历史上写有汉字的军旗：日本的神名旗帜

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摘要

日本和中国历史上有军旗主要用汉字书写。中世纪日本的军旗上写有神名的汉字，例如八幡大菩萨，比写有家族徽章的武士旗帜更宽，并通过宗教仪式赋予神的力量。写有神名的幕府将军或天皇的旗帜被称为御旗，具有政治作用使武士的战斗正当化。

根据 1461 年多贺高忠所著的《军事记录》，最高指挥官和指挥官会举起旗帜，旗帜上写着神的名字，下方是他的家族徽章。随着幕府将军和天皇的政府权力在 15 和 16 世纪逐渐减弱，武士领主增强了他们的权力并举起了旗帜，在家族徽章上方写有他们所信仰的神灵的名字。

[本文荣获本次大会最佳演讲奖。]

Historical Military Flags with Chinese Characters: Japanese Banners with the Name of a Deity

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Abstract

Historically both Japan and China had military flags with Chinese characters (*kanji* in Japanese) written on them. Medieval Japanese military banners with the *kanji* name of a deity, such as Great Bodhisattva Hachiman (八幡大菩薩), gained the power of the deity by religious ritual. They were twice as wide as the 13th century samurai banners with the family crest (*mon*). That deity-name-written banner of the shogun or the emperor was called a *mihata* and had a political role to justify battle with samurai. According to *The Military Note*, 《多賀高忠軍陣聞書》, written by Takatada Taga in 1461, the supreme commander and commanding officer raised his banner with the name of the deity written above his family crest. As the governmental power of both shogun and emperor gradually weakened in the 15th and 16th centuries, regional samurai lords strengthened their power and raised banners with the name of the deity they believed in written above their family crest.

[This article received the award for best presentation at the congress.]

一 、介绍：日本和中国的汉字旗帜

日本和中国历史上除了有带图案的军旗外，还有以汉字为主的军旗。这是被称为汉字文化区的东亚所特有的。它们原本是象形文字，每个字都有一定的含义。

虽然历史上中国和日本都悬挂过带有汉字的旗帜，但中日两国的旗帜内容和作用却有所不同。日本的历史旗帜由加藤（1977）、苅安（2019）和作者（2007）介绍过。作为下一步研究，我们需要考虑这些历史旗帜所代表的含义和作用。

参照中国古代的军旗，皇家军旗上写有“帅”的帅旗（图1）和写有“令”的令旗（图2）是由政府统一准备，实际用来指挥军队的旗帜。[1] 这些旗帜在近代以前的军事书籍和一些图画中都有出现。此外，还有写有汉字的起义军旗帜，如太平天国起义时所举起的旗帜。

在日本，历史上的汉字军旗或作为文化遗产流传下来，或出现在历史文献和图画中。它们大致可分为两种：一种是写有神名的旗帜，如八幡大菩萨（图3）；另一种是写有武士信念的旗帜（见图4）。

写有汉字的旗帜在中世纪的日本起到了什么作用？在我看

1. Introduction: Flags in Japan and China with Chinese Characters

In Japan and China, many military flags historically bore Chinese characters in addition to patterns. This was unique to East Asia, the cultural area of Chinese characters. Chinese characters are called *kanji* in Japanese and *Hanzi* in Chinese; they were originally hieroglyphics, and each character has a meaning.

Although flags with Chinese characters were flown in both countries, their content and roles differed between Japan and China. Japanese historical flags have been explored by Kato (1977), Kariyasu (2019), and the author (2007). As the next research step, we need to consider the meanings and roles of what each of these historical flags represents.

图 1. 帅旗。

Figure 1. *Shuaiqi* (帅旗).

图 2. 令旗 。

Figure 2. *Lingqi* (令旗).

Among Chinese Imperial army flags with *Hanzi,* the commander's flag with *Hanzi* 帥 (帅) (*shuai*) (fig. 1) and signal flag with *Hanzi* 令 (*ling*) (fig. 2) were prepared uniformly by the government and used in practice to command troops.[1] These flags are seen in pre-modern military books and some pictures such as figs. 1 and 2. In addition, rebel flags bore *Hanzi* phrases, for instance flags raised in the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64).

In Japan, military flags with *kanji* have been passed down as cultural heritage or seen in historical documents or images. They can be roughly classified into two types—one is a flag with the name of a deity, such as Great Bodhisattva Hachiman (八幡大菩薩) (fig. 3), the other is a samurai's flag with his credo written on it (see fig. 4).

What roles did flags with *kanji* written on them play in medieval Japan? From my

来，这些带有汉字的历史军旗具有宗教作用，还有政治作用，而不是像中国写有汉字的军旗具有实用性。此外，我们还需要考虑布的宽度。

在本报告中，我将重点介绍写有神名的汉字的中世纪日本军旗，介绍可靠资料中出现的每一种，并阐明旗帜和旗上的汉字的含义和作用。

图 3. 在旗帜中心用汉字书写八幡大菩萨（细节）。

Figure 3. Great Bodhisattva Hachiman in *kanji* in the center of a banner (detail).

point of view, these historical military flags with *kanji* had religious and even political roles, rather than practical roles as had Chinese military flags with *Hanzi.* Moreover, we need to consider the width of the cloth of the historical Japanese flags.

This article focuses on medieval Japanese military flags with the name of the deity written in *kanji*, introduces each of them as seen in reliable sources, and clarifies the meanings and roles of the flags and the *kanji* on them. We call these historical Japanese flags "banners", due to their shape.

二 、幕府将军与八幡大菩萨

据《吾妻镜》记载，第一个举起八幡大菩萨旗的幕府将军是源赖朝。源赖朝的高祖父源义家是东日本的武士领袖，信奉战神八幡大菩萨，因此被称为八幡太郎义家。他们就是源氏，是清和天皇的后裔。12世纪末，源赖朝在镰仓建立了第一个军政府镰仓幕府，与京都的天皇政权分开。

1189 年，赖朝出兵讨伐日本东北部最强大的家族藤原泰衡。当时赖朝悬挂两种旗帜：一种是他自己的白色旗帜，另一种是两块并排缝制的丝绸布上印有汉字伊势大神宫、汉字八幡大菩萨和两只鸽子的旗帜。[2] 人们相信鸽子是战神八幡大菩萨的信使（图4）。

2. Shogun and Great Bodhisattva Hachiman (八幡大菩薩)

The first shogun who raised the banner with the name of Great Bodhisattva Hachiman in *kanji* was Minamoto no Yoritomo (源頼朝), according to *Azumakagami* 《吾妻鏡》. Yoritomo's great-great-grandfather, Minamoto no Yoshiie (源義家), became a leader of samurai in eastern Japan and worshipped the war god Great Bodhisattva Hachiman, so he was called Hachiman Taro Yoshiie (八幡太郎義家). The Minamoto clan called Genji (源氏) were descendants of emperor Seiwa (清和). At the end of the 12th century, Yoritomo established the first military government separate from the emperor's government in Kyoto, the Kamakura Shogunate in Kamakura.

In 1189 Yoritomo went to war to conquer Fujiwara no Yasuhira (藤原泰衡), the most powerful clan in northeastern Japan. At that time Yoritomo flew two kinds of banners: One was his own white banner, the other was the banner with *kanji* 伊勢大神宮 (Ise Grand

八幡神是战神，是应神天皇的神化。菩萨是佛与人之间的中间存在。8 世纪，日本神道和佛教混合，一些神道神灵获得了佛教的称号。781年，八幡神受封为菩萨，被尊为八幡大菩萨。[3]

伊势神宫是日本皇室管理的神社，供奉天照大神，天照大神是太阳女神，也是日本的最高神，被认为是天皇的祖先。像天照大神这种神一般没有具体的形象，也不会向人们现身。因此，他们不是以图画来表现，而是以汉字在旗帜上表现。

赖朝之所以举起写有神社和战神名字的旗帜，原因之一可能是为了通过展示与天皇有关的神社名称，来证明自己的征服是正当的。赖朝的这面写有神社和神名的旗帜，通过镰仓鹤冈八幡宫的祭司的祈祷和咒语，被赋予了神的力量。

13世纪带有家徽的武士旗帜出现，这种旗帜是由一块布制成的，如蒙古入侵画卷《蒙古袭来绘词》所示（图5）。相比之下，后来写有八幡大菩萨名

图 4. 八幡大菩萨的“八”汉字写成两只鸽子的形状。

Figure 4. “八” (*hachi*) of Great Bodhisattva Hachiman in *kanji* is in the shape of two pigeons.

Shrine), *kanji* 八幡大菩薩 (Great Bodhisattva Hachiman), and a two-pigeon figure, on two pieces of silk cloth sewn side by side.[2] The pigeon was believed to be messenger of the war god Great Bodhisattva Hachiman (fig. 4).

Bodhisattva is a being intermediate between Buddha and humans. In the 8th century Buddhism and Japanese Shinto were mixed in Japan, and some Shinto gods received Buddhist titles. Hachiman was the deification of emperor Ohjin (応神) and one of Shinto gods. In 781, he received the title of *bodhisattva* and was named Great Bodhisattva Hachiman.[3]

The Ise Grand Shrine had been managed by the imperial family, and deifies the Great Goddess Amaterasu (天照大神), the sun goddess. She was the supreme Shinto god in Japan and believed to be the ancestor of the emperor. Such Shinto gods generally do not have a specific figure, and never show themselves to people. Therefore, they were represented on banners not in pictures but in *kanji*.

图 5. 13 世纪带有家族徽章的旗帜和旗手。

Figure 5. Banner with the family crest held by a banner bearer in the 13th century.

One of the reasons why Yoritomo raised that banner with the names of both the shrine and the war god was probably to justify his conquest by showing names linked with the emperor. Yoritomo's banner gained the power of the deity by prayers and incantations of priests at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu Shrine in Kamakura.

In the 13th century, a samurai's own banner with his family crest (*mon*) appeared, made of one piece of cloth, as seen in the painting scroll of the Mongolian Invasion 《蒙古襲来絵詞》(fig. 5).

In comparison, the shogun's banner, bearing the name of Great Bodhisattva Hachiman, which was later called *Buke-no-mihata* (武家

图 6. 武家御旗 。

Figure 6. *Buke-no-mihata*.

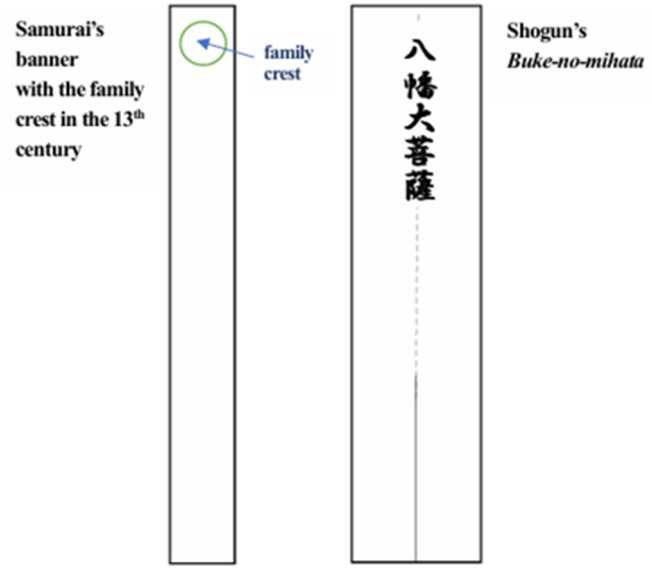

图 7. 武士旗帜和将军的武家御旗。

Figure 7. Samurai's banner and Shogun's *Buke-no-mihata*.

字的将军旗帜被称为“武家御旗”（“武家”的意思是将军)（图6），它是由两块布制成的（图7）。[4]

御旗) (*buke* means shogun) (fig. 6), was made of two pieces of cloth (fig. 7).[4]

三 、天皇与锦御旗

历史上天皇的旗帜名为锦御旗。据《太平记》记载，1331年后醍醐天皇在笠置山城，与镰仓幕府为敌，悬挂了这面旗帜。锦是丝绸锦缎。锦御旗是锦缎上印有太阳和月亮的旗帜，象征天皇。

1333年，在后醍醐的命令下，源氏家族的新田义贞和足利尊氏灭亡了镰仓幕府，后醍醐也重登王位。然而，后醍醐天皇冷遇的尊氏，却奋起反抗后醍醐天皇。1336年，尊氏被义贞打败后，为了证明自己的叛乱是正当的，尊氏从被后醍醐天皇篡位的光严天皇手中得到了锦御旗。[5] 尊氏顺利回到京都，让光严的弟弟光明

3. The Emperor and *Nishiki-no-mihata* (錦御旗)

The emperor's banner was called the *Nishiki-no-mihata* (錦御旗). It was flown in 1331 by the former emperor Go-Daigo (後醍醐) at Kasagiyama Castle, where he barricaded himself against the Kamakura Shogunate, according to *Taiheiki* 《太平記》. *Nishiki* means high-class silk brocade. The *Nishiki-no-mihata* bore a sun and a moon on the *nishiki* brocade and symbolized just the emperor.

In 1333, at the order of Go-Daigo, Yoshisada Nitta (新田義貞) and Takauji Ashikaga (足利尊氏), of the Genji clan, destroyed the Kamakura Shogunate as Go-Daigo returned to the throne. However, Takauji, treated coldly by Go-Daigo's new government, rose against Go-Daigo. In 1336, after Takauji was defeated by Yoshisada, in order to justify his rebellion, Takauji obtained the *Nishiki-no-mihata* from the former emperor Kogon (光厳), who had lost the throne

继承王位。尊氏在京都建立了室町幕府，并被光明天皇任命为将军。

据《梅松论》记载，尊氏所受的锦旗上刻有太阳和天照大神和八幡大菩萨的金色汉字名。其实，细川家流传着一面锦旗，上面刻有与锦御旗相同的图案，现在属于熊本大学永青文库研究中心（图 8）。据说这面旗帜是在14世纪末左右的。[6]

图 8. 锦御旗 。

Figure 8. *Nishiki-no-mihata*.

四 、授予写有神名的御旗

“御旗”是旗的敬语，意为天皇的旗帜或将军的旗帜。根据当时的一些记载，在15 世纪，御旗是授予前去击退叛军的最高指挥官的；天皇的锦御旗只授予高级大将，而将军的武家御旗通常授予按照将军的命令或许可离开的大将。[7]

这些御旗在出征前通过圣护院僧侣的祈祷和咒语获得神灵的力量。[8] 圣护院是修验道（山地修行）的总寺院，供奉不动明王，不动明王是一位驱散恶魔的狂暴神灵。简而言之，这些御旗被修验道赋予神灵的力量，以击败叛军。

to Go-Daigo.[5] Takauji successfully returned to Kyoto, the capital, and placed Kogon’s younger brother Komyo (光明) on the throne. Takauji established Muromachi Shogunate there and was appointed shogun by emperor Komyo.

According to *Baishoron* 《梅松論》the *Nishiki-no-mihata* given to Takauji bore a sun and the *kanji* names of Great Goddess Amaterasu and Great Bodhisattva Hachiman in gold. Actually, a banner with the same design on *nishiki* brocade as that *Nishiki-no-mihata* has been handed down in the Hosokawa (細川) family and belongs to Eisei Bunko Research Center of Kumamoto University at present (fig. 8). This banner is said to date to around the end of the 14th century.[6]

4. Granting *Mihata* with the Name of the Deity

“*Mihata*” is an honorific expression of “flag” in Japanese and meant the emperor’s or shogun’s banner. In the 15th century, according to some records of the time, a *mihata* was given to a supreme commander who went to defeat the rebel army; the emperor’s *Nishiki-no-mihata* was given only to a high-ranking supreme commander, whereas a shogun’s *Buke-no-mihata* was generally given to a supreme commander who departed with the shogun’s order or permission.[7]

These *mihatas* gained the power of the deity through prayers and incantations of priests at the Shogo-in temple (聖護院), before going to battle.[8] Shogo-in is the head temple of *Shugen-do* (mountain discipline asceticism) and sacred to *Fudo-myooh* (不動明王, *Budong-mingwang* in Chinese), a raging deity who subdues the devil. In brief, *Shugen-do* granted those *mihatas* the power of the deity to defeat a rebel army.

五 、写有神名的武士旗

大约在 15 世纪中叶，武士指挥官会举起一面旗帜，上面写着家族徽章和神名。加藤 (1977) 解释说，日本军旗在中世纪从代表神的力量转变为代表家族的象征。[9] 然而，写有神名的旗帜实际上传到了地方武士领主手中，正如菅生家旗所示（图 9）。

根据1461年多贺高忠的《多贺高忠军事记录》[10]，多贺家族的军规，但从未有过 现在已被旗帜研究人员使用，最高大将悬挂大旗在用两块麻布（或丝绸）并排连接而成的布上（不缝制长度为3.6米的下部三分之一），这面旗帜是上面写着八幡大菩萨的名字，下面写着家徽，修验道的咒语时被剪裁的。大将也举着同样形式的旗帜，但神的名字不仅限于八幡大菩萨，还有各种各样的神灵。

图9、图10 和图11 中可以看到相同形式的旗帜。图10 中的旗帜是拥有海军的地方武士河野家的旗帜，家徽上方写有八幡大菩萨、伊势神宫和三岛大明神三位神的名字。[11] 三岛大明神被供奉在河野家族的故乡大三岛的大山祇神社。

15至16世纪，室町幕府和天皇政权的势力逐渐衰弱，各地武士大名的势力逐渐加强，有的举起写有自己信

图 9. [14] 世纪菅生家族的旗帜。

Figure 9. The Sugo (菅生) family banner in the 14th century.

图 10. 河野家族的旗帜 。

Figure 10. The banner of the Kawano (河野) family.

5. Samurai Banner with the Name of the Deity

Around the 15th century, samurai commanders raised a banner bearing both the name of the deity and the family crest. Kato (1977) has explained that in the Medieval Ages, Japanese military flags changed from holding the power of a deity to symbolizing a family.[9] However, using the banner with the name of the deity actually spread to regional samurai lords, as the Sugo (菅生) family banner shows (fig. 9).

According to *The Military Note* by Takatada Taga,《多賀高忠軍陣聞書》,[10] military regulations of the Taga family dating to 1461 which have been never used by flag researchers before now, the supreme commander raised his banner with the name of Great Bodhisattva Hachiman written at the top and the family crest below it. The banner was 3.6 meters tall, made by connecting two pieces of linen (or silk) cloth side by side (leaving the bottom third unsewn), the cloth was cut with a *Shugendo* incantation. The commanding officer also raised a banner in the same form, but the name of the deity varied and was not limited to Great Bodhisattva Hachiman.

The form of those banners can be seen in figs. 9, 10, and 11. The banner in fig. 10 is the banner of the Kawano (Kono) (河野) family (regional samurai with a navy),[11] with the names of three deities, Great Bodhisattva Hachiman, Ise Grand Shrine, and Great Myojin Mishima (三島大明神) written above the family crest. Great Myojin Mishima was enshrined in the Ohyamazumi Shrine (大山祇神社) that was located in the Kawano family's home town of Ohmishima.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the power of the Muromachi Shogunate and the emperor's government gradually weakened. Samurai lords in each region strengthened their power. Some of them raised banners with the name of the deity that they believed in.

仰的神明名字的旗帜。

比如拥有海军的武士大名毛利元就，就举起中央写有“九万八千军神、二千八百零四儿童”，两边写有八幡大菩萨和摩利支天的旗帜，旗帜的下方是有家徽的（图11）。[12]

武士大名信仰的神明种类繁多，有地方神、神道神、佛教神、妙见菩萨（星辰之王）等天文神等等，他们的旗帜一定和御旗一样，向民众展示了他们的宗教和政治权力。

图 11. 据说这面旗帜是由毛利元就举起的，下部失去了 。

Figure 11. The banner said to have been raised by Motonari Mori (毛利元就). The lower part has been lost.

六 、结论

检查这些旗帜可得出三个主要结论：

中世纪日本的军旗上写有神名汉字，由两块布并排缝制而成，宽度是武士家徽旗的两倍。

幕府将军或天皇的写有神名的御旗不仅通过宗教仪式赋予神的力量，而且在政治上也用于武士的战斗正当化。

中世纪末期，随着御旗的消失，地方武士领主也举起了在家族徽章上方写有他们所信奉的神名的旗帜。

图 12. 武田信玄的旗帜 。

Figure 12. The banners of Shingen Takeda (武田信玄).

For example, Motonari Mori (毛利元就), a samurai lord with a navy, is said to have raised the banner with the phrase “98,000 gods of war and 2,804 children of heaven” in the center of the top, Great Bodhisattva Hachiman and Marici Deity (摩利支天) on both sides, above his family crest (fig. 11).[12]

Samurai lords believed in various kinds of deities, such as the local god, Shinto god, Buddhist god, astronomical god like Bodhisattva Myoken (妙見菩薩) (the king of stars), and so on. Their banners must have shown their religious and political power to the people as did *mihata*.

6. Conclusion

Examining these banners yields three main findings:

The medieval Japanese military banner with the *kanji* name of the deity was made of two pieces of cloth sewn side by side, which was twice as wide as samurai’s banner with the family crest.

The deity-name-written *mihata* banner of a shogun or the emperor not only gained the power of the deity by religious ritual but was also used politically to justify battle with samurai.

At the end of the Medieval Ages, as the *mihata* of the shogun or the emperor disappeared, regional samurai lords raised their banner with the name of the deity they believed in written above their family crest.

补充说明

大约在16 世纪末，写有神名的旗帜和带有家徽的旗帜往往是分开制作的，例如武田信玄 (Shingen Takeda) 的旗帜，他是当时最强大的军阀之一 (图 12)。

Additional note

Around the end of the 16th century, a deity-name-written banner and a family crest banner tended to be made separately, like the banners of Shingen Takeda (武田信玄), who was one of the stronger warlords (fig. 12).

尾注

1 菅原 (2020).

2 黑板 (编) (1968), 334 页.

3 真锅 (编) (2004), 348-349 页.

4 菅原 (2007), 45页.

5 森 (编) (1975), 94, 98, 121页.

6 东京国立博物馆、京都国立博物馆、九州国立博物馆、永青文库、NHK、NHK 促进（编）（2010-2012），318-319页.

7 菅原 (2007), 47页.

8 菅原 (2007), 39, 48页.

9 加藤 (1977), 165页.

10 塙 (编) (1930), 277-296页.

11 河野家族既不是海盗也不是倭寇。据宇田川（1981）称，倭寇船悬挂八幡大菩萨旗的见解被日本学术界否定。16世纪左右，倭寇被称为“bahan”，其文字常用于“八幡”（中文中为bafan）。这种单纯的语音对应导致了误解。

12 毛利博物馆网站。2024 年 5 月 17 日检索自 博物馆概要，收藏品一览／毛利博物馆 (<c-able.ne.jp>)

End Notes

1 Sugawara, M. (2020).

2 Kuroita, K. (Eds.) (1968), 334.

3 Manabe, S. (Eds.) (2004), 348-349.

4 Sugawara, M. (2007), 45.

5 Mori, H. (Eds.) (1975), 94, 98, 121.

6 Tokyo National Museum, Kyoto National Museum, Kyushu National Museum, Eisei Bunko, NHK, NHK Promotion (Eds.) (2010–12), 318–319.

7 Sugawara, M. (2007), 47.

8 Sugawara, M. (2007), 39, 48.

9 Kato, H. (1977), 165.

10 Hanawa, H. (Eds.) (1930), 277–296.

11 The Kawano family was neither pirate nor Wako (倭寇). The theory that Wako ships flew the Great Bodhisattva Hachiman flag has been rejected by Japanese academic society, according to Utagawa (1981). Around the 16th century Wako was called “*bahan*”, whose characters were often applied to “八幡” (*hachiman* in Japanese, *bafan* in Chinese) . This mere phonetic equivalent caused the misunderstanding.

12 Mori Museum Website. Retrieved May 17, 2024, from 博物館概要.収蔵品一览／毛利博物馆 (<c-able.ne.jp>)

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- 菅原正子.《太平天国和令旗- 从浙江省博物馆收藏的象山县监军令旗》《旗章学》1，2020.
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图 4. 彦根城博物馆藏品。检索日期：2024 年 11 月 12 日，摘自 <hikone-castle-museum.jp/exhibition_old/6880.html>。

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Illustrations

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Figure 2. From Ming Imperial March Painting.

Figure 3. Collection of Matsura Historical Museum. Retrieved November 12, 2024, from 长崎县的文化遗产.

Figure 4. Collection of Hikone Castle Museum. Retrieved November 12, 2024, from <hikone-castle-museum.jp/exhibition_old/6880.html>.

Figure 5. From the painting scroll of Mongolian Invasion, Museum of the Imperial Collection.

Figure 6. Collection of Eisei Bunko Research Center of Kumamoto University.

Figure 7. Illustration by M. Sugawara.

Figure 8. Collection of Eisei Bunko Research Center of Kumamoto University.

Figure 9. Private Collection. Retrieved May 28, 2024, from <town.higashimiyoshi.lg.jp/docs/827.html>.

Figure 10. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from 特２０５６５／三島水軍旗 奉納河野通信 伊勢大神宫/八幡大菩薩…｜古書ふみくら (<humikura.com)>.

Figure 11. Collection of Mori Museum. Retrieved May 19, 2024, from 博物館概要.収蔵品一／毛利博物 (<c-able.ne.jp>).

Figure 12. From The folding screen of Battle of Kawanakajima, Collection of Wakayama Prefectural Museum.

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