a relish: A relish [to be offered] to a superior should be held with the end of the chopsticks pointing upward a little bit. When the other raises [the relish] one has served, [one] should show courtesy by bowing one’s head, [too]. [But] it is not proper to raise the chopsticks.

10. How to enjoy incense: One should not enjoy [the fragrance] by holding the [incense burner] right to the edge of the nose. It is bad, too, to cover [the burner] with one’s hand. It shows great rudeness to invite the fragrance [to one’s nose by fanning with one hand] and to let it enter the sleeve [of one’s garment]. One takes the incense burner and smells it unobtrusively.

11. The posture for handing over a knife (hamono): When handing over a small knife or such to a noble person, one has to turn the blade in one’s own direction and hold [the knife’s] handle by its end, so that the other can take it above one’s own hand.

12. About how to look at a sword. As a rule, one should have a good look at the sword’s workmanship and praise it. If one is prompted to inspect the [blade] inside, one has to turn the sharp edge on top, draw forth [the blade] a little bit by sliding down the sheath along [one’s] breast and look at it. One should not draw [it] forth completely.
one's nose by fanning with one hand] and to let it enter the sleeve [of one's garment]. One takes the incense burner and smells it unobtrusively.

10. About setting up a folding screen: [First] one has to part it in two along the middle, [then] one opens it to the left. If it has a picture in [black] ink, one has to place it at the top seat. [A screen with a picture in] colours [stands at] the lower [seat]. In case of [a screen with] handwriting in ink it has to be placed at the top seat while the lower seat will do for the [one with an] ink picture, too.

11. In order to hang up a hanging scroll in the decorative niche, no details have to be given in case of [only] one scroll. In case of a set of three scrolls one has to hang up the middle one [first] and then the upper and lower (jōge) one. For hanging them up, one has to hold the notched bamboo [stick] in the right hand and the scroll in the left, hang it on the hooked nail in the decorative niche, and let it down smoothly with both hands.

12. How to cut the wick (shin) of a candle on a candle holder in a reception room: In case of only one candle holder one should cut the candle's wick while standing.

with both hands and let down smoothly what is left rolled up.

10. With hanging scrolls and flower arrangements one has to leave [open a space of] one tatami mat in front of the decorative niche, place one's hands on the floor and look at [the scroll or the flower arrangement] in a pose of admiration. It would be a great impoliteness not to look at the things the host has put up for [the guest's] entertainment. However, one should not give praise indiscriminately either.

11. When dressing someone in a small-sleeve-kimono, one has to let him put the left hand through [a sleeve] first, and when he has passed the right hand through [the other sleeve], one has to take the sash (obi) by the middle and put it round him.

12. When bringing a dining table one has to hold it firmly with the right thumb fastened to the edge of the table so that one will not let it fall even when stumbling and attach the left hand for handling it [deftly]. Now, for setting it down it has to be set down with a small slant towards the guest's left knee, neither touching his knee nor being too far removed. From the position where [the dining table] has been set down at first, one has to push
13. About setting up a folding screen\textsuperscript{39}. [First] one has to part it in two along the middle, [then] one opens it to the left. If it has a picture in [black] ink, one has to place it at the top seat.\textsuperscript{38} [A screen with a picture in] colours [stands at] the lower [seat]. In case of [a screen with] handwriting in ink it has to be placed at the top seat while the lower seat will do for the [one with an] ink picture, too.

14. The posture for blowing one’s nose in a reception room: If a guest wants to blow his nose, he has to retreat to the next room and blow his nose a little bit. If it is a gathering where one cannot retreat, one should turn to the lower seat and blow [one’s nose] three times, lightly [at first], a little bit louder next time, and lightly again [at the end].

15. In order to hang up a hanging scroll\textsuperscript{11} in the decorative niche, no details have to be given in case of [only] one scroll. In case of a set of three scrolls one has to hang up the middle one [first] and then the upper and lower\textsuperscript{41} one. For hanging them up, one has to hold the notched bamboo [stick] in the right hand and the scroll in the left, and hang it on the hook in the decorative niche, hold the roller with both hands and let down smoothly what is left rolled up.\textsuperscript{42}
If, [however], there are several candle holders, one should take the candles down and [then] cut [the wick]. As a rule, paper-covered lamps せんとう (ando) and candle holders should be placed nearer to the guest. [However], it is bad, if they are [placed] too near.

13. About how to dress [someone] in a small-sleeve-kimono:23 For dressing one’s lord or one’s father or mother in a small-sleeve-kimono, one has to let them dress with the left sleeve first, and when they have passed [their arm] through the right sleeve, one has to take the sash by the middle and put it round them.

14. About how to look at a sword26: As a rule, one should have a good look at the sword’s workmanship and praise it. If one is prompted to inspect the [blade] inside, one has to turn the sharp edge on top, draw forth [the blade] a little bit by sliding down the sheath along [one’s] breast and look at it. One should not draw [it] forth completely.

15. How to sit at a dining table7 and eat rice / food まし (meshi):27 One should take the chopsticks first, take the cover off the rice まし (meshi), then take the cover off the soup6 and thereafter off the side-dishes17, and begin with eating a little from the rice and drinking from the soup. One should know that it is impolite it another four or five parts [of the way towards the guest] with both hands and then retreat.

13. For refilling the soup16 one has to refill it on a tray27. When the guest holds forth his soup bowl without covering it, one has to cover it with another cover in the kitchen28, bring [the soup bowl to the guest’s place], take off the cover, place it on one side of the tray and hold forth [the soup].

14. Rice 飯 (meshi) should not be refilled on a tray.29 One should take the bowl that the guest holds forth with one’s left hand firmly by the rim of the bottom30, serve [rice] with the right hand and offer [the bowl] directly.

15. For refilling soup47 one inserts chopsticks into the pot ひさぎ (hissage) and pours while holding them together with the [pot’s] handle. One should know that the chopsticks are a precaution in the event that [the pot’s opening] gets blocked. [The soup] should be stirred a little bit in advance.

16. For **“drawn-in”-side-dishes**31 one takes the guest’s [bowl] cover and fills [it] at one’s own place. The guest [on the other hand] holds forth his cover and when it has been filled he should accept it with his hands and raise it slightly.

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16. How to cut the wick 真 (shin)⁵ [of a candle on] a candle holder in a reception room⁶. In case of only one candle holder one should cut the candle’s wick while standing. If, however, there are several candle holders, one should take the candles down and [then] cut [the wick]. As a rule, paper-covered lamps⁴⁴ and candle holders should be placed nearer to the guest. However, it is bad, if they are [placed] too near.

17. About how to dress [someone] in a small-sleeve-kimono⁶⁵: When dressing one’s lord or one’s father or mother in a small-sleeve-kimono, one has to let them dress with the left sleeve first, and when they have passed [their arm] through the right sleeve, one has to take the sash by the middle and put it round them.

18. Accepting a small-sleeve-kimono: One has to accept a small-sleeve-kimono or a ceremonial dress た下 (kamishimo)⁶⁶ folded on both hands, raise them to one’s face⁵, then draw away the right hand, and while [the garment thus] hangs from the left hand take the collar part and the skirt that are hanging down now with the right hand and get up.

19. The posture for bringing a dining table⁵ into a reception room: The dining table has to be held firmly
to leave something without taking the cover off it and making sure what is inside.18

16. How to refill soup ひやじる (hiyajiru) one has to insert chopsticks into the pot48 and pour while holding them together with the [pot’s] handle. One should know that the chopsticks are a precaution in the event that [the pot’s opening] gets blocked. [The soup] should be stirred a little bit in advance.

17. When bringing a dining table into a reception room the dining table has to be held firmly with the left thumb fastened to the edge [of the table] so that one will not let it fall even when stumbling. The right hand has to be attached to the edge of the right [side of the] dining table for handling it [deftly].

18. How to peel a Makuwa melon 真瓜 (Makuwa uri)50. The rind of the melon has to be peeled off in six and a half slices 六ツ半 (mutsuhan)51, and [the melon] cut into rings. After the hottest period of summer 土用 (doyō)52 [the melon] may be cut vertically into four, or horizontally into rings and served with two pieces each to a plate.

19. When serving the soup one has to refill it on a tray27, cover it with another cover in the kitchen28, bring

17. How to cut the wick しん (shin)2 of a candle: In case of only one candle holder one should cut it while standing. If, [however], there are several candle holders, one should take the candles down and [then] cut [the wick]. As a rule, both paper-covered lamps 行燈 (ando)44 and candle holders should be placed nearer to the guest. [However], it is bad, if they are [placed] too near.3

18. When eating rice / food 飯 (meshi)53 one takes the chopsticks first, then takes the cover off the rice bowl 飯碗 (meshiwan), one takes it off the soup, too, and the side-dishes17, and begins with eating a little from the rice and drinking from the soup. It is impolite to leave something without taking the cover off and making sure what is inside. If a second dining table 二の膳 (nino zen) and a third 三の膳 (san no zen) are brought, one should eat from the main dining table 本膳 (honzen)18, then drink from the second soup, eat from the second side-dishes, eat some rice, eat from the main dining table’s soup and side-dishes, take some rice again, and then eat from the third soup and side-dishes.

19. When using a toothpick 楽枝 (yōji)54 one first holds a hand as if covering the mouth, turns to the
with the left thumb fastened to the edge [of the table] so that one will not let it fall even when stumbling. The right hand has to be attached to the edge of the right [side of the] dining table for handling it [deftly].

20. Setting down a dining table: It has to be set down with a small slant towards the guest’s left knee, neither touching his knee nor being too far removed. From the position where [the dining table] has been set down at first, one has to push it another four or five parts [of the way towards the guest] with both hands and then retreat.

21. How to sit at a dining table and eat rice / food 飯 (ii / meshi)\textsuperscript{55}. One should take the chopsticks first, take the cover off the rice 飯 (mushi), then take the cover off the soup\textsuperscript{16} and thereafter off the side-dishes\textsuperscript{17}, and begin by eating a little from the rice and drinking from the soup. It is impolite to leave something without taking the cover off it and making sure what is inside.\textsuperscript{18}

22. Because acting as a companion\textsuperscript{19} means that one is called [only] for the sake of the [main] guest’s entertainment to the same gathering, one should not appear late. One should not praise things excessively in the same way as the main guest,
[the soup bowl to the guest's place],
take off the cover, place it on one
side of the tray and hold forth [the
soup].

20. How to set down a dining table:
It has to be set down with a small
slant towards the guest's left knee,
neither touching his knee nor being
too far removed. From the position
where [the dining table] has been
set down at first, one has to push
it another four or five parts [of the
way towards the guest] with both
hands and then retreat.

21. About accepting a wine cup:
One has to take the wine cup to-
gether with the tray, [hold] the tray
with the left hand, and the wine
cup with the right hand, take [the
cup off the tray], place the tray on
the floor, attach the left hand to
the rim of the bottom [of the cup],
and raise it. As a rule it is a sign
of respect that the accepting person
bows his head.

22. About filling in rice 飯 (meshi):
Rice 飯 (meshi) should not be re-
filled on a tray. One should take
the bowl that the guest holds forth
with one's left hand firmly by the
rim of the bottom, serve [rice] with
the right hand and offer [the bowl]
directly. One has to take off the
cover in advance and then walk
up to the guest.

side, takes out a paper handkerchief
つかいひ鼻紙 (tsukai hanagami),
wipes one's mouth, and puts it to-
gether with the used toothpick into
one's bosom [pocket] 懐 (futo-
koro).37

20. Because the companion19 is
called [only] for the sake of the
distinguished guest's 珍客 (chin-
kyaku) entertainment to the same
gathering, one should not appear
late. One should not praise things
excessively in the same way as the
main guest. One should not depart
before the main guest takes his
leave.

21. How to hold forth a wine cup:22
While one has not yet finished
drinking, one should turn to one's
neighbour / guest and announce:
"I should like to offer you [this
cup]." Now one should drain the
cup, let [the last drops] drip down
[by turning the cup], and place it
on the tray. It should not be put
down [on the floor]. The person
accepting [wine] has to take [the
cup] together with the tray, [hold]
the tray with the left hand, and the
wine cup with the right hand, take
[the cup off the tray], place the
tray on the floor, attach the left
hand to the rim of the bottom [of
the cup], and raise it. As a rule it
is a sign of respect that the accept-
ing person bows his head.
and one should refrain from scolding the serving persons. One should not depart before the main guest takes his leave.

23. About filling in rice 飯 (*ii / meshi*)\(^{28}\): Rice should not be refilled on a tray\(^{27,29}\). One takes the bowl that the guest holds forth with one’s left hand firmly by the rim of the bottom, serves [rice] with the right hand and offers [the bowl] directly.

24. About “drawn-in”-side-dishes\(^{31}\): For “drawn-in”-side-dishes one should take the guest’s [bowl] cover and fill [it] at one’s own place. The guest [on the other hand] holds forth his cover and when it has been filled he should accept it with his hands and raise it slightly.

25. When refilling the soup one has to refill it on a tray, cover it with another cover in the kitchen\(^{28}\), bring [the soup bowl to the guest’s place], take off the cover, place it on one side of the tray and hold forth [the soup] to the guest.

26. How to refill soup\(^{27}\): In case of cold soup one has to insert chopsticks into the pot\(^{48}\) and pour while holding them together with the [pot’s] handle. One should know that the chopsticks are a precaution in the event that [the pot’s opening] gets blocked. [The soup] should be stirred a little bit in advance.
23. How to eat noodles めんるい (menrui)⁵⁹: To eat [the noodles] after putting the sauce on them is base behaviour. After one has poured the remainder of the sauce into the [noodle] bowl⁶⁰, one should not eat anymore. [Also], one should not force [one’s guest to eat some more]⁶¹

24. About “drawn-in”-side-dishes: One has to accept “drawn-in”-side-dishes with one’s hands and raise them slightly. The person who “draws” them, too, should take [the guest’s cover] to his own side, when it is held forth, and fill it.

25. About accepting a small-sleeve-kimono: For accepting a small-sleeve-kimono or a ceremonial dress⁴⁹ one has to receive them folded on both hands, raise them to one’s face²⁵, then draw away the right hand, while [the garment thus] hangs from the left hand take the collar part and the skirt that are hanging down now with the right hand and get up.

26. About handing over a knife⁴⁰: For handing over a knife to a noble person, one has to turn the blade in one’s own direction and hold [the knife’s] handle by its end, so that the other can take it above one’s own hand.

22. How to hold³³ a relish³⁴ [served together with wine]: If it is a superior [whom one serves], the end of the chopsticks should be raised a little bit.³⁵ If it is someone inferior, one should hold [the chopsticks] with the end pointing downward. When the guest raises [the relish] one has served, one should show courtesy by bowing one’s head, too. [But] it is not proper to raise the chopsticks. Likewise, the receiving person should receive [a relish] by attaching the left hand to the right hand. After receiving he should raise [the relish] courteously.³⁶

23. In case of [eating] noodles 麺類 (menrui)⁵⁹, buck wheat noodles 蕎麦 (soba), warm noodles うどん (udon), and thread noodles そうめん (sōmen) are treated the same. To eat [them] after putting the sauce on them is base [behaviour]. After one has poured the remainder of the sauce into the [noodle] bowl⁶⁰, one should not eat anymore. [Also], thereafter the host should not force [his guest to eat some more].⁶¹

24. In front of a noble person a fan should not be used. When it gets extremely unbearable one should open [the fan] halfway, place one hand on the knees¹⁰ and fan one’s bosom²⁰ a little bit. It is not necessary to fan the other guests.²¹
Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816): *Thoughts on Wonders in Recent Times*
近世奇跡考 (*Kinsei kisekikō*), 1804 (Bunka 文化 1)

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27. When blowing one's nose, one has to retreat to the next room and blow [it there]. If one cannot retreat, one should turn to the lower seat and blow [one's nose] three times, lightly [at first], a little bit louder next time, and lightly again [at the end].

25. When handing over a small knife\textsuperscript{10} or such to another person, one has to turn the blade in one's own direction and hold [the knife's] handle by its end, so that the other can take it above one's own hand.

26. In case of a melon \( \text{iwa} (\text{uri}) \text{r} \)\textsuperscript{10} one peels the rind off in six and a half slices\textsuperscript{11}, cuts [the melon] into rings, and serves it. After the hottest period of summer\textsuperscript{22} one should cut [the melon] vertically into four, or horizontally [into rings], and serve [it] with two pieces each to a plate.
1. *Tei* means the "appearance", "form", "condition", or "manner" of things. In this context the word has connotations of "behaviour" and the "way of doing things" as well.

2. The character 心 for "heart" in a physical as well as abstract sense can also denote the hard inner part or kernel of things. In this sense it is still part of a modern word for wick: *tōshin* 營心 (literally "heart of the lamp"). However, the *hiragana*-writing しん for "wick" is in modern usage too, as it already can be found in § 4.17. Another way of writing しん = wick, found in older texts, is that in §§ 2.16 and 3.12. They use the character 真 (shin) on grounds of its pronunciation and probably also its basic meaning, "the truth of things", which lies on the same line as 心.

3. §§ 2.16, 3.12 make clear that this rule finds application in the context of a gathering with at least one guest being present. By explicitly referring to illumination in a reception room 床敷 (zashiki). It can only be surmised why it is acceptable to cut the wick while standing if there is only one candle holder but why one should take down the candles and shorten the wick in a sitting position (cf. illustration p. 86) in case of several holders. With only one candle, perhaps conveniently placed near the entrance, there is no need to move around or between the guest / guests and inconvenience him / them for long. Several candle holders, however, require one to move around the room. Taking care of the wicks while standing could cause ill feelings. While the guest / guests would be sitting on the floor a person of lower status would be standing near or even in front of him / them, showing him / them the back, obfuscating him / them from view, or causing shadows to fall on him / them. This may at least make the guest / guests ill at ease.

4. "Ordinary tea" has its place in the entertainment of guests in the context of more or less every-day life and contrasts with the tea prepared and served according to the rules prescribed for a formalized tea gathering 茶の湯 (cha-no-yu). The drinking of tea in Japan already was mentioned in documents from the Nara-period but until the end of the Heian-period tea remained a rarely enjoyed article of luxury even for the court nobility and Buddhist establishments. The development of tea culture and its spread is commonly linked with the name of the Buddhist monk Yōsai / Eisai 謹西 (1141–1215) who came back from China in 1191 and together with certain teachings of Zen Buddhism propagated the drinking of tea. By Edo times this habit as well as the formalized way of preparing it did not only enjoy popularity among the warriors but had spread to the commoners as well. The tea mentioned in the text would still have been "pulverized tea" 抹茶 (matcha) as used in the formalized tea gathering, which is prepared by pouring hot water on ground leaves of high quality and stirring with a bamboo whisk 茶筅 (chasen) until the tea gets foamy. "Parched tea" 蒸茶 (sencha), made by sterilizing tea leaves with steam and prepared by letting the dried leaves soak in hot water (the most commonly practiced method for preparing tea in every-day life in modern Japan) just had emerged in the second half of the 17th century. It had been introduced from China by Chinese monks of a different Zen school and took some time to assert its place in the culture of tea drinking. The influence of this can be seen in the illustration for § 4.6. The commentary accompanying the illustration explicitly refers to the
drinking of “parched tea” (called *senji cha* in the text).

5 The use of a tray for serving tea depends on the kind of bowl used for this purpose. Cf. n. 6.

6 The general term for tea-bowls is *chawan* 茶碗 as used in §§ 2.6 and 3.8. To differentiate between *chawan* and *tenmoku* I translated the first as “teacup” and the second as “tea-bowl” although the word “teacup” may raise misleading connotations. *Tenmoku*, literally “eye[s] of Heaven” (This kind of bowl is supposed to have originated from the Chinese mountain Tianmu-shan 天目山, according to another explanation it is so called because of the glittering sparkles in the glaze) is a conically shaped type of tea bowl that has its origins in China. Its form, wide at the opening narrow at the bottom, is given as reason for the need of a tray (other tea-bowls with a broader base are served without a tray). The tea-master and former Great Chancellor Yoraku ‘in 東菜院 (Komoe Ichiro 近衛家熙, 1667-1736) explains that a tray is used with a *tenmoku* tea-bowl to give it more stability as otherwise it would be difficult to prepare and drink. He rejects the opinion that the use of a tray is an expression of respect towards high-ranking persons whom the tea is served. Records in Front of a Sophora Tree 瑪記 (Kakó), SEN Sôshitsu 千宗室 (ed.): *Sadô koten zenshû* 茶道典型全集 (The Complete Classical Works of the Way of Tea), Vol. 5, Kyoto: Tankô Sha 1977: 102-03. For an analysis of Muromachi- / Edo-period works on the theory of tea-drinking cf. Horst Siegfried HENNEMANN: *Chasho. Geist und Geschichte der Theorien japanischer Teekunst*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1994. §§ 1.2, 2.6, and 3.8 all mention a *tenmoku* bowl together with a tray. The wording of § 4.6 corresponds to that of the other three texts with the exception that it does not speak of *tenmoku* but of *chawan*. This is in consistence with the illustration. While a *tenmoku* bowl is reserved for drinking “pulverized tea”, the commentary above the illustration speaks of “parched tea” and the man on the picture drinks from a vessel much smaller than that shown in the other texts, similar in size to the small “teacups” used for tea in an every-day context in modern Japan. Thus the text preserves the wording of the original wording with only exchanging *tenmoku* for the more general expression *chawan* and makes allowance for developments in the habits of tea drinking by depicting a man drinking “parched tea” from a small vessel.

7 Made from lacquered wood the “dining table” either was shaped like a serving tray on four feet or took the form of a box-like construction, with decorative openings on the sides or with drawers according to various types. Dining tables were placed individually before each participant in a meal who sat on the *tatami* floor. The number of tables varied according to the type of meal or the status of the eaters. Cf. n. 18.

8 Contemporary etiquette books distinguish between three degrees of greeting, i.e. deep bowing (“most polite bowing” *sai keirei*), ordinary bowing (“polite bowing” *keirei*), and slight bowing (“head bowing” *kasuri*). The first entails lowering the upper half of the body by nearly ninety degrees. The arms are kept near to the body, with the hands gliding down the front of the legs while executing the bow. This kind of bowing is reserved for situations of highest formality and for greeting persons of
particularly high rank. "Ordinary bowing" applies in all every-day situations and calls for bowing by forty-five degrees. Lastly, the third way of greeting can be used in all situations where a formal bow is not necessary. Cf. Ogasawara Kiyomori 小笠原義盛: Ken-zen zakai. Karashi no manad zensho 完全図解。くらしのマナー全書 (Encyclopedia of Manner for Everyday Life. Explained by Illustrations Throughout), Tōyō Shuppan 1994: 12–13. Pre-1945 etiquette books specify that the most formal way of bowing is reserved for the emperor, members of the imperial family as well as Buddhist and Shintōist deities. Interestingly enough, the prescribed degree of bowing is not ninety but only forty-five degrees. "Ordinary bowing", then, requires bending by thirty degrees. Cf. e.g. HOMORI Kingo 霧守謙吾: Shin saho ydgi 新作法要義 (New Essentials of Etiquette.), Kinkō Dō Shoseki 1931: 88–90; Motegi Misao 茂手木みさえ, Hayami Kimiko 早見君子: Nichijō reihō to seiyo 日常礼法と儀容 (Everyday Etiquette and Correct Body Posture), Osaka: Zōshin Dō 1943: 27–29. It seems that the extreme way of bowing with lowering the hands until they touched the feet described in Edo-period texts was discontinued after 1868.

Stiff and flat fans, called achiwa 回扇, came to Japan from China, whereas the folding fan is a Japanese invention dating from early Heian times. It was made by stringing together thin strips of Japanese cypress wood 桧 (hinoki) at first; later on a type with a frame of bamboo or wood covered with paper appeared. Both types could be decorated lavishly, and were carried as much for practical usage as well as for ceremonial reasons. One of the uses was for offering presents. An early written example of this can be found in The Tale of Prince Genji when a young woman plucked some flowers of Lagenaria vulgaris ("evening faces" or yūgao 夕顔) and presented them to Genji on a fan in the chapter "Evening Faces". NKB T 14: 124. In some etiquette rule collections the item presented on a fan is a toothpick. Cf. The Storehouse of Brush and Ink for Texts of Practical Use (Leading to) Happiness and Long Life 福寿用文房墨籍 (Fukuju yobun kanbokuju): "Illustrated Explanation of an Instruction for Teaching Discipline According to the Common Practice of Our Age" 当用範方指南図解 (Tōyō shitsukkekata shinan zakai) 1734 (Kyōhō 19) as well as ①, § 7 (ca. 1751–64).

10 That it is the knees where one places one's hand cannot only be inferred from the illustrations but also from the explicit wording in § 4,24 as well as in ④, § 19.

11 Both hanging scrolls and flower arrangements play an important part in the interior decoration of a room where they are placed in the decorative niche. Cf. n. 12. Hanging scrolls can either display paintings (landscapes, flowers and birds, figures) or calligraphy. They are mounted on flexible backing paper adorned with strips of expensive fabric (gold or silver brocade, silk gauze and others) and affixed with a roller which serves as a weight to hold the scroll flat when displayed on a wall or as a spindle when it is rolled up for storing. Hanging scrolls came to Japan from China. A first type depicting Buddhist motifs was already known in the Heian period. From Kamakura times onwards the influence of a more secular style developed in China made itself felt and together with changes in architecture as well as the proclivities of tea culture gave rise to the present form of hanging scroll. During the

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Muromachi-period it became popular to hang up sets of two or three scrolls. At first paintings dominated, but later on leading tea masters made popular scrolls with calligraphy by famous monks and renowned writers of the past. Flower arrangement, too, had a background in Buddhist culture. But it was not before the end of the 15th century that it began to develop into an art form following a systematized set of rules characterized by a growing number of schools and even a greater number of styles advocated by these schools. The preferred place for displaying flower arrangements as well became the decorative niche, and again as with hanging scrolls, the development of tea culture led to an adaptation and simplification of this art to the tastes of leading tea masters.

12 The decorative niche (toko is short for toko no ma 東の間) took shape together with the development of the "study room style" 書院風 (shoin zukuri) of residential architecture (cf. n. 38) since Muromachi times. Built into the wall, the niche's bottom lies a little higher than that of the room and reaches almost to the ceiling (other types of toko no ma appeared later that diverge from this mode of construction). Its origin lies in an earlier type of wall decoration consisting of a painting with a Buddhist motif hanging on the wall and a low table placed beneath it on which either three items (incense burner, flower vase, candle holder) or five (one incense burner, two flower vases and two candle holders) were displayed. The items on display later changed to hanging scrolls of a secular nature and more complicated flower arrangements. As a place for decorative purposes the niche became an integral part of the room of a house or residence used for representational purposes and guest entertainment. Whereas during the Muromachi-period host and guest apparently sat on both sides of the niche facing each other so that both could look at the decoration, in the following period it became common to sit with one's back to the toko no ma. Cf. n. 38, 41.

13 Sliding doors consist of wooden frames covered with thin translucent paper on the outward side (akari shōji 明障子) or with several layers of paper or even a top layer of cloth (fusuma shōji 楼障子 or fusuma 楼). As the characters used for writing the word (literally "thing for dividing something off") suggest, shōji first appeared during the early Heian-period in the form of panels to be inserted between two wooden pillars in order to separate living space from the veranda / corridor 締目 (engawa). Whereas those shōji that served as doors had to be pulled open (like Western-style doors), from the middle of the Heian-period onwards, "sliding doors" running in reels appeared. Somewhat later shōji covered with thin translucent paper can be ascertained. It is common practice in Japan, too, that one knocks (generally two times) on a European-style door before opening it. In case of Japanese-style doors modern etiquette books still recommend announcing one's presence vocally before opening them (by such expressions as "Begging your pardon!" 失礼いたします shitsurei itashimashite). Cf. Ogasawara 1994: 62, 66. It might be that this practice evolved because it is impractical to knock on a paper door, especially if it consists of a wooden frame only covered by one layer of paper. Another explanation might be that announcing one's presence vocally has to be seen in a broader context, originating in a time when sliding doors were not yet

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used and functionally specific spaces in larger rooms were just partitioned off with the help of folding screens.

14 Here, the text gives the reading い for the character 飯. In other cases 飯 can also be read meshi. Cf. § 4.18. い first of all means steamed or boiled rice. The place of rice can also be taken by wheat or millet, or a mixture of rice with wheat or millet and / or other substances could be denoted by い, too. The same holds true for meshi, although the connotations of meshi are still broader, referring to a meal or something to eat in general. Historically, the consumption of rice unmixed with other cereals was a prerogative restricted to social groups of high status. Throughout Japanese history until modern times rice served as the main article of taxation. It is doubtful whether farmers until the Edo-period often had the opportunity to eat rice. Even in Edo times when the production of rice increased substantially most people could not afford to eat pure unmixed rice. That holds true for farmers as well as city dwellers, including the lower or middle echelons of the ruling warriors. Rice mixed with wheat, also known as “wheat rice” 麦飯 (mugimeshi) or millet, probably was the most common kind of staple food and stayed so for many people until the middle of the 20th century. This should be borne in mind, although I have translated い and meshi with “rice” for the sake of convenience.

15 The text uses the character 食 and gives the reading meshi. That rice or rice mixed with other substances and not food in a more general sense is meant can be inferred from the context as meshi here is used in contrast to the other constituent parts of the meal, “soup” and “side dishes”.

16 In Edo times “soup” could be prepared in two ways: either by using 豚噌, a salty paste of fermented soy beans, grain-carried fungi and salt which was dissolved in hot water, or as “clear [soup]” 豚骨出し (osunashi). The base stock for both soups could be prepared by boiling sea-ribbon 昆布 (konbu) and / or small dried sardines (later bonito flock) in water. Either vegetables or pieces of fish or fowl were added to both kinds of soup. The use of meat from mammals, too, still can be demonstrated at the beginning of the Edo-period, but quickly vanished from the ever more numerous cookery books as well as from actual use. Apart from miso soup or “clear [soup]”, しろ could also mean the dip for noodles (cf. n. 59, 60) or a third type of soup that was served cold (cf. n. 47).

17 Sái, although the word can be written with the character 菜 that also refers to “vegetables”, from early times did not mean exclusively vegetarian food but was used for all dishes, except soup, that were arranged together with rice. Sái could be cooked dishes prepared with several ingredients, or pickled food, grilled fish, or dishes of raw fish or fowl marinated in vinegar. Cf. n. 34.

18 The description of food consumption has to be seen against the background constituted by the rules of a formal meal known as “meal with a main dining table” 本膳料理 (honzen ryōri). According to the social status of the participants a meal consisted of a certain number of dining tables which were placed in front and at the sides of each diner all at once. The social status of the diners also determined the number of dishes on each table and their composition. § 4.18 mentions a “second dining table” 二の膳 (ni no zen) and a “third dining table” 三の
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The highest number of dining tables was seven; however a meal of seven tables was reserved for the shogun. A regional lord was allowed five and so on. Another way of expressing the scale of a meal was by referring to a combination of numbers. The highest form possible was "seven-five-three" 七五三 shichigo-san. This combination probably related to the number of dishes – rice, soup, and side dishes – served on the first three and most formal dining tables. With a decrease in status the numerical combination could change. Thus "five-five-three" or "five-three-three" are recorded, too. Warriors of lower rank were allowed to entertain guests with one soup and five side dishes (besides rice) as Harada Nobuo 原田信男: Edo no ryōishiki 江戸料理法 (History of Edo Cuisine), Chuô Kōron Sha 1989: 7 states. But in the regulations of the regional lord Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609–82) for his retainers the number of side dishes allowed for warriors of the lowest status is as low as one soup and one side dish. Harada 1989: 8. The formal dining event did not necessarily have to end with the honzen meal. It could be followed by an after meal 后段 (godan) where e.g. noodle dishes (cf. § 59) could be served, or by a dessert consisting of sweets, fruits (cf. § 50) and tea. The texts under consideration probably address warriors of lower and middle rank. This can be inferred from the illustrations concerning the paragraphs on eating in the Mujinzō 1849. Several persons with swords are shown sitting behind one dining table with no more than five "side dishes" either placed on the tables or on the floor.

19 Shōban means a person who is invited as companion to the main guest 正客 (shōkyaku) and entertained together with him.

20 What is meant here is the place where the seams of the garment overlap.

21 The text literally speaks of "the person in front [of oneself]" (sakisama). As it does not specify the setting for which its rules apply it may be surmised that they are valid in a gathering of several persons where the other party may be one’s immediate neighbour as well as in the situation of entertaining only one individual guest.

22 Wine cups from earliest times were of unglazed earthenware, later they could be lacquered and made from wood, too (wine cups from gold and silver also could be found while china-ware cups only appeared during the 18th century). Sizes varied; the most generally used earthenware type measured about ten centimeters in diameter and was about 1.2 centimeters deep.

Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫: Bunka to shite no man (Manners as Culture), Iwanami Shoten 1999: 71. Ise Sadake introduces several types that were larger than this and one smaller. Cf. Teijū's Mixed Records, Shimada 1985, Vol. 2: 168. Edo-period illustrations show wine cups of one foot in diameter being used during "large drinking bouts" 大酒会 (daishukai), although such large vessels were usually used for serving the small items of food that went together with wine as Sadake explains. Ibid. Rice wine had its place in the opening ceremony of a formal meal, when three courses of simple dishes were served with three cups of wine each (shiki san kon 式三献 or "ceremony of three courses") before the main dining table was served. Traditionally, wine was not consumed while eating the main meal, but it made its appearance again right at the end of the meal when only
hot water was left to be served (this wine was called “middle wine” 中酒 chūsake). Only thereafter the real drinking bout could begin which ended in the most informal part of a feast, where all rules of etiquette were waived ("companionable gathering without rules of etiquette" 無礼講, bureiktō). As João Rodrigues (1561–1634) observed, the entertainment of guests with rice wine and small dishes of food (cf. § 1.12, 2.9, 3.7, 4.22) that accompanied the wine is an important part of the rules of hospitality. He describes that drinking generally took excessive forms, as do other texts – all within the limits set by the accepted context which applied for formal as well as informal drinking. Cf. KUMAKURA 1999: 65, 74. Well into the Edo-period one of the features of drinking was that a cup of wine was either shared between the host and his guest or passed around among the participants with all of them being expected to drink from the exact place where the mouth of the predecessor had touched the cup. Cf. the Great collection of Diverse Rites [of House Ogasawara], Shimada & Higuchi 1993, Vol. 1: 112–13; Kaibara Ekiken’s description in Secret of the Rites for Eating, Ekiken zenshū, Vol. 1: 313. Considering that ordinarily one took care to prevent any contact between one’s mouth and food or vessels shared by all, this was a strong gesture serving to strengthen the bonds between those thus sharing a cup of wine (the same can be observed in the culture of tea drinking). During Edo times, however, eventually small individual wine cups came into use.

23 The "small-sleeve-kimono" – made from silk and consisting of straight panels with rectangular sleeves that reached to the wrist – was the basic garment for both men and women in the Edo-period. Its predecessor can be found in a kind of undergarment worn under formal types of court dress of the nobility from about the Nara-period as well as a garment made from hemp of similar cut but reaching only to the shins, worn by common people of the Heian-period in combination with other raiment. From the Kamakura-period onward the short-sleeved undergarment began to be worn as an outer garment, too, together with other skirt-like clothes. From about the 16th century it established itself as the outer garment of everyday apparel and became the object of decorative styles. Sets of clothes were bestowed by lords on their retainers with the change of seasons, in appreciation of their service. The Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) records that his lord, the future shogun Toku-gawa Ienobu 徳川家宣 (r. 1709-12) presented him with two sets of seasonal clothes at the beginning of every year. Oriaku shiba no ki, NKB 95: 209; Told Round a Brushwood Fire, tr. Joyce ACKROYD, Tokyo: Tokyo University Press 1979: 77.

24 Hakama is the name for a garment of trouser-like conception and skirt-like appearance. During the Edo-period in the form of trailing pleated leggings ("long skirt trousers" 袴 nagabakama) it was part of the most formal outfit of the higher ranks of warrior society. A simpler form only reaching to the ankles ("small skirt trousers" 小袴 kobakama, or "half skirt trousers" 半袴 hanbakama) could be worn as formal wear by male members of the warrior and merchant status groups. A similar garment was worn by women during the Kamakura-period as part of the court dress over a "small-sleeve kimono". The earliest types of hakama can be seen on male clay figurines of the 4th and 5th centuries in the form of loose trousers, which
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were tied just below the knees. Such trousers became part of the court dress in the Asuka-period but the practice of tying the garment below the knees disappeared.

25 The text speaks of osshitadaku 神いたく here. In other places and other texts itadaku is only used to express the idea of raising an item that one has received to the same level as one’s eyes in order to express gratitude and respect.

26 Literally the expression means “thing [fastened to one’s] waist”. It denotes either the short sword 腰差 (wakizashi) or the long sword 太刀 (tachi) that warriors wore through their sash. It can be inferred from the illustration as well as the text that in this context a long sword is meant. Koshi no mono obviously is a euphemism; but I could not verify the origin of its usage. Ise Sadateke’s Questions and Answers on Swords 刀剣問答 (Tōken mondō) of 1762 explains that the short sword is called “thing [fastened to one’s] waist” just because it is always worn at one’s waist and never removed the whole day, whereas the long sword is not worn through the sash but carried in one hand. Cf. Koji ruien 古事類苑 (A Garden of Old Things Collected and Arranged According to Kind), Vol. 23: Heiji bu 兵事部 (Military Affairs), reprint, Yoshikawa Kō Bunkan 1984: 1375. The Tōken mondō thus distinguishes between koshi no mono only referring to the short sword and the long sword on the other hand and gives no explanation why swords in general could be termed koshi no mono. It can only be surmised that this expression came into use in order to obfuscate the dangerous nature of the item in question as an instrument of death – to one’s enemies in case of a long sword, to oneself in case of the short sword used for disembowelment.

27 Bon signifies a kind of tray mostly made from lacquered wood used for serving food. Different shapes (round or square, with of without four short feet at the corners) and variations in size are possible.

28 The reason why “another cover” has to be used for covering the guest’s bowl becomes clear when looking at § 4.13, which states that the guest holds forth his soup bowl for refilling without covering it.

29 Filling it on a tray implies that the bowl is carried away on a tray and filled somewhere else, i.e. the kitchen. It should be filled at the guest’s place. For this purpose the serving persons have brought along a large bowl filled with rice.

30 Itozoko is the rim on the bottom of rice- or soup-bowls that serves as the bowl’s foot. One holds a bowl by this rim to prevent burning one’s hand in case of hot contents.

31 Hikizai probably are a kind of “thing that is drawn forth” 引出物 (hikide-mono), which means a present the host makes to his guest in the course of a feast. The word is reminiscent of an old practice when the host had a horse drawn into the inner court 彌 (niwa) of his residence in order to give it to his guest. In the course of time the quality of the presents changed. In this context hikizai probably implies dishes that the host (or lord) measures out to his guests. As they come from the host (or lord) directly a way of handling becomes necessary that expresses respect. They are received in the cover of a rice bowl, as §§ 2.24 and 4.16 clearly state. I therefore inserted “cover” in this paragraph as well as 3.24.

32 The word mono in §§ 1.11, 2.8, and 3.21 is written with the character used
for “things” or “affairs” in modern Japanese but which could refer to persons in Chinese and in older Japanese usage too. § 4.21 prefers a rendering in *hiragana* only.

33 In this context the word used here, *hasamu* はさむ (literally “to hold sth between sth” or “to squeeze sth into sth”), means to hold an item of food between chopsticks.

34 *Sakana* is a side dish served together with rice wine. The word itself consists of the component *saka* standing for rice wine (*sake*) and *na*, which according to some explanations is the *na* meaning food served as side dishes (in modern usage *na* means vegetables only, but the word had broader connotations in the past with *mana* 真魚, 真菜 or “true side-dish” referring to fish). *Sakana* could be fish, vegetables, fruits, even sweets. Different kinds of *sakana* went together with different sorts of rice wine and were chosen to accentuate the flavour of the wine they accompanied. As fish played an important part among the food served with rice wine the word *sakana* came to signify living fish as well and this meaning is written with the character 魚 (also read *u*).

35 That this paragraph refers to a situation where someone, the host probably, deals out “relishes” to another person, i.e. the guest, becomes clear from the illustration in the *Mujinzo* 1849. There the serving person holds a “relish” with his chopsticks that he has just taken up from a tray while another person waits to receive it with one open hand laid on the other. Cf. § 4.22.

36 That “relishes” should be received directly with the open hand has a long-standing tradition. The *Records of Ise Rokurō Zaemon no Jō Sadanori* 伊勢六郎左衛門尉貞頼記 (*Ise Rokurō Zaemon no Jō Sadanori kō* dating from 1549 (Tenbun 天文 18) e.g. mention several kinds of food to be eaten with the hands, among them fish paste cake 蒲鉾 (*kamaboko*) which is introduced as a “relish”. *Zoku Gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従 (*A Plethora of Writings Collected According to Kind Continued*), Vol. 24.2: *Bukebu* 武家部 (On Warrior Houses), *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* Kaneikei 1 (1959: 23) (ZGR). Other examples can be found in the *Collection of the Essentials for Public Life* 世俗立要集 (*Sezoku ritsuyōshū*) (Kamakura period?), *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 (*A Plethora of Writings Collected According to Kind*), Vol. 19; *Kangen, kemari, taka, yūgi, inshoku bu* 箕磐, 赤獅, 鞆, 飲食部 (On String Instruments, Football, Hawks, Leisure Activities, and Eating & Drinking), *Zoku Gunsho Ruijū* Kaneikei 1 (1959: 762) (GR); *Records of Ise Sadamune [Bearing the Rank of] Governor of Hyōgo 伊勢兵庫守貞宗記 (Ise Hyōgo no kami Sadamune*) (ca. 1500), ZGR 24.1: 480; *Behaviour for Women 女房遊退 (Nyōbō shintai)*, ZGR 24.2: 428. *Adachi Isamu* 足立勇: *Kaisei Nihon shokumotsushi* 改製日本食物史 (History of Food in Japan. Revised Edition), 2 Vols., Yūhi Kaku 1950, Vol. 1: 76.

37 The burning of incense had arrived together with Buddhism during the 6th century. Whereas at first it was practiced in front of Buddhist statues for purifying reasons, the practice later spread to the court nobility and by the 8th century had become popular for the scenting of rooms and clothing. However, the text here refers to incense burning as a kind of aesthetic pursuit. As such it had taken shape during the Heian-period when gather-
ings became popular where participants had to decide which among a number of scents were the best. For this purpose mixtures of pulverized wood, animal scents, kneaded with honey and other substances, were used. From the 15th century wood from aromatic trees (aloeswood) became prominent. This was also the time when different competitive games for enjoying incense burning were systematized by introducing formal rules. Hence, like other cultural pursuits incense burning developed as a formalized way ("way of incense" 香道, kōdo) with different schools. Of these the school of Sanjōishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455–1537) was connected with the court, while Shino Sōshin 志野宗信 (1445–1523) and his school was favoured by the Ashikaga shoguns. Later, incense burning spread to the larger populace and reached the height of its popularity during the Genroku era (1688–1704). The "way of incense" is played with a small earthenware container filled with sand on which a small ignited piece of aromatic wood is placed. This container is passed round among participants who have to solve tasks set by the game master (e.g. guessing at the correct order of different scents).

38 The style of architecture that had been perfected around the 10th century for building the residences of the court nobility did not know the partitioning off of different rooms (even if different parts of e.g. the main hall were reserved for functionally different usage). Although screens came into use during the Heian-period, they served to partition the living space from the veranda / corridor at first. This changed with the "study room" style of architecture prominent since the 15th century. Functionally different areas were now partitioned off from each other by making use of sliding doors. Thus, fixed spaces took shape that could be further elaborated decoratively. Of central importance among these fixed spaces was the "reception room" (kamiza) which served for representational purposes like the entertainment of guests. The seating order of guests followed formal rules. Thus the place in front of the decorative niche (cf. also n. 41) became the place of honour, called "upper seat" 上座 (上位), where the lord or the main guest took place. The host took place beside his guest. Edo-period illustrations show that diners sat with their back to the "decorative niche" in one row (but L-shaped or U-shaped sitting arrangements are shown, too). The place nearest to the entrance held the least prestige and therefore was occupied by persons of the lowest rank.

39 Byōbu (literally "barrier against the wind") were introduced from China probably before the end of the 7th century. They not only served as protection against cold drafts, but were used as room partitions in the open interiors of Heian-period main halls. From the beginning folding screens also took up decorative functions. These they continued to perform even after changes in architecture made their other uses redundant. Heavier, more cumbersome constructions of folding screens were replaced in the 14th century when light wooden frames were covered by layers of strong paper. Panels of this kind were linked by pasting strips of paper between panels. Folding screens can consist of two, three, four, six, or eight panels and range from 1 to 1.8 meters high, and from 1 to 5.5 meters wide. For decoration, screens were painted with landscapes, Chinese literary themes, or paintings of flowers.
and animals. Sometimes paintings were accompanied by calligraphy (poems). Later, during the Azuchi-Momoyama-period narrative and genre paintings became popular, often in bright colours and with backgrounds sprinkled with gold dust or covered with gold leaf.

40 The texts do not verbally hint at a concrete situation where the handing over of a knife could take place. However, the illustration in Muromachi 1849 shows a person handing over a knife to another person who has taken up a melon for peeling. From this scene one has to conclude, that melons were not peeled and cut in pieces in the kitchen before serving but that the act described in §§ 3.18 and 4.26 took place in the “reception room” in the presence of the guest(s).

41 Both §§ 2.15 and 3.11 talk of “upper” and “lower” scrolls. What is meant, are the right side and left side scroll as in § 4.9. The custom of hanging up first the middle scroll, then the left one, and the right one last became established during the Muromachi-period. Cf. e.g. Record of Decorations 御飾記 (Okazari) (Taiei 大永 3, 1523), GR 19: 672. Why then “upper” and “lower” scroll? The Picture Guide 画像 (Gassen) (printed Kyōhō 6, 1721) explains that the left seat in front of the decorative niche is the guest’s seat while the right one is the host’s. Koji ruien, Vol. 32: Bangakubu 文学部 (Literature Studies, Part III), 1984: 1047. After hanging up the middle scroll the one on the side where the guest will be sitting, i.e. the left side, comes next and last the one on the host’s side. As the guest’s seat is the place of honour, the “upper seat”, the left scroll correspondingly is the “upper” scroll, while the “lower” scroll corresponds to the host’s seat, the “lower seat”. Cf. n. 38. The set of three scrolls had its model in sets of religious pictures representing the Buddha at the center, accompanied by two bodhisattvas (enlightened beings who refrain from accepting Buddhahood in order to help all other creatures to attain salvation, too) on the left and right. The most esteemed was the center picture, still called “main excellency” 本尊 (honzon) after secular motifs had become common.

42 The roller serves as a weight to hold the scroll flat when displayed on a wall as well as the spindle when it is rolled up for storing. Cf. n. 11. The expression in 2.15 seems to contain an error, writing shisai sashi instead of shisai nashi.

43 I have translated zashiki (the literal meaning, “laying out seats”, refers to the custom of distributing cushions for sitting on the wooden, or in later times, tatami-covered floor) as “reception room” here since it is that part of the house where the entertainment of guests took place. However, zashiki may not only denote the physical room, it can also mean the entertainment (of guests) or the gathering taking place there itself. As a convention, I have translated the word with “reception room” in those instances where the room could have been meant as well as the social activities going on in it, and with “gathering” where the social setting was implied more than the physical.

44 Andō, or andon as the word more commonly is read, in its most basic form is a lamp made from a wooden frame covered with paper and with a vessel containing oil inside. Of Chinese origin, it spread during Muromachi times in portable form. In the Edo-period lamps of this type developed into the most commonly used source of illum-
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nation for interiors where they were mostly placed on the floor.

45 Here the text gives *mushi* as reading for the character 飯 and thus implies the meaning “food”. Cf. n. 14.

46 Perhaps in order to differentiate *mushi* meaning “food” from *mushi* meaning “rice” only, the word in this instance is written in *hiragana*.

47 The text does not refer to soup in general but to “cold soup” as can be concluded from §§ 2.26 and 3.16. Of “cold soups” there were many types (“clear cold soup” すまし冷汁 *sumashi* hiyajiru, “cold soup with leeks” 鷹冷汁 *negi* hiyajiru, “cold soup with garlic” にんにく冷汁 *niniku* hiyajiru among others), all with several kinds of ingredients (vegetables or seafood). After preparation these soups were inserted in cold water for cooling and were served not only in summer but also in winter.

48 *Hisage*, as can be gleaned from the illustrations, is a kind of large (teapot like) vessel with a handle and without a cover (also used for serving rice wine).

49 Literally *kamishimo* means “top and bottom” and in connection with clothing refers to the combination of a sleeveless broad-shouldered vest 薄衣 *katagina* and skirt-trousers (cf. n. 24). The *kamishimo* was worn over a small-sleeve kimono and became part of the formal attire from the end of the Muromachi-period.

50 Makuwa is the name of a locality in modern Gifu 岐阜 prefecture famous for its melons (Cucumis melo L. var. *makwa* Makino), which became ripe for eating at the beginning of summer. Known as one of the oldest sites for melon cultivation *urui* reached Japan from China and already are mentioned in the 8th century *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*万葉集, *Manyōshū*.

51 The text makes use of the character 半, usually reading *han* / *nakaba* and meaning “half”, “middle”. Helmuth LAMARTH notices the term *mutsukan* in a number of texts from the Ogasawara tradition and with this basic meaning of the character in mind translates: “The way to peel a melon is to peel it in the form of a hexagon [with six cuts and in case of the seventh cut] with half [the length of such a cut].” LAMARTH 1998: 182–83. This rendering still leaves the meaning of a “half cut” open to interpretation. Even if one cut is shorter than the others, for cutting a melon in hexagonal shape only six cuts are necessary not seven. That the melon is cut in hexagonal shape with all sides of equal length can be inferred from the illustration paired with § 2.18. The expression *mutsukan* only becomes intelligible if one explains the “half” cut referring to the top piece of the melon: The rind of the melon has to be removed in such a way that one peels the top in one cut and the sides of the fruit in six cuts with all pieces of rind as well as the top piece still sticking together. That the rind peeled in one piece with the top sticking to it is corroborated by the illustrations in ③, § 25 and ④, § 25. Cf. p. 82.

52 As a matter of fact there are four periods called *doyō* in the course of one year. In each case it is the period of eighteen days preceding the date on which a new season began according to the moon calendar. Thus the
eighteen days before the beginning of summer 立夏 (rikka) were called "function of earth in spring" 春の土用 (haru no doyo). However, the word doyo alone came to refer especially to the period before the beginning of autumn, the day when the sun reaches 135 degrees of ecliptic longitude on the celestial sphere. As this day corresponds to the eighth of August according to the sun calendar it falls into the hottest period of the year. The origins of doyo lie in the Chinese calendrical conception that each of the four seasons corresponds to one of the Five Phases五行 (Chin. wuxing; Jap. go-gyo). That left only the element "earth" without its own season. To make up for this, one fifth of each season was apportioned to "earth". As one season was calculated to last ninety days one fifth makes for eighteen days.

53 The reading meshi vor 飯 is given in furigana in the text.

54 The inclusion of the usage of a toothpick among the most basic rules of etiquette suggests that too carefree a use of the toothpick was a source of offence. Whereas most paragraphs deal with technical matters concerning the handling of various items the rule for toothpick usage together with the paragraph on blowing one's nose concern barriers of shame and embarrassment, as Norbert Elias would say, that were easily assaulted by distasteful bodily behaviour and which rules of etiquette tried to protect. Other examples frequently mentioned in more elaborate expositions of etiquette than the ones under examination concern noises being made while eating and eating with an open mouth. Cf. e.g. Secrets of the Rites for Eating, Ekiken zenshi, Vol. 1: 310.

55 Cf. n. 14. The text does not give a reading for the character 飯.

56 The readings for 飯 and 食 are given in the text in furigana.

57 Similar to a jacket's breast pocket the bosom opening of a kimono was used for inserting small items. One of those was paper for wiping one's nose, either in a wallet-like container or in a small bag together with other medicine, cash or other items.

58 The text does not give furigana for 飯. That it is rice and not some other kind of food that is refilled can be gleaned from the accompanying illustration as well as from §§ 1.8, 3.22, and 4.14. In the following sentence the character 飯 is again used without furigana.

59 Noodles probably became known in Japan together with the introduction of Buddhism and the way of cloistered life from China. They are already documented for the Nara-period. Balls of dough were drawn out into long threads and baked in oil at that time. A diversification and spread of different kinds of noodles and noodle dishes set in during the Kamakura era, again under Chinese influence. "Thread noodles" 索麺 / 索麵 (sōmen) were made from a dough of wheat flour. The dough was drawn out in long threads and hung on poles into the sun for drying. "Thread noodles" were eaten by first boiling them in hot water. They were served in a common bowl from which the eaters took out small portions with their chopsticks and then dipped in small vessels containing a cold sauce which were served each eater individually. "Buckwheat [noodles]" 蕎麦 (soba), too, were dipped in a sauce (but served individually), although these could be served in a hot soup as well. Originally small "buckwheat dumplings" 蕎麦つな (sobagaki) were formed out of the dough and boiled. However, since the

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turn of the 17th century the dough was rolled out and cut into thin strips. A third type of noodles called "hot dump-
lings" 麺箱 (udon) like "thread noo-
dles" was made from wheat flour and (at least since the Edo-period) drawn out in long threads and dried before cutting into shorter pieces. Udon are much broader and thicker than "thread noodles" and served in a hot soup to-
gether with other ingredients.

60 As mentioned in the preceding note, with some kinds of noodle dishes, noodles and sauce were served sepa-
rately. Noodles were taken with chop-
sticks from one bowl or plate and dipped in a bowl containing the sauce before eating them. This paragraph seems to suggest that as a sign of having finished, the diner pours the remainder of his sauce into the bowl containing the rest of the noodles that he does not intend to eat anymore. There is no corresponding rule in modern etiquette and I could not find further corrobo-
tion in Edo-period texts that would give assistance to this reading of the text. However, the illustration for the corresponding § 4.23 shows that each diner has one plate or bowl of noodles on his dining table and one in front of his table. It could be surmised that either he was served from this additional plate / bowl after finishing the noo-
dles on his table or that this plate / bowl was exchanged for the one on the table after the diner had finished it. If, however, the diner poured the remainder of his sauce on the noodles left on his table this could have been the sign for the serving person waiting nearby that no further serving was ne-
cessary.

61 That this sentence has to be read in this way is plain from the correspond-
ing § 4.23. The latter explicitly stresses that the host (teishu) should not force more on his guest after he has poured the remainder of his sauce in the "bowl".
屏風たてょうの図
花かげもの見やうの図
鼻のかみやうの図
茶をはこふ図
あふぎにてものまいらす図
唐物見様の図

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Appendix

Reproductions and Transcriptions

万諸礼之法式 (Yorozu shorei no hōshiki), 1752 (Hōreki 宝暦 2), original pagination in Setsuyō taikei edition (pp. 30–42) not readable.
[pp. 122–16]

[pp. 115–10]