Work and Worship: Inari Shrines in Japan's Commercial and Industrial Landscape, 1673-1864

Norihiko Tsuneishi

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Abstract

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With the figure of fox as the emblematic emissary, Inari—arguably the most popular Shinto deity in Japan—is often deemed polytheistic due to its diverse blessings, whether agricultural, commercial, or industrial, or all of these at once. In the common historical account, Inari worship began as an agricultural ritual and, affected by the soaring monetary economy from the seventeenth century onward, it attained other predicates. Through two main studies on Inari shrines, this dissertation refutes that limited narrative and demonstrates that the agricultural attribute was in turn *accentuated* with the monetary economy. One study revolves around the Mimeguri Shrine, enshrined in Tokyo at the turn of the eighteenth century by the magnate Mitsui family for their commerce. The other study deciphers the concatenation of the Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine and Tōka Shrine, originally established in the late eighteenth century by the local feudal administration, Miike-han, for their coal production in the current Fukuoka prefecture. With these shrines, the respective commercial and coal enterprises were rendered agricultural as though contained within the dominant Tokugawa order, which idealized the rice-based economy. Nurturing in effect the profit of the Mitsui family and the extra revenue of Mike-han—constituting a surplus, as this dissertation argues—the Inari worships of the merchant and the regional administration produced labor times. The presence of those shrines in this study serves as the metonymy of a contradictory process whereby even a deity was "alienated" under the command of money as if were fooled by its own emissary, the fox.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

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Dedication

To my parents,

Tsuneishi Miyoko and Tsuneishi Keiichi

Introduction

Fig.0.1 Sakubei Yamamoto, *Yama to Kitsune* (Coal Mine and Fox) (1).

Fig.0.2 *Yama to Kitsune* (2).

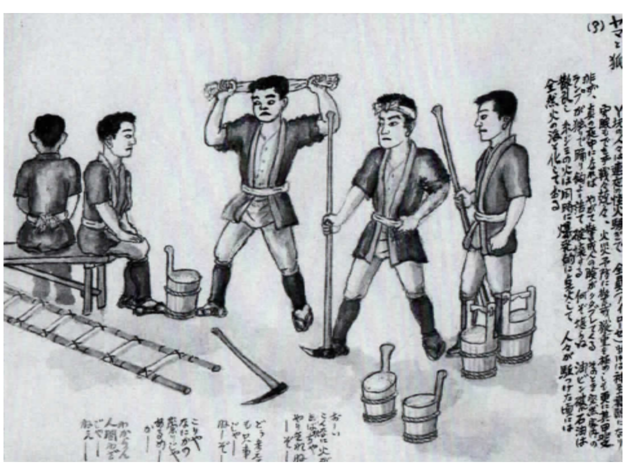

Fig.0.3 *Yama to Kitsune* (3).

Fig.0.4 *Yama to Kitsune* (4).

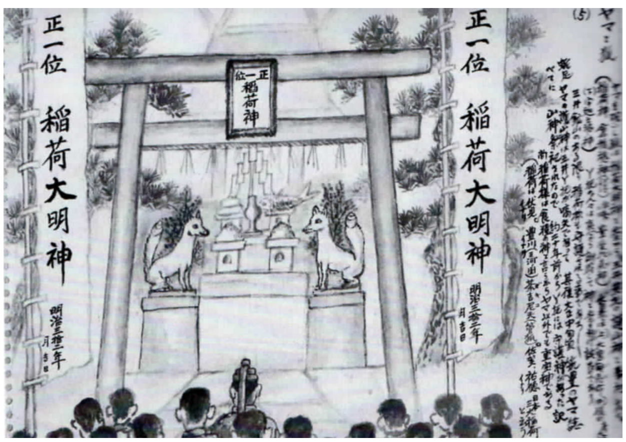

Fig.0.5 *Yama to Kitsune* (5).

From the age of seven in 1899, Yamamoto Sakubei had worked in a coalfield of Chikuho, the region known for its legacy of coal production in the Fukuoka prefecture in western Japan.[1] A few years after the closure of the Ito Mine in 1955, where Yamamoto last worked as a coal sorter, he began producing numerous drawings on notebooks during his nightshift as a security guard. Those visualized memoryscapes from growing up in the then declining coal region were intended initially as "secret gifts to his grandchildren,"

[1] Except for the references, all the names for Japanese in this dissertation follow the Japanese usage wherein the family name comes before the first name.

and are accompanied with detailed descriptions of each scene.[2] Entitled "Coal Mine and Fox (ヤマと狐)," the following painting is one of the souvenirs (Fig.0.5)

At the bottom of the picture frame shown are the back of the heads of a few people, forming a jagged line, who appear to be on a front row of an outdoor gathering. Just in front of them is a Shintō priest, wearing a signature headgear, *kanmuri*. Together, they are facing away from the picture plane and seem to be standing on a pathway leading toward the direction of their gaze. Suggested by the composition and perspective of the picture, the pathway first passes through a pair of two vertically elongated banners, *nobori*, on which the inscriptions are written in Chinese ideographs and read as "Shoichii Status: Great Gracious Inari Deity (正一位　稲荷大明神)." The pathway then enters a Shinto archway, *trii*, consisting of two inwardly tilted columns, a straight top-beam (*kasagi*) resting on the columns, and a straight brace (*nuki*), just below the beam, spanning between and slightly projecting outward from the columns. Underneath along the brace is decorated with a line of sacred straw rope, *shimenawa*. A rectangular plate, *shingaku*, is placed at the middle between the beam and brace, on which Chinese ideographs are inscribed, reading "Shoichii Status" horizontally, and just below it, "Inari

[2] Sakubei Yamamoto, *Yama ni Ikiru: Chi no Soko no Jinseikiroku* (Living in a Coal Mine: Record of Life at the Bottom) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2011), 213. Unless otherwise noted, my interpretations will be based upon his black-and-white drawings (*sumie*), which are composed in monochrome ink sometime between 1958 and 1963. Though 140 of the drawings were self-published by the interested group of people, those were for his grandchildren and were never intended to be read by a larger audience. In addition, there are two other sources. One is from Nakamura's notebook (*Memoir* hereafter), that I made copies of at the Tagawa Museum of Coal and History, and in which he wrote what appear to be the rough drafts for the description he incorporated into his drawings. The last is his second set of drawings, painted with watercolors sometime between 1964 and 1967. Those were drawn upon the request of Suenaga Toshio (永末十四雄), who was then the chief librarian of the Tagawa City Library, as part of his initiative to consolidate the archive for the history of coal mining in the region. Those color drawings were therefore made by Yamamoto with a broader audience in mind. In fact, many colored drawings were the revisions of the earlier monochromic counterparts.

Deity (稲荷神)" vertically with a larger letter size. With the exceptions of the tilted columns and plate, the *trii* seems to follow the style of *Kashima Trii*.

Framed by the columns and brace, the pathway thereafter passes a pair of statues of foxes facing each other across the path and sitting on elevated plinths. At the end of the pathway is an outdoor altar where foodstuffs are made as offerings, including rice cakes and fish along with *nusa*, a medium of folded paper in which a Shinto deity makes its unseen appearance. Far beyond at the top of the picture frame, faintly depicted just above the top-beam of *trii*, is a gable roof of what appears to be the oratory, if not the main shrine. With both ends of the ridge punctuated by two ornamental crossbeams, *chigi*, the shrine in haze seems to follow the Nagare-zukuri style. According to Yamamoto's description on the right, this painting depicts a ceremony that took place in 1899, for the apotheosis of two foxes as an Inari deity at the Yamano Mine: a coal mine that was operated by Mitsui Kōzan (三井鉱山), a mining company of the business conglomerate Mitsui Zaibatsu (三井財閥).

Featured in the painting are the four main protagonists of this dissertation. The first is Fox, the uncanny animal figure that frequents Japanese folk tales since, at the latest, the ninth century, not only playing tricks on but also offering gifts to people. The second is the Inari deity, the worship of which continued for many centuries, and which remains the most popular Shinto deity in Japan for its versatile fertility blessings, including agricultural, maternal, commercial and industrial aspects. Devoid of written doctrines, similar to other Shinto practices, the Inari worship is an orthopraxy, and it is syncretistic, impregnated with other religious currents and folk praxis, such as the creed related to foxes. In fact, the fox is considered to be the emissary of the Inari deity, and often times they are synonymous. The third protagonist is Mitsui Zaibatsu, one of the largest business conglomerates until its dissolution in 1945. Their preceding commercial enterprise had flourished since the late seventeenth century by the Mitsui Family and was exemplified by their kimono shop—the famous Echigoya (越後屋). The fourth is a collective protagonist, the historical and regional communities that engaged in coal production/sales in the current Fukuoka prefecture, which started in the early eighteenth century at the latest.

The following chapters trace a series of their encounters, beginning from the late seventeenth century until the late nineteenth century, all of which entailed respective constructions of Inari shrines. The Mimeguri Shrine is located at the Mukojima neighborhood along the Sumida River in Tokyo, and was established as the guardian shrine of the Mitsui Family in the early eighteenth century. The Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine and Tōka Shrine at the Miike region, just southwest of the Chikuho region, are located where there used to be the largest coal mine owned by the Mitsui Kozan in Japan, the so-called Mitsui Miike Coal Mine. The former shrine was originally built in the late eighteenth century and was reconstructed for the preceding coal production administrated by the so called Miike-han in the mid-nineteenth century ; and the latter was built a few years after the reconstruction. The Kabuto Shrine, currently standing across the Tokyo Stock Exchange in the Kabuto neighborhood in Tokyo, was first established in the mid-nineteenth century on the plot of land owned by the Mitsui family, and invokes two deities—Okuninushi-no-mikoto and Kotoshironushi-no-mikoto—from the Mimeguri Shrine. Finally, the Inari shrines are featured, at the coal mines of Mitsui Kozan in the Miike and Chikuho region, including the Yamano Mine. The following two sections analyze the first three shrines in depth as case studies, and the conclusion briefly touches upon the last two by way of forecasting how this research might unfold. In so doing, this study conceptualizes those Inari shrines as the objectifications of the protagonists' encounters, or metonymic objects of social relations that orchestrated the encounters. To elucidate the conceptualization, the below discussion introduces four modes of objectification by dwelling a little further on Yamamoto's paintings.

Inari Shrine as Objectified Encounters

The above painting is the last of a set of five paintings that, numbered consecutively, weave a thread of narrative. On the first painting (Fig.0.1), Yamamoto gave what appears to be the title for the narrative: "The Origin of the Inari Shrine, the Guardian Deity for the Yamano Mine [of] the Great Conglomerate Mitsui." As if a picture-card show, the set of drawings depicts the ceremony of apotheosizing two foxes, instigated by what he calls a "mysterious story (怪奇的な物語)."[3] This enigmatic story revolved around the fire that broke out among miners' housings, often referred to as *naya* (納屋), at the Yamano Mine on consecutive nights sometime in the early summer of 1899 (Fig.0.2). Catching the mining community off guard in the middle of the nights, the fires wore them out, yet its cause remained unknown.

Perplexed as well were the executives of the mining company (Fig.0.3). Realizing that "human power, monetary power or authoritative power cannot prevent the fires," they finally turned to a shaman to investigate the cause and discovered that the arsonists

[3] Yamamoto, *Memoir*, 25.

were a couple of foxes (Fig.0.4).[4] The shaman revealed that the opening, colloquially known as *shibahaguri*, of the Yamano Mine that occurred in the previous year ruined their den and killed their children. Having witnessed the completion of construction of the miner's housings, the foxes thought: "Time is ripe!"[5] and avenged their children by causing the fires among the mining community. To pacify the spell, the executives and shaman made a trip to the Fushimi Inari-taisha, the headquarters shrine of Inari worship in Kyoto, from where they called upon three deities—Uga-no-mitama-no-kami, Sarutahiko-no-kami and Omiyanome-no-kami[6]—and received the Shoichii status, the highest title that an Inari shrine can obtain, and built the shrine to apotheosize the foxes. Since then, according to Yamamoto writing in the late 1950s, the shrine had became the guardian for the Yamano Mine, and all mines of the Mitsui Kozan had the two foxes as their guardian deity.[7] He writes in the last painting, "As long as Mitsui Kozan prevails, the Inari Deity will be protected."[8] Yamamoto's set of paintings narrates this process of the conflicting encounter between the foxes and mining community at the Yamano Mine and objectifies their reconciliation into the Inari shrine. This first mode of objectification operates within his narrative frame as the denouement.

With the exception of the foxes and fire, other documents substantiate this storyline. For example, Mitsui Kozan indeed opened the coal pits, the First Pit (第一坑)

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[4] Ibid., 22.
[5] Ibid., 24.
[6] According to *The Dictionary of Shinto*, those deities are called Uka-no-mitama-no-kami (宇迦之御魂神), Sarutahiko-no-kami (猿田彦神) and Omiyanome-no-ookami (大宮能売大神). Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihonbunka Kenkyūjo, ed. *Shinto Jiten* (The Dictionary of Shinto) (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1994). And, they were recognized as the deities of the Fushimi Inari Shrine as early as the Muromachi era. With two other deities, Tanaka-no-ookami (田中大神) and Shi-no-ookami (四大神), enshrined along the way, there are currently five deities at the shrine. Ken Matsumae, ed., *Inari Myōjin: Shoichii no Jitsuzo* (Inari Diety: The Reality of Shoichii Status) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1988), 6–10.
[7] Yamamoto, *Memoir,* 25.
[8] Sakubei Yamamoto, *Yamano Kataribe Yamamoto Sakubei no Sekai* (Story Teller of Coal Mine: The World of Yamamoto Sakubei) (Tagawa City: Tagawa Art Museum, 2011), 43.

and Second Pit (第二坑), of the Yamano Mine at the end of nineteenth century in the Yamano and Kuchinoharu areas, the northwestern terrain in the current Kama City. The mine thereafter had been administered by Mitsui Kozan and its allied company until its closure in 1973. An earlier type of miners' housing had been built soon after the opening of the first two pits: hence, it could have well become the target of the foxes on 1899. Furthermore, an Inari shrine existed as the guardian for the mine on a hilltop in the proximity of the First Pit and Second Pit. Until the closure of the pits in 1925 when Mitsui Kozan moved the main operation of the mine to the southern terrain of the city, a row of flapping red banners, signature icon of an Inari shrine also depicted in Yamamoto's painting, were embellishing the hilltop—a scene that Yamamoto and his family might have seen when they worked at the mine briefly from February to April of 1904.[9] Although the mine, housing and shrine have vanished, read along with these external evidences, the historical existence of the Inari shrine objectifies the possibility of Yamamoto's narrative. The second mode of objectification thereby fastens the narrative to history.

Still, provided that the strange fires indeed occurred, it is tempting to regard the event as a mere unfortunate accident or the work of humans. That is to say, the course of the mysterious story—the original sin of the opening of the mine, the foxes' incendiary revenge and its revelation—is the rendering of the cause of fires by the mining community through their Fox–Inari worship. Hence, the foxes in Yamamoto's memory had been fictitious figures. The most pessimistic scenario, so to speak, would be that the company executives knew what happened or who committed the arson, yet not being able

[9] Inachiku-cho Shi Henshu Iinkai, ed., *Inachiku-cho Shi Gekan* (History of Inachiku Town Vol.2) (Inachiku-cho, 2004), 444.

to bring to light the *actual cause* to their miners, as they were wary of them leaving the mine upon the revelation.[10] In order to "resolve" the spell of fire, the company personnel then "reverted" to the folk worship of the miners. The foxes thereby were what the miners were allowed, if not forced to *see* by the executives to continue the mining operation. If there is "fictitious" element in this scenario, it is the very capacity of the executive to circumvent the actual cause of the fire and, by appropriating the Fox–Inari worship of the miners, to naturalize the event. Redeeming the original sin and retaining the workforce, the historical existence of the Inari shrine became the bearer of the fictitious element—the fox—built into the objective relation between the company and miners. The third mode of objectification is at work here. Only in this regard, the work of foxes *was real*.

Not only does the standpoint of this dissertation share the pessimism of the third interpretation. Also it turns the tables a little further because, although divining the dialectic of the fictive within the objective world through the shrine, this mode of interpretation still presupposes a vantage point: one that makes a clear distinction between folklore and history, or fictitious and real. The interpretation suggests that the real cause of the fire could have been evident—for example, it was only untold by the company personnel. Such a view has a tendency to legitimize whatever the most-up-to-date "realistic" vantage point that it steeps in, as if having rid itself of illusions. However, if indeed what makes the story fictive had been the very capacity of those executives to identify and conceal the real cause, this mode of reflection runs the risk of "reverting" itself to that very fictive relation by demarcating what is illusion (fox) from real (fire); in

[10] At the turn of twentieth century in Japan, the retention of constant workforce was crucial for almost all the coal mines to operate. Providing the miners' housing was one of those attempts, and Mitsui Kozan was one of the earlier, if not the earliest company to do so.

other words, the *real relation* always slips out from its grasp. Although this trap is perhaps unavoidable, a moderate resistance to the self-entrapment is still possible. To do so, the distinction between the illusion and real should be more dubious, or else *more dialectical* whereby we will find the fourth mode of objectification.

In accordance with this spirit, the real issue or contradiction in the case of Yamamoto's mysterious story should be about, for example, the "fact" that the foxes avenged their children directly against the miners, but not the executives, even though the latter would have been more responsible for the original sin (the opening of the mine), and thus more appropriate as their target. Moreover, as the foxes "waited" until the completion of the construction of the miners' housing to execute their plan, they seem to have had their ears on the ground of the mine and could have recognized the principal offender. Still, the foxes chose the miners for their retaliation. To this end, the executives of Mitsui Kozan seemed to hold themselves accountable for the contradiction by constructing the Inari shrine soon after the revelation of the work of Fox, in order to redeem their sin.

Why, then, did it take the same company almost thirty years to accept their liability for their miners who suffered from carbon monoxide intoxication from the deadly coal dust explosion at the Mitsui Miike Mine? The explosion occurred on 1963, not too long after Yamamoto completed the set of drawings. It killed 459 miners and left 839 miners with the aftereffects of the intoxication. Although charged for the poor maintenance of coal dust by the sufferers and surviving families, the company was acquitted with "expert" opinions that turned down rather obvious evidence of the professional negligence of the company. Commenting on the decision, one prosecutor famously preached to one of the families: “The social contribution of Mitsui Kozan is far greater than a coal miner.” Also, many sufferers from the intoxication were (mis)diagnosed as “mild cases” in 1966 and exempted from the public coverage of compensation for workers’ accidents. The miners endured the aftereffects without monetary compensation until 1993 when the company was finally prosecuted in a civil trial and made to pay them damages.[11] The Miike Mine was closed in 1997.

While the miners died or suffered from the accident during their work for Mitsui Kozan, the company continued to operate the largest coal mine with their professional negligence unprosecuted until the last minute. This is a contradiction, as profound as, if not deadlier than, the fox incident that victimized the miners for the original sin of the company. Why couldn’t the company take liability for the contradiction soon after the explosion, as they had done with the construction of the Inari shrine a half-century earlier? Does it mean that the liability vanished amidst the social relations that prioritized the “contribution” of a company like Mitsui Kozan? Or, when liability mattered or resurfaced, why did the redemption need to take forms of objectification—the Inari shrine in the case of the mysterious fire, and monetary damages in the case of the explosion? Does this mean the former was replaced by the latter? For the guardian deity certainly failed to fulfill its duty to prevent the later accident. In fact, why was the fate of the deity secured only insofar as “Mitsui Kozan prevails”? Considering the role of a guardian deity, wouldn’t it be more appropriate if the relationship was reversed?

Reading in this way, although the distinction between fictitious and real never disintegrates, the two realms begin to dovetail with each other around the figure of the

[11] For the explosion and what followed, see Kota Mori and Masazumi Harada, *Miike Kozan: 1963 nen Tanjin Bakuhatsu wo Ou* (Mike Mine: Tracing the 1963 Explosion) (Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1999)

shrine. In other words, as already shown in the second mode of objectification, the Inari shrine in Yamamoto's narrative is not completely autonomous from the histories of Mitsui Kozan and their miners; hence it is not a *pure* art or folk-religious object. Nor is it completely subjected to those histories. Rather, it is a *semi-autonomous* souvenir that presents the contradiction between the original sin of Mitsui Kozan and the midnight suffering of their miners, conjuring other possible contradictions: between liability (construction of the shrine) and contribution (discharge for professional negligence) of Mitsui Kozan; the "accidents" (the neglected causes of fire and explosion) and objectifications (the Inari shrine and reparation) in the economy of liability; the divine favor (redemption of the sin) and impotence (coal dust explosion) of the Inari shrines; and finally, the inverted relation of the deity and the company. As Yamamoto completed the set of drawings before the explosion, his narrative could not recall many of those possible contradictions and thus they were absent in the previous modes of objectification of the Inari shrine. Yet, as the fourth mode, the above reading strategy can reproduce the presence of shrine as an object by which to see absence, as a metonymy of anachronistic contradictions—*anachronistic* not only because the explosions comes after the Yamamoto's narrative, but also because the contradictions bring together different social activities imbued with respective temporalities (for example, the folk-religious worship and monetary economy).

In this dissertation, those modes of objectification—a narrative device for the denouement, an anchoring point between narrative and history, a bearer of the "real" social relations and metonymy of (un)timely contradictions of the relations—are entangled with each other. The following analysis folds the Mimeguri Shrine, Toka

Shrine, Kabuto Shrine, and Inari shrines at the mines of Mitsui Kozan into these syncretic modes. The study shows how each shrine through these modes objectified the historical encounters among the protagonists—the Fox, the Inari deity, the Mitsui enterprise and coal mining communities in the Miike and Chikuho region—which occurred in the course of social formation from the late seventeenth century onward. Germinating amidst the decree of monetary economy becoming more apparent over the rice-dominated economy, the social formation was impregnated with various anachronistic contradictions, emblematized by the discrepancy between rice currency and monetary currency.

The following sections show that the protagonists, the Mitsui enterprise and the Miike-han community in particular, incited such contradictions through commerce, coal production, political insurgency, and folk-religious practices. Requisite by those protagonists as the denouement or overcoming of the social discords, those shrines became not the only but definitely one of the metonymies of the contradictions or, by extension, of the then social formation. Just as the shrine in Yamamoto's narrative apotheosized the unseen fox and conjured the absent contraventions through the syncretic modes of objectification, this dissertation argues, those shrines nurtured the intangible sources of contradictions—namely, what Marx conceptualizes as surplus value and labor power—that sustained the social formation, preferred or endured by the four protagonists. Ultimately, what is intended to be read from these metonymic shrines is the element of labor *imbricated* into the Fox-Inari worship for the production of the intangibles.

Fig. 0.6 Map of Japan.

Methodology and Shrine Studies

Reading various contradictions across different social activities, and identifying labor in the folk-practice, this dissertation draws on three theoretical gestures demonstrated by philosophers and historians in their respective readings of Marx's science of history. One such gesture is conducted by Louis Althusser. His emphasis on the articulated relations

(*Gliederung*) among the "relatively autonomous levels" within a social formation is at the core of this investigation, especially when engaging with his concepts of structural causality and the ideological state apparatus. Included in the relatively autonomous levels are, just to list a few, economy, politics, religion, ideology, culture and philosophy. Without reducing all the levels into an essence, or the identical spirit, of the social whole, this theoretical undertaking brings out a "peculiar time(s)" intrinsic to each levels, such as time of philosophy or of politics, subsuming and determining each other through their respective effectivities; hence, they are relatively autonomous.[12]

Those relatively autonomous times and their contradictions (e.g., mutations and raptures) become palpable only when their articulated relations are grasped.[13] As these times cannot exist on their own to form their chronologies, they are not measurable with the apparent "continuity of the time of life or clocks."[14] Likewise, as the amalgam of such temporalities, the social formation is always formless and its presence is only immanent in the relations. That is to say, Althusser's theory of history resists the linear time that calibrates before and after, or backwardness and forwardness within each level, among the different levels and between social formations, and rejects the successive order from one to the other. Such linearity only presupposes the predetermined totality, or the most "advanced" time, whereby those levels and social formations are autonomously oriented

[12] Althusser writes, "We have to assign to each level a *peculiar time*, relatively autonomous and hence relatively independent, even in its dependence, of the 'times' of the other levels." Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar, *Reading Capital* (London: Verso, 2009), 110.
[13] My understanding here is informed by the following remark made by Étienne Balibar. In the context of discussing Althusser's theorization of historical time, Balibar writes: "If there are histories as such existing for respective sciences, production or arts—in other words, if there are relatively autonomous processes of their transfigurations—it is because there is a very *fact* that the sciences, production and arts are determining each other." Étienne Balibar, *Ruisu Aruchuseeru: Owarinaki Setsudan no Tameni* (Louis Althusser: For Continual Epistemological Break), trans. Kazumi Fukui (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 1994), 67.
[14] Althusser, *Reading Capital*, 112.

towards it, or *orientalized* as, for example, under-developed. Althusser's formulation has an "extraordinary scope," as Imamura Hitoshi asserts, in challenging such an advanced vantage point—namely, Western-centrism or ethno-centrism—built into the perceived linearity of time.[15] Building upon the theoretical gesture, the following sections capture the labor times of the fox-Inari worship and Inari shrines in their articulated relations with other times: economic, political, philosophical, cultural and architectural. In so doing, this study hopes to show that Althusser's theory of history has a timely effect to understand the social formation that was immanent in the encounters among the four protagonists.[16]

As the folk-religious worship and shrine are often deemed to lie outside the scope of political economy, let alone their labor times, this dissertation follows the second gesture: an attempt made by Étienne Balibar to identify Marx's epistemological break. In such break inheres the axiomatic distinction between productive and unproductive labors that Marx inherited from his predecessors, such as Adam Smith. While productive labor refers to the material activity in the production process, such as factory work in mid-nineteenth century England, on which investment is made for capital in the form of wages, for example, the unproductive labor is all the activities occurring at the margin of the productive site, yet crucial in sustaining the productivity and in particular the capacity for a laborer to work, or to live. Since such capacity—the labor power—is fundamental

[15] Hitoshi Imamura, *Aruchuseeru Ninshikiteki Setsudan* (Althusser: Epistemological Break) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997), 228.

[16] One of the earliest attempts to apply Althusser's concept of structural causality in writing the history of Japan was executed by Harry Harootunian. See *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), which the second section of this dissertation fully engages. In different ways, other scholars successfully showed *effectivities*, so to speak, of Althusserian concepts in the Japan studies, such as aleatory materialism, overdetermination, and the ideological state apparatus. See Ken Kawashima, *The Proletarian Gamble: Korean Workers in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Katsuya Hirano, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination: Power and Popular Culture in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: The University Chicago Press, 2014); and Max Ward, *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019). This dissertation is intended, hopefully, to broaden this theoretical exploration which is already becoming fertile ground.

for the production of surplus value, as Balibar argues, any activity that reproduces it should also be conceptualized as exploitable and alienable labor.[17]

Included by Balibar as the objectifications of such unproductive labor is "food, housing, education, love and care, birthing and nursing."[18] With many of these being cultivated beyond the level of "economy," this remark suggests that labor exists in other semi-autonomous levels, such as familial, cultural, architectural and also religious. "[*Broadening* and *differentiating*] the very notion of 'labor,'" Balibar calls for "reflecting the 'un-productivity of social labor" as a crucial substance for the capitalist production of surplus."[19] As demonstrated by the reading of Yamamoto's narrative above, the construction of the Inari shrine retained the miners and their family (labor power) to continue the production of coal (surplus). That is to say, the "un-productivity" of labor time in the Fox-Inari worship and shrine can be grasped in their articulated relations with what historically was determined as "productive" labor time of miners at their coalface.

The relation between unproductive and productive labor times that the following sections elucidate is a variant manifestation of the third gesture. It is Harry Harootunian's reading of Marx's key concept for the general course of capitalist formation, the so-called

[17] Étienne Balibar, "Exploitation." For the revised version of this paper, see Balibar "Exploitation," in *Political Concepts: A Critical Lexicon*, Issue 3 (Winter, 2014). http://www.politicalconcepts.org/balibar-exploitation. Writing on the notion of exploitation in this essay, or its relevance in today's world, Balibar's objective is to present its "overlapping and interdependencies" with other concepts—domination and alienation. While the domination as a mode of exploitation tends to occur between humans, that is to say in the realm of politics, alienation as another mode takes place over "things," such as commodified labor power, in the realm of economics. Under capitalism, as pointed out by Emmanuel Terray, the class struggle (politics) is always already embedded in the production process (economy), since, for example, the value of labor power (the minimum wage or working hours) is determined by the struggle. In this essay, by calling attention to the very production process of labor power, which is omitted from Terray's dialectic of domination and alienation, Balibar intends to mark out "what [Marx] leaves open for a critical articulation of the economic and the political in the present." This objective leads him to the problematic of productive and unproductive labors.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

formal subsumption of labor.[20] Under the formal subsumption, according to Harootunian's reading, the existing non-capitalistic mode of production is implicated into the production of surplus, often without the direct or intensive investment (e.g., hourly wage); or in a different case, while the capitalist mode of production was introduced in industrial factories, the production of workers' means of subsistence, hence the reproduction of their labor power, continues to rely on extant modes of production. Harootunian refers to those various labor processes as "historical temporal forms," and they often contain seemingly non-economic activities, yet are synchronized as the capitalist substance of surplus value.[21]

Hence, implicit in Harootunian's reading is the articulated relations between the productive and unproductive labor times.[22] It calls for broadening and differentiating the notion of labor originally conceptualized by Marx under the rubric of productivity. Or, as an intertextual mirror, the epistemological break of labor that Balibar locates inevitably demands the opening of other concepts of Marx, such as the formal subsumption of labor.[23] What their theoretical gestures connote is that reformulated concepts, such as subsumption of unproductive social labor, or of labor power, might be up for grabs to be further theorized. This dissertation strives to capture these subsumption processes by way

[20] Harry Harootunian, *Marx After Marx: History and Time in the Expansion of Capitalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015). In this book, drawings also from investigations by other Marxists on countries, like Peru or Japan, that entered the capitalist world economy as late-comers, Harootunian brings to the fore various ways in which the process of formal subsumption took its course in those regions.
[21] Ibid., 9. The subsumption of non-economic activities is reiterated in Harootunian's later work as well. See Harootunian, *Uneven Moment: Reflections on Japan's Modern History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 17.
[22] With regard to the (re)production of labor power, Harootunian's reading on French anthropologist Claude Meillassoux has close affinity to Balibar's conceptualization on the un-productivity of social labor. Ibid., 200–210.
[23] This corollary was indicated by Balibar when he writes, "This distinction [between productive and unproductive labors] is incoherent from the perspective of the *general* notion of exploitation that is implicit in [Marx's] comparisons and articulations of diverse modes of production." Balibar, "Exploitation."

of rendering visible the labor times of the Fox–Inari worship and shrines as one of the historical temporal forms.

Conceptualizing the labor time of the Inari shrines in the articulated relations with other labor times, this study intends to further the already enriched architectural scholarship on shrines. Scholars like Kuroda Ryuji have been broadening the scope of shrine study, which had hitherto focused on the thorough analysis of the architectural styles of the shrines, tracing their original construction or identify their functions within various rites, such as *daishōsai*. In his essay "the Dawn of Shrine," he delineates the limitation of the existing approach by stressing the difficulty of properly historicizing a shrine. Such difficulty derives from, he argues, the anachronism of the content of the worship at the shrine and the style applied to its appearance. As the worship oftentimes appropriates archaic contents, such as the blessing of mountain products (*yamano sachi*), he asserts that it obscures the understanding of a historical role that the shrine played. So does the style of shrine. Especially when a shrine is rebuilt while maintaining the original appearance, exemplified by the Ise Shrine, the style itself cannot explain the historical significance of the reconstruction. In addition, different styles also shared a common function in the rites: hence, Kuroda assigns primacy to the investigation of the ceremonial function over the style of shrines.[24]

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[24] Kuroda elaborates on this point in the last half of the same essay by analyzing the *shin no mihashira* (心御柱)—a column that stands below the floor of the main shrine of Ise Shrine. To historocize the function of column, he shows how irrelevant the column is in the several rites related to the shrine, and argues that it stands as a marker (reference point) for the next reconstruction (*shikinen sengu*) to keep the sacred axis of the shrine compound. He then concludes that the column serves a "rational" function, rather than as a mysterious medium (himoyorogi). It is convincing argument with thoroughly analyzed evidences, but his definition of "rational" is not well defined. If it is defined, it seems only to mean not-religious: It is a weak framing, as one can probably argue that there is, for example, a religious rationality. Hence, his case study seems to work only insofar as his definition of "rational" has a universal appeal.

Not completely denying the content of the worship or the stylistic question, Kuroda insists on focusing on what he calls "framework (枠組み)," which historically institutionalized the place of rites as "shrine." Included in such frameworks were the aristocratic governance based upon legal code (*ritsuryo*) in Nara and Heian eras, the medieval manorial system, or municipal village structure. When worship and styles are concerned, Kuroda asserts, the emphasis should be made on how (and why) certain elements were selected and reproduced within, or *subsumed under*, those historical frameworks. "The essence of shrine," as he writes, "exists in the framework."[25] This dissertation is definitely in the vein of Kuroda's approach, situating the shrine in its articulated relations with other levels, such as economy, politics, and culture. The difference is that this study refrains from clearly defining what the framework was, since such a move runs a risk of falling into vulgar historicism wherein a shrine becomes a mere expression of the framework. Insisting on the semi-autonomy of a shrine, this study in turn tries to conjure a glimpse of the framework—that is to say, the social formation under the influence of monetary economy.

The pursuits to delineate larger historical frameworks or problematics through shrines are demonstrated by scholars like Aoi Akihito and Takenaka Akiko in their recent works. In his essay "The 'Modern Architecture' in Shrine," Aoi analyzes Meiji Shrine, which commemorates the Meiji Emperor upon his demise (*hōgyo*), and follows its repercussions during the interwar period as the spatial practice of State Shinto. In the course of making the shrine, as Aoi shows, a *modern* shrine style was chosen from the already available stylistic palette, and new planning for the shrine compound was

[25] Ryuji Kuroda, *Chuse Jisha no Ba* (The Site of Worship in Medieval Time) (Kyoto, Shinbunkaku Shuppan, 1999), 71.

devised, spatially establishing the relationship between emperor and its spectators, thus the national subjects. Also, Aoi traces how the prototypical form of Meiji Shrine was fertilized by the subsequent technocratic architects under the then bureaucratic state structure for the construction of shrines in Japan and its colonial territories. In so doing, the Meiji Shrine enables him to capture a glimpse of the transient framework; that is, from the "nation" to the "empire."[26]

Takenaka, in her book *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory and Japan's Unending Postwar*, investigates Yasukuni Shrine, the controversial site that apotheosized the martyrs of the past wars, including the class-A war criminals of the Asia-Pacific war. Her critical interventions neither confirm the growing narrative of revisionist history that justifies Japan's wartime imperial project, nor the still prevailing narrative of "victims' history" that casts the Japanese as the innocent victims of their own wartime leaders, for both of which the shrine serves as the emblematic site. Instead, she provides a more nuanced narrative. Conceptualizing the shrine not only as the physical site but also as representations and social practices, her study traces the production of Yasukini Shrine: beginning with its embryonic formation initiated by the protagonists of the Meiji Restoration; the transformation into the celebrated site for war dead for the Japanese nation, and the postwar performativity that shaped, or was shaped by, people's conflicting memories of their experiences of the Asia-Pacific War; to the recent activists' spatial practice on the shrine compound to inject "countermemory" to the *officially*

[26] Akihito Aoi "Jinja ni okeru 'Kindai Kenchiku' no Kakutoku: Hyōshō to Kinō, Kokumin to Teikoku wo megutte ('Modern Architecture' in Shrine: Representation and Function, The Nation and Empire)" in *Meiji Jingu Izen Igo* (Before and After the Meiji Shrine), ed. Hiromasa Fujita, Akihito Aoi and others (Tokyo: Kashima Shuppan, 2015) Consisting of various essays on the Meiji Shrine written by scholars from various disciplinary fields and perhaps a wide range of the ideological spectrum, this entire book proves that the shrine can become a shared object of study across different disciplines.

revisionist history attached to the physical site. Through the shrine, her attempt is to conjure, and overcome, a peculiar chronotope that never ceased to exist, wherein Japan has not fully taken account of its wartime imperial project—so called Japan's Postwar.[27]

This dissertation contributes to these successful scholarly pursuits on shrines. Seeing the semi-autonomous labor time of Inari shrines, this study intends to broaden the methodological approach to shrine study, or to architectural study at large. Compared to Meiji Shrine and Yasukuni Shrine where the frameworks, or other issues, are strongly visible (such as in the forms of nation, empire, colonial memory; thus likely to draw more scholarly attention), the Inari shrines in the following sections have not been major objects of historical inquiries, let alone of architectural history. Reading the labor time of those shrines in their articulated relations with other semi-autonomous levels, this study demonstrates how those "minor" shrines can be read as the metonymy for the course of social formation and as the historical objects proper. Moreover, this methodological exploration provides a different route to historicize the major shrines—e.g., one that takes account of the political-economic dimension, to the extent that a shrine, major or minor, can be conceptualized as the legitimate object for the Marxists' philosophy of history.

Section Structure

This dissertation consists of two large sections, Section I and Section II, both of which are further divided into roughly three subsections. Section I centers on the consecration of Mimeguri Shrine by the Mitsui Family in the early eighteenth century, by which time the family had become an influential merchant. The first subsection discusses how,

[27] Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory and Japan's Unending Postwar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015)

beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, their commercial enterprise, kimono sales and money lending, accumulated wealth by reducing the circulation time of commodities. It was the production of monetary surplus, contradictory to the existing social order that prioritized the rice-based economy, established by Tokugawa Shogunate at the beginning of the Edo Era (1603–1868). The following subsection selects a few folk-tales that mark key moments of Fox–Inari worship beginning from the ninth century until the early seventeenth century. Based upon these analyses, the third subsection investigates how the consecration of Mimeguri Shrine by the Mitsui Family rendered internal their production of surplus within the Tokugawa establishment. Nurturing in effect the production of surplus, as this section claims, their Inari worship conjured "labor" time alongside, for example, the circulation time of commodities.

Second II revolves around the Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine and Tōka Shrine. The first subsection reveals that surplus was already embedded in the land tax (*nengu*) imposed in the Tokugawa system and that, for a domain like Miike-han with a lesser productive force of land, coal production brought indispensable extra revenue to sustain its regional structure amidst the growing command of the monetary economy. The following part shows various ways in which Fox–Inari worship was practiced during the Edo era by the ordinary folks, and in which worship and shrines in general were conceptualized by the scholars such as Ando Shoeki and Hirata Atsutane, in order to capture and in some cases overcome the contradictions intrinsic to the monetary economy. The last subsection builds upon these investigations and shows that Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine was built by the Miike-han administration, echoing the case of Mimeguri Shrine, to legitimize their extra revenue—the monetary surplus—from the coal production inside the Tokugawa establishment. However, when the shrine was reconstructed and Tōka Shrine was consecrated in the mid-nineteenth century on the eve of the Meiji Restoration, as this subsection argues, the shrines internalized different "labor times" antagonistic to the Tokugawa establishment. Lastly, the concluding section of the dissertation gives a brief account of Kabuto Shrine and Inari shrines built in the coal mines administrated by Mitsui Kozan in Miike and Chikuho regions.

For both Section I and Section II, by way of introducing the Mitsui Family, Fox, the Inari Deity and Miike-han, the first two subsections are intended to cover, roughly speaking, the histories of economy and folk-religion, respectively, to perform different temporalities of those relatively autonomous levels. The third subsections show their articulated relations, or what I would like to call imbrications. While those subsections retain some degree of chronological order, several detours are interjected in order to show that those semi-autonomous levels were determined by and determining other levels, architectural in particular, and that their "developments" never followed linear movements. The effects of these subsections exhibit that the emergence of the commercial enterprise of the Mitsui Family in the mid-seventeenth century, the involvement in coal production by the feudal domain Miike-han in the late seventeenth century, or their engagement with Fox–Inari worship were never *predesigned* to take place. Though greatly orchestrated by the power of money and the tendency of the market force toward the production of surplus, those events were rather contingent without having a singular cause.

If there is "necessity" that this study attempts to decipher concerning those historical conjunctures, it resides in the presence of those Inari shrines as the objectified encounters among the protagonists, or of the materializations of articulated relations between economic and folk-religious practices. With the analyses on the Inari shrines, what this study ultimately would like to grasp is why the Inari deity—the intangible—was socially reproduced with the consecration of the shrines; and why the reproductions were requisite as if the deity were the "cause" for sustaining the social relation preferred by the protagonists, if not the unseen social formation at large under the growing influence of money and market force. This is the process of the Inari shrine becoming the metonymic object of such "work" of the deity, the reproduction of the social formation, or the odds of dice rolled by the monetary economy.

Section I : Money Cultivation of the Mitsui Family

Fig. 1.1 Front view of Mimeguri Shrine.

The Sumida River is the main body of water in Tokyo; it runs in the north-south direction on the east of the current Imperial Palace, the former site of the Edo Castle. At the west riverbank, there is Asakusa, the area which has flourished with commerce and entertainment since the Edo era (1603–1868). Connecting Asakusa to the east riverbank, the Azumabashi bridge leads to the Metropolitan Highway running parallel with the Sumida River. Beyond the highway is the Asahi Beer Headquarters, designed by Phillips Starck and famous for the conspicuous object, known as Asahi flame, capping the top and supposedly representing the company’s spirit and “frothy head.” Just north of this iconic structure is a small river, Kitajikken Gawa. Flowing westward into the Sumida River, this former canal, constructed by the Tokugawa Shogunate in the mid-seventeenth century, separates the Honjō neighborhood on the south and the Mukōjima neighborhood on the north. On the Mukōjima side, a mound-like bank stretches northward along the Sumida River where, covered by the Metropolitan Highway above, rows of trees are planted to form a kind of tree-lined promenade. It passes the Sumida Park on its east side, then the Kototoi Bridge on its west, and eventually finds a stone gate (*torii*) on its east side, while the Tokyo Skytree perspicuously hovers in the background. From the *torii*, a stone pavement stretches toward a closed fence, beyond which is the precinct of an inari shrine, the Mimeguri Shrine.

The main approach of the Mimeguri Shrine stretches diagonally from another *torii*, currently functioning as the main gate that stands on the southeastern corner of the precinct, and it ends in the middle at the structure of the main shrine. Clustering around the main shine are other small stone shrines, each of which has a short approach covered with multiple small red-painted wooden *torii*. Moreover, there are stone lanterns, and stone statues of various animal figures, including a lion, guard dogs (*koma inu*) and, of course, foxes. Most of those have inscriptions, indicating by whom they were donated to the Mimeguri Shrine; and a number of them, such as the lion statue or the triangulated gate *(sankaku torii)*, were given by the Mitsui family or a company of the Mitsui enterprise. Hence, the precinct is infused with the objectified traces of encounters between the Inari deity and the Mitsui family. The aim of this section is to analyze their initial encounter and to gauge the effectivity of the shrine within.

Housing the grain deity or food deity, ugami-no-tama-no-kami*,* the shrine consists of the outer shrine (*haiden*) in front and main shrine (*honden*) at the back, connected through a corridor; it follows very loosely the *Gogen Zukuri* style. After the devastation by the Ansei Great Earthquake in 1855, the current structure was rebuilt in 1862 and a major renovation was made in 1884. The outer shrine consists of a structure that is three bays wide and three bays deep; it is one story with a hip and gable (*iri moya*) roof covered with *kawara* tiles. Facing toward the main *torii*, the hip-roof side has in the middle a plover gable (*chidori hafu*), infilled with gable ornaments, to accentuate the front facade. Extended from underneath the plover gable is a short porch roof covered with thin copper sheets, forming a cusped gable eave (*noki kara hafu*) over the place below for an offertory box.

Why those elements were put together the way they are by a head carpenter and what the assemblage might have meant are less my concern here. Especially given that the current structure of the main shrine is the result of the reconstruction in 1862, it may not strictly reflect the previous, if not original, assemblage. Rather, *architecture* as this chapter accesses is expressed less in a given object, such as an established style or a building, than in a line of inquiry—asking why the grain deity of the Mimeguri Shrine was enshrined as the tutelary for the Mitsui family in the mid-Edo period. Drawing upon the notion of structural causality put forth by Louis Althusser, this inquiry takes the process of the Mimeguri Shrine coming into being as *effects* in which the structure of the then social formation was immanent.

Determined by the dominant mode of production, according to Althusser, the totality of the structure is impalpable; it only resides in the articulated relation of the “relatively autonomous” levels, such as economy, politics, ideology, religion and architecture as they determine one another with their respective temporalities and effectivities. In the context of the mid Edo era, the region of economy began to reveal its dominant social object, the so-called market economy. Alongside it, there was the fox creed—Inari worship, in particular—which belongs to a different region that has its peculiar temporality. This section unravels ways in which these two regions, economy and folk religion, determined each other in the form of *imbrications* as the effects of the unseen structure of social formation. The consecration of the Mimeguri Shrine by the Mitsui family, as I demonstrate below, objectifies such imbrications.

The following two subsections introduce the Mitsui family and fox creed by way of depicting the levels of economy and folk-religion, each of which by no means developed autonomously and linearly. While loosely following the chronological descriptions, each section interjects detours or inversions to account for, or to perform the effects of twists-and-turns that made the respective levels “semi-autonomous”: in other words, the effects of unseen cause. The first subsection gives an overview of Mitsui’s commercial enterprise until the early seventeenth century, by which time they had become an influential merchant in the Tokugawa establishment. In particular, it focuses on how they produced surplus amidst the rise of the market economy, for which the width of their storefronts will be indicated as the measure of their wealth. As for the detours, it introduces the organized transportation routes, unified monetary currency, bills of exchange, all of which were indispensable for Mitsui’s production of surplus. The next subsection introduces a few folk-tales and episodes to highlight the unfolding of Fox-Inari worship leading up to the beginning of the Edo era, while stressing the presence of the level of political economy embedded within. As a mode of inversion, the end of this subsection reverts to the agricultural origin of Inari worship to *perform* a possible process—beginning only on the eve of the Edo era—whereby the origin was being reproduced retrospectively as if it were the "cause." There in such a cause, following Althussser's structural causality, this inversion locates the process of imbrication of folk religion and economy. The final section investigates how the consecration of the Mimeguri Shrine by the Mitsui family objectified the imbrication, and justified their production of wealth inside the Tokugawa establishment by conjuring the agricultural cause.

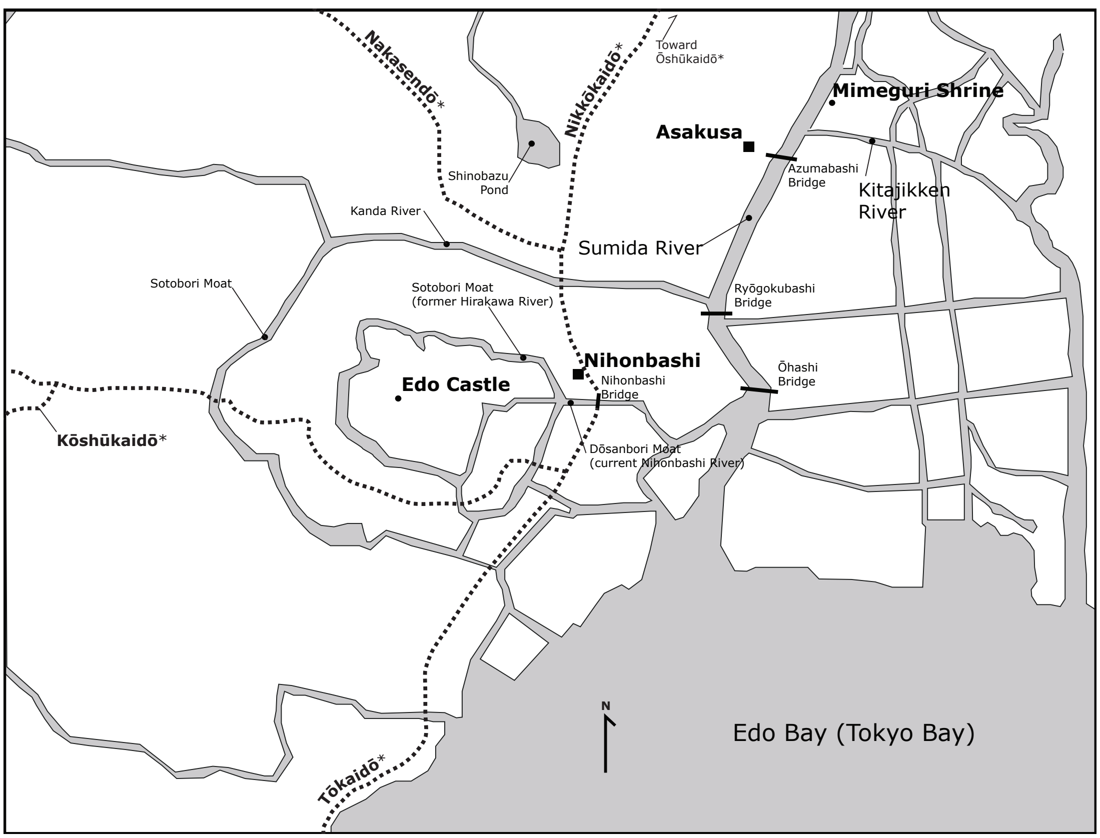

Fig. 1.2 Map of Edo (Tokyo), showing the approximate configuration of the city as it was around at the end of Edo era.
*) Those five routes make Gokaidō (the Five Routes), the major roadways that connected Edo to different domains of the country.

1. Market Economy and Tricks of the Mitsui Family

Birth of Echigoya and Infrastructure of Time

The Mitsui family originated from the Ōmi region, the current Shiga prefecture, as a family from the samurai class. Around 1610, just after the Tokugawa seized the power as the central government, the family moved to Matsuzaka in the current Mie prefecture. There, upon abandoning the samurai status, they became merchants, establishing a pawnshop and also selling sake and miso. While the family opened a trinket store in the city of Edo in the mid-seventeenth century, their commercial enterprise in the capital began to flourish when Mitsui Takatoshi and his sons established kimono stores in Edo as well as in Kyoto in 1673.[28] While the store in Kyoto functioned as *shiire-dana*, a wholesale shop of kimono clothing, the store in Edo operated as *gofuku-dana,* the retailer of the items purchased in Kyoto.

Mitsui's first kimono shop in Edo, called *Echigoya*, was inaugurated in the neighborhood Hon-chō ichi-chōme in the Nihonbashi area, just on the east of the Edo Castle compound, which was the political center of the Tokugawa shogunate (Fig.1.2).[29] The area is situated at the bundle of traffic infrastructures that were initiated by the central government. There were Sotobori Moat (what had used to be a portion of Hirakawa River) on the west side, which circumvents the northern part of the castle, and the Dōsanbori Moat on the south side*,* into Sotobori Moat merged, empting into the Edo

[28] Prior to opening his store in Edo, Takatoshi had worked in his brother's house as an employee (*shiyonin*) to learn business. He then returned to Matsuzaka. There, he managed a pawn shop and accumulated wealth. Once his brother died, who had originally prevented Takatoshi from owning his shop, he returned to Edo to open Echigoya with the wealth he accumulated in Matsuzaka. Mitsui Bunko, ed., *Mitsui Jigyō-shi* Dai 1 Kan (History of Mitsui Enterprise, Vol.1) (Tokyo: Mitsui Bunko, 1980) 11–17.

[29] Unless otherwise noted, the "neighborhood" means a street, rather than a town block, as the neighborhood was organized along the both sides of the street.

Bay (currently Tokyo Bay) on the southeastern side.[30] Connected through these waterways and other channels, nearby were wharfs where major shipments from western Japan arrived via the bay, while goods from northern Japan reached the wharfs through channels and rivers from the north of the area. Dividing the current Mukojima and Fukagawa neighborhoods, the aforementioned Kitajikken Gawa was one of those channels. Moreover, emanating from the Nihonbashi area, there were Gokaidō (the Five Routes), constructed in the early seventeenth century to link Edo to other major castle towns through land.[31]

Weaving together Edo, other castle towns and, to an extent, the country at large as one politico-economic fabric, the state-driven construction and maintenance of those roads and waterways provided the condition for capital to presuppose and to overcome its intrinsic barrier—that is the physical distance that defers its circulation time. Reducing the time, contingently or consequently, the state projects laid out one of the necessary preconditions for, to borrow Marx's word, capital to "annihilate the space with time."[32] Sitting at the threshold of the infrastructures of time, the Nihonbashi area was planned as the ideal site for the circulation of goods and people, attracting many merchants to open their shops, including kimono retailers.[33] Since each neighborhood generally consisted of shops of the same line of business, *Hon-chō ichi-chōme* and its vicinities became the

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[30] For more information on the civil engineering projects, construction of Edo Castle and adjacent compounds, moat, river, landfill and road in the early Edo period, see Akira Naito, *Edo no Toshi to Kenchiku* (Urbanism and Architecture in Edo) (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun Sha, 1972).

[31] For more information on waterways, See Masao Suzuki, *Edo no Toshi Keikaku* (Urban Planning of Edo) (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1988) 195–251.

[32] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 539.

[33] As part of building a new capital, the Tokugawa government invited merchants, especially from the Ōmi and Ise regions, to Edo to provide (or sell) the daily necessaries to the members of daimyo that were going to reside in the city as part of the alternate-year residence system. Suzuki, *Edo no Toshi Keikaku*, 202. Also, Nihonbashi was specifically designated as the neighborhood for merchants, precisely because of those infrastructural advantage. Naito, *Edo no Toshi,* 123.

neighborhood of the kimono retail shops. When Mitsui Takatoshi opened the first Echigoya store in the neighborhood, several kimono stores had already been operating. Although it did not take long for Echigoya to enlarge their shop to become one of the leading kimono retailers, the first store was still paltry with the storefront width (*maguchi*) of nine *shaku* (approx. nine feet), just over one unit of length used for measurement, so called *ken*

Storefront Width, Circulation Time and Ostracism

The width of storefront was crucial for appearance, if not architectural expression, as a measure of the wealth of a merchant. One *ken* was a modular distance of a bay between the centerlines of two columns, and was also a unit of measurement to survey agricultural land property for taxation. At the same time, as Naito Akira shows, the storefront width was the measurement for the amount of tax that the merchants had to pay to, in the case of Echigoya, the Tokugawa government in the form of public service (*shiyaku*), or later by silver coinage.[34] The more *ken* a merchant's storefront had, the more tax was levied on them. The growth of the Mitsui enterprise was, to a certain extent, objectified by the storefront width of their stores. Still, the storefront did not enlarge naturally, for it required a few commercial tricks set by the Mitsui. Now, we shall turn to those tricks.

As documented in the History of Mitsui Enterprise (*Mitsui Jigyō Shi*), Mitsui Takatoshi was a key figure who introduced new business models into the circulation time of kimono, breaking in effect the professional courtesy established among the existing kimono retailers in the neighborhood of *Hon-chō*. Two of Takatoshi's strategies for controlling circulation time are worthy of special attention. One is the cash sale (*genkin*

[34] Ibid.

uri or *tana saki uri*). Previously, among the kimono retailers, a credit sale (*kake uri*) was common as they visited residences of their clients, mostly samurai class, to sell articles through price negotiations, and received payments later. With sales taking place in cash, however, Echigoya began to sell kimono with set prices at the store and directly received the payment in cash. This sales tactic allowed Echigoya to sell their kimono and receive payment instantaneously, thus profiting much quicker. Although Takatoshi did not invent this strategy, he was keen enough to incorporate it earlier than other competitors, and it led him to develop another strategy within the distribution chain.[35]

The cash sales would not be effective without having enough kimono in stock at the store. In order to secure the constant feed of kimono, therefore, Takatoshi transformed the way the purchasing store (*shiire-dana*) bought articles in Kyoto. Unlike other purchasing stores who had only been buying high quality kimono upon receipt of orders by their respective retailers or clients, he instructed his purchasing shop to also buy cheap and low-quality kimono in large quantities, with or without the order receipts, and send them to the retail shop in Edo or in Osaka.[36] This way, their retail shops secured constant stock which made them effective for sales in cash. These new distribution and sales systems enabled their products to be more accessible, economically and physically, to townspeople other than the samurai class, including the then emergent merchant class, and the Echigoya store cultivated them as regular customers. As Echigoya did not seem to directly intervene in the actual making of kimono, their kimono business formally

[35] *Mitsui Jigyō-shi Dai 1 Kan*, 24.

[36] Also, Mitsui *shiire-dana* in Kyoto began *senkinmawashi,* another purchasing method. Instead of paying upon the purchase of kimono, *shiire-dana* began an advance payment to put the manufacturers on debt, allowing *shiire-dana*, named *Ueno-dana*, "to systematically purchase *nishijin* textiles [major textiles based in Kyoto] in cheap prices … Textile manufacturers were brought under control of Mitsui store." Ibid., 37.

subsumed the extant production forces—the expenditure of labor power and a means of production necessary to produce a kimono.[37]

While keeping these existing conditions (to follow Marx's analysis on commerce), what the Mitsui family brought about were the new spatial and temporal relations of production. It is spatial because their enterprise furthered the distance between the places of sale and purchase, as in Edo and Kyoto. With the rise of commerce, according to Marx, what used to be the identical process of exchange (e.g., producers *directly sold* their products to consumers, or consumers *directly purchased* it from producers for the purpose of consumption) is torn apart. The sole purpose of the exchange then is made, for the middleman like the Mitsui family, to purchase products; not to consume but to sell in order to purchase again: hence, to get hold of "exchange values as such, of money."[38] This process also separates the exchange that occurs inside the merchant's cycle (circulation) from the exchange between merchants and their consumers who "replace the exchange value once and for all" (consumption) at the end of circulation. Such split is, according to Marx, the source of contradiction, resulting in disproportional distribution of wealth. Indeed, the Mitsui family grew their wealth through such circulation, reducing its time within.

In essence, the success of Echigoya was the consequence of reducing the circulation time of kimono, thanks in large part to infrastructural preconditions—roads

[37] It is not certain how producers of kimono were paid by a local wholesaler, or whether they were paid directly by the Mitsui Shiire-dana. However, most likely, they were not paid by time-wage, hourly or daily, but rather by the number of kimono that producers made in a given period of time, hence equivalent to piece-wage. It is not clear as to how the piece-price of a kimono was determined, but to say the least the "daily wage" can be retrospectively calculated with the total amount of piece wage and days spent for the production. In other words, the values of necessary labor (labor power) and surplus labor of producers can be calculated roughly by the "daily wage" and, if it existed, the value of daily living "standard" imposed on kimono producers (or artisans in general) in the Tokugawa establishment.

[38] Karl Marx, *Grundrisee*, 148. Here, Marx refers to European merchants in the sixteenth and seventeenth century with their own estate.

and waterways—provided by the Tokugawa government, the de facto state. As Marx discusses, the circulation time is equivalent to the necessary labor time. In other words, it is "a barrier to the productivity of labor": the less the time spent, the more surplus is produced.[39] Circulation in this particular context means the process that begins with money advanced, or money capital, to purchase kimono in Kyoto, transport the article (in the case of Edo or Osaka) and then sell it at a higher price than the purchasing cost. Through this process, the money advanced metamorphosed back into money, but with surplus value impregnated with it at the end of the process. The contraction of the time spent in this process and the multiplication of this cycle, the turnaround time of money, increased the surplus. The mass purchasing of kimono and the cash sales at the retail store necessitated this quick turnaround time. Through this temporal trick, Echigoya accumulated more profit and became in a few years one of the leading kimono retailers in Edo, expanding their storefront by establishing a branch store in *Hon-chō ni-chōme*, an area next to *ichi-chōme* toward the east side, in 1676.[40] Time was indeed money.

However, Echigoya's unconventional commercial strategies were not appreciated by everyone. Transgressing the existing professional courtesy or commercial rhythm, so to speak, their strategies caused significant resentment among other kimono retailers in the *Hon-chō* and *Hongoku-chō* neighborhoods, who had formed a commercial community that even made internal trades among themselves. Their resentment was apparently so strong that it led to social ostracism, banning all of their communal trades with Echigoya. To further impede Echigoya's business, as mentioned in *Mitsui Jigyōshi*,

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[39] Ibid., 539.
[40] *Mitsui Jigyō-shi Dai 1 Kan,* 29.

some of the neighboring retailers even built their toilets in front of the kitchen of the Echigoya store, so that bodily wastes emptied toward the kitchen area.

This social, or scatological, ostracism seems to have encouraged Echigoya to move their store from *Hon-chō ichi-chōme* to a different neighborhood, called *Suruga-chō*, which is located two streets south of *Hon-chō*. While the harassment continued until the last minute, Echigoya managed to relocate their store in 1683. The new store was built on the southeast corner of *Suruga-chō*, facing the *Muro-machi* neighborhood that runs along the principal street leading to the bridge Nihonbashi on the south side and then to Tōkaidō, one of the aforementioned Five Routes. The width of new storefront was four *ken* (approx. 25 feet) with twenty *ken* (approx. 130 feet) depth.[41]

Ryōgae-dana and Money, Harvested or Minted

With this move, the Mitsui family also embarked on a new commercial enterprise by opening their money lending store, Mitsui Ryōgae-dana, on a piece of land measuring three *ken* width (storefront) by eight *ken* deep, just west of the new Echigoya store. The moneylender was originally part of other Echigoya stores, set up in order to manage their internal finances; upon the move, it became an independent enterprise, expanding their business through the exchange of gold and silver, transaction of bills, and accommodation of loans. When the family launched this new enterprise, the moneylender in general had already been an important apparatus of the Tokugawa establishment. To highlight the particularity of Mitsui's new enterprise and its temporal tricks, a short

[41] Ibid., 32. There were two measurements; one is *kyō-ma* (6.5 *shaku*) and the other is *inaka-ma* (6 *shaku*), as elaborated more in Section II. The *kyō-ma* was used when Echigoya purchased their stores. See Susumu Hijikata, *Edojidai no Edo no Zaisei to Meiji Roku-nen Chiso Kaisei-hō Koufu* (Financing Edo during Edo era and the Enactment of Land Tax-Reform in 1872) (Tokyo: Zeimu Keiri Kyōkai, 2004), 79–84.

detour will be made here to introduce the emergence of monetary system(s) and of moneylenders in the early Edo era.

Upon the capture of power in 1603, the Tokugawa Shogunate institutionalized the agricultural-first principle (*nōhon shugi*) to systematically manage the economy of the country, which consisted of different domains (*han*) governed by the regional lords (*daimyō*). Under this economic principle, the cadastral surveys were conducted to measure the agricultural lands across the country, and rice was exalted as the principal currency. Accordingly, tax was levied upon the commoners in the form of rice and collected by their respective domainal administrations. Moreover, serving the administrations, persons in the samurai class received the portion of tax-rice as their stipend from their own lords. With this rice-based economy, in principle, all the economic exchanges were supposed to be carried out through rice as a form of money.

Alongside this economic system, however, the Tokugawa government initiated the standardization of metallic currency as part of the state project—even prior to officially seizing power in 1603—since the different currencies had hitherto been used across the country.[42] Ordering the minting of official coinages for the first time in many centuries, the shogunate administration systematized the currency into *kin* (gold), *gin* (silver) and *sen* (copper). In this system, gold and copper coinages were the counting currencies with definite weighted value (called *Keisū Kahei*), while silver was the currency valued by weights (Hyōryō Kahei): Hence, provided that the purity of ores was kept, the weight of each coinage was a bearer of its value. The moneylender's task in the

[42] The first official coinages were issued by the Tokugawa in 1601 and then again in 1606. Silver and gold produced in this era was known as *keichō kingin*, which was used as the main currency until 1695, when the Tokugawa government issued the money known as *genroku kingin*. Nihon Keiei Shi Kenkyujo, ed., *Mitsui Ryōgae-dana* (Mitsui Moneylender) (Tokyo: Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsui Ginkō.1983), 153.

early days of the Edo era was to exchange the old or local currencies with the new metallic currencies, to universalize the weight of values.

As the weights and corresponding values of coinage are more consistent and durable, if not simply more *enigmatic*, all other commodities tend to express their values through the universal equivalent in the form of a price, as if those numeric figures were intrinsic to them. The value of a commodity was posited in the material form of money as the exchange value, torn apart from the natural property of the commodity itself.[43] Indeed, despite the rice-based economy that was projected as the foundation for the Tokugawa establishment, the metallic money was preferred, if not demanded as a means of commodity exchange, especially in the big cities, such as Edo, Osaka and Kyoto. *Daimyō* sold and converted rice paid as land tax into official coinages to manage their spending in their domain and in these cities. Under the reign of metallic coins, rice was demoted to one of many other exchangeable commodities. Alongside the aforementioned monetary conversion, some moneylenders in the early years of the Edo era were able to make fortunes from the accommodation of funds to regional *daimyō*. As rice production was often not enough to cover their spending since, for instance, the yields were affected by natural conditions, many *daimyō* turned to the moneylenders for loans to manage their finance, referred to as *daimyo-gashi*. However, as many domains plunged into economic crisis in the late seventeenth century, some of those moneylenders who relied on loans to the declining *daimyō* were also bankrupted.[44]

[43] In *Grundrisse*, Marx theorizes the emergence of exchange value of a commodity. When exchanging two commodities, Marx asserts, the third commodity needs to be first *thought*— at which moment, Marx identifies, there is the split character of commodities—"natural product on one side, as exchange value on the other." This exchange value then began to take shape in a "material existence." This exchange value of a commodity, torn apart from its natural character, is money. Marx, *Grundrisse*, 145.
[44] In the earlier years when there was still room to cultivate new land in many respective domains, each feudal lord was able to increase their revenue in the form of tax. However, as the cultivation became

Although the standardization of money prevailed by the mid-seventeenth century and the conversion from old coins became no longer necessary, the moneylender was still needed for the tri-metallic currency—gold, silver and copper—which had to be converted. Especially given that silver was used as the main currency in western Japan (e.g., the region around Osaka and Kyoto) and gold was used in the east (e.g., Edo), moneylenders played an instrumental role in the cross-regional trade, mediating between the silver and gold standards. Had there not been this apparatus of currency transaction, the success of Echigoya's kimono retailer shop in Edo would not have been possible in the first place, or would have been deferred, to say the least. The important fact to emphasize here is that, because of Tokugawa's monetization, the value of each coinage was made more easily commensurable and thus exchangeable. The moneylender's main profit then came from the transaction of these coinages by harnessing the fluctuating exchange rate between them.

A new type of moneylender, who did not rely on *daimyo-gashi,* emerged toward the late seventeenth century; among them were Mitsui's Ryōgae-dana. As the state projects—roads, waterways and universal monetary system—were established between the three big cities, numerous commodities, including the land tax rice, were collected and sold there in exchange for metallic coins and distributed across the country. Various merchants who were involved in different businesses, ranging from manufacture, retail, and wholesale to consignees, participated in the commodity exchange. Instead of *daimyō*, those merchants became the patrons for the new moneylenders. Given that the Mitsui

saturated, and the amount of rice remained the same, the price of all other commodities that were needed to sustain life was increasing, the economy did not run well. It made it impossible for many feudal lords to return the loans, but since there was a strict class hierarchy, the money changer was not able to put the issue before court and thus many of them were bankrupt. Thereafter, moneylenders such as the Mitsui sought to avoid daimyō-gashi as much as they could.

family had already been part of, if not one of the principal architects of the market economy through their kimono business, they must have already had a firm footing in the market. Taking advantage of the preconditions, Mitsui's Ryōgae-dana immediately grew and moved to a new lot across the street with a storefront of seven *ken* in 1685.

Public Service and Weight of Money

While Edo was experiencing population growth and soaring demand for articles for daily and luxurious uses, Osaka was the main trading center, since the producers of commodities such as oil, metal hardware and clothing were concentrated around the city. For any moneylenders to engage in the commodity trade, the ties to the merchants in Osaka were crucial. In 1690, the Mitsui family was strategic enough to open, alongside the kimono retail store, Ryōgae-dana in Osaka to establish such a connection, accommodating loans to other major moneylenders and consignees who specialized in the trade with the eastern region. Also there in Osaka, the Ryōgae-dana soon began to become involved directly in a governmental order as well, the so-called *Osaka Bakufu Okaneguragin Okawase Goyō* (The Order of Bills of Exchange for Osaka Silver Depository). It was a public service ordered by the Tokugawa Shogunate to several major moneylenders, to which the Mitsui family was included, and it entailed the transfer of silver coinages converted from the rice paid as land tax, from Osaka to Edo within sixty or ninety days.[45] To carry out the service, Ryōgae-dana provided the residential property worth 300,700 *ryo* (a unit of gold coin) to the Tokugawa government as mortgage.

[45] When this order was given, initially the duration was sixty days, but in a few years it was extended to ninety days. Mitsui Bunko, *Mitsui Jigyō-shi Hon-pen, Dai 1 Kan*, 88. The purchase of landed/ residential property led the family to begin the real-estate business, which has survived to this date, managed by Mitsui Fudosan.

Ryōgae-dana desperately served for this order not only because they were able to gain trust from and establish a connection with the authority, but also they received a kind of counter-gift from them. Although the Ryōgae-dana did not receive any transaction fee from the central government for this public service, they made accommodation of funds to merchants in Osaka by using the silver coinages received from the government. Since there were ninety days to deliver the money to Okane Bugyō (the Commissioner of Money) in Edo, Ryōgae-dana used it as interest-bearing capital, insofar as the service—the completion of the public service—was made on time.[46] The counter-gift was temporal and conditional, for it existed at the most for ninety days and required the real estate as mortgage. Still, upon having vanished, it produced the surplus value for Ryōgae-dana at the end.

The silver coinages (the tax-money) as interest-bearing capital subsumed, among many things, the labor of peasants who had paid the land tax in the form of rice, their respective feudal lords who exchanged the tax with the silver coinages through money lenders, and merchants who needed loans for their business. Otherwise, the Ryōgae-dana was not able to receive the money from the state and extract interest from the loan, functioning as a service fee indirectly paid by the Tokugawa Shogunate. In short, the money from the state was the product of the market economy at large—the economy which, for example, enabled the rice to be transfigured into exchange value and then into silver via merchants, consignees or wholesalers alike, due to its ability to represent the values as the universal equivalent.

This counter-gift from the state involved another monetary mechanism. Instead of transporting all the money on land or sea, Ryōgae-dana in Osaka sent a bill of exchange

[46] Nihon Keiei Shi Kenkyujo, *Mitsui Ryōgae-dana*, 48.

(*kawase*) to their Edo store and the latter delivered the money to *Okane Bugyō* in Edo by the deadline. This allowed the money to stay in Osaka to be loaned to other merchants. The deployment of bills of exchange quite literally lightened the weight of money transfer, enabling an easier, quicker and cheaper delivery process. The faster delivery meant a longer period for the loan since Ryōgae-dana was able to use, not a full ninety days perhaps, but a greater portion of it to make the money available as funds than if they had to transport money from Osaka to Edo. Prolonging the life of the money remaining as interesting-bearing capital, the weight, or its lack thereof, of bills of exchange maximized the surplus value that Ryōgae-dana extracted from the loan. It was another monetary-temporal trick that was practiced by the moneylender, wherein the bill of exchange functioned as the talismanic paper. Due to this public service, Ryōgae-dana became one of the leading moneylenders in the rest of the Edo era.

Resolution, Expansion and Organization

Soon after Ryōgae-dana relocated across the street in 1685, the retail store in *Suruga-cho* also expanded their storefront westward from 4 *ken* to 7 *ken* and managed to launch another official service, as a purveyor of kimono distribution for the Tokugawa government. Moreover, they established a store/office solely dedicated to this distribution, with the storefront of 15 *ken* (and 15 *ken* deep) several streets north of Suruga-chō. As this enterprise in effect turned Echigoya into the "official" kimono purveyor, their new public status apparently "cancelled out the discord" that they had previously created by the temporal tricks. Moreover, Echigoya took extreme care in determining the prices of kimono in this public service, so that it no longer caused ostracism among other purveyors.[47]

As Echigoya expanded their business as the "official" kimono store, the Mitsui family also established *Men-dana* (a cotton store) to sell cotton and silk, so called *Kantō-mono,* and opened the store with the storefront width of four *ken* just to the east of the new Ryōgae-dana. With Echigoya's Gofuku-dana on the south side and Ryōgae-dana and Men-dana on the north side, the Mitsui enterprise begins to occupy the entire Suruga-chō. Entirely articulated with their storefronts, often with Mt. Fuji as the backdrop, the streetscape eventually become the familiar subject of many woodblock prints from the late Edo period.

Fig. 1.3 Hiroshige, *Edo Hyakkei* (1856), showing the view of Suruga-cho with a row of Mitsui's storefront on both sides.

[47] Mitsui Bunko, *Mitsui Jigyō-shi Hon-pen, Dai 1 Kan,* 39.

The inauguration of Men-dana marked another business strategy that the Mitsui family introduced, which was the cultivation of a new place for purchasing kimono closer to Edo—a strategy the family further developed to restructure the purchasing route in the following decades. In order to secure enough stock to sell in Edo, Echigoya was eager to find places, other than Kyoto, to purchase kimono materials. However, it was hard for the Mitsui family as an outsider to find their footing within areas where local merchants dominated production and distribution lines. In order to resolve this regional and historical constraint, the Mitsui family sought locales where there were already established merchants who could collaborate with them or wherein the influence of local merchants over the production and distribution of cotton/silk was less dominant. This marks an explicit instance when the Mitsui formally subsumed the existing regional forces and relations of production under their circulation.

Moreover, instead of sending purchasing persons to those areas only on market days, Men-dana established a permanent shop that could purchase the kimono directly through local merchants in the area.[48] Not only did having a permanent purchasing shop at production sites make it easier, and thus faster, to secure a large amount of quality cotton or silk, it also reconfigured the financial transactions between their shops. Previously, when Men-dana ordered kimono materials from Kyoto, they had to send a bill of exchange for the payment. With the establishment of the regional permanent shop, however, the payment previously made by Men-dana to the purchasing store in Kyoto could be offset by (if there was one) an order the Kyoto store submitted to the local purchasing store, since it was under the umbrella of Men-dana. What Men-dana in Edo needed to do was to simply send a bill of exchange to the local shop to complete the

[48] Jōshū (the current Gunma Prefecture and its vicinity) was one of those areas. Ibid., 73.

process. While Mitsui's commercial network grew by cultivating different regions as sources of supply for kimono materials, they also attempted to simplify the transactions between their stores. What this shows is that the Mitsui commercial enterprise at large began to form an internal organizational structure.

Still, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the internal hierarchy between the Mitsui stores, Shiire-dana, Gufuku-dana, Men-dana, or Ryōgae-dana alike, was not well organized. The lack of clear structure among those shops made it hard to supervise the overall business, in particular their finance. In 1710, in order to establish an organizational structure to better monitor the flow of money, the key personnel of the Mitsui family decided to form a main office, called Ōmoto-gata, in Kyoto where monthly meetings were held. From then on, the family began to form a rough contour of hierarchy, wherein Ōmoto-gata operated at the top of the structure overseeing other shops. In terms of finance, for example, a year's worth of initial capital (*moto date*) was distributed to, if not invested on the respective shops from Ōmoto-gata. In return, each shop was obliged to return a certain amount of money proportional to the initial capital back to Ōmoto-gata each year, as dividend (*shōtoku kōnō*). If a store was able to produce more surplus than the money returned to Ōmoto-gata, one-tenth of the surplus was to be distributed among their employees (shi-hai-nin, te-shita or hōko-nin) as "reward (*hō-bi*)." In addition to the money distribution, Ōmoto-gata gave instruction to the internal organization of each shop, establishing certain positions in each shop.[49] Although the Mitsui family would thereafter deploy a series of structural reforms, the establishment of Ōmoto-gata was the crucial step for them to become the commercial giant in the rest of the Edo era and perhaps even after.

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[49] Ibid., 96–102.

The Encounter

Around the time Ōmoto-gata was established, at which point the Mitsui family had accomplished commercial success with their kimono business and money lending, there appeared to be the first recorded encounter between the family and the Mimeguri Shrine. In 1716, six years after the inauguration of Ōmoto-gata, the Yoshida family—an influential family in the Shinto circle during the Edo era—granted Shōichii (正一位) status to the Mimeguri Shrine by issuing the Indenture of Invitation (of the Shōichii Inari Deity) (勧請証書), called *Sōgensenji* (宗源宣旨).[50] Accompanying this indenture was a congratulatory document, which indicated the key parishioners of the shrine who made this invitation of the Shōichii status possible. Included were Mitsui Takaharu, Mitsui Takahisa and Mitsui Takafusa,[51] all of whom were the key figures managing the family's overall business. In particular, Takafusa eventually succeeded his father Takahira to become the third head of the family. The congratulatory document addressed them with a special emphasis, suggesting a strong tie between the Mitsui family, the Yoshida family and the Mimeguri Shrine. With this consecration, the Mimeguri Shrine also became Mitsui's guardian god.

Prior to the enshrinement as Shōichii Inari Deity, as Wakasugi Atushi claims, the Mimeguri Shrine had existed as the tutelary deity for the surrounding village, called Koumemura, and incorporated the local worship of both the agricultural deity (*tanokami*) and the fox creed. It was already a well-known site among the Edo townspeople. One

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[50] *Shōichii* is the highest status that an Inari shrine can gain. There are several ways in which this status can be granted. For further information on Shōichii, in particular the Yoshida Family's involvement in granting the status, see Naoki Enomoto, *Shōichii Inari Daimyōjin: Inari no Shinkai to Kitsune no Kai* (Shoichii Inari Great Deity: Hierarchy of Deity and Rank of Fox) (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2000), 18.

[51] They were respectively the third son and seventh son of Takatoshi, and the eldest son of Takahira who was the eldest son of Takatoshi.

famous event occurred when Takarai Kikaku, a seventeenth-century poet and the disciple of Matsuo Bashō, made a visit to the village on June 23, 1693. As the villagers were then suffering from a drought that year, Kikaku dedicated a poem to their tutelary shrine, the Mimeguri Shrine, to pray for rain. Next day, it rained. As the news of this miraculous event spread across Edo, many townspeople began to visit the shrine to benefit from the good omen. As the blessing was based upon the gift of rain to the villagers, the attribute of the Mimeguri Shrine as the agricultural deity is strongly enunciated in this enigmatic event.

Moreover, the fox worship is embodied by the statue of an old couple that still exists in the precincts of the Mimeguri Inari. According to the inscription on the statue, it was built on May 18, 1701, and the couple originally came from the Jōshū area and settled in Koumemura. At the Mimeguri Inari, the husband seems to have served as a guardian of the shrine, while the wife opened a teahouse where she also served as a shaman-like figure. Upon a visitor's request, as she clapped her hands towards the surrounding farmland, a fox appeared from nowhere and then ate foods offered by the visitor. Once she passed away, the fox disappeared as well. Via the body of the woman and farmland, the Mimeguri Inari, the fox and by extension agricultural production were wedded to each other.

Why, we might ask, did the Mitsui family choose this particular Inari shrine as their guardian god? Or, how was it that the intercourse between the powerful merchant and the local agricultural deity and fox occurred? Was it merely a contingent event, or did it involve a certain degree of necessity, religious and commercial alike? If so, then what was at work in this encounter? In order to tackle these questions, the following subsection turns to the history of fox worship, its historical encounter with the Inari deity, and the problematic of the origin of Inari worship. In so doing, it takes a few tales and episodes to highlight the effectivities of the level of political economy within the worship, leading up to the time of consecration of the Mimeguri Shrine as Mitsui's guardian god in the early eighteenth century.

2. Fox, Inari Deity and Its Origin (or Absence Thereof)

The Fox as Exchange

In his analysis of *The Fox*, a novel written by Nagai Kafū in 1909, Maeda Ai discussed manifold characteristics of the fox in Japan prior to the mid-nineteenth century. One of those characteristics is piety. The fox is also conceived of as a possessing spirit, often disguised as a female figure. In other words, there were two tendencies bestowed upon the animal: "giving" on the one hand, and "taking" on the other.[52] These seemingly opposing characteristics together constituted the figure of the fox as what Maeda calls an "ambiguous polyvalence" in the course of history. Instead of one attribute overriding the other, all attributes were accumulated, hence making the figure ambiguous. Given this polyvalent attribute, as Maeda writes, "whatever place [foxes] showed themselves in became defined as both sacred space and accursed ground."[53] Hence, the fox is the body of exchange.

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[52] Gorai Shigeru identifies these characteristics as grace (*onchō*) and punishment (*chōbatsu*) which had derived from an archaic spirituality (*genshiteki reikon kan*) Gorai, "Sōron" (Introduction) in *Inarishinkō no Kenkyū* (Study of Inari Worship) (Okayama-shi: San'yōshinbunsha, 1985), 49.
[53] Ai Maeda, "The Spirits of Abandoned Garden: On Nagai Kafu's 'The Fox'" trans. William F. Sibley, in *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, ed. James A. Fuji (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 103.

Although the fox had already been featured in classical Japanese history, such as in the *Kojiki*, the dual tendencies—giving and taking—were first depicted in the *Nihon Ryōiki*, a *setsuwa* collection complied by the Buddhist monk Keikai at Yakushi Temple in the early Heian era (794–1185). As Nakamura Teiri claims, the collection gives a glimpse of the ways in which the commoners practiced the fox creed during antiquity.[54] In one tale, a fox first transformed into a woman, marrying a farmer in the Mino province. Eventually they had a boy. One day, however, barked at by a dog, she revealed her animality and left the house. Despite this revelation, the farmer insisted that she would visit them as she wished, and their child later became the progenitor of an agricultural clan of the Mino Province.[55]

Another tale in the same collection portrays the fox as a possessing figure. The story goes that there was a sick man in a village near a mountain where Eikō, a monk during the Nara period, was practicing. The villagers invited Eikō to look after the sick man. When Eikō began chanting a spell, a sprit of fox appeared from the sickened body. The fox explained that it possessed the man because he had killed the very same fox in a previous life and, in the next life, the man would be born as a dog and kill the fox again. The fox-spirit took the life of the man. A year later, when the monk was in the same room where the man had been killed, a dog indeed appeared with a fox and bit it to death. The monk realized that the grudge would never disappear from the world.[56]

Concerning fertility, a transformative ability, femininity, and possessing power, these two ninth-century stories contain the major characteristics of the fox. In the first

[54] Teiri Nakamura, *Kitsune no Nihonshi Kodai Chusei Hen* (Ancient and Medieval Japanese History of the Fox) (Tokyo: Nihon Editar Skuru, 2001), 5.
[55] Keikai, ed., *Nihon Ryōiki*, trans. Toshiaki Harada, Mitsugu Takahashi (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2000), 22–24.
[56] Ibid., 213–215.

story, the metamorphosis of the fox provided the ancestral root of the imaginary clan through her affection and reproductive ability. What grew from the root was the prosperity of the clan. Here, as some scholars argue, the plot echoes the rice fertility cult or synchronizes with the seasonal cycle of rice production; the prosperity of the clan was granted suggestively through the fertility of land, labor and good harvest.[57] In exchange for being kept alive despite the revelation of her true nature, the fox provided her husband's clan with both maternal and agricultural fertilities—or, to put it in broader terms, means of subsistence and production—enough to reproduce the clan society for the generations to come.

"Exchange," Marx writes, "begins not between the individuals within a community, but rather at the community end—at their boundary, at the point of contact between different communities."[58] Following this formulation of exchange, the cross breeding in this tale also hints at a societal exchange in the form of marriage, wherein, seen perhaps from a masculine perspective, the wife is depicted as *the beastly other* coming from a community with a different sets of mores and customs.[59] Although the extent to which this particular exchange was reciprocal between the communities is uncertain from this tale, the beastliness of the wife might suggest the subservient role she or her original community had to play in this particular societal exchange. Still, her beastliness, the underlying indigenous mores, was kept alive, and she brought prosperity to the clan society of her husband. As beastly or contradictory as it was, therefore, the

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[57] Nakamura, *Kitsune no Nihonshi Kodai*, 6–7.

[58] Marx, *Gruindrisee*, 882.

[59] Referring to this particular story, Sekiyo Shimode points out that to have the fox, instead of the historical figures from the imperial family, as an ancestral figure suggests that this story depicts a regional clan with different customs from those who were closer to the central aristocratic regime. Sekiyo Shimode, "Reiki to Kitsune Sosen Dan" (Reiiki and the Tale of Fox Ancestor) in *Oinarisan* (Tokyo: Asunaro-sha, 1976), 161–165.

cross-societal exchange was crucial, or a necessary presupposition for the reproduction of the communal society and its prosperity.

In the second tale, Buddhism precepts such as metempsychosis and ahimsa underlie the story, and the fox was cast as a possessing figure against moral contagion, as embodied by the sicken man whose karma had transgressed those precepts in his previous life. The fox possessed the man, taking his life in revenge. Yet, the grudge persisted in the next life—the fox was killed again by the "dog." In this tale, taking place across different cycles of karmic life, the grudge and revenge, or "debt" and "payment," were reproduced. Though different from the first tale of the fox-wife, it also marks a form of exchange. In sum, these two tales in *Nihon Ryōiki* already showed the duality—giving and taking—of the fox; giving, on the one hand, through the arrival and devotion of the fox wife, the life of the child and agricultural prosperity; taking, on the other hand, through the physical contagion and the subsequent death of the sinful man, albeit at the expense of its own life in the next life cycle.

Fox, Dakiniten, Inari Deity and Objectifications

Beginning in the late twelfth century, the female characteristic as well as the Buddhist orientation of the fox was amplified as the animal began to be associated with *dakiniten,* the goddess of esoteric Buddhism. The current iconography of *dakiniten* consists of the goddess with a sword in her right hand and a precious orb in her left hand, riding on a fox whose tail also has the orb on its tip. The goddess imagery originated from the female demon *dakini* in India, who eats the heart of corpses. When it was brought to Japan in the late eleventh century, the association with the fox was made partially due to the necrophiliac dimension of *dakini*, which resonated with the behaviors of the fox that made their den near graveyards and ate the corpses of livestock.[60] Those two figures were gradually fused into each other within Japanese folk practice. Since the fox had been associated with the female figure, as already seen in the *Nihon Ryōiki,* this marriage imbued both *dakini* and the fox with more feminine characteristics. Although this marriage was not the only reason, the hybrid essence that derived from it, consisting of piety, animality, sexuality, fertility, mortality and even duplicity, helped made *dakiniten* into the goddess of "veneration, separation, good health, wealth, and exorcism."[61] By the same token, the merger with *dakiniten* complicated the characteristics of the fox, adding more dimensions to the ambiguous polyvalence.

While this marriage between *dakiniten* and the fox was taking place, both figures were, somewhat independently, incorporated into Inari worship through an esoteric Shingon-sect Buddhism in the fourteenth century. The merger between the fox and Inari is acutely reflected in *Inaridaimyōjin Ruki* (稲荷大明神流記). Written sometime around the middle of the fourteenth century, it is the origin myth of the Fushimi Inari-taish, the head shrine of Inari worship nestled at the Inari Mountain in Kyoto.[62] Nakamura encapsulates this myth with the following three points: 1) Back in the ninth century, when an old man—Inari deity in disguise— who carried a sack of rice on his back and leaves of cedar in his hands visited To-ji, the head temple of the esoteric Shingon sect of Buddhism, with two women and two children, Kūkai, the founder of Shingon Buddhism, let them stay at the *otabisho* (temporary shrine) of Fushimi Inari-taisha; 2) Kukai

[60] Nakamura, *Kitsune no Nihonshi Kodai*, 76
[61] Ibid., 116.
[62] With regard to the date when the legend was established, I'm following Nakamura's account. However, for another author, such as Kondo Yoshiharu, this legend was written in the middle of the Kamakura era. See Kondo, "Inari Shinkō no Rekishiteki Tenkai," in *Inari Shinkō* (Inari Worship) ed. Hiroji Naoe (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1983), 42.

converted Ryūtōta, the deity who was living at the Inari Mountain, to Shingon Buddhism by engaging in agriculture and collecting firewood; and 3) an old couple of foxes and their child from a different mountain appeared and became the emissary of the Inari Mountain to fulfill their wish; that is, "to protect the world and provide it with material prosperity."[63]

This tale suggests that, by the time it was written, an association between Inari worship and agricultural production had been made; esoteric Shingon Buddhism had incorporated the worship, and the fox had become the emissary of the Inari deity. Combining Shinto, Buddhism and the folk creed (of fox), this merger is emblematic of what Sarah Thal describes as an "overlapping system," prevalent in the medieval practice of religion.[64] From the fourteenth century onward, the Inari deity, the fox and *dakiniten* together began to constitute such a system and travelled across Japan from the fourteenth century on, as Shingon Buddhism became a popular religion in the country. The triad served commoners to ensure their *genze riyaku* (現世利益)—a Buddhist concept that means "worldly benefits," including both spiritual and material benefits that a person can gain in a lifetime in exchange for the observance of Buddhist teachings.[65]

In this regard, as Marx shows in a few places in *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, there is a kinship between work and religious worship. For Marx,

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[63] Teiri Nakamura. *Nihonjin no Dobutsukan* (Japanese Worldview on Animal) (Tokyo: Kaimeisha, 1984),159.

[64] Thal discusses it related to the history of the compound of Kotohira-gū at Mt Zōzu in Shikoku. Sarah Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods: The Politics of a Pilgrimage Site in Japan, 1573–1912* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 47.

[65] See Kazuo Higo "*Inari Shinkō no Hajime*" (The Beginning of the Inari Worship) in *Inari Shinkō* (Inari Worship) ed. Hiroji Naoe (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1983), 6.

workers externalize their "potential as producer[s]" in the material objects they produce.[66] This process is labor and the products are the "objectification of labor";[67] the objectification confronts the workers as an alien process, especially under the capitalist system, further depriving them of the potential. Likewise Marx compares religions, where "the more the man puts into God, the less he retains himself."[68] This process is the objectification that occurs at the level of consciousness (religion), wherein a person externalizes their self-consciousness as alien objects. Marx does not specify where this comparison comes from, but here he is most likely referring to Hegel, for the objectification of self-consciousness was Hegel's definition of labor. Moreover, while criticizing it for being "abstractly mental labor,"[69] Marx acknowledges that Hegel's objectification "grasps nature of labor and conceives objective man … as the result of his own labor."[70] To follow this philosophical lineage, work and worship shares the process of human labor and the objectification, as its realization, into material object or deity.

In fact, even prior to the incorporation into Shingon Buddhism, folk-religious worship in general had been little more than a *mere* abstract mental objectification. For example, in discussing the relation of worship to agricultural production in ancient times, Higo Kazuo claims that many farmers relied on the power of a deity to administer their

[66] Chris Arthur, "Objectification and Alienation in Marx and Hegel," in *Radical Philosophy* 030 (Spring, 1982): 14.
[67] Karl Marx, *The Economic & Philosophic Manuscript of 1844* (New York: International Publisher, 1964), 108.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid., 177.
[70] Quoted by Arthur, "Objectification and Alienation," 16. According to Arthur and, also Lukacs, Marx criticizes Hegel for not taking into account of the objectification in material sense, leading him to overlook how "alienation" takes place in the objective world. Georg Lukacs, *The Young Hegel: Studies in the Relations between Dialectics and Economics*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1976), especially chapters 3 and 4 in part IV (466–568).

production to, for example, secure good sunlight or protect the crop from insect pest.[71] The worship was part of the infrastructure of agricultural production, alongside an irrigation system, for example. Inari worship, according to Higo, had a similar function.[72] Or, outside agriculture, as Nakamura shows, some worship was practiced to secure the safe delivery of child and the life of mother. In these instances, worship was a necessary means for maternal fertility.[73] Indeed, these two elements, agricultural production and social reproduction, were depicted in the tale of the fox-wife in Nihon Ryoiki. For commoners, therefore, Fox-Inari worship shared the process of labor, and provided them with a means of production, if not a means of subsistence as its objectifications.

Tamamo-no-Sōshi and Denouement of the Inari Shrine

As the confluence of the fox, Inari and *dakiniten* took place among the commoners, the triad also gained currency among Japanese aristocrats or ruling classes, the symptom of which is manifested in *Tamamo-no-Sōshi* (the Story of the Jewel Maiden). It is a folkloric fairly tale that was originally composed during the fourteenth century and finalized in the mid-seventeenth century.[74] Here, I will read in depth the version of story completed in the mid-seventeenth century to introduce the political–economic drive embedded in the narrative and also to locate the emerging role of the Inari shrine. The plot of the story is as follows:

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[71] Higo, "*Inari Shinkō no Hajime,*" 5–6.
[72] To this end, Nakamura enumerates several points as to why the fox possibly took over the role of the farmland god (田の神) and the mountain God (山神) from the serpent. One of the reasons was the development of an irrigation system that made the distribution of water to the rice field easier and more stable. As the water became no longer an important element for the agricultural ritual, the snake which had previously served as the water god (水神) gradually lost its place within the agricultural lore. The fox as the farmland deity replaced the role of snake. See Teiri Nakamura, *Nihonjin no Dobutsukan,* 160–161.
[73] Teiri Nakamura, *Kitsune no Nihonshi Kodai Chuseibito no Jujutsu* (Japanese History of the Fox: The Magic of Ancient and Medieval People) (Tokyo: Ebisukoshoshuppan, 2017), 224.

There was a two-tailed fox that came to Japan to conquer the country after having committed various villainies in other countries. One day, a beautiful woman appeared before Toba-jōkō, a retired emperor who controlled Japanese aristocratic politics from behind the scenes during the twelfth century. In addition to a beautiful figure, her intelligence, unlike other mistresses, further impressed the retired emperor. When the poetry and music party was thrown one night at a shrine to celebrate the end of fall, a storm struck the place and all the candles were blown out. Amidst the complete darkness, the woman radiated the light from her body. Mesmerized by this bodily illumination, Toba-jōkō dubbed her *Tamamo-no-mae* (Jewel Maiden).

Soon after, however, Toba-jōkō became ill. Abe no Yasunari, astrologer and exorcist (*onmyōji,* 陰陽師), was called upon by the court to diagnose the health of the retired emperor. Abe concluded that Toba-jōkō was possessed by a malevolent spirit, and he became suspicious of *Tamamo-no-mae*. At the insistence of Abe, a prayer was held and *Tamamo-no-mae* was forced to attend it. As the prayer proceeded, she became tormented and finally revealed her true animality. The two-tailed fox appeared and ran away from the court, escaping to N*asu* in the *Tōgoku* region. Two warriors, *Kazusanosuke* and *Miurasuke* who were both skilled archers, were then sent to the region to hunt the malevolent fox and they brought the animal down at sunrise. Upon returning to Kyoto with the corpse of the fox, *Miurasuke* received the white ball found inside the corpse and was asked to reproduce the hunting scene before the court with a red dog likened to the fox. The story continues. Despite the killing of the fox, however, the vengeful spirit of *Tamamo-no-mae* remained alive in *Nasu* and petrified into the Murder Stone (*sasshōseki*). Whoever came near it was killed by the poisonous vapors it emitted.

This petrified spirit lived until the Sōtō sect Zen monk Genkō appeared a hundred years after. As Genkō started chanting, the stone crumbled and, finally, *Tamamo-no-mae* was liberated from its own vengeance. Later, Genkō resided at *Manganji* (万願寺) in Ōshu Aizu, where an inari shrine was later called upon and built.

As exemplified in many stories, a fox-woman as a shape-shifter often tricked men through her sexuality and intelligence. As a consequence of satisfying men's sexual desire, as Karen Smyers shows, the fox-women often took men's life and/or health.[75] This form of vulpine exchange, whether sexual or contagious, is clearly depicted in the relationship between Toba-jōkō and *Tama-no-mae*, as he fell ill upon being mesmerized by her appearance and intelligence, epitomized by the magical light. As evident from her name "*tama*," which refers to soul and jewel in Japanese, her body functioned as a precious orb, the iconography already seen in the *dakiniten*. The precious orb of the goddess also partook of the composite characteristics of the triad, as both the fox and Inari had their own jewels even before their confluence.[76] A fox's jewel in Japanese classics, like *Konjaku Monogatari*, was originally depicted as a material that illuminates during the night, imbued with "special properties, including the power of transformation and the bestowal of wealth or wisdom."[77] The shining body of *Tama-no-mae* during the night and her intelligence together mirror those special properties.

[75] Even in the classical Chinese fox lore, which was later adapted by the Japanese counterpart, the fox transformed into a woman who seduced a man, becoming "immortal by stealing away the man's life essence." Here, while the fox as a nocturnal animal has *yi* energy, based on the Chinese cosmology *yin* (陰) and *yang* (陽), the man's life essence represents *yang* energy. In Japan, the trick of the fox-woman was depicted as early as the twelfth century. A diary, written by Fujiwara no Yorinaga, portrayed the fox as a shape-shifter transfiguring into a woman who made a young man sick. See Karen A. Smyers. *The Fox and the Jewel: Shared and Private Meanings in Japanese Inari Worship* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 128.
[76] Ibid., 114. In a mythology based upon which the Inari creed had developed, a jewel symbolized a god (*kami*), the sun, and a soul, associated with "fertility and birth and also with death."
[77] Ibid., 126.

Furthermore, the precious orb tied the animal to light and fire. While there are a lot of presumptions made by scholars regarding how the association between the fox and light took its root, Yoshino Hiroko gives an original account on this question through *in'yo gogyō* (陰陽五行), which originated in Chinese cosmology. In addition to the dual forces of *ying* and *yang*—originally, meaning moonlight and sunlight, or darkness and light—the cosmology consists of five elements, which are metal, wood, water, fire and earth, forming a chain of production cycle. Fire and wood belongs to the realm of *yang*, metal and water to that of *ying*, and the earth is mediating between the two forces. Within this cosmic constellation, the earth is produced by fire and it in turn yields metal: Just as the land needs to receive the sunlight for crops to grow, Yoshino argues, the fox was associated with light (*yang*) via fire as its receptor—the earth—which makes the fox's connection to agriculture inseparable.[78] Notably, Abe no Yasunari in *Tamamo-no-Sōshi* deployed *in'yo* sorcery to exorcise the two-tailed fox from Toba-jōkō only after the Jewel Maiden illuminated her body during the night at the end of fall, which also marks the end of harvest season. With the help of *in'yo* practices, the light led to the revelation of the fox (the earth or crop), and the Murder Stone—the objectified grudge of the two tailed-fox—could be read as the metal produced by the earth. Interpreted with the theory of Yoshino, the story thereby follows the production cycle of *in'yo gogyō*, which ends with the resolution of the grudge by the Zen Monk through the consecration of the Inari shrine.

As Nakamura shows, the construction of the Inari shrine as the denouement of the story had not been included in this story until the last version. This suggests that Inari

[78] The figure of the fox was then linked to the earth during Chinese antiquity. According to Yoshino, since the color of the earth in the cosmology is yellow, the fox was associated with the earth through the color of its fur. Yuko Yoshino, *Kitsune: 'Inyō-gogyō to Inari Shinkō* (The Fox: 'Inyō-gogyō and the Inari Worship) (Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku Shuppan, 1980), 84.

worship began to gain currency during the period between the fourteenth century, when the story was first written, and the early seventeenth century. This emergence of Inari worship should be understood in relation to the concurrent rise of the warrior (samurai) class as the ruling power over the aristocratic regime. Indeed, the "predations" of *Tamamo-no-Sōshi* brought, as Michael Bathgate claims, "the epochal decline of imperial power at the end of the Heian period"[79] in the late twelfth century. The decline then gave a rise to the long-lived reign of warriors, which started with the Kamakura era (1185–1333) immediately after the Heian era and ended with the Meiji restoration in 1868. The weakened body of the retired emperor and the "exploit" of the two warriors symbolized the political shift, especially given that the fox hunt took place in *Tōgoku*, the region directly under the control of the Kamakura Shogunate. In addition, since the fox creed was probably popular among commoners in the *Tōgoku* area by the time the story was originally written in the fourteenth century, as Nakamura suggests, the elite warriors distanced themselves from the local belief that still incorporated the beastliness of the fox. The "killing" of the beastly fox symbolized a sense of superiority to the warrior class over their *vulgar* subjects.

Still, to fully pacify the grudge of the fox, it needed to wait for the arrival of the Zen Buddhist monk and the consecration of the Inari shrine "in the early seventeenth century." This addition of the Inari shrine to the story is, most likely, related to the popularity of Inari worship among the warrior classes in the late medieval period leading up to the reign of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Indeed, during this turbulent time—known as the Age of Warring States, when the regional warlords battled to assume the ruling

[79] Michael Bathgate, *The Fox's Craft in Japanese and Folklore* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 25.

power—many of them consecrated Inari shrines in their respective castle compounds as their guardian shrines. There seems to be two accounts for their praxis of Inari worship.

The first account is that Inari worship by warlords was related to their sorcery practice based upon *dakiniten* to cast curses on their enemies (*onteki jobuku*). The Inari functioned thereby as the deity of embattlement.[80] In this account, the Inari shrine in the story might simply have meant to capture the regime of the warrior class and perhaps its completion with the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The second account is that, as many scholars argue, the warlords enshrined the deity for the blessing of good harvests (*gokoku hojo*) for their territories, as agricultural production was considered the principal productive force. To an extent, winning battles meant gaining more territories and thus securing more agricultural production. They consecrated the Inari shrines to subjugate the regional agricultural population under the deity of agriculture, Inari. If we follow this explanation, the killing of the fox, or of the custom of the "vulgar subjects," and its petrified grudge in *Tamamo-no-Sōshi* can be understood as various hardships, or contradictions, which the turbulent years of the Warring era had imposed upon extant regional social formations. The Inari shrine was introduced to the story as a denouement to finally pacify the grudge in the early seventeenth century, just as the Tokugawa Shogunate had assumed power, finally ending the Warring years, and implemented the rice-based economy as a way to put all the domains under their control. The Inari may have worked as the metaphor for the new regime.

What both accounts corroborate, to say the least, is that Inari worship was indeed popular among the warlords. The osmosis is most exemplified by the episode of

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[80] Shigeru Gorai, "Inarishinkō to Bukkyō" (Inari Worship and Buddhism) in *Inarishinkō no Kenkyū* (Study of Inari Worship) (Okayama-shi: San'yōshinbunsha, 1985), 75–170.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a great warlord who momentarily assumed power in the mid-sixteenth century, just before the rule of the Tokugawa. When his adopted daughter fell ill after giving birth to her child, and convinced that she was possessed by the fox, Hideyoshi threatened Fushimi Inari-taisha and ordered the shrine to cure the possession. Otherwise, he would "destroy the shrine and make sure to deploy the fox hunts every year to extirpate the species."[81] The fox-Inari creed—the possessive power of the fantastic fox and sorcerous ability of the Inari deity (or *dakiniten*) to exorcise the possession—is evident here and, by subordinating both the fox and deity, Hideyoshi exercised his power, be it militaristic or political. The episode in turn substantiated his belief in the worship: for if either the fox possession or Inari were to mean nothing to him, he would not have deployed his might over them in the first place.

Moreover, the agricultural dimension is implicit here. Hideyoshi is known for initiating the nation-wide cadastral land survey, so called *Taikō Kenchi*, to systematically appraise the agricultural productive forces of all domains for the first time in history. If anyone insurrected against the surveys, Hideyoshi had famously instructed to "put all of them to the sword." Disarming the regional constituents, Hideyoshi demarcated the societal hierarchy between the ruling samurai class and the ruled, and prioritized the agricultural production as a material and ideological foundation for his governance. As expounded more in section II, the survey laid a crucial groundwork for the rice-based economy of the Tokugawa rule. Hideyoshi's threat over Fushimi Inari-taish as the agricultural deity and the foxes as its "emissaries" may have exhibited his power to subjugate the national constituents under his establishment. Demonstrated by this episode

[81] Nakamura, *Kitsune no Nihonshi Kodai*, 303.

of Hideyoshi, the Inari shrine in *Tamamono-no-sōshi* was more than the mere representation of the warrior class.

In sum, by the early seventeenth century, the fox had internalized multiple attributes, having spiritual intercourse with other religious figures, forms and domains, such as *Dakiniten*, *in'yo gogyō* sorcery, and especially Inari worship. For both the rulers and ruled, albeit for different purposes, Fox–Inari worship had been interwoven into the structure of society, partially as labor or political/militaristic strategies. To explain the merger with fox creed or Dakiniten via Shingon Buddhism, historians have a tendency to assume the deity originated in the agricultural tradition from ancient times. The fact that the current Chinese ideographs, 稲荷, given to the word *Inari* (いなり in Japanese phonetic script) mean "a sack of rice" seems to render axiomatic the origin. To account for its other attributes, such as commerce, it is usually attributed to the historical context in which the worship was received. For example, the rise of the market economy made the Inari deity into a commercial fertility god. However, the sack of rice as a theme or iconography first appeared in the old man who visited Kukai at Toji Temple in *Inaridaimyōjin Ruki*, the document from the fourteenth century. Plus, as seen from the merger with *dakiniten* or the warlords' practice prior to the Edo era, the deity seems to have had multiple characteristics prior to that era. Hence, before returning to the Mimeguri Shrine, the rest of this subsection analyzes the "cause" of the Inari deity.

Origins of Inari

The oldest origin myth of Inari-worship, of Fushimi Inari-taish in particular, is as follows. There was a man named Irogu who was the ancestral figure of *Hata-no-nakatsuie* (a faction of Hata-clan) living by the *inari* mountain. He was rich enough to have plenty of sack of rice. Indulged in luxury, he turned a rice cake into a target, at which he shot an arrow. When the arrow hit it, the rice cake metamorphosed into a white bird. Upon landing on the inari mountain, the bird "begat a child" (生子) where a shrine was consecrated. Repenting of the extravagance of Irogu, his descendants took a tree from the sacred site and planted it in their residence to, as the ending words read, "pray for life (*inochi wo inoru nari* 禱命也)."[82]

This plot is based upon the excerpted passage from *Yamashiro Fudoki*, which is believed to have been written in the early eighth century. However, the original no longer exists and what remains is its fragments, cited in various documents in later years. The above story is one of these fragments, which was, among the available records, first quoted by Yoshida Kanetomo in 1503 in his document entitled *Engishiki Jinmyō Chō Tōchu*. It was his annotated iteration of *Engishiki Jinmyō Chō* from the tenth century, which introduced Fushimi Inari-taish, and Kanetomo incorporated the above passage as what seems to be part of his annotations. For the word *inari*, however, different Chinese letters were used for phonetic purposes (the phonetic *inari*, hereafter). Although the wealth is measured in the amount of rice, what the rice seems to symbolize in this plot is social reproduction, symbolized by the giving birth of the white bird and the prayer for life around the tree.

As Kondo points out, the current spelling for *inari,* the sack of rice, appears in the documents prior to *Engishiki Jinmyō Chō*, such as *Shoku Nihon Kōki* or *Nihon Montoku Tennō Jitsuroku* from the early ninth century.[83] However, the existing versions of those

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[82] Toshihiko Toda, "Inari Densetsu no Genkei" (Archetype of Inari Legend) in *Inari Kōshi Vol II,* ed. Mitsuharu Moriya (Kyoto: Fushimi Inari-taish, 1978), 1049.
[83] Yoshiharu Kondo, "Inari Shinkō no Rekishiteki Tenkai," 97.

classical scripts were transcripts prepared in the late medieval period, closer to the date of Kanetomo's annotation. Moreover, provided that Kanetomo copied the original, or relatively faithful copy, of *Engishiki Jinmyō Chō*, the phonetic *inari* was still used as late as the tenth century. To say the least, thereby, there are ambiguities and contradictions among those texts concerning the spelling of *inari*. Those classical scripts cannot quite corroborate that the current spelling was allotted for *inari* and, by extension, that the agricultural association was made as early as the eighth century.

Interestingly, as Toda Toshihiko demonstrates, it was only after Kanetomo that the agricultural attribute was being added to the above passage. The final version, which had became the most accepted plot line of the origin myth, was completed by Ban Nobutomo, a nativist scholar (*kokugaku sha*) from the early nineteenth century. With his rendition, the scene after the metamorphosis of the rice cake into the white bird goes as follows:

The white bird flew over to the inari mountain. Where it landed "rice grain grows" (*ine nari*) and the shrine was consecrated. *Ine nari* was then accented as *inari*. The descendents of Irogu planted the tree from the site at their residence to celebrate [no object specified]. If the tree took root, the family would receive blessing, otherwise misfortune. End of story. Although the phonetic Chinese letters are used for the words *ine nari* without direct association with rice, those ideographs enunciated a Japanese phrase, "rice grain grows." Ban's rendition transfigured the passage whereby the rice, instead of life, became the semantic foundation of Inari worship. Hence, what seems to be evident from these documents concerning the origin myth is that the agricultural attribute of Inari worship have been elaborated since the sixteenth century and "completed" by Ban in the early nineteenth century.

Moreover, in the passage from *Yamashiro Fudoki*, Irogu (who shot an arrow at the rice cake) is portrayed as the ancestor of the Hata clan. It is believed that the clan had come to Japan from the Korean Peninsula in the fourth century and prospered in the area around Kyoto with their silkworm industry and commerce. Indicated in the origin myth is that the Hata clan initiated Inari worship, not for agriculture, but for the purpose of their enterprise. This suggests, as Higo posits, that industry and commerce could have already been embedded in the worship as early as the eighth century when *Yamashiro Fūdoki* was completed, if not even before.[84] Still, many scholars tend to assume the agricultural origin, imposing in effect the retrospective foundation of *ine nari* upon the otherwise more convoluted history of Inari worship.[85] This historiographic tendency—overlooking the commercial and industrial aspects in the origin, as well as the belated emphasis on its agricultural attribute—seems to haunt the history of Inari worship.

Two Modes of the History of Inari

There seem to be two modes in accounting for the history of Inari worship, the symptom of which can be critically diagnosed with Althusser's theory of history. One of them is the mode that locates the origin of the worship in agricultural production and considers the "subsequent" realignments of the deity into other forms, such as a god of embattlement, commerce or industry to be the effects of the particular historical and

[84] Kazuo Higo, "*Inari Shinkō no Hajime,*" 7. Still, Higo maintains that Inari worship originated in rice production.
[85] Counter to this tendency, Toda argues that it was the word for "pray for life" (*inochi wo inoru*) that Inari was named after. Toda "Inari Densetsu no Genkei."

social conditions that incorporated the worship. For example, concerning the Inari deity's incorporation of commerce, this mode has an emphasis on a definite historical cause—the market economy in the Edo era—that led to the realignment. The other mode is what could be referred to as phenomenological, exemplified the most by Gorai Shigeru's scholarship. This approach presupposes that the Inari deity had existed as a primitive universal god among Japanese, and it ramified into different deities as its phenomenal variants. What shored up this universal god and its ramification was the archaic religion that entailed four elements: "the spirit of food," "the departed soul," "the spirit of nature," and "the prophecy and magic of all these spirits." All of these elements were, according to Gorai, "born out of human's desire to live,"[86] traversing across what Althusser conceptualizes as different "levels" of social structure: agricultural, fishery, commercial, political or even intellectual. From this perspective, the multiple attributes of the Inari deity were always there from the outset, and also will be there as *telos* insofar as those domains serve to sustain human life. In a sense, the latter mode is closer to the origin of Inari worship by the Hata clan—"to pray for life," depicted in *Yamashiro Fudoki*.

The first mode is striving toward what Althusser criticizes as transitive causality, in which history always internalizes a *prior* cause for its *subsequent* change: The agricultural developed into the commercial attribute of the Inari deity; or the emergence of the market economy was the cause for the change in the nature of Inari worship.[87] While appearing as a straightforward claim, this mode tends to naturalize the transition, as if the structural change of the society was *given* and its subsequent effect over other

[86] Gorai, "Sōron," 10.
[87] For example, Noboru Miyata, "Inari Shinkō no Shintō to Minshū (Osmosis of Inari Worship and Folk)" in *Inari Shinkō* (Inari Worship) ed. Hiroji Naoe (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1983), 115–140. Although Smyers, in her *The Fox and the Jewel*, is sensitive to the convoluted history of Inari, her historical account seems to fall into this causal logic.

“levels,” such as politics, religion, and culture, were unquestioned. On one level, if indeed the economy had such an influence over Inari worship, this mode of historical inquiry always fails to explain why Inari worship *had to* reveal its mark, or why economy *needed to* incorporate the worship, the mechanism of which Fredric Jameson would render “scandalous.”[88] On other level, as I introduced in the first subsection above as a handful of examples among many others, the market economy presupposed the establishment of the state (Tokugawa establishment), its infrastructural reform, monetization, the production of exchange values of commodity, and the emergence of the new powerful merchants, like the Mitsui family, who leveraged all the conditions to gain surplus by shortening the physical distance through time. Although this series of events could be placed in a very loose chronological order, it is impossible to single out *one primary cause* for the rise of the market economy. Locating the cause of the commercialization of Inari worship solely in the rise of the market economy, therefore, this mode underestimates its real effectivity on Inari worship, and oversimplifies its complex presuppositions as if there was one monolithic event.

Gorai’s phenomenological mode is closer to what Althusser denounces as “expressive causality,” in which human desire, akin to Hegel’s notion of “spirit,” always operates as the transcendental force to trigger the ramifications of the Inari deity. The immediately problematic aspect of this mode is the latency of nationalism, for the

[88] Referring to how the nineteent- century economization of the printing press marked its effects in the “inner form” of the novel, like the work by Gisssing, Fredric Jameson writes, “What is scandalous is… the objective event itself, the very nature of cultural change in a world in which separation of use value from exchange value generates discontinuities of precisely this ‘scandalous’ and extrinsic type, rifts and actions at distance which cannot ultimately be grasped ‘from the inside’ or phenomenologically, but which must be reconstructed as symptoms whose cause is of another order of phenomenon from its effects. Mechanical causality is thus less a concept which might be evaluated on its own terms, than one of the various laws and subsystems of our peculiarly reified social and culture life.” Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 26.

universal desire was the essential offerings of the archaic god that, according to Gorai, had been shared by "Japanese." However, since there are continental Buddhist influences in the phenomenon of the current Inari worship, embodied by *dakiniten* for example, its ontological foundation can also be traced in the broader Asian continent, or even beyond. This mode thereby imposes a homogeneous social characteristic onto the history of Inari worship and of the region—so called "Japan"—that had been and always is the amalgam of different classes and ethnic groups, and their antagonistic relations. Moreover, the phenomenological mode implicitly posits the economic base, rather than human desire, as the underlying spirit; because what brought certain characteristics out of the Inari deity's essence at the very last instance seems to be contingent upon the base structure. For example, once Inari worship was incorporated into a fishing village, it *then* was transfigured into the fishery deity as the phenomenal variant.

To this end, the transitive and expressive modes of history are two sides of the same coin. Both assume the level of economy as what Althusser would call "the primacy of a *centr*e," which creases Inari worship, along with other subservient levels, with its synchronic fold and creates the "essential section" of the social totality. This essential section, according to Althusser, is what makes the unity of the totality appear legible, whereby all levels and their elements are reduced to the expressions of the economic base, as if all levels shared one homogeneous temporality. Once such essential section was drawn, these historical modes arrange different sections in a chronological order with which one section *naturally* leads to the other, forming a linear historical narrative. This is the operation that Althusser problematized as historicism based upon "an ideological conception of historical time."[89]

In the case of the historiography of Inari worship, such an ideological conception of time seems to be at work in the slight on the industrial and commercial "origin" of the worship and the retrospective injection of *ine-nari* into the origin.[90] Implicit in this tendency is an uncontested belief that agricultural production was the *sole* foundation of the "Japanese" nation, and that other levels of society, including commerce, industry and financing, took root *later*. According to historian Amino Yoshihiko, however, such a worldview, to single out agriculture and the figure of peasants (*nōmin*), was not cemented until the Edo era, prior to which many of these levels were managed by the general constituents called *hyakushō*. While the lines between different social levels had been rather dubious among *hyakushō*, the Tokugawa establishment during the Edo era abstracted them as the agricultural population (*nōmin*).[91] Building upon what Toyotomi Hideyoshi had installed with the cadastral surveys and disarmament of the general constituents, this abstraction was very much part of the Tokugawa's effort to bring forth the rice-based economy as their governing strategy. In so doing, the shogunate exalted agricultural labor as if it had always been the social virtue in their ideological conceptions of historical time, notwithstanding the soaring market economy.

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[89] Althusser, *Reading Capital*, 103–153.

[90] Many studies on the Inari deity tend to follow this transitive mode. For example, Ken Matsumae, "Inari Daimyōjin no Genzō" (Arche-Image of Great Inari Deity) in *Inari Myōjin,* ed. Ken Matsumae (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1988), 3–40 or Takeo Nishida, "Inari sha no Kigen" (The Origin of Inari Shrine) in *Inari Shinkō* (Inari Worship) ed. Hiroji Naoe (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1983), 227–267. Also, Nakamura's work relies on such historical assumption. Or, some scholars do not try to trace the historical development of the Inari deity, but only focus on the attributes that had already been ramified. For example, Keiichi Kameyama, "Gyoson ni okeru Inari Shinkō" (Inari Worship in Fishing Villages) in *Inari Shinkō* (Inari Worship) ed. Hiroji Naoe (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1983), 217–223.

[91] Etymologically, as Amino shows, *hyaku* in Japanese literally means a hundred, implying heterogeneity, and *shō* means surname, signifying families or people. The word *hyakushō* thereby simply refers to the general population. Yoshihiko Amino, *Nihonshi Saikō* (Rethinking the History of Japan) (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1996), 114–115.

The accentuation, if not fabrication, of the Inari deity's agricultural origin in *Yamashiro Fūdoki*, which began from the early sixteenth century until its completion with Ban's *ine-nari* in the early nineteenth century, should be understood in this ideological time. As agricultural production was being prioritized as the foundation for the ruling regimes, the agricultural origin of Inari was been planted backward as if it always had been at the heart of the deity, and the two historical modes introduced above seem to be trapped within this temporal frame. If there is any causality, it should be located in this retroactive drive: Instead of the commercialization of the deity, the market economy required the objectification of the agricultural deity as if it were *the cause* for its own reproduction. The Mimeguri Shrine marked one such instance.

Structural Cause of Inari Worship

In diagnosing the objectification of the Mimeguri Shrine, Althusser's notion of structural causality is effective here. This causal logic does not posit a prior cause (transitive) or a given social structure (expressive). Remaining unseen, a structure of social formation is only immanent in the historical conjunctures whereby the "relatively autonomous levels," such as economy, politics, religion, and culture, determine each other and form articulated relations. If such a structure can be conceptualized as the cause, there is only "an absence of cause" in the articulated relations.[92] To an extent, it is the latter that reproduced the former: The cause follows the effects. The objectification of the agricultural deity and consecration of the Inari shrine can be understood as such conjuncture among economy, folk-religion and architecture, which "reproduced" the agricultural origin as the absence of cause.

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[92] Althusser, *Reading Capital*, 208.

To this end, despite being dictated by ideological temporality, Gorai's phenomenological approach has merit in accounting for contingent alterations in the nature of the worship. Based upon the four elements—the spirit of food, the departed soul, the spirit of nature, and the prophecy and magic of all these spirits—it allows for the Inari deity to be commercial, industrial and agricultural deities anytime or all at once. If those elements can be, if at all possible, conceptualized without any prior causes, such as the national spirit or economic base, this phenomenological approach could provide a way to critically engage with the ideological temporality, or its "after causes." In so doing, we shall locate the articulated relations among the relatively autonomous levels in the four elements.

As much as there is kinship between work and worship through labor, the four elements can be conceptualized with Marx's notion of labor power. To put it simply, it is the workers' capacity to work and live. Whether grain or salt, as food is a critical material for human survival, the spirit of food is what granted humans the very capacity in exchange for their worship, alongside other forms of labor, such as hunting and farming. The second element is the departed soul, which ensures a continual lineage for a community. As labor power is, per Marx's conceptualization, necessary not only to maintain the living capacity of one individual but also of a family, or a larger unit of social structure such as a clan society, the departed soul thereby provides labor power as a means for social reproduction.[93] The third element is the spirit of nature, which derives from the animistic belief that each natural element, such as water, fire, or stone, has an immanent spirit. This spirit enables human beings to appropriate nature for their means of

[93] Chris Harman, *Zombie Capitalism: Global Crisis and the Relevance of Marx* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2009), 31.

subsistence—including not only food, but also shelter, clothing and other objects—and thus to reproduce their labor power, individually or collectively.[94] The last element, "the prophecy and magic of all these spirits," determines the communal decision. Through the voice or body of a medium, these spirits diagnosed the state of a community and its relationship to nature, healed its problems if necessary, forecast forthcoming events, social and natural, and provided prescriptions for them. Upon these prophecies and magic, a community decided the course of their life (e.g., how to work, to battle, to mourn deaths, to come to terms with unforeseeable events like natural disasters). Determining the communal structure, thereby, this last element recalibrates or modifies the labor power of collective individuals.[95]

The attempts above by no means suggest that all four elements are reducible to labor power, just as there is only a kinship, but not complete identity, between work and worship. As Althusser warns us, such one-to-one translation may lead to expressive causality wherein folk-religion becomes another iteration of economic base. Rather, the attempts were meant to mark out the possible articulated relations among those levels as the effects, immanent in which is a structure of social formation that necessitates such effects and appears as the *cause* of the effects. Guided by the prophecy and magic, the worship in relation with other forms of labor and social practices reproduced labor-

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[94] Especially in the context of folk religion, those spirits also have a strong affinity with what Marx referred to as "spiritual nourishment." Karl Marx, *The Economic & Philosophic Manuscript of 1844*, 112.

[95] This interpretation of sprits, magic and prophecy draws from an idea in the following passage by Marx: "In general terms, the exchange value of [workers] commodity cannot be determined by the manner in which [capitalists] uses it, but only by the amount of objectified labor contained in it; hence, here, by the amount of labor required to *reproduce the worker himself* [emphasis added]. For the use value which he offers exists only as an ability, a capacity… of his bodily existence; has no existence apart from that. The labor objectified in that use value is the objectified labor necessary bodily to maintain not only the general substance in which his labor power exists, i.e. the worker himself, but also that required to *modify* [emphasis added] this general substance so as to develop its particular capacity." *Grundrisse*, 282–283.

power, individual or collective, as the effects. And, what follows is the cause: the spirit, soul, deity, or the social formation that relies on labor power for its reproduction.

In grasping those relatively autonomous levels and their articulated relations, Althusser does not seem to be troubled by disciplinary categories such as economics, politics or religion. As those disciplinary categories are also the byproduct of the capitalist mode of production, the conceptual circumscription of the level of, say, the economy could then also become another historicism which measures the maturity of economic development within. Although, according to Jameson, this historicist drive was subdued by Althusser's emphasis on "relatively" autonomous levels as one form of "mediation,"[96] the term "relation" inevitably presupposes that there are distinctively different levels. Althusser's theory of history seems to carry a latent desire to take the disciplinary categories and their respective objects as given.

Although it is impossible, and perhaps not productive, to dismantle the contours of all disciplines all together, calling into question the legitimacy of disciplinary boundaries is crucial, especially when such distinctions were applied to the socio-historical context wherein such distinctions are not clearly established. Suggested here is that the relation could include the concept of structural imbrication of each level. By this architectonic term *imbrication* is meant that, while there is a distance from one perspective, there is from other perspective an overlap across different levels. This overlapping part operates as an invisible palimpsest whereby an element of one level has a silent trace in other level not as a merely extraneous but as an antecedently intrinsic element to the latter, which had been made into an object conceivable in the disciplinary

[96] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 43.

framework of the former. In other words, the term imbrication allows for taking account of the process of structural distancing of each level.

To bring this into the context of this dissertation, the apparent structural distance between folk religion and political economy does not merely show their separation. Rather, some religious elements, such as the spirit of food, were made to appear as religious, while secretly remaining as objects, such as labor power, that can be conceptualized within the region of economics. By the same token, it also means that some objects that are deemed "economic" can also be conceptualized through the level of religion or folklore.[97] To understand the worship, spirits and magic of Inari in the political–economic concepts, such as labor and labor power, is to see this structural imbrication. The consecration of the Mimeguri Shrine in the early eighteenth century will be analyzed below in this imbrication wherein the structure of social formation, or the Inari deity, was reproduced as the absence of cause.

3. Mimeguri Shrine

Origin Myth and Existing Account

Legend has it that, in the mid-fourteenth century, there was a Tendai sect Buddhist monk at Mitsui Temple in the Ōmi Region, named Genkei, who worshiped a stone statue sculpted by Kūkai, the founder of the Shingon sect Buddhism. Following a divine revelation heard in his dream, Genkei headed to the east and found a dilapidated small shrine in Koumemura where he met an old man. The old man told Genkei that the shrine

[97] This is, perhaps symptomatically, why Althusser made a detour in his analysis to an example of primitive society to "*see clearly* in them that the economic is never clearly visible." Althusser, *Reading Capital,* 198.

had been originated by Kūkai. Spurred by another revelation seen in his dream that night, he called upon people to dig the ground below the shrine the following morning and found a *goshintai,* an object of Shinto worship*,* which was the statue of godlike old man who carried rice ears on the left hand and precious orb on the right hand and rode on a white fox. As the old man on the fox resembled the man Genkei met the day before, the monk placed the *goshintai* and his stone statue of Kūkai side by side. Soon after, the white fox appeared before their eyes and ran around the *goshintai* clockwise three times. Subsequently, Genkei called the area Mimeguriyama (Mimeguri Mountain) and consecrated the shrine as the Mimeguri Shrine, for the word *mimeguri* means in Japanese to revolve around three times. Along with the shrine, Genkei also built the Enmei Temple (*Enmei-ji*), the Tendai sect Buddhist temple.

In "Formation and Development of the Inari Worship as Commercial Deity," Wakasugi Atsushi begins his analysis concerning the birth of the Mimeguri Shrine.[98] Following Gorai's phenomenological analysis, Wakasugi posits that there was an archaic origin of the Mimeguri Shrine, but he is not able to corroborate that such an archaic characteristic actually existed except for the origin myth. Instead, he concludes that the Mimeguri Shrine housed an agricultural deity for the villagers of Koumemura in the Mukōjima neighborhood. Toward the end of seventeenth century just before the shrine was consecrated by the Mitsui family, the neighborhood was urbanized as part of the reclamation project on the east bank of the Sumida River following the Meireki Big Fire in 1657. As the area then transformed into a leisure site for Edo townspeople across the

[98] While there are quite a few studies on Inari worship in general, Wakasugi's work is one among a handful of others that analyzes the Mimeguri Shrine in depth, concerning in particular its "origin." Another example is Taniguchi Ko's "Edo ni Okeru Inari Shinkō no Tenkai" (The Course of Inari Worship in Edo) *Ake* 58 (February 2015): 233–250.

river, the Mimeguri Shrine gained popularity among them. This suggests, Wakasugi claims, the Mimeguri Shrine had incorporated a creed tied to urban culture (*toshiteki shinkō*), including commercial deity, for which the fox creed "functioned as catalyst to expand the blessing of the shrine to include urban creeds, such as the deity of commerce."[99] The encounter with the powerful merchant Mitsui family, he continues, made the shrine even more famous among the Edo townspeople.

As to how the Mitsui family made this shrine into their guardian shrine, Wakasugi emphasizes a few important personal relationships among Mitsui's personnel and key religious figures. The important personnel was the aforementioned Mitsui Takafusa, who succeeded his father Takahira (Sōchiku) as the third head of the family in 1716, characterized by Wakasugi as "the most religious figure in the Mitsui family."[100] His relationship with Yoshida Kaneyuki, the head of the Yoshida Family who granted the Shōichii status upon the Mimeguri Shrine, was particularly crucial. Equally important was Hattori Sōi (神服宗夷), the person who, as Wakasugi claims, mediated the relationship between Takafusa and Kaneyuki. Originally, he was the former employee (*shiyōnin*) at the one of Mitsui's households in Kyoto, then named Ebi Ichibei (江尾市兵衛). In 1713, three years before the Mimeguri Shrine was granted Shōichii status, the Mitsui family had Ebi purchase the right of priesthood (*kannushi kabu*) most likely from the Yoshida Family and become the head priest of the then desolated Konoshima Shrine in Kyoto. With this appointment, the Konoshima Shrine became the guardian shrine for the Mitsui family in Kyoto, and it still exists in the Uzumasa neighborhood in Kyoto,

99 Atushi Wakasugi, "Shogyo-shin toshiteno Inari Shinko no Seiritsu to Tenkai (Formation and Development of the Inari Worship as Commercial Deity)," *Ake* 49 (March, 2006): 16–17.
100 Ibid., 21.

hosting also a small Inari shrine established by the Mitsui family within the compound. The legend says that the shrine originated around 600 A.D. by the Hata-clan who, as introduced earlier, are believed to have come to Japan from the Korean Peninsula and brought the techniques of sericulture as well as textile industry from the continent. Due to this legend, the Konoshima Shrine is known for being the silkworm shrine (*kaiko no yashiro*). Hence, Wakasugi asserts, it was an appropriate shrine for the Mitsui family who engaged in the kimono business.

Hattori Sōi apparently galvanized the religiosity of Takafusa and made him decide to have another guardian shrine in the city of Edo, eventually selecting the Mimeguri Shrine.[101] During this selection, Wakasugi notes, there was another personal relation at work—the relation between Hattori Sōi and his relative who was then head monk of Enmei Temple, introduced earlier, which was inaugurated by Genkei as the affiliated temple of the Mimeguri Shrine when he rediscovered the shrine upon hearing a divine revelation. The Mimeguri Inari, it seems, was introduced to Takafusa by Hattori Sōi and his relative at Enmei Temple. In sum, these series of personal relationships and enigmatic encounters—beginning with Hattori and the silkworm deity of Konoshima Shrine through the Mitsui family, Mitsui Takafusa and Yoshida Kaneyuki through Hattori, and the Mitsui family and the deity of the Mimeguri Shrine though the head monk of Enmeiji—activated the Mitsui family's religious devotion to Inari worship.

[101] It is said that the Mimeguri Shrinewas chosen by Takafusa because the site was located in the direction of the Demon's Gate (*kimon no hōkō*)—the direction then considered malign by *'inyō gogyō*—from the Suruga-chō neighborhood. Wakasugi's attempt is to add a different interpretation to this common account of the historical encounter between the Mitsui family and the shrine.

The Absence of Commercial Spirit

While Wakasugi convincingly traces in detail all the personal relationships, which no doubt brought the Mitsui family and the Mimeguri Shrine closer, the extent to which the series of relationships alone could be the sole cause of this encounter is questionable. In fact, his emphasis on the relationships seems to leave a few critical issues unanswered. For example, it is unclear why the Mitsui family bought the right of priesthood and transfigured their former employee into the head priest Hattori for the Konoshima Shrine in the first place, especially given that the shrine had been abandoned for many years. Provided the Mitsui family bought the right of the priesthood from the Yoshida family, the intercourse between the two families seems to have already occurred through, if not before, this religious and/or economic exchange. Rather than Hattori mediating the two families, therefore, the exchange might have established a relationship between the families and created the priest Hattori.

Even so, a question remains. Why did the Mitsui family choose this particular shrine? Although emphasizing the connection between Mitsui's kimono business and the sericulture of the Hata clan, Wakasugi does not corroborate further whether the attribute of sericulture was indeed expressed in the blessing of the then dilapidated shrine. Without this evidence, which is hard to track, the proximity between the nature of Mitsui's and Hata's enterprises alone may not be the determinate motivation for Mitsui Takafusa to choose it as the guardian shrine in Kyoto. Instead, the proximity could have been made by the Mitsui family by retrospectively reaffirming the industry of the historical clan as the foundation of the shrine. Doing so might have allowed the Mitsui family to resuscitate the otherwise abandoned shrine and then forge the historical connection to their own kimono business in the late seventeenth century: Indeed, the cause (Hata-clan) comes after the "effect" (Konoshima Shrine)

Similar interrogations can be made into Wakasugi's analysis of the Mimeguri Shrine. It appears very convincing that Hattori's family tie to the head monk of the Enmei Temple was a crucial factor for the encounter between the Mitsui family and the shrine. Still, Wakasugi does not explain how long the Hattori's relative had been head monk at the shrine. It could have been that the encounter is what made him the head monk of the Enmei temple and cast the historical monk Genkei as the original founder of the Mimeguri Shrine, to consolidate the religious affiliation between the shrine and temple. In this scenario, similar to the Konoshima Shrine's case, the underlying motivation for the Mitsui family to rely on Inari worship would be worth exploring.

Some clues are manifested in Wakasugi's ambivalent attitude toward the commercial dimension of the Mimeguri Shrine. As shown already, he suggests that, by the end of the seventeenth century, the shrine had already internalized the creed rooted both in agriculture and urban life, and thus commerce, as the fox worship catalyzed the two realms. However, when the Indenture of Invitation (*Sōgensenji*) was issued by the Yoshida Family to grant Shōichii status to the shrine and to establish it as Mitsui's guardian shrine in 1716, the congratulatory document that accompanied it only celebrated the agricultural attribute of the shrine. This emphasis on the agricultural deity continued in the congratulatory document given to the shrine in 1727, when the deity was properly enshrined, following the construction of the main shrine in 1723.

Given that the Mitsui family had already became the powerful merchant with their kimono as well as money lending businesses and that, according to Wakasugi's hypothesis, that shrine already had the commercial dimension woven into its blessing by the time of enshrinement, it seems to make sense to mention the commercial attribute. Especially since Wakasugi follows Gorai's phenomenological approach, which bases his reasoning upon the archaic essential elements of the Inari that can branch out to different levels of society (agricultural, fishing and even commerce alike), the Mitsui family could have accentuated the commercial character. However, Wakasugi does not provide sufficient explanation as to why those documents underplayed, if not suppressed the characteristic and, by extension, the figure of fox as the mediator.[102] As demonstrated below, this suppression can be read as the symptom of the ideological time that makes the agricultural origin a "cause" for the social reproduction.

Commitment and Accumulation

As a way to control the society following the turmoil of the Warring years, the Tokugawa Shogunate projected a cosmic constellation in order to reign over the social formation. Following neo-Confucian philosophy, the society consisted of the hierarchical class system, often referred to as *shinōkōshō*, whereby the samurai class occupied the top of the social ladder, followed by peasant (*nōmin*), artisan, and at the bottom the merchant class to which the Mitsui family belonged. Inside this constellation, the accumulation of wealth was permitted insofar as it was produced as a consequence of taxation or diligent hard work. When available, wealth was redistributed so that the highest samurai class, the

[102] As Wakasugi himself was a little puzzled by this fact, he seems to have made an attempt to capture the commercial attribute in the congratulator document. Among the attributes of the Mimegri Inari indicated in the document, Wakasugi points to the description "longevity, and great happiness/fortune" (延寿多福) as a possible implication for "the worship to something like a commercial deity." Wakasugi, however, does not analyze further the problematic of the Mimeguri Inari as the commercial deity in the document. Wakasugi, "Formation and Development," 20.

Shogunate in particular, received the most. Excessive consumption, especially among the lower class, was deemed detrimental to cosmic harmony, while thrift, self-discipline and hard work was considered ethically virtuous. In so doing, the Tokugawa Shogunate economically sustained the cosmic constellation to reproduce the class hierarchy.

Hence, Mitsui's commercial bonanza should be gauged in the social constellation that privileged taxation and diligent labor as the sources of wealth. While their temporal tricks transgressed the commercial courtesy of their fellow merchants in the Hon-chō neighborhood, resulting in social ostracism, the growing wealth of the Mitsui family, embodied in the widths of their storefronts, was never openly criticized by the Tokugawa Shōgunate. In other words, even though they at first seemed to be upsetting the social constellation, Mitsui's commercial success and accumulation of wealth did not break the social hierarchy reified by the cosmic constellation. To come to terms with this contradiction and also with their Inari worship, the public services they engaged provide a few clues.

One of those services was the *Osaka Okaneguragin Okawase Goyō*, wherein the Mitsui family along with other moneylenders served as carriers to transport tax-money from Osaka to Edo within a given time period. For this public service—ranging from a means of transportation, the magic of money, and the talismanic power of money orders, to the relations of productions—one way or another, all contributed to the reduction of circulation time. As the reduction meant shorter turnaround time wherein the tax-money produced surplus as interest-bearing capital without "diligent hard work," it did not accord with the agricultural ideal promoted with the Tokugawa establishment. Nor did this public service take the form of taxation. In fact, as the sovereign state, the Tokugawa

Shogunate could have imposed this order as coercive taxation without any compensation, since the moneylenders were supposed to be the lowest class within the social hierarchy. Still, the government made available the allowance time for them to transform the money into interest-bearing capital as an indirect transaction fee. Enabling moneylenders to produce wealth without obvious forms of diligent work and taxation, the *Osaka Okaneguragin Okawase Goyō* seemed to contain the contradiction.

The contradiction was, in the very first place, found in the Tokugawa Shogunate's need to rely on relations of the market economy to carry out the transportation of the tax-money, revealing their own faith in money currency instead of the idealized equivalent—rice. At the same time, the government recognized the power of moneylenders despite their confined social status. On the one hand, this particular public service was the "order" (*goyō*) given by the sovereign state that the worldly population, soldier, peasant and merchant alike, had to follow. It proclaims the might of the central government. On the other hand, this service could be read, symptomatically, as *needing to* take the form of *goyō*, as if its content were the earthly labor or taxation, in order to veil the desperate need of the government for the growing forces of market economy; especially the metamorphosis of the tax-money into interest-bearing capital for the moneylenders. Thus, Mitsui's wealth based upon the interest-bearing capital was qualified by the public service (*goyō*) to be contained within the Tokugawa order.

Seen in this light, while displaying the wealth of the Mitsui family, the widths of their storefronts began to carry different historical signification. As the size of agricultural land determined the amount of rice that peasants had to pay as tax to their respective local lords, the widths of the storefront determined the quantity of duty for the merchants in Edo, in the form of public service or silver. Hence, the storefront width not only indicated Mitsui's growing wealth but also their commitment, voluntarily or coercively, to the Tokugawa establishment, objectifying the amount of duty that the Mitsui family returned to the society at large. Similar to the way *goyō* took the semblance of growing wealth of the Mitsui family, this commitment can be read as what enabled the Mitsui family to accumulate wealth. In other words, alongside mere practical needs, the accumulation of wealth also *required* the expansion of width of their storefronts in order to make it appear as a result of the duty—or, the labor as the absence of cause—that maintained the dominant social constellation.

The effect of making this appear seems to have been augmented by conforming their storefronts with the townscape etiquette, or an architectural "virtue," as Tetsuo Najita might put it.[103] Although there was not an official building code to regulate how each building should look, most of shops in the Nihonbashi area, as Naito shows, shared common features.[104] Those shops were two stories high, three stories being a rare exception, with gable roof covered with either kawara tiles or thatch roofing. Structured with wooden frames with exposed wooden wall panels (also a fire-proofing material), vertical wooden louvers articulated the storefront and, in certain cases, the first floor was open to streets with shop curtains (*noren*) hanging at the entrance. While it is not clear what the shops of the Mitsui family looked like when they moved to the Suruga-chō neighborhood in 1683, the tendency to conform to the townscape is implied in *Chōnin*

[103] The townscape of merchant stores can be comparable to the notion of "virtue" that was then theorized by intellectuals, who one way or another associated with the merchant academy Kaitokudō in Osaka, in their effort to discern the right amount of profit, for example. The tone in Takafusa's business precept should also be further analyzed in this epistemological climate in the early seventeenth century. See Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudō Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'I Press, 1997) The idea of "architectural virtue" comes from my reading of Najita's work.
[104] Naito, *Edo no Toshi*, 128–135.

Kōkenroku (record of things for merchants to consider*)*, written by Mitsui Takafusa, who, as introduced earlier, played a key role in consecrating the Mimeguri Shrine.

In *Chōnin Kōkenroku*, Takafusa condemned a few merchants whose businesses were degenerating or later degenerated, for building "magnificent" (*rippana*) residences. In fact, according to the document, some merchants were admonished by the local magistrates for having built "architecture of splendor," indicating that such extravagant appearances were thereby made into signs of failing to perform the duty assigned to merchants.[105] Since *Chōnin Kōkenroku* was written as business precepts for the family, these remarks by Takafusa suggest that the Mitsui family most likely made sure that their storefronts conformed to the etiquette, avoiding extravagant appearances. In sum, the widths of the storefronts, coupled with the austere outlook, displayed both their wealth as well as commitment to the Tokugawa establishment.

Labor in Chōnin Kōkenroku

In *Chōnin Kōgenroku*, Takafusa lists the vicissitudes of merchants in Kyoto, including those who built the architecture of splendor, as lessons not to follow for his fellow family members in generations to come.[106] While the reasons for the decline of those merchants varied, Takafusa considers their extravagant attitude (*ogori*) to be the underlying factor for their decline. Instead, Takafusa insists on diligence, comparable to that of peasants or

[105] Splendor in this particular case, according to Takafusa, meant that the store and residence had four-sided warehouse structures (*shimen no kura)* at every corner of the premise. Although Takafusa does not specify what *kura* looked like, it was presumably the two or three story-height structure consisting of thick mortar walls painted with plaster for fire-proofing purpose, with a gable roof covered with *kawara* tiles. As this structure was typically placed at the back (*uraya*) of the store/residence, it must have shown quite conspicuous elements alongside the other stores that followed more "conventional" storefront design. Ibid.

[106] It should be noted that the existing *Chōnin Kōgenroku* is the transcriptions of the original.

artisans. This analogical move is immediately evident in the introduction to *Chōnin Kōgenroku.* Delineating the premise of this precept, he writes:

> A moment peasants and artisans neglect their duty, they would immediately be unable to make their ends meet. They can keep their family for many generations because they work hard. On the contrary, for some merchants leave their business operation to their employees, they will begin to neglect the family business from one generation to the other, eventually finding themselves bankrupt. In order to learn from failures of predecessors, here I am jotting down examples of the rise and fall of some merchants in Kyoto.[107]

Throughout *Chōnin Kōgenroku*, hard work is always cast as the primary source for the continuation, or the reproduction, of family business. As it seems, the underlying tone is deference to the Tokugawa constellation, committing to the social role given to the merchant whereby agricultural and artisanal labor were cast as the ideal model.

Seen from a different perspective, however, *Chōnin Kōgenroku* conceals what the merchant actually does—that is, accumulate wealth. Although merchants no doubt had to toil, ultimately, their wealth sprang from leveraging differences of regional economies through the manipulation of circulation time (i.e., margins between the purchasing price of a commodity in one place and selling price at the other, and the interests on loans by turning money into interest bearing capital). For their wealth did not emerge from actually making products, and what constituted their labor did not accord with the type of labor that the Tokugawa establishment idealized. If there were any making in the work of the merchant, it was to *make more money*.

This drive toward making money (not in the form of rice) is revealed in one place in *Chōnin Kōgenroku.* It is the section where Takafusa refers to Mitsuiya Jūemon, a merchant who was engaged in the business of imported silk products but later became insolvent, liquidating the family inheritance. Takafusa condemns his dishonesty (*mimochi*

[107] Takafusa Mitsui, *Chōnin Kōgenroku* trans. Shoichi Suzuki (Tokyo Kyoiku-sha, 1981), 39.

ga warui) as the cause for the bankruptcy and characterizes it as the consequence of "punishment from heaven." As an example of a good attitude, Takafusa then refers to an episode of a low-ranking samurai who was able to become rich. When his fellow samurai asked him for the trick to saving up money, according to Takafusa, the samurai insisted not to even think about buying anything before they actually had money in their hands, and said, "I simply like money." Takafusa agrees with the attitude, and asserts that all merchants must have enough money in the first place to sustain their business. While at first appearing as the precept for being an honest merchant, there is no sense of diligent work but instead the love for, if not fetishism of, money, spoken through the figure of a samurai. This is a subtle example but it loses the consistency of the emphasis on diligent work, revealing a glimpse of contradiction between making products and money.

Reading the text in this interpretive mode, the following passage from *Chōnin Kōgenroku* entails another contradiction, which takes us to the rationale for their Inari worship.

> Way of merchants resembles way of peasants wherein ancestors fully engage in their duty and install drains alongside raised footpaths between their fields for their descendents who then empty the drains from time to time to let water flow well, and cultivate their fields by clearing up weeds. In a business bargaining, merchant occasionally has to contrive an appropriate measure to the situation at hand. Neglecting this attitude at times is comparable to [peasants] being remiss emptying the drains and clearing up weeds of the field. This would eventually deteriorate the prosperity of family and loose their inheritance. Merchants should not mind anything else but their own business. If townsman mimic soldier, or is deeply involved too much in the way of religion, Shintoism, Confucianism or Buddhism alike, however it could guard their spirits, they would ruin their own family. Not to mention other artistic hobbies. Merchants should bear in mind that they must not forget their business even for a second.[108]

The overall tone resonates with the rest. Takafusa expresses the commitment to remain in the social hierarchy by cautioning not to mimic the manner of the samurai class. Instead,

[108] Ibid., 150.

similar to the way peasants appropriate nature by installing and emptying drains, clearing up weeds, and cultivating their fields, merchants should commit to their duty, the business of bargaining, for familial reproduction.

Perplexing, however, is his remark on religious worship. In fact, from time to time in *Chōnin Kōgenroku,* Takafusa condemns the merchants who had built a shrine or engaged in religious concerns in a secular way as a sign of extravagance.[109] It is perplexing, especially given that he was, as characterized by Wakasugi, "the most religious person in the family" and was one of the key figures in the consecration of the Mimeguri Shrine.[110] Also, for a merchant family to publically enshrine their guardian deity and build a shrine signals an intimate engagement by "way of religion." Despite the consistent tone of the agricultural analogy, the above passage seems quite contradictory as to how the Mitsui family was administering their "way of merchants."

One interpretation that could be offered is that Inari worship was very much part of the hard work. In fact, when their kimono business experienced the decline in sales in the early 1730s, beginning to rely more again on credit rather than cash sales, many proposed solutions were submitted by the personnel at the kimono stores in Edo. Among the recommendations, such as to handle the credit sale with special care and to follow the trend of kimono design, was the advice to devote worship to the Mimeguri Shrine.[111] This speaks to how important the shrine was for, at least, some of the personnel at their stores in Edo. Rather than the wasteful way of religion, Inari worship and consecration of

[109] This view on religious practice echoes the section in Sōchiku Isho (Sōchiku Will) written by Mitsui Takahira, the father of Takafusa and, in fact, Chōnin Kōkenroku was based upon the hearing of his father. *Mitsui Jigyo-shi Shiryo-hen 1* (History of Mitsui Enterprise: Historical Materials 1) (Tokyo: Mitsui Bunko, 1973), 13–14.
[110] Wakasugi, "Formation and Development," 21.
[111] *Mitsui Jigyō-shi*, 182.

Mimeguri Inari were considered to be the way of the merchant, necessary for the reproduction of their commercial enterprise.

Read in this way, the establishment of the Mimeguri Shrine by the Mitsui family marks one of the earlier, if not the earliest, tendencies of the retrospective accentuation of the agricultural origin.[112] Although there is no record of the origin of Koumemura, the village where the shrine had been nestled, much of the villagers' labor was dedicated to the production of foodstuffs for townspeople in Edo at the time of enshrinement by the Mitsui family. The Mimeguri Shrine of the village can be seen as representing the deity who was imbued with the spirit of food and provided the means of subsistence to the Edo population in return for the villagers' labor. For the Mitsui family to worship this particular deity meant to project their involvement in this process.

With this projection, Mitsui's seemingly excessive involvement in "the way of religion" operated inside Takafusa's premise of the way of the merchant, equivalent to the diligence and hard work of peasants. Echoed here is the way their commitment to the Tokugawa order as well as production of wealth were displayed by the width of their storefronts in the *Suruga-chō* neighborhood. Likewise, the Mimeguri Shrine connoted their "involvement" in agricultural labor for the reproduction of townspeople and at the same time the wealth of the family, being of sufficient scale to carry out the consecration. Commercial wealth was qualified by the agricultural labor, as if the latter were the *cause* for the former; hence, the commercial characteristic of the Inari deity needed to be veiled. In the regard, the agricultural labor of Inari worship was formally subsumed under the Mitsui commercial enterprise. Through this imbrication between folk religion and

[112] To support this claim, not many Inari shrines were consecrated, or were given Shōichii status, in the region around Edo. See Enomoto, *Shōichii Inari Daimyōjin*.

economy, objectified in the figure of the shrine, the absence of cause (agricultural labor) justified the accumulation—the making of money—within the social constellation of Tokugawa. Inversely, it was perhaps the constellation (structure) itself that was held together, if not reproduced, as the *cause* for this conjuncture. Here at work is structural causality of the Mimeguri Shrine.

Anachronism and Alienation

Fig. 1.4 Unknown Artist, *Mimeguri no Zu* (Picture of Mimeguri), showing the view of Mimeguri Shrine in the middle, surrounded by rice fields, from the south with the Sumida River on the west.

As the Mimeguri Shrine was being known as the shrine for the Mitsui family in the rest of the eighteenth century, the shrine unveiled what had been hidden in the first place, the commercial character—the dictate of the market economy that the Tokugawa establishment could not help but depend on to sustain itself. As a poet writes in the late eighteenth century:

Echigoya Inari,
Shamed by the verse of Kikaku
(*Echigoya no, Inariwo Kikaku Hajishimeru*)

The poem refers to the event, introduced earlier, where the poet Kikaku wrote a verse for the villagers in Koumemura, which shamefully reminded the Inari deity of its incompetence and compelled it to give rain for a good harvest. This poem indeed emblematizes, at the time it was written, that the Mimeguri Shrine was accepted by the general public as the shrine for the Mitsui family. Moreover, as Wakasugi claims, for a poet to be able to ridicule a deity reveals a characteristic of folk-religion.[113] Perhaps, his interpretation can be expanded since the verse made some critical modifications to the enigmatic event from the late seventeenth century. For example, to what extent the deity was "shamed" by the verse is questionable, since the rain could simply be understood as the blessing granted on the villagers in return for the worship that took the form of Kikaku's verse. Moreover, the shrine was not yet consecrated by Echigoya when Kikaku wrote it. Hence referring to Echigoya Inari in this particular event engendered an anachronism.

This anachronism suggests an entirely different event. That is, as expressed in the very grammar of the verse, in the possessive case (*Echigoya no*) of the proper noun (*Inari*), the deity is possessed by the Mitsui family. The shame, thereby, might not have been the result of Kikaku's verse. It was rather the process of Inari being subordinated, *disguised* as an agricultural deity, under the Mitsui enterprise. Since the word *Echigoya* appears at the top of the verse when written in the Japanese format, the verse visually and vertically reinforces the subordination. It exalted the name of Mitsui's store above Inari. No longer capable of offering its blessing on its own will under the dictate of a powerful

[113] Wakasugi, "Formation and Development," 17–18.

merchant, the deity needs to be embarrassed in order to remember its supposed task—to let it rain. Foreclosed to the property of Echigoya, whose driving force is to make, if not love, money through various temporal tricks, the ability of the Inari deity to offer blessing was alienated. The alienation of the deity: it is as scandalous, or rather vulpine as the effect of the shrine—as the absence of cause—can afford.

Section II : Coal Harvest at Tōka Mountain

Fig. 2.1 View of Tōka Mountain and a small path leading toward the summit, with precinct of Tōka Shrine on the left side.

Located in western Japan, Ōmuta City is the southernmost city in the Fukuoka Prefecture and is the main municipality of the Miike region. A few water bodies meander from the eastern mountain ridge to the flat terrain west of the city, flowing then into the Ariake Sea on west. Just south of the estuary where the sea meets the most southern river is the Miike Port: alias the "hummingbird" due to its enigmatic shape when seen from above. About 2km northeast of the hummingbird, there is the Nishitetsu Bus Main Branch Office from where the Miike Mountain bound bus departs either for Kome-no-Yama (Rice

Mountain) or Fukō-ji (Fukō Temple). After an approximately 15-minute eastward bus ride, the twelfth stop is called Kawaramachi Yotsukado (Kawaramachi Crossing). From the crossing surrounded by a few Mitsui Chemical plants, a road leads to south and then a small lane branches off from it. At the end of the lane is a small precinct of an Inari shrine, called the Tōka Shrine. The topography behind the precinct begins to rise southeastward, forming a hilly terrain known as Tōka Mountain, where, as legend has it, the first coal in Japan was found in the mid-fifteenth century, and wherein coal production occurred from the Edo era until the late nineteenth century. This terrain sets up the principal stage of this section.

The Tōka Shrine was constructed in 1864 under the administration of the Miike Han—the regional domain governed by the warlord Tachibana family during the Edo era. Painted in red, it is a small wooden-framed shrine. Along with addressing this shrine, this chapter deciphers the architecture of a small stone shrine, which was built also under the Miike-han administration in 1861 and used to stand somewhere near the mountain. It is now displayed at the entrance of the exhibition space at the Ōmuta Coal Industry and Science Museum, located not too far from the hummingbird.[114] The stone shrine measures 60 cm (width) by 45 cm (depth) by 68 cm (height), sitting on a square stone plinth.[115] Carved out from the *ichino* stone, the indigenous volcanic tuff from a quarry near Miike Mountain, the main part follows *irimoya zukuri*—a simple hip-gabled style common to the wooden-framed Shinto shrines or Buddhist temples. It consists of a pillar-like quadrangular body with inscriptions on its surfaces, supporting the hip-gable roof to

[114] When the author visited the museum in 2014, the shrine was exhibited at the entrance.

[115] According to the museum website, it only says tuff (凝灰岩) but with no indication of where the stone was quarried. However, as Shindō Toyō introduces, since the tuff is the signature stone of the Miike region and, due to which, the city drew many dexterous stonemasons after the Meiji Restoration, the stone for the shrine most likely came from the local quarry in the area called Ichino.

which the cusped-gable eave (*kara hafu*) is attached in the front. Among those features, the *architectural elements* that this chapter is concerned with are the self-referential names vertically engraved on the pillar-like stone body, and the effects that, alongside other inscriptions, the such names entailed.

Tutelary Inari Daimyōjin (鎮守稲荷大明神), says the inscription on the front, and Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine (焚石山鎮守社) on the rear. Those *grammès* indicate that the shrine used to be the guardian deity of the coal enterprise at Tōka Mountain. So was the Tōka Shrine, according to a brief chronicle posted on an explanation board in the precinct. Hence, both shrines hint that there were, to build upon the theoretical optic from the previous chapter, structural *imbrications* between the work of Inari worship, the enterprise of coal production, and the land of the mountain. Conceptualizing the shrines and their inscriptions as material traces, this chapter unravels these particular imbrications.

The first section will turn to the history of the Miike region with emphasis on the land relation, leading up to the mid-Edo era when the Miike-han administration intervened in the coal enterprise. I will largely rely on the work by historians Shindō Toyō and Ōki Michinobu, while at the same time making a few detours to illustrate some cleavages latent in their portrait of the region. Those detours are also meant to perform a methodological gesture in reading material structures like tombs or shrines for this chapter, and to show ways in which a series of cadastral surveys exorcised out of land what I call apparitional figures—something that a person can "own" as property based upon exchange values—in order to produce different types of revenue. Built upon "architectural dimensions," as this section shows, the conjuration of such figures was crucial for the then rulers in calibrating the otherwise invisible social whole—one that conceived the Miike-han, and also, *outside* of which their coal enterprise was harnessed to generate more revenue.

The next section will trace the unfolding of the Fox–Inari worship during the Edo era. Ensnared in the market economy, the fox and Inari deity were compelled to "work" to produce surplus at their "owners'" disposal, wherein their individualities, vulpine or divine, were made anew or abandoned altogether. At the same time, as a theoretical detour, their work enacted satirical gestures in various genres of speech and writing and revealed the glimpse of stratifying life that the ordinary folk experienced under the monetary power. I will draw on the satirical theory and performance of Mikhail Bakhtin, as well as Marx and Engels, to better delineate the gestures. Moreover, through the writing of the contemporary scholars, such as Ando Shoeki, Hirata Atsutane, or so-called nativists, the fox transfigured into a satirical animal to overturn the prevailing reality and, as I follow Harry Harootunian's reading of nativist discourses, the shrine becomes a site to "retrieve" an undifferentiated social order from as-yet-unseen times of gods. Both as possessed accomplices of and as anticipated adversaries for the deteriorating yet still dominant Tokugawa arrangement, the fox and Inari deity were charged with conflicting interests. Coupled with the previous subsection, the explication of the ambivalences in turn will build the discursive space for the following final section.

The final section delineates ways in which the Miike-han administration intervened in the coal enterprise as the regional state power from the late-seventeenth century on. Hinging on what Althusser theorizes as the state apparatuses imbued with conflicting "sub-products," this analysis formulates four possible scenarios to unravel the imbrications of land, the inari worship and the coal production under state power(s). Through those scenarios, I argue that the aforementioned shrines as the material apparatuses implicated the otherwise extrinsic coal enterprise inside the Tokugawa's cosmic arrangement and, at the same time, worked as the metonymic site of the nativist-inspired "absence of cause" for the anti-Tokugawa constituents, so-called *sonnō-jōi* activists, in the Miike-han on the eve of the Meiji Restoration. An inscription on the stone shrine says that it was rebuilt (再建) in 1861, but there is no historical record indicating whether the original had ever been erected. As a material state apparatus, what was *reproduced* in the presence of what appears to be the absent origin? Here resides a seed of a proper architectural problematique.

1. The Miike-Han, its Land and Apparitions

Miike, Mike and Miki

The history of the Miike region dates back to the ancient period, as evident from archeological sites including shell middens and mounds that dot across the locale. Those sites connote that, as indicated by Shindō and Ōki, the region had consisted of different settlements, each of which was made up of a clan society based upon kinship. Such archaic social structures began to deteriorate as the region experienced a series of conflicts between various clans during the course of history, especially after the collapse of the legendary kingdom of Yamatai around the third century. One turning point occurred in the late seventh century when Yamato Chōtei—the imperial court based in the current Nara Prefecture—put the region under their rule, initially as Mike-gun (Mike County) as one of the ten counties of a province called Chikushi-no-Michi-no-Shiri-no-

Kuni (筑紫後国) The word *Mike* was later accented as *Miike*. With the implementation of Ritsuryō Seido (the system of the imperial court based upon the statute), Mike Gun, like other locales, became imperial property under the oversight of an appointed provincial governor (*kokushi*), and the regional population was required to pay tax to the court in the forms of agricultural products (*so*), service work (*yō*) and miscellaneous tax (*chō*). From the Mike-gun, rice was paid as *so* and the silk or cotton, instead of service work, was submitted for *yō* and *chō*.

As Shindō and Ōki show, the political and economic integration of the Mike-gun through the Ritsuryō system is expressed in *Nihon Shoki* (the Chronicles of Japan)—one of the oldest historical accounts of Japan, drawn up under the command of the imperial court in the early eighth century. Collecting, if not establishing, the original myths from and for different locales subsumed under the rule of the court, the chronicle locates the origin of the region at the instance when the Emperor Keikō (? -130 CE) ordered the naming of this region as Mike-gun (Mike County) after a magnificent tree, *miki* (御木) in Japanese, which he saw at a mountain in the region. It was later accented as *mike*, the chronicles say. While this historical episode indicates that some form of tree worship (*jurei shinkō*) had been practiced autochthonously, according to Shindō and Ōki, the area had been known as *mike* (御食), which literally means "sacred food," attributed to the rich foodstuffs produced in the region. If we are to follow their account wherein *miki* (legend) seems to have come after the *mike* (history), the indigenous tree worship was likely catalyzed to retroactively homogenize the area as if it had always been one single municipal unit under the gaze of the emperor, hence the imperial court. While this integration may not have realized itself without any conflicts, for there must have been different clans occupying the region, the Mike-gun was officially established at the turn of the eighth century.

Yet, the limitation of the Ritsuryō system soon disclosed itself nationwide, especially since a few powerful local lords or religious institutions began to cultivate their own land, independent of a provincial governor, making it harder to impose the original taxation system. Those privatized lands were later known to be estates (*shōen*). In order to protect their outlaw estates, local clans began to organize their own militias, and these regional armed forces were the embryo of the warrior (samurai) class that would reign over the country thereafter until the Meiji Restoration in 1868. With the establishment of Kamakura Bakufu in the late twelfth century, the relationship between the shogun and his immediate vassals (*gokenin*) was mediated by the vassals' regional territories—land was granted by the shogun as blessing (*goon*) and a vassal reciprocated with duty (*hōkō*) in the form of military service or economic obligation. Instead of a provincial governor sent by the imperial court, Kamakura Bakufu appointed a military governor (*shugo*) for defense purposes and an estate steward (*jitō*) to be in charge of economic matters, such as collecting tax, as well as local policing. This way, the feudal system was beginning to take shape and at the same time dissolving estates, while regional conflicts persisted as local lords were combating to claim more land.

The emergence of estates in the Mike-gun can be seen from the twelfth century onward. Likewise, the rise of the warrior class also appeared soon after, and their conflict continued throughout the so-called medieval period in Japan—the period that straddled from the Kamakura era until the eve of the Edo era. As Shindō and Ōki suggest, struggles over territory were also symptoms of the rise of the medieval money economy which imposed an economic hardship on the warrior classes. However, other than introducing a series of battles between different militant squires, they do not quite show how the money economy left its traces in the Miike region, except for a few metonymic remarks. In order to read those remarks, we will make a short detour to a history of medieval money and the plague that it instigated.

Money Metonymy

Toward the end of the twelfth century, copper coins were imported from China as the standard currency since, among other reasons, its durability was preferred to the existing forms of money, including rice and silk. This imported copper coin (*torai zeni*, 渡来銭), along with its counterfeit version (*bita zeni*, 鐚銭), shored up the medieval money economy which, as Ethan Segal argues, paved a way for the monetization by the Tokugawa Shogunage in the seventeenth century. In contrast to the Tokugawa monetization, the medieval obverse was rather more spontaneous and less regulated, as evident from the presence of the counterfeit coins. This haphazard monetary system was, according to Segal, derived from the absence of the central figure of the state, since the Kamakura Bakufu, albeit dominant, coexisted with the regime of the still influential aristocratic class. Such unstable conditions continued throughout the medieval period. This explains why, while the bills of exchange (*kawase*) were also used as early as the fourteenth century, the system never quite took root in the medieval time as it did in the Edo era, without having *official* moneylenders such as Mitsui Ryōgai-ten and other sufficient infrastructure to fully evince the temporal trick of the bills of exchange. Still, the power of money had a strong grip on the existing social order. The social malaise was apparently so strong that many aristocrats in the late twelfth century opposed its use, claiming that the money caused "coin pestilence" *(zeni no yamai* 銭の病).[116] Although whether they were infected by such pestilence is unknown, many feudal vassals fell prey to gambling habits, or found themselves in debt with moneylenders—some aspects of the condition that had compelled them to fight for more territories.

Returning to the metonymic remark by Shindō and Ōki, what is relevant to the Miike region is a spiritual dimension of the medieval moneylender, for some of those moneylenders were Buddhist institutions. The most notable is Enryaku-ji—the head temple of the Tendai-sect Buddhism—and its affiliated temples. In the Miike region, there is such an affiliated temple, Fukō-ji (普光寺 Fukō Temple) located on Miike Mountain: the last stop of the contemporary bus route that took us to the Tōka Shrine in the introduction. Despite being known as the oldest temple in Omuta City, Shindō and Ōki lament that, as there is no historical record, "we don't have any clear picture [on the history of this temple] at all."[117] Only, as they continue, a few remaining structures in and around the temple compound provide clues to the history.

Their decipherment of those structures is precisely where, however unintended, the metonymic trace of the medieval economy in the Miike region appears. One of those structures is *Mokuzo Yakushi Nyorai Zo* (Wooden Statue of the Healing Buddha), set inside the main temple. According to their analysis, while its style belongs to the Heian Era (794–1185 CE), major repair work was made on the body of the statue at the turn of the fourteenth century, toward the end of the Kamakura Era. Also, around the same time

[116] Ethan Segal, "Money and the State: Medieval Precursors of the Early Modern Economy" in *Economic Thought in Early Modern Japan*, ed. Bettina Gramichi-Oka, Gregory Smits (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 28.
[117] Michinobu Ōki and Toyoo Shindō, *Watashitachi no Machi: Miike Ōmuta no Rekishi* (Our Town: The History of Omuta in Miike) (Ōmuta-shi: Koga Shoten, 1983), 57.

and thereafter, many stone towers (石塔), mostly tombs, began to be erected in the proximity to the temple precept. To expound these historical phenomena, the authors conclude that, while originally built in the Heian era, the temple's "trend" (*kiun* 気運) must have heightened from the beginning of the fourteenth century onward. However, they do not evince further the nature of the trend.

Considering the role of Enryaku-ji in the medieval economy, it is reasonable to surmise that, as one of its affiliated temples, Fukō-ji began to function as moneylender sometime during the Kamakura era or after, lending foreign copper coins to various feudal vassals of the Kamakura Bakufu in the Miike Gun. As the material imbrications between, say, Buddhist preaching and money lending, the repair work on the healing Buddha and the constructions of stone towers, both of which coincided with the nationwide outbreak of coins, might have been a part of repayment by its pious patrons to the money lent by the temple. Hence the "trend" may have been invigorated by the power of money.[118] If this proposition holds, it further augments Shindō and Ōki's historical account suggesting that the money economy was indeed *infecting* the life of the regional population, mediated through Fukō-ji. Though even those structures may not remember the whole story, to say the least, their material existence and history written onto their bodies create such a metonymic opening to account for the story.

As evident from the aristocrats' cry about the monetary plague just before the establishment of Kamakura Bakufu, the metallic currency must have had a devastating effect on the prospect of their regime. Indeed, the introduction of foreign coins may have fueled the political turnover, paving the way for the subsequent long reign of the samurai

[118] Such money lending efforts by the Buddhist institutions may have also meant a "relief fund" to the population, many of whom then suffered from frequent famines or epidemics.

class. To back up this rather allusive claim, though referring to the decline of the ancient Greeks and Romans, Marx's observation on the impact that money—as the transubstantiation of exchange value—had on those communities is helpful here. As opposed to the mania for possession of non-monetary goods, the greed for money was a product of history. Hence, money triggered "the wailing of the ancients about money as the source of all evil" because it was *unnatural* and, Marx continues, "the further [money] develops as [the exchange value], the more the decay of their community advances."[119] Not only does his remark seem to have a strong appeal to the money epidemic and consequential decline of aristocratic rule in mid-medieval Japan, but also the systematization of taxable forms of money, albeit not through the copper coin, would change the societal configuration later in the period. As we shall see below, this transformation would have profound effects on the fate of the Miike region.

Architectural Surpluses of Taikō Kenchi

Throughout the medieval period in the Miike gun, the powerful samurai class lords and local feudal developers (*kokujin*) clashed in a series of battles to gain more territories. More territories meant more material wealth in the form of foodstuffs or other manufactured products, hence more productive forces.[120] As introduced by Shindō and Ōki, the appearance of bazaar (*ichi*) in the region in this period suggests that those regional products, such as silk, were sold to travelling merchants and were exchangeable

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[119] Marx, *Grundrisse*, 222–223.

[120] Included also in the productive forces were metallic mines, as Keiichi Tanaka shows by referring to the context of his work, Sado Island, which is famous of its silver mine heritage. Due to those productive forces found on the ground, alongside other foodstuffs, Tanaka claims that the type of domination shifted from over the people to over the territory. Keiichi Tanaka, *Chōbako no Nakano Edojidaishi, Jō* (The History of Edo in Accounting Boxes, Vol. 1) (Tokyo: Tōsui Shobō, 1991), 9.

with metallic currencies: further evidence of the influence of the medieval monetary economy in the region. Gaining more territories was thereby crucial for regional warlords to accumulate their monetary wealth to survive the tide of the medieval economy.

The conflicts over the territorial productive forces in the Miike region began to be settled when the country was seized in the late sixteenth century by Toyotomi Hideyoshi: the great warlord who had threatened the Fushimi Inari-taish to cure the sickness of his adopted daughter. Hideyoshi appointed the governance of Miike-gun to regional warlord Tachibana Naotsugu, and three adjacent counties to his brother Tachibana Muneshige, in 1589. By this appointment Hideyoshi compensated their devotions to his war effort, including the Wars of Bunroku-Keicho in the Korean peninsula. In hindsight, this appointment marked an important historical juncture that would later give birth to the Miike-han, also the Yanagawa-han next to it, during the Edo period. What was appointed to Naotsugu by Hideyoshi, or later by the Tokugawa Shogunate, was not only the physical character or the fertility of the territory, but also, perhaps more importantly, what I would like to call its apparitional figures—the productive forces expressed in numerical measures as the result of the cadastral surveys conducted by Hideyoshi across the country—as introduced in section I, the famous *Taikō Kenchi*.[121] The denomination of such numbers was not the medieval coins but the measurements of land and rice as forms of money.

For the purpose of this chapter, the surveys, along with subsequent kindred ones in the Edo era, are particularly critical since they illustrate how a dominant level of the social totality was then envisioned by the rulers through such measures and how the

[121] The cadastral surveys by Hideyoshi had occurred in the space of almost twenty years. And, equivalent surveys continued to be conducted under the following Tokugawa regime in the Edo era.

surplus for their respective revenues were contrived from, or *outside* of, that totality. Here, we will dwell a little longer in the "measurements" and their tricks, at the base of which lay architectural dimensions.

Taikō Kenchi was the nationalization and abstraction of the principal productive force—the land—dismantling the antediluvian land relations, such as the estate. In theory at least, *Taikō Kenchi* for the first time in Japan divided agricultural fields, designating each parcel of land to a single ploughman (but not necessarily to the proprietor of the parcel), and recorded it in a cadastral register (検知帳 *kenchichō*) The surveys also measured the yield of yearly rice production of each parcel in a county (*gun*) or province (*kuni*) with the standardized measuring cup called *masu* (升) (1 *masu* is approximately 1.8 liters). The aggregate of the yields of all parceled lands of a municipal territory was the figure of total rice production designated by Hideyoshi to the feudal warlord who governed the territory. The figure was expressed in the volumetric unit *koku*（石）(1 *koku* is 100 *masu*). For example, the productive force of the Miike Gun given to Naotsugu by Hideyoshi was eighteen thousand *koku*.

Since *Taikō Kenchi*, rice began to be used as the principal currency in order to unify the otherwise haphazard national economy permeated by different species of medieval coin. It therefore marked the beginning of the rice-based economy that the following regime of the Tokugawa Shogunate inherited. In measuring the land in *koku* as the volumetric denomination of the currency, *Taikō Kenchi* in effect systematically valorized the regional territories whereby the total productive forces of respective lands were made comparable. Since the numbers of forces granted to each regional warlord reflected their military-political privileges, "comparable" means that the survey rendered palpable the martial-political hierarchy under the reign of Hideyoshi.

Alongside establishing the hierarchy, one of the main purposes of *Taikō Kenchi* was the collection of tax in the form of rice currency directly from the tiller of each parcel of land. Measuring the yield of rice of lands with *masu*, the surveys also ranked those lands from *jō* (high), chū (middle), to *ge* (low) based upon the fertility of its soil, and assigned tax accordingly. This ranking system connotes that there must have been, or the system might have helped further envisioning, some contour of totality against which the fertility of land could be put in a scale. The determination of the land area by the surveys also furthered the totalizing process, for it allowed for quantitatively representing productivity of land by a yield of rice (*koku*) per unit area (*tan*) of a particular rank. Through such apparitional figures, productivities of each land became commensurable. In theory at least, *Taikō Kenchi*—its measurement and evaluation of land—gave coordinates to the yearly yield of rice, from which the proportional tax could be extracted from each ploughman, whereby Hideyoshi and the regional warlords under his reign was able to envision their revenue.

Within these coordinates, since the amount of yield (in *masu* or *koku*) alone displays the absolute quantity in a given seasonal cycle, the more rice and hence more revenue—surplus—meant more and/or better land beyond the assigned apparitional figure. This equation resembles a way in which, following Marx's conceptualization, absolute surplus value is extracted from workers by the prolongation of their working day or by the improvement of productivity (e.g., tools of production).[122] In both cases, thereby, the production of surplus was fettered by spatial or (workers') physical features. However, *Taikō Kenchi* and the subsequent cadastral surveys produced surplus without expanding the actual size or fertility of land. It was the production of surplus based upon a temporal trick—another version of the annihilation of space with time. Although Naito Akira does not theorize it in these terminologies, as shown below, he brilliantly demonstrates how architectural dimensions were built into this trick.

In *Taikō Kenchi*, the unit of length/area *bu* (歩), which literally means foot, was used to measure the area of land. One *bu* was 6.3 square *shaku* (尺), while 300 *bu* comprised one *tan* (反).[123] One *shaku* is approximately 11.9 inches (30.3 cm).[124] *Tan* is the principal unit area based upon which the yield of rice for a landed property had been calculated since the ancient period, and its usage in the land survey continued throughout the Edo era.[125] Prior to *Taikō Kenchi*, however, Naito shows that 1 *bu* was equivalent to 6 square *shaku,* and 360 *bu* comprised 1 *tan*.[126] In other words, while the unit length for 1 *bu* was increased from 6 to 6.3 *shaku*, the principal unit area (1 *tan*) was reduced from 360 to 300 *bu* in *Taikō Kenchi*. As a result, the unit area of 1 *tan* was shrunk by about 10 percent. With the smaller unit area of measurement, even though the land remained the

[122] In effect, the increase of the land might have prolonged the working hours of peasants; but unlike workers during the industrial age, the peasants' work hours were bounded by the cycle of nature—the seasonal cycle and daylight hours.
[123] Since *bu* is the unit of length, it should technically being 300 square bu, but this unit seems to have been used as length and area interchangeably.
[124] The actual length of 1 *shaku* also varied historically. Naitō, however, presupposed that so-called *tō-jaku* (T'ang Dynasty Shaku) or *kane-jaku* was used throughout the history since the eighth century. My following discussion on the architectural measures and the production of surplus is based upon this premise.
[125] In the past when the productivity of each parcel of land was considered to be identical, unlike *Taikō Kenchi*, the unit area *tan* had been used almost as the metonymic unit for the amount of yield of rice.
[126] The first record for the use of 6.3 square shaku as 1 bu in *Taikō Kenchi* was in 1594. See Naito, *Edo no Toshi*, 126,

same, its apparitional figures in numbers increased. “More” tax, therefore, was levied on the same plot of land after the surveys. The exploitation of unit measurement enabled Hideyoshi and his feudal vassals to extract surplus out of the *prior* social productive force.[127] Precisely in this modification of measurement, as Naito further shows, we can identify “architectural design” as the relatively autonomous level creasing its *effectivity* on the production of the surplus.

In building construction since ancient times, the unit *ken* (間) had been used: the same unit that we have already seen in the measurement of the storefronts of Mitsui’s shops—and hence their amount of tax (duty)—in Edo. Until the early medieval time, however, *ken* had indicated the unit of spatial composition to simply describe the number of bays, rather than the length of the bay. *Ken* only became the measure of length after the Kamakura era when, echoing the political-economic regime change, the *ruling* type of building shifted from *shinden zukuri* (神殿造り), the dominant style of aristocratic residence, to *shoin zukuri* (書院造り), that of the warrior class counterpart.[128] As this stylistic shift reduced and regularized the span of beam between two columns, *Ken* became also the unit of length by the medieval period, and 1 *ken* was equaled to 6.5 *shaku* (approx. 196.95cm). With this new unit of *ken* indicating the distance between the centerlines of two columns and articulating spatial frames, the *tatami* (straw mat) that became the primary flooring material in *shoin zukuri* needed to be sized accordingly to its function as a modular element. Consequently, this module was approximately set as 6.3

[127] Of course, there were also the construction of irrigation, the use of fertilizer, and other elements definitely contributing to the productive forces. Still, the adjustment of the measurement was a *faster* way of increasing the surplus.
[128] For the architectural shift in the context of this regime change, see William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (New York: Routledge, 1996), especially chapter 4 and chapter 6.

shaku to be fitted within the frame based upon the 1 *ken* increment. This *tatami* unit size of 6.3 *shaku*, as Naitō suggests, was then used as the unit length for the principal unit area, 1 *bu*, in *Taikō Kenchi*.[129] By expanding the hitherto existing unit length by 0.3 *shaku* (from 6.0 to 6.3), the aesthetic dimension of *tatami* "enabled" Hideyoshi to reduce the principal unit area from 360 to 300 *bu*. The spatial constraint of the land was set loose not by the creation of more space but by the appropriation of the architectural dimension—thus, by time—to produce more surplus.

To fast forward for a moment, the conflation of architectural dimensions with surveying dimensions continued in the Edo era, producing further surplus from the existing social force. From the mid-seventeenth century on, the Tokugawa Shogunate resurrected the unit length from around the time of the Ritsuryō system: hence, 6 square *shaku* as 1 *bu* for their cadastral surveys. Returning to the arcane unit, the Tokugawa managed to reduce the unit length by 0.3 *shaku,* while keeping 300 *bu* as the principal unit area (1 *tan*) from *Taikō Kenchi*. Again, while the land remained the same, its apparitional figures increased with this adjustment and, provided the tax rate remained the same, more tax was levied on the same plot under the guise of the good old agricultural courtesy epitomized by the archaic unit of 6 *shaku*. Coinciding with this revenant trick, 1 *ken* in carpentry was shifted from 6.5 *shaku* (or 6.3 *shaku*) to 6 *shaku*.[130] The new *ken* was called *Inaka-ma* (Country-style Ken) and distinguished from the old counterpart of 6.5 *shaku*, known as *Kyō-ma* (Kyoto-style Ken)[131] Whether the establishment of *Inaka-ma* occurred before the resurrection of the archaic surveying unit

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[129] Occasionally, this *tatami* dimension was equated with 1 *ken,* replacing 6.5 *shaku*.

[130] According to Naito, the first record of it was in 1601, but not fully acculturated until 1649. Naito, *Edo no Toshi*, 127.

[131] As already mentioned in Section I, *Kyō-ma* was used for the Mitsui's shops in the Surugadai neighborhood.

is unknown, but the shared unit length of 6 *shaku* suggests another conjunction of building construction and survey, or the aesthetic dimensions of architecture and the apparitional figures of land.

Given that system, from the mid-Edo era on, the *Inaka-ma* was used also to measure architectural properties for taxation purposes, such as shops or residences, and this unit length became the common denominator to appraise the existing productive forces across different regions of the social formation. For example, the wealth of a merchant was embodied by the width of storefront and the yield of a farmer expressed in *koku* became more easily comparable through the shared base-unit of 6 *shaku*, expressed as 1 *ken* or *bu*. At least in theory, therefore, the unification of unit length across architecture and land survey provided a reference point, from which those objects—merchant's store and tiller's land—that belong to different levels (or spaces) of the social whole can be deemed exchangeable. Six *shaku* became one of the bearers of exchange value, of which the apparitional figure of land and the number of bays of storefront were different expressions.[132]

As such coordinates of value based upon the *tatami* module of 6.3 *shaku*, *Taiko Kenchi* laid a significant groundwork for the rise of commodity exchange in the following Edo era. Although there must have been different ways of valorizing and

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[132] Also, the maturation of arithmetic technique must have played a crucial role in the production of exchange value. To this end, Tanaka gives a brief, but fascinating, history of the Japanese arithmetic at the dawn of the Edo era. He writes, "Due to the construction of castles by the *sengoku daimyō*, the repair of water bodies, the reclamation of agricultural fields and the execution of cadastral surveys, the arithmetic [no longer belonged] only to the aristocratic class. [As the discipline was further popularized in the Edo era], from the calculation of the amount of tax assigned to each peasant in a village to the calculation of the interest for the buying and selling of land (for pawning), arithmetic became an indispensable technique for the life of townspeople and villagers." Keiichi Tanaka, *Chōbako no Nakano Edojidaishi, Ge* (The History of Edo in Accounting Boxes, Vol. 2) (Tokyo: Tōsui Shobō, 1993), 122.

extracting surplus from the *prior* mode of production, its conjuration of apparition and the exploitation of the measurement units is one of the defining moments of such pursuit.

If we can conceive this exploitation of measurement initiated in *Taikō Kenchi* as the increase of *density* of land productivity, to return to Marx's formulation, this surplus may be comparable to the production of relative surplus value through the increase of *intensity* of the labor process. As the former is dealing with the area under the feudal relation, and the latter (working hours, specifically) under the capitalist mode of production, the pair obviously has different variables. Yet, what both scenarios seem to share is that each produces surplus without expanding the respective circumscriptions—on the one hand, the size of cultivated land and its fertility, on the other hand the duration of the working day and available means of production. In the case of *Taiko Kenchi*, to repeat, the exploitation of unit measurement allowed land to numerically enlarge, extracting more tax relative to its "previous" size. In the case of capitalist production, the exploitation of workers compelled them to work more intensely, relatively reducing the labor time necessary to produce the value of their means of subsistence—to reproduce their labor-power—and squeezing more surplus out of a given working condition. Interestingly, by keeping the existing constraints, both instances seem to run the process of formal subsumption to produce the relative surplus value.[133] Formally subsumed under the oversight of Hideyoshi, therefore, all the feudal territories and their respective

[133] In his seminar "Toward A New Critique of Political Economy" held in fall 2015 at Columba University, Étienne Balibar mentioned that, referring to the intensity of the labor process, the element of formal subsumption is included in the production of relative surplus value, which is often associated with the process of real subsumption.

parceled lands gained the apparitional figures and produced this “relative surplus.”[134] The lands didn’t know it, but they still did it.

Figures of Miike-han and Coal Production

As introduced already, upon *Taikō Kenchi*, eighteen thousand *koku*, impregnated with the relative surplus, was roused from the territory of the Miike region as its apparitional figures, and thirty-four villages were established through *Taikō Kenchi*. Tōka-*mura* (Tōka Village) was one of those villages, the productive force of which was then measured as 751.11 *koku*.[135] Upon receiving the Miike Gun from Hideyoshi, Tachibana Naotsugu and his vassals collected the tax from their immediate serfs based upon the new productive density of the land. Soon after, however, following the death of Hideyoshi, the areas given to both Naotsugu and his brother Muneshige were confiscated by the Tokugawa regime, as the consequence of having supported the oppositional force in the Sekigahara War in 1600—the war that determined the long reign of the Tokugawa in the Edo era. Consequently, the Tachibana family was transferred to other domains until 1621 when the region was returned to Tachibana Tanetsugu, the son of Naotsugu, by the Tokugawa Shōgunate. With this return to the Miike gun, he established the domain Miike-han (三池

[134] To conceptualize the production of land tax in terms of absolute or relative surplus certainly has a limitation because it is important to take account of the labor of tillers who actually produced the rice. Also, while in the capitalist relation, what mediated between capitalist and workers are moneys in the form of wages (or salary) as the value of labor power of workers, in the Edo era it was rice that mediated the relation between the feudal lord and their serfs. Unlike the monetary currency, rice was in itself a means of subsistence. In other words, while the former can represent the value of labor power, the latter manifests it. For example, the densification of land by the surveys increased the amount of rice-tax levied on the same plot of land, which also means more rice—thus potential means of subsistence—was taken away from the tillers. How the labor power, if not the life, of serfs was calibrated by the surveys and taxation should be further analyzed to better articulate the types of “surplus” available in the Edo society

[135] To use proper units, it was 751 *koku*, 1 *to* (斗) and 1 *shō* (升). See Ōmuta-shi, *Ōmuta shi Shi* (The History of Ōmuta City) (Ōmuta: Omuta City, 1944), 23. I would like to thank Ōhara Toshihide for pointing me to this book for this particular information.

藩), this time with the productive force of 10 thousands *koku,* and there were 15 villages including *Tōka-mura*. The apparitional figure of the village then was 690.43 *koku*, to which the terrain of Tōka Mountain belonged.[136]

Compared to other powerful domains in the Edo period, 10,000 *koku* was not particularly large; for example, Kaga-han straddled across three provinces in the current Hokuriku region and had around 1 million *koku*, and the territories directly under the administration of the Tokugawa government, so-called *tenryō* (天領), were above three million *koku* as an aggregate. Compared to those powerful domains, the Miike-han was a petty domain. With lesser productive forces, the resurfacing of the monetary economy from the mid-Edo period made it especially hard for the Tachibana family to cover their necessary expenses at home and in Edo.[137] Hence, their tax revenue out of the apparitional figure was indispensable, yet often not enough for a domain like theirs.

In general, the burden of tax was unevenly distributed among their population. Some areas were, for instance, historically wealthier to begin with. Or, farming lands of some villages were less fertile than the others in terms of soil or access to water for irrigation and thus more susceptible to natural disasters. Such socio-historical and natural circumstances compelled some of those with lean land to borrow money from moneylenders or from other rich farmers with their lands as mortgage to pay rice-tax, and yet only to make the loan delinquent. Their lands were then foreclosed, and many of them

[136] Ibid., 30.
[137] As one of the control tactics of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Duty of Alternate-year Residence in Edo (*sankin kōtai* 参勤交代) was imposed on each feudal lord (*daimyō*) The system required each *daimyō* to build their residences in Edo, more or less around the castle compound, where their families resided sort of as a hostage away from the home. All *daimyō* needed to cover not only the travel expenses between their domain and Edo but also their living expenses during their residence, purchasing daily necessities from merchants, like the Mitsui family. The pettier the domain or its productive force was, like *Miike-han*, the heavier the burden of the system became, especially when prices of commodities began to rise from the mid-Edo Era due to the money economy.

became tenant farmers or abandoned their home villages or domains, turning into outcasts who did not belong to the social hierarchy of the Tokugawa arrangement.

The market forces and the power of money were affecting not only the accounting of the petty feudal lords but also the land relation, if not the life, of their population. Miike-han was no exception. In order to fuel the lean domestic economy, the Miike-han administration cultivated more arable lands. The new lands meant the increase of the apparitional figure through spatial expansion—hence, provided the unit measures remained the same, the production of "absolute surplus." At the same time, the administration sought to increase the revenue through the productive forces outside the apparition. The heart of such extraterritorial forces was coal, as it was not factored in the cadastral surveys as taxable substance within the Tokugawa arrangement.[138]

During the time of the seventh chief of the Miike-han (*hanshu)*, Tachibana Tanechika, in the late eighteenth century, the administration put the coal enterprise at Tōka Mountain under their direct control. Appointing the official coal contractors, so-called *takiishiyama ukeoi gata,* the administration levied a business tax from them—the surplus outside the grip of "measures" of the Tokugawa arrangement. To gain this *extrinsic* surplus, so to speak, the adjacent domains—the immediate neighbor Yanagawa-

[138] Although there is no record, I made the assumption based on the following information. In the early seventeenth century, as I've already indicated above, the official productive force of Tōka Village, to which the mountain must have belonged, was 690,420 *koku*. This figure is not particularly high, compared with other villages in the region that did not have the blessing of coal. Also, the official figures of the productive force of the Miike-han submitted to Tokugawa in 1701 was almost twenty-seven thousand *koku*, more than double the figures of a century earlier. This indicates that more agricultural lands were developed and also that the administration declaired the newly cultivated lands to the Tokugawa regime. Whereas, the figure for Tōka Village (by then the Miike-han administration had already put coal production under its control) remained almost the same at the turn of the seventeenth century. Hence, the coal production remained outside the "official" figures transparent to the Tokugawa's totality. I have taken those numbers from Ōmuta-shi, *Ōmuta-shi Shi*, 23–33. I would like to thank Ōhara Toshihide for pointing me out to the document for this particular information.

han and also the Fukuoka-han in the Chikuzen Province—also began to operate coal enterprises to stabilize their finances around the same time.

That those *han* began to engage in coal extraction around this time period as the extrinsic surplus was not a coincidence. That is, from the middle of the eighteenth century onward, coal gained new use-value and transformed into a commodity in the Edo market economy. Without this process, these domains were not able to extract profit out of their coalfields, no matter how abundant coal had been there. As the major historical presupposition of the commodifying process, the establishment of the salt industry in the Setouchi region in particular was indispensable. As one of the largest industries in the Edo era, its size and volume increased from "1,628 (square) *chō* (町) and 2,630,000 *koku*" in the mid-Edo era to "4,060 (square) *chō* and 4,000,000 *koku*" by the late Edo era.[139] Much of the salt production was concentrated in the Setouchi region, as the local salt manufacturers invented the salt distilling method called *nyūhama-shiki enden* (入浜式塩田) and monopolized the market. The economy of fuel to burn the seawater in order to distill salt was one of, if not *the* most important aspect for the manufacture, and coal was then deemed the best means of such production. As a matter of fact, as Endo Masao illustrates, it was the head village man (*shōya*) and coal producer in *Onga-gun* in *Fukuoka-han* who promoted the use of coal for the distilling process.[140] This shows that coal producers themselves not only appropriated but also created the presupposition to turn their coal into an exchangeable commodity. Thanks to such initiative and the growth

[139] *Chō* is a unit of area, and 1 *chō* is 10 *tan*, hence 3000 *bu*. Ōki and Shindō do not specify if the number in *koku* meant absolute amount of salt production or the value of the amount translated into rice denomination. Either way, however, it is notable that the units systematized in Taikō Kenchi continued to be used as a common denominator to evaluate the salt industry. Ōki and Shindō, *Watashitachi no Machi,* 127.
[140] See Masao Endō, *Kyushu Keizai-shi Kenkyū* (Studies of Economy in Kyūshū) (Tokyō: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1942), 9.

of salt manufacture, coal from Tōka Mountain brought wealth to the Miike-han around the turn of the nineteenth century.

Despite this blessing, however, the operation of the coal enterprise by Tanechika's administration was short-lived. In 1806, the administration moved to the Shimotedo-han in modern day Fukushima prefecture due to the change of fief imposed by the Tokugawa Shogunate as a punitive measure for a political scandal in which Tanechika had allegedly been involved.[141] Although the apparitional figures of the Shimotedo-han equaled that of the Miike-han, the "actual" figures of the Miike-han at the dawn of the nineteenth century was much larger since it had managed to cultivate an absolute surplus.[142] More importantly, the Shimotedo-han did not have coal as the source of extrinsic surplus. Therefore, the change of fief to the area with lesser productive forces made it extremely difficult for the Tachibana's administration to secure enough revenue.

Tanechika's administration lost the governance of the Miike-han, but its apparition and coal enterprise did not disappear, and their former subjects, including some of his vassals, stayed there. In the absence of the Tachibana family, the Tokugawa Shogunate appointed the Hida-daikan, who then governed one of the *tenryō* in the modern-day Oita prefecture, as a tentative regional state power, and enabled them to collect the business tax from the coal contractors. Since Hida-daikan directly belonged to the shogunate administration, the coal revenue was technically in the hands of the Tokugawa.

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[141] Ōki and Shindō claim that Taneyuki, who was given the position of *wakadoshiyori* (若年寄) in the Tokugawa administration, was caught in the power struggle between Matsudaira Noriaki and the faction of the Hitotsubashi family within the administration and punished for siding with the latter. Ōki and Shindō, *Watashitachi no Machi*, 145–146.
[142] Ibid., 147.

Moreover. Hida-daikan also collected the mandatory rice-tax from the farmers of the Miike-han, and determined its amount through the yearly inspection called *kenmi*, equivalent to the cadastral surveys. Operating directly under the Tokugawa Shogunate, they used 6.1 *shaku,* hence closer to the archaic *inaka-ma*, as the unit length for the inspection. It is not known which *shaku* the Tachibana administration had previously used for 1 *bu*, but the deliberative production of relative surplus based upon the archaic unit is acutely expressed by the strategy of Hida-daikan in the case of a bad crop. In such a year, they would "use [i.e., increase from 6.1 to] 6.3 *shaku* [as the base unit]"[143] and, as a consequence of which, reduce the apparitional figures of the land and corresponding amount of tax. While appearing as a relief measure for taxpayers, it highlights that the expansion of the unit length had always been possible but, unless faced with an emergency, it was avoided to secure the relative surplus based upon the arcane unit. The life of the ordinary folks in the Miike-han was always already at the disposal of such shape-shifting units and apparitions—that is to say, the exchange value of land—and the reign of Hida-daikan seems to have magnified its effect.

To recapitulate, since as early as when *miike* was still *mike* under the Ritsuryō system, the region had always been implicated in larger political economic matrices. As hinted by the existence of a bazaar as well as the material traces of the Fuko-ji, the medieval money economy—a nationwide epidemic—has taken hold there. Perhaps some forms of taxation were levied on the regional serfs throughout the medieval period,

[143] This passage was quoted from the document prepared by Confucius scholar Nishida Kanjiro. In addition to the expansion of the unit measure, Nishida continues, "If 1 *shō* of unhulled rice was cultivated per one *ho* [6.3 square *shaku*], then 3 *koku* would be assumed for 1 *han* [300 *ho*] of a land. Half of it, hence 1.5 *koku*, will be then be deemed taxable. The sixteenth percent [of 1.5 *koku*] would be deducted and the rest remains in the hands of taxpayers." Toyoo Shindō, *Saigo no Miike Hanshu: Tachibana Taneyuki no Shōgai* (The Last Domainal Chief: The Life of Tachibana Taneyuki) (Omuta: Omuta no Kyoikubunka wo Kangaerukai, 1998), 19.

whether by the imperial court, estate owners, or regional militias. That is to say, *Taikō Kenchi* alone did not produce the surplus overnight. Still, the cadastral surveys marked a crucial moment for all the warlords who were, like the Tachibana family, subject to the oversight of Hideyoshi, since their territories gained apparitional figures, measured in *bu* and expressed in *koku*. Comprising some contour of totality, the conjuration rendered more easily comparable the productive forces of land, be it a rice field, a village or an entire territory. By the exploitation of measuring units in Taikō Kenchi and the surveys under the Tokugawa, the "relative surplus" was produced out of taxation as temporal tricks. Always haunted by the assigned apparition of 10 thousands *goku*, the administration of the Tachibana family in the Miike-han sought ways to create more surplus, absolutely or relatively, to sustain their petty domain. As coal became an exchangeable commodity, thanks to the salt industry, the coal enterprise at Tōka Mountain was the very source of the surplus outside the apparition.

It is often said that, when Tachibana Tanechika put the coal enterprise under his control before the change of fief, his administration built the original Inari shrine. To better contextualize this original structure and its "reconstruction" a few decades later, however, the following subsection will turn to the unfolding of the Fox–Inari worship in the Edo period, which was manifested in myriad forms—ranging from popular sayings, historical episodes and a comedic tale to intellectual discourses. Featured in such diverse genres, the fox and Inari offered contested sites that not only catalyzed the dominant social order but also fertilized possibilities for a world immensely different from that order. The following section will mark out several moments of such tension through the aid of satirical philosophies of Mikhail Bakhtin, Marx and Engels. In so doing, it illustrates the stratifying life of the folk on the apparitional, if not *foxy* ground.

2. Satirical Animals and Beyond

Holy Shit, Individuality

Saint Max is a holy figure for Max Stirner, cast by Marx and Engels in *German Ideology*. By way of reproaching the communist project to abolish all property, Saint Max recited that all personal peculiarity should be kept. Marx and Engels ridiculed such sermons because the saint conflated the "personal peculiarity" of individual with "private property" that only derived from the relations of production, or social relations. In a rigorously mock-heroic manner, the authors then equated such sacred peculiarity with the "stomach-ache" that the saint would most likely have even after the communist abolishment of property.[144] Unlike the stomach-ache, according to the authors, having private property means to command the "control over other people's labor" and own something "vendible." A private property would remain as private property, "only so long as I can barter, pawn or sell it, so long [as it] is [marketable]." In this definition, private property bears on the exchange value of commodities, expressed either by the use-value of other commodities (barter) or by a form of money (pawn or sale). Relying on private property, *existing as otherness,* "alienates… the individuality not only of

[144] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *German Ideology* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1998), 246. Also concerning individuality, "It was one of the central questions to which Marx responded at great length and in great detail throughout *German Ideology*, where he attempted to demonstrate communism and individuality, properly understood, are anything but incompatible." Paul Thomas, "Karl Marx and Max Stirner" in *Political Theory*, vol. 3, no. 2 (May, 1975): 160.

people but also of things":[145] (e.g., individuals as bourgeois, or things as commodities (forms of value).

Writing in exile in mid-nineteenth century Brussels, Marx and Engels' concern for the alienation of things was directed toward "rent" squeezed out from the land, or "profit" out of machines, while the land and machines have "nothing to do with" such surpluses. Their insight is nevertheless applicable to the context of the Edo era, since the land gained its apparitional figures and each territory was made comparable and exchangeable through the cadastral surveys. What's more, as its productive density increased, more tax was squeezed out from the land. Also, private residences and storefronts became vendible and taxable properties through their number of bays—the length/area expressed in *ken*. With these numerical conjurations, a farmer was able to loan money by putting their own land as mortgage to pay rice-taxes. Or, as shown in section I, the Mitsui family was able to purchase a residence (and its land) in Edo as guarantee to carry out the public service (*goyō*). In other words, there was a sense of private ownership built on the apparitional figures and architectural aesthetics (i.e., the number of bays). In both cases, had they missed their deadlines—for the former, making the loan delinquent, and for the latter, not being able to bring the tax-money to Edo in ninety/sixty days—*their (private) property* would have perished, while any single physical attributes of the land or the residence would have remained intact. In the Edo era and perhaps even before, therefore, there were alienations of land and architecture.

Suggested in section I through the poem on the enigmatic event of the poet Kikaku, the Mimeguri Shrine was not immune from such alienating drives. In the chronotope of the poem, written in the late eighteenth century, the divine ability to offer

[145] Marx and Engels, *German Ideology*, 247.

manna—the blessed rain for agriculture—was alienated; while, in the possession of the Mitsui family, the ability to offer more money was exalted. Whether or not the deity would have remained as a "vendible" deity if the Mitsui family had repudiated its ownership is definitely beyond the concerns of this dissertation. Nor perhaps would the Mitsui family have known. Still, this uncertainty hints that, as Marx and Engels claim, the existence of private property is contingent upon historical circumstances, thus often beyond the control of the proprietors, let alone the alienated beings—whether land, architecture, deity or people. "In a word," as Marx encapsulates:

> rent of land, profit, etc.—these actual forms of existence of private property, are *social relations* corresponding to a definite stage of production, and they are "individual" only so long as they have not become fetters on the existing productive forces.[146]

The Mimeguri Shrine attained individuality as "the guardian deity" of the Mitsui family whose existence as "merchant" was very much part, if not metonymy, of the market economy. That is to say, this divine individuality was the product of social relations. To see the Inari and fox, and the process of their becoming *individual* or *fetter*, in such social relations, I will first turn to the following popular saying from the mid-Edo Era.

> [Edo Specialties are] Ise merchants, Inari shrines and dog shit.
> ([*Edo Meibutsu*] *Iseya Inari ni inuno kuso.*)[147]

At first glance, the saying simply enumerates the figures or sites that populated the city of Edo, and it indeed shows how the Inari worship attained popularity among the people in Edo and beyond. However, Michael Bathgate claims that a paratactic structure of the

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[146] Ibid.

[147] Although it's not entirely certain when this saying became popular, or who invented it, many scholars used this saying as an entry point to introduce the ubiquity of inari shrines, particularly in the city of Edo, in connection with the soaring commerce. For example, see Tatsuo Hagiwara, "*Edo no Inari"* (Inari in the city of Edo) in *Inari Shinkō* (Inari Worship) ed. Hiroji Naoe (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1983), 151, or Smyers, *The Fox and the Jewel*, 20. The saying is also popularized by a professional raconteur of *rakugo* (落語)—the popular genre of comedy originated in Edo—as the common lead-in (*makura*) to *shikaseidan* (鹿政談 Political Talk on Deer), the well-known *rakugo* story. Moreover, this saying became even more popular during the Meiji era.

triad—*Iseya*, *Inari* and *Inuno Kuso*—is more than the indicator of their ubiquity in the city of Edo and the purpose for their euphonic. Through the substance of canine excrement, it "portray[s] the presence of Ise Merchant and Inari shrines as essentially defiled, a transgressive contravention of both the moral and cosmic order."[148] Symbolized by Ise merchants, one of the contraventions was the rise of the market economy which, as shown in section I, brought dissonance within the Tokugawa's moral and cosmic order (i.e., the idealized rice economy). Bathgate also pays attention to the fact that the saying specifies not the merchant in general, but the Ise merchants who originated from, as the name suggests, the Ise region. Having first opened their stores in Kyoto, they expanded their enterprises nationwide as architects of the commercial network in the Edo period. The Mitsui family was one of, it not *the most famous* Ise merchants. Bathgate draws a parallel with the Inari shrines that also have headquarters in Kyoto and then spread across the country. This way, Bathgate construes isomorphism between the Ise merchants and Inari.

In terms of the defilement of the Inari worship, Bathgate first links the dog excrement to a common type of fox's gift in the tradition of fox-lore tales that have been told since the medieval time. In those tales, a fox gives a gift—a thing or coin—to a person, but those often turn out to be filth—junk or dung—in disguise to accentuate the intrinsic valuelessness of the vulpine gift, whether the gift was out of fox's "gratitude" (giving) or "a desire to deceive" (taking). Here, the dog shit in the saying reveals such duplicity always latent in the beastly emissary of the Inari deity. With the aid of isomorphism, furthermore, Bathgate associated the duplicity with the market force that tended to seek for more profit out of things like kimono or of money—the commercial

[148] Bathgate, *The Fox's Craft*, 114.

penchant that was emblematized by the enterprise of the Mitsui family and their dexterity of temporal tricks.

To build upon this line of reading, let's dig deeper into the canine excrement. Besides asserting the association between the dog shit and the nature of the fox's gift, Bathgate briefly introduces a reading by historian Matsumoto Shigeru, who argues that the dog shit is the allegory for the fifth shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709) whose life largely overlapped with the rise of the Mitsui family and the Edo market economy. Tsunayoshi enacted *Shōrui Awaremi no Rei* (An Edict against Cruelty to All Living Beings), which was the general term for the series of ordinances that were administrated during his reign (1680–1709). Alongside abandoned children and the sick, this Buddhist-inspired ordinance protected the lives of animals, in particular the dog, thus had built Tsunayoshi's reputation as "the dog shogun (犬公方, *inukubō*)."[149] Indeed, as Nishina Kunio shows, Kikaku—the poet who wrote a poem to the Mimeguri Shrine for the blessed rain—used "*inu no kuso*" as a satirical metaphor for Tsunayoshi in a letter to his friend.[150] Despite his effort to create a welfare state for the underprivileged and animals, the dog shogun appears to have failed to satisfy the social needs of human folk in general and to stabilize the national socio-economic condition visited by frequent peasant upheavals. To follow this line of historical reading, the saying is the satirical critique of the failed policy of a ruling regime whereby Tsunayoshi, associated with his canine epithet, was uncrowned to become dog shit (*inu no kuso*).

[149] For underlying Buddhist and Chinese philosophy lurking behind the edict as well as for a concise synopsis on Tsunayoshi, see Brett L Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 80–83.
[150] Kunio Nishina, *Iseya, Inari ni Inuno Kuso: Edono Machi ha Inu Darake* (Iseya, Inari and Dog Shit: Edo Filled with Dogs) (Tokyo: Soshi-sha, 2016), 185–187.

To conceptualize this debasing movement as the mode of satire, the material bodily lower stratum—a notion that was theorized by Mikhail Bakhtin through his reading of the work by François Rabelais—is helpful here. As the elements of what Bakhtin calls "grotesque realism," the material bodily lower stratum, such as anus, in Rabelais's work inverts the existing hierarchy—turning, for example, a king into the lowest figure like a crown through multiple comical or uncrowning gestures that draw the reader's attention down to the lower or vulgar parts. In so doing it invokes the absurdity of the existing social order or, as Bakhtin puts it, "the gay relativity of prevailing truths and authorities."[151] Dragging down the shogun to the dog shit on a street of Edo, the popular saying shares this downward thrust, which is further dramatized by the order of the popular saying as a way to mock the commoner's own reality. In that reality, the Shogunate lorded over the entire population, perhaps even over the Inari deity, while the merchant class occupied the lowest rung, below peasants and artisans. Whereas, in the popular saying, the parataxical triad begins with the Ise merchant, followed by the Inari and lastly the dog shit. Or, written in a vertical format, the merchant occupied the top and the dog shit—the shogun in disguise—the lowest. The order in the popular saying is therefore the inversion of the reality. Following the downward gesture of the material bodily lower stratum, this topsy-turvy world with the canine excrement as its climax is the grotesque realism *per excellence* of the social unrest in which the state authority appeared incompetent. At the same time, it confirms the social reality or the power of authority, for the inversion to work as a satirical gesture inevitably *relies on* that dominance of the existing order.

[151] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 11.

Reading its grotesque realism at another theoretical register, however, the saying begins to conjure a *different order* which the dominant needed to reply on. To produce this mode of reading, what in fact might have propelled the commoners to invert the Tokugawa's cosmology in the first place is worth exploring here. As Marx and Engels would put it, how was this topsy-turvy cosmology *produced by* commoners, and stuff inside their "stomachs" to perform that inverted gesture? Let's hear what those satirical practitioners have to say about the stomach, or its lack thereof.

In *German Ideology*, they attack Max Stirner's critique of the world of so-called "moderns," which had been dominated by Christianity and also Hegelian philosophy until the time of Saint Max. In the eyes of the saint, the moderns only saw the world as it appeared in their heads as objectified ideas—the sublimation of which was the state—and strove toward the spirit that had emerged from nothing and, once begotten, created spirits out of itself. The spirit is essentially the holy spirit, God, or *your* God because, in the tautological doctrine of the Saint Max, "God is spirit."[152] Szeliga, cast by the saint as his own "obedient and gullible servant" in his text, aspires to be the spirit. In so doing, Szeliga needs to contrive God outside of himself, for he is "not the spirit which dwells within [him]," or in other words he is alienated.[153] The vocation of the saint was to get rid of the spirit. To such claim, Marx and Engels contest that Saint Max only assumed "God

[152] *John 4:14* quoted by Saint Max in the passage that Marx and Engels uses as a springboard for his criticism. Marx and Engels, *German Ideology*, 162–163.

[153] Szeliga was the pseudonym of Franz Zychilinski who wrote a critique of *Ego and Its Own* with the same title. In the article *Stirner's Critics* published in 1845, Stirner responded to the critiques of Szeliga, Moses Hess and Feuerbach. Although Marx does not use this particular term "alienation" in this passage, the spiritlessness of Christianity, which he uses, can be understood as the form of alienation. While Max Stirner considers this phenomenon to be the consequence of the world of ideas projected by the moderns and Marx disagrees with such a view, Marx seemed to agree that there was such "spiritlessness" in the world. Marx turned the tables on the saint by proclaiming that the spiritlessness was induced by and thus manifested in the given material condition, or "industry and relation." Ibid.,166. I construed the point as Marx's description of alienation, which he had originally developed in the *1844 Manuscript*.

is spirit" as a given fact without evincing how such notion had emerged; even though, alongside other "religious consciousnesses," it did not derive from its own cause. Those consciousnesses instead had been produced, as the two authors insinuate, as the structural cause.[154] However holy or godly, in other words, the spirit was never independent from the structure of social formation, and by extension from the material conditions and needs of humans themselves. For Marx and Engels, it was after all Saint Max who conjured the god for "you" (Szeliga) to believe in his tautological sermon and his "history of creation of spirit" did nothing but "to put Stirner's stomach among the stars." Stirner needed to exalt his stomach as God because he is, as Marx parodies, "not the stomach which dwells within [him]."[155]

"The holy spirit" of Saint Max was thus debased down to the stomach—the metonymic organ for human need, bread and wine—as a downward movement performed by Marx and Engels to shed light on the saint's blindness to the earthy world. The allusive-allegorical *holy* figures, like Saint Max and Saint Bruno, that they cast for

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[154] This might be running a risk of over-interpreting their points in Althusserian term, but there are some indications. Marx and Engels criticize the way religion was conceived as "*causa sui,*" in other words, as a completely autonomous level dictated by its own internal causal logic, transitive or expressive, in the social totality. Instead, Marx asserts that the relations of productions and exchanges are *necessarily connected with* [emphasis is mine] a definite form of religious consciousness" Here, the word "connect" (*verbunden*) implies the relation between semi-autonomous levels of the social formation. Marx continues that, moreover, any raptures or changes that had occurred in *Christianity* were not determined by the "religious spirit" but were "brought about by wholly empirical causes in no way dependent on any influence of the religious spirit." On one hand this passage speaks to Jameson's "scandalous events" wherein cultural changes, especially in the society dominated by reification, is caused by the extrinsic rift—"the other order of phenomenon from its effects"— the passage cited in more detail in the first chapter. Hence, the passage demonstrate the "mechanical causality" as "one of the laws and subsystem of" the social formation whereby the "empirical causes" (the economic) marked its effects in other levels, such as Christian religion, in the last instance. On the other hand, the last part of passage suggests that, however ahistorical or historically insignificant, there is indeed the "influence," or I would translate it as *effectivity*, of the religious spirit and hence the religion exists as semi-autonomous level. Although Marx does not expand further on this remark and certainly not theorize it in the following Althursserian terms, this small passage seems to contain theoretical opening for *overdetermination*—an psycho-analytic index for Althusser to show how "contradiction" (e.g., class struggles) are always determining but also "determined by the various *levels* [like religion] and *instances* of the social formation it animates." Louis Althusser, "Contradiction and Overdetermination" in *For Marx* (Verso: New York, 2005), 100–101.
[155] Marx and Engels, *German Ideology*, 164.

their prey, the so-called Young Hegelians, also dramatize how aloof the then trendy branch of philosophy was from the historical reality as it had degraded into "idealism and elitism."[156] Thus, the parodic satire of Marx and Engels demonstrates not only that the seemingly immaterial entities, such as the holy spirit, are very much a metonymic part of the material condition—stomach—of a given social totality, but also that the anatomy of satire itself should embody such circumstances (e.g., the plight of the starving working class in the mid-nineteenth century). Thoughts and satire can have their own stomachaches.

If this interpretation of their satirical organ can be applied to the popular saying from the Edo era in Japan, the inversion of the cosmic world was the symptomatic effect of the world *already upside-down* where the merchants were at the pinnacle of the social ladder. As historian Katsuya Hirano shows, the "lacuna and aporia" of the Tokugawa order was disclosing itself by the mid-Edo era amidst the soaring market economy where "everything [was] money," as Hirano quotes Edo scholar Danzai Shundai.[157] Despite the façade of the agriculture-based economy, the accumulation of monetary wealth was what empowered people, and the merchants and moneylenders were becoming the masters, or "owners," of the society at large. As shown by the Mitsui family's engagement with *Osaka Bakufu Okaneguragin Okawase Goyō* in the first chapter, which was enacted by the administration of the dog shogun, even the supreme authority needed to convert the tax-rice into money and to have it transported from Osaka to Edo by relying on the temporal tricks, such as the bills of exchange, of the moneylenders. Under the guise of order, moreover, the authority in effect was compelled to allow the moneylender to

[156] Alex Callinicos, "Messianic Ruminations: Derrida, Stirner and Marx," *Radical Philosophy* 075 (Jan/Feb 1996): 38. Saint Bruno was the holy figure for Bruno Bauer.
[157] Hirano Katsuya, *The Politics of Dialogic Imagination,* 48–51.

transform the tax-money into a loan (interest-bearing capital) to produce surplus without the idealized diligent labor.

In fact, it is possible that the Ise merchant and Inari in the popular saying can be read as the allusion to the Mitsui family and Mimeguri Inari, for their *social relations* became well-known facts among the Edo townspeople.[158] In this light, the saying not only places the Mitsui family over its *own property*, the Mimeguri Shrine, but also over the dog shogun and his administration who depended on the family's commercial might. If the saying mirrored this *real* hierarchy—beginning from the top, the Mitsui family, Mimeguri Inari and then Tokugawa Tsunayoshi—the dog shit was on one level the figure for the impotent administration and on a different level a satirical substance targeted at their very social relation that was organized upon the power of money. This might explain why all the parataxical triad took, like the beloved Saint Max, the allegorical names; it was not only to avoid potential censorship for its specificity but also to accurately depict the monetary, if not reified, relationship at work.[159] The excrement at the end was cast by the commoners to ridicule and potentially to overcome the abstract social relation. As the material bodily lower stratum should do, the dog shit provided the

158 It should be noted that Nishina understands that *Ise-ya* in the saying as a direct reference to the group of merchants, under the house-name *Iseya*, who were indeed outnumbering the numbers of *Echigoya* stores Nishina, *Iseya, Inari ni Inuno Kuso*, 91–92. Still, the association between the Mitsui family and Ise merchants was quite strong then.

159 To this end, Alex Callinicos provides a short insightful introduction to "metaphors" that Marx used in his works after *German Ideology*. Callinicos argues that those metaphors, such as Monsieur le Capital or Madam la Terre, were not used by Marx to simply exorcise illusions to finally call upon the "living world." Instead, as I understand his argument, those metaphors were flushed out to accurately show how the capitalist relations of production constitute the "inner structure of this world." Drawing on Althusser's structural causality, Callinicos insists that such inner structure is always-already "not present" and it only appears in its effects as the absence of cause. Hence, to reiterate, when Marx refers to the upside down world, it was not directed to strip off mysteriousness from the world of commodities to conjure the reality, but rather to see the very material reality whose inner structure was *absent*, always haunting as specters that arrive late. Callinicos, "Messianic Ruminations," 39–40. To apply to the case of the popular saying I examined, the monetary relation is what manifests itself in the abstract figures as the absent cause, and so as the exchange value of the land property/territory in the "apparitional figures."

commoners with a collective scent of a "real future."[160] Or, as Bataiile might put it, "scatology" as "the science of wholly other."[161]

Interestingly, as introduced briefly in the first chapter, the Mitsui family indeed faced the satirical, if not scatological moment, when they transgressed the existing business courtesy of the Hon-machi neighborhood by introducing the cash sale. This time, it was the resentment embodied by the dung and urine of their fellow merchants in the neighborhood as they decided to put their toilet in front of the kitchen of the Mitsui's store-residence. As the grotesque conjuncture between kitchen and privy, food and shit, or mouth and bottoms, the scatological ostracism attempted to demoralize the commercial success that the Mitsui family built upon such a transgression. The *future* came after the conjuncture with an even bigger success of the family, moving into the stores with wider storefronts in Suruga-machi, engaging in the "public orders" and eventually constructing the Mimeguri Shrine. They become the "master" merchants of Edo society while the deity gained its holy individuality as their tutelary.

Fox as Property and Inari Shrine as Denouement

Although it is not evincible whether this episode was originally reflected in the popular saying, there seems to be a strong echo between them, which should be taken seriously. Both Edo commoners in the satirical triad and *Hon-cho* neighborhood merchants in the scatological incident identified the wealth beyond the extant norms—be they Tokugawa's

[160] Conceiving the material lower stratum as a productive and regenerative realm, Bakhtin writes, "This lower stratum is mankind's real future. The downward movement that penetrates all Rabelaisian images is ultimately directed toward this gay future." Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 278.
[161] Taken from the essay "The Use Value of 'Formless'" by Yve-Alain Bois. He finds the various gestures of "scatology," which is part of Bataiile concept of base materialism, in modern arts. *Formless: A User's Guide*, ed. Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind F. Krauss (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 31.

apparent moral and cosmic order or merchants' business courtesy—into the excrement, as if such surpluses were defilements like the nature of a fox's gift. In both instances, moreover, the Inari shrines work as an accomplice or, seen from the perspective of the Mitsui family, the holy savior for the production of surplus. Not only does the episode have a shadowy presence in the popular saying, but it has material variants in other locales and villages where the influence of the market economy had its grip.

One of those examples was manifest at villages around the city of Osaka, as historian Nakagawa Sugane shows by analyzing the growing popularity of the Inari in Osaka in the eighteenth century. Many impoverished villagers, who were forced to relinquish their landownership in their native villages, gravitated toward the urban center. As the city swallowed them as surplus population, it expanded outward to create residential quarters and also more arable lands for rice production. Accordingly, new villages became established at the fringe of the city where wild foxes were then still inhabiting. Nakagawa claims that, as the expansion of city and rice fields drove those foxes away, some pious villagers built an Inari shrine to deify the animal in their new agricultural settlements.[162] In this particular variant, driven by the market economy, the contravention was the production of more arable land and human settlement by absorbing more population from elsewhere at the expense of the fox habitat. The wild foxes were thus deemed "fetters" to the new land relation. The construction of Inari shrines by villagers pacified the potential grudge of the evicted foxes, and in so doing justified the

[162] Sugane Nakagawa, "Inari Worship in Early Modern Osaka" in *Osaka: The Merchants' Capital of Early Modern Japan*. ed. James L. McClain and Wakita Osamu (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 200–202.

villagers' newly acquired social status—individualities—such as landlords or tenant farmers, in those emerging settlements.[163]

While in the above case the wild foxes were "ostracized," there were other variant(s) where ostracism occurred in the extant villages, and the fox revealed its other characteristic: as private property. In the midst of the growing monetary relation, previously titled by domainal authorities, the status of the village chief (s*hōya*) who had assumed the leadership position in a village was also declining. Withstanding the economic hardship, however, a handful of peasants were able to become the new peasant magnate as "traders, landlords and moneylenders"—whom Bathgate characterizes as the *nouveau riche*.[164] The wealth of these new peasant elites was often surpassing that of existing village chiefs, and some of them even bought the "title" of village chiefs to administrate village affairs. Acquiring the command over the labor of other villagers as well as the "vendible" title of the village chief, these new elites were the emerging *individuals* (i.e., the property owners), empowered by the market economy in the mid-Edo era. Still, the rise of the new peasant class did not occur without friction, as their wealth was often considered by fellow villagers to be sacrilegious to the existing structure based upon the respective village rules. In some locales, villagers accused those transgressive elites of being "fox owners" (*kitsune mochi*) who grew their wealth by enlisting the help of the fox whose trickery was a well-known *fact* among the commoners.

Once accused of being a fox owner, the family was disowned by the community, as was the case of the Mitsui family in the Hon-machi neighborhood. Or, in order to keep

[163] Paul Thomas reminds that Marx did not at all disagree with individuality. From this perspective, my use of "individual" here is negative—in the way used by Saint Max.
[164] Bathgate, *The Fox's Craft*, 124.

the tie to the community, some fox-owners built Inari shrines to enshrine *their own* fox to correct, as Bathgate writes, "their supposed ritual improprieties through the orthoprax rituals of the Inari worship."[165] In this historical context, although the commercial attribute of the Inari deity may have been known among the common folk, as Bathgate claims, the agricultural dimension was exalted. As conceptualized in section I, moreover, the Inari worship can be understood as work itself—as objectification. Very much akin to the role of the Mitsui's Mimeguri Shrine, therefore, the construction of the Inari shrine made the monetary wealth of the *nouveau riche* appear as the "result" of agricultural toil. This way, the new peasant elite was able to keep, if not forge, its ties to the existing communal structure, *naturalizing* their new individuality within the existing structure. This episode shows that, on the one hand, although many villagers would still have suffered from the effect of the new economy, eliminating "the fox owner" momentarily preserved an existing social hierarchy of a village. On the other hand, by enshrining the fox through the Inari Shrine, the owner legitimized their new social status as if their transformation had a *natural cause*. Hence, the fox as "property" and the Inari worship as "work" were not only determined by but also determining the socio-economic structure of villages.

As Bathgate shows, *Bunbuku chagama* (The Lucky Teakettle), a popular comedy from the Edo era, further exhibits the mechanism of fox-ownership.[166] In this story, the fox transformed into manifold things to be sold as a repayment for a man who had saved

[165] Ibid., 132.
[166] As Bathgate shows, Seki Keigo collected the variants of this tales across Japan. While a majority of the tales feature fox as the protagonist, some cast raccoon as well. Among the sampled variants, there are four tales from the proximity of the Miike Han—three from Fukuoka Prefecture and one from Kumamoto City—and all feature the fox as the shape-shifting character. See Keigo Seki, ed. *Nihon Mukashibanashi Shusei Dai 2 bu Dai 2* (Collection of Japanese Folktales Vol. 2.2) (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1953), 1091–1092.

the life of the animal. Thanks to the "giving" characteristics of the fox, the man eventually became rich. Yet, every time the fox in disguise was purchased, it revealed its true nature and received punishments from persons who bought it. The last customer was a feudal lord of the samurai class, and this time the fox assumed the form of a horse. However, notwithstanding the load of a rider, the horse collapsed and revealed the real figure. As per the lord's instruction, the fox was left abandoned in a ditch. The fox owner, using the wealth he gained at the expense of the fox's life, built an Inari shrine to enshrine the fox's spirit as a counter-gift.

The transformative ability of the fox in this story is exploited and condemned by humans, rather than used for playing tricks on them. Most importantly, the fox is transformed into commodities. In so doing, the animal keeps producing monetary wealth for the man and turns him into a rich peasant until its own death. According to Bathgate's interpretation, whenever the fox revealed itself before the eyes of a person who purchased it, each moment magnifies the "illusory nature of exchange-value" that is expressed by monetary prices but detached from the physical properties (use-values) of commodities. As Bathgate rightly points out, the fox (as exchange value) cannot boil water like a teakettle, just as we cannot stuff money in our stomach to satisfy our hunger.

If the story was told to illustrate this uselessness of exchange value, however, the fox could have given filth, the junk and dung, in keeping with its vulpine tradition introduced above. What Bathgate's reading, however insightful, does not fully explain is the reason why the fox itself was transfigured into commodities and then abandoned by the samurai class owner at the end. To understand this contradiction, we shall dwell on the revelations that occurred at the end of every purchase, if not of the "turnaround time."

What is revealed is that the fox itself has, unlike the excrement, its own life-force. While the filth could perform as the material bodily lower stratum to turn the tables of the existing condition, the life-force of the fox retains the existing relationship with its owner. Its revelations in the tale then suggest that, instead of standing on its own without any use-value, the illusory nature of exchange-value hinges on the fox's power—its ability to transform into manifold things and to return to the man. In other words, this ability of objectification and reproduction is the use-value. In this interpretation, counter to Bathgate's claim, the use-value persists throughout the story until the demise of the fox.

Hence, the revelation shows that what each patron purchased and eventually lost in this story is the ownership over the fox's ability (use-value) objectified in the various commodity forms (exchange-values). The only remaining ownership or private property at the end constitutes monetary wealth—the surplus—that the fox-owner himself accumulated. It was the patron from the ruling samurai class who terminated his command over the fox's ability as well as the production of further surplus. The "climax" marked the moment when the fox became the fetter and lost its vulpine individuality, if not its life altogether. Although the fox disappears in the last instance, the owner does not lose the wealth, granting him a new social status as the peasant elite. By commemorating the *work* that the fox had put into for *his transformation*, the construction of the Inari shrine was to then "naturalize" the wealth and status—again, the individuality—under the eyes of the ruling samurai class; that is to say, the Tokugawa's cosmic and moral order.

The episode of the *nouveau riche* and the tale of the Lucky Teakettle illustrate the nature of the fox owners who were able to climb up (albeit confined in the peasant class) the social ladder, thanks to the ability of *their fox* to beget more money as surplus. In stark contrast, there were many farmers who didn't have the privilege to own a fox. Burdened with heavy taxation and delinquent on their debts, those impoverished farmers without any titles and properties often worked as tenant farmers and paid ground rent for, in some cases, those fox-owners. Hence, not only does the episode reveal the mechanism of fox-ownership, but it hints at the glimpse of the social stratification taking place across the country, making a few folk into new individuals while turning many into fetters and snatching their land ownership. In the tale of the Lucky Teakettle, this contradiction was epitomized at the end by the empowered fox-owner and the abandoned fox. In the eyes of Ando Shoeki, some of those fetters were indeed the fox—the human in disguise.

The Ilk of Fox in the Assembly

Ando Shoeki (1703–62) was a Zen monk who became a doctor, then a prolific writer who acutely observed his contemporary stratifying society. Also as a great satirist, Ando criticized the feudal authority for stabilizing their finances amidst chronic inflation by enforcing more taxes and thus intensifying labor upon the poor peasants. Natural disasters and famines further worsened their living conditions, while merchants and the *nouveau riche* were able to profit by acting as middlemen. The Buddhist establishment during this period did not offer much spiritual salvation either, as they were busy "defending the intellectual and institutional territory they had staked out from all external influences."[167] Despairing at this reality, Ando formulated his own anti-establishment philosophy in *Shizen Shin Ei Do*, a collection of essays that he began writing in the mid-

[167] Yoshinobu Yasunaga, "Shoeki's Life and Writings," in *Ando Shoeki: Social and Ecological Philosopher in Eighteenth-Century Japan*, ed. Toshinobu Yasunaga (New York: Weatherhill, 1992), 24.

eighteenth century. Included was the *Tales of the World of Law* (法世物語), a fable-like piece that depicts four assemblies convened respectively by four different species: birds, beasts, crawling creatures, and fish. In Buddhist cosmology, those creatures reside in the realm of animal existence, which is considered to be a part of the "lower realms" wherein, below the animal existence, resides hell and the realm of hungry ghosts, and above which are asuras, human existence and heavenly existence.[168] While, according to the Buddhist doctrine, the world of those who attended the assemblies was supposed to be inferior to the world of humans, the verdict of the creatures at the assemblies overruled such *holy* view.

In the Human World, all humans are supposed to engage in the Right Cultivation as their sole duty—as Living Truth—begot by the Way of Heaven. Following this cosmic occupation, there shouldn't be in the human world, said the Eagle, "distinctions between superior and inferior, large and small, high and low." There shouldn't be a ruler in this world, unlike the World of Birds governed by "the unsurpassed Lord Eagle."[169] However, by common consent, the participants of the assemblies claim that the human turned away from the Right Cultivation and leaned upon self-serving laws contrived with the rise of sages and Buddha. Derailing from the Way of Heaven, humans made their world into the World of Law wherein the *superior* eats from the labor of the *inferior* without engaging in the Right Cultivation. With the "aid" of intellect, as all the creatures agree, the World of Law of humans was modeled on their world where might is right. Although such hierarchical relationship in their world is the Living Truth granted by the Way of Heaven, in the realm of human existence it means degradation. Not following the Way of Heaven,

[168] Ibid., 111.
[169] Ibid., 135.

the human world was deemed inferior to theirs. The Sea Bream, for example, compares the human who wants to "stand on top of others" with its own lack of desire to stand in spite of having "four limbs" like human. "Clearly," the Sea Bream concludes, "these human beings are far more foolish than I."[170] Resonating with the Bahktinian downward movement of grotesque realism, the human world was dragged down below its animal counterpart via the utterances of the assembly members.

Each participant at all assemblies describes the "mimetic behaviors" of humans in the World of Law, and among them was a fox. After the presentation by Badger, Fox takes the floor and explains its own trickery as the ability to snatch food from humans, an ability given by the Way of Heaven. Some people, on the other hand, ignored the Right Cultivation and "thieved Heaven's Way, devoured it greedily, and for their own selfish purposes created self-serving laws and established the World of Law." Due to this vulpine behavior of humans, although the fox has been imagined to transform into people in the world of law, Fox cries to the other assembly members, "human beings transform *themselves* into foxes!"[171] The animal then continues to ridicule all the sages of the vulpine human, including those of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Shintoism, as well as military teachings and even medical discourse. Fox mocks them as thieves of Heaven's Way because, while all of the sages, religious preaching in particular, appeared to direct humans to escape from the lower realms and transmigrate to the upper four levels of religious attainment, their teachings are merely the "delusions," deceiving fellow humans to believe in such fancies detached from the Right Cultivation. To portray

170 Ibid., 193.
171 Ibid., 149.

this sagacious, if not holy treachery, the fox professes, "Their pursuit leads to birth in the [upper] four realms, as a Fox."[172]

Here, Fox's portrait of human sages has a striking similarity with Marx and Engels' satirical criticism of Saint Max. The saint condemned the "moderns" for creating God out of nothing but, in the eyes of Marx and Engels, never took into account how such religious consciousness was begotten by a given mode of production. In so doing, instead of riding lofty religious ideas of the moderns, Saint Max created even loftier ideas by putting his stomach among the stars. By assuming this god without stomach—the bread and wine—Saint Max became one of the thieves of Heaven. In a similar manner, the sages and Buddhism, in the eyes of Fox, created the delusion of a birth in the upper four realms by completely ignoring the Right Cultivation—the mode of production granted by Heaven's Way.[173]

Just as Marx and Engels attempt to cast a light on the stomach on the ground, Fox at the assembly reveals the "real" foxes in the world of humans. This time, the downward movement was not to simply ridicule, but aimed to acutely depict and perhaps sympathize with the life of *foxes* completely alienated from the Right Cultivation by the World of Law. Following the grotesque realist manner, Fox *progresses* toward its own material bodily lower stratum as the site for the depiction. When Fox takes the floor again before the closing of the assembly, the animal introduces its own habit of devouring

[172] Ibid.
[173] The interpretation of the Right Cultivation as the mode of production comes from my reading of Harry Harootunian's work on the texts by the *kokugaku* scholars, which I will introduce at the end of this section. Also, I'm certainly running a risk of forging too much association here; as Max Stirner attempted to abolish the religious (or idealist) consciousness, while many of the Japanese sages defended their respective religious teachings, there are perhaps differences between Saint Max as Marx's object of criticism and the Sage as Fox's. However, at the same time, to articulate their differences would most likely involve the articulation of the differences (and also identity) between their targeted "religions," or, to borrow an Althusserian term, the effectivities of religion as a semi-autonomous sphere within the respective socio-historical configurations.

mulberries, accompanied by the feeling of nausea, until it loses its own mind. Beginning from the top (the mouth and vomiting), Fox compares this habit with the humans who, without realizing it, “lost themselves in women and drink until they grow ill.” The next depiction then reaches the buttock; as the Fox refers to “foxfire that burns in [the fox’s] tail” against an attack by the wolf, and continues to say:

> In the human World of Law there are people who, when they are driven to desperation by the heavy taxes and tribute squeezed from them by their rulers, set fire to people’s homes and loot them while they’re burning. There are of my ilk.[174]

Instead of the fox, poor peasants became an apparent perpetrator of the fire, while the original cause of this *social transfiguration* was, as expressed by Fox, “the heavy taxes and tribute squeezed from them by their rulers.” Utilizing its own association to the fire in the tail as the material bodily stratum, Fox reveals a glimpse of the *beastly reality* of the impoverished peasants in villages, whose lives were always haunted by the apparitional figure of land—e.g., in the form of heavy taxes—and exacerbated as the emerging monetary economy preyed upon them, forcing them to choose “alternative means” of survival. Ando’s writing demonstrates that the more the economy dominated the country from the eighteenth century on, the more “foxes” emerged whether they were “sages,” “lotus-eaters,” “arsonist-thieves” or even “the fox owner.”

Albeit harboring different manners drawn from respective historical horizons, both Ando and Marx and Engels interrelated the problematic of religious consciousness, *sage* or *spirit*, to the mode of production—the Right Cultivation for the former and “relations of production and intercourse [exchange]” for the latter. Moreover, these satirical geniuses expose the fraudulent trick of the theological-ideological preaching,

[174] Ibid., 161. It is not clear, however, if Fox here is speaking about the fox’s habit of gassing in the “real world” as fire or if he is referring to the fox’s fire (*kitsunebi*) as a common theme in the folklore.

foxy or *holy,* as the alienations occurred within the modes of production—the self-serving law of the human world for Ando, and *spiritfulness without stomach* of the Young Hegelians for Marx and Engels. Just as the stomach as the satirical organ served the two German philosophical parodists in mid-nineteenth century Europe, so the Fox along with other assembly members operated as satirical animals for Ando to conjure the stratifying social reality in mid-eighteenth century Japan. In fact, the arsonist-thieves referred to by Fox allude to the then frequent uprisings organized by farmers/peasants as their resistance against their respective rulers or other fox-owners. Fox transfigured such desperate peasants into its ilk, dragging them down to the realm of animal. Through this downward movement, the satirical animal became the potential site to overturn such unrest, or the hardship felt by its ilk in the World of Law, by restoring the Right Cultivation. In this regard, Ando's satirical philosophy has an inner affinity with the works of nativists.

Original and Other Times of Shrine

Nativism, or so-called *kokugaku*, was the intellectual enterprise that flourished from the mid- to the late-Edo era amidst the intensifying social disparity. Their program was to return to texts written in ancient times, such as *Kojiki* and the aforementioned *Nihon Shoki* that depicts the "origin" of the Mike Gun. From the readings of those texts, *kokugaku* scholars deduced the Way of Antiquity, which dictated the mutual reciprocity between the blessing of creation deities, who had originally produced the land and humans, and the repayment by humans to the divine plan through reproducing the original condition. As Ando saw the separation of the World of Law from Right Cultivation or Living Truth, *kokugaku* scholars also saw that the social disparity unfolding before their eyes was the consequence of the alienation of the ordinary folk from the Way, imposed by foreign doctrines, in particular the Chinese language (ideographs) and Confucianism. As a panacea to the crumbling social order, they called for the return to the Ancient Way, with emphasis on the Japanese language (phonemics) and agricultural work as repayment. By privileging agricultural work as a way of "returning" to the Way, the *kokugaku* discourse was often interpreted as the moralistic supplement to the Tokugawa regime to revitalize their crumbling cosmology under the threat of the market economy. Indeed, many *kokugaku* scholars' intention was to support the existing regime.

Against the grain of such received and self-projected portraits, however, what follows relies on a Harootunian reading of their work, which "produces" what has been suppressed in their texts—that is, the classless society, an "order vastly different from the polity it [nativism] sought to support."[175] In constructing this *other* order, according to Harootunian, the *kokugaku* discourse established a different syntagma wherein its audience can (mis)recognize their new vocation and *real future*.

As part of the strategy for imagining what could be understood as an other individuality, Harootunian shows, Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), a prominent nativist scholar, devised his own cosmology consisting of visible and invisible worlds. The former is the earthly realm where people live and "reality" exists, while the latter is the realm where the creation deities prevail. Most importantly, both realms are contemporaneously contiguous with each other. Albeit unseen, the invisible world governs the visible realm according to divine intention since the times of gods, while the living humans bear full responsibility for the way in which the intention manifests its

[175] Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen,* 17.

effects in the visible realm. In so doing, Hirata's discourse, instead of "returning," retrieved the collective pre-class order of the archaic past from the invisible world, producing what Harootunian theorizes as the "chronotope of collective time," or, as Ando would put it, the time *before human became animal*. Inviting the social-temporal order that was incongruent with the deteriorating yet still dominant class division, Hirata's chronotope—the invisible—offered a kind of wholeness for its audience to collectively work toward the undifferentiated world as in the mode of structural causality.[176]

To construct these new potential collective individuals who are "aware" of divine intention, as Harootunian shows, Hirata "routinized" the Way of Antiquity by associating mundane daily life activities with the continual observance to receive the blessing of the creation deities. In this *cosmologic*, ordinary folks work to acquire necessities as much as they worship the creation deities for originally providing the means of subsistence, such as the land, foodstuffs and shelter—in other words, labor power.[177] The activity that was

[176] This is how I interpreted Harootunian's mobilization of the "structural causality" of Althusser in his reading of the nativist discourse. However, it can be argued that Hirata's cosmological maneuver operated on the "expressive causality," for schemes such as divine intention or the "plan" suggests, however unintended, an original cause, master narrative, or the *telos*, that Althusser denounced through his conceptualization of structural causality. By the same token, Hirata's emphasis on the human responsibility for the divine effects in the visible world can be understood in that both realms are "semi-autonomous" in comprising the social whole—the divine mode of production. It seems that, according to Harootunian's reading, later nativists in rural villages were steeped more in the mode of expressive causality based on the master narrative called "Japan," which resulted in short-circuiting their intellectual enterprise soon after the Meiji Restoration.

[177] Although Harootunian does not use the notion of labor power in his discussion, the blessing of the creation deities in the forms of land, foodstuffs, clothing, shelter and human body, and the human's repayment through the reproduction of the existence through work and worship, connotes a strong kinship with the labor-power and labor relationship. In capitalist society, as I briefly introduced in section I, the labor power is commodified and expressed in a wage form. Capitalism does not function without this labor power commodity. At the same time, labor power is also a capacity of workers, or life-force, that presupposes the human existence that capital does not have immediate access to. Hence, introduced by Gavin Walker in his book, the Japanese economist Uno Kōzo characterizes this contradiction as "the impossibility of commodification of labor power." Capital nevertheless subsumed the impossibility as if it were to exist *inside*. This impossibility—capital's outside—seems to be acutely expressed by the blessing of the creation deities of the invisible realm, which is contemporarily contiguous yet still outside of the earthy realm. The impossibility might have meant the invisibility. See Gavin Walker, *The Sublime*

re-narrativized as such praxis were household duties and the village as the amalgam of the duties whereby the workers/worshippers (mis)recognized the invisible divine plan. Moreover, as shown below, a tutelary shrine of such village then became the focal point for Hirata and later nativists. In the words of Harada Toshiaki, the shrine became the "material expression of the Way of Antiquity."[178]

Upon reaching the countryside, as Harootunian shows, the nativist village was materialized by some rural village chiefs as they found themselves in awkward positions amidst the soaring economic hardship of the mid-Edo era. When the monetary economy extorted the domainal finance, their feudal lords pressured them to extract more tax from their fellow villagers. As entitled village chiefs, they were obliged to do so, but encountered resistance from the villagers. In fact, many uprisings by the impoverished peasants—the ilk of the Fox—in the mid- or late-Edo era were directed against those village leaders. In order to overturn this dilemma, some of those entitled leaders made alliances with the peasant rioters and, based upon the *kokugaku* praxis, "called for a self-sufficient unit, cut off from feudal authority and the world of shrinking benevolence."[179]

For those village-leaders-turned-to-nativists, such as Miyauchi Yoshinaga or Miyahiro Sadao, a village was such an autonomous unit through which to realize the divine intention; and its tutelary shrine was what cemented the village tie as the material threshold to the invisible realm.[180] At the same time, however, the ceremonial events held at tutelary shrines often occurred with the "seating order," as Harootunian claims, that

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Perversion of Capital (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), especially the chapter "Labor Power: Capital's Threshold" (108–151).

[178] Toshiaki Harada, *Jinja Minzokugaku no Tachiba kara Miru* (Shrine: Seen from Folklore Studies) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1961), 168.

[179] Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen,* 229.

[180] As Harootunian introduces, Miyauchi Yoshinaga was a priest, but not a village leader, while Miyahiro was the village chief.

reflected and thus confirmed the social hierarchy of the autonomous village.[181] Hence, in some cases, securing the village bond through the tutelary shrine would have also promised a means by which village chiefs could hold onto their entitled social status, originally endorsed, if not granted by the very authority that they tried to separate from.

Here, the shrine enfolds itself as "a medium by which the system of culture is realized in the order of action," as Marshall Sahlins formulates through his observation on the houses constructed by South Polynesians.[182] The tutelary shrine in the nativist context offered *possibilities* for the order of action (e.g., on the one hand the collective secession from the existing feudal matrix, and on the other hand the maintenance of the "internal" class difference within the autonomous village). As the invisible in the visible, the nativist tutelary shrine thereby would become the chronotope of a tensional collective time in the years leading up to the Meiji Restoration which toppled the Tokugawa regime.

Although Harootunian does not specify what deity was cast in village tutelary shrines by *kokugaku* scholars or practitioners, the growing popularity of the Inari shrine from the mid-Edo era onward can also be attributed to the nativist tendency. Such popularity in fact led Ban Nobutomo, a nativist scholar introduced in section I, to seek the "origin of *ine-nari*" in the Fushimi Inari-taish in the first place.[183] In this regard, while Bathgate focuses on the *nouveau riche*, some original village leaders may have also gained a "blessing" from the Inari shrine to retain their social status; that is to say, their

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[181] Ibid., 245–246.
[182] Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 36.
[183] Nobutomo Ban, "Shirushi no Sugi" in *Ban Nobutomo Zenshu Dai-ni* (Ban Nobutomo Collection, vol. 2) (Tokyo: Kokushokankōkai, 1909), 344–394. Also, Thal points to Hirata's reference, in his work *Tamadasuki,* to Inari as a local deity who is overwhelmed by the might of Konpira Dinagon. Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods*, 116–117.

extant individualities. Moreover, as introduced by Bathgate, an Inari shrine was indeed implicated in the nativist-inspired uprising—the *yonaoshi* (world reform) movement organized by the ordinary folk on the eve of the Meiji Restoration. Amidst this hustle-bustle in the waning final years of the Tokugawa regime, some Inari shrines were targeted by *yonaoshi* rioters, or their kind, as being associated with the monetary wealth that produced social inequality. Or else, in the outskirts of Edo, an Inari was exalted as their own tutelary shrine (*yonaoshi daimyōjin*), perhaps for the realization of the restoration of the unified order, as the deity was linked to agricultural, if not pastoral toil of archaic society.[184] Even though, in retrospect, these attempts did not realize the nativist *absent origin*, the Inari shrines seem to have offered the possibilities of their praxis.

To sum up this long detour around Tōka Mountain, the Inari and the fox continued to complicate their ambiguous polyvalence in the Edo period. As alienated beings, the Inari and the fox "worked" for the owners, Ise merchant or the *nouveau riche* alike, to produce monetary surplus. At the same time, both of them along with the fox's gift—the shit—were turned into satirical substances to acutely depict the monetary relation that was determining their contemporary alienating reality, which appeared, in the discourses of scholars like Ando or Hirata, as the estrangement of human life from the classless mode of production, Right Cultivation or the Way of Antiquity.[185] Moreover, to

[184] At the time of consecration, it is not certain if the Inari deity is enshrined there. Still, it is now called Yonaoshi Inari. Haruji Nishigaki, "Inari Shinkō no Shosō" (Various Inari Worships) in *Inari Shinkō* (Inari Worship) ed. Hiroji Naoe (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1983), 170–171.

[185] Ando and, according to Harootunian's reading, most nativist scholars, did not explicitly state that the "economy" was the source of the alienation. As they try to seek a solution by discursively producing the *other* world but not necessarily by dismantling the economic structure, its relation or history, it can be comparable to the holy operation of Saint Max, who also sought to create the right "egotistic mindset" of the moderns to overcome their objectified ideas—the idea of the state. Hence, as Marx and Engels would have said, Ando and *Kokugaku* Scholars conjured their own holy image and thus their discourses were very much embodiment of the alienating reality. However, Harootunian provides an insightful take on this problematic of the *Kokugaku's* discourse—their detour around history—through Roman Jakobson's

present the undifferentiated world in the dominant social order, the Fox for Ando, and possibly Inari shrines for some nativisits, became the *chronotopes* for their praxis to overturn the existing order.

Semiotic Turn from Tōka to Inari, or Vice Versa

In the Miike-han, the original construction of the Coal Mountain Tutelary Inari Stone Shrine and its reconstruction occurred precisely in these turbulent years for the fox and Inari deity. In fact, the echo of the drive toward the divine plan, that is to say the nativist absent origin, was strongly latent in the osmosis of the Inari worship in the terrain around Tōka Mountain. This latency manifests one of its effects in a semiotic turn which the very name—*tōka*—made in the course of history, at a time when the Inari deity was called upon at Tōka Mountain. Currently, the two Chinese ideographs (*kanji*) for *INARI* (稲荷）are officially used for *tōka*—Tōka Village and Tōka Mountain alike—because, in *on-yomi* (Chinese derived pronunciation), these ideographs read as *TŌKA*. As this combination of Chinese letters is more commonly pronounced as *INARI*, following *kun-yomi* (Japanese reading of Chinese characters), and refer to the Inari deity, the name invokes a strong tie between Inari worship and the terrain around the mountain. However, at the time of Hideyoshi's cadastral surveys when the *tōka* village was given to the Tachibana Naotsugu as a part of the Miike-gun, *tōka* was spelled in the Japanese phonetic

critique of "historical context." Harootunian argues that what those scholars saw instead was a history that "their contemporaries encoded and enplotted," which was as important as, if not more vital than the "real" history, for their discourse to be heard by the ordinary folk who (mis)recognized the former for the latter. The contradiction between their daily life and the plan of creation deities, which the *kokugaku* scholars elucidated from the folk's history, was always-already overdetermined and possibly overdetermining the contradictions in other levels of society, such as economics and politics. Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen*, 226. This insight on overdetermined relation might also be applied to Max Stirner as well. After all, his stomach may not have been as holy as Marx and Engels have criticized.

letters (*hiragana*) as とうか without any reference to Inari worship. Until the mid-Edo period, to say the least, the connection to Inari worship had not been expressed in the name, or the link may have not been there in the first place.[186] Hence, the semiotic encounter between *TŌKA* (*on-yomi*) and *INARI* (*kun-yomi*) or, by extension, the imbrications between Tōka Mountain (land) and the Inari deity (worship) has a history; it was *not given naturally*.

Yet, due to the miraculous relation between the Japanese phonetics of the original name, *tōka*, and the *on-yomi* (thus Chinese) pronunciation of the Chinese ideograms for *inari*, this semiotic turn in effect renders natural the encounter as if it had existed from the very beginning, or else, as if it was always-already "meant to happen." At first glance, the natural encounter appears to dress the Japanese name with the Chinese ideographs (*kanji*) and pronunciations (*on-yomi*). Hence, what is at work in this superscription seems to counter the nativist logocentric appeal to prioritize the Japanese language to account for the Way of Antiquity, thus for the invisible. However, the semiotic turn of the name *tōka* can be read as the symptomatic effect of such nativist current in the following manner. Since the Chinese ideograms (稲荷) had been known by the late Edo era among the general public (or those who could read) to refer to the Inari deity, the encoding of the name (*tōka*) into the ideograms immediately made *visible* what it does not say—as if the sound deity had and *would have* always co-existed with *tōka* in the presence of silence.

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[186] The use of different spellings seems to have continued to be used as late as the early nineteenth century. For example, in the collection of essays written by Takizawa Bakhtin in the Bunsei Period (1818–1831), Tōka was written in the Japanese letters. In Endo's text it's supplemented by the Chinese ideograms in parenthesis. Endō, *Kyushu Keizai-shi Kenkyū,* 143. Also different Chinese ideographs, 十日 (also pronounced "tōka," but meaning "ten days"), were used in the Ishihara Document prepared sometime after the beginning of the eighteenth century. Washirō Sato*, Ishi de Tsuzuru Kyōdo no Rekishi: Ōmuta, Miyama, Yanagawa Arao* (History of Hometowns through Stones: Ōmuta, Miyama, Yanagawa and Arao) (Fukuoka: Mirai Kōkoku Shuppan, 2012), 13.

Within this interpretive mode, the encoded name was the metonymy for the chronotopes of the collective realms, be they *tōka* and *inari*, earthy and divine, seen and unseen, present and archaic-future. As the semiotic turn seems to have occurred in tandem with the growth of coal enterprise at Tōka Mountain, the following subsection will unravel the imbrications to reveal the making of chronotopes within. We shall first begin with its beginning.

3. Carbon Chronotopes

The Origin

On the fifteenth day of the first month in the first year of the Bunmei period—that is, March 7, 1496 in the modern day calendar—an old peasant *Den-jizaemon* and his wife were at Tōka Mountain. They were diligent peasants but were so impoverished that they were not even able to secure firewood. Wandering in the mountain to fetch dead branches, the old couple set fire to dead leaves at the summit. Once they ignited, the rock beneath began to burn, miraculously. Convinced that this burning stone was a gift from God, they prayed to heaven and earth. Upon returning home, they celebrated this blessing with their fellow villagers in Tōka Village. It was the first discovery of coal at the mountain.

So it is said in *The Origin of Coal in the Miike Region in the Chikugo Province* (hereafter, *The Origin of Coal*). This was a document submitted in 1859 to the then head of the Miike-han Tachibana Taneyuki by his vassals at their residence in Edo. As the date of the discovery is the earliest record available, the episode is considered to be the first discovery of coal in Japan. In the document, *Tōka* was already written in the Chinese ideogram, suggesting that the semiotic turn had already happened sometime before. When Taneyuki received the document, the majority of the administrative personnel were still residing in the Shimotode-han in the modern day Fukushima Prefecture due to the change of fief in 1806 imposed on the then domainal chief, Tachibana Tanechika. During the realm of Tanechika before the change of fief, as introduced in the first subsection, the administration engaged in coal production at Tōka Mountain and, as often told, called upon the Inari deity of the mountain, and built the *original* structure of the stone shrine.[187]

While there is no evidence for this claim, what is clear is that Inari worship, its name, began to appear sometime in between these three historical points; the first discovery of coal by *Dan-jizaemon* and his wife in 1469, the Tanechika's administration's involvement in coal production at the end of the eighteenth century, and the narration of the first discovery in 1859. Taking the middle as the turning point at which the regional domain became fully involved in the coal enterprise by appropriating its productive force and establishing relations of production, the rest of chapter will set out four suppositions as to when and why the original Inari shrine was built. Here, the Miike-han administration will be conceived of as regional state power with its internal political-economic arrangement, subsumed under the state power of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In doing so, the analysis below sees the shrines through Althusser's theorization of the state apparatus.

[187] Sato, *Ishi de Tsuzuru*, 140.

Productive Forces and Relations of Production

With regard to the productive forces, especially the means of production, of coal extraction, there had been, roughly speaking, two methods until the end of the Edo era. One is called the drift (横坑) or inclined shaft (斜坑) wherein coal was mined and sorted at the coalface and carried out by miners in baskets on their backs. The other method uses a shaft (竪坑), which was deployed when the coal bed was underneath flat terrain. From the bottom of the vertical shaft, the horizontal drifts were bored underground. Coal was then hoisted up to the surface by ropes. This method began to appear toward the end of the Edo era. In both methods, coal was mined with pickaxes. As soon as either a pit was exhausted of coal or was flooded with water, the operation moved to a newer pit. These methods and corresponding processes persisted in the Miike region throughout the Edo era.

Another crucial part of the productive forces were the agents of production—the coal miner, or their labor power—who actually mined coal with pickaxes in their hands and carried it out to the surface. Until the turn of the seventeenth century, coal was most likely extracted by peasants from nearby villages, like Tōka Village, for their domestic usage (e.g., cooking, bathing, etc.) to supplement the scarce supply of firewood, just as was done by *Den-jizaemon* back in the fifteenth century. However, coal began to be introduced in other production processes, such as kawara tile manufacture, and, as introduced earlier, salt manufacturers, as a means of production from the eighteenth century onward. Accordingly, the purpose of extraction shifted from the solely domestic use to commodity exchange.

Once coal was recognized as a commodity that could bear money, more people were drawn to this enterprise. Until the mid-eighteenth century, those who mined and sold coal remained peasants, especially those who were impoverished—so-called *hinnō* (貧農)—or who became tenant farmers. They toiled in agricultural fields and, during the off-season, mined at Tōka Mountain and sold coal to earn money in coinages to supplement the remaining part of the tax and/or the grand rent, or to simply make ends meet. Though most of them would no longer have access to the sale of coal by the mid-eighteenth century, this type of "part-time" miner continued to exist as an indispensable workforce to extract coal until the late nineteenth century. Another demographic of coal miners was those who were not even able become tenant farmers, completely cut off from any village communities.

Whether part-timers or outcasts, most miners during the Edo era were the "lowly and poor class" of the social ladder determined by the Tokugawa's cosmic order.[188] Depicting the coal mines in the current Chikuhō Region near Miike-han in the Edo era, due to their peculiar social status, there was the saying: "What keep coming are those who are forbidden to be seen, the restless ghosts and miners at a coal mountain."[189] Associated with the realm of ghosts, the miners, or the coal enterprise in general, were thereby considered indecent and undesired. Likewise, the coal miners at Tōka Mountain were seen as, at best, "below-average" farmers. Moreover, mining coal was by no means safe work. As mentioned in the *Novel of Rabbit Garden* (*toen shōsetsu* 兎園小説）, a collection of literary essays written by Edo writer Takizawa Bakin, coal miners at the

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[188] Endo, *Kyushu Keizai-shi Kenkyū,* 138.
[189] Ibid.,156.

mountain died from a cave-in sometime around 1829.[190] Coal mining work thereby had a close proximity to infamy and death—a stigma that haunted coal miners into the early twentieth century, and even after. Occupying the indecent and lowest status, miners shared the social position with the "ilk of the fox" in Ando's *Tales of the World of Law*. Burdened by heavy taxations or debt, some of those *foxes* needed to burn other's houses to loot. Likewise, compelled by market forces, those miners desperately needed to extract coal to make ends meet, despite the harsh working conditions in the unwanted underworld. Deprived of their land and individuality, *foxes* or miners alike were the forbidden fetters of the society.

At the same time, however undesired by public eyes, miners were indispensable fetters as supplier of labor power for the coal production. Indeed, while there were already a hundred miners working at the mountain around 1810, as the demand for coal waxed, the number of miners continued to increase to five hundred by the time when the territories of the *Miike-han* were partially returned to the Tachibana family in 1851. At that point, the division of labor was apparent in the mining process, and the miners were receiving three hundred *mon* (文− one of denomination for copper coin *sen*) in exchange of one day's work. Although it is hard to say whether this was equivalent to the daily-wage under capitalist relations, what it does tell us is that wages existed at Tōka Mountain by the mid-nineteenth century and surplus was extracted from it.[191] This lead to

[190] Quoted by Endo. Ibid., 143.
[191] There was surplus because three hundred *mon* worth of coal that miner produced in a day must have be sold by contractors in higher price to pay business tax for the state revenue and to gain more profit for their own. Still, whether this three hundred *mon* can be considered a daily-wage needs more analysis. Because it was similar to the daily-wage under capitalist society and, as introduced below, the "semi-private" contractors operated the coal enterprise, Endo detected the more "modern" form of relation of production in the Miike-han, whereas such relations of production did not quite exist in other coal regions. In so doing, however, Endo fell in making a "teleological" argument as if all the anterior relations of productions were to culminate to the capitalist relation. If we are to understand how capital

the relations of production, concerning who had command over the labor of miners and who paid the wages.

Until the early eighteenth century, as introduced above, farmers mined and sold coal by themselves. The operation was most likely carried out under the village unit wherein the village chief (*shōya*) was responsible for supervising the mining and sales of coal. As coal was commodified in the course of the eighteenth century, more palpable forms of proprietorship of coal enterprises emerged. While there is a document suggesting that the Miike-han administration may have already begun to engage in the coal enterprise at Tōka Mountain as early as 1738, Nakamura Matsujiro is often portrayed as the one of the earliest, if not the earliest proprietor of such enterprise. As a peasant, he apparently came from the modern-day Saga prefecture to the Miike-han with "an interest of business" (事業趣味) in mind.[192] After learning about the miraculous burning stone that begot money, he began developing coal pits at the mountain sometime in the early 1760s. He sold his farmlands, which he must have purchased from local farmers, in order to invest in his coal business. Selling coal to the *kawara* and salt manufacturers, he was able to make a good fortune. Matsujiro was definitely the ilk of the *nouveau riche*, but one who became rich from coal extracted by his miners.

However, when the officials of Miike-han heard about his coal business, the administration confiscated his coal operation because, according to the eyes of the

operated on its "anterior" relations during the Edo era, what needs to be emphasized instead is a way in which the surplus was produced, and for whom it was produced, through varying wage-forms, rather than arranging the forms in the scale of "linear progression" toward capitalist relation where transitive and expressive causality is at work.

[192] Ōmutashi-shi Shi Henshū Iinkai, *Omuta-shi shi, Jōkan* (The History of Ōmuta City, Vol.1) (Ōmuta City, 1965), 738.

official, “a peasant [like Matsujiro] should not engage in such an enterprise.”[193] Demarcating the social role of peasant, the official of the Miike Han practiced the cosmic and moral order of the Tokugawa Shogunate whereby the social hierarchy was to be reproduced, and transgression of social boundaries were considered blasphemous. According to this cosmological order, Matsujiro as the farmer should not have set his hands on the vulgar business of coal enterprise. After his coal enterprise being taken by the Miike Han, the poor Matsujiro committed suicide by a blow from a sickle upon himself. He died on July 5th, 1766.

This story of Matsujirō was apparently told by word of mouth.[194] Other than the episodic account, there are two graves in the city to transubstantiate his existence. One is called the Grave of Nakamura Matsujiro (中村松次郎の墓). Although the year when it was built is unknown, the grave was first discovered in the cemetery nearby the company housing of the Mitsui Industry in 1908 when the company was “rearranging” (整理中) the graveyard. Initiated by Yoshida Usaburo, a local politician, the grave was relocated to the current location near the *Ryūgoze* town, just northeast of Tōka Mountain, and a new grave was built to properly commemorate the forebear of the coal mining in Ōmuta City.

The other monument is the Tombstone of Matsuzō (*Matsuzo no Kuyōhi*, 松蔵の供養碑), colloquially referred to as *Massan no Haka* (松さんの墓). Although the name, Matsuzō, inscribed on the tombstone is different, it is believed that the tombstone is

[193] Ibid.

[194] The story is included in a collection of interviews with local folks, which Mitsui Kōzan complied for their preparation for writing *Mitsui Kōzan Gojunen-shi Kō* (50 Years History of Mitsui Kozan). See Mitsui Kōzan, *Danwa Choshu Roku* (The Record of Interviews) (n.d. [1942]), 9-12.

dedicated to Matsujirō.[195] Currently standing in the Sōkei Temple in the city, it was originally constructed just west of Tōka Mountain in 1816. According to *the History of Ōmuta City,* as many miners at the mountain then were apparently visited by the ghost of Matsujiro, this grave was designated to pacify his vengeful spirit. Moreover, it was believed that, whoever touched it, the grave would cast a curse on them. Through these two graves which have been entangled in different historical times and spaces, the spectral presence of Matsujiro seems to still exist to this day as a chronotope of the Miike region.

The Tombstone of Matsuzō not only embodies the spectral presence of Matsujirō but also reveals other proprietors who operated the coal enterprise. Inscribed on its right side are the names of *takiishi yama ukeoi gata* (焚石山請負方), the coal contractors, who erected this grave. The miners who were annoyed by the ghost of Matsujiro were working under them. Among those coal contractors written on the surface, Tsukamoto Shigesaburo (or the Tsukamoto family) and Fujimoto Dengo were influential figures, especially with regard to their respective relation to the Miike-han administration—the regional state power.[196] We shall now look at the unfolding of relations from the demise of Matsujiro until the construction of the tombstone in the early nineteenth century.

Soon after confiscating Matsujiro's ownership over the coal enterprise, the Miike-han administration, then headed by Tachibana Tanechika, began to increase its oversight over coal production and appointed Tsukamoto Shichiemon to be in charge of coal production as the official coal contractor. Although there is no record of Shichiemon, the

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[195] To conclude the section on the history of Matsujiro and this particular monument, *the History of Ōmuta City* ends with the following note: "To find out whether or not Matsuzō and Matsujiro are the same person, Massan no Haka will remain to be the unresolved historical issue." Ibid., 739.
[196] On the tombstone, it says Tōka Shisaburo. See Sato, *Ishi de Tsuzuru,* 135.

Tsukamoto family was from Tōka Village, and most likely they were the chiefs (*shōya*) of the village. The Tsukamoto family thereafter served as a coal contractor for the Miike-han until the late Edo era, and became one of the richest of the peasant elite in the domain. During the time of Chūjiro, the grandson of Shichiemon, the family was promoted to the *gōshi* class, an equivalent to a lower samurai class, by the Miike-han administration in 1852.[197] By appointing them as official coal contractors in charge of production and sales of coal, the administration established relations of production so that they made sure to raise the constant revenue from the coal enterprise by the business tax outside of the apparition assigned in the Tokugawa arrangement.

The Ordinance

In 1790, to further regulate preferred relations and production process, the administration formally intervened in the coal enterprise by enacting the Ordinance of Coal Mountain (*Ishiyama Seirei*; hereafter, The Ordinance). The ordinance consists of the following articles:

- *Coal pit should be treated carefully*
  （堀間部念置可致事）
- *The measure of the weight of coal should be exact.*
  （目方ノ数密に可致事）
- *All extracted coal should be kept, and any addition or subtraction should be prohibited.*
  （堀石万数密に可致事　附抜荷スヘカラス候）
- *Travelers or unrelated persons are not allowed in the pit.*
  （間部の内江旅人無用ノモノ入申間敷事）
- *Fighting, quarreling, all those crude deeds should be prohibited.*
  （喧嘩口論万端猥成儀有間敷事）

[197] Shinichiro Noguchi *Tsukamoto Gengo to Chikuhi no Shishi tachi* (Tsukamoto Gengo and Sonnō-joi Loyalist in the Chikuhi Region] (Ōmuta City: Tsukamoto Akira, 1981), 43.

- *Gambling or any small game of chance should be prohibited.*[198]
（賭奕其他小之勝負事タリトモ致間敷事）

The ordinance is the earliest instance where the holder of regional state power, such as the Tachibana family, intervened in coal production through a set of rules, or law. Here, I will pivot on Althusser's notion of state apparatus to analyze the function of the Ordinance.

Law, according to Althusser, is practiced by a state power to maintain its preferred relations of production through repression (i.e., physical violence) and ideologization, or punishment/sanction and the legal/moral ideologies that the people are steeped in without the aid of any enforcement. For example, upon signing a lease, generally speaking, a legal person voluntarily observes the terms without coercions. In a mature capitalist society, repression is carried out predominantly through institutions such as courts, prisons, and police, and those institutions together form a system under the umbrella of the state administration—the system that Althusser calls the Repressive State Apparatus. Idealization is practiced through and within the institutions that are not necessarily under the direct control of the state. Those semi-autonomous institutions include church, school, family and media, wherein the repression is, albeit subsistent, less preponderant. Realized in practices through those institutions is, according to Althusser, the State Ideology. What's more, latent in this process is that an ideology internal to each institution can also emerge as "sub-product"—one that could "make the gears [of the state ideology] grate and grind."[199] Sharing the respective function and potential sub-products with other kindred organizations, those institutions form a system of their own,

198 From Ōki and Shindō, *Watashitachi no Machi*, 131–132.
199 Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (London: Verso, 2014), 88.

such as legal state apparatus and religious state apparatus. Althusser calls the aggregate of all those systems the Ideological State Apparatuses (hereafter, ISAs).

Althusser emphasizes that each apparatus contains both repression and ideologization in varying degrees and synergically serves the relations of production within the dominant mode of production under a given state power. While the repressive state apparatus guarantees the condition under which relations of production (i.e., capitalist exploitation) are carried out, the ISAs reproduce the relations. Practiced through both regimes of state apparatus, according to Althusser, a law is a "function of the relations of production."[200]

To what extent the Ordinance was practiced through such apparatuses is hard to determine, since the distinctions among those apparatuses were less established than in mid-twentieth century France—the context from which and about which Althusser was theorizing. Moreover, most of the "categorical distinction" Althusser uses to define each ideological apparatus, such as legal, religious, political or cultural, was augmented by the capitalist system. So were the legal relations that Althusser uses for his conceptualization. Referring to the French context, therefore, Althusser insists that his readers not mistake legal relations (i.e., private ownership), for relations of production, because in so doing it would identify the product of the underlying system with the system itself. Through the legal ISAs and repressive state apparatus, a law *formally* grants *any individuals* a right to own property insofar as those individuals are subjects of the state. Still, what is at the core of this command is the capitalist exploitation for the further production of surplus. The law, or the right to private property, only catalyzes the exploitive drive as its function.

[200] Ibid., 59. Here, Althusser is referring to Private Law.

By the same token, private property can exist without the presence of legal relations. As Marx and Engels have written, private property (individuality) relies on “the command to have control over people’s labour” and the exchange value of commodities. In the context of the Edo era, there were enough historical presuppositions, including the figure of the state (like the Tokugawa Shogunate and the cadastral survey with its shape-shifting base units) to determine the exchange value of objects, land, store or residence alike. Although some customary laws may have further facilitated the process, there was a sense of private property. Because coal had become a vendible commodity, for example, Nakamura Matsujiro was able to sell his land property and “own” the coal enterprise at Tōka Mountain. Also, that is why he *could lose the ownership* to the regional state power without a palpable form of legal relation. In the historical context of *Miike-han,* thereby, articulating a particular apparatus, or inadvertently identifying the Ordinance with modern-day-legal ideology, runs a risk of merely imposing those categories or institutional units as if they had existed everywhere at any time. Nevertheless, to consider repression and ideologization as the two piers of the exercise of the regional state power to carry out their preferred relations of production is helpful here to understand the function of the ordinance.

Although the ordinance itself did not specify the degrees of charge for violating each article, whoever violated the ordinance would have faced punishment. Most likely punishment took the form of physical violence, since lords like the Tachibana were the warriors after all. As they practiced military might to govern their domains, the entire domain can been seen as a system of Repressive (Military) State Apparatus. That is why the administration managed to confiscate the ownership of coal operations from

Matsujiro in the first place. In this light, each article of the Ordinance seems to crack the whip on the process of coal production, ranging from the maintenance of means of production (coal pit, measure, and count) to the discipline of productive forces (miners) to guarantee the condition based on which the regional state power operated the coal enterprise and extracted the business tax.

From another perspective, each article relies on ideologization as well. That is, the Tokugawa's cosmology exalted the diligent work of peasants in particular and prohibited the accumulation of wealth without such work, with the exception of taxation.[201] This ideological reliance is manifest also in the episode of Matsujiro since, while the administration could simply practice repression to terminate his ownership, they still justified confiscation through propriety of the peasant class. If understood as a measure to ensure the conscience of the coal enterprise, the first three articles of the ordinance were prescriptions that relied on the cosmological scheme of diligent work devoid of artful accumulation.

The other three articles express the Tokugawa's cosmology on the reproduction of its social formation. For example, some of those "travelers" in the fourth article came from other regions or else from different types of mines, such as silver and gold mines, which were known for their rough-natured culture due to a sort of extraterritorial right given to them by the Tokugawa Shōgunate.[202] As many coal miners at the mountain still

[201] In this regard, we might find in the ordinance an influence of the austerity measure expressed in the Kansei Reform initiated by Matsudaira Sadanobu in the late eighteenth century.
[202] The Tokugawa Shogunate officially enacted the ordinance, called *Yamarei 53 Jō* (53 Articles for Mining Mountain), for gold and silver mines in the early seventeenth century, if not slightly before. According to Endo, this ordinance protected mines from outside intervention other than the Tokugawa, due to which those mines became the hideout for unruly individuals. See Endō, *Kyushu Keizai-shi Kenkyū*, 156. As to when this ordinance was established seems to have various views. See Hisayohi Takeda, "Tomoko no Ichikōsatsu: Hokenruijikinō wo Chūshin ni" (A Study on Miner's Guild "Tomoko") in *St. Andrew's University Economic and Business Review*, vol. 35, no. 1, (May, 1993): 40–46. Although this dissertation

engaged in agricultural production, their “contagion” with such extraterritorial cultures needed to be averted. By the same token, the ban of the “unrelated persons” served to separate the coal enterprise from the rest of the regional constituents who were still steeped in the Tokugawa’s cosmology. Abating the unaffiliated persons, travelers or unrelated alike, this article exhibits an attempt to keep the regional social formation aligned with the dominant order based on the agricultural ideal.[203]

Such a repressive-ideological move was necessary perhaps due to the *indecency* latent among the coal miners, or coal production in general, a symptom of which is acutely expressed in the last article, addressed to gambling. Since there must be desperate work or want expended to win the game of money, gambling was nowhere near the ideal of the accumulation of wealth rooted in diligent work. The presence of gambling signals that the power of money seems to have been more “infectious” among miners, suggesting that they were receiving cash in exchange for their labor as early as the late seventeenth century. Even before the time of Nakamura Matsujiro, the peasants who mined and sold coal in the Miike Region had a tendency to “fail to attend to the agricultural toil and fall into luxurious habits” because the profit made out of the sale in cash was “formidable.”[204] Under the oversight of the Miike-han administration, such a monetary habit—the pestilence—needed to be overcome in order to abide by the command of the Tokugawa’s cosmology. In effect, with these repressive and ideological maneuvers, the Ordinance made the coal enterprise appear *inside* the Tokugawa’s arrangement. At the same time,

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does not engage with *Yamarei 53 Jō*, to what extent it had an influence on the Ordinance of Coal Mountain should be studied.

[203] Moreover, employing a consistent workforce makes the operation easier.

[204] Ōmuta-shi Shi Henshu Iinkai. *Ōmuta-shi shi, Jōkan*, 717.

this effort shows how desperately the administration needed the business to ensure extrinsic surplus.

The "surplus," when seen from the perspective of the Miike-han, was the necessity to revitalize its petty domain. To ameliorate the *han*'s social structure, Tanechika was known for providing some forms of relief funds to individuals, men or women, who did not have spouses, or granting incentives to sons with filial piety and wives with high fidelity.[205] Although exactly how Tanechika distributed the coal revenue was unknown, it must have helped to realize such relief measures, assisting the lone individuals and honoring, albeit paternalistically in retrospect, the family unit as the indispensable base—if not the potential productive force—to sustain and reproduce the domainal social structure. From the standpoint of the Miike-han administration, although the Ordinance had a dressing of the Tokugawa's ideologization of the diligent work to naturalize coal production, it also internalized the "domainal interest" as the sub-product of idealization to consolidate the regional social formation. Despite its effort to fuel the domainal economy, however, the administration soon lost its control over the coal enterprise because of the change of fief in 1806. As introduced in the first section, the apparitional figures of land and the extrinsic surplus of coal were handed to the Hida-daikan that operated directly under the Tokugawa regime. Yet, a decade after the change of fief, the Miike-han was passed to the administration of Yanagawa-han, the relative of the Tachibana family. The political arrangement of the region was in flux during the early nineteenth century.

[205] Noguchi, *Tsukamoto Gengo*, 8. This relief could also be considered part of "wage-form."

Charbon Riche and Their Demise

Emerging from these turbulent years was Fujimoto Gengo, the first person inscribed among the names of contractors on the Tombstone of Matsuzō. Upon negotiating with the Hida-daikan, he dominated the coal operation at Tōka Mountain and paid the business tax to the tentative holder of regional state power.[206] Thereafter, the Fujimoto family as the principal coal contractor at the mountain managed the coal operation. When the region was passed to the Yanagawa-han administration from Hida-daikan in 1816, the Fujimoto, along with the Tsukamoto and other coal contractors, built the Tombstone of Matsuzo. Beside the indication of Matsuzo inscribed on the front surface is the celebration of the coal enterprise, characterized as "the benefit of domainal population" (*kokumin no rieki*).[207] Hence, though it is not clear to what extent the Fujimori Dengo, and other contractors, abided by the relation of production established by the Ordinance, the inscription suggests that coal production, under the dominance of the Fujimoto, continued to serve the pillar of "domainal interest." Before making the first three suppositions on the original consecration of Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine, let's move forward slightly further to the time when the Miike-han was partially returned to the Tachibana family in 1851.

Thanks to the blessing of coal, Fujimoto Dengo made a fortune and built a large residence for his family, even one for his mistress. His son, also named Dengo, succeeded his father's coal operation and further expanded the enterprise. During their time, as

[206] Ibid., 38–39. Although the Tsukamoto family seems to have retained some operation, it was largely the monopoly of the Fujimoro. While the Tsukamoto operated for five days, the Fujimoto operated the rest of the month. The amount was, according to the document Chihō Enzetsu Sho (地方演説書) for the transfer of duties from Hida-daikan to the Yanagawa-han, twenty three *kan* and eight hundred *me*, in silver. Shindō Toyō, *Saigo no Miike-han shu,* 22.
[207] Ōmuta-shi Shi Henshū Iinkai. *Ōmuta-shi shi, Jōkan*, 739.

noted above, the number of miners increased from one hundred to five hundred, provided with three hundred *mon* as a daily wage, or again its equivalent, by the middle of the nineteenth century. After the death of Dengo the second, a stone lantern was built in 1849 to commemorate his accomplishment. Engraved on the surface are numerous persons who dedicated the lantern to him, including villagers across the Miike Han, coal wholesalers, and boatmen who shipped out coal to the salt manufacturers in the Setouchi Region. Hence, the lantern indicates how influential the Fujimoto family and coal enterprise were among not only the population but also those involved in the circulation and distribution of coal during the first half of the nineteenth century.

However, his son, also named Dengo, was not able to follow his father's success. In 1851 when the Miike-han was partially returned to the Tachibana family, the administration immediately put the coal enterprise back under their direct control and confiscated ownership of coal enterprise from the Fujimoto family. Moreover, as the gate of their residence was considered to be "inappropriate" for their social rank, the administration ordered the family not only to dismantle it but also to rebuild it at the family's expense as the gate for *Anshō-ji*—the temple where the administration personnel was provisionally residing as their base upon the partial return of their original territory.[208] The poor Dengo the third tried to maintain his coal operation and, with the boatmen who had worked for him, even offered to provide the total 1500 *ryō* (両 a denomination of gold coin) worth of monetary contribution to the administration. However, the request was rejected and soon after he found the family finances in dire

[208] Referring specifically to the Tokugawa's regulation on the gate of *daimyō* residence in Edo, Coaldrake shows how the Tokugawa polity used the gate as "the most publicly visible part" to aesthetically hammer out a sense of social norm (e.g., propriety appropriate to each class). See *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, Chapter 8. The Miike-han administration seems to have deployed this architectural strategy.

straits, borrowing money on the security of the warehouse (*kura*) within their residential compound, because they could not even pay the mandatory rice-tax, let alone the business tax.[209] Resonating with the case of Nakamura Matsujiro a century earlier, the ownership of the Fujimoto family was gone, but the coal production at Tōka Mountain marched on. As soon as the domain was partially returned, the Miike-han administration reappointed the Tsukamoto family, who also had a grand residence in the region, as the principal coal contractor at the mountain.[210]

Three Suppositions

Thus far, there are, at least, three possible moments when the Inari deity was enshrined for coal production at Tōka Mountain and the original stone shrine was built. The first moment is when Nakamura Matsujiro began his coal operation in the mid-eighteenth century. The second is when the Miike-han administration began fully engaging in the coal enterprise around the time when they appointed Tsukamoto Shichiemon as the official contractor and enacted the Ordinance. The third is when Fujimoto Dengo dominated the operation at Tōka Mountain in the early nineteenth century. Among them, the first and third possibilities resonate with the episodes of *nouveau riche* or the fox-owner who had built the Inari shrine to naturalize their wealth within given social configurations. Whether Nakamura or Fujimoto was indeed accused as fox-owners is unknown, but both of them were definitely newcomers to the Tōka area and made wealth out of coal production. In order to make their wealth appear as if contained within the existing social formation, be it village, domain or Tokugawa society at large, they would

[209] Shindō, *Saigo no Miike-han shu,* 28.
[210] Noguchi, *Tsukamoto Gengo*, 39.

have emphasized the agricultural attribute of the Inari deity. Directly or indirectly, therefore, Tokugawa's ideologization of diligent work would have been at work in the enshrinement, had they indeed built the original structure.

The second supposition—that the *Miike-han* administration enshrined the Inari—would have been a more obvious example of the shrine as the ISA. Yet, because of the domainal state directly involved in this apotheosis, the boundary between repression and ideologization was not clearly defined, as the Ordinance internalized both exercises of the state power. Likewise, as the Ordinance should not be reduced to the *mere* legal framework, the Inari shrine should not be deemed as *mere* ISA or state apparatus, which "externally" guaranteed and reproduced relations of production—the relations that are, according to Althusser, built upon the "material labor process." Instead, the shrine was very much part of the process, because the worship (orthoprax) and work are imbricated through the objectification (labor): the intertwined relation that, as Harootunian shows, the nativists like Hirata had already detected in the late eighteenth century. As a matter of fact, Althusser himself insinuates the structural entanglements of the labor process with ISAs and, to an extent, the repressive state apparatus, when he emphasizes that ISAs ensure the reproduction of the relations of production [base] "*in* the functioning of the relation of production themselves."[211] Suggested here are the imbrications between the presence of the state apparatus and the site of the material labor process.[212]

To further elucidate the obvolution of the work and worship, Althusser's notion of "material ritual" inherent in the practices of ISAs is particularly helpful. He proclaims

[211] Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism*, 201.
[212] In this regards, Althusser seems to remain faithful to the "semi-autonomous" regions, such as economy, politics, morality, and culture, of the social totality, which he had conceptualized in *Reading Capital*. As each ISA belongs to the respective semi-autonomous regions, their existences are also semi-autonomous and, as I interpreted, so is the place of production.

that Christian religious ideology—the worship of God—resides in a series of acts by its "subjects," including but not limited to, attending mass, knelling, making the sign of the cross, confession, and so on. All of these acts, which he characterizes as material rituals, take place in an (equally material) ISA; that is to say, the church as an edifice or institution. Instead of existing "prior" to such sacred acts or place making, the ideology is *in them* and thus has materiality.[213] Although Althusser does not specify "work" as part of this ideological material ritual, or vice versa, there are allusions to such imbrications. In order to make workers work, besides the internal repressive apparatus (e.g., factory directors), Althusser writes, there is "the interplay of the effects of the various ideologies [e.g., the legal-moral ideology]" that inculcates workers with, for example, "a conscious sense of 'professional pride' in work well done."[214] On one level, this statement illustrates the presence of a state apparatus, ideological and repressive to some degree, *within* the labor process. On a different level, it could also be interpreted that "the interplay" of the ideological effects are *immanent* in the very act of work. In this reading, therefore, the ritual and labor processes together perform the materiality of ideology. From this shared calling, the imbrications of both practices could be posited as follows: there is material ritual in the place of production as much as there is material labor in the practice of ISAs or any state apparatuses, such as the original Inari shrine at Tōka Mountain.

Seen as the material state apparatus in this sense, not only would the construction of the shrine have magnified the agricultural work of the Inari worship to "internalize"

[213] In this sense, ideology (god) is the absence of cause: As Ichida Yoshihiko shows through his reading of Althusser, instead of the god causing the rituals (effects), the ritual produces the cause and also the subjection. Ichida, *Louis Althusser: Yukuefumeisha no Tetsugaku* (Louis Althusser: Philosophy of a Missing Person) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 2018), 168–171.
[214] Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism*, 203.

the production of extrinsic surplus within the Tokugawa cosmic order. Additionally, the enshrinement would have legitimized the appointment of the Tsukamoto family—the local peasant elite from Tōka Village—as a coal contractor. The work of worship would have made their newly appointed vocation appear as the natural extension of the agricultural work of their native village community. The domainal interests as "sub-product," which could counter the Tokugawa order, was perhaps also latent in this material state apparatus, as we have already seen a glimpse of it in the Ordinance or Tombstone of Matsuzo. The antagonistic sub-product will be more present in the fourth supposition. Before turning to it, the following will briefly introduce the further unfolding of the coal enterprise at Tōka Mountain from the demise of the Fujimoto to the construction of the Tōka Shrine in 1864.

Toward Reconstruction

Just as for Tanechika's administration a half-century prior, coal production remained the vital revenue source for the governing body of Taneyuki when the Miike-han was partially returned in 1851. During the change of fief, while the Fujimoto became wealthy enough to build the "ill-suited" residential gate, the majority of the population, both in the Miike-han and Shimotedo-han, endured economic hardship under the shape-shifting apparitional figure. Under the dictates of the market economy, various circumstances, such as a fall in price of rice or crop failures, made it extremely difficult for them to purchase a means of subsistence. The privation seems to have been felt in all walks of life, including the samurai class—as expressed in a letter sent by vassals who had stayed in the Miike-han to the Yanagawa-han administration then governing the domain as a proxy. In the letter, the vassals asked for a loan because some of them were suffering from starvation. In the Shimotedo-han also, with lesser productive forces of land and without coal revenue, the Tachibana family was facing a serious financial deficit and requested that the Tokugawa Shogunate postpone their alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai*) for a few months. Given such a financial burden inflicted upon the domainal subjects, reclaiming the coal enterprise was almost a life-and-death situation for the governing body when the territory was partially returned to them.

Especially after the arrival of Commodore Perry and the subsequent opening of Japanese ports in 1854, the primary use of coal shifted from fueling the salt manufacture to foreign steamships and also reverberatory furnaces operated under the Tokugawa Shogunate. Leveraging the expanding use-value of coal, the Miike-han administration managed to cancel the burden of deficit financing they had carried over from the Shimotedo-han. In 1859, per Tanechika's request, *The Origin of Coal*—the document that narrated the episode of *Den-jizaemon*—was submitted to him. The following year, his administration established a coal exchange (*hama kaisho*) to determine the shipping charge as well as the reward (*dachin*) for those involved in the coal enterprise, fully engaging in the production process without the aid of coal contractors.

1861 saw the reconstruction of the stone Inari shrine, the Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine. On its surface, besides the self-referential names, the managerial positions of the coal enterprise were inscribed—those include, from the top, Taneyuki as the lord (*taishu*), followed by head retainers (*rōshin*), magistrates (*bugyō*), inspector (*metsuke*), supervisor (*tōyaku*), sub-supervisor (*shitayaku*), stewards (*tedai*) and subordinates (tōdori). Each position is followed by names of assigned persons. Three years after the reconstruction, the Tōka Shrine was built on the current location at the foot of Tōka

Mountain. This time, the managerial positions with changes in assigned personnel were inked on the front face of the ridgepole, made of rectangular Japanese cedar lumber, running along the gable roof of the shrine. As the divisions of labor written on the sacred body and head, both shrines "worked" as the *mnemonic* state apparatuses to determine, guarantee and reproduce the relation of production, to return to Althusser, *"in* the functioning of the relation." Moreover, given that the original and more productive territory had been returned after a few decades of hardship, the administration most likely needed to be even more cautious about how they managed extrinsic surpluses of the coal enterprise within the, however weakening, Tokugawa's cosmic order. With the re-enshrinements of the Inari deity, therefore, the reproduction process must have been mediated again by the agricultural work of the deity for the business to appear contained within the extant order. Whether such a maneuver bore fruit is uncertain, but Taneyuki was promoted to higher ranked positions within the Tokugawa administration from 1863 until the Meiji Restoration.

The Fourth Supposition

The labor of Inari worship in this historical context may have invoked more than mere deference to the Tokugawa cosmic arrangement, which led to the fourth supposition. The fourth supposition is that the original shrine was "built" during the course of events—the narration of Dan-jizaemon in 1859, the reconstruction of the stone shrine in 1861 and the building of the Tōka Shrine in 1864—when linked with the rise of the anti-Tokugawa political current, the so-called *sonnō-jōi* movement. This is not to say that this negates altogether the scenarios formulated in the previous suppositions; those are necessary as the "absence of cause(s)" for this supposition.

Amidst the aftermath of the opening of ports, a group of samurai from various domains, largely led by the Chōshu-han, converged in the movement to topple the Tokugawa regime. Inspired by the nativist as well as the Mito school discourses, the *sonnō-jōi* activists sought to re-institutionalize the emperor to the throne (*sonnō*) and to eliminate foreign powers (*jōi*) from the national soil. In so doing , it aimed at the restoration of the unified order, immune from what appeared to be the crumbling political arrangement of their time. The assassination of Ii Naosuke, who was the highest ranked official under the shogunate, by the Mito-han and Satsuma-han activists in 1860 further radicalized the movement. What came after was, as Harootunian calls it, a "season of coups" by the activists; and "between 1861 and 1864 one followed another with drum-roll regularity,"[215] hence coinciding with the *construction of the original inari shrine* at Tōka Mountain.

Enduring the hardship during the change of fief and after, the Miike-han also felt the heat of the movement, the symptom of which was manifested in managerial orders written for the two shrines. On the stone shrine, under the inspector (metsuke) and supervisor (*tōyaku*) are inscribed Yoshimura Haruaki and Mori Taijiro respectively, and on the Tōka Shrine under the sub-supervisor (*shitayaku*) is Tsukamoto Gengo, then head of the Tsukamoto family. Those three figures were the *sonnō-jōi* activists of the Miike-han, whose comradeship dates back to the late 1850s, if not earlier. In July 1859 amidst the growing *sonnō-jōi* current, three of them made a trip to Edo along with two other han's activists. Although the details of the trip are unknown, given the timing, it is most

[215] Harry Harootunian, *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 280.

likely that they submitted *The Origin of Coal* to the lord Taneyuki during this trip.[216] Hence, albeit upon the request of Taneyuki, the first discovery of coal was "narrated" by the activists.

Among them, Tsukamoto Gengo was the central figure of the movement. Upon the partial return of the territory in 1851, while the domainal head Taneyuki, some of his vassals in Edo and those remaining in the Shimotedo-han sided with the pro-shogunate faction, the vassals who were residing in the Miike-han joined in the *sonnō-jōi* current because of Gengo. Splitting the domainal population into two ideological camps or "social spaces," he created what Harootunian terms "secession" among them.[217] Collaborating with like-minded loyalists from the neighboring domains, his activism was especially indebted to the work of Maki Izumi, a Shinto priest-turned-radical activist from the Kurume-han, just north of the Miike-han. Gengo first met Maki in 1862 at his residence in the Kurume-han but must have known him prior to the encounter, as his reputation as the *sonnō-jōi* activist had grown by then.

Maki was described by Harootunian as "the maddest" of all *sonnō-jōi* radicals.[218] Steeped in earlier nativist discourses of figures like Hirata, Maki saw the emperor as the true emissary of creation deities, or "the manifest deity" in the visible realm. On the national scale, the retrieval of the unified order for Maki was the restoration of the imperial lineage as the supreme political authority. At the local level, echoing the

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[216] This claim is based upon the fact that, according to Ōki and Shindō , the document was prepared by Sakisaka Rosaku, also a *sonnō-jōi* loyalist, and a person named Mori Sashiba (森左司馬), and they left for Edo in July, 1859. And, I'm assuming that Mori Sashiba and Mori Taijiro (森泰次郎) is the same person, because the former seems to be the official name used at administrative events. For the information on Sakisaka, see Tsunehisa Kojima, "Sakisaka Itsurō: Sonohito to Gyōseki" (Sakisaka Itsurō: The Person and his Accomplishments) in *The Journal of Ohara Institute for Social Research, Special Issue*, no. 513 (August 2001): 2.
[217] Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen*, 223.
[218] Harootunian, *Toward Restoration*, 248.

nativists, Maki saw a village to be reconstituted as an autonomous community operating as a metonymic part of the imperial whole. The focal site was the tutelary shrine. All the life activities of the village would take place at the shrine as the routinized practice, or work, to repay the blessing granted by the original deities, through the course of which the villagers would (mis)regonize the original divine plan and would act toward it. Maki characterized this system as "one village, one shrine,"[219] part of the "han reform" laid out in a document he had written in 1862.

Concerning the Inari shrines in Tōka Mountain, there is no "evidence" proving whether or not they were built based upon the Maki's reform plan, especially since the styles of both shrines do not meet the criteria specified by Maki in the document.[220] Still, that Fujimoto and his comrades in the Miike-han were indebted to Maki's activism suggests that they must have been familiar with his proposal. Although written in 1862—one year after the "(re)construction" of the stone Inari—the system of "one village, one shrine" must have been formulated before then, for Maki had studied nativist texts and he was, after all, a Shintō priest. Also from around 1862, as Takenaka shows, shrines were consecrated to deify the martyr (both historical and contemporary) who fought for the imperial family, and this trend was initiated by Miki himself.[221] Moreover, 1864—when the Tōka Shrine was built—was the year of Maki's *sonnō-jōi* activism. At the beginning of the year, Maki attended the enthronement ceremony of the Kōmei Emperor, who publicly denounced the Tokugawa's open port policy, and witnessed the "awe and

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[219] Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen*, 384.
[220] Maki writes that the shrine should follow *Shinmei Zukuri*, the exemplar of which is the Ise Shrine. He even specifies the size of the shrine. "The main shrine should be kept small, around 2 *ken* width and 1 *ken* depth." Or, when built for a bigger village, he specified the width to be 6 *ken* and depth to be 2 *ken*. Izumi Maki, *Maki Izumi no Kami Ibun* (Tokyo: Kenshōka, 1913), 149. While the stone shrine does fit in the size restriction, the Tōka Shrine does not. Yet, it is not clear if the current structure is what was built at the time of reconstruction.
[221] Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine*, 31–36.

wonder" of the emperor, coming to a conviction that "the virtue of the Sen-o [archetypal sages] has not yet been lost in the land."[222] A few months later, Maki was involved in the *Kimon-no-hen*, the rebellion led by Chōshū activists, which unfolded in Kyoto and was eventually suppressed by the pro-Tokugawa force; soon after he took his own life for the failed attempt of the coup. A few months before, in July, Tsukamoto Gengo also fought as an expulsionist in the Shimonoseki Campaign fought between Chōshū-han and the foreign joint naval forces, and he lost one of his comrades. Eighteen sixty-four was indeed a charged year and, built on December twenty-fourth of the same year, the construction of the Tōka Shrine marked its end.[223]

According to the explanation board in the current precept, the shrine was built because "the whole villagers [of Tōka Village] begged the lord to build it as *their faith were then deepening*" (里人の信仰愈々厚く).[224] Although we do not exactly know the reason for their spiritual awakening, since all villagers then must have been under the leadership of Tsukamoto Gengo, their deepening faith could have possible links to the osmosis of the *sonnō-jōi* doctrine among them. Coinciding with the rise, climax and death of Maki's activism and its potential influence over the local folk through Gengo, the (re)constructions of the shrine came almost too timely to operate *completely outside* of the Maki's reform program. The shrines, including the "original," thus should be analyzed in relation to the program, for which the names of activists *written* on the structures serve as traces of the very possibility of the relation.

222 Harootunian, *Toward Restoration*, 287.
223 The explanation board only says the shrine was constructed in December fourth of the first year of Genchi (1854), but whether the date is based on the lunar calendar is not clear from the board.
224 Emphasis is mine.

When seen through the trace of this possibility, the shrines were metonymic sites through which to render "autonomous" the Tōka Village in order to achieve the plot of the *sonnō-jōi* movement, the toppling of the Tokugawa regime and the expulsion of the foreign power. Far from being the accomplice to the Tokugawa cosmic arrangement as its state apparatus, the shrines contained a different order—the work of worship—that could make the arrangement "grate and grind," to return to Althusser's characterization of ideological "sub-product." Chronologically speaking, this drive toward the *sonnō-jōi* ideal may have been more pronounced when the Tōka Shrine was built than when the stone shrine was built three years prior, since the former happened during the aftermath of Maki's death, and the name of Gengo, the leader figure of Tōka Village and the loyalist in the domain, was traced on its ridgepole. However, the stone shrine also produces a symptomatic effect of the *sonnō-joi* movement through the names of other activists. Situated in the unfolding of the *sonnō-jōi* movement, however, the word "reconstruction" could mean less the rebuilding of an original shrine than the retrieval of a unified order, which may have existed in the archaic past and have remained in the invisible realm as the absent origin. Hence, the silence of *inari* immanent in *tōka* was ingrained in the effect.

Cause that Never Came

History shows, however, that the absent origin never appeared. Though overthrowing the Tokugawa's political arrangement and putting the emperor back in the throne, the Meiji Restoration was a mere reshuffling of the arrangement, with the foreign relation (or trade deal) remaining intact. Here we find a profound "change," for the restoration gave birth to the modern nation-state called Japan. Though nationalism may have always been latent, returning to Harootunian's reading, the nativist restoration was the retrieval of the classless "agricultural arcadia" that existed prior to the introduction of foreign language and sages. In this way, rather than programming a particular political action, their pursuit was to establish a site that would enable the folk to imagine the possibility of such action. In so doing, the nativist engagement with the world unseen was to make the detour around the political question—the move that Harootunian theorized as the withdrawal from the center. where politics and history occurred at the periphery outside the central-historical time. However, once installed in the countryside through *sonnō-jōi* activists and eventually appropriated by the protagonists of the Meiji Restoration, the nativist periphery—the chronotope of the invisible—was implicated in the center. The theory of action by the early nativists was identified, Harootunian claims, with the "grammar of actions" that programmed the *sonnō-jōi* uprisings in the early 1860s as if these were the necessary steps, the "rehearsals" for the main act, the Meiji Restoration. Retroactively exalted as the *telos* of the uprisings, the Meiji Restoration replaced the nativist absent origin with the national-political expressive causality.

Through his writing, according to Harootunian, Maki was also the accomplice of the grammatization, a tendency which was nuanced in Miki's han reform plan. In it, although the nativist intended to produce the possibility of retrieving the pre-class society and, consequently perhaps, inalienable land, Maki fell short on laying out a concrete plan to exorcise the reality of a differentiating and alienating drive. Unlike the early nativist, Maki's metonymic part did not abandon the village hierarchy whereby a Shintō priest, like himself, would take a leadership position. Nor did his "part" reject the existing social structure for at least the purpose of restoration, insofar as the emperor could stand in for the whole.[225] Hence, his *sonnō-jōi* program would have guaranteed the extant regional class hierarchy, and the shrine (and its events) would have reproduced it, or else even exalted his social status among other villagers. Moreover, he considered "a land survey and an equitable distribution of fields" to be a means to empower peasants as the potential *sonnō-jōi* militant force.[226] His vision for land distribution and new peasant individualities, however *equitable*, relied upon the apparitional figure of land that, with the trickery units measured, produced the surplus and alienable landed property. As much as his plan may have been too radical for that time, it was equally too "scripted" into the historical reality of apparitions.

Such a contradiction can also be heard in *The Origin of Coal*, narrated by the activists in 1859. To repeat, *Den-jizaemon* and his wife found the august rock on the fifteenth day of the first month, in the first year of the Bunmei period. This date and year follow the old lunar calendar, which was commonly used until the end of the Edo era. The fifteenth day of the first month is the final day of the new year in the old calendar, celebrated annually as the First Full Moon Festival (*koshōgatsu*) for a good harvest. Following the calendar of Twelve Branches, the first year of the Bunmei period (1469) is, as indicated in the document, the year of the ox (丑). The ox has historically been the principal animal laborer for agricultural production, perhaps because of which the animal has been associated with the "fertility of earth" and the god of water.[227] This fact can be further corroborated by the following confession made by the Ox at the animal assembly in Ando's tale: "We Oxen are born of the energy of the water used in human home. We

[225] See Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen*, 385 and also Harootunian, *Toward Restoration,* 312.
[226] Harootunian *Toward Restoration*, 312.
[227] Teiri Nakamura, *Nihon Minzoku Shi* (A Book on Japanese Folklore) (Tokyo: Kaimei-sha, 1987), 74.

carry heavy burdens, plow the fields, and assist with Right Cultivation."[228] As a matter of fact, in the sexagna cycle—the combination of heavenly stems with Twelve Branches—the first year of the Bunmei period was the *Tsuchinoto-Ushi* (己丑)—that is, earth and ox, the combination that comes every 60 years. In *'inyō-gogyō* philosophy, which was also widely practiced during the Edo era, this pair both belong to the realm of earth and *'in* (yin), together enriching the earthy spirit. Hence, concatenated through earth, ox, and good harvest by various calendars—thus temporalities—the year and day of the first discovery were highly charged with agricultural times.

Despite being the product of earth, coal (i.e., sedimented plants) that the old couple discovered has a use-value quite different from agricultural products such as rice. For example, the ox may have carried a sack for coal in the Edo era, and the animal did not have to "plow the fields" for it. Or, to put it more crudely, coal was not edible. The property of this august sedimented rock thereby seems incompatible with the agrarian arcadia that *sonnō-jōi* activists, like Maki, envisaged in the mid-nineteenth century. Still, *written* in the two Inari shrines—the tutelary for the coal enterprise—the activists in the Miike-han relied on the blessing of coal to revitalize their otherwise petty regional social structure and to realize, if they had indeed envisioned it, the as-yet-unseen autonomous village of such an arcadia.

As the use-value of coal was expanded amidst the growing international market, the profit that coal brought inevitably entailed *otherness*, such as the fuel for the foreign steamships that, however symbolically, the *sonnō-jōi* activists sought to rid the imperial Japan of, and also the labor of miners who actually extracted coal with their hands. In this

[228] Yasunaga, ed, *Ando Shoek*, 142.

regard, the *sonnō-jōi* activists built their *village* upon this alterity (i.e., the exchange value of coal, or of the labor-power of miners). Narrated during this accelerated alienation process of coal, *The Origin of Coal* must have had an effect of producing a different temporality, the august rock stripped of the exchange value and imbued with agricultural times. Yet again, history shows that coal did not realize the autonomous agrarian village. Between the first coal harvest by *Den-jizaemon* in the mid-fifteenth century and the estrangement of coal in the mid-nineteenth century, the differential effect may have been too strong for the realization. Or else, the first discovery of the coal at Tōka Mountain—its grammar—was an almost *too-good-to-be-true* chronotopic blessing, like the fox's gift, from the "beginning."

Epilogue

This dissertation focused on two encounters: the first encounter took place between the commerce of the Mitsui family and the Fox-Inari worship, and the second between the coal production of the Miike-han (or its constituents) and the worship. The former was objectified by the Mimeguri Shrine, and the latter by the Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine and the Tōka Shrine. Those shrines were analyzed, following Althusser, as the sites in which the relatively autonomous levels were imbricated. Those levels—including economy, folk-religion, architecture and politics to some degree—determined and subsumed each other, making the respective twists and (re)turns. Entangled in the imbricaitons were the anachronistic causality: the consecration of those shrines, as the *effects,* produced the "[agricultural] labor" of the Inari worship as the *original cause* for the monetary surpluses begotten in the Mitsui's commercial enterprise and the Miike-han's coal business. Such "after causes" naturalized the surpluses that were otherwise contradictory to the rice-based economy idealized by the Tokugawa establishment. The presence of those shrines, *in effect*, was the metonymy of the contradictions orchestrated by the market force, and reproduced the social structure of the establishment. In the case of Miike-hand, the Coal Mountain Tutelary Shrine and the Tōka Shrine as the apparatus of the *sonnō-joi* movement revealed, rather than naturalized, such contradictions.

Occurring respectively in Edo in the early seventeenth century and in the Miike-han sometime in the same century, if not after, two encounters are separated in space and time. Still, with the two sections, this dissertation sought to read them as being the concatenated events of the growing market force that stratified the society, wherein some gained wealth, properties or individualities, while many lost theirs. Moreover, the symptomatic link between the encounters were suggested by the Fox-Inari worship, or by the presence of the unseen deity. The objectification of the encounter among the protagonists—the Mitsui family, the Miike region, the deity and fox—needed to wait for a few years after the consecration of Tōka Shrine in the Miike-han. As the very last detour, the rest of this section sketches out the course of this materialization by way of pointing to the potential direction that the current research can be headed to.

The Sketch

Since the official consecration as the Shōichii status Inari shrine in 1716, the Mimeguri Shrine remained as the guardian shrine of the Mitsui family. Financed by the family, a few expositions of the main shrine, known as *kaichō* (開帳), were held at the shrine, attracting townspeople from across the Sumida River and in effect, bringing customers to the shops around the compound.[229] Throughout the rest of the Edo era, the shrine remained as one of the most popular Inari shrines in Edo. Likewise, notwithstanding several ups and downs, the Mitsui family expanded their commercial enterprise. Navigating through the turbulent last years of the Edo era leading up to the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the family sided with the anti-Tokugawa faction by, for example, collecting necessary funds—in the forms of metallic coins or rice—to topple the Tokugawa establishment. Upon the Meiji Restoration, the family launched Mitsui-gumi, appointed by the new government to be in change of exchanging the old coins from the Edo era to the new coins issued by the Meiji state.

[229] Wakasugi, "Formation and Development." Although I have focused on the initial encounter between the shrine and the Mitsui family, the role of *kaichō* is important to discern the "causality" of the Mimeguri Shrine.

In return for their contribution, the government granted the Mitsui family an imperial gift in 1871. It was a land property in the flat area across the Nihonbashi River from the Nihonbashi area where the Mitsui's stores, such as Echigoya, were nestled. This area was originally reclaimed from the sea by the Tokugawa administration as the strategic site for trade and defense, and the *daimyō* residence as well as a row of warehouses had stood there during the Edo era. Upon those *daimyōs* returning their land property to the Meiji state, the land ownership of the area was distributed among a few merchants: apart from the Mitsui family, included were the Ono family and Shimada family. The area was later named Kabuto-chō. The plot of land given to the Mitsui family was located on the southeastern portion of the area by the Kaiun Bridge crossing the Kaede River, which merged into the Nihonbashi River on the north. There, the Mitsui family planed to build the head office for their enterprise in Tokyo, with the interest of opening what would be the first bank in Japan. In 1871, the construction of the building began.

In the same year, a small Inari shrine—the so-called Kabuto Shrine—was consecrated on the north edge of Kabuto-chō facing the Nihonbashi River, at the midpoint between the Edogawa Bridge on the west and the Yoroi Bridge on the east. Apparently, prior to the consecration, there had been two sacred sites in the proximity of the shrine precinct. One was Yoroi Inari (Armor Inari), which, according to a legend, had originally been dedicated to Taira no Masakado, a warrior from the tenth century, and the shrine had been worshiped by the local fishing community in the Edo era. The other was a mound called Kabuto Zuka (Mound of Warrior's Helmet), which had deified Minamoto no Yoshiie, also a warlord from the eleventh century who was the ancestral figure of Minamoto no Yoritomo, who had initiated the long reign of the warrior in the late twelfth century. Combining those sites, both of which were related to those forerunners of the then bygone warrior class, the Kabuto Srhine came into existence.

Meanwhile, the building for the Mitsui's headquarters was completed in 1872. Consisting of a Japanese castle tower-like structure sitting on the two-stories "Western style" base articulated by a row of columns with a set-back balcony on the second floor, the building is emblematic of what scholars characterize as the pseudo-Western style of architecture (*gi yōfū kenchiku*) from that time period.[230] The structure was built by head carpenter Shimizu Kisuke, who had built the "inner shrine (*uchi den*)" of Mimeguri Shrine on 1863 as a gift, which apparently established his connection with the Mitsui family. Initiated by personnel of the Meiji government such as Shibusawa Eiichi, the Mitsui-gumi was on their way to launch a bank jointly funded by the Ono family in the headquarters building. However, by the time the construction was completed, the Meiji government had already decided to establish a state owned bank and, upon purchasing the brand new building from the Mitsui family, opened the First National Bank in 1874. This series of events forced the Mitsui family to plan their own bank in their old neighborhood, Suruga-cho. Built also by Shimizu Kisuke in the pseudo-Western style, the new building was completed in 1874. In the same year, while the Mitsui family lost what would have been their headquarters building to the Meiji state, the entire area of Kabuto-chō became their possession as the Ono Family and Shimada Family, who had owned the portions of the area, went bankrupt. Utilizing the area as commercial land, the Mitsui family was able to profit from the land rent from then on.

[230] For example, Terunobu Fujimori, *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku Jo* (Modern Architecture in Japan Vol. I) (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1995)

Back to the Kabuto Shrine. As the Mitsui family assumed the ownership of the entire area in 1874, two deities—*Ōkuninushi no Mikoto* and *Kotoshironushi no Mikoto*—were invited to the shrine from one of the subordinate shrines (*massha*) in the Mimeguri Shrine. With this addition, the Kabuto Shrine became the branch and tutelary shrine of the Mitsui family. Three year later, the *Tokyo Kabushiki Torihikijo*—the current Tokyo Stock Exchange—was opened at the northwestern part of Kabuto-chō, close to the shrine precinct. The financial institution has become the principal parishioner of Kabuto Inari since then, and the shrine has "received the worship from the world of finance." as indicated in *the Origin of 'Kabuto Inari*.[231]

Back again to 1874. When the building for Mitsui's bank was erected in Suruga-chō, Kabuto-chō became the property of the Mitsui family, and the Kabuto Shrine became the branch shrine of Mimeguri Inari, the family launched the trading company Senshū Kaisha, collaborating with Masuda Takashi. While their main business was the export of rice in the early years, the company began handling the trade of coal extracted from the mines in the Mike region and established Mitsui Bussan (the current Mitsui & Co) in 1876. Within a few years, the company increased their share in the export of coal.[232] Mediated by coal, thereby, this coal trade perhaps marked the initial material encounter between the Mitsui enterprise and coal production in the Miike region.

Previously operated by the Miike-han, the mine then had become state-owned, administrated by the Meiji government since 1873. With the deployment of the convict workers as the constant and immediately available workforce, and the industrialization of

[231] Kabuto Jinja Sewanin Kai, *Shōgyō no Kamisama: Kabuto Jinja no Yurai* (Commercial/Financial Deity: the Origin of "Kabuto Shrine)
[232] Mikio Sumiya, *Nihon Sekitansangyō Bunseki* (Study on Japanese Coal Industry) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), 121.

the mining process, the mine was one of the largest mines in Japan by the late 1880s, when a sealed bidding was called for it. The Mitsui Bussan barely made a successful bid. With the purchase, the mining company Mitsui Kōzan was organized to administer the operation of the Miike Mine from 1889. The Mitsui enterprise and coal production of the Miike region finally were materialized. Moreover, upon purchasing the Miike Mine, Mitsui Kōzan expanded their operation by developing other mines in the Chikuhō region, including the Yamano Mine where, as shown in the introduction, the family of Yamamoto Sakubei worked and heard the "origin myth" of the Inari shrine built by the company executives.

From the time of consecration of Tōka Shrine in the Miike-han in the mid-nineteenth century until that of the Inari shrine at Yamano Mine at the end of the century, the Mitsui enterprise, coal production in the Miike region, and their material encounter entailed a series of crucial events that shaped the experience of Japan's modernity. Those events included, just to name a few, the establishment of the new government, the installment of the banking system, the expansion of foreign trade, and industrialization of coal production. Imbricated in this course of events was the Inari worship, objectified in the Inari shrines. It seems that the Inari worship continued to be reproduced as "causes" throughout the last half of nineteenth century, and even after. For *what* cause was shown by the effects (shrines), or how the relatively autonomous levels were imbricated in the effects, is worth exploring.

As one of the instances of such imbrications, for example, the Kabuto Shrine suggests an entanglement of worship with the notion of land property. As Miyata Noboru shows, many Shintō shrines has been consecrated as the landowner deity (*jinushi gami*) by land proprietors, the practice of which seems to have originated in the Edo era. In particular, one of the deities invited from the Mimeguri Shrine—Okuninus no Mikoto—was the deity from ancient Japanese mythology who governed *Toyo Ashihara no Nakatsukumi*—the mythological land which became what is currently known as "Japan." Hence, the deity, according to Miyata, is the god among all the land deities.[233] In what ways had the enshrinement of the deity augmented the sense of land ownership—produced *genius-loci,* if you will—as the *after cause* to reproduce the ownership? Or, how the worship was imbricated with Mitsui's real estate business, which dated back to the time when they engaged in *Osaka Bakufu Okanuguragin Goyō* at the end of seventeenth century? These would be the potential inquiries to engage with the "effects" of the Kabuto Shrine.

In the case of the Inari shrine at the Yamano Mine, as already nuanced in the introduction, the imbrications of the Fox-Inari worship with the reproduction of the labor power of the coal miners could become the main focus of the study. Indeed, written in the so-called *Mitsui Kōzan Gojūnenshi Kō* (Manuscript for the 50 Years History of Mitsui Kōzan) prepared by the company in the late 1930s, the folk-religious worship of miners was listed an important component of the labor management.[234] It indicates that the company saw the miners' folk-religious practice, such as the Inari worship, as a necessary ingredient for the reproduction of the labor power along with other means of subsistence, such as housing and also food. Apart from what was enumerated in the

[233] Miyata, "Inari Shinkō no Shintō to Minshū," 131-132.
[234] According to the document, the days for the folk-religious festivals had been unpaid holidays until 1937. However, to take account of "employees' spiritual well-being and the improvement of working condition," the company decided to pay "the sixty percent of the price for the standard daily emolument defined by (national) health insurance." At this point, the miners' folk-religious worship may also have been commodified. Mitsui Kōzan, *Mitsui Kōzan Gojunen-shi Kō*, *Dai Jussetsu* (Section 10) *Rōmu* (Labor Management) (1942), 169. The version used here was copied by the author at Mitsui Bunko.

introduction, one other contradiction regarding miners' Inari worship then was that, as the "agricultural (rice)" deity, it did not seem to provide enough rice to the miners in the early twentieth century and thereafter.

The availability of rice at coal mines, or its myth, was one of the reasons for people to take up the arduous job of mining in the early twentieth century.[235] More often than not, the average price of rice is used as the measure to understand the cost of their standard of living, against which the price of their wage was, or can be, evaluated. The value of rice was, to an extent, equivalent to the value of labor power. Disproportionate to the average value of labor power, however, the price of rice was skyrocketing due to inflation in the late 1910s. It eventually led a group of women in the current Toyama prefecture to march into the city hall of their municipality in 1918. Their protest march instigated the nation-wide insurgency known as the Kome Sōdō (Rice Riot). Miners in the Miike Mine and in the Chikuhō region joined the movement. While the riot was resolved, it had invigorated the labor movement in general. The labor dispute or organized strikes became frequent in the mines of Mitsui Kōzan in the following years, as the miners by no means were able to eat enough rice. Provided that, to follow Yamamoto, the Inari shrine at Yamano Mine was the guardian of the mines of Mitsui Kōzan, it was definitely not the agricultural deity after all—not for the mines, to say the least.

Despite the riot and subsequent miners' labor movement, Mitsui Kōzan continued their coal operation: miners seem to have been kept exploited. To bring forth the cry of the miners, a writer composed a poem that reads as follows:

[235] Yamamoto, *Yama ni Ikiru*, 75.

Mine is the Tōka (Inari) Mountain, Fox is the company, Hoaxed again were the coal miners.[236]

(山は稲荷山、会社は狐、またも掘子が騙された)

Echoing the popular saying from the Edo era, the Fox-Inari worship is featured as satire on the vulpine relation between Mitsui Kozan and their miners. Instead of the fox transfiguring into human form to play tricks, as the Fox had already spoken out about the inverse process at the Animal Assembly depicted by Ando Shoeki, the company became the fox, playing "tricks" on their own miners, "again." The trace of *inari* is still making its effects in the sound of *tōka*, as letters were written in the Chinese ideographs for the sack of rice. Yet, the mountain where the Inari deity resides seems to stand merely as the background for the vulpine relation between the company and miners, or between capital and labor. If engaged, it seems to be siding with the fox, perhaps forgetting again to offer its blessing, be it rain for peasants or rice for miners.

By the same token, to say the least, the Fox-Inari worship seems to maintain its currency as a satirical gesture. And, however commodified, as Balibar once wrote, if indeed the labor-power has a possibility as "incoercible residue" to counter the capitalist tendency, the Fox-Inari worship of miners—their labor and its blessing—may have been imbricated with such residue.[237] Indeed, however hoaxed, the miners seems to be the only humans depicted in the poem after all. In their Fox-Inari worship or its objectification—an Inari shrine—the unseen world that Hirata wrote about in the late Edo period may have still existed in the early twentieth century. Although it would take more than an Inari shrine, if there is indeed a fox's gift, maybe it is our ability to practice the possibility of *other time* as the "cause" that arrives late, always.

[236] This is a poem written by Fruichi Haruo, quoted in Kōji Ikeda, *Sekitan no Bungaku* (Literature of Coal) (Tokyo: Inpacto Shuppansha, 2012), 46.
[237] Étienne Balibar, *The Philosophy of Marx* (New York: Verso, 2014), 102.

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