Regulating mobility: Roaming horses and liminal spatial orders in Heian Japan (794–1185)

SESE MA
Kyoto University
seseraindropsma@gmail.com

This paper examines the spatial regulation of human–animal relations in Heian Japan (794–1185), focusing on the role of free-ranging horses in shaping political authority and social order. Building on scholarship in animal geography and historical animal studies, it argues that space has long been central to the governance of animals, yet such spatial regimes were neither fixed nor uncontested. Through an analysis of legal codes, court records, and literary sources, the paper demonstrates how the Taihō Code (703) sought to impose rigid spatial hierarchies aligned with centralized state power, attempting to regulate movement, land use, and social organization. However, these efforts were persistently undermined by both commoners and roaming horses, whose everyday transgressions exposed the limits of legal enforcement. This paper introduces liminality as a key analytical framework to reinterpret early medieval Japan, suggesting that the marginalization and regulation of animal movement began much earlier than typically assumed in studies focused on early modern or modern Europe. In Heian-kyō and beyond, horses occupied ambiguous positions, neither fully domesticated nor wild, and frequently disrupted spatial and symbolic boundaries. Drawing on relational approaches influenced by Actor-Network Theory, this paper conceptualizes agency as distributed and emergent within human–animal assemblages. It argues that horses, without deliberate intent, exerted political force by destabilizing administrative systems and reshaping power relations. It further contends that unintentional animal agency played a significant role in reconfiguring spatial governance and state authority in Heian Japan.

KEYWORDS: Heian Japan; spatial governance; roaming horses; animal agency; liminality

VERTAISARVIOITU
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD
PEER-REVIEWED
www.tsv.fi/tunnus

CC BY

Introduction

Human-animal relationships have historically been entangled with systems of power and spatial control. Space has played a crucial role in reconstructing animal lives and shaping human social orders (Wolch and Emel 1998). Transgressing human spatial orderings often spurs deep unease, as animals are expected to remain within the bounds in both physical spaces and associated psychological realms (Nagy and Johnson II 2013). However, this overarching imaginative geography is highly contingent on specific locations and has been constructed over time in diverse temporal-spatial contexts (Latour 1993). Historically, spatial and legal dimensions of societies have been intertwined in a constant process of remaking the other (Blomley et al. 2001). Legal and political structures, such as Japan's Taihō Code (703), imposed rigid spatial orders that sought to control both human and non-human movement, reinforcing a centralized hierarchy of power. However, these impositions were met with resistance from commoners and free-ranging horses alike. Despite legal prohibitions, both groups subverted these constraints, contributing to the reconfiguration of power relations and spatial governance in Heian Japan (794–1185). This article argues that roaming horses, in conjunction with commoners, actively resisted the state's land system and power hierarchy, shaping the historical trajectory of the Heian period. Through everyday transgressions against state-imposed restrictions, commoners and their animals contested spatial demarcations, revealing the limitations of the Taihō Code in enforcing social order. By reframing roaming horses as agents of resistance rather than passive subjects of human control, this study highlights how their movement disrupted state authority, challenged legal boundaries, and ultimately contributed to the evolution of Japan's social and political structures.

In the field of animal geography and historical animal studies, an emerging body of literature has explored the restrictions on animal movements within urban environments through the concept of liminality (Wischermann et al. 2019). Pioneered by anthropologist van Gennep (1960), liminality delineates an ontological condition often observed in transition rituals. Theoretical approaches in animal history leverage the notion of liminality to challenge fixed boundaries and classifications (Howell 2019; Atkins 2012; McNeur 2014). It denotes a state of being in-between, neither solely one thing nor another, but perhaps both simultaneously. Despite coexisting with humans in urban environments or relying on human-made food sources, liminal animals evade human control, resist categorization and are prevalent throughout history. For instance, domesticated cattle grazing in a semi-wild environment like seventeenth-

century Manhattan Island defy clear categorization as either "domesticated" or "wild" (Wells 2019). While the concept of liminality has been utilized in historical animal studies, most of this literature has focused on periods of "the great separation" — the nineteenth and twentieth centuries — or the "pre-modern period" from the sixteenth century onwards. During these times urban animals were increasingly marginalized or restricted in their movements due to the emergence of a "modern constitution" that sought to purify uncontrollable animality (Smith 2012; Tague 2015). The dual forces of urbanization and industrialization resulted in the exclusion of urban animals and the marginalization of impoverished individuals who cohabited with these animals. These studies primarily focused on animals in European cities and their colonies during the industrialization process, a period when society was undergoing liminal transition, albeit with a few exceptions when non-European cities were in concern (Zehnle 2019).

This study draws on a combination of primary historical sources and secondary scholarship to examine the spatial regulation of horses and the limits of state authority in premodern Japan. Primary materials include legal codes such as the Taihō Code, official court records including *Sandai jitsuroku, Seiji yōryaku* and *Ruijū sandaikyaku*, and administrative and temple documents (e.g., *Honchō monzui* and *Kōzanji monjo*). These sources provide evidence of state policies, shifting legal frameworks, and recorded instances of noncompliance concerning grazing practices, land use and roaming horses. Literary sources, including poetry and anecdotal accounts (e.g., *Fuboku wakashō* and *Teishinkōki*), are also utilized to capture everyday practices and perceptions that are not fully represented in formal legal texts. This paper posits that liminality can offer insights into early medieval Japan, where a comparable trend could be explored. The gradual reduction of spaces designated for commoners and free ranging horses — and the accompanying resistance, which rendered their status increasingly liminal — had commenced much earlier, as early as the ninth century. While the Heian period (794–1185) is not commonly associated with modernity, like the period from sixteenth century onwards, it can be argued that it shares characteristics akin to modern urban planning, including spatial regulations regarding "animal matter out of place". Heian-kyō, founded in 794, was an urban space that restricted and regulated the movements of both human and animal residents, delineating categories of people and animals permitted, tolerated, or forbidden from occupying specific areas within the city. Like many modern and pre-modern cities, Heian-kyō grappled with the challenge of fully controlling (or deposing) animal presence, despite repeated rounds of ongoing legislation. Similarly, Buddhist institutions began to be established as spectacles designed to showcase the power of the centralized state, leading to prohibitions on

visits from both commoners and horses, due to concerns about their *kegare* or impurity. Nevertheless, these restrictions were frequently disregarded and met with resistance, sometimes even from the monks themselves, despite numerous legislative efforts to enforce them.

In recent decades, the "animal turn" has reshaped scholarship across history, geography, anthropology, and science and technology studies, challenging the long-standing assumption that agency is an exclusively human attribute (Anderson 1997; Büscher 2022; Ingold 2006; Ritvo 2010; Salmón 2000; Singh 2022). Influenced by posthumanist thought and by figures such as Bruno Latour, Donna Haraway, and Gilles Deleuze, scholars have increasingly sought to integrate animals into historical narratives not as symbolic resources or passive objects, but as participants in world-making processes (Bhattacharyya and Slocombe 2017; Fudge 2017; Nance 2015; Rees 2017; Wadham 2021). Rethinking agency has been central to this effort. Early attempts to write animals into history as agents were met with scepticism. When Brett L. Walker published *The Lost Wolves of Japan* (2005), his effort to reconstruct a "wolf's-eye view" of modernization pushed against disciplinary boundaries that treated intentionality, rationality, and self-awareness as prerequisites for agency. Yet over the past two decades, the terrain has shifted. Works such as Sandra Swart's *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa* (2010) have demonstrated how animals — there, horses in colonial South Africa — actively shaped social and political orders. What was once controversial has become increasingly well-accepted.

Nevertheless, a conceptual problem remains. Even as historians grant animals "agency," they often do so conditionally — either by implicitly attributing human-like intentionality to them or by framing their actions primarily as forms of "resistance." Critics such as Chris Pearson (2013, 2015, 2016) have cautioned against this reduction of nonhuman agency to a resistance model, which risks projecting human political categories onto animal behavior. At the same time, scholars including Vinciane Despret (2013) and Erica Fudge (2022) have argued that the deeper problem lies in the persistent equation of agency with intentional, rational subjectivity — an inheritance of humanist and Christian traditions of human exceptionalism. This paper intervenes in these debates by breaking decisively with the assumption that agency requires intention. Drawing on relational accounts of agency informed by Actor-Network Theory, it understands agency not as a property possessed by autonomous subjects but as an effect generated within assemblages of human and nonhuman actors. Agency, in this sense, may be distributed, emergent, and unintentional. Horses need not "mean" to resist in order to reshape political life. Roaming horses of Heian period did not

consciously oppose political authority, nor did they articulate grievances. Yet through their movements, interactions, and material demands, they disrupted administrative practices, strained systems of control, and altered relations between court, province, and landscape. By tracing these dynamics, this paper argues that unintentional animal agency can operate as a form of political resistance — not because it is willed as such, but because it reconfigures power relations and redirects historical trajectories.

During the Heian period, prior to the consolidation of feudal structures, Japan was governed by a centralized imperial court supported by a stratified bureaucratic system that included hierarchical ranks and a *senmin* (unfree) class. In the eighth century, spatial organization differed markedly from modern conceptions: boundaries were fluid, and horses occupied an integral role in everyday life, roaming freely across urban centers, rural settlements, agricultural fields, and uncultivated lands. Pastures were typically unfenced and embedded within landscapes defined by natural features, where free-range grazing was the norm. Horses were not rigidly categorized according to function, such as "livestock" or "cavalry". However, the introduction of Japan's initial legal code, the Taihō Code, sought to impose a rigid spatial order aligned with centralized governance, which often clashed with existing spatial practices. Although certain elements of the code overlapped with established norms, people did not adhere to these spatial restrictions. Commoners fled, regional clans rebelled, and cavalry horses escaped. Beyond the court elite responsible for its formulation, various social groups — including lower-ranking officials, regional elites, and commoners — opposed the new spatial order and devised strategies to utilize spaces for their own purposes. Patterns of flight, resistance, and evasion emerged, while horses themselves frequently transgressed imposed boundaries. Disruptions to these spatial arrangements, whether instigated by human groups or by the horses themselves, were so frequent and widespread that they became ingrained in the conceptual and material positioning of the animals. As a result, horses remained largely unconfined by legal designations, and the notion of a clearly bounded "space for horses" failed to materialize in both practical and conceptual terms.

This paper applies the concept of liminality to examine the restriction of movement of free-ranging horses in Heian (794-1185) Japan, arguing that the idea of confining the movement of animals within specific spaces already existed in the eighth century, a period not typically associated with the rise of "modernity" or the formation of early urban space, which are typically seen as the main drivers of the restriction of animal movement from the sixteenth century onward. Secondly, this paper argues that in Heian Japan, establishing spatial restrictions based solely on the notion of 'animal

matter out of place' was difficult in both legal and material terms, as the imaginative geography of horses remained unconstrained. It demonstrates this by examining the ways in which commoners, dispatched nobles, regional military leaders and horses themselves resisted the Taihō Code and its subsequent revisions, thereby creating a liminal space. Thirdly, this paper challenges both anthropocentric definitions of agency and narrow identifications of agency with deliberate resistance. It proposes instead that the political force of animals in history often lies precisely in the unintended consequences of their entanglements with human institutions.

Practice of free-range grazing up to the eighth century

During the Nara period (710-784), which followed the Kofun (the mid-3rd century to the mid-6th century) period and the Asuka (592-710) period, free-range grazing was widely practiced across the Japanese archipelago, particularly on volcanic and floodplain grasslands (Suga 2008). Volcanic grasslands developed on thin soils overlying solidified pyroclastic flows and lava, conditions unsuitable for tree growth. Floodplain grasslands, by contrast, resulted from Japan's steep tectonic topography, which produces unstable, fast-flowing rivers that frequently flood low-lying areas and inhibit forest formation. Grazing typically occurred in landscapes requiring little or no fencing, including floodplains enclosed by rivers, deltas, islands or peninsulas surrounded by the sea, alluvial fans with water sources, volcanic foothills, and low plateaus bounded by steep slopes (Takano 1989). Although harvested fields were occasionally used, grazing primarily took place on uncultivated land. Horses ranged freely without dedicated facilities, moving according to the availability of water and pasture. They were mainly employed in rice paddy cultivation and allowed to roam when not required for agricultural labor.

Overseeing grazing horses was generally a responsibility fell to children, although horses largely roamed independently in search of forage and water. An anecdote from the youth of Monk Gyōki (668-749) illustrates this practice: village children gathered to chant Buddhist sutras while leaving their cattle and horses unattended. At sunset, after the recitations ended, the children climbed nearby hills and called for their animals, which returned in response and accompanied them home (Yoshishigeno 987). During this period, farmers retained longstanding rights — dating back to the Kofun era — to use mountainous and uncultivated lands. Grazing rights were particularly significant because stable feeding was associated with higher disease risk, making free-range grazing a common husbandry strategy. Consequently, unrestricted access

to mountains and uncultivated grasslands was essential to rural livelihoods, as horses played a crucial role in rice cultivation. The principle of shared use of uncultivated mountains and meadows therefore remained a defining feature of land use during the Nara period.

The Taiho Code and the imposition of spatial order

The conquest of Goguryeo by Tang China in 667 heightened fears of a Tang invasion of Japan. In response, the Taika Reforms initiated in 645 sought to replace the decentralized authority of regional clans with a centralized government modeled on the Tang state (Watanabe 2024). The Taihō Code of 703 marked the culmination of these reforms and the consolidation of a centralized state. Modeled on the Tang legal system, it imposed spatial regulations that replaced aristocratic estates with public land ownership and delineated land for military use, agriculture, and settlement. The state also established *shokoku-no-maki* (state-managed pastures) for cavalry horses, creating a division between regulated and unregulated spaces. However, these regulations conflicted with existing communal land-use practices in which commoners and horses moved freely across shared landscapes. As the first comprehensive legal code, the Taihō Code institutionalized a bureaucratic government centered on the emperor and organized into two departments and eight ministries. It introduced public land ownership through the *kubuden* system, which converted aristocratic lands into state-controlled fields rented for cultivation (Kōbe 2020). The code also envisioned a centralized military system capable of rapid mobilization (Kasai 2004). National conscription was implemented, and *heidan* (regional garrisons) were established across the country, theoretically mobilizing up to 200,000 troops from a population of roughly four million. To supply these forces, *shokoku-no-maki* were created nationwide, enclosing lands previously used for free grazing and imposing production quotas of sixty foals per one hundred mares (Yamauchi 1967). These pastures were dedicated exclusively to cavalry and messenger horses for military purposes.

Through these measures, the Taihō Code imposed a spatial order that supported centralized authority and taxation through public land ownership. Horse production became integral to this system, generating a spatial logic that regulated both the use and location of horses. The code distinguished between two conceptual "horse spaces": *maki*, enclosed pastures for cavalry horses, and *sanya*, open lands designated for livestock. Horses roaming outside these zones were treated as violations and were prohibited from entering temples, shrines, and palace grounds. New urban and religious

centers were increasingly constructed on lands previously used for free grazing. In cities such as Fujiwara-kyō, specific zones barred the entry of free-ranging horses. Yet despite these legal boundaries, roaming horses — central to agricultural and daily life — continued to move through urban streets, temple precincts, and rural fields, revealing persistent tensions between centralized spatial control and longstanding pastoral practices.

Heian-kyō and roaming horses as agents of resistance

The establishment of Fujiwara-kyō in 694 CE marked an important step in consolidating the centralized bureaucratic system introduced by the Taihō Code (Ozawa 2008). Planned according to the jōbō-sei grid system influenced by Tang urban design, the city contained organized zones for Buddhist temples, government offices, markets, and residential areas. With an estimated population of about 30,000 — primarily nobles, officials, and conscripted laborers — Fujiwara-kyō represented Japan's first large urban population dependent on external supplies rather than village-based subsistence.

Image of Fujiwara-kyō Restoration Model. Photo provided by Kashihara City Museum, Nara.

Fujiwara-kyō marked the first construction of city walls in Japan (Ideta 2015). Its spatial organization restricted access to designated groups, anticipating later forms of regulated urban planning. This model significantly influenced subsequent capitals,

including Heijō-kyō (710), Nagaoka-kyō (784), and Heian-kyō (established in 794), which served as the political center of the Ritsuryō state until 1869. In ancient Japan, rudimentary legal frameworks already regulated the movement of humans and animals within urban spaces (Suematsu 2020). Heian-kyō further developed these principles through a grid-based layout that divided the city into functional zones, imposing restrictions on movement in certain areas while permitting relative freedom in others (Kuwabara and Iryo 2017). Heian-kyō covered approximately 4.5 km east–west and 5.2 km north–south. Suzaku Avenue, about 84 meters wide, connected the *Daidairi* (Imperial Palace) to Rashōmon Gate and divided the city into Sakyō (eastern) and Ukyō (western) sectors. The city's grid consisted of *jō* (east–west avenues) and *bō* (north–south streets), forming standardized blocks that facilitated land subdivision and urban administration (Yamada 2007). Unlike Tang-dynasty Chang'an, where each block was enclosed by walls, Heian-kyō enclosed only selected central blocks near Suzaku Avenue. Within this grid, specific blocks were allocated for particular functions — for example, the Shinsenen imperial garden north of the palace, the eastern and western markets in the south, and the Tō-ji and Sai-ji temples (Kuwabara and Iryo 2017). Through this spatial organization, urban activities and mobility were regulated within designated zones, further developing the controlled urban environment first articulated in Fujiwara-kyō.

However, the continued presence of free-ranging horses in restricted spaces reveals the limited effectiveness of legal enforcement and the persistence of alternative spatial practices. Despite the planned grid layout and strict zoning of Heian-kyō, historical records reveal repeated but unsuccessful attempts to eliminate grazing animals from the city. Decrees issued in 814, 856, 882, 891, 931, and 966 prohibited grazing in temple precincts, palace grounds, and city streets (Sandai jitsuroku, vol. 42). Nevertheless, commoners frequently circumvented these regulations by claiming confiscated horses were strays, exploiting provisions of the Taihō Code. Under the Kumoku-ryō, discovered stray animals had to be publicly announced, and if no owner appeared within two years, they became government property or were sold (Koremune 1002). This rule allowed farmers to falsely claim ownership of confiscated horses, undermining enforcement.

Authorities repeatedly tightened regulations, yet compliance remained limited. In 814 grazing was banned in the Kitano district north of the palace and marked with boundary signboards, but violations persisted. A stricter decree in 856 imposed corporal punishment — fifty lashes for a first offense and one hundred for a second — while a third offense resulted in confiscation of the horse (Fujiwarano et al. 1897). Subsequent

decrees in 882 and 891 increased penalties and transferred enforcement to the *kebiishi* (the police and judicial officials of the period), yet free-ranging horses remained common (*Sandai jitsuroku*, vol. 42). Further measures in 931 and 966 mandated immediate confiscation of horses within palace and imperial garden precincts, but these repeated proclamations indicate the continuing difficulty of enforcing grazing restrictions within the capital (Koremune 1002). Persistent noncompliance stemmed in part from the exploitation of legal loopholes. A court document dated 27 August 966 records a petition by the *kebiishi* that examines why unauthorized roaming horses remained widespread and proposes regulatory reforms. The report attributed the problem to lenient enforcement and to legal exemptions that excluded individuals aged seventy or older and sixteen or younger from punishment. Commoners reportedly falsified their age to evade penalties, while officials often failed to verify such claims and instead issued warnings before releasing offenders. A subsequent decree therefore extended legal liability to individuals between sixteen and seventy years of age. Even so, the problem persisted (Sandai jitsuroku, vol. 42). Roaming horses were thus not confined to the Kitano district or palace precincts but appeared throughout Heian-kyō. Contemporary sources describe Suzaku-ōji — the approximately 100-meter-wide ceremonial avenue of the capital — as "overflowing with horses and cattle during the day and thieves at night" (Teishinkōki; Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 16). Similarly, addressing the constant presence of free roaming horses, peasant *tanka* poetry noted that "the mountain roads (of Heian-kyō) at dusk are filled with the songs of woodcutters and wood flutes (calling for horses and cattle home)" (Fujiwarano 1272; Katsumata, 1310).

One explanation for this continued defiance lies in the gradual reduction of communal grazing land within the capital. Grazing areas along the Kamo River were originally designated for horses and cattle belonging to both residents and visiting provincial officials. In 871, the court prohibited cultivation in these areas to preserve them as grazing grounds, yet enforcement proved weak, and farming gradually encroached on the riverbanks. By 896 the court formally recognized fields already under cultivation, further reducing communal pasture (Ruiju Sandaikaku vol. 20). Although commoners retained customary rights to use uncultivated land — practices traceable to the Kofun period — grazing remained essential to rural subsistence. As stall-feeding was economically unfeasible for most households, free-range grazing predominated, and restrictions on access to open land threatened agricultural livelihoods dependent on horses for wet-rice cultivation. Yet, with the consolidation of feudal structures, the expansion of private estates and manorial pastures steadily reduced land available for

communal use. In the political center of Heian-kyō, this contraction forced commoners and their horses to seek pasture in prohibited spaces, including the palace grounds.

The zoning regulations of Heian-kyō represent an early attempt to regulate both human and animal mobility within an ordered urban space. Yet the continued presence of free-ranging horses in restricted areas reveals the limits of state authority. Despite repeated decrees between 814 and 966 prohibiting grazing in sacred and administrative spaces — including palace precincts — commoners consistently circumvented these regulations. By exploiting legal loopholes, such as claiming confiscated animals as strays, they undermined the effectiveness of official enforcement. The persistence of such practices, even in the face of severe penalties, highlights the difficulties encountered by the imperial court in asserting effective control over urban space and everyday behavior. This dynamic can be further illuminated through scholarship on the unintended agency of domestic animals. Virginia DeJohn Anderson (2004) argues that livestock in colonial societies — often by escaping enclosures or wandering freely — could unintentionally reshape human relationships and social structures. Similarly, Violette Pouillard (2022) suggests that the transgressive behavior of animals can reveal overlooked forms of resistance within asymmetrical power relations. Viewed in this light, the roaming horses of Heian-kyō may therefore be understood as agents whose ordinary movements disrupted attempts at spatial regulation. Driven by a search for grass and water, they inadvertently transgress spaces not designated for their presence, such as Kitano, Suzaku Oji Avenue, and the palace grounds. Although unintentional, these movements intersected with the actions of commoners who navigated or exploited legal ambiguities. Together, these everyday transgressions constituted a subtle yet persistent challenge to the regulatory ambitions of the centralised state.

The role of Buddhist temples in spatial contestation

Buddhist temples, established as symbols of court authority during the Heian period, also became sites where spatial prohibitions were contested. Although temples possessed extensive landholdings and were intended as exclusive religious spaces, prohibitions against animal presence were frequently ignored. The continued keeping of horses within temple precincts — even by monks — reveals the limited capacity of state authority to regulate everyday practices. Consequently, Buddhist institutions themselves functioned as arenas where official spatial boundaries were subtly challenged.

Alongside the implementation of the Taihō Code and the establishment of a bureaucratic system, the court introduced political reforms to consolidate imperial

authority (Satō 1985). The promotion of Buddhism formed a key component of this strategy. By encouraging a unified religious framework that transcended clan-based Shinto practices among the *shi* (clans) of the *kizoku* (nobility), the court sought to expand its political influence over both elites and commoners (Taira 1993). Substantial state resources were invested in the construction of monumental temples such as Shitennō-ji and Hōryū-ji, whose complex architecture — including five-story pagodas — surpassed earlier building traditions in Japan. Skilled monks and artisans from Korea were invited to assist in temple construction, Buddhist art, and sculpture. During the Nara period (710–784), successive courts continued to support Buddhism, constructing large temples with state funds and granting them extensive lands and numerous *nuhi* (slaves) (Shōji, 2013). Assigned the role of protecting the state through ritual prayer for imperial stability, this court-sponsored Buddhism remained largely detached from the general population. Monks were prohibited from preaching among commoners, and access to temples was largely restricted to the emperor and court elites. Despite official regulations that confined free grazing to *sanya* (unoccupied mountains and meadows), pastoral practices frequently extended into temple lands where water and pasture were abundant. As a result, grazing within Buddhist temple precincts became widespread across the provinces, as numerous records describe "herds of horses" gathering in temple grounds, prompting repeated prohibitions. For instance, a decree issued in May 716 sought to restrict grazing within spaces designated as sacred by the court:

> "To respect the Buddha, prioritize cleanliness above all. It has come to our attention that there is much kegare [impurity] within the precincts of temples across various provinces, where horses are said to be grazing. Kokushi [prefecture governors] and kami [government officials ranked fourth degree] must personally enforce strict regulations. Practice caution and always maintain cleanliness during ceremonies." (Ruiju sandaikaku, vol.1)

The concept of *kegare* (impurity) in the Heian period denoted a state of ritual defilement believed to arise from events such as epidemics, childbirth, death, menstruation, and related phenomena (Kobayashi 2016). Alongside *tsumi* (sin) and *wazawai* (calamity), it was understood as a dangerous condition capable of disrupting social and cosmic order and was therefore subject to avoidance and taboo (Yamamoto 2014). Women during or immediately following menstruation were prohibited from visiting temples and shrines; similarly, the presence of a horse within temple precincts was regarded as a source of ritual impurity. Although animals were considered as members of all

sentient beings within Mahayana Buddhist cosmology in the Heian period, their presence on temple grounds was nevertheless associated with impurity. As the realm into which beings are reborn in consequence of evil actions, *chikushō-dō* (the Realm of Animals) was interpreted as a domain of spiritual degradation. Consequently, the entry of domesticated animals such as horses into temple precincts was classified as an act of defilement. However, this understanding primarily reflected the ideology of the *kizoku* (court aristocracy), who sought to consolidate imperial authority through the institutional framework of Buddhism. In practice, temple communities did not adhere strictly to such notions, as evidenced by numerous recorded instances in which these prohibitions were disregarded. Despite official restrictions, grazing within the precincts of Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines became increasingly common. In 859 the imperial court ordered Enryaku-ji to cease "raising horses indiscriminately and damaging temple grounds" (Sandai jitsuroku, vol. 13). The *jishi* (temple administrators) were instructed to warn offenders and confiscate horses, transferring repeat cases to the *meryō* (Ministry of Horses) in Heian-kyō. Yet monks repeatedly ignored these measures and even forcibly reclaimed confiscated animals, prompting another prohibition in 866. Compliance remained limited, and by 999 an edict noted that temple precincts had effectively become "open pasturelands" (Shinshō kyakuchokufushō, n.d.). Similar patterns of grazing within sacred precincts were recorded across the country.

The persistent defiance of spatial prohibitions within Buddhist temples during the Heian period exemplified the tension between state regulation and everyday practice. Despite the state's significant investment in the promotion of Buddhism as a means of consolidating imperial power and religious legitimacy, the regulations meant to preserve the sanctity of temple grounds were frequently ignored by monks themselves. Free-range grazing within temple precincts thus became a widespread practice. This pattern reflects broader social dynamics, where sacred spaces became arenas of contestation. The growing entanglement of religious institutions with secular and military interests further complicated enforcement, underscoring the limited capacity of the state to control the practical use of space.

The disappearance of grazing lands surrounding Heian-kyō

The prevalence of roaming horses within temple precincts was partly linked to the disappearance of public grazing land around Heian-kyō. As *sanya* (communal pastures) were gradually converted into private *shōen* (manor), accessible grazing areas declined, particularly in the Kinki region where flat land was increasingly developed

into estates. This process was closely connected to the implementation of the Taihō Code, which introduced the *kubunden* system of state-allotted rice fields and imposed fixed agricultural taxes (Itō 1983). Farmers were required to cultivate assigned land and deliver taxes regardless of productivity, creating heavy burdens that led many to flee their holdings. Records from 730 in Echizen Province indicate that more than 90 percent of farmers fell into the lowest category of subsistence, suggesting widespread hardship (Itō 2021). Many fugitives sought employment on lands illegally appropriated by powerful local clans, who exploited their labor to cultivate previously uncultivated terrain. This rapid expansion of unauthorized cultivation encroached upon public grazing lands despite repeated prohibitions, including imperial decrees in 706 and 711 banning the illegal occupation of communal pastures (Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 16).

By the late eighth century these reclaimed lands had developed into estate-like settlements identified as *shōen*, whose rapid expansion further reduced communal grazing areas. The court attempted to curb this process through repeated decrees, including an edict in 798 ordering the confiscation of illegally occupied lands exceeding five *chō* (49,500 square meter) including areas of mountains, fields, bushes, marshes, beaches, and islands, while reaffirming the prohibition of private enclosures (Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 16). Similar measures were issued in 806, 850, and 883, indicating persistent noncompliance. A decree of 850 explicitly accused nobles, court officials, Buddhist temples, and regional magnates of enclosing mountains and fields, restricting access to firewood and wetlands, and seizing roaming horses (*Montoku jitsuroku* vol.2). These practices significantly disrupted the livelihoods of commoners who depended on open land. Although the court continued to issue regulations against the monopolization of uncultivated land throughout the Heian period, powerful elites nonetheless expanded their estates, steadily diminishing communal pastures and contributing to the spread of roaming horses in prohibited spaces.

From the early ninth century, land reclamation expanded beyond court nobles and Buddhist temples to include powerful regional clans. Advances in irrigation enabled the conversion of previously uncultivated land into rice paddies, accelerating the expansion of private estates (Kobayashi 1996). While the *kizoku* (court aristocracy) sought to consolidate a centralized state, local *gōzoku* clans developed private domains that contributed to the gradual emergence of feudal structures. This process steadily reduced commoners' access to communal grazing lands. Efforts by the court to impose order through palaces and Buddhist institutions were paralleled by the expansion of manorial estates, where free grazing was increasingly restricted. In response, commoners often resisted both court and local authority by disregarding formal and

informal limitations on land use. As noted by Wolch and Emel (1998), animals are always entangled in the political and social landscapes of human society, and their movements can disrupt systems designed to regulate space and mobility. In the Heian period, the persistent presence of roaming horses — despite repeated prohibitions — reflected broader patterns of resistance to regulations governing land use, taxation, and labor obligations. Such defiance was rooted in unstable relations between the court and diverse social groups, from aristocrats to commoners. Comparable patterns of noncompliance also appeared in *shokoku-no-maki* (the state-managed pasture system), where repeated prohibitions were likewise frequently ignored.

Ongoing disobedience in *shokoku-no-maki* (state-managed pastures) and *mimaki* (imperial pastures)

Despite laws designating pastures for breeding and tribute of cavalry horses, provincial governors and pasture supervisors who benefited from the privileges associated with their manors and amassed wealth, began ignoring the pasture regulations. By 789, there was a constant shortage of tribute horses (Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 17). Between 764 and 824, six legal revisions attempted to address the issue of *kaketsu* (producing fewer foals than the prescribed number) (Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 18). Measures included the collection of replacement horses for unpaid obligations and later the imposition of a levy of 400 bundles of rice for each unpaid horse; however, none proved effective. In 824, the situation escalated to the point where pasture herdsmen, burdened with the responsibility of delivering rice for the shortfall in tribute horses, began fleeing to other provinces (Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 18).

One factor underlying the *kaketsu* was the appropriation of *mimaki (*imperial pastures) and the rise of the *bushi* (warrior) class. This development reflected broader changes in military organization following the introduction of the Taihō Code. The centralized military system envisioned by the code — based on *heidan* (conscripted units) — proved increasingly impractical, and commoners resisted service due to hardship and the absence of payment. In 792 the court abolished the conscription-based system and introduced the *kondei* system, recruiting a limited number of skilled mounted soldiers from wealthy commoners and influential regional families (Watanabe 1953). This reform shifted military responsibility from the general population to a narrower social group and encouraged the emergence of mounted elites whose sons served as cavalrymen. The abolition of the *heidan* system also weakened regional security and contributed to growing disorder (Arai 1988). Unable to maintain public order solely

through state forces, the central government increasingly relied on powerful regional clans for local defense. Initially limited to protecting their own estates, these magnates gradually expanded their authority as their military role grew (Noguchi 2001). The *kondei* system thus facilitated the militarization of local elites, whose mounted retainers strengthened their armed capacity and influence. This process ultimately contributed to the nationwide emergence of the warrior class during the mid-Heian period (Shimada 2024).

While the court sought to extend its authority through the *kondei* system, *gōzoku* (powerful regional clans) capitalized on declining public security. Their growing military strength was rooted in the economic resources of their expanding estates and in the appropriation of *mimaki* (imperial pastures). In 952 the court issued a decree penalizing pasture supervisors who failed to deliver sufficient foals and reducing the stipends of negligent provincial governors by twenty percent (Seiji yōroku 23). Nevertheless, delays and shortages became increasingly common from the mid-tenth century, indicating the limited effectiveness of these reforms. By 1186 local magnates controlled twenty-eight imperial pastures and their associated estates, leading to the collapse of the *kōba* (horse tribute system) (Azuma Kagami 1186). These pastures — originally established under the Taihō Code as centers for horse breeding and cavalry training — thus became important bases through which regional elites strengthened their military capacity during the late Heian period.

Similar to the embezzlement of *mimaki*, the resilience from horses became evident in 876, when over 2,000 horses escaped from the imperial pastures in Shinano Province (Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 16). This event was partially attributed to the neglect and theft of fences by the pasture supervisors, who either allowed the fences to deteriorate or stole them outright. Similar occurrences were reported in Iyo Province during the same year, and the same incidents had occurred in Shinano in 865 (Ruiju sandaikyaku vol. 16). A decree was issued in 865 mandating the repair of fences under tax duties, but it was ignored. In response, the court released a new legislation dismissing the pasture chiefs when such incidents occurred. However, this too did not resolve the issue as anticipated, suggesting that the chiefs may have found ways to evade dismissal, given their local authority. Although the precise causes of the horses' collective escape remain uncertain, the persistence of these incidents reveals not merely administrative negligence but a structural inability to secure the boundaries that were meant to immobilize and instrumentalize their bodies. To interpret these escapes solely in terms of human mismanagement, however, would be to reinscribe the very anthropocentrism recent studies seek to unsettle. Even if unintentional, the

horses' movements constituted a material disruption of both the regime's and the *gōzoku*'s spatial logic. In breaching fences, straying across provincial lines, and rendering systems of accountability ineffective, they exceeded both the physical and conceptual boundaries imposed upon them. In this sense, the horses emerge as active participants in the reconfiguration of governance.

Recent scholarship in Animal Studies has developed conceptual tools for recognizing such dynamics. Scholars including David Nibert (2013), Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (2000), and Sandra Swart (2010) emphasize the relational agency of nonhuman animals and their roles in shaping everyday social and spatial practices. Importantly, these approaches do not require animals to intentionally resist in order for their actions to have resistant effects; insisting on intentionality risks obscuring the distributed and emergent forms of agency through which animals disrupt human systems. In this perspective, the escape of horses can be understood through what pattrice jones (2009) terms "natural anarchism": animals' routine disregard for human-imposed boundaries in pursuit of their own trajectories. Comparable cases — such as livestock manipulating gates or animals collectively fleeing confinement — demonstrate how nonhuman transgressions expose the contingency of human authority (Colling 2021; Hribal 2003, 2010; Masson 2003). Seen in this light, the collective escape of approximately 2,000 horses in Shinano Province, alongside similar incidents in Iyo Province, can be interpreted as a political event. As argued by Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (2000), animals — though subordinated within human systems — may enact forms of political resistance by transgressing the material and conceptual boundaries that seek to confine them. By disrupting the spatial order of imperial pastures, these escapes exposed the limits of administrative control. Although the motivations behind such collective movements remain unknowable, their consequences were clear: they strained legal frameworks, disrupted local governance, and prompted repeated institutional responses. In doing so, the horses not only inhabited but actively reshaped the human-designed landscape, functioning as what Kathryn Gillespie (2016) describes as "world-making individuals."

The persistence of roaming horses despite legal prohibitions

By the late ninth century, the collapse of the *kubunden* system and the seizure of uncultivated land by local elites increasingly marginalized commoners. Nevertheless, everyday practices such as free-ranging livestock continued to challenge official spatial controls. The persistence of roaming horses and widespread noncompliance

with regulations reflected broader strains within the *ritsuryō* (bureaucratic) order and contributed to its gradual erosion. Regional military elites, who had also appropriated pastures and incorporated peasants as retainers, exploited these developments. Such transformations ultimately facilitated the rise of the *bushi* (warrior) class and culminated in the establishment of the Kamakura Shogunate, marking a shift from centralized imperial rule toward decentralized warrior governance. Despite these political changes, the practice of free-range grazing persisted beyond the Heian period. Long-standing prohibitions against livestock within shrine and temple precincts were inconsistently enforced, and roaming animals remained common during the Kamakura period. Consequently, from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries many religious institutions introduced stricter grazing bans. Even in Heian-kyō, records indicate that livestock grazing continued into the fifteenth century (Sandai jitsuroku vol. 42.). Although documentation of grazing practices becomes scarce following the establishment of the Kamakura military government under Minamoto no Yoritomo, surviving records suggest that the presence of freely roaming horses within temple precincts remained a recurring issue (Kōzanji Monjo 1975).

Conclusion

The Taihō Code sought to impose a new spatial order in ninth-century Japan as part of a broader project of centralized governance. Central to this system was the regulation of horses, which were incorporated into designated grazing lands and state-managed pastures, while urban spaces such as Heian-kyō were subject to zoning restrictions that excluded free-ranging animals. Nevertheless, the enforcement of these spatial restrictions faced persistent challenges due to ongoing resistance. Repeated legislative efforts failed to confine horses within prescribed boundaries, as commoners, regional elites, warriors, dispatched lower-ranking nobles in the periphery, and even higher-ranking nobles routinely disregarded such regulations. Horses themselves, moving in accordance with the availability of water and pasture, destabilized these imposed limits.

The limited success of these policies reveals a fundamental disjuncture between state-imposed spatial ordering and everyday practices. Institutions such as the *maki* never functioned as fully enclosed or regulated systems, and the persistence of free-range grazing reflects a broader spatial logic in which fixed boundaries were neither materially nor conceptually dominant. Within the Heian period, horses thus occupied a liminal position, situated between state control and everyday practice, and exposing the constraints of centralized authority. By highlighting the role of nonhuman actors in

these processes, this paper challenges anthropocentric narratives of historical change. The movements of horses not only contested the state's regulatory framework but also contributed to broader transformations that accompanied the decline of the *ritsuryō* order and the emergence of medieval Japan. Integrating human–animal relations into the study of legal geography and social change therefore offers new perspectives on how systems of power were negotiated, resisted, and reshaped in early Japanese history.[1]

References

Primary sources

Fujiwarano, Akihira. 1272. *Honchō monzui* [The Literary Essence of Our Court], vol. 10. National Archives of Japan.

Fujiwara Mototsune. 836-891. *Montoku jitsuroku* [The History of Emperor Montoku]. Izumojiizuminojō.

Fujiwarano, Tadahira. 907–948. *Teishinkōki*.

Fujiwarano, Tokihira, Yoshiyuki Ōkurano, Michizane Sugawarano, and Masahira Mimuneno. 1897. *Sandai jitsuroku* [Nihon Sandai Jitsuroku/ Record of Three Generations]. Keizai Zasshisha.

Katsumata, Nagakiyo. 1310. *Fuboku wakashō* [Fuboku Waka Collection]. Kazamashobo, 1981.

Koremune, Tadasuke. *1002. Seiji yōryaku* [Summary of Administrative Affairs]*, vol. 70.* National Institute of Japanese Literature.

Kōzanji Monjo [Kōzanji Temple Documents Collection]. 1975. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai.

Ruiju Sandaikyaku [Assorted Regulations from Three Reigns]. 1998. In *Kokushi Taikei*, edited by Kuroita, K. and Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai. Yoshikawa Kobunkan.

Yoshishigeno, Yasutane. 985–987. *Nihon ōjō gokuraku-ki*. [Japanese Records of Rebirth in the Land of Bliss], Keizai Zasshisha.

Secondary sources

Anderson, Kay. 1997. "A Walk on the Wild Side: A Critical Geography of Domestication." *Progress in Human Geography* 21 (4), 463–485. https://doi.org/10.1191/030913297673999021.

Anderson, Virginia DeJohn. 2004. C*reatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Trans-*

1 Note on the use of AI: The author has used generative AI for citation style formulation.

formed Early America. Oxford University Press.

Arai, Hidenori. 1988. "Taihōreika Sanzeiisshinnohō izen no shiteki tochi kaikon no igi ni tsuite." [Examing the Significance of Private Land Cultivation Prior to Sansei-isshin-no-ho Law under the Taihō Code] *Meiji Daigaku Daigakuin Kiyō Bungakuhen* (25): 249–262.

Atkins, Peter. 2012. "Introduction." In *Animal Cities: Beastly Animal Histories,* edited by Peter Atkins. Ashgate.

Bhattacharyya, Jonaki and Scott D. Slocombe. 2017. "Animal Agency: Wildlife Management From a Concentric Perspective." *Ecosphere* 8 (10). https://doi.org/10.1002/ecs2.1978.

Büscher, Bram. 2022. "The Nonhuman Turn: Critical Reflections on Alienation, Entanglement and Nature Under Capitalism." *Dialogues in Human Geography* 12(1): 54–73.

Blomley, Nicholas, David Delaney and Richard T. Ford. 2001. *The Legal Geographies Reader: Law, Power and Space.* Blackwell.

Colling, Sarat. 2021. Animal Resistance in the Global Capitalist Era. Michigan State University Press.

Despret, Vinciane. 2013. "From Secret Agents to Interagency." *History and Theory* 52(4): 29–44.

Fudge, Erica. 2022. "The History of Animals in the Present Moment: Rumination 2.0". *Humanimalia* 13 (1): 253–264. https://doi.org/10.52537/humanimalia.11282.

Fudge, Erica. 2017. "History and Animal Studies." In *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, edited by Linda Kalof. Oxford University Press.

Gennep, Arnold van. 1960. *The Rites of Passage*. University of Chicago Press.

Gillespie, Kathryn. 2016. "Nonhuman Animal Resistance and the Improperties of Live Property." In *Animals, Biopolitics, Law— Lively Legalities*, edited by Irus Braverman. Routledge.

Howell, Philip. 2019. "Between Wild and Domestic, Animal and Human, Life and Death: The Problem of the Stray in the Victorian City." In *Animal History in the Modern City: Exploring Liminality*, edited by Clemens Wischermann, Aline Steinbrecher and Philip Howell. Bloomsbury Academic.

Hribal, Jason. 2010. *Fear of the Animal Planet : the Hidden History of Animal Resistance*. Counterpunch.

Hribal, Jason. 2003. "'Animals Are Part of the Working Class': A Challenge to Labor History." *Labor History* 44 (4): 435–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/0023656032000170069.

Ideta, Kazuhisa. 2015. "Kyū kara kyō heno tenkai to Fujiwara-kyō Heijō-kyō no ricchi

kankyō." [The Development from Kyū to Kyō and the Locational Environment of Fujiwara-kyō and Heijō-kyō] *Tojōsei Kenky*ū (9): 117–134.

Ingold, Tim. 2006. "Rethinking the Animate, Re-animating Thought." *Ethnos* 71 (1): 9-20. https://doi.org/10.1080/00141840600603111.

Itō, Shunichi. 2021. *Shōen: Kondeneinenshizai-no-h*ō *kara* ō*nin-no-ran made* [History of Shōen: From the Konden Einen Shizai Law to the Ōnin War]. Chūōkōronshinsha.

Itō, Toshikazu. 1983. "Sanuki-no-kuni ni okeru jōri koshōhō no seibi katei." [The Process of Establishing the Jōri Nomenclature System in Sanuki Province] *The Historical Geography* (1983): 15–28.

jones, pattrice. 2009. "Free As a Bird: Natural Anarchism in Action." In *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy (1st ed.),* edited by Randall Amster, Abraham DeLeon, Luis Fernandez, Anthony J. Nocella II, Deric Shannon. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203891735

Kasai, Kazuhiro. 2004. "Ritsuryō seiritsuki no buki to bujutsu." [Weapons and Martial Arts in the Formative Period of Ritsuryō System] *Kokusai Keieiron Sh*ō (27): 187–209.

Kobayashi, Mikio. 1996. "Kodai chūsei ni okeru makiseido no hensen to kōba." [Changes in Tribute system of Imperial Pasture in Ancient and Medieval Japan] *Nagano Joshi Tanki Daigaku Kenky*ū *Kiy*ō (4) 20-38.

Kobayashi, Rie. 2016. "Kegare no kannen yori mita nihon kodai no sōsō." [Examining the Burial Ritual in Ancient Japan through the Concept of *Kegare*] PhD Diss., Nara Women's University.

Kōbe, Kousuke. 2020. "Ritsuryō sozei menjo seido no kenkyū." [A Study of the Ritsuryō Tax Exemption System] *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* (212): 1–39.

Kuwabara, Masao and Miho Iryo. 2017. "Heian-kyō no kōtsūryū ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu." [A Study of Traffic Flow in Heian-kyo] *Doboku Keikakugaku Kenky*ū (34): 493–505.

Latour, Bruno. 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press.

Masson, Jeffrey Moussaieff. 2003. *The Pig Who Sang to the Moon: The Emotional World of Farm Animals.* Ballantine Books.

McNeur, Catherine. 2014. *Taming Manhattan: Environmental Battles in the Antebellum City*. Harvard University Press.

Nagy, Kelsi and Philip D. Johnson II. 2013. *Trash Animals: How We Live with Nature's Filthy, Feral, Invasive and Unwanted Species*. University of Minnesota Press.

Nance, Susan. 2015. *The Historical Animal.* Syracuse University Press.

Nibert, David A. 2013. Animal Oppression and Human Violence: Domesecration,

Capitalism, and Global Conflict. Columbia University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/nibe15188.

Nishida, Tomohiro. 2021. *Azuma Kagami (Japanese Classics for Beginners)*. Kadokawa.

Noguchi, Minoru. 2001. "Kindai kokumin dōtoku to shite no bushi ninshiki: gunkoku kokka keisei no zentei." [Understanding of 'Bushi' as Modern National Morality: A Precondition of Formation of a Militant Nation] *Gendai Shakai Kenkyū* (1): 93–104

Ozawa, Tsuyoshi. 2008. "Fujiwarakyō no seiritsu to kōzō wo meguru shomondai." [Multiple Problems Concerning the Formation and Construction of Fujiwarakyō] *Kodai Higashiajia Kōryū no Sōgōteki Kenkyū* (2008): 67–94.

Pearson, Chris. 2013. "Dogs, History and Agency." *History and Theory*, 52 (4): 128–145. https://doi.org/10.1111/hith.10683.

Pearson, Chris. 2015. "Beyond 'Resistance': Rethinking Nonhuman Agency for a 'More-Than-Human' World." *European Review of History* 22 (5): 709–725. https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2015.1070122.

Pearson, Chris. 2016. "History and Animal Agencies." In *The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*, edited by Linda Kalof. Oxford University Press.

Philo, Chris and Chirs Wilbert. 2000. "An Introduction." In *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places*, edited by Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert. Routledge.

Pouillard, Violette. 2022. "Animal Feeding, Animal Experiments, and the Zoo as a Laboratory: Paris Ménagerie and London Zoo, ca. 1793-1939." *Centaurus* 64(3): 705-728. https://doi.org/10.1484/J.CNT.5. 132106

Rees, Amanda. 2017. "Animal Agents? Historiography, Theory and the History of Science in the Anthropocene." *British Society for the History of Science Themes* (2): 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1017/bjt.2017.11.

Ritvo, Harriet. 2010. *Noble Cows and Hybrid Zebras: Essays on Animals and History*. University of Virginia Press.

Salmón, Enrique. 2000. "Kincentric Ecology: Indigenous Perceptions of the Human-Nature Relationship." *Ecological Applications* 10 (5): 1327–1332. https://doi.org/10.2307/2641288.

Satō, Makoto. 1985. "Meryō ni tsuite no siryōteki kentō." [A Historical Archival Research Concerning Meryō of Heian-kyō] *Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūsho Gakuhō: Heijō-kyū Hakkutsu Chōsa Hōkoku* 12 (42): 140–146.

Shimada, Yuetsu. 2024. "Kiyohara-shi no seiryoku hanni to keisei katei: Heian jidai ni okeru Dewakitasangun no yūryokusha kyotaku iseki." [The Formative Process and Power Struggle of Kiyohara clan — Examining the heritage site of Dewakitasangun in Heian Period] *Iwate Daigaku Hiraizumi Bunka Kenkyū Sentā Nenpō* (12): 49–66.

Shinshō kyakuchokufushō (n.d.) [Unknown (Heian period)].

Singh, Neera M. 2022. "The Nonhuman Turn or a Re-turn to Animism? Valuing Life Along and Beyond Capital." *Dialogues in Human Geography* (12)1: 84–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/20438206221075708.

Smith, Kimberly, K. 2012. *Governing Animals: Animal Welfare and the Liberal State*. Oxford University Press.

Shōji, Katsuya. 2013. "Shinbutsu shōgō no rekishi tenkai." [The Historical Transformation of Shin-butsu Shūgō] *Rikkyo Journal of Social Design Studies* (12): 103–108.

Suematsu, Takeshi. 2020. "Shoki Heian-kyō ni tsuite: Daiichiji Heian-kyō setsu no saikentō." [The Study of Heian-kyō in the Early Heian Period: Re-examination About "the First Heian-kyō" Theory] *Shakai Kagaku* 50(1): 1–21.

Suga, Takeshi. 2008. "Chūbu sangakuiki ni okeru hansizensōgen no hensenshi to sōgensei seibutsu no hozen." [The Historical Changes of Semi-Natural Grassland and Conservation of Grassland Species in the Central Mountain Region], *Bulletin of Nagano Environmental Conservation Research Institute* (4): 17–31.

Swart, Sandra. 2010. *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa.* Wits University Press. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/60541.

Taira, Masayuki. 1993. "Nihon chūsei no shakai to bukkyō." [Society and Buddhism of Medieval Japan] PhD diss., The University of Osaka.

Takano, Takeo. 1989. "Niigataken Uonuma chihō no chikei kara mita chikakuundō to Muikamachi bonchi no keiseikatei." [Crustal movement and formative process of the Muikamachi Basin based on a geomorphological analysis of the Uonuma district, central Japan], *Chikyū Kagaku* 43 (): 366–391.

Tague, Ingrid, H. 2015. *Animal Companions: Pets and Social Change in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Penn State University Press.

Wadham, Helen. 2021. "Agency as Interspecies, Collective, and Embedded Endeavour: Ponies and People in Northern England 1916-1950." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 34 (4): 550–572. https://doi.org/10.1002/johs.12335.

Watanabe, Hisao. 1953. "Chūko ni okeru konden no rekishichirigaku teki ichi kōsatsu." [A Historical Geographical Examination of the Konden System in Ancient and Medieval Japan] *Jinbun Chiri* [Journal of Cultural Geography], 5(3): 159–174.

Watanabe, Makoto. 2024. "Higashi ajia no naka no nihon ritsuryō kokka tōfūka saikō." [Reconsideration about "the Tang Weathering" of the Japanese Ritsuryo Legal Codes Nation Based on the Viewpoint of the East Asia] *Shigaku Kenkyu* (308): 4–25

Wolch, Jennifer and Jody Emel. 1998. *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands*. Verso.

Wells, Andrew. 2019. "Antisocial Animals in the British Atlantic World: Liminality and Nuisance in Glasgow and New York City, 1660–1760." In *Animal History in the Modern City: Exploring Liminality*, edited by Clemens Wischermann, Aline Stein-

brecher and Philip Howell. Bloomsbury Academic.

Wischermann, Clemens, Aline Steinbrecher and Philip Howell, eds. 2019. *Animal History in the Modern City: Exploring Liminality*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Yamamoto, Kana. 2014. *Ōchō kokka kyūtei girei no seiritsu to ongaku*. [Music and Formation of Monarch Japan's Court Ritual in Nara and Heian Period] Hiroshima Daigaku.

Yamauchi, Kunio. 1967. *Ritsuryō-sei gundan no seiritsu ni tsuite* [On the Formation of the Ritsuryō System Army Corps]. Kinseisha.

Zehnle, Stephanie. 2019. "Liminal Youth between Town and Bush: Humans, Leopards, and Initiation in West African History." In *Animal History in the Modern City: Exploring Liminality*, edited by Clemens Wischermann, Aline Steinbrecher and Philip Howell. Bloomsbury Academic.