Color and design on the battlefield: *Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図 (1619-1631) from The Complutense University of Madrid.
——New chronological reference for this type of compilations

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要旨

　国会図書館所蔵の木版印刷『御馬印繪図』は、この類の絵図の中で一番古い文献と考えられているが、マドリッド・コンプルテンセ大学の美術図書館の日本部門に、同主題の二冊からなる手描き本があることが、最近の調査でわかった。本の形状、使用されている紙、絵の表現技法、また馬印そのものと記述されている武将名を検討した結果、コンプルテンセ本は国会図書館本より前に制作されたものと考えらる.

abstract

　The printed work *Oumajirushi ezu* from the National Diet Library in Japan has been considered the oldest reference in this kind of genre. But, a recent study reveals that a hand-painted work of the same subject, in two volumes in book format, is preserved in the Japanese Collection of the Fine Arts Library of The Complutense University of Madrid. The study of the format, paper, and painting techniques and the analysis and identification of the protagonists (*umajirushi*) and the referred names of lords have allowed us to classify the Complutense work as earlier than the National Diet Library's work.

The Library of the Faculty of Fine Arts at The Universidad Complutense of Madrid holds a Japanese collection, most of which is inheritance from its predecessor, the Library of the Special School of Painting, Sculpture and Engraving.[1] Until a few decades ago, the lack of necessary specialists meant that this collection had been carefully hoarded, awaiting the time when it could be studied in depth. Within the framework of various research projects funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, this task is being carried out by the Japan/Spain Research Group: Relations through Art and Asia Research Group,[2] which has revealed the extraordinary nature of some of the prints. This is the case of the two volumes we present in this paper dedicated to family emblems and battle standards, which introduce us to the Tokugawa military world. After our research, we consider that their production date, between 1619 and 1631, is earlier than the copies so far located and studied. [Fig.1]

1. Detailed study of the 2 vols. of *Oumajirushi ezu* (J-A/11 and J-A/12) [3]

The two volumes under study are picture books, known generically as *ehon* 絵本. The one inventoried as J-A/11 contains a total of seventy illuminated pages and J-A/12 contains eighty-eight. They show a subject matter defined as *umajirushi* centered on the banners, flags, and identifying objects belonging to the lords of different families. They feature a total of fifty-one daimyo, twenty-seven in J-A/11 and twenty-four in J-A/12. Most of them are important figures from the Japanese warrior world of the Tokugawa, exceptionally including those who, given their character as national heroes, could not be avoided, such as Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 or Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉. [Fig.2.1 and 2.2]

Because there is no text that functions as a table of contents, introduction, or epilogue, clues are scarce, and we have no explicit information about their author, date of production, or the position the volumes occupied in a supposedly larger set. We believe that the absence of Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 or his successor among the pages reinforces the idea that one or more additional volumes were missing.

An examination of the cover pages does not reveal any kind of cartouche with the title and number of the volume, and the title is not written inside, either. Therefore, we assume that, given its proximity to the other copies mentioned above, it may have been as

descriptive as *Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図 (*Repertory of Designs of Lords' Mounted Banners*), *Hata umajirushi ezu* 旗馬印繪図 (*Repertory of Designs of Lords' Mounted Flags and Banners*) or *Shoshō kisei zu* 諸将旗旌図 (*Designs of Banners and Standards of Various Generals*).

Following the custom of libraries of the time, the work was randomly marked on its pages as belonging to the former Library of the Special School of Painting and Engraving with a blue/purple seal which was used between 1857 and 1940, so it was presumably part of the donation made in 1920 by Juan C. Cebrián, a California-based Spanish engineer and patron of the Spanish university, who wished to improve with it the training of young artists. [4] [Fig.3]

1-1. Structure and development of the work

The work consists of a continuous representation bound in *orihon* 折本 format, generally used for everything that requires simplicity in handling. [Fig.4]

Careful observation reveals that the elements represented are arranged within the frame given by folding the pages in the accordion system, although there are two examples in which a banner is caught between two folds. It is the case of the banners of Matsudaira Nagato no kami 松平長門守, located in issue J-A/12 between pages 82 and 83, which share the tips of the golden papers of an *oumajirushi*, and between 83 and 84, which cut an *umajirushi* almost in half. The rest of the banners are almost always well centered in their space, as is appropriate for the clarity of the repertoires. This is not the case with the sample of Cambridge University Library (CUL) (1656) since, by faithfully following the first edition, which was designed for the scroll format and transformed into a book, various elements, including drawings and ideograms, are frequently cut off by the folding of the pages.

Two features of the volumes lead us to believe that they were not originally intended as an *emakimono* and then bound as an *orihon*. The first is that there are not many folded drawings, only two. The second is that there are many details worked in relief that would crack if the paintings would have been rolled up. The idea of the loss of the original binding has been rejected also, as there is contamination of the gilding used in the illumination of the interior, and the wear and loss of fragments of the covers are parallel to that of the bulk of the pages, indicating that they appear to have been linked from the beginning.

The reading of the work is from right to left, and each set of banners starts with a vertical inscription corresponding to the name and title or position held by the character in the governance of different areas written in ideograms, placed to the right of the main banner, the *umajirushi.*

When the emperor and the shogun sit at receptions or meetings on official occasions, they face south, with the east to their left and the west to their right. The organizational systems of the imperial court and the shogun's government were arranged around four administrative positions in each division, the four cardinal points, from the highest to the lowest rank. In many cases, these high positions were honorary, but this was not the case of lower ranks, who took on the actual work.

Among the characters referenced through their emblems, the most common one is the title of *kami* 守, provincial governor at the highest level, a term that very often is omitted, and we must understand that if the family name appears next to the name of a province, as in the case of Kawajiri Hizen 河尻肥前, this means that the house of Kawajiri holds the title of provincial governor of Hizen. This title was honorary and gave them the possibility of enjoying a court rank, but it did not imply having effective power over the province, as the actual control belonged to the daimyo who ruled the territory through a completely independent system.

This sometimes means that if there have been several members of the same family who have held the same title, it is difficult to determine which is being referred to, Kawajiri Hidetaka 河尻秀隆 (1527-1582) or his son Kawajiri Hidenaga 河尻秀長 (dead 1600).

Occasionally, only the name appears when the people died earlier and did not hold an office or position in the Tokugawa government, such as Tsutsui Junkei 筒井順慶 (1549-1584), Sassa Narimasa 佐々成政 (1536-1588) or Shibata Katsuie 柴田勝家 (1522-1583). In the case of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hidetsugu 豊臣秀次, they are identified only as Nobunaga and Hidetsugu, while the case of Toyotomi Hideyoshi is exceptional, as he is referred to by the office he held as a retired regent, *taikō* 太閤. On this occasion, his name and function were practically interchanged as synonyms.

In the National Diet Library (NDL) copy, on the same vertical line, the family name and title are written in *kanji* on the upper half, while on the lower half the reading of these ideograms is calligraphed in *hentaigana* 変体仮名, an ancient variant of the *hiragana* syllabary. The order

number in the index appears between the two scripts.

This absence indicates that the copy held at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM) did not lose the index, but that it never had it. Furthermore, in the UCM specimen, as indicated above, there is only the family name with the corresponding title written in ideograms, following a pattern, similar to that of the Osaka Castle Museum's screens and the *Shoshō kisei zu* specimen in the Tokyo National Museum.

Next to the other emblems that complement the main banner, always to the right of the element, what appears in writing is its typology or sometimes the army group that used it. [Table 1]

1-2. Identification of the banners

For the identification of the holders of the banners, together with the reading of the inscriptions, the following few sources have been used for the comparison: *Oumajirushi ezu* (National Diet Library, NDL, ca. 1639/44), *Shoshō kisei zu* (Tokyo National Museum, TNM, 1637) and *Hata umajirushi ezu* (Brigham Young University Library, BYUL, 1800).

Due to its pioneering character, the NDL specimen of *Oumajirushi ezu*, has been the most studied so far. X. Pretzer did an excellent job translating and annotating it in *Oumajirushi. A 17th Century Compendium of Samurai Heraldry* (2015).

The order in which the protagonists appear in the UCM is not the same. But only three of the protagonists are not in the NDL copy. They are Tsutsui Junkei, Sassa Narimasa, and Kyōgoku Takatsugu 京極高次 (1560-1609), all vassals of Hideyoshi. The first two had died before the rise of Tokugawa, and the third, having previously served Hideyoshi, fought at Sekigahara on the side of Tokugawa Ieyasu. They are, however, listed in the BYUL volumes.

Both (NDL and BYUL) list Matsudaria Nagato no kami, Mōri Hidenari 毛利秀就 (1595-1651), but the designs compiled differ. However, the 16th-century banner in the Mōri Museum, from Hōfu matches the one depicted in our specimen.

If the comparison is focused on the publication of *Shoshō kisei zu* (TNM), it is found that the standards of J-A/12 coincide with the first half of its central volume, while those of J-A/11 are scattered and incomplete in the last volume. This may suggest that the common repertoires were used as a starting point, which were later diversified, probably, according to the client.

The order of the UCM banners located in the BYUL publication of 1800 is more discontinuous. Vol. 1 begins by alluding first to the great figures who began the unification of the territory under a single power in chronological order, first Oda Nobunaga and his two sons (Nobutada and Nobutaka), then Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Toyotomi Hidetsugu, followed by Akechi Mitsuhide, Shibata Katsuie, Takigawa Kazumasa, Tsutsui Junkei, and Takeda Shingen. None of the protagonists that were prominent in the Shimabara Rebellion (1638-1639), represented in the BYUL issue, are present in the UCM copy, which gives priority to Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Hidetsugu 秀次 over Oda Nobunaga without mentioning Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼. A total of 30 of the 51 sets of banners that appear in the UCM copy have been found in this work, which leads us to think that, although it may be incomplete like ours, the repertoire model used in the case of the UCM is closer to the NDL work rather than to the sources used to produce the 19th century copy of the American university.

Thanks to the research carried out, it has been possible to draw up an index of the persons whose banners are represented in each of the two volumes J-A/11 and J-A/12. They are presented in the graphic documentation. In this index, the pages are numbered according to the Japanese way of opening the volume from right to left. [Tables 2 and 3]

1-3. Regarding the medium and technique used

The covers of the volumes are of a soft paper typical of the early Edo period and have the characteristic color of khaki tannin dyeing, *kakishibu* 柿渋, darkened to a dark brown by the passage of time. In this case, it also has a burnished sheen, which serves as protection by giving it a certain impermeable quality. This type of paper and cover was widely used in the first half of the 17th century. [Fig. 5]

The cover paper is *Echizen hōshoshi* 越前奉書紙, a thick *kōzo* characterized by being composed of longer fibers than those of *ganpi* 雁皮. This in turn has a thin *kōzogami* 楮紙, known as *tengujō* 典具帖, [Fig.6] attached to it, which makes it even more resistant to tearing and gives the cover greater elasticity, as it is necessary for the protective function it performs. Strips of reused scraps of paper were inserted between these papers and the sheet section of the paper inside the copy to make the covers thicker. The *kakishibu* paper used is considerably larger than the cover and is folded

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inwards to extend the life of the covers by reinforcing their edges. [Fig.7]

When it comes to evaluating the characteristics of the paper used as a support for the painting, this is the variety known as *ganpi*. Since the plant used for its production has hardly been domesticated, its fiber is scarcer than *kōzo*. It is a strong, fine, and satiny paper, which is why it is considered to be of the highest quality. Because the sap of this plant is toxic, it is resistant to xylophages and is not attacked by insects. For this reason, it used to be chosen for the writing of official documents and works of quality. The specimens kept at the UCM library have been minimally attacked by xylophages, only two spots, one in each volume.

The *ganpi* variety used contains white clay and rice powder. [Fig.8] These additives give it a light color, decrease its sensitivity to shrinkage and increase its opacity. On the other hand, its fine texture benefits the brushwork. This paper makes a strong sound as opposed to the usual silence of Japanese papers that do not contain such powder.

The size of the copies is 34.5 x 20.8 cm. Although it is wider in proportion to what is usual in the *orihon* format, this is justified by its pictorial nature.

The total length of volume J-A/11 is 1467.6 cm and that of J-A/12 is 1872 cm. The sheet format of the paper is 34.5 x 83.4 cm, which allows for three folds, four pages and a centimeter to adhere the paper to the next sheet. There are some sheets at the end that are shortened to give only one or two pages. This width is the maximum that allows the opening and movement of the arms when holding and moving the *sukisu* 漉簀, a kind of rectangular sieve, which is used to filter and make sheets of Japanese paper.

The paper of the top-mounted sheet does not adhere as it is on its edge, but its edge is carefully folded and glued to the next sheet. The folds are reinforced on the back with narrow strips of very thin paper of longer fibers to give it elasticity.

Regarding the technique used in their plastic execution, unlike the cases previously mentioned as references, the UCM copies are not printed but entirely painted by hand with high-quality pigments, as can be seen in the intensity of their colors. At least three phases can be seen in the execution of the work. The first corresponds to the drawing in black, the lines of which can sometimes be distinguished under the color. The person who makes these outlines indicates the coloring of each image. These specifications are sometimes visible.

The second phase is the application of the color, which often goes beyond the lines of the drawing, and leads us to think of the intervention of inexperienced hands such as those of apprentices. The colors used were black, white, beige, vermilion, yellow, khaki, an intense and unusual mineral blue, which gives the work a striking personality, and silver and gold in numerous elements. In most cases, to give greater intensity to the color of blacks and blues, and even whites, *gofun* 胡粉 is used in the mixture. It is insoluble in water and used to be mixed with a binder of animal origin. It has also been used more densely to give volume to certain elements, generally in details made with gold and silver leaves, but there is also a case in which it has been worked on with black. This gives the depictions a three-dimensional aspect. When using this pictorial technique, it was essential to use paper with clay powder, as described above, to reduce the possibility of shrinkage, thus minimizing the possibility of cracking, something that eventually could not be avoided. [Fig.9]

In the case of the depiction of the *horo* 母衣 [5] and helmet of Matsudaira Nagato no kami 松平長門守, lapis lazuli blue has been used, which is something unusual in workshop works but highlights the importance of this personage. Probably, he was the person who commissioned the work.

An analysis of the silver and gold leaves used shows that, in the process of hammering the metal over *kōzo* paper to obtain the leaves, fibers from the *kōzo* paper were transferred onto the metal leaves. This method was still common in the early Edo period when there was no technology to produce finer gold and silver powder. This indicates the age of the piece. [Fig.10]

Finally, in the third phase, the lines are reviewed, and the details are defined: the outlines, the stitches on the *nobori* 幟 textiles, the *mon* 紋 on the printed banners, the cords that tie the *maneki* 招き, the feathers of the *dashi* 出し, and the folds of the fabrics. Its brushstrokes are sometimes straight and homogeneous, drawn with a ruler, and sometimes clearly modulated. A greyish pigment has been used for this, as opposed to the usual black, probably because it is often necessary to work on black and to use a pigment that is visible. This second new set of lines is an attempt to give flexibility and dynamism to the flatness of the colored spots that were defined by the first outline. However, when the *mon* is placed on a canvas that appears to have volume,

it is not arranged according to this volume but is worked on as if it were a flat surface. [Fig.11]

The calligraphic work, which is of great elegance and quality, is executed directly on the *ganpi* paper, but on a burnished rectangular reserve, a task that used to be done with a boar's tusk. Thanks to this, the fibers are flattened, the brush can make smoother strokes and the ink does not run. Visually, there are lighter-colored rectangles on the leaves on which the calligraphy is inscribed.

1-4. Authorship

Regarding the authorship, there is no reference to workshop or author, nor is there any clue as to the date of execution. The only stamp on these two pieces is located on the first page of each volume. It is stamped in red ink on a small rectangle of thin *kōzo* paper that is then adhered to the *ganpi* paper. The stamp is composed of *tensho* 篆書 type characters. The ideograms have been identified as 武太. The name of the seal would have the following possible readings: Takedai / Taketa / Budai / Buta / Muta. However, so far, no record of these names has been found to be associated with the period and the painting.

It must be considered that this seal could correspond to the owner, or that it was stamped at the time the painting was made to identify the master of the workshop, but there is also a third option, that the seal was added later by those who inherited or acquired these works over time.

In the coloring of the drawings, the quality of execution and treatment of the colors in examples mentioned above, such as that of Matsudaira Nagato no kami (J-A/12, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87), are outstanding. The elegance, accuracy and confidence of the brushstroke are evident in the execution of the different textures of the objects such as the feathers and yak hair of the *dashi*, the golden strips of paper with their delicate movement and relief, the scrupulous detail of the different components of the helmet and the silver surface, or the careful lacing of the *horo*. Comparing the nature of the lines of Matsudaira Nagato's helmet with that of Honda Inaba 本多因幡 (J-A/11, 62), the security of the line is perceived in its organic quality, the control of the forms, and the good knowledge of the materials in the former, as opposed to a certain clumsiness and less detail in the latter, as can be seen in the lack of black lines in the red interior of the helmet. The same is true of the representation of the two *horo*. There are intermediate qualities between them. In addition, there is some carelessness on some leaves, such as some scrubbing, especially in the

red color, which is more difficult to consolidate. This is not a first-rate workshop, as it would be if all the elements had been executed with the precision exhibited in the Matsudaira Nagato no kami banners. The fact that the pieces lack superior pictorial quality, although there are some outstanding depictions, sits well with the austerity provided by the *kakishibu*-tinted covers. [6] [Fig.12]

Compared to the NDL example, neither the technique used, the style of rendering, the calligraphy, nor the pattern used bring them any closer. This is not the case with the screens in the Osaka Castle Museum and the Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Art Museum, with which the UCM copy shares similarities in form, color, and workmanship.

The continual forced movement of the great lords between their territories and Edo also increased the flow of ideas and goods, and along with this the need to establish pictorial workshops beyond the emperor's capital and the city of the shogun. One of the most popular and prominent schools among the warrior class circles was the Kanō school, which trained countless apprentices. All of them made use of copybooks, and once they had acquired their training, they settled in numerous towns, without being officially attached to the Kanō family workshops. The painted banners of the UCM seem to be taken from those screens on which the painters of the Kanō school had shown their expertise in depicting the great battles of the Sengoku period.

Nevertheless, due to the main attention given to the greater quality of the banners of Matsudaira Nagato no kami, it would be plausible that it may have been made at the official painting workshop of the Chōshū domain, in the style of the Kanō school, when the head of the Unkoku school was at that time Unkoku Tōeki (1591-1644). This is an atelier work in which the painting of different hands can be appreciated.

The reason for the commission may have been the celebration of his appointment as Nagato no kami in 1632.

According to Rosenfield, these were times of stylistic pluralism: "Mutual borrowing among schools of artists, though little noted in premodern texts, is a deeply rooted feature of Japanese art history. Artists in most media seem to have been free to work in a variety of styles provided they established clear identity as master of one of them. This last proviso was essential; most artists would locate themselves unmistakably in a well-defined stylistic tradition, but thereafter they experimented widely." [7]

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1-5. Dating

In a preliminary study of the collection to which the pieces under investigation belong, I maintained the conservative dating made by previous researchers, from the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. [8] However, these pictorial compilations attracted my interest enough to carry out an exclusive and detailed analysis of them.

Thus, after such a study, due to the characteristics of the materials used, the type of *kakishibu*-dyed paper used for the guards, and the gold and silver leaves used, which was less refined than those used later, we consider this work was produced in the early years of the Edo period.

From the iconographic point of view, the work carried out leaves no doubt that the most complete compilations in relation to our painted albums are the Osaka Castle Museum's *Shoshō shōki zu* screen (1637) and the NDL's edition of *Oumajirushi ezu* (1639/1644). They show greater proximity to the examples produced in the 1630s, and it may be that they all followed an earlier model that was hitherto unknown. This dating supports the similarity in technique, style, and development of the screens in the Osaka Castle Museum and the Shizuoka Municipal Serizawa Keisuke Art Museum, which also helps us to consider the workshop where these works were made as part of the Kanō school or style.

From another perspective, taking into account the historical data that appears in the pages of these volumes, and after a detailed review of the names of the positions by which the protagonists are referred to, we have noticed some evidence that leads us to launch our hypothesis:

a. There are three persons who do not appear in the NDL copy. They are Hideyoshi's vassals, two of whom died before the battle of Sekigahara (Tsutsui Junkei and Sassa Narimasa) and a third who ended up fighting on the Tokugawa side (Kyōgoku Takatsugu). However, they do appear in the BYUL volumes (1800). Given these presences, it should be considered an earlier piece than the NDL sample, because these persons are recognized by their association with Hideyoshi's heroic deeds, before the Tokugawa campaign of forgetting all those who did not adhere early to their leadership. In the other case, the iron Tokugawa policy began to loosen when the BYUL volume was produced. In other words, the UCM version still values the heroes who fought with Hideyoshi for the unification of the territories and before the Toyotomi clan was annihilated by the Tokugawa in 1615. So, it must have been made in the early 17th century.

b. In five cases, the name and title that appear in calligraphy next to the main banner in the UCM work do not coincide either with what is written on the NDL copy, the BYUL or the TNM. They are as follows:

UCM: Kuroda Kai（黒田甲斐）/ Kuroda Nagamasa 黒田長政 (1568-1623)
NDL/BYUL: Kuroda saemon no suke（黒田右衛門佐）/ Matsudaira Tadayuki 松平忠恕 (1602-1654)

UCM: Okabe naizen（岡部内膳）/ Okabe Nagamori 岡部長盛 (1568-1632).
NDL: Okabe Mino no kami（岡部美濃守）/ Okabe Nobukatsu 岡部宣勝 (1597-1668)

UCM: Kamei Dairiki（亀井大力）/ Kamei Koremasa 亀井茲政 (1617-1680)
NDL: Kamei Noto no kami（亀井能登守）/ Kamei Koremasa 亀井茲政 (1617-1680)

UCM /TNM: Asano Tajima no kami（浅野但馬守）/ Asano Nagaakira 浅野長晟 (1586-1632) [9]
NDL: Asano Aki no kami"（浅野安芸守）/ Matsudaira Mitsuakira 松平光晟 (1617-1693)

UCM /TNM: Hosokawa Etchū（細川越中）[10] / Hosokawa Tadaoki 細川忠興 (1563-1646)
NDL/BYUL: Hosokawa Higo no kami（細川肥後守）/ Hosokawa Tadatoshi 細川忠利 (1586-1641).

As can be seen, those characters referred to in the UCM issue, except in the case of Kamei Dairiki, belong to an earlier generation. [Fig. 13]

The reference to Kamei Koremasa as Kamei Dairiki is telling. His father, Kamei Masanori 亀井政矩 (1590-1619) died when he was only three years old. His mother Kōmyōin petitioned the Tokugawa shogun Hidetada to allow him to inherit, even though he had not yet turned fifteen. Since she was the daughter of Matsudaira Yasushige 松平康重 and by lineage they were linked to the Tokugawa house, the shogun allowed it. The fact that he is referred to as Dairiki, a name used during his childhood, seems to indicate that it was made during the period between his father's death in 1619 and his fifteenth birthday in 1631, at which time he could not yet have been given a prominent

position as mentioned in the NDL, Noto no kami.

c. The UCM copy (Matsudaira Nagato no kami 松平長門守 / Mōri Hidenari 毛利秀就, J-A/12, 82) is the only one that follows the model of the Mōri 毛利 banner preserved in the Mōri Museum in Hōfu, dated to the 16th century. Both present the banner design with the horizontal line, the three circles, and the invocation to Hachiman [11], written on the ōumajirushi. This design was used from about 1555 to 1615. [12] [Fig.14] The NDL, TNM, and BYUL specimens follow the pattern of three stripes, white in the center and red at the ends. This characteristic could indicate greater chronological proximity in the case of the UCM issue to the pattern used by the main line of descent in the 16th century.

d. Finally, it should be considered that the title of Nagato no kami associated with Mōri Hidenari was held by Kuki Moritaka 九鬼嘉隆 (1573-1632) from 1597 until his death before the end of 1632.

Given the above, the assessment leads us to consider that the UCM´s work was produced before the appointment of Kamei Dairiki as Noto no kami, after his fifteenth birthday in 1631, and the designation of Mōri Hidenari as Nagato no kami after the death of Kuki Moritaka in 1632.

1-6. Final considerations

The various works discussed throughout the text reveal the interest of an era in compiling the ensembles of banners and emblems of the various houses from different perspectives, and that this interest remained alive until the end of the Edo period. Behind these works lie multiple desires: homage, the generation of prestige, recognition, usefulness, and also the survival of the past. It is not in vain that the NDL reprint of Oumajirushi ezu (1656) alludes to a desire not to forget the danger of fratricidal struggles.

To a large extent, the newly formed shogunal court, which was being constituted thanks to the payment of loyalty for titles, territories, and marriages, required social recognition. This was difficult to achieve using exclusively pictorial techniques, and for this reason, the first compilations of banners and flags were followed by a good number of printed publications that allowed wider dissemination. After the study of the covers of these two Oumajirushi ezu painted volumes, it can be affirmed that the UCM model of Oumajirushi ezu was painted earlier than those cataloged up to this point. The kakishibu process used to ink

their cover, the pictorial techniques used and the artistic style characteristic of the Kanō school date them to the early 17th century. This is supported by historical details related to the owners of the banners, being the appellation of the minority of Kamei Koremasa and the appointment of Mōri Hidenari as Nagato no kami. Therefore, these volumes must have been produced between 1631 and 1632. [Fig.15]

The fact that Oda, Hideyoshi, and Hidetsugu are mentioned in close proximity suggests that the patron must have been someone close to them and still valued them as heroes. The patron must have been someone who changed to the Tokugawa's side, which may explain why Hideyori is not mentioned. This was the case with Mōri Hidenari. Furthermore, the special prominence in the pictorial quality of his banners against the others, likely means that he was probably the patron of the commission to celebrate his new title, Nagato no kami. A recognition that was closely related to his marriage to Princess Tosa, Tokugawa Hidetada's adopted daughter.

Mōri Hidenari, Lord of the Chōshū Domain, based at Hagi Castle, presumably commissioned these illuminated albums when Unkoku Tōeki (1591-1644) was the official painter of the Mōri house and the head of Unkoku school of painting.

The two UCM volumes of Oumajirushi ezu could be considered prototypes of banner compilations produced later, whether by color or monochrome printing or painted.

The donation of these volumes, probably made by Cebrián[13] more than a century ago, constitutes a true legacy, both historical and documentary, and also artistic. The colors and designs of the different elements depicted are surprising for their combination of stylization, abstraction and even their organic feature. These characteristics, together with the incredible variety of themes used, their symbolism and their link to the natural world make them ideal works of reference and inspiration in the environment of the Library of the Faculty of Fine Arts of The Complutense University of Madrid.

[Notes]
1) Until the regulations of the Special School of Painting, Sculpture and Engraving were drawn up in 1922, there was no mention of the library. It had functioned previously, but only for teachers. In 1923 Alfonso XIII inaugurated it for the entire institutional community, which is why there was a great deal of activity around the 1920s to equip it properly.
2) I would like to thank Prof. Yayoi Kawamura,

3) "*Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図 J-A/11 (1631-1632)," Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Biblioteca Complutense. Proyecto de Digitalización Dioscórides, accessed September 17, 2021,
http://dioscorides.ucm.es/proyecto_digitalizacion/index.php?5327862577

"*Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図 J-A/12 (1631-1632)," Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Biblioteca Complutense. Proyecto de Digitalización Dioscórides, accessed September 17, 2021,
http://dioscorides.ucm.es/proyecto_digitalizacion/index.php?5327862586 It is noted in the documents that can be consulted online, the first page is at the bottom.

4) More information on the legacy in Pilar Cabañas and Yayoi Kawamura, "Un libro ilustrado a mano: Kifune no honji de la Biblioteca Complutense. Una obra japonesa de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII", *Revista Goya*, no. 360 (July-September, 2017): 202.

5) A piece of equipment worn by messenger warriors, considered an elite corps, known as *horoshū* (母衣衆). It was used from the Kamakura period (1185-1333) and served to protect against enemy arrows while riding. It consists of a framework of bamboo or whalebone strips, which creates a structure similar to a large balloon and which was attached to the warrior's back by means of a pole. The *horo* must be wide enough to conceal it. The frame is then covered with a large taut cloth which, by color and emblems, identifies the wearer with his clan. It looks like a large bundle and is usually about 180 cm long. The *horo* is often referred to in repertoires as *tsukaiban* (使い番).

6) I thank Mr. Sasaki Takahiro, Chair and Professor at the Keio Institute of Oriental Classics, for his opinion on this matter.

7) John M. Rosenfield, "Japanese Studio Practice: The Tosa Family and the Imperial Painting Office in the Seventeenth Century", in *Studies in the History of Art*, Vol. 38, *Symposium Papers XXII: The Artist's Workshop* (National Gallery of Art, 1993), 78-102, 84.

8) Pilar Cabañas, "Libros y estampas japonesas para la formación de futuros artistas. La colección de la Biblioteca de la Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid," in *Research on the materials for Japanology in overseas collection* 在外日本学関係資料の調査研究,ed. Tsuji Eiko (Tokyo: Kyuko Shoin, 2021), 110-12 (Sp.) and 169-70 (Jap.).

9) Asano Nagaakira served in Tajima. Later, in 1619, he was transferred to Aki, and is considered the founder of the house of Aki. His second son Asano Mitsuakira/Matsudaira Mitsuakira succeeded him as Aki no kami.

10) He is also mentioned under this title in *Shoshō kisei zu* 諸将旗旌図 vol. 2 (1637), Tokyo National Museum Webarchives, 19.

11) Hachiman was regarded by Shinto as the *kami* of war, but in a syncretic process with Buddhism he became the protector of the devotees of the Lotus Sutra.

12) Stephen Turnbull, *Samurai Armies 1550-1615*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1979), 35.

13) Cabañas, "Libros y estampas japonesas…", 101-108 (Sp.) and 159-166 (Jap.).

Fig. 1
Matsudaira Nagato no kami´s banners. *Ōumajirushi ezu,* ca. 1637. Pintura polícroma sobre papel, J-A/12 UCM.

Fig. 2.1
Comparison of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's banners of the works:
a. *Oumajirushi ezu* (1632) BND;
b. *Oumajirushi ezu* (1656) CUL;
c. *Hata umajirushi ezu* (1800) BYUL..

Fig. 2.2
Toyotomi Hideyoshi´s banners. J-A/12 BBAA.
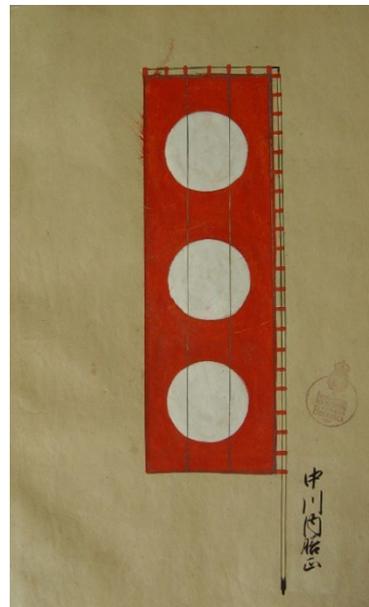
Fig. 3
Blue/purple seal used between 1857-1940 by the Library of the Special School of Painting and Engraving. Page dedicated to Nakagawa naizen no shō. *Oumajirushi ezu*, J-A/12, UCM.

Color and design on the battlefield: *Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図(1619-1631) from The Complutense University of Madrid. —New chronological reference for this type of compilations

9
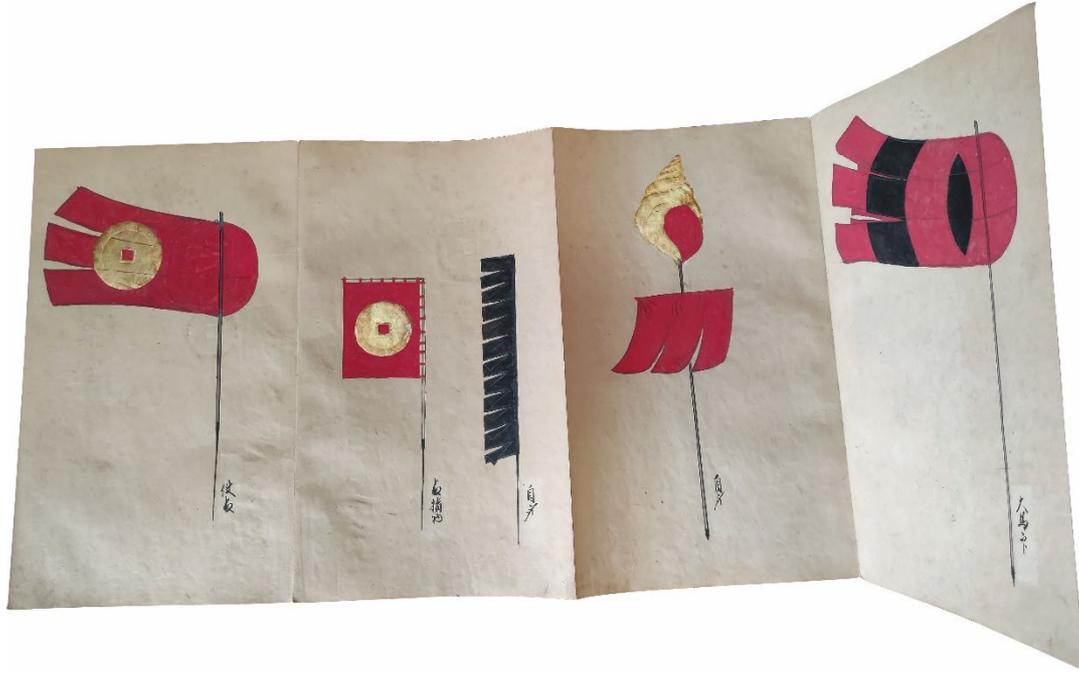
Fig. 4
Orihon format. Honda Ise (no kami) banners. *Oumajirushi ezu*, J-A/11 UCM.

Fig. 5
Cover with the characteristic colour of khaki tannin dyeing, popular during the Muromachi period and the first half of the 17th century. It has a gold leaf stain. *Oumajirushi ezu*, UCM.
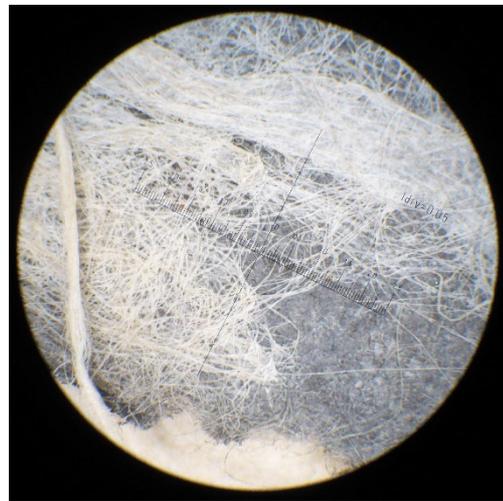
Fig. 6
Detail of *tengushō* paper adhered to the inner side of the cover paper. Vol. J-A/11 UCM.
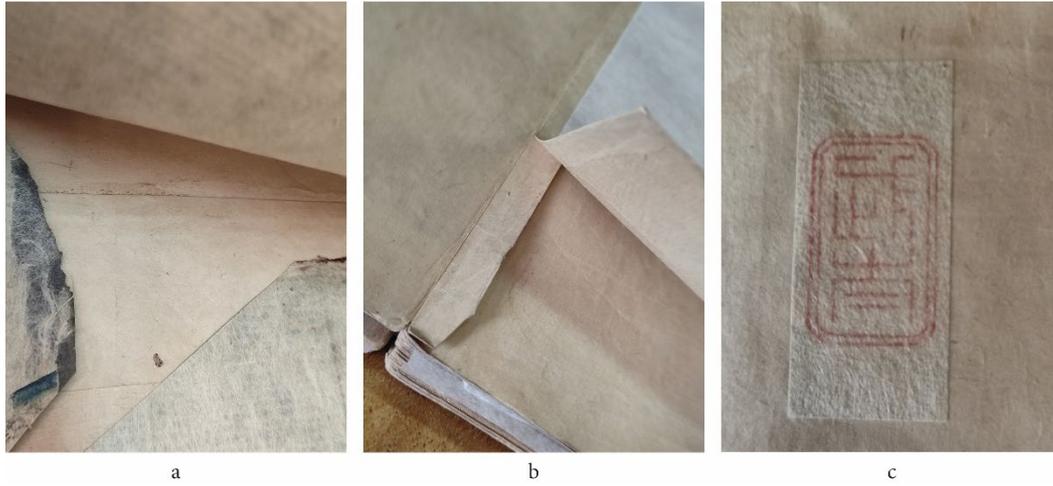
Fig. 7
a. Cover paper and card stock;
b. Joints of sheets of paper;
c. Seal stamped on a fragment of paper adhered on the first page of each volume.
   Vol. J-A/11 UCM.
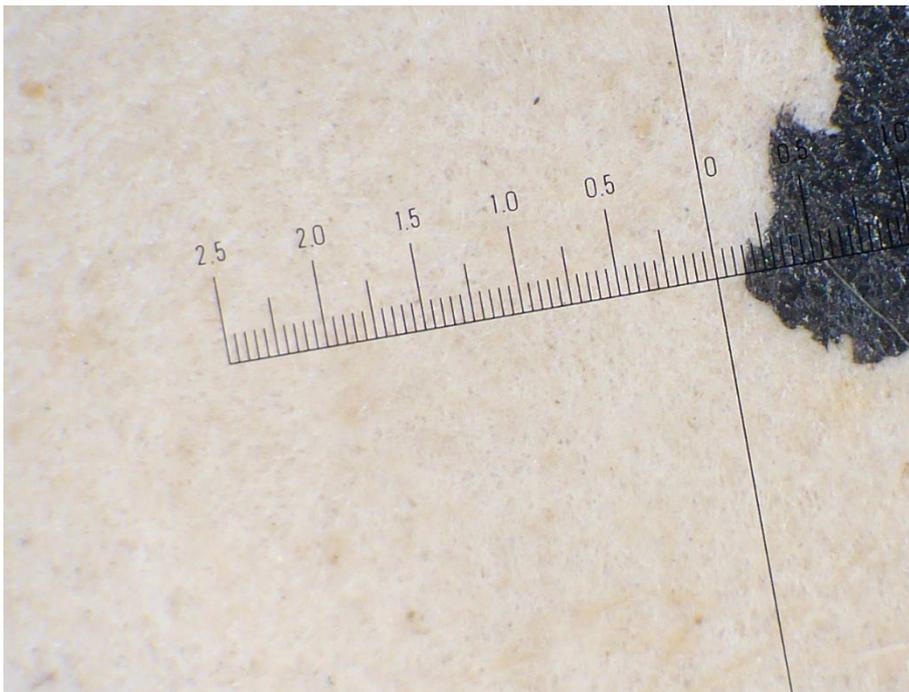
Fig. 8
Detail of the *hōshogami* paper used for the paintings. Vol. J-A/11 UCM.
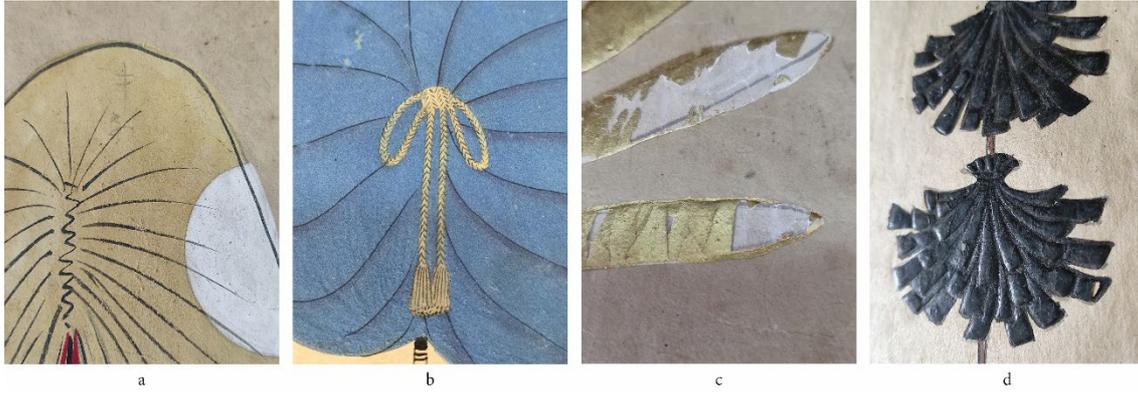
Fig. 9
a. Graphic indications of the colour to be used. *Horo* belonging to Mōri Kai, det. J-A/11;
b. Thoroughness of work and quality of pigment. *Horo* belonging to MatsudairaNagato no kami, det. J-A/12;
c. Appreciation of drawing technique and application of *gōfun* and golden leaf. *Ban sashimono* belonging to Kanamori Izumo, det. J-A/12;
d. Application of relief with black colour. *Ōumajirushi* belonging to Mizunoya Ise, det. JA/11. UCM..
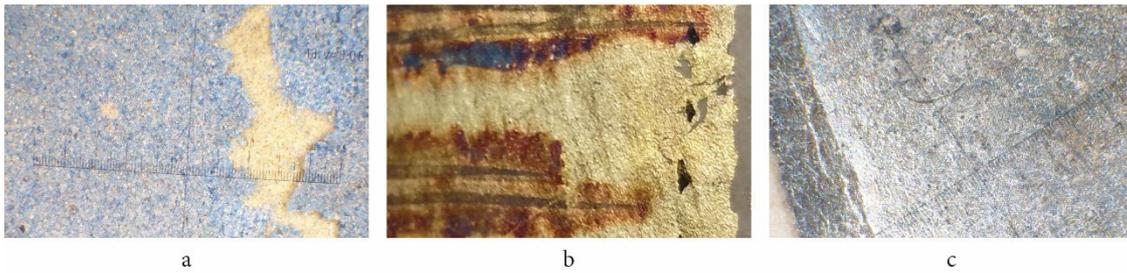
Fig.10
a. Detail of lapislazuli pigment. J-A/12 UCM;
b. Detail of applied gold leaf. J-A/11 UCM;
c. Detail of applied silver leaf. J-A/12 UCM.
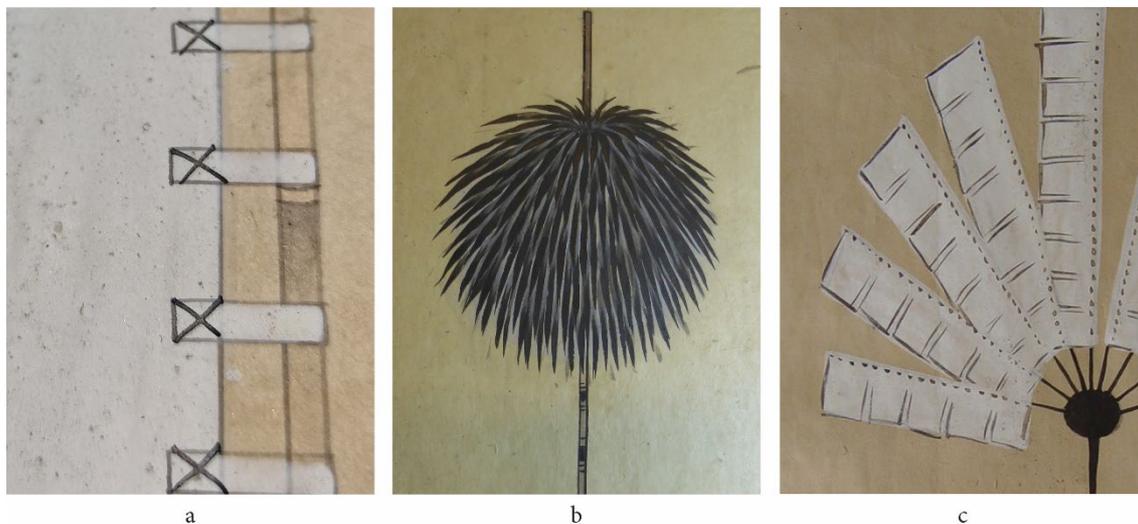
Fig. 11
Details of the different character and style of the brushstroke. J-A/12 UCM.

Fig. 12
a. Matsudaira Nagato´s kabuto, J-A/12;
b. Honda Inaba´s kabuto, J-A/11;
c. Ota no Izumo´s kabuto, J-A/11.
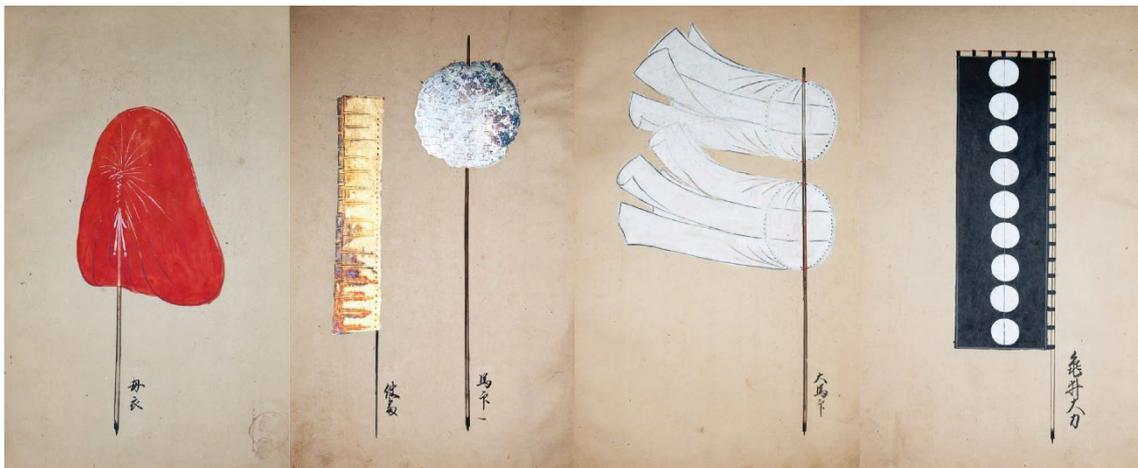
Fig. 13
Kamei Dairiki´s banners, J-A/11 UCM.

Fig. 14
Mōri banner with the invocation to Hachiman, J-A/12 UCM.

Color and design on the battlefield: *Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図(1619-1631) from The Complutense University of Madrid.──New chronological reference for this type of compilations

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Fig. 15
Teppōtai banner for Asano Tajima army, J-A/12 UCM.

Fig. 16
a. *Ōumajirushi* composed of two feather *dashi*, belonging to Kaga no Chūnagon;
b. *Ōumajirushi* type *nobori*, Kuroda Kai (J-A/11) /
c. *Koumajirushi* with three clusters of paulownia leaves, Ikeda Izumo no kami;
d. *Koumajirushi* consisting of feathered mast with a yak hair pendant and double-flagged ban
   *sashimono* with the designed mon of a rice bowl crossed by two lines, Nabeshima Shinano;
e. *Ban sashimono* of seven golden rays emerging from a center decorated with black feathers worn
   by the soldiers of Kanamori Izumo;
f. *Ōumajirushi* type *shihō* of Arima Genba;
g. *Ōumajirushi* type *shihan* of Matsudaira Nagato;
h. *Fukinuki* of Toyotomi Hidetsugu with the leaf of the *Sagittaria sagittifolia leucopetala* plant in
   his *mon*, chosen because its arrow shape;
i. *Nobori* with *maneki* belonging to Toyotomi Hidetsugu;
j. *Horo* belonging to Asano Tajima, very striking because of its golden dots on a black background;
k. Internal structure of a *horo*. Drawing by Blanca López; l. Helmet of Arima Genba (J-A/12
BB.AA.)

Table 1 Generic names calligraphies from both volumes.

Calligraphy of terms associated with the banners	Standard script	Reading
	大馬印	*ōumajirushi*
	馬印	*umajirushi*
	大使番指物	*ooban ban sashimono*
	使番	*tsukaiban*
	使番先	*tsukaibanshū*
	鉄砲隊	*teppōtai*
	番指物	*ban sashimono*
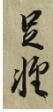
Calligraphy of terms associated with the banners	Standard script	Reading
	物隊	*monotai*
	先手番指物	*sakite ban sashimono*
	手近番指物	*tejika ban sashimono*
	足軽	*ashigaru*
	母衣	*horo*
	母衣先	*horoshū*
	自身	*jishin*

Color and design on the battlefield: *Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図(1619-1631) from The Complutense University of Madrid.—New chronological reference for this type of compilations
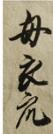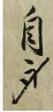
Table 2 Index proposal for *Oumajirushi ezu,* vol. J-A/11 UCM.

	Family name and title	Historical figure	Pages
1	Toda Samon 戸田左門	Toda Kazuaki 戸田一西 (1541-1602)	1, 2, 3, 4
2	Mōri Kai (no kami) 毛利甲斐	Mōri Hidemoto 毛利秀元 (1579-1650)	5, 6, 7, 8, 9
3	Mizunoya Ise (no kami) 水谷伊勢	Mizunoya Katsutoshi 水谷勝俊 (1542-1606) or his son Mizunoya Katsutaka水谷勝隆 (1597-1664)	10, 11, 12
4	Honda Shimōsa (no kami) 本田下総	Honda Toshitsugu 本多俊次 (1595-1668)	13, 14, 15
5	Ota no Izumo (no kami) 織田出雲	Oda Takanaga 織田高長 (1590-1674)	16, 17, 18, 19, 20
6	Sō no Tsushima (no kami) 宗対馬	Sō Yoshitoshi 宗義智 (1568-1615) or his son Sō Yoshinari 宗義成 (1604-1657)	21, 22
7	Honda Ise (no kami) 本多伊勢	Honda Tadatoshi 本多思紀 (1600-1645)	23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28
8	Maeda Yamato (no kami) 前田大和	Maeda Toshikata 前田利聲 (1594-1637)	29, 30, 31
9	Hori no Mimasaka (no kami) 堀美作	Hori Chikayoshi 堀親良 (1580-1637)	32, 33
10	Kuroda Kai 黒田甲斐	Kuroda Nagamasa 黒田長政 (1568-1623)	34, 35, 36
11	Torii Sakyō 鳥居左京	Torii Tadamasa 鳥居忠政 (1566-1628) or his son Torii Tadatsune 鳥居忠恒 (1604-1636)	37, 38, 39, 40
12	Matsudaira Yamato (no kami) 松平大和	Matsudaira Naomoto 松平直基 (1604-1648)	41, 42, 43
13	Okabe naizen 岡部内膳	Okabe Nagamori 岡部長盛 (1568-1632)	44, 45, 46
14	Kamei Dairiki 亀井大力	Kamei Koremasa 亀井玆政 (1617-1680)	47, 48, 49, 50
15	Odawara Bizen (no kami) 太田原備前	Ōtawara Harukiyo 大田原晴清 (1567-1631)	51, 52, 53, 54
16	Inoue Kawachi (no kami) 井上河内	Inoue Masatoshi 井上正利(1606-1675)	55, 56
17	Akita Kawachi (no kami) 秋田.河内	Akita Toshisue 秋田俊季 (1598-1649)	57, 58
18	Honda Inaba (no kami) 本多因幡	Honda Toshimasa 本多俊政 (¿-1608) or his son Honda Masatake本多政武 (1598-1637)	59, 60, 61, 62
19	Ogasawara Saemon (no suke) 小笠原右衛門	Ogasawara Nobuyuki 小笠原信之(1570-1614) or his son Ogasawara Masanobu 小笠原政信 (1607-1640)	63, 64
20	Matsushita Iwami (no kami) 松下石見	Matsushita Shigetsuna 松下重綱 (1579-1627) or his son Matsushita Nagatsuna 松下長綱 (1610-1658)	65, 66
21	Shibata Katsuie 柴田修理	Shibata Katsuie 柴田勝家 (1522-1583)	67
22	Takikawa Sakon 滝川左近	Takigawa Kazumasu 滝川一益 (1525-1586)	68 right
23	Ota no Sanshichi 織田三七	Oda Nobutaka 織田信孝 (1558-1583)	68 left
24	Kawashiri Hizen (no kami) 川尻肥前	Kawajiri Hidetaka 河尻秀隆 (1527-1582) or his son Kawajiri Hidenaga 河尻秀長 (¿-1600)	69 right
25	Akechi Hyuga (no kami) 明知日向	Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528-1582)	69 left
26	Tsutsui Junkei 筒井順慶	Tsutsui Junkei 筒井順慶 (1549-1584)	70 right
27	Sassa Kuranosuke 佐々内蔵助	Sassa Narimasa 佐々成政 (1536-1588)	70 left

When the *kami* position is in brackets it means that the term has been omitted.

Index proposal J-A/11

Table 3 Index proposal for *Oumajirushi ezu,* vol. J-A/12 UCM.

		Family name and title	Historical figure	Pages
Index proposal J-A/12	1	Taikō 太閤	Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
	2	Hidetsugu 秀次	Toyotomi Hidetsugu 豊臣秀次 (1568-1595)	6, 7, 8, 9
	3	Nobunaga 信長	Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582)	10, 11, 12, 13
	4	Kaga no Chūnagon 加賀中納言	Maeda Toshitsune 前田 利常 (1593-1658)	14, 15, 16, 17, 18
	5	Matsudaira Shintarō 松平新太郎	Matsudaira Mitsumasa 松平光政 (1609-1682)	19, 20, 21, 22, 23
	6	Bizen no Saishō 備前宰相	Ukita Hideie 宇喜多秀家 (1572-1655)	24, 25 ,26, 27
	7	Matsudaira Iwami no kami 松平石見守	Matsudaira Yasuyasu 松平康安 (1555-623) or Matsudaira Teruzumi 松平輝澄 (1604-1662)	28, 29
	8	Matsudaira Ukyō 松平右京	Matsudaira Masatsuna 松平正綱 (1576-1648)	30, 31
	9	Matsudaira Satsuma no kami 松平薩摩守	Matsudaira Iehisa 松平家久 (1576-1638)	32, 33
	10	Asano Tajima no kami 浅野但馬守	Matsudaira Mitsuakira 松平光晟 (1617-1693)	34, 35, 36, 37, 38
	11	Katō Higo no kami 加藤肥後守	Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 （1562-1611)	39, 40
	12	Arima Genba 有馬玄番	Arima Toyōji 有馬豊氏 (1569-1642)	41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46
	13	Arima hyōbushō 有馬兵部省	Arima Noriyori 有馬則頼 (1533-1602) or his grandson Arima Tadayori 有馬忠頼 (1603-1655)	47, 48
	14	Kanamori Izumo (no kami) 金森出雲	Kanamori Yoshishige 金森可重 (1558-1615) or his son Kanamori Shigeyori 金森重頼 (1594-1650)	49, 50, 51
	15	Hosokawa Etchū 細川.越中	Hosokawa Tadaoki 細川忠興 (1563-1646)	52, 53, 54
	16	Katō sama no suke 加藤左馬佐	Katō Yoshiaki 加藤嘉明 (1563-1631)	55, 56, 57
	17	Matsudaira emon no suke 松平右衛門佐	Matsudaira Tadayuki 松平忠恕 (1602-1654)	58, 59, 60, 61, 62
	18	Nabeshima Shinano (no kami) 鍋島.信濃守	Nabeshima Katsushige 鍋島勝茂 (1580-1657)	63, 64, 65, 66, 67
	19	Kyōgoku Wakasa (no kami) 京極若狭	Kyōgoku Takatsugu 京極高次 (1560-1609)	68, 69
	20	Nakagawa naizen no shō 中川内膳正	Nakagawa Hisamori 中川久盛 (1594-1653)	70, 71, 72
	21	Ikeda Izumo no kami 池田出雲守	Ikeda Nagatsune 池田長常(1609-1641)	73, 74, 75
	22	Kyōgoku Tango no kami 京極丹後守	Kyōgoku Takatomo 京極高知(1572-1622) or his son Kyōgoku Takahiro 京極高広(1599-1677)	76, 77
	23	Yamazaki Kai (no kami) 山崎甲斐	Yamazaki Ieharu 山崎家治 (1594-1648)	78, 79, 80, 81
	24	Matsudaira Nagato no kami 松平長門守	Mōri Hidenari 毛利秀就 (1595-1651)	82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87

When the *kami* position is in brackets it means that the term has been omitted.

Color and design on the battlefield: *Oumajirushi ezu* 御馬印繪図(1619-1631) from The Complutense University of Madrid. —New chronological reference for this type of compilations

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