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The Public, the Private, and the In-Between: Poetry Exchanges as Court Diplomacy in Mid-Heian Japan*

Gian Piero PERSIANI

The paper argues that the well-established distinction between “formal” / “public” (*hare*) and “informal” / “private” (*ke*) poetry in *waka* studies not only fails to describe adequately the styles it purports to illustrate but actively hinders a more accurate understanding of the literary cultures to which it is applied. After briefly reviewing the debate on formal and informal styles in *waka* scholarship and a brief analysis of the *zōtōka* (“poetic dialogues”) as a particular kind of poetic communication, I provide close readings of the personal poetry collections of Fujiwara no Morosuke (907–960) and Fujiwara no Kishi (929–985) in order to show that, when viewed against its historical context, so-called “private” poetry was as politically significant and as consequential for the state as its formal counterpart, albeit in a different way. Whereas formal, *daiei*-style composition reflected and celebrated the vertical, emperor-centric structure of the *ritsuryō* state, everyday exchanges between court aristocrats were the perfect literary complement to the “privatized,” cooperative, and consensus-based order now known as the “court-centered polity” (*ōchō kokka*).

Keywords: private/public, court society, *ōchō kokka*, *ritsuryō*, Heian, Fujiwara, *waka* poetry, marriage politics, gender, Fujiwara no Morosuke, Fujiwara no Kishi, Heian women writers, *Gosen wakashū*

The distinction between “formal” or “public” poetry (*hare no uta* 晴の歌) and “informal” or “private” poetry (*ke no uta* 藝の歌) is one of the oldest and most well-established in *waka* scholarship.¹ Since it was first introduced in the early postwar years, it has been used in

* An early version of this paper was read at the Midwest Japan Seminar at Northwestern University in November 2018. I would like to thank the organizers and members of the Seminar for their many valuable comments and suggestions. I also would like to thank the editor and the two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and insightful criticism. Any remaining flaws are mine alone.

¹ The terms *hare* and *ke* are not easily rendered into English. For scholars of folklore who first adopted them as scholarly terms, *hare* referred to days and activities of special significance in the life of the community such as religious festivals and *ke* to ordinary days and activities. Over decades of use, however, they have acquired various other nuances, which makes finding exact equivalents difficult. Depending on the context, *hare* can mean “public,” “official,” or “formal” and *ke* “private,” “unofficial,” or “informal.” In this essay, I will use all these translations interchangeably as all of these nuances are now part of the semantic scope of the terms. On the origin of the terms in folklore studies, see Masuda 1977, p. 75.

a plethora of studies by countless scholars, and continues to be widely employed today.² As a way to conceptualize differences between poetic styles, the distinction has allowed scholars to articulate developments in *waka* history that would otherwise have been difficult to notice or account for. But there is also a very real sense in which these categories not only fail to describe adequately the styles that they purport to describe but actively hinder a better understanding of the literary cultures to which they are applied. The mid-tenth century is a good case in point: known to *waka* scholars as “the *Gosenshū* age” (*Gosen jidai* 後撰時代) after the title of the second imperial *waka* anthology, the *Gosen waka shū* 後撰和歌集 (Later selection of *waka*, 951; hereafter simply *Gosenshū*), this period is widely regarded as the heyday of “private” poetry, and this notion colors the entire understanding on the literature of this period. In this essay, I will offer close readings of the poetic output of two important mid-century authors of so-called “private poetry,” Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (907–960) and Fujiwara no Kishi 藤原徽子 (or Yoshiko, 929–985), in order to demonstrate that it is essentially inaccurate to view this kind of poetry as purely “informal” and “private.” When viewed in the context of the changes to the structure and organization of the state that took place between the late-ninth and the mid-tenth centuries, this kind of poetry appears to be as rich in political significance and as intertwined with questions of authority and political necessity as its “formal” counterpart, albeit in a different way. Both our usage of these categories and the understanding of literary history that we have built upon them, therefore, are badly in need of revision.

Hare and Ke in Waka Scholarship

Piecing together definitions by different scholars, “formal” poetry can be defined as poetry composed at court, on set topics (*dai* 題), at the command of figures of authority.³ This kind of poetry was the specialty of (usually male) semi-professional poets known today as “poetry specialists” (*senmon kajin* 専門歌人, sometimes translated as “professional poets”), and is often said to be of greater literary merit than so-called informal poetry.⁴ By contrast, the term “unofficial” or “private” poetry is used to refer to poems improvised in everyday situations, such as love encounters and communications with friends and family. Unlike “formal” poetry, this kind of poetry was composed by poets of both sexes, including the so-called “amateur poets” (*shirōto kajin* 素人歌人),⁵ and is said to be more derivative, of lesser artistic value, and to have been primarily “utilitarian” (*jitsuyōteki* 実用的) in aim.⁶ Because it was composed by male state functionaries, in official settings, and at the command of an authority, formal poetry is said to have served a “public” (*kōteki* 公的) function, while informal poetry is almost universally understood as purely “private” (*shiteki* 私的) and

2 Studies that make use of or mention the distinction are too numerous to list exhaustively. A number of significant ones are cited below.

3 For a useful overview of the debate in Japanese, see Kudō 1994, Masuda 1977.

4 Well-known examples of poetry specialists are Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (872?–945?), Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (860?–920?), and, a generation later, Kiyohara no Motosuke 清原元輔 (908–990).

5 Usami 1952, pp. 66–68. Given the lack of clear criteria to determine professional status at the time, the distinction between “professional” and “amateur” poets is problematic. *Waka* scholars use the term “professional poets” loosely to refer to poets who were frequently chosen to provide poems for official events or who, in their work, demonstrated a special commitment to their art.

6 Katagiri 2000, p. 216. The distinction between “literary” and “utilitarian” poetry was first made by Kubota Utsubo (1965, pp. 12–13).

devoid of political meaning. In one of the earliest uses of the terms, Kazamaki Keijirō 風巻景次郎 (1902–1960) clearly equated formal poetry with officialdom and informal poetry with the private sphere:

Poetry exchanges between men and women can be considered the expression of a person's interiority, of their most intimate, private lives, and therefore were not amenable to being used in official court contexts. [...] Thus, the tradition of the Japanese-language poem exchanges [*sōmonka* 相聞歌] could continue at court only in the form of “Rear Palace” poetry, while the role of official poetry, following the example of Tang China, was played by *shi* poems of praise for the virtue of the sovereign and seasonal poems composed at court banquets. [...] Thus, two distinct styles emerged independently, official poems composed at court, on seasonal topics, and lyrical, everyday poems composed in more casual situations; in terms of style, a “state style” [*ōyake no uta* 公の歌] and “a private style” [*watakushi no uta* 私の歌] [...].⁷

By far the most influential use of these notions has been that of Katagiri Yōichi 片桐洋一. In a number of studies published between the 1960s and the 1980s, Katagiri made the *hare/ke* dichotomy the cornerstone of a history of *waka* development from a *Kokinshū* age dominated by formal poetry to a *Gosenshū* age dominated by private poetry.⁸ Drawing on earlier studies by Usami Kisohachi 宇佐美喜三八 (1906–1964), Katagiri presented the *Kokinshū*, with its emphasis on poetry composed by imperial command on set topics (*daieika* 題詠歌), as the embodiment of the formal, public style, and the *Gosenshū*, with its focus on love poetry, its large number of poems by high-ranking “amateurs,” and the large presence of poems by women, as the epitome of the informal, private mode.⁹ Although he recognized the increased political significance of person-to-person interaction and poetic banter at court (especially of a romantic nature) in the Fujiwara age, Katagiri held fast to a view of the public and private modes as fundamentally distinct and stopped short of retheorizing “private” poetry as a new kind of “public” poetry for the new times, which is what I aim to do here.¹⁰

Ueno Osamu 上野理's (1935–2007) use of the notions in his equally influential *Goshūishū zengo* 後拾遺集前後 (Before and after the *Goshūishū*, 1976) was somewhat different but also similar in one key respect. Drawing on Kubota Utsubo 窪田空穂's (1887–1967) earlier distinction between “literary” (*bungeiteki* 文芸的) and “practical” (*jitsuyōteki*) verse,¹¹ Ueno argued that it is the level of artistry and technical sophistication that differentiates formal poems from informal ones.¹² For Ueno, both the *Kokinshū* and the *Gosenshū* belonged to the age of the *ke no uta* (although he conceded that the latter is marked by “a manifest disdain for formal poetry”), and it is only by the third official anthology, the *Shūi wakashū* 拾遺和歌集 (Gleanings of *waka*, ca. 1005, hereafter *Shūishū*), that the transition from the informal-practical mode to the formal-literary mode truly took

7 Kazamaki, “*Kokin to Shinkokin*,” as quoted in Kudō 1994, pp. 260–261.

8 Katagiri 1978, pp. 208, 215–218; Katagiri 2000, pp. 188–189.

9 Katagiri 2000, 1978.

10 Katagiri 1978, pp. 203–205.

11 Kubota 1965, pp. 12–13.

12 Ueno 1976, p. 13.

place.¹³ Like Kazamaki and Katagiri, however, Ueno squarely associated formal poetry with the political and informal poetry with the private arena.¹⁴

The distinction has not been without its critics. Kikuchi Yasuhiko 菊地靖彦 (1936–2001) pointed out early enough that whether a poem is to be classified as “public” or “private” is determined solely by the circumstances of composition and not by any intrinsic difference.¹⁵ Echoing Kikuchi, Kudō Shigenori 工藤重矩 notes that it is impossible to draw too fine a line between the two, and that only the context of composition dictates whether a poem should be read as a formal or informal one: “It is the formal context that makes a poem formal, not vice versa.”¹⁶ A similar criticism has been voiced in English by Gustav Heldt.¹⁷ Despite these criticisms, however, and partly because they do not amount to a more substantive critique, these notions continue to be widely used and to shape our understanding of Heian *waka* history.

The *Gosenshū* Age as *Ke* Anthology?

For several decades now, *waka* historiography has been presenting the middle decades of the tenth century as the golden age of private poetry. The work that more than any other is said to epitomize the mid-century dominance of the *ke no uta* is the *Gosenshū*, the second of the imperial *waka* anthologies. Compiled in 951 at the behest of Emperor Murakami 村上 (926–967; r. 946–967), the *Gosenshū* is the work that made compiling royally-commissioned anthologies of *waka* (*chokusenshū* 勅撰集) a regular practice. As numerous commentators have pointed out, however, the *Gosenshū* makes a rather odd companion to the other two earliest imperial *waka* anthologies, the *Kokinshū* and the *Shūishū*.¹⁸ The very features that set the *Gosenshū* apart from the other two of the *sandaishū* 三代集 are also the features that incontrovertibly mark it as a *ke* anthology in the opinion of critics.¹⁹ These can be summarized as follows:

1. Lack of poems composed in formal circumstances, such as “screen poems” (*byōbu-uta* 屏風歌) and poems from poetry contests (*uta-awase*);
2. Large number of poems by “amateur poets” of high rank;
3. Emphasis on love poetry and poetry composed in everyday situations;
4. Large number of poems by women poets;
5. Large number of *zōtōka* 贈答歌 (“poetic dialogues”) exchanges;
6. Lack of poems by the compilers.²⁰

Particularly defining of the *Gosenshū* as a “private poetry anthology” (*ke no shūsei* 葵の集成) in the opinion of critics is the large number of *zōtōka* that it contains. Unlike poems composed on set topics, on formal occasions, and at the behest of authority, *zōtōka*

13 Ueno 1976, p. 9.

14 Ueno 1976, pp. 5–6.

15 Kikuchi 1980.

16 Kudō 1994, p. 280.

17 Heldt 2008, pp. 82–83.

18 Katagiri 2000, pp. 175–190.

19 *Sandaishū* (Collections of the three ages) is the name by which the first three imperial *waka* anthologies were traditionally referred to.

20 Katagiri 1978, pp. 202–221; Katagiri 2000, Abe 1972, Terauchi 1968, Nishimaru 1997.

exchanges were improvised in everyday situations, as part of daily life. Moreover, whereas formal poems were typically composed by and addressed to men, *zōtōka* exchanges were composed by and exchanged between both sexes, often (though not exclusively) in romantic situations. Perhaps more than anything else, it is the large number of these intergender dialogues, and the worlds of romance and sexual indulgence with which they are primarily associated, that gives the *Gosenshū* its unmistakably “everyday” (*nichijōteki* 日常的) and “private” (*shiteki*) character in the eyes of critics.²¹

There is, of course, something intuitively problematic in viewing an anthology compiled by imperial decree and which features prominently many of the court’s most powerful figures as an “informal” or “private” work. Compiled at regular intervals by imperial decree, *chokusenshū* were always at least in part official state business, regardless of their content. But the problems run deeper, and concern the ahistorical applications of these notions, without considering the sociopolitical context within which these poetic modes emerged and rose to prominence. As the following pages will show, the gradual blurring of the boundary between private interests and state power and the rise of a new, eminently collaborative political order between the ninth and tenth centuries makes classifying everyday poems by court aristocrats as purely “informal” or “private” untenable. When viewed against the historical context, so-called “private” poetry appears to be no less consequential for the life of the state than its formal counterpart, although the political order that it implies, and more or less directly served to support, is not the vertical, emperor-centric one of the *ritsuryō* 律令 codes but the more horizontal and collaborative one that came to prevail at court at this time. Our whole understanding of *Gosenshū*-age poetry as the private obverse of official, politically-minded verse needs to be fundamentally rethought.

Historicizing Literary Categories: From *Ritsuryō Kokka* to *Ōchō Kokka*

Historians view the tenth century as a time of significant change in the structure and organization of the Heian state as the court transitioned from the *ritsuryō*-style polity of the Nara and early Heian periods to a new type of organization known as the *ōchō kokka* 王朝国家 (“court-centered polity”; also translated “royal court state”).²² The new regime involved a decentralization of functions to the provinces, a move toward descent-determined office, and increased emphasis on personal ties in the procurement and exercise of power. Particularly relevant for my purposes here is the increasingly “privatized” nature of political life. Historians understand “privatization” in two main ways: as an increased emphasis on familial and personal ties in government appointments and decision-making, and as reliance on private assets in the exercise of state functions.²³ Also worth emphasizing is the “shared” nature of authority under the new regime. In place of direct imperial authority, Fujiwara-style politics emphasized cooperation among multiple stakeholders. John Wallace uses the expression “networks of power” to describe the complex human linkages through which authority was won and exercised under the Fujiwara regency, and the expression is an apt one.²⁴ From roughly the time of Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880–949), authority ceased

21 Terauchi 1968; Usami 1952, pp. 62–63; Sugitani 1991, p. 251.

22 The literature on *ōchō kokka* is already vast and continues to grow. Useful overviews in English include Batten 1993; and Sasaki 2006.

23 Hurst 2007b, p. 33; Adolphson and Kamens 2007, pp. 9–10; Adolphson 2012.

24 Wallace 2005, pp. 5, 149.

to be firmly localized in the hands of the emperor and came to be “shared” by a cluster of people that included, at a minimum, the emperor, the primary consort, her father, and the future heir. Joan Piggott describes the tenth-century monarchy as “a consensus system” whereby “members of the royal family with their staff in the palace, including the *sesshō* 摂政 or *kanpaku* 関白 as their deputed court leader, worked with council members and their staff—the controllers and secretaries—to govern capital and provinces.”²⁵ Ōtsu Tōru 大津透 labels this new configuration of power “aristocratic coalition” (*jōryū rengō taisei* 上流連合体制), while Tamai Chikara 玉井力 speaks of “composite kingship” (*bunkenteki ōsei* 分権的王政).²⁶

Equally cooperative was the relationship between the male heads of the main aristocratic families, their wives, and their daughters to be married off to emperors and other figures of importance. As Carole Cavanaugh has pointed out, far from being mere pawns in the hands of their male relations, Heian elite women actively contributed to the smooth functioning of the system not only through marriage and childbirth but also through their manifold talents and expertise.²⁷ The case of empresses who influenced state affairs as “mothers of the nation” (*kokumo* 国母) is only the most conspicuous example of the way in which Heian court women actively contributed to the system of which they were part.²⁸

It is within this new sociopolitical order so heavily reliant on personal ties and cooperation among multiple stakeholders, both male and female, that so-called private poetry rose to the forefront of the literary scene. It will be my contention in the remainder of this paper that far from being purely private and devoid of political significance, this kind of dialogic, eminently interactive poetry was political in the most fundamental sense of the word, as it provided a mechanism to establish, monitor, and keep healthy ties between members of the court, thus providing vital soft support to the cooperative and consensus-based order known as *ōchō kokka*.

Zōtōka as Horizontal Poetic Community

Before looking at some concrete examples of this highly political use of “private” poetry, it is worth pausing a moment to consider the nature of the *zōtōka* as a particular kind of poetic exchange. Insofar as it involves language, all poetic communication both implies or prescribes some kind of social relation between speaker and addressee.²⁹ In the formal, *daiei*-type exchange, the purest form of which is the poem made by imperial command (*chokueika* 勅詠歌), the addressee is the authority who commissions the poem, and the author is someone of lower rank, typically a male court official. The relation between speaker and addressee is, therefore, vertical (from low to high) and unidirectional (figure 1).³⁰

25 Piggott 2007, p. 56.

26 Ōtsu 1996, p. 41; Tamai 2000, p. 11. Piggott (2008, p. 27) translates *bunkenteki ōsei* as “stakeholder kingship.”

27 Cavanaugh 1996, pp. 597–599; see also Arntzen 2001, pp. 31–33.

28 Fukutō 2007.

29 Here I take a cue from Bakhtin, who argues that language style “is inseparably linked [...] to types of relation between the speaker and the other participants in speech communication.” Bakhtin 1986, p. 64.

30 In semi-formal contexts such as occasional banquets and royal excursions, the ruler sometimes added a poem of his own to compositions by his courtiers. In formal courtly contexts, however, the emperor limited himself to issuing the command to compose the topics, and formally-appointed *utayomi* 歌よみ (lit. “poem-makers”) “offered up” (*tatematsuru* 奉る) their poems for his perusal.

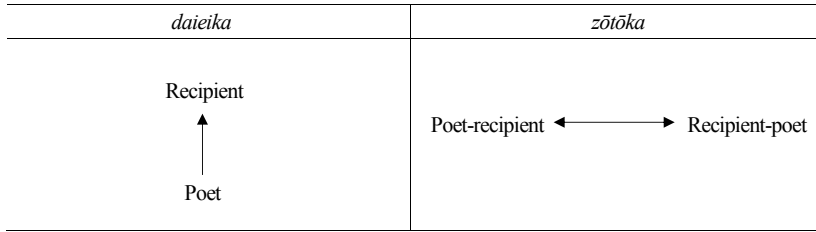


Figure 1. Social orientation of *daiei* and *zōtō* modes of poetic communication.

Made and respectfully presented when His Majesty ordered him to compose a poem:
Tsurayuki

<i>Kasuga no no</i>	Are they off to pluck
<i>wakana tsumi niya</i>	young sprouts at Kasuga fields?
<i>Shirotae no</i>	The merry courtiers
<i>sode furihaete</i>	wave their dazzling white sleeves
<i>hito no yukuramu</i>	as they set on their journey. ³¹
かすが野のわかになつみにや	白たへの袖ふりはへて人の行くらむ

By contrast, in *zōtōka* exchanges the addressee was usually a relative or direct acquaintance of the poet, and the occasion was an event or situation—love encounters, the birth of a child, bereavements, etc.—in which poet and recipient participated in a personal rather than professional capacity. Furthermore, in a *zōtōka* exchange poet and recipient always switched sides as the recipient produced their reply to the first poem. Thus, the implied social relation of a *zōtōka* exchange can be said to be “horizontal” (or less openly vertical) and always bi-directional.

Coming to the formal characteristics of the *zōtōka*, a distinctive feature of these exchanges is that the respondent usually employed the same imagery and language of the first poem in their responses. In love exchanges, the respondent also added some unexpected twist or inversion of the meaning of the first poem as a way to deflect the suitor’s advances, as in the following example:³²

Sent to Shōni: (Lord Fujiwara no Asatada)

<i>Toki shimo are</i>	It may be the time,
<i>hana no sakari ni</i>	but your cruel indifference
<i>tsurakereba</i>	while the blossoms bloom
<i>omowanu yama ni</i>	makes me want to head for the hills,

³¹ *Kokinshū* 22.

³² In Japanese-language scholarship this feature is variously known as “faultfinding” (*ageashitori* 揚げ足取り), “repelling” (*hanpatsu* 反発), and “counterattack” (*kirikaeshi* 切り返し).

iri ya shinamashi something I'd never even thought.
 時しもあれ花のさかりにつらければ 思はぬ山に入りやしなまし

The reply:

Wa ga tame ni Is it just the hills
omowanu yama no you had never even thought?
oto ni nomi Finding out you'll leave
hana sakariyuku when the blossoms are at peak
haru o uramimu makes the spring truly hateful!³³
 わがために思はぬ山の音にのみ 花さかりゆく春をうら見む

By deftly reworking the imagery of Asatada 朝忠's (910–966) poem, Shōni Myōbu 少弐命婦 (d.u.) turns his plea for greater consideration into an expression of her own dissatisfaction with his courtship. The phrase “I'd never even thought” (*omowanu*), which in the first poem only refers to the poet's decision to take vows, is applied in the second poem to his feelings for the woman, which thereby become accidental and only half-hearted. Although the man's entreaty is ultimately disappointed, the respondent accepts to work within the discursive boundaries laid by him; the two parties can therefore be said to cooperate in creating beauty from a shared set of ingredients.

To sum up, in virtually every respect, *zōtōka* exchanges emphasize intimacy and cooperation between poet and addressee. Unlike *daiei*-style composition, which draws attention to, and indeed spectacularizes, the social distance between speaker and recipient, *zōtōka* exchanges symbolically collapse it by engaging the two in a horizontal, two-way, and honorific-free dialogue.³⁴ The rise to prominence of this interactive and eminently dialogic mode of poetic communication at a time of increasing reliance on cooperation in court affairs is too well-timed to be simply casual. It is far more reasonable to see it as another facet of the shift to a more cooperative and shared vision of the court after the onset of the Fujiwara regency.

Case Study #1: The Poetry of Fujiwara no Morosuke

Having looked at the *zōtōka* in somewhat abstract terms, I will now examine some concrete examples in order to show the variety of important social and political functions that so-called informal poetry fulfilled. My first case study is the poetic oeuvre of Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (907–960). Morosuke is in many ways the archetypal mid-century poet of high rank. He was a very prolific poet (fourteen of his poems were included in the *Gosenshū*), but his poetic output consists entirely of *zōtōka* exchanged with various court figures of the time.

As Tadahira's second son, Morosuke had a first-rate career in the government, which peaked in 947 with his appointment to the position of minister of the right. Although his brother Saneyori 実頼 (900–970) was older, of higher rank, and held a higher office (that

33 *Gosenshū* 70–71. To “head for the hills” meant to enter monastic life.

34 Honorifics are not used in *waka*, so even people of vastly different rank “spoke” to each other as social equals. See Arntzen 2001, p. 32.

of minister of the left), Morosuke is generally thought to have been the more powerful of the two, and it was his line of the family—the Kujō 九条 branch—which eventually prevailed.³⁵ Like his more famous grandson Michinaga 道長 (966–1028), Morosuke owed his political success to his uncommon ability to build and manage an impressive network of alliances both at court and beyond.³⁶ In 940, he married his daughter Anshi 安子 (or Yasuko, 927–964) to the then crown prince Nariakira 成明 (future Emperor Murakami), and was later able to have her firstborn Norihira 憲平 (950–1011, future Emperor Reizei 冷泉, r. 967–969) appointed crown prince over the grandson of his rival, Fujiwara no Motokata 藤原元方 (888–953).³⁷ In a move of remarkable political savviness, he also married his third daughter (name unknown, 934–962) to Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914–983), a senior member of the rival Minamoto clan and a major competitor in the struggle for power.³⁸ He also married another daughter (Tōshi, or, Nariko, ?–975) to Emperor Daigo 醍醐’s (r. 897–930) son Shigeakira 重明 (906–954), the father of Anshi’s rival consort, Kishi (or Yoshiko, 929–985; more on her below). Nor was his knack for building profitable alliances limited to the court context. Between 940 and his death in 960, he cultivated a long and mutually advantageous friendship with Ryōgen 良源 (912–985), the abbot of the Yokawa section of Enryakuji 延暦寺.³⁹ In 957, he “donated” his then fourteen-year-old son (religious name Jinzen 尋禪) to Enryakuji to be groomed to become the next abbot.⁴⁰ By tirelessly using his influence to expand his network of alliances, Morosuke built his own formidable “network of power,” which stretched from the capital to the provinces and included potential rivals and powerful religious institutions.

Essential to the success of this strategy were Morosuke’s own marriages, which gave him both plentiful offspring to place in important positions or marry strategically, and valuable symbolic capital. His primary wife was Seishi 盛子 (or Moriko, ?–943), the daughter of Fujiwara no Tsunekuni 藤原経邦 (no dates), a mid-ranking member of the weaker Nanke branch of the family. Seishi bore him five sons and four daughters, all of whom would later climb to the highest positions of the court.⁴¹ While stably married to Seishi, Morosuke also pursued formal liaisons with several other women. In 931, he obtained special permission to marry Emperor Daigo’s fourth daughter Kinshi 勤子 (?–938), the first civilian in history to do so. After Kinshi’s untimely death in 938, he married two of her sisters, Gashi 雅女 (910–954) in 938, and Kōshi 康子 (919–957) in 955. In addition to solidifying Morosuke’s ties with the imperial family, these marriages to women of imperial blood added to Morosuke’s aura as *de facto* leader of the court nobility.⁴²

35 For about a hundred years after Morosuke’s death, all emperors and senior court politicians were his direct descendants.

36 On Michinaga’s use of family ties, see Hurst 2007a, pp. 69–74.

37 The event precipitated one of the most famous examples of supernatural revenge in Japanese history. The deaths of Morosuke in 960, Anshi in 964, and Emperor Reizei’s madness were all attributed by contemporaries to Motokata’s angry ghost.

38 Takaakira held some of the court’s highest positions until his exile to Kyushu in 969 as a result of the events known as the An’na disturbance (*An’na no hen* 安和の変).

39 McMullin 1989, pp. 123–129.

40 McMullin 1989, p. 128.

41 Morosuke would eventually have some twelve sons and five daughters. For a complete list, see McCullough 1980, p. 127.

42 Mostow 2004, p. 2.

In Morosuke's hands, *waka* served as a formidable tool to build and manage these profitable alliances. His personal poetry collection consists entirely of *zōtōka* poems exchanged with various court figures of the time, with a special focus on his exchanges with his four wives.⁴³ Poem nos. 3 and 4 in the Idemitsu Museum text chronicle the beginnings of his relationship with Seishi:

Composed when the same Lord and his primary wife were still children and had just begun to exchange poems:

<i>Yukikaeri</i>	This vain to and fro
<i>mi wa itazura ni</i>	is just going to kill me
<i>narinuredo</i>	and nothing more.
<i>inochi ni kaeyo</i>	Risk your life to come to me
<i>aware to omowamu</i>	and I will believe your love.
ゆきかへり身はいたづらになりぬれど いのちにかへよあはれとおもはむ	

The man's reply:

<i>Au ni dani</i>	Were I to meet you
<i>kaeba nani kawa</i>	what would there ever be then
<i>oshikaran</i>	to feel regret for?
<i>yoso niwa shinaji</i>	I wish to die for no one
<i>inochizukushi ni</i>	but the one that I live for! ⁴⁴
あふにだにかへばなにかはおしからん よそにはしなじいのちづくしに	

While stably married to Seishi (their marriage dates from circa 923), Morosuke also became involved with a number of other women, notably three of Emperor Daigo's daughters.⁴⁵ Rather than shy away from them, the collection celebrates such "taboo" affairs with women of imperial blood. The following exchange celebrates the beginnings of his liaison with Kinshi:

His Lordship, probably to the first [of the three Princesses]:

<i>Hito shirezu</i>	When it first started
<i>omoisometeshi</i>	no one knew of my passion,
<i>kurenai no</i>	but shortly enough
<i>iro ni idenubeku</i>	it will be obvious to all

⁴³ There are three main textual lineages of Morosuke's collection, which vary slightly in the number and arrangement of the poems and are thought to derive from a single ancestor: the Sonkeikaku lineage (89 poems), the Shōryōbu lineage (85 poems), and the Tankaku Sōsho lineage (86 poems). All citations are from the Idemitsu Museum text as edited by Katagiri Yōichi and the Kansai Shikashū Kenkyūkai (Kasama Shoin, 2002); see *Kujō dono Morosuke-shū*.

⁴⁴ *Kujō dono Morosuke-shū* 3–4, pp. 188–190.

⁴⁵ Kudō Shigenori argues that these marriages were probably less formal unions than Morosuke's marriage to Seishi. The position of these women was probably more akin to that of a concubine or secondary wife (*shō* 妾), who was looked after economically in exchange for favors. See Kudō 2002, pp. 108–109.

omōyuru kana from the scarlet on my face!
 人しれず思ひそめてしけれなるの 色にいでぬべくおもほゆるかな

Her Highness's reply:

Yurusarenu I hear that such things
mono to shi kikeba are most strictly forbidden.
kurenai no Pray, do not flaunt
ho ni izuru iro wa the scarlet of your feelings
misezu mo aranan like ripened ears in full view!⁴⁶
 ゆるされぬものとしきげばくれなるの ほにいづるいろは見せずもあらなん

Kinshi died young and several poems in the collection mourn her untimely departure (nos. 29–32 and 83–84). While Kinshi was still alive, Morosuke began another, even more scandalous relationship with her sister Gashi who, in addition to being the emperor's sister, also served as Ise vestal (*saigū* 齋宮).⁴⁷ Morosuke's affair with Gashi is another striking real-world example of the "forbidden love" so frequently depicted in Heian literature:

When the Ise vestal departed for Ise:

Au koto no You will be alone,
arashi ni magau like a tiny boat at the
obune yue mercy of the storm—
tomaru ware sae But even I who stay here
kogarenuru kana will be there with you, rowing!⁴⁸
 あふことのあらしにまがふをぶねゆへ とまるわれさへこがれぬるかな

While it provided Morosuke with the perfect tool to pursue these profitable connections, *waka* also gave his primary wife Senshi a means to preserve their marriage despite their physical separation. Poem no. 5 of the Idemitsu Museum text reads:

When His Lordship spent all his time at the Fourth Princess [Kinshi] and visited her rarely, she sent him a set of ritual blue garments with this poem:

Yamaai mote I used indigo
sureru koromo no to get the color right but
Kai mo naku it was all for naught;
Kefu sae hito o if today, too, no one comes,

46 *Kujō dono Morosuke-shū* 42–43. *Ho ni izuru* (lit. "to produce [ripened] ears") was an established metaphor for becoming obvious.

47 Vestals were expected to remain chaste and avoid contact with commoners. Gashi served as Ise vestal between 931 and 935. Her relationship with Morosuke seems to have continued throughout this time.

48 *Kujō dono Morosuke-shū* 34.

Minu ya naninari what will I have made them for?⁴⁹
 やまあひもてすれる衣のかひもなく けふさへ人を見ぬやなになり

Readers of Heian literature will recall the many similar exchanges in the *Kagerō Diary* (*Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記, c. 974) through which the author and her powerful husband Kaneie keep their marriage afloat despite the growing distance between them.⁵⁰ Perhaps to an even higher degree than usual, the Heian aristocratic marriage was the foundation of the couple's social and political standing, so marital harmony meant much more than just the partners' psychological well-being.

Though the majority of poems in Morosuke's collection are love poems, a few significant ones are not. Most extant versions open with an exchange between Morosuke and Minamoto no Moroakira 源庶明 (903–955), a grandson of Emperor Uda 宇多's (r. 887–897), on the occasion of Moroakira's promotion to the third rank in 947. A few years earlier, Moroakira had given Morosuke a set of robes to congratulate him for his promotion to the fourth rank, so the occasion represented the perfect opportunity to reciprocate:

When Lord Kujō [Morosuke] was promoted to the fourth rank, he was given an overcoat by the Hirohata Middle Counselor [Moroakira]. When His Lordship became minister and the counsellor was promoted to the third rank, he sent him an overcoat, with this poem:

Omoiki ya Who would have thought it,
kimi ga koromo o at the time when I took off
nugishi toki my Lord's welcome robes
wa ga murasaki no that soon He would be donning
iro o kin to wa my lavender-colored ones?⁵¹
 おもいきや君が衣を脱ぎしとき わがむらさきのいろをきんとは

As the father of another of Murakami's consorts (Minamoto no Keishi 源計子; d.u.), Moroakira was technically a rival in the competition for power at court. Far from making the relationship between the two more difficult, however, this made maintaining cordial relationships even more vital. If one were to give a name to this social use of poetry to manage important relationships, "poetic diplomacy" would perhaps be an apt choice.⁵² Poetry is here a means to deal with people effectively and maintain harmonious relations when the circumstances threatened to deteriorate them.⁵³

49 *Kujō dono Morosuke-shū* 5. Because it contains the word *ai* ("to meet"), *yamaai* ("indigo") alludes to meeting one's lover.

50 Kaneie 兼家 (929–990) was Morosuke's third son.

51 *Kujō dono Morosuke-shū* 1.

52 I use the term "diplomacy" in its general sense of managing relations with others, in order to avoid friction.

53 There is, of course, nothing particularly unique about this use of poetry as a tool to maintain harmony. Soothing tension and softening the relations between husband and wife are listed as primary functions of poetry in many foundational texts of East Asian poetic culture including the "Great Preface" of the *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of Poetry, 3rd c.) and the *Kokinshū* prefaces.

Moroakira's response could have been less than courteous. In a matter of years, Morosuke had not only surpassed him in rank but had succeeded in becoming paternal grandfather of the future emperor.⁵⁴ Yet, Moroakira's reply is perfectly civil and in no way suggests that he resented Morosuke's success. Far from it, his gracious reply can be said to sanction his acceptance of the status quo and of the mutated terms of their relationship:

The Middle Counsellor's reply:

<i>Inishie ni</i>	Because you wore them
<i>kisashite kereba</i>	so long ago before me,
<i>uchihabuki</i>	I shall flap my wings
<i>tobitachinikeri</i>	and soar up to the sky in
<i>ama no hagoromo</i>	these immortal's feathered robes
いにしへにきさしてければ	うちはぶきとびたちにつけりあまのは衣

The importance of such exchanges of civilities for the smooth functioning of the political order known as *ōchō kokka* would be difficult to exaggerate. Based as it was on the disruption of traditional criteria for advancement (merit, seniority), Fujiwara-style politics required a constant work of crisis prevention to defuse tensions and minimize the risk of open conflict. The need for consensus to carry out many of the court's most important activities also made maintaining harmony among the various stakeholders essential. The civil exchange of poems of precisely the kind that Morosuke and his fellow aristocrats seem to have specialized in can be seen as one of the mechanisms (though certainly not the only one) through which harmony was maintained and the smooth functioning of the system was ensured.

It is also worth noting the role that gifts, which were often attached to poems, played in the process. The strategic, interested nature of gift-giving has long been recognized by theorists of gift-giving. In one of the classic statements on the subject, Marcel Mauss noted that "gifts are not freely given, they are also not really disinterested. They already represent for the most part total counter-services, not only made with a view to paying for services or things, but also to maintaining a profitable alliance, one that cannot be rejected."⁵⁵ Like the gifts to which they were attached, *waka* poems served to establish and keep healthy alliances that were at once personal and profitable. This does not mean that they did not also express genuine emotions or were devoid of literary value. Quite to the contrary, a measure of literariness and aesthetic appeal were essential to their functioning as a kind of social lubricant in a courtly context. Nor were the considerable political benefits that such poems brought incompatible with genuine emotion, for as Sonja Arntzen once so aptly put it, at the mid-Heian court "the personal is political."⁵⁶

54 Unlike Morosuke's daughter Anshi, Moroakira's daughter Keishi only produced daughters, Risshi 理子 (948–960) and Seishi 盛子 (951–998).

55 Mauss 1990, p. 94.

56 Arntzen 1997, p. 13.

Case Study #2: The Poems of the Vestal Consort Kishi

As my second case study, I now examine the poetic oeuvre of Emperor Murakami's junior consort Fujiwara Kishi 藤原徽子 (or Yoshiko, 929–985), variously known at the time as the vestal consort (*saigū no nyōgo* 齋宮女御) and the Shōkyōden 承香殿 consort.⁵⁷ As the daughter of Tadahira's second daughter Hiroko 寛子 (or Kanshi, 906–945), Kishi was Morosuke's niece. She made her formal entrance to court in 948 and was appointed junior consort in the following year. Although not as prolific as her rival Anshi (she only gave birth to one daughter), she was an excellent poet, perhaps the best of the many gifted poets who graced the halls of Murakami's "Rear Palace" (*kōkyū* 後宮).⁵⁸

Like Morosuke's collected poems, Kishi's personal poetry collection consists almost entirely of *zōtōka*, with the lion's share taken up by her exchanges with Murakami.⁵⁹ The relationship with the emperor was by far the most important for Kishi. As Rose Bundy notes, not only the consort's personal well-being but that of her entire family depended on her capacity to attract and maintain imperial favor.⁶⁰ From the many exchanges in the collection, Murakami comes across as a remarkably attentive partner, constantly inquiring after her at every leave of absence or reassuring her of his devotion (poem nos. 82–83, 86–87, 88–89, and 110–111). At times when such attention was less forthcoming, however, poetry provided Kishi a means to solicit visits and express jealousy or resentment:

After some time, His Majesty ordered her to go to him but she failed to, and upon hearing that someone else had joined him instead:

<i>Uguisu no</i>	If I had answered
<i>naku hitokoe ni</i>	the warbler's first call right then
<i>kikeriseba</i>	when I first heard it,
<i>yobu yamabiko ya</i>	would the echo of the valley
<i>Kuyashikaramashi</i>	not sound as full of regret? ⁶¹
うぐひすのなくひとこゑにきけりせば よぶやまびこやくやしからまし	

It is startling, at first, to see sentiments such as anxiety (*obotsukanasa*), self-pity (*mi o uramu*), worry, and uncertainty about the future (*kokorobososa*) recur with such frequency in the poems of an imperial consort.⁶² However, it must be kept in mind that in the highly competitive space of the palace, imperial favor was volatile, and could easily be transferred to a rival, with potentially dire consequences for the consort and her family.

57 The Shōkyōden was one of the halls of the palace that housed imperial consorts and their staff.

58 Her reputation at the time is suggested by the prominent position she is accorded in Murakami's own personal poetry collection, the *Murakami gyōshū* 村上御集 (His Majesty Murakami's collected poems), where exchanges with Kishi take up a good 75 percent of the collection.

59 Kishi's collection is known as the *Saigū nyōgoshū* 齋宮女御集 (The Vestal Consort's collection). There are four main textual lineages: the Imperial Household Agency text (Shōryōbu-hon, 164 poems), the Nishi Honganji text (265 poems), the *Kasen Kashū* text (102 poems), and the Ōshima fragment. All citations are from the Nishi Honganji text as annotated by the Heian Bungaku Rindokukai, *Saigū nyōgoshū chūshaku* (Hanawa Shobō, 1981).

60 Bundy 2007, pp. 34, 42.

61 *Saigū nyōgoshū* 16.

62 Poem nos. 6, 21, 23, 32, 34, and 45 are some examples.

A moment of particular charm and intimacy is captured in poem no. 15 and accompanying headnote:

One autumn evening, when the emperor had not been visiting her for some time, Her Highness played the *koto* in such a magnificent way that His Majesty threw on the first white trousers that he found and rushed to her. Although he sat there by her side, Her Highness continued to play for him pretending not to see him:

<i>Aki no hi no</i>	On this autumn dusk,
<i>ayashiki hodo no</i>	so filled with longing that one
<i>yūgure ni</i>	cannot stop wondering,
<i>ogi fuku kaze no</i>	how startling to hear the wind
<i>oto zo kikoyuru</i>	rustle through the bush clover! ⁶³

うへひさしうわたらせ給はぬ秋のゆふぐれに、きむをいとをかしうひき給に、上、しろき御
ぞのなえたるをたてまつりて、いそぎわたらせ給て、御かたはらにゐさせ給へど、人のおは
するともみいれさせたまはぬけしきにて、ひき給をきこしめせば

秋の日のあやしきほどのゆふぐれに をぎふくかぜのおとぞきこゆる

The sound of the *koto* traveling through the air to pique the sovereign's interest is a perfect metaphor for poetry's role within the palace as a catalyst for imperial attention. Like the melodies of her *koto*, Kishi's poems traveled through space and reached their intended target, ensuring that his attention would remain firmly focused on her.

In addition to this "practical" function of facilitating the relation between sovereign and consort, poetry exchanges between emperor and consorts also served the all-important symbolic function of adding to the aura of the palace as a site of supreme splendor and refinement. Poem no. 12 in the collection was composed in response to a note from Murakami which contained an allusion to the following poem of the *Kokinshū*:

<i>Suma no ama no</i>	Have we grown apart,
<i>Shioyaki koromo</i>	like threads on the rude garments
<i>osa o arami</i>	Suma seafolk wear
<i>madō ni are ya</i>	as they toil to make salt?
<i>kimi ga kimasanu</i>	You, my Lord, never visit. ⁶⁴

須磨のあまの塩やき衣おさをあらみ まどをにあれやきみが来まさぬ

Kishi's poem is couched in the same language and imagery of the source poem, showing that she not only understood the allusion but spoke the same language of beauty that the emperor spoke:⁶⁵

63 *Saigū nyōgoshū* 15.

64 *Kokinshū* 758.

65 On the political significance of beauty and women's role in its production, see Wallace 2005, p. 149.

Sent in response to a letter from His Majesty that alluded to the poem “Have we grown far apart?”

<i>Narenureba</i>	The novelty fades,
<i>ukime kareba ya</i>	so we reap seaweed of gloom.
<i>Suma no ama no</i>	Apart we've grown, yes,
<i>shio yaku koromo</i>	like the garments the Suma
<i>madō naruramu</i>	seafolk wear to make salt. ⁶⁶
なれぬればうきめかればや	すまのあまのしほやくころもまどほなるらむ

An even better example of collaboration in the production of beauty is the following *tan-renga* 単連歌 (single linked verse) sequence, which was composed as a four-hand effort by Murakami and Kishi together:

On the first day of the fifth month, with the words, “From today on, how are we to...”:

<i>Satsuki yami</i>	The fifth month's darkness
<i>obotsukanasa no</i>	will no doubt make my worries
<i>itodo masaramu</i>	greater than usual!
さつきやみおぼつかなさのいとどまさらむ	

Upon receiving the poem:

<i>Nagame kuru sora wa</i>	I stare idly at the rains
<i>sa nomi ya.</i>	wondering, is it really so? ⁶⁷
ながめくるそらはさのみや	

As important to Kishi as her relationship with the emperor was her connection with the other women of the imperial harem. Like the relationship with the sovereign, these connections had to be carefully cultivated, and poems provided an excellent means to do so. The twelfth-century chronicle *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (The great mirror) says of Empress Anshi (Murakami's primary consort and Kishi's superior in the palace hierarchy) that, “[s]he was quite understanding with the other consorts, frequently exchanging *acts of courtliness* [*on-miyabi*] with them and so forth.”⁶⁸ Kishi's collection contains many such “acts of courtliness” directed to either her rivals or persons close to them. She seems to have been on particularly close terms with Anshi's daughters Senshi 選子 (964–1035) and Shishi 資子 (955–1015), and with the daughter of Fujiwara Masahime, Yasuko 保子 (known at the time

66 *Saigū nyōgoshū* 12. Kishi's poem includes a second allusion to *Kokinshū* 1122.

67 *Saigū nyōgoshū* 78. In the lunar calendar, the fifth month marked the beginning of the rainy season and the frequently overcast sky made the nights darker than usual.

68 *Ōkagami*, p. 165, my emphasis. The general term “acts of elegance” encompasses sending poems, gifts, and other acts intended to foster cordial relations with fellow courtiers. McCullough (1980, p. 129) translates *on-miyabi* as “poems.”

as the Third Princess, ? –967).⁶⁹ To read these exchanges between consorts or their close relatives is to glimpse the constant to and fro of courtesy acts through which harmony at the palace was built and maintained:

To the Sen'yōden Junior Consort:

<i>Tamasaka ni</i>	Has the lax watchman
<i>tou hi ari ya to</i>	of the Kasuga Fields
<i>Kasugano no</i>	even just told you,
<i>nomori wa ikaga</i>	how I long for the fine day
<i>tsuge ya shitsuramu</i>	when you will call on me?
たまさかにとふひありやとかすが野の のもりはいかがつげやしつらむ	

Her Majesty's reply:

<i>Kasuga no no</i>	It is rather me,
<i>Yuki no shimokusa</i>	the little snow-covered grass
<i>Hitoshirezu</i>	of Kasuga Fields,
<i>Tou hi ari ya to</i>	who waits so eagerly for
<i>Ware zo machitsuru</i>	the day when you will visit. ⁷⁰
春日野の雪の下草ひとしれず とふひありやとわれぞまちつる	

As with Morosuke's poems, to stress the social and political significance of these poems is not to suggest that they did not also express genuine emotions. There are some intensely personal poems in Kishi's collection. Examples include poems for her father's death (no. 44), poems of remembrance for her late mother (nos. 43, 46), intimate exchanges with her husband, and farewell poems sent to her daughter upon her departure for Nonomiya, where prospective Ise vestals spent a period of seclusion prior to taking up their duties (nos. 57, 59).⁷¹ Yet, because power and status were so firmly rooted in interpersonal ties, the significance of even the most personal of exchanges always went beyond the personal and merged in complex ways with sociopolitical considerations. Given the close interpenetration of public and private in Heian court life, it is unhelpful to draw too sharp a line between public and private modes of literary expression. Although poems could vary in their level of formality and political expediency, to dismiss as purely private all poetry not composed on official occasions is to overlook the immense political significance of private ties and personal interactions at this time.

69 Senshi is best known for her *Hosshin wakashū* 発心和歌集 (Waka poems for religious awakening, 1012), a collection of poems based on excerpts from Buddhist scripture.

70 *Saigū nyōgoshū* 55–56. The first poem contains a pun between *tou hi* ("the day you will visit") and *tobuhi* ("signal fire," the fires used by watchmen to signal danger). "Signal fire" and "watchmen" are *engo* 縁語 (associated words).

71 Prospective Ise vestals (*saigū*) spent a year at Nonomiya to purify themselves before formally taking up office. Kishi's daughter served as Ise vestal between 975 and 984.

Reassessing the *Gosenshū*

Before concluding, I would like to briefly reopen the file on the *Gosenshū*, so to speak, in order to release it from the interpretive cage in which it has been trapped for too long. The modern critical reception of the *Gosenshū* is a strange case of selective blindness. On the one hand, scholars have duly noted the involvement in its compilation of senior Fujiwara figures like Morosuke's son Koretada 伊尹 (or Koremasa, 924–972), his sister Anshi, as well as the close attention paid by the compilers to questions of rank and pedigree.⁷² Because of the generous representation of high-ranking poets, Fujioka Tadaharu 藤岡忠美 famously described the *Gosenshū* as “a barometer of the power relations at the time of its compilation.”⁷³ On the other hand, because of the supposedly private and informal nature of everyday *zōtōka* exchanges, scholars have been unable to see anything political in the *content* of the anthology. Literary histories almost invariably describe the *Gosenshū* as an “everyday” (*nichijōteki*) and “private” (*shiteki*) anthology, a sort of bona fide obverse of politically-minded works like the *Kokinshū*. If the reading of mid-century poetry exchanges given above is correct, nothing could be farther from the truth. With its emphasis on everyday poetic exchanges between high-ranking court figures, the *Gosenshū* is a profoundly political work, but the political order it both represents and celebrates is not the emperor-centric, “vertical” order defined by the codes and exalted in the *Kokinshū*, but the more cooperative, consensus-based, and “privatized” one that prevailed at court at the time of its compilation.⁷⁴ Through exchanges of poems and other means, mid-Heian court aristocrats built and maintained the large networks of personal alliances on which success and the ability to govern rested at this time. Far from signifying a loss of interest in political affairs and a retreat of poets into purely aesthetic pursuits, the prominence of *zōtōka* exchanges in the *Gosenshū* and mid-century *waka* works in general reflects the decline of the *ritsuryō* understanding of power, and the shift towards a more horizontal and collaborative order centered on personal ties and shared goals among multiple stakeholders.

The *Gosenshū*'s nature as a permanent record of the daily conversations of the court's most powerful figures also deserves greater emphasis than perhaps it has been given. Following Moriya Shōgo 守屋省吾, Joshua Mostow has argued that several mid-century texts edited by, or on behalf of, senior Fujiwara figures, were created with the specific aim of augmenting the cultural status of these men.⁷⁵ Slightly later works such as Sei Shōnagon's *Pillow Book* (*Makura no sōshi* 枕草子, c. 1005) and Murasaki Shikibu's *Diary* (*Murasaki Shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記, c. 1010) are also thought to have been written at least in part to

72 Koretada served as Superintendent (*bettō* 別当) of the selection committee (*sen-wakadokoro* 撰和歌所). As Koretada's sister and the usual resident of the building where the editorial work was conducted (the *Nashitsubo* 梨壺 or “Pear-tree Pavilion”), Anshi is thought to have had some role in the compilation of the anthology. Like the *Kokinshū*, the *Gosenshū* was compiled by a pool of poets of relatively humble station (the already-mentioned Motosuke; Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu 大中臣能宣, 921–991; Minamoto no Shitagō 源順, 911–983; Ki no Tokibumi 紀時文, fl. c. 940–960; and Sakanoue no Mochiki 坂上望城, d. 980). However, whereas the *Kokinshū* prominently features poems by its four compilers, the *Gosenshū* does not contain a single poem by the compilers.

73 Fujioka 1966, p. 64.

74 In using terms like “private” and “privatized” to describe the functioning of the mid-Heian state, one runs into the same kind of complications that one faces when trying to apply them to literary matters. In a world in which government depended heavily on personal ties, individual assets, and non-statutory mechanisms, inflexible terms such as “private” and “public” are inherently misleading.

75 Mostow 2004, pp. 2–3.

enhance the cultural status of the households in which their authors lived and worked. As a record of the daily dealings of some of the court's most influential men and women, the *Gosenshū* certainly belongs to this lineage of works that support the aristocratic order by glorifying the cultural exploits of its members.

If one were to choose an exchange to illustrate this political aspect of the *Gosenshū* as a literary manifestation of the new political order, the following, thoroughly gregarious exchange between the regent Tadahira and his nephew, the soon-to-be emperor Murakami, would perhaps be an apt choice:

When the current emperor was still called the Prince Governor-General, he visited the house of the chancellor [Tadahira]. When he was about to leave, [Tadahira] composed this poem and attached it to a gift of books:

<i>Kimi ga tame</i>	My heart is full of
<i>iwau kokoro no</i>	the most sincere hope for
<i>fukakereba</i>	your future success—
<i>hijiri no miyo no</i>	May these books show you the path
<i>ato narae tozo</i>	traced by the sages of old!
君がため祝ふ心の深ければ	聖の御代の跡ならへとぞ

His Majesty's reply:

<i>Oshie oku</i>	If one just follows
<i>koto tagawazu wa</i>	the recorded teachings,
<i>yukusue no</i>	one shall never lose
<i>michi tōku tomo</i>	the Way, no matter how long
<i>ato wa madowaji</i>	the road ahead may still be. ⁷⁶
教へ置く事たがはずは	行末の道遠くとも後はまどはじ

Conclusion

This essay has argued that it is essentially incorrect to see the poetry exchanges favored by the mid-tenth century Japanese elite and so prominently featured in mid-century *waka* works as merely private and devoid of political significance. When viewed against the changes to the structure and organization of the court that took place between the mid-ninth and late-tenth centuries, so-called “private” or “informal” poetry appears to be as laden with political significance and as consequential for the functioning of the state as its “formal/public” counterpart, although the political order that it both reflected and contributed to support was not the vertical, emperor-centric one defined by the *ritsuryō* codes but the new, more “horizontal,” cooperative, and increasingly “privatized” one of the “court-centered polity.” Poetry exchanges functioned as a form of court diplomacy, allowing court aristocrats to establish and maintain the extended networks of personal alliances through which power was won and enacted at this time. Far from signifying a widening of

⁷⁶ *Gosenshū* 1378–1379. The exchange dates from 943 or 944, when Murakami held the title of governor-general (*sochi* 帥) of Dazaifu.

the gap between literature and the state, the surge in popularity of this kind of poetry in the mid-tenth century throws into even sharper relief the extent of sociopolitical change during the two centuries of the Fujiwara regency.

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SNKBT *Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* 新日本古典文学大系

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Re-contextualizing *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, or When the Fish Declared War on the Greens

Elena FOLLADOR

This article focuses on *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, a Muromachi-period (1336–1467) text which describes an imaginary battle between vegetarian and non-vegetarian foods. Its theme of war and its anthropomorphic characters make it one of the oldest instances of *irui gassen mono* (tales of battles between nonhuman beings,) and as such it has been mostly valued for its intertextual relationship with war tales (*gunkimono*). This article has three major aims. First, it introduces this text to a Western audience in order to broaden the scope of investigation of Japanese literature. Second, it attempts to provide a fresh perspective on *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* by proposing to reconsider it as a textbook rather than an *otogizōshi* with a secondary pedagogic aim. The didactic content covered, I argue, was not limited to the acquisition of literacy regarding animals and plants, but included words for other semantic categories and encompassed a broader culinary education that also looked at food for its cultural and symbolic values too. Through this re-contextualization, I question the received view of the text as a parody of the war tale *Heike monogatari*. Finally, this article also offers this case study as a new touchstone for research on anthropomorphism and, more specifically, on its relationship with pedagogy and cognitive criticism.

Keywords: *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, *irui gassen mono*, anthropomorphism, food culture, Muromachi-period literature, *otogizōshi*, *ōraimono*, *gunkimono*, parody, cognitive criticism

Introduction

The Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1467) text known as *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* 精進魚類物語 (Tale of vegetables and fishes) describes a battle between two armies of anthropomorphic foods, vegetarian vs non-vegetarian. It is the first known text to stage such an imaginary clash, but in subsequent centuries the trope was re-elaborated in different ways in various media.¹ This work is also regarded as one of the earliest instances of *irui gassen mono* 異類合戦物 (tales of battles between nonhuman beings), and as such is often

¹ For a later graphic representation of the conflict, see, for example, the 1859 colored woodblock print by Utagawa Hirokage 歌川広影 (act. ca.1851–1866), *Aomono sakana gunzei okassen no zu* 青物魚軍勢大合戦之図

mentioned in general discussions as representative of this supposedly homogeneous group.² The inclusion of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* in the *irui gassen mono* corpus and in the even broader genre of medieval short prose texts (*otogizōshi* お伽草子 or *Muromachi monogatari* 室町物語) has also resulted in an emphasis on its narrative component, its war theme, and consequently its intertextual relationship with war tales (*gunkimono* 軍記物).³ The fact that the protagonists in this clash are trivial objects points to a satirical intention on the author's part perhaps originating in discontent at the imperial court, whose quiet, enclosed lifestyle was threatened by the rise of the warrior class (*bushi* 武士).⁴

This article builds upon previous research but offers an alternative to the established view. Specifically, I reconsider *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* as a didactic text in which the parodic, entertaining component serves a fundamentally pedagogic agenda. Moreover, I argue that this pedagogic agenda is not limited to imparting literacy through the long lists of words (*monozukushi* 物尽くし) that dominate the first half of the text, but extends to the dissemination of knowledge related to food culture and the ritual calendar.

The first section introduces the text and gives a brief overview of its reception in the secondary literature, and its relationship to the aforementioned “genres.” The second section challenges the reading of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* merely as a parody of the war tale *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (Tale of the Heike), and refutes the interpretation of the text as satirical.⁵ The third section examines scholarly claims about the *monozukushi* food lists, and compares them with those of contemporaneous copybooks (*ōraimono* 往来物). The final section reflects upon the role of the foods mentioned in the story within the context of medieval dietary customs.

In sum, this article has three overarching aims: to introduce *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* to an Anglophone audience in order to broaden the scope of investigation into medieval Japanese literature; to provide a fresh perspective, while implicitly questioning the utility of categorizing all short prose text produced in that period as *otogizōshi*; and to offer a new touchstone for research on anthropomorphism and its relationship with pedagogy, especially with regard to recent trends in cognitive literary theory.

The Text: What It Is and What It Is Said to Be

The urtext of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*—of which no documentation survives—is thought to have been written sometime in the Muromachi period and is traditionally attributed to a court aristocrat, either Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320–1388) or Ichijō Kaneyoshi 一条兼良 (1402–1481).⁶ There is a consensus that composition predates the Bunmei 文明 era (1469–1487), due to the fact that another *irui gassen mono* from around that time (*Aro kassen monogatari* 鴉鷺合戦物語 (Tale of the battle between the crow and the heron) quotes

(Picture of the great battle between the armies of vegetables and fishes), available online at: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/chi05/chi05_03987/index.html (Accessed 25 October 2018).

2 For an overview of *irui gassen mono*, see Itō 2017.

3 For a recent discussion in English on the *otogizōshi*'s nomenclature, see Nuffer 2014, pp. 10–13, and for an overview of the genre, see Kimbrough 2016, pp. 355–362.

4 Sawai 2002a.

5 The date of composition of *Heike monogatari* is positioned sometime in the thirteenth century, but the text has been incessantly remodeled in multiple variants. For a list of its main versions, see Bialock 1999, p. 73.

6 Several Edo-period sources note that in the early seventeenth century authorship was attributed to Nijō Yoshimoto (Shibata 2003).

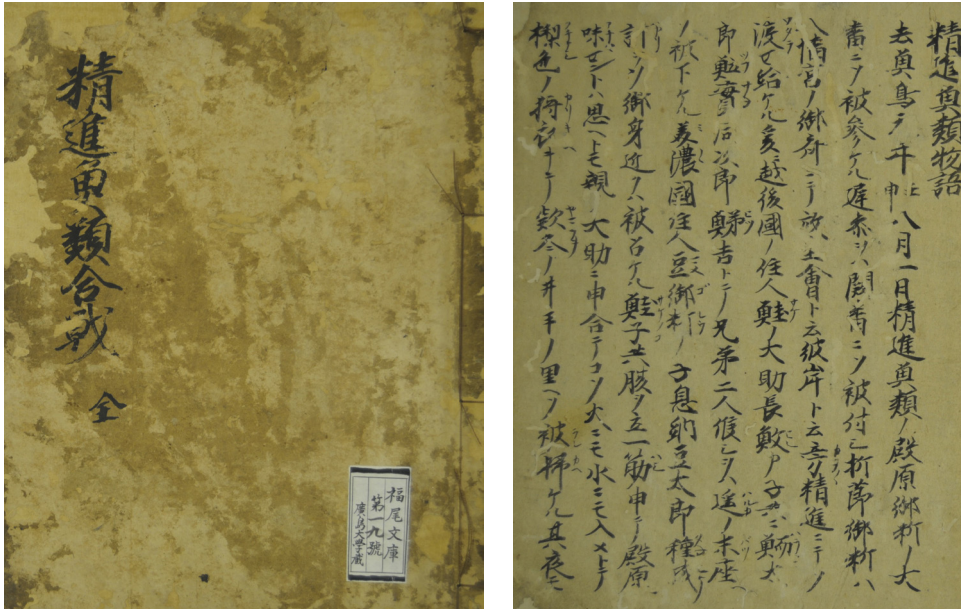


Figure 1. Cover (left) and folio 1r (right) of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* (Fukuo Bunko, Hiroshima University Library).

our story. Gotō Tanji compared the date in the beginning of the tale with the sexagenarian cycle and identified it as Kyōtoku 享徳2 (1452).⁷ In any case, *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* must be older than 1484, since the dictionary *Onko Chishinsho* 温故知新書 compiled in that year quotes a fragment of it.⁸

Likewise, we have no information about its intended readership.⁹ The oldest citation is in one of the four scattered pages of the historical document, *Renren ni keiko seshimuru sōshi ige no koto* 連々令稽古双紙以下之事 (Below: Books for regular drilling) probably compiled by the Shingon monk, In'yū 印融 (1435–1519) before 1514.¹⁰ These pages list the readings for novice monks to master by their sixteenth birthday, and *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* is one of them, alongside sutras, *ōraimono*, and *gunkimono*. Other records mentioning our text are diaries, such as that of the Buddhist priest Eishun 英俊 (1518–1596) contained in *Tamon'in nikki* 多聞院日記 (Journal of the Tamon'in; 1478–1618), the *Tokitsugu kyō ki* 言繼卿記 (Journal of Tokitsugu; 1527–1576) by the nobleman Yamashina Tokitsugu 山科言繼 (1507–1579), and the *Tokitsune kyō ki* 言經卿記 (Journal of Tokitsune; 1576–1608) by Tokitsugu's son Tokitsune 言經 (1543–1611).¹¹ From these diary entries, we learn that *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* was transcribed and enjoyed by male and female members of the imperial court of Kyoto and by Buddhist monks. In the same court diaries, the text is also

7 Gotō 1943, p. 122.

8 Takahashi and Komatsu 2004, p. 191.

9 See, for example, Kojima 1964, p. 2.

10 Facsimile in Takahashi 2007; transcription in Takahashi 2006.

11 *Tamon'in nikki*, vol. 1, p. 268; Yamashina 1914, vol. 3, pp. 121, 131, 272, and vol. 4, p. 45; Yamashina 1959, vol. 3, p. 212.

called *Shōjin gyorui tōjō* 精進魚類鬪状 (Account of the war between vegetables and fishes) and *Shōjin gyorui monogatari sōshi* 精進魚類物語草子 (Book of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*). It was first published in the Edo period (1600–1868), sometimes with the variant title *Gyochō Heike* 魚鳥平家 (Heike of the Fish-Bird era). By the end of the eighteenth century, it was deemed important enough to be included in the massive compendium of Japanese knowledge, *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類聚 (Anthology of various books by category), edited by Hanawa Hokinoichi (Hokiichi) 塙保己一 (1746–1821) in 1794, and printed over the following twenty-five years.

Scholars have divided the surviving copies of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* into two main families of texts: “old texts” (*kotaibon* 古態本), comprising mid-Muromachi manuscripts and early Edo-period versions, and “circulating texts” (*rufubon* 流布本), that is, the later early modern versions.¹² None of them are illustrated, and all are written in *wakan konkō bun* 和漢混交文, that is a mixture of kanji characters with either the *hiragana* or the *katakana* phonetic syllabaries. The *kotaibon* are considered to be closer to the lost urtext (assuming that there is one), and they differ from the *rufubon* in several respects. They are generally more learned in their linguistic style, with a higher number of kanji and more peculiar, difficult readings written next to the characters, in particular those clustered in the lists. Overall, their language is closer to classical Chinese and maintains many of the glosses (*kunten* 訓点) necessary to read the sentences in the Japanese way. The *rufubon* by contrast have more kana and colloquial passages that testify to a vernacularization of the text’s language.¹³ The most striking difference, however, is that all *kotaibon* lack completely the opening paragraph present in the *rufubon*, a point I discuss further below.¹⁴

The plot of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* can be summarized as follows.¹⁵ In the first year of the Fish-Bird era, the Roe brothers, sons of Lord Salmon Ōsuke Long-Fin, are attending a formal ceremony at the imperial palace.¹⁶ They get extremely upset when they see that Nattō Tarō Big-Seeds is seated close to Shogun Rice while they are demoted to the lowest seats, and they decide to return home. Their father cannot tolerate this affront to their dignity and decides to raise an army of fishes, mollusks, birds, and animals to attack Nattō’s father, Lord Soy, whose defense force comprises seaweeds, vegetables, roots, beans, sweets, and fruits. After fierce fighting, the attacking troops are defeated and both Ōsuke and his sons are killed.

Despite the simplicity of the storyline, the tale embeds a number of narratives focusing on minor characters, alongside poems, quotations from *kanshi* 漢詩 (poems in Chinese), and references to Chinese sources and historical figures. Moreover, the narration is interrupted

12 The extant copies about which bibliographical information is provided take the form of bound volumes approximately 27 x 19 cm large of around nineteen folios. For philological studies on the genealogy of *kotaibon* texts, see Akiya 1978, p. 40, and Mizuno 2004, p. 17; for *rufubon* texts, see Kondō 2004, p. 38.

13 Akiya 1978, p. 40.

14 As noted, for example, by Ichiko 1955, p. 371.

15 For this paper, I made use of the manuscript *kotaibon* preserved at the Fukuo Bunko, Hiroshima University Library (transcribed in Hiroshima Daigaku Nihongoshi Kenkyūkai 2012). I complemented the missing last folio with the transcription of the printed *kotaibon* of Tokyo University (transcribed in Yokoyama and Matsumoto 1973). For the *rufubon*, I consulted the partly annotated critical edition in Mozume 1930 and Sawai 2000. For the meaning, hence the translation, of characters’ names I also referred to Sawai 2012a and 2012b.

16 For the original Japanese names and their kanji, as well as for a detailed summary, see table 1.

Table 1. Structure of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* (folios refer to copy preserved at the Fukuo Bunko, Hiroshima University Library).

FOLIO	NARRATIVITY	EVENTS DESCRIBED
1r	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	First year of the Fish-Bird era (<i>Gyochō gannen</i> 魚鳥元年), first day of the eighth month: the seating plan of an official ceremony gives offence to the Roe (Hararago 鯛) brothers, who are relegated to the lowest seats while Nattō Tarō Big-Seeds (Nattō Tarō Tanenari 納豆太郎種成), son of Lord Soy (Mame Go Ryō 豆御料), is appointed to sit close to Shogun Rice (Go Ryō 御料)
1v – 2v	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Third day of the eighth month: the brothers return to Echigo and explain to their father Salmon Ōsuke Long-Fin (Sake no Ōsuke Nagahire 鮭大助長鯨) what happened; Salmon delivers a speech on the prestige of his family
3r – 4r	NON-NARRATIVE	List of the soldiers on Salmon's side: eighty-four nouns for fishes, fourteen for mollusks, fifty-five for birds, fourteen for other animals
5r – 6v	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	Dramatic separation between the just-married Sea Bream the Red Good-Taste (Tai no Akasuke Ajiyoshi 鯛赤助鮫吉) and Wakame of the Rock (Iso no Wakame 磯ノ和布)
6v – 7r	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Description of the garments worn by Salmon, his sons and Sea Bream
7r – 7v	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	Prayer and offering at the temple Iwashimizu 鱒水
7v	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	District Officer Catfish (Namazu no Hōgan-dai 鯰ノ判官代) arrives late
7v – 8r	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Nattō Tarō is warned of the imminent attack
8r – 9r	NON-NARRATIVE	List of the soldiers on Nattō's side: twenty-seven nouns for vegetables and seaweeds, twenty-two for fruits, thirteen for cooked food, spices and seasonings
9r	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	Konjak-bē (Kon'nyaku-bē 苟筍兵衛) pays visit to the shrine of his tutelary deity
9r – 9v	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Preparation of the defense at the castle of Bean Cliff (<i>Mametsu no shō</i> 豆津ノ庄)
10r	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Description of the garments worn by Nattō Tarō, Soy Sauce Tarō (Karahishio Tarō 唐醬太郎), Parched-Bean Laughtarō (Irimame no Emitarō 炒豆笑太郎)
10v	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Battle begins; <i>nanori</i> of Rooster the Singer Long-Tail (Niwatori no Utanosuke Nagao 鶏ノ雅樂助長尾) and Nattō Tarō; first exchanges of arrows
11r	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	<i>Nanori</i> of Roe Tarō, who shoots the Chief Priest Taro-Corm (Imogashira no Daigūji 芋頭ノ大宮司)
11v – 12r	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	Twenty-eighth day of the eighth month: death of the Chief Priest Taro-Corm
12v	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Assault on the castle; Bream the Red Good-Taste is wounded
13r – 15r	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	Bonze Dolphin (Iruka no Nyūdō 鰐ノ入道) performs the Buddhist ceremony of the Six Realms of Rebirth (<i>rokudō kōshiki</i> 六道講式)
15r – 15v	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	Death of Bonze Pickled-Plum (Ume-bōshi 梅法師), former Lesser Captain Red-Plum (Kōbai no Shōshō 紅梅ノ少将)
15v – 16r	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Charge led by the animals' side; successful counter-attack by the vegetables' side; new ineffective charge led by animals
16v	NARRATIVE (EMBEDDED NARR.)	Death of Chestnut, Lord of Iga (Kuri no Iga no kami 栗ノ伊賀守); Shogun Rice and the Lesser General Chinquapin (Shi no shōshō 椎ノ少将) compose poems for him
16v – 17v	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Showdown between Salmon Ōsuke and Turnip Saburō Ever-Good (Aona no Saburō Tsuneyoshi 青蔓三郎常吉); death of Salmon; death of Roe Tarō inside Pot Castle (<i>Nabe no jō</i> 鍋ノ城)
18r	NARRATIVE (FRAME STORY)	Third day of the ninth month: war ends and Turnip is appointed retainer of Shogun Rice

several times by self-contained lists (*monozukushi*) of the names of the animal and vegetable soldiers, descriptive passages of the characters' attire, and religious sermons. In other words, it represents a good example of what Marie-Laure Ryan has termed "diluted narrativity."¹⁷ A Buddhist tone seems to infuse the whole tale which culminates in the landslide victory of the vegetarian party over that of fish and meat.¹⁸

The majority of studies of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* insist that it is a parody of *Heike monogatari*, basing the claim on the evident operation of parodic rewriting recognizable in the opening paragraph of the *rufubon*.¹⁹

All things are transient since they hear the Jetava Woods Temple bells ringing. The bracken soup of the Sal Tree Woods Temple reveals the great man's certain death from fatal sips. The charcoal that burns does not long endure. When one burns tasty foods, they turn into ashes. Even the fearless boar in the end becomes dust under the dried grass.²⁰

Gion-rin no kane no koe, kikeba shogyō mo mujō nari. Sharasōrin-ji no warabi no shiru, jōsha hissui shinu beki kotowari o arawasu. Okoreru sumi mo hisashikarazu. Bibutsu o yakeba hai to naru. Takeki inoshishi mo tsui ni wa karumo no shita no chiri to naru.

祇園林の鐘の声。きけば諸行も無常也。沙羅双林寺の蕨の汁。盛者ひつすひしぬべき理をあらはす。おこれる炭も久しからず。美物を焼ば灰となる。猛き猪も遂にはかるもの下の塵となる。

The war theme and the contrast between two opposing parties supposedly provide further support for this claim of parody. Few scholars have sought other commonalities between the two texts, however. Akiya Osamu has argued that it is possible to draw parallels, for instance, between the scene of Salmon Ōsuke's death and that of Taira no Atsumori 平敦盛, as well as between the scene of Bream the Red bidding farewell to his family and a similar situation featuring Taira no Koremori 平維盛.²¹ Sawai Taizō has investigated the characters' names, and identifies Salmon instead with Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 and a few other food soldiers with minor warriors quoted in *Heike monogatari*.²² Were this type of analysis to be expanded to all the anthropomorphic characters, we could perhaps affirm with certainty the direct relationship of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* with *Heike monogatari*. But it seems that the correspondences are limited to a few characters, and so the question of whether all

17 A narrativity in which "the plot is interspersed with extensive non-narrative elements, such as descriptions, philosophical considerations and digressions" (Ryan 2010, p. 317).

18 It is no accident that the vegetables are always referred to as *shōjin* 精進, from the term *shōjin ryōri* 精進料理, which indicates the vegetarian cuisine introduced in Japan with Buddhism in the sixth century. It further developed and spread beyond the walls of Buddhist temples in the medieval age (Murai 1979, p. 35).

19 Kojima 1964, p. 2; Mulhern 1974, p. 194; Akiya 1978, p. 43; Itō 2008, p. 345; Haruta 2008, p. 30; Komine 2010, p. 15; Sawai 2002b; Sawai 2012a, p. 129. Itō and Sawai both add that the text draws elements also from other *gunkimono* such as *Taiheiki*, but neither scholar provides examples other than comparisons with *Heike monogatari*.

20 *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 504, p. 262. All the other translations are by the author.

21 Akiya 1978, pp. 43–46, and Akiya 1984.

22 Sawai 2012a; Sawai 2012b.

the names in our text actually rework those of warriors present in the *gunkimono* remains unresolved.²³

At the same time, scholars have identified a connection between *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* and other textual traditions, suggesting an intertextual dimension that goes beyond *Heike monogatari* alone. For example, Kojima Yoshiyuki argues that the fake era name (*ginengō* 擬年号) at the beginning of the narration and the choice of warrior characters may both derive from literary conventions of *hayamonogatari* 早物語 (“quick tales”).²⁴ These were short humorous stories swiftly told by blind travelling Buddhist storytellers (*biwa hōshi* 琵琶法師 and *zatō* 座頭) while reciting long war tales. They served to break up extended recitatives and loosen the tension caused by those dramatic narrations.²⁵ The choice of talking animals, instead, derives from folktales, which were also mastered by Buddhist storytellers. More specifically, the name of the main villain of the fish army may have come from a tale widespread in the Tōhoku region, in which the name of the protagonist King of Salmon is none other than Ōsuke.²⁶

The first part of our text, in which each side claims to be better than the other, has been linked to what is called “debate literature” (*ronsō bungaku* 論争文学).²⁷ *Ronsō bungaku* texts developed on the continent many centuries earlier, and the oldest examples that can be linked to this genre are three *fu* 賦 (rhapsodies, or poetic expositions) by the Han author Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179 B.C.–117 B.C.).²⁸ In these works, two imaginary characters argue about the superiority of their own thesis, but eventually a third character arrives and puts an end to the discussion with his stronger argument. Further texts were written in the following centuries, and sometimes the protagonists were not human beings, but the very objects of debate, anthropomorphized and speaking for themselves. Among these later works, there are contrasts between philosophical concepts, animals, plants, and even foods.²⁹ Similar stories can also be found in Korean and Vietnamese literature, and in these cases, the winner among the two fighting parties is decreed by an external judge, either a king, an emperor, or a goddess.³⁰ The presence of a ruler standing above the contending parties and supporting one of them is similar to *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* as well.

23 Moreover, a few names vary between the *kotaibon* and the *rufubon* versions, undermining some of the correspondence found by Sawai. Since this study does not address the discrepancies between the different versions of the text, I direct the reader to Takahashi and Takahashi 2004a and 2004b, who discuss variances in great detail.

24 Kojima 1964, pp. 7–9.

25 *Kyōgaku shiyō shō* 経覚私要鈔, a Muromachi-period diary of a Buddhist monk annotated in 1471, records that *Heike monogatari* was chanted together with *hayamonogatari* by a blind storyteller on the tenth day of the first month, with the comic counterpart serving as a celebrative interlude proper to the new year (Kojima 1964, p. 4).

26 Kojima 1964, pp. 11–12.

27 Kim 2005, p. 42. Kim is the first Japanese scholar to propose this term for classifying these texts.

28 Kim 2005, p. 44. A translation is available in Watson 1971, pp. 29–51.

29 For example, abstract concepts start a debate in an Eastern Jin period (317–420) poem by Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 called “Xing ying shen” 形影神 (Body, shadow and soul). In “Shilin guangji” 事林廣記 (Vast records of forest matters), there is a quarrel between an ant and a fly, eventually settled by a mosquito, and in “Qiuya ji” 秋崖集 (Collected works of Qiuya) a dialogue between a peach, a plum, and a bamboo; both texts date from the Southern Song period (1127–1179). Two more *fu* in vernacular dating from the late Tang period (618–907) were found in the Dunhuang Caves: “Yanzi fu” 燕子賦 (Rhapsody of the swallow) and “Cha jiu lun” 茶酒論 (Tea alcohol debate). For exhaustive lists of works, see Kim 2005; see Idema and Lee 2019 for cats against mice stories in Chinese literature.

30 Kim 2005, pp. 48–50. For alcohol and rice debates in Korea, see Kum 2013.

The only tangible evidence of the transmission of continental “debate tales” to Japan is the 1513 text entitled *Quanshi wen jiu cha siwen* 勸世文酒茶四問 (Exhortation to the world: Four questions for alcohol and tea), a farewell gift to a delegation sent by the Muromachi bakufu to the Ming empire, written by a Ningbo scholar called Song Zhai 松齋.³¹ Despite this, Itō Nobuhiro claims that *ronsō bungaku* made a major contribution to the creation of Japanese stories. The thematic similarity of these works with the first part of our text suggests that *irui gassen mono* originated by combining elements of local and continental cultures.³² Space precludes an extended discussion of commonalities with texts coming from outside Japan, but I am persuaded that this intuition merits further exploration. It is more than likely that the author of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* was familiar with and had taken inspiration from Chinese works. In particular, I think that the very idea of having two different “categories” (*rui* 類) on opposing sides, as in *ronsō bungaku*, could account for the structure of our text more than the historical contrast between the Taira and Minamoto families.

Finally, another genre that has been associated with our text is *ōraimono*, those copybooks used to impart literacy. Ichiko Teiji first suggested that the *monozukushi*—the self-contained lists found in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*—could have served, as with the copybooks, to teach reading and writing kanji for animals and plants.³³ He even put forward a hypothesis, based only on the *monozukushi*, that the text itself could therefore be considered as an *ōraimono* that combines didacticism with humor.³⁴ This hypothesis was dropped in later scholarship, but I explore it in greater detail below. Ichiko further noted that the author of our text made skillful use of a stylistic peculiarity of war tales known as *mushazoroe* 武者揃 or *seizoroe* 勢揃 (collection of warriors), namely enumerations of all the fighters on both sides present on the battlefield.³⁵ In war stories this feature served to illustrate which families faced each other in battle. Yet, according to Ichiko, this device was employed in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* not only to make clear who was fighting whom, but also to display long inventories of words in the manner of a copybook.

The following sections build upon current scholarship to explore further the didactic intent of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* and the role of its lists. It is, however, impossible to address these issues without first clarifying at least briefly the relationship of the text to war tales, and to *Heike monogatari* in particular.

Laughing at Warriors or with Warriors? *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* and *gunkimono*

Even though most studies of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* assert that it parodies mainly the *Heike monogatari*, none specifies at what level this parody happens and which elements are involved in the rewriting process. As a matter of fact, the very meaning attributed to the concept of “parody” is never specified, and even if the overall impression is that it is used with a nuance of “mocking caricature,” one is left to second guess what precise meaning to

31 The text, preserved at the Tenryūji Myōchiin 天龍寺妙智院 in Kyoto, is introduced in detail in Kim 2008.

32 Itō 2009, pp. 10–11. Itō’s claim is based on the collection of both continental and Japanese *ronsōmono* in Kim 2005.

33 Ichiko 1955, p. 372.

34 Ichiko 1955, p. 373.

35 Ichiko 1955, p. 372.

give to the term.³⁶ In most cases, the only evidence adduced to prove parody is a quotation of the few lines that constitute the introduction and that are a minimal parodic rewriting of those in *Heike monogatari*. However, we have seen above that this paragraph is missing from all *kotaihon* versions. Additionally, only Edo-period *rufubon* texts present the variant title *Gyochō Heike*, which supposedly highlights a direct relationship between the two.

This raises doubts as to whether the author made any conscious attempt to introduce the work with such a blatant reference to the war tale. Publishers of the seventeenth century, in fact, might have decided to add this paragraph to tickle the taste buds of contemporaneous readers. War tales were experiencing great popularity at the time, and were enjoyed in different ways, reaching an increasingly broader slice of population. On the one hand, there was a high number of newly composed war tales, printed alongside older medieval tales rewritten in kana phonetic script and sometimes also illustrated.³⁷ On the other hand, street performers, such as *Taiheiki yomi* 太平記読み (literally, “reading of ‘Taiheiki’”), were giving oral accounts and commentaries of texts all over the country.³⁸ It is not hard to imagine that in this context an explicit reference to a famous war tale at the beginning of the text offered an additional purchasing incentive for readers.

Moreover, no event narrated in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* literally recalls episodes in *Heike monogatari*. All the passages identified by Akiya as rewritings of parts of the *gunkimono* have only an imprecise connection to the original in narrative terms. The correspondence in some cases is limited to some linguistic expressions, which nonetheless can be found scattered not only in *Heike monogatari*, but also in other *gunkimono*. Yet, such sentences and words are too random and specific to suggest that they are taken directly from one single work. For instance, one of the sentences highlighted by Akiya is “they hid in the castle,” variously transcribed as *shiro ni zo komorikeru* 城にぞ籠ける in the old text preserved at Tokyo University, and *shiro o zo koshiraekeru* 城をぞこしらへける in circulating texts.³⁹ In the edition used for this article, the same sentence as found in folio 17v reads *shiro ni so kakusarekeru* 城ニソ被_レ藏ケル. This would supposedly be similar enough to a sentence in the Kakuichi version of *Heike*, *shiro o zo kamaekeru* 城をぞかまへける.⁴⁰ While all these sentences can be translated into English in the same way, neither the verbs nor the particles are exactly the same in the two texts. And the phrase in question commonly occurs in other *gunkimono*, for example in the thirty-fourth book of *Taiheiki* (*shiro he zo komorikeru* 城へぞ籠りける).⁴¹ This lack of consistency in the two texts applies also to other expressions quoted by Akiya. The reader probably did not recognize them as quotations of particular source texts, but rather as a distinctive way of narrating war tales.

Our text also makes use of other devices found in most *gunkimono*. One is the listing of warriors’ names involved in the fighting (*seizoroe*), as mentioned above. Others include “name-announcing” (*nanori* 名乗り) and (*idetachi* 出で立ち), or “dressing the hero” as Varley

36 When not quoting Japanese scholars, I use the word “parody” as defined by Margaret Rose, that is, “the comic refunctioning of preformed linguistic or artistic material” (Rose 2000, p. 52).

37 Inoue counted 132 Tokugawa period printed war tales (Inoue 2014, p. 22).

38 For an extensive study on *Taiheiki yomi*, see Wakao 1999.

39 Akiya 1978, pp. 44.

40 *Heike monogatari*, vol. 2, p. 25.

41 *Taiheiki*, vol. 4, p. 161.

has defined it.⁴² The former refers to warriors declaring their name, and sometimes also age, rank, position, and family genealogy before engaging the enemy. They did this to acquire renown among fellow warriors, and to identify themselves and so intimidate the enemy. In *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, we find an example of *nanori* prior to the duel between Rooster and Nattō:

In that moment, someone advanced and announced his name aloud: “When you were far away you heard my sound, but now look at me with your eyes! I am Rooster the Singer Long-Tail, dweller of Aizaka no Seki where the lovers meet, third-generation descendant of Peacock and Phoenix, who now resides in the Paradise of the Pure Land.” So he announced himself, hit his helmet cape and commanded, “Attack-a-doodle! Attack-a-doodle!” (10v)⁴³

Sono toki kake-idete daionjō ni nanorikeru wa tōku wa oto ni mo kiki ima wa me ni mo miyo Gokuraku Jōdo ni annaru Kujaku Hōō ni wa sandai no basson koishiki hito ni Ōsaka no Seki ni sumu Niwatori no Uta no Suke Nagao to nanorite horo o tataite kakero kakero to zo geji shikeru

其時懸出テ大音声ニ名乗ケルハ遠クハ音ニモ聞今ハ目ニモ見ヨ極楽浄土ニ有ナル孔雀鳳凰ニハ三代ノ末孫恋シキ人ニ相坂ノ関ニ棲ム鶏ノ雅樂助長尾ト名乗テ布露ヲ扣テカケロノトソ下知シケル

The “dressing the hero” practice was specifically designed for the audience, the readers, and listeners of war tales. It consisted in description of the warriors’ attire, the better to provide the protagonists with a distinctive physicality.⁴⁴ In *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, such descriptions appear in folios 6v–7r and 10r, and allow the author to show his skillful mastery of wordplay. In fact, the main features of fishes and vegetables are comically matched with their garments, and kanji are chosen according to the possibility of playing with their multiple readings in order to fit better the categories of vegetarian or non-vegetarian:

That day Salmon Ōsuke was wearing a *hitatare*⁴⁵ of Shikama [kanji translation: “deer-place”] dark greyish blue with a Jay-wing armor and a five-plated helmet in the same color, topped with a tall [kanji translation: “hawk”] crest. (6v)⁴⁶

Sake no Ōsuke Nagahire ga sono hi no shōzoku ni wa Shikama no konji no hitatare ni kashidori odoshi no yoroi kite onajike no gōmai-kabuto ni taka-zuno uchite zo kitarikeru

鮭ノ大助長鮫カ其ノ日ノ装束ニハ鹿間ノ紺地ノ直垂ニ鶴織ノ鎧着テ同毛ノ五枚甲ニ鷹角打テソ着タリケル

42 Varley 1994, p. 63.

43 Sasaki 2012, p. 70.

44 Akiya 1984, p. 63.

45 *Hitatare* was a garment worn together with *hakama*, loose-legged pleated trousers.

46 Sasaki 2012, p. 67.

Another feature common to both war tales and *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* is the insertion of references to famous Chinese poems and historical figures. Our author evidently drew, for example, on the renowned anthology of Chinese and Japanese poems, *Wakan rōei shū* 和漢朗詠集 (1013). *Gunkimono* incorporated poems to ornament the prose style, and anecdotes to emphasize some points of the plot.⁴⁷ It is likely that in our text these references served the same purpose. Finally, the use of a *wakan konkō* style, together with an underlying Buddhist flavor, are both typical of war tales as well.

Given the above characteristics, it would appear that the mechanism at play is not one of systematic adaptation and minimal parodic rewriting of *Heike monogatari* or other single works. *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* instead imitates the *gunkimono* as a style of narrating, adopting the genre's structures and making skilled (and comical) use of its conventions to create something new. Indeed, it is quite hard to identify here any satirical discourse on Genpei warriors, on the *bushi* class in general, or on war itself. The characters in the tale are not ridiculed, but rather described as real warriors who fight real battles and die in duels, as in war tales. The narration equally lacks any moral commentary on the futility of violence. On the contrary, military values are praised by the only character that could criticize them, namely Bonze Dolphin (folio 5v). But the text is certainly comical, and its humor comes from sophisticated puns and wordplay that work mainly on multiple kanji readings and references to animals and plants rather than from mockery and belittlement of warriors.

Two further observations help refute the suggestion that a Japanese premodern audience read the text as ironical or satirical. The first is the inclusion of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* in the *Gunsho ruijū*. This anthology was promoted and subsidized by the bakufu itself, and it is thus hard to believe that the editor would have carried a text critical of his own patrons, or that his patrons would have tolerated its criticism.⁴⁸ The second is the existence of a literary precedent that employs nonhuman warriors not to mock that social class, but rather to appeal to its taste. This is the fifteenth-century *Jūnirui kassen emaki* 十二類合戦絵巻 (Picture scroll of the battle of the twelve animals), which describes a war between the twelve animals of the calendric cycle and a similar number of animals excluded from that group. This text is also humorous and even ridicules some of the warriors depicted. Nonetheless, as Sarah Thompson has convincingly shown, the work was enjoyed by *bushi*, and may even have been commissioned by the shogun himself, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408).⁴⁹

So why parody the literary conventions of popular texts and use anthropomorphic characters? Parodic rewritings and other sub-genres undermine our genre expectations based on established literary conventions. This subversion of expectations activates in the reader a cognitive mechanism that seeks to understand where to place the new genre-type within acquired cognitive models.⁵⁰ This mechanism, at the same time, triggers the readers' perceptions, attention, and memory. In other words, when the readers are presented with something outside the usual "knowledge comfort-zone," they become more receptive to new information. Once we adopt the lens of cognitive criticism, we can look afresh at the

47 Ōsone 1964, p. 44.

48 Kornicki 1998, p. 440.

49 Thompson 1999, pp. 299–328. A translation is available in Kimbrough and Shirane 2018.

50 Stockwell 2002, pp. 38–39.

use of the anthropomorphism and of the humor in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*. On the one hand, laughter fosters even more readerly engagement. On the other hand, the characters' anthropomorphism itself challenges and fuels the cognitive activity of the reader, making it necessary to cross the chasm between empirical knowledge (which excludes the experience of talking animals and objects) and aesthetic knowledge (in which anything can happen).⁵¹ The next sections discuss the variety of didactic content included in our text that was more accessible to engaged readers.

Learning to Write: *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* and *ōraimono*

It has already been stated that *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* might have had a secondary didactic intention of imparting literacy. To support their claims, scholars have focused only on the self-contained lists of animals and vegetables (present in folios 3r–4r and 8r–9r).⁵² The first of these inventories relates to the faction of Salmon Ōsuke. There we find seventy nouns (compounds or single kanji) for fishes and other aquatic animals, twelve for quadrupeds, fifty-five for birds, and fourteen for mollusks. They all represent edible living beings, although among them there are also exotic animals like crocodile (*wani* 鱷) and lion (*shishi* 獅子), and even mythical ones like the Chinese *qilin* (*kirin* 麒麟) and phoenix (*hōō* 鳳凰).⁵³ The second of these *monozukushi*, on the side of Lord Soy, lists twenty-seven nouns for vegetables and seaweeds, twenty-two for fruits, and thirteen for such cooked food as noodles or sweets, spices, and seasonings.⁵⁴

Medieval men of letters recognized the erudite nature of these lists, and they seem to have been directly influenced by them. Six dictionaries of the late-Muromachi period introduced some major changes in their lists regarding fishes and molluscs after those of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*.⁵⁵ Some of them added to their previous editions (compiled in the mid-Muromachi period) whole segments of its *monozukushi*, even maintaining the same order of *kanji*; others included some of the most peculiar readings found only in the tale and that cannot be seen even in other similar material of the time.

However, I propose that the long *monozukushi* were not the only sections in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* that included words useful for medieval readers. A few extra characters for types of food can also be found scattered throughout the narration. Some are disguised within the warriors' names, such as that of the sea bream Tai no Akasuke Ajiyoshi, where "Aji" can be understood as "taste" (*aji* 味), but is written with the homophonous kanji for "sardine" (*aji* 鮫); others are linchpins around which the puns of some embedded narratives revolve. For example, in the passage below, the author cleverly combines in an embedded narrative the two ways of referring to ginger (*Zingiber officinale*):

51 Nikolajeva 2014, pp. 41–42.

52 For example, Itō 2008.

53 It should be remembered, however, that medieval Japanese knowledge of these animals not present on the archipelago was still acquired only through Chinese encyclopedias, and even animals like crocodiles were imagined more as fantastic beasts (Sugiyama 2011).

54 Here too I refer to the *kotaibon* preserved at Fukuoka Bunko, Hiroshima University Library. In the *rufubon* versions some of the most complex characters were substituted by their reading in *hiragana*; others were simply cut out or were substituted with other nouns, completely changing their meaning.

55 Takahashi and Komatsu 2004.

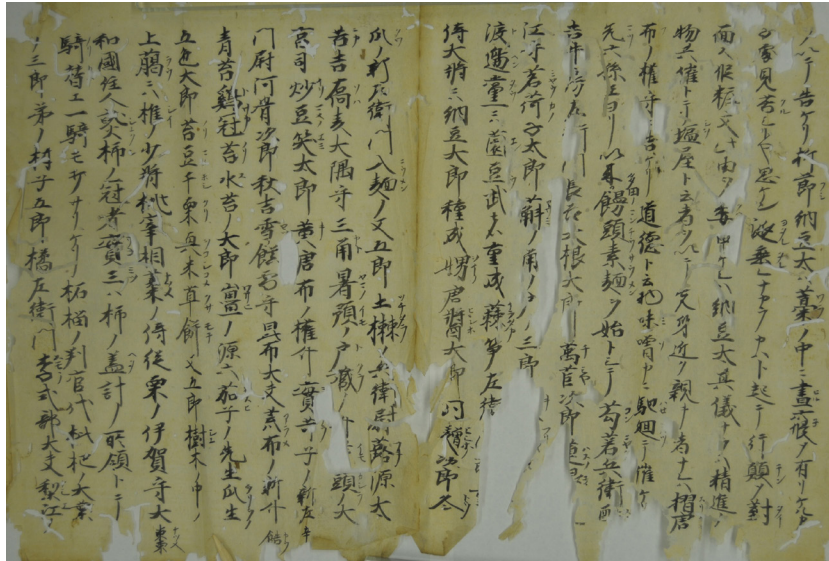


Figure 2. List of vegetarian dishes in folios 8r-8v of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* (Fukuo Bunko, Hiroshima University Library).

Among them, Konjak-bē went to worship the tutelary deity Ginger [...]. He performed his talents to the full all night long, and danced various *narekomai*,⁵⁶ but since he had forgotten the musical instruments, he could only act as a singer [lit.: “to perform a song (*shōga* 唱歌)”] (9r).⁵⁷

Naka ni mo Konnyaku-bē wa ujigami no Hajikami ni mairite kinen suru sama wa [...] tsuya wa ga mi no geinō o tsukushite sama-zama no narekomai nanto shikeru ga kangen no gusoku o toriwasurete shōga bakari o zo shitarikeru

中ニモ苟筭兵衛ハ氏神ノ薑ニ參テ祈念スル様ハ [...] 通夜我身ノ芸能ヲ尽テ様々ノ馴子舞ナ
ントシケルカ管弦ノ具足ヲ取忘テ生薑計ヲソシタリケル

In addition, I argue that words belonging to semantic areas other than food should be considered as having a didactic function. They are not in the self-contained lists, but are dispersed throughout the text. A first group of terms is military, and can be found, for instance, in the descriptions of the garments worn by the commanders of the two armies before battle (folios 6v–7r, 10r). Armor, weapons, some horse breeds, and their equipment are mentioned. Military vocabulary features also in other passages, like those about the preparation of ladders, abatisses, and other items to be used in war, or those that describe battles (folios 9r–9v, 10v, 12v, 15v–16r). A second recurring category is religious. Related words can be found both in the two sermons delivered by Bonze Dolphin (folios 5r–5v,

⁵⁶ A dance performed only with the hands.

⁵⁷ Sasaki 2012, p. 69.

13r–15r), and in Buddhist remarks in embedded narratives or battle scenes. Compared to the self-contained lists of foods, these passages are graphically less defined, with the nouns scattered in different points of the narration. This does not imply, however, that they were not used for teaching characters and their readings, or at least to familiarize readers with that kind of vocabulary.

One unresolved issue concerns similarity with another nonfictional genre that was purely didactic in its intentions, namely *ōraimono*. Scholars have yet to engage fully with medieval *ōraimono*, and no specific source text for *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* has been identified yet. The resemblance remains limited to the visual aspect of the long lists of kanji. In order to establish a clearer relation between our text and *ōraimono*, it is necessary to consider the kind of copybooks in circulation around that time and, accordingly, to reflect on how education was conceived.

Medieval pedagogy was pragmatically designed to meet the needs of the different ruling classes, namely aristocrats, warriors, and monks.⁵⁸ In the imperial court, boys were taught to embody the ideal noblemen, mainly through the study of Confucian classics and poetry, both in Japanese and Chinese.⁵⁹ The coalescent warrior class tried to combine the learning of both literary and military arts (*bunbu* 文武), in an effort to equal the imperial court.⁶⁰ Monks, instead, were trained to build an encyclopaedic knowledge of Chinese matter, which was not limited to Buddhist texts.⁶¹ But literacy was a fundamental requirement for members of each of these classes, who by the Muromachi period had all adopted the use of copybooks to learn reading and writing.

The nature of *ōraimono* greatly changed over the centuries. The oldest copies, which date back to the mid-Heian period, were collections of letters between two fictitious parties.⁶² They were sometimes used by monks in Buddhist temples, but also at home by young aristocrats who, by reproducing these letters, learned how to deal with court affairs and etiquette.⁶³ However, from the mid-Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333), new types of textbooks that were just inventories of words and short phrases appeared. In the fourteenth century, a blended form of texts that included these lists within the framework of correspondence was also produced.⁶⁴ From the second half of the fourteenth century, then, *ōraimono* were more and more often used in temples. Pupils now were not only nobles, but also sons of warriors and, in later decades, those of the wealthiest commoners. The subjects treated in *ōraimono* started to change accordingly. Whole sections of vocabulary regarding armaments, weapons, or horse equipment, along with useful words on food and everyday material objects, were inserted.⁶⁵ At the same time, lists containing words for court

58 Haga 1984, p. 109.

59 Haga 1984, pp. 113–121.

60 Haga 1984, pp. 139–144.

61 Haga 1984, pp. 126–132.

62 *Ōrai* stands for the “coming and going” of the letters.

63 Ishikawa and Ishikawa 1968a, p. 43.

64 Ishikawa and Ishikawa 1967, p. 24.

65 Ishikawa and Ishikawa 1968a, pp. 44–46; Ishikawa 1967, pp. 37, 46.

rituals and ceremonies decreased.⁶⁶ Eventually, *ōraimono* became practical compendiums of vocabulary specifically designed for young warriors learning how to read and write.⁶⁷

Among the textbooks surveyed for this study, seven produced before the early-modern period (or “old *ōrai*,” *koōrai* 古往来, as Ishikawa Ken names them) have proven to be particularly interesting in relation to *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* (see table 2).⁶⁸ These copybooks are among the first exemplars to include food lists. What is noteworthy is that they place this group of words sequentially adjacent to those for weapons, horse breeds, and other items related to the world of the warrior. At the same time, most of them retain some vocabulary related to Buddhism and Confucianism, differently from later *ōraimono*. More specifically, in the fourteenth-century *Daijōin zōhitsu shū* 大乘院雜筆集 (Collection of diverse brushes of the Daijōin) there is for the first time a whole independent section that lists twenty-nine nouns for fishes, twenty-five of which are present in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, although with different characters. In *Shinsen ruijū ōrai* 新撰類聚往来 (New guide to correspondences divided by categories; 1492–1520), the number of fishes goes up to 118, and there are also independent sections with similarly high figures for sweets (sixty), fruits (ninety-one), seaweeds (twenty-eight), vegetables (twenty-eight), and birds (109).

Two copybooks particularly relevant for a comparison with *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* are *Isei teikin ōrai* 異制庭訓往来 (Different correspondence for home education; 1356–1372) and the mid-Muromachi period *Kamakura ōrai* 鎌倉往来 (Correspondence of Kamakura). In the former, a collection of twenty-four letters (two per month of the year) that are frameworks for catalogues of words, three features should be highlighted. First, there is a letter listing nouns for Japanese foods including birds (nine), quadrupeds (eight), fishes (twenty-seven), seaweeds (nine), vegetables (twenty), fruits (twenty-four), sweeteners and seasonings (five), and desserts (four). In other words, it lists these words in a thematic order similar to that of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*. Second, the following letter deals with Chinese delicacies, and it includes legendary animals such as the *qilin* and the phoenix, which also occur in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*. Third, there is one letter for military vocabulary, and two more for Buddhist terminology. In summary, *Isei teikin ōrai* contains most of the words that feature in our text.

Kamakura ōrai is a much briefer text, but its layout is suggestive of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*. It is formed of ten short letters, each presenting vocabulary related to one or more different subjects essential for the basic knowledge of a medieval *bushi*.⁶⁹ Notably, the first letter comprises an inventory of words for weapons and armor (thirty-eight); the third one focuses on seafood (fifteen); the fourth letter puts together names of warriors (twenty-nine), words for birds (seven, including the rabbit, which was counted as a winged animal), and for fruits and desserts (twenty-four). Despite the fact that these nouns do not correspond perfectly to those in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, the semantic domains considered necessary for the education of pupils are the same.

66 Ishikawa and Ishikawa 1968b, p. 74.

67 The contents changed even further later in the Tokugawa period, when many new and different types of copybooks were designed to meet the demand for specialized knowledge of different social classes.

68 I used the transcribed versions contained in Ishikawa and Ishikawa 1967, 1968a, 1968b, and 1970.

69 Despite maintaining the exchange of letters format typical of older *ōraimono*, it condenses in a few pages all the innovations in content that had been introduced in the earlier decades. For example, it omits entirely words relating to the court culture, such as poetry and incense.

Table 2. Details of seven select *Ōraimono*.

TITLE	PERIOD	AUTHOR	TYPE (based on Ishikawa's classification)
<i>Isei teikin ōrai</i> 異制庭訓往来	1356–1372	Unknown	<i>Teikin ōrai</i> 庭訓往来 type (words listing within a framework of twenty-four letters, two per month)
<i>Shinsatsu ōrai</i> 新札往来	1367	Soken 素眼	<i>Zappitsu ōrai</i> 雑筆往来 type (lists of words necessary to letter writing)
<i>Daijōin zōbitsu shū</i> 大乘院雜筆集	Nanbokuchō period (1336–1392)	Son'en 尊円親王	<i>Shūyōshō ōrai</i> 拾要抄往来 type (lists of words related to everyday life)
<i>Teikin ōrai</i> 庭訓往来	Between Nanbokuchō and Muromachi periods	Gen'e 玄恵 (at- tributed)	<i>Teikin ōrai</i> type
<i>Shinsen ruijū ōrai</i> 新撰類聚往来	1492–1520	Tanpō 丹峯和尚	<i>Teikin ōrai</i> type
<i>Kamakura ōrai</i> 鎌倉往来	Mid-Muromachi period	Unknown	<i>Meigō ōrai</i> 明衡往来 type (collection of letters which include vocabulary about daily life at court)
<i>Sekiso ōrai</i> 尺素往来	Mid-Muromachi period	Ichijō Kaneyoshi (attributed)	<i>Zappitsu ōrai</i> type

To sum up, my purpose is not to demonstrate that our text sought to reproduce an existing textbook. I propose rather that its readers easily recognized here kanji and words usually included in other contemporaneous copybooks. By staging a war between two sides, the text effectively visualized the different categories of foods that were treated separately in *ōraimono* while adding words for more practical military knowledge.⁷⁰ My argument, thus, already extends beyond that in the secondary literature to propose that the entire text may have been intended as a copybook. In the following section, I expand this idea further and argue that the didactic content was not limited to the question of literacy. In order to do so, we need to look back at the animal and vegetal protagonists, and reconsider their part in the story.

Learning to Eat: *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* and Medieval Food Culture

Medieval pupils learned how to write the kanji for foods, but also needed no doubt to master the value of those foods within their specific social context. The events narrated in our text cleverly taught the reader how to identify foods according to three categories: ingredients, either allowed or prohibited during specific periods of purification; local specialties, savored in banqueting after political ceremonies; and symbols, when chosen as key elements in agricultural rituals. All this information is provided by the context of the story, set in a specific time frame with edible characters interacting, fighting, and dying in dates clearly signaled in the plot: the first, third, and the twenty-eighth days of the eighth month, and the third day of the ninth month. This span includes, therefore, the whole of

⁷⁰ Empirical experiments have suggested the efficacy of anthropomorphism in the word-learning process, although thorough studies remain to be conducted (Blanchard and McNinch 1984).

the eighth month of the lunar calendar, which was rich in religious and secular celebrations. It is difficult, if not impossible, to know which dates correspond exactly to which moments of the lunar calendar, but we can hazard some plausible guesses.

The very first line of the text (in its *kotaibon* versions) informs the reader that the Hararago brothers and Nattō Tarō have been called to serve as the shogun's great guards (*ōban* 大番) on the first day of the eighth month. We can imagine that this refers to *hassaku* 八朔, also called *tanomu no sekku* 田実の節供 or *tanomono iwai* 田物祝. This was originally an agricultural ritual that celebrated the new harvest, but in the Heian period it was reshaped into an annual offering by a subordinate to a superior, meant to strengthen the relationships within the aristocratic court and, later on, within the warrior class.⁷¹ At the same time, it is likely that the term *ōban* plays with the homophone that derives from *wanban* 椀飯, the ritual feasts hosted first by the imperial family at the court and then adopted by the *bushi*. It was the first shogun, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), who started this tradition among the warrior class in order to reinforce bonds with his retainers across the country. *Ōban/wanban* celebrations were inherited by later shoguns, and gradually developed into “gastro-political arenas for articulating one's status and prestige.”⁷²

The eighth month also saw two important periods of purification. The narrator mentions them a few lines into the tale, reminding the reader that in recent years vegetarian dishes are regularly consumed during the rites of *hōjōe* 放生会 (on the fifteenth day) and *higan'e* 彼岸会 (a week centered on the equinoxes). *Hōjōe* was a ceremony for releasing captive birds and fish into the wild. Despite its Buddhist origins in the *Bonmōkyō* 梵網經 (Sk. *Brahmajāla Sūtra*) and the *Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明經 (Sk. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*) sutras, the ritual in its Japanese version ended up embracing components of a diverse nature.⁷³ It was performed in shrines as well as in Buddhist temples and a close connection was also created with the multi-faceted deity Hachiman 八幡.⁷⁴ Priests at the three major sites devoted to him in Usa, Iwashimizu, and Tsurugaoka held annual ceremonies that endured for days. In these large religious complexes, however, the focus of the rituals was much less on the Buddhist merit gained from non-killing than on the display of shogunal power. For example, the late ninth-century text *Hachiman Usagū hōjōe engi* 八幡宇佐宮放生会縁起 informs us that from the first days of the month lords of several provinces made offerings, while dances and sumo matches were also performed.⁷⁵ At the same time, there was an enforcement of bans on fishing and hunting (*sesshō kindanrei* 殺生禁断令) on the grounds surrounding the shrines, and meat consumption among the warriors of the bakufu was regulated.

The *higan'e*, on the other hand, were Buddhist memorial services conducted for the deceased over seven days centered on the equinoxes. We know from court aristocrats' diaries that they observed a vegetarian diet during *higan* weeks.⁷⁶ Similar customs may well have been adopted by Muromachi-period warriors, especially because from the time of the

71 *Nihon kokugo daijiten* and *Kokushi daijiten*, s.v. “*hassaku* 八朔.”

72 Selinger 2013, pp. 75, 98.

73 For studies on *hōjōe*, see Law 1994; Grumbach 2005, pp. 86–148; Williams 1997. (I am indebted to Barbara Rossetti Ambros for pointing me to these sources.)

74 For a summary of the transformation of Hachiman from a Korean deity to the tutelary god of war of the Minamoto family, see Law 1994, pp. 329–334.

75 A translation of the text can be found in Law 1994, pp. 344–348.

76 See, for example, the entries for the sixth day of the eighth month of Ōei 応永 24 (1417) and the first day of the ninth month of Ōei 29 (1422) of the *Kanmon gyōki* 看聞御記 (*Kanmon gyōki*, vol. Addendum 1, p. 359).

Ashikaga bakufu, shoguns sought to appropriate rituals followed by the imperial court.⁷⁷ From the same diaries, we also learn that the equinoxes fell on different days each year. The autumnal equinox, for instance, could have happened in any of the dates mentioned in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*: at the beginning of the eighth month, around its middle, or even early in the ninth month.

In the opening of the tale, the reader is thus reminded of the alternation of periods of observance of a sober diet with those of opulent meals, the latter usually prepared with the in-kind gifts brought to the shogun as offerings from all over the country. Indeed, Haruta Naoki argues that the battle that features in our text is precisely between the sober, vegetarian dishes (*shōjinmono* 精進物) that were consumed during days of purification and “foods that taste good” (*bibutsu* 美物), which used fish and meat and were prominent in all the other formal meals.⁷⁸

Haruta further notes that in the *monozukushi* of the two armies all the names of the edible warriors are accompanied by the provenance of the food they personify (for example, Cucumber Lord of Yamashiro, (Kyūri Yamashiro no kami 胡瓜山城守, 8r). This testifies to a growing awareness of the branding of “regional specialties” (*tokusanbutsu* 特産物), for which specific toponyms began to be used as qualifiers for the goods produced there. In this way, the toponyms themselves had become synonymous with the quality of those goods.⁷⁹ This tendency does not simply reflect the importance that sumptuous banquets were acquiring among the warrior class in the fifteenth century.⁸⁰ These lists invite readers not only to learn the kanji for the foods, but also to memorize which among them are particularly delicious, the better to develop a more refined taste. This culinary knowledge was vital to participation in future banquets.⁸¹ Yet, a refinement in taste did not merely denote the achievement of greater elegance. Distinguishing delicacies from across the country served also as a sort of economic training for the future ruling class. *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* was also, thus, preparing pupils to deal with foods as economic goods and objects of transactions, since the higher quality of certain products equaled a higher value of those on the market.

A food was considered a specialty not only because of its provenance, but also because of the season in which it was produced, or could be enjoyed at its best. In this regard, the second part of the tale provides information about delicacies typical of the beginning of autumn, which fell at the end of the eighth month. First there are the episodes relating the death of the Chestnut and the homage paid to it by the Chinquapin (16v), both nuts that people eat in this season. Then Turnip Saburō Ever-Good makes its appearance (17v). This turnip is not generic; its provenance is spelt out as Toyoura of Gamō County in Ōmi Province (present-day Shiga Prefecture). Gamō County has been famous since the Muromachi period for a particular variety of turnip known as *hinona* 日野菜, and legend has it that in the 1470s the local lord, Gamō Sadahide 蒲生貞秀 (1444–1514), brought it back from a pilgrimage to a nearby Kannon Hall in Yabusō 爺父溪. The pickled turnip

77 Selinger 2013, p. 99. While no specific references to vegetarian diet, and *higan* can be found in warriors' records, the officer Saitō Chikamoto notes in his diary that in the eighth month of Bunshō 文正 1 (1466) he observed a period of three days of *shōjin* (see *Saitō Chikamoto nikki* 齋藤親基日記, p. 369).

78 Haruta 2008, p. 31.

79 Haruta 2008, pp. 31–32.

80 Haruta 2008, p. 34.

81 Selinger 2013, p. 75.

quickly became popular due both to the great taste and to the lively pink color that resulted from the marination process. It gained favor at the Heian court, and inspired poetic praise from Emperor Gokashibara 後柏原天皇 (1464–1526).⁸² Moreover, the season for sowing the turnip was also around the end of the eighth lunar month. Finally, at the very end of the story, on the third day of the ninth month, the character Goryō dines on the defeated Salmon while praising the fish's succulent taste.⁸³ In other words, not only is the rebel Salmon not condemned for his military action, but he is even celebrated for his quality. Besides, this was the first salmon of the year, caught in autumn and so considered particularly delicious, as the existence of the poetic seasonal words *akiaji* 秋味 (“taste of autumn”) and *hatsu-zake* 初鮭 (“first salmon”) testify.⁸⁴

Before this finale, however, another food receives much attention. Three half folios (11r–12r), in fact, are dedicated to the episode of Chief Priest Taro-Corm (Imogashira no Daigūji 芋頭ノ大宮司), with the long scene of the agony of the mother on her deathbed. “Taro” (*imo* 芋), a staple component of the traditional Japanese diet, was closely linked to the eighth month of the lunar calendar.⁸⁵ Its fifteenth day was also called *imo meigetsu* 芋名月, and in many regions of the country agricultural rituals celebrated the new crops with offerings of *taro*.⁸⁶ Additionally, in celebrations of the same kind in China, the corm (the rounded, underground structure that stores food for the plant) is placed in the center of a big plate and named “mother corm” (Ch. *Yutou mu* 芋頭母), while smaller *taro* are laid around it.⁸⁷ Even though nowadays the only other way of rendering corm into Japanese is *oya imo* 親芋 (“parent taro”), *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* testifies to the possibility that at one time this noun was used during harvest ceremonies in Japan, too. Therefore, the whole episode of the death of Taro-Corm might well be interpreted as a parodic description of the first *taro*'s harvest of the year around the autumn equinox and the rituals related to this.⁸⁸

These references scattered throughout the story serve to alert the reader to different autumnal ceremonies involving different dietary habits and specific foods. For example, the fact that fish and vegetables end up killing each other in battle is a metaphorical staging of the fact that purification periods required temporary abstention from meat consumption. We can surmise that at least one of the dates mentioned in *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* refers either to the autumn equinox of the year of composition of the text or to the beginning (or the end) of the *higan* week, and that the events happening in the second part of the story

82 <http://www.maff.go.jp/kinki/jimusyo/shiga/local/siganougyou/hinona.html> (Accessed July 2018 through www.web.archive.org).

83 This detail removes any doubt that the character should be interpreted as “Shogun Rice” rather than “Emperor Rice.” This is because on the day in question the emperor was required to observe a vegetarian diet for the *gotō* 御灯 ritual (*Kadokawa kogo daijiten*, s.v. “*gotō* 御灯”).

84 *Nihon daihyakka zensho*, s.v. “*kigo* 季語.”

85 Nowadays *taro* are specified in Japanese as *sato imo* 里芋.

86 On the importance of the cultivation of *taro* in Japanese culture, see Tsuboi 1983. In more recent years, scholars have shown that in some provinces the rituals are not held only on the fifteenth day, but also in the *higan* period and especially during the autumn equinox, although we can imagine that the situation was similarly more flexible in the past as well. In contemporary Japan, this day is also called *hōjōe* (without any reference to the Buddhist rite) or *imo no tanjōbi* 芋の誕生日, “birthday of the *taro*” (Honma 1967, pp. 39–41).

87 The purpose was to pray for a long line of descendants (see Takemura 1966, p. 316).

88 Tales centered on *taro* and its harvest are testifying to its importance in premodern culture can be found also in *hayamonogatari* (transcriptions in Yasuma 1964, pp. 15–16) and in the picturebook from the Kanbun 寛文-era (1661–1673) *Imo jōruri, bijin tataki* いも上るり・びじんたたき (A *jōruri* of *taro*, a rhythm of beauties; facsimile of the originals and transcriptions in Okamoto 1982).

largely refer to that. These special periods were linked not only to purification as prescribed by Buddhist precepts, but also to harvest rituals and to the culture of banqueting and offering that was consolidating among the warrior class in the fifteenth century. The text, thus, also seems to reflect changes in the conception of foods as delicacies in terms of both local provenance and their seasonality. In other words, the foods listed here were not simply presented as belonging to the categories of “allowed” and “not allowed” in specific phases of the annual cycle, but were also included for their symbolic and economic value.

Shōjin gyorui monogatari was not the first attempt to experiment with imaginative textbooks intended to impart literacy and other information. Takahashi Hisako and Takahashi Tadahiko speculate that sometime after the 1430s another unknown author wrote a book that does likewise.⁸⁹ Its title, *Katsuragawa Jizō ki* 桂川地藏記 (Record of the Katsura River Jizō), refers to the ephemeral cult built around an alleged prodigious apparition of the Bodhisattva Jizō in a village outside Kyoto in 1416.⁹⁰ For the following ten years, the site of the miracle attracted waves of pilgrims. Within this historical frame, the text offers a broad range of didactic content: anecdotal facts about the origin of the cult and Katsura village; lists of words related to arts, foods, alcohol, weapons, famous painters, and much else; quotations from sutras; information concerning the Bodhisattva Jizō; and philosophical dialogues (*mondō* 問答) about Buddhist concepts. The two scholars highlight how *Katsuragawa Jizō ki* combines *monozukushi*, prose narrative, quotations from Chinese sources, and poems in both Japanese and Chinese in a way that recalls *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*.⁹¹ Precisely because of these features, it has always been included in the genre of *ōraimono*, leaving unexplored its belletristic qualities.⁹² If this was the fate of *Katsuragawa Jizō ki*, is it not possible that *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* was also considered mainly a textbook at the time of its composition? Further research is definitely needed in order to assess whether our text was a unique case, or whether we can find other literary works which similarly have been misleadingly labelled as a specific genre. By querying their inclusion in broad genres (such as *otogizōshi*) we might, in fact, uncover revealing insights into the texts’ nature and the context that created them.

Conclusions

The starting point for the argument developed in this paper is the claim that originally *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* probably was not meant to be read as a parody of *Heike monogatari*. The plots of the two texts have nothing in common but the war theme. Minimal parody is limited to the opening paragraph, which was only added around three hundred years after the formation of the original text. The structure of the tale based as it is on a quarrel between two parties draws not from the historical Minamoto-Taira conflict, but from a combination of two different elements. On the one hand, it was a stylistic feature typical of “debate literature,” which was introduced to Japan from the continent. On the other hand, this narrative structure allowed the author to visualize in a more concrete and creative way the different dietary habits that regulated the life of the upper classes—particularly that of

89 A facsimile of the oldest extant copy (dated 1491) and a transcription are in Takahashi and Takahashi 2012.

90 Takahashi and Takahashi 2012, pp. 336–338.

91 Takahashi and Takahashi 2012, p. 340.

92 Takahashi and Takahashi 2012, p. 335.

bushi—in medieval Japan. By imagining the edible characters dying and being consumed or being praised on specific days of the year, *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* introduced the reader to the different roles that certain foods played in rituals and ceremonies, both secular and religious. However, the text did adopt the language and idioms of *gunkimono*, appealing to readers through the literary conventions of one of the most popular genres of that time. This technique exposed the reader to numerous words for foods, military terms, and religious concepts in a more humorous, digestible way. A short, entertaining book brimming with puns and wordplay was surely more attractive to pupils than collections of complicated letters designed for adults or endless lists of kanji.

My analysis suggests that, from the fourteenth century, authors of educational works were experimenting with new pedagogic approaches that comprised elements of a diverse nature. This can be seen in the many new kinds of *ōraimono* that combined already existing typologies to different degrees. The authors of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* and *Katsuragawa Jizō ki*, however, took this merging further by adding a narrative framework that encompassed didactic content, and by applying established literary conventions from other genres. The interplay between narrative and non-narrative elements, and between different genres, made for a more fertile cognitive ground for the reader to absorb the information contained in those works. In addition, our text combines this approach with the device of anthropomorphism, to increase further the readers' attention and, thus, cognitive receptivity. This interpretation departs radically from the established understanding of anthropomorphism in Japanese literature and arts, which tends to be reckoned as stemming from an innate feeling of closeness to nature, or from an animistic ideological context.⁹³ I propose that, at least in the case of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, the intended effect was to engage readers and challenge them to question the boundary between human and nonhuman, precisely because of an awareness of the difference between the two categories.

While this article has only scratched the surface of *Shōjin gyorui monogatari*, it offers a launchpad for multiple trajectories of study. First of all, it calls for a deeper investigation of the text's many embedded narratives, which promise to reveal other insights about medieval culture, especially food consumption. At the same time, it draws attention to the shortcomings of classifying literary works in too-broad categories such as *otogizōshi* or *irui gassen mono* only according to length, period of composition, or overall theme. Finally, it invites scholars of Japanese literature to rethink the accepted theories on anthropomorphism that only consider it in animistic terms, or that fail to heed examples from non-Western cultures. If it is true that in Western literature inanimate objects are targets for anthropomorphism only for readers of a younger age—unlike animals that continue to be humanized into adulthood—the Japanese case proves that this does not necessarily have to be so.⁹⁴ As mentioned at the beginning, *Shōjin gyorui monogatari* is only one of many texts that has foods as protagonists. Moreover, the Japanese literary landscape is populated by all sorts of humanized objects, whose audience was not always uniquely children. More revealing insights into literary devices and cognitive processes at large could, thus, stem from incorporating examples offered by cultures other than those already exposed by Anglophone scholarship in general discourses on anthropomorphism.

93 For example, Doi 1963, p. 43, and Itō 2017, p. 124.

94 Boyd 2007, p. 237.

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The Monk and the Heretics: A Reappraisal of Sessō Sōsai's Anti-Christian Documents (Mid-Seventeenth Century)

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By examining the dynamic interactions between the authorities, the Buddhist clergy, and the hidden Christians, this article aims to deepen our understanding of the Tokugawa anti-Christian policy in the aftermath of the Shimabara-Amakusa revolt (November 1637–April 1638), a period of international tension for Japan as the Iberian threat was not over. It focuses on Sessō Sōsai (1589–1649), a Rinzai monk who was summoned by the authorities of Nagasaki in mid-1647 to preach to the populace. Some of his writings and his working papers have survived. These firsthand sources enable us to bring together fields that previous scholarship has generally tackled separately: intellectual, institutional, and social history.

This essay argues that around 1640, Sessō Sōsai and his patrons in Nagasaki felt that the religious inquiry had reached a deadlock as the alleged apostates could suddenly (and violently) return to their previous faith. They understood that, in order to be more efficient and obtain sincere apostasies, their fight against the forbidden cult should focus more on the actual beliefs of the hidden Catholics. They paid particular attention to the belief in miracles and in the omnipotence of God.

Keywords: Catholicism, Zen Buddhism, Nagasaki, Kirishitan, Westerners in Japan, Edo Japan, Shimabara-Amakusa revolt, Heresy, Religious inquiry (*shūmon aratame*)

Introduction: A Reinterpretation of Sessō's Anti-Christian Documents in their Sociopolitical Context

A brief look at a chronology of early modern Japan gives the impression that at the end of the 1630s, the history of Christianity suddenly accelerated. In spring of Kan'ei 寛永 15 (1638), the shogunal armies defeated the rebel peasants of Shimabara and Amakusa who had openly “come back to Christianity” (*tachikaeri Kirishitan* 立帰りキリシタン).¹ In Kan'ei

* I would like to thank the editor of *Japan Review*, John Breen, his staff, and the two anonymous peer-reviewers for their very constructive criticisms. In September 2018, Tafukuji abbot Seki Yasunori showed me his temple's treasures and shared his in-depth knowledge of Sessō Sōsai and early modern Rinzai Buddhism. With his permission I reproduce here some of the pictures I took on that occasion. Jorge Welsh allowed me to reproduce the map of Nagasaki, the existence of which I learned from Alexandra Curvelo. Simon Hull copy-edited my

16 (1639).⁷⁵ the bakufu's Council of Elders (*rōjū* 老中) released the final Sakoku edict that put an end to the Portuguese presence in the archipelago. In the summer of Kan'ei 17 (1640), the representatives of the bakufu in Nagasaki executed the members of an embassy sent by Macao to restart the Portuguese-Japanese trade.

Other events that immediately followed indicate that the Japanese authorities had not wholly settled the “Christian issue.” Around 1640, they centralized the fight against the remnant Christian communities scattered in Japan under the guidance of Inoue Masashige 井上政重 (1585–1661), one of the four Great Inspectors (*Ōmetsuke* 大目付), the “eyes and ears” of the bakufu. From then on, Inoue would often travel between Edo and Nagasaki, and act as a trusted intermediary for the shogun in Kyushu. The missionary threat was also not over. In 1642 and 1643, the Society of Jesus sent two groups of priests, brothers, and catechists to Kyushu (the Rubino groups), whose aim it was, among other things, to revive the Japanese mission and make contact with the apostate Jesuit Cristóvão Ferreira (ca. 1580–1650). Last but not least, on the other side of the world, the Iberian Union ended in December 1640, and the King of Portugal decided to send an official embassy to the bakufu; it arrived in Nagasaki in July 1647.

This article focuses on the struggle of the authorities against Christianity in the mid-seventeenth century, a period of tremendous upheaval, not only for the Catholic Church in Japan but also for Japan's domestic and foreign policy. Generally, scholars have viewed this topic from the perspective of either intellectual history or institutional history. Concerning the first approach, Buddhist studies specialists have thoroughly examined the arguments of the anti-Christian treatises written in the 1640s by the Zen monks Suzuki Shōsan 鈴木正三 (1579–1655) of the Sōtō 曹洞 sect and Sessō Sōsai 雪窓宗崔 (1589–1649) of the Rinzaï 臨濟 sect, locating them within the context of seventeenth-century Japanese religious thought.² The former penned *Ha Kirishitan* 破吉利支丹 (Christians countered) in the 1640s (published in Kyoto in Kanbun 寛文 2 (1662));³ the latter wrote *Taiji jashū ron* 対治邪執論 (A refutation of the evil teachings) in Shōhō 正保 5 (1648).⁴

Kiri Paramore, in his study of anti-Christian discourse in early modern Japan, has emphasized the political nature of such discourse and argued that it was primarily aimed at asserting the legitimacy of the Tokugawa. For him, the link between anti-Christian treatises and the fight against the “foreign creed” is dubious since the majority of authors wrote their texts when the Christian threat was supposedly over, that is to say, after the revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa.⁵ I consider this stance problematic as it downplays the impact of the revolt. Since the 1980s, much Japanese scholarship has reappraised earlier research that

English. I learned much from Rômulo da Silva Ehalt about Jesuit preaching in Japan. Gaétan Rappo checked my translations of Buddhist terms, and deepened my understanding of the “rhetoric of heresy.” Critical comments from Cyrian Pitteloud and Alexis Lycas enabled me to improve the accessibility of my article. This research was partially supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers JP17H02392.

1 For a convenient chronology of the history of Christianity in Japan, refer to Nihon Kirisutokyō Rekishi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai 2006. Below, I give a more detailed consideration to the events briefly touched upon in the first two paragraphs.

2 For recent studies, see Baskind 2014, Ōkuwa 2015, pp. 275–298, and Nishimura 2018, chapter 3.

3 None of the manuscripts supposedly written in Amakusa by Suzuki Shōsan during the 1640s are extant. Note that much uncertainty remains surrounding both the length of his stay in Amakusa and the origins of *Ha Kirishitan*. See Miura 2013, pp. 82 and 155–164.

4 Both texts are reproduced in Ebisawa 1970 (pp. 450–457 for *Ha Kirishitan*; pp. 460–476 for *Taiji jashū ron*).

5 Paramore 2009.

overstressed the economic factors behind this event. Thanks to the pioneering work of Irimoto Masuo 煎本増夫 and the unearthing of an impressive number of primary sources by Tsuruta Kurazō 鶴田倉造, studies have increasingly highlighted the religious features of the uprising.⁶ In this regard, the works of Kanda Chisato 神田千里 and Ōhashi Yukihiro 大橋幸泰 have particularly attracted the attention of Japanese specialists in early modern history.⁷

Historians who focus on the institutional aspects of the fight against Christianity have generally been swift to point out the impact of the Shimabara-Amakusa revolt. Indeed, in the years following the revolt, the bakufu systematized, on a national scale, the religious inspection system centered on Buddhist temples (*tera'uke* 寺請) and the “five-household groups” (*gonin-gumi* 五人組). Some studies have examined the implementation of the *tera'uke*-system in different domains.⁸ Also, as we shall see, scholars have recently devoted much attention to the effects of the revolt and the plausible return of the Portuguese on Japan's foreign policy and its contacts with the Dutch, the control of its maritime borders, and the surveillance of commoners in the 1640s.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the Buddhist clergy was not only involved in the bureaucratic inspection of people's religious affiliation; many high-ranking monks were also recruited by domainal and shogunal authorities to refute the teaching of the Christian missionaries publicly. The research of Murai Sanae 村井早苗 has highlighted the personal connections of these men. She has made explicit the ties that bound some of them to the imperial court and to the governor of Nagasaki (*Nagasaki bugyō* 長崎奉行).⁹

This article aims to reinterpret in their sociopolitical context a set of texts that past scholarship has usually approached from the perspective of intellectual history to advance our understanding of the revolt's impact on Japan's anti-Christian policy. It argues that the bakufu was convinced that the enforcement of formal control over religious affiliation was not alone sufficient to solve the “Christian issue.” Instead, what was now required was a better understanding of Christian tenets. For both the first and last time during the Edo period, Baba Toshishige 馬場利重 (?–1657; governor of Nagasaki from 1636 to 1652) and the aforementioned Inoue Masashige endeavored to use their knowledge of Christianity to influence directly the inner beliefs of the remaining hidden Christians. The two men had, after all, witnessed Christianity's messianic and even apocalyptic quality in the form of the revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa.

This study builds on the arguments of George Elison (Jurgis Elisonas) regarding the psychological aspects of the anti-Christian measures adopted by the bakufu during the 1640s. However, since the 1980s, Japanese scholars have uncovered a number of new documents and radically revised their assessment of the impact of the Shimabara-Amakusa revolt. Therefore,

6 Irimoto 1980 and Tsuruta 1994.

7 Kanda 2005, Ōhashi 2008. Even if both authors agree on the main facets of the revolt, their understanding of the economic impact (several years of poor harvests and the maintenance of high rates of taxation by the lord of Shimabara) slightly differs. Kanda argues that the insurgents linked their worldly distress to their apostasy: they considered it as a punishment sent by God for being weak in their faith. Ōhashi, meanwhile, has emphasized the heterogenous motivations for the revolt: it not only consisted of Christians fighting for their salvation, but also of people seeking economic relief. Elsewhere, I have argued that the revolt should be reexamined within the broader context of the religious anxiety provoked among the Christians by the promulgation of the ban on their religion (Nogueira Ramos 2019).

8 For a domestic perspective, see Ōhashi 2001, pp. 100–131.

9 Murai 2000, chapter 7.

some of my conclusions differ from those of Elison, the author of *Deus Destroyed*. The main difference between us lies in our perceptions of the bakufu authorities. For Elison, they were all-powerful and seemingly implemented the anti-Christian measures according to an established plan.¹⁰ By contrast, I will argue that they were far from sure about the effectiveness of their policies, and remained wary about the possible reaction of the hidden Christians.

To support my stance, I will mainly focus on sources related to Sessō Sōsai. The Nagasaki authorities summoned him to preach in front of the port town's inhabitants around the fifth month of Shōhō 4 (June 1647) and entrusted him with documents to bolster his case. Tafukuji 多福寺 in Usuki 臼杵 (Ōita Prefecture), a temple of which he was the second abbot, has kept these documents for more than three centuries. For the other authors of anti-Christian treatises like the one written by Suzuki Shōsan, we do not have such background material.

In 1984, a team of Buddhist studies specialists led by Ōkuwa Hitoshi 大桑斉 transcribed and published these documents. They added commentary regarding their origin and structure, and demonstrated, in particular, that Sessō Sōsai utilized them as a source of information for his anti-Christian activities. For Ōkuwa, these documents were of value for the light they shed on Sessō's intellectual background. However, in what follows, I will argue that, when read and analyzed alongside other anti-Christian texts, these documents also illuminate the objectives of the authorities, as well as the beliefs of hidden Christians who were alive during the 1640s.

I have divided my article into two parts. In the first part, I seek to contextualize and analyze the argumentation employed by Sessō Sōsai during the sermons he delivered in Nagasaki. A record penned by him one month after, in the summer of 1647, has survived. This is the sole detailed testimony we have at our disposal of this kind of sermon. A close reading of this source reveals that in the tense international and domestic context of the 1640s, the bakufu leaders considered the ordinary citizens of Nagasaki, a majority of whom were apostate Christians (*korobi Kirishitan* 転びキリシタン), as a potential threat that needed to be tamed. They were unsure about the real feelings of Nagasaki's citizens towards the forbidden religion.

In the second part, I will outline the nature of the documents still held by Tafukuji, and consider their relation to Sessō Sōsai's sermons and writings. These documents reveal that he and, by extension, the officials in Nagasaki, were not overly interested in sophisticated doctrinal issues, but more in aspects of religion that we tend to label as "popular," especially the veneration of saints and the belief in miracles. In order to reveal the falsehood of Christianity, they resorted to a counter-narrative of the history of this religion, and concentrated their attacks on God's alleged omnipotence.

1. Preaching before the Return of the "Southern Barbarians"

At the request of the governor of Nagasaki, during the fifth and sixth months of Shōhō 4 (June and July 1647), Sessō Sōsai gave several sermons to the local populace at Kōfukuji 興福寺, ahead of the imminent arrival of the Portuguese embassy already mentioned.¹¹

10 Elison (1973) 1988, chapters 7 and 8.

11 Chinese merchants residing in Nagasaki built the temple in Kan'ei 1 (1624). Later, it would become part of the Ōbakushū 黄檗宗 temple network. Concerning the foundation of Kōfukuji, see Baroni 2000, pp. 31–34.

1.1 The Context and Aims of the Sermons

We know the content of Sessō Sōsai's sermons thanks to the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki* 長崎興福寺筆記 (Record of the sermons delivered in Nagasaki at Kōfukuji temple).¹² According to the preface, he wrote it in the seventh month of Shōhō 4 (1647). The *Sessō oshō gyōjō* 雪窓和尚行狀 (The deeds of Master Sessō), a biography written by Sessō's successor as abbot of Tafukuji in Kanbun 13 (1673), reveals that the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*, like the other works of the Rinzai monk, was not intended to be read by a broad audience, but rather by a limited number of monks.¹³

The single extant Tafukuji manuscript is seventy-six pages long. In their edition of the text, Ōkuwa Hitoshi and his team divided it into four sermons (*seppō* 説法). The first and the third mostly attack the tenets of Christianity; the second and the fourth concern the exclusivist stance of Pure Land Buddhism. I believe these two seemingly anti-Pure Land sermons should be read as responses on the part of Sessō Sōsai to monks from the Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗 and Jōdoshū 浄土宗 sects who were critical of his teaching.¹⁴ Indeed, both feudal domains and the bakufu had implemented various measures in the previous decades to prohibit disputations (*shūron* 宗論) between Buddhist sects, so it would be surprising if commoners were their intended audience.¹⁵ Moreover, they are no more than a few lines each and hardly merit the term “sermon.” Sources do not reveal the number of those who attended the sermons, if any.¹⁶

How the anti-Christian sermons were organized is not known in detail. The *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki* only suggests that due to the impressive numbers attending the third sermon, the audience was divided from the start into several groups according to the neighborhood (*machi* 町).¹⁷

Those who attended Sessō's anti-Christian sermons also took part in mass lay ordination ceremonies (*jukai-e* 授戒会) centered on the reception of the “threefold refuge and the five precepts” (*sanki gokai* 三帰五戒).¹⁸ According to the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*, 1,520 people received the precepts after the first sermon and 21,300 after the third one.¹⁹ In other words, if these figures are accurate, a majority of the thirty thousand or so inhabitants of Nagasaki took part in these sermons and the ceremonies that followed them.²⁰ The *jukai-e* developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in order to provide commoners with a substitute for *zazen* 坐禪. They helped Sōtō Buddhism gain support among large

12 For a transcription with annotations of the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*, see Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 67–87.

13 The *Sessō oshō gyōjō* is reproduced in Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 5–12. The biographer mentions the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki* on p. 11.

14 For contextual information about the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*, see Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 304–310.

15 On this subject, see Kanda 2010, pp. 147–168. Kanda also asserts that one of the main reasons for the ban on Christianity was its disruptive impact on the Japanese religious landscape.

16 Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 78–79, for the second sermon and p. 86 for the fourth.

17 Ōkuwa 1984, p. 79.

18 These five precepts are: 1. Abstention from killing living beings; 2. Abstention from theft; 3. Abstention from sexual misconduct; 4. Abstention from falsehood; and 5. Abstention from intoxication. The three refuges are the Buddha, the Law, and the Buddhist community. See Buswell and Lopez 2014, pp. 616–617, for the five precepts, and pp. 924–925 for the three refuges.

19 Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 78 and 86.

20 We only have estimates of the size of the Nagasaki population in 1640. See Kimura 2016, p. 12.

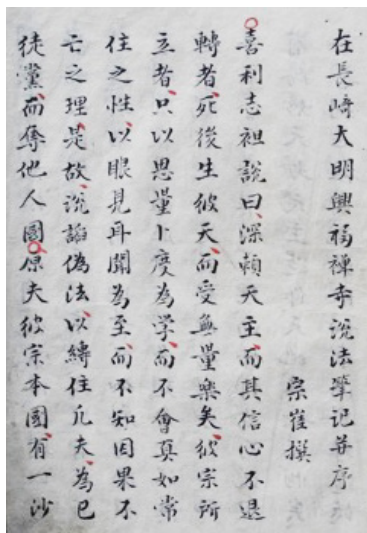


Figure 1. First page of the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*.
Courtesy of Seki Yasunori, abbot of Tafukuji.

sections of the population.²¹ In the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*, Sessō presents them as a powerful means to achieve relief in this world and salvation in the next.²²

The few studies that exist of the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki* have not pointed out that, although Sessō wrote the majority of the text in *kanbun* 漢文, about ten pages are in Japanese. The parts in *kanbun* deal mainly with sophisticated doctrinal issues that concern Zen, Nichiren, or Pure Land Buddhism. The pages in Japanese all relate to Christianity; Sessō penned them in an easy-to-understand style so that, read aloud, they would be perfectly intelligible to anyone. I hypothesize that Sessō wrote the parts in *kanbun* for the benefit of the monks close to him, and those in Japanese reflect some aspects of the actual sermons. Therefore, we should not consider this source as an exact record of the sermons Sessō delivered.

Moreover, the few existing testimonies we have on the sermons indicate that the reason for Sessō Sōsai's presence in Nagasaki was precisely to convince its population to abandon Christianity. This is what we read in both the *Sessō oshō gyōjō* and in the office diary (*Dagregister*) kept by the Dutch in Deshima. According to the latter, on 17 July 1647, Sessō visited the ship of the Dutch East India Company.²³ The entry provides valuable firsthand information on him:

[Sessō] declared that our ships were neat, well-made, and sturdy. The ships of the Spaniards, conversely, were dirty, offensive, and not as sturdy. The governor and everyone else show him great respect. He reviles all other papists [Buddhist monks] as philistines and money-grubbers. He has come to Nagasaki to dissuade any remaining followers of the Pope. He preaches [*predict*] every eight days and draws extraordinarily

21 On these mass ordination ceremonies organized by Zen monks, see Bodiford 1993, chapter 13, in particular pp. 179–184.

22 Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 83–84.

23 Ōkuwa 1984, p. 10.

large crowds [*zonderling toeloop*]. He is a fat man, smooth, with a large head, and is a spectacle among men. His earlobes stretch across his cheeks and the community considers him to be an exemplary man and a sage. When he is at court, he preaches to His Majesty.²⁴

Here, four elements, in particular, merit attention. First, Sessō Sōsai's fame, credentials, and close connections with the highest echelons of Japanese society were evident to the Dutch at Deshima. Second, his presence in the port was unmistakably linked to the anti-Christian fight. Third, he seems to have been in contact with Spaniards (and thus Christians) before 1647. And fourth, a large number of residents attended his sermons. Given the references to his physical appearance and distinctive aura (he must have seemed like a living Buddha), we may speculate that the authorities chose him because they believed he would impress his audience.

Sessō was, for sure, no ordinary monk.²⁵ Born in Bungo in Tenshō 天正 17 (1589), he initially trained in the True Pure Land tradition in the town of Usuki, but became dissatisfied with the exclusivist stance of his sect. In Keichō 慶長 18 (1613), he joined the Rinzaï sect temple, Tafukuji. From the first year of Genna 元和 (1615), in order to complete his training, he started to travel around Honshu beginning with Edo. There he met monks like Suzuki Shōsan, and promised to strive for the revival of Zen Buddhism. He became abbot of Tafukuji in Kan'ei 8 (1631). At that time, his fame was already established. He not only had contacts with prestigious monks but also with important figures like Hoshina Masayuki 保科正之 (1611–1672), the daimyo of Aizu 会津 domain from 1643. In Kan'ei 17 (1640), the imperial court even summoned him to preach to the retired emperor Gomizuno'o 後水尾 (r. 1611–1629), probably the “Majesty” mentioned in the office diary of Deshima.

He undoubtedly got access to the governor of Nagasaki through the intervention of his friend Suzuki Shōsan.²⁶ The latter had been preaching for several years in Amakusa, a shogunal territory closely monitored by the governor of Nagasaki. In the early 1640s, the bakufu had entrusted the administration of Amakusa to Shōsan's brother, Suzuki Shigenari 鈴木重成 (1588–1653). Shōsan advocated for an “inclusive” Zen, which shared features with Pure Land Buddhism, and he was the author of several texts written in accessible Japanese for commoners.²⁷

1.2 Christianity as Buddhist Heresy and Conquering Religion

Sessō sets out the gist of his sermons in the preface of the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*.²⁸ He composed the preface in *kanbun*, and divided it into two parts, roughly equal in length. The

24 For the original text in Dutch, see Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 2003, pp. 164–165. I quote here the English translation (*The Deshima Dagregisters* 2001, p. 289). I have slightly modified it following the Dutch version. All subsequent translations of documents in Japanese or *kanbun* are my own.

25 For a detailed biography of Sessō Sōsai, see Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 284–319.

26 On the links between these two monks, see Murai 2000, pp. 153–155. For the activities of Suzuki Shōsan in Amakusa, see pp. 135–140.

27 This tendency to adopt Pure Land practices like the *nenbutsu* 念仏 (the invocation of the Buddha Amida) is observable among other prominent seventeenth-century Zen monks. On this point, see Ibuki 2001, pp. 259–261.

28 The preface is reproduced in Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 68–69.

first part constitutes a summary of his attacks on Christianity. The second concerns what he considered a problematic tendency within mid-seventeenth-century Buddhism, namely the exclusive reliance of some sects on unique practices and/or unique sutra. He is here referring implicitly to Nichiren and Pure Land. Like Suzuki Shōsan, he stood for a trans-sectarian style of Zen. The first part of the preface merits particular scrutiny, as it contains the core of Sessō's anti-Christian argumentation.

Sessō begins with a statement on the importance in Christianity of God and heaven: “[Missionaries] preach that those who believe fervently in the Lord of Heaven (*Tenshu* 天主) and do not regress in their faith (*shinjin* 信心), will be reborn in heaven (*ten* 天) after death, where they will enjoy unlimited bliss.” Missionaries, he affirms, do not understand the eternal nature of the *Tathātā* (*shin'nyo* 真如)—the ultimate reality—or of the karmic law (*inga* 因果). Therefore, they mislead ordinary people (*bonbu* 凡夫) with a counterfeit doctrine (*gihō* 偽法), and the converts end up helping the missionaries to conquer new lands.

Sessō then explains that the founder (*shoso* 初祖) of Christianity, Jesus, learned the Buddhist Law (*buppō* 仏法) from a monk (*shamon* 沙門), but intentionally changed its nature to accomplish his plots (*keiryaku* 計略). Christianity, argues Sessō, is rooted in the teachings of the Six Heretical Masters (*Rokushi gedō* 六師外道).²⁹ These masters and thus the missionaries, too, are at fault for “not understanding the principle that the Three Worlds are [the emanation] of one's heart,” and for inciting their followers to believe in things exterior to them such as a wondrous heaven (*shōmyōten* 勝妙天) or a creator.

The ideas expressed in the preface are similar to those in *Ha Kirishitan*. Sessō Sōsai and Suzuki Shōsan both contend that Christians perceive the phenomenal world as the single reality and thus search outside themselves for the means of salvation. For these monks, however, only the improvement of one's mind (*kokoro* 心) and the detachment from material reality can bring relief in this world and lead sentient beings to salvation. What is more, in seventeenth-century Japan, a growing number of Confucian literati and Zen monks also partook of the discourse on the perfection of the mind.³⁰ Nor is the idea of Christianity as a deviant law (*gedō* 外道), or a Buddhist heresy, an invention of Sessō Sōsai. Suzuki Shōsan also devotes a long passage to this topic.³¹ In this regard, Sueki Fumihiko 末本文未士 has argued that the two monks denied Christianity its distinctiveness, and transformed it into a familiar and easy-to-refute doctrine.³²

The originality of Sessō Sōsai's sermons on Christianity lies in an aspect overlooked by previous scholarship, namely his use of what amounts to a counter-narrative of Christian history. This counter (or alternative) history concludes a long passage written in Japanese contained within the first sermon. Let us now turn to the structure of this sermon, which sheds light on the logic of the arguments Sessō made before the Nagasaki populace.

Sessō starts his first sermon with an explanation of how missionaries and their catechists generally proceed “when they convert people to their religion.” He maintains they deliver sermons over seven days, which they divide into two parts: the first day and the six

29 The six masters were contemporaries of the historical Buddha, Prince Gautama; they epitomized views like fatalism, amorality, or materialism, which were deemed to be opposed to the main tenets of Buddhism. On these heretical masters, see Buswell and Lopez 2014, p. 849.

30 Tajiri 2011, pp. 57–58.

31 Ebisawa 1970, pp. 453–454.

32 Sueki 2010, pp. 74–75.

others.³³ The missionaries call the first day “sermon to the gentiles” (*zencho dangi* ゼンチヨ談義), when they rebuke the various teachings of the Buddhist sects.³⁴ Their main targets are the Zen sects, the sects that advocate the chanting of Amida’s name (Nenbutsushū 念仏宗) and the Nichiren sect (Nichirensū 日蓮宗). The missionaries do not consider the Six Nara Sects (Nanto rokushū 南都六宗) and the two sects of Esoteric Buddhism (Tendai Shingon 天台真言) as dangerous opponents: the former are not widely practiced, and the latter are only concerned with reciting prayers. The missionaries criticize Zen for its lack of a creator, and Nichiren and Pure Land Buddhism for the fact that “the Pure Land of the West and the blissful Land of Tranquil Light are part of the lower world, and that [A]mida and Shaka are [mere] humans.”³⁵

Sessō then sets out, in very broad terms, the content of the missionaries’ sermons on the other six days, which are devoted to explaining the tenets of Christianity.³⁶ Showing a good command of Portuguese vocabulary, the Rinzai monk first mentions the attributes of God (*Deiusu* デイウス): a spiritual body (*subiritsu no tei* スヒリツノ体) living in the Eleventh Heaven (*jūichi tenme* 十一天目), and the creator (*sakusha* 作者) of all things between heaven and earth (*tenchi banbutsu* 天地万物).³⁷ He refers to the original sin committed by Adam and Eve; he says the missionaries link it to the descent of Jesus Christ (Zezu Kirishito ゼズキリシト) into the lower world (*gekai* 下界) for the salvation of humans (*shujō* 衆生). He contends that the church manipulates the minds of ordinary people through its discourse on Paradise (*Haraizo* ハライゾ), Hell (*Inuheruno* イヌヘル野) and Purgatory (*Furukatōriya* フルカタウリヤ). Sessō’s understanding of Christianity is accurate so far as it goes.

Sessō then switches to *kanbun* to digress on the inefficiency of the bakufu’s anti-Christian measures: “Even if those who have listened to the [Christian] law can change the name of their religious affiliation, they do not alter their feelings. [Furthermore], they do not understand that the deviant law is inferior and useless, and that the teaching of the World-Honored [Shaka] is superior and beneficial.”³⁸ For Sessō, formal apostasy is not enough; the monks have to convince people that Buddhism is the most suitable religious law and that Christianity is wicked. He argues that the ineffectiveness of Buddhist preaching is due to the Buddhist clergy, and in particular to two kinds of monks: those who are not

33 I would like to thank Rômulo da Silva Ehalt for this information. Further research is needed on the topic, but it seems that Sessō was well aware of the content of missionaries’ sermons. Indeed, in the *Historia de Japam*, Luís Fróis (1532–1597) talks about seven introductory topics in 1565 for the Japanese catechumens (Fróis 1981, pp. 16–17); Fukansai Fabian (1565–1621), in his anti-Christian pamphlet *Ha Daiusu* 破提字子 (*Deus Destroyed*; Genna 6 [1620]), also refers to the same number of steps (*dan* 段), and his refutation is in seven parts. *Ha Daiusu* is reproduced in Ebisawa 1970, pp. 424–447. For an English translation, see Elison (1973) 1988, pp. 259–291.

34 Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 69–70. *Zencho* derives from the Portuguese word *gentio*. It was a word commonly used by Japanese Christians and missionaries to refer to Buddhists.

35 One can read about the main arguments used by the Jesuits against the Buddhist sects in the *Catechismus Christianae Fidei* (1586) of Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) and the *Myōtei Mondō* 妙真問答 (Myōtei Dialogues; Keichō 10 [1605]) by Fukansai Fabian. For the former, see App 2012, chapters 5, 6, and 7; for the latter, refer to the articles and the translation in English in Baskind and Bowring 2016.

36 Ōkuwa 1984, p. 70

37 As confirmed by various books diffused by the Jesuits in Japan, such as the *Myōtei Mondō* or the *Giya do Pekadoru* ぎやどべかどる (1599), this is actually what the Jesuits preached about the location of heaven during Japan’s so-called Christian century. See Pinto dos Santos 2003, pp. 438–440, for a list of the mentions of the Eleventh Heaven, the Empyrean, in the Jesuit mission press, and more generally, see Hiraoka 2013, pp. 42–55.

38 Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 70–71.

able to explain the Law and who only harass and exploit lay people (*zaikenin* 在家人), and those of the Pure Land and Nichiren sects who argue about which teaching is the best. These monks are not worthy of teaching the “correct law” (*shōbō* 正法) of Shaka; they are thus useless or even harmful in the campaign against Christianity. It is highly unlikely that the authorities in Nagasaki allowed Sessō to take such a stance during his preaching to the general populace. These lines were most likely intended as a warning to the few monks who had access to the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*.

Next, Sessō again reverts to Japanese to discuss the “true” origins of Christianity:

The origins (*hongen* 本源) of Christianity are as follows. In a country called Itariya [Italy], there was a woman whose name was Santa Mariya [Saint Mary]. She was a descendant of the kings (*aruji no mago* 主之孫) of this country. She had a child whose name was Zezusu [Jesus]. In this country, there was also a monk (*shukke* 出家). Zezusu took him as a master. He learned with him the Buddhist Law, and, with this law, he preached to the people, and he gained their support as a means to conquer different countries. As he was preaching here and there, in a land called Judeya [Judea], [the authorities] heard about the plot (*hakarigoto* 謀) he was premeditating. Zezusu was arrested and crucified. Then, his disciples had to hide in different places. Everywhere, they talked in secret about Zezusu; they encouraged people [to join them]. Finally, they seized Rōma [Rome]. After, they conquered various countries with the help of the conspiracies that this religion allows. Later, on four or five occasions, they even tried to seize Japan. I read in detail about these facts in the texts that the missionaries addressed to the shogunal authorities (*kubō* 公方). The Christian religion was born around 1600 years ago. At that time, in India (Tenjiku 天竺), the Buddhist Law had entered into decadence. The teaching provided by the monk [to Zezusu] combined the way of the Buddha and the deviant way. [Zezusu] was not able to distinguish the two ways; he learned the surface of the Buddhist Law but did not understand its quintessence [...].³⁹

The following four elements are important to keep in mind as they also appear in other documents consulted or written by Sessō: 1) Jesus and Mary were the descendants of kings; 2) they used religion as a means to conquer other lands; 3) following the death of Jesus, the “founder of Christianity,” his followers have continued his devilish work; and 4) Jesus distorted the real meaning of Buddhism to forge his creed.

For this last reason, Sessō holds that Christianity is no more than a failed copy of Buddhism. For example, he points out that the spiritual body (*subiritsu no tei*) of God resembles the *Tathātā*, and protests that God, Mary, and Jesus are the names of Buddhas, but not real ones. The Eleventh Heaven (Paradise) is similar to the “ten trillion lands of Buddhas” (*Jūman’oku-do* 十万億土) situated between our world and the Pure Land of Amida. Excommunication (*Ezukumokāto*) is similar to the *shakujō* 錫杖 of Brahmā (Bonten 梵天), a ringed staff often used as a weapon for protecting the Law.⁴⁰ Finally, Sessō

39 Okuwa 1984, p. 71.

40 This somewhat surprising juxtaposition originates in one of the Tafukuji documents. Sessō Sōsai’s anti-Christian argumentation is generally known for its depiction of Christianity as a copy of Buddhism. This is one of the most salient features of the *Taiji jashū ron*. On the latter treatise, see, for example, Pinto dos Santos 2002.

returns to his main accusation: Christians, ignorant of the karmic law, search outside of themselves—that is, they rely on God—for their means of salvation.

The first sermon then slips back into *kanbun* in order to criticize once again both Nichirenism and Pure Land Buddhism, and to demonstrate the superiority of Zen Buddhism, drawing on an array of sutras. It concludes by claiming that 1,520 citizens, aspiring for enlightenment (*hotsubodaishin* 発菩提心) thanks to the sermon, received the five precepts. It is highly doubtful that Sessō preached on these complex matters to the citizens of Nagasaki; the parts in Japanese are surely closer to the actual sermon. His main argument in these sections is that Christianity is a copy of Buddhism that inspired the disciples of Jesus to conquer new lands. Sessō's enemies were undoubtedly the missionaries.

1.3 Preaching amid a Tense International Situation

Sessō's main argument was, in all likelihood, a response to the feared return of the Portuguese and the impact it could have on any remaining hidden Christians. As it turned out, on 26 July 1647 (Shōhō 4.6.24), nine days after the Dutch mentioned Sessō Sōsai in their office diary, two carracks sent by the Portuguese crown arrived in Nagasaki bay seeking to reopen trade with Japan.⁴¹ Around four hundred people were on board. This was the first time a Western country sent an official embassy to Japan. Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza (?–1648), a nobleman who had fought alongside his father during the 1610s in various parts of Asia, led the embassy. The new king of Portugal, João IV (r. 1640–1656), had appointed him as ambassador in December 1643. His journey to Japan was delayed several times. In the fall of 1644, the fleet of the embassy encountered a storm between the islands of Java and Sumatra; the fleet received Dutch assistance and remained in Batavia for four months. (A ten-year truce signed between the two countries in 1642 enabled this unusual situation.) After arriving in Macao, Siqueira de Souza had to deal with the reluctance of the authorities in Macao to risk such an enterprise after the bloody ending of their own attempt in 1640.⁴²

In 1645, the Japanese authorities became aware of the existence of this embassy. They were concerned to learn that the Portuguese and the Dutch were now at peace. The relevant Dutch sources have already been studied extensively by scholars, and these indicate that the leaders of the bakufu interrogated, on many occasions, the chief (*opperhoofd*) of the trading post at Deshima about the Portuguese and their intentions.⁴³ Their questions concerned Portuguese overseas territories, the number of Portuguese soldiers and vessels in Asia, the state of the Spanish empire, the distance between different ports (Goa, Macao, Batavia, and Manilla) in the possession of the Europeans, and the possibility of a Portuguese-English coalition.

After executing the envoys sent from Macao in 1640, the Japanese authorities expected retaliation from the Portuguese.⁴⁴ This led to an increase in the surveillance of Kyushu's

41 To this day, the most detailed studies of this embassy remain those by Charles R. Boxer. For a convenient overview of the primary sources and the main events related to this episode, see Boxer 1939.

42 For a general presentation of the history of Portugal and its empire in the mid-seventeenth century, see Ramos (2009) 2015, part 2, chapter 5.

43 See for instance Blussé 2003 and Matsukata 2010, pp. 44–60.

44 On this first embassy sent by Macao, see Boxer (1951) 1993, pp. 384–385.

maritime borders.⁴⁵ Moreover, as Yamamoto Hirofumi 山本博文 has pointed out, prior to the arrival of the envoys, the bakufu had already adopted several measures aimed at forestalling or limiting the impact of a second Shimabara-Amakusa revolt. For example, a memorandum (*oboe* 覚) sent by the bakufu elders to the governor of Osaka in the sixth month of Kan'ei 17 (1640) explicitly stated that the arrival of Portuguese vessels (*kareuta* かれうた) could incite Japanese Christians to organize themselves and take action (*Kirishitan no totō* 切支丹の徒党). The memorandum also advised feudal lords to deploy troops in their domains in the event of the arrival of a Portuguese vessel in order to monitor their subjects' reactions.⁴⁶

The arrival of the embassy on 26 July 1647 triggered one of the largest mobilizations of troops in the entire Edo period. According to estimates by Matsuo Shin'ichi 松尾晋一, the bakufu gathered around fifty thousand soldiers in and around Nagasaki. In August, the governor even closed the bay with a “bridge of boats.”⁴⁷ One of the first steps taken by the Nagasaki governor was to forbid local citizens from leaving their houses and to ask the Portuguese to conceal the Christian symbols displayed on their vessels. These preventive measures did not have the desired effect: the population of Nagasaki panicked, and crowds started to flee to the surrounding hills.⁴⁸

It seems the authorities were uncertain about how the population of Nagasaki would respond to the return of the Portuguese. A later document confirms this fact. In Manji 万治 1 (1658), the governor of Nagasaki wrote to the bakufu elders in Edo stating his intention to refuse any future entry by a Portuguese vessel beyond the island of Iōjima 伊王島, which sits a little outside the entrance of Nagasaki bay. By adopting this policy, the governor hoped to prevent people from setting eyes on the Portuguese. He was afraid that the mere sight of the Portuguese might cause the inhabitants of the port, “who were all apostate Christians,” to turn “mad” (*kichigai* 気遣い).⁴⁹ In other words, twenty years after the revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa, the governor still questioned the sincerity of their attachment to Buddhism.

The Portuguese remained aboard their vessels in anticipation of an answer from the bakufu regarding the reopening of the Macao-Nagasaki trade. It arrived on 28 August and, as is widely known, it was negative.⁵⁰ All of the bakufu elders had signed the official response, which criticized Christianity on two accounts: the propensity of its followers to plot revolts on the one hand and its imperialist tendencies on the other. In the eyes of the elders, the Portuguese used this religion as a pretext to conquer foreign lands; the elders pretended to understand it thanks to the “confession” (*hakujō* 白状) of the “Southern barbarian apostate priests.” This might be a reference to the apostate Jesuit Cristóvão Ferreira or to the members of the two Rubino groups, the majority of whom renounced

45 Regarding the reinforcement of Japan's borders in the 1640s, see Matsuo 2013, chapter 1. These measures might appear somewhat extreme when one considers the actual situation of Portugal after the recovery of its independence. However, it is uncertain whether the Japanese authorities, who had to rely on the information being provided by the Dutch and the Chinese, fully understood the military weakness of Portugal and its actual relations with Spain (both countries were at war from 1640 to 1668).

46 This document is quoted in Yamamoto 2017, pp. 142–143.

47 On the mobilization of Kyushu's lords, see Matsuo 2013, pp. 33–40.

48 The chief of Deshima vividly described the reaction of the population in his office diary. See *The Deshima Dagregisters* 2001, p. 290–301.

49 This document is quoted in Kimura 2016, p. 35.

50 For a transcription, see Shimizu 1977, p. 328.



Figure 2. A map representing the situation of Nagasaki bay in August 1647 (seventeenth century; unknown artist). ① Kōfukuji; ② A Chinese ship?; ③ The Nagasaki governor's office; ④ Deshima trading post; ⑤ Dutch vessels; ⑥ The Portuguese embassy; ⑦ The blockade of the bay; ⑧ Iōjima. ©Jorge Welsh Works of Art, Lisbon/London.

their faith under torture.⁵¹ On 4 September, the governor of Nagasaki instructed Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza and his men to leave Japan.

2. Restoring the Truth: The Anti-Christian Documents at Tafukuji Temple

Sessō Sōsai was a monk of renown who had contacts in the highest reaches of both the Edo bakufu and the world of Zen Buddhism. His sermons, whose exact organization and content remain somewhat unclear, attracted large crowds. It appears that Sessō resorted to a counter-narrative of the history of Christianity. He did so to convey the idea that Christianity was a Buddhist heresy prone to wicked deeds, in particular the seizing of foreign lands. By clearly unmasking the Christian threat, his objective was to ensure that the Nagasaki populace would not come to the aid of the Portuguese in the event they launched an attack in retaliation for the execution of the envoys they had sent from Macao in 1640.

As mentioned earlier, some of the sources Sessō drew upon when preparing his arguments are extant and can be consulted today at Tafukuji in Ōita Prefecture. In what follows, I will begin by outlining the content of these documents before attempting to draw explicit connections between the arguments they contain and Japan's anti-Christian fight in the 1640s.

2.1 A Heterogeneous Collection

At Tafukuji, there is a wooden box that is slightly bigger than a shoebox. One side of the lid is dated Hōreki 宝曆 11 (1761). On the other side, there is the following sentence: "The secret books (*hisho* 秘書) of Tafukuji should not leave this site," with a list of the texts the box initially contained. These were three books (*satsu* 冊), namely *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*, *Taiji jashū ron*, and *Kirishitan kanagaki* 喜利志袒仮名書 (Stories about Christianity written

51 Concerning Cristóvão Ferreira and his apostasy in 1633, see Cieslik 1974. On the mission named after Antonio Rubino (1578–1643), the Jesuit who supervised it, see Shimizu 2012, chapter 8.

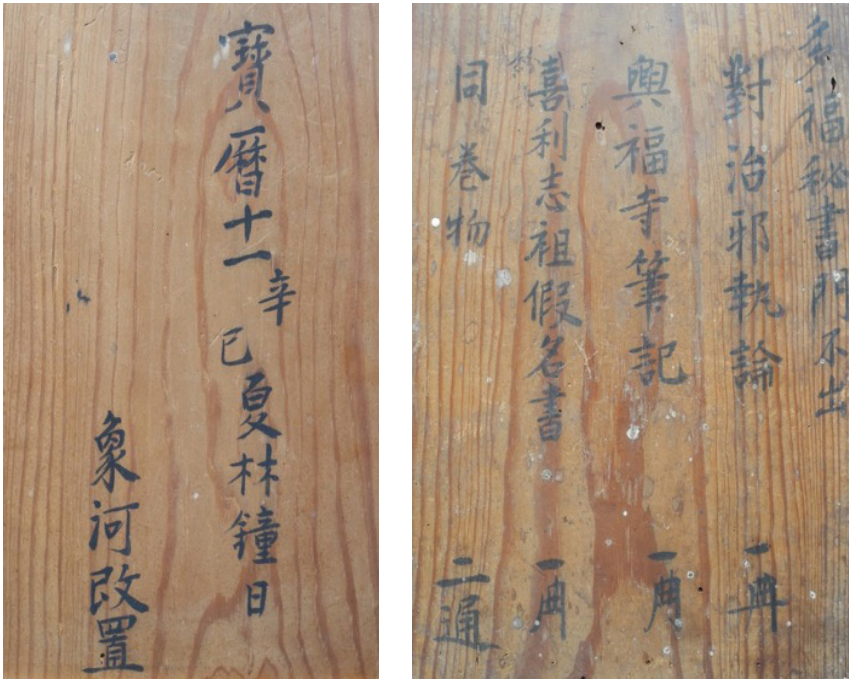


Figure 3. The lid of the box which contains the anti-Christian documents of Sessō Sōsai. Courtesy of Seki Yasunori, abbot of Tafukuji.

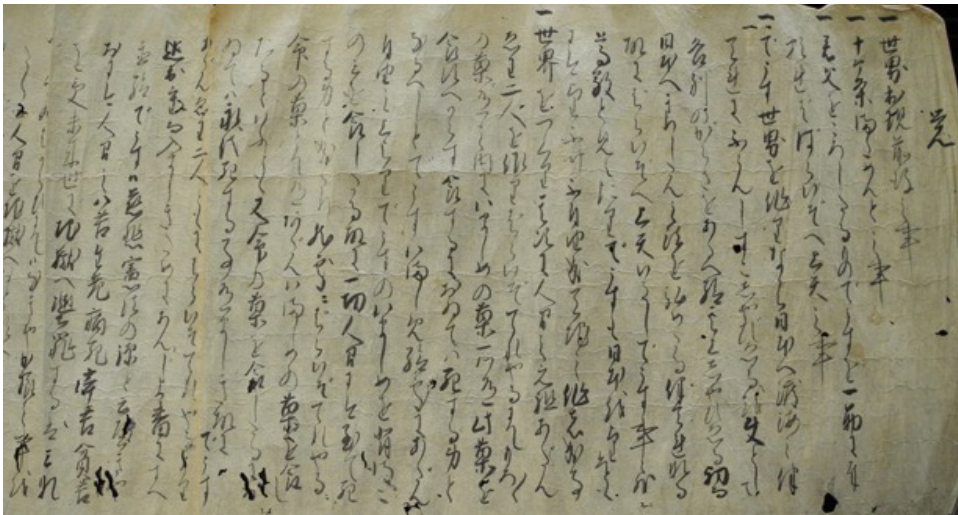


Figure 4. The beginning of the memorandum. Courtesy of Seki Yasunori, abbot of Tafukuji.

in Japanese), and two scrolls (*makimono* 巻物).⁵² Of these documents, only the *Taiji jashū ron* is missing, but we know it anyway thanks to late Edo copies.⁵³

As demonstrated by Ōkuwa Hitoshi and his team, Sessō consulted the two scrolls and the *Kirishitan kanagaki* while preparing both his sermons and the *Taiji jashū ron*.⁵⁴

One of the scrolls is a memorandum (*oboe*).⁵⁵ It contains a list of fifteen very concrete arguments against Christianity, outlining its contradictions. The author fully developed ten of them; they concern God primarily and, to a lesser extent, the cult of the martyrs and saints.

The second scroll has no title.⁵⁶ Its first part narrates the life of Marcello Mastrilli (1603–1637), a Neapolitan Jesuit who died as a martyr in Nagasaki in the fall of Kan'ei 14 (1637). Mastrilli, who believed he had recovered from a severe wound thanks to the intervention of Francis Xavier, made a vow to reach Japan and preach the Gospel there like his eminent predecessor.⁵⁷ The author of the scroll saturates his story with reports of divine interventions and miracles; it seems to be a Japanese translation of a hagiography compiled by Mastrilli's fellow Jesuits after his death.⁵⁸ The second part, which is incomplete, claims that Mastrilli's story is a lie propagated by the Jesuits. The author explains that the four catechists (*dōjuku* 同宿) and the brother (*iruman* いるまん), who had accompanied the priests of the two Rubino groups in 1642 and 1643 before apostatizing under torture, testified to this fact.

The *Kirishitan kanagaki* is, in many respects, the most intriguing document that Sessō Sōsai had at his disposal.⁵⁹ To my knowledge, it is the most extensive anti-Christian text written in the seventeenth century and yet one of the least well-known among scholars. The manuscript, 230 pages long and a little over fifty thousand characters, bears annotations: someone wrote comments in the upper margins, rectified characters, added punctuation, and sidlined words. Like the well-known *Kirishitan monogatari* 吉利支丹物語 (Tales of the Christians; Kan'ei 16 [1639], reprinted in Kanbun 5 [1665] with illustrations), it amounts to a compilation of short stories on the (wicked) deeds of the Christians.⁶⁰ It deals almost

52 The characters used for *Kirishitan* 喜利志祖 are those used in the *Taiji jashū ron*, and so the title on the box suggests that it was chosen by either Sessō Sōsai or by someone who had his anti-Christian treatise in mind.

53 Regarding the different manuscripts of the *Taiji jashū ron*, see Ebisawa 1970, p. 640.

54 As noted in Ōkuwa 1984 (pp. 405–412), Sessō certainly made use of other sources too, such as *Ha Kirishitan* by Suzuki Shōsan, *Kengiroku* 顕偽録 (Deceit disclosed; Kan'ei 13 [1636]) by Cristóvão Ferreira, and other documents held by Inoue Masashige. Around 1660, his successor, Hōjō Ujinaga 北条氏長 (1609–1670), incorporated some of the latter into a document called *Kirisuto-ki* 契利斯督記 (Notes on Christianity). Regarding the *Kengiroku*, see Cieslik 1974, pp. 36–40. For the original text, see Ferreira 1927. For Inoue Masashige and the *Kirisuto-ki*, see Murai 1987, pp. 45–67. A transcription of one of the manuscripts can be found in ZGR, pp. 626–668.

55 The memorandum is reproduced in Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 171–174. For a commentary, see pp. 392–394.

56 The transcription of this scroll is reproduced in Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 168–170 (for a commentary, see pp. 388–391).

57 On Mastrilli, see Elison (1973) 1988, pp. 197–199. This author considers that the Society of Jesus allowed the “suicidal” journey of the Neapolitan in order to restore its prestige, which had been eroded by the apostasy of Cristóvão Ferreira.

58 The *Kirisuto-ki* contains a very similar biography of Mastrilli, in addition to comparable testimonies (compiled in Meireki 明暦 4 (1658)) by apostate priests and catechists. See ZGR, pp. 652–654 for the testimonies and pp. 654–655 for the biography of Mastrilli. It appears that Inoue Masashige considered it vital to refute the stories that had spread concerning this Italian Jesuit.

59 The *Kirishitan kanagaki* is reproduced in Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 175–259.

60 For an English translation, see Elison (1973) 1988, pp. 329–374. Elison has argued that the *Kirishitan monogatari* was part of a propagandist strategy on the part of the Tokugawa regime to instill the idea among the lower classes that Christianity represented a foreign threat. On the contrary, Jan Leuchtenberger has defended the theory that this text was linked to the blossoming commercial publishing

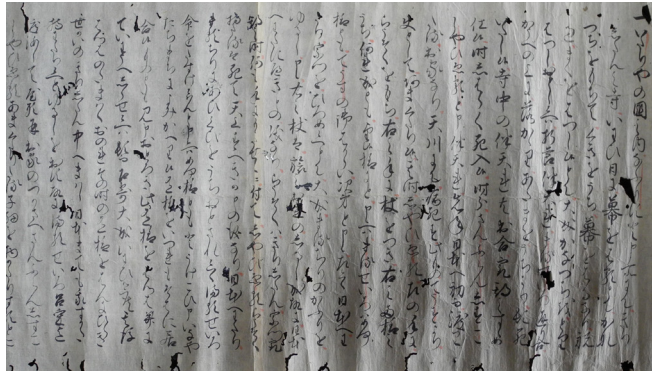


Figure 5. The beginning of the scroll related to the life and death of Marcello Mastrilli. Courtesy of Seki Yasunori, abbot of Tafukuji.

exclusively with the successful and failed attempts of missionaries to conquer new territories. Virtually no scholarship exists on the full manuscript.⁶¹

Before Ōkuwa Hitoshi’s discovery of the Tafukuji documents, scholars only knew and had studied the last third of *Kirishitan kanagaki*, named *Bateren-ki* 伴天連記 (Chronicle of the priests) after nineteenth-century manuscripts. Jan Leuchtenberger, who has translated the *Bateren-ki* into English, regards it as a seminal document in the literary construction of a “*Kirishitan* other,” and as a tool to undermine the position of the missionaries in Japan.⁶² Sakamoto Masayoshi 坂本正義 considers the text, despite its fictitious elements, as a more or less reliable source on the Jesuit presence in Japan, as well as evidence that Christianity projected a negative image there in the early seventeenth century. For him, it is proof that many Japanese saw missionaries as the forerunners to a territorial invasion by the “Southern Barbarians.”⁶³

The *Kirishitan kanagaki* manuscript held by Tafukuji is in three parts. Only the second bears a title: *Kirishitan jūni monpa no koto* きりしたん十二間派之事 (About the twelve orders of Christianity).⁶⁴ The first and the third parts recount, chronologically, both fictive and actual events related to Christianity, from Adam and Eve to the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ It contains long passages on the life of Jesus, Mary, the apostles (Peter, Paul, John, James, and Matthew), and finally saints (Lucy, Clare, and Lawrence, for example). After describing four fictive attempts by the missionaries to conquer Japan—note that the same number occurs in the first sermon of the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji bikki*—the manuscript ends by mentioning the ban on Christianity in Ōmura in Keichō 11 (1606).⁶⁶

industry of the mid-seventeenth century and thus reflected the image of Christianity in Japan at the time (2013, pp. 45–49).

61 See, however, Elisonas 2000 and 2007, and Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 394–405.

62 See Leuchtenberger 2013, pp. 32–44, for the author’s analysis of the *Bateren-ki*. For the English translation, see pp. 137–160.

63 Sakamoto 1981, chapter 3.

64 On the structure of the *Kirishitan kanagaki*, see Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 394–405.

65 For a more detailed discussion of the stories in the *Kirishitan kanagaki*, see Elisonas 2000, pp. 35–45.

66 According to the author of the *Kirishitan kanagaki*, the Christians attempted to conquer Japan four times before they finally succeeded in setting foot there. The first time, they used trade as a means to achieve their

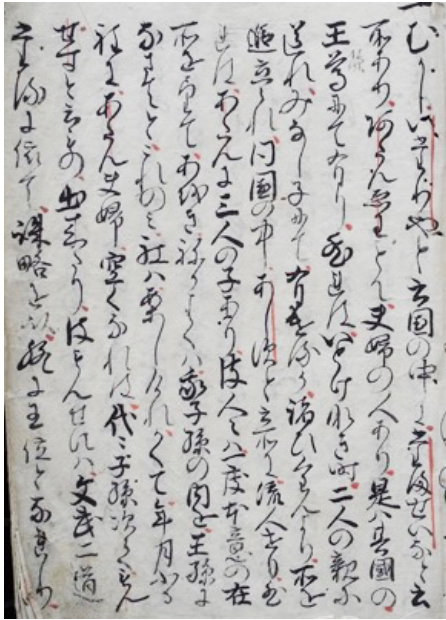


Figure 6. First page of the *Kirishitan kanagaki*. Courtesy of Seki Yasunori, abbot of Tafukuji.

The Jesuits were highly successful there in the latter part of the sixteenth century, winning the conversion of its lord, Ōmura Sumitada 大村純忠 (1533–1587), who subsequently spread the new faith among his retainers and subjects.⁶⁷ The author also explains, with some accuracy, certain doctrinal aspects of Christianity, like the creation, the redemption, and the seven sacraments.

The second part concerns, as its title suggests, various real and fictive religious orders or religious organizations within the Church. Among those which exist in reality are the Jesuits, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the brotherhood system. The orders of Saint Michael (*San Mikeru*), Saint Lawrence (*San Rorenso*), and a certain *Santa Narisha* are however, fictitious. In comparison with the first and third parts, the second is mostly imaginary.

The author of the *Kirishitan kanagaki* is unknown. Jurgis Elisonas attributes its authorship to Chijiwa Seizaemon 千々石清左衛門 (1569–1633?), better known as Miguel Chijiwa, one of the four envoys of the Tenshō embassy, sent to Rome and the Iberian Union by three Christian feudal lords of Kyushu under close Jesuit supervision.⁶⁸ Unlike the other envoys, Miguel left the seminary and renounced his faith at the beginning of the

aim, but they failed to arouse the interest of the Japanese. The second and third times, they resorted to force but a combination of Japan's army and storm winds repelled them. The fourth time, Rome sent missionaries but their ships floundered before reaching Japan. For the part of the original text which describes these fictive events, see Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 244–252. For an English translation, see Leuchtenberger 2013, pp. 147–153.

⁶⁷ Concerning the conversion of this feudal lord and his domain to Christianity, see Kudamatsu 2002, chapter 2.

⁶⁸ Regarding this embassy, see Elisonas 2007. For his arguments attributing the authorship of the *Kirishitan kanagaki* to Miguel Chijiwa, see Elisonas 2000, pp. 45–50.

seventeenth century.⁶⁹ However, none of the evidence Elisonas provides is decisive, and there remains no consensus among scholars about the authorship.⁷⁰

Whatever the identity of the author, we can say with certainty that he possessed an extensive knowledge of Christian doctrine, its hagiography, and the Portuguese language. The *Kirishitan kanagaki* mimics the hybrid style of the Jesuit press in Japan (*Kirishitan-ban* キリシタン版) brilliantly.⁷¹ Furthermore, the author knew the names of many Jesuits active in the Japanese archipelago, from the pioneers of the mission such as Francis Xavier (1506–1552) and Cosme de Torres (1510–1570) to Japanese priests and brothers like Lourenço Ryōsai (1526–1592), Vincente Tōin (1540–1609), Sebastião Kimura (1565–1622), and Fukansai Fabian.⁷²

2.2 Exposing Christian Deception and Legitimizing the Anti-Christian Measures

It is interesting to note the importance of narratives in the collection of texts Sessō Sōsai had at his disposal. He mainly borrowed from the *Kirishitan kanagaki* to construct his arguments against Christianity. This tactic suggests that we should reassess the distinction that is usually drawn between “doctrinal” and “popular” anti-Christian texts. Indeed, in the *Taiji jashū ron*, a treatise written entirely in *kanbun*, presumably as a *vade mecum* for the monks close to Sessō, a significant part of the text consists of narrative elements related to an “alternative” history of Christianity and the life of Jesus.⁷³ The *Taiji jashū ron* thus differs from Suzuki Shōsan’s *Ha Kirishitan*. The latter does not explain the wicked nature of the forbidden religion by invoking historical facts; it arises, so to speak, *ex nihilo*. By contrast, Sessō connects all the alleged evils of Christianity to the “original sin” of Jesus, who wilfully transformed the teaching of the Buddha in order to engage in his misdeeds. Previous scholarship, in focusing predominantly on the text’s doctrinal aspects, has largely overlooked the narrative aspect of the *Taiji jashū ron*.

The text begins with the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan and their first successes. This opening represents a summary of the information found within the *Kirishitan kanagaki*, including its mistakes.⁷⁴ According to the *Taiji jashū ron*, at the end of the Tenbun 天文 era (1532–1555), two priests (*bateren* 頗姪連) and one brother (*iruman* 由斐漫) arrived in Bungo from the capital (*kyō/miyako* 京) of Rome. The priests were San Furanshisuko Shabieru (Francis Xavier) and Gasuparu (possibly Gaspar Vilela (1526–1572),

69 On Miguel’s life, see in particular Hesselink 2016, pp. 161–167.

70 The feelings of Miguel Chijiwa towards Christianity were possibly more complex than a simple rejection (Ōishi 2015). Indeed, in 2004 a team of archeologists found what appears to be the Buddhist grave (Nichiren sect) of Miguel Chijiwa and his spouse in Ikiriki 伊木力, a village situated ten kilometers north of Nagasaki. Their children had placed many Christian objects within it, implying that Miguel may have remained Christian in his heart until his death in Kan’ei 9 (1633). For the latest research on this grave, see Chijiwa Migeru Boshō Hakkutsu Chōsa Jikkō Iinkai 2019.

71 The author uses Portuguese words and phrases like *Escritural/Ezukiritaura* (scriptures), *circumcisão/shirikurisan* (circumcision), *inocência/yunosensha* (innocence), *excomungado/lesukumokāto* (excommunicated), *filósofo/hirosoho* (philosopher) and even *encanto bruxal/inkanto furūsha* (“a witch [who casts] spells”).

72 For a list of both the lay Christians and members of the Society of Jesus who appear in the *Bateren-ki*, see Sakamoto 1981, pp. 139–140.

73 As I noted in my introduction, many Buddhist monks went to Kyushu after the revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa in order to preach against Christianity in former missionary strongholds. Murai Sanae has shown that some of them had deep connections with Sessō Sōsai and Suzuki Shōsan (Murai 2000, pp. 133–155).

74 Ebisawa 1970, pp. 460–461. For the corresponding passage in the *Kirishitan kanagaki*, see Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 252–254.

a Jesuit who arrived in Japan in 1556).⁷⁵ The brother was a certain Rorenso, probably the blind *biwa* player Lourenço Ryōsai, the first-ever Japanese to join the Society of Jesus. Sessō depicts him as a man born in the Kinai 畿内 region who studied the teaching of the Lord of Heaven (*Tenshukyō* 天主教) in Rome.⁷⁶

After that, Sessō leaves aside Japan to focus on the life of Jesus (Zezusu 是寸須) who, after having learned the doctrine of Shaka, transformed it into a deviant law (*gedō*) and a set of evil views (*jaken* 邪見) to steal foreign countries.⁷⁷ Sessō claims that he bases his knowledge on the evil books (*jasbo* 邪書) he has consulted.⁷⁸ Then, in a long passage, he introduces some of the essential doctrinal elements of Christianity: the creation by God, the fall of Lucifer, the original sin of Adam and Eve, the incarnation of Jesus, the betrayal of Judas, the death and resurrection of Jesus.⁷⁹ Finally, Sessō emphasizes that creation is a groundless theory (*okusetsu* 憶説) preached by Jesus, and that the extraordinary deeds (*kimyō* 奇妙) he allegedly performed are the ingenious inventions (*kōken* 巧見) of Ewanzerishita 惠椀是利志多 (John the Evangelist?).⁸⁰ As we shall see, this is precisely the view held by the author of the *Kirishitan kanagaki*.

This reliance on narrative features affords essential insights into Christianity and, more broadly speaking, religious mentalities at the beginning of the Edo period. Two elements in particular merit our attention: (1) miraculous or supernatural stories seem likely to have exerted a significant influence on the Japanese; and (2) Buddhist and Christian priests considered narratives and counter-narratives as an effective means to convey religious ideas and to attack one another's religion.

Historians of Christianity in medieval and early modern Europe (until at least the seventeenth century) have highlighted the wide diffusion and use of the lives of the saints, first, by the mendicant orders and, later, by the secular clergy and the Jesuits, for the edification of the populace.⁸¹ The most famous collection of lives is the *Golden Legend*, composed by the Dominican Jacobus da Varagine (ca. 1230–1298). Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was the most copied manuscript in Europe after the Bible. The Dominican built his book around the liturgical year; it served as a pool of edifying examples for preachers. However, this compilation did more than simply outline models of behavior for believers to imitate: it offered a pedagogy of the sacred and contained the essence of Christian dogma.⁸²

As Jonathan E. Greenwood has shown, the *opus* of Jacobus da Varagine and subsequent similar compilations were central to the proselytizing activities of the missionaries in the world outside Europe. In the early stages of evangelization, they propagated the lives of saints, whether they be in South America, India, or Asia.⁸³ In Japan, before the introduction of the printing press in Kyushu, the Jesuits had spread among their flock accounts of saints'

75 Francis Xavier arrived in Kagoshima on 15 August 1549 (Tenbun 天文 18).

76 In fact, he was originally from the island of Hirado in the province of Hizen and never left Japan. On his life, see Yūki 2005.

77 Ebisawa 1970, pp. 462–463.

78 Ebisawa 1970, p. 467.

79 Ebisawa 1970, pp. 467–470.

80 Ebisawa 1970, p. 474.

81 For an overview of this literature, see Bartlett 2013, chapter 13.

82 For a complete study of the *Golden Legend*, refer to Boureau 1984.

83 Greenwood 2018.

lives in handwritten copies. And, in 1591, the first book they printed was a collection of saints' lives, in the Roman alphabet: *Sanctos no Gosagueo no Uchinuqigaqi / Santosu no gosagyō no uchinukigaki* サントスの御作業の内抜書 (Abridged version of the acts of the saints).⁸⁴

In Japan, the use of narratives to transmit religious dogma to the populace was by no means unique to the missionaries. For centuries, Buddhist priests had used short tales (*setsuwa* 説話) to edify (and entertain) their audience. Tsutsumi Kunihiko 堤邦彦 has shown that throughout the seventeenth century, the mandatory affiliation of the populace to Buddhist temples increased the diffusion of such stories. At the very beginning of the Edo period, the Buddhist clergy printed vast numbers of manuals for preaching (*kange-bon* 勧化本), which included many edifying tales.⁸⁵ Whether Buddhist or Christian, these stories were replete with miraculous deeds. They strove to show the superiority of a specific creed or religious organization. They were testimony to the ultimate truth of either Buddhism or Christianity. Both the authorities in Nagasaki and Sessō Sōsai were well aware that if they wanted to convince Japanese Christians to abandon their faith, they needed to disclose the falsehood of the lives of the saints and martyrs.

For instance, the memorandum held at Tafukuji indicates that Sessō and others relied upon their memory of Mastrilli's execution to demonstrate that Christian discourse was, as a whole, mendacious. One entry argues that, since no extraordinary event actually occurred during his execution in Nagasaki, contrary to what Christian documents affirm about him, "the deeds (*sagyō* 作業) of the past [which the Church propagates] are all fabricated lies (*itsuwari* 偽)." ⁸⁶

One of *Kirishitan kanagaki's* aims is clearly to debunk some of the core narratives of Christianity. The word *itsuwari* itself appears in multiple passages, especially in the early sections on the life of Jesus. The author dismisses the Annunciation as "an unbelievable lie." The birth of Jesus, which was marked by the coming of angels, "is also a real lie."⁸⁷ The star of Bethlehem, proof of Jesus' coming for the Three Wise Men, is a deception: "[What they say about] this star is, as with other things, only a lie."⁸⁸

However, merely affirming that all Christian claims, both past and present (especially those relating to the martyrs), were mere lies and fabrications was not, in itself, sufficient. Sessō and his patrons in Nagasaki needed to expose the hidden motives of the Church so as to explain why Christianity was such a deceptive religion, and to justify its prohibition. The explanation, outlined briefly by Sessō Sōsai in his *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki* and *Taiji jashū ron*, is fully developed in *Kirishitan kanagaki*.

I have translated the first pages of the text, which concern the origin of Jesus' family. They may have sounded familiar to the ears of late medieval and early modern Japanese who were accustomed to stories of warriors thirsty for conquest or fighting to retrieve what they deemed to be the rights or the domains of their ancestors:

84 For a general presentation of such literature in early modern Japan, see Obara 1996, pp. 383–411.

85 Regarding the use of *setsuwa* in early modern Japan, see the articles in Tsutsumi 1996. See the first chapter for a general overview of the *kange-bon*.

86 Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 172–173.

87 In the Gospel of Luke (2:1–20), the birth of Jesus was announced by angels to shepherds nearby.

88 The three passages are in Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 176–177, 179.

In the past, in Itariya [Italy], there was a place called Tamaseina [Damascus?], where Atan [Adam] and Ewa [Eve] lived. They were descendants of the kings (*ōson* 王孫) of this country [Itariya].⁸⁹ However, their parents died when they were young; they became orphans. They were expelled [from Tamaseina] and exiled to Ashisu [Assisi?], a place situated in the same country. After, Atan had three sons. His sons wished ardently to retrieve their home country. [One day,] they declared: “We are only concerned with the fact that one of our descendants shall rise again to the throne.” Then, months and years passed, and Atan [and Ewa] died; generations of descendants followed until a certain Monseu [Moses?] appeared. As he was skilled in the literary and military arts, he finally ascended the throne (*ōi* 王位) thanks to a plot (*bōryaku* 謀略). Some six thousand years after Atan, there was a royal descendant called Jōchin [Joachim], and his wife’s name was Anna. At that time, the people of this country considered that those who had no children contravened human relations. Thus, Anna and Jōchin, since they had no children, were not allowed to succeed to the throne (*teiō* 帝王). They were exiled to a place called Zeruzaren [Jerusalem]. Soon after that, a man named Seizaru Agusuto [Cesar Augustus] inherited the throne. At that moment, Jōchin prayed the Way of Heaven (*Tendō* 天道), saying: “I was blessed to be born in a royal family (*ōin* 王院). Nevertheless, since I had no children, I was exiled. Here is my wish: whether a boy or a girl, give me a descendant.” He addressed his prayer with such dedication that his wife Anna soon became pregnant. In the ninth month, she gave birth. They discovered that the child was a daughter. They called her Santa Mariya [Saint Mary].⁹⁰

Tracing the origins of Jesus’ family, the author recounts his birth, his early life, and, then, a turning point that happened when he was nineteen. He met a monk (*shukke*) who gave him the idea of forging a sacred text (*kyō* 經) to gain popular support for his plot to overthrow Seizaru Agusuto. I cite extensively from this passage as the incident underpins, for the author, all the lies of the Church:

When he was nineteen, something happened in Jesus’ life. An unknown monk came [to his village]. Jesus heard his sermon (*seppō*) and judged it venerable. He became the disciple of this monk, and, for three years, he traveled to other countries. At the age of twenty-two, he returned to his home village. He reflected a lot [and said to himself as follows]: “Although I am a descendant of kings, it is highly regrettable that [my place in society] is so low because of the poor karmic retribution I have inherited from my ancestors. However wide is my knowledge, I will not be able to wipe out Seizaru Agusuto only with military strategy or bravery in battle. Here is what I will do: I will fabricate a sacred text and tell everyone that I am Heaven’s emissary (*Tendō no tsukai* 天道の使); then, I will exhort them to believe in me, and I will gain the support of high and low people. After that, it will be easy for me to wipe out Seizaru Agusuto; I will become the king of this country (*kokuō* 国王) [of Rome].” Following this plan, on

89 Later in the text, it becomes clear that Italy designates Rome.

90 Ōkuwa 1984, pp. 175–176.

the eighth day of the eighth month of his twentieth year [sic], Jesus started for the first time to fabricate a sacred text.⁹¹

Sessō undoubtedly drew on the first pages of the *Kirishitan kanagaki* to prepare the first sermon as recorded in the *Nagasaki Kōfukuji hikki*, where he treats the origins of Christianity. In addition to the lexical proximity between the two texts, he employs the same ideas concerning the royal status of Jesus, his thirst for conquest, and his malevolent use of religion. The parts of the manuscript version of the *Kirishitan kanagaki* concerning the life of Jesus bear many annotations (*shugaki* 朱書き). For instance, regarding the encounter of Jesus with the monk, we read in the upper margin the following comment: “Jesus learned the law with a monk.”

The *Kirishitan kanagaki* goes on to discuss some of the key elements of Jesus’ “fabricated sacred text”: the Trinity, the creation, the angels and Lucifer, and the story of Adam and Eve. As for Jesus’ condemnation to death and his resurrection, the author protests that these were inventions of one of his disciples, John the Evangelist (Juwan Ewanserishita 寿庵ゑわんせりした).⁹²

For the author of *Kirishitan kanagaki*, Christians are nevertheless more than liars who take advantage of fools. Indeed, although he depicts Christ and John the Evangelist—and, more broadly speaking, the clergy—as conspirators with very mundane goals, he also portrays them as men who can control the sacred to unleash extramundane powers. As we witnessed in the previous two passages, Joachim successfully addresses prayers to the Way of Heaven (*Tendō*), and Jesus studies with a monk.

In other passages, the wording is more trenchant. The author depicts the followers of Jesus as sorcerers who use magic (*mahō* 魔法) to gain the support of malevolent divinities (*kijin* 鬼神). In other words, they are practitioners of an evil way or law (*jadō* 邪道; *jahō* 邪法) and, therefore, possess the vices typically attributed to such people in medieval and early modern Japan. They also engage in the same wicked deeds: necromancy, sexual perversion, and the manipulation of the demons. Drawing on Elisonas’ research, Jason A. Josephson considers the rhetoric of *Kirishitan kanagaki* as a perfect example of “heretical anthropology,” or, put differently, a discourse that primarily aims to discredit religious adversaries by blaming them for all of the world’s evils.⁹³

2.3 *The Last Step: Defeating God and the Belief in His Miracles*

For Sessō Sōsai and his patrons in Nagasaki, this denial of Christian claims was linked to a grander objective: obtaining the *sincere* apostasy of any remaining Christians. Scholars of anti-Christian measures in Tokugawa Japan tend to overlook the difficulty for the authorities (and therefore for historians) of evaluating their efficiency. However, both the documents held at Tafukuji and the *Kirisuto-ki*, a compilation of documents written by (or under the guidance of) Inoue Masashige, indicate that the shogunal authorities cared deeply about the impact of these discourses on popular beliefs.⁹⁴ They deemed, in particular, that

91 Ōkuwa 1984, p. 181.

92 Ōkuwa 1984, p. 200.

93 Concerning the discourse on heresy in medieval and early modern Japan, see Josephson 2012, chapters 1 and 2. For his comments on *Kirishitan kanagaki*, see pp. 46–49. For a representative case study related to medieval Shingon, see Gaétan Rappo (2017) on the monk Monkan 文観 (1278–1357).

94 On the *Kirisuto-ki*, refer to note 54 above.

the rebuttal of both the idea of God and of his capacity to cause miracles was a matter of urgency. Ten years after the revolt of tens of thousands of supposed apostates in the Shimabara-Amakusa uprising, memories were still vivid.

The content of the memorandum held at Tafukuji attests to the centrality of God in the anti-Christian fight during the 1640s. Indeed, out of the ten developed arguments, eight are aimed at attacking God's omniscience, omnipotence, mercy, and creative power. Entry 4 ridicules God's alleged incapacity to rule over Japan. Entry 5 questions his mercy for having expelled from heaven Adam and Eve, and for allowing a majority of people to fall into hell. Entry 6 emphasizes his sadism for having created backward people as the "equal of beasts" (*chikushō dōzen* 畜生同前). Entries 7, 13, and 14 touch on the perceived inconsistency between God's mercy and the theology of predestination.⁹⁵ The last entry points out the contradiction between God's omnipotence and his incapacity to convert more than one person out of a hundred (*hyakubu ichi* 百分一).

Even if the rhetoric in some parts of the memorandum is original, the arguments are not new. We encounter them in virtually all the anti-Christian texts, from *Ha Daiusu* by Fukansai Fabian to Suzuki Shōsan's *Ha Kirishitan*. All the authors devote some of their arguments to attacking the Christian idea of God. However, despite its lack of originality, the memorandum merits our attention for two reasons. First, its unoriginal content itself suggests that for both the authorities and for Sessō Sōsai, one of the most critical tasks was attacking the idea of God. Second, in *Kengiroku*, *Kirisuto-ki*, and *Taiji jashū ron*—three documents penned by men of the bakufu or close to the bakufu—we encounter, almost word for word, the same argumentation.⁹⁶ In other words, we can consider the memorandum as a set of officially-sanctioned arguments against Christianity in the 1640s.

Nishimura Ryō 西村玲 has shown that Sessō was conscious of the Buddhist clergy's need to propose an alternative to God and to offer a convincing means to salvation for ordinary people. The refutation of Christian tenets was not enough. She argues that Sessō developed the notion of the "Great Way" (*daidō* 大道), drawing on the anti-Christian treatises penned by Chan monks in the 1630s, which he certainly read in one of Nagasaki's Chinese temples. The *daidō* is an impersonal principle that encompasses the whole of creation, inheres in every sentient being, and links enlightenment to the self.⁹⁷

The idea that the Japanese have a pantheistic or immanent perception of the world incompatible with Western transcendentalism is a cultural stereotype. It is epitomized in the famous novel *Chinmoku* 沈黙 (Silence; 1966), by Endō Shūsaku 遠藤周作 (1923–1996). However, we should not forget that from the beginning of the mission, the Jesuits strove to propagate the notion of a unique creator deity as a source of salvation. Though this exclusivist stance provoked criticism,⁹⁸ the idea of *Deus* as the organizer of the universe

95 We tend to consider predestination as characteristic of some Reformed traditions. However, in the early modern Catholic Church, there were many doctrinal debates surrounding the relevance of God's grace in individual salvation. In Japan, the Jesuit missionaries considered this too confusing a topic for their converts. The authorities in Nagasaki were surely informed about this subtle theological idea through the apostate priests. For more on this issue, see Orii 2015, pp. 201–203.

96 For the main attacks on God, see Ferreira 1927, pp. 6–10; ZGR, pp. 650–652; Ebisawa 1970, pp. 472–474.

97 Nishimura 2018, pp. 130–141.

98 Concerning the reaction of the Zen clergy to the notion of God during the first stages of the Jesuit mission, see App 2012, chapter 2.

seems to have had an impact on literate people interested in cosmology.⁹⁹ Kawamura Shinzō 川村信三 has argued that monotheism was appealing to the populace during the sixteenth century (towards the latter end of the “warring states” period).¹⁰⁰ Moreover, for many inhabitants of Kyushu in the seventeenth century, Christianity had been the dominant religion for decades. In its strongholds like Nagasaki, Shimabara, and Amakusa, belief in God the creator and God the savior had been taught for more than half a century.

For Japanese Christians, God was not an abstract being remote from everyday life. He continually acted in the world. This fact is evident in *Kirisuto-ki*, where the reader frequently encounters words such as *meiyo* 名誉 or *fushigi* 不思議, which refer to something extraordinary or, put simply, miraculous. In a section of the text entitled “Shūmon sensaku kokoromochi” 宗門穿鑿心持 (Things to keep in mind when you scrutinize [the Christian] religion), Inoue Masashige reports that apprehended Christians hoped that miracles (*meiyo*) would save them. However, “since [the Church] only preaches lies (*itsuwari*), nothing extraordinary (*fushigi*) happens.”¹⁰¹ The Great Inspector was undoubtedly aware that in Christian hagiography, God used to act when Christians were on the verge of suffering for their faith:

The priests teach [their flock] that, when interrogating Christians, even wise commissioners (*bugyō*), able to distinguish truth from falsity, have their judgment blurred and lose their eloquence. [They] also teach that, thanks to the miracles which Deus provides [to those who believe in Him] (*Deusu no meiyo* デウスノ名誉), those who are devoid of intelligence and eloquence become intelligent and can express themselves clearly. Since [the priests indoctrinate Christians in this way], the latter say that such things happen.

He then adds that some Christians, convinced that God would protect them and reward them with salvation, tried to imitate Christ and the “holy martyrs” by showing excessive emotional detachment and even politeness towards their persecutors when facing them.¹⁰²

In a section devoted to the apostasy of priests (which he may also have intended to apply to Japanese lay Christians), Inoue writes that if God is the “creator of Heaven and Earth (*tenchi no sakusha* 天地ノ作者)” and free to act at will (*jiyū jizai* 自由自在), he should have used miracles to come to the aid of his flock in both the Shimabara-Amakusa revolt and the executions in 1640 of the members of the Macao embassy. The Great Inspector took God’s silence to be proof of either his inexistence or, at least, of his powerlessness, but the sharp emphasis which the *Kirisuto-ki* places on the idea of God suggests that many hidden Christians had not drawn the same conclusion.¹⁰³

God’s apparent silence after the beginning of the ban on Christianity was a cause for anxiety among both the missionaries and their flock. As has already been shown, anti-Christian polemicists used God’s impotence as an argument to rebuke Christianity. The missionaries were aware of this seeming contradiction between an omnipotent creator

99 Hiraoka 2013, chapter 1.

100 Kawamura 2011, chapter 5.

101 ZGR, p. 636.

102 ZGR, p. 637.

103 ZGR, p. 650.

and their wretched condition in Japan. In their writings, they explained to their flock that persecution was a means chosen by God to distinguish good and bad Christians, and, in the long term, to strengthen the position of the Church within Japan: the blood of the martyrs would become the seed of its triumph. This rationalization was not specific to the Japanese context: Christian apologists had used the same arguments at the time of the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁴

For historians, it is difficult to evaluate the feelings Japanese Christians may have had towards these ideas. Previous research has shown that repression wherever it happens tends to fuel messianic expectations among oppressed religious groups. In other words, coercive measures can, at times, have an effect opposite from that desired. For instance, in some communities of hidden Jews (Marranos) in the early modern Iberian Peninsula in the wake of their forced conversion, in Protestant villages of Southeast France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, or, in a non-monotheistic context, in the Peruvian Andes at the time of the Taky Unquy (1564–1572) movement, millenarian sentiments increased in response to the repressive interference by the state in the religious practices of forbidden groups.¹⁰⁵

In seventeenth-century Japan, at least until the late 1650s, some Christians, who had formally denied their religion, renewed their allegiance to God and announced, to the secular or religious authorities, their “return” to faith. The sources generally describe this attitude as *tachikaeri* 立帰 (“return to a former position”). The most famous (and violent) episode of *tachikaeri* was the uprising of the peasants of Shimabara and Amakusa at the end of Kan’ei 14 (1637). Kanda Chisato has argued that the “rebels,” who believed that God was speaking to them through miracles, were moved to make a public declaration of their return to Christianity and even to attack temples and shrines to obtain forgiveness for their apostasy.¹⁰⁶

Recent research has revealed that even before the revolt, the authorities in some domains were already aware of the limits of the anti-Christian measures since former apostates could, at any moment, return to Christianity. In his biography of Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651; r. 1623–1651), Nomura Gen 野村玄 has argued that such was the case with the shogun, as well as with figures like the daimyo of Kumamoto Hosokawa Tadatoshi 細川忠利 (1586–1641).¹⁰⁷ Case studies of the implementation of the *tera’uke* system in different feudal domains testify to this anxiety. For example, in Kan’ei 10 (1633), following the arrest of a priest (*bateren*) nearby, the inhabitants of Takahama 高浜 village in Amakusa had to swear an oath confirming that they would not return to Christianity “even if, in secret, they had received [the sacrament of] forgiveness (*yurushi* ゆるし) from the priest [in question].” The following year, in Kumamoto, the authorities asked officers to

104 For more details on the documents written by the missionaries on persecution and martyrdom, see Satō 2004, part 1, chapter 2.

105 On the Jews, see Muchnik 2014, chapter, 7; on Protestants, see Joutard 2018, pp. 241–244, 267–276; on indigenous reactions to the Spaniards in sixteenth-century Peru, see Wachtel 1971.

106 For a vivid depiction of the first weeks of the revolt, see Kanda 2005, pp. 25–38. There are also known examples of *tachikaeri* before the revolt. For example, in the 1620s Christians within the Shimabara Peninsula even handed oaths to the authorities affirming their resolve to openly practice the forbidden religion. See Nogueira Ramos 2019.

107 Nomura 2013, pp. 220–227.

double-check suspicious apostates by ordering them to tread upon a sacred image (*miei* 御影) with “the shape of the Way of Heaven [i.e., God] (*Tendō no katachi* 天道の形).”¹⁰⁸

After the revolt, such fears only increased. Inoue Masashige made various recommendations to his successor regarding how to uncover the remaining practitioners of the prohibited religion. For him, Christianity was an invisible threat because, in most cases, external evidence did not reveal the real religious feelings of the people: as the *Kirisuto-ki* records, the hidden Christians concealed their objects of piety and buried their true emotions when facing the authorities.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

In this article, I have aimed to shed light on Tokugawa anti-Christian policy in the aftermath of the Shimabara-Amakusa revolt, a time of radical change for the Japanese Christian community, as well as for Japan itself in terms of both its domestic and foreign engagements. To this end, I have adopted an approach that seeks to engage intellectual, institutional, and social history, by utilizing sources related to the three main actors in this struggle: the Nagasaki authorities, the Buddhist monks, and the hidden Christians.

I have predominantly drawn on documents either written or consulted by Sessō Sōsai, an essential figure in early modern Zen Buddhism. Until now, scholars have generally focused on his definitive work on Christianity, the *Taiji jashū ron*, and largely overlooked the working papers he received from Inoue Masashige and Baba Toshishige, as well as the sermons he delivered in Nagasaki in mid-1647. A close examination of the content of these texts and their argumentation has allowed me to form certain hypotheses which may be summarized as follows:

1. In the 1640s, the representatives of the bakufu in Nagasaki felt that the anti-Christian measures had reached a deadlock, because of the very real potential for alleged apostates or “neo-Buddhists” to return suddenly to their previous faith. The revolt of 1637–1638 was still vivid in their memories. The return to Japan of the Portuguese undoubtedly increased the anxiety of the bakufu representatives, as they were unable to predict the reaction of the apostate Christians (*korobi Kirishitan*). However, it is difficult to judge whether the anti-Christian sermons which the authorities organized for the general populace were merely a sign of caution or whether they signaled genuine fear of a new uprising in Kyushu.

2. Whatever the extent of their fear, it seems probable that Sessō Sōsai and his patrons had deeply reflected on the lived experience of the hidden Christians. In doing so, they concluded that the aim of religious inspection was not merely to require any remaining hidden Christians to adhere to the law by publicly renouncing their religion, but also to convince them *truly* to abandon their Christian faith. They also identified key aspects of their faith, such as the belief in miracles and God’s omnipotence, the better to attack them. I argue that they propagated a counter-narrative of the history of Christianity as a means to weaken the legitimacy and credibility of the Church. I cannot pretend that within the span of a few pages, I have fully exhausted the topic addressed. At present, I see three issues that demand further investigation.

108 These examples are quoted in Shima and Yasutaka 2018, p. 139 and pp. 141–142.

109 See, for instance, ZGR, pp. 635, 637.

First, it is necessary to determine more precisely the scope and impact of the documents written, or consulted, by Sessō Sōsai. Were they only used in the geographical setting and timeframe focused on in this article? Or did they reach a wider audience? Aside from the institutional aspects of religious inspection, the concrete interactions between the authorities (both secular and religious) and the populace remain virtually unknown.

Second, it is vital to examine the impact of these discourses on the hidden Christians, both in the short and long term. Although we cannot know with certainty what was in their hearts, there remain many sources still to investigate, because domainal and shogunal authorities arrested more than two thousand of them during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The best-documented case is the dismantling of the community of Kōri (*Kōri kuzure* 郡崩れ) in Ōmura domain between 1657 and 1658.¹¹⁰

Third, from a broader perspective, the cooperation between the bakufu and the Buddhist priests in the struggle against Christianity raises new questions about the perception of the world and the role of religion in Edo Japan. For instance, Inoue Masashige, on the one hand, and the two Zen monks, Sessō Sōsai and Suzuki Shōsan plus the author of *Kirishitan kanagaki*, on the other, regarded miracles differently. While the former denied their possibility, the latter instead questioned their origin (black magic) and aim (of deceiving people). Of special relevance here are the reflections of Sueki Fumihiko on how Japanese have historically viewed the relationship between the phenomenal world (*ken* 顕) and the unseen world of the divinities (*myō* 冥).¹¹¹

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110 For a survey of estimates on the number of arrests, see Shimizu 1981, pp. 214–223. For a brief discussion of the *Kōri kuzure*, see pp. 218–219.

111 Sueki 2010, pp. 16–18.

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Imagining the Spirits of Deceased Pregnant Women: An Analysis of Illustrations of *Ubume* in Early Modern Japan

YASUI Manami*

In this paper, I explore how the deaths of pregnant women have been imagined and expressed in eighteenth and nineteenth century Japan. The spirits of deceased pregnant women, known as *ubume*, constituted a popular theme in *yōkai* and the supernatural, which many eighteenth-century artists depicted through woodblock prints. I explore several features of *ubume* in *yōkai* illustrations and discuss the cultural and social background of the people who imagined the appearance of the deceased pregnant woman. I hope to shed new light on early modern Japanese popular perspectives of life and death as they relate to childbirth. This issue connects with both religious practice and with legends of deceased pregnant women.

Kawanabe Kyōsai's illustrations feature bird-like *ubume*, clearly under Chinese influence. In order to clarify the confusion between the contrasting images of the *ubume* as a woman in Japan and as a bird in China, this paper turns to a detailed study of Chinese texts. In the seventeenth century, the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan introduced the Chinese image to Japan, and connected it with the Japanese *ubume*, that is the *yōkai* as deceased pregnant woman or woman who died in childbirth. The early modern Japanese image of *ubume* thus developed into a hybrid bird-like woman. In Japan, after all, the *ubume* was already a popular motif. By focusing on images of *ubume*, I hope to advance the understanding of the attitudes of people in bygone ages not only towards women who had died while pregnant and those who had died during childbirth, but also towards the unborn child.

Keywords: *ubume*, *yōkai*, *yōkai* illustrations, afterlife, *mi-futatsu* (burial ritual), the Blood Pool Hell, *gubuniao*, *Honzō kōmoku*, *Wakan sansai zue*

Introduction

The spirits of women who die during late pregnancy or in childbirth are known as *ubume* (産女 or 姑獲鳥), a category of *yōkai* 妖怪, or supernatural being. *Ubume* are regarded as female, and their femininity is most apparent in that their death relates to pregnancy and childbirth. In this paper, I explore how people imagined and portrayed deceased pregnant women and their unborn fetuses by analyzing a selection of *ubume* illustrations from the latter half of the eighteenth century through the nineteenth century. In order to understand

the social and cultural background of *ubume*, I will discuss beliefs, legends, and burial customs as they relate to deceased pregnant women and women who died in childbirth. There is already important research focusing on *ubume* imagery. Kiba Takatoshi 木場貴俊, for example, has analyzed historical developments in *ubume* images from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. He has identified an “*ubume* code” of features common to all *ubume* pictures.¹ In her thought-provoking study of art history, Zilia Papp has traced the evolution of *ubume* images in contemporary media such as movies, animation, and novels featuring *yōkai*, back through to the Edo- and Meiji-period *yōkai* art form.² Shimazaki Satoko has pointed out the ubiquity of *ubume* in the theater and literature, and shows, for example, that they appear in almost all of Tsuruya Nanboku’s 鶴屋南北 (1755–1829) major ghost plays.³ Elsewhere, I have explored the relation between *ubume* images in *yōkai* representations and local burial customs that separate a fetus from the dead body of the mother.⁴ I have also analyzed individual transitions in *ubume* and *tengu* 天狗 images from early modern to contemporary Japan.⁵ As previous research shows, *ubume* became a popular motif in such media as *yōkai* illustrations, theater, and literature.⁶

My discussion has two primary purposes. The first is to trace historical documents relating to *gubuniao* 姑获鸟 (姑獲鳥) in China, which influenced the portrayal of *ubume*. *Gubuniao* were introduced to Japan in the tenth century, and again in the early seventeenth century through *Ben Cao Gang Mu* 本草綱目, known in Japan as *Honzō kōmoku* 本草綱目 and compiled in 1578 by Li Shizhen 李时珍.⁷ I analyze Chinese texts related to *gubuniao* to explore the process by which the *ubume* acquired bird-like characteristics.

The second purpose is to examine the *ubume*-related custom of *mi-futatsu* 身二つ, to understand better the social and cultural background of *ubume* images. The custom in question is burial for deceased pregnant women, which involved separating the fetus from the dead mother’s body. There was a belief that women who died during late pregnancy or childbirth would remain in the living realm after death as *ubume*, unless the fetus was ritually separated from them.⁸ Michiko Iwasaka and Barre Toelken have analyzed legends of *ubume* and *kosodate yūrei* 子育て幽霊 (ghosts who provide candies and rice cakes for deceased children). They point out that some legends cling to an older idea that it was in fact the baby born in the grave that was to be feared rather than the ghost of the mother.

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1 Kiba 2010, p. 222.

2 Papp 2010, p. 22.

3 Shimazaki 2011, p. 209.

4 Yasui 2003a, Yasui 2003b.

5 Yasui 2015.

6 The popularity of *yōkai* today is reflected in the hosting of several international exhibitions of *yōkai* art. They include “Kyōi to kaii: Sōzōkai no ikimono tachi” 驚異と怪異：想像界の生きものたち; “Regnum Imaginarium: Realm of the Marvelous and Uncanny,” National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 2019 (Yamanaka 2019); “Japan Supernatural,” Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, November 2019 to March 2020 (Eastburn 2019); and “Yōkai: Ghosts, Demons & Monsters of Japan,” Museum of International Folk Art (MOIFA), Santa Fe, 2019 (Katz-Harris 2019), among others.

7 The first citation of *gubuniao* was in *Honzō wamyō* 本草和名 (918) by Fukae Sukehito 深江輔仁 (d.u.) and then in the medical text, *Ishinpō* 医心方, completed in 984 by Tanba Yasunaga 丹波康長 (912-995). See Kiba 2020, p. 264.

8 Yamaguchi 1953, Yasui 2003a, Itabashi 2000, Yasui 2003b, Williams 2008, Glassman 2008.

This is because the baby after birth remains an unritualized newcomer. Iwasaka and Toelken show the importance given to such rituals by the community.⁹ An analysis of images of *ubume* and their unborn children should lead to a better understanding of how notions surrounding the death of pregnant women and unborn children changed over time. This in turn will equip us to discuss unborn fetuses and deceased pregnant women in contemporary Japan.¹⁰

A “*Yōkai* Revolution” in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century

According to Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦, who has conducted anthropological research into *yōkai* for over four decades, *yōkai* is an ambiguous term for both academics and laypeople.¹¹ Komatsu divides *yōkai* into three “domains”: *yōkai* as incidents or phenomena, *yōkai* as supernatural entities, and *yōkai* as depictions.¹² The third domain is the most relevant in terms of *ubume* illustrations. Komatsu points out that it was the naming of *yōkai* that led to their dissemination, and this in turn prompted groundbreaking change in the cultural history of *yōkai* in the Edo period (1603–1867). People of the era took great delight in inventing and naming new *yōkai* for specific events and phenomena, further developing them into a medium of entertainment.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, as woodblock printing technology developed, artists began to depict *yōkai* in the form of mass-produced illustrated books, in addition to the earlier medium of *emaki* 絵巻, or picture scrolls. These printed collections became a popular form of entertainment, especially among people living in urban centers.¹³ Prior to the development of woodblock printing technology, many picture scrolls also depicted legends and tales of the common folk, including stories of confronting and defeating *yōkai*.¹⁴

Figure 1 is a graphic rendition of an *ubume* originally drawn by Toriyama Sekien 鳥山石燕 (1712–1788) in *Gazu hyakki yagyō* 画図百鬼夜行 (An illustrated catalogue of the Demon’s Night Parade, 1776), which is one of a series of collections.¹⁵ He was a prominent print designer trained in the Kanō 狩野 school, and this illustration is one of his more famous. There are two hundred different *yōkai* in his collection; each is labeled and often includes a brief description or commentary.

Kagawa Masanobu 香川雅信 has analyzed the new style of encyclopedic form manifested in *Gazu hyakki yagyō*, applying a scheme proposed by Michel Foucault in his *The Order of Things*.¹⁶ Kagawa has spoken of an “Edo *yōkai* revolution,” and he points out that in the latter half of the eighteenth century, *Gazu hyakki yagyō* caused a great transformation in

9 Iwasaka and Toelken 1994, pp. 65–66.

10 In the early 1970s, *mizuko kuyō* 水子供養, the religious practice of holding memorial rites for fetuses lost through miscarriage, stillbirth, and abortion emerged. There is extensive research both in Japan and overseas on this issue. See for example LaFleur 1992, Morikuri 1995, Hardacre 1997, and Takahashi 1999. In addition, Suzuki Yuriko 鈴木由利子 has analyzed the current situation of *mizuko kuyō*. See Suzuki 2014.

11 Komatsu 2017, p. 12.

12 Komatsu 2017, p. 12.

13 Komatsu 2017, p. 19; Yumoto 2003, p. 4.

14 Komatsu 2017, p. 12.

15 See also *Konjaku gazu zoku hyakki* 今昔画図続百鬼 (1779), *Konjaku hyakki oni shūi* 今昔百鬼拾遺 (1781), and *Gazu Hyakki tsurezure bukuro* 画図百器徒然袋 (1784).

16 Foucault 1970.



Figure 1. *Ubume* illustrated by Toriyama Sekien, *Gazu hyakki yagyō* in 1778. Toriyama 2005, p. 35.

yōkai art, because Sekien had for the first time amalgamated a selection of *yōkai*, dedicated a single page to each one, and given to each a name, occasionally with a description.¹⁷ And Michael Dylan Foster maintains that the *Gazu hyakki yagyō* is the earliest manifestation of the encyclopedic form with *yōkai* as the exclusive object of cataloging.¹⁸

The encyclopedia was already well known owing to such precursors as *Kinmō zui* 訓蒙図彙 (1666) by Nakamura Tekisai 中村惕斎 (1629–1702) and *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 (Illustrated Sino-Japanese encyclopedia of the three realms; d.u.) by Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安 (d.u.). These and other multivolume works became popular due both to their illustrations and to their role in society as “everyday encyclopedias.”¹⁹

Analysis of *Ubume* Illustrations

In this section, I analyze early modern images of *ubume* beginning with an illustration by Sekien (figure 1). My purpose is to draw out and compare several pertinent features. First, there is appearance. The *ubume* is wrapped in a white, blood-stained sheet from the waist down, standing on a narrow path near a river, her long black hair cascading down her back. She is bent over at the waist, clutching her newborn in her right arm. Her left arm is raised, her hand on her forehead in a state of despair or, perhaps, merely shielding her eyes from the driving rain. According to Kiba Takatoshi’s “*ubume* code,” *ubume* of the seventeenth century were often portrayed without the baby, simply wearing a white, blood-stained cloth wrapping from the waist down. White symbolized death, and blood symbolized birth.²⁰

17 Kagawa 2005.

18 Foster 2009, p. 55.

19 Marcon 2015, p. 113.

20 Kiba 2020, pp. 269–270.

Second, there is evidence here of folk customs as they relate to death. Traditionally, after an extraordinary death such as a suicide, a murder, or a death in childbirth, a special ceremony known as *nagare kanjō* 流灌頂 (flowing anointment) was performed next to a river.²¹ In the ritual practice of *nagare kanjō*, a small piece of cloth was stretched out between four waist-high poles driven into the ground. Buddhist scriptures were often written upon the cloth.²² Women who died in childbirth were believed to be bound for the Blood Pool Hell (*chi no ike jigoku* 血の池地獄), and the *nagare kanjō* was performed by the bereaved to ensure the dead woman was saved, and became a buddha (*jōbutsu* 成仏).²³ The Blood Pool Hell was the destination for women on account of the pollution of the female body, namely menstrual blood and the blood of childbirth. But, as I explain below, it was death in childbirth that was the deepest cause of pollution. Passersby, including those unrelated to the deceased, would scoop up some river water with a ladle and pour the water over the cloth. They did this until the color of the cloth, or the text written upon it, was washed away. The purpose was to appease the spirit of the dead woman, and to provide salvation for her in the afterlife. In the top left corner of Sekien's illustration, we can see the outline of a *nagare kanjō*, a regular feature of illustrations of *ubume*.

Third, there is water symbolism. Most *ubume* stand near a river and are rained upon. In Buddhist belief, there is the Sanzu River (Sanzu no kawa 三途の川), which must be crossed on the way to the afterlife. The river in *ubume* illustrations duly symbolizes the boundary between this world and the next, a liminal place in which the *ubume* exist. Fourth, there is the dead infant. It is worth noting that it is only the mother, not the infant, who becomes a *yōkai*. One possible reason for this is to be found in folkloric notions of the afterlife. Some, like Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875–1962), claim that funerals for babies and infants in Japan were traditionally different from funerals for adults.²⁴ This could explain why the infant is incorporated into the *ubume*, and why the tragic death does not lead to the creation of two separate *yōkai*.

Variety of *Ubume* Illustrations

How did the image of *ubume* develop from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century? Figure 2 shows an example of an *ubume* from *Hyakkai zukan* 百怪図鑑 (Encyclopedia of one hundred mysteries, 1737) by Sawaki Sūshi 佐脇嵩之 (1707–1772). *Hyakkai zukan* is a picture scroll depicting thirty *yōkai*; alongside each is its name or title, giving to the scroll a kind of encyclopedic quality. According to the postscript, this is a duplicate made in 1737 from an original drawn by Kanō Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476–1559) in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.²⁵ It is uncertain whether Motonobu actually drew *Hyakkai zukan* at this time, but it is surely the case that Motonobu's *Hyakki yagyō* picture scroll, which Toriyama Sekien says he consulted, might have been *Hyakkai zukan* or other similar scrolls, which Kagawa

21 Aoyagi 1985, p. 425.

22 According to reports from 1930, this custom was also called *kawa segaki* 川施餓鬼 and *mizu segaki* 水施餓鬼. See Onshi Zaidan Boshi Aiikukai 1975, pp. 324–332.

23 Manabe 1994, p. 489; Glassman 2008, p. 185. Kawauchi 2016.

24 Yanagita (1946) 1962, p. 146. Scholars today criticize the claim made by Yanagita Kunio that, until the age of seven, a child belongs to the gods (*nanatsu mae wa kami no uchi* 七つ前は神のうち). See Shibata 2008.

25 Fukuoka-shi Hakubutsukan 2012, p. 102.

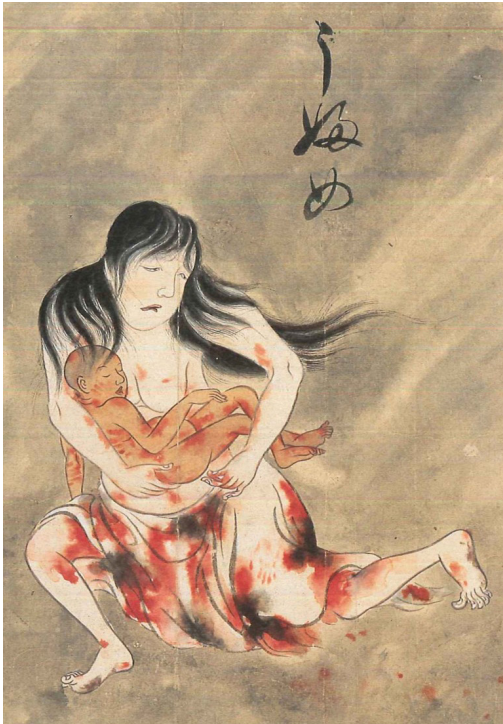


Figure 2. *Ubume* painted by Sawaki Sūshi, *Hyakkai zukan*, 1737. Fukuoka City Museum 2012, p. 109.

Figure 3. *Ubume and yukionna* by Koikawa Harumachi in *Bakemono shiuchi hyōbanki*, 1777. National Diet Library Digital Collection. <https://www.dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/9892372> (eighth frame).



Masanobu named *bakemono zukushi* 化物づくし picture scrolls. Sekien undoubtedly took many ideas from *Hyakkai zukan* and incorporated them into his *Gazu hyakki yagyō*.²⁶

While *Hyakkai zukan* is an illustrated handscroll, it also incorporates the characteristics of an encyclopedia, depicting thirty different *yōkai* in vivid color, giving to each a rich individuality, unlike the black and white woodblock prints. This marks the start of a transition in *yōkai* art from picture scrolls such as *Hyakkai zukan* to books consisting of multiple pages, like *Gazu hyakki yagyō*. In *Hyakkai zukan*, the *ubume* wears a blood-stained cloth and holds a child, but the child appears to be two- or three-years old. Moreover, this *ubume* is in the act of fleeing. Sekien depicted his own *ubume*, standing near a river, holding a baby, not fleeing like the one in Motonobu's piece.

Figure 3 is an *ubume* with a “snow woman” (*yuki onna* 雪女) from *Bakemono shiuchi hyōbanki* 妖怪仕内評判記 by Koikawa Harumachi 恋川春町 (1744–1789), a disciple of Toriyama Sekien. This 1777 work, contemporaneous with Sekien's *Gazu hyakki yagyō*, belongs to the genre of *kibyōshi* 黄表紙 or illustrated fiction, the major features of which were humor and parody.²⁷ Adam L. Kern points out that *kibyōshi* merit attention if only because of their megalithic presence in the popular culture of late eighteenth-century Japan.²⁸ Given the popularity of the genre, their images of *ubume* must have fired readers' imaginations.

Bakemono shiuchi hyōbanki does not have an overarching storyline, but in this illustration the head of the *yōkai*, Ōnyūdō 大入道, has called an assembly of various kinds of *yōkai* to practice their transformation from worldly form into *yōkai*. The scenes are a parody of kabuki rehearsals. The text explains that the *ubume* is a *yūrei*, and hence has no feet.²⁹ It continues in a satirical manner to comment on and evaluate the *yōkai*'s transformations. The author, Koikawa Harumachi, evaluates these two *yōkai* as “superior, third class.” Both *ubume* and another famous female *yōkai*, *yuki onna*, appear in front of a handsome samurai, trying to converse with him, but he ignores them both. The text in the picture states, “*Ubume* is a kind of *yūrei*. The lower body of the *ubume* is bloody; she is holding a baby and asking passersby to take it. But rarely does anyone take the baby. *Ubume* are truly frightening *yōkai*.”³⁰ The *yuki onna* calls out to the samurai, “Hey, Mr. Samurai, come warm me up,” but he ignores her. *Ubume* were already the target of parody soon after Sekien printed his drawing in 1776. *Bakemono shiuchi hyōbanki* captures their utter state of despair.

In the Edo period, Katsukawa Shunshō (Haruaki) 勝川春章 (1726–1792) depicted *ubume* in his *Hyaku bobogatari* 百慕々語. *Hyaku bobogatari*, literally meaning “One hundred Tales of the Vagina,” is the first book of erotic prints (*shunpon* 春本 or *enpon* 艶本) all of whose characters were *yōkai*.³¹ According to Timothy Clark and Andrew Gerstle, “With the increasingly intricate connections between *shunga* and other forms of popular art and literature in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, rhetorical devices such as playful,

26 Kagawa 2005, p. 126.

27 Kabat 2001, pp. 34–44.

28 Kern 2006, p. 37.

29 *Yūrei*, usually translated into English as “ghost,” are another type of *yōkai*. The large number of extant *yūrei* stories, paintings, performances, and novels has confused many into thinking of them as a distinct category. See Komatsu 2017, p. 137.

30 National Diet Library Digital Collection. <https://www.dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/9892372> (eighth frame).

31 Suzuki 2017, p. 39.



Figure 4. *Ubume* by Katsukawa Shunshō (Haruaki), *Hyaku bobo monogatari*, 1771.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/edit/conditions-dutilisation-des-contenus-de-gallica>.



Figure 5. *Ubume* drawn by Kawanabe Kyōsai. *Gyōsai hyakki gadan* 暁齋百鬼面談, 1890. International Research Center for Japanese Studies Library. Database of Folklore Illustrations, International Research Center for Japanese Studies. https://shinku.nichibun.ac.jp/esoshi/picture_spread.php?id=419&from=sr&small=pictures/148/S148_027.jpg&disp=JP (twenty sixth frame).

sometimes satirical, parody come to the fore.”³² As for Katsukawa’s choice of title, *Hyaku bobogatari*, there was during the Edo period the custom of friends gathering to exchange *kaidan* 怪談 or mysterious tales. They would sit in a circle with one hundred lit wicks in an oil lamp. Taking turns to tell ghost stories, they would extinguish a wick at the end of each story until none were left. Katsukawa’s series, whose title was clearly a play on this custom, was published five years prior to Toriyama Sekien’s seminal *ubume* piece. *Shunga* artists were always looking to push the boundaries of their art form, and it was only a matter of time before they incorporated *yōkai* and *yūrei*. Figure 4 depicts an *ubume* scenario with blood-stained white clothes, a *nagare kanjō*, rain, and long black hair. However, the *ubume*’s face is a vagina and, instead of her dead baby, she cradles a phallus.³³ This particular piece, printed in the latter half of the eighteenth century, is more provocative than erotic, and it was surely yet another attempt to push back further the boundaries of *shunga*.

We have so far traced various *ubume* pictures in the Edo period, mainly in the eighteenth century. All of them imagined a woman holding her baby. Figure 5 is an *ubume* drawn by Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋曉斎 (1831–1889), a prominent *ukiyo-e* print designer—“the last virtuoso in traditional Japanese painting”—who flourished in the mid-to-late nineteenth century.³⁴ In 1868, when the Tokugawa shogunate was overthrown, Kyōsai was thirty-seven years old, and already renowned for his *kyōga* 狂画 (crazy pictures) and *nishikie* 錦絵 prints.³⁵

The noteworthy point about Kyōsai’s *ubume* is that the arms of the woman seem to be covered in feathers, symbolizing a bird. Kyōsai knew that in China *ubume* were to some extent related to the shape of birds. In trying to express this, he invented a hybrid.

Guhuoniao: The Image of *Ubume* in China

To explain the particular form of the *ubume* image, and the attitudes towards women, disease, and death it embodies, it is instructive to trace the creation of Chinese *guhuoniao* and their introduction into Japan. In this section, I also seek to clarify the differences between Chinese and Japanese images of *ubume*. Significantly, Toriyama Sekien stated that for his *Gazu hyakki yagyō*, he had referred to both Kanō Motonobu’s *Hyakki yagyō* and *Sengai kyō* 山海經 (Ch. *Shan hai jing* 山海经) from China.³⁶ However, direct influences of *Sengai kyō* on Sekien’s *Gazu hyakki yagyō* are not obvious.³⁷ I refrain therefore from analyzing the extent to which *Sengai kyō* influenced *ubume* illustrations in Japan.

Guhuoniao were first recorded in a legendary work named *Xuan Zhong Ji* 玄中记 compiled in the third or fourth century, and attributed to Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324 AD). *Guhuoniao* were ghosts or deities in the shape of birds when cloaked in feathers, and in the shape of women without them. In his discussion of *guhuoniao*, Guo Pu mentions neither the death of women during pregnancy or childbirth, nor women with infants.

The first description connecting *guhuoniao* to women who died in childbirth came in 739 *Bencao Shiyi* 本草拾遗 (A supplement to materia medica) by Chen Cang Qi

32 Clark and Gerstle 2013, p. 22.

33 Suzuki 2017, p. 41.

34 Clark 1993, p. 16.

35 Yamaguchi and Oikawa 1998, p. 295.

36 *Sengai kyō*, a Chinese geographic compendium compiled between the fourth and the first century B.C., contains many figures of unusual shapes.

37 Kagawa 2005, pp. 126–127.

陈藏器.³⁸ The original *Bencao Shiyi* is no longer extant, but the *Bencao Shiyi Ji Shi* 本草拾遗辑释 (Compilation and interpretation of a supplement to materia medica) by Shang Zhi Jun 尚志钧 included a description of the *gubuo* 姑获 in section 522, on birds and beasts.³⁹ The text states that the *gubuo*, were also known as *rumuniao* 乳母鸟, stole people's souls and became manifest at the death of a woman in childbirth. *Bencao Shiyi* was perhaps an important turning point in the solidification of the definition of the Chinese *gubuniao*. Duan Chengshi 段成式 (800s?–863 AD) in his *You Yang Za Zu* 酉阳杂俎, a collection of natural knowledge and folklore tales, also described *gubuniao*, stating that they are incarnated from women who died in childbirth.⁴⁰

In 1578, Li Shizhen 李时珍 compiled *Ben Cao Gang Mu* (Jp. *Honzō kōmoku* 本草綱目; Compendium of materia medica). It was a large encyclopedia of 1,903 entries in fifty-two fascicles, featuring medicinal plants and herbs and sections on mountain-dwelling animals and birds. Li included *gubuniao* as well, categorizing them in the bird section (*kin bu* 禽部), with the following description:

Cang Qi 藏器 said: *Gubuniao* can take away human spirits. *Xuan Zhong Ji* recorded: *Gubuniao* belongs to the ghost-deity kind. It turns into a flying bird when wearing feathers (garments), and into a woman when not. It is said to be formed from a woman who died giving birth. Thus, it has two breasts on its chest, and likes taking away the children of others and raising them by itself. Those who have a child at home should not dry the child's clothes outside during the night. For the bird flies at night and will mark the child's clothes with blood. Thereafter, the child will be immediately attacked by diseases like epilepsy and infantile malnutrition, the "disease without reasons."

The important point here is the connection between *gubuniao* and fatal pediatric diseases such as epilepsy and malnutrition. Medical books like *Ben Cao Gang Mu* imply a belief among people that these pediatric problems may be caused by drying their children's clothes at night. Even now, people in some places in China follow the superstition that the clothes of children should not be dried outside during the night.⁴¹

Interweaving: The Emergence of *Ubume* in Japan

Knowledge of the *gubuniao* was introduced into Japan at the start of the seventeenth century mainly owing to *Ben Cao Gang Mu*, which was imported through Nagasaki. Known in Japan as *Honzō kōmoku*, it came to exert a huge influence on scholars of herbalism (*honzōgaku* 本草学). The famous Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657) encountered *Honzō kōmoku* shortly after its introduction. Hayashi later compiled the *Tashiki-ben* 多識編, which involved him putting a Japanese name to each object in *Honzō kōmoku*. The *Tashiki-ben* exerted a strong influence on the development

38 Yang 楊 2017, p.185. Chen Shi Yun 陳世昀 has also explored various descriptions of *gubuniao* historically, and specified the relation between *gubuniao* and women who die in childbirth. Chen 2017, pp.79-80.

39 Shang Zhi Jun 2002, p.219. Shang indexed the *gubuniao* 姑获鸟 as *gubuo* 姑获. The two words are synonymous; *niao* means bird.

40 Xu 2017, p. 289. Yang 2017, p.185.

41 When I presented a paper on *ubume* in 2019 in Shanghai, a Chinese lady, around fifty years old, told me she now finally understood why her mother and relatives always said not to hang out children's clothes at night.

of the study of *materia medica* in Japan.⁴² In his revised version of *Tashiki-hen*, the *Shinkan tashiki-hen* 新刊多識編 compiled in 1631, Hayashi equated *gubuniao* with already existing entities of Japanese oral tradition, namely the *ubume* and the legendary *nue* 鵺 bird.⁴³ He used the original three Chinese characters of *ko* 姑 (the husband's mother), *kaku* 獲 (seize), and *chō* 鳥 (bird), and annotated them as *ubumedori* or *nue*. Hayashi was the first to read these three Chinese characters as *ubumedori*.

Why did Hayashi read the characters 姑獲鳥 as *ubumedori*? As Kiba Takatoshi points out, Hayashi Razan, in his *Nozuchi* 野槌, stated that *nue*, known as a ghost bird, was in fact a real bird, a *toratsugumi* (white's thrush) associated with bad fortune because it cried at night.⁴⁴ In this respect, it resembles the *gubuniao*. The commonality between the *gubuniao* and the *ubume* of Japanese oral tradition is that both come into being after the death of a pregnant woman. Due to these similarities, Hayashi conflated the Chinese *gubuniao*, the *nue*, and *ubume* and assigned the Japanese word *ubumedori*. This explains why *ubume* in Japan began to be written as 姑獲鳥 in addition to 産女, although the legends in Japan and China were wholly distinct and unrelated.

The Illustration of *Ubumedori*, the *Ubume* Bird

Terajima Ryōan published *Wakan sansai zue* and cited the Chinese encyclopedia *San Cai Tu Hui* (Jp. *Sansai zue* 三才図会; Collected illustrations of the three realms) with its three subsections of “Nature” (*ten* 天), “Land” (*chi* 地), and “People” (*hito* 人). Matthias Hayek has pointed out that *Wakan sansai zue* also drew on the *Honzō komoku* in terms of structure, as well as the original *Sansai zue*. This was compiled by Wang Qi 王圻 and his son Wang Siyi 王思义 and completed in 1607 in 106 volumes.⁴⁵ In *Wakan sansai zue*, Ryōan explained each word with Chinese examples and illustrations, and added his own Japanese examples. This collection not only offers the reader detailed information on aspects of Chinese culture, but it also opens up a window onto Edo culture. As Matthias Hayek shows, at the beginning of each category in *Wakan sansai zue*, there are the most representative and normative things, and in the last part there are *yōkai*-like entities, which were far from the norm.⁴⁶ For example, in the last part of *kinbu* 禽部 (section on birds), there are ten *reichō* 靈鳥 (spiritual birds), from *hōō* 鳳凰 to *nue* 鵺 (鵺), including *ubumedori*. This is the text accompanying the illustrations (figure 6).

Ubumedori 姑獲鳥 (also known as *yakō yūjo* 夜行遊女, *tentei shōjo* 天帝少女, *nyūbochō* 乳母鳥, *iki* 讒譖, *mukochō* 無辜鳥, *inhi* 隱飛, *kichō* 鬼鳥, *kousei* 鈎星).

Honzō kōmoku describes the following: *Ubume* belong to the category of *kijin* 鬼人, or ghost-deity. *Ubume* can devour the spirits of people. They were frequently seen in Jingzhou (荊州, Jp. Keishū). They turn into flying birds when wearing feathered garments and into women when not. They were formed from women who died immediately after giving birth. Thus, they have two breasts. They favor grabbing the children of others and raising them by themselves. Parents who have a child at home

42 Kiba 2020, p. 102.

43 Kiba 2020, p. 268.

44 *Nozuchi* is Hayashi's annotated edition of the *Tsurezuregusa* (*Essays in Idleness*).

45 Hayek 2018

46 Hayek 2018, p. 96.



Figure 6. *Ubume* in *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会, by Terajima Ryōan. National Diet Library Digital Collection. <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2569727?tocOpened=1> (sixteenth frame).

should not dry the child's clothes outside during the night. The bird flies at night and will mark (the clothes) with blood. Thereafter, the child will be immediately attacked by diseases like *kyōkan* 驚癇 (epilepsy) or *kanshitsu* 疳疾 (infantile malnutrition). These are diseases without reason (*mukokan* 無辜疳). The birds appear only as female, never male. They fly and hurt people during the night in the seventh and eighth lunar calendar months.

Comments: *Ubume*, commonly referred to as *ubumedori*, were said to be formed from women who died after giving birth. This is a farfetched idea. Although it is said that there are lots of these birds in Jingzhou, China, and on the coast of Saikai 西海, the western sea of our country, I believe them to be a different type of bird, born of *indoku* 陰毒 (toxic gloom). People in Kyushu say that when leaving their residences on a dark, drizzly night, every now and then, they see will o' the wisp (the fire of burning phosphor), and this is a sign of the birds' presence. The birds are similar in appearance and size to seagulls, and sound like seagulls as well. They can change shape into a woman bringing forth a child. In this form, whenever they meet a passerby, they plea for them to carry the child for them. If the passerby flees in fear, the *ubume* will become angry and inflict on the passerby a strong cold and a high fever leading to death. If the passerby is brave and strong and promises to carry the child, there will be no harm. When



Figure 7. *Ubume* in *Tōsho zōho kinmōzui* 頭書增補訓蒙圖彙, an encyclopedia with illustrations edited by Nakamura Tekisai, 1695. National Diet Library Digital Collection. <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/11446236> (fifteenth frame).

the passerby nears his home, he may feel the weight of the child on his back lighten before it disappears completely. In the area in and around Kinai 畿内, nothing like this has ever been heard of, although there are shapeshifting foxes and raccoons.⁴⁷

It is clear that *ubumedori* came from the description in *Honzō kōmoku*, and were considered as demons (*kijin* 鬼神), similar to *ubume*.⁴⁸ Ryōan thought it farfetched that in *Honzō kōmoku*, *gubuniao* appeared from the spirit of a woman who had died in childbirth. He insisted that *ubume* were a kind of bird living in both China and Japan, and that these birds appeared in places saturated with *indoku*.⁴⁹ Ryōan used yin-yang theories to explain *ubume* as born of a “toxic gloom” in a place full of “gloom” (*inki* 陰気). In this way, Ryōan placed *ubume* in an ordered and comprehensible realm of thought, explaining *ubume* as birds and illustrating them as such. Importantly though, there were no illustrations of *gubuniao* in Chinese documents such as *Ben Cao Gang Mu*. Figure 7 is another illustration of *ubume* found in the “birds” section (*kinrui* 禽類, volume 13) of *Tōsho zōho Kinmō zui* 頭書增補訓蒙圖彙 (1695).

Burial and the Fear of *Ubume*

Edo-period Japanese of all classes enjoyed *ubume* illustrations as entertainment. At the level of religious practice, however, there were specific burial customs to be followed for a deceased pregnant woman or a woman who died during childbirth. These arose in order to cope with extraordinary deaths, such as suicides or murders, and prevent the spirit casting curses on the living. One traditional custom, practiced widely throughout early modern

47 *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 by Terajima Ryōan. National Diet Library Digital Collection.

48 *Kijin* is a referent to the overarching category of all things demon-like. See Koyasu 1992.

49 On this point, see Hayek 2018, p. 100.

Japan, was to open the abdomen of the deceased woman, remove the fetus, and bury the two bodies together in the same grave. The custom of fetus removal before burial was sometimes referred to as *mi-futatsu* 身二つ or “separating the two,” *mi* meaning “body” and *futatsu* meaning “two.”⁵⁰ Folklore research has revealed that in some areas, people believed that this burial custom prevented the spirit of a deceased pregnant woman becoming an *ubume*, wandering near her house, and bringing bad fortune on the household.⁵¹

One reason for removing the fetus from a deceased woman’s body related to the belief that it was a great sin for the woman to die during late pregnancy or childbirth. The custom offered the woman’s spirit a means of achieving salvation and avoiding the fate of the Blood Pool Hell, or, indeed, becoming an evil, haunting spirit, such as an *ubume*. This belief was influenced by the *Blood-bowl Sutra* (*Ketsubonkyō* 血盆經; Ch. *Xuepen jing*), composed in China in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Hank Glassman points out that the idea of a special Blood Pool Hell for women had become established in ritual practice by the sixteenth century in Japan, although the notion of the Blood-bowl Sutra was known from the middle of the Muromachi period (1392–1568).⁵²

According to Tsutsumi Kunihiro 堤邦彦, Sōtōshū 曹洞宗 Buddhist monks began to conduct alternative customs symbolically separating mother and fetus, instead of physically opening the abdomen of the deceased woman and removing the fetus.⁵³ One such custom using *kirigami* 切紙 (cut paper with mystical spells inscribed on it) appeared between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One example, the *do kaitai mōja kirigami* 度懷胎亡者切紙, detailed magical methods that were as effective as fetus removal.⁵⁴ According to Duncan Ryuken Williams, *kirigami* rituals enabled proper funerary attention and signified the “birth of the child” in the coffin or the “expelling of the fetus.”⁵⁵

However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and indeed in the early twentieth century, *mi-futatsu* customs were still practiced in rural areas, sometimes supported by medical physicians, based on the knowledge and methods held by the Kagawa school inherited from Kagawa Gen’etsu 賀川玄悦 (1700–1777). In his *Sanron* 産論, Kagawa described a method for saving the mothers by means of an operation on their unborn babies. Such practices were already widespread in the eighteenth century, and well known among medical physicians.

In the early twentieth century, it was still not uncommon for a pregnant woman to die before, during, or immediately after, childbirth. The maternal mortality rate, which was 463.5 per 100,000 live births in 1900, decreased to 176.1 in 1950.⁵⁶ This was still relatively high compared to 83.3 in the USA at the same time.⁵⁷ By the beginning of the twentieth century, the *mi-futatsu* ritual had all but disappeared in Japan. My research reveals that

50 I have discussed this burial custom and associated legends and beliefs in previous papers. In addition, I have analyzed the last practice of this custom which took place in 1950. See Yasui 2003a, Yasui 2003b, Yasui 2014.

51 Onshi Zaidan Boshi Aiiiku kai 1975.

52 Glassman 2008, p. 177.

53 Tsutsumi 1993. The noted Sōtō monk Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683–1769) criticized *mi-futatsu* removal practice. See Williams 2008, p. 224.

54 Tsutsumi 1993, pp. 44–45. Ishikawa 1987, pp. 185–186.

55 Williams 2008, p. 224.

56 It finally dropped to 6.6 in 2000. See Boshi Eisei Kenkyūkai 2001.

57 Maternal Mortality, Women’s Health USA 2009. [https://mchb.hrsa.gov/whusa09/hstat/mh/pages/237mm.html#:~:text=The%20maternal%20mortality%20rate%20has,1990%20\(8.2%20per%20100%2C000.](https://mchb.hrsa.gov/whusa09/hstat/mh/pages/237mm.html#:~:text=The%20maternal%20mortality%20rate%20has,1990%20(8.2%20per%20100%2C000.)



Figure 8. *Ubume* by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎, in Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴. *Beibei kyōdan* 皿皿郷談. Waseda University Library collection. <https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/>.

the last physical removal of the fetus was conducted in 1950, as reported by Yamaguchi Yaichirō (1902–2000).⁵⁸ I conducted interviews with women who were involved, and with the obstetricians at hospitals who had cut the abdomen of the deceased pregnant woman to remove the fetus from the body.⁵⁹ This example shows that belief in *ubume* still existed in 1950. The fact is that the family were more concerned about preventing the appearance of an *ubume* rather than grieving for the loss of life.

Conclusion

Shimazaki Satoko has pointed out that, in the late Edo period, the image of the *ubume* as a bird became more popular and was embedded in both drama and fiction.⁶⁰ She introduces a frontispiece (*shūzō* 繡像) by Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) for Kyokutei Bakin 曲亭馬琴's *Beibei kyōdan* 皿皿郷談 (A country tale of two sisters, 1815), depicting an avian *ubume* standing in the right side of the picture (figure 8). This is the ghost of a woman who has come to ask a man to hold her baby. Shimazaki points out that here, in a visual fusion of the two motifs, the *ubume* as a bird is a perfect symbolic representation of the ghost.⁶¹

This paper has analyzed several images of *ubume* in *yōkai* illustrations depicted by *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 print designers in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the age of the “*yōkai* revolution.” For example, Toriyama Sekien depicted *ubume* in his *Gazu hyakki yagyō* by using elements synonymous with *ubume*, based on the customs and folk beliefs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These visual motifs included the *ubume* with long black hair, standing by a river, holding a baby, and the practice of a *nagare kanjō*. However, artists

58 Yamaguchi 1953.

59 Yasui 2003b, Yasui 2014.

60 Shimazaki 2011, pp. 223–224.

61 Shimazaki 2011, p. 224.



Figure 9. *Ubume* drawn by Kawanabe Kyōsai. In *Mono to zuzō kara saguru kai, yōkai no sekai* モノと図像から探る怪異・妖怪の世界. Yasui 2015, frontispiece.



Figure 10. *Sai no kawara no zu* 賽之河原図, by Santō Kyōden. *Honchō sui bodai* (*Mukashigatari Inazuma Byōshi* 昔話稲妻表紙), Yūhōdō, 1913.

were not always able to depict all the characteristics of *ubume* in their pictures, so naturally they chose an element easy to understand, namely the mother holding a baby. Some *ubume* illustrations in the sixteenth century, for example, depicted a woman with no baby, but in these cases specific stories accompanied illustrations. This suggests that even if the woman was not holding a baby, the texts alone would have revealed her to readers and viewers as an *ubume*.

Some *ukiyo-e* artists tried to invent their own *ubume*, using images of birds that originated with the Chinese *gubuniao*. As Shimazaki pointed out, avian depictions of *ubume* had already become popular, so illustrators were free to embellish upon this motif. The genesis of these bird-like *ubume* images was Hayashi Razan's conflation of Chinese *gubuniao* and Japanese *ubume*. No illustrators depicted the *ubume* just as a bird though; rather, they favored hybrid images. Due to the established belief that *ubume* manifested in a female form, along with *mi-futatsu* burial practices, people in Japan invented images of *ubume* as a woman rather than as a bird.

Chinese people by contrast associated birds flying and squawking at night with infantile diseases, drawing on Li Shizhen's sixteenth-century *Ben Cao Gang Mu*. In addition, we also saw above that the *Xuan Zhong Ji*, compiled in the third or fourth century, did not relate *gubuniao* to the death of women during pregnancy or childbirth. Descriptions of *gubuniao* sometimes warn that children can suffer various diseases if their clothes are left out at night, since a *gubuniao* might mark it with blood. The image of the *gubuniao* as a bird served to remind people of pediatric diseases, which is important in the context of *Ben Cao Gang Mu*, which imparted knowledge of nature, medicinal herbs, and treatments. We can thus confirm that the *ubume* in Japan and *gubuniao* in China were different, and that it was after Hayashi Razan's conflation that hybrid images of the two occurred, leading to an appreciation of *ubume* as entertainment.

Figure 9 is another of Kawanabe Kyōsai's *ubume*.⁶² It is not a bird but a woman holding a baby. However, above her there is a *reika* 靈火 (*reien* 靈炎) representing a person's spirit, so the image seems to be a skyborne *ubume*. In addition, her posture is like that of a bird flying. Kyōsai invents an *ubume* here by fusing a woman and a bird. The images of *ubume* in *yōkai* hint at popular perspectives on women who die during late pregnancy and childbirth, as well as on unborn babies. Wakita Haruko 脇田晴子 has pointed out that people in the sixteenth century regarded the fetus as a life separate from the mother.⁶³ And, according to Sawayama Mikako 沢山美果子, people in the eighteenth century started to regard the fetus in its fifth month as a human being. She reaches this conclusion from her analysis of images of the developing fetus in *Onna chōhōki* 女重宝記, which shows the monthly development of the fetus in the womb.⁶⁴ The shape of the fetus here is of course not the shape of a real fetus visible in ultrasound tests today, but the shape of a child. Furthermore, the *Honchō sui bodai* 本朝醉菩薩 (figure 10) depicts unborn fetuses crawling with lotus leaves on their heads symbolizing the placenta, together with other two-or-three-year-old children.⁶⁵ Such

62 This picture is to be dated after 1871, when he started using the signature that can be seen here.

63 Wakita 1985.

64 Sawayama 1998, pp. 265–266.

65 *Honchō sui bodai* is a novel of the Edo period by Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761–1816) with illustrations by Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国 (1769–1825).

depictions demonstrate that there were differences in recognition of what constituted an unborn baby and a dead child in early modern Japan.

Popular perspectives on the unborn baby or fetus have changed drastically from early modern to modern times, and to the present day, when ultrasound testing provides a clear image of the fetus. Through increased medical knowledge and technological advancements, the infant and maternal mortality rates have continued to decline.

In such a situation, there has in recent years been an increase in perinatal bereavement care in the obstetric field for mothers and their families after miscarriage, stillbirth, and infant death.⁶⁶ As previously stated, *mizuko kuyō*, the practice of holding memorial rites for fetuses lost through miscarriage, stillbirth, and abortion, emerged in the early 1970s.⁶⁷ The biggest change since 1950 is that people's attention has shifted from the spirit of the deceased mother to that of the deceased infant. This is a matter I shall return to in a separate paper.

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⁶⁶ Yasui 2019, pp. 139–141.

⁶⁷ See above, note 10.

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Mapping the World in Bakumatsu Japan: Shibata Shūzō (1820–1859)

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In 1856 Shibata Shūzō (1820–1859), originally from the remote island of Sado, became the first academic officer of Western cartography appointed by the shogunate to its Institute of Western Studies, Bansho Shirabesho. Studies of cartographic development in Japan often acknowledge Shibata's contribution to bakumatsu-era mapmaking, typically referring to his publication of a world map, *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu* in 1852, and his role in the bakufu project to produce the second official Japanese map of the world, *Chōtei bankoku zenzu* in 1855. The significance of his work, however, goes far beyond the results of technical investigations of his maps. Shibata's career development provides a vivid example of the interplay between increasingly popular participation in educational and cultural activities and the rapid growth in Japan's knowledge about the world and its dealings with foreign countries. This study analyzes Shibata's maps, texts, and personal documents as examples of a Japanese intellectual's reactions to the paradigm shift in relations with the outside world in the nineteenth century. By emphasizing the term “bakumatsu,” this essay intends to distinguish the historical context of Shibata's work from both “early modern” mapping and “modern” cartography. It argues that his personal experiences encapsulate the broader national experience at a moment when the intellectual landscape was changing rapidly in response to Japan's encounter with Western nations.

Keywords: Shibata Shūzō, cartographers, mapmaking, bakumatsu, Bansho Shirabesho, world maps, world geography, Northeast Asia, Western studies

Introduction

Active in the 1840s and 1850s, Shibata Shūzō 柴田 (新発田) 収蔵 (1820–1859) was a cartographer best known for his map of the world, *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu* 新訂坤輿略全図 (Newly revised map of the earth, 1852, figure 1), evaluated by several specialists as one of the most sophisticated bakumatsu-era world maps.¹ Shibata was born to a fisherman's family

1 A print of *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu* is on display at several museums including the National Museum of Japanese History in Sakura (as of April 2019). Its digital image is also available on websites of other institutes such as Kyoto University (<https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/item/rb00011631>) and Yokohama City University

on Sado Island. He died in Edo while serving as a research officer in cartography at the bakufu's Institute of Western Studies (Bansho Shirabesho 蕃書調所). During his lifetime, the bakufu and many domain governments had to deal with foreign threats, particularly from Russia, the U.S., and Britain. The establishment of the Institute of Western Studies in 1857 was part of an attempt by the bakufu to maneuver Japan into a position where it could deal with the international threat.

As suggested by Shibata's transformation from a fisherman on a remote island to a government cartographer in the capital city, the period of his lifespan was also a time when commoners' opportunities for education, travel, cultural, and literary activities increased greatly. Shibata had three separate opportunities to study in Edo. Using the skills and contacts he acquired in Edo, he became a doctor, and then later a mapmaker using Western cartographic skills. He published several maps and geography books.² Shibata's career development provides a vivid example of the interplay between the increasingly popular participation in educational and cultural activities and the rapid increase in Japan's knowledge about the world and its dealings with foreign countries. This study analyzes Shibata's texts and other works as examples of Japanese intellectuals' reactions to the paradigm shift in relations with the outside world in the nineteenth century.

I argue that there was a distinctive "bakumatsu" development in Japanese intellectuals' learning of world geography, and I focus on Shibata's engagement in mapping the world, in both charts and texts, to make my point. By emphasizing the term "bakumatsu," I intend to distinguish the historical context of Shibata's work from both "early modern" mapping and "modern" cartography, and, in so doing, address a weakness in current understandings of Japanese cartographical history. Marcia Yonemoto's *Mapping Early Modern Japan* (2003), for example, explores the rich tradition in mapping in the Tokugawa period, yet pays little attention to texts of the 1850s and 1860s. Thus she reaffirms the traditional understanding that Japan's modern "cartographic revolution" took place in the Meiji period, thanks to those who studied in Europe after 1868.³ On the other hand, a newer publication, *Cartographic Japan* (2016), edited by Kären Wigen, Sugimoto Fumiko, and Cary Karacas, situates essays about late-Tokugawa-period mapmakers such as Inō Tadataka 伊能忠敬 (1745–1818) and Mamiya Rinzō 間宮林蔵 (1780–1844) in a section entitled "Modern Maps for Imperial Japan."⁴ The editors appear to argue those mapmakers were significant because they had somehow anticipated the developments of the Meiji period, and not because they reflected the specific knowledge and understandings of their own age. Another indication of the difficulty of situating Japanese developments in the first half of the nineteenth century in cartographic discussions is the exclusion of materials produced in that period from works such as *Edo chishikijin to chizu* 江戸知識人と地図 (Edo intellectuals and maps, 2010) by

(http://www-user.yokohama-cu.ac.jp/~ycu-rare/pages/WC-0_67.html). This map has been discussed by several specialists in cartography. See, for example, Unno 1994, p. 442, and Miyoshi 1999, p. 128. For English translations of the titles of this and other Japanese maps, I follow Unno 1994 where appropriate. Otherwise, I provide my own translations.

2 A previous article of mine analyzed Shibata's life in Edo in 1850 as a student of medicine and Dutch studies (Moriyama 2016). Also, in Japanese, I have discussed Shibata's learning experiences in Sado and Edo (Moriyama 2018).

3 Yonemoto 2003, pp. 173–174.

4 Wigen 2016.

Uesugi Kazuhiro.⁵ Mary Elizabeth Berry in her *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (2006) also pays little attention to maps or other materials after 1800, and insists that “the Tokugawa and Meiji ideas of territory were profoundly different.”⁶

It is not my intention to criticize this lack of scholarly attention to cartographic materials from 1800 onwards, because I also find it difficult to interpret Shibata Shūzō’s 1850s maps and geography books in their early modern context. Instead, in this essay, I demonstrate that Shibata’s maps and books deserve to be understood on their own terms as quintessentially “bakumatsu” texts, reflecting Japanese intellectual life around the 1850s. Bakumatsu roughly corresponds with Shibata’s lifespan of the 1820s to 1850s. I regard it as a time of transition from early modern to modern Japan. While continuing to work and live under the Tokugawa regime, people witnessed many unprecedented events and phenomena. Many members of the social and intellectual elite were conscious of changes in Japan’s international environment at this time. To varying extents, people tried to adjust their views and policies at the level of bakufu or domain government, in schools and academies, and as individuals. Bakumatsu can be regarded as a period of social, political, and cultural movement “towards modernity” within the world of Tokugawa society. Shibata Shūzō’s work and his legacy are good examples of Japanese intellectuals’ interactions with the bakumatsu transition between early modern and modern Japan.

The arguments that follow are based on my reading of Shibata’s diaries, which are available for the years 1842, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1850, and 1856, as well as my analysis of his maps and handbook in geography.⁷ Chronologically tracing his learning, mapmaking, and writing in the field, I show, first, how Shibata’s intellectual foundation and keen interest in cartography were formed by the established connection between his home island of Sado and the capital city of Edo. Second, I examine the 1852 map, *Shintei kon’yo ryakuzenzu*, and discuss Shibata’s knowledge of world geography as well as his perspective on the world as a mapmaker, which was a product of his study in Edo. Third, I analyze other publications of his from the viewpoint of his engagement with the 1850s political and intellectual environment. Next, I examine an 1855 bakufu map of the world to which Shibata was invited to contribute as a cartographer. My analysis of maps and texts published between 1852 and 1855 reveals the common concern and interest among Japanese intellectuals about their country’s international situation just before and just after the visits of the so-called “Black Ships.” In the last section I discuss Shibata’s appointment to the Institute of Western Studies, assessing his advance within the central academic world of Tokugawa Japan, and the limitations of his position.

1. Learning Geography in Sado and Edo: Shibata’s Diaries, 1842–1850

Shibata’s account of his study of geography and mapmaking appears in his diaries from 1842. This was the year after his return home from his two-year study trip, *yūgaku* 游学,

5 Uesugi 2010. Uesugi 2015 does not deal with maps after 1800 either.

6 Berry 2006, p. 226.

7 There are two compilations of Shibata Shūzō’s diaries and other writings: *Shibata Shūzō nikki* 柴田収蔵日記, 2 vols., 1971, and *Shibata Shūzō nikki: Mura no yōgakusha* 柴田収蔵日記: 村の洋学者, 2 vols., 1991. Hereafter I abbreviate the former to SSN (a) and the latter to SSN (b).



Figure 1. Shibata Shūzō, *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu*. Shunsōdō, 1852. Courtesy of Sado Museum.

to Edo to learn from Confucian scholar Nakane Hansen 中根半仙 (1798–1849).⁸ Using the skills he had acquired, the newly educated Shibata participated in the administration of Shukunegi 宿根木 village on his father's behalf. The job necessitated frequent trips to the Sado magistrate's office in the town of Aikawa 相川, a day's journey away from his home.⁹ He used these opportunities to obtain knowledge of geography, particularly from Ishii Natsumi 石井夏海 (1783–1848) and his son Bunkai 文海 (1804–1849), both of whom were employed by the magistrate's office to draw and make maps. A project assigned to the Ishiis in 1842 provided Shibata with a hands-on opportunity to learn mapmaking. The result was *Sado ikkoku kaiganzu* 佐渡一國海岸図 (A coastal chart of the province of Sado), a traditional scroll-style map with illustrations of terrain and with every coastal community marked.¹⁰ Previously, Inō Tadataka and his team had surveyed the Sado coastline in 1803 as part of their famous venture that later led to the production of *Dai Nihon enkai yochi zenzu* 大日本沿海輿地全圖 (Maps of the coastlines of great Japan).¹¹ It is likely that the Ishiis were revising the Inō map in response to a bakufu order prompted by the ever-increasing foreign threat exemplified by nothing so much as the Opium War in China of 1840. While introducing a new policy to handle foreign ships seeking water, food, or fuel, the administration of Mizuno Tadakuni 水野忠邦 (1794–1851) instructed local authorities on the coasts to submit reports about coastlines and ports.¹² The Sado magistrate's office must have been urged to follow this instruction. This would explain why, unlike the Inō maps, *Sado ikkoku kaiganzu* contains notes about each port or bay of the island. For example, a

8 Narita 1971, pp. 335–339.

9 Shibata's diary in 1842, for example, reveals that he went to Aikawa twelve times in that year, staying there for five to sixteen days each time. SSN (b) I, pp. 39–128.

10 Ishii, "Sado ikkoku kaiganzu."

11 See, for example, Kawamura 2010, pp. 173–175; Unno 1994, pp. 450–453; Suzuki 2016.

12 See Yokoyama 2001, pp. 288–291; Fujita 1994, pp. 167–173; Bolitho 1989, pp. 146–147.

note on Shukunegi reads “Rocks on both left and right sides. Depth: 7.2 meters (4 *hiro* 尋). Bottom: stones. Bad southerly winds. Fourteen to fifteen boats can berth.”¹³

Shibata was fortunate enough to share the Ishiis’ privileged access to geographic information, which was normally limited to the political elite. His diary reveals that he saw the Inō map of Sado while observing as Bunkai pointed to the many discrepancies between the results of his own survey and the Inō map.¹⁴ Few Tokugawa-era commoners could have seen a copy of the Inō maps, even a section. This was because, once the mapping project had been completed and formally submitted to bakufu senior councilors in 1821, access was supposed to be limited to bakufu officers and select daimyo.¹⁵ Shibata must also have learned by listening to Bunkai. In addition to local maps, Shibata started studying maps of the world through the Ishiis’ network. The item that he most enthusiastically worked on in 1843 was a world map produced in copperplate print by Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1747–1818), presumably its 1796 version.¹⁶ According to Unno Kazutaka, this map exerted a strong influence over map readers in Japan in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ Shibata made his own copy of Kōkan’s map over a period of forty-eight days, and afterwards showed it to some members of the village elite.¹⁸ This provides good evidence that the practice of map collection and replication using peer networks had spread among intellectuals.¹⁹

Shibata’s determination to map the world is next seen in his 1846 and 1847 diaries. Once again he had just returned from a two-year *yūgaku* to Edo for medical training, where he studied initially under the same teacher as on his first trip, but then moved to a Rangaku school run by Itō Genboku 伊東玄朴 (1801–1871) in 1845.²⁰ The latter environment presumably further fostered his interest in and knowledge of Western geography. Returning home in 1846, Shibata made one more replication of a world map, and in late 1847 he produced “his own version of maps of the globe” (*jisei no chikyūzu* 自製の地球図) in two different types: an ellipsoidal chart and a twin-hemisphere chart.²¹ Although draft maps by Shibata have not been definitively identified, I speculate, for reasons explained below, that the twin-hemisphere map is that shown in figure 2, which was reportedly brought back from Edo to Sado by Shibata’s widow after his death in 1859.²² I also suggest that this work was largely based on an official bakufu map, *Shintei bankoku zenzu* 新訂万国全図 (Newly revised map of all countries; see pub. ca.1816), a project assigned to the Department of

13 Ishii, “Sado ikkoku kaiganzu.”

14 SSN (b) 1, p. 101.

15 See Uesugi 2015, pp. 208–209; and Watanabe 1999, pp. 214–218.

16 If Shibata correctly noted the title (“*Chikyūzu*”), then the Shiba Kōkan map that he copied must be its 1796 version. See Shiba, *Chikyū zenzu*.

17 See Unno 1994, pp. 435–436.

18 See SSN (b) 1, pp. 214–241.

19 See Uesugi 2010, particularly chapters 3 and 6. This section of Shibata’s diaries has also led the historian Tsukamoto Manabu 塚本学 to comment that Shibata was typical of rural intellectuals in the late Tokugawa period, in that they all had to craft their lives within a rapidly changing political environment. See Tsukamoto 1977, pp. 184–187.

20 See “Shokan rui” in SSN (a) 2, pp. 308–310.

21 See SSN (a) 1, pp. 473–479.

22 See the book cover of SSN (a) 1.

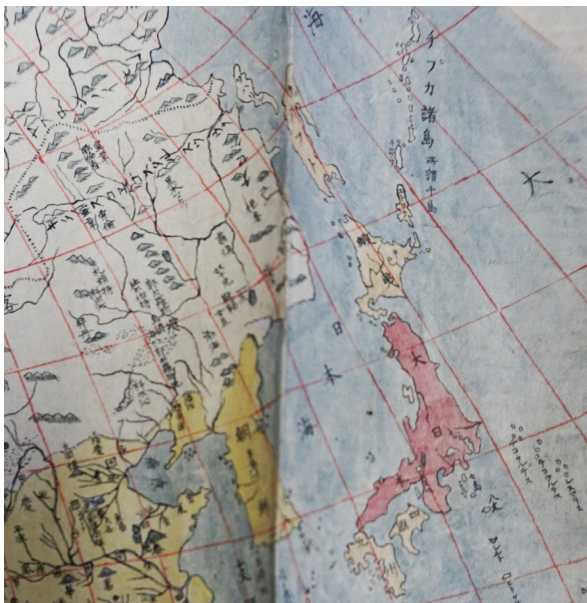


Figure 2. “Enkei sekai chizu” 円形世界地図 (A round style map of the world). Private collection, deposited at Sado Museum.

Astronomy (Tenmonkata 天文方), which was led by Takahashi Kageyasu 高橋景保 (1785–1829).²³ Shibata’s 1846 diary mentions a “Takahashi map” twice.²⁴

Many studies acknowledge the significance of *Shintei bankoku zenzu* in providing an archetype of world maps for later cartographers in Japan.²⁵ Shibata must have been one of those who learned well from this map. Similarities between Shibata’s draft map and the Takahashi map can easily be identified. Besides the projection and basic layout of the two maps, the outlines of each continent are almost the same, except for the northern end of North America, where Shibata drew clear lines while Takahashi retained blurred outlines to indicate its unsurveyed status. Also, almost identical are the shapes of Australia and New Zealand. It is believed that Takahashi used Aaron Arrowsmith’s world map, published between 1797 and 1804 in London, exploiting the results of James Cook’s (1728–1779) voyages from 1768 to 1780 and the voyages of George Bass (1771–1803) and Matthew Flinders (1774–1814) in 1798–1799.²⁶ It seems that Shibata also followed the Takahashi map in choosing place names and writing them in Japanese script, although the highly detailed entries on the Takahashi map are much more comprehensive. There is one clear mistake in Shibata’s work, however. He presents Sakhalin as two separate islands, “Karafuto” in the south and “Saharin” in the north.

I assume it was in Edo in 1850 that Shibata had opportunities to correct his understanding of Sakhalin and update his knowledge of world geography. When Shibata

23 See *Shintei bankoku zenzu* under Takahashi ca. 1816. This map is dated 1810 but actual publication with a revision was about 1816, according to Unno 1994, p. 439.

24 SSN (a) 1, pp. 263, 478.

25 See, for example, Kyōto Daigaku 2007, pp. 99–103; Kinda 2012, pp. 285–287; Onoda 1999, pp. 121–122; Kinda 2007.

26 Kinda 2012, p. 286; Kinda 2007, pp. 351–352.

obtained permission for a third *yūgaku* to Edo, he re-enrolled in the Itō Genboku academy.²⁷ Within just three days he was invited by the academy's head student to a meeting with Koga Kin'ichirō 古賀謹一郎 (1816–1884).²⁸ Koga served the bakufu as a Confucian scholar at the Shōheikō 昌平齋 school, but was known for his interest in and knowledge of foreign affairs rather than the Chinese classics. He convened a study group attended by like-minded young students.²⁹ In his diary, Shibata describes in vivid detail his meetings with Koga.

[Kaei 嘉永 3 (1850).4.23] In the evening, [head student Ikeda] Tōun 池田洞雲 (d. 1855) invited me to a meeting with Mr. Koga. [At Koga's residence] I showed him my oval-style map of the globe and asked for his comments. He is very knowledgeable about geography. He showed me a fine map [from Europe]. I also saw [his notes?] on a comparison between maps in [the Chinese classics] and those in Dutch books. [On our way back,] Tōun and I had drinks near the Izumibashi bridge.

[5.7] Tōun showed me a letter from Mr. Koga saying that Mr. Koga had examined my map and wanted to give me some comments in person. In the afternoon, I went to the Koga residence. He pointed out the notes he had put on the map where he had found problems.... [He showed me in his collection of maps that] a land has been discovered south of the South American continent as drawn on an 1845 Western map, and how the shape of the northern part of North America is being revealed. I saw maps of the world, of Ryukyu, Korea, Manchuria,, – dozens in total! ... Mr. Koga offered me dinner too.

[6.10] Mr. Koga sent me a message telling me to come and look at some maps that he had newly obtained.... He showed me a German map of the world. It is more or less the same as the 1845 Dutch version [which he had previously shown me]. To modify my draft, I copied from the Dutch map such areas as the south of South America, New [Holland?] and the northern frontiers of North America.... I borrowed a map of South America that Mr. Koga had copied himself, as well as a map of Australia. At night, I examined my own draft map.

[6.11] I started revising my draft oval map using the Dutch map that I had borrowed from Mr. Koga.³⁰

Their scholastic bond developed quickly. Shibata, who was clearly amazed by Koga's knowledge and collection of resources, was able to assimilate the new knowledge and utilize the material he needed to improve his previous work. There was a clear knowledge-gap between them in world geography. It is more important, however, to note that the gap was breachable. Koga, too, seemed happy in his discussions with the young mapmaker from the remote island of Sado. Below we will see the process by which Shibata caught up with the new knowledge in world geography.

27 For Shibata's 1850 study trip, see Moriyama 2016 in English and Moriyama 2018 in Japanese.

28 SSN (b) 2, p. 189.

29 See Onodera 2006, pp. 26–43.

30 SSN (b) 2, pp. 189, 192, 200–201.

2. Publishing a World Map: *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu*, 1852

Between 1852 and 1855, Shibata published three works in Edo: a world map, a handbook of world geography, and a map of Ezo and its surroundings. Disappointingly, none of his diaries exist for this period, but the charts and text in these publications give us a clear picture of the development in his knowledge of Western geography. They also contain valuable information about bakumatsu geographers' interests and skills in how to present the world to their contemporary readers in Japan. First, this section analyzes Shibata's first publication, *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu*, a world map which appeared in 1852 (figure 1).

Shibata published this map only one and a half years after he met Koga. So, I presume that it was a direct result of Shibata's revision of his draft map using Koga's resources. In addition, I suggest that his newly acquired knowledge appears clearly in the "preface" (*hanrei* 凡例) of this map, where Shibata mentions three areas of development in mapping, resulting from geographic surveys from the eighteenth century. One concerns Oceania. Shibata explains that the existence of a great southern landmass, Magallanica/Magellanica (*Megarani taishū* 墨瓦臘大洲, named after Magellan), had long been assumed and had been drawn on old maps, but its existence had been comprehensively disproved by "a number of Westerners whose ships have recently navigated the area and have found no large lands other than New Holland and New Guinea." Thus, the whole of this area, including countless islands, was now called "Australia" (*Ausutarari* 南島嶼洲), which, according to the preface, was considered as one of the world's five continental regions (*godaishū* 五大洲). The freshness of the information about Oceania is evident if we compare Shibata with Takahashi, who did not recognize "Australia" as a region in his 1816 map, and more so if we compare him with Shiba Kōkan, whose 1796 map had still accepted the existence of Magallanica. Yet, Shibata continued to label the continent of Australia as New Holland until his next project in 1855, even though European maps had changed the name to Australia by the end of the 1820s.³¹

A second area of development for Shibata was Sakhalin. Shibata was still unsure whether "North Ezo (*Kita Ezo* 北蝦夷), also known as 'Karafuto,' is an island separate from or a peninsula connected to Manchuria." For this map, however, he decided to present it as an island, and omit another island which was shown on old maps as "*Sagaren*" 薩牙蓮 (Sakhalin). Shibata had clearly moved on from his previous misunderstanding of Sakhalin, displayed in the draft map discussed above. The northeastern coastlines of the Eurasian continent and islands nearby had long been a point of discussion among European explorers and geographers. As shown by Akizuki Toshiyuki 秋月俊幸, early major attempts to identify the terrain include during journeys by Jesuit missionaries from the late sixteenth century, a voyage by Maerten G. Vries (d. 1647) of the Dutch East India Company in 1643, and Russian surveys ordered by Peter the Great (1672–1725) such as those by Vitus Bering (1681–1742) and Martin Shpanberg (d. 1761). From the late eighteenth century, Japanese explorers joined the endeavor, largely motivated by the expansionist threat from Russia. Major contributors to Japan's new knowledge of its north prior to Shibata's day include Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内 (1754–1836), Kondō Jūzō 近藤重蔵 (1771–1829), Matsuda Denjūrō 松田伝十郎 (b. 1769), and Mamiya Rinzō. Matsuura Takeshirō 松浦

31 For the development of maps in relation to the exploration to Australia, see Tooley and Bricker 1976, pp. 245–268.

武四郎 (1818–1888), another contributor, was Shibata’s contemporary.³² As far as Sakhalin is concerned, it is normally thought that the 1808–1809 exploration by Mamiya settled the island-or-peninsula question.³³ But Shibata’s notes to his readers here indicate that Mamiya’s conclusion had not yet reached or fully convinced people, even those like Shibata who were interested in geography. Akizuki is probably right in suggesting that Japanese mapmakers did not have full access to, or did not completely trust, Mamiya’s materials.³⁴

The third area of development that Shibata referred to in his preface concerned the Antarctic Peninsula. Shibata informs his readers of the British discovery of “a land ‘south of Fuego Island’” at the southern end of South America. Shibata wrote that “details are not yet known,” and suggested that the newly discovered land may have been “the tip of a landmass.” Accordingly, *Shintei kon’yo ryakuzenzu* presents a relatively large land with an incomplete outline where we now know the Antarctic Peninsula is located. Western nations’ race for discovery and claim over lands in the Antarctic region had been heating up since around 1819 because of the hunt for seals for their fur and oil. Shibata’s reference here to a British discovery probably relates to the sighting of the Antarctic Peninsula by Edward Bransfield (1785–1852) and William Smith (1790–1847) in 1820. An almost coincident but more significant event was the voyage by their Russian rival, Thaddeus von Bellingshausen (1777–1852), whose ships circled Antarctica in 1820–1821 for the first time in history.³⁵ On the map, Shibata draws a dozen lands that were newly discovered and claimed by these British and Russian ships around 1820. He marks the southernmost part of the Antarctic Peninsula as “Czar Peter’s Land” (Kēzeru Peterusu rando), for example.³⁶ By around 1845, Western intellectuals had heard many stories of discovery on and around the continent, including those from James Clark Ross’s (1800–1862) expedition in 1839–1843.³⁷ Shibata’s note suggests that their Japanese counterparts had yet to be informed.

In the preface, Shibata also notes political developments in each of the five continental regions. He supplies a mixture of very outdated information and relatively new happenings, such as the collapse of the Mughal Empire in India in the late eighteenth century and its subsequent “split into many territories of native powers and those under British control,” the balance of which was “now reportedly equal.” This development caused Shibata to make “many changes in place names” to his map. News from Europe included “the Austrian acquisition of Hungary,” an incident now one hundred and fifty years old; “the territorial expansion of Prussia,” probably referring to the outcome of the 1814–1815 Congress of Vienna; and the “splitting up of the Netherlands,” likely meaning the independence of Belgium in 1830. “Significant changes in Africa in recent years” were “the independence of Egypt” and “the French annexation of Algeria.” The former meant the Egyptian rebellion in the early nineteenth century, and the latter referred to the French military campaign

32 See Akizuki 1999, chapters 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, and 10.

33 For Mamiya’s exploration to Sakhalin, see, for example, Akizuki, pp. 285–294; Walker 2007; Morris-Suzuki 2016.

34 Akizuki 1999, p. 308. Sakhalin was still presented as a peninsula in an 1853 map published in Edo. See Akizuki 1999, pp. 323–333. Another good summary of the development of geographical knowledge in Japan in relation to the northern engagement is Yoshida 1997.

35 See Landis 2001, pp. 27–47.

36 Others include “King George Island” and “Alexander Island,” which were discovered by Bransfield on 18 January 1821 and Bellingshausen on 28 January 1821, respectively. See Landis 2001, pp. 32, 43.

37 See Landis 2001, pp. 63–107.

from 1830 onwards. A note by Shibata on South America informed readers about the independence of “the united countries,” meaning the establishment of Gran Colombia in 1819 against Spanish colonial rule, and its subsequent “breakup into three parts,” namely the secessions of Venezuela and Ecuador in 1829. For North America, Shibata wrote positively about the “Western countries’ settlement,” which turned “once deserted and almost uninhabited land” into “a strong and united country,” with “great cities like Boston, New York, and Washington.” The news that “has lately impressed people” was the United States’ acquisition of California. Presumably he referred here to the official declaration in September 1850 by the U.S. government of the establishment of California State as a result of the 1846–1848 war against Mexico.³⁸

Where did Shibata learn about these political events in each continent? It seems likely that one of his prime sources was a reference book of world geography, *Kon’yo zushiki* 坤輿図識 (The world in charts and notes) written by Mitsukuri Shōgo 箕作省吾 (1821–1847) in 1845. Shibata’s diaries for 1846, 1847, and 1848 reveal his keen interest in this book. He spent thirty-eight days in total in transcribing it.³⁹ Mitsukuri’s book covers many of the political changes that Shibata referred to in *Shintei kon’yo ryakuzenzu*.⁴⁰ It is also highly probable that Shibata’s meetings with Koga and other like-minded people in Edo played a key role in building his knowledge of the contemporary world. Koga, a bakufu officer, must have had privileged access to news from foreign countries, most notably information conveyed in the Dutch reports on world affairs (*fūsetsugaki* 風説書), which were compiled by translation officers in the employ of the Nagasaki magistrate’s office. For example, Mexico’s cession of California to the USA was mentioned in the 1848 report.⁴¹ Presumably Shibata was suitably placed to hear rumors at least of these overseas events from Koga and others.⁴²

3. Engaging with Geopolitical Discourse About the World

Shibata’s interest in the contemporary geopolitical structure of the world led him to compile his second publication, *Kakkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran* 各国所領万国地名捷覽 (Concise handbook for names of countries and their territories in the world; see figure 3). This handbook appeared in 1852, soon after his world map. Shibata’s aim was to supplement his readers’ knowledge of world geography. In the handbook’s preface, Shibata explains the context in which he wrote: “Western nations have annexed many countries and provinces around all the five continental regions,” and these “political changes in the world today are hard to understand for Japanese people.” So he produced a full list of “independent states”

38 For the political events mentioned here, see, for example, Palmer and Colton 1995, pp. 223, 445–452, 487–488, 570–571, 651–656, 1075–1079.

39 Diary entries between *Kōka* 弘化 3 (1846). 4.2 and *Kaei* 1 (1848). 4.27 in SSN (a) 1, pp. 286–432 and SSN (b) 2, pp. 28–60.

40 Mitsukuri’s book covers the collapse of the Mughal Empire and the advancement of the British East India Company into India, the German recovery of territories after the Congress of Vienna, and Belgian independence from the Netherlands, which are all pre-1840 events. Not included in the 1845 book is, of course, the USA’s acquisition of California in 1850, the most recent news for Shibata’s contemporaries. See Mitsukuri 1847, vol. 1, fol. 13a; vol. 2, fols. 9a, 13b; vol. 4II, fols. 3b–6a.

41 Also, news about the Egyptian uprising against the Ottomans was included in the 1833 report, and Algerian resistance against the French invasion appeared in the reports of 1846, 1847, and 1848. See *Nichi-Ran Gakkai* 1977–1979.

42 The leaking of information from the Dutch reports on world affairs, despite the limitation of official access, is discussed in Iwashita 1997.

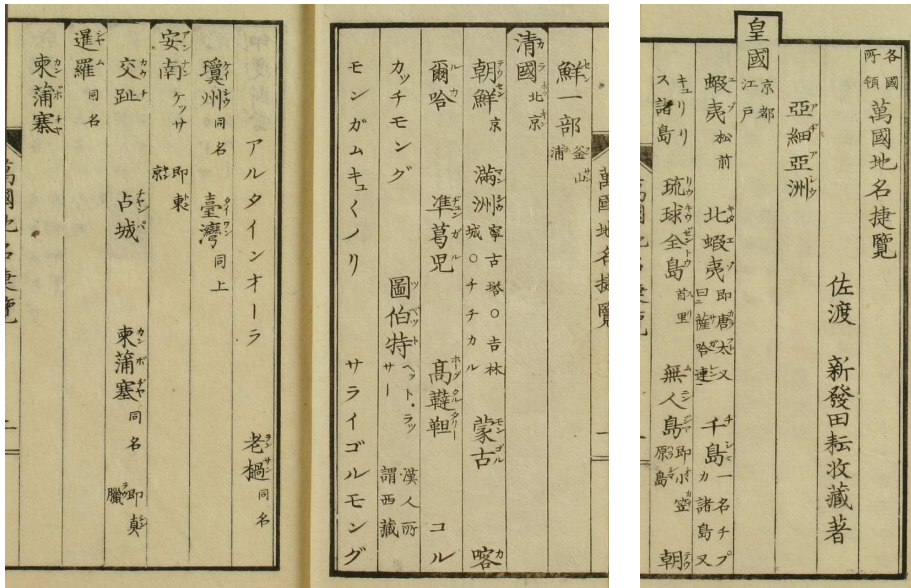


Figure 3. Shibata Shūzō, *Kakkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran*. Shunsōdō, 1852. First three pages of the main text. Waseda University Library.

(*dokuritsukoku* 独立国) in the world, under each of which he named “subject countries” (*zokkoku* 属国) as well as home countries or provinces of those independent states.⁴³ Great Britain, the prime example of colonial power, had acquired a long list of subject territories throughout the six regions: nineteen in Europe in addition to the home countries of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, fourteen in Asia, including Hong Kong, Fuzhou 福州, Amoy 廈門, and Shanghai in China, seventeen in Africa, fifty-nine in North America, including many Caribbean islands, one in South America, and twenty-two in Oceania. As supporting evidence of the British annexation of Australia, Shibata referred to a world map just published in France in that year, 1852.⁴⁴

This handbook is also a good indication of the source of Shibata’s knowledge, and so of its place in the genealogy of early modern Japan’s study of world geography. A primary model was presumably Mitsukuri’s *Kon’yo zushiki*, mentioned above. As Maeda Tsutomu demonstrates, it was *Kon’yo zushiki* which presented the contemporary world order in terms of “actual power relations between ‘empires’ and their colonies,” and thus devised a mark to distinguish between “independent states” and “subject countries” in every region on the globe. This realization of the importance of imperialism was stimulated by Japanese intellectuals’ sense of crisis upon receiving the news of the Opium Wars of 1840–1842. *Kon’yo zushiki*’s political insights and its comprehensiveness made it one of the most influential and enlightening resources for bakumatsu activists as well as mapmakers.⁴⁵ Shibata’s pocket-size handbook of world geography seems a kind of a digest of Mitsukuri’s

43 Shibata, *Kakkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran*, fols. *hanrei* 1a–*banrei* 3b.

44 Shibata, *Kakkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran*, fols. 24a–30b.

45 Maeda 2009, pp. 95–96.

book, considering their sizes and volumes.⁴⁶ The mere fact that Shibata's small book was published suggests that interest in the contemporary world order had spread beyond the intellectual community by this time.

Compared with Mitsukuri's book published a decade earlier, Shibata's handbook more strongly asserts Japan's status in the nineteenth-century world order. Shibata placed Japan at the beginning of the volume and referred to it as "*Kōkoku*" 皇国 or "the imperial realm." As can be seen in figure 3, he elevates the word "*Kōkoku*" simply to stress its superiority over all other "independent states." Mitsukuri's first volume, on the other hand, begins with a general introduction to Asia, followed by Japan, which he also calls "*Kōkoku*," and China, referred to as "*Kara*" 漢土. It is clear that Mitsukuri still valued China greatly, appreciating the size of its land ("larger than the whole of Europe"), its population ("145.4 million people") and military power ("3.8 million soldiers"), as well as the prosperity of the capital city of Beijing, which has "three million residents, by far livelier than London." Unlike Shibata, it is probable that Mitsukuri wrote this section before hearing news of the Opium Wars of 1840–1842 or understanding the seriousness of China's defeat. Moreover, with regard to subject countries of Japan, Mitsukuri claimed Ezo, Hachijō Island, the Ryukyu Islands, Oku-Ezo and Sakhalin, but also noted that "Sakhalin, also known as Karafuto, belongs to Japan and China, half and half."⁴⁷ In Shibata's book, Japanese territories grew: they include Ezo, "Kita-Ezo, also known as Sakhalin," "all islands of Ryukyu," with the addition of "Chishima" (Kuril Islands), "Ogasawara" (Bonin Islands), and the port of Busan in Korea, although the remainder of Korea is treated as Chinese territory.

Shibata's claim that the Bonin Islands and Busan belonged to Japan is remarkable. The status of the Bonin Islands had been ambiguous since their discovery in the seventeenth century by the Dutch East India Company, and, separately, by Japanese castaways. From the early nineteenth century, the islands attracted the interest of Britain, France, Russia, and the U.S. as a whaling base or a potential territory for settlers. However, in 1852, neither the bakufu nor any Western government had made any claim of possession.⁴⁸ As for Busan, the Kingdom of Joseon (1392–1897) had allowed Japan to maintain a trading station at the port since the fifteenth century, and at one stage the port accommodated four hundred Japanese residents on its thirty-three hectares. Yet, there were apparently no changes in ownership of the port of Busan during the Tokugawa period.⁴⁹ Shibata's claim of Japanese ownership over the Bonin Islands and Busan suggests that an argument existed for Japan's territorial privilege in those places, regardless of the formal government position. At any rate, Shibata's 1852 handbook, as well as the 1845 books by Mitsukuri, sharply distinguish bakumatsu intellectuals from their predecessors in terms of a greatly expanded view of Japanese territory. On Hayashi Shihei's 林子平 (1738–1793) map in 1786, for example, the territory of "Great Japan" does not even include Ezo beyond Matsumae domain, nor

46 *Kōkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran*, one volume with 104 pages, measures about 165 x 85 mm, so-called *hanshi mitsu-giri bon* 半紙三切本 size, while *Kon'yo zushiki* is a substantial work consisting of five booklets over 278 pages in *ōbon* 大本, 260 x 185 mm, a standard size for academic publications.

47 Mitsukuri 1847, vol. 1, fols. 1b–2a.

48 See Chapman 2016, chapters 1 and 2.

49 See Tashiro 2002, pp. 19, 64, 73–74; Okamoto 2008, pp. 53–60, 63–68.

Ryukyu, Ogasawara, nor, needless to say, any part of the Korean Peninsula, as Ronald Toby has shown.⁵⁰

Writing any geography guidebook demanded decisions on how to classify countries, in other words, how to construct the world for a contemporary audience. A comparison between Shibata's *Kakkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran* and earlier works in this genre shows the emergence of a new conception of the world order as well as Japan's position in it. Shibata divided his book into seven sections, the first of which dealt with Asia, led by Japan, before Europe, Africa, North America, South America, and Oceania with a final section on "newly discovered Antarctic lands."⁵¹ This is roughly the same order that Mitsukuri used in his 1845 *Kon'yo zushiki*, although the two books differ in their assessment of the relative independence of countries.⁵² In contrast, *Wakan sansei zue* 和漢三才図会 compiled by Terajima Ryōan 寺島良安 (b. 1654) in 1712 shows a Sino-centered world order, as Toby points out.⁵³ Terajima arranged countries and regions in this order: China, Japan, Korea, Ryukyu, Ezo, "West [of China]" (*sai'iki* 西域, modern Central Asian region), India (*tenjiku* 天竺), "northern barbarians" (*hokuchi shoteki* 北地諸狄), and "southwestern barbarians" (*seinan shoban* 西南諸蛮).⁵⁴ In 1713, however, Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) used a different, Euro-centric structure in his multivolume work *Sairan igen* 采覧異言, based on information he had gained from a Christian missionary. There was a volume each for Europe, Africa, Asia, South America, and North America, in that order. Hakuseki placed Japan at the end of the Asia volume together with Ezo and Tatar.⁵⁵ This Euro-centered structure was retained in an 1803 edition revised by Yamamura Saisuke 山村才助 (1770–1807), who, however, added "New Holland" and "Antarctic lands" to the Asian countries.⁵⁶

Shibata's involvement in contemporary foreign affairs and the articulation of his own political views are more clearly displayed in his third publication, *Ezo setsujō zenzu* 蝦夷接壤全図 (Map of Ezo and surroundings; see figure 4), which appeared in 1854. The central issue of this map was Japan's renewed encounters in 1853 and 1854 with the Russian mission led by Evfimii Putiatin (1803–1883). Shibata no doubt knew of the Russians' arrival because his mentor, Koga, was a member of the bakufu negotiating team led by Kawaji Toshiakira 川路聖謨 (1801–1868).⁵⁷ They negotiated over the demarcation of Russo-Japanese borders in the Kuril Islands and on the island of Sakhalin, where clashes between the two countries had already occurred.⁵⁸ Koga took part in the meetings with Putiatin in Nagasaki from the last month of Kaei 6 (1853) until his return to Edo early the following

50 Toby 2016, pp. 25–26.

51 See Shibata, *Kakkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran*.

52 Volume 4 of the five-volume *Kon'yo zushiki* deals with the Americas, but places the south first and the north later. There is no section on the Antarctic lands. It understands Korea as part of "Great Tatar" together with Manchu, Mongol, and other peoples in North Asia. See Mitsukuri 1847.

53 Toby 2001, pp. 91–92.

54 Terajima, *Wakan sansei zue*, vols. 61–64. After this section, all of the Japanese provinces are covered in vols. 65–80.

55 Arai, *Sairan igen*.

56 Yamamura 1804. Shibata copied this book in 1850 while staying at the Itō Academy. See SSN (b) 2, pp. 201–227; Moriyama 2016, p. 39.

57 For the Nagasaki and Shimoda negotiations in 1853–1854, see Kawaji's accounts of his mission in Kawaji 1968, together with detailed annotations by Kawada. For Koga's involvement in the Russo-Japanese negotiations, see Onodera 2006, pp. 47–77, 95–126.

58 See, for example, Beasley 1989, p. 271; Walker 2001, pp. 161–179; Wells 2004, pp. 9–10.

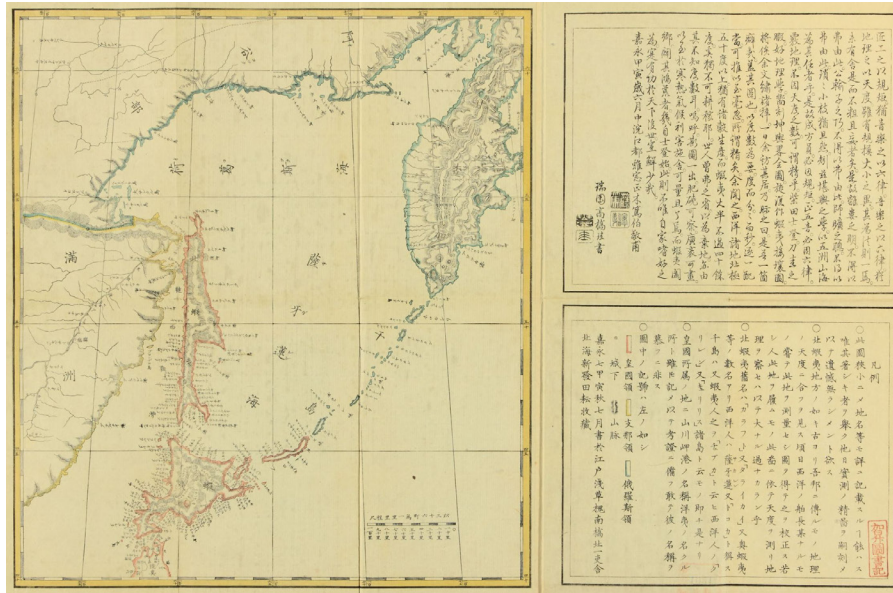


Figure 4. Shibata Shūzō, *Ezo setsujō zenzu*. Publisher unknown, 1854. Waseda University Library.

year. He was involved several months later in the next round of meetings, which took place at Shimoda, a newly designated port of call for foreign vessels. The negotiations finally concluded with the signing of a treaty on Ansei 安政 1 (1854).12.21.⁵⁹

Shibata’s map of the northern territories is dated the seventh month of Ansei 1. However, the actual prints were probably made after the conclusion of the Japanese-Russian negotiations; at least, they reflect the substance of those negotiations. In Shibata’s map, for example, the Japan-Russia border in the Kurile Islands is drawn between Etorofu (Iturup) and Urup (Uruppu) islands, with the territory of Japan outlined in red and that of Russia in blue. The entire island of Sakhalin is presented as Japanese territory. This corresponds to the provisions of the Shimoda Treaty, or more correctly, to an interpretation that favored Japan. The Russian and Japanese delegates had finally reached an agreement to set a border between Etorofu and Urup for Kurile. But they gave up on Sakhalin and decided “not to draw a border but to retain the existing arrangement as it has been till the present.”⁶⁰ Shibata and his publisher would naturally have concluded that Sakhalin remained Japanese territory or at least that there was no necessity to make changes.

Japan’s territorial claim over Sakhalin Island seems to have affected the reprinting of Shibata’s earlier world map, *Shintei kon’yo ryakuzenzu*. I have identified two versions of this map, which differ in their coloring of Japanese territory on Sakhalin. One claims Japanese sovereignty over the entire island; the other claims only the southern area, below fifty degrees latitude north, leaving the northern part, interestingly, as Chinese territory,

59 Onodera 2006, pp. 62–63, 97–102.

60 See Kawaji 1968, pp. 191–192.

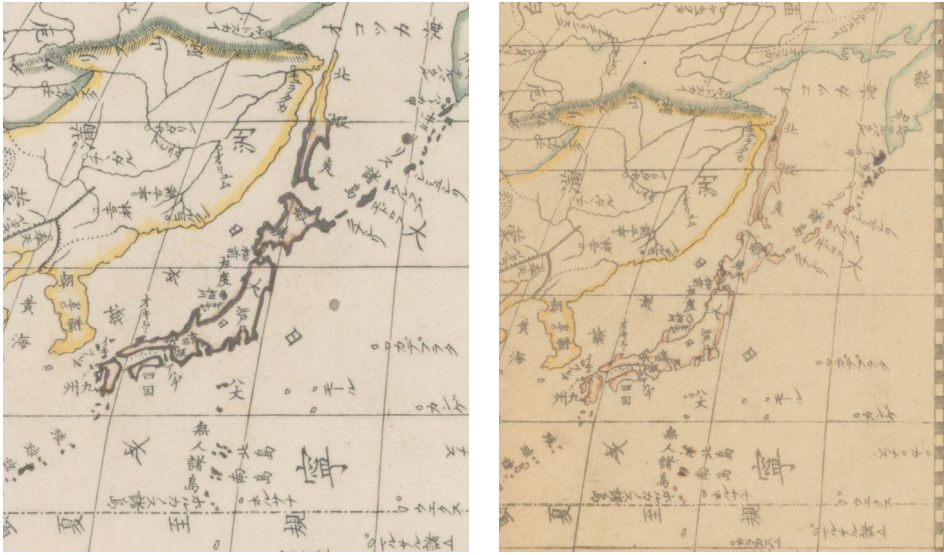


Figure 5. Two versions of *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu* (excerpts). Yokohama City University Library.

not Russian (see figure 5).⁶¹ Judging from the print quality, the latter version seems to be a reprint of the original 1852 work. Onodera's biography of Koga hints at why this version was produced. During the argument about Sakhalin in Nagasaki, Putiatin had pointed out that the Russians had already settled the southern half of the island, and that only about twenty Japanese people resided at its southern tip. It was Koga who urged the leader of the delegation, Kawaji, to counter this assertion using world maps produced in Europe. The Japanese delegates borrowed several maps of the world from the Dutch office at Deshima, and then argued that the border should be set at fifty degrees latitude, and internationally recognized as such. If this argument did not completely win over Putiatin, it helped lead to the ambiguous conclusion mentioned above.⁶² Possibly, there is a link between Koga's stance at the Nagasaki meetings and the new version of *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu*. It is conceivable that the publisher decided to go ahead with that version after a discussion with Shibata, who probably knew from Koga of the negotiations with Russia. There seems to be no other explanation for the existence of the new version of *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu*. Japan formally acquired the land below fifty degrees latitude on Sakhalin only as a result of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905).

4. Working on a National Project

The 1852 publication of a world map and the handbook mentioned above seem to have earned Shibata wide recognition among Edo intellectuals, subsequently leading to his appointment to the bakufu's Department of Astronomy. Shibata was employed on a project

61 I have so far found prints of the entire-island version at Sado City Museum, Kyoto University Library, and Meiji University Library; and of the below-fifty-degrees version at the National Museum of Japanese History, Waseda University Library, and Tōyō Bunko Library. Yokohama City University Library holds both versions.

62 See Onodera 2006, pp. 67–68.

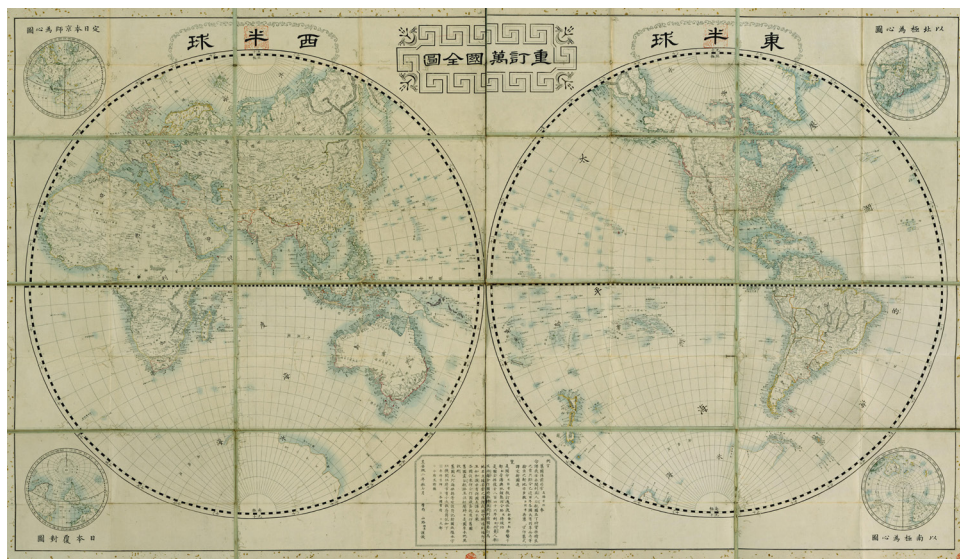


Figure 6. Bakufu official map of the world, *Chôtei bankoku zenzu* (reprint 1872, original 1855). National Diet Library.

led by the then director of the department, Yamaji Yukitaka (Kaikō) 山路諧考 (1777–1861). It resulted in the publication in 1855 of *Chôtei bankoku zenzu* 重訂万国全圖 (Further revised map of the world; see figure 6). In the preface appended to this map, Yamaji acknowledged Shibata as the sole assistant to his son, to whom the department had assigned this project. Many scholars therefore recognize Shibata as a major contributor.⁶³ The preface explained that, “there have been a great number of changes in many countries as well as a number of discoveries of new lands” since the previous official map had been published in 1816. It is true that it was high time for a new map, but initiation of this project must also have been prompted by the specific and urgent need for a good map of the world to assist the bakufu in handling its new diplomatic relationships with Western governments. This map was principally based on the 1846 edition of a world atlas by Karl Sohr and Friedrich Handtke of Germany, whereas its predecessor had relied on 1770s sources that derived from James Cook’s navigations.⁶⁴ The effect of using recent sources is clear on the Yamaji/Shibata map. Its presentation of coastlines, along with names of geographical features, especially bays, capes, and straits, most conspicuously in the Oceania region, reflect up-to-date information.

Also conspicuous is the growth in territorial and imperial consciousness between the 1816 and the 1855 bakufu maps. One example is the naming of the waters surrounding Japan. On the 1816 map, the sea east of the Korean Peninsula is labelled “Korean Sea” (Chōsen kai 朝鮮海), and what is now called the Japan Sea or the East Sea remains blank. “The Great Japan Sea” (Dai Nihon kai 大日本海) is the label for the sea off the Pacific coast from Honshu to Kyushu. On the 1855 map, however, the whole of the Japan/East Sea appears only as “Japan Sea” (Nihon kai), and the 1816 label “Great Japan Sea” is replaced

63 See Unno 1994, p. 440; Kinda 2012, p. 288; Miyoshi 1999, p. 122.

64 Unno 1994, p. 442.

by “Territory of Great Japan” (Dai Nihon ryō 大日本領), covering the archipelago from Etorof Island in the north to all the Ryukyu Islands in the south. Another noticeable point on the 1855 map is the special status of Kyoto. The Japanese emperor’s capital (*honpō Keishi* 本邦京師) is given a double-square mark, while Edo is treated in the same way as other countries’ capital cities (*kakkoku shufu* 各国首府). That is, it is marked with a double circle. The implication is that Kyoto is more important than Edo. The consciousness of imperial authority is also evident in the notation for the year of publication. The 1855 map used “the second year of the Ansei era in the imperial calendar” (*Kō Ansei ni nen* 皇安政二年), whereas its predecessor recorded its publication date as “the seventh year of the Bunka era of Japan (*Nihon bunka shichinen* 日本文化七年).”

Shibata’s assumptions illustrate the shift in understanding of territorial borders that characterized the transition from early modern to modern in Japan. Historians such as Ronald Toby, Mary Elizabeth Berry, and David Howell have shown that maps and prose works in the Tokugawa period were ambiguous about the external borders of Japanese territory, in contrast to the modern territorial consciousness that emerged with the Meiji government’s endeavor to build a nation-state.⁶⁵ These historians’ studies deal only with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts. Shibata’s maps and texts are a valuable illustration of the changes taking place during the transition from “early modern Tokugawa” to “modern Meiji.” Shibata’s materials, for instance, supplement Toby’s discussion of the issue of Ezo, Ryukyu, Ogasawara, and Korea as Japan’s peripheral lands. Examining work by Terajima Ryōan and others, Toby argues that the early modern consensus on Japan’s territory was fragile, because the ambiguity of national borders had never been a real concern to the government or people. The transformation of national borders from “vague zones” to “clear lines” occurred only after Japan was forced by the Western powers to accept a “Congress of Vienna”-style understanding of the sovereignty and territory of each state, he adds.⁶⁶ Shibata’s case suggests, however, that Japanese intellectuals’ willing exploration of how to present countries and their borders in maps may have been more important than forced acceptance of new rules. It was perhaps a natural development that the clearer the shape of each land and its location on the grid in maps of the world or a region, the greater the temptation for a mapmaker to present clear borders and territories. It is also likely that color printing encouraged readers to look for, and the mapmaker to show, an unambiguous picture. Mapmaking might have caused Shibata continuously to ask himself which nation governed the corner of land his hand was drawing.

5. Japan’s First Officer of Western Cartography

Shibata’s participation in the bakufu world map project led to his appointment to the bakufu’s new Institute of Western Studies (Bansho Shirabesho), in 1856. In mid-1854, Kawaji Toshiakira, magistrate for finance and governance (*kanjō bugyō* 勘定奉行), had proposed the establishment of a special bakufu department for research in Western studies. Kawaji was responding to a plan presented by Abe Masahiro 阿部正弘 (1819–1857), the shogun’s senior councilor (*rōjū* 老中), designed to deal with the rapidly escalating pressure from the Western powers. When the bakufu approved the proposal, Koga Kin’ichirō was

65 See Toby 2001; Berry 2006, pp. 218–228; Howell 2005, pp. 4–8, 150–153.

66 Toby 2001, pp. 98–99. See also Toby 2016.

invited to join in the planning, and subsequently, in mid-1855, he was appointed as the foundation director of the new institute.⁶⁷

When planning started in 1855, Shibata's name was included in two lists of recommended academic staff, which had been independently prepared by two different officers. One of them was Katsu Rintarō 勝麟太郎 (1823–1899), an up-and-coming officer with knowledge of the West. In his profile of Shibata, Katsu described him as “a doctor attached to the Sado magistrate's office, currently in the employ of the Department of Astronomy.” This description probably indicates the persistent importance of social status in the Tokugawa period. In order to secure a high-level appointment, the son of a fisherman from a remote island needed pseudo-officer status in a shogunal organization or a daimyo house in addition to his track record in academic work.⁶⁸

Even so, it was still not easy for Shibata to win a position in the Institute of Western Studies. The first round of appointments was made in the fourth month of Ansei 3 (1856) with the hiring of two foundation professors (*kyōju* 教授) and six assistant professors (*kyōju tetsudai* 教授手伝). Shibata was added as the sixteenth appointee in the fourth round at the end of the year. His diary for Ansei 3 reveals days of anxious waiting and frustration before jubilation at his appointment. On the day of the appointment, the Sado magistrate invited Shibata to his residence in Edo and conveyed to him a statement from a senior councilor. The magistrate then warmly congratulated Shibata, remarking that his appointment was “an unprecedented event,” as Shibata excitedly recorded in his diary.⁶⁹

According to Shibata's own note, the title of his position was “Ezu shirabe shutsuyaku” 絵図調出役 or “researcher of pictorial charts on temporary assignment.” He may have dealt with a variety of materials besides maps, as his first task was to translate the catalogue of a shipping company in India.⁷⁰ The remuneration of his position was fifteen person-units (*fuchi* 扶持) of rice (that is 13.5 liters of rice per day) and ten *ryō* of gold per annum.⁷¹ This was half of a full professor's remuneration or about 70 percent of that of an assistant professor.⁷² Even so, the pay was generous: the bakufu approved Koga's proposal to set attractive salary scales in order to compete with powerful daimyo in seeking good scholars of Western studies.⁷³ Shibata left a copy of an 1857 payment slip, which suggests his annual income was about fifty-four *ryō*.⁷⁴ The bakufu officially opened the institute on Ansei 4

67 The institute was initially called Yōgakusho 洋学所 (Western Studies Center) but was renamed first as Kaiseijo 開成所 (Development Center), then by early 1856 as Bansho Shirabesho, literally meaning “foreign books research center.” The renaming from Yōgakusho to Bansho Shirabesho was a result of compromise with anti-Western voices from the Shōheikō, the bakufu's school for Confucian and Chinese studies. Ōkubo 1986, p. 89, n. 35. Also see Jansen 1957, pp. 570–582.

68 Miyazaki has examined staff appointments to the Institute of Western Studies between 1856 and 1867 and identified 133 appointments of shogunal retainers (*jikisan* 直参), eighty-nine daimyo retainers (*baishin* 陪臣), one ronin, and six people whose status is unknown. Miyazaki 2001, pp. 151, 153, 181.

69 SSN (b) 2, pp. 333–334.

70 SSN (b) 2, p. 336.

71 SSN (a) 2, p. 330, where there is an error in the sources: 絵図調書役 should be 絵図調出役.

72 The remuneration scheme of the Institute of Western Studies in 1856 was 30 person-units of rice and 20 *ryō* of gold for a full professor (*kyōju*), 25 person-units of rice and 20 *ryō* of gold for an associate professor (*kyōju nami* 教授並), and 20 person-units of rice and 15 *ryō* of gold for an assistant professor (*kyōju tetsudai*), according to a government report in 1892. “Bansho Shirabesho kigen kōryaku,” pp. 664–665.

73 *Tōkyō Daigaku hyakunen shi*, pp. 18–19.

74 SSN (a) 2, pp. 331–332. The stipend of fifteen person-units of rice was exchanged in money at the rate of 3.5 *ryō* of gold and 3.85 *monme* of silver (together roughly 3.56 *ryō*) by a licensed agent, probably in Asakusa.

(1857).1.18 with 191 students recruited from among the shogun's retainers.⁷⁵ The institute developed its curriculum over the next six years, adding chemistry, English, French, Western painting, natural history, mathematics, and German to the initial specialization in Dutch studies.⁷⁶

Strangely, however, Shibata's appointment is acknowledged nowhere in bakufu or Meiji government records. As a result, his name has been either completely omitted or inconsistently mentioned in previous studies of the institute and in histories of the University of Tokyo and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, both of which claim their origins from the bakufu institute. The sustained ignorance of Shibata's appointment is clearly shown in *Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku shi* 東京外国語大学史 vol. 1 (1999), which synthesizes major sources for, and previous studies of, the Institute of Western Studies.⁷⁷ Shibata's name does not appear either in the list of inaugural members of staff or the description of the process of their appointments up to the opening of the institute in early 1857, even though the study correctly includes two others employed at the same time.⁷⁸ The volume later refers, however, to Shibata's appointment in 1856 as an assistant professor.⁷⁹ I presume that this inconsistency is due to the editors' careless acceptance of two contradictory sets of sources: on the one hand, early studies based on bakufu and Meiji government records, and, on the other, a 1943 article by Hara Heizō 原平三 which did recognize Shibata's 1856 appointment.⁸⁰ Hara elsewhere failed to include Shibata in a list of academic staff of the Institute of Western Studies.⁸¹

I have been unable to ascertain why Shibata is absent from the bakufu and Meiji government documents. Compared with other academic staff appointed before the opening of the institute, Shibata's specialties in cartography and position were unique. All other members of institute staff were professors, assistant professors, or (Dutch) language instructors (*kuō kyōju* 句読教授). Seven months after the institute opened, one low-ranking bakufu officer was appointed to the same position as Shibata, and he was officially recorded in a register of staff. Another samurai was added to the mapmaking team in early 1858.⁸² Unlike his coworkers, Shibata was not a samurai but this does not explain the absence of his name from the register. After all, some other academic staff were originally from families of non-samurai village doctors.⁸³ We can also discount Shibata's comparatively young age as a possible reason: at thirty-seven, he was one year older than the average among the appointees as far as I can ascertain. A simple clerical error in the register is also unlikely, because his name is missing in all primary sources available to date, except his own personal records.

75 "Bansho Shirabesho kigen kōryaku," p. 664.

76 See "Bansho Shirabesho kigen kōryaku," pp. 664–668.

77 *Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku shi*, pp. 1–41.

78 *Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku shi*, pp. 17, 19.

79 *Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku shi*, pp. 27–28.

80 Hara 1992, p. 67. Hara also mentions Shibata's appointment on p. 91 but there he wrongly concludes it was in the tenth month of 1859, whereas Shibata had died in the fourth month of that year.

81 *Tōkyō Gaikokugo Daigaku shi*, pp. 55–56. Numata 1951 simply repeats Hara's inconsistent recognition and error regarding Shibata's appointment (pp. 60–61, 71, 76–77). Nor is Shibata recognized in Miyazaki 2001.

82 "Bansho Shirabesho shokuin meisaichō." Their names are Kawakami Mannojo and Maeda Matashirō.

83 Murata Zōroku 村田蔵六 (1824–1869) and Tezuka Ritsuzō 手塚律蔵 (1822–1878) were sons of village doctors in Suō Province.

Leaving aside administrative documents, his name is mentioned once on a map, providing a final footprint of Shibata in history. An undated map of East Asia entitled *Dai Shin ittōzu* 大清一統図 (A map of China under the Qing dynasty) has an inscription that reads “posthumous manuscript of Shibata Shūzō, based on a German map.” This fact has naturally led scholars to conclude that Shibata had prepared this map, but had died before seeing it published.⁸⁴ A recent study by Ida Kōzō 井田浩三, however, argues convincingly that this is incorrect. According to Ida, the map in question was based on another map with the same title published in China by an American missionary, in two versions, one in English and one in Chinese. Ida also concludes that there is no sign that Shibata contributed to *Dai Shin ittōzu*, the version that was published in Japan.⁸⁵ I would only add here that the shape of Shibata’s home island of Sado as shown on *Dai Shin ittōzu* is clearly inaccurate, and differs from what he drew on the map *Sado ikkoku kaiganzu* when he assisted Ishii Bunkai back in 1842.

The fact that Shibata’s name appears on *Dai Shin ittōzu* suggests that he was popular among mapmakers. “Posthumous manuscript of Shibata Shūzō” appears to express a sense of regret among his colleagues at his untimely death. It represents their tribute to Shibata’s contribution to the development of cartography in Japan. This view is supported by a letter written in 1859 by a colleague of Shibata’s in the Institute of Western Studies to his family in Sado. The letter reports with sorrow Shibata’s death after several months of ill health since the beginning of that year, and tells his family that Shibata “received great recognition for his devoted work” (*ichigei no tame ni wa mi no menmoku mo kore ari* 一芸の為には身の面目も有之).⁸⁶

Conclusion

The life of Shibata Shūzō is emblematic of the crossover between early modern and modern Japan. In terms of views of world geography, first of all, there is a clear eagerness in his work to identify accurately the shape of every land on earth. From the island of Sado, to the northern islands of Ezo, Sakhalin, and their surroundings, to Australia and Antarctica in the south, his eyes and hands traced the coastlines as precisely as available sources allowed. The quantity and quality of information available to Shibata greatly exceeded that of the eighteenth century, particularly with regard to European maps. However, compared with his later counterparts who could use an established system of education and libraries, Shibata’s access to institutional repositories was limited. Instead, he relied on personal relationships with his teachers such as Ishii Natsumi and Bunkai in Sado and Koga Kin’ichirō in Edo.

Shibata’s strong interest in contextualizing the state of Japan in the post-Opium-War world order reflects the sensibility of bakumatsu intellectuals. A concrete example is his 1852 geography handbook, *Kakkoku shoryō bankoku chimei shōran*, which attempts to position Japan as a colonizing empire. Shibata’s 1854 map of the northern territories, *Ezo setsujō zenzu*, also exhibits this kind of perception in the sense that he seeks to display the territories of the Japanese, Chinese, and Russian empires as clearly as possible, but favorably to Japan. Shibata’s mapping work also exemplifies the limits of bakumatsu intellectuals’

84 Takahashi 1998, p. 79.

85 Ida 2014, p. 24.

86 Letter collected in Narita 1971, pp. 374–375.

knowledge of world geopolitical history. The preface of *Shintei kon'yo ryakuzenzu* in 1852 contains an odd mixture of fresh and outdated information ranging from 1840s news about California to century-old events in European history.

Shibata embodies bakumatsu commoners' opportunities in education and publishing. His education helped him considerably in carving out a career pathway that was different from what would normally have been expected under the Tokugawa status quo. At the same time, the steps that he took to establish himself as a specialist in Western cartography represent a process of negotiation between existing conventions and new possibilities. His first trip, to study in Edo under a Confucian scholar, might have been possible for sons of well-to-do villagers even before Shibata's day. The opportunity to study medicine in Edo, too, was available for commoners, although subject to family financial and social status, as well as academic ability. But engaging with Dutch and Western studies, particularly with a specialization in geography, was a brave new endeavor for Tokugawa commoners. He was well placed, too, to benefit from the phenomenal growth of print culture in nineteenth-century Japan. The publishing industry and its market had flourished to the extent that Shibata, an amateur mapmaker, could contemplate publishing his own maps and geography handbook. It is not yet clear how Shibata managed to finance his publications, but the appearance of his maps and books in the 1850s was a response to the strong public interest in world geography and foreign affairs at that time. Few of these opportunities in education and publishing would have been available to a young rural man like Shibata without the specific historical environment of the bakumatsu period.

Shibata's career development, together with his relocation from his home village to the capital city, also suggests the extent to which bakumatsu circumstances promoted or did not promote social mobility. While the conventional Tokugawa-era mechanisms designed to limit people's freedom of choice in their occupations and residence were still very much alive, Shibata managed to obtain employment in two bakufu organizations: first, the Department of Astronomy, and then the Institute of Western Studies. When Shibata was appointed to a position in the bakufu institute, the Sado magistrate, in his congratulatory words, called it "an unprecedented event." It was a new opportunity made possible by Shibata's expertise and the urgency of the nation's political situation. Shibata himself should be considered a new type of Tokugawa commoner because of his ambitious pursuit of a government position. However, the Tokugawa tradition still had a powerful influence over the terms of his employment, leading to his purely nominal status as a doctor at the Sado magistrate's office. Even now, the status of mapmaker was not established, as indicated by the title of his position, "a researcher of pictorial charts on temporary assignment."

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Contextualizing Colonial Connections: Reevaluating Takekoshi Yosaburō's *Japanese Rule in Formosa*

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In 1907, *Japanese Rule in Formosa* was published in London. It was the English translation of *Taiwan tōchi shi* (1905), a book about Japan's colonization of Taiwan by Japanese popular historian and liberal politician Takekoshi Yosaburō. *Japanese Rule in Formosa* proved remarkably influential, both at the time and in postwar historiography. Although isolated quotes from the 1907 work are frequently used by present-day historians, little attention has been granted to the political context in which it was published or the accuracy of the translation. The fact that Takekoshi advocated an unambiguous form of colonial rule in which the Japanese constitution would not apply in Taiwan placed him at odds with other leaders of his liberal Seiyūkai party who wanted Taiwan to be merged into Japan's administrative and legal structures. Takekoshi's stance reveals that colonial debates did not always match up with other political or philosophical fault lines. His ideas were, however, consistent with his liberal worldview, and engaged in global, trans-imperial dialogue about assimilation and association in a colonial administration. This article will position Takekoshi's work within the contemporaneous Japanese debate over Taiwan's legal status and argue that, although the timing of its publication meant that it had little influence in Japan, it had a significant effect on the attitudes of colonialist scholars in Europe and America towards Japanese imperialism.

Keywords: Taiwan, trans-imperial history, colonial administration, assimilation, association, indirect rule, liberalism

Introduction

In October 1906, the French journal *La revue diplomatique* published a detailed report on the efforts of liberal Japanese parliamentarian Takekoshi Yosaburō 竹越與三郎 (1865–1950) to establish an *entente* between France and Japan for the purpose of the development (*mise en valeur*) of China. The report quoted Takekoshi's remarks at the 1906 London conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in detail, and concluded:

In the treaties, contracts, unions, *ententes* ... between modern peoples, it is always necessary to look for the element of economic interest without which contemporary politics would be aimless policy, and it is exactly economic interests that Mr. Takekoshi does not speak of. He admits, however, that the dream of a “greater Japan” [*plus grand Japon*] is the cherished dream. We cannot deign to make this a crime since, in France, we have numerous supporters of a greater France and German colonialists do not hide their desire to see a greater Germany.¹

This passage reflects how, in the years following the Russo-Japanese War, Japan’s colonial empire was often seen in a favorable light in the West, as an example of “modern” imperialism analogous to that of the Western “great powers.” While Takekoshi participated in a number of international fora, his most influential contribution by far to this favorable turn in Western public opinion was *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, the 1907 English translation of his 1905 book *Taiwan tōchi shi* 台湾統治志, in which he presented Taiwan as a miracle colony.

Japanese Rule in Formosa is in many ways an unusual book. Published in London, it is long, almost encyclopedic, and surprisingly chauvinistic in tone for a Japanese work published abroad. In the preface, Takekoshi states that he hopes to galvanize a new generation of Japanese to become enthusiastic colonizers, much as he believes James Anthony Froude to have done in Britain with his book, *The English in the West Indies*.² While the original Japanese book seems to have had little impact on Japanese colonial consciousness, the translation became surprisingly influential in the West, both at the time and in postwar historiography.

Today *Japanese Rule in Formosa* is widely quoted in Western scholarship, thanks both to Takekoshi’s vivid prose and the dearth of other English-language primary sources on Japanese imperialism from this period.³ Nevertheless, the book itself has not received any systematic study, with the result that its political significance has generally been overlooked. Scholars have failed to notice that *Japanese Rule in Formosa* is not in fact a verbatim translation of *Taiwan tōchi shi*. A close comparison of both books reveals that the translation leaves out several key explanations of Takekoshi’s view of imperialism. Through a careful contextualization of both the original and the translation, this article will argue that *Japanese Rule in Formosa* is in fact more interesting and of greater significance than has previously been recognized for understanding the ideology and politics of colonial administration during the period circa 1850–1930.⁴

To begin with, placing the book in the context of domestic politics sheds light on its original purpose: preventing the application of the Meiji Constitution to Taiwan and its administrative incorporation into Japan. Moreover, the publication in English of Takekoshi’s colonial theories serves as a significant example of the involvement of the Japanese elite in

1 Meulemans 1906 ; translation by the author.

2 Takekoshi 1907, pp. vii–viii; Froude 1888.

3 For example, see Hirano, Veracini, and Roy 2018; Clulow 2010; Allen 2007; Ho 2005.

4 Historians of Western empire often distinguish between an early modern, mercantilist imperialism and a modern imperialism that relied on new technologies and discourses. This division coincides with the beginning of a new intense period of European colonization from the mid-nineteenth century.

a global, trans-imperial knowledge infrastructure.⁵ I argue that one important instance of trans-imperial exchange that can be usefully studied through Takekoshi's writings is a global conversation regarding the assimilation of colonized peoples that took place during this period.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, theories of assimilation, whether cultural or institutional, became increasingly discredited among the colonial policy elite worldwide. These were replaced with new notions of how best to rule a colonial territory based on social Darwinism and British and Dutch experiments in indirect rule, later collectively referred to as the "association" of colonizer and colonized with minimal cultural interchange.⁶ Associationists advanced several concrete proposals for improved colonial administration: conserving resources by allowing indigenous laws and customs to be maintained as much as possible, making colonies financially self-sufficient, and endowing a largely autonomous colonial administration with vast discretionary power. Raymond Betts' classic study of French colonial theory argues that association was a coherent philosophy decades before it was commonly referred to by this name in the twentieth century.⁷ Like Betts, I believe that it is analytically useful to use this label retrospectively in the absence of a contemporaneous term. Although historians have only commonly applied the term when discussing the French empire, "association" can arguably be applied outside of a French context, as the French thinkers that Betts studies were widely influential in other empires. Tellingly, Takekoshi's and Betts' bibliographies have a great degree of overlap.

Colonial theories of assimilation, like rival theories of association, were not as straightforward during this period as it might seem, but they are indispensable for understanding the colonial administration of this period. While there were proponents of the assimilation of subject peoples through education and the extension of partial or complete citizenship rights, only after World War I did this rhetoric become widespread and arguably begin to have a major influence on colonial policy. As I have argued elsewhere, during the period circa 1870–1914, "assimilation" was typically used to refer to the incorporation of a colonial territory into the laws and governing structures of the home country.⁸ This is reflected in the incorporation of territories like Hokkaido and Okinawa into "Japan proper." Japanese at the time often employed the term *naichi enchō shugi* 内地延長主義 [lit. metropole-extension-ism], even if contemporaneous writers also used the more generic term for assimilation, *dōka* 同化. Similarly, even though no one today would argue that French Algeria was not a "colony," at the time, the coastal regions were technically incorporated as several French *départements*, constituting an integral part of "France," at least in theory. Likewise, as we shall see, the Japanese debate over Taiwan often hinged on whether or not the island should be considered a "colony," or merely Japan's newest home island, like Hokkaido. The latter is precisely the position that associationists argued against, contending that there were good reasons not to treat very diverse territories the same legally. In all empires, ideas varied on the treatment of local inhabitants of incorporated territories,

5 The new field of trans-imperial history studies instances of border-crossing cooperation and exchange between different modern empires. See, for example, Mizutani 2019; Hedinger and Hée 2018; Potter and Saha 2015; Barth and Cvetkovski 2015.

6 Betts 2005.

7 Betts 2005.

8 Hennessey 2019.



Figure 1. Takekoshi Yosaburō. Hosoi 1916. Courtesy of National Diet Library, *Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures* website, 2013. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/287.html>.

but in practice full citizenship rights were only extended to settlers from the colonizing country, even if opponents of assimilation often exploited xenophobic fears of full legal equality for colonized subjects in their arguments.

Although assimilation and association are frequently treated as fixed traits of specific empires (with France and Japan typically identified as assimilationist and Britain and the Netherlands as associationist), there was in fact significant variation over time and between the different colonial territories of all modern empires. Moreover, theories of association interacted in complex ways with the primary global ideology that molded Takekoshi's worldview: liberalism. Takekoshi's book and its reception in the West provide a significant example of how Japanese colonial elites engaged with these ideas concurrently and in discussion with their counterparts in Western empires.

The next section will briefly introduce Takekoshi Yosaburō and his position in Japanese politics around the turn of the twentieth century. The following sections demonstrate how *Taiwan tōchi shi* advanced globally-influenced theories of both liberalism and association and highlight its role in a debate over Taiwan's status that roiled Japanese politics. Finally, I will discuss the translation and reception of Takekoshi's text abroad, and show that it was not only inspired by, but actively engaged with, and influenced prominent Western colonial theorists.

A Japanese Liberal's Rise to Prominence and the Debate on Taiwan

Takekoshi Yosaburō was born late in 1865, on the eve of the Meiji Restoration. He studied at Keio University under Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835–1901), who was to have a profound influence on his worldview and writing. He worked first as a teacher and then as a journalist and popular historian. In 1898, he entered politics, becoming an assistant to the statesman Saionji Kinmochi 西園寺公望 (1849–1940). Although Saionji came from a noble family with close ties to the emperor, he was probably the most liberally-minded of the top Meiji leaders. He was a founding member of the Seiyūkai 政友会 political party, and worked closely with future Prime Minister Hara Takashi 原敬 (1856–1921) to advance parliamentary principles. In 1902, Takekoshi was elected to the Diet for the first time.

He served in various government posts of increasingly elevated status until purged by the American occupation forces after the Second World War.⁹

Although both Takekoshi and Hara were newspapermen and members of the Seiyūkai, Takekoshi was generally more aggressively liberal than Hara. In his early writings, he leveled severe criticism at the conservative, military-dominated *hanbatsu* 藩閥 ruling clique. In the first years of the twentieth century, he belonged to the “hard faction” in the Seiyūkai that opposed leaders like Hara who advocated a greater degree of compromise with this conservative clique.¹⁰ Despite his more liberal track record, Takekoshi wholeheartedly embraced *hanbatsu* colonial policy in *Taiwan tōchi shi*, lavishing praise on two of its protégés assigned to Taiwan, Governor General Kodama Gentarō 児玉源太郎 (1852–1906) and Chief of Civil Administration Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 (1857–1929). Indeed, Gotō wrote a preface to *Taiwan tōchi shi*.¹¹

As I have described elsewhere, Japan's governance of Taiwan had become a key political battleground between the *hanbatsu* and liberals, particularly Hara, immediately after Japan acquired the island in 1895.¹² Inspired by associationist theories and British models of indirect rule, conservative military leaders wanted Taiwan to be governed separately as a “colony” like Jamaica or Hong Kong, with a strong governor general and colonial council or token legislative body. Hara and his liberal allies, on the other hand, were eager to extend Japanese parliamentary control and constitutional jurisdiction over Taiwan to prevent it from becoming an extrajudicial fief of the military. They therefore advocated making Taiwan an extension of metropolitan Japan, assimilating the island into Japan's institutions and structures, pointing to French Algeria as a comparable example.¹³ In the context of this discussion, the very term “colony” was a point of dispute. Hara and other assimilationists were loath to use the word, whereas proponents of association made a point of referring to Taiwan as a “colony” (*shokuminchi* 植民地 or 殖民地), as we shall see. The debate over assimilation and association raged for well over a decade and was still ongoing when Takekoshi published *Taiwan tōchi shi* in 1905. Taiwan's legal status remained ambiguous and its governor general ruled with “temporary” extraordinary powers that were repeatedly renewed.¹⁴ As the following section will demonstrate, however, the colonial theories which Takekoshi expounds in *Taiwan tōchi shi* did not represent a rejection of his liberal background, despite his alignment with *hanbatsu* figures like Kodama on colonial questions; rather they were firmly grounded in a liberal worldview.¹⁵ Moreover, even though he opposed Hara's ostensibly “French” assimilationist position, Takekoshi was strongly influenced by contemporaneous colonial French theories of colonial association that rejected France's earlier assimilatory experiments during the first part of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ *Taiwan tōchi shi* illustrates how the debate over colonial theories in turn-of-the-century

9 For biographical details, see the timeline in Takekoshi 1985.

10 Takekoshi 1891–1892; Takekoshi 1896; Duus 1974, p. 434; Najita 1967, p. 105.

11 Gotō would later “switch sides,” becoming a supporter of the Seiyūkai after the death of his *hanbatsu* patron Katsura Tarō. Najita 1967, p. 204; Duus 1968, pp. 43–45.

12 Hennessey 2019.

13 Hennessey 2019. For the original source material, see Itō and Hiratsuka 1970.

14 For the debate and its legal ramifications, see Wang 2000; Ōe 1993; Haruyama 1993.

15 Many of Takekoshi's viewpoints were also endorsed by later Japanese imperialist liberals. For a detailed account of liberalism and imperialism in Taishō and early Shōwa Japan, see Han 2012.

16 See Betts 2005.

Japan was complex and transcended binary divisions like *hanbatsu*-Seiyūkai, French-British, and liberal-conservative.

Takekoshi's Liberal Theories of Colonialism

Takekoshi Yosaburō had become famous in Japan for his historical works *Shin Nihonshi* 新日本史 (New Japanese history; 1891–1892) and *Nisen gohyakunenshi* 二千五百年史 (2,500 years of history; 1896). Both books constitute what Peter Duus has labeled a liberal, Whig-style history.¹⁷ They reflected the teleological notion of nations progressing from barbarism to increasing degrees of civilization. Takekoshi rejected the idea of golden ages in Japan's past and argued that the Meiji Restoration had been *the* major turning point in the course of Japan's history.¹⁸ In his account, the demise of the backward Tokugawa regime was more or less inevitable, but conservative Meiji oligarchs were now betraying the promise of the Restoration by impeding the “natural” progression of history.¹⁹ Bold and dramatic, Takekoshi's books became bestsellers, so much so that in one contemporary's hyperbolic account, *Nisen gohyakunenshi* “was more popular reading among some ladies than the latest novels, and it was printed in so many copies that it forced up the price of paper.”²⁰

A decade later, Takekoshi's reputation as an influential, respected author led the government general of Taiwan, under the leadership of Kodama and Gotō, to invite him to tour the island. *Taiwan tōchi shi* was the product of two relatively short visits during 1904 and 1905.²¹ This official invitation in fact presaged a common publicity strategy of the South Manchuria Railway Company (also presided over by Gotō) over the ensuing decades. A veritable parade of respected names from the Japanese literary establishment, including Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927), and Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子 (1878–1942) were invited on colonial tours sponsored by the company in exchange for writing travelogues that helped to root the Asian continent in the metropolitan public's imagination.²² Details are unfortunately sparse, but the memoranda of the government general of Taiwan reveal that Takekoshi was even granted a part-time job at the Office of the Governor General during this period.²³ Despite Takekoshi's earlier criticism of the *hanbatsu*, *Taiwan tōchi shi* paints a rosy picture of Taiwan's development. Even if this reflects a sense of indebtedness for his employment, his enthusiasm also had

17 Takekoshi 1891–1892; Takekoshi 1896; Duus 1974. The Whig interpretation of history is characterized by “historical grand narratives in which the expansion of personal liberty and of parliamentary authority relative to the Crown served as the organizing principles of [typically] English national history from the 17th century forward.” Cronon 2010, n.p.

18 Duus 1974, pp. 416–418, 425.

19 Duus 1974, p. 434. This same interpretation of Japanese history would be advanced by liberal Tokyo Imperial University professor Yoshino Sakuzō 吉野作造 (1878–1933) two decades later in his writings on *minponshugi* 民本主義. Han 2012, p. 80.

20 Quoted in Duus 1974, pp. 424–425.

21 Takekoshi departed from Japan in May 1904 and began his visit to Taiwan in June (Takekoshi 1905, pp. 24, 468). He was employed by the government general of Taiwan from 30 May 1904 (*Sōtokufu kōbun ruisan*, 1904, case nr. 23 [30 May 1904]). He returned to Tokyo on 12 July 1904, and presented the results of his trip to his party colleagues on 1 August 1904 (*Asahi shinbun* 1904; *Yomiuri shinbun* 1904). He visited Taiwan again in June 1905 (Takekoshi 1905, p. 53). Takekoshi wrote the preface to *Taiwan tōchi shi* in Tokyo in July 1905, so apparently he had returned to Honshu by then (Takekoshi 1905, p. ii).

22 Fogel 2001, p. 5.

23 *Sōtokufu kōbun ruisan*, 1904, case nr. 23 (30 May 1904); *Sōtokufu kōbun ruisan* 1905, case nr. 31 (25 November 1905).

much to do with trans-imperial theories of association. While contemporary scholars generally treat Takekoshi *either* as a liberal historian *or* as a spokesperson of colonialism, in fact his views on history, politics, and colonialism were inextricably linked.

To begin with, the Whig notion of progressive human advancement that underpinned Takekoshi's popular histories was also central to his colonial worldview. The need for more "advanced" peoples to guide "uncivilized barbarians" was of course a classic justification for Western imperialism. More interesting is that just as Western colonial discourse conflated geography and time to explain the non-West as stagnant and backward, Takekoshi classified the various Western empires in terms of different developmental phases.²⁴ In the first chapter of *Taiwan tōchi shi*, Takekoshi paints a dramatic picture of the history of colonial development in terms of natural selection: Portugal explores the world, Spain replaces Portugal, Holland replaces Spain, and finally a combination of Britain and France replaces the Dutch as the masters of the world.²⁵ Spain and the Netherlands, backward and stagnant, are surpassed now by newer, more dynamic empires, just as less-developed species coexist with more evolved ones. This view is consistent with Takekoshi's theory, expressed in many of his writings, that human societies or countries "operate according to biological principles."²⁶

Although very much aware of Japan's recent admission to the "colonial club," and its need to prove itself to numerous skeptics (he names French statesman Gabriel Hanotaux [1853–1944]), Takekoshi boldly asserts that Japan has already reached the highest rung of this imperial hierarchy: "Our colonial policy, having already passed through the French, has now entered the English era."²⁷ On numerous occasions, Takekoshi contends that France has been less successful a colonizer in Indochina than Japan has been in Taiwan because Indochina took far longer to reach financial independence from the metropole.²⁸ In a section of *Taiwan tōchi shi* that was excised from *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, Takekoshi even argues that Japanese are biologically more fit as colonizers than "white people," since they have a higher rate of population growth, can propagate in tropical environments that are hostile to whites, and can withstand more difficult working conditions.²⁹

Takekoshi's classification of various Western colonial powers was not merely historical and informed by pseudo-biological theories; it was also built on a detailed understanding of contemporaneous empires' methods and principles of rule. Takekoshi believed that an understanding of Western empires' different administrative systems could help Japan choose the type best suited to its own needs. This was not a uniquely Japanese outlook, either; many late-nineteenth-century French colonial theorists looked to Britain and the

24 Relegating colonized nations to "the waiting room of history" was a common discursive strategy in both Japan and the West; see Chakrabarty 2008. Tessa Morris-Suzuki has famously argued that the colonial discourse surrounding Japan's peripheral territories "allowed difference to be transposed from the realm of space to the realm of time." Morris-Suzuki 1998, p. 28.

25 Takekoshi 1905, p. 3.

26 Takekoshi 1905, p. 1; Takekoshi 1906, p. 3; Takekoshi Yosaburō, "Japan's Colonial Policy," in *Japan to America*, ed. Masaoka Naoichi. G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915, p. 97, quoted in Ching 2001, p. 101. This biological approach was shared by other Japanese colonialists, notably Gotō.

27 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 16, 35. Takekoshi 1907, p. 10. Throughout the article, I use George Braithwaite's 1907 English translation of *Taiwan tōchi shi* when quoting passages; see Takekoshi 1907. In cases where the Japanese original text was omitted from the English version, the translations are my own.

28 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 33–38, 219–220.

29 Takekoshi 1905, p. 21.

Netherlands for inspiration.³⁰ As we shall see below, Takekoshi's colonial worldview was strongly tied to these French theorists' viewpoints. Takekoshi shared his zeal for detailed study of different colonialisms with the *hanbatsu* and its allies. While in Taiwan, Takekoshi was impressed by Gotō's collection of books on colonial theory. He quotes Gotō as boasting that, "We look upon the Governor-General's office as a sort of university where we may study the theories and principles of colonization.... This room we are now in is the library of this Colonization University."³¹ Gotō strongly endorsed Takekoshi's *Taiwan tōchi shi*, writing a preface in which he emphasizes that Takekoshi's firsthand observations of Taiwan make him a trustworthy source.

In addition to subscribing to a teleological view of historical progress, Japanese "Whig" historians were characterized by a desire to write "ordinary" Japanese back into their country's history. Takekoshi is no exception and his 1890s historical works emphasize democratic precedents in Japanese history.³² While minimizing the importance of colonized peoples' agency and role in the colonial project, *Taiwan tōchi shi* foregrounds the important task of all Japanese people in Japan's empire-building. Quite unlike the classic colonial trope of *terra nullius*, Takekoshi makes it very clear that he envisions colonialism primarily in human rather than geographical terms. His definition of colonialism is "one people entering another people's territory and placing it under [their] national rule."³³ He is quite explicit about the role of the very lowest classes in the Japanese nation's "great task."³⁴ He reads the flow of Japanese emigrants into North and South America as a sign of Japan's "expansive power." He even argues that Japanese physical laborers in Hawai'i undertake tasks too strenuous for "white people," and that this demonstrates the Japanese people's superior aptitude for colonizing the tropics.³⁵ Colonialism for Takekoshi was therefore not an elitist project but rather a democratic one that engaged the Japanese nation as a whole, including overseas Japanese. Takekoshi had argued for this kind of liberal folk imperialism several years earlier in a 1900 editorial in *Sekai to Nihon* 世界と日本 (The world and Japan). "Liberal imperialism," he proposed, involves "the people, politicizing the power of people and reforming the authoritarian, clique-dominated political system."³⁶ While Takekoshi had tempered his fierce opposition to the *hanbatsu* clique by the time he wrote *Taiwan tōchi shi*, this earlier article shows that his conception of a "liberal imperialism" had remained essentially the same.

Contextualizing *Taiwan tōchi shi* in the Debate over Taiwan's Status

Taiwan tōchi shi appeared in the midst of a deadlocked debate over Taiwan's status that had started in 1895. Unable to decide whether the island should be considered a "colony" separate from Japan or folded into Japan's laws and institutions, the divided Imperial Diet had put off the question by repeatedly granting the governor general temporary

30 Betts 2005, p. 33.

31 Takekoshi 1905, p. 53; Takekoshi 1907, p. 22. In 1900, Japan in fact officially founded a "Colonization University" in Tokyo, Takushoku University.

32 Duus 1974, pp. 420, 427.

33 Takekoshi 1905, p. 2.

34 Takekoshi 1905, p. 6.

35 Takekoshi 1905, p. 19.

36 Takekoshi Yosaburō, "Jiyū teikokushugi" 自由帝國主義, *Sekai to Nihon* 48 (6 January 1900), quoted in Han 2012, p. 47.

extraordinary powers. This unresolved problem greatly bothered Takekoshi, who feared that Taiwan's ambiguous status was like a ticking time bomb:

The writer ... hopes that Japan will soon come to look upon Formosa as a pure colony, and that the day may speedily dawn when the results obtained by such observation may be embodied in a policy regulating its relations with the mother-country.³⁷

Takekoshi devotes a sizable portion of *Taiwan tōchi shi* to arguing for Taiwan as a colony, through a close consideration of different Western colonial forms. For example, he refers with admiration to Dutch colonial administrative methods on Java, in which the governor is "invested with an authority resembling that of a despotic monarch."³⁸ Autonomy from the metropolitan government is one key to colonial success, since colonial governments possess a knowledge of local conditions necessary for effective rule. In Takekoshi's opinion, officials in the Japanese central government generally show an "ignorance of colonial matters."³⁹

These opinions are consistent with the views of European proponents of what became known as the association theory of colonialism. Takekoshi was obviously well-acquainted with this administrative theory, and expresses his unqualified support:

From the colonial history of European powers, it is clear that those nations, which have considered their colonies as a part and parcel of the home country, have almost always failed ... while, as a rule, those nations have succeeded which have looked upon their colonies as a special kind of body politic quite distinct from the mother country.⁴⁰

This explains Britain's success as an imperial power: it governs its colonies separately from the metropole, and uses a variety of systems tailored to each individual colonial situation. Takekoshi duly devotes several pages to a classification of Britain's colonial possessions into five categories based on administrative form.⁴¹ In contrast, Takekoshi disparages traditionally assimilationist France and its frequent administrative reforms:

In her attitude to her colonies France has been vacillating, not having pursued a definite and constant policy. At one time, she adopted such an extremely liberal policy towards them as to allow them the right to send representatives to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris; at another, this liberality was suddenly transformed into interference and suspicion...⁴²

Takekoshi is also critical of France's claim that its colonies are represented in the National Assembly. For example, he argues that the few *députés* from Algeria with seats in the

37 Takekoshi 1905, p. 76; Takekoshi 1907, p. 37.

38 Takekoshi 1905, p. 66; Takekoshi 1907, p. 31.

39 Takekoshi 1905, p. 57; Takekoshi 1907, p. 25.

40 Takekoshi 1905, p. 57; Takekoshi 1907, p. 25.

41 These were crown colonies, such as Hong Kong; "semi-responsible colonies," with limited settler voting rights, such as Natal; "responsible colonies," with a large degree of autonomy, such as Canada; chartered companies, like Rhodesia; and, finally, protectorates (Takekoshi 1905, pp. 57–63; Takekoshi 1907, pp. 25–27). *Japanese Rule in Formosa* omits the final category of protectorate.

42 Takekoshi 1905, p. 56; Takekoshi 1907, p. 24.

assembly merely represented metropolitan French settlers instead of the local residents, an untenable situation that was quickly abandoned.⁴³ In his view, a local governor general is a much better judge of the needs of the people than representatives in the metropole, and should therefore be granted wide-ranging powers.

For Takekoshi, granting colonial subjects constitutional rights is downright dangerous:

Under the Constitution, Japanese and Formosans would enjoy equal civic and political rights, and it would be impossible to discriminate between the ruling and the conquered races.... The spread of Japanese influence and immigration would be checked. Summary measures of repression such as are resorted to in case of need would be impossible; the savages could not be placed under restrictions as they are now, and the authorities would be greatly hampered in the maintenance of order ... the Chinese in Formosa are as foreign to us Japanese, as are the savages themselves, and the Formosan Chinese have no more love for Japan than some of the foreigners residing in Tokyo. To give them the privileges of our Constitution would be to teach them to rise up in revolt against us.⁴⁴

Here Takekoshi's argument is both blunt and pressing: applying the constitution to Taiwan and rejecting colonial status for Taiwan would represent a direct threat to Japanese rule. Rather, Japan should be like the United States, which has no intention to make the Philippines an American State "on an equal footing with the other States," until "American residents are superior to the Philippines [*sic*] either in influence or number."⁴⁵

Not only is assimilation dangerous, it is also unrealizable. Reflecting Western colonial discourse, Takekoshi sees the residents of Taiwan as intrinsically different than Japanese: "The proximity to the home country ... in no way lessens the fundamental differences which exist in matters of race, traditions, history, and spiritual features [*fūdo* 風土]."⁴⁶ In Takekoshi's eyes, the wide gap separating the Japanese from Taiwanese of Chinese extraction, to say nothing of the Taiwanese aboriginal "savages," calls for separate laws, a hallmark of association.⁴⁷ In a book on Korea published the following year, Takekoshi criticizes Japanese assimilationists for their hubris in thinking that they can change "a people with more than 2,300 years of history" in a short span of time; this is akin to trying to fight the forces of nature.⁴⁸

Taiwanese, whether of Chinese or aboriginal descent, are noticeably absent from the grand colonial theories that Takekoshi lays out in *Taiwan tōchi shi*'s initial chapters. In the first two chapters, Takekoshi explains why the Japanese nation is both ready for and requires the acquisition of colonies. Nowhere does he deploy the classic colonial trope of "uplifting the natives"; nor does he argue that the Taiwanese are in particular need of Japan's helping hand. Indeed, he implies that Japan could have settled for any colony with a complementary

43 Takekoshi 1905, p. 65.

44 Takekoshi 1905, p. 72; Takekoshi 1907, p. 34.

45 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 70–71; Takekoshi 1907, p. 33.

46 Takekoshi 1905, p. 70. Translation based on Takekoshi 1907, p. 33, with minor discrepancies corrected.

47 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 75–76; Takekoshi 1907, p. 36.

48 Takekoshi 1906, p. 3.

economy and climate.⁴⁹ Japan did not have much choice over where to colonize, but Taiwan was nevertheless “just about an ideal colony.”⁵⁰ It seems clear enough that Takekoshi conceives of colonies as existing to serve the needs of the metropole, even though he directly denies this in his book on Korea published the following year.⁵¹

While Takekoshi depicts Taiwanese aboriginals at times almost as “noble savages” in *Taiwan tōchi shi*, he makes it brutally clear that the Japanese should not let them stand in the way of “progress”:

Almost everybody who has come in contact with the savages declares that they are all quite capable of being raised from their present state of barbarism, and I am very strongly of the same opinion. But it is a question how much longer the Japanese authorities will be willing to pursue their present policy of moderation and goodwill, and leave nearly half the island in their hands. If there were a prospect of their becoming more manageable in ten or even in twenty years, the present policy might possibly be continued for that length of time, but if the process should require a century or so, it is quite out of the question, as we have not that length of time to spare. This does not mean that we have no sympathy for the savages. It simply means that we have to think more about our 45,000,000 sons and daughters than about the 104,000 savages. We cannot afford to wait patiently until they throw off barbarism... It is far better and very necessary for us to force our way into the midst of their territories and bring all the waste land under cultivation.⁵²

Thus, for Takekoshi, assimilationist policies will not enable Japan to exploit the lands of the Taiwanese aboriginals in the foreseeable future, since the laws of nature make “civilizing” the indigenous population an extremely slow process. This harsh reality justifies the violent expropriation of aboriginal land. He even recommends that the Japanese government contract private companies to remove the indigenous population, as the British had done in Rhodesia and North Borneo.⁵³ This serves as a reminder that far from being a mere philosophical debate, assimilationist and associationist discourses often underpinned concrete practices that had a major impact on the lives of colonized people.

Taiwan tōchi shi demonstrates that Takekoshi was very well-read in contemporaneous French colonial scholarship. He cites major colonial theorists who advocated association, including Frenchmen Georges Blondel and Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, and British colonialist J. B. Seeley, whose work was highly influential in France.⁵⁴ This tempers what at first glance appears to be Francophobia on the part of Takekoshi; his condemnation of French assimilationism is remarkably consistent with that of the reformist French colonial theorists in question. For example, he shares Leroy-Beaulieu’s belief that assimilation was possible, but only over the course of many decades or even centuries.⁵⁵ Moreover, the French fear of

49 Takekoshi 1905, p. 18.

50 Takekoshi 1905, p. 18.

51 Takekoshi 1906, p. 5.

52 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 374–375; Takekoshi 1907, p. 230.

53 Takekoshi 1905, p. 375.

54 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 6, 8, 18, 22; Betts 2005, p. 42.

55 Betts 2005, p. 81; Takekoshi 1905, pp. 374–375.

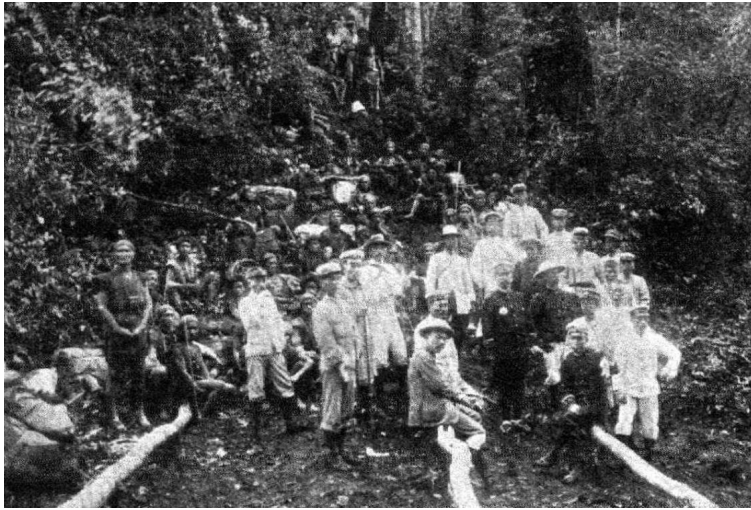


Figure 2. Exploring Party on Mount Ari in the Savage District. Photo from a surveying expedition undertaken by Gotō Shinpei in the fall of 1904, apparently provided to Takekoshi Yosaburō to illustrate his book. Like the term “savage,” the colonial dress of the Japanese served to accentuate the sense of difference between the colonizers and the indigenous population. Takekoshi 1907, p. 215.

being left behind after their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War was acute. The Japanese too feared being left behind, which perhaps made certain Japanese elites more receptive to the French colonialists’ literature. Takekoshi’s frequent boasting in *Taiwan tōchi shi* of Taiwan’s financial independence echoes another major theme in the work of such French theorists as Joseph Chailley-Bert.⁵⁶ Colonies, according to this new line of thinking, were to be run like businesses and generate profits, rather than draw metropolitan subsidies. Similar views were also prevalent in the British colonial establishment, and had been espoused by Montague Kirkwood, a prominent British advisor to the Japanese government at the time of Taiwan’s acquisition.⁵⁷

Takekoshi’s associationist arguments, his lavish praise for Kodama and Gotō, and the timing of the publication of *Taiwan tōchi shi* give strong clues as to his original political agenda. Gotō, another opponent of colonial assimilation, had introduced a bill to the Japanese Diet in 1905 that would permanently grant Taiwan the status of a colony, institutionally and legally separated from the metropole. This bill came to the floor before the three-year emergency powers granted to the government general of Taiwan were up for renewal in February 1905. Despite the support of *hanbatsu* Prime Minister Katsura Tarō 桂太郎 (1848–1913), Hara Takashi and other liberal parliamentarians managed to kill it. Instead, they agreed on a one-year compromise bill extending the government general’s powers.⁵⁸ This question inflamed passions in the assembly, and Katsura and Takekoshi reportedly “attracted heavy criticism from other representatives for calling Taiwan a ‘colony.’”⁵⁹ Gotō and the *hanbatsu* faction nevertheless believed that they could pass the

56 Betts 2005, p. 50.

57 See Hennessey 2019.

58 Matsuzaki 2011, pp. 94–96.

59 Nomura 2010, p. 69.

Figure 3. Governor General Kodama Gentarō. Like the description in the text, this impressive photograph, printed at the beginning of both *Taiwan tōchi shi* and *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, was clearly intended to enhance Kodama's prestige and contribute to the sense of Taiwan as a model colony. Takekoshi 1907, frontispiece.



bill if Kodama—widely respected as an able negotiator—were present to plead its case. In February 1905, however, he was away fighting in the Russo-Japanese War. Gotō and others therefore prepared for a concerted campaign to pass the bill the following year, in February 1906 on Kodama's return.⁶⁰

Taiwan tōchi shi appeared in September 1905, just in time to influence public opinion and sway fellow parliamentarians to support Gotō's bill. Further evidence that this was Takekoshi's original motivation can be found in the book itself:

It is entirely due to the personal abilities of the authorities now in office [Kodama and Gotō], that in spite of the ambiguous relations existing between Formosa and Japan, no special difficulty has yet arisen. This happy state of affairs cannot however go on forever. Many difficulties will unquestionably arise when the present able officials bid farewell to the island, unless before that time the constitutional status of the country has been definitely determined.⁶¹

Clearly, Takekoshi was lobbying for Gotō's law. The fact that the government general of Taiwan had obtained an unofficial spokesperson in a liberal Seiyūkai MP who was known for his criticism of the *hanbatsu* could only have proven a boon for Gotō's cause. Takekoshi's employment of cutting-edge Western colonial theories doubtless made his position even more persuasive.

In the event, however, unexpected developments ended up derailing Gotō's plans. In September, the month *Taiwan tōchi shi* was published, popular outrage at the peace treaty concluding the Russo-Japanese War touched off the Hibiya Incendiary Incident in Tokyo, a riot so destructive that martial law had to be declared. The Katsura government fell, giving way to a Seiyūkai government headed by Saionji Kinmochi. When the law empowering the government general of Taiwan again came up for review, Hara tried to have his own bill passed that would subordinate the governor general to the cabinet, but this effort was repulsed by *hanbatsu* supporters in the House of Peers. In the end, a compromise prolonging the status quo was effected. Gotō and Kodama moved on to new posts (and Kodama died

⁶⁰ Matsuzaki 2011, pp. 94–96.

⁶¹ Takekoshi 1905, p. 76; Takekoshi 1907, p. 37.

shortly thereafter), and the status of Taiwan remained ambiguous but effectively “colonial” under a powerful governor general until Hara’s premiership after World War I.⁶² The publication of *Taiwan tōchi shi* concurrently with a major political crisis, along with the fact that it does not appear to have been reprinted, suggests that it had little influence in Japan. It certainly did not make Takekoshi a Japanese Froude. Nevertheless, the publication of the English translation two years later gave the work a new lease of life.

Going International: Japanese Rule in Formosa

Reports of Japanese “successes” in Taiwan were not unprecedented in the West at this time. Notably, in 1904 both the *London Times* and the *New York Times* ran the same lengthy article entitled “Savage Island of Formosa Transformed by Japanese: Wonders Worked in a Few Years With a People That Others Had Failed to Subdue—A Lesson for Other Colonizing Nations.” The article deployed abundant statistics to demonstrate the success of Japan’s civilizing mission, comparing Japanese colonialism favorably with German overseas expansion.⁶³ Also in 1907, Japanese propagandist Hishida Seiji 菱田静治 (1874–?) published an article entitled “Formosa: Japan’s First Colony” that compared Taiwan’s administrative system to that in French and British colonies, and praised the island’s development under Kodama and Gotō, albeit in considerably less vivid terms than Takekoshi.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, *Japanese Rule in Formosa* was one of the first book-length treatises in a Western language on Taiwan since its annexation, and it was for some time arguably the best source of information on the island available in a Western language.⁶⁵

A comparison of *Japanese Rule in Formosa* with *Taiwan tōchi shi* reveals that they are not entirely the same: the English version omits the first chapter and about half of the second chapter of the Japanese original. This is significant because the initial chapters of *Taiwan tōchi shi* are where Takekoshi lays out his main views on colonialism. The first of these presents a strong case for Japan investing in maritime trade and developing “colonial power.”⁶⁶ For Takekoshi, colonies provide an outlet for excess population and energy in Japan proper, thereby helping to bring about domestic peace and stability and stimulate industry and maritime trade.⁶⁷ The chapter also presents the reader with historical precedents and traits of Japan’s national character that he believes make the Japanese especially suitable as colonizers. Finally, Takekoshi develops here his Darwinist theory of competition for global hegemony. He argues that newly-discovered natural resources and the construction of the Suez and Panama canals will soon make the Pacific the center of this struggle.⁶⁸ Japan’s position in the middle of this new theater is “nothing other than a blessing from heaven,” and the successful colonization of Taiwan is a first “stepping stone” towards it becoming the “Queen of the Pacific.”⁶⁹

62 Matsuzaki 2011, pp. 96–97.

63 *New York Times* 1904a.

64 Hishida 1907.

65 Several years earlier, experts had complained about the dearth of literature on Taiwan. Cordier 1903, p. 353; Davidson 1903, p. i.

66 Takekoshi 1905, p. 9.

67 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 3–7.

68 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 10–14.

69 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 14–16.

The section omitted from chapter 2 of *Taiwan tōchi shi* (chapter 1 in *Japanese Rule in Formosa*) continues along very similar lines. After describing Taiwan as “an almost ideal colony,” Takekoshi names three requirements for a colonizing people: (1) “expansive power,” (2) “individual vigor” and adaptability to new environments, and (3) a “political genius” for ruling other peoples.⁷⁰ The Japanese, in his view, are even better-suited to tropical colonization than white people, who have disparaged Japan’s colonial ventures out of ignorance and envy.⁷¹ He illustrates this with an anecdote of Japanese entrepreneurs who successfully developed a pearl-gathering industry in Australia, only to be expelled by envious whites, who were nonetheless unable to take over the trade themselves.⁷² Takekoshi believes in the principle of the civilizational/racial typology of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, but criticizes him for lacking a proper “understanding of the Japanese,” and for classifying them as only semi-civilized.⁷³

It is easy to explain the omission from *Japanese Rule in Formosa* of assertions of Japanese racial superiority over white people, but it is less clear why the rest of the first two chapters were excised. It does not seem to be because of the chapters’ other triumphalist, highly nationalistic passages, for *Japanese Rule in Formosa* is filled with almost identical examples. Apart from the missing chapters, the translation by George Braithwaite, a Quaker missionary in Japan, is quite complete and accurate. All this seems to indicate that Braithwaite’s translation was not scrupulously censored before its publication abroad. The tone and style of *Taiwan tōchi shi* also strongly suggest that it was never intended for Western audiences from the beginning. The preparation of an English translation of *Taiwan tōchi shi* was apparently a hasty affair, decided after the publication of the original in 1905. The apparent rapidity with which it was published and the failure to carefully adapt *Taiwan tōchi shi* to a Western audience make it all the more remarkable that the translation was published at all and had such a large influence in Europe and America.

Japanese Rule in Formosa was reviewed by the influential British weekly magazine, the *Spectator*, an achievement that was celebrated in the Japanese press as a propaganda coup.⁷⁴ The review in the *Spectator* is on the whole positive, but raises a few objections. It labels Japanese colonialism in Taiwan a success, citing its financial independence from the metropole, and accepts most of Takekoshi’s evaluation at face-value. Introducing Takekoshi as “a member of the Japanese Diet,” the reviewer describes his book as a welcome resource that has “almost the value of a Blue-book” [official government report].⁷⁵ The author criticizes Takekoshi for assuming that the British view Japanese colonialism negatively (“our opinion is simply in suspense”) and for his harsh condemnation of French colonialism.⁷⁶ Most notably, however, he objects to Takekoshi’s ruthless plan to outsource the forcible removal of Formosan aborigines from resource-laden areas:

70 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 18–19.

71 Takekoshi 1905, pp. 19–21.

72 Takekoshi 1905, p. 21.

73 Takekoshi 1905, p. 22.

74 *Yomiuri shinbun* 1907.

75 *Spectator* 1907, p. 7.

76 *Spectator* 1907, p. 7.

How can the savages be made to yield their territory to civilisation except by war? And war in this case might mean something unpleasantly like extermination. We hope that whatever plan the authorities adopt, it will not be that proposed by Mr. Takekoshi. He suggests a chartered company. This may be admissible where it is only a question of commercial pioneering, but in a case where the great difficulty is admittedly the resistance of the natives, a chartered company would simply be an instrument deprived of all the checks which are at present saving the Governor-General, to his credit, from inhumanity. Mr. Takekoshi makes his proposal in all good faith. It is not less the duty of those who have had first-hand experience of chartered companies to say that in these circumstances the transference of power from a highly responsible body to a much less responsible body would be a hideous mistake.⁷⁷

This criticism notwithstanding, the *Spectator* did Takekoshi the same service as it did numerous British, French, and American authors of colonialist works, granting *Japanese Rule in Formosa* a great deal of publicity and a quite favorable review, in which even the book's baldest example of colonial greed is portrayed as being misguided but "in good faith."

Reviews in scholarly journals reveal that Western specialists also valued *Japanese Rule in Formosa*. One reviewer for the British Royal Geographical Society's *Geographical Journal*, F.H.H.G., holds Takekoshi's insider knowledge of Taiwan in high regard:

The present volume may ... be said to be especially useful, for even now books treating of Formosa are exceedingly limited in number, and not many of their authors have had such opportunities as Mr. Takekoshi, who, in addition to making extensive journeys about the country, has had access to most sources of official information in his capacity of member of the Japanese Diet.⁷⁸

Although derisive of Takekoshi's book's "rather bizarre English" and bibliographical errors, the reviewer almost begrudgingly allows that the Japanese seem to have done a first-rate job surveying and developing their new colony. F.H.H.G. approvingly notes that "Mr. Takekoshi has a strong admiration for the British and their methods of rule."⁷⁹ A German-language review by diplomat Max von Brandt is more technical, summarizing key statistics from Takekoshi's book, suggesting that much of the information was new to Western readers.⁸⁰ Von Brandt, author of numerous books on East Asia, had earlier written a treatise on British colonial administration for a German audience.⁸¹ The French periodical *Annales de géographie* mentioned Takekoshi's book in its annual list of new books in 1907, but did not include a review of its own, referring interested readers to F.H.H.G.'s and von Brandt's appraisals.⁸² These reviews in academic journals demonstrate that Takekoshi's work had a trans-imperial readership.

77 *Spectator* 1908, p. 8.

78 F.H.H.G. 1907, p. 324.

79 F.H.H.G. 1907, p. 324.

80 Von Brandt 1908.

81 Von Brandt 1906.

82 Raveneau 1908, p. 195.

Japanese Rule in Formosa was also reviewed in at least three prominent American scholarly journals.⁸³ Two of the reviewers, Alleyne Ireland and Chester Lloyd Jones, were academics who themselves wrote books, which like *Japanese Rule in Formosa* endeavored to make Americans enthusiastic colonizers who embraced associationist ideas. Ireland was hired by the University of Chicago in 1901 to tour Western countries' tropical colonies in Asia and conduct a comparative investigation of their different colonial systems with an eye to improving American administration in the Philippines.⁸⁴ A similarly-minded proponent of the association theory of colonization, he had published a survey of Western colonialisms in Southeast Asia the same year Takekoshi's book was published in Japanese, which Takekoshi cites.⁸⁵ Two decades later, Ireland would write a book praising Japanese colonialism in Korea.⁸⁶ Similarly, a decade after reviewing Takekoshi's book, Jones published a work on American interests in the Caribbean, including a description of the different colonialisms present there, aimed at raising the awareness of the American general public.⁸⁷ The third reviewer, Henry Jones Ford, was an eminent American political scientist. These examples demonstrate that Takekoshi was part of an interconnected, trans-imperial group of colonial experts who sought to educate the public of their home countries about colonialism and advocate a certain mode of administration. Like Takekoshi, these writers were nationalistic but also shared a similar intellectual approach and a strong sense of common purpose in pursuing a global colonial project.

Thanks to laudatory texts like Takekoshi's, Japanese colonial methods were occasionally a source of inspiration for Western administrators. Ireland was particularly impressed by the opium monopoly in Taiwan as described in *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, writing that, "The Japanese in Formosa had come nearer to a successful handling of the problem than any other of the great powers having dependencies in the Far East." Ireland thought that this would be of great interest to the American administration of the Philippines.⁸⁸ Ford's review is even more complimentary, and expresses admiration for Takekoshi's associationist stance, apparently missing that Takekoshi is not describing the Japanese government's actual position but rather his opinion on how it should be reformed:

Instead of doing as we have done in our colonies—impose our own institutions and then try to make over the character of the people so that they can work such institutions—the Japanese have suited colonial institutions to the character of the people. If one may judge institutions of government by their fruits, the showing made in this book presents a strong case to the effect that the Japanese have chosen the better way.⁸⁹

83 Ireland 1907; Jones 1907; Ford 1909.

84 F.H.H.G. 1905.

85 Ireland 1905; Takekoshi 1905, p. 9. Ireland was irked by Takekoshi (or, more likely, Braithwaite) misspelling his first name. Ireland 1907, p. 158.

86 Ireland 1926.

87 Jones 1916, pp. vii–viii.

88 Ireland 1907, pp. 157–158. An American delegation that studied the Japanese opium monopoly and other Southeast Asian colonies' methods of handling opium is the subject of Foster 2003.

89 Ford 1909.



Figure 4. Light Hand Railway across the Taian River. Just like contemporaneous Western colonial propaganda, both versions of Takekoshi's book included illustrations of infrastructure projects to show how Japanese rule was "improving" the country. Takekoshi 1907, p. 240.

All of the reviews are generally positive about Takekoshi's contribution to the field of colonial studies, even if they are all critical of the bias arising from his "avow[ed] ... patriotic purpose."⁹⁰ As Ireland put it, "This is admirable as patriotism; but it inflicts the student with an uncomfortable sense of special pleading."⁹¹ These reservations aside, none of the reviewers seriously question the accuracy of Takekoshi's reports on the "civilization and progress" that the Japanese had brought to the island.

In addition to these reviews of *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, contemporaneous articles in the *New York Times* suggest that American admiration for Japanese governance in Taiwan had become commonplace around this time even in the popular press, with the island widely viewed as a model for American rule in the Philippines. An adulatory article from October 1904 asserted that, "The proofs of efficiency given by Japan in her war with Russia are so convincing and impressive that we are apt to ... overlook the remarkable work she has been doing in Formosa." Praising the "splendid" and "unprecedented" successes in creating infrastructure, education, sanitation, and industry, the author notes that Japan's rule over Taiwan, "was in some important regards so like that we have assumed in the Philippines that it is well worth considering."⁹² Similarly, an article entitled "Japanese Colonial Experience" from January 1907 summarizes the impressive trade statistics from the government general of Taiwan's 1905 annual report, writing that this document "is of peculiar [particular] interest to Americans, for the reason that the Japanese have had to meet and solve in Formosa not a few of the political, industrial, and commercial questions which have been presented to us through our possession of the Philippine Islands."⁹³ The *New York Times* had previously reported extensively on the guerilla warfare in Taiwan in the years immediately following its acquisition by Japan in 1895. It did not neglect to cover the dispatch of a large force to "subjugate" the "savage region" of Taiwan in 1907, which Takekoshi had called for in his book.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the recurring theme that the United States had much to learn from Japan when it came to colonial rule is striking. Japanese propaganda about its successes

90 Ford 1909, p. 113.

91 Ireland 1907, p. 157.

92 *New York Times* 1904b.

93 *New York Times* 1907a.

94 *New York Times* 1907b.

in Taiwan seems to have made a strong impression in the United States. Even though Japan had only acquired Taiwan three years before the American annexation of the Philippines, it was seen as an experienced, model colonial power worthy of emulation, a view which *Japanese Rule in Formosa* was instrumental in shaping.

Conclusion

Although it is frequently cited in English-language studies of Japanese imperialism, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, the 1907 translation of Takekoshi Yosaburō's 1905 book *Taiwan tōchi shi*, has never been properly contextualized. This article has sought to show that a close investigation of the two books in context reveals much about the contours of the Japanese debate over Taiwan's status and the global, trans-imperial exchange of colonial theories around the turn of the twentieth century. In particular, it illustrates the complex interweaving of different ideologies and theories of colonial administration that characterized these discussions.

Takekoshi was unquestionably a liberal, writing Whiggish histories critical of the *hanbatsu* establishment and representing the Seiyūkai in the Japanese Diet, but he diverged sharply from party leader Hara Takashi and many other colleagues on the question of extending the Meiji Constitution to Taiwan. Drawing on contemporaneous French colonial theories of association, Takekoshi forcefully advocated that Taiwan should be ruled as a "pure colony" outside the purview of Japanese domestic politics. *Taiwan tōchi shi* was intended to undermine support for Hara's plan to place Taiwan under the authority of the Diet and assimilate it to metropolitan governmental structures. Indeed, it celebrated the *hanbatsu* leaders of the Taiwan colonial administration for their associationist approach. Despite this dramatic rejection of the Seiyūkai party line, Takekoshi's opinions about Taiwan are unquestionably liberal and largely consistent with the worldview reflected in his earlier writings.

Taiwan tōchi shi also reveals much about Meiji-era attitudes toward Japan's colonized subjects, which are often oversimplified by historians who view this period through the lens of the radical assimilation movement of the 1930s and 1940s. It likewise serves as a corrective to global historians who oversimplify "French colonialism" and "Japanese colonialism" as assimilationist, ignoring internal debates and major differences across time and space. Leading colonialists in both France and Japan, as well as elsewhere, were concurrently influenced by new, opposing ideas of association. *Taiwan tōchi shi* therefore offers a fascinating window into the multifaceted debates over colonial governance in late-Meiji Japan, even if its publication at the end of the Russo-Japanese War meant that it did not achieve its end of winning support in the Diet for cementing an associationist approach to colonial rule in Taiwan.

It is important to remember that the theories and ideologies that shaped Takekoshi's worldview also underpinned concrete colonial practices, notably violence. A confluence of theories of association, Social Darwinist ideas according to which it would take centuries for "primitive" peoples to reach civilization, and older Western colonial notions about the moral imperative of exploiting natural resources led Japan to wage extermination campaigns against groups of Taiwanese aborigines who occupied forest areas rich in camphor and other valuable resources. As we have seen, Takekoshi used such arguments to make the case that Japan could not wait for the aborigines to develop but needed to exploit Taiwan's

resources as soon as possible to fuel its industrial and commercial expansion. Empowering the government general of Taiwan to pass decrees carrying the weight of legislation, even temporarily, also had significant effects. Among other things, the placement of *de facto* legislative power in the hands of the governor general of Taiwan made it possible for the colonial government to issue a harsh, sweeping decree in 1898 allowing for the execution or killing of individuals labeled as “bandits.” By Gotō’s estimations, nearly twelve thousand such “bandits” were killed between 1898 and 1902.⁹⁵

Moreover, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, the abridged, but otherwise largely faithful translation of *Taiwan tōchi shi*, is valuable as a source for the study of trans-imperial history. As its reception in the West suggests, the publication of Takekoshi’s book in English seems to have succeeded in linking Japan into the trans-imperial academic matrix of the global colonial elite. *Japanese Rule in Formosa* was one of very few English-language books on the subject, and appears to have colored the way Japanese colonialism was perceived abroad. Despite only representing one side of a heated domestic debate, Takekoshi became an important international representative for Japanese colonialism in the years following the Russo-Japanese War, spreading a view of Taiwan as a kind of prewar “Japanese economic miracle.”

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95 Nomura 2010, p. 74.

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Between New Objectivity and Existential Reflection: Reading Murano Shirō's *Taisō shishū*

Pierantonio ZANOTTI

This paper focuses on *Taisō shishū* (Poems on physical exercise), a collection of modernist poetry published in 1939 by Murano Shirō (1901–1975). This collection contains nineteen poems on the subject of athletes performing different sports and has been discussed often in connection with Murano's fascination with German New Objectivity (*Neue Sachlichkeit*), a movement that he had actively made known in Japan in the previous years. Murano's poems stand in a complex intertextual relationship with visual texts, such as Leni Riefenstahl's documentary *Olympia* and Paul Wolff's photographs of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, and also reflect his interest in the philosophical investigation of the modes of human existence. The specificity of this collection resides in an original interplay between New Objectivity, sports, photography, and existential reflection. In this paper, I explore the ambiguities of this collection's poetics and examine its historical significance in the context of interwar Japan.

Keywords: *Neue Sachlichkeit*, modernist poetry in Japan, sports and literature, phenomenology, Japanese literature of the 1930s

In December 1939, the Japanese poet Murano Shirō 村野四郎 (1901–1975) published his second collection of verse, titled *Taisō shishū* 体操詩集 (Poems on physical exercise). This collection contains nineteen poems on the subject of individuals performing various modern sports, ranging from track and field, gymnastics, diving, and boxing, to mountaineering and skiing. The following is on hammer throwing:

鉄鎚投

御覧

鉄が描く世界の中で
しばらく哀れな電動機ダイナモが喘い
である

白い円の中に据えられて

Tettsui nage

Goran

Tetsu ga kaku sekai no naka de
Shibaraku aware na dainamo ga aei-
de iru

Shiroi en no naka ni suerarete

Hammer-Throw

Behold!

In a world limned by steel,
The poor dynamo briefly groans

Planted within the white circle.¹

Murano was active in Tokyo from the 1920s onward, participating in a flourishing phase of interwar modernist poetry in Japan epitomized by the influential Tokyo literary journal *Shi to shiron* 詩と詩論 (Poetry and poetics, 1928–1933). By the mid-1930s, he had become a prominent member of the modernist coterie in Tokyo and continued publishing poetry, as well as highly reputed works of literary criticism, until his death in 1975.

Taisō shishū is generally viewed as one of the last works of prewar Japanese modernism, and it was quite an extraordinary one. This was not only on account of its unusual subject matter, but also because it appeared in 1939, well after the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, a period when militaristic nationalism was mounting in Japanese public discourse, and anti-modernist tendencies were gaining momentum in the intellectual field. Another aspect that sets *Taisō shishū* apart from the mainstream of Japanese modernism is that it reflects Murano's interest in German *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), a movement that he actively helped make known in Japan in the 1930s, and whose influence is often invoked as a hermeneutical tool in the readings of this collection.²

Taisō shishū has attracted scholars and commentators' interest also because of its intermedial configuration. With the help of fellow modernist poet and typesetter Kitasono Katsue 北園克衛 (1902–1978), Murano juxtaposed his poems with sixteen reproductions of stills picturing sports events, mostly taken from two German works depicting the 1936 Berlin Olympics: the documentary feature film *Olympia* (1938) by Leni Riefenstahl (1925–2002) (and the related photo book *Schönheit im Olympischen Kampf*, 1937) and photos from the same event by Paul Wolff (1887–1951), originally collected in his book *Was Ich bei den*

1 Translation in O'Brien and Murano 1984–1985, p. 49. Throughout this paper, I refer to the original text in Murano 2004, which reproduces the typeset of the 1939 edition, instead of the standard text in Murano 1980. I have corrected only one minor typographical error.

2 I use throughout this paper the established English translation of *Neue Sachlichkeit* as "New Objectivity." In Japanese, the semantic equivalent *shinsokubutsushugi* 新即物主義 and the *katakana* rendition *Noie Zaharibikaite* ノイエ・ザハリヒカイト were equally used by Murano and are still used today.



Figure 1. “Tettsui nage” (Hammer-Throw). As reproduced in Murano 2004. Photo depicting the German athlete Karl Hein. Source: Leni Riefenstahl. *Schönheit im Olympischen Kampf*. Deutscher Verlag, 1937.

10
鉄鎚投
御覽
鉄が描く世界の中で
しばらく寂れな電動機が喘い
てゐる
白い円の中に握られて

Olympischen Spielen 1936 sah (What I saw at the 1936 Olympic Games, 1936).³ The poems in *Taisō shishū* exist in a complex intertextual relationship with such visual texts, as mutual commentary through written text and images.

However, nearly all the poems in the collection were written and originally published in literary journals years before these photos were taken, so they cannot be viewed simplistically as actual descriptions of photos. As noted by Kitasono in his preface to *Taisō shishū*, “These photographs were never sought after as so-called illustrations [of the poems], and the poems were not provided as commentary on the photos. It is the fortuitous encounter between the poems and the photos that provides this collection with a new type of character.”⁴ The relationship between poems and photos has been one of the privileged foci in previous studies on this collection, which have pointed out the typographical innovativeness of such an operation, as well as its aesthetic implications.⁵

In *Taisō shishū*, poetry and photography interact to produce a space in which human actions (in this case, sports) are invested with new aesthetic and philosophical meanings. This aspect led to some postwar commentators attempting to read *Taisō shishū* based on the existentialism-tinged poetry that Murano explicitly championed in his postwar collections.⁶

3 The editors of *Taisō shishū* did not necessarily take all these photos from the original sources, since secondary sources, including Japanese periodicals and books that carried reproductions of these photos, were also available at the time (see Wada 1990, pp. 49–50).

4 Kitasono 2004, p. 3.

5 Wada 1990; Hikita 2002; Hikita 2004.

6 This is the approach adopted in many sections of Haga 1983.

From a historical standpoint, such readings appear to be slightly biased, since the canon of existentialist philosophy, as exemplified by such thinkers as Martin Heidegger and Jean-Paul Sartre, despite the circulation of some information in the previous years, came to be widely known and absorbed by the Japanese world of letters (and by Murano) only after World War II.

This is not to say that no elements of continuity connect Murano's prewar and postwar poetry, such as the "rational lyricism" detected by James A. O'Brien or, in the words of Azusa Omura, his willingness to "be objective."⁷ Nor is it to say that *Taisō shishū* completely lacks a philosophical flavor or a reflection on the modes of human existence that resonates with and foreshadows some elements of existentialism, even though it is not exclusively ascribable to that current of thought. However, I would like to avoid a retrospective bias in my analysis of *Taisō shishū* and capture its historical specificity as a text written in the 1930s. This specificity resides in an original interplay between New Objectivity, sports, photography, and existential reflection. In this paper, by mobilizing these elements in a new configuration, I will explore the collection's poetics and examine its historical significance in the context of interwar Japan.

Going Back to Things

People say of something that it is "white," of something else that it is "distant." But in what way is that white? In what way is that distant? ... Words [*kotoba* 言葉] are cast out, their real meaning obliterated, while things [*jibutsu* 事物] completely fall into neglect. To people, things are *forms* that existed already in a remote past.

We must say what kind of whiteness that is, what kind of distance that is.... In short, before we speak, we go back to things. Experiences are made new, warped subjectivities are rectified.⁸

This passage is often seen as the first announcement of Murano's poetics of rejection of subjective excess and a return to "things." It comes from a short article that Murano published in the December 1930 issue of *Kajiki* 旗魚 (Dorado, or Swordfish), a Tokyo coterie magazine which he ran from 1929 to 1933 with other like-minded young poets.

The scholarship on Murano connects his urge to go back to things with his discovery of German New Objectivity around 1930 by way of translations, Japanese articles of presentation, and to a lesser extent, a direct approach to the original texts. Soon this Weimar-era movement became a point of reference in his writings, in which he described his poetic practice by invoking the beneficial effects of the adoption of its aesthetic tenets. It comes as no surprise, then, that a number of scholars (including Murano himself who, during the postwar period, became a reputed literary critic) have emphasized the role of

7 O'Brien 1977; Omura 2016, p. 80.

8 Murano, "Zatsu: Kotoba wa jibutsu no ue ni" 雑: 言葉は事物の上に (Varia: Words over things), *Kajiki* 旗魚, December 1930 (TMS6, pp. 225–226). Emphasis in the original. Despite the similarity of this passage with Edmund Husserl's famous call to "go back to the 'things themselves'" (Husserl 2001, p. 88), I have not found any evidence suggesting that Murano, at this early stage of his career, was familiar with phenomenology (let alone Heidegger's existential phenomenology) beyond the information he found in his sources on German New Objectivity.

New Objectivity in shaping Murano's poetics, particularly his *Taisō shishū*, Murano's breakthrough collection and the most representative product of his New Objectivist phase. Within the cartography of Japanese modernism that often searches for Japanese equivalents or representatives of European and American modernist currents, Murano is canonized in this field of study, at times somewhat simplistically, as a Japanese (if not *the* Japanese) exponent of New Objectivity in poetry. As an advocate of this Germanophile current, he has come to represent an alternative, minority voice to the Anglophone and French models in the mainstream of Japanese interwar modernism.

However, Murano approached New Objectivity relatively late in his trajectory, when he was in his early thirties. Prior to that, during the 1920s, he had already published experimental haiku as a member of the school of Ogiwara Seisensui 荻原井泉水 (1884–1976). He also published a soon forgotten collection of modern poetry, *Wana* 罿 (The snare), in 1926, when he was under the aegis of Kawaji Ryūkō 川路柳虹 (1888–1959), a former naturalist poet who shared a strong interest in new international poetry trends and was a very influential member of the Tokyo poetry scene.⁹ Murano was a relatively obscure poet when he launched *Kajiki* in 1929, but Murano and his co-editors had a number of contacts in the Japanese modernist network, which they expanded during the publication of their journal. Even though Murano never contributed to the first *Shi to shiron* series, he was acquainted with some of its contributors, such as Sasazawa Yoshiaki 笹沢美明 (1898–1984), another upcoming poet and critic who was an early proponent of New Objectivity in Japan. Only later, in the mid-1930s, was Murano recognized as an important figure in the Japanese modernist scene, and he was among the principal contributors to the modernist journals that continued the legacy of *Shi to shiron*, which included *Shi, genjitsu* 詩・現実 (Poetry, reality, 1930–1931), *Bungaku* 文学 (Literature, 1932–1933), *Shihō* 詩法 (Prosody, 1934–1935), and *Shinryōdo* 新領土 (New territory, 1937–1941).

The modality in which the poems collected in *Taisō shishū* were originally published reflects the evolution of Murano's career. A first substantial group of them (seven out of nineteen) appeared early, mostly in *Kajiki* and *Bungaku*, in 1931 and 1932, the years of his early advocacy of New Objectivity, while the other twelve poems appeared at a later stage, which began in August 1934 and culminated in 1939 with the publication of the collection. In fact, it was not until the late 1930s that Murano put into action the idea of publishing a selection of his sports poems from that decade. In sum, *Taisō shishū* is a composite and stratified collection in which, to quote Murano's preface,

I extracted from my *oeuvre* the sports-related poems and arranged them. In doing so, this group of poems has manifested one particular streak [*hitotsu no shima* 一つの縞] in my poetic world. It is as if one kind of content that was scattered in my poetry, being subsumed under a certain topic, created a chain of its own.¹⁰

9 Not a single copy of this self-published collection was sold. Murano distributed copies to his friends and fellow poets (chronology in Murano 2004, p. 200). The relationship between Murano's early works and his major modernist production is still understudied. Haga Hidejirō 芳賀秀次郎 (1983, pp. 34–46) detected some elements of continuity between Murano's poetic apprenticeship and his New Objectivist works. On the same topic, see Suzuki 1986, pp. 30–35, and Iwamoto 2017.

10 Murano 2004, p. 2.

In the context of the 1930s Tokyo poetry scene, a volatile literary field that was accustomed to catching up to new vogues rapidly, these poems, written over a span of almost a decade, necessarily reflect different contingencies in the field of literary production and Murano's own career. This difference is generally glossed over in the discussions of the collection, which tend to present it as more consistent and homogeneous than it actually is. I think, rather, that drawing attention to the plurality and disjointedness of the historical-literary circumstances under which Murano wrote can obviate an overly schematic and naïve reading of this collection as a Japanese instantiation of New Objectivity, and thus illuminate new reading perspectives.

“I Disassemble, I Compose”: From New Technicalism to New Objectivity

Let us focus initially on the first phase of Murano's interest in New Objectivity, from 1930 to 1932, when he strengthened his position as a new voice in the Japanese modernist scene, with the coterie journal *Kajiki* as the principal showcase for his new ideas and poems. By the beginning of the 1930s, after the iconoclastic phase of Taishō-era avant-garde poetry, Japanese modernism had taken a more moderate and intellectual attitude. A renewed focus on formal research rather than revolutionary poetics emerged, with an attentive eye toward new ideas from abroad, especially French Surrealism and British Modernism. By contrast, the other major literary trend of that period, so-called “proletarian literature,” drew inspiration from an increasingly doctrinaire interpretation of socialist and Soviet aesthetics, and aimed to represent the needs and ideas of the working class, with poems written in an accessible language to nurture the class consciousness of these workers. This created friction, if not open opposition, between the proletarians and the modernists who often pursued apolitical research and experiments in the formal and expressive fields. A special emphasis on form marked the ideas of many Japanese modernists. In fact, they came to be designated (often disparagingly by the “proletarians”) as “formalists” (*fōmarisuto*). An important debate took place between the “modernists/formalists” and the “proletarians” during 1928–1929, which went down in the history of Japanese literature as the “debate on formalist literature” (*keishikishugi bungaku ronsō* 形式主義文学論争). The formalists took issue with the idea, derived from Marxism and espoused by the proletarians, of a dialectical relationship between form and content in which, in the final analysis, priority was accorded to the latter, or to authorial intention, as the determining agent of the literary work. By contrast, the “formalists” wanted to reappraise the materiality of form and “restore content and form to a single, continuous dimension.”¹¹ Thus, they rejected an ontological hierarchy between content and form, a position that resembled that of the American critic Eugène Jolas (1894–1952), who, in 1929, had declared that “artistic creation is not the mirror of reality, it is reality itself.”¹²

Murano's writings from 1929 to 1930 echo this debate, and more generally, the formalists' ideas. In 1929, the year before his discovery of German New Objectivity, Murano sided with the formalists by advocating the importance of literary “technique” (*gikō* 技巧, *gijutsu* 技術), which he defined as the *a posteriori* operation through which the writer

11 Golley 2008, pp. 145–149. See also Usui 1975, vol. 1, pp. 263–286; Lippit 2002, pp. 25–31.

12 I mention Jolas especially because Murano quoted this sentence in the article “Shi no kachi ni tsuite” 詩の価値について (On the value of poetry), *Kajiki*, June 1930 (TMS6, p. 198).

gives form to her or his *a priori* intuitions. Technique, he clarified, is the “new lens” through which the writer can grasp new sides of literary subjects.¹³ He elaborated:

Thought [*shisō* 思想] has nothing whatsoever to do with poetry. It was a big mistake to think that poetry is born out from thought. It was an even bigger mistake to think that poetry can be written through thought. Poetry is not born from thought, but directly from life [*seikatsu* 生活]. And the only thing that produces it is the technique [*gijyutsu*] of a poet.¹⁴

Here, “thought” mainly stands for extra-literary ideology rather than the intellectual component of poetry composition, and Murano probably had in mind Marxism and its “proletarian” variations. However, Murano’s emphasis on the need to practically master the material substance of poetic form (that is, technique) somehow foreshadows his later interest in the embodied mode of cognition exemplified by the formalized actions of sports.

Murano advocated a “new technicalism” (*atarashii gikōshugi* 新しい技巧主義), which was different from the old *art pour l’art* idea because “it starts from an objectivist [*sokubutsushugiteki* 即物主義的], clear conscience of the latter’s inconsistency and silliness.”¹⁵ Murano found a model for this poetics of the materiality of form in Nakagawa Yoichi 中河与一 (1897–1994), an older exponent of the avant-garde New Sensationalist school of the 1920s who also participated in the formalist debate. He applauded Nakagawa’s formalist theory and elaborated on how his own “new technicalism” shared some major points with it.¹⁶ Two years later, in 1932, amid his ongoing effort to adapt New Objectivity to the Japanese context, Murano praised the formal control and rejection of subjectivism in the representation of human passions of a recently published collection of Nakagawa’s short stories. In Murano’s opinion, Nakagawa’s approach to literature resembled that of German New Objectivity, which followed the formula of “creating the object internally, putting it in order, and describing it.” According to Murano, Nakagawa’s stories “set out to write out within clear thingness [*jibutsusei* 事物性] a greater and higher idea.”¹⁷

While Nakagawa’s experiments in prose fiction elicited Murano’s approval, it was during these early years that Murano developed an enduring critical stance toward the mainstream of Japanese modernist poetry, then influenced by surrealism. Starting in 1930, when he became familiar with German New Objectivity, Murano found in it some tools to expand his ideas on “new technicalism” and to better assert his specificity *vis-à-vis* the contemporary poetry scene.

13 Murano, “Atarashii gikōshugi ni tsuite” 新しい技巧主義に就いて (On new technicalism), *Kajiki*, November 1929 (TMS6, pp. 84–85).

14 TMS6, p. 84. Also quoted in Omura 2016, pp. 75–76. Another remarkable passage from this article reads: “We are part idealists for the fact that we take into account *a priori* intuition, but we stand in a rather materialist existence as we, in terms of method, place the emphasis of poetry more on technique” (p. 84).

15 Murano, “Gikō no tenkai” 技巧の展開 (The development of technique), *Kajiki*, February 1930 (TMS6, p. 116).

16 Murano, “Atarashii gikōshugi ni tsuite” (TMS6, p. 84); Murano, “Gikō no tenkai” (TMS6, p. 117). Nakagawa collected his ideas in the treatise *Keishikishugi geijutsuron* 形式主義芸術論 (A formalist theory of art, 1930), which also featured a short chapter on New Objectivity (see Nishimura 2003a, p. 35).

17 Murano, “Chisei no taisō: Nakagawa Yoichi-shi cho *Kairo rekitei* ni tsuite” 知性の体操: 中河与一氏著「海路歷程」に就いて (Exercising intellect: On Mr. Nakagawa’s *The Sea Route*), *Kajiki*, July 1932 (TMS6, p. 494). *Kairo rekitei* had been published in 1931.

In his early approach, Murano seems to interpret New Objectivity as a way to go beyond two symmetrical excesses: the excess of irrational subjectivism of the early avant-garde (especially expressionism) on the one hand, and contemporary modernism's excess of detachment from reality. In this respect, New Objectivity in its effort to "go back to things" represented for Murano a correction of these two equally unbalanced methods of literary expression. His opposition to what he dubbed elsewhere as the "hysterical" excesses of expressionism accompanied him during the interwar years and even beyond. By contrast, Murano characterizes New Objectivity as an attitude that values "cold order" (*reisei na chitsujo* 冷静な秩序) over sentimental outbursts. Murano uses this term for the first time in December 1930 (in a short contribution titled "Zatsu"; see note 8) and in a February 1931 essay called "Keishiki ni kansuru danpen" 形式に関する断片 (A fragment on form). This keyword echoes *ordre froid*, the expression coined by the French critic Félix Bertaux in a book that was very influential in defining and popularizing in Europe the idea of a German New Objectivity; it was translated into Japanese in 1929.¹⁸ In this respect, Murano's New Objectivity is a kind of *rappel à l'ordre*, as it seeks to "move away from the arbitrary frenzy of the expressionists," and "to pour cold water on the illusions of solipsism."¹⁹ It values "clarity," "solidity," "rigor," "a new awareness of mechanical beauty," and a "rejection of decoration."²⁰ In a 1932 article, he places at the foundation of New Objectivity an "attitude of philosophical" and "metaphysical passion," a phrasing that suggests a controlled, orderly recourse to human affect, as opposed to expressionist excess and surrealist arbitrariness.²¹

The search for clarity, formal control, and abstraction is reflected in the oldest part of *Taisō shishū*, which he wrote during this period, such as the opening poem in the collection, "Taisō" (Gymnastics), originally published in *Kajiki*, August 1931:

体操

僕には愛がない
 僕は権力を持たぬ
 白い襯衣の中の個だ
 僕は解体し、構成する
 地平線がきて僕に交^{まじ}わる

僕は周囲を無視する
 しかも外界は整列するのだ
 僕の咽喉は笛だ
 僕の命令は音だ

僕は柔い掌をひるがへし
 深呼吸する

18 Bertaux's book was titled *Panorama de la littérature allemande contemporaine* (A panorama of contemporary German literature, 1928). It was translated as *Gendai no Doitsu bungaku* 現代の独逸文学 (Contemporary German literature, 1929) by Ōno Shun'ichi 大野俊一 (1903–1980).

19 Murano, "Zatsu" (TMS6, p. 226).

20 Murano, "Keishiki ni kansuru danpen," *Kajiki*, February 1931 (TMS6, p. 260).

21 Murano 1932, pp. 18–19.

このとき
僕の形へ挿される一輪の薔薇

Taisō

*Boku ni wa ai ga nai
Boku wa kenryoku o motanu
Shiroi shin'i no naka no ko da
Boku wa kaitai shi, kōsei suru
Chiheisen ga kite boku ni majiwaru*

*Boku wa shūi o mushi suru
Shikamo gaikai wa seiretsu suru no da
Boku no inkō wa fue da
Boku no meirei wa oto da*

*Boku wa yawai tenohira o hirugaeshi
Shinkokyū suru
Kono toki
Boku no katachi e sasareru ichirin no bara*

Gymnastics

In me love is nil;
Nor have I any dominion.
Component within a white gymsuit,
I disassemble, I compose.
The horizon consorts with me.

I neglect the scene,
But order survives;
My throat is a flute,
My command a sound.

I jiggle soft palms,
Breathe deeply;
In that moment
A rose graces my figure.²²

With its reification of the speaking subject as a “component within a white gymsuit” deprived of feelings and power, this poem is perhaps the most exemplary in its adoption of a New Objectivist poetics. The syntax is essential, the diction is unadorned, with the sole

22 Translation in O'Brien and Murano 1984–1985, p. 47. I have edited the fourth line to emphasize its formalist inspiration.

僕は柔い掌をひるがへし
 深呼吸する
 このとき
 僕の形へ挿される一輪の薔薇



Figure 2. “Taisō” (Gymnastics). As reproduced in Murano 2004. Photo depicting Walter Steffens of the German gymnastics team. Source: Paul Wolff. *Was Ich bei den Olympischen Spielen 1936 sah*. Karl Specht Verlag, 1936.

僕には愛がない
 僕は権力を持たぬ
 白い襟衣の中の個だ
 僕は解体し、構成する
 地平線がきて僕に交_た交_る
 僕は周囲を無視する
 しかも外界は整列するのだ
 僕の咽喉は笛だ
 僕の命令は音だ

exception of the metaphor in the final line. Also typical is the presence of a non-subjective counterpart (here the “horizon”; in other poems, the “world,” or *sekai* 世界) that the subject engages as a body moving in space and time, like in the following poem “Tetsubō (II)” (Horizontal bar [II]), originally published in March 1932:

鉄棒

僕は地平線に飛びつく
 僅に指さきが引つかかった
 僕は世界にぶら下つた
 筋肉だけが僕の頼みだ
 僕は赤くなる 僕は収縮する
 足が上つてゆく
 おお 僕は何処へ行く
 大きく世界が一回転して
 僕が上になる
 高くからの俯瞰
 ああ 両肩に柔軟な雲

Tetsubō

Boku wa chiheisen ni tobisuku
Wazuka ni yubisaki ga hikkakatta
Boku wa sekai ni burasagatta
Kinniku dake ga boku no tanomi da
Boku wa akaku naru boku wa shūshuku suru
Ashi ga agatte yuku
Oo boku wa doko e iku
Ōkiku sekai ga ikkai shite
Boku ga ue ni naru
Takaku kara no fukan
Aa ryōkata ni jūnan na kumo

Horizontal Bar

I jump at the horizon.
 My fingertips barely catch it.
 I hang on the world.
 My muscles are all I can count on.
 My color reddens. My body contracts.
 My legs go up.
 Oh, where am I going?
 The world makes a huge turn,
 and I am up above.
 I look down from high up.
 Ah, a soft cloud touches my shoulders.²³

In his *Kajiki* writings, Murano never mentions Bertaux as the source of his idea for “cold order.” In fact, it is striking that he omits foreign sources for his conceptualization of New Objectivity, or the German writers whom he could have had in mind as possible models for this new poetics. However, a closer reading of his later writings clearly suggests the influence of a number of contemporary German scholars who had discussed and critiqued the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement: they include Heinz Kindermann, Paul Fechter, Günther Müller, and Alois Bauer. Their studies, which Murano knew either directly or via translations and summaries available in Japanese, remained a constant reference in his elaboration on New Objectivity, even after the war.²⁴

Murano, like many other Japanese intellectuals who became interested in New Objectivity, was particularly intrigued by Kindermann’s distinction, introduced in his

23 Translation in Koriyama and Lueders 1995, pp. 11–12.

24 Besides Kindermann’s book mentioned below, among the most influential works for the Japanese reception of *Neue Sachlichkeit* were Fechter’s *Deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart* (German poetry of the present, 1929), Müller’s “*Neue Sachlichkeit in der Dichtung*” (New Objectivity in poetry, 1929), and Bauer’s “*Vorläufiges zur sogenannten Neuen Sachlichkeit*” (Preliminary thoughts on the so-called New Objectivity, 1930). For their Japanese translations and summaries, refer to the chronology in TMS6, pp. 1073–1102.

treatise *Das literarische Antlitz der Gegenwart* (The literary face of the present, 1930), between a “timeless” or “idealistic objectivist poetry” (*Zeitlose* [chōjidaiteki 超時代的] or *idealistische Sachlichkeitsdichtung*) and a “time-bound objectivist poetry” (*Zeitgebundene* [sokujidaiteki 即時代的] *Sachlichkeitsdichtung*). The former was characterized as focusing on formal and philosophical preoccupations and gesturing toward absoluteness, timelessness, and even mysticism, while the latter was marked more by an attention to social, contemporary, and even ironic and satirical elements.²⁵ Murano explicitly mentions this distinction for the first time in a 1937 article, but it seems that he had been well aware of it since the early 1930s.²⁶

It was important for Murano to differentiate his own New Objectivity not only from the older realism of the naturalists, but also from the newer socialist realism of the proletarians and, at the same time, from other Japanese instantiations of modernism, especially surrealism. He used Kindermann’s definition of the double nature of New Objectivity to articulate his own position within the Japanese literary field, a position he summarizes in an oft-quoted passage from the abovementioned “Keishiki ni kansuru danpen”:

The time-bound, socially oriented aspect of New Objectivity (as reportage literature) may provide today’s proletarian poetry with a strong, fascinating form.... On the other hand, from the perspective of the school of pure art / school of technique [that is, the modernists], [New Objectivity] can be seen as something that, transcending the current times and society, stresses reverence [*ikei* 畏敬] and affection [*keiai* 敬愛] toward formal beauty, rather than the coverage of current things.²⁷

Therefore, the protean nature of New Objectivity could benefit both opposing movements in the Japanese literary field of that era. Murano’s New Objectivity could present itself as a synthesis between formalism and realism.

25 As a matter of fact, the maxims by Nicolai Hartmann, Iwan Goll, Kasimir Edschmid, and others that occasionally appear in Murano’s writings during the interwar period (and even afterward) seem to come mostly from this very source. A reference to expressionist “hysteria” is in this book, too (Kindermann 1930, p. 57). In his discussion of Kindermann’s book and its impact on Murano, Suzuki (1986, pp. 98–111) hypothesizes that *Taisō shishū* was Murano’s attempt at Kindermann’s “idealistic Sachlichkeit.” On the reception of Kindermann among other Japanese writers interested in New Objectivity, see Nishimura 2003a; Chiba 2003.

26 Murano, “Shinsokubutsushugi no yōgo” 新即物主義の擁護 (A defense of New Objectivity), *Shinryōdo*, October 1937. I refer to the text reprinted in Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, pp. 92–95. Murano elaborates further on this distinction in the 1951 essay “Shinsokubutsushugi no tenkai” 新即物主義の展開 (The development of New Objectivity). Following Kindermann, he clarifies, quite schematically, that authors such as R. M. Rilke (1875–1926), Stefan George (1868–1933), and Klaus Mann (1906–1949) belong to the first category, while Erich Kästner (1899–1974), Erich Maria Remarque (1898–1970), and Ludwig Renn (1889–1979) belong to the second category (Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, p. 90).

27 TMS6, p. 260. The emphasis on “reverence” and “love” toward things is a recurring topic in Murano’s interwar writings. One of its sources seems to be a sentence from Nicolai Hartmann’s *Ethik* (1926), quoted in Kindermann 1930, p. 55: “Die materiale Wertethik bedeutet eine neue Art Liebe zur Sache, eine neue Hingabe, neue Ehrfurcht vor dem Großen.” Murano partially translated this passage in the article “Gendaishi e no shōron”: “A new kind of love for things [*jibutsu*], a new devotion, a new reverence [*ikei*] for the great” (Murano 1932, p. 18); and again, in his postwar writings on the subject (Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, p. 89).

This double nature is also reflected in the poems in *Taisō shishū* that Murano wrote during this early phase. While some of these poems, such as the aforementioned “Taisō” and “Tetsubō (II),” emphasize abstraction and formalism, others, such as “Tōhan” 登攀 (Mountaineering) and “Suki” スキー (Skiing) (both originally published in 1932), indulge in narrative, vignette-like, and perhaps even humorous tones, at least partly attributable to the *Zeitgebundene* (time-bound) variety of *Sachlichkeit* and the influence of the poet Joachim Ringelnatz (1883–1934), one of its best interpreters.²⁸

The Touch of the Real: Neue Sachlichkeit in Japan

Murano's use of the New Objectivity category presents a number of personal peculiarities and appropriations, reflecting in part how German *Neue Sachlichkeit* was received in Japan. Murano was an economics graduate from Keio University who was working in a branch of the Riken conglomerate and not a Germanist academically, and he developed an interest in German poetry only during his twenties.²⁹ As the lists of publications and contributors available in previous scholarship show, in no way was he the first to write on *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Japan, nor was he the best expert available on this subject.³⁰ To better highlight Murano's position within the Japanese literary field, I will now take a little detour and discuss the reception of *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Shōwa Japan.

Like other avant-garde movements, the works and writers connected to this German movement were introduced to Japan by way of translations and articles in cultural journals. The reception of *Neue Sachlichkeit* took place through two main outlets. On the one hand, it was received through academia, where an important role was played by *Erunte* エルンテ (1929–1937) and *Kasutanien* カスタニエン (1933–1938), two journals associated with the Germanistics departments of Tokyo and Kyoto imperial universities, respectively. On the other hand, *Neue Sachlichkeit* was introduced to the literary field through modernist journals. The literary field's interest in the “new” or “young” literature of Germany (as it was often presented) reached its peak from 1930 to 1932, when terms such as “Noie Zaharihikaito” or its Japanese translation “Shinsokubutsushugi” could be spotted in the table of contents of any number of journals and books.

28 “Tōhan” depicts the ascension of a party of mountaineers that also includes a woman whose skirt at some point is blown up by the peak's wind. The “I” in “Suki” engages in an almost comical display of skiing prowess to impress a female skier.

29 Like other exponents of the modernist scene (one may think of Kanbara Tai 神原泰 (1898–1997), who worked in an oil company, or Nishiwaki Junzaburō 西脇順三郎 (1894–1982), a professor at Keio University), Murano was not a professional writer in the sense that he did not make a living from his writing. The literary journals to which he contributed printed only a few hundred copies per month. The Tokyo publishing house Aoi Shobō printed *Taisō shishū* in a limited edition of five hundred copies. Confirming its circulation in the poetry milieu, the collection was reviewed in *Mita bungaku* 三田文学 (February 1940) and *Nihon shidan* 日本詩壇 (February 1940), with praise for its original combination of photos and poetry, and especially *Shinryōdo* (by Sasazawa Yoshiaki, Kondō Azuma, and Ueda Tamotsu 上田保; February 1940). It also earned the *Bungei hanron* 文芸汎論 prize for poetry collections in 1940.

30 The rich chronology in TMS6 (pp. 1073–1102) is *de rigueur* for anyone interested in the history of *Neue Sachlichkeit* in Japan. See also, in the same volume, Wada 2010. Other surveys of this topic can be found in Nakano 1975, pp. 177–186; Chiba 1978, pp. 88–91; Ko 1989; Chiba 2003; Nishimura 2003a, pp. 33–38. Albeit extremely rich and complete, these surveys tend to focus mainly on modernist publications. Supplementary research is needed to fully document the impact of New Objectivity in the proletarian literature camp, as well as in general media.

Shi to shiron, confirming its ecumenical and encyclopedic openness toward all modernist movements from abroad, featured articles on the subject such as Sasazawa Yoshiaki's "Noie Zaharihikaito bungaku" ノイエ・ザハリヒカイト文学 (Literature of Neue Sachlichkeit) in the June 1930 issue. Unlike Murano, Sasazawa graduated in German from the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, and it seems that, in the early 1930s, he played an important role for Murano as a conduit of information on the new German literature, not only through translations and articles that he published on a wide array of literary journals, but also, starting in 1931, through their personal acquaintance.³¹ It is striking that the only poem by Joachim Ringelnatz that Murano translated in the early 1930s already had been translated by Sasazawa the year before.³²

Japanese modernists concentrated on the literary aspects of Neue Sachlichkeit and tended to neglect its ramifications in other art forms such as painting. By contrast, they provoked interest within the proletarian camp.³³ In modernists' writings, if any visual artist was linked to the New Objectivity, it was the likes of Le Corbusier (1887–1965), László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946), the Bauhaus members, or the stage designer Kurt Richter (1900–1969).

The Japanese literary world had to deal with a current that, unlike surrealism or futurism, had a very loose structure and lacked internal organization. Therefore, despite the wealth of available information, and maybe even because of that, Japanese intellectuals construed New Objectivity and its canon of authors as something not necessarily coextensive with what was considered such in Germany during the interwar period, or even today.³⁴ Especially in the field of poetry, they generally tended to read the movement in

31 Murano, *Watashi no shiteki henreki*, quoted in Ko 1989, p. 90; Wada 1990, pp. 47–48.

32 The poem is "Fallschirmsprung meiner Begleiterin" (Parachute jump of my travel companion), from the collection *Flugzeuggedanken* (Aircraft thoughts, 1929). Murano's translation was published in the only issue of the journal *Shinsokubutsusei bungaku* 新即物性文学 (New Objectivist literature) in November 1931, while Sasazawa's was published in the August 1930 issue of *Shishin* 詩神 (God of poetry). The journal *Shinsokubutsusei bungaku* deserves a few words here. It started as a joint collaboration between Sasazawa, Murano, and another New Objectivity adherent, Kobayashi Takeshichi 小林武七 (d.u.). Its single issue includes translations of poems by Erich Kästner, the "Idealisierung des Sachlichen" (Idealization of the factual) chapter from Kindermann's *Das literarische Antlitz der Gegenwart* (1930), Joseph Roth (1894–1939)'s article "Schluß mit der Neuen Sachlichkeit!" (Enough of New Objectivity!, 1930) (partial translation), and Hermann Kesten (1900–1996)'s short story *Das verlorene Motiv* (The lost motive, 1929). Among the original works, it features one aero-poem by Sasazawa, a poem on Niels Bukh's gymnastics by Kobayashi, and "Nichibei taikō suiei" 日米対抗水泳 (The Japan v. USA swimming match), one of the rare sports poems by Murano that was not included in *Taisō shishū*. The entire issue is reproduced in TMS6, pp. 557–574. On the fortunes of the aero-poetry subgenre (whose connections with the *aeropoiesia* [aeropoetry] of the Italian Futurists are still to be investigated) among the Japanese new objectivists, see Wada 2010.

33 The "proletarians" Yanase Masamu 柳瀬正夢 (1900–1945) and Murayama Tomoyoshi 村山知義 (1901–1977), who came from a militant background in the Taishō avant-garde movement, devoted two publications to George Grosz (1893–1959), which came out in 1929 and 1949, respectively. Murano mentions Grosz and Otto Dix (1891–1969) only in passing (Murano 1938a, pp. 46–47).

34 In poetry, the most discussed and translated authors were Joachim Ringelnatz and Erich Kästner. Interest in the latter continued well into the 1930s, with translations of his children's novels. In a 1937 essay ("Shinsokubutsushugi no yōgo"), Murano calls *Junge deutsche Lyrik*, edited by Otto Heuschele (1928), "a representative Neue Sachlichkeit poetry collection" of the idealistic type (Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, p. 94). In fiction, the names that were most commonly circulated were those of Remarque (especially for his novel *All Quiet on the Western Front*), Renn (especially for his novel *War*), Joseph Roth, Alfred Döblin (1878–1957), and Lion Feuchtwanger (1884–1958), and in drama, Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) and Erwin Piscator (1893–1966).

merely aesthetic and formal terms, not infrequently generically equating New Objectivity with all the post-expressionist generation of German writers.

In the case of narrative works, Japanese commentators acknowledged the non-fiction, documentary, and even journalistic approaches to prose writing as one of the main features of New Objectivity. As early as his *Kajiki* essays, Murano perceived that New Objectivity could give birth to a genre of reportage literature, or *hōkoku bungaku* 報告文学. Writing in 1937, he lamented that, in the minds of some Japanese commentators, the very idea of New Objectivity corresponded to second-rate, reportage-like literature.³⁵ In fact, as the 1930s progressed, the emphasis on this aspect made it possible to sporadically use the New Objectivity category, or the adjective *sachlich* (*zaharibi*), even when referring to the war literature that documented the Japanese military operations in China.³⁶

From 1933 onward, also reflecting Adolf Hitler's rise to power, the Japanese excitement over German modernist literature began to fade. The discourse over New Objectivity gradually disappeared from literary journals and survived only in more specialized publications that also began to discuss its replacement and absorption by a new German "national literature" (*kokumin bungaku* 国民文学).³⁷ In February 1934, Sasazawa Yoshiaki wrote that "the Neue Sachlichkeit literature has been chased out" of Germany.³⁸ Murano, too, temporarily shelved his interest in this movement, as he reportedly did for a complete translation of Kindermann's book on which he had been working.³⁹

The influence of New Objectivity as it was construed in the Japanese literary discourse of the interwar era on Murano's work is hardly deniable, but it is just one of the components of his poetry. I would like to de-emphasize this category as an exclusive hermeneutical tool in interpreting *Taisō shishū*, and attempt a reading which takes other elements into account. I have already discussed the indebtedness of the older part of *Taisō shishū* to the discourse on formalism developed within the Japanese modernist scene. In the second part of this paper, I will focus on the later poems in the collection to highlight the role of other elements that are not necessarily attributable to New Objectivity or the domain of modernist poetry.

"Neuer Körper und Neuer Geist": Re-reading the Later Poems of *Taisō shishū*

Background

After a break of more than two years, Murano resumed writing new sports poems in the second half of 1934, publishing nine of the poems that were later included in *Taisō shishū* in the following sixteen months.⁴⁰ In the span of time that separates the two main cores of

35 Murano, "Shinsokubutsushugi no yōgo," in Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, pp. 92–93.

36 See Murano himself in *Shinryōdo*, November 1938 (quoted in Nakai 2007, p. 479). Echoes of this usage can be found in Yamagiwa 1959, p. 8, and Chiba 2003, p. 67.

37 Nishimura 2003a, p. 39.

38 Sasazawa 1934.

39 Murano 1936, p. 20.

40 According to the chronology of the *Taisō shishū* poems, prepared by Wada (1990, p. 47), Murano published five poems in 1934, four in 1935, and one in 1938. Two poems seem to have been published for the first time in *Taisō shishū*. In 1936, he published no poetry at all (Hikita 2004, p. 25). These dates refer to the first publication of the poems in literary journals. Some of them were reprinted in other journals in the following months or years, and most were more or less slightly changed on that occasion or before their inclusion in *Taisō shishū*.

the collection, and onward, the Japanese literary field saw significant changes: the repression and disbanding of most of the “proletarian literature,” the emergence of *tenkō bungaku* 転向文学, the rise of an aesthetic-centric trend of “literary renaissance” epitomized by the writers of *Bungakukai* 文学界 (Literary world, established in 1933), a revival of the topics of Japanese literary and spiritual identity, and a critical revision of Westernization (commonly subsumed under the “return to Japan” label), championed among others by the Japan Romantic School.⁴¹

After the persecution of communist and socialist writers, liberal humanists gathered around the journal *Kōdō* 行動 (Action, 1933–1935), and similar moderate groups of progressive and antifascist writers remained active during the decade. Despite the climate of mounting nationalism and repression of dissent, the mid-1930s were marked by debates on the “literature of actionism” (*kōdōshugi bungaku* 行動主義文学), the “defense of culture” (*bunka no yōgo* 文化の擁護), and the figure of the committed intellectual, as exemplified by the British New Country poets and the writers who gathered in Paris for the 1935 “International Congress of Writers for the Defense of Culture.”⁴²

After the closing in 1933 of *Shi to shiron* (which had been renamed *Bungaku* the year before), the modernist front dispersed into several groups and journals, with no one ever attaining the same influential status they had earlier enjoyed. Murano followed Haruyama Yukio 春山行夫 (1902–1994), the influential poet and theoretician, who was the principal force behind *Shi to shiron*, and Kondō Azuma 近藤東 (1904–1988) and became a member of the editorial board of two journals, *Shihō* and *Shinryōdo*. The name of this second journal echoes the New Country poets, who had become a model for a politically conscious modernism. Under the pretext of purely artistic discussions, the *Shinryōdo* contributors managed to present works and ideas from the poets of the Auden Group, André Gide, Louis Aragon, and other European antifascist writers, and expressed, though in an increasingly oblique and ambiguous fashion, their reservations about nationalism and militarism.⁴³ *Shinryōdo* had an internationalist, moderately progressive, and liberal orientation, and even Murano, who was possibly the most cautious of the journal’s editors, expressed such sympathies in his contributions.⁴⁴ However, as the decade drew to a close amid arrests, intimidation, and co-opting into state-sponsored propaganda, the Japanese intellectual world became irreversibly entangled in the “quicksand of fascism” (to use John Solt’s expression).⁴⁵ After the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941, almost all Japanese

41 Reflecting the ambivalences of the Japanese reception of New Objectivity, the writers of the Japan Romantic School also developed an interest in the German writers associated with this movement. Heinz Kindermann’s full allegiance to the Nazi regime possibly played a role in reorienting the perception of New Objectivity in Japan. See Nishimura 2003a.

42 See Tyler 2008, pp. 395–405; Torrance 2009; Müller 2015. In the article “SACHLICHKEIT henpen” SACHLICHKEIT 片々 (Sachlichkeit miscellanea, *Bungei hanron*, December 1936), Murano briefly discusses the similarities between actionism and New Objectivity, but he concludes that the first lacks the anti-sentimentality and philosophical grounding of the latter.

43 Nakai 2007, chap. 1; Wada 2015.

44 Suzuki 1986, pp. 64–84; Hikita 2004; Nakai 2007, pp. 71–78. In the November 1937 issue of *Shinryōdo*, Murano explicitly warned that the fact that the journal was presenting foreign ideas, such as those of the New Country poets, did not mean a commitment to such ideas. See also Murano 1938b, p. 127.

45 Solt 1999, p. 136.

poets, including Murano and other members of *Shinryōdo*, were recruited into the ranks of patriotic literature.⁴⁶

Takeda Chūya 武田忠哉 (1904–1944), a Tokyo Imperial University graduate in German literature, who had made a substantial contribution by introducing German New Objectivity to literary and academic circles in the 1930s, presented a nationalistic version of it during the early 1940s.⁴⁷ He launched a journal called *Noie Zaharihakaito* ノイエ・ザハリヒカイト (1935–1939) in which he expounded on his view of New Objectivity as a modernistic cleanser of the ills of contemporary society, eventually conflating it, in the 1940 book *Kokubō kokka* 国防国家 (The national defense state), with the anti-liberal myths of cultural regeneration that the Japanese regime was sanctioning in those years.⁴⁸

Amid these changes in the literary scene, Murano's perception of New Objectivity was changing, too. In 1933, he started to read Rilke, a poet in whom he saw a precursor of the “timeless” or “idealistic” *Sachlichkeit* theorized by Kindermann.⁴⁹ Another new interest was visual media, especially photography. One of the most enduring legacies of New Objectivity in Japan was its influence on the local evolution of photojournalism and artistic photography. A new movement of modernist photography, called *Shinkō Shashin* 新興写真 (New Photography), flourished during the 1930s, influenced by German technical and instrumental innovations, and inspired by the functionalist and anti-lyrical aesthetics of Soviet realism, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, the Bauhaus, Moholy-Nagy, Man Ray, and others. Rejecting the previous schools of pictorial, artistic photography (*geijutsu shashin* 芸術写真), this movement absorbed the techniques of avant-garde photography (including photomontage and typophoto) and reflected a new interest in depicting contemporary reality in new ways, an interest often exemplified by a fascination with close-up, sharp-angled pictures of subjects taken from consumer culture and modern technology.⁵⁰

Murano followed the development of photography in Japan with interest, an interest that materialized into his contributing to one of the major showcases for this movement's ideas, the magazine *Fototaimusu* (Photo times, 1924–1940), where, in February 1938, he published one of his most commonly cited writings on the subject of New Objectivity, “*Shashin ni okeru Noie Zaharihakaito*” 写真に於ける新即物主義 (New Objectivity in photography). Here, he singled out “the mechanism of the art of photography” as “the most *sachlich* among all the other arts in that it necessarily makes reality its sole material of expression.”⁵¹

46 In 1942, Murano, Haruyama, and Kitasono joined the poetry branch of the state-sponsored Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai 日本文学報国会 (Japanese Literature Patriotic Association).

47 For example, he had published the influential monograph *Noie Zaharihakaito bungakuron* ノイエ・ザハリヒカイト文学論 (Literary theory of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, 1931).

48 Chiba 2003, pp. 74–75, and Wada 2010, p. 1059; see also Nishimura 2003a, pp. 38–40.

49 Chronology in Murano 2004, p. 201. Murano mentions Rilke in a review in the last issue of *Kajiki* from April 1933 (TMS6, p. 554).

50 On the *Shinkō Shashin* movement and Japanese photography during the 1930s, see Takeba 2003; Weisenfeld 2009; Nishimura 2003b, pp. 65–69.

51 Murano 1938a, p. 49. Also quoted in Wada 1990, p. 49, Hikita 2002, pp. 35–36. In June 1938, he was one of the participants in a symposium on avant-garde photography in Tokyo, sponsored by the same magazine (Takeba 2003, p. 150). Murano published another relevant article on photography in the June 1939 issue of this magazine, “*Geijutsu shashin no naimen*” 芸術写真の内面 (The inner side of artistic photography). See Wada 1990, p. 49; Murano 2001; Omura 2016, p. 76.

In the second half of the 1930s, Murano also published other short essays on poetic theory.⁵² He restated and further clarified his ideas on New Objectivity, and in some of them he stressed the ontological view (*sonzaikan* 存在感) on which it rested.⁵³ He also showed an increasingly explicit indebtedness to his German sources, such as Kindermann.⁵⁴

Can we then assume that Murano wrote his sports poems from 1934–1935 onward with the same spirit and the same poetic tenets as from 1931–1932? Murano was aware that his view of New Objectivity and poetry had evolved in the time between these two groups of poems. In 1940, referring to *Taisō shishū*, he wrote:

In fact, I think that those who have read this collection have already noticed that the form of this exercise [*taisō*] shows something quite different between the first and the second part.

The form, all too diligent like a high school student [in the first part], has gradually started to show itself incorrigible, like a college student [in the second]. Aging has certainly something to do with it, but this also shows that the new subject of ethics has trespassed into the regular class of gymnastics [*taisō*].⁵⁵

Behind an analogy that compares the evolution of his poetry to the change in attitude of a disciplined student (who discovers that there is more to life than strict adherence to formal prescriptions), Murano seems to point to the addition of newfound layers of meaning in his poetic practice. Likewise, “ethics” (*shūshin* 修身) is presented as an intruding element in the all-too-formal class of gymnastics carried on so far. This probably is a humorous allusion to the fact that the later poems in *Taisō shishū* show signs of a distinct influence from the style of Murano’s series of poems called “Kindai shūshin” 近代修身 (Modern ethics), which he started in 1937 and which formed the core of his subsequent collection.⁵⁶ It also suggests that we are no longer supposed to look solely for formal preoccupations in these poems, in

52 They include: “Jūyō na konkyo o” 重要な根拠を (The essential ground, *Aishō*, April 1934), “SACHLICHKEIT henpen” (*Bungei hanron*, December 1936), “Atarashiki chitsujo no tame ni” 新しき秩序のために (For a new order, *Shosō*, April 1937), “Ririshizumu no mondai” リリズムの問題 (The problem with lyricism, *Shisaku*, June 1937), “Shinsokubutsushugi no yōgo” (*Shinryōdo*, October 1937; see above, note 26), and “Atarashiki shi no tame ni” (For the new poetry, *Shinryōdo*, December 1937). Murano wrote the two *Shinryōdo* articles as a harsh response to the critic Hara Ichirō 原一郎 (1902–1984), who purported that New Objectivity could benefit from the absorption of some elements of surrealism. These two articles were reprinted in Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986. See also Suzuki 1986, pp. 69–70.

53 For instance, in “Shinsokubutsushugi no yōgo” (Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, p. 93), and Murano 1938a, p. 47.

54 Apparently, Murano was not aware of Kindermann’s support of the Nazis, or simply chose, even after the war, to focus his attention on the aesthetic ideas of this German critic and ignore their political and historical implications.

55 Murano, “Kansō” 感想 (Thoughts), *Bungei hanron*, May 1940; quoted in Hikita 2004, p. 16.

56 Murano published the poems of the series “Kindai shūshin” from 1937 to 1938, mostly in *Shinryōdo* and *Bungei hanron*. A revealing sign of the overlap between the two styles is the fact that the final poem in *Taisō shishū*, “Rokuboku” 肋木 (Wall bars), was originally published in *Bungei hanron* (January 1938) under the “Kindai shūshin” rubric. These poems were later collected in the collective *Gendai shijin shū* 現代詩人集 (Anthology of contemporary poets, 1940) and in Murano’s collection *Jojo bikō* 抒情飛行 (Lyrical flight), published in 1942. The style of these poems is illocutionary and, at times, hortatory, with a distinctly somber vein. In Suzuki’s words (1986, pp. 45–48, 71–72), they are imbued with “disappointment, bitterness, and irony,” are marked by a “surprising difference” from the previous poems on exercise, and could be ascribed to the time-bound variety of New Objectivity.

that they are also imbued with new existential concerns. While we might consider the oldest group of poems in *Taisō shishū* to be an attempt to create poetry based on “cold order” and the rejection of expressionist frenzy, the second part of the collection, while not rejecting them completely, is also informed by other elements. One of them is a reflection on the modes of human existence.

From “Cold Order” to a Hermeneutics of Human Existence

In the later part of *Taisō shishū*, New Objectivity seems to recede from the spotlight. Murano never alludes to it in his own preface, presumably composed in 1939.⁵⁷ Here, we still find a polemic against the “hysteria” of contemporary poetry that would have fit well in Murano’s writings of the early 1930s: “If this collection could oppose previous tortured poetry [*yūmonshi* 憂悶詩], that would be an unexpected joy. Today, there is no longer any reason for poets to have hysteria [*hisuteri*] as their essence.”⁵⁸

However, there is no mention of “returning to things.” “Things” (*jibutsu*) are now replaced by the act of performing (*enjiru* 演じる). He describes the collection itself as an “exercise” (*taisō*):

In order to further perfect the purpose of this collection, I needed the help of Riefenstahl, Wolff, and Kitasono Katsue. The fact that my exercise can now be performed with the accompaniment of such artists is, for this writer, an extraordinary honor. And I love, without being concerned about age and so on, to possess an eternally flexuous body, a throat that is like a flute.⁵⁹

The exercise metaphor reveals one of the main themes of the collection, which emerges in an increasingly conspicuous fashion in its later poems: an exploration of the heuristic powers of action, an examination of the value of bodily experience, as opposed to analytical thinking.⁶⁰

The oldest part of the collection, though already alluding to the interaction between the subject and the external world, mainly presented sports events as an example of the spatial and dynamic composition of masses and forces, and of the “thingness” of the human body. Physical exercise was a metonymy for anti-expressionist formal precision, order, and self-restraint. In the latter part, sporting events, captured in their temporal isolation, are the playground for Murano’s exploration of the interrelation between action and consciousness. In these poems, the formal preoccupation with “cold order” is sidelined by an accrued interest in those moments that reveal something about the modes of human existence. This is not to say that these elements are mutually exclusive, as they coexist to different degrees in most poems of the collection. However, the focus on the existential element appears to increase as the composition date of the poems becomes more recent.

⁵⁷ Also noticed by Hikita 2002, p. 35.

⁵⁸ Murano 2004, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Murano 2004, p. 2.

⁶⁰ I attempt a reading of these poems that emphasizes the role that contemporary ideas in philosophical anthropology may have played in their conception. This is not an attempt at muting other potentially fruitful readings, such as those that could explore the representation of bodily activity in *Taisō shishū* from the perspectives of gender, ethnicity, age, and able/disabled bodies.

Murano prefigured the accentuation of this element in an article published in March 1932. Appearing in the same month in which he published most of the poems of the first part of *Taisō shishū* in *Kajiki* and *Bungaku* (such as “Tetsubō [II],” quoted above), it also marks an important step in the evolution of his interpretation of New Objectivity, as it gestures toward a less formalistic, more philosophically nurtured version of it. In this article, after quoting Heidegger on the concept that the essence of truth lies in the freedom of engaging with beings as they are let be (*aru mono o arashimeru koto* 在るものを在らしめること), Murano states that “true reality cannot be sought either *before* reality, or *after* it.” This is what surrealism, vitalism, and romanticism try to do. Instead, he says, “reality as it is can be sought only *in the middle of it*.”⁶¹ To put it in the words of Kasimir Edschmid (1890–1966), who Murano quotes via Kindermann, as usual, “The equation is spirit and blood [*Geist und Blut*], not spirit and spirit.”⁶² Edschmid’s formula appears to resonate with the German subtitle to the 1939 edition of *Taisō shishū*, “Neuer Körper und neuer Geist” (New body and new spirit). In the case of *Taisō shishū*’s poems, we can say that the “blood” that should provide access to “the middle of reality” certainly acquires a literally corporeal nuance.

Only through an attitude that reevaluates the encounter between the world and the self can human beings attain a global understanding of reality. To quote Murano’s postwar essays, the method of New Objectivity “drags down the self from the altar of the Cartesian self,” and exposes the fact that the self only shares with the things of the world an equal role as a “precondition” (*yoken* 与件) of the human experience of the world.⁶³ In his critical writings of the 1950s, referencing Heidegger, Sartre, and Hartmann, Murano reread his prewar New Objectivity poems, placing a stronger emphasis on the existentialist elements in them.⁶⁴ This reading is somewhat biased, if only because Murano deepened his knowledge of these philosophers only after the war, when existentialism (especially in its French version)

61 Murano 1932, p. 19 (emphasis in the original). This article echoes Heidegger’s lecture “Vom Wesen der Wahrheit” (On the essence of truth), delivered in various German cities in 1930 and 1932, and published in 1943; seemingly Murano had access to sources that quoted from its unofficial circulating transcriptions. During the 1930s, Murano was undoubtedly fascinated by Heidegger’s philosophy. Quotations and references to Heidegger (mostly via the German studies on New Objectivity mentioned above) appear here and there in his writings of this period. In his review of *Taisō shishū*, *Shinryōdo* colleague Kondō Azuma claims that Murano “has been a longtime admirer of Heidegger” (1940, p. 244). However, despite this fascination, Murano’s knowledge of this philosopher before the war appears to have been largely indirect and confined to a limited number of concepts and keywords, among them that of “ground” (*Grund, konkyo* 根拠).

62 The quotation is from Edschmid’s *Über den Expressionismus in der Literatur und die neue Dichtung* (On expressionism in literature and new poetry, 1919). Murano quotes it in German, but he follows it with an imprecise Japanese translation. Kindermann (1930, p. 42) presents Edschmid as one of the leaders of expressionism who, from 1920 onward, had started to move beyond expressionism.

63 Murano, “Shinsokubutsushugi no saishuppatsu” 新即物主義の再出発 (A new start for New Objectivity), in Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, p. 90. The second concept had already been expressed in Murano 1938a, p. 48.

64 Among Murano’s critical writings of the postwar period, the most important in his rereading of his prewar involvement with New Objectivity is “Shinsokubutsushugi no tenkai,” originally published in *Shigaku*, October 1951. This essay is also known by the title of “Shinsokubutsushugi no saishuppatsu,” under which it was published in the 1952 collection *Konnichi no shiron* 今日の詩論 (Today’s poetics; enlarged edition: 1986). Other significant essays in this respect are “Shiteki shikō no henreki” 詩的思考の遍歴 (A journey in poetic thinking), first published in the book *Gendaishi no jikken* 現代詩の実験 (Lived experiences in contemporary poetry, 1952), and Murano’s autobiography, *Watashi no shiteki henreki* わたしの詩的遍歴 (My journey in poetry), published posthumously in 1987.

became very popular among the poets of the new generation.⁶⁵ Still, a number of poems in *Taisō shishū* (especially in its latter part) do take on an existential-hermeneutic perspective. Renouncing the privilege accorded by Descartes and transcendental philosophy to the *res cogitans*, they can be seen as striving to reflect on the structure of human existence by extracting from the anonymity of everyday gestures a series of moments of comprehension, authenticity, and wholeness.

In the poem “Tsuruiwa” (Rings), first published in October 1934, physical exercise seems to disclose to the subject a comprehensive knowledge of his world, something unattainable through intellectual *a priori* categories:

吊環

僕は蝙蝠のやうに逆にぶら下る
 空のパラシュートが僕を吊り下げる
 僕はしばらくここに安定する
 かけよる人達を見ながら
 訝し相な人達の顔をみながら
 僕は
 僕の世界を理解して

Tsuruiwa

Boku wa kōmori no yō ni sakasa ni burasagaru
Sora no parashūto ga boku o tsurisageru
Boku wa shibaraku koko ni antei suru
Kekeyoru hitotachi o minagara
Ibukashisō na hitotachi no kao o minagara
Boku wa
Boku no sekai o rikai shite

Rings

I dangle upside down like a bat
 The sky's parachute dangles me
 I, for one moment, stand still here
 Looking at people who come forth
 Looking at the faces of people with their suspicious airs
 I
 Understand my world...⁶⁶

65 A notable use of phenomenological jargon can be found in the collection *Mumei shishū* 無名詩集 (Anonymous poems, 1947) by Abe Kōbō 安部公房 (1924–1993). The essay “Shi no unmei” 詩の運命 (The fate of poetry, dated May 1947), which Abe placed at the end of the collection as its afterword, characteristically opens with the sentence: “As is the case with everything else, in viewing poetry too, it is impossible to escape the opposition between *noesis* and *noema*” (Abe 1997, p. 264).

66 If not stated otherwise, all translations are by the author.

In “Kōshōgai” (Hurdles), originally published in December 1935, the precedence of bodily action over logical thinking is clearly articulated. It is only before or after exercise that the subject can interrogate herself on the possibility of her actions. During the action itself, there is nothing but action:

高障害

花もなく
匂ひもない季節
運動シャツの処女性は
白いリンネルに過ぎなかつた
彼女は身軽にハードルを超えた
そして考へた
かくも容易く
超すことが出来ると

Kōshōgai

Hana mo naku
Nioi mo nai kisetsu
Undō shatsu no shojo sei wa
Shiroi rinneru ni suginakatta
Kanojo wa migaru ni hādorū o koeta
Soshite kangaeta
Kakumo tayasuku
Kosu koto ga dekiru to

Hurdles

A season with no flowers
Or scents
The virginity of the sports uniform
It was nothing but white linen
She nimbly crossed the hurdle
Then she thought
So easily
I can pass them

The same happens in “Kyōsō” (Race), a poem published at the end of 1934, but heavily (and rather significantly) revised before its inclusion in *Taisō shishū*:



Figure 3. “Kōshōgai” (Hurdles). As reproduced in Murano 2004. Photo depicting the finish of the 80m hurdles race won by the Italian athlete Trebisonda “Ondina” Valla. Source: Leni Riefenstahl. *Schönheit im Olympischen Kampf*. Deutscher Verlag, 1937.

競走

あなたは不思議だ
 あなたの胸のナンバーは
 すばやく空間を行きすぎた
 おお一枚の白い速力だつた

だが^が いまあなたは
 笑つて僕と握手をする
 あなたにはもう速力がなく
 言葉は吃り^{ども}
 思想のタオルを肩から垂らしてゐる

Kyōsō

Anata wa fushigi da
Anata no mune no nanbā wa
Subayaku kūkan o ikisugita
Oo ichimai no shiroi sokuryoku datta

Daga ima anata wa
Waratte boku to akushu o suru
Anata ni wa mō sokuryoku ga naku

Kotoba wa domori
Shisō no taoru o kata kara tarashite iru

Race

You are formidable
The number on your chest
Swiftly sped through space
Oh, it was a piece of white speed

But now you
Smile and shake hands with me
There's no longer speed in you
Words falter
You dangle from your shoulder the towel of thought

Here, “thought” (*shisō*) is ironically reified as an accessory that, like language, might come in handy, in a completely ancillary way (like a towel), only after the physical performance has taken place. The final line was not in the first version of the poem; its addition reveals Murano’s intention to clarify the poem’s anti-intellectual message.⁶⁷

Exercise liberates, or even cleanses, the subject from the burden of logical thinking. The “I” in the poem “Tetsubō (I)” (Horizontal bar [I], December 1935), an athlete performing his exercise upside down on the high bar, says, in a half-humorous way: “Thoughts went down / and escaped by my nose.”

The sporting act is a moment, impervious to intellectual analysis, in which mind and body transcend their logical opposition in the experience of unity and wholeness, thus providing access to authentic existential knowledge. In later years, Murano defined the theme of these poems as the “shining” and the “beautiful intersection between body and spirit” (*nikutai to seishin no utsukushii kōsaten* 肉体と精神の美しい交差点).⁶⁸ Once they are recontextualized within a collection, these poems can be viewed as a gallery of such shining moments. This offers a further explanation of why Murano decided to link his poems with Riefenstahl and Wolff’s visual works. The mechanical eye of photography functions as a model of dispassionate bracketing of the world (something akin to phenomenological reduction), eidetically capturing the essence of these moments. Photography manipulates time to this purpose, as its “pure, fundamental artistic operation,” Murano writes in 1939,

⁶⁷ According to other interpretations, the word *shisō* might be a reference to the ideology of the period (the left-wing ideology of proletarian writers or the right-wing ideology of romantics and other Japanists) and the poem could be deriding the insertion of ideological elements that contaminate pure poetry. See Hikita 2002, pp. 43–44; Omura 2016, p. 75. Hikita notes (2004, pp. 24–25) that this poem is not paired to a photograph and wonders whether Murano wanted to avoid politically sensitive associations that could have emerged had he chosen a picture from the Berlin Olympics documenting this discipline. Contemporary readers of the collection could have been reminded of the case of Son Kijōng 孫基禎 (1912–2002), the Korean runner hailed as a hero by Japanese propaganda, who reluctantly competed for the Empire of Japan under the name of Son Kitei and won the gold medal in the marathon in Berlin in 1936.

⁶⁸ Murano 1952, p. 70. Also quoted in Nakazawa 1965, p. 28.

is perfected when the “shutter makes a metallic sound and divides (*bunkatsu* 分割) time precisely.”⁶⁹

But why should these particular moments matter in the first place? The answer to this question leads us to the cultural atmosphere of the second half of the 1930s. In fact, the second part of *Taisō shishū* probably has more to do with forms of a “return to reality” in contemporary Japanese literature than with New Objectivity. *Fest der Völker* (*Minzoku no saiten* 民族の祭典, Festival of the Nations), the first part of Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia*, came out in Japanese theaters in June 1940, about six months after the publication of *Taisō shishū*. It was a commercial and critical success.⁷⁰ Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 (1902–1983), one of the most influential critics of the period, who helped inspire the “literary renaissance” of the 1930s, reported his impressions on the film in “Orimupia” オリムピア, an essay published in the major literary journal *Bungei shunjū* 文藝春秋 (Literary annals) in August 1940. Watching this film provided Kobayashi with the occasion to reiterate some of his most characteristic ideas, such as individual perspectivism, his rejection of intellectualism in favor of intuition and lived experience, and the special status he accorded to primitive, concrete thinking that privileges the haecceity of things and experiences over intellectual abstraction and conceptualization.⁷¹ In “Orimupia,” Kobayashi praises sports as moments during which the subject throws away his or her logical ideas (*shisō*), moments during which the “spirit turns completely into body.” He also praises cinema and photography as mechanical means that can capture these moments without the addition of intellectual or sentimental structures. Impressed by the scene showing the “primitive” image of the naked body, “unchanged since ancient Greece,” of the torchbearer “who came running from the ruins of Olympia,” Kobayashi contrasts it with how much man's intellectual knowledge (*chishiki* 知識) had changed instead. He scorns what he calls the “contemporary sentimentalists who wear the mask of realists” for not understanding the certitude and truth of this “form,” which is presented, unadulterated, by Riefenstahl's film.⁷²

We do not know Kobayashi's opinions of *Taisō shishū*, but the treatment of the subject of sports in “Orimupia” and Murano's collection presents a number of common traits. Generally, the theme of the conflict between thinking and acting as a source of existential anguish and discomfort, especially the “nagging suspicion that protracted intellectual discourse ultimately alienated humans from the very realities they were attempting to fathom,”⁷³ can be found in other Japanese writers of this period, such as the fiction writer Nakajima Atsushi 中島敦 (1909–1942). Individual experience and action were to be sought as a method to sublimate the contradictions of modernity and understand life at a deeper, more authentic level, instead of abstraction and conceptualization. Action could provide intuitive

69 Murano, “Geijutsu shashin no naimen” 芸術写真の内面, in Murano 2001, p. 368.

70 Hikita 2004, p. 24. The second part, *Fest der Schönheit* (Festival of Beauty), was released in December 1940. After seeing the first part, Murano wryly commented in *Shinryōdo*, August 1940: “It is an interesting irony that Riefenstahl's *Festival of the Nations* has appeared before our eyes in the middle of such international upheavals. Or maybe it is not. In fact, is not the current World War a veritable Festival of the Nations? There is no way to imagine who will climb the white platform with the laurel on their heads” (Murano 1940).

71 On these aspects of Kobayashi's thought, see Ōshima 2004, who also mentions “Orimupia.” On Kobayashi's prose writing during the war, also see Dorsey 2009a, chaps. 5 and 6.

72 Kobayashi 1978.

73 Dorsey 2009b, p. 416.

access to reality, “an unmediated engagement with the concrete world.”⁷⁴ This could take the form of a sudden epiphany or a state of transcendence, a recurring topic in the Japanese fiction of the 1930s. The later poems in *Taisō shishū* seem to reflect the increasing naturalization of these topics in the literary discourse of that decade.

This rhetoric of liberation through action from the contradictions of logical thinking and modern civilization is echoed in “Yarinage” (Javelin throw), perhaps the latest piece in *Taisō shishū*, as it appears to be an original poem. Here, the athlete is described as a “new primitive man” (*atarashii genshi no hito*), and the scene is juxtaposed with a hunting metaphor:

槍投

あなたの狙ふのは何です
新しい原始の人よ
ふるへながら光は飛んだ
その方向で
突然おそろしい喚きごゑ
ごらん
脊中に槍をたてられ
一瞬にげのびようと躡くもの
しかし それも
ぢきに静かになる

Yarinage

Anata no nerau no wa nan desu
Atarashii genshi no hito yo
Furuenagara hikari wa tonda
Sono hōkō de
Totsuzen osoroshii wamekigoe
Goran
Senaka ni yari o taterare
Isshun nigenobiyō to yoromeku mono
Shikashi sore mo
Jiki ni shizuka ni naru

Javelin Throw

What is it you are aiming at,
You new primitive man?
Quivering, light took flight—
From the direction it flew in
A sudden horrible scream.

74 Dorsey 2009b, p. 418.

Look, a being
 With a javelin stuck in his back, trying
 For a moment to escape and tottering—
 However, in a short while, everything
 Calms down again.⁷⁵

Like the athletes described by Kobayashi in “Orimupia,” the man in this poem is doubly “primitive” (*genshiteki* 原始的 / *shigenteki* 始元の), in the sense that the performance of sports returns him (however ironically) not only to a premodern historical (or ahistorical) temporality, but also to that pre-categorical, pre-epistemological place of unmediated existence which is a central trope of phenomenology and philosophical hermeneutics.⁷⁶

Sports, this poem suggests, have something in common with human beings’ pre-civilized condition. Modern sports possess an ambiguous nature, in that they are rationalized and scientifically measurable physical activities that result in a temporary release from civilization, an irony that was not lost on Murano, even after the war.⁷⁷ The clash between civilization and barbarism, modernity and return to the origin, was a theme that inflamed the cultural debate in Japan in the 1930s, and the liberal *Shinryōdo* group, of which Murano was a member, supported the idea (as long as they could) that poets should defend culture and reason, especially in an “era in which all forms of thinking [*shikō* 思考] are put under pressure.”⁷⁸

It is true, as argued by Hikita Masaaki, that Murano participated in the “last resistance” put up by Japanese liberal modernists against the official ideology. It might also be that *Taisō shishū* concealed a veiled satire (a poetic tactic widely discussed by the *Shinryōdo* poets) of the use of sports in contemporary official discourse.⁷⁹ During a period when merely writing about something unrelated to the sacred mission of Japan elicited censors’ suspicion, Murano chose to publish a collection on the ludic world of sports. Also, he explicitly preferred to use photos of white athletes taken exclusively by Western photographers rather than, in his words, “*hachimaki*-wearing sportsmen”⁸⁰—even though Japanese athletes did take part in the Berlin Olympics and were even featured in Riefenstahl’s *Olympia*. Furthermore, these photos depict exclusively modern Westernized sports instead of domestic martial arts (*budō* 武道), such as judo and kendo, which, in a move to counter the pernicious influence of foreign disciplines, had been enshrined as

75 Translation in Kirkup and Davis 1978, p. 94. I agree with Haga’s interpretation (1983, pp. 185–188) that the “being / With a javelin stuck in his back” is a metaphor for the actual sports field.

76 Murano neatly conjures such a trope in his 1935 review of a book of poetry theory by Kawaji Ryūkō: “The theory of New Objectivity literature according to which poetry has its ground [*konkyō*] only in that thingness [*jibutsusei*] that arises in that primordial condition [*shigenteki na baai* 始元のな場合] that precedes the reflection that divides the world between things and self” (Murano 1935, p. 43).

77 Haga 1983, p. 112.

78 Murano 1937.

79 Hikita 2004, pp. 24–29.

80 Murano’s words in the postscript (*kōki* 後記) to *Shinryōdo*, December 1939. Quoted and discussed in Suzuki 1986, pp. 25–26; Wada 1990, pp. 51–52; Hikita 2002, p. 42.

compulsory subjects by the authorities in secondary school curricula in 1931.⁸¹ Such a choice in the subject matter can be read as a paradoxical act of opposition to jingoism and a final defense of internationalism. Indeed, even today, *Taisō shishū* strikes its readers with its internationalist flavor and nearly total lack of culturally specific Japanese elements. In its emphasis on individual sports, the collection seems to reflect a “liberal, individualistic, autotelic approach to sport,” rather than the “militaristic, collectivist, instrumentalist view”⁸² that became predominant in the second half of the 1930s, thus evading the exploitation of the healthy, sporting body as a metaphor for societal sanitization or racial superiority.

In one of the earliest critical assessments of *Taisō shishū*, published in 1951, Andō Ichirō perceptively noticed that one of the objectives of this collection was to perform a “critique of the human being” (*ningen no hihyō* 人間の批評).⁸³ The existential interrogation carried out through these poems on sports seems to concern the human being *per se*, with no further national or ethnic specifications, thus going against the grain of other contemporary investigations on the specificity of the Japanese mode of existence (more firmly grounded in the phenomenological idiom than Murano’s), such as those by Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造 (1888–1941) and Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960).

On the other hand, Murano’s very choice, made as late as 1939, of using photos depicting an event that was strongly linked to the Nazi regime seems ambiguous, to say the least. If Murano wanted to bracket history and emphasize the purely aesthetic and speculative possibilities emerging from the combination of sports, poetry, and photography, his choice of photos appears disingenuous at best.⁸⁴ Equally ambiguous, despite its humanistic connotations, is the rhetoric of anti-intellectualism that Murano allowed to emerge, perhaps unwittingly, through these poems. In *Taisō shishū*, it seems that the rational control exerted on the subject of the poems under the method of New Objectivity is undermined increasingly. It is contested by the emergence of fissures in the form of concessions to a hermeneutic paradigm that emphasizes alogical action and intuition (and conversely devalues ideas and rational thinking) as tools to attain existential authenticity and a full comprehension of reality.

These aspects seem to suggest that, from the precarious position in which they found themselves in the second half of the 1930s, liberal modernists such as Murano were unable to remain completely immune to the rhetoric that permeated the official and cultural discourse of those years—a rhetoric that saw aesthetic transcendence, action, and mysticism as answers to the crisis of modernity and the enervated tradition of Western reason. Against the backdrop of such a historical period, it is difficult to read the second part of this collection without sensing some ominous overtones.

81 Abe et al. 1992, pp. 5, 21; Manzenreiter 2014, p. 71. To write this paper, I have examined a number of sources on the history of physical education and sports in Japan. On this subject, one can find useful information in Abe et al. 1992; Guttman and Thompson 2001, pp. 117–160; Manzenreiter 2014, pp. 66–80. On the appearances of Japanese athletes at the Olympic Games that were held in the interwar years and the Japanese Olympic movement in the 1930s (also in connection to the plans to host the Summer Olympic Games in Tokyo in 1940), also see Collins 2007.

82 Guttman and Thompson 2001, p. 129.

83 Quoted in Murano 1952, p. 73.

84 On the notion that *Taisō shishū*’s “resistance” consisted in its elision of the historical contingency of the war years, see Sakurai 1986, p. 278, and Onchi Terutake, quoted in Murano, Sakurai, and Yamada 1986, p. 292.

Conclusions

Ōoka Makoto once said, in reference to the tensions between his double allegiance to existential investigation and the formal control of New Objectivity, that Murano Shirō is “a poet who hides many ambiguous parts, much more than is generally felt.”⁸⁵ Murano’s engagement with New Objectivity strongly reflected his position in the Japanese literary field. During the first period examined in this paper, his interpretation of New Objectivity was connected to the local debate on “formalism” and driven by the need to differentiate itself from other forms of Japanese modernist literature. The second phase of his *Taisō shishū* presents a focus on the modes of human existence that I contend reflects the influence of the Japanese context during those years and not only his initial commitment to values such as “cold order,” clarity, and abstraction.

The political and aesthetic meaning of *Taisō shishū* remains elusive and ambiguous. This very ambiguity is perhaps the most significant aspect of this collection, as it tells us something about what it meant to be a New Objectivist writer in Japan in the late 1930s, a period when reality overwhelmed Japanese subjectivities in the form of mounting militarism, total mobilization, and, ultimately, wartime destruction and suffering.

References

Abbreviation

TMS6 Wada Hirofumi 和田博文, ed. *Shinsokubutsushugi* 新即物主義. Vol. 6 of *Korekushon Toshū modanizumu shishi* コレクション・都市モダニズム詩誌. 15 vols. Yumani Shobō, 2010.

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Sandra Collins. *The Missing Olympics: The 1940 Tokyo Games, Japan, Asia and the Olympic Movement*. Routledge, 2007.

85 Ōoka 2001, p. 173.

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Anime and the Conquest of Time: Memory, Fantasy, and the “Time-Image” from *Ghost in the Shell* to *Your Name*

Alistair SWALE

Anime is often characterized in terms of its multiplicity and fracture, with a penchant for non-photoreal depictions of fantasy characters who exist in alternative worlds and become embroiled in implausible plot lines. Theories particular to anime are often developed to account for these idiosyncrasies with a tendency to treat anime as a distinct genre rather than part of cinema more broadly.

This article seeks to reintegrate anime within the compass of cinema by employing Gilles Deleuze’s philosophical treatment of the cinematic image. Deleuze argued that in certain instances cinema had the capacity to supplant conventional depictions of movement in space and time to evoke a more fluid perception of memory and consciousness. These instances he characterized as “time-images” as opposed to “movement-images.”

To explore how certain aspects of animated cinema can epitomize Deleuze’s concept of the time-image, I examine the oeuvre of several Japanese animators, from Oshii Mamoru and Kon Satoshi through to Shinkai Makoto. Ultimately I contend that a better understanding of the operation of these images aids us to reassess the “fantasy” element in their work. While acknowledging the entertainment value of certain stylistic flourishes I argue that other “fantasy” tropes carry a more profound cinematic significance.

Keywords: anime, Shinkai Makoto, Gilles Deleuze, memory, fantasy, time-image

Introduction: The Fragmented Mirror

In her groundbreaking overview of anime, Susan Napier characterized the “anime image” as a “fragmented mirror.”¹ This was an intuitively profound insight, highlighting as it did something at the heart of how the animated image in the Japanese context entailed a fundamental disposition toward fracture, multiplicity, and the pursuit of themes that are emotionally deeply engaging while nonetheless being presented through non-photoreal images and fantastical plot devices. These characteristics have been discussed in other instances of academic commentary on animation as well, particularly Paul Wells’

1 Napier 2005, p. 291.

Understanding Animation (1998), and Thomas Lamarre's *The Anime Machine* (2009). These scholars have tended to argue that there is a "special character" inherent in the animated image. In the case of Wells, he grounds his understanding of the animated image in both its profoundly metamorphic character, and its distinct capacity to present the illusion of movement.² Lamarre underscores particular visual tropes that can be traced to the technology of image construction and compositing.³

However, the most thorough discussion of the relation of fantasy to animation to date is the recently published collection of thoughtful essays penned by a veritable "who's who" of animation scholars (including Paul Wells and Susan Napier) entitled *Fantasy/Animation: Connections Between Media, Medium and Genres*, edited by Christopher Holliday and Alexander Sergeant.⁴ While the varied perspectives on fantasy and animation in the collection provide a wealth of stimulating material, rescuing anime from pejorative assumptions of associations with fantasy could arguably be done differently. Rather than establishing a continuum of interrelation through the use of a "forward slash" (as in the title's "fantasy/animation"), fantasy should be more squarely treated within the realm of genre and not as a distinct form of cinema. Moreover, regardless of unhelpful preconceptions within the American Film Institute regarding a distinct category of fantasy film, it does seem necessary that animated fantasy features, indeed any kind of cinematic anime feature, should be treated not so much as a stylistic genre but as a part of cinema more generally.⁵

Accordingly, this article undertakes to reintegrate the discussion of the animated image and fantasy with a broader theory of cinema, and does so with particular reference to the work of Gilles Deleuze. In order to delve further into the mechanics of anime's distinctive cinematic style and its tendency toward fantasy, there needs to be a more systematic consideration of the parameters of time, motion, and space, and the possibilities of less literal forms of representation and more fluid evocation of "truths" in ways that are more sophisticated than the "realistic" depiction of action in the "here and now." Fortunately, Gilles Deleuze does furnish us with such a paradigm, but he did not suppose his paradigm would be applied to animation as such (although it is debatable whether he would find any fundamental point of difference between the cinematic image and the animated image).⁶ However, given some of the idiosyncrasies of Deleuze's terminology it is necessary to state clearly what aspects of his thought are particularly relevant and, indeed, why we would desire recourse to his analysis of cinema in relation to Japanese animation and ultimately the work of Shinkai Makoto 新海誠 in particular.

To build toward the discussion of cinematic anime and ultimately Shinkai Makoto's work, the ensuing section will outline key aspects of Deleuze's definition of the time-image, and its debt to Henri Bergson's conception of time and memory. I then address some key examples that Deleuze himself takes up, the better to identify the most salient stylistic characteristics of cinematic images. Next I transpose these characteristics on to cinematic

2 Wells 1998, pp. 69–73; Wells & Moore 2016, pp. 118–120.

3 Lamarre 2009, pp. xxx–xxxii, 26–44.

4 For a general discussion of the relation of fantasy to anime, see "Introduction," Holliday and Sergeant 2018, pp. 1–9.

5 Holliday and Sergeant 2018, pp. 12–13.

6 See, for example, Gehman and Reinke 2005 and Gunning 2014.

anime, in particular the works of Oshii Mamoru 押井守 and Kon Satoshi 今敏. Finally, I address the works of Shinkai Makoto and specifically *Your Name* (*Kimi no na wa* 君の名は), which emerges as a most explicit example of engagement with the potential of the time-image. I evaluate the fantasy elements in Shinkai's work in terms of their capacity to furnish both mere amusement in some instances and profoundly evocative cinematic moments in others.

Deleuze, Bergson, and the Question of Time

In *Cinema I* and *Cinema II*, Deleuze set out to give cinema a level of philosophical treatment that up until that point it had not received. Commentary on contemporary cinema in France after World War II was embodied in either relatively conventional film criticism or in the more ambitious but nonetheless conservative view of cinema as articulated by André Bazin. Bazin extolled cinema for its capacity to capture objective reality and the personal vision of the filmmaker. This was quite a departure from pre-World War II theorizing that accentuated cinema's capacity to manipulate reality and alter personal perception. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that Deleuze, when searching for a philosophical paradigm to employ in reexamining cinema, burrowed back into earlier veins of philosophical investigation, alighting in the process on the thought of Bergson, a figure of considerable influence in the preceding decades.

Bergson was acutely aware of “multiplicity” in human consciousness, and rejected the notion of perceptions and experiences as fixed data that could be quantified and discretely analyzed. At the same time, he wanted to overcome the dualism between realism and idealism, or the gap between the material world and virtual modes of representation. His answer was to propose the “image” as the vehicle mediating both aspects, and “pure perception” as the awareness or recognition of this profoundly integrated realm of expression and understanding. In tandem with this, he explored the implications of this insight in relation to time, famously distinguishing between the more conventional quantitative conception of time as a linear sequence with hard distinctions between past, present, and future, and the qualitative continuity of time which he characterized as “duration.” In *Matter and Memory* (1896), he further explored the relation between this conception of time and memory, articulating a distinction between “habitual” memory, which had a merely instrumental function in sustaining day to day actions, and “pure” memory which could spontaneously break into consciousness with no particular adherence to the order of isolated moments and actions rooted in the past.⁷

Deleuze took these essential tenets and applied them to the *cinematic* image. He was preoccupied with how divergent approaches to the manipulation of cinematic images could alter the bounds of perception. Initially he accentuated the segmented but nonetheless coherently articulated sequences of images that align with a clear chronology, and followed a motor-sensory perception of movement in space. These he called “movement-images.” He then went on to explore the possibility of cinematic images that break down the tyranny of chronological sequencing and the experience of conventionally living and moving in the “actual” world. These he broadly described as time-images. Deleuze was particularly interested in how time-images could transform our engagement with memory

7 For a lucid exposition of the legacy of Bergson and its influence on Deleuze, see Bogue 2003, pp. 11–40.

and consciousness. Disrupting linear time in the narrative and forsaking an exclusive commitment to the conventional depiction of movement in space in the *mise en scène* made it possible to reveal memory and consciousness as facets of perception no longer rooted in habitual action and experience. There would, of course, always be an anchoring of our perception to the “actual” through recognition and recollection, but there could also be a simultaneous exploration of the realm beyond the actual through the apprehension of what he described as the “virtual.” This was a realm pertaining not to the “here and now” or discrete points in the past, but to what Deleuze described as “immanence.”⁸ At root, Deleuze’s contention was that certain cinematic images (i.e. time-images) could take on a character that mediated both the actual or the virtual and, in so doing, reveal facets of the immanent, facilitating a vision that resonates profoundly with Bergson’s notion of “pure perception.”

Identifying Time-Images

Given this basic outline of Deleuze’s conception of the “time-image,” let us now consider how we might identify distinct instances of its articulation. Deleuze expanded on Bergson’s philosophy of time and memory by incorporating some aspects of C. S. Peirce’s semiotics to create a typology of “signs” that are integral to the generation of direct images of time. As we have seen, the time-image is in a fundamental sense a breaking away from the regime of movement-images which lock time in relation to movements in space. Making that break, according to Deleuze, entailed the following:

1. The generation of visual and audial signs (“opsigns” and “sonsigns”) that transcend the constraints of the movement-image.
2. The creation of signs that powerfully and directly reveal, or enable us to intuit, the immanent totality in relation to time (“chronosigns”).
3. The redefining of action in ways that tolerate the breaking of the linear connections of movement in a particular space.⁹

These interventions enable the subverting of the limitations of the movement-image, and reveal glimpses of the immanent whole. In essence, Deleuze’s chronosigns are produced through optical and acoustic images that disrupt motor-sensory perception of empirical movement in space at particular moments. So instead of a chronological succession of incremental spatial moments and movements, time is revealed through distinctively asynchronous depictions as part of a highly fluid continuum. To use Deleuze’s rather poetic turn of phrase, “There is no present which is not haunted by a past and a future, by a past that is not reducible to a former present, by a future which does not consist of a present to come.”¹⁰ Deleuze characterized these cinematic depictions of time as “crystalline” rather than “organic,” in that perception is not tied in a directly organic way to the action inherent in movement-images but rather intuited through the prism of the time-image, hence the crystal metaphor.

8 Deleuze 1989, pp. 82–88.

9 For a more detailed discussion, see Rodowick 1997, pp. 79–81.

10 Deleuze 1989, p. 36. See also Rodowick’s exegesis in Rodowick 1997, p. 81.

To illustrate instances of the time-image in cinema, Deleuze drew on disparate works such as the Italian Neo-Realists, the films of Ozu Yasujiro 小津安二郎, and even Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958). He used these examples to describe a burgeoning art of creating cinematic images that revealed a consciousness beyond mere action and movement in the "here and now."¹¹ Take, for example, the cinematic style of Ozu Yasujiro. It would be difficult to find a more emphatic example of filmmaking that subordinates action to place and stillness, and that evokes the deep current of time transcending the clutter and clatter of mundane daily life. Ozu does capture daily life, but as revealed by his lingering shots of hallways and stairs, along with the wooden, almost marionette-like delivery of lines from key protagonists, he has an eye for what is beyond action and speech in the moment that is extraordinarily intense.

There were, however, three films in particular that Deleuze singled out as presenting "crystal images," instances, that is, of time-image that give the viewer a window on "pure" perception and memory. The films were *Vertigo* by Hitchcock, *Je t'aime Je t'aime* (1968) by Alain Resnais, and *Zvenigora* (1928) by Alexander Dovzhenko. It is surprising that his examples are not exactly consonant in theme or style; nor do they readily indicate a common thread. Even so, a brief review of them reveals some useful insights.

Vertigo by Alfred Hitchcock has a very different visual style in its treatment of action and *mise en scène* when compared, for example, to Ozu Yasujiro. It is nonetheless remarkable in the way that the persona of the female lead, Kim Novak, is stretched by playing an imposter who inhabits a profound duality of character. She plays Judy Barton, the young lover and accomplice of Gavin Elster who persuades Judy to impersonate his wife Madeleine who he intends to murder by setting up a fake suicide. The suicide will be "witnessed" by Gavin's friend Scottie, a retired policeman, who becomes intimate with the fake Madeleine before seeing her ascend to the top of a tower. He assumes it is Madeleine whom he sees hurtling to the ground below. He cannot follow her into the tower due to an intense fear of heights, hence the key role of vertigo. Apart from the duplicity and intrigue, the film does succeed in prising open the fluidity of persona, as well as the multiplicity of relations and intimacies that coalesce uneasily across different moments of time. Even when Scottie "discovers" Judy Barton after the apparent suicide of Gavin's wife, he wants her to dress and act as Madeleine, the imposter figure who belongs in a time that cannot be retrieved or redeemed. Hitchcock, in the guise of a detective thriller, has set up an impossible conundrum, one that forms a predicament for the two central characters, even as it accentuates in a rather excruciating fashion the possibility of transcending discrete personalities and fixed moments in time.¹²

By contrast, Deleuze singled out the film *Je t'aime Je t'aime* by Resnais which, quite unlike *Vertigo*, is driven by a science fiction premise. The main character, Claude Ridder, is released from hospital following an unsuccessful suicide attempt, and is approached by a private research institute that offers him the opportunity to travel back in time. The institute claims it has succeeded in sending mice back for a minute at a time, and he accepts the offer. However, his experience is nothing as measured or predictable as had happened

11 See Deleuze 1989, pp. 128–129.

12 Deleuze 1989, pp. 86–87. See also an excellent exegesis of *Vertigo* in Deleuzian terms in Pisters 2003, pp. 33–38.

to the mice; his experiences are fragmentary and of irregular duration. There is the added complication of interaction with his deceased wife Cattrine who he inexplicably and incorrectly says he had “killed.” The film ends with Claude disappearing back in time and apparently not returning. In this case, it is not persona but rather the experience of time and the nature of memory that is stretched, and this treatment certainly coalesces with Deleuze’s (indeed Bergson’s) notion of memory embedded in time as “duration,” as opposed to a set sequence of discrete moments and experiences. Because the director endeavors to present something essentially beyond human experience in the here and now, he must of necessity adopt a plot device that gives at least a plausible avenue for exploring the chronologically impossible. The film thus meets the criteria of the crystal image by presenting time that could otherwise not be experienced or explained by other means, and it does so on the basis of a regime where the relation of actual to virtual is undecidable.

Deleuze’s third film was *Zvenigora* (1928) by Alexander Dovzhenko, a sprawling evocation of Ukraine’s entire history that rests on the fulcrum of the main character, a grandfather, explaining to his grandson the existence of a treasure buried in a mountain. The film mixes fact with fantasy while depicting the overwhelming flow of time and nature that engulfs the individual. The sheer scale of the evocation of time reflects Deleuze’s preoccupation with time as “duration,” and is presumably the main reason why he highlighted it. It is noteworthy, incidentally, that this was a silent film, meaning it excluded live speech-acts.¹³

In reviewing such disparate examples it is apparent that Deleuze was not attempting to say “this is precisely the exemplar of the time-image in cinema,” but rather that the time-image could be appropriated or presented in multiple ways through diverse approaches. The litmus test would be the degree to which the film could provide glimpses of a world beyond a strictly chronological series of events and discrete actions, and the extent to which memory and consciousness could be articulated in fragmented but nonetheless intensely direct ways. Ultimately, Deleuze’s account of the crystal image is multifaceted, providing diverse examples of ways to explore consciousness and memory.

A further point to take from Deleuze’s discussion of these examples is that the transition from the “organic” to the crystalline generates a variety of “side-effects” that appear in typical ways, such as the blurring of personas and of the actual and virtual, along with a radical disrupting of when and where something happened, as well as whether it really happened at all. Referring to the “signs” that generate such moments of revelation, Deleuze states, “Sometimes..., [the signs] are characters forming series as so many degrees ... through which the world becomes a fable. Sometimes it is a character himself crossing a limit, and becoming another, in an act of story-telling which connects him to a people past or to come.”¹⁴ He generates such revelations by playing not just with time but also persona and the criteria of determining which world one is inhabiting and when. Moreover, as “the world becomes a fable,” the distinction between the “false” and “true” is transformed so that the seemingly fantastical stylistic flights of narrative, persona, and place denote not mere illusion or deception, but the force of something immanent.

13 Regarding *Je t’aime Je t’aime* and *Zvenigora* in *Cinema II*, see Deleuze 1989, pp. 86–87. For a discussion of *Zvenigora* in relation to the crystal image, see Matviyenko 2011.

14 Deleuze 1989, p. 264.

To summarize, the potential of the crystalline generates specific implications for our understanding of the time-image in both film and animation. Under the crystalline regime, description or depiction of “the real” falls into a realm where the distinction between the real and the imaginary is *indiscernable*. At the same time, narration entails not rationally sequential articulations of a story, but iterations of the present that are *inexplicable*. This presents a conundrum for making judgments regarding the veracity of what is being depicted where alternative versions of a past appear whose truth or falsity is *undecidable*.¹⁵

The Crystal Image and Anime

Although Deleuze focused exclusively on instances of cinematic filmmaking in relation to the crystalline, it is not only conventional filmmaking that is capable of exploring such possibilities. Indeed, we can identify some animated features that exhibit the same propensities. Animation predisposes itself to this possibility because, generally speaking, it emphatically denies explicit “representation” from the outset. Cel-animated images in particular transpose a character on to a figure that is not necessarily “life-like,” allowing us to engage with such figures with the full force of our imagination, particularly if they deal, even obliquely, with deeper, more implicit references to emotional experience. This rather counters (potentially at least) the implication that the cel-animated image in anime pertains to the realm of mere “fantasy.” On the contrary, it suggests a distinct utility in certain circumstances and with certain subject matter. It might even be said that animated images have a peculiar efficacy in articulating the crystalline, and opening up possibilities for depicting memory and consciousness beyond analogue representations.

In this connection two Japanese animated films readily spring to mind: *Ghost in the Shell* (*Kōkaku kidōtai* 攻殻機動隊, 1995, dir. Oshii Mamoru) and *Millenium Actress* (*Senmen joyū* 千年女優, 2001, dir. Kon Satoshi). The degree to which they lend themselves to a Deleuzian analysis makes it surprising that they have not been more fully examined in such terms in anime-related research. *Ghost in the Shell* is replete with multiple reflective surfaces, replications of identities, and multiple levels of time and space. *Millenium Actress* is also deeply structured around the notion of mirroring space, identity, and time.

A prime example of how time is compressed and stretched beyond conventional consciousness in *Ghost in the Shell* is the scene where Kusanagi is at one moment diving in the harbor and then transported instantaneously into a sequence that has no obvious narrative function. It simply invests the moment with the evocation of a cosmos embodied in a mythic East Asian megalopolis. Clearly an amalgam of Shanghai, Tokyo, and Hong Kong (among others), the caverns of the city boulevards are enclosed by half-constructed skyscrapers festooned with cranes and scaffolding, contrasting with the lower streets and canals. As Brian Ruh aptly characterizes it, it is a symphony of vignettes that lovingly evoke the life of the city, and not just one subjective world but an entire universe in a moment. The scene resolves back to a brief exchange between Batou and Kusanagi, as if the previous sequence had not even occurred.¹⁶

This sequence is arguably one of the most emphatically crystalline among Oshii Mamoru’s animated features. Even on the level of visual imagery, Oshii employs the

15 See Rodowick 1997, pp. 85–86.

16 Ruh 2004, pp. 125–148.

reflective surfaces of water to project an enormous aircraft flying overhead, the deluge of rain in the middle of the sequence dissolves the sky, thus the walls and the glistening pathways dissolve together. The floating advertisement on a punt in the middle of the canal is reflected in a shop window, as Kusanagi glances up into one of the shop windows to see the visage of someone who is an exact replica of herself. The sequence continues for some three and a half minutes, and is bookended by a close-up of a pensive Kusanagi who has just returned from an underwater dive. The implication is that the entire sequence has played out in the fraction of a second's contemplation. This is a truly extraordinary embodiment of the crystal image in animation. It skilfully employs reflective surfaces to destabilize the sense of space and create multiplicity and layers within the images, as well as evoking the cosmos in the fraction of a moment.

Alongside Oshii's works, many of Kon Satoshi's films also have a deeply embedded ambiguity of time, place, and persona that certainly merits attention, but it is perhaps his *Millenium Actress* that explores the possibilities of stretching time most explicitly. Janine Villot, who refers to the "plasticity" of time in the film, does refer to Deleuze's theory of the time-image to some extent.¹⁷ While her characterization of both Deleuze's theory and the structure of memory as presented in the film cannot be faulted, there is more to be said in regard to Deleuze's Bergsonian concerns and the possibilities of appropriating crystalline images dealing with memory. Moreover, Villot's concern is with the film's exploration of Japanese history and themes implicitly related to national identity. She does not engage directly with the stylistic aspects of image construction or the possibilities of crystalline images in articulating distinctive perceptions of persona or memory.

In *Millenium Actress* history is not treated as past "facts," but is deliberately problematized through parallel depictions of the main character Chiyoko's personal wartime experiences and her experiences of the films that she acted in, many of which had historical themes. Both personal experience and virtual representations of that experience are thus conflated, so that an indiscernible relation between actual and virtual is deeply embedded in the film's fabric. Moreover, the fluid glossing between "personal" memories and film sequences enhances the sense that the subjective is only part of a broader and more ambiguous tapestry. Are we viewing her actual experiences or staged film sequences? Kon's deft touch in having Chiyoko's interviewers appear in the "flashbacks" and reminiscences enhances the fluidity of connection. They are being drawn into the very same web of inexplicable connections and crossovers that, in one sense, are inconceivable but nonetheless present her interviewers as participants in her broader consciousness of time, not as a sequence of factual events, but a super-subjective experience of a world that is immanent.

Kon's virtuosity in manipulating time, space, and persona is also exemplified in *Paprika* (*Papurika* パプリカ, 2006), which explores the interaction between a world of the unconscious that can be accessed through computer technology and the main characters who are chasing a criminal mastermind. The criminal has invaded the computer and is attempting to use it for his own ends. Kon represents the characters in the world of the unconscious as alter-egos, the main character Paprika herself being the "doppelganger" for a female scientist, Dr. Atsuko Chiba, who works in the lab where the technology is housed. One moment the characters in the film seem to be operating in the "real" world, but they

17 Villot 2014. See also Osmond 2009, pp. 43–58.

then find that both motion and space are severely interrupted, so that the distinction between the virtual and the actual is ultimately undeterminable. The coalescence of the two realms in the film is accentuated by visual motifs such as the sequence where Atsuko walks past some reflective surfaces in her lab and the figure that appears on the reflective surface is her doppelgänger.¹⁸ There are similarly fantastic flourishes in the early scenes of *Paprika* as well: from the opening where the clown emerges from a toy car that is too small to have emerged from, to the next sequence where the detective chasing the villain is incarcerated in a cage within a circus ring, and is attacked by a marauding audience, all of whom, regardless of gender and age, share his face, including his moustache. He then inexplicably falls through the floor of the cage to find himself instantly plummeting from a great height from the ceiling of the circus tent. Saved by Paprika on a trapeze, he resumes his pursuit of the criminal mastermind, only to find that he has entered a corridor where gravity has been suspended and even the walls billow and bend. He sees the criminal exit the other end of the corridor, and here the sequence ends. While highly imaginative and fantastical, Kon presents here a series of images that in key regards epitomize the crystal image, and reinforce our sense that there is a distinctive facility in these animated sequences to present direct images of time.

Considering the foregoing instances together, we see a quite close replication of the characteristic symptoms of the crystalline in animated features, even though, strictly speaking, we are not dealing with precisely the same sort of manipulations of light and movement in space that are found in classical cinema. Whether due to a particular technical facility or simply a long-standing stylistic propensity, it seems that Japanese animation has a distinctive capacity to achieve an intensification of the power to evoke the crystalline realm. With the typical flourish of transposing human forms into the register of “imposters” for “real people,” and the facility for generating images that flout the “laws” of time and space, these films present a consciousness of memory and perception that momentarily reveals fragments of perception superseding analogue depictions of the lived world. Most importantly, in some cases these animated features have had a profound impact on mainstream filmmaking. *Ghost in the Shell* is perhaps the most prominent example of this phenomenon, with its influence on the Wachowskis’ *The Matrix* (1999).

Shinkai Makoto’s Treatment of Time-Images

Having considered how Deleuze’s distinctive preoccupations and interests might be related to earlier instances of Japanese animation, let us now explore how the Deleuzian perspective might take us to a deeper understanding of Shinkai Makoto’s work.¹⁹ It is not an exaggeration to suggest that time and memory has been very much at the core of Shinkai’s films from the outset. In *She and Her Cat* (*Kanojo to kanojo no neko* 彼女と彼女の猫, 1999), there is a palpable sense that the passing of time is the point of each shot, in a manner that transcends individual movements or moments. Indeed, the film is noteworthy for the absence of movement, as in a mobile phone lying on a shelf depicting expectation or a toppled chair indicating emotional upheaval. The camera does not invite us to follow the main characters in their movement; indeed the panning of the perspective creates a rhythm

¹⁸ See Gardner 2009, Wells 2011, and Osmond 2009, pp. 101–118.

¹⁹ The reader is referred to <http://shinkaimakoto.jp/> for samples from a variety of Shinkai’s works.

that evokes continuity of a sort but without reference to action. On another level, Shinkai juxtaposes moving elements within the frame with utterly impassive and immobile elements. So, the kettle on the stand of the gas cooker is a recurring motif that accentuates the fragility of the flickering flame beneath it, as it contrasts with the iron frame around it. The silhouette of a monolithic rail track with clouds that stream beyond it in the background creates a similar effect.

Shinkai's early approach to evoking time rather than action is replicated to varying degrees in his later works, the expansion of the scale of location being a key point of difference. In later films, even as he devotes loving attention to the detailed minutiae of domestic interiors, Shinkai embraces the city and the familiar elements of bridges, railway lines, and roads. He uses them as large-scale anchoring points for juxtaposition with either minimally evoked actions or, conversely, to carve out blocks of constructed cityscape set against expansive skies. A later feature, *Five Centimetres Per Second* (*Byōsoku go senchimētōru* 秒速5センチメートル, 2007), which takes its title from the speed at which a flake of snow falls, exemplifies the relative indifference of Shinkai to action and plot, with the cityscape of Tokyo subtly employed to evoke the essential predicament of the main characters, namely their incapacity to conquer time. This is not just the passing of time, which of course does happen, but a suspension beyond place and time, as accentuated in ambient night shots of the Tokyo metropolis contrasted with human figures as the passive cargo of a commuter train, or unmoored passengers standing unmoving on a station platform. Such techniques indicate more than a passing proclivity with exploring the time-image, even if Shinkai does not necessarily pursue it self-consciously or deliberately.

However, Shinkai has not simply developed a style in his films that generates cinematic time-mages; he has explicitly toyed with the mechanisms of time and the manner in which it is experienced in different places and by different persons. In 2002, he released *Voices of a Distant Star* (*Hoshi no koe* ほしのこえ), which uses the science fiction premise of space travel to engender a situation where the heroine, Mikako Nagamine, is sent on a long-distance mission to battle aliens from Tharsis. However, she must deal with the increasing time-lag in communication between where she is and earth, where the love of her life, Noboru Terao, remains. Apart from the increasingly excruciating separation through time, the two characters must cling to the one thing that transcends time, their memory of each other, which is a continuous present of sorts.²⁰ In a later feature, *The Place Promised in Our Early Days* (*Kumo no mukō, yakusoku no basho* 雲のむこう、約束の場所, 2004), Shinkai revisits the theme of separated lovers, but this time the nature of memory itself is more intensely disrupted. The film commences with three teenage friends who live in an alternative Japan where Hokkaido is occupied by "the Union," and the rest of Japan is part of the Alliance with the United States. The Union builds a mysterious tower that can be seen across the strait from Honshu, and it is the focus of fascination for the three teenage friends: Sayuri, the heroine of the film, and her two male friends, Takuya and Hiroki. However, Sayuri mysteriously disappears one summer and Takuya and Hiroki take two divergent paths in the wake of her sudden absence. Takuya joins an Alliance scientific laboratory which also includes members of an underground organization called the Ulita Liberation Front. He eventually discovers that Sayuri has been in a coma for three years due to some phenomenon

20 Bingham 2009.

related to the tower, where she has become caught up in the its capacity to stream parallel universes. It is apparent that the tower will be used as a weapon against the Alliance, and the Front arranges to strike first. In the meantime, Hiroki has been working on reconstructing a crashed Union drone and after Takuya reconnects with Hiroki they agree that Hiroki will carry out the attack with Sayuri onboard.²¹

The mission is a success but the cost is Sayuri becoming aware that, as she wakes up, she will lose all memory of her prior experience, including the special affection she had for Hiroki. This is not a disastrous ending as such, but it is one that suggests that whatever sustains feeling, memory and affection is not enough to sustain it in a conventional sense. Shinkai even seems to be suggesting that the special relationship between Sayuri and Hiroki *must* be found beyond the conventional reservoir of shared experiences and memories in the past.

The Crystalline in *Your Name*

The foregoing titles provide important context to *Your Name* which visually follows on from the more ambient and gentle style of *Five Centimeters Per Second* (2007) and *The Garden of Words* (*Koto no ha no niwa* 言の葉の庭, 2013), but then marries that more gentle ambience with the earlier plot devices and time shifting seen in *Voices of a Distant Star* (2002) and *The Place Promised in Our Early Days* (2004). Moreover, in *Your Name*, Shinkai interrogates even more deeply the interchangeability of persona, place, and time.²²

The opening scene does not in fact declare the film's more serious intent. It has the catchy Radwimps theme song, and one could be forgiven for imagining after ten minutes that the film might not evolve beyond an elaborate rom-com for teenagers. The schoolgirl heroine is Mitsuha Miyamizu, who lives in the remote countryside, and declaims early in the film that she hates living away from the city and would rather be a young boy living in Tokyo. This segues to the character Taki Tachibana, a boy who lives in the city, who is about to find himself waking up in the body of Mitsuha; she wakes up in his. The potential for comedic episodes abound as the two characters learn more about each other's lives, and begin to leave notes and messages for each other as well as change relations with people at school and work. Taki ends up in a romantic relationship with a coworker, and Mitsuha becomes much more assertive and popular at school.

The film takes an emphatically more experimental turn when Taki decides that he wants to try and find the girl that he has been exchanging bodies with. He had just been informed by Mitsuha that a comet was about to pass through the sky on the day of her village's festival, but that is the last message he receives before the body sharing suddenly stops. The text messages he had received gradually disappear, and his recollection of things begins to fade quickly as well. He travels to the Hida region where he is sure the village is, but he can no longer remember the village's name. Fortunately a shopkeeper identifies his sketch of the village, and he learns that the village, named Itomori, had been wiped out several years previously when a fragment from a meteor broke off and made a direct hit as the villagers were celebrating a festival. Taki rushes to a library to verify the story, and

21 For a thorough exegesis of the film albeit from a postcolonial perspective, see Walker 2009.

22 For a dedicated website covering the background and content of *Your Name* in Japanese, he reader is referred to <http://www.kiminona.com/>.

discovers to his horror that Mitsuha is among the dead. Here Shinkai has broken apart any conventional sense of time and space. Taki has been experiencing a parallel world through another's body only to find that the time that seemed contemporary and parallel had already passed. He has, in other words, been in spaces and moments that could not exist, and yet he has enough recollection of them to lead him to an actual place in the present, and to discover an actual disaster in the past.

As the film progresses from this shocking revelation, so do the treatments of time, space, and memory become more stretched and startling. Taki remembers that on one occasion when he was inhabiting Mitsuha's body, he accompanied Mitsuha's grandmother to a cave high atop a hill overlooking the village. There they left an offering of sacred *kuchikamizake*, a form of fermented saké that was part of the traditional rites performed by Mitsuha's family as hereditary custodians of the local shrine. Taki reclaims the hill and decides to drink the saké. He falls asleep only to wake up as Mitsuha, and it is the day of the festival with the meteor due to traverse the sky that evening. He runs down to the village and tells Mitsuha's grandmother everything that has happened. She recognizes what has happened—and that someone else is in Mitsuha's body—and she encourages him to work out a plan. With Mitsuha's friends they resolve to create a false emergency which will force everyone to evacuate. The plan fails and Taki, as Mitsuha, runs back to the hill to see if he can find Mitsuha in Taki's body. When he gets there, he finds that indeed she is there; however, as the sun sets and twilight descends, they find for just a moment they are their actual selves.

Mitsuha realizes that she must try one more time to convince the villagers to evacuate, but as the twilight turns to night they become aware that they are being separated. In desperation they try to tell each other their names and even attempt to write them on each other's hands, but it doesn't work. Taki wakes up at the time he revisited the cave. He is alone and cannot remember what happened.

The device of having the persona of the two main characters radically destabilized through the interchangeability of their physical beings deeply subverts the idea of “this is a boy” and “this is a girl,” or even that this person is Mitsuha and that is Taki. They have personas, but they are essentially detached and transposed away from their physical selves moving in fixed moments in time and place. This strategy subordinates the conventional sense of time and even displaces it, which is the essential function of the time-image. The device of having Taki drink the *kuchikamizake* to be transported to another plane where the exchange of bodies can be replicated across time enables Shinkai adroitly to create a realm where time continuously divides into “a present that is passing, a past that is preserved and an indeterminate future.”²³ The time-image in this form is not only foreshadowed through such ploys as the exchange of bodies; it is also evidenced through the evocation of a realm where the past and present and even future are profoundly fluid. The key implication is that time can be sensed as the vast undercurrent of whatever superficially is the “action” or the bodily form of the character. At the same time, that vastness can be concentrated into a symptomatic moment that just happens to permit a leap into different stages of that flow of time.²⁴

23 Rodowick 1997, p. 81.

24 See Bogue 2003, pp. 135–149.

There are several other motifs that Shinkai employs to facilitate the ellipsis of time and experience. The primary one is the notion of *tasokare* 誰そ彼, or twilight, which etymologically conjures up the question “who are you?” or “who is there?” *Tasokare* is a quintessentially liminal space that transcends day and night, and in Shinkai’s adaptation, it constitutes a zone that facilitates movement across the past, present, and future. The second motif is *musubi*, which is introduced as a traditional braid-weaving tradition of the village, but ultimately it is worked into a key theme of the narrative. Mitsuha’s grandmother’s commentary on it signifies the profound linkages in life and experience that transcend time and place. The grandmother, Hitoha, explains *musubi* in the following exchange with Mitsuha:

- Hitoha: Mitsuha, do you know about *musubi*?
- Mitsuha: Musubi?
- Hitoha: It’s what we used to call the local guardian deity long ago, and it means “union.” This word has profound meaning. Tying strings together is a union. Connecting to people is a union. And the flow of time is a union. These are all part of the god’s power.
The braided chords that we make are tied to that, a skill from the god. They represent the flow of time itself. They assemble and take shape. They twist, tangle, unravel now and then, break and reconnect. That’s what a union is, what time is.²⁵

In this brief exchange, Shinkai is making explicit his awareness of time not as chronology rooted in a particular time or place, but rather as something enabling connections that unify across different times and different places. Sometimes it is manifest and sometimes it seems to unravel before reconnecting. In essence, he is expressing an understanding of time that is very much resonant with the crystalline as discussed above in relation to the time-image.

The foregoing conception of time and consciousness resonates profoundly with our earlier discussion of the Bergsonian elements in Deleuze that deal with time as “duration” and “pure memory.” By creating sequences that are deeply metamorphic in their depiction of place and persona and profoundly elliptic in terms of narrative, Shinkai is appropriating precisely the kind of crystalline images articulated by Deleuze. To return to the earlier quote describing the nature of signs that generate the crystalline, “[W]e witness change or metamorphosis across a sequence of images as the *transformation of states, qualities, concepts or identities*.” And, indeed, Shinkai’s characters “cross limits, becoming another, ... in an act of story-telling which connects ... to a people past or to come.”²⁶

Anime: Beyond Mere Fantasy

In reviewing the oeuvre of Oshii, Kon, and Shinkai, it is impossible not to be struck by the degree to which the realms of fantasy and a more conventional “reality” are routinely forced to collide and to reveal possibilities of perception and introspection that would not be possible in a conventional depiction of action. To describe their highly imaginative narratological

²⁵ Transcribed from the English-language edition of *Your Name* (2016), dir. Shinkai Makoto, 34:20”–35:20.”

²⁶ Italics by author; see Deleuze 1989, pp. 275.

and visual devices as fantasy invites of course the suggestion that there is an inherent lack of seriousness in the work undertaken. Indeed it is a recurring (though not always openly acknowledged) assumption that anime is inherently juvenile or merely amusing, precisely due to its propensity for the fantastical.²⁷ One might invoke in this connection the critique of Roger Scruton, who argued that cinema, indeed screen media in general, is intrinsically susceptible to the production of morally vapid content, such as gratuitous violence, and escapist romantic dramas, precisely given its propensity to facilitate fantasy. He famously argued that the capacity of film and television to depict plausibly unthinkable violence and cruelty to an audience safe in the knowledge that they are “only on the screen” enabled the worst kinds of fantasy gratifications. In the Freudian sense, they signified a pathological attempt to overthrow or subvert reality rather than deal with it directly.²⁸

Examining the problematic character of “mere fantasy” is therefore important, and it requires us to respond with a more nuanced consideration of artistic expression. One of the foremost thinkers to address fantasy was R. G. Collingwood, who engaged directly with very much the same concerns as Scruton but provided some vital clarifications. According to Collingwood, artistic expression, properly understood, entails some kind of imaginative reworking of *sensa* (sensory perceptions), along with a combination of input from the conscious and the pre-conscious level to produce expressions that engender a deeper self-knowledge, the “bringing to consciousness” of that which was hitherto only inchoately apprehended. Naturally, what we “bring to consciousness” will entail a degree of evoking what we are already conscious of (memory), as well as what we intuit that we know but find difficult to express. Expressing both of these necessitates some particular operation of intellect, emotion, and imagination, and it cannot be confined to the replication of what is already known but must include the discovery of unprecedented forms. Artistic expression cannot be constrained to the replication of the already known, but must be open to possibilities that may well entail the deployment of fantasy as much as fact. At the same time, however, Collingwood distinguished between the use of fantasy as an exercise of facile “make-believe,” and fantasy as an aspect of imagination utilized to bring to consciousness the inchoately felt and perceived. Indeed, he acknowledged that facile or decadent flights of make-believe are tied up with pathological behaviors. Ultimately, however, he asserted that the artistic imagination, insofar as it is preoccupied with artistic expression and not some facile distraction from the life we lead, will engage in fantasy but must also be indifferent to mere desire-gratification.²⁹

In a sense then, Collingwood would have agreed with Scruton’s characterization of fantasy in its pathological aspect. However, he also incorporates a further category of fantasy that is essentially harmless even as it pertains to facile entertainment. Within the compass of a broader category that he terms “amusement,” he includes a further notion of the facile version of fantasy as serving an instrumental gratification of a temporary desire “in-the-moment,” with no intention of applying it to life and living. This covers

27 Thomas Lamarre squarely addresses this pejorative perception of anime (Lamarre 2006, pp. 161–188). He argues, much like Holliday and Sergeant, that the increasing integration of production techniques through CGI have done a great deal to close the gap in perceptions of cinema and anime. While this is certainly true, I would argue that there is a need to address pejorative perceptions of fantasy more directly as well.

28 Scruton 1998, pp. 151–158.

29 See Collingwood 1938, pp. 135–139; Lewis 1989, p. 547.

pathological instances of fantasy but also allows us to delineate simple and essentially harmless fantasies that no one intends to take seriously anyhow. This in turn contrasts with his characterization of fantasy as intrinsic to the “bringing to consciousness” of that which cannot be appraised by conventional modes of expression.³⁰

Consequently, Collingwood provides us with an important distinction between fantasy for amusement and fantasy with significance for artistic expression while being indifferent to desire gratification and the constraints of the already known. Collingwood’s account of artistic expression is in fact not inimical to Deleuze’s conception of the use of signs to bring about a perception of the immanent through the various instances of crystalline images. It also resonates with Deleuze’s conception of a distinct order of “truth” that is generated through the “powers of the false.”³¹ The expression “powers of the false” is perhaps rather unnatural, but it denotes a position which in fact coalesces with Collingwood’s conception of artistic expression as indifferent to the reality or otherwise of the subject matter. This does not imply indifference to “facts” or “empirical experience,” but rather articulates an important precondition for genuinely revelatory artistic expression. That this might bring about the amalgamation of seeming absurdities is a risk but if the artist emerges through the process with some notion of a previously undisclosed consciousness then arguably they have fulfilled a more purely artistic aim.

In *Your Name*, we encounter numerous instances of fantasy that have little expressive or artistic function other than to amuse. The exchange of bodies between the two main characters is one of the key sources of comedy in the first half of the film, and is milked to a degree of overuse. But in the scene where Taki returns to the shrine and drinks the *kuchikamizake* to be then transported to another plane where the exchange of bodies can be replicated across time, Shinkai adroitly creates a realm where the connectedness of the two main characters conquers time. His use of such devices reveals the power of the time-image to portray emotions and memories beyond the analogue world of experience. To regard these artistic devices as mere fantasy short-changes the distinctive power of cinematic images. *Your Name* distills a distinctive message through the crystalline where the flourishes of time-bending, shape-shifting, and mind-sharing coalesce to reveal a powerful relationship between the two main characters that is not anchored in cognition of specific moments of time or in fixed memories. *Your Name* arguably succeeds in articulating the bond between Mitsuha and Taki as a state of “becoming,” a bringing to fore under conditions that disinter it from the “then and there” or the “here and now.” Shinkai uses their experience of each other’s bodies and places in time as the fulcrum for a transition from their temporal selves to an experience, however imperfectly depicted, of something deeper and, in a Bergsonian sense, “pure.” In the Deleuzian sense, *Your Name* is an indistinguishable amalgam of actual and virtual, which offers glimpses of a totality that is neither true or false. It is a perception characterized by profound multiplicity.³² It has a similar power to the work of Oshii and Kon, but is more strikingly explicit in its handling of time, place, and persona.

30 Regarding “amusement,” see Collingwood 1938, pp. 78–87; regarding the artistic processes of “bringing to consciousness,” see Collingwood 1938, pp. 105–117, 125–134.

31 Deleuze’s conception of the “powers of the false” and its philosophical underpinnings are detailed in Deleuze 1989, pp. 127–129.

32 See Deleuze 1989, p. 130; Bogue 2003, pp. 148–150.

Shinkai's attempt to present the bond between his main characters as something beyond time and place, but nonetheless capable of perception, is validated by the film's ending. In a seeming anticlimax, Taki awakens after finally "meeting" Mitsuha to find that he is in his own present, and has little precise recollection of what just happened. He then continues to live his life much as he would otherwise have done, finding out in the meantime that, happily, the villagers of Itomori were saved when the mayor of the village was persuaded to evacuate before the comet struck. Unfortunately, Taki had no way of finding Mitsuha as he could no longer remember her name. The final scene is preceded by a typical Shinkai flourish of two young people, Taki and Mitsuha, seeing each other from different trains and somehow mysteriously sensing that they have a bond. They both alight from their trains and walk towards each other, meeting on a stairway. The film ends with them asking each other their names. The simplest of gestures in a moment is packed with enormous resonance.

Conclusion

Shinkai Makoto's work follows on from a substantial tradition of anime that engages and entertains with arresting imagery while also subtly exploring the deeper undercurrents of human emotion and consciousness. What distinguishes Shinkai from his predecessors in *Your Name*, however, is his appropriation of a profoundly fluid realm of expression that explores the multiplicity of persona, place, and time while nonetheless unifying it in the consciousness of the two main protagonists. It is on one level perhaps merely a romantic drama, and yet the sophistication of his management of time and consciousness renders it worthy of recognition as a powerful cinematic statement.

Your Name departs from the more familiar sci-fi devices evident in his earlier works, and even the works of Oshii Mamoru and Kon Satoshi, to employ what might be described as an almost spiritual and culturally essentialist set of premises. It is unmistakably a self-consciously very Japanese film in its motifs and settings; indeed, Shinkai lavishes affection on both the urban cityscape and the rural countryside. He has also set out to entertain and amuse a broad segment of the Japanese public, in a way that his earlier works were not necessarily able to do. His earlier films are emphatically in the *sekai-kei* (世界系) genre that focuses on the emotional predicament of contemporary young people, who feel alienated and seek a significant other to share their predicament with. Those elements persist to a degree but do not altogether dominate the scope of the work.

In contrast to Shinkai's earlier works, his focus on the human connections in *Your Name* is clearly both more familial, as in the attention he gives to Mitsuha's extended family and ancestry. It is also social and communal, as we see in the scenes depicting school socializing and village festivities. But the core connection between Taki and Mitsuha, though initiated while they are high school students, is elevated beyond the juvenile premise of boyfriend and girlfriend to encapsulate something that binds them beyond that point in time, indeed any point in time. There is a certain poetry in the way that Shinkai has taken the familiar notion of the deepest kinds of love that somehow feel predestined, and seem capable of enduring even beyond this life.

I have devoted considerable space here to teasing out the intricacies of Deleuze's theory of cinema to explore how his thought makes it possible to distinguish various ontologies of the image in *Your Name*. *Your Name* is a film replete with flourishes that propel it

beyond a rudimentary exercise in depicting star-crossed lovers. Deleuze's conception of the time-image enables us to frame how animated images in *Your Name* evoke orders of perception as instances of transcendental moments of memory and consciousness beyond chronological time. By integrating Deleuze's theory of the time-image into an analysis of *Your Name*, we can understand more clearly how the anime discussed above share not merely some relatively superficial relevance to the order of movement-images; there is a great deal that can be unpacked in terms of their significance as a distinctive order of time-images. Animated images may of course operate as movement-images, but when they do that (and not much else) they fall fairly quickly into the realm of simplistic replications of motor-sensory perceptions. It is as time-images that they lend themselves to more profound artistic expression where the constraints of motor-sensory representation are abandoned, and precisely the kinds of radically fractured, multiplied, and transposed expressions emerge in a predominant fashion.

The ultimate merit of this perspective is that it leads to an appreciation of animation as enabling access to realms of cinematic expression that are in their own way sublime and deeply relevant to the broader artistic aim of expressing "truths" about the human condition. Moreover, the perspective helps clarify how Japanese animation, though often neither photo-real nor "realistic," is yet capable of dealing in much more than mere fantasy. Collingwood's insights allow for a more nuanced approach to fantasy as not merely fiction or amusement, and expose the manner in which Deleuze's notion of time-images is tied to some of the purest forms of artistic expression.

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Research Note

Daimyo Processions and Satsuma's Korean Village: A Note on the Reliability of Local History Materials

Rebekah CLEMENTS

This research note examines materials testifying to the postwar relationship between the Satsuma domain and the community of potters from Chosŏn Korea who were taken to Japan by the armies of Satsuma during Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea (1592–1598). The village of Naeshirogawa, where most of these potters eventually settled, became an important center of ceramic production for Satsuma, and retained elements of Korean language and culture until the modern era. Although documents associated with the Korean potter community in Naeshirogawa have gradually begun to attract the attention of scholars, those which take the form of *nenpu* (annual records) are understood to have been compiled no earlier than the nineteenth century from unknown sources, and thus their reliability as sources of information on the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries has been questioned. In this note, I adopt a new approach to ascertaining the accuracy of the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* by cross-referencing them with the official records of the Satsuma domain, comparing in particular records of the visits made to Naeshirogawa by the daimyo on their way to and from Edo as part of the *sankin kōtai* system of alternate attendance. This analysis reveals that the *nenpu* are highly accurate. They are an important source of information on the practice of *sankin kōtai* at a local level, as well as on topics as diverse as ceramics, domain-village relations, and the symbolic use of Satsuma's foreign connections.

Keywords: *sankin kōtai*, Chosŏn captives, pottery, ceramics, Shimazu family, Naeshirogawa

Introduction

This research note examines annual records (*nenpu* 年譜) associated with the history of the village of Naeshirogawa 苗代川 in Satsuma domain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These *nenpu* are a fascinating source, compiled by descendants of potters who were captured and brought to Japan by the army of the Satsuma daimyo in the latter

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stages of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598) second invasion of Chosŏn Korea (1597–1598).¹ They describe the origins of the village community, the pottery industry that developed there, and the patronage the village enjoyed under successive daimyo. As Phillip Brown has noted, historiography rooted in local sources—of which the Naeshirogawa documents are a prime example—can provide an important counterpoint to centralized narratives of Tokugawa Japan and to narratives that draw upon selective printed sources.² In order to make use of such local documents, however, certain hurdles pertaining to their authority and reliability must first be overcome. Materials associated with the Korean community in Naeshirogawa have begun to attract the attention of scholars thanks to the work of Ōtake Susumu 大武進 and Fukaminato Kyōko 深港恭子.³ However, the manuscripts which take the form of annual records were compiled by villagers in the nineteenth century from as yet unidentified documents, and this modern provenance means their accuracy about events two centuries earlier has been questioned.⁴ Furthermore, the Naeshirogawa records have never been reprinted in either of Kagoshima Prefecture's two historical documents series, suggesting that they are not regarded as authoritative.⁵

Here, I adopt a new approach to assessing the reliability of the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* in order to facilitate their use in research. These records are devoted in large part to detailed accounts of regular visits to the village made by daimyo on their journeys between Satsuma and Edo as part of the *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 system of alternate attendance.⁶ Each time he visited Naeshirogawa, the daimyo usually stayed in the village for one or two nights, and the *nenpu* record elaborate ceremonies of gift-giving, banqueting, dance, and displays of local wares that took place during these sojourns. Records of daimyo visits to Naeshirogawa provide a means of testing the accuracy of the village documents, and offer a window on their significance as historical sources. I ascertain the precision of the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* by cross-referencing them with the details about *sankin kōtai* contained in official documents of Satsuma domain, which may themselves be matched against official documents of the Tokugawa house.

The Naeshirogawa annual records have the potential to provide historians with information on topics as diverse as ceramics, domain-village relations, and the symbolic use of Satsuma's foreign connections. On the question of alternate attendance, which concerns us here, the *nenpu* offer a rare insight into how this practice operated within the borders of a domain, and they help illuminate the meaning of daimyo visits for a local community. This bottom-up perspective stands in sharp contrast with conventional approaches to the study of *sankin kōtai*. The majority of written sources pertaining to alternate attendance consist of official documents and the diaries of domain retainers, supplemented by the financial records of innkeepers who housed daimyo retinues along official highways.⁷ Most visual materials depicting the processions were created and consumed in Edo or other cities and

1 Kurushima, Suda, and Cho 2014.

2 Brown 2000, p. 46.

3 Ōtake 1996, Fukaminato 2000.

4 Fukaminato 2000, p. 102.

5 Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 1970–2019, Kagoshima-ken Shiryō Kankō Iinkai 1959–2019.

6 Maruyama 2007, Yamamoto 1998, Vaporis 2008.

7 For example, Chūda 1993. In the case of Satsuma, see Hatano's seminal articles (1976, 1977).

hence represent *sankin kōtai* under the urban gaze.⁸ *Sankin kōtai* is thus understood largely through the eyes of officialdom and in terms of the bakufu-domain relationship, with the focus, as Constantine Vaporiš has noted, on time spent in Edo.⁹

The first section of this research note introduces Naeshirogawa Village and the *nenpu*. In the second section, I deal with the official Satsuma records and provide a brief history of *sankin kōtai* in Satsuma. The third section is a comparison of the parts of the Naeshirogawa and Satsuma records that report the dates of daimyo travel for the purpose of attendance in Edo. I conclude with a discussion of the potential of the Naeshirogawa records for future research.

The Naeshirogawa Records

The village of Naeshirogawa, now known as Miyama 美山, is located approximately twenty-four kilometers northwest of Kagoshima 鹿児島, the domain capital of Satsuma during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868).¹⁰ When the Satsuma armies returned from Chosŏn Korea following the failed second invasion of 1597–1598, they, like armies from across southern Japan, brought back with them potters they had captured on the peninsula. The purpose was to use the potters' skills to strengthen the domain's economic base.¹¹ Most of the seventy potters forcibly brought to Satsuma eventually moved to Naeshirogawa in the early years of the Tokugawa period, or were relocated there later during the seventeenth century.¹² Some kilns active in Miyama today trace their lineage to these original Chosŏn ceramicists, and some of the potter families have preserved records and ceramic items dating back to the early years of their ancestors' relocation to Japan.¹³

Extant manuscripts associated with the Naeshirogawa community are held in university archives as well as in potter family collections. Some relate to village administration; there are also Korean-language learning materials and musical scores, as well as the records in the *nenpu* format which concern us here.¹⁴ The main *nenpu* is *Sennen Chōsen yori meshiwatasare tomechō* 先年朝鮮より被召渡留帳 (A record of how we were brought from Chosŏn in years gone by; hereafter *Tomechō*), which comprises thirty folios covering the years 1598 to 1722.¹⁵ It is contained in volume four of a collection of manuscripts known as the *Tōki shūsetsu* 陶器集説, held by the National Diet Library.¹⁶ As Fukaminato has shown, the *Tōki shūsetsu* was compiled between 1872 and 1883 by Japan's International Exhibitions Office (Hakurankai Jimukyoku 博覧会事務局), which had solicited information on the ceramic traditions of Japan in preparation for the World's Fairs.¹⁷ There are several sections pertaining to Naeshirogawa in the *Tōki shūsetsu*, including *Tomechō*, and they bear the date 1872. The Naeshirogawa sections are therefore likely to have been made in preparation for the Vienna World's Fair which took place in 1873. The copy of *Tomechō* is signed by Naeshirogawa village officials (*yakunin* 役人), Kuruma Kin'en/Ch'a Kūmwŏn 車金圓 and Tei Sen'eki/Chōng

8 For example, Tōkyō-to Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan 1997.

9 Vaporiš 2008, pp. 205–206.

10 Higashi Ichiki-chōshi Hensan Iinkai 2005, p. 36.

11 Naitō 1976, Cort 1986, Maske 2011.

12 Kurushima 2014, Watanabe 2016.

13 Chin and Kaneko 2011.

14 Ōtake 1996, pp. 163–179.

15 Transcribed in modern characters in Fukaminato 2000, pp. 110–121.

16 *Tōki shūsetsu* (not paginated). Reprinted in various editions, including Ono 1932, vol. 17.

17 Fukaminato 2000.

Sōnik 鄭仙益, and group heads (*kumigashira* 組頭) Chin Mōjun/Sin Maengsun 沈孟順, Boku Juetsu/Pak Suyōl 朴寿悦, and Kin Mōkō/Kim Maengkwang 金孟廣.¹⁸

Three variant manuscripts of *Tomechō* are known, although their exact genealogy remains unclear. All bear the title *Naeshirogawa yuraiki* 苗代川由来記 (Record of the origins of Naeshirogawa; hereafter *Yuraiki*). These variant manuscripts are held by the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo, Kagoshima University Library, and the Reimeikan Museum (Kagoshima). The University of Tokyo copy dates from 1914 and covers the years 1593–1763.¹⁹ The undated Kagoshima University copy, which covers the years 1593–1684, belonged to the family of Boku Juetsu/Pak Suyōl, one of the compilers of *Tomechō*.²⁰ The Reimeikan Museum copy is undated but is believed to be from the modern period; it covers the years 1593–1684.²¹

For present purposes, I will concentrate on information contained in *Tomechō*, supplementing it where necessary with the editions of *Yuraiki* listed above. *Tomechō* is the oldest and longest of the *nenpu* and, as noted above, is clearly signed and dated by compilers from Naeshirogawa. Despite doubts about its reliability, *Tomechō* has been a significant source of information on the history of Satsuma pottery since the publication in 1941 of the seminal *Satsumayaki no kenkyū* by Tazawa Kingo 田沢金吾 and Koyama Fujio 小山富士夫.²²

Official Satsuma Records and *Sankin kōtai*

The Naeshirogawa records will be compared with the main collection of official records of the Satsuma domain, variously known as *Kyūki zatsuroku* 旧記雑録 (Various records of bygone affairs) and as *Sappan kyūki zatsuroku* 薩藩旧記雑録 (Various records of bygone affairs in Satsuma domain). This collection was compiled by the Satsuma retainer Ijichi Sueyasu 伊地知季安 (1782–1867) and his son in the nineteenth century from earlier sources, and covers the period from 1041 until 1895.²³ Despite their official status, it would be naïve to consider the Satsuma domain records infallible. In cases of a discrepancy between the Satsuma domain and Naeshirogawa village records, I have checked the records of the Tokugawa house (*Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実記) to confirm the dates of the Shimazu daimyo's audiences with the shogun in Edo that year.²⁴

Satsuma's *Kyūki zatsuroku* normally provides an abbreviated itinerary of each 2,800 kilometer round trip made by the daimyo between Kagoshima and Edo during the Tokugawa period, but does not mention smaller stops such as Naeshirogawa. However, a comparison of the dates in this official domain itinerary with those in the Naeshirogawa records shows that the latter are extremely accurate, matching in all but four of nineteen instances for which a daimyo visit to Naeshirogawa is recorded in the village records. As

18 The correct pronunciation of the names of people from Naeshirogawa prior to the twentieth century is uncertain. They were prohibited from using Japanese-sounding names in 1695 (Fukaminato 2000, p. 119), but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many adopted Japanese names to avoid discrimination (Ogawara 2014).

19 Contained in *Naeshirogawa shiryō* 苗代川資料 (not paginated). Reprinted in modern characters in Fukaminato 2000, pp. 110–121.

20 Reprinted in modern characters in Ōtake 1996, pp. 157–161.

21 Reprinted in modern characters in Fukaminato 2000, pp. 110–116.

22 Tazawa and Koyama 1941.

23 KZT and Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 1979–1987.

24 Narushima 1904–1905.

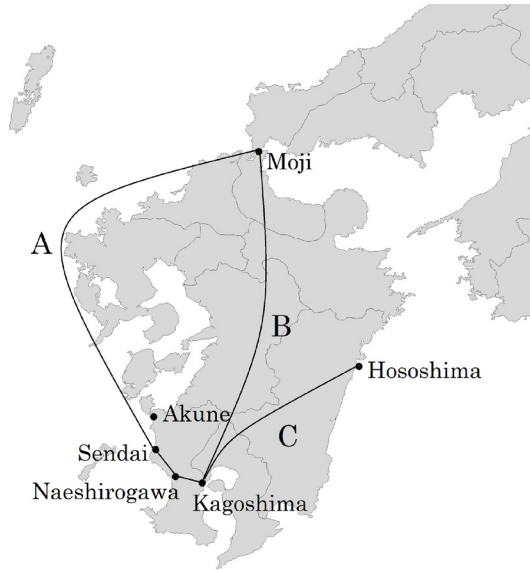


Figure 1. Three routes taken through Kyushu by Satsuma daimyo. (For GIS data on historical *kuni* boundaries, see Berman 2017.)

discussed below, these four anomalies appear to be the result of errors in the copying of the Naeshirogawa manuscripts.

The system of *sankin kōtai* began in the first half of the seventeenth century following the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), when many of the daimyo who had fought against the victor, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616), offered close family members to Ieyasu as hostages. The Shimazu family had been one of the earliest to adopt this practice, having previously operated a similar system within their own territories. Over the course of the seventeenth century such arrangements became regularized. All daimyo were required to leave their families in Edo, and divide their time between domain and capital.²⁵ The timing and frequency of the daimyo's visits changed over the next two centuries, but for the period 1677–1714 during which the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* records visits, the daimyo and retired daimyo of Satsuma usually went to Edo and back once a year, which meant there were annually at least two occasions for the procession to pass through Naeshirogawa.²⁶ This, however, depended upon the route that was selected. The Shimazu had several options from their castle town of Kagoshima to Osaka, after which their route was regulated by the shogunate.²⁷ For the initial stage of their journey through Kyushu, the options were these:

- A. Via the Izumi Highway (Izumi suji 出水筋), which passes by Naeshirogawa, then northwest as far as the port of Sendai 川内 and from there by sea.
- B. Via the Ōkuchi Highway (Ōkuchi suji 大口筋) northeast until Kajiki 加治木 district before heading north through the district of Ōkuchi and overland to the Moji 門司 gate.

25 Maruyama 2007, Yamamoto 1998, Vaporis 2008.

26 Hatano 1977, p. 55; Kido 2015, pp. 40–47.

27 Kido 2015, p. 21; Hatano 1977.



Figure 2. Detail of Satsuma Province from *Genroku kuni ezu* 元禄国絵図 (National Archives of Japan) showing the Izumi Highway from Kagoshima to the port of Sendai in 1702, including Naeshirogawa.

C. Via the Hyūga Highway (Hyūga suji 日向筋; also known as Takaoka suji 高岡筋) northeast through Kajiki district to Hyūga Province, then from Hososhima 細島 by sea.

Until the middle of the Tokugawa period, the Satsuma daimyo usually took either the Izumi Highway (before embarking on ships from Sendai, Akune 阿久根, or Izumi), or the Hyūga Highway embarking from Hososhima in Hyūga Province.²⁸ The former, running between Kagoshima on the eastern side of the peninsula and the port of Sendai on the western side, passed through Naeshirogawa (Figure 2).

Comparison of Naeshirogawa and Satsuma Records

Although visits by the daimyo to Naeshirogawa continued well into the nineteenth century, the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* covers only nineteen visits, all of which took place between 1677 and 1714.²⁹ They report that daimyo usually stayed between one and three days. In contrast, the Satsuma domain records for the Kyushu part of the journey include only the arrival and departure dates for Kagoshima and the ports in Sendai (Hirashima 平島, Kyōdomari 京泊, and Mukōda 向田), and do not mention Naeshirogawa. Since Naeshirogawa lies roughly one

28 Hatano 1977, p. 55.

29 Fukaminato 2004, p. 31.

day's journey from Kagoshima on the Izumi Highway (Route A), it is possible to determine from each Satsuma entry whether the daimyo procession did indeed pass through the village as claimed by the *nenpu* and whether the reported dates are logistically possible.

Table 1 compares the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* with the official Satsuma records and reveals a high degree of correspondence, particularly during the first decade. Take for example the first visit, recorded in 1677. According to the Satsuma records, domain lord Shimazu Mitsuhiisa 島津光久 (1616–1694) left Kagoshima on the last day of the sixth month. The Naeshirogawa *nenpu* is consistent with this record: it reports that he arrived at the village rest house on the same day, and that he viewed various entertainments the following day. The subsequent entries for the first decade continue in the same vein, recording the route taken, the name of the daimyo concerned, and the timings of the journey corresponding with the official Satsuma records.

The first problematic entries are for 1688 and 1689. In both, the dates given in the *nenpu* are consistent with those in the Satsuma domain records but the names of the individuals are recorded incorrectly in the Naeshirogawa documents. Domain sources report that Shimazu Tsunataka 島津綱貴 (1650–1704) returned to Satsuma from Edo in 1688 after being invested as head of the Shimazu family, and that Shimazu Mitsuhiisa—now the retired daimyo—traveled back from Edo in 1689. The Naeshirogawa *nenpu*, however, reports Tsunataka's visit as taking place in 1689 and Mitsuhiisa's visit in 1688. It is likely that this is simply the result of a copyist's error, since the entries for 1688 and 1689 appear side by side in the Naeshirogawa manuscripts. We can verify the accuracy of the domain records by comparing them with the *Tokugawa jikki*. The error is replicated in the University of Tokyo copy of *Yuraiki*, suggesting that *Tomechō* and *Yuraiki* either stem from the same source or sources, or that the latter drew on *Tomechō*.³⁰

The third visit for which the Naeshirogawa and Satsuma domain documents do not match involves the following intriguing feature mentioned in *Tomechō* and the University of Tokyo *Yuraiki*. Although these two manuscripts report no stay in the village, they note the daimyo entourage on its way to Edo included three page boys (*koshō* 小性), dressed to “look like people of Chōson” (*Chōsenjin yōbō nite* 朝鮮人容貌にて). *Tomechō* records the pages' trip to Edo in the year 1691 but offers no information as to month or day, while the *Yuraiki* puts it as the thirteenth day of the second month of 1692.³¹ It seems that in this instance the *Yuraiki* has the wrong year as the Satsuma domain documents make no mention of a trip to Edo in the second month of 1692; however, they record one in 1691, which left Kagoshima on the tenth day of the second month via Route A. It is conceivable that the Satsuma party left from Naeshirogawa on the thirteenth day of that month. Tantalizingly, no other records concerning this journey to Edo have come to light, and the Naeshirogawa documents report no further details.

The fourth and final mismatch between the Naeshirogawa and Satsuma documents occurs in 1703 when the *nenpu* reports a visit by a certain Shōsaku sama 匠作様 on the fifth day of the third month.³² The identity of this individual is a mystery, and the date of his

30 The other *Yuraiki* manuscripts end in 1684, and therefore do not cover these visits.

31 Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.

32 Transcribed as 道作様 in the 1932 edition of *Tōkizenshū* (Ono 1932, vol. 17, p. 60), but I concur with Fukaminato 2000, p. 120, that the correct version is 匠作様.

Table 1. Comparison of Naeshirogawa and Satsuma records.

NAESHIROGAWA RECORDS		SATSUMA DOMAIN RECORDS			MATCH
YEAR	MONTH AND DAY	YEAR	POSSIBLE DATES	ROUTE	
1677 ¹	6.30 – 7.1	1677 ²	6.30-8.2	A	✓
1678 ³	7.15	1678 ⁴	7.10-7.17	A	✓
1679 ⁵	4.19 – 4.22	1679 ⁶	4.18-5.6	A	✓
1680 ⁷	6.25	1680 ⁸	6.18-6.27	A	✓
1681 ⁹	2.11	1681 ¹⁰	2.11-2.19	A	✓
1682 ¹¹	7.1-7.2	1682 ¹²	6.22-7.2	A	✓
1683 ¹³	2.22	1683 ¹⁴	2.22-3.7	A	✓
1684 ¹⁵	6.28	1684 ¹⁶	6.23-6.29	A	✓
1685 ¹⁷	2.13 – 2.16	1685 ¹⁸	2.13-3.17	A	✓
1686 ¹⁹	6.29-7.1	1686 ²⁰	4.12-7.1	A	✓
1687 ²¹	2.10-2.11	1687 ²²	2.10-3.18	A	✓
1688 ²³	6.?-?	1688 ²⁴	6.6- 8.6	A	?
1689 ²⁵	8.?	1689 ²⁶	6.11-8.28	A	?
1692 ²⁷	2.13	1691 ²⁸	2.10-2.18	A	?
1695 ²⁹	3.?	1695 ³⁰	3.6-4.6	?	✓
1695 ³¹	7.?	1695 ³²	7.4-7.25	?	✓
1702 ³³	3.?	1702 ³⁴	3.10-3.12	A	✓
1703 ³⁵	3.5	1703 ³⁶	3.11-3.23	A	?
1714 ³⁷	?	1714 ³⁸	9/9-	A	✓

1. Fukaminato 2000, p.114.
2. KZT 1:684.
3. Fukaminato 2000, p.114.
4. KZT 1:686.
5. Fukaminato 2000, pp. 114–115.
6. KZT 1:691.
7. Fukaminato 2000, p. 115.
8. KZT 1:695.
9. Fukaminato 2000, p. 115.
10. KZT 1:703.
11. Fukaminato 2000, pp. 115–116.
12. KZT 1:708.
13. Fukaminato 2000, p. 116.
14. KZT 1:712.
15. Fukaminato 2000, p. 116.
16. KZT 1:719.
17. Fukaminato 2000, p. 117.
18. KZT 1:730.
19. Fukaminato 2000, p. 118.
20. KZT 1:756.
21. Fukaminato 2000, p. 118.
22. KZT 1:788.
23. Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.
24. KZT 1:811.
25. Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.
26. KZT 1:837.
27. *Tomechō* does not record the date of the trip to Edo. Taken from *Yuraiiki* (Tokyo University copy) as transcribed in Fukaminato 2000, p. 119.
28. KZT 1:867.
29. Fukaminato 2000, p. 119
30. KZT 1:926. Note it is not recorded which route was taken through Kyushu.
31. Fukaminato 2000, p.119
32. KZT 1:933–934. Note it is not recorded which route was taken through Kyushu.
33. Taken from *Yuraiiki* (University of Tokyo copy, Fukaminato 2000, p. 119). No matching record is found in *Tomechō*.
34. KZT 2:348.
35. Fukaminato 2000, p. 120.
36. KZT 2:420.
37. Fukaminato 2000, p. 120.
38. KZT 3:155

arrival does not match any official trips in the Satsuma records. He may have been a senior domain official traveling ahead of the daimyo entourage, which departed for Edo on the eleventh day of the third month that same year.³³

Conclusions

With only four of the nineteen entries exhibiting any discrepancy when cross-referenced with the official Satsuma domain records, we can conclude that the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* exhibit a high degree of accuracy in their accounts of daimyo passages through Naeshirogawa on their journeys between Kagoshima and Edo. While we cannot claim that every detail in the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* is correct, it is highly likely that they were compiled from older sources and that they were intended to serve as precise historical records for the village.

The Naeshirogawa *nenpu*, whose historical accuracy should now be apparent, are significant for several reasons. First, they represent a rare and detailed source of information on the practice of *sankin kōtai* at the local level, written from the perspective of villagers. If it were not for these documents, we would know nothing of the daimyo's regular visits to Naeshirogawa, merely one stop on a 2,800 kilometer round trip. Official records do not mention Naeshirogawa or what occurred there (nor indeed in any other villages along the route). For the people of Naeshirogawa, however, the visits were clearly an important reminder of their relationship with the Shimazu, as evidenced by the detail with which they were preserved for posterity by the villagers in the *nenpu*. Ceramics were foundational to this relationship. Naeshirogawa pottery was a major export from Satsuma to other parts of Japan, most notably, *dobin* 土瓶 kettles, which have been excavated across the archipelago from modern-day Hokkaido to Okinawa.³⁴ The village was given special status under Satsuma's administrative regulations in order to protect its ceramic industry, and according to the Naeshirogawa documents, when tensions arose with surrounding villages over resource allocation, the domain issued official notices prohibiting locals from attacking the "people from Chosōn" (*Chōsenjin* 朝鮮人).³⁵ During daimyo visits, this relationship of mutual benefit and fealty was articulated through elaborate ceremonies of gift-giving, banqueting, dance, and displays of local wares, all of which were assiduously recorded by the villagers.

Such ceremonies also call to mind the symbolic use of embassies from Ryukyu, which had been annexed by Satsuma in 1615.³⁶ Representatives from Ryukyu traveled to Edo in the company of Satsuma retainers, usually at the same time as a *sankin kōtai* trip. As previous research has shown, the presence of these foreigners in the Satsuma retinue was a reminder of the domain's successful invasion of Ryukyu, and bolstered Satsuma's prestige.³⁷ The Naeshirogawa documents thus constitute further evidence of the symbolic use of a foreign culture by Satsuma.

Lastly, the Naeshirogawa *nenpu* provide information about the relationship between a Tokugawa village and its domain over a period of roughly one hundred years from the early seventeenth until the early eighteenth century. Although I have concentrated on the dates of the daimyo visits, the *nenpu* also shed light on changes in the administrative status

33 KZT 2:420.

34 Watanabe 2015, p. 19.

35 Haraguchi and Sakai 1975; Fukaminato 2000, p. 113.

36 Yokoyama 1987; Toby 1986.

37 Kido 2015.

of the village and provisions for tax exemptions and allocations of land. These records can contribute to our understanding of Tokugawa villages and local history far from the main urban centers of Edo and the Kinai during the early Edo period when extant materials are scarce. Thus, they offer valuable local historical material for addressing the imbalance between regional history and more centralized narratives of Tokugawa Japan.

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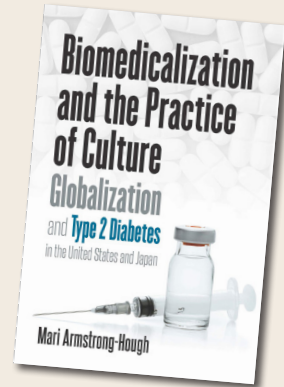
BOOK REVIEW

Biomedicalization and the Practice of Culture: Globalization and Type 2 Diabetes in the United States and Japan

By Mari Armstrong-Hough

University of North Carolina Press, 2018
x + 171 pages.

Reviewed by Amy BOROVOY



Ichirō is a patient with type 2 diabetes at a Japanese hospital. His chronic condition of high blood sugar has, over time, impaired his kidney function to the extent that he must now undergo dialysis treatment in the hospital three times a week. Diabetic patients must carefully control their sugar intake, and dialysis patients have further restrictions. Yet doctors and nurses at the hospital note that Ichirō is not abiding by the prescribed regimen. In fact, in the hospital cafeteria he is observed filling his coffee with forbidden creamer and sugar. His physician, Dr. Saitō, recommends to Ichirō that he be admitted to the hospital for reeducation while Ichirō listens and laughs nervously.

Such a scenario would likely play out differently in an American health care environment. Dr. Saitō's approach might be seen as overbearing and invasive, even when handled politely and professionally. Furthermore, ordering the admission of a rational and non-acute patient would be outside the purview of basic medical care and possibly an infringement on patient rights—not to mention necessitating the cost of a two-week stay in an American hospital.

In *Biomedicalization and the Practice of Culture*, Mari Armstrong-Hough offers a discerning and revealing study of how biomedical care for type 2 diabetes is a “cultural practice,” not just a science-based medical intervention.

Biomedical interventions are often assumed to be universal in nature. Physicians participate in international knowledge exchange through conferences and fellowships. They share scientific data and medical approaches that are assumed to be “evidence-based.” Yet Armstrong-Hough's study makes clear that these approaches are also shaped by institutional practices, historically-rooted cultural beliefs, and what she calls doctors' “meaning-making tool kits” (p. 11).

Armstrong-Hough, whose study is based on 359 interviews with doctors, educators, nurses, and patients in Japan and the U.S., highlights the social context of biomedicine, particularly for an audience of American public health specialists, health care providers, and medical sociologists who are likely not acquainted with work by specialists on Japan. Importantly, she is careful not to reduce differences to stereotypes or broad generalizations.

Type 2 diabetes is caused in part by risk factors that are common to postindustrial societies, including increased consumption of starch and sugar due to the availability of

cheap processed foods, increasing portion sizes, sedentary lifestyle, excessive alcohol intake, and growing incidence of high blood pressure. These risk factors are common to affluent societies, but the causal narrative embraced by health care workers is not universal. U.S. physicians, nurses, and diabetes educators often blame the harms of modernity and the “unnatural” nature of our modern lifestyle, including TV channel surfing, driving, and snacking on starchy foods. This narrative advances a “global” model of risk which, while not entirely inaccurate, obscures both the effects of socioeconomic status on specific groups and the effects of genetic predisposition. It can also turn into a moral discourse which blames individuals for their lack of self-control.

In Japan a culturally-specific narrative has taken hold which emphasizes the unsuitability of Western foods to the Japanese body. While it is true that fatty, starchy, or salty foods contribute to the problem, Japanese doctors and educators often associate Western food with “junk food” while letting Japanese foods such as ramen, convenience store bentō boxes, or beef bowls, also salty and fatty, completely off the hook. It is fascinating that these culturally-shaped perceptions lead to markedly different treatment regimens. Limiting carbohydrates is central to American guidelines; in contrast Japanese guidelines tout the virtues of a Japanese diet, including white rice.

Japanese and American narratives of causality are both flawed and narrow. But the story gets more interesting when Armstrong-Hough considers the different ways in which medical interactions and treatment regimens are handled. Armstrong-Hough’s findings suggest that the Japanese case can inform broader public health debates in ways not usually appreciated.

Managing diabetes demands a great deal of self-discipline. A patient must measure and record his or her own blood sugar sometimes multiple times daily, administer shots of insulin, and rigidly control their diets, especially sugar intake. Interestingly, both Japanese and American health care providers eschew what they call medical “paternalism.” But they define that concept differently. American nurses and physicians associate paternalism with hierarchy and one-way communication. They claim to take a “patient-centered approach” (p. 79), attending to the patient’s specific needs and goals and supporting the patient to make good choices. Key words here are empowerment, personal responsibility, self-discipline (p. 83). When a patient fails to embrace the prescribed regimen, physicians may have to fall back on scare tactics.

Japanese physicians also eschew “paternalism,” at least in principle. But for them paternalism is associated with arrogance or lack of respect on the part of the physician. If a physician shows proper respect (using respectful verb forms and gaining the patient’s trust), then it is not inappropriate to tell the patient what to do (as we saw in the case of Ichirō, the dialysis patient). In fact, most physicians see the patient’s health as ultimately *their own* responsibility—not only the patient’s. Armstrong-Hough captures this difference evocatively: American health care providers imagine a patient’s diabetes as “your diabetes”; Japanese providers see it as “our diabetes.”

Here is where the Japanese approach offers potential food for thought. Mainstream care for type 2 diabetes in Japanese clinics and hospitals means comprehensive health education, communication, and the recommendation of concrete, quantified, and “immediate” lifestyle modifications. It is hands-on and intimate. The minimum frequency of Japanese patients’

visits to doctors—once every two weeks—is higher than the average number of visits by Americans. And visits in Japan are typically handled by physicians themselves. Armstrong-Hough’s findings made me reflect on how the notion of “paternalism” inadequately captures the nature of public health interventions in Japan, which rely not only on top-down orders but also on intensive forms of education and socialization, patient involvement through record-keeping and self-monitoring, and the cultivation of trust—practices which seem useful, but ones which medical anthropologists may lack a positive language for.

There is considerable critique of “biomedicalization” in social studies of medicine, referring to how medicine has come to intervene in a widening sphere of human experience, including childbirth, sadness, senility, and other natural effects of aging. Medicalization of chronic illness can result in an impossibly heightened sense of individual risk, in unnecessary surveillance, and in preventative care with pharmaceutical and other remedies directed not only at “illness” but also at “pre-illness.”¹

The term biomedicalization carries a negative gloss, perhaps influenced by the Foucauldian framework of “biopolitics.” In the public health context, it can also refer to deflecting responsibility onto the individual rather than society or harm-producing industries.² But Armstrong-Hough’s observations about Japan press us to consider how medical intervention through instruction and socialization may be necessary for growing caseloads of chronic illness in aging societies.

In fact, a salient feature of Japanese society beyond the clinic is the way in which education about health and the body is present in many social spheres—from elementary school training about regular bowel movements to the school lunch program, which educates children about hygiene, etiquette, and nutrition.³ Community health care centers (*bokenjo*), now on the frontlines of COVID education, educate the public about chronic illness prevention. Hospital admission for the sake of education, called *kyōiku nyūin*, is common. Mainstream practices of record-keeping including home budget-keeping (*kakeibo*) and the pregnancy log (*boshi techō*) required of obstetrical patients, inform the self-monitoring required of many patients. In 2008, the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare implemented a screening program for metabolic syndrome (a group of symptoms linked to heightened risk of diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and stroke) that promotes not only health care but consciousness-raising and “lifestyle improvement” (*seikatsu shūkan kaizen*).

Socialization around health occurs in many spheres in social life in Japan.⁴ Perhaps we should more appropriately call this “bio-sociality” rather than “biomedicalization”? Certainly, there are spheres in which biomedicine has overreached, but this study also highlights the limits of the American pattern of deflecting the responsibility for health and wellness onto the individual. The book offers a window into Japan’s health care, a system the world knows little about, but is increasingly relevant to global health.

1 Whitmarsh 2013.

2 Benson and Kirsch 2010.

3 Borovoy and Roberto 2015.

4 Borovoy 2017.

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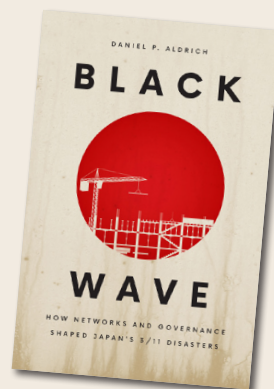
BOOK REVIEW

Black Wave: How Networks and Governance Shaped Japan's 3/11 Disasters

By Daniel P. Aldrich

University of Chicago Press, 2019
xviii + 270 pages.

Reviewed by Wesley CHEEK



Daniel Aldrich's *Black Wave* is a robust account of the Great East Japan earthquake and tsunami. This is no small feat as the triple disaster of 11 March 2011 was a calamity on a scale that is difficult to imagine. Not only did this disaster cause over \$360 billion in damage across hundreds of miles of coastline and inland areas, it also spurred multiple nuclear meltdowns at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. The problem facing any scholar approaching this particular disaster is in choosing which aspect to address. Any facet of 3/11—the social production of risk, the initial response, the ongoing recovery efforts, and the continuing nuclear crisis—is a large task for any one book. Aldrich's approach to the sheer scale of the issue is to understand the complexities through the lens of social capital. This approach should be familiar to anyone who has read Aldrich's previous work.

Social capital, as advanced by scholars such as Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam, can be thought of as a measurable form of solidarity or an aggregation of potential resources. It can be understood as a method through which the intangible bindings of society are made tangible. By expounding on the idea of social capital—as expressed through both statistical analysis as well as qualitative exposition—Aldrich complicates the idea of 3/11 as an event that is easily separable into discrete components. He makes the argument that a complex of connections beyond hierarchical structures is necessary for recovery from this disaster, as well as for the mitigation of future catastrophes.

In this book, social capital is posited as residing in two main networks: local and governmental. Aldrich layers his analysis at the international, national, regional, local, and personal levels. This is an effective means by which to make the enormity of the disaster more approachable. It also assists in understanding the levels at which Japanese government functions. The main contention in *Black Wave* is one Aldrich has expounded upon throughout his career: better government and stronger local networks result in better responses to the onset of a disaster and in stronger recoveries afterwards. The existence and maintenance of *bonding*, *bridging*, and *linking* social capital are the critical components of the successful management of a disaster. In examining the idea of social capital using statistical methods, however, one runs the risk of deemphasizing human narratives. This is especially true of a moment as visceral as a disaster. Aldrich addresses this by including interviews and examples that illustrate his

statistical findings. We hear the story of a baker sunk deep in loans in the devastation of Rikuzentakata who has returned to the town despite little prospect of thriving commerce. He has done so out of a personal feeling of commitment to the area (pp. 57–58). We are also introduced to a favored local son with big-time national and international connections who is able to wheel and deal for the benefit of recovery in his community (p. 95). These stories serve as expositions of what social capital means, and how it functions. Statistical methods are also used to illuminate what might otherwise seem counterintuitive. For example, we learn that the height of a seawall does not have any notable effect on mortality during the tsunami. Aldrich turns up no evidence that residents of communities with shorter seawalls, or no seawalls at all, perished at any higher rate than their better protected neighbors. What did matter, it turns out, was the insistence of neighbors that evacuation was critical. This type of ad-hoc evacuation was facilitated by having preexisting relationships with those neighbors (p. 81). In this way, statistical analysis can point us in directions that deserve further study.

If I were to take any issues with *Black Wave*, they would be ones that have been raised about other works on social capital. Given that there is ample conflict taking place in this book, how can there be so little conflict theory? This is an issue that Bourdieu, a harsh critic of neoliberalism, struggled with as well. Throughout the disaster environment there is a vibrating line of tension between those who have power and those who do not. What are the origins of this power? How is it maintained? Are we seeing any opportunities to subvert the power structure itself? What do we make of good government and community ties when effective government can be used to suppress a community? These are questions I found myself asking while reading *Black Wave*. However, Aldrich has taken on a large enough project for one book. These questions can be addressed by other scholars in future works.

Black Wave is a useful resource for those who know very little about the events of 3.11 and are looking for a broad introduction. It is also beneficial for those who are already knowledgeable about the disaster but would like to delve deeper into the complex factors involved in the response and recovery. This book is approachable for an undergraduate course while at the same time carrying enough scholarly weight for use in graduate seminars. I would recommend *Black Wave* to those who are teaching disaster management, sociology of disasters, or a sociology course that explores the idea of social capital. In addition, the events of 3.11 have inspired fundamental changes to facets of Japanese government, and so this book is also of value to scholars of Japan in general.

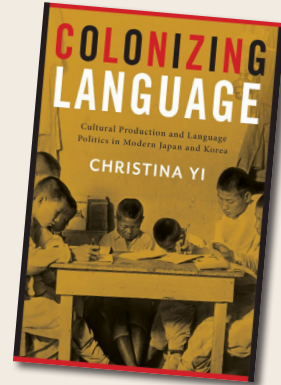
BOOK REVIEW

Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea

By Christina Yi

Columbia University Press, 2018
xxx + 211 pages.

Reviewed by Patrick HEINRICH



In Christina Yi's *Colonizing Language*, we learn that colonialism and nationalism provide for overlapping and often contradictory ideologies that have framed discourses on language and literature until today. This book is a detailed discussion about Korea, the Japanese empire, and Zainichi (resident Koreans) in Japan from the perspective of Korean authors writing in Japanese. Organized into six chapters, with an introduction and an epilogue, Yi discusses such works of literature, the participation of their authors in literary circles, and the changing reception of their publications. Yi states that the objective is to show “how Japanese-language literature by Korean writers emerged out of and stood in opposition to discourses of national language, literature, and identity” (p. xvi). She aims to discuss this kind of literature beyond the concept of national literature because doing otherwise would erase the existence or downplay the importance of these works, and it would also hide the circumstances in which it was written, published, discussed, and read.

Chapter 1, “National Language Ideology in the Age of Empire,” prepares the ground for the discussions that follow. The tension between a national language ideology that claims unity but produces difference is discussed by portraying publication opportunities for Korean Japanese-language writers and the colonial relationship that is reproduced in the publication and reception of their work. All of this manifests in plots, characters, and in the use of the Japanese language itself. In order to illustrate this, Yi discusses works by Chang Hyökchu and Kim Söngmin.

Chapter 2, “Let Me in: Imperialization in Metropolitan Japan,” first addresses the market for and interest in Japanese-language literature written by Koreans, while the second part offers an analysis of concrete works of literature, mainly Kim Saryang's *Tenma* (Pegasus). This novel is a critical parody of the relations and the biases of Japanese editors and readers vis-à-vis Korea and Korean writers. The chapter is an illustrative portrayal of how such literature was written, published, and read.

Chapter 3, “Envisioning a Literature of the Imperial Nation,” deconstructs the center-periphery binary by drawing on the works of Yi Kwangsu, Yi Chöngnae, and Obi Jüzö. It shows how the project of national literature (*kokumin bungaku*), which put literature into the service of the nation, was fraught with contradictions and ambiguity. What exactly it meant

to be an imperial subject and what exactly the ontological position of Korean literature and Korean writers was within *kokumin bungaku* were never clear.

From chapter 4, “Coming to Terms with the Terms of the Past,” Yi shifts to the postwar. As discussed in previous chapters, the empire had been filled with ambiguities. These were not resolved in the postwar. Efforts were made to come to terms with the empire by erasing and reframing past experiences, ideas, and literary output. However, the legacy of the empire (e.g. higher fluency in written Japanese vis-à-vis Korean) ran counter to efforts of nationalizing Japanese literature. Attempts to surmount these legacies were complicated by the fact that the imperial terms and concepts lingered on in the memories of everyone involved. Yi explores these themes by discussing the works of Miyamoto Yuriko, Chang Hyökchu, and Yuzurihara Masako.

Chapter 5, “Colonial Legacies and the Divided ‘I’ in Occupation-Period Japan,” starts with very detailed background information. The sociohistorical divide of 1945 changed what it meant to be a Korean author writing in Japanese. Literature assumed new meanings, too. This is exemplified by the works of Kim Talsu. The language he uses is now no longer *kokugo* but *nihongo*, and Kim is no longer an imperial subject but a *zainichi*, and what his works imply is subject to change as well. Yi aptly discusses the “battlefield of open meanings” in this context (p. 108). There is no semiotic stability here because meaning rests in its interrelation with the changing context.

Chapter 6, “Collaboration, Wartime Responsibility, and Colonial Memory,” focuses on terminology. It demonstrates how the idea and insistence on nationhood inform the postwar discourses of the empire. The main authors discussed in this chapter are Yi Kwangsu and Tanaka Hidemitsu. In Japan this discourse is centered on wartime responsibility and in Korea on collaboration. There is seemingly no overlap between these two topics, because the idea of the nation informs these discussions and thus prevents their linking.

The epilogue offers a critical assessment how we approach Japan, Korean, *zainichi*, and Korean writers of Japanese-language works from the immediate postwar to today. It discusses various ways of how to come to grips with the colonial past and the many ways of rationalizing the transition to the postwar period. The ambiguities and contradictions manifest themselves very concretely in the lives of the Korean authors discussed in this book. While many might assume that the dominant ideas of what constitutes Japan, the Japanese, the Japanese language, or Japanese literature (and its Korean counterparts) correspond to facts, others are leading lives that are shaped by not being in line with these alleged facts and dominant frames. If there is something to be criticized about this book, then it would be only the lack of discussion about Japan’s and Korea’s autochthonous diversity, experiences, and literature, that is, Cheju, Okinawa, and Hokkaido, which also shared a similar fate.

Colonizing Language can be recommended to a wide range of readers. It connects discussions on the complex relations between colonizers and colonized, the role and position of Korean writers in the literary world of the empire and postwar Japan, and carefully explores the difficulties in coming to terms with the past. It is the skillful combination of these three strands that make this book so insightful and enjoyable to read. Yi strikes an excellent balance between concrete details, texts, and background information with more

abstract discussions and analysis. Her writing is insightful and elegant. Her book can be recommended to all students of social studies, sociolinguistics, the history of thought, and of course literary studies.

BOOK REVIEW

Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan

By Susan L. Burns

University of Hawai'i Press, 2019
viii + 334 pages.

Reviewed by Astghik HOVHANNISYAN



Although there is already a massive body of literature on the history of Hansen's disease in Japan, Susan L. Burns' meticulously researched *Kingdom of the Sick: A History of Leprosy and Japan* is a welcome addition to the existing research, with its focus on the comprehensive history of leprosy policies, and its nuanced approach.

The history of Hansen's disease and of policies aimed at it became the subject of scholarly and public interest particularly in the 1990s, with the abolition of the Leprosy Prevention Law in 1996 and the leprosy survivors' first collective lawsuit against the Japanese government in 1998. This and other lawsuits that followed were accompanied by extensive media coverage, fact-checking at leprosaria, research into people and ideologies that supported certain policies aimed at the disease, and interviews with survivors. As Celeste Arrington points out, a government survey in 2003—two years after the Kumamoto District Court's landmark ruling that recognized Japan's isolation and quarantine policy as unconstitutional—demonstrated that “97 percent of respondents had heard of Hansen's disease,” and it is not surprising this interest led to the publication of a wide range of scholarly and popular works.¹ Given the nature of the lawsuits, many of the works that appeared in the 1990s and the first decade of the twentieth century focused on quarantine policies in the twentieth century, as well as vasectomies and other forms of reproductive control aimed at patients. Perceptions of leprosy in the premodern period, on the other hand, were often left out.

Burns discusses not only the twentieth century, but also looks back to the medieval and early modern periods (chapters 1 and 2), demonstrating leprosy's associations with karmic retribution and the exclusion of leprosy sufferers, as well as its later associations with “bad blood” and heredity, a view which survived well into the twentieth century. As Burns points out, “[t]his long and evolving history of exclusion has been effectively erased from social memory in Japan” (p. 45), and any mention about premodern forms of stigmatization of the disease is often met with criticism since it is perceived as a justification for exclusive policies of the twentieth century. These perspectives are nonetheless important for understanding

1 Arrington 2016, p. 90.

how attitudes towards leprosy changed over time, and whether they had an influence on policies in the modern period.

Chapter 3 of this monograph focuses on the history of leprosy in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, unearthing the story of journalists and entrepreneurs who were advocates of new leprosy policies at a time when the Meiji authorities were more concerned about acute infectious diseases such as cholera, and had little interest in leprosy.

The remaining chapters of the book, dedicated to the most discussed and contested pages in the history of leprosy policies, explore the creation of the Leprosy Prevention Law of 1907 in chapter 4, the establishment of sanatoria and the issue of sexuality and reproduction within the sanatoria in chapter 5, and media campaigns aimed at leprosy prevention, the 1931 redefinition of the Leprosy Prevention Law, and patient writing in chapter 6. In these chapters, Burns gives a more nuanced and complicated picture than other works on the topic. She demonstrates how resistance from local communities influenced the choice for remote locations for sanatoria, how inability and ignorance in dealing with children born to cohabiting patients led to the advocacy of measures such as vasectomy, and how patients themselves contributed to the public discourse on leprosy by their writings.

Chapter 7 describes how the *muraiken undō* (leprosy-free prefecture movement) led to overcrowding and deteriorated conditions in the sanatoria, which was followed by patient protests and unrest. What followed were stricter policies and a view of patients “as potentially dangerous others who had to be controlled and contained” (p. 213). Burns also discusses the contested issue of sterilizations in sanatoria, pointing out that the issue was complicated. Although sanatoria records claimed that sterilizations were consensual, numerous studies have demonstrated that patients were often forced to undergo sterilization or abortion in order to marry or cohabit. Burns shows another side of the story, in which patients sometimes passively agreed with sanatoria policies about their reproductive choices. She does not do so in order to justify the policies in question, but in order to demonstrate how patients’ reproductive choices were sometimes constrained and mediated by sanitarium regulations, as well as the dominant ideologies of the time about family and reproduction.

The focus of the final chapter is the postwar leprosy policy in Japan, probably the most politically charged moment in leprosy history in Japan. Many authors, above all Fujino Yutaka, have discussed the issue of leprosy confinement and sterilizations in the postwar period, when the lifesaving drug Promin was already available, and when the democratic constitution was supposed to protect patients’ rights. Fujino concludes that these policies were implemented not despite democracy, but in the name of the democratic notion of “public welfare.”² Burns also discusses these issues, but with a focus on questions that have been overlooked. For instance, she points out that while in the prewar period vasectomies were more common, in the postwar period tubal ligation and abortion became commonplace, i.e. the responsibility for reproductive control shifted to the female body. Burns explains that the drug Promin made it possible for patients to envision the possibility of a cure, and male patients “became less willing to compromise their reproductive potential” (p. 233), while having no concerns about their female co-patients. Burns also shows that many patients, despite having the opportunity to be discharged from sanatoria, chose to remain due to such factors as their inability to find employment or severed family ties.

2 Fujino 2006, pp. 58–59.

As the author herself points out, this account of leprosy history in Japan “is likely to anger some readers” (p. 257), as it challenges many of the established narratives, including those about patient autonomy with regard to reproductive choices and sanitarium confinement. However, it offers a nuanced and complicated story, which will be of interest to a wide range of scholars.

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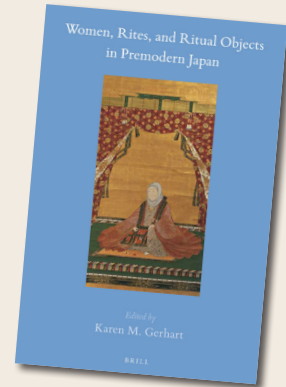
BOOK REVIEW

Women, Rites, and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan

Edited by Karen M. Gerhart

Brill, 2018
xxiii + 411 pages.

Reviewed by Jung Hui KIM



Women, Rites, and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan, edited by Karen M. Gerhart, brings together ten scholarly essays that were originally presented at a workshop held at the University of Pittsburgh in 2015. Ten distinguished researchers from a wide range of disciplines—history, art history, cultural history, and religion—collaborated to shed new light on the lives of Japanese women, the subject of which has not been dealt with enough in scholarship. The book consists of four sections: “Rituals Related to the Household and Childbirth” (part I), “Women and Buddhist Rituals and Icons” (part II), “Buddhist Women and Death Memorials” (part III), and “Female Patronage, Portrait, and Rituals” (part IV). Each section examines the rites practiced for and by women, inspects the ritual objects that women sponsored and used, and thereby unearths their crucial roles as main agents in some historical events covering a long time-span from the Heian to the Edo periods.

Part I includes essays by Gerhart, Anna Andreeva, and Naoko Gunji. In chapter 1, Gerhart introduces the “house move-in ritual,” the yin-yang (*onmyōdō*) practice called *shintaku ishi*, and illuminates the importance of women’s participation in this ritual that is performed to soothe potential evil spirits believed to exist in empty houses. By analyzing *Gushi nintai sanshō himitsu hōshū*, one of the earliest Japanese Buddhist texts on pregnancy and childbirth, Andreeva traces in chapter 2 the historical development of the devotion to Kariteimo (Sk. Hārītī), a female deity who oversees fertility and delivery, and explains the religious background for its popularity. In chapter 3, Gunji takes a detailed look at *Sankaiki*, the diary of Nakayama Tadachika (1131–1195), and reconstructs the actual circumstances of the childbirth of Taira no Tokushi (1155–1213?) and the parturition rites for her.

While the first three essays focus on the rituals associated with women’s living spaces and their bodies, the three chapters in the second part are engaged more with Buddhist rituals, images, and their relations with women as female Buddhist devotees. Chapter 4 by Chari Pradel probes how and why the Buddhist rite of repentance, *Kichijō keka*, began in the Nara period. Analyzing the ritual program of *Kichijō keka* in which Kichijōten, a female deity, plays a central role, Pradel singles out female emperor Kōken-Shōtoku as the figure who initiated the ceremony. In chapter 5, Hank Glassman inspects the *gorintō* (five-elements pagoda) believed to contain the reliquary for the remains of Fujiwara no Kenshi, consort of Retired Emperor Shirakawa (1053–1129). The actual *gorintō* is not extant, but Glassman

suggests through an in-depth examination of various written sources that Retired Emperor Shirakawa issued orders for his wife's cremated body to be enshrined in a *gorintō* pagoda, and then dedicated it to the imperial temple of Daigoji to establish a new royal lineage and break away from the political influence of the Fujiwara family. While the previous five chapters revolve around aristocratic women, chapter 6 by Sherry Fowler investigates the religious lives of women from the Edo commoner class. Fowler shows how the temples of the Saigoku Kannon pilgrimage catered to the needs of pregnant women and promoted pilgrimage by women through the production of inexpensive printed texts featuring stories and images of a feminized Kannon.

The two essays by Patricia Fister and Monica Bethe in the third section help readers understand the religious legacy of Zen Buddhist nun Mugai Nyodai. In chapter 7, Fister conducts a meticulous investigation of memorial services for Mugai and her painted and sculptural portraits used in those services, to show how reverence for Mugai lasted for some eight hundred years. Bethe's chapter focuses on two woven surplices believed to be owned by Mugai and transmitted later to Mugai's spiritual successors as contact relics.

The last section deals with female patronage and comprises the two essays by Elizabeth Morrissey and Elizabeth Self. With a detailed visual analysis of the *Illustrated Legends of Ishiyamadera*, Morrissey's chapter identifies a set of white curtains offered by Higashisanjō-in (962–1002), consort of Emperor En'yū (959–991), to a Nyoirin Kannon at Ishiyama Temple, and thereby illuminates her active role as a key patron of ceremonial objects. The last chapter by Self scrutinizes the historical circumstances regarding the commission of the portrait of Jōkō-in (1570–1633). According to Self, Jōkō-in ordered a portrait of herself to be embellished with motifs symbolizing the crest of her natal family, the Asai clan, rather than that of her husband's, the Kyōgoku family. The author claims that the depiction of Jōkō-in as a member of the Asai family was a conscious decision to assert her own lineage as she had failed to produce an heir.

As Gerhart mentions in the introduction, there exists only a small number of book-length studies of women of premodern Japan (p. 2). The publication of this book is a meaningful contribution in itself. Also, each essay in this volume marks a significant achievement, especially in terms of research method. The authors have managed to uncover neglected primary sources and discover the female voice within them. Up until now, a major obstacle in gender history has been the scarcity of these primary documents written by women. The contributors also challenge the commonly accepted views of famous artworks and provide new ways of interpreting them. For example, Gunji compares the painted birth scenes of *Heike monogatari emaki* with textual knowledge of childbirth of the time, thereby questioning the historical accuracy of the images. Pradel's research on *Kichijō keka* illuminates the significance of the Kichijōten statue and thereby provides an alternative way to understand a set of icons enshrined at Horyūji's Golden Hall, which previous studies have interpreted with an emphasis on the Shaka Triad. The excellence of the book finally rests on its attempt to include the lives of anonymous women from the commoner class. Fowler's research, for example, suggests a new way to expand the field to include various aspects of women's lives not recorded in any written texts. Greatly informative and illuminating, the book broadens our understanding of women's lives and opens up new possibilities for a gendered approach to the study of premodern Japan.

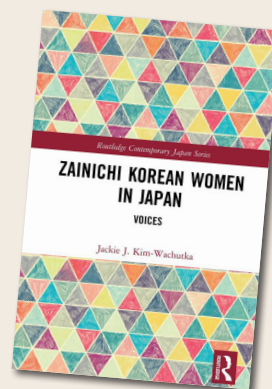
BOOK REVIEW

Zainichi Korean Women in Japan: Voices

By Jackie J. Kim-Wachutka

Routledge, 2019
ix + 265 pages.

Reviewed by John LIE



Zainichi Korean Women in Japan: Voices is something of a sequel to Jackie J. Kim-Wachutka's 2005 book, *Hidden Treasures: Lives of First-Generation Korean Women in Japan* (written as Jackie J. Kim). Both books painstakingly recollect and record voices of ethnic or diasporic Korean (Zainichi or Zainichi Korean) women. The book under review begins with first-generation women's memories but extends its purview to second- and third-generation women on sundry topics. Whereas the earlier book primarily recorded voices from Osaka, the geographical focus of the book under review is Kawasaki, a historically working-class city south of Tokyo. Both books together convey shards of memory and narratives of identity with concrete voices and in so doing delineate a prosopography of Zainichi Korean women. Although there are numerous—at times the bulging bibliography seems to suggest countless—volumes on nearly every aspect of Zainichi Korean lives in Japanese, Kim-Wachutka's duology stands as a valuable contribution to English-language writings on Zainichi Korean women.

Personal narratives constitute the data, method, and theory for Kim-Wachutka. As raw materials of the book under review, personal narratives are surely its greatest strength and constitute its primary scholarly contribution. Extended interview transcripts, or oral-history narratives, at times run for pages. They are welcome insofar as they provide rare glimpses into the world of Zainichi Korean women for Anglophone readers. Especially for first-generation women, who mostly arrived during the period of Japanese colonial rule over Korea, the overarching themes, in the words of Kim-Wachutka, point out "that a woman's fate is one of hardship and sacrifice, simply because females, without exception, always come second to men" (p. 2). Recollections of historical and continuing suffering and bitterness provide trenchant looks into the lives of first-generation Zainichi Korean women.

The collective memory of poverty and discrimination that characterizes the first generation transmogrifies into incoherent, complex identities and narratives for younger Zainichi women. As the author is well aware, there are no obvious or simple essential commonalities for the ethnic Korean population in contemporary Japan (and I would hazard that the diversity is true for almost any point in the past). Beyond the longstanding political divisions that mirror the divided nations that comprise the Korean Peninsula, there are fundamental differences based upon generations or ethnoracial constitution (such as

“mixed-blood” Zainichi born of an ethnic Korean parent and an ethnic Japanese parent). As the author summarizes, “Many Zainichi women described themselves as selves in-between” (p. 158). But which selves?

Kim-Wachutka’s reliance on personal narratives at the expense of other methods vitiates *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan*. The reader is given almost no historical, cultural, or sociological backgrounds or contexts. As much as the author is conscious of the profound diversity of the Zainichi Korean population, we learn precious little about the divides based upon immigration history (perhaps the most visible Korean presence in Japan today are recent immigrants from South Korea, who share little with the extant Zainichi Korean population save for their putative ethnicity), profoundly distinct articulations of ethnic identity (consider only that many Zainichi Korean women or men live as “ordinary” Japanese women and men, and occlude their ethnic origin and identity), or sharp, seemingly unbridgeable gaps based upon educational credentials or wealth inequality. Although Kim-Wachutka seeks to pepper her analysis with Western theorists’ nuggets of wisdom, her refusal to offer contexts—a theoretical perspective—elides the lives of many other Zainichi Korean women. Although the notion of representative sampling may be beside the point, one nevertheless must wonder about those to whom she did not listen. Many young Zainichi Korean women would surely not find themselves in the book under review.

To be sure, Kim-Wachutka offers two forays beyond personal narratives. In chapter 5, she delves into two journals published by Zainichi Korean women: *Hōsenka* and *Chi ni fune o koge*. As helpful as the discussion of Zainichi Korean women’s literary expressions is, one cannot help but yearn for other, much more widely disseminated forms of cultural expression, whether award-winning novels or critically acclaimed movies by Zainichi Korean women. In chapter 8, the author turns to ethnic clothing in the form of the traditional *chōgori*. As she concludes, “Wearing the *chōgori* reminded Zainichi women of the history of subjugation under Japanese rule, denial of one’s ethnic identity, and the risk of being exposed and becoming a target of discrimination” (p. 175). The more salient point is that the traditional garment—save for those attending ethnic Korean schools run by a North Korea-affiliated ethnic organization—makes a rare appearance for almost all Zainichi Korean women, reserved as it is for weddings and other extraordinary occasions.

For readers who cannot read Japanese but are interested in Zainichi Korean women, Jackie J. Kim-Wachutka’s *Zainichi Korean Women in Japan: Voices* offers intriguing glimpses via transcribed and translated voices. Her duology marks a significant contribution to the Anglophone study of Zainichi Korean women.

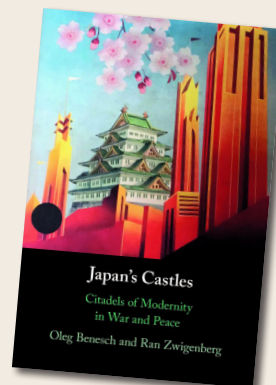
BOOK REVIEW

Japan's Castles: Citadels of Modernity in War and Peace

By Oleg Benesch and Ran Zwigenberg

Cambridge University Press, 2019
xv + 360 pages.

Reviewed by Zachary LONG



Japan's Castles: Citadels of Modernity in War and Peace by Oleg Benesch and Ran Zwigenberg is a timely and well-positioned book that traces the various transformations of modern Japan through an examination of its castles. The book is organized into two major parts, the first being a chronologically organized history of castles from the end of the Edo period to the end of the war in the Pacific, and the second a collection of thematically organized case studies on castles in both the immediate postwar period and the following “castle boom” of the 1950s and 1960s.

From the earliest sections of the book the authors point out the strictly symbolic nature of the most widely known parts of the Japanese castle, the keep or *tenshu*. They explain that the wooden structures, fragile and vulnerable to fire, were largely decorative and were financially onerous displays of power during the Edo period. In the early Meiji period, there was no coordinated push for castle preservation; castles in the early years of the Meiji period were slated to be either reused by the military or torn down for scrap.

Chapter 2 examines the “rediscovery of castles” as the increasing desire for public spaces and exhibitions to make use of that space began to bring castle grounds back into use. While early efforts focused on the reuse of castle grounds as modern communal spaces, Japan’s increasing stature on the world stage allowed for the previously “embarrassing” feudal relics to be rehabilitated as symbols of regional and national identity.

The third chapter on castles, civil society, and the paradoxes of “Taisho militarism” (p. 96) is one of the book’s most illuminating with its use of castles and the castle garrison to weave together some of the more paradoxical trends in modern Japanese history. By showing that both the military and urban population interact over castle grounds, the authors show that “[c]astles allow us to see how the two trends of militarism and democratization evolved and competed in urban Japan, demonstrating the complex relationship between the two trends in the long Taisho period” (p. 98). The chapter begins with descriptions of military hard power and their deployment in the castle garrisons, and shows how that position was leveraged against popular unrest. In order to ease some of the public tensions, military castle garrisons were slowly opened for public events such as parades, flower viewing, and most pointedly the *shōkonsai* or the “spirit-inviting” commemoration ceremonies for those who had fallen in the emperor’s service. While the characterization of “spirit-inviting shrines”

or *shōkonsha* in this chapter is highly generalized, the role of *shōkonsai* and their associated entertainments in bringing the army, the people, and the emperor together on castle grounds is undeniable.

The fourth chapter serves as a capstone for the first section and springboard for the next. It illustrates how castles came to be celebrated national objects and how the emergence of castle studies solidified their use as symbols of idealized martial history. Alongside the reopening of Nagoya Castle and the reconstruction of Osaka Castle's *tenshu* in 1931, these trends would set the stage for the postwar "castle boom."

The latter half of the book is a collection of case studies set either during the occupation or during the Showa castle boom. These chapters plot castles' transformation and rehabilitation as the military bases of the U.S. and Commonwealth forces of the occupation, and their rebuilding and recasting as either modern public spaces or idealized representations of tradition that bypass the discomfort of the more recent past. The authors' thorough exploration of a variety of case studies drawn from across Japan makes the point that conflicts over the practical use of land and interpretations of the past and future meant that the fate of castles varied greatly with location and local history. The most common example presented by the authors through newspaper articles and exhibition posters is the *wakon yōsai* juxtaposition of castles with modern technology such as the Great Recovery Exhibition in Hiroshima. Another major trend of the postwar period proves to have been the use of castles by regional actors to establish a foundation for regional identity in resistance to Tokyo. In this case, however, the outcome is typically somewhat dismal, with the often ahistorical castle reconstructions serving more as a reminder of mid-Showa excess than a successful reclamation of an idealized past.

Japan's Castles: Citadels of Modernity in War and Peace provides a new look at the modern history of Japan through the context of its castles. It illustrates how from the beginning *tenshu* served mainly a symbolic function. This symbolic function was subject to constant change and renegotiation over the course of Japan's modern history with the most significant continuity being the role of *tenshu* in reinventing, rehabilitating, or rearranging the modern past. The book provides a foundation for further research into the function of a wide variety of historical sites, several of which are referenced in the book itself. Examples include the Meiji-era industrial sites and the remaining structures of the military garrisons that shared the castle grounds. The authors provide a template for future research through their use of both local and national archival and print media materials. The book's publication happily coincides with a new popular and scholarly focus on issues surrounding tourism in Japan: the large-scale tourism promotion behind the Tokyo Olympic Games, the pushback related to overtourism, and dark tourism. All in all, the book is a clear and concise guide to the complex roles that castles and castle grounds have served within the modern history of Japan.

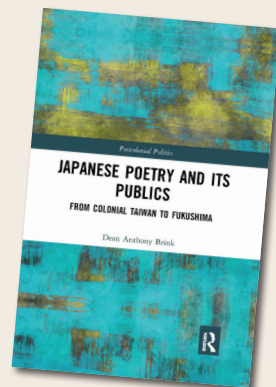
BOOK REVIEW

Japanese Poetry and Its Publics: From Colonial Taiwan to Fukushima

By Dean Anthony Brink

Routledge, 2018
xii + 188 pages.

Reviewed by Laurence E. M. MANN



What is the point of studying poetry? This is a question that has crossed the mind of many a contemplative schoolchild, at one time or another. It is also sometimes a question levelled at scholars of literature by provocative colleagues, who perhaps see their own research areas as more practically useful to society, or better driven by data. It might even have been among the questions inherent in the Japanese government's 2015 challenge, to its national universities, to restructure humanities departments to "better meet society's needs."¹

The answer to this question offered by *Japanese Poetry and Its Publics* is a complex and sophisticated one but, distilled to soundbite length, it might be something like: "Poetry has the power to influence society, either in the interests of, or against the interests of, ordinary people." One is reminded of Harry Harootunian's description of the relationship between discourse and ideology: "Words ... represent significations capable of mobilizing people to act or perceive their world in specific modalities, either to conform to forms of domination or to contest them."²

The overall aim of *Japanese Poetry and Its Publics* is to situate Japanese-language poetry, composed in Taiwan, in relation to a sophisticated set of interpretative frameworks that extend toward colonial and postcolonial discourses of power and identity and, beyond, to ecocriticism and media theory. The author, Dean Anthony Brink, contends that poetry can be appropriated and deployed in the service of political rhetoric and propaganda, as readily as it can be harnessed to express diverse and dynamic postcolonial identities, democratic resistance to past and present injustices, and the type of pleasure-centered excess called *jouissance* by poststructuralists. Poetry is thus not to be treated as any sort of straightforward artistic abstraction. Rather, it consists in a function of language that reifies, and is interdependent with, society and politics. Traditional Japanese poetic forms, such as *tanka*, *haiku*, and *senryū*, depend on matrices of intertextuality that lend to them a formidable potency, as tools of social critique, especially in the hands of the skilled poets introduced in this book.

1 Grove 2015.

The volume is divided into six chapters, plus acknowledgements, an introduction, an appendix of poems, and an index. Chapters 1 and 2 begin Brink's exposition of his theory of poetic matrices of intertextuality, deployed, through classical Japanese verse forms, in support of the imperialist project in Taiwan. Chapter 1 portrays the adoption and adaption of various aspects of classical Japanese poetic imagery and rhetoric, including seasonal words and *utamakura*, as means to virtualize nature in the colony and encode Japanese possession of the island. Chapter 2 is an exploration of the complex power dynamics and intertextual frameworks in which Japanese-language poets in colonial Taiwan positioned themselves, through the case study of New Year poems in newspapers. It makes a strong case for studying Japanese poetry in colonial contexts, by highlighting the potential of matrices of intertextuality underpinning traditional poetic forms to be deployed in non-traditional environments. This is one of the core arguments of the book.

Chapter 3 continues to demonstrate the role of traditional poetic forms in the rhetoric and propaganda of the Japanese, this time during the period of its worst aggression against China and the rest of Asia, in the run up to and during the Pacific War. Through its analysis of the work of several poets, the chapter demonstrates the ability of classical Japanese poetic forms to open up a web of intertextual potencies to the colonial project and, through the mythic visions of certain neo-nativist poets, their potential to create and support affective narratives of imperialism.

Chapters 4 and 5 form a distinct section that surveys the postwar activities of the *Taiwan kadan* (Taiwan Tanka Association), based on data gathered, in part, through the author's own membership of the association. This offers an insight into the diverse community of *tanka* poets living in Taiwan during this period, ranging from the Japanese-educated founding members, whose interests had been marginalized by both the Japanese and, later, the Kuomintang, to younger generations of Taiwanese, who assert new identities through an adopted Japanese voice. Invoking interpretative frameworks such as Benedict Anderson's "long-distance nationalism" (p. 138), chapter 5 focuses particularly on poems composed after 3.11. One question raised, but not fully answered, by the *Taiwan kadan* chapters, pertains to the significance of writing in Japanese for the younger, truly postcolonial, generation.

Chapter 6 rounds off the book's discussion of postcolonial identity construction and the renegotiation of affiliations for postcolonial rhetorical apparatus, through the lens of two case study poets who have created blogs dedicated to poetry in Japanese, Taiwanese, and other languages. The chapter broadens the scope of the matrixial interfaces invoked in previous chapters still further, to include the posthuman.

Part of a postcolonial politics series, *Japanese Poetry and Its Publics* delivers its own political messages with directness. Hegemons of all kinds are confronted head-on. On Japanese aggression during the 1930s and 1940s, for example, the author states: "I agree with Honda Katsuichi, who argues that ... Japan's war on China was a brutish opportunistic war of an imperialist against a country weakened by civil war and a horde of imperialists..." (p. 92). Taiwanese politicians also come in for an occasional beating—" [Sean] Lien lost the election in a back-lash against the KMT for losing touch with the needs of the people in its rush both toward an American model of neoliberalist plutocracy and cross-strait economic unification" (p. 121)—as does the post-3.11 Japanese administration that worked "to protect the nuclear power interests" (p. 140) and the Tokyo Electric Power Company, for its "exploitative and profit-fixated practices" (p. 141).

Few, in liberal democracies today, would disagree with the author's sentiments regarding the actions of the Japanese state during the years of its colonial expansion. However, the book's frank presentation of views sometimes tends toward oversimplicity, which occasionally impinges on the main theme of the text, poetry. For example, the contention, in chapter 1, that Tokugawa Japan "lived in the shadow of China" (p. 24), and that *kokugaku*-inspired rhetoric on the superior poetic capabilities of the Japanese was "somewhat of a bluff" (p. 24), since "in Taiwan, the Chinese composed far more sophisticated Chinese verse" (p. 25), is problematically reductionist. The notion that the Chinese write "better" *kanshi* and *kanbun* than the Japanese was itself sculpted by nationalist discourses and has injured scholarship of those types of text. Throughout the book, the author objects, rightly, to the reverse prejudice, against Taiwanese people composing Japanese verse.

Likewise, the treatment, in chapter 2, of a newspaper poem by a local Taiwanese poet, to commemorate the Japanese capture of Nanjing, raises more questions for me than it answers. The poem, translated by Brink as "Even pine decorations are stood up / to face the flag of the rising sun on the Nanjing Wall" is said to display "the inherent arrogant humour in naming anything as performing an imagined fantasy" (p. 75). The description continues: "The pine decorations thus take on an eerie presence in this poem, reflecting both the arrogance embodied even by a Taiwanese and the unmentionable transgressions of the violence" (p. 75). Where and when do the decorations take on this eerie presence? Is it in the reception of the poem in Taiwan today? Or in 1938? Did the poet, or readers, know much about the transgressions that had taken place, just a few weeks earlier? The author puts this last question aside (p. 73), but it is, in fact, an important one. To portray the poem as an "arrogant" distortion of the heinous realities of the Nanjing Massacre suggests that the poet was privy to some of the terrible truths of which we are now aware.

In conclusion, there is much to be learnt from this book. Perhaps its most significant contribution is to underscore that poetry can thrive in its entanglements with (sometimes unsavory) political rhetoric. In this, it echoes research by the likes of Elisabeth Kendall, who has highlighted the role of the Arab poetic tradition in the rhetoric of jihadi terrorist groups. In privileging the close relationships between poetic language and rhetoric, *Japanese Poetry and Its Publics* demonstrates the power of rhetoric. Like Plato, it is also concerned about the ends to which that power is deployed. Ultimately, the power to choose whether to appraise art in light of its support for, or opposition to, hegemonic discourses rests with the critic.

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BOOK REVIEW

*Christian Sorcerers on Trial:
Records of the 1827 Osaka Incident*

Translated and with an introduction by
Fumiko Miyazaki, Kate Wildman Nakai,
and Mark Teeuwen

Columbia University Press, 2020
408 pages

Reviewed by Martin NOGUEIRA RAMOS



At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Christian threat seemed to be distant, repelled way beyond the borders of Japan. There were no more practitioners of the forbidden cult, as the Buddhist temples of the country could guarantee. The last executions dated back more than one hundred and fifty years when the authorities had discovered large communities of hidden Christians in Kyushu (Ōmura and different domains in Bungo) and central Japan (Minō). During the Bunsei era (1818–1830), the arrest (1827) and execution (1830) of a small group of self-declared Kirishitan based in Kyoto and Osaka were blows not only to the shogunal officers involved in the investigation, but also to people across Japan. Japanese historians refer to this episode by different names, one of them being *Keihan Kirishitan ikken* (Kirishitan incident of the Kyoto-Osaka region).

Christian Sorcerers on a Trial offers the reader a translation of selected documents from two manuscripts related to the incident. These translations give a full picture of the testimonies of the people associated with the group's secret practices (first part), the investigation process, and the juridical decisions (second part). The third part comprises extracts, translated by the three editors, of documents that reveal society's reaction to the incident. Informative short essays precede each part and allow the reader to penetrate with ease nineteenth-century Japanese beliefs, juridical customs, and social organization. For students and scholars of late Edo Japan, the material is truly fascinating as it vividly exposes society's inner mechanisms and folk practices that other primary sources generally do not touch upon.

I have two minor criticisms concerning the apparatus of the translation. First, the reading and writing of the Japanese terms only appear in the comprehensive glossary, and so the reader continually needs to check ahead to pp. 293–297 to verify the original words. Second, as a book intended for an academic audience, the editors could have usefully included some of the essential documents in Japanese in the appendix. This omission is a pity, as there are few translations available of these kinds of early modern administrative texts. Advanced students in early modern Japanese history could have benefited greatly from access to the Japanese originals.

None of the six members of the group crucified at the Tobita execution ground in Osaka, nor past members who had died before the beginning of the investigation, had any

link with the remnant underground (*senpuku*) Christian communities scattered throughout Kyushu. The group was heterogeneous: it embraced Inari mediums, Yijing diviners, former monks, a physician, and a teahouse owner. Some of them acted as healers or soothsayers for people from all layers of society.

We do not know much about the founder of the group, Mizuno Gunki, as he died three years before the beginning of the investigation. He was a guru-like figure who had been a court retainer. Gunki taught to carefully selected people a way to gain incredible supernatural powers. As the depositions reveal, the primary motivation of his disciples was to improve their healing and clairvoyant skills. His was a two-step method: first, the initiand had to reach an unwavering mind (*fudōshin*) by regularly practicing water austerities and avoiding sexual intercourse; this applied especially to women. Second, sometimes after long years of practice, Gunki (or one of his advanced disciples) would introduce the initiand to the secret deity of the Kirishitan, Tentei Nyorai. The initiand would also learn about a sacred mantra (Zensu Maru Paraizo), swear an oath on a scroll which seemingly portrayed Mary and Jesus, and acquire new ways to cure people or to predict the future. The now full-fledged insider was supposedly able to share Gunki's extraordinary abilities and to make money out of them. Apparently, the Kirishitan facet was not a foil for practitioners. On the contrary, they genuinely believed that learning the tenets of the forbidden cult was a way to earn magic powers.

However, in 1827, someone reported to the Osaka Eastern Magistracy (*Ōsaka higashi machi bugyō*) the lucrative activities of a woman medium and healer who had been introduced to Gunki's method by one of his disciples. The investigation led to the disbanding of this group and to the shocking discovery of its Kirishitan features.

The religious beliefs of the group were an amalgam of magic, asceticism, folk practices, Christian elements drawn from Japanese anti-Christian tales and Chinese Jesuit books, and secrecy. I want to emphasize this latter aspect. Although the authorities and the established Buddhist clergy considered underground movements with suspicion, and could even take action against them, secret rites remained attractive among the populace. Gunki's disciples shared the same fondness for concealment: on their altars, they used deities from the Japanese pantheon as a front for their worship for God; they pledged to keep secrecy under all circumstances; several steps constituted their initiatory process, and secrecy shrouded the final rite. To read the different items of the investigation is to receive the impression that the group's concealment and asceticism were the reasons for its attractiveness. To a certain extent, hidden Christianity and covert Shin Buddhism (*kakure nenbutsu*) also shared these two characteristics. However, the focus of their practices differed, as the latter both emphasized the afterlife. The Kyoto-Osaka group only promised this-worldly benefits.

The documents related to the investigation and the deliberations that followed allow the reader to understand better how the juridical system worked in nineteenth-century Japan. The arrests of these so-called Kirishitan constituted no ordinary incident, as there was no legal precedent. The representatives of the bakufu in the Kansai could thus not rely on the experience of their predecessors to solve the case; they had to submit a dossier to the Council of Elders in Edo, who later consulted the Deliberative Council (Hyōjōsho). The documents bring to light the fact that collective responsibility was the pillar of society. The authorities not only punished the practitioners of the forbidden cult; dozens of others also received sanctions of one sort or another: the death penalty, imprisonment, banishment,

or fines. They included relatives of those arrested, Buddhist monks in charge of religious inspection, aldermen, village headmen, and the clients of the group. One wonders whether the workload caused by this kind of incident was not one of the reasons why the authorities generally preferred to turn a blind eye to “deviant” religious groups.

Christian Sorcerers on a Trial is thus highly recommended reading. Let us hope that soon new research by the three editors (or by other scholars) will further our understanding of this fascinating incident.

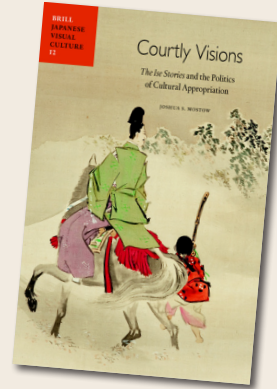
BOOK REVIEW

Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation

By Joshua S. Mostow

Brill, 2014
350 pages.

Reviewed by Roberta STRIPPOLI



Courtly Visions is a remarkable exploration of the ways *Ise monogatari* (*The Ise stories*, also known as *The Tales of Ise*, tenth century) has been reinterpreted, alluded to, used, or more simply, appropriated by various individuals and groups over the course of the centuries following its creation.

Beautifully printed on glossy paper, with 171 illustrations, most of which are in large size and color, of a variety of materials from libraries, museums, temples, and private collections, *Courtly Visions* stands out as a handsome object. With its extended, detailed analyses of both written text and illustration, it is geared to a readership conversant in art history, but also to Japanese poetry experts, and to everyone interested in broader issues such as gender and reception theory.

It is impossible to do justice to such a rich work in a thousand-word review. *Courtly Visions* endeavors to shed light on the visual reception of both text and illustration of one of the most “received” works in the history of Japanese literature and art. *Genji monogatari* and *Heike monogatari* are the only works whose reception can be compared to that of *Ise monogatari*. *Ise monogatari* was appropriated by artists and audiences that were at times quite different from the people it was originally intended for. Where do the pictorializations come from, and how can we make sense of them? What audiences are the images appropriating *Ise monogatari* for? How do the tales function in the disparate contexts behind the different productions?

At the core of the book is Mostow’s analysis of the three oldest extant versions of *Ise monogatari*, whose originals were supposedly created around the same period, the thirteenth century. The fact that the three works (the first two are fragments; the third is an eighteenth-century copy) are so strikingly different shows that multiform appropriations were already fully developed at the time. Mostow examines the first of them, *Hakubyō Ise monogatari emaki dankan*, in chapter 2. This is a text whose terse black and white images betray special attention to the feelings of the female characters and the interest of a female audience. Women who proactively gaze at men, visual expressions of female desire, frontal views of the handsome and courtly-elegant male protagonist are seen in the *Hakubyō* illustrations. The *Ise monogatari*, a male-authored text, is here reinterpreted for the benefit of female readers. The second text, the *Izumi-shi Kubosō Kinen Bijutsukan Ise monogatari emaki*

or, more simply, the *Kubo* version, a highly ornamented, professionally produced text that looks extremely different from the *Hakubyō*, is examined in chapter 4. “Its very opulence, as well as the apparently dedicatory function of some of its under-paintings, encourage us to interpret it as a highly political work, created by a decidedly political entity and designed to be given to another such entity” (p. 127). The *Kubo* version shows how the *Ise monogatari* was used by courtiers as a “repository of cultural capital” not only to establish their superiority towards the shogunate, but also towards other courtiers. In this case, it served to promote the senior line of the imperial household, to which Retired Emperor Fushimi (1265–1317) belonged. The third text is *Ihon Ise monogatari emaki*, examined in chapter 6, a version that has been connected with possible tantric readings of *Ise monogatari*. Mostow argues against this interpretation, indicating that this is actually a Muromachi-period text, not a thirteenth-century text, and pointing to the oft-neglected wit and humor that inform the illustrations of the scroll.

Among the interesting and meticulously researched topics this book brings up is “The Love Song of Lord Takafusa” (chapter 3, translated in full in the appendix) in which courtier Fujiwara no Takafusa (1142–1209) appropriates material from *Ise monogatari* to express his disappointment over the loss of his beloved Kogō, a lady who appears prominently in *Heike monogatari* and who becomes a consort of Emperor Takakura. In particular, Takafusa makes use of the triangular relationship between Narihira, a woman named Takaiko, and Emperor Seiwa, as told in episode sixty-five of *Ise*, to describe his feelings. Takafusa’s romantic claims over an imperial consort may sound quite surprising, considering that Kogō and Emperor Takakura were alive and together when the love song was composed. (An interesting explanation for why the court would not perceive this as insulting for Emperor Takakura is given in the chapter.)

The book offers correctives to a number of theories. For example, chapter 1 argues that the *Ise monogatari* poems did not originate from pictures, as some scholars have suggested. Chapter 6 propounds, as I have mentioned, that *Ihon Ise monogatari* was not created in the thirteenth century; nor was it connected to tantric reading practices. Chapter 7, one of the most compelling in the book in my opinion, shows how the printed *Saga-bon Ise monogatari* of 1608 does not reflect an already standardized iconography, but, on the contrary, creates a brand new one. The large distribution of the *Saga-bon* influenced the *Ise*-related cultural production of the Edo period and beyond. Chapter 8 focuses on the creation of a completely distinct *Ise* iconography, that of Tawaraya Sōtatsu (fl. 1600–1630) and his atelier, that would later be identified as Rinpa style. “It is these two iconographies,” concludes Mostow, “that would dominate *Ise* imagery into the modern period, with the *Saga-bon Ise* being reprinted continuously ... and forming a solid component of every early modern Japanese persons’ ‘cultural literacy.’” At the same time, “the *Ise* remained a significant source of topoi for the Rinpa school, an artistic style that would in the twentieth century come to be seen both locally and internationally as ‘typically Japanese,’ the quintessence of a Japanese aesthetics” (p. 241).

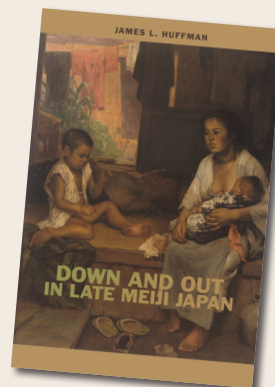
Courtly Visions is a fascinating journey through appropriation, reinterpretation, and canonization, and is an important, far-reaching contribution to the field. The author is to be commended for his extraordinary knowledge of *Ise monogatari*, of Japanese traditional poetry, and of the complicated circumstances that inevitably surround every act of visual representation.

BOOK REVIEW

Down and Out in Late Meiji Japan

By James L. Huffman

University of Hawai'i Press, 2018
xii + 350 pages.



Reviewed by Alistair SWALE

This work of scholarship is perhaps not quite in the vein of the author's previous and certainly substantial engagement with the historiography of Meiji Japan.¹ Yet this is clearly a work of conviction that has been percolating for some time. Indeed it is evident that it has been written with a sense of commitment. The tone of exposition tends towards a more personal register, and there is the rather unusual device of employing a fictional construct of the Ueki family. So, this is by no means a conventional historiography of the late Meiji urban environment, or a socioeconomic analysis of the structure of urban poverty *per se*. The focus is firmly on the people and their experiences in late Meiji Tokyo and Osaka, with existing commentary, primary sources, and research to round out and substantiate the exposition.

The introduction accentuates how the metropolitan centers in which the new urban populations were living were in one important regard a departure from the Edo cultural legacy: they were distinctly *modern*. Though "modernity" is a somewhat problematic term, Huffman convincingly articulates that the class of people to which he is devoting his attention does not stem from a traditional status group. Rather, what we have is an entirely new phenomenon of the rural migrant becoming an urban worker engaging in, for the most part, hitherto non-existing forms of employment.

The book proceeds through chapters 1 and 2 to explore the stages of the transition into urban life. Huffman explores the economic and social causes for people leaving rural areas, the experiences of novices arriving in the major cities, and the manner in which they solved their most pressing needs: shelter and the sources of relatively constant employment. He incisively captures the core predicament of the poor: the payment of rent exacted for shabby, substandard accommodations by rentiers who had little or no interest in the well-being of their tenants or the upkeep of their premises. The author's depiction of the *kichin'yado* flophouses in particular gives insights into the day-to-day precariousness of shelter for all manner of unmarried workers, from itinerant performers to day laborers, whose ability to rent a soiled futon for the night rested on the difference of a few *sen* in income.

¹ See Huffman 1980, Huffman 1997, Huffman 2004, and Huffman 2010.

The book also excels in how it presents in chapter 3, “Earning a Living: Movers and Servers,” an exposition of the bewilderingly multifaceted array of occupations engaged in by the inhabitants of the urban slums. Huffman notes that even sympathetic contemporary journalists such as Yokoyama Gennosuke and Matsubara Iwagorō were constrained in their ability to discuss occupations. This was either because they were unwittingly preoccupied with relatively conventional categories of work and employment, or they preferred to leave the more nebulous occupations to one side out of a sense that they were not as important. Under the broadly construed category of “service,” Huffman is able to discuss meaningfully in the same compass precisely those nebulous occupations of rag-picker, performer, or night-soil collector that certainly were an integral part of the panorama of daily life in the modern Japanese city but were not as clearly identifiable as the rickshaw driver, the train conductor, or a factory worker.

The texture of domestic life, and its tenuous economic foundations, is explored in minute detail in chapter 4, followed by a catalogue of potential woes and catastrophes that afflicted the urban poor in chapter 5, such as floods and fires, cholera and TB. Of additional interest is Huffman’s exposition of distinct forms of crime that were evident throughout the city but had particular implications for the dwellers of the *hinminkutsu*. And there were the ultimate recourses of the desperate—suicide and murder—accounts of which populated the inner pages of popular newspapers such as the *Yorozu chōhō* and the *Niroku shinpō*.

In chapter 6, “The Sun Also Shone: Embracing Life,” Huffman balances the relatively dire picture of poverty with an emphasis on “agency.” While highlighting subtle forms of resistance to employer tyranny as well as an enthusiasm for communal gatherings and simple modes of end of day “letting off steam,” he also accentuates the aspirations of families to find something better, to hope against hope that things could improve with perseverance and a bit of luck.

This comprehensive overview of the tapestry of life for the urban poor forms a telling counterpoint to the examination in chapter 7 of the rural poor, the body of the impoverished from whom the urban poor sprang. The author’s attempt to draw this contrast in one chapter is undoubtedly ambitious, but ultimately it succeeds. Huffman depicts two key characteristics of the experience of poverty in the countryside which differ from the city: the first being the non-negotiability of the seasons in dictating the basic conditions of life (rather than economic trends); the second being the knowledge that poverty was a burden shared alike, in a sense relatively evenly and communally.

The last chapter dealing with emigration to Hawaii pushes the scope of the work out rather broadly. But given the prevalence of emigration for a significant proportion of the regions of western Honshu, Kyushu, and Okinawa, the topic certainly merits inclusion. And it is of interest to note some of the experiences of migrants that resonate with their counterparts in Japan. An initial situation with a preponderance of male workers and their complete dependency on the whims of employers with scarcely adequate remuneration to support daily life is followed by a trend towards the strengthening of communal identity and the more widespread establishment of families, leading to more stability and higher aspirations for improvement.

Overall, Huffman succeeds in presenting the case that the poor, particularly the urban poor, had a significance in the development of Meiji Japan that merits the extensive coverage he has given them. The author captures the sources of acute dislocation and displacement,

as well as the profound sense of alienation engendered by an unrelentingly oppressive work life. At the same time, he balances this with a depiction of the slowly emerging sense of self-awareness of common humanity among the poor, of their right to “be at the table” with every other Japanese, and a determination to eke out whatever improvements might be possible. As Huffman quotes from George Orwell, “Poverty....You thought it would be quite simple; it is extraordinarily complicated” (p. 259).

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BOOK REVIEW

Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism: Education in the Japanese Empire

By Yuka Hiruma-Kishida

Bloomsbury Academic, 2020
272 pages.

Reviewed by Christopher W. A. SZPILMAN



Yuka Hiruma-Kishida's *Kenkoku University* is the first ever book-length study in English of the Nation Building University (Kenkoku Daigaku, hereafter Kendai). It would be easy to dismiss the 1937 founding of this university in the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo as a Japanese ploy to court public opinion, but, as Hiruma-Kishida shows, such a view would be simplistic. True, some of its founders wanted the university to be a mere propaganda tool, but, as Hiruma-Kishida argues, it was inspired more by pan-Asian idealism than by cynical calculations.

The university was the brainchild of Colonel (later Lieutenant General) Ishiwara Kanji, known for his leading role in the so-called Manchurian Incident of September 1931, staged to provide the Japanese army with a pretext to occupy Manchuria, where they would set up Manchukuo. Ishiwara was a military thinker (though to describe him as a “philosopher” [p. 19] as Hiruma-Kishida does, is going too far), a follower of a sect of Nichiren Buddhism and a pan-Asianist visionary. It was Ishiwara’s pan-Asianism that inspired him to advocate the founding of a university, where young men from Manchuria, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China, and other areas of Asia would study together. Such a university, he thought, would help turn Manchukuo into “the showcase of Pan-Asian unity and a model for the political alliance, the East Asian league, of Asian nations against the West” (p. 23). To reflect such pan-Asian aspirations, Ishiwara wanted to call it “Asia University.”

But this was not to be. Conservative scholars appointed as members of a board to plan the new university preferred Shinto and “the imperial way” to Ishiwara’s “ethnic harmony” and Asian brotherhood. The university, in their view, should train administrators of Manchukuo (p. 27), not pursue pan-Asian ideals. Accordingly, the new institution would be called the “Nation Building University.”

This conservative distortion of Ishiwara’s vision did not stifle pan-Asian idealism among the university’s faculty and students, but, as Hiruma-Kishida notes, their idealism was not always egalitarian. Many Japanese professors and students, though subscribing to pan-Asianism, took Japanese superiority for granted. Only Japan, they insisted, could unite Asia, and the first step to achieve this lofty goal would be to raise the “inferior” Chinese and Manchurians “to the level of the Japanese” (p. 67). Yet such ethnic arrogance did not deter some non-Japanese faculty from professing their love for Japan (p. 45), even if they were

not altogether comfortable with the Japanese claims of ethnic or cultural superiority. These declarations of love for Japan were not, it appears, made out of fear or through coercion, since other faculty members, Japanese and non-Japanese, could be and often were critical of Japanese policies.

The students' views were just as diverse as the faculty's. Some non-Japanese students, it seems, supported the war effort; others remained undecided; and others still, though probably a minority for most of Kendai's existence, engaged in various forms of resistance. Pan-Asian ideals of Japanese students were affected by their daily contact with non-Japanese students. Such exchanges produced mixed results, making some Japanese students even more arrogant, while leading others to question the official hierarchical version of pan-Asianism. This diversity of views was possible partly because the economist Sakuta Shōichi (appointed vice president in 1939), and most other professors, though conservative, generally tolerated freedom of expression. There was markedly less tolerance after Sakuta was forced to resign in the wake of the arrest of several Chinese students for anti-Japanese activities in 1942. His replacement, Lieutenant General Suetaka Kamezō, tried to run the university like an army barracks, but even such a heavy-handed approach failed to suppress free expression completely.

In fact, it was during Suetaka's term in office that resistance by non-Japanese students intensified. At one point in late 1943, Hiruma-Kishida states, some twenty-four Kendai students were imprisoned for alleged "political crimes" (p. 135). In many cases, however, students objected not to Japanese rule as such, but to arbitrary acts by the Japanese authorities, notably the 1942 appointment of Suetaka and the 1943 replacement of regular university instruction with military training.

The existence of Kendai was brought to an abrupt end by the Soviet attack on Japan on 9 August 1945. Japan's surrender and the subsequent return of Manchuria to China did not, however, extinguish the Kendai legacy. Japanese graduates did not have to hide their Kendai background, and back in Japan some of them pursued successful careers in diplomacy, business, and the media. By contrast, Chinese and Korean alumni thought it prudent not to advertise their Kendai past, at least initially. In the more relaxed climate of the 1990s, however, there was no need for such discretion: reminiscences were published and contact between them and Japanese alumni were reestablished. This strongly suggests that the Japanese efforts to promote Asian solidarity in Manchukuo via education were not entirely fruitless. As Hiruma-Kishida notes, the Kendai legacy also lives on institutionally. Changchun University can be regarded as Kendai's heir. It was founded in the 1990s through the joint efforts of Chinese and Japanese Kendai alumni, and it is located on what used to be the Kendai campus.

Drawing on a wide range of contemporary sources, reminiscences, and interviews, Hiruma-Kishida shows that the ideological complexity of Manchukuo defies any simplistic generalizations. She also sheds light on the contradictions between nationalism and pan-Asianism which even the most idealistic pan-Asianists found difficult to overcome.

Unfortunately the book has some weaknesses. One of these is Hiruma-Kishida's tendency to take various statements at face value, as in her discussion of Ishiwara's views. Ishiwara's thought, shaped largely by his Nichiren Buddhism and Confucianism, was apocalyptic. Peace, he prophesied, would only prevail on earth after a series of devastating conflicts, which Japan, in pursuit of its "global mission as a world savior," would win in a

final conflagration against the United States (pp. 19–20). Such madcap notions make it easy to see why his pan-Asianism was “rooted in a sober conviction that militarism was essential to the future of Japan” (p. 19), but they are difficult to reconcile with Ishiwara’s allegedly egalitarian pan-Asianism, especially as he maintained that there existed “a hierarchy of civilizations” (p. 21). All this makes one wonder whether, as Hiruma-Kishida suggests, Ishiwara’s vision of Kendai, if realized, would have been better than the conservative vision that actually prevailed.

The book moreover should have been edited more carefully. The publishing house’s correct name is Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, not Yoshikawa Hirobumi kan (p. 198, p. 247); Sakuta’s given name is Shōichi, not Sōichi; and Naitō Konan should not have a macron over the second “o” (p. 9, p. 200). These reservations apart, Hiruma-Kishida’s book is a valuable contribution that should not be ignored by any serious student of the history of Manchukuo, Japanese colonial policy, pan-Asianism, or the history of Japanese education.

CONTRIBUTORS

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どもを失った哀しみを抱いて [Intimate grief care: Embracing sorrow at the loss of a child] (Bensei Shuppan 2018, edited) and many journal articles and book chapters. These include “Depictions and Modelling of the Body Seen in Japanese Folk Religion: Connections to Yokai Images,” (*Advances in Anthropology, Special Issue on Folk Life and Folk Culture* 2017); “Where *Yōkai* Enter and Exit the Human Body: From Medieval Picture Scrolls to Modern Folktales in Japan” (*Studies in Japanese Literature and Culture* vol. 2. 2019); and “Changing Folk Cultures of Pregnancy and Childbirth” (*The Routledge Companion to Gender and Japanese Culture*, eds. Jennifer Coates, Lucy Fraser, Mark Pendleton 2019). While she continues to work on supernatural *yōkai*, she is also exploring human relations around pregnancy and childbirth in medical care in modern Japan.

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