

JAPANESE HANDSCROLLS AND DIGITAL EXPLORATIONS. THE PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF RE-/PRESENTATION

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ABSTRACT | Japanese illuminated narrative handscrolls (emaki, literally “painting-scroll”) are composed of a complex materiality. Consisting of alternating script passages and paintings that are unrolled from right to left, handscrolls are of an oblong, horizontal materiality that might cover up to dozens of meters. Building on previous pivotal reflections on the digital state of affairs that has spurred new perspectives in the history of European art, this project investigates the specific problems and challenges in re-/presenting the specific materiality of Japanese handscrolls. Of concern are not only book publications and museum spaces, but also website interfaces and computer screens. At the center of investigation are both East Asian, here specifically Japanese, materiality and practices of viewing, and hermeneutics. By scrutinizing existing digital projects on Japanese handscrolls, this research focuses on the following two areas of inquiry:

- a) critical reflection of the mediating power of the digital image, and
 - b) the exploration of new modes of digital representation of Japanese handscrolls.
- The latter focuses on three fields of inquiry: materiality, practice, and locality.

KEYWORDS | Exhibition/presentation, digital/digitized, Japanese script and painting, non-European materialities, handscrolls, interface

Introduction: What is an Illuminated Handscroll?

The handscroll (Jp. 巻物 makimono, lit. “thing to roll”) is one of the conventional mounting materialities for painting and writing in East Asia (fig. 1). A scroll consists of multiple sheets of “main paper,” (*honshi*), rarely silk, that are joined lengthwise and mounted onto layers of backing paper to form a continuous surface for ink and both mineral and plant-derived pigments. Attached to a wooden and mostly lacquered roller with knobs at the top and bottom, the handscroll is rolled up, tied with a wrapping cord, and stored in a wooden box.¹

To view a handscroll, one unrolls it from right to left, following the East-Asian reading order. The beginning of a scroll features what is the equivalent of a frontispiece in European book formats – oftentimes adorned with carefully painted motifs or gilded paper. On further unrolling the work to the left, the main paper appears. The viewing of a handscroll proceeds in sections of about fifty centimeters, or two times one’s arm length. This is the space that provides an easy viewing of the unrolled section, while holding on to both sides of the scroll. To proceed with reading and viewing, one rolls up the beginning right-hand end of the handscroll, and further unrolls the

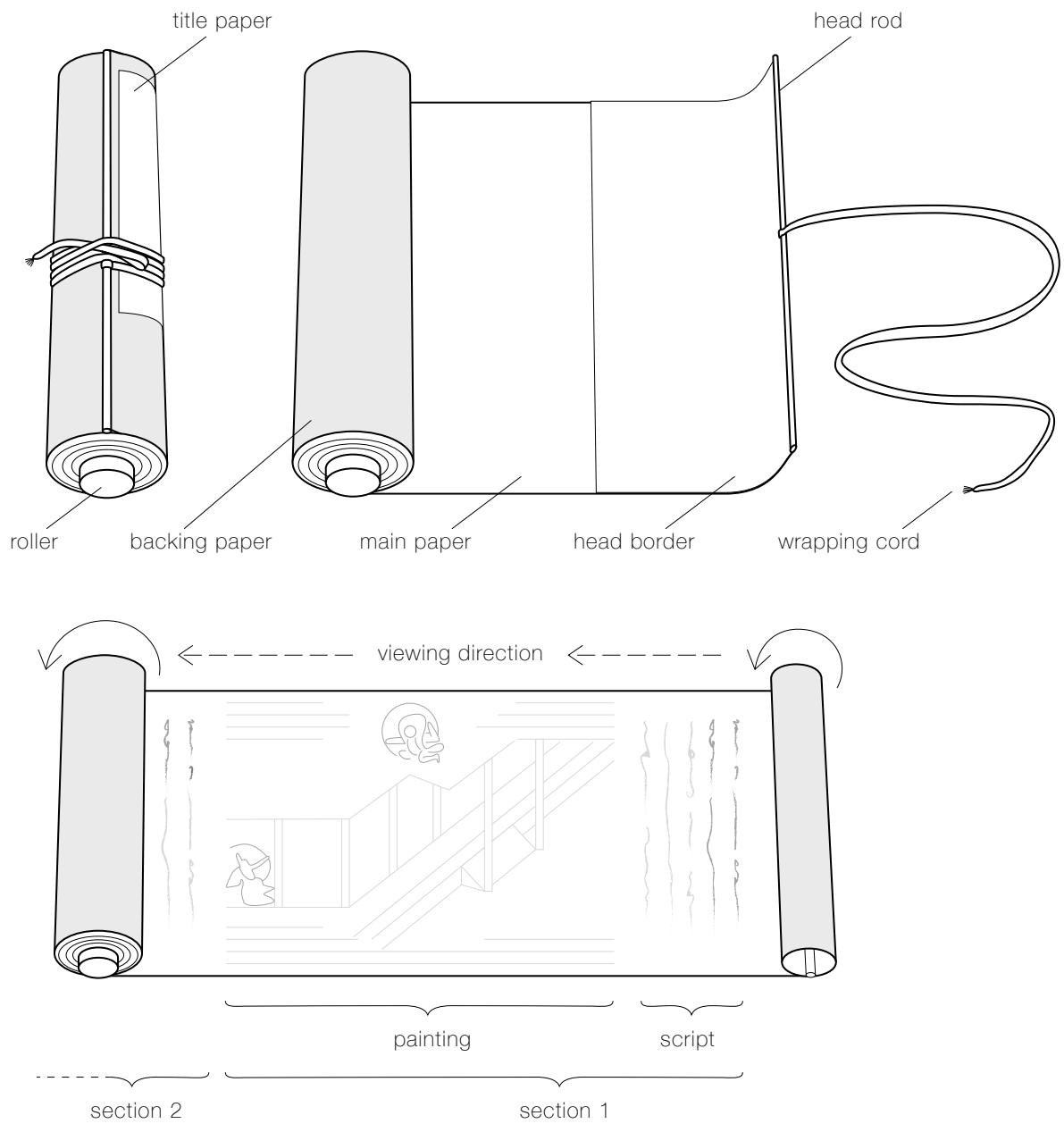


Figure 1. The material format and handling of a Japanese illuminated narrative handscroll, or emaki; illustration by Fengyu Wang; 2020.



Figure 2. The Illuminated Handscroll of the Karmic Origins of the Deity Dajō Itokuten [Jp. Dajō Ito-kuten engi emaki, Fr. Histoire du sanctuaire Kitano Tenjin]; 1538; a set of six handscrolls, ink and color on paper; Guimet National Museum of Asian Arts. Known as the Guimet version of the Illuminated Handscrolls of the Karmic Origins of the Deity Tenjin, or the Guimet version of the Tenjin scrolls; the beginning of the fourth scroll; photo (C) bpk/RMN-Grand Palais (MNAAG, Paris)/Thierry Ollivier.

scroll to the left.² This procedure has often been likened to a cinematographic mode by which the rolled up, invisible sections belong to the past while the sections to the left revealed by unrolling the scroll contain the present and future action of the depicted narrative. The consecutively joined paper sections provide a continuous pictorial space, and therefore also a flexibility in the length of the viewing space. A complete unrolling of handscrolls is rarely – and even then seldom – performed in museum settings due to the tension on the paper, the animal-derived glue and the mineral or plant-derived pigments, and concern regarding the scroll’s preservation.

Illuminated narrative handscrolls (Jp. 絵巻物 *emakimono* or 絵巻 *emaki*, lit. painting-scroll) constitute a unique type of handscrolls that derived from mainland China but flourished particularly in Japan since the eighth century. These scrolls feature a coherent narrative, presented through alternating sections of brushed script sections and pictorial renderings (fig. 2). They are materialized evidence of an affinity between literature and the pictorial arts that distinguishes itself from its continental predecessors.³ In many illuminated handscrolls, the paintings prove to be more than just secondary illustrations to the script. Instead, they are creative expressions in their own right, rendering pictorial narratives that are both complementary to, and unconstrained by, textual descriptions. By the fifteenth century so much attention has been paid to the pictorial part of *emaki* that the painting can be regarded as autonomous from the script.⁴ Today, twenty-seven *emaki* are designated as national treasures of Japan in the painting category by the Agency of Cultural Affairs.⁵ Therefore, scholars prefer the English word illumination to describe “the hand-painted images in manuscripts” and to manifest the contending yet synthesized relationship between script and painting in *emaki*.⁶

Both, the specific material configuration of Japanese illuminated handscrolls and the script-painting relation discussed above causes confusion and poses challenges when these unique Japanese artefacts are brought to modern museums and libraries. In particular, they represent a different format and require a specific interface in digitized collections.

When European modern art history was introduced to Japan in the late nineteenth-century, the need arose to represent artworks in reproductive media such as periodicals and lantern slides while also presenting them in museum spaces.⁷ However, adequate representations of Japanese handscrolls in reproductive media have been a challenge since the very beginning: printed books require the turning of pages and thus interrupt the flow of the narrative or of a painted composition, while lantern slides or PowerPoint presentations tend to focus on single frames. In overseas collections, some of the dislocated illuminated handscrolls are appreciated for their painterly quality in art museums (e.g. the Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne) or as samples of a non-European culture in museums of ethnology (e.g. the Linden Museum, Stuttgart), while yet others are in the collections of libraries such as the State Library, East Asian section in Berlin, and are treated as books or manuscripts. Nowadays, as most of the digitization initiatives are conducted by artefact custodians, the same materiality of Japanese illuminated handscrolls experiences difficulties adapting to the different interfaces of online databases designed by and for

museums, libraries, and universities in Europe, the US, and Japan. In fact, while there are numerous websites both inside and outside Japan representing Japanese prints and paintings in the hanging scroll or folding screen format in a fairly consistent way, despite varying website designs, there are no standards governing the digital representation of handscrolls. Usually, there are a few key images of the multi-meter-long handscrolls, mostly paintings, and either no, or only very few, photographs of the script passages.⁸

Within the framework of the Priority Program (SPP) “The Digital Image” that “addresses the central role played by the image in the complex process of digitizing knowledge in theory and practice,”⁹ the present dissertation project investigates the specific problems and challenges in re-/presenting Japanese illuminated narrative handscrolls. Of concern are not only book publications and museum rooms, but also website interfaces and computer screens. The inquiry pays especial attention to how the advancement of reproductive technologies is intertwined with the development of art history as a discipline in which any art historical investigation of an artefact is always facilitated and mediated through its reproductions as means and medium.¹⁰ The project therefore underscores and explores the continuity of the problems and challenges in re-/presenting Japanese handscrolls from a historicizing perspective. Based on both the Japanese materiality and practices of viewing and hermeneutics, and involving the scrutiny of existing digital projects of Japanese handscrolls worldwide, this project critically reflects the mediating power of the digital image and examines new modes of the digital representation of Japanese handscrolls in three areas of inquiry: 1) materiality, 2) practice, and 3) locality.

1. Materiality refers to both the material qualities of the artefact and the handscrolls’ oblong format. The aim of this project is to explore the possibilities and limits of digital technologies to convey and inform the user with what is “un-/presentable” in digital form. Despite the drastically inflated amount of visual information that comes with higher resolution, the tactile and material information such as the weight of the artefact, the distinct paper quality, the physical properties of the pigments, etc. will inevitably be omitted in the flattened visual representation of the digital image. The project will discuss potential ways to highlight, convey and translate these “unpresentable” aspects to the viewer.
2. Practice concerns the way in which handscrolls are handled and viewed, and how a digital representation retains, artificially augments, and transforms the ocular experience.
3. Locality includes both the original location of production, and the current residence of an artefact. Locality is also concerned with a) networks between the locations of related objects, b) the socio-political significance of the artefacts at their locations and within these networks, and c) the mobility of the artefact, and the subsequent changes of such significance across time. The PhD thesis will examine various possibilities of mapping such networks with digital tools.

Building on the results of the above inquiries, the project explores the potential and advantages of the digital image, discusses the range of options for future digitization strategies, and presents the results in the form of a PhD dissertation. This path has been chosen in the hope that the flexible, repeatable, and infinitely modifiable nature of the digital image and tools can enhance, augment, and facilitate different ways of viewing and even virtually handling handscrolls.

Case Study of “The Guimet Tenjin”: A Cultural Biography

Centering on a 1538 set of six handscrolls entitled *Karmic Origins of the Deity Dajō Itokuten (Deity Tenjin)*, in the collection of the Guimet National Museum of Asian Arts in Paris, this dissertation project investigates a cultural biography of the artefact from three perspectives:

1. creation and original practices within the scrolls’ indigenous contexts
2. re-/presentations in museums and conventional paper publications
3. exploration and possibilities of digital representations

The biographical approach affords concentration on one specific artefact. In analyzing comparisons with select related cases, the main focus of the dissertation is on the examination of how layers of the social and cultural significance have accumulated and re-shaped the scrolls through a life of mobility.¹¹ The cultural biography comprises three foci: the scrolls' creation, their dislocation to a European institution, and eventually their digital "afterlives."

The Guimet set of handscrolls belongs to a larger group of illuminated handscrolls that are dedicated to the Tenjin deity, and related local shrines. The scrolls are therefore referred to as "the Guimet version of Tenjin scrolls." The text of the *Karmic Origins of the Deity Tenjin* narrates the tumultuous life of a high court official, Sugawara no Michizane (845–903), his tragic downfall and eventual apotheosis as the "Heavenly Deity," *Tenjin*.

In 1219, the earliest extant illuminated version of the Tenjin scrolls was created and dedicated to the first shrine devoted to the deity in northern Kyoto, the so-called Tenmangū Shrine. In the following six centuries, as local branches of this increasingly influential shrine were established across the country, the karmic origin stories were transmitted, copied, and re-invented in over sixty known versions, making the group arguably the largest among devotional illuminated handscrolls in premodern Japan.¹² The 1219 set was designated a national painting treasure in the year 1954.¹³

In 1538, the Guimet version was offered to the Tenmangū Shrine in Kaiden village, located in today's Nagaokakyō City, southwest of Kyoto.¹⁴ Among the many other versions, the Guimet scrolls are unique not only in the painting and script styles but also their explicit iconography. A case in point is the depiction of the completely naked Japanese emperor suffering in hell. Although both, the established iconography and the Guimet text version narrate the emperor suffering hell's flames in partial nudity, such an explicit, humiliating rendering of stark nudity is unique among both the many Tenjin scrolls and all other pictorial examples of Japanese art.¹⁵

In addition, lines of small cursive script in Chinese characters are brushed next to the main depicted figures, specifying their identities, leaving no doubt as to the identity of the emperor. The so-called "script-within-painting" (Jp. *gachūshi*) is frequently added in devotional emaki to facilitate oral explanations of the painted subjects to lay people (Jp. *etoki*). This didactic activity was widespread by the fifteenth century.¹⁶ Such an outrageous depiction, along with other evidence, suggests that the very production of the 1538 set of Tenjin scrolls had specific social and political significance at the historical point in the geo-political struggles of the local community in and surrounding the Kaiden village.¹⁷ This unique iconography also makes the Guimet version stand out in the larger social network of regional Tenmangū Shrines, and of the productions of Tenjin scrolls in general.

Today, residing in storage and on display in the permanent exhibition of a European museum, the devotional artefact that was once embedded at the social and cultural nexus of a specific shrine has been dislocated and lost its original meaning and significance.¹⁸ Instead, it has turned into "an object of art historical interest,"¹⁹ from a private artefact to a public image.²⁰ However, the publicity as an overseas artwork also confers new meaning on the Guimet set of Tenjin scrolls. Subject to the "Cooperative Program for the Conservation of Japanese Art Objects Overseas," conducted by the Tokyo National Research Institute for Culture Properties, the Guimet handscrolls went through a thorough restoration from 2004 to 2005, and were completely documented in photographs before and afterwards. The set was first reproduced in its entirety in black and white with a selection of nine painting segments in full color in the journal *Bijutsu Kenkyū* from 2013 to 2014.²¹

The case of the journal *Bijutsu Kenkyū* [Studies in art history] demonstrates a conventional approach to the reproduction of an illuminated handscroll in its entirety in book format (fig. 3). Limited by the size and layout of the pages, the long scroll is cut up into short segments. The opening scene of the fourth scroll is reproduced in three parts in the middle right, lower right, and upper left pictures. Consecutive images were photographed with short overlaps on the two sides to indicate the order of, and connections between, the images. As a result, the same figures in a painting appear twice in different pictures; a line of calligraphy is cut into half at the beginning of the lower right picture. Such a method of reproducing illuminated handscrolls results in the fragmentation of sections of script and painting, and disrupts the continuous flow of viewing. The reader-viewer needs to move her gaze back and forth from right to left in each picture to follow the narrative, and to mentally reconstruct the connection based on the overlapping visual segments. This is the standard and expedient approach to fitting a handscroll in its entirety onto a book page that is vertically oriented and standardized in size, and will later be adapted for website presentations.

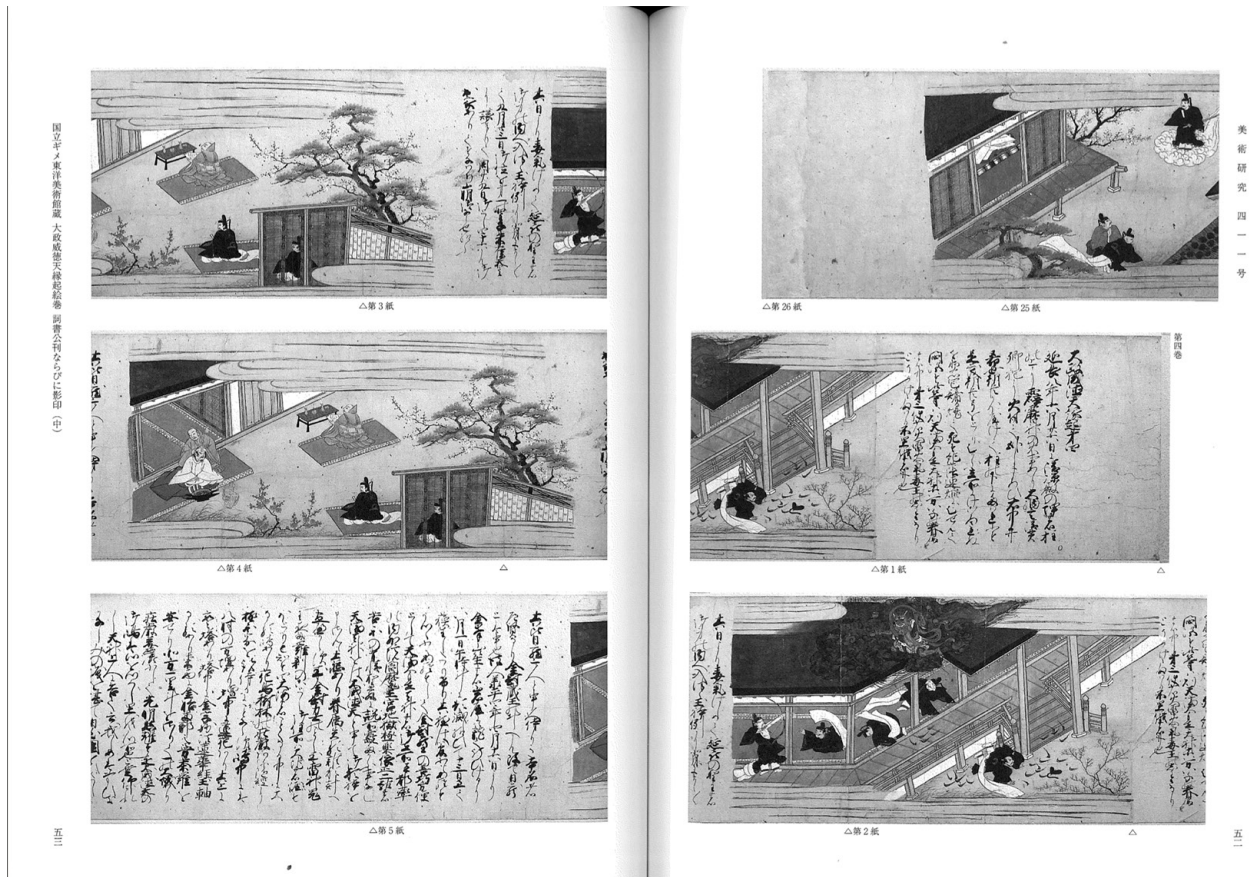


Figure 3. A conventional representation of handscrolls in book form of a Japanese journal for art history; the beginning of the fourth scroll of the the Guimet version of the Tenjin scrolls; Watada, Minoru, Tsuchiya Takahiro, Ōtsuki Chifuyu, and Satō Naoko. "Kenkyū shiryō, kokuritsu Gime tōyō bijutsukan zō Dajō Itokuten Engi Emaki: Kotabagaki kōkan narabi ni ein [chū]" [Research Materials, Illuminated Handscrolls of the Karmic Origins of the Deity Dajō Itokuten in the Collection of the Guimet National Museum of Asian Arts: The Publication of Script Transcriptions and Reproduction of Paintings (Part 2)]. *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 411 (February 2014): 353–371.

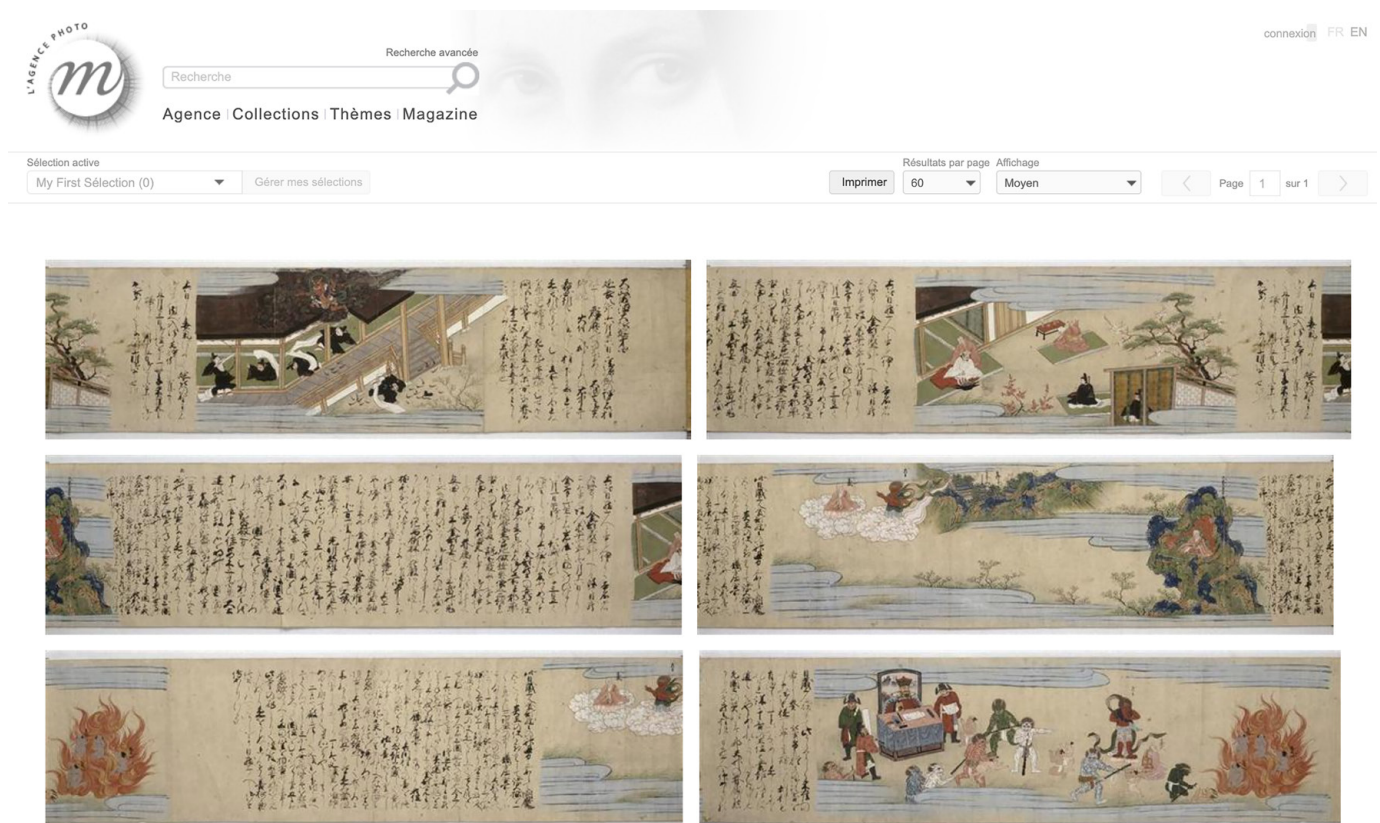


Figure 4. The search interface of the Photo Agency website of Réunion des Musées Nationaux — Grand Palais; the thumbnails of segments from the fourth scroll of the Guimet version of the Tenjin scrolls; RMN-Grand Palais [MNAAG, Paris], photo.rmn.fr; screenshot.

Problems and Challenges

Like a website or a bound book, the format of the handscroll also serves as a specific interface in which pictorial and material contents can be re-/presented, stored, handled, and viewed. Representing handscrolls on either a vertically scrolling website or in a bound book with multiple pages begs the question of how to transform the features of a very specific interface to another medium of representation. A standard way of reproducing handscrolls in book format is to cut them up into small sections of equal or variable lengths, and, according to publication capacities, to make a selection of scenes and sections that are worth reproducing. In the case of illuminated handscrolls, it is the long continuous flow of textual and pictorial narratives that pose challenges. In general, a handscroll can be naturally divided into sections of writing and painting according to the contents. However, because of the continuous quality of a handscroll's surface, the size of each section was generally not standardized until the seventeenth century. Instead, its length may cover a range of measurements. This grants freedom to the painters and scribes of a handscroll to truncate or elaborate certain sections: a lengthy script might precede only a brief illustration while a short passage that is important in iconographic terms might be creatively expanded into a grand visual depiction that unfolds over many sheets of paper. Segmentation, therefore, inevitably disrupts the continuous flow and viewing experience, and oftentimes cuts up individual sections of painting and script.

A part of the collection of a French national museum, the 1538 set of *Karmic Origins of the Deity Dajō Itokuten* has been digitized by the Photo Agency of the “Réunion des Musées Nationaux – Grand Palais” (Rmn-GP), a public cultural institution of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication.²² The web interface of the photo agency serves as a good example of how the specific materiality of Japanese illuminated handscrolls can pose challenges for its online exhibition (fig. 4). A few thumbnails of one scroll from the Guimet set are shown in the search interface. The entire lengths of the scrolls are, again, cut up into segments to accommodate the format of a website interface that scrolls vertically and is designed to fit the rectangular computer screen. Despite the scroll's orientation that is always read from right to left, the cut-up segments are arranged from left to right, according to the European typographical convention. This arrangement further disturbs the reader's perception of the scroll's original configuration. To access an overview of the scroll within the parameters of such an interface, the reader-viewer starts with the first thumbnail on the upper left, locates the beginning of the scroll on the right end for the image, and inspects its content to the left. To proceed, one moves on to the next image in order, has one's gaze jump all the way to the very right end of the website interface to locate the overlapping segment, and repeats the right-to-left glance. By this point, after finishing viewing the two pictures on the first row of the research interface, the reader-viewer finds oneself back to where one started, the beginning of the first image! As confusing as this written description is, the viewing experience features the repetitive right-to-left viewing movements, according to East Asian reading habits, interrupted by constant jumps between pictures that are arranged in the opposite orientation.

To inspect an individual segment of the scroll, the reader clicks on the thumbnail and opens it in a viewing interface in which the picture is shown on the left, with a “note” that contains the image information displayed in the right panel²³ (fig. 5). Despite the spacious vertical viewing area, the particular oblong shape of the segment limits the size of the image once it has been fitted in. By selecting the “view image only” (*plan cadre*) option below, an enlarged view opens, but the resolution is still not high enough for a close inspection of the image, let alone to allow the script to be read. At the bottom of the “note” section, an option “related images: view all” (*voir toutes les images associées*) sends the viewer back to a search interface where all the segments of one single scroll are presented. In other words, except in the title, *Histoire du sanctuaire Kitano Tenjin* (*série de six makimono*), one reads that the artefact is a set of six handscrolls, and in the “note on the picture” section (*note de l'image: Détail 1*), one fathoms that what is presented is only a segment; there is no information that demonstrates the singularity of the artwork nor an overview of the set of six long handscrolls with forty-two sections of painting and script plus two colophons by which one could clearly position the presented segment in the entire work. If the viewer does not have previous experience with and knowledge of the material configuration of a Japanese illuminated narrative handscroll, not to mention the specificity of the Guimet version of Tenjin scrolls, it will take a lot of confused efforts to figure out the relationship between the thumbnails. In addition, the user experience can be as alien as the way the word *emaki* sounds to an uninitiated ear.

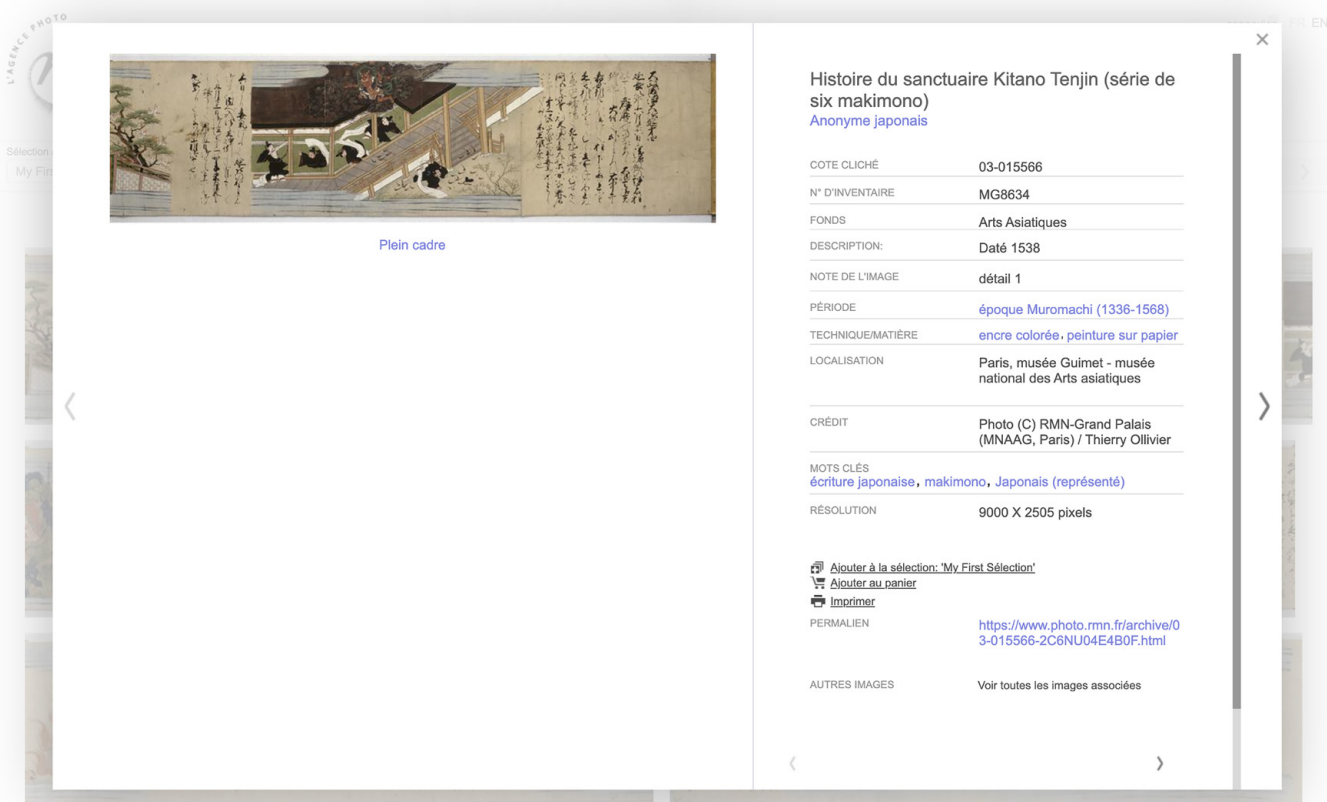


Figure 5. The viewing interface of the Photo Agency website of Réunion des Musées Nationaux — Grand Palais; the first segment from the fourth scroll of the Guimet version of the Tenjin scrolls; RMN-Grand Palais (MNAAG, Paris), photo.rmn.fr; screenshot.

The analysis above is not intended to accuse the website of the Photo Agency, RMN-Grand Palais of having a flawed design for art digitization projects. Instead, it simply serves to demonstrate how an interface may not cater to the particular materiality and viewing practices of an illuminated handscroll or more generally to a non-European materiality. If one looks at any work by a European painter, say Pablo Picasso's 1954 painting, *Jacqueline aux mains croisées*, one finds not only a single thumbnail of the painting sitting undisturbed in the search interface, but also enlarged views with a resolution high enough to allow a close inspection.²⁴ Claude Monet's painting *Les Nymphéas: Le Matin aux Saules* also features a large format of 2 meters in height by 12.74 meters in width, and yet finds itself well accommodated on the website. It is not only reproduced in one long overview in its entirety, several square detailed views granting better inspection options, with a few close-ups to highlight remarkable strokes, but also three more photographs in distanced view are provided to demonstrate how the artwork is installed in the exhibition space of the Musée de l'Orangerie.²⁵

The case of Japanese handscrolls in library collections is different, as the artefacts consist of both painting and script sections, and are treated as illustrated manuscripts. Such categorization is manifest in the way the objects are handled. Usually, the examination of an illuminated handscroll in a museum collection takes place in a viewing room or in the storage space in the company of a curator and with many protective measures and rules in place, since the issue of preservation is a pertinent concern. Although they vary from institution to institution, the regulations regarding the viewing of an *emaki* in European libraries are relatively loose. For instance, in the Richelieu site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), which houses a large collection of Japanese bound books and *emaki*, the reader will be permitted to personally handle a set of handscrolls in the reading room after submitting an online request, providing the scrolls are in good condition. Such an attitude towards handscrolls has also been adopted by the digital website of the BnF's collection, Gallica, designed to represent manuscripts, primarily bound books. Because of the many surfaces in bookbinding, cover, spine, fore-edge, etc., *emaki*, too, enjoy



Figure 6. The website of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York, for a thirteenth-century version of the Tenjin scrolls; Illustrated Legends of the Kitano Tenjin Shrine [Jp. Kitano Tenjin engi emaki]; late thirteenth century; a set of five handscrolls, ink, color, and cut gold on paper; Metropolitan Museum of Arts; photo (CC) Public Domain; The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, metmuseum.org; screenshot.

especial attention regarding the material condition of the object. A handscroll is presented with many facets of its materiality: front views of the cover in rolled-up state, side views of the roller, backing paper, head border, etc. However, other functions designed for bound books, such as an index with pagination or an optional double-spread view of two images at time, prove to be of no use to the viewing of a handscroll—especially when for premodern East Asian bound books *recto* (Jp. *omote*) refers not to the right-hand page, but to the left, while *verso* (Jp. *ura*) refers to the right.

This project aims to show that problems occur when re-/presenting Japanese illuminated handscrolls, especially when the media, formats, or basic layout principles that originate from historical European practices are imagined to be universally applicable and are employed without being adapted for East Asian materials. The Photo Agency's website is designed mainly to accommodate artworks of European genres and formats, and is optimized to present oil paintings. Understandably, the set of Tenjin *emaki* is merely treated as six individual flat images. However, as the case of Monet's long painting hopefully demonstrates, with an especial effort and informed handling, the problems can be solved, sometimes as easily as by changing a few lines of code. A late thirteenth-century set of Tenjin handscrolls is in the collection of, and digitized by, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET), New York. When the present project began at the end of 2019, the interface of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City served as one of the examples in which the East Asian reading order of a handscroll is not taken into consideration. The website interface featured a large viewing window accompanied by a row of thumbnails in standardized size to facilitate an overview of the detail in relation to the entire work, but the arrangement of the segments was also initially set in a left-to-right order. Now, after a recent update, the order has been reset, and a very instructive and informative note has been added to assist the viewer without prior knowledge to appreciate the artwork more coherently (fig. 6). "This artwork is meant to be viewed from right to left. Scroll left to view more."²⁶ What is also remarkable about the MET website is that it also indicates the location of the artefact in the museum, leading the viewer with a click to an

interactive interface that maps the gallery space and highlights of the residence of the Tenjin scrolls. Supplemented with detailed information concerning provenance and exhibition history under “Object Details,” it underscores the mobility and the locality of the artefact; despite digital images easily accessible on the internet, the set of emaki has physically travelled from Japan to the American museum, has since made many more trips to diverse exhibition spaces, and currently resides in its own niche in the gallery.

Conclusion: What Does an Emaki Want?

Informed by discourses on materiality imbued with an agency that examines the role of artefacts or simply “things” in the shaping of human experience and social practice,²⁷ the present project aims to formulate a reflective and normative approach to the extant cases of illuminated handscroll re-/presentations. The project focuses on the idea that the particular materiality of illuminated handscrolls from Japan determines and demands specific handling practices. Once the artefacts are removed from their original locality, they not only acquire a new significance within their different material, social, and cultural contexts, but are also subject to distinct practices. By posing the question “what does an emaki want?” the project does not intend to merely re-establish the practices of the artefact’s original context. Instead, the project concentrates on the potential and possible ways of re-/presenting emaki that cater to their materiality and serve specific purposes. This leads to further investigations into the materiality, practice, and locality of digitalization projects themselves, namely not only the means and media of reproduction and the presentation websites and interfaces, but also the corresponding usage and user experience, the data storage and the means of access to those data etc. Such incentive requires us to look beyond natural light photography and website presentation to include all possible media and means such as historical chromoxylography, the X-Ray fluorescent photography that uncovers the layered “grounds” of a painting,²⁸ or other forms of publication that benefit from digital tools to create new possibilities of re-/presenting illuminated handscrolls. In this regard “we need to engage with the focus, purpose, and success of our efforts to ‘send a copy’ of cultural and heritage objects to the user community via digital technologies,”²⁹ or in other words, to ask what an emaki wants from its digitization is ultimately to ask what a viewer or an art historian wants.

NOTES

¹ See Japanese Painting [Conservation], Graduate School of Fine Arts, and Tokyo University of the Arts, eds, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Japanese-Style Painting Terminology* (Tokyo: Tokyo University of the Arts, 2010), 136.

² *Ibid.*, 140–141.

³ Namiki Seishi, *Nihon kaiga no tenkanten, Shuhanron Emaki: “emaki” no jidai kara “fūzokuga” no jidai e* [A Turning Point in Japanese Painting, Illuminated Handscrolls of Debate over Sake and Rice: From the Age of “Illuminated Handscroll” to the Age of “Genre Painting”] (Kyoto: Shōwadō, 2017), 17–8.

⁴ Namiki, *Nihon kaiga no tenkanten*, 68–9. Melanie Trede, *Image, Text and Audience: The Taishokan Narrative in Visual Representations of the Early Modern Period of Japan* (Hamburg, Germany and New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 14.

⁵ The number here also includes the cases where two or three designated items belong to, or are considered to belong to, the same set of artwork, but are in different collections. Kokushitei bunkazai nado dētabēsu [Database of National Designated Cultural Properties of Japan], accessed July 2, 2020, <https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/bsys/index>.

⁶ Trede, *Image, Text and Audience*, 81–82. Ya Decoopman, *The Art of Revealing History: The Kasuga gongen genki e and Its Re-creations in Seventeenth to Twentieth-century Japan* (Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2019), 14–15.

⁷ On the introduction of the very concept of “fine art” along with art history as a discipline and its institutions to Japan in the later nineteenth century, see Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty*, trans. Hiroshi Nara. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2011; on early twentieth-century art magazines in Japan, see Erin Schoneveld, *Shirakaba and the Japanese Modernism: Art Magazines, Artistic Collective and the Early Avant-garde*. Leiden: BRILL, 2018; on early Japanese usages of lantern slides, see Wada Tsumiki, “Furantsu Shutettonā hakase sakusei garasu suraido no igi ni tuite: Kyōto Sen’i Daigaku Bijutsu Kōgei Shiryōkan shozō shiryō o chūshin ni” [The Significance of Dr. Franz Stœdtne’s Glass Slides in the Collection of the Kyoto Institute of Technology Museum and Archives], *Journal of the Japan Society of Design* 68 (2016): 63–77.

⁸ For examples, see Museum of East Asian Art, Cologne. Accessed January 3, 2021. <https://mok.kulturelles-erbe-koeln.de/documents/obj/05719539>, or the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accessed January 3, 2021. https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/jilh/hd_jilh.htm.

- ⁹ “The Digital Image,” *Das digitales Bild*. Accessed November 19, 2020. <https://www.digitalesbild.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/en/the-digital-picture/>.
- ¹⁰ Heinrich Dilly, “Lichtbildprojektion—Prothese der Kunstbetrachtung,” in *Kunstwissenschaft und Kunstvermittlung*, ed. Irene Below (Gießen: Anabas-Verlag, 1975), 153.
- ¹¹ Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, “The Cultural Biography of Objects,” *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (Oct. 1999): 169–170, 172.
- ¹² Suga Miho, *Tenjin engi no keifu* [The Lineages of The Karmic Origins of Deity Tenjin] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu, 2004), 4.
- ¹³ Kokushitei bunkazai nado dētābēsu.
- ¹⁴ Watada Minoru, “Kenkyū shiryō, kokuritsu Gime tōyō bijutsukan zō *Dajō Itokuten Engi Emaki*” [Research Materials, Illuminated Handscrolls of the Karmic Origins of the Deity Dajō Itokuten in the Collection of the Guimet National Museum of Asian Arts: Synopsis], *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 410 (September 2013): 282.
- ¹⁵ Yamamoto Yōko, *Emaki ni okeru kami to tennō hyōgen: Mienu yō ni egaku* [The Representations of Deities and Emperors in Illuminated Handscrolls: To Render Invisible] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu, 2006), 184–189.
- ¹⁶ Namiki, *Nihon kaiga no tenkanten*, 64–65.
- ¹⁷ Watada, “Kenkyū Shiryō: Kaida,” 284–186, 289. For a more detailed introduction to the historical and geo-political contexts of the Guimet version’s creation, see also Niki Hiroshi, “Chūsei no Kaidenshō [mura] to Nakakōji-shi: Engi emaki seisaku no chiikishi-teki igi” [Kaiden Village in the Medieval Time and the Nakakōji Clan: The Regional Historical Significance of the Production of the *Illuminated Handscrolls of the Karmic Origins*], in *Nagaoka tenmangū shiryō chōsa hōkoku sho, bijutsu, chūsei hen* [Reports on the Investigation of the Historical Materials of Nagaoka Tenmangū Shrine: Art, Medieval], ed. Nagaokakyō-shi Kyōiku linkai [Nagaokakyō-shi: Nagaokakyō-shi Kyōiku linkai, 2012], 122–131.
- ¹⁸ The Guimet set of Tenjin handscrolls had been found missing from the local shrine since the early eighteenth century, and was rediscovered in the early 1990s in the collection of the Guimet Museum, Paris. It is unclear whether the set was acquired by the French collector Émile Guimet (1836–1918) himself during his trip to Japan in 1867, or whether it was brought overseas and came into his collection later. See Watada, “Kenkyū Shiryō: Kaida,” 279; Tamaki Reiko, “Nagaoka Tenmangū to Katura-no-miyake” [Nagaoka Tenmangū Shrine and the House of Katura-no-miya], in *Nagaokakyō-shi shi: Honbunhen 2* [History of Nagaokakyō City: Main Text, vol. 2], ed. Nagaokakyō-shi hensan iinkai [Nagaokakyō: Nagaokakyō Shiyakusho, 1997], 162; also, Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, ed., *Kaigai shozai Nihon bijutsuhin chōsa hōkoku 6: Pari, Kokuritsu Gime Tōyō Bijutsukan, kaiga* [Investigation Reports on the Japanese Artworks in the Overseas Collections, Vol.6: Guimet National Museum of Asian Arts, Paris, Paintings] (Tokyo: The Japan Society for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 1996). As part of the basic research, the present project will continue to investigate the provenance of the artefact and the archival materials in Guimet Museum.
- ¹⁹ Christine Guth, “Kokuhō: From Dynastic to Artistic Treasure,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996): 320. In other words, “the museum deprives of their cultural lifeblood.” Didier Maleuvre, *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press: 1999), 38.
- ²⁰ Chelsea Foxwell, *Making Modern Japanese-Style Painting: Kano Hōgai and the Search for Images* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 32–33.
- ²¹ The set is reproduced and published under the title, “Kenkyū shiryō, kokuritsu Gime tōyō bijutsukan zō *Dajō Itokuten Engi Emaki*” [Research Materials, Illuminated Handscrolls of the Karmic Origins of the Deity Dajō Itokuten in the Collection of the Guimet National Museum of Asian Arts], transcribed and edited by Watada Minoru, Tsuchiya Takahiro, Ōtsuki Chifuyu, and Sato Naoko. It was published in three parts on *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 410 (September 2013): 290–311; 411 (February 2014): 353–371; 412 (March, 2014): 445–467.
- ²² The Photo Agency of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux – Grand Palais. www.photo.rmn.fr.
- ²³ “Histoire du sanctuaire Kitano Tenjin [série de six makimono].” The Photo Agency. Accessed February 4, 2020. <https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/03-015566-2C6NU04E4B0F.html>.
- ²⁴ “Jacqueline aux mains croisées.” The Photo Agency. Accessed February 4, 2020. <https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/16-515530-2C6NU0A42SS99.html>.
- ²⁵ “Les Nymphéas: Le Matin aux Saules.” The Photo Agency. Accessed February 4, 2020. <https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/10-522900-2C6NU0Q6FX0J.html>.
- ²⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed January 3, 2021. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/45428>.
- ²⁷ Elina Gertsman, “Matter Matters,” in *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History*, eds. Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) 29–30; for a longer literature review of object studies and thing theories, see Babette Bärbel Tischleder, *The Literary Life of Things: Case Studies in American Fiction*. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 17–29. See also Theodore Schatzki, “Materiality and Social Life,” *Nature and Culture* 5, no. 2 (2010): 146.
- ²⁸ Sarai Mai, “E no chisō saguru to iu to” Exploring the Grounds of Painting, trans. Yukio Lippit, in *Kasuga Gongen Genkie: Kōgaku chōsa hōkokusho: Kunaichō Sannomaru Shōzōkan shozō, kan 1, kan 2* [Report of the Optical Survey: The Illustrated Handscrolls of the Miracles the Kasuga Deity, in the collection of Sannomaru Museum, Scroll I and II], ed. Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties (Tokyo: Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 2017), 3.
- ²⁹ Melissa Terras, “Should we just send a copy? Digitisation, Usefulness, Users,” *Art Libraries Journal* 35, no. 1 (2010): 26.

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