

Between Life and Aesthetics: Understanding Marginal Landscapes Through Japanese Cherry Blossom Trees (Sakura)

Ran Kamiyama, Toyo University, Japan

The IAFOR International Conference on Arts & Humanities in Hawaii 2026
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

The concept of “marginal landscape” is inspired by the term “marginal art,” proposed by Japanese philosopher Shunsuke Tsurumi, and stands in contrast to the idea of “pure art.” Applying the framework of marginal art to landscapes highlights the social and human contexts often lost when landscapes are formalized or aestheticized. Once a landscape is beautified and recognized as pure art, it tends to become detached from the everyday human activities and environments that originally shaped it. Although many pure landscapes originate from marginal ones, the process of aesthetic elevation often obscures these roots. Historically, pure landscapes have been preserved through cultural expressions—such as poetry and painting—produced by well-known artists. These works shaped public appreciation and helped promote preservation. In contrast, marginal landscapes, discovered by anonymous individuals and closely linked to lived experience, have received little attention because they were not created with artistic or aesthetic intentions. Consequently, preservation efforts for such landscapes have often been limited or overlooked. This study re-evaluates marginal landscapes through the lens of marginal art, using cherry blossoms (sakura)—a symbolic landscape element in Japan—as a case study. Although now celebrated as a cultural and aesthetic icon, many sakura landscapes have roots in marginal contexts. Methodologically, this research investigates marginal landscapes using historical sources such as traditional calendars, almanacs, collections of proverbs, folk songs, and local histories. In contrast, the study of pure landscapes draws on sources such as poetry and illustrated maps.

Keywords: sakura, Japanese cherry blossom, marginal landscape

iafor

The International Academic Forum
www.iafor.org

Introduction

The concept of marginal art was proposed by Shunsuke Tsurumi in 1967 as referring to forms of expression that exist at the boundary between art and everyday life. Tsurumi classified art into three categories; pure art, popular art, and marginal art (Table 1), and argued that from both phylogenetic and ontogenetic perspectives marginal art is what gives rise to pure art and popular art, and that it constitutes “the first path by which human beings approach art” (Tsurumi, 1967).

This concept and framework of marginal art have provided an insightful perspective not only for art theory but also for the field of landscape studies. For example, Nakamura states that “landscapes are not usually objects to be viewed at intently. They are quite different from viewing paintings in a museum. Fundamentally, landscapes are to be enjoyed through everyday life” (Nakamura, 1982, p. 213). This view affirms a conception of landscape grounded in daily life. Furthermore, Nakamura (2021) refers to the artistic spirit of Edo-period culture which situated outside the conventional framework of art—as “outside the sphere of art,” and introduces it in parallel with Tsurumi’s concept of marginal art (Nakamura, 2021, pp. 309–311).

On the other hand, although Higuchi does not directly refer to marginal art, he points out that in discussions of beautiful landscapes and lived landscapes, “we tend to mistakenly confuse them with artistic beauty” (Higuchi, 1975, pp. 180–182). He criticizes an overemphasis on artistic beauty in the former and notes the tendency for the latter “lived landscapes” to be easily overlooked.

In this way, landscape theory also recognizes the importance of understanding both art and life, and just like marginal art, the “marginal landscape” that lies on the border between art and life also has a tendency to become buried, and so the two share a common characteristic.

Table 1

Tsurumi Shunsuke’s Theory of Pure Art, Marginal Art, and Popular Art

Category	Definition	Creator	Audience
Pure Art	Works recognized as “art” in the strict sense	Produced by professional artists	Appreciated by specialized audiences familiar with the traditions of each art form
Marginal Art	Works situated at the boundary between art and everyday life	Produced by non-professional artists	Appreciated by non-professional audiences
Popular Art	Works often regarded as vulgar, non-artistic, or pseudo-art	Produced by professional artists, typically through collaboration between entrepreneurs and artists	Appreciated by the general public (mass audience)

Source: Adapted from Tsurumi, S. (1967). *Genkai geijutsuron* [Theory of marginal art]. Keisō Shobō.

For example, among outstanding poems on cherry blossoms, the *waka* (poem) by Saigyō (1118–1190), who is a Japanese warrior, monk, and poet active in the twelfth century, is exceptionally well known: “If possible, I would like to die beneath the cherry blossoms in spring, when the Buddha entered Nirvana.” When the same cherry-blossom landscape is composed by a farmer, however, it appears in a form such as: “The falling blossoms return to

their roots; they will bloom again” (Asano, 1984, p. 243). A farmer’s song that reads the landscape is in no way inferior to that of a poet. Indeed, one might even say that it expresses a sensibility more simple and expansive than that found in refined poetry.

However, one is usually renowned as art, while the other is considered a ordinary song, polar opposite. Tsurumi Shunsuke’s “Marginal Art Theory” focuses on this boundary between art and life, viewing the two as continuous or equal. According to Tsurumi, he defines the former as “pure art” and the latter as “marginal art,” while emphasizing the importance of marginal art.

When exploring landscapes without being preoccupied with beauty or ugliness, both songs are equally important, and one cannot be overlooked. Indeed, if marginal art has the potential to be the source of pure art, it could be said that it deserves even more attention. Taking these possibilities into account, this study aims to explore “marginal landscapes” in line with marginal art theory, tentatively calling it a “marginal landscape theory,” through Japan’s most representative cherry blossom landscapes.

Purpose and Objectives

This research aims to:

- focus on the boundary between art and everyday life through Tsurumi Shunsuke’s Theory of Marginal Art;
- apply Tsurumi’s theory of marginal art to tentatively develop a “theory of marginal landscapes”;
- explore “marginal landscapes” through representative cherry blossom viewing in Japan as a case study.

About Sakura (Cherry Blossoms)

Sakura, also known as cherry blossom, or Japanese cherry, is scientifically written as *Prunus subgenus* or *Cerasus*. To the Japanese, the cherry blossom is the flower of flowers. Cherry trees (mountain cherry trees) have grown wild in the Japanese archipelago since ancient times, adorning the fields and mountains every spring. Until the Edo period, the only known cherry blossom was the wild mountain cherry tree, but at the end of the Edo period, many varieties were developed, leading to the creation of the cultivated Somei Yoshino, which spread throughout the country after the Meiji period (1868–1912).

Hanami

For Japanese people, the word *hanami* (flower viewing) is almost synonymous with cherry blossoms, underscoring the exceptional status of sakura as a flowering tree that is deeply cherished and even preferentially loved. Even today, *hanami* remains an important annual event, to the extent that cherry blossom forecasts are regularly broadcast in weather reports each spring.

Types and Varieties of Cherry Trees

It is said that there are approximately 100 species of cherry trees worldwide, of which only about ten are native to Japan (Katsuki, 2015, p. 13). Among the many cultivated varieties, *Somei-yoshino* (*Cerasus* × *yedoensis* “*Somei-yoshino*”), developed in the late Edo period (1603–1868), has been planted overwhelmingly throughout Japan as the most favored cherry

tree among the Japanese. As a result, it has become the standard ornamental cherry tree in contemporary Japan. The Japan Meteorological Agency designates *Somei-yoshino* trees as “reference trees” for determining the timing of cherry blossom flowering and full bloom in different regions. Consequently, in present day usage, the term *sakura* often refers specifically to this variety.

Flowering Period /Lifespan of Cherry Trees

The flowering period of cherry blossoms is short, lasting approximately one week. The lifespan of cherry trees varies greatly depending on species and environmental conditions. Wild cherry trees can live for several hundred years, and in some cases more than a thousand years. In contrast, cultivated varieties tend to have shorter lifespans. Previously mentioned *Somei-yoshino*, having been bred specifically for ornamental purposes, generally grows rapidly, but has a relatively short lifespan of approximately 60 to 70 years.

Literature Review

In Japan, the body of cherry blossom research in the field of Japanese literature is extremely rich and too numerous to list. Among these works, Yamada’s (1942) *Sakura-shi (A History of Cherry Blossoms)*, which comprehensively compiles anecdotes, poetry, and people associated with cherry blossoms from ancient times to the modern era, is widely recognized as a seminal contribution. More recently, Izutsu’s (2023) *Chronological Cultural History of Cherry Blossoms in Japan* offers a cultural and historical overview encompassing waka, haiku, essays, famous sites, and renowned cherry trees.

As for literary studies that take cherry blossoms as their central theme, notable examples include Ogawa’s (2004) *A Literary History of Cherry Blossoms* and Takenishi’s (1988) *Sakura*, an anthology of renowned Japanese essays. In particular, with regard to Saigyō, who is celebrated as a poet of cherry blossoms, studies such as Shirasu’s (2014) *Saigyō* and Kuwako’s (1999) *Saigyō no Fuukei (Saigyō’s Landscapes)* are well known, demonstrating the aesthetic dimensions of cherry blossoms.

In contrast, within the field of folklore studies, significant research findings have also been produced. In works such as *Stories of the Ancestors* (Yanagita, 1970) and *Notes on Annual Events* (Yanagita, 1977), Yanagita Kunio demonstrates the existence of beliefs that associate cherry trees with rice cultivation rituals, viewing them as *yorishiro*, which objects that serve as receptacles for spirits, and as places where the rice-field deity is believed to descend. Similarly, in *On Flowers* (Orikuchi, 1995), Origuchi Shinobu argues that flowers, particularly cherry blossoms, functioned as symbols of agricultural rituals and omens, and that their aesthetic appreciation emerged later as a culturally added layer. These studies represent notable achievements in the field.

Meanwhile, in landscape studies, works such as Higuchi Tadahiko’s (1975) *The Structure of Landscape* and Shirahata Yosaburo’s (2015) *Hanami and Cherry Blossoms* have advanced research that treats cherry blossoms as landscape. However, such studies tend to place relatively strong emphasis on literary representations and famous scenic sites. As a result, research that takes the landscape itself as its object from practical, lived perspectives—such as those of farmers and fishers—remains limited.

Accordingly, the originality of this study lies in its simultaneous engagement with both pure landscapes and marginal landscapes.

Methodology

In this study, cultural expressions of cherry blossoms are organized into two methodological categories: “pure art” and “marginal landscapes” (Table 2). While pure art comprises self-contained works whose primary purpose is aesthetic and expressive, marginal landscapes occupy the boundary between art and everyday life, referring to practical cultural expressions intertwined with daily life, belief systems, and livelihoods. By focusing on these marginal landscapes, this study aims to elucidate forms of landscape that have previously eluded conventional aesthetic or literary frameworks.

Table 2

A Methodological Distinction Between Pure Art and Marginal Art

Field	Pure Art	Marginal Art
Literature	Pure literature Travel writing, literary essays	Chorography; regional records Almanacs; seasonal calendars; natural calendars; agricultural calendars; farming books; culinary manual
Poems	Classical poetry and waka (e.g., <i>Man'yōshū</i> , <i>Kokin Wakashū</i>) Fine art paintings; illustrated	Folk songs; popular songs
Illustrations & Paintings	guidebooks of famous places (e.g., <i>Meisho zue</i>); Japanese woodblock prints)	Agricultural illustrations; folk art paintings
Performing Arts	<i>Kabuki</i> ; <i>Noh</i> (Japanese traditional dance)	Folk dances

Results and Discussion

Pure Landscape: Sakura as a Pure Landscape

Regarding “pure landscapes,” a substantial body of prior research already exists, and many of these sites are widely recognized within Japan. Therefore, in the following, this study focuses on three particularly famous cherry blossom sites in Japan and provides only an overview, presenting them as examples of cherry related “pure landscapes.” Although Japan has numerous cherry blossom sites of varying size, the most renowned sites share the characteristic of being located in historical capitals. Japan’s capitals have changed several times throughout history, and the main shifts can be broadly categorized by region as follows: Nara (Asuka to Nara period, ca. 592~), Kyoto (Heian period, 794~), and Tokyo (Edo period [1603~] and Meiji era onward, [1868~]). At each relocation of the capital, the ruling authorities of the time developed prominent cherry blossom sites. The following introduces three representative cherry blossom sites.

Yoshino, Nara

Nara has been renowned as a cherry blossom site since ancient times. A famous poetry included in the *Man'yōshū*, Japan’s oldest poetry anthology, compiled at the end of the Nara period (710–

794), reads: “the capital of Nara, is now in full bloom, as if the flowers themselves are radiating fragrance” (Nakanishi, 1978, p. 207).

The above poem is famous and expresses the beauty and prosperity of the capital of Nara by comparing it to blossoming flowers. For this reason, cherry blossoms were a symbol of the capital of Nara. Among the areas of Nara, Yoshino was considered Japan’s foremost cherry blossom site. Yoshino’s mountains were described as “Mount Yoshino is filled with cherry trees, and in full bloom it is like a snowy morning” (Akisato & Takehara, 1971).

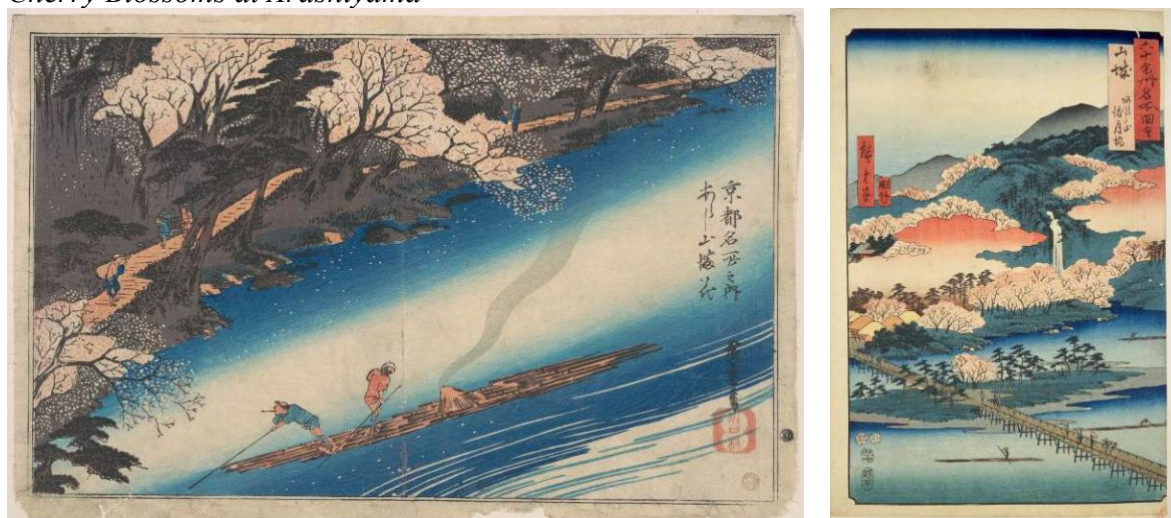
Around 656, when Empress Saimei (594–661) constructed the Yoshino Palace, cherry trees began to be actively planted on Mount Yoshino. Even today, Mount Yoshino is renowned as Japan’s foremost cherry blossom site. The cherry trees of Yoshino were already famous by the Heian period and have been celebrated in numerous waka and literary works.

Saigyō (1118–1190), a poet-monk active from the late Heian to the early Kamakura period, especially admired the cherry blossoms of Yoshino, composing many poems on their beauty and the transience of their bloom. Among these, the waka: “*Negawaku wa hana no shita nite haru shinamu sono Kisaragi no mochizuki no koro*” (Saigyō, 1928, p. 31).

is particularly well known as emblematic of Saigyō’s life. The poem expresses his wish: “If possible, I would like to die beneath the cherry blossoms in spring, when the Buddha entered Nirvana.” It remains one of the most famous poems celebrating cherry blossoms.

Arashiyama, Kyoto

After the capital was relocated to Kyoto in 794, the emperor and the aristocracy established mountain villas in the suburbs of the city. One such site, Arashiyama, served as a villa district for the nobility, where the natural beauty of the area was highly appreciated. During the Kamakura period, Emperor Kameyama (reigned 1259–1274; 13th century) constructed a mountain villa in Arashiyama, Kyoto. It is said that cherry trees were transplanted from Mount Yoshino in Nara at this time, making Arashiyama a cultural center for the appreciation of nature, particularly cherry blossoms, and enhancing the fame of its cherry trees (Figure 1).

Figure 1*Cherry Blossoms at Arashiyama*

Source: *Cherry Blossoms at Arashiyama*, from the series *Famous Places of Kyoto* (Hiroshige, 1834) *Full Blossom at Arashiyama on the Oi River* (woodblock print) [Left]

Source: *Rokujūyoshū meisho zue: Yamashiro – Arashiyama Togetsukyō* [Famous Places in Yamashiro Province: Arashiyama Togetsukyō]. Dai Nihon Rokujūyoshū Meishō Zue (woodblock print), (Hiroshige, 1853). [Right]

Ueno, Tokyo

In the early 18th century, when the Edo period began and the de facto capital was moved to Edo, the eighth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (reigned 1716–1745), actively planted cherry trees. In 1717, approximately 100 trees were planted along the Sumida River, followed by 270 at Asukayama in 1720, and an additional 1000 trees transplanted in 1721 (Izutsu, 2023, pp. 319–320). In 1737, several hundred trees were planted at Ueno's Kiyomizudo (Izutsu, 2023, pp. 325–326). These interventions established Ueno as Edo's premier hanami site. After the Meiji period, public access and popularization of hanami solidified the area's status, forming the basis of the modern cherry blossom culture at Ueno Park.

As cherry blossom viewing became established as a form of entertainment, efforts to improve cherry tree varieties began to be actively undertaken towards the end of the Edo period, with “*Somei-Yoshino*” serving as a representative example. *Somei-Yoshino* is characterized by nearly simultaneous flowering, followed by leaf emergence after petal drop, creating a visually striking display in which the entire tree is covered in blossoms. This combination of floral prominence and ephemeral beauty contributed to its rapid nationwide dissemination. However, *Somei-Yoshino* is propagated exclusively through grafting, making all individuals genetically identical clones. Consequently, the cultivar exhibits a relatively short lifespan and heightened susceptibility to pests and diseases.

An overview of famous cherry blossom sites reveals the artistic value historically attributed to these trees. Many such sites were celebrated in classical *waka* and *haikai* poetry and depicted in pictorial maps and guidebooks, facilitating widespread appreciation of their scenic beauty. These locations were not solely the product of natural development; rather, following Yoshino in Nara as a model, they were often deliberately shaped by contemporary authorities. In particular, at post-Yoshino sites, cherry trees were intentionally transplanted to replicate and enhance the aesthetic landscape of Yoshino.

During the Edo period, cherry breeding became increasingly active, with *Somei-Yoshino* which is characterized by rapid growth, showy blossoms, and ephemeral beauty, widely planted across Japan. From this period onward, the expression “*senbon-zakura*” (thousand cherry trees) became established, reflecting a shift in perception from individual trees to collective displays. Consequently, post-Edo cherry landscapes were constructed less as symbols of nature and more as spectacles emphasizing quantity and visual impact.

Marginal Landscape: Sakura as a Marginal Landscape

In the previous chapter, an overview of cherry viewing as a pure landscape revealed that the visual display of cherry blossoms often reflected the preferences of the ruling elite, emphasizing either extravagance or ephemeral beauty in artistic works. The following section examines how hanami was practiced among the common people.

First of all, the folk event of cherry blossom viewing (hanami) dates back to ancient times. In Japan, people historically entered mountains in spring to engage in hanami or kunimi rituals. According to Tsuchihashi (1965), the act of “viewing” in antiquity was not merely sentimental but closely linked to life and spirit: the mana of flowers was believed to strengthen human vitality through observation (Tsuchihashi, 1965, pp. 170, 266). Although these early hanami practices were not limited to cherry blossoms, entering the mountains to view spring flowers was considered a means of enhancing life force.

Agricultural Flower Viewing/ Farmers’ Flower Viewing

The ancient belief in the vitality of flowers, as described above, led to the development of a way to predict fortune or misfortune based on the state and timing of cherry blossom blooming. This perception later became closely linked to agriculture, as rural communities observed the blooming of spring flowers, particularly cherry blossoms, to forecast the success of the year’s crops. Three specific types of cherry blossom trees can be distinguished in this context:

1. *Hounen-zakura* (“bountiful Year Cherry Blossoms”): Used as an indicator of the quality of the harvest for the year based on the state of its blossoms and the quality of its blooming, and was a symbol of agricultural success.
2. *Noushi-zakura* (“agricultural season cherry blossoms”): Found across Japan, these trees provided guidance for the timing of spring rice cultivation activities, including seed sowing, nursery bed preparation, plowing, and transplanting.
3. *Tanemaki-zakura* (“seed-sowing cherry blossoms”): These trees indicated the optimal timing for sowing various crops, including rice.

The following discussion examines the folkloric and agricultural significance of these three types of cherry blossom trees, focusing on the “liminal landscapes” in which they emerge.

Hounen-zakura [Bountiful Year Cherry Blossoms]. Even today, *Honen Sakura* and its proverbs such as “a late cherry blossom indicates a poor harvest” (Hoshi, 1975, p. 149) are found throughout Japan, all reflecting the practice of predicting agricultural fortune based on the timing and abundance of cherry blossoms. In some regions, the flowering of specific mountain cherry varieties is used to determine the harvest period:

If the early blooming (*wase*) mountain cherry produces abundant blossoms, the early ripening rice will yield well; if the middle blooming (*nakate*) cherry blooms profusely,

middle season rice will thrive; and if the late blooming (*okute*) cherry flowers abundantly, late ripening rice will prosper. (Nomoto, 2021, p. 336, Wakayama)

As the proverb goes, “the year’s plan begins in spring, the day’s plan begins in the morning” (Hoshi, 1975, p. 155), underscoring the significant ritual and divinatory role of spring *hanami* in agricultural practice.

In addition, various local cherry trees served as indicators of the year’s fortune. In Oki, the “Yononaka-zakura” on the slopes of Mount Iiyama was observed to forecast annual abundance or scarcity (Ushio, 1986). At Sansho Shrine in Miyoshi District, Tokushima Prefecture, a large cherry tree behind the main shrine historically called *Sakura-no-miya*, which was referred to as “Yononaka-zakura” because its flowering was used to predict agricultural fortune (Heibonsha Chihō Shiryō Sentā, 2000). Similarly, in Mitoyo City, Kagawa Prefecture, a “Yononaka-zakura” was interpreted directionally: branches with abundant flowers indicated a good harvest, while sparsely flowering branches predicted a poor one (Nihon Daijiten, 1996). At Hime-miya Shrine in Shimoina District, Nagano Prefecture, abnormal flowering of ancient cherry trees was considered an ominous sign (Nihon Daijiten, 1996). These examples demonstrate the enduring and widespread use of cherry blossoms as indicators of agricultural fortune.

Nōji-zakura [Agricultural Season Cherry Blossoms]. Unlike the Western calendar, Japan has long relied on the “shichijuniko” (the seventy two seasonal divisions) to track climatic changes, with the activities of plants and animals serving as indicators of seasonal timing. One of these periods, “Sakura hajimete hiraku”(cherry blossoms begin to open), marks the onset of cherry flowering and has historically been an important indicator in Japan’s traditional agricultural calendar, signaling the start of rice cultivation. The brevity of the cherry blossom period which is expressed in proverbs such as “three days unseen, the cherry” and “cherry lasts seven days” (Hoshi, 1975), was exploited to determine the timing of key spring farming activities, including seed sowing, nursery bed preparation, plowing, and rice transplanting. In regions with different climates, cherry flowering was also used to gauge the optimal timing for sowing crops other than rice. The following discussion details, by region, how the timing of cherry blossom emergence guided the planting of various crops.

Focusing on rice cultivation, it is evident that in Japan’s middle to northern regions, cherry trees known as Noushi-zakura (agricultural-timing cherry), Tanemaki-zakura (seed-sowing cherry), Ta-uchi-zakura (plowing cherry), and Taue-zakura (rice-transplanting cherry) were used as indicators for farming activities. As shown in Table 3, rice sowing was generally timed to coincide with cherry flowering. However, the presence of regional variations in the naming of these trees suggests that local communities closely observed the timing of cherry blossoms to guide a range of agricultural tasks.

Table 3
Nōji-zakura [Agricultural Season Cherry Blossoms]

Name	Notes / Meaning	Location / Region
<i>Nawashiro-zakura</i> (Seedbed Cherry)	Also known as <i>Sekisho-yaburi no Sakura</i> (“Checkpoint-breaking Cherry”)	Tateshina Town, Kitasaku District, Nagano Prefecture
<i>Tauchi-zakura</i> (Rice-field Plowing Cherry)	Saying: “When this cherry blooms, villagers begin plowing the rice fields.”	Sunakose, Nishimeya Village, Nakatsugaru District, Mutsu
<i>Tauchi-zakura</i> (Rice-field Plowing Cherry)	Local dialect for Kobushi magnolia, not a cherry tree	Miyamura, Kazuno District, Akita Prefecture
<i>Taue-zakura</i> (Rice-planting Cherry)	Indicator for the rice-planting season	Around Miyamura, Kazuno District, Akita Prefecture
<i>Tanemaki-zakura</i> (Seed-sowing Cherry)	Used as a seasonal marker for sowing seeds	Sado Island (proverb)
<i>Tanemaki-zakura</i> (Seed-sowing Cherry)	Indicator for agricultural timing	Niiyama Park, Wakayanagi Town, Kurihara District, Miyagi Prefecture
<i>Tanemaki-zakura</i> (Seed-sowing Cherry)	Indicator for agricultural timing	Around Oisawa, Nishimurayama District, Uzen

Source: Hoshi, K. (1975). *Mura no kotowaza jiten* [Dictionary of Village Proverbs]. Fumin Kyōkai. and Kawaguchi, M. (2013). *Shizenreki* [Natural Calendars]. Yasaka Shobō.

Tanemaki-zakura [Seed-Sowing Cherry Blossoms]. In addition to regions where rice cultivation began with the flowering of cherry trees, proverbs preserving the timing for sowing crops other than rice have also been recorded. As shown in Table 4, approximately nine types of crops are identified, with regional differences in the crops sown. Millet, foxtail millet, and soybeans are primarily observed in the northern to middle regions, whereas sweet potatoes appear in Shikoku island (southern east region), and hemp is found south of middle region. Thus, cherry blossoms served nationwide as indicators for sowing, while also functioning regionally to signal the optimal timing for different crops.

Regarding cherry varieties, although some are described as double-flowered (*yae-zakura*), most are mountain cherry (*yama-zakura*), indicating that wild, single trees were primarily used. In some regions, agricultural practices involved observing wild cherries in their natural environment; for example, in Inaba Hachiyo District, Tottori Prefecture, a proverb notes: “When the mountain cherry blooms, hemp must be sown” (Kawaguchi, 2013, p. 10), and elsewhere, “When cherry blossoms reach the mid-slope, sow eggplant seeds and plant sweet potato seedlings” (Kawaguchi, 2013, p. 28). These examples demonstrate that wild mountain cherry trees served as visual cues for determining the timing of crop sowing.

Table 4
Tanemaki-zakura [Seed-Sowing Cherry Blossoms]

No.	Crop	Name / Local Name	Variety	Activity / Meaning	Prefecture	City / Town
		<i>Nōji-zakura</i>	—	Sowing millet	Iwate	Yamagata Town, Kuji City
		<i>Nōji-zakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Sowing millet	Iwate	—
		<i>Yamazakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Sowing millet	Iwate	Kuji City
1	Millet	<i>Sakura</i>	—	Climbing the mountain to sow millet seeds	Shizuoka	Ikawa, Shizuoka City, Aoi Ward
		<i>Sakura</i>	—	Mountain field preparation (slash- and-burn sowing)	Shizuoka	Nagakuma, Shizuoka City, Aoi Ward
		<i>Awamaki- zakura</i>	—	Sowing millet	Akita	Akinomiya Iso, Yuzawa City
		<i>Mame-maki- zakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Sowing soybeans	Nagano	Nagawa, Matsumoto City
		—	—	“When Kobushi blooms, field beans must be sown” (Sado proverb)	Niigata	Sado
		<i>Yaezakura</i>	<i>Yaezakura</i>	Sowing soybeans	Iwate	Kōma, Morioka City
2	Soybeans	<i>Mame-maki- zakura</i>	—	Sowing soybeans	Fukushima	Hinoemata Village, Minamiaizu District
		<i>Yamazakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Sowing soybeans, adzuki beans, and cowpeas	Nagano	Achi Village, Shimoina District
		<i>Yamazakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Transplanting soybeans	Gifu	Suroku, Kamitakara Town, Takayama City
		<i>Sakura</i>	—	Preparing sweet potato nursery bed	Shizuoka	Matsuzaki Town, Kamo District
3	Sweet potato	<i>Sakura</i>	—	“When Yamazakura blooms, plant sweet potato seeds” (Iyo, Hiyoshi Village proverb)	Ehime	Shiba, Kita-Uwa District, Kihoku Town
		<i>Yamazakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Planting sweet potato seed tubers in nursery bed	Tokushima	Koyahira, Mima City

No.	Crop	Name / Local Name	Variety	Activity / Meaning	Prefecture	City / Town
4	Hemp	<i>Yamazakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Planting sweet potato tubers (preparing nursery bed)	Ehime	Nyō, Matsuyama City
		<i>Sakura</i>	—	Setting up sweet potato seedlings	Tokushima	Tsurugi Town, Mima District
		—	—	“When cherry blossoms reach mid-mountain slopes, sow eggplant seeds and plant sweet potato seedlings.”	—	—
		<i>Sakura</i>	—	Sowing perilla (hemp)	Gifu	Kosaka Town, Gero City
		—	—	“When Yamazakura blooms, sow hemp” (Inaba, Shinosaka proverb)	Tottori	Shinosaka, Chizu Town
		—	—	Asamaki-zakura (Kashihara, Kuze Village, Ibi District)	Gifu	Kashihara, Ibigawa Town
		<i>Asamaki-zakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Sowing hemp	Shiga	Imamachi, Nagahama City
		<i>Asamaki-zakura</i>	—	Sowing hemp (Yogoi seeds)	Ishikawa	Obara Town, Komatsu City
5	Taro	<i>Sakura</i>	—	Preserving taro seed tubers mixed with rice husks	Niigata	Arasawa, Murakami City
		<i>Sakura</i>	—	Inspecting taro tubers	Miyazaki	Nishimera Village, Koyu District
		<i>Yamazakura</i>	<i>Yamazakura</i>	Planting taro	Shizuoka	Sakuma Town, Tenryu Ward, Hamamatsu City
		<i>Yaezakura</i>	<i>Yaezakura</i>	Planting taro	Aichi	Isshiki, Shinshiro City
6	Potato	<i>Sakura</i>	—	Placing seed potatoes in sprouting bed (“Yatō”)	Niigata	Kabuto, Murakami City

No.	Crop	Name / Local Name	Variety	Activity / Meaning	Prefecture	City / Town
		<i>Yamazakura</i>	—	Planting second crop potatoes	Nagano	Kaminakane, Kamimura, Iida City
		<i>Yamazakura</i>	—	Sowing spring buckwheat	Shizuoka	Nishi-Izu Town, Kamo District
7	Buckwheat	<i>Sakura</i>	—	Sowing summer buckwheat	Yamanashi	Hayakawa Town, Minamikoma District
8	Adzuki beans	<i>Yaezakura</i>	<i>Yaezakura</i>	Sowing adzuki beans	Iwate	Kōma, Morioka City
9	Urad beans	<i>Sakura</i>	—	Sowing urad beans	Shizuoka	Matsuzaki Town, Kamo District

Source: Hoshi, K. (1975). *Mura no kotowaza jiten* [Dictionary of Village Proverbs]. Fumin Kyōkai. and Kawaguchi, M. (2013). *Shizenreki* [Natural Calendars]. Yasaka Shobō.

Fishermen's Flower Viewing

Next, focusing on fisheries, Japan has fish whose names incorporate the term “sakura” (Table 5). Many of these species, including salmon, trout, and sea bream, either exhibit a coloration close to cherry blossom pink or develop a striking pink hue during the spawning season. Among these, freshwater species often ascend rivers during the cherry blossom season, whereas marine species gather in large numbers near coasts or shallow waters for spawning. As in the illustrations, fish are frequently depicted alongside seasonal plants, making it clear when fish are in season (Figures 2 and 3).

Table 5

Vernacular Fish Names Associated With Cherry Blossoms

No.	Vernacular Name	English Translation	Region / Notes
1	<i>Sakura-uo</i>	Cherry Fish	Possibly associated with the Yoshino River, Tokushima Prefecture
2	<i>Sakura-dai</i>	Cherry Sea Bream	Name linked to the spring season and spawning period
3	<i>Sakura- hirame</i>	Cherry Flatfish	Term reflects springtime catch
4	<i>Sakura- mebaru</i>	Cherry Rockfish	Also known as a “spring-announcing fish”
5	<i>Sakura-ebi</i>	Cherry Shrimp	Especially known from Suruga Bay; name derives from color and spring fishery
6	<i>Sakura-ika</i>	Cherry Squid	Named for spring fishing season and coloration
7	<i>Sakura-fuka</i>	Cherry Shark	Refers to sharks appearing in coastal waters in spring
8	<i>Sakura-ugui</i>	Cherry Dace	Proverbial name from the Oki Islands, Saigo District

No.	Vernacular Name	English Translation	Region / Notes
9	<i>Sakura-ida</i>	Cherry Dace	Used around Oyafuchi, Kōya, and Yabe villages, Yame District, Chikugo
10	<i>Sakura-sawara</i>	Cherry Spanish Mackerel	Used near Koza Port, Higashimuro District, Kii Peninsula, Wakayama Prefecture

Source: Hoshi, K. (1975). *Mura no kotowaza jiten* [Dictionary of Village Proverbs]. Fumin Kyōkai. and Kawaguchi, M. (2013). *Shizenreki* [Natural Calendars]. Yasaka Shobō.

Figure 2

Sea Bream and Japanese Pepper (left), Bonito and Cherry Blossoms (right)



Source: Utagawa Hiroshige I. (n.d.). *Uozukushi nishikie (Fish Prints)* [Woodblock print, 1 volume]. Ito Collection, National Diet Library Digital Collections.

Figure 3

Sea Bream, Flounder, and Bonito Depicted With Cherry Blossoms



Source: Murasaki Shikibu *Genji karuta*, no. 12, "Suma" (Baichōrō Kunisada, 1857)

As shown in Table 6, when examining proverbs about these fish, it can be said that the flowering of cherry blossoms and the cherry-like Magnolia tree functioned as a natural calendar in Japan's coastal fishing villages, was closely linked to the fishing seasons and peak seasons for seafood and seaweed, and has been passed down as folk knowledge. Even the timing of cherry blossom blooming and petals falling was used to predict fishing catches, and it can be said that the folk knowledge that linked fishing with seasonal observations (flowering of plants) served the same function as an agricultural calendar. The following discussion examines the relationship between freshwater and saltwater fish and the blooming of cherry blossoms.

Table 6
Vernacular Proverb Named After Cherry Blossoms

No.	Proverb / Saying (English)	Location / Region / Context
1	“When the plum blossoms have fallen and cherry blossoms begin to bloom sparsely, sea bream enter the area.”	Fishing villages of Sanuki (Shikoku)
2	“The arrival of <i>yamaze</i> winds signals an abundant cherry sea bream catch.”	Coastal region of Sanuki
3	“When the <i>kobushi</i> (Magnolia) flowers bloom, sardines can be caught.”	Eastern Sado Island
4	“The trout in May, when cherry blossoms are in full bloom, are at their tastiest.”	Shirakawa Village, Hida region
5	“When double cherry blossoms (<i>yaesakura</i>) begin to form buds, tuna arrive.”	Near Arida Village, Nishimuro District, Kii Peninsula
6	“Carp around the time cherry blossoms bloom are not tasty.”	Near Kurume
7	“When cherry blossoms scatter, a large catch of yellowtail (<i>huri</i>) can be expected.”	Teuchi Village, Koshiki Islands, Kagoshima Prefecture
8	Whale <i>Hanami</i> (“Whale Viewing during Cherry Blossoms”)	Coastal areas of Suo-Oshima District; indicates whale arrival
9	“When cherry trees bloom, the traditional female divers (<i>ama</i>) begin work.”	Coastal natural calendar of the Shima region

Source: Hoshi, K. (1975). *Mura no kotowaza jiten* [Dictionary of Village Proverbs]. Fumin Kyōkai. and Kawaguchi, M. (2013). *Shizenreki* [Natural Calendars]. Yasaka Shobō.

(1) Freshwater Fish. As shown in Table 7, there are almost no regional differences in freshwater fish. For example, it is safe to say that typical fish species such as Japanese dace and trout appear nationwide during cherry blossom season. Furthermore, many freshwater fish have vernacular names that include the word “sakura.” This is thought to stem from the opportunity to see spring fish and cherry blossoms at the same time, as symbolized by the existence of place names and river names throughout the country that refer to “Sakuragawa” (cherry blossom river) (Figure 1).

Table 7
Vernacular Names and Proverbs of Freshwater Fish Named After Cherry Blossoms

No.	Common Name	Scientific Name	Notes	Prefecture
1	Eel	<i>Anguilla japonica</i>	Start longline fishing for eel Whitebait (<i>shiroko</i> , juvenile eel) gather and turn dark as they swim upstream	Kochi Aichi
2	Crucian Carp	<i>Carassius carassius</i>	Crucian carp caught around cherry blossom season are not tasty	Fukuoka
3	Ida	<i>Ida spp.</i>	Cherry trout (sakura-ida)	Fukuoka
4	Amago Salmon	<i>Oncorhynchus macrostomus</i>	Sweetfish (<i>amago / amego</i>) are delicious	Tokushima
5	Cherry Salmon	<i>Oncorhynchus masou</i>	Cherry fish (<i>sakura gyo</i>)	Tokushima

6	Japanese Salmon / Masu Salmon	<i>Oncorhynchus masou</i>	Yamame (<i>enoha</i> / mountain trout) jump even at falling cherry blossoms	Miyazaki
			Yamame... even jump at a dog's tail	Miyazaki
7	Trout	<i>Oncorhynchus spp.</i>	Masu salmon (<i>sakura masu</i>) migrate upstream	Akita
			Satsuki trout (<i>satsuki masu</i>) arrive	Tokushima
			Masu salmon (<i>sakura masu</i>) migrate upstream	Iwate
8	Ayu / Sweetfish Sei	<i>Plecoglossus altivelis</i>	Peak migration of masu salmon	Yamagata
			Ayu (sweetfish) are abundant	Tochigi
9	(Japanese Fish Species)	<i>Sebastes ventricosus</i>	Sei fish are caught in Kasumigaura	Ibaraki
10	Dace	<i>Zacco spp.</i>	Cherry dace (<i>sakura ugui</i>)	Shimane
			Dace (<i>ugui</i>) appear (entering spawning season)	Wakayama
			Dace gather as spawning season begins	Aomori
			Dace gather as spawning season begins	Iwate
			Large aggregations of tachi-ida (spawning dace) occur	Kochi
			Spawning of <i>akahara</i> (dace)	Fukushima
			Dace (<i>ida / ugui</i>) gather for spawning	Miyazaki

Source: Hoshi, K. (1975). *Mura no kotowaza jiten* [Dictionary of Village Proverbs]. Fumin Kyōkai. and Kawaguchi, M. (2013). *Shizenreki* [Natural Calendars]. Yasaka Shobō.

(2) Saltwater Fish. Because Japan is surrounded by the sea, influenced by a complex system of warm and cold ocean currents flowing from north to south and east to west, which significantly affect climate, fisheries, and ecosystems. Major currents include the warm Kuroshio (Japan Current) and Tsushima Currents, as well as the cold Oyashio (Kuril Current).

The blooming period of cherry blossoms occurs in spring and is influenced by warm ocean currents around Japan. For instance, the Kuroshio Current, one of Japan's major currents, flows northward along the southern coast of the Japanese archipelago from the Pacific south, bringing warm waters and abundant fish species. It contributes to relatively mild winter temperatures on the Pacific side. The Tsushima Current, which flows along the eastern coast of the Korean Peninsula, also carries warm water into the Sea of Japan, slightly moderating winter conditions on the Japan seaside.

In accordance with the cherry blossom season, certain saltwater fish species are commonly observed in coastal and shallow waters from central to southern Japan. Notably, species such as bonito (*Katsuo*), sea bream (*Tai*), sardine (*Iwashi*), and yellowtail (*Buri*) are frequently found across various regions (Table 9). In particular, sea bream is considered a seasonal delicacy in central Japan. Historical sources corroborate this association: in the "Fish Encyclopedia" of 1831, the entry on sea bream states that its flavor is at its peak during the cherry blossom season, hence the designation "Sakura-dai" (Takei, 1831, p.3). Earlier culinary texts, dating from around 1785, describe sakura-dai as follows: "Around March, during the cherry blossom season, the sea surface is calm, and fish playfully engage with the waves. At this time, not only

sea bream but all kinds of fish are carrying their eggs, and *Sakuradai* is a particularly tasty fish...” (Kidōdō, 1978).

The existence of visual representations of fish caught during the cherry blossom season further confirms that *sakura-dai* is not merely a poetic metaphor for seasonal beauty. In fact, it reflects a material seasonal fish that embodies the early modern Japanese understanding of “seasonality,” “taste evaluation,” and “shared knowledge of fishing and culinary practices.” In this way, cherry blossoms function as a visible seasonal indicator linking fishing, ecology, and culinary practice, and the term “*sakura-dai*” demonstrates to the social dissemination of this knowledge.

On the other hand, a particular case in Kaminokuni Town, Hokkaido, illustrates a distinct interaction between cherry blossoms and fish migration. Beside Kamikuni Temple stands a large cherry tree, and local observation records note that “once this tree begins to bloom, herring no longer form schools nearby” (Sugae, 2003, p.142). In this context, the community hoped for a delay in flowering, and once blooming occurred, local fishers expressed resentment rather than celebrating hanami. Nevertheless, interest in observing cherry blossoms persisted, illustrating that even when aesthetic considerations of the landscape were negative, the practice of hanami remained. This is also one of the most distinctive features of so-called “marginal landscapes.”

Table 8

Vernacular Proverbs of Saltwater Fish Named After Cherry Blossoms

No.	Common Name	Scientific Name	Notes	Prefecture
1	Shark	<i>Crocodylia spp.</i>	Sharks appear	Shimane
2	Shrimp	<i>Decapoda spp.</i>	Shrimp turn red	Shizuoka
3	(dried young)Sardines	<i>Engraulidae spp.</i>	Peak season for spring dried small fish (<i>chirimen</i>)	Oita
4	(young) Sardines	<i>Engraulidae spp.</i>	Peak season for juvenile sardine (<i>jako</i>) fishing	Oita
5	Skipjack tuna/Bonito	<i>Katsuwonus pelamis</i>	Peak season for bonito (<i>katsuo</i>) Bonito start to be caught Bonito are caught in abundance	Mie Miyazaki Wakayama
6	Japanese sea bass	<i>Lateolabrax japonicus</i>	Pregnant sea bass enter the bay	Fukui
7	Webfoot octopus	<i>Octopus aegina</i>	Baby octopus (<i>iidako</i>) start entering the traps	Hyogo
8	Octopus	<i>Octopus spp.</i>	Octopus enter the traps all at once	Hyogo
9	Trout	<i>Oncorhynchus spp.</i>	Trout in May, when cherry blossoms are in full bloom, are at their most delicious	Gifu
10	Sea bream	<i>Pagrus major</i>	Sea bream in season Sea bream in season Sea bream in season Sea bream in season Sea bream in season Sea bream in season Sea bream in season Sea bream and rockfish in season	Tokushima Wakayama Hyogo Mie Kyoto Fukui Fukui Ishikawa

No.	Common Name	Scientific Name	Notes	Prefecture
11	Sardine	<i>Sardina pilchardus</i>	When the <i>kobushi</i> magnolia blooms, sardines can be caught Sardines are caught Horse mackerel and sardines are caught	Sado Wakayama Oita
12	Spanish mackerel	<i>Scomberomorus niphonius</i>	Cherry-blossom sea bass	Wakayama
13	Rockfish	<i>Sebastes spp.</i>	Sea bream and rockfish in season	Ishikawa
14	Yellowtail	<i>Seriola quinqueradiata</i>	When cherry blossoms fall, yellowtail (<i>huri</i>) are caught in abundance Yellowtail can be caught Yellowtail fishing comes to an end	Kagoshima Nagasaki Wakayama
15	Japanese barracuda	<i>Sphyræna japonica</i>	Barracuda are caught	Miyazaki
16	Tuna	<i>Thunnus spp.</i>	When double-flowered cherry buds start to form, tuna arrive Tuna approach the coast	Wakayama Wakayama
17	Horse mackerel	<i>Trachurus japonicus</i>	Horse mackerel and sardines are caught	Oita
18	Whale	<i>Various Cetacea</i>	Whale watching (<i>hanami</i> of whales) / Whale visitation	Yamaguchi

Source: Hoshi, K. (1975). *Mura no kotowaza jiten* [Dictionary of Village Proverbs]. Fumin Kyōkai. and Kawaguchi, M. (2013). *Shizenreki* [Natural Calendars]. Yasaka Shobō.

Conclusion

This study employed Shunsuke Tsurumi’s theory of “marginal art” as a methodological framework to reconsider cherry blossom landscapes from two perspectives: *pure landscapes* and *marginal landscapes*. As a result, cherry blossoms as pure landscapes exemplified by sites such as Yoshino, Arashiyama, and Ueno—were intentionally shaped and organized by the ruling authorities of their time and shared through artistic media such as waka poetry, paintings, and guidebooks to famous scenic spots. In these contexts, cherry blossoms were valued for their quantitative abundance, visual splendor, or ephemeral beauty, and their character as objects of aesthetic contemplation was increasingly emphasized.

Conversely, when attention is turned to popular hanami practices, cherry blossoms were not solely perceived as aesthetic objects. Within the contexts of agriculture and fisheries, cherry blossoms functioned as a natural calendar for assessing crop growth or fishing seasons, becoming inseparable from everyday practical life. Terms such as *Honen-zakura* (blossoms of a bountiful year), *Nōji-zakura* (agricultural-timing cherry), *Tanemaki-zakura* (seed-sowing cherry), as well as fish names and folk sayings referencing cherry blossoms, demonstrate that cherry blossoms served as indicators mediating people’s livelihoods, beliefs, and experiential knowledge.

The state of cherry blossoms in this way can be seen as a “marginal landscape” that exists on the border between art and practical use, between appreciation and practice. As a marginal

landscape, cherry blossoms are not selected based on beauty or ugliness or artistic value, but rather are landscapes that have been “seen,” “read,” and “used” in order to survive. As this study has shown, such marginal landscapes have become less visible within the aesthetic and artistic frameworks of the modern era, but they can be made visible again through the concrete example of cherry blossoms.

In conclusion, cherry blossom landscapes exhibit a dual character, encompassing both the artistic scenery of *pure landscapes* and the everyday-life scenery of *marginal landscapes*. The significance of this study lies in its proposition to reconsider landscapes not merely as objects to be viewed but as environments to be lived. Future research may extend this methodological approach to other natural elements and seasonal landscapes, thereby contributing to further development in the study of landscapes.

Author’s Notes

A seasonal division system that has been widely used in China and Japan since ancient times. The Twenty-Four Solar Terms divide the year into 24 equal parts based on the sun’s ecliptic longitude. In ancient China, each solar term was further subdivided into three stages, making a total of Seventy-Two Microseasons. These were given names derived from natural phenomena (such as “Sparrows begin to build nests,” “Frogs begin to croak,” “Cold cicadas sing,” and “Wild geese arrive”).

References

- Akisato, R., & Takehara, S. (1791). *Yamato meisho zue* [Illustrated guide to the famous places of Yamato] (6 vols.). Ogawa Tazaemon, Morimoto Tasuke, Yanagihara Kihei, & Takahashi Heisuke.
- Asano, K. (1984). *Sanka chōchū uta: Kinsei shokoku min'yō-shū* (Vol. Kō(30)-242-1) [Sanka Chōchū Uta: Folk Songs of Early Modern Japan]. Iwanami Shoten.
- Baichōrō Kunisada. (1857). *Murasaki Shikibu Genji Karuta, Jūni, Suma* [Murasaki Shikibu Genji Karuta, No. 12, “Suma”] [Nishiki-e, woodblock print]. Tsutaya Kichizō.
<https://doi.org/10.11501/1312699>
- Heibonsha Chihō Shiryō Sentā. (2000). *Tokushima-ken no chimei* [Place names of Tokushima Prefecture] (Vol. 37). Heibonsha.
- Higuchi, T. (1975). *Keikan no Kōzō: Landscape toshite no Nihon no Kūkan* [The Structure of Landscapes: Japanese Space as Landscape]. Gihōdō Shuppan.
- Hiroshige, U. (1834). *Arashiyama no Sakura, from the series Rokujū Yoshu Meisho Zue* [Cherry Blossoms at Arashiyama, from the series Famous Places of Kyōto] [Prints]. Tokyo (Edo). <https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/as/original/DP120462.jpg>
- Hiroshige, U. (1853). Arashiyama and Togetsukyo Bridge, Yamashiro Province [Woodblock print]. In *Rokujūyo-shū meisho zue* [Illustrated Famous Places of the Sixty-odd Provinces of Great Japan].
- Hiroshige, U. I. (n.d.). *Uozukushi nishikie* [Fish prints] [Woodblock print, Vol. 1]. Ito Collection, National Diet Library Digital Collections.
<https://kokusho.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100340255/> <https://doi.org/10.11501/2537533>
- Hoshi, K. (1975). *Mura no kotowaza jiten* [Dictionary of village proverbs]. Tomi Min Kyōkai.
- Izutsu, K. (2023). *Sakura no Nihonshi Nenpyō: Sakura to Nihonjin 2000-nen no Zenbunkashi* [Chronology of Cherry Blossoms in Japan: 2000 Years of Cherry Culture in Japan]. Kawade Shobō Shinsha.
- Katsuki, T. (2015). *Sakura* [Cherry Blossoms]. Iwanami Shoten.
- Kawaguchi, M. (2013). *Shizenreki* [Natural Calendars]. Yasaka Shobō.
- Kidōdō. (1978). *Tai Hyakuchin Ryōri Himitsu-bako*, Vol. 3 [Secrets of 100 Sea Bream Recipes, Vol. 3] (Yoshii, Ed., Reprint edition). Rinsen Shoten.
- Kuwako, T. (1999). *Saigyō no fūkei* [The landscape of Saigyō] (Vol. 857). Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai.
- Nakamura, Y. (1982). *Fūkeigaku Nyūmon* [Introduction to Landscape Studies]. Chūōkōron-sha.

- Nakamura, Y. (2021). *Fūdō Jichi: Na-hatsuteki Machizukuri to wa Nani ka* [Fūdō Jichi: What Is Endogenous Community Development?]. Fujiwara Shoten.
- Nakanishi, S. (1978). *Man'yōshū: Zen'yakuchū genbun-tsuki* [Man'yōshū: Complete Translation and Notes with Original Text] (Vol. 4, p. 207). Kōdansha Bunko.
- Nihon Daijiten. (1996). *Nihon daihyakka zensho* [Electronic book edition] Shogakukan. <https://japanknowledge.com>
- Nomoto, H. (2021). *Shizen-reki to Kankyō Kōshō no Sekai* [The World of Natural Calendars and Environmental Oral Traditions]. Taiga Shobō.
- Ogawa, K. (2004). *Sakura no Bungakushi*, Vol. 363 [A Literary History of Cherry Blossoms, Vol. 363]. Bungei Shunjū.
- Orikuchi, S. (1995). *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū*, 2 [Collected works of Orikuchi Shinobu, Vol. 2]. Chūōkōron-sha. (Original work published 1995)
- Saigyō. (1928). *Sanka-shū* [Sanka Collection] (N. Sasaki, Ed.). Iwanami Shoten.
- Shirahata, Y. (2015). *Hanami to Sakura: "Nihonteki naru Mono" Saikō* [Hanami and Sakura: Reconsidering "Japanese-ness"]. Yasaka Shobō.
- Shirasu, M. (2014). *Saigyō* (30th rev. ed., Vol. 5713, Shi-20-2). Shinchosha.
- Sugae, M. (2003). *Sugae Masumi yūranki* [Travel Notes of Sugai Masumi] (T. & T. Miyamoto, Eds., Vol. 2). Wide-ban Tōyō Bunko. Heibonsha.
- Takei, S. (1831). *Uokagami, Shimo* [Fish mirror: Lower volume]. <https://doi.org/10.11501/1900081>
- Takenishi, H. (1988). *Sakura* [Cherry blossoms] (Vol. 65). Sakuhinsha.
- Tsuchihashi, H. (1965). *Kodai Kayō to Girei no Kenkyū* [Studies on Ancient Songs and Rituals]. Iwanami Shoten.
- Tsurumi, S. (1967). *Genkai Geijutsu-ron* [Theory of marginal art]. Keisō Shobō.
- Ushio, M. (1986). Ōtaue no shūzoku to taue-uta [Customs of rice planting and rice-planting songs]. In *Ushio Michio chosakushū* (Vol. 2, p. 295). Meicho Shuppan.
- Yanagita, K. (1970). *Senzu no Hanashi* [Stories of ancestors] ([Reprint] Edition). Chikuma Shobō.
- Yanagita, K. (1977). *Nenchū Gyōji Oboegaki* [Memoranda on annual rituals] (Vol. 124). Kōdansha.
- Yamada, T. (1942). *Ōshi* [History of cherry blossoms] (Reprint ed.). Ōsho Shobō.