



TALISMANS AND AMULETS IN THE JAPANESE COLLECTION¹

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ABSTRACT: This article describes all types of amulets and talismans present in the Náprstek Museum Japanese collection and uncovers their symbolic meaning. These are mostly talismans from shrines and temples dating to the beginning of the 20th century, traditional hand-crafted items from famous places of pilgrimage and toys used as talismans.

KEY WORDS: Japan – Buddhist temple – Shintō shrine – shamanism – talisman – amulet-ofuda – ema – omamori – collecting – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures (Prague)

1. Defining terminology

Amulet is considered to have protective or otherwise salutary effects while talisman primarily attracts fortune. Various authors describe different classifications of amulets and talismans according to their functional principles: homeopathic principle, contact principle, the principle of the magic of the written word, principle of colour magic, the principle of magic substances, the principle of the personifies higher power and the combinatorial principle (Nuska 2012). In this article we shall not use this division as for such a detailed analysis it would be necessary to acknowledge all types of amulets and talismans, not just those collected by the Czech travellers and brought into the NpM collections. Most of the available literature deals with the European view on amulets and talismans; the furthest it gets is the Near East. The Far East is usually not that well mapped due to the geographical distance and the language barrier. For the Japanese talismans, there are several often used terms: *mayoke* (魔除け) or *yakuyoke* (厄除け), *omamori* (お守り) and *ofuda* (御札) or *gofu* (護符). The first word *mayoke* literally means to avoid evil and it may be either a talisman or a ritual believed to dispel evil spirits and demons and the personal misfortunes and natural disasters presumable caused by them. Hanging charms from gates and eaves to prevent evil spirits from entering one's

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home, or placing a sword at the pillow of a corpse are examples of *mayoke*. The term *omamori* may be literally translated as *personal protection*, and *ofuda* actually means a sheet of paper or wood. *Omamori* or *ofuda*, distributed or sold at Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples are believed to bring good health, household safety, financial success, and so forth. These rectangular slips of paper (or occasionally wood) are generally placed in the *kamidana* (Shintō family altars), affixed to a doorway, or carried on one's self. They usually bear the name of a deity: those issued by Buddhist temples may also display a Buddhist image. They ward off evil spirits, as are other special appurtenances such as the *hamaya* and *hamayumi* (lucky bow and arrow) sold at shrines at the New Year. A type of household amulet or talisman *ofuda*, hung in the house for protection. It is to be renewed yearly, typically before the end of a year, and attached to a door, pillar, or ceiling. It is believed to protect the family in residence from general harm, such as a disease. A more specific *ofuda* may be placed near particular objects such as one for kitchen to protect from accidental fire. A popular *ofuda* called *jingū-taima* (神宮大麻) or simply *taima* (大麻) is issued by Ise Shrine. It is made from hemp cloth; the use of hemp as a material was common from antiquity.

A portable form of *ofuda*, commonly called *omamori* (お守り or 御守) is typically given out wrapped in a small bag made of decorated cloth. This originates from Onmyōdō and Buddhism, but was subsequently adopted by Shintō. Both Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines give out these *omamori*. While an *ofuda* is said to protect a whole family, an *omamori* offers support for personal benefits.³

Shinsatsu is only another term for *gofu*, which may be made of wood, paper, or metal, and bear a written or printed inscription; the term is generally used to refer to the relatively large kind of amulets enshrined in *kamidana*, or affixed over gates, on doors and pillars, or on ceilings. Most are meant as general invocations against illness and accident, for safety within the home, national peace, and success in business; but others have more specific aims, such as protection from fire, theft, snow, or insects. Some bear complicated designs, such as those from the Kumano Shrines known as *Kumano-goō*.⁴

As early as the Nara period (710–784), so called *fumi ita* plates with inscription are known to have existed. However, even earlier in the 4th century talismans could be found in Taoistic literature resp. in alchemistic scriptures. Some researchers (Ofuda 2011: 58) consider these Taoistic *fu* to be the origins of the later Japanese *ofuda*. Various amulets and talismans were known in the Heian period (794–1185) which worked with the yin-yang symbol and are similar to some continental amulets. However, the *ofuda* as we know them today emerged as late as the 16th century. In the Genroku era (1688–1704) pilgrimages became an important part of spiritual life. Local products were often brought home by pilgrims as gifts, originally called *dosan* or later *omiyage*. It was necessary to prove that the pilgrim has been to all important places, each part of the journey was documented by an *ofuda* sheet with the actual date. These sheets were very fragile as they were printed on thin paper, hence they were usually transported placed between two plates called *fudabasami*.

The sheets were printed on using wooden plates as it was customary in shrines and temples since the ages of the original spreading of Buddhism in Japan. Colours were of great importance; the most common colour was black accompanied by dark red (so

³ Various sources differ in explaining the terminology. For precise terminology see Ofuda (2011).

⁴ URL<<http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=291/>>[cit. 2013.05.27.]

called *shuin* – Japanese speciality), white and gold. The Kamakura period (1185–1333) witnessed the appearance of illustrated *ofuda*, as wooden plates enabled not only text but also images to be printed easily. Allegedly the first character to appear on *ofuda* was Ryōgen (913–985), the abbot of the Enryakuji monastery (on the Hiei Mountain) of the Tendai School. His post-mortem name was Jie Daishi. An *ofuda* featuring his portrait has been preserved, dating back to 1335 (Ofuda 2011: 64).

Ofuda talismans are also sorted according to whether they are inscribed with the words – *moji fuda*, or decorated with images – *efuda*. Talismans collected at shrines and temples during pilgrimages were called *sensha fuda*. It was not until 1870 that the official separation of Shintō from Buddhism took place. Until then, there was no distinction made between talismans of Shintoist or Buddhist worship. Shintō talismans were called *shinpu*, *shinsatsu*, *ōnusa* (made not of paper, but of ramie or reed). Both Shintō and Buddhist talismans had the same value and were used equally in shrines as well as temples. *Kanjin fuda* were talismans featuring the name of their donor.

Kamifuda (神札), or gofu (御符) talismans issued by the major Shintō shrines were enshrined for worship in kamidana (神棚) or butsudan (仏壇). Candles were lit and offerings of rice, fruit, fish, rice wine etc. were made daily. Particularly in the houses of craftsmen and merchants, there may be separate shelves known as *engidana* 縁起棚, where deities with combined Shintō and Buddhist identities, such as *Ebisu* 恵比須, *Kōjin* 荒神 or *Inari* 稲荷 were commonly enshrined. It was not unusual for houses to have two separate *kamidana*. *Kamidana* were most often located in one of the main everyday living rooms or the kitchen, close to the earthen floor area. They were sometimes placed toward the rear of the room, facing the front of the house, or at the high end, facing down the room toward the *dōmō*. They were often placed in the corner of a room for better support. In rare cases, for instance, if the house was totally Shintō and had no *butsudan*, the *kamidana* was installed in one of the formal reception room *zashiki*.⁵

2. The Influences of religious and philosophical systems

As the Japanese are very tolerant towards religious freedom, the differences between talismans from shrines and temples are rather blurred. Moreover, sometimes it gets very difficult to discern where the talisman was manufactured or bought. This is mainly true in the case of brocade sacks with golden inscriptions *omamori*, which are meant to protect their owners against accidents; these items are made to be always carried by their owner. Only in case of some plaques it is relatively easy to decipher their provenance thanks to the pictures and the descriptions they are decorated with.

Most of Japanese people believe in both these religions, Shintō and Buddhism. In addition, there are only about 2 million Christians in Japan which means that due to the number and to the short history of Christianity, there is almost no influence produced. In short, Japanese perspective on religion is that believing and praying leads to happiness and harmony which is an important element of the Japanese behaviour. Shintō says that all things on earth were created and ruled over by the gods who reside throughout all nature. Mountains, trees, rocks and rivers often become objects of worship. Shintō constitutes the foundation of the sensibility of the Japanese people. But most present-day Japanese people feel their cultural identity through it.

⁵ Home Shintō altars are no more so common in today's Japan. URL <<http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/k/kamidana.htm>>>[cit. 2013.05.27.]

Buddhism was introduced to Japan from China in the middle of the 6th century. Many temples were built in every area under government patronage, and it spread throughout the country. Buddhism has partially adapted some aspects of Shintō and also brought along several deities that occurred first in Hinduism. These were later adapted into the Japanese religious canon. In Buddhism, the soul of the ancestor might come back, which is an important element in tune with Shintō thus having an impact on the looks of talismans. Buddhist priests take care of temples and convents, they practice ascetic disciplines, maintain graves, and chant Buddhist sutras for memorial services held at their temples. They also go to chant sutras in homes for funerals and for some private memorial services. After 1600, every household had to assign itself to one of the local Buddhist temples for the reasons of better evidence of the population mainly for taxpaying purposes. Hence in many households small homely alters started to appear so the families could prove their religious activity and their obedience to the new regulations. Family predecessors were worshipped in small family altars; these were also the place where talismans and amulets were placed.

Amulets and talismans, as used e.g. in various Buddhist schools, serve many purposes. There, e.g. Daikoku deity as a symbol of prosperity, it is usually produced as a coin amulet in bag with special prayer for fortune. Another example might be Fugen symbolizing in Nichiren Buddhism fire element a used mainly as a prevention of fire in kitchens. Kishimojin serves as a protector of those practicing Lotus Sutra and it is available either as a paper ofuda to be placed in the altar or as a personal amulet to be carried. Nowadays a wide variety of amulets and talisman is offered e.g. for the traffic safety, other dealing with health agenda etc.⁶

Every place of worship, no matter if Shintoist or Buddhist is equipped not only with a shop selling amulets and talisman but also with a place called the *nōkyōsho* (納経所). It is a building where pilgrims pay a fee to receive a stamp showing that they visited the temple. It's usually marked by an image of a novice priest with a blue head.⁷ You pay a fee and get an *ofuda* talisman with the name of the shrine (centre line) and the date of the visit in the left line. Each temple or shrine has their own text and red cancels. At temples in Kamakura and Kyoto and where you have pilgrimage it is easy to get. But in other places it is more difficult or there is no people to write.⁸

Shamanism, combined with Shintō, probably had a great influence on superstition, a typical feature of the inhabitants of Japanese islands. The most notable inclination to magic and superstition is perhaps in the North of Japan in the form of the blind spiritual media *itako* who speak to the souls of the dead. However, even here shamanism has found a connection to Buddhism as the outbursts of gas from bubbling mud in seismic areas is considered to be an embodiment of the Buddhist image of Hell. Most likely remains of shamanism reflect in the bracelets of Buddhist rosaries *juzu*. Many of these assumed rosaries do not have the right number of beads; even the NpM depository contains one item allegedly called shamanic necklace (Inv. No. A31).

Within Shintō, white horses were considered to be a messenger form the gods. Therefore, originally in many shrines horses were kept and even today statues of horses can be found in many sacred places, often painted either in white or bronze. Even in

⁶ See also the final paragraph and URL<<http://www.myoshoji.org/omamori.html>>[cit. 2013.05.27.]

⁷ URL<<http://en.japantourist.jp/view/hoju-ji-temple-in-saijo>>[cit. 2013.05.31.]

⁸ URL<<http://ankernielsen.dk/postcard/nokyocho/thumbs1.htm>>[cit. 2013.05.27.]

Buddhism the merciful bōdhisattva Kannon appears with a horse head (*Kannon batō*); this bōdhisattva is meant to protect horses and domestic animals. Also the fox often appears on amulets and it was considered to be another messenger of the sacred Shintō world. Shintō spirituality was not easy to understand; originally, each shrine had its own traditions and local legends that formed its spiritual world. In the Mitsumine shrine, for example, wolves were worshipped.⁹ Wolves are said to prevent burglary when affixed to doorways and to prevent rat damage if displayed in rooms where silkworms are tended. In a number of places various other local gods were venerated.

Buddhism and Shintō have had a remarkably harmonious coexistence over the past centuries. This is most probably due to two factors: on one hand, Shintō lacked a formal structure from which to organize resistance, and on the other, Buddhism had always assimilated the traditions native to the countries it entered.¹⁰ That's why it becomes so hard to differentiate talismans from shrines from those coming from temples. The syncretism that took place originally from the Nara period onwards and especially during the the 19th century caused the Japanese of today to combine both religions without making any strict divisions between them. What more, some shrines and temples feature images of gods which originally belong neither to Buddhism nor to Shintō, but were brought to Japan from India or China.¹¹

In addition, these places are also enriched by features from Tao – especially symbols of immortality, such as small pumpkins which originally functioned as containers for alchemical mixtures.

Every Japanese temple or shrine had so called *engi*, which is a shortened expression which came to refer to narratives regarding the historical „origins“ and miraculous tales of temples and shrines. It also came to refer to miraculous signs foretelling good or evil for some proposed undertaking. It was in this latter sense that people of the early modern period used terms such as *engi ga ii* (omens presaging good fortune) or *engi wo katsugu* (to believe in superstitious omens). In accordance with these usages, the custom of celebrating a good omen (*engi iwai*) or “changing one’s luck” (*engi naoshi*) spread widely. From there, the term *engimono* came to refer to any good luck charm that one might purchase at the beginning of the year, or on “feast day” (*ennichi*) of a *kami* or Buddhist deity at a shrine or temple. Although the term formerly referred to auspicious New Year’s decorations like border ropes (*shimenawa*) and pine and bamboo gateway decorations (*kadomatsu*), the varieties later proliferated. Most had some kind of specific association with the shrine or temple involved, and it was believed that if they were taken home and placed on the household’s “good luck altar” (*engidana*) the family would enjoy the good favour of *kami* and Buddha throughout the year. Well-known examples include masks of the comical Otafuku (a fat woman representing happiness and prosperity) and *kumade* (small rakes decorated with symbols of good fortune and

⁹ Mitsumine Shrine (三峯神社), The shrine sits atop Mount Mitsumine, area of Chichibu, Saitama Prefecture, and covers an area near the mountaintop. The primary deities worshipped here are Izanagi and Izanami, two gods with primary roles in the Japanese creation myth. Mitsumine Shrine is also significant in its clear demonstration of wolf worship. Wolves and mountain dogs were frequently worshipped in mountain Shintō shrines, and this is clearly evident in the many statues and depictions of wolves in and around the wider area.

¹⁰ URL-<<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/30233261?uid=3737856&uid=2129&uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21102338312597>>[cit. 2013.05.28.]

¹¹ For example the Seven gods of fortune.

meant to “rake in” good luck), *mayudama* (tree branches decorated with rice cakes symbolizing silkworm cocoons), and *hamaya* (good luck arrows distributed by shrines), both distributed at New Year’s; *inu hariko* (papier-mâché images of dogs) associated with a newborn child’s first pilgrimage to a shrine (*hatsu miyamairi*). Others include “treasure ships” (*takarabune*) and “fortune-beckoning cats” (*manekineko*), so-called Daruma dolls, good-luck bulls, rice scoops, and *chigi bako* (small wooden boxes sold at the shrine Shiba Daijingu, and representing hopes for an increase in the number of *kimono* one owns).

3. Travellers as Collectors of Talismans

Talismans and amulets in the NpM collection come mainly from two sources. One of the greatest and most enthusiastic collector of amulets and talismans from temples and shrines was Joe Hloucha (1881–1957). It seems that Hloucha was rather superstitious hence he did not collect these items only as sheer memory of the sacred places visited.¹² According to his diaries¹³, Hloucha was a frequent client of a female clairvoyant and where he had his future predicted. Therefore, we can assume amulets and talismans had a deep spiritual meaning to him. The other source for the forming of the collection was Dr. Libuše Boháčková (1927–1994), former NpM curator in the years 1968–1994. As well as Hloucha, Dr. Boháčková, collected a number of amulets and talismans from temples and shrines during her numerous stays in Japan.¹⁴

Several oldest votive ema plates come from the original collections of Vojtěch Schück (1854–1935) dating back to 1920s. The latest acquisitions from the 1990s were brought by the Czech Japanologist Vlasta Winkelhöferová (1932); these were mainly amulets aimed for protecting children hence they were made in the form of toys to be actually played with, therefore today these are placed in the NpM Japanese toy collection. We shall return to them in a separate chapter.

4. Contents of the Collection

a) Personal talismans brought from temples and shrines

About 180 talismans and amulets were collected in Japan and brought back to Prague by travellers. Most of them were collected by Joe Hloucha (135) and subsequently Dr. Boháčková (34); the rest of the ensemble consists of gifts from various other donators. They can be divided according to various criteria: location of origin – here the most famous ones would be items from renown famous places such as Kasuga Taisha shrine, Kinryūzan temple in Tokyo’s Asakusa quarter, Sumiyoshi and Shitennoji in Osaka or the famous mausoleum of Nikkō. It is also possible to sort talismans chronologically: Hloucha’s talismans were brought from his two journeys of 1906 and 1926. Dr. Boháčková’s items were collected during her travels in the 1980s and 90s. The remaining talismans come from various times. This chronological division, however, leads us nowhere as talismans don’t really change much over time. It is virtually impossible to distinguish talismans from 1906 from those brought in 1926; even those dating to the

¹² 1906 and 1926.

¹³ J. Hloucha’s diaries are deposited in the Náprstek Museum Archive.

¹⁴ Her first visit to Japan took place in the late 1960s, then 1991–1992. Gaudeková 2013 p. 38–39

1980s don't show many differences. Therefore in this article we shall describe groups of talismans formed on the basis of their visual looks.

The first large group is formed by talismans consisting of a single envelope usually made of folded paper in which a single sheet of paper is inserted; both the envelope and the sheet feature printed inscriptions designed to resemble the original woodblock printed inscriptions. The main function of this text is to state from where the talisman comes and also to specify in which way it is meant to protect its owner. The black inscription is accompanied with a red seal in order to add authenticity. The envelope states from where the talisman comes, for example Enoshima jinja, Kiyomizudera Kanzeon sugoshi etc. In some cases the sheet of paper inside includes several rice grains (Inv. No. 32561, Sumiyoshi jinja) or rice cakes (Inv. No. 32558, Tōshōgū). The majority of talismans form the NpM collection has no actual specification of against what they are meant to protect their owner. However, other talismans have very specific descriptions, such as talisman for the safety of the home (*kanai anzen*, Inv. No. A15775, Kompiragū), against thunder and lightning (*raiden yoke*, Inv. No. 32670, Haruna jinja), for safety at sea (*kaijō anzen*, Inv. No. 32665, Sumiyoshi jinja), against catastrophes and disasters (*saiaku yoke*, Inv. No. 32660, Kawasaki), against uncleanness¹⁵ (*fujō yoke*, Inv. No. 32659, Meguro), for safe childbirth (*ansan*, Inv. No. 32658, Kawasaki, 32655 Ishiyamadera, 32653 Wakanoura), or against eye diseases (*ganshitsu yoke*, Inv.No. 32654 Wakanoura).

Among these simple talismans there are two very similar items coming from the Kamakura area's Akibayama (Odawara). In the local Ryōgaku'in temple people gather to take part in *Hibuse*, a celebration venerating the gods who protect against fire (Inv. No. 32652, 32690). Another amulet (Inv. No. 32669) in the form of an envelope with the inscription Kasuga jinja is accompanied with a receipt for the payment of a certain sum to the Tōdaiji temple; today we would say this sum was donated to the repair fund of the temple. The payment confirmation dates to the 39th year of the Meiji era (1906), it states the name of the donor: Bōhemia Hōra Kāro, which certainly indicates Mr. Karel Hora (1881–1974), who was a friend of Joe Hloucha (who brought this talisman to Prague) and who accompanied him to many places (Inv. No. 32669ab).

There is approximately the same number (60) of envelopes as pictures. They are printed in black and white; originally they were certainly printed by the woodblock print technique. They depict versions of the Buddha (Amida Buddha and Daiichi Nyorai), bōdhisattvas (mainly Kannon, bōdhisattva of mercy, but also Monjō, bōdhisattva of wisdom), kings (Fudō Myōō), patriarchs (Kōbō Daishi) as well as mythological and historical figures (Benkei, Emperor Ōjin, Daikoku – god of prosperity. Ofuda 2011: 13). Other items feature landscape images (rocks by the Haruna¹⁶ shrine; pine tree in Karasaki by the Biwa lake¹⁷) or memorable items (the bell of Miidera temple)

¹⁵ Uncleanness stands not only for physical dirt but also for a spiritual state of sin or a wrongdoing.

¹⁶ Shintō shrine Haruna (榛名神社) in Takasaki, pref. Gumma. Mount Haruna, the mountain where the shrine is located, is one of the "Three Mountains of Jōmō" and the shrine has a close relationship with the shrines of the other two mountains, Mount Akagi and Mount Myōgi. Haruna Shrine was founded in 586, the first year of the reign of Emperor Yōmei. During the 14th century it became affiliated with Ueno's Kan'eiji. During the Meiji era separation of Buddhism and Shintō, the Buddhist colours were discontinued and the original Haruna Shrine was restored. URL < <http://www.haruna.or.jp> [cit. 2014.03.19.]

¹⁷ Next to the pine shrine is situated which is where the talisman comes from. The view of lake Biwa from this actual pine was listed among the Eight most beautiful views (Ōmi Hakkei). Ōmi was the old name for Shiga. A woodblock print artist depicted the Eight Views of Ōmi. One of them was titled, "Night Rain at Karasaki" showing the big pine in the rain at night. From his first stay in Japan J. Hloucha brought black'n'white hand-coloured photographs; several of them also show this memorable pine.

or animals (white horse carrying the sacred *sakaki* tree branch, *shimenawa* hanging above the horse; according to a Hloucha's handwritten note the talisman comes from Sumiyoshi in Osaka).

Five particular motives of these pictures are especially interesting. The first one is an image of the meditating Buddha (Inv. No. 32607) from the Zaimokuza temple¹⁸. The whole image is composed by a stream of kanji characters assembling into the Amida Buddha invocation *Namu Amida Butsu*. This stands for an interesting idea for enriching the looks of otherwise a rather ordinary depiction.

Another talisman featuring an unusual kind of portrait decoration is an item from Haruna¹⁹ decorated with stylized kanji characters and a snake with a hairy face – the deity called Ugajin. The same motive can be found on yet another talisman with an image of a large frog sitting on a stand on which Ugajin is sitting. Ugajin (宇賀神) is the harvest and fertility *kami* of Japanese Mythology. Ugajin is represented both as a male and a female, and is often depicted with the body of a snake and the head of a bearded man, for the masculine variant, or the head of a woman, for the female variant. In Tendai Buddhism Ugajin was syncretically fused with Buddhist goddess Benzaiten, which became known as Uga Benzaiten or Uga Bente. The goddess sometimes carries on her head Ugajin's effigy²⁰. In this limited sense, the *kami* is part of the Japanese Buddhist pantheon.²¹ It is immensely intriguing to see how the individual deities permeate both systems. Ugajin fused with the Buddhist deity Benzaiten, the new *kami* became known as Uga Bente – even this syncretic deity can be found in the NpM collection (for example in the form of transportable altar *zushi* Inv. No. 11591). Paper talismans with Ugajin (Inv. No. 32622 and 32623) come from the Engakuji temple in Kamakura²². The only difference between these two talismans is that Inv. No. 32623 features an explanation of the picture above.

For foreigners, the depiction of the prosperity god Daikoku must have been very intriguing, especially the so called running Daikokuten (Hashiri Daikoku / 波之利大

¹⁸ The whole official name of this temple is Tenshōzan Kōmyōji (天照山 光明寺), it is a temple belonging to the Buddhist School of the Pure Land in Kamakura, it was built in 1243 at the order of the fourth regent of the Kamakura shogunate Hōjō Tsunetoki (北条経時, 1224-46), who also appointed Nen'a Ryochū (燃阿良忠, 1199-1287) as the founding priest. Ryochū had learned the teachings of the Jōdo sect from Shōkō (聖光), who was a disciple of Hōnen (法然, 1133-1212), the founder of this sect. URL> http://www.kcn-net.org/e_kama_history/zaimokuza/zaimokuza_2.htm[cit. 2013.06.19.]

¹⁹ See note no. 13.

²⁰ In Shintō, Shugendō, and esoteric circles, Benzaiten was associated early on (circa 11th-12th centuries) with an obscure local snake *kami* known as Ugajin (who has the body of a snake and the face of an old man). A *kami* of water, foodstuffs, and good fortune, Ugajin was likely derived from other food-related deities in Japanese creation myths, especially one named Uga no Mitama, the *kami* of grains and foodstuffs, said to embody the spirit of rice, and commonly considered an aspect of Inari (Japan's extremely popular *kami* of the rice paddy, grain, cultivation, and prosperity). Benzaiten's linkage with Ugajin is one of the key wellsprings of Benzaiten's longstanding popularity in Japan. URL><http://www.onmarkproductions.com/html/benzaiten.shtml>[cit. 2013.06.19.]

²¹ URL><http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=200> [cit. 2014.03.19.]

²² The complete title of the temple is Zuirokuzan Engaku Kōshō Zenji (瑞鹿山円覚興聖禅寺), or Engaku-ji (円覚寺). It is one of the most important Zen Buddhist temple complexes in Japan and is ranked second among Kamakura's Five Mountains. It is situated in the city of Kamakura, in Kanagawa prefecture to the south of Tokyo. The temple was founded in 1282 by a Chinese Zen monk at the request of the then ruler of Japan, the regent Hōjō Tokimune after he had repelled a joint Mongolian-Korean invasion in the period 1274 to 1281. URL> http://zen.rinnou.net/head_temple/06engaku.html [2014.03.19]

黒) featured on the talisman from the Nikkō mausoleum. Joe Hloucha even brought this talisman twice from Japan in 1906 and 1926. Once in the form of a paper plaque (Inv.No. 3264021 x 9 cm), subsequently he brought the same image pasted into a miniature paper altar (Inv.No. 32992, 10 x 5.5 cm). Another talisman of this type was brought from Japan by Dr. Boháčková (Inv. No. A27707, 18.4 x 12 cm). Supposedly Hloucha thought the talisman featured a badger – *tanuki*, considered by the Japanese to be a sign of good fortune²³.

Another fascinating item is the talisman Inv. No. 32069²⁴ from the Inari Taisha shrine in Fushimi in Kyoto. The protective deity here is Uka no Mitama, the child of Susanoo and the princess Kamu Ō Ichi Hime. The importance of the talisman is emphasized by the depiction of the three pearls of almighty power on a plate under the *sudare* blind as well as five such pearls in the red colour of the seals. In the middle we see three bales of rice; a white snake is shown crawling out of two of them, the snake is a symbol of the goddess Benzaiten who is often associated with Inari, the deity of rice and good harvest. In the lower part two messengers of the deity Inari are seated, a white fox on the left and a black fox on the right.

The main motive of talisman-decoration is only limited to the depiction of deities; also legendary characters are often depicted, such as Benkei (Inv.No. 32627 from Miidera) or real historical personalities such as the author Murasaki Shikibu (Inv.No. 32650 form Ishiyamadera). Benkei is shown carrying a large bell on his back; according to the legend Benkei did not approve of the sound of the bell therefore he threw it down the hill. Another piece that Hloucha brought from Miidera was a picture of a Benkei's giant rice cauldron. The author Murasaki Shikibu is shown leaning against a table where she starts to write her famous novel Tale of Prince Genji.

A very specific group of the talismans consists of 17 small-sized (coca 10 x 5 cm) folding paper altars. These miniature altars are strongly comparable to the miniature saint images known in the Christian world; many of them can be folded and fitted into a paper cover, however not in all cases in the collection was the cover preserved. The most favourite depiction among these is the merciful bōdhisattva Kannon (7) as well as Kōbō Daishi (3), the patriarch of Nichiren school of Buddhism. For Joe Hloucha, who brought the majority of these altars, probably found most intriguing the image of Hashiri Daikoku (2) as Hloucha brought this iconographic depiction also on another *ofuda* talisman. Other deities appearing in the form of folded altars include Fudō Myōō (1), Nichiren Bosatsu (1), Nanamen Daitenjō (1) goddess Kishimojin (1), and Buddha from the Zōjōji temple in Shiba (2).

An outstanding category of talismans are personal protective *omamori* (25), small brocade sacks with a protective inscription inside of them (11) or metal plates in paper cover (4) with a relief showing the protective deity, or in the form of jingle bells (3). Among the oldest items is an arrow in a paper cover – a kind of a cone – *hamayumi* (Inv.

²³ It is understandable as Hloucha probably could speak basic Japanese; he could however not read kanji characters, only the more simple kana. In Japan *tanuki* (lat. (*Nyctereutes procyonoides viverrinus*, Japanese: タヌキ or 狸) is considered to bring good luck. It is a personalisation of the Japanese subspecies of a racoon dog. In Japanese tales and fables *tanuki* plays the role of a jolly rogue, the master of disguises and transformations, frivolous, mischievous, cunning, but sometimes slightly silly. Statues of badgers often have straw hats on their heads and fishing rod and a carboy of sake in their paws. Typically they are depicted with huge testicles; their over-sized scrotum symbolizes financial luck.

²⁴ The same talisman can be found in the collection of Bernard Frank, see Ofuda (2011) p. 265.

No. 2823, inscription: Amaterasu daishingū). Talismans come in many various forms, such as a miniature of a monk's stick with rattling rings (in Japanese shakujō, 錫杖, Inv. No. A27693) from Nikkō from the Chūzenji temple; or miniature sword blade packed in a sheet of thin paper (Inv. No. A27704) from Kamakura's Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine, where the key deity is Hachiman, the god of war, hence the blade was chosen as his symbol.

Intensely personal items are sacred lots called *omikuji* (御御籤/御神籤), one of them comes from Hloucha (Inv. No. 32571) and a whole collection of *omikuji* was brought by Dr. Boháčková (Inv. No. A27667/a-u). Since drawing prophecy lots was an unusual experience for foreign travellers, two miniatures were brought from Japan (Inv. No. 30127 and 30128) – imitations of cylinders with drawing sticks and prophecy booklets; perhaps this ensemble was aimed at showing to European public how the Japanese predict the future. The messages written on a thin piece of *washi*, replies from Shintō or Buddhist deities, are used to tell the fortunes of those who visit shrines or temples with their problems. The visitor draws a numbered stick from the small opening at one end of a prism-shaped container and exchanges the stick for a *mikuji* of the corresponding number. If the fortune is less than favourable, the visitor customarily ties the *mikuji* around a tree branch or in a designated location near the temple or shrine in hope that circumstances will eventually improve.²⁵

b) Talismans brought into temples or shrines

While the above mentioned *ofuda* and *omamori* talismans were being bought in a temple and subsequently carried out of the temple, there is yet another group of talismans which were being brought into the temple or shrine, or which were bought in the sanctuaries and intentionally left there.

Primarily, these were the wooden platelets *ema*, literally pictures of horses. *Ema* are usually attached to special stands, they are inscribed with the wish that gods are asked to fulfil; the text is written either by a simple marker pen or more artistically by a brush and ink. *Ema* platelets have a very long tradition and rich history. Their existence is mentioned as early as between the years 1058–1065 in the so called Honchō monzui (本朝文粹), Japanese book of Chinese prose and poetry. It was compiled by Fujiwara no Akihira.²⁶ Similarly, votive plates *ema* (絵馬) are mentioned in Ōe no Masahira's letters²⁷ from 1012. The *ema* are then left hanging up at the shrine, where the *kami* (spirits or gods) receive them. They bear various pictures, often of animals or other Shintō imagery, and many have the word *gan'i* (願意), meaning „wish“, written along the side. In ancient times people would donate horses to the shrines for good favour, over time this was transferred to a wooden plaque with a picture of a horse, and later still to the various wooden plaques sold today for the same purpose.

In 1716 Kaneya Hiroemon, a townsman from Kyoto, published a two-volume anthology of *ema* plates; more than one hundred years later, in 1831 another catalogue²⁸ was published, featuring votive pictures from Itsukushima in 5 volumes showing *ema* from the Miyajima shrine. *Ema* are sold for various wishes. Common reasons for buying

²⁵ URL ><http://darumapilgrim.blogspot.cz/2006/04/mikuji.html> >[cit. 2013.06.13.].

²⁶ Japan (1993) p. 420

²⁷ Ofuda (2011) p. 69.

²⁸ Ofuda (2011) p. 70

a plaque are for success in work or on exams, marital bliss, to have children, and health. Some shrines specialize in certain types of these plaques, and the larger shrines may offer more than one. Sales of *ema* help support the shrine financially.

In ancient Japan, there was the practice of presenting horses when praying for something, but this later changed to offering votive pictures of horses. At present, there are other pictures besides horses.²⁹ For example *ema* from the Fushimi Inari shrine has the shape of a fox's head (Inv. No. A27850) as fox was considered to be the messenger of the deity of rich rice harvest.

Votive plates *ema* are divided into two groups: the small ones are called *koema*, the large one are *ōema*. We can find examples of both kinds in the NpM collection. Altogether the *ema* collection consists of 35 pieces out of which 15 are of an older date (with a black wooden frame or even without the frame). Three of the oldest ones are made of unfired clay which differentiates them from all the remaining items. One *ema* plate is categorized as large (40 x 50.4 cm); it is actually a framed picture painted on wood with two temple servants leading a black horse on the main side. The whole image is framed by a wooden frame with two metal hooks for hanging. The reverse side is decorated with an image of a woman in prayer kneeling in front of a treasury. There is no plea or prayer inscribed on either side of the plate. These items were brought as examples and were never hung in a shrine.

Another rather small-sized talisman for placing in a temple is a stylized knot of a monkey with all four of the limbs tied.

This talisman is called *kukurizaru* – the tied monkey (Inv. No. A27851 from Yasaka Kōshindō in Kyoto). The *kukurizaru* is a monkey which has its hands and feet tied together and cannot move. According to Taoist tradition, on the night of *kōshin* day (*kōshin* is in fact a year or a day in the sexagenary cycle that falls on the 7th of the 10 stems, and the 9th of the 12 branches or zodiacal symbols) three worms (*sanshi* in Japanese) believed to dwell in the human body escape during sleep and report a person's sins to the Celestial God (Tentei, Master of Heaven) resulting in a shortening of that person's life (Kōdansha 1998: 832). This belief was brought to Japan in Heian Era (794–1185) and became popular in aristocracy. In Edo Era (1603–1867), *Kōshin* belief became very popular in folks and the form entirely changed. In addition, they created two guardian deities of *Kōshin*. One is the *Shōmen-Kongō*. It is originally a demon which causes diseases. It is uncertain why *Shōmen-Kongō* became the *Kōshin* deity but probably the demon was expected to make free worms – *sanshis* ill and prevent them to go to Tentei.

The other represents three monkeys, each of which covers its eyes, mouth, and ears by its hands. They are called *Mizaru* (not see), *Iwazaru* (not say) and *Kikazaru* (not hear), and the suffix «*zaru*» (not) is related to «*saru*» (monkey). It is also uncertain why these monkeys became the *Kōshin* deity, nevertheless it happened. These three monkeys are immensely popular today; it is however not known how this tradition originated. Today most of the people do not believe, do not even know, such a custom.³⁰ But there are several *Kōshindō* i.e. *Kōshin* devoted halls with a *Shōmen Kongō* (青面金剛) statues and three monkeys cult. One of them is e.g. Yasaka *Kōshindō* (八坂庚申堂), or in its full name Daikokusan *Kongōji Kōshindō* (大黒山金剛寺庚申堂), a small temple located in

²⁹ URL><http://www.travel-around-japan.com/j06-religion.html>>[cit. 2013.05.31.].

³⁰ URL> <http://lafcadiohearn.jp/kamakura/AboutKoshin.html>>[cit. 2013.05.28.].

Higashiyama, Kyoto, in the vicinity of Kiyomizu-dera. The temple is dedicated to Kōshin-san (庚申さん) a nickname of its main worship object Shōmen Kongō, a blue, guardian warrior and to the “three wise monkeys”. In many places at the temple hang colour balls representing Kukurizaru, a monkey with bound feet and hands. In Kōshin belief, it represents the control of the playful and desire-driven creature everyone has inside his body. The folk faith says that to have a wish granted, you must sacrifice one desire. If you put your desire inside one of the colour balls that represent the monkey Kukurizaru, Kōshin will help you to make that desire vanish and because desires are what keep wishes from coming true, your wish will be granted and you will also become a better person.³¹

c) Toys as talismans and amulets

Toys, which upon first inspection appear to be children’s playthings, can symbolize much more. An enduring tradition worthy of appreciation, Mingei have withstood the test of time.³²

Ever since the earliest days, Japanese parents searched for ways of securing the health and welfare of their children. Traditions of spiritual ways of protecting babies came originally from China and soon found their ways to Japan. Especially dolls and small figures were used as placeholders for all the evil illnesses that were symbolically diverged from children into the dolls. Similarly, childbirth has always been considered as extremely risky, hence special wooden votive plates called *ema* were presented to expecting mothers. *Ema* featured written prayers and symbolic images pleading for the protection of the mother-to-be and her infant. Newly born children were usually given so called *inu hariko*, boxes made of hard paper in the shape of a dog. Dogs were considered to be protective animals and a rescuer from evil spirits. *Inu hariko* were usually vividly painted including gold pigments. From the practical point of view, apart from their symbolic function, the boxes could also be used for storing various smaller items. Allegedly, amulets were made in the form of toys mainly because it was considered important that the children ad these items with them. A sophisticated amulet would not be comprehensible or loved by children, therefore amulets gradually took the form of toys to make them more attractive for children so that they would keep these protective items always with them. Not only amulets but also many other toys had symbolic meanings. Tigers, immensely popular among children, symbolised physical strength, carps stood for being nimble and lithe, dragons were known for their fierceness and rapacity. Colours were also carries of various symbolic meanings; for example red colour signified happiness. Therefore toys painted with red colour were always considered to have protective power, no matter their shape or other symbolic meanings.

Inu hariko are among the most beautiful amulet toys in the Náprstek Museum collection (Inv. nos. 1904, 1905, 2104, 35163, 35164, A30658, A30703, A30710). Throughout the world, dogs are regarded as guardians and protectors and Japan’s view of this animal proves to be no exception. Credited with recognizing demons in human disguise, the dog often accompanies children travelling alone after nightfall. Therefore, dog figurines are natural protectors for sleeping children. Perhaps it was this belief in dogs

³¹ Japan (1993) p. 832.

³² URL> <http://researcharchive.calacademy.org/research/anthropology/japanese/> >[cit. 2013.05.26].

that also formed the general admiration of the so called *koma inu*, guardians placed usually in front of Buddhist Temples. Literally they were called Korean dogs, which were yet another variation of Chinese lions – *karashishi*. These dogs were made of papier-mâché which made them very light in weight as well as safe for children to play with. The three oldest dogs from the collection were bought in Japan in the 19th century. One of them is rather damaged yet the other ones are in a very good shape and demonstrate beautifully the type of decoration that remained popular over generations.

Nagashibina dolls were originally connected to the habit of setting dolls afloat thus symbolically getting rid of all evil (Inv. nos: A16777, A16786, A16787, A30835, A30836). The dolls usually come in pairs, representing a man and a woman made of red coloured paper with the decoration of blossoming sakura trees. Their heads are habitually made of clay. The pair of dolls is then fixed to a circular plate made of wicker ware, straw or wood and are placed on the water surface and set afloat to symbolically drive away all misfortune and evil. These dolls were bought during the girls' festival celebrations, this tradition comes allegedly from as soon as the 15th century and this practice comes from the Tottori prefecture. These dolls, like all Japanese traditional dolls, display the nation's ecological tradition. This is as well the reason that not many original pieces of traditional toys survived as their materials were easily reusable. However, the tradition of making these toys has survived and is still vividly alive today, using the same materials and manufacture techniques.

A special kind of doll with strong protective symbolism is **Hōkōsan** (奉公さん, inv. nos. A16808, A16809, A16810, A16811, A16812, A30870). She is a paper doll modelled after a girl called Omaki who sacrificed herself for a princess with a serious illness. She has a lovely, innocent face loved by many people.³³ But originally Omaki was a maid in the family in Takamatsu. The family has a little daughter who one day fell ill. The nurse Omaki was only 10 years old, she was very sad to see the poor little child getting weaker and weaker. Omaki wondered what she could do to help them. Then she thought of performing "the 21-night-cold-water-ablution," praying for the child's recovery – the hardest ascetic practice she could offer to Buddha so that her heart-felt wish could be heard. Every midnight, she went down to the well to perform the ceremony, unnoticed – pouring pails of icy water over herself. One morning, the maid was found dead at the frozen well. Then, the man and his wife found their little one getting better and better every day until she was quite well again.

In former days this doll had some practical use. When a child got ill, this doll was put into its bed for one night to be thrown always into the sea the next morning. It was believed to have taken away the illness.³⁴

Another important figure that children liked to play with while it also had a protective function was **Daruma**³⁵ (達磨, Inv. nos. 362, 363, 364, 2027, 2029, 2040, 2044, 2341, A27806, A27807, A30700, A30739, A30740, A30742, A30759, A30950, *Daruma ningyō*: A30789, A30707, A30854, A30855, *Daruma otoshi*: A75, A30771, A30798, A30814) was also immensely famous for protecting children and babies. Some Daruma dolls symbolize resilience, because when they are knocked over, they spring right back up. There are also many games where Daruma dolls play a key role, such as Daruma otoshi.

³³ URL> <http://www.city.takamatsu.kagawa.jp/english/sightseeing/staple/hokosan.html>>[cit. 2013.05.26].

³⁴ URL> <http://www.waoe.org/steve/kagawa/capital.html>>[cit. 2013.05.26].

³⁵ URL> <http://www.katavila.com/hanako/youkai-glossary.html> >[cit. 2013.05.26].

This traditional game that was played since the ancient days of Japan consists of a Daruma on top with five different coloured wooden blocks stacked below it. The goal of the game is to use the wooden hammer to knock out the lower blocks without the rest of them toppling over. It will bring you loads of fun with your friends and family, and makes a highly interesting display item for fans of Japanese tradition! This larger set comes with one hammer and six blocks.³⁶

Children often amused themselves with paper folding, especially making paper cranes (Inv. nos. 2250, 2287, Jap. *tsuru* 鶴), symbol of longevity. The NpM storage holds only two examples from donators although a crane is the animal most frequently produced in origami – Japanese paper folding. Cranes, particularly white cranes, are among the premier symbols of longevity and good fortune not only in Japan. A crane is associated with the New Year and with marriage ceremonies. It is traditional to fold and string together one thousand cranes (*senbazuru*, 千羽鶴) when making a special wish. An ancient legend promises that anyone who folds a thousand origami cranes will be granted a wish by a crane. Some stories believe you are granted eternal good luck, instead of just one wish, such as long life or recovery from illness or injury. This makes them popular gifts for special friends and family. The crane in Japan is one of the mystical or holy creatures (others include the dragon and the tortoise) and is said to live for a thousand years: That is why 1000 cranes are made, one for each year. A thousand paper cranes are traditionally given as a wedding gift by the father, who is wishing a thousand years of happiness and prosperity upon the couple. They can also be given to a new baby for long life and good luck. Hanging them in one's home is thought to be a powerfully lucky and benevolent charm.³⁷

Many Japanese toys were originally made for children to play with, however over the years these toys have developed a very sophisticated system of decoration which finally disabled the children to actually play with such items. Such toys nevertheless kept their symbolic function as protective talismans. Such are the red cows **akabeko** (赤べこ, inv. nos. 2100, A15785, A15787, A30753, A30754, A30784, A30816, A30818). The red cow, with its trademark bobbing head, has been an important figure in Japanese folklore for over 100 years. The cow is considered to be an invaluable weapon against sickness. Most widely noted for its power to prevent smallpox, the cow's most effective, and hence most constant attribute, is its bright red colouring.³⁸ As red is also considered to be a symbol of happiness, it appears on many kinds of toys, especially those aimed at protecting children from illnesses.

The red akabeko are more or less unknown outside of Japan. On the contrary, the inviting or welcoming cats called **manekineko** (招き猫, inv.nos. 2188, 48573, A30817, A30741, A30695) have spread to various other countries. Manekineko is a sort of figurine which is believed to bring good luck to the owner. Neko in Japanese means cat, maneki means to invite. Manekineko is therefore often referred to as the beckoning cat. It is usually displayed, usually at the entrance, in shops, restaurants, pachinko parlours, and other business. Traditionally the cat sits upright with one paw lifted up or even moving the paw as if to wave at the customers. This waving gesture is in Japan considered to be an invitation. Allegedly a cat with its right paw risen attracts money

³⁶ URL><http://www.jbox.com/product/sz285>>[cit. 2013.05.26.].

³⁷ Japan (1993) p. 253.

³⁸ URL><http://researcharchive.calacademy.org/research/anthropology/japanese/>>[cit. 2013.05.26.].

while the left paw, if risen, attracts customers. The neck of these cats is often decorated with a jingle-bell.

Some believe the manekineko originated in Osaka, while some insist it was Tokyo (then named Edo). Manekineko first appeared during the later part of the Edo period. In 1876, during the Meiji era, it was mentioned in a newspaper article, and there is evidence that kimono-clad manekineko were distributed at a shrine in Osaka during this time. A 1902 advertisement for manekineko indicates that by the turn of the century they were popular. Beyond this, the exact origins are uncertain, though several folktales offer explanations.

Many folktales exist on the theme of a beckoning cat. While the stories are colourful and interesting, such folklore does not adequately explain why the manekineko has such a strong and consistent association with good luck and fortune.

Manekineko are often shown with a charm hanging from the neck and/or with a placard on the chest that has the three ideographs for ten million *ryō* (a *ryō* – a monetary unit used in Edo period equivalent to eighteen grams of gold). Left paw up is for money while the right paw is for good luck. Left paw up is for bars and tea houses, while the right is for stores.

Kirinjishi (麒麟獅子, inv. nos. A16778, A30797) can be a figurine but also a mask; it is a combination of a lion head and a unicorn, it is used for the lion dance in spring and autumn. This mask was also used for the lion dance to honour the founder of the Edo Bakufu government.³⁹ Kirin, both in Chinese and Japanese courts was used as a symbol of authority, whereas in the Edo period, the kirin appeared with phoenix, lion and paulownia in a good-fortune motif on short jackets worn at festivals. Lions, especially lions' heads can be considered protective symbol. The lion or **shishi** (獅子, inv. nos. 2184, 32848, 55057, A16815, A16816, A30826) head is a miniature representation of that seen at the popular Japanese Lion-Dance. The main purpose of this dance is to ward off disease, epidemics, and disaster. The lion head is seen throughout Japan in a wide array of styles and sizes. Lion heads are also made in the form of clappers (inv. nos. 2033, 2034, A30795).

Although tigers have never lived in Japan, it belongs among the most popular animals to be depicted in Japanese art and crafts. Tigers are also heroes of many old legends, such as the one about the hero Katō Kiyomasa who fought a tiger on his way to Korea. Tiger – **tora** in Japanese (hariko no tora, inv.nos. 2099, A11216, A11212, A16781, A16782, A16813, A16814, A30702, A30115, A30743, A30744, A30748, A30749, A30792, A30813, A30843) serves as a symbol of power and bravery, the tiger instils a sense of awe and reverence among the people of Japan. The tiger also occupies a niche within the Oriental zodiac, representing specific hours or days in which certain activities are to be steadfastly avoided.

Fugu is now a worldwide popular fish known for its delicious taste but eating this fish might cause death if it is not prepared in the correct way. The reading fugu is very close to *fuku* which means luck or happiness. Therefore whistles in the form of *fugu* were made to symbolically attract good luck. In Japanese this type of whistle is called **fugubue** (Inv. nos. A11207, A30866, A30867). Fugu however appeared not only in the form of a whistle but in various others forms, such a lampion made of the dry skin of the fish (Inv. No. 33886).

³⁹ URL> <http://omamorifromjapan.blogspot.cz/2011/07/kirinjishi-tottori-hyogo.html>>[cit. 2013.05.26].

A similar flute but in the form of a pigeon or a dove is called *hatobue* (inv.nos. A82, A30861). Clay whistles originated in Aomori, the main northern island of Japan. Though a great variety of whistles were produced, the pigeon whistle is the most well known. Diseases and afflictions were believed by many to be the result of evil spirits. One such spirit, thought to cause hysteria in children, was said to be frightened by loud sounds. As a consequence, children were encouraged to play noisily and the pigeon whistle served as a perfect toy.

The museum toy collection features two fish on wheels, one of them being a whale (Jap. kujiraguruma, Inv. No. A30683). The whale cart is a remnant of the whaling days of recent past. Until the early 20th century, the industry was one of the most influential and prosperous in Japan. Originally crafted by 17th century whalers for their children, the whale cart of today is often seen in a much cruder and much less mobile form than its predecessors. However, the so called *taiguruma* (鯛車, sea bream on wheels, Inv. No. 2206) is a proper talisman in the full meaning. *Taiguruma* were usually made of wood, papier-mâché or handmade paper. The toy was meant for children to be dragged along similarly as the above mentioned whale. *Taiguruma* were mostly manufactured in Kagoshima in Kyūshū, but also in the Northern island Honshū's city of Niigata. The God of Diseases is invited to sit on this red fish and swim away in the nearest river so it is an amulet to prevent disease. Its history dates back to the legend of Umi no Sachihiko and Yama no Sachihiko. Yama no Sachihiko came down to the ocean and pulled a fishhook out of the mouth of a sea bream. The toy is made to look with its head bend as if bowing to the Deity who helped him.

The term *suzu* (bells, 鈴, inv. nos. A12363, A30953) refers to two Japanese instruments associated with Shintō ritual: either a single large crotal bell similar in shape to a sleigh bell and having a slit on one side; or a handheld bell-tree with small crotal bells strung in three levels on a spiralling wire. The larger form may be hung from a rafter in front of a Shintō shrine and sounded by a robe or ribbons that hang within reach of the worshipper. The smaller *suzu* is supported atop a handle and is held by female shrine attendants (*miko*) costumed in traditional robes, white-powdered faces, and wearing Heian-period coiffure during performances of kagura dance. Kagura (music for the gods) is a term encompassing Shintō instrumental music, songs, and dances performed at shrines and at court. It was formalized as early as 773, when it appeared in the palace repertoire. Small bells, ritual implements of great antiquity, may also be grouped together in bundles mounted in multiples on staffs for folk and ceremonial performances.⁴⁰ *Suzu* can be also translated as jingle bells. Jingle bells are considered to be good-luck charms, although it is not exactly known when and where this belief originated. Even in contemporary Japan jingle bells (either made of metal or clay) are worn as accessories and jewellery as well as decorations for mobile phones, keys, handbags etc.

Tin toys are called *buriki* (Inv. nos. A30774, A30775, A30690, A30691) which is word taken from the Dutch word *blik* meaning tin or tinplate; *buriki* is its transcription in Japanese. All these toys, such as tin fish, a turtle or an octopus (made also of other materials) are decorated with red colour which makes them symbolically stand for good luck. Turtles are also considered to be symbols of longevity. They were produced by makers of jingle bells that should make hot summer days cooler. These tin toys

⁴⁰ URL><http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/89.4.94>>[cit. 2013.06.02.].

should be used both for children to play with water during hot summers but at the same time their red colour turned them into talismans.

Other special amulets are heads looking as old shabby women wearing a scarf. There is a lead weight at the bottom of each of them which makes them impossible to turn over. In fact they represent typical image of a Japanese thief – a man wrapped in cloth not to be identified easily. So their look is exactly what should be a perfect protection against thieves (*dorobō yoke*, Inv.nos. 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 30400).

Various toys serving as amulets came originally from a certain place or region where they were made and sold. However today they are known and sold all over Japan as charming reminders of traditional ways of life; some of them still function as amulets. For this reason we do not stress the geographical origin of items from the NpM collection. However, one type of talismans should be distinguished from all others. It is the carved wooden bear (Inv.No. A30805) that finds its origins in Hokkaidō, homeland of the Ainu people of the Japanese islands. The Ainu have achieved great notoriety for their frightening bear ceremony known as “iomande.” There are also dolls (inv. nos. A30802, A30803) which evolved from the original Ainu talismans called nippopo. Sakhalin Ainu shamans produced abstract wooden figurines called **nippopo** (wooden baby), used primarily as amulets for curing or warding off childhood disease. The addition of strips of red and blue cloth or a blue bead was thought to increase their power. Such dolls were dressed in inaw-kike (wood shavings) to increase their efficacy. The two-headed figure may have been a charm to enhance the probability of giving birth to twins. (Twins were believed to bring success in fishing and hunting among the Sakhalin Ainu and neighbouring Eastern Siberian groups.

In Japan, the Western Lunar calendar began to be used on January 1st 1873. According to Emperor’s order, the third day of the 12th lunar months of the 5th year of the Meiji was changed into the 1st day of the 1st months of the 6th year of Meiji. However, the traditional way of calling years according to the Zodiac animals is still in use today. The basis is formed by 12 animals, 11 real ones and one mythical creature: mouse, ox, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog and boar. Even today the character of a person is said to be connected to the year of his birth. Therefore Zodiac animals made of polychrome clay or papier-mâché are a popular good luck charms as well as cute souvenirs or simply congratulatory motives (Inv. nos. A11214-A11226, A30751-756, A30792a-l).

d) Examples of talismans of other kinds

One of the items of everyday use and a talisman at the same time is an angular container *masu*. A small (7.5 x 7.5 x 6 cm) *masu*, made of *hinoki* (cypress), is sold for serving pepper, salt, sugar, and other dry substances. A *masu* (枡) was originally a square wooden box used to measure rice in Japan during the feudal period. *Masu* existed in many sizes, typically covering the range from one to (一斗枡 *ittomasu*, c. 1.8L) to five *gō* (五合枡 *gogōmasu*, c. 0.9L). One *masu* was supposedly enough rice to feed a person for one day. Today *masu* are largely used for drinking sake, *masuzake* or *masu sake* (升酒) means rice wine served in a wooden *masu*. The boxes can be made to order with an inscription for an auspicious occasion, like a wedding or company event. They are meant to not only to attract good luck but even to make it grow exponentially as the homonymous word *masumasu* (ますます, 益々, 升ます) means “more and more” or “things getting better and better”. There are many versions of these wooden containers

featuring various inscriptions; even a number of sayings arose in connection to the containers, such as “if you knock on the bottom, a devil will appear”; hence if someone from the family is dying it is necessary to bang the bottom of the container with a stick while standing next to the main column of the house. Many such beliefs were associated with these talismans (Negai 2000: 100). Inv.č. A15751, A15752, A27662.

A similar case of an everyday utensil which also functions as a talisman is the rice ladle (Jap. *shamoji*, 杓文字, 杓、シャモジ, しゃもじ, 杓子). It is used to scoop rice out of the cooking pot. They were made from wood or bamboo, but nowadays of course they are made of plastic. The most famous talisman among those made of everyday objects is the so called Miyajima *shamoji*. It has been invented as a souvenir to help people make some extra money. Many Japanese buy such a paddle, write a wish on it, and then send it to a friend, or leave it at a temple.⁴¹ Inv.No. A27 626 features Kasuga shrine, the reverse side of the ladle shows the text about attracting good luck (Dr. Boháčková’s legacy).

A very special talisman was the so called *tegata omamori* (手形お守り) which was used to help smoothen the way across border crossings so called *sekisho*⁴² separating each province. These wooden items were meant to reconcile the so called *seki mamorigami*, the protective deity of crossings. The NpM storage includes one example of this item (Inv. No. A27664, Dr. Boháčková’s legacy). These talismans looked like wooden plates with inscriptions.

Another fascinating item is *tsukinami hana mifuda*, *hanamifuda* (月次花御札), amulet for flowers of each month. They ward off evil and prevent bad influence. They are about 15 cm long. Unfortunately these lovely talismans are not to be found in the NpM collection. It is nevertheless most intriguing to uncover which flowers were associated with which month of the year: January has pine, February plum blossoms, March has peach blossoms. April: azaleas, May: shōbu and/or lilies, June: bamboo, July: oak leaves (for tanabata), August: nadeshiko, wild carnations, September: chrysanthemum, October: red maple leaves, November: Nanten (a nandin, sacred bamboo, *Nandina domestica*), December: Camellia⁴³.

The most usual good luck charms are *gods of fortune*⁴⁴. They appear in numerous variations in painting, printing, embroidery, clay, porcelain, wood, lacquer; their masks are being made of papier-mâché. We can often find three-dimensional depictions of the whole setting of all the gods together on the boat of treasures. The NpM collection holds several hundreds of items featuring this iconographic decoration, their cataloguing and a deeper evaluation will surely be a topic of a separate study.

Apart from the gods of fortune, there is also a single little boy of fortune, called **Fukusuke** (福助, Inv. No. A30746, a type of *miharu hariko*). This figure is meant to attract

⁴¹ URL> <http://darumasan.blogspot.cz/2007/08/shamoji-ladle.html>>[cit. 2013.06.12.].

⁴² Barriers set up on roads or in mountain passes to control travel and exact a toll payment (*sekisen*). This custom started in the seventh century. The first three were at Suzuka, Fuwa and Arachi, they are called the *sankan* – three gates. During Tokugawa period, the shogunate restored *sekisho* at some fifty points on major arteries throughout Japan. The main ones were at Hakone, Imagire, Usui and Kobotōge on roads leading to Edo. These barriers were finally abolished in 1869. URL>http://books.google.cz/books?id=p2QnPijAEemEC&pg=PA839&lpg=PA839&dq=sekisho+sankan&source=bl&ots=gYPuvBakr&sig=WILwctGdtuYipy9fEK5Kc4BnDr4&hl=cs&sa=X&ei=OE_FUC_oG4uTswbcxQGCA&ved=0CDQQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=sekisho%20sankan&f=false>[cit. 2013.06.22.].

⁴³ URL><http://omamorifromjapan.blogspot.cz/2011/11/nezu-jinja-shrine.html>>[cit. 2013.06.12.].

⁴⁴ See paragraph on toy talismans.

prosperity and wealth; it's usually in the form of a boy with a large head and the traditional hair design called *chonmage*. The boy wears the samurai style garment *kamishima*. Allegedly the model for this figure was a real large-headed boy from a village family near Osaka; the boy is said to have been only 60 cm tall. He is believed to have led a very happy life and he became a great attraction after adopting the name Fukusuke. Another model for this type of talisman might have been a certain garment salesman from Kyoto who became very rich yet also remained humble and kind towards the misfortunate and poor. Since he was of a remarkably small height, he became a good luck charm figure (Negai 2000: 120-121).

Puns playing with homonyms are very popular in Japan. The word *kamibina* 神雛 can stand for paper dolls as well as "divine" dolls. The two dolls Inv. No. A30834ab come from Aoshima shrine in the Miyazaki prefecture. This type of dolls have been made since the An'ei era (1772–1781) as during this time an epidemic of various illnesses seized the country. Paper dolls worked as talisman against these illnesses; they were made of paper with colourful patterns, their small heads were made of plaster. The full name of these dolls is *Aoshima jinja no kamibina* (青島神社の神雛), a doll of a man and a woman, thus called *meotobina* (夫婦雛). Since these are pleading dolls, they are also called *gankakebina* (願掛け雛). Today they are amulets for finding and keeping a good partner (*enmusubi*). In former times, the whole island with its cliffs and subtropical jungle was considered the dwelling of the deities and people were not allowed to step on its ground. The whole island is considered a Shintō shrine. The amulets extend to safety on sea, family security, easy birth and much more.

A small sized horse called *shinobigoma* (偲び駒) is a secret votive straw horse that children used to play with. It was made of rice straw, which is a material widely accessible all over Japan. The way this talisman works is: when someone had a secret wish, he placed the little horse on his chest and at night went to the nearest temple to pray by the merciful bōdhisattva Kannon's statue. In the Kannon-dō (the temple room with Kannon statue) he prayed for his wishes to come true. If the wish was fulfilled, the straw horse was enriched by attaching black and red ribbons on its back; subsequently it was sacrificed for Kannon as an expression of thankfulness. If talismans were divided according to their purpose, the horses would belong to a group used for so called *enmusubi* (縁結び), or establishing of a bond. The horses of the NpM collection come from the Iwate prefecture (Inv.No. A30882, A30883, A30884). In regions famous for horse rising, many horse toys were made from wood, rice straw or other natural material. They were also kept as talismans to protect the animals. They were also offered with the wish for a good harvest. In the function as matchmaker for finding a marriage partner it is also called *tsukaigoma* (使い駒, a horse to be used or a horse with a special purpose) and sold at the temple Enmanji at the Kannon Hall in Hanamaki. Hanamaki became a famous hot spring around 1920. At that time, local shop keepers thought of making this a souvenir. The tail of the straw horse is fixed upward toward the head.⁴⁵

Somin Shōrai (蘇民将来, Inv. No. A11210) is folk belief extensively disseminated in and after the Nara period (710–794) and is still alive in various regions in Japan. Somin was a poor man, but he offered food and lodgings to another rather poor-looking man who had come from the North to the South, who was in fact the deity Susanoo no Mikoto. This god gave him a ring of reeds to ward off illness, so Somin and his family

⁴⁵ URL> <http://omamorifromjapan.blogspot.cz/2011/06/shinobigoma-horse-iwate.html>>[cit. 2013.06.25].

lived well through the plagues, pests and diseases of their age. The amulets are made from the wood of a special willow tree (*doro yanagi*)⁴⁶

The temple Somin Shōrai amulets are decorated with all letters and symbols. They are all hand made by nearby farmers after the rice harvest and the blank amulets are brought to the temple where they are decorated by the temple staff and they go through special prayers to be sold as temple charms. These Somin Shōrai amulets are sold on January 7th all day and all night until the next day afternoon.

The families of parishioners who have been residing in this area since the Edo period (1603–1867) make special E-somin pieces. These families form an association called the Somin-Ko and each family has its own unique design. They make their own blank pieces and paint them with images of good luck motifs such as treasure ships, lucky Gods and Daruma like this particular piece. They are all handmade and considered highly collectible folk toys. These families sell their own E-somin pieces on the morning of January 8th at the market.⁴⁷

Some authors theorize that it gave rise to kokeshi dolls.⁴⁸

Legend of Somin became so popular that during the festival Kagura ‘Somin Shōrai’ play is performed by the Kagura group belonging to Susa Jinja.⁴⁹

Kumade – Japanese colourfully decorated bamboo rake is one of the Japanese amulets for good luck. It is the lucky item, which is believed as “rake in good fortune” for a new year. *Kumade* means *bear claws* or *a hand of a bear*. It is great for business success and family happiness. Kumade should be put at the entrance or any where your customers can see it. After the one year pass, you bring this to the shrine and buy new one.

Rakes (*kumade*) are decorated with lucky items such as masks of lucky gods, replicas of gold coins, seven Deities of Fortune (Shichifukujin) and miniature treasure ships (Takarabune). On the days of the rooster in November (Japanese calendar), the Rooster Market (Tori no Ichi Festival) is open at shrines all over Japan, and rakes are sold at these places every year. The biggest festival is held at the Ōtori Shrine in Asakusa, Tokyo. Visitors come to these festivals and many seek for rakes to rake in good fortune for the year.

There are several *kumade* in the NpM collection: Inv. No. 34958 features the goddess Okame, Inv.No. A15818 shows the gods Daikoku, Ebisu and Okame as well as the *tai* fish, rice, gold coins and an arrow with a target; Inv. No. A15 819 is decorated with an image of a clay cudgel of the god Daikoku and a bundle of rice; Inv. No. A27668 also shows rice cobs.

A small sized rake is also kept in the NpM collection; it was placed into the toy collection, perhaps due to its miniature size. The oldest *kumade* look very much like a bamboo stick with a small-sized plaque (Inv. No. 2137) featuring the mask of gods Ebisu and Daikoku, two fish and rice straw. Another talisman kept in the toy collection

⁴⁶ URL><http://omamorifromjapan.blogspot.cz/2011/09/somin-shorai-amulet.html>>[cit. 2013.06.21.].

⁴⁷ URL><http://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/antique-japan-somin-shorai-worship-wooden-amulet>>[cit. 2013.06.21.].

⁴⁸ URL>http://books.google.cz/books?id=p2QnPiJAEmEC&pg=PA901&lpg=PA901&dq=somin+somin+amulet&source=bl&ots=gYPuvC5ptZ&sig=B--xU6JFV1yawEyMdJ0IojFZ7pg&hl=cs&sa=X&ei=xmTFUfaPKsSStQb_yIHYCW&ved=0CGYQ6AEwCA#v=onepage&q=somin%20shorai%20amulet&f=false>[cit. 2013.06.21.].

⁴⁹ URL><http://www.connect-shimane.com/setsubun-sai-festival-at-susa-shrine/> >[cit. 2013.06.21.].

looks like a stick decorated with thin slivers. Several names can be associated with this item: *yome tatakī* (嫁叩き, hitting the bride), *shūgibō* (祝儀棒, festival stick), *bondekobō* or *bontenko bō* (ぼんでこ棒, ぼんでんこ棒, fertility stick), *iwaibō* (祝い棒, festival stick). It is used to induce fertility, either in the bride of a home or for the fields. The thicker parts are made from special cuttings and shavings of wood. The use of this stick is very old in the Yokote region. It was sold on the first festival for the deity Bonten, hence the name. There is also festival called Bonten Hōnō Sai (梵天奉納祭) which is dedicated to Bonten and is held on 17th February at the shrine Asaoka Jinja (旭岡神社). In the local dialect, it is called „Bonden matsuri“.⁵⁰ This ceremonial stick (inv. No. A11230) is only about 40 cm long and made from white wood of willows or a local tree called *koshiabura* (*Acanthopanax sciadophylloides*). The wood is cut in a special way to produce shavings for the thicker parts (*kezurikake shijimu* 削り掛け縮).

One of the necklaces kept among Buddhist prayer beads (out of which many are not real rosaries but rather talismans) is described as shamanistic necklace (Inv. no. A31). Its 56 segments are composed of glass beads, wooden engraved cylinders and marbles. Some of the marbles showing the fierce face of possibly the god Daruma are made of bone (perhaps even ivory). Whether or not is this necklace shamanistic we cannot say, but it anyway remains an outstanding and unique item within the collection.

Two necklace pendants from the talisman collection were both made to look European as in Japan there was never really a habit of wearing pendants around the neck. The first one is made of wood (Inv. No. 32210ab) featuring two figures of protective deities and a Buddha. The other ivory necklace is more decorative than protective (Inv. No. A4226), it shows Amida Buddha sitting on a pedestal.

Japanese shrines and temples often house models of penises as talismans for family happiness. This tradition most probably got to Japan from continental Asia and India where the tradition of keeping lingams in temples was very strong. Phallicism dates from prehistoric times in Japan. For the purpose of securing a rich harvest in autumn, at the beginning of every year a phallic energy, generally made of wood, is offered to Mitoshi no Kami, or the Rice Deity – a wooden figure rudely carved with a large male sexual organ projecting. The most famous fertility festivals take place in Kanayama shrine (金山神社) in Kawasaki, the festival's name is Kanamara Matsuri (かなまら祭, festival of the steel phallus). The celebrations take place in spring, yet the exact dates vary: the main festivities fall on the first Sunday in April. The penis, as the central theme of the event, is reflected in illustrations, candy, carved vegetables, decorations, and a mikoshi parade.⁵¹ In Japan, penises made of wood or papier-mâché are known as talismans of fertility and marital happiness, yet the NpM collection houses only one such example. This stone penis (Inv. no. 30 579) was most probably originally meant as a gift to a sanctuary as it features inscriptions of the name of the person who donated it and the date – Tempō gannen, which is the year 1830. This artefact was donated to NpM by the daughter of E. St. Vráz, Miss Vlasta Vrázová; the item was probably part of Vráz's legacy and was brought by him from Japan in 1896. The size of the stone penis is 29 cm tall and its diameter is 8 cm and it features an inscription in red ink.

Mayoke ōgi (Inv.no. 55208, donated by L. Boháčková) is a heart-shaped medallion with devanāgarī inscription on paper stuck on a wooden stick; above the heart and

⁵⁰ source : 民芸館 URL><http://omamorifromjapan.blogspot.cz/2011/06/bondeko-akita.html> >[cit. 2013.06.28.].

⁵¹ URL>[http://notesofnomads.com/kanamara-penis-festival-japan/\[2014.03.19.\]](http://notesofnomads.com/kanamara-penis-festival-japan/[2014.03.19.]).

under it colourful paper ribbons are pasted. This item is an example of talismans bought during the setsubun festivity when the devil was ritually driven out (originally this was a feast taking place before the New year). The main attraction during the celebration the casting of beans (*mamemaki*). This celebration has various local forms in different areas; in Kansai small branches with sardines attached to them (*hiragi*) are bought as it is believed that the devil will find them stinky and therefore will run away.

5. Conclusion

This overview cover talismans and amulets from the NpM collection, however it does not exhaust all types of these items existing in Japan. Talismans were not collected by ethnographers, but rather by travellers and those who adored Japan. Their reasons for collecting talismans was probably mainly personal and only secondarily did they understand the historical and cultural value of these items. The greatest number of talismans was collected by Joe Hloucha during his two stays in Japan; apart from his personal reasons Hloucha collected these object everywhere he went in the country because of his interest in the *Japanesque*. Therefore the NpM collection comprises mainly of talismans from touristic places of interest which attracted foreign visitors to Japan. Finally it is necessary to say that used talismans should always be returned to temples or shrines; by no means can they be simply thrown away. The same goes to prophecies and oracles – if the prophecy is positive, the owner brings it home with him, if it is bad it remains in the temple and is ritually tied to a tree branch or a rack specially designed for this purpose.

Even today the same talismans are sold in Japan as the ones brought to NpM in the age of the first Czech travellers. They are designed for various objectives: *kanai anzen* – for good health and help with illness, *kōtsū anzen* – protection for drivers and travellers of all sorts, *en-musubi* – available for singles and couples to ensure love and marriage, *anzan* – protection for pregnant women during term and to ensure a safe and easy delivery, *gakugyō jōju* – for students and scholars, *shōbai hanjō* – for success in business and matters of money, *kumade* with Ebisu and Daikoku, treasure ship, Okame and other auspicious symbols of prosperity, *kozuchi* mallet of abundance for prosperity and abundance of everything⁵².

There are modern commercial versions for these that are typically not spiritual in nature and are not issued by a shrine or temple. They do not confer protection or need to be replaced every year. It has become popular for stores in Japan to feature generic omamori with popular characters such as Mickey Mouse, Hello Kitty, Snoopy, Kewpie, etc.

Photographs: Jiří Vaněk

⁵² URL><http://www.e-shrine.org/omamori.html>>[cit. 2013.06.28.].

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Fig. No. 1
Ofuda, a talisman, black print on paper, bōdhisattva Kannon, Hasedera, Kamakura, height 24.8, width 11 cm, most probably bought in Japan in 1906, Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32582.



Fig. No. 2
Ofuda, a talisman, black print on paper, a high rock with trees, Haruna shrine, height 31 cm, width 13.3 cm, most probably bought in Japan in 1906, Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32587.



Fig. No. 4

Ofuda, a talisman, black print on paper, sitting Buddha, the whole figure of Buddha is drawn as a chain of characters saying Namu Amida Butsu, Renshōzan Kōmyōji Temple of Jōdo school in Zaimokuza near Kamakura, height 39 cm, width 22 cm, most probably bought in Japan in 1906, Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number, 32607.

◀ Fig. No. 3 32594

Ofuda, a talisman, black print on paper, the inscription beginning with the sacred syllable ohm, Fudōsan Meguro, height 31.7 cm, width 8 cm, probably bought in Japan in 1906, Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32594.

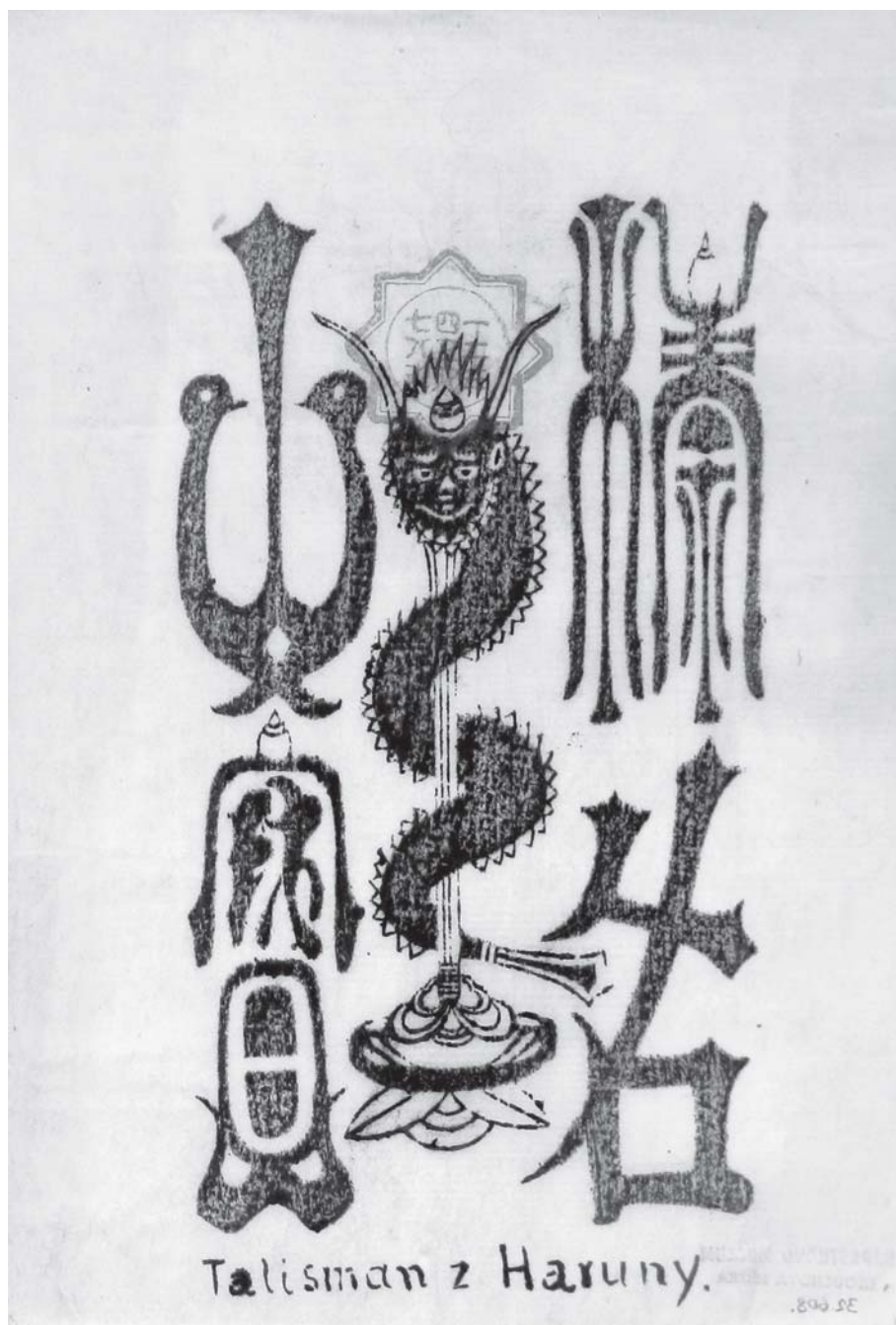


Fig. No. 5

Ofuda, a talisman, black print on paper, stylized picture and characters, Haruna Shrine, height 24 cm, width 16.5 cm, most probably bought in Japan in 1906, Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32608.



Fig. No. 6

Ofuda, a talisman, black print on paper, protects from thieves and fire, issued in Kinpukuzan, Heikenji Temple, Kawasaki (Kawasaki Daishi in Kawasaki, Buddhist school of Shingon and its branch Chisan), height 26.6 cm, width 18 cm, most probably bought in Japan in 1906, Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32620.

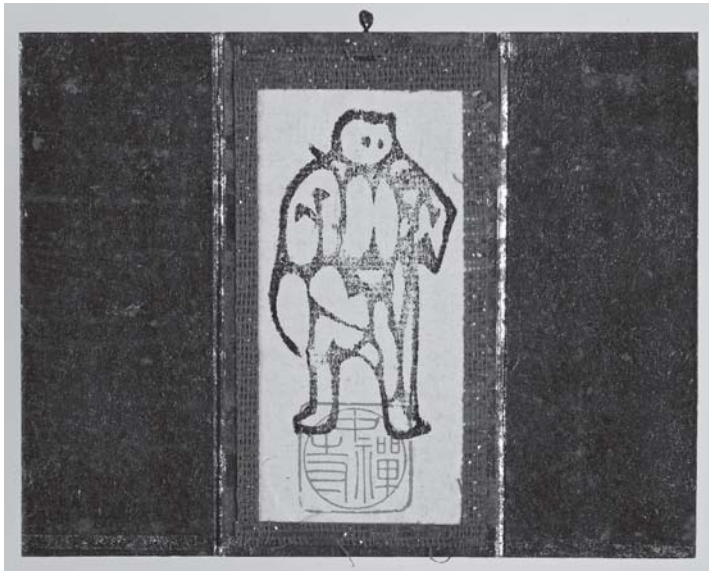


Fig. No. 7

Omamori, a talisman from Nikkō, black print on paper with red seal, framed with golden and red textile and inserted into a small paper booklet (a miniature of two-wing shaped altar), inside golden colour, height 10 cm, width 5.5 cm (opened: 10 x 13.5 cm), Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32992.

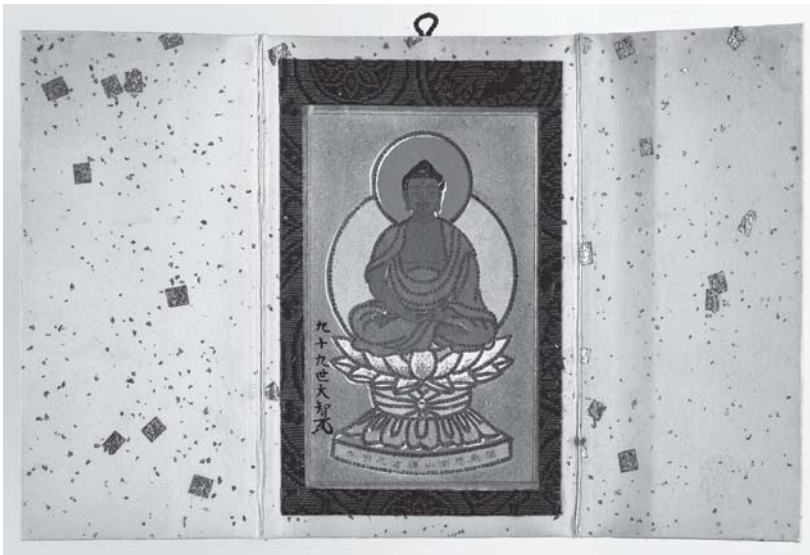


Fig. No. 8

Omamori, a talisman from Shiba Temple, Tōkyō, coloured woodblock print, framed with golden and blue textile, inserted into a small paper booklet; the inscription of left hand side: kyūjūkyū setaichi; the inscription on green lotus stand: Kantō, Tenshōzan, Kamakura Kōmyōji, (Tenshōzan Renge'in Kōmyōji is a Buddhist temple of the Jōdo sect in Zaimokuza, near Kamakura, one among the Kantō Jūhachi Danrin, a group of 18 Jōdo temples established during the Edo period by Tokugawa Ieyasu. It is also the school's head temple for the Kantō region.), height 11.5 cm, width 7.5 cm, (opened: 11.5 x 18 cm), includes a hook for hanging, Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32993.



Fig. No. 9

Omamori, a talisman from Meguro Ryūsenji Temple, colour print, Fudō Myōō and two boy servants Kongara and Seitaka, inserted in small paper booklet of golden colour, height 11 cm, width 6.5 cm (opened: 11 x 13.5 cm), Joe Hloucha's collection, inventory number 32994.



Fig. No. 10

Omamori, a talisman, a pouch of red brocade, Takanoyama, Oku no In, height 8 cm, width 4.5 cm, mid 20th century, inventory number A27689.