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Reconstructing the Life of Uesugi Kiyoko

Karen M. GERHART

Uesugi Kiyoko (1270–1342) was the mother of the founder of the Ashikaga shogunate, Takauji (1305–1358), and his brother and chief administrator, Tadayoshi (1306–1352). Although Kiyoko lived within the vortex of a new political order that was being formed by her politically important sons in the early decades of the fourteenth century, little is known about her. Hers is a story not easily told: because information about her is so fragmentary, no monograph or even a single article in English or Japanese has been published about her life. In this essay, I seek to reconstruct the life of Uesugi Kiyoko through an examination of written records by contemporary diarists, personal letters, and poetry written by Kiyoko herself, and a number of physical sites relating to her life. The result is a nuanced picture of an educated woman who wrote letters and poetry, wielded significant land stipends in her own interests, and helped her two sons work together for political gain.

Keywords: Uesugi Kiyoko, Ashikaga Sadauji, Ashikaga Takauji, Ashikaga Tadayoshi, Kōfukuji, Kokawadera, Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, Tōjiin, *Fūgashū*, Jōmyōji dono, Tōjiin dono, Kashōin dono

Introduction

> "Men have had every advantage of us in telling their own story. . . . Education has been theirs in so much higher a degree; the pen has been in their hands."[1]

This well-known quotation from Jane Austen's early-nineteenth century novel *Persuasion* recognizes that historically women have had little control over how they have been remembered because men do most of the writing. Uesugi Kiyoko 上杉清子 (1270–1342), the mother of both the founder of the Ashikaga 足利 shogunate, Takauji 尊氏 (1305–1358), and his brother and chief administrator, Tadayoshi 直義 (1306–1352), would likely concur. Very little is known about Kiyoko even though she lived within the vortex of a new political order that was being formed by her two sons in the early decades of the fourteenth century. In spite of her having such politically important sons, no monograph or even a single article in English or Japanese has been written about Kiyoko's life, probably because her story is not

1 Austen 2006, p. 1221.

easily told. Some facts can be culled from records written by male priests and courtiers who were firsthand observers of the political and religious turmoil surrounding her sons; others can be gleaned from personal letters and poetry that Kiyoko herself wrote, and additional evidence can be acquired from a few physical sites still preserved in her natal homeland of Uesugi 上杉 in Tanba 丹波. Although the information is fragmentary, confirming the significant challenges scholars still face in writing women's histories today, it provides a picture of this woman that history has forgotten.

It is my intent to construct, to the extent possible, a biography of Uesugi Kiyoko. In early medieval Japan even the basic facts about where a person was born, lived, and died were generally recorded only for those who attained positions of social and political prominence, and most of them were men. Even prominent male figures such as Ashikaga Takauji remain understudied, and their precise whereabouts and daily lives are difficult to pinpoint.[2] The task of writing about Kiyoko is made even more difficult because medieval women were seldom identified by name in historical records, being most often referred to as "the daughter or wife of so-and-so." In general, women's names are found in historical records only if they produced letters, literature, or art that managed to survive the test of time, or if they bore male children who became sovereigns or held important government offices, and Kiyoko did both.

Nonetheless, seeking to discover information about Uesugi Kiyoko clearly presents unique problems. Few physical traces of her remain; the buildings in which she lived, gave birth, and died have long since decayed and vanished. Written sources are often equally difficult to mine because so little remains and so much must be inferred or assumed. Indeed, Japanese sources tend to be ambiguous about what women were doing and where they lived. Unless a source specifically states the location or name of the residence of a particular woman, we can only attempt to tease out tentative answers about her whereabouts based on information about her natal family, husband, or male children. Discovering where a woman died and was buried can be determined more readily because things of a more permanent nature often remain, such as stone grave markers and donation records in Buddhist temples. Examining material objects, alongside records, personal letters, and poetry written during her lifetime offers our best bet of uncovering the pieces of Kiyoko's identity. Memorial portraits and posthumous names can be used to connect her to specific individuals and sites and cement important connections in the afterlife in a way that effectively constructs a posthumous identity. Unfortunately, no known portrait of Kiyoko exists, but her posthumous names solidify her standing as the "founding mother" of the Ashikaga line, a position that grew exponentially in importance as the years passed and the regime became more established and powerful. I utilize all of the above types of sources to help me reconstruct the life of Uesugi Kiyoko and her position as the mother of the founder of a new political dynasty.

Kiyoko's Early Years in Tanba

Kiyoko was born into the main branch of the Uesugi house in 1270. As was typical for most people at this time, her birth date was not recorded, but her death date and age at

2 See, for example, Matthew Stavros's (2010, p. 3) comments on his efforts to uncover where Takauji and Tadayoshi lived in Kyoto in the early fourteenth century.

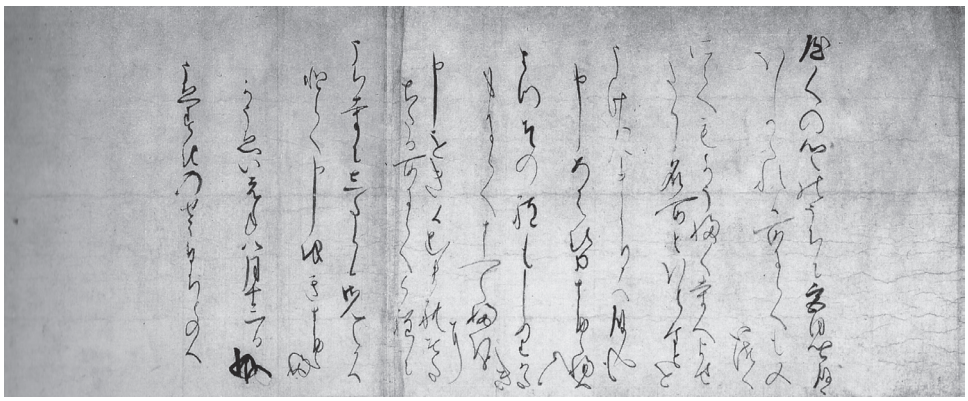

Figure 1. Letter written by Uesugi Kiyoko, dated Kōei 1 (1342).8.13, *Ankoku monjo*. Reproduced in Uejima 2001, vol. 2, pp. 60–61. http://ayabe.city-news.jp/04fmwalk/04fmwalk_3.htm.

death were, allowing us to extrapolate the year of her birth. The Uesugi were a noble family descended from Fujiwara Yoshikado 藤原良門 (n.d.) of the northern branch (Kajūji 勧修寺) of the Fujiwara, and Kiyoko's father was Uesugi Yorishige 上杉頼重 (n.d.). The Uesugi became close allies of the Ashikaga in the mid-thirteenth century when Kajūji (Fujiwara) Shigefusa 勧修寺重房 (n.d.), Kiyoko's grandfather, accompanied Prince Munetaka 宗尊親王 (1242–1274) to Kamakura, where Munetaka assumed the position of shogun in the Kamakura government in 1252 and Shigefusa became the governor of the province of Tanba, Ikaruga 斑鳩 District, in Uesugi domain (today, Kyoto Prefecture, Ayabe 綾部 City, Uesugi Town). He later changed his family name to that of his domain, Uesugi. When a daughter of Shigefusa (name not recorded) married Ashikaga Yoriuji 足利頼氏 (1240–1262), then head of the main Ashikaga house, that union provided the Ashikaga with an important link to Kyoto culture and instituted a tradition of marriage between the two families. A generation later, Ashikaga Sadauji 足利貞氏 (1273–1331) continued this tradition, marrying Uesugi Kiyoko.

There is little agreement among scholars on where Kiyoko was born and lived as a child, or about whether ties with her family were a boon to the Ashikaga. Some scholars claim that Kiyoko was born and grew up in the Uesugi domain in Tanba.[3] Others disagree, pointing out that the heads of the main Uesugi branch had been living and working in Kamakura since Shigefusa's arrival fifty years before; these scholars contend that Kiyoko was born in Kamakura.[4] We know, however, that Kiyoko's father, Yorishige, held a court post in Kyoto, serving Eianmon'in 永安門院 (1216–1279), Emperor Juntoku's 順徳天皇 (1197–1242) eldest daughter, as chamberlain (*kurōdo* 蔵人) of her Nyoin Palace 女院御所.[5] Furthermore, Kiyoko herself says she was born and brought up in Tanba in a letter dated

3 See, for example, Amino 1998 and the entry for "Uesugi Kiyoko" in *Asahi Nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten* (online), which says that Kiyoko grew up in Uesugi. Note that all sources designated "online" were accessed through Japan Knowledge.

4 See Minegishi 2011, p. 5.

5 According to *Uesugi keizu* 上杉系図, Yorishige served as Shōanmon'in Kurōdo 承安門院蔵人; *DNS* 6:7, p. 472.

Kōei 光栄 1 (1342).8.13. This should put to rest further speculation about her place of birth (see Figure 1).[6]

Kiyoko became Sadauji's wife sometime in the late thirteenth century. As marriages were private and seldom recorded, we do not know the exact year, but the couple's first son, Takauji, was born in 1305, when Kiyoko was thirty-six years old; a second son, Tadayoshi, was born two years later.[7] Kiyoko was designated a secondary wife (*sokushitsu* 側室) because a long tradition dating back to the twelfth century stipulated that the head of the Ashikaga house should take a woman from the main Hōjō 北条 line as his primary wife (*seishitsu* 正室).[8] Thus, by the time he married Kiyoko, Sadauji already had a primary wife, the daughter (name unknown) of Kanesawa (Hōjō) Akitoki 金沢顕時 (1248–1301), a woman referred to in texts only as Shakadō dono 釈迦堂殿 (n.d.). Little other information about her survives.

Officially recognized marriages such as these were intended to produce heirs, thereby cementing important political and social alliances among the military or with prestigious court families. When a woman failed to produce a viable heir, even if she held the elevated position of primary wife, history generally failed to remember her; such was the fate of Shakadō dono. The exceptions in this time period include a handful of noble women who documented their own lives, such as the nuns Eshin 恵信 (1182–1268?), Abutsu 阿仏 (1225–1283), and Hino Meishi 日野名子 (d. 1358), a contemporary of Kiyoko.[9] For the most part, however, those who left records from the early fourteenth century were men: Buddhist monks and court nobles who recorded occurrences of importance, such as ritual procedures, political events, and the deaths of high-ranking individuals. When these writers included information about women who were unrelated to them, such as Kiyoko, it is an indicator of the latter's high level of social and political importance.

The Birth of An Heir

While we might expect that everything about the birth of Takauji, the man who became the founder of a two-hundred-year dynasty of shoguns, would be carefully documented, in fact, records are surprisingly unhelpful about his early life because Takauji was not intended to be his father's heir. Although seldom discussed in English-language scholarship, Sadauji and his primary wife, Shakadō dono, had a son, Takayoshi 高義 (1297–1317), who was born

6 All dates given year/month/day are cited from primary sources that use the lunar calendar. *DNS* 6:7, p. 300. Kiyoko's letter is reproduced in Uejima 2001, vol. 2, pp. 60–61; see also http://ayabe.city-news.jp/04fmwalk/04fmwalk_3.htm and the entry for "Imanishi Nakamura" in *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (online). I would like to thank Thomas Conlan for pointing me to the letter and also for his generous comments and suggestions that helped shape my thinking about Kiyoko and Takauji.

7 Matsuzaki Yōji (1990, p. 47) gives Takauji's birth date as 1303. I use the more commonly accepted date of 1305. Tadayoshi's birth date is usually given as Tokuji 徳治 1 (1306), but new research based on *Kenshun sōjō nikki* suggests he was born in Tokuji 2 (1307), making him two years younger than Takauji (Shimizu 2013, p. 22). All ages in this essay are given in Japanese calculations, which add one year to Western calculations.

8 I use the term "secondary wife" to refer to a woman who is from an important family in a legally binding relationship that cannot be easily set aside, although her status is generally lower than that of the primary wife. In addition to primary and secondary wives (*seishitsu* and *sokushitsu*), men also had concubines, *mekake* 妾, who generally did not have the same rights. Sadauji's father had also married a Hōjō woman; Sadauji's mother was the daughter of the Rokuhara Tandai 六波羅探題, Hōjō Tokishige 北条時茂 (1240–1270).

9 For Eshin, see Dobbins 2004; for Abutsu, see Laffin 2013; for Meishi, see Tonomura 1997.

several years before Takauji and named as Sadauji's rightful heir.[10] The existence of this elder child, born to a wife of higher status than Kiyoko, meant that Takauji's birth received little attention because he was not, at the time, expected to hold any position of importance. All this would change dramatically in 1317 when Takayoshi died suddenly at the young age of twenty-one.[11]

To date, there has been little research into where Kiyoko lived during her marriage and much speculation about where her two sons with Sadauji were born. A closer examination of her living situation can, however, enlighten us about warrior marriages in the early-fourteenth century and also offer a deeper context for her sons' later alliances and actions.

In the early years of the fourteenth century, when Uesugi Kiyoko gave birth, her natal family held significant property in Tanba, north of Kyoto. The ancestral landholdings of the main house of the Ashikaga, however, were located in Shimotsuke 下野, in Tochigi prefecture, north of modern-day Tokyo. Sadauji's primary wife, Shakadō dono, and her natal Hōjō family lived in Kamakura, and Sadauji held positions in the Kamakura government as both houseman (*gokenin* 御家人) and the provincial governor of Kazusa 上総 (in Mikawa 三河).[12] It is conceivable, then, that Takauji and Tadayoshi were born either in their mother's homeland of Tanba, in the Ashikaga homeland of Shimotsuke, or in Kamakura, the center of the Hōjō government. Sadauji's first son by Shakadō dono, the unfortunate Takayoshi, was assuredly born in Kamakura, but there has been little evidence to date to support any one of these locations over another and little consensus among scholars on Takauji's place of birth. Some think it likely that Sadauji and both of his wives were living in Kamakura when his sons were born.[13] Support for this theory rests on Sadauji holding positions in the shogunal government in Kamakura and on the fact that his primary wife, Shakadō-dono, resided there, making it likely that Sadauji lived in Kamakura as well.[14] The theory that Takauji was born in the Ashikaga homeland seems to rest largely on Takauji's award in 1339 to the temple Bannaji 鑁阿寺 of land rights to Nakayama village in Shimotsuke, an act that has been construed as gratitude to the temple as his place of birth. Recent popular accounts based on *Taiheiki* seem to have solidified this notion by naming Bannaji as Takauji's birthplace and pointing out that the temple sits on the site of the original Ashikaga clan residence.[15] There is no other evidence that Kiyoko gave birth there.

10 According to Shimizu (2013, pp. 20–23), Sadauji was thirty-three when he "retired," took Buddhist vows, and designated Takayoshi as his heir.

11 At the time of his death, Takayoshi had two young sons. It is unclear why the eldest was not named to succeed Sadauji, but Shimizu (2013, p. 27) has suggested that it was because their mother was from the main Hōjō line and problems between the Ashikaga and Hōjō were already beginning to surface by this date.

12 Sadauji held the title of Sanuki no kami 讃岐守 with court rank of senior fifth, lower grade. *Nihonshi daijiten*, vol. 1, p. 124.

13 Shimizu 2013, p. 20. Minegishi Sumio (2011, p. 1) also believes that Takauji was born in Kamakura at the Ōkura 大倉 residence. These scholars are following claims made in Ashikaga city histories, such as *Ashikaga-shi shi* (1928–1929) and *Kindai Ashikaga-shi shi* (1975–1979).

14 Shakadō dono also founded a *bodaiji* (family memorial chapel), Enpukuji 延福寺, for her deceased son at Jōmyōji 浄妙寺.

15 See, for example, a novel by Yoshikawa 1959. Also Uejima 2001, vol. 2, pp. 482–83.

Figure 2 (left). Well of Takauji's birth water. Ankokuji (Kōfukuji), Ayabe City. Photo by T. Masuzaki. http://www.ayabun.net/bunkazai/annai/ankoku/ankokuji.htm.
Figure 3 (right). Stone marking Takauji's place of birth. Ankokuji (Kōfukuji), Ayabe City. Photo by T. Masuzaki. http://www.ayabun.net/bunkazai/annai/ankoku/ankokuji.htm.

Other historians have suggested that Kiyoko's two sons were born at Jōkōji 常光寺, a subtemple of Kōfukuji 光福寺 (Ankokuji 安国寺) located within the Uesugi domain.[16] There is some physical evidence to support this theory. A water well is identified today as "the well of Takauji's birth water," marking the spot where water was said to have been drawn for his birth, and a stone marker designates where the birth took place (see figures 2 and 3). Takauji's "birth hair" and "birth clothes" are still preserved at this temple today.[17] Although Tanba was the homeland of the Uesugi, it should be noted that the Ashikaga also held land rights there to the nearby villages of Ayabe and Yata. Thus, if Kiyoko gave birth in Tanba, the site would have been closely connected to both the Uesugi and the Ashikaga.[18]

Other evidence suggesting that Kiyoko may have resided in Tanba at the time of Takauji's birth are two petitions (*ganmon* 願文) that she dedicated as prayers for a safe birth. Tanba's Kōfukuji claims that Kiyoko dedicated prayers for the safe delivery of an heir to its special Jizō Bosatsu (Koyasu Jizō 子安地蔵), said to have been carved for that

16 Kōfukuji was later renamed Ankokuji, but as there are many temples named Ankokuji, I will refer to the temple in Tanba as Kōfukuji throughout. Jōkōji no longer exists. Matsuzaki (1990, p. 47) claims that when Kiyoko was pregnant, Sadauji was in Kyoto serving as the Kyoto *rokuhara tandai* (shogunal deputy). While Sadauji's mother was the daughter of Hōjō Tokishige, who was the (northern) *rokuhara tandai*, there is no evidence that Sadauji held this position.

17 *Inryōken nichiroku*, entry for Chōroku 2 (1458).10.24 says that Ashikaga Yoshimasa went to worship at Ankokuji and to view Takauji's "hair remains" (*ihatsu* 遺髪) and a "bowing cloth" (*kesa zagu* 袈裟座具). *Inryōken nichiroku*, vol. 133, p. 192; also *DNS* 7:908, p. 86. Usually made of pieces of silk sewn together, the cloth was carried by priests, who spread it out in front of them when making ceremonial bows. I am grateful to Patricia Fister for pointing me to this information. Uejima (2001, vol. 1, p. 484) interprets these phrases as Takauji's baby hair (*ubuge* 産毛) and clothes (*ubugi* 産着).

18 Uejima 2001, vol. 1, p. 484.

purpose centuries earlier by the monk Genshin 源信.[19] Kōfukuji's claim is supported by Kiyoko's later donation to it of land stipends, which were made out of gratitude for the safe delivery of her son, and by her designating the temple as an Uesugi *ujidera* 氏寺.[20] Another petition, addressed to the famous Thousand-Armed Kannon at Kokawadera 粉河寺 in Kii (Wakayama Prefecture), tells us that for seven days in the autumn of Kagen 嘉元 3 (1305), Kiyoko underwent purifications and made fervent prayers for the safe birth of a male child.[21] Many years later, in 1336, in gratitude for the birth of this son, she donated curtains (*tochō* 戸帳) (probably altar curtains) to the temple, along with the income from several parcels of land.[22]

It is likely that Kiyoko presented petitions to these temples because they were located nearby and because their icons were known to aid in safe births, which would have been a major concern for Kiyoko, who was thirty-six years old in 1305. The Jizō image at Kōfukuji had been made specifically for the purpose of promoting safe births and the temple was located in the Uesugi domain, so if she were living there, it would have been a logical place to make such a request. While the Kannon image at Kokawadera did not seem to have had any particular reputation for safe childbirth at this time, by the early fourteenth century its Thousand-Armed Kannon, a bodhisattva of mercy who aided and comforted those in need, particularly women, was well known for its miraculous powers.[23] Kiyoko likely sent her petition to the temple via an attendant or family member who presented it on her behalf.[24]

The petitions Kiyoko made to these two temples do not definitively prove that she was in Tanba when she gave birth to Takauji and Tadayoshi, but their proximity makes it probable. Taken together, the long travel that would have been required from Kamakura to either temple, the lack of any evidence that she gave birth in Kamakura or Shimotsuke, and the physical evidence preserved in the Uesugi domain, give considerable weight to the likelihood that her sons were born in Tanba and that Kiyoko probably continued to live there until Sadauji's original heir died in 1317 and Takauji was designated to succeed his father. At that point, Kiyoko may have moved to Kamakura to oversee her sons' progress and Takauji's coming-of-age ceremony in the tenth month of 1319, when he was presented with the court title of Senior Minister in the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*jibu no taifu* 治部

19 Genshin (942–1017) is also called Eishin Sōzu 恵心僧都; Matsuzaki 1990, p. 48.

20 Ryakuō 2 (1339).10.15 in *DNS* 6:5, p. 763; Kōei 1 (1342).8.13 in *DNS* 6:7, pp. 299–300.

21 The event is recorded in several sources (*DNS* 6:3, pp. 848–51), but I have not found any evidence that her petition still exists. See also Matsuzaki 1990, p. 48, and *Asahi Nihon rekishi jinbutsu jiten* (online). This Kannon is a powerful "hidden" image, said to have been made in 770 by Ōtomo no Kujiko 大伴孔子古. I could find no images of it other than those in *Kokawadera engi* at the Kyoto National Museum.

22 Kenmu 建武 3/Engen 延元 1 (1336).10 in *DNS* 6:3, pp. 848–51. The text is not clear about whether Kiyoko donated money for altar curtains or actual curtains. I am grateful to Naoko Gunji for her suggestions on translation.

23 Kokawadera remains part of the Saikoku pilgrimage circuit of thirty-three Kannon temples today. The illustrated handscroll, the *Kokawadera engi e* (late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century), documents the miraculous appearance of this Kannon image at the temple.

24 Kiyoko's successful petition started a tradition that was followed by a number of later Ashikaga shoguns. Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 義満 (1358–1408) traveled there in Meitoku 明徳 3 (1392).5.7 and again on 10.3 of the same year, and his second son, Yoshinori (1394–1441), who would become the sixth Ashikaga shogun, was born in 1394, a little over a year after his second visit (*DNS* 6:907, pp. 209, 213). After Yoshinori became shogun, he also went to Kokawadera (Eikyō 永享 3 [1431].10.28) to offer prayers to its famous Kannon and to entreat the deity to grant him an heir (*DNS* 7:907, p. 595). His wish was granted when a shogunal successor, Yoshikatsu (1434–1443), was born.

大輔), with junior fifth rank, lower grade (*jugoi no ge* 従五位下).[25] Alternatively, she may have remained in Tanba and entrusted their upbringing to others in Kamakura. There is no information about Kiyoko in any record until Sadauji dies in 1331.

Kiyoko After 1331

When Sadauji died, Kiyoko's life must have changed radically. It was also in 1331 that Go-Daigo's plots against the Hōjō came to light and Kiyoko's son, Takauji, was ordered to join Hōjō Takatoki's 北条高時 (1303-1333) army in the Kinai region to quell the anti-bakufu uprising (Genkō incident 元弘の乱). Thereafter, he became involved in numerous military skirmishes in both the Kyoto area and around Kamakura.[26] We have little documentation about Kiyoko's whereabouts at this time. Although we have no proof, Sadauji's death and the destabilization of the Kamakura government may have encouraged Kiyoko to return to Tanba, as the area had much to recommend it during these tumultuous times. It was geographically closer to Kyoto, where both of her sons were increasingly embroiled in military campaigns and where they would soon establish new residences. That Tanba was also convenient and familiar to Takauji is evident in his 1333 attack on the Hōjō stronghold of Rokuhara in Kyoto, which he launched from Tanba on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month.[27] Above all, perhaps, Tanba was decidedly safer for Kiyoko than either Kamakura or Kyoto in the 1330s.[28] There is also evidence that Takauji visited Tanba regularly between 1333 and 1336 (in Shōkyō 正慶 2 [1333].4.27, Kenmu 建武 1 [1334].4.10) and even stayed there for some time (Engen 延元 1 [1336] from 1.27 to 2.3).[29]

After Go-Daigo had returned from exile to the capital and instituted his reform measures in 1336, Takauji put his seven-year-old son, Yoshiakira, nominally in charge of Kamakura as he and his allies attempted to retake Kyoto from the emperor. By the end of the decade, both of Kiyoko's sons had residences in Kyoto and the records we have of her put Kiyoko there as well. At some time after 1339, Kiyoko took Buddhist vows with Kosen Ingen 古先印元 (1295–1374), a Rinzai Zen monk, who had recently arrived in the capital to open Tōjiin 等持院 (1339).[30] While many medieval women took the tonsure and entered Buddhist temples after the death of their husbands, there is no record of Kiyoko doing either after Sadauji died. Her vows, whatever they entailed, may have been taken because of her age; she would have been around seventy years old by this time.

Another example of Kiyoko's activities in the capital is recorded for the sixth month of 1340 (Ryakuō 暦応 3) when she visited Senseimon-in 宣政門院 (1315–1362), Go-Daigo's 後醍醐 daughter and Kōgon's 光厳 consort, at the Jimyō-in residence 持明院 of the retired sovereign of the Northern court. Senseimon-in had taken the tonsure on 5.29, probably

25 Gen'ō 元応 1 (1319).10.10, *Sonpi bunmyaku*, in *DNS* 5:905, p. 648.
26 Genkō 元弘 1 (1331).9.26–11.5 in *DNS* 5:905, pp. 763–66.
27 Shōkyō 正慶 2 (1333).4.27 in *DNS* 5:905, p. 787.
28 Matsuzaki (1990, p. 48) has also proposed that Takauji's wife, Nariko, took shelter at the Uesugi residence during the upheavals.
29 Shōkyō 2 (1333).4.27 in *DNS* 5:905, p. 787; Kenmu 1 (1334).4.10 in *DNS* 6:1, p. 516; Engen 1 (1336).1.27 to 2.3 in *DNS* 6:3, p. 16 and *DNS* 6:3, p. 56.
30 See the entry for "Uesugi Kiyoko" in *Kokushi daijiten* (online). Kosen was close to Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351) and both Takauji and Tadayoshi. *DNS* 6:5, pp. 598–99. Typically one's Buddhist name was taken from the temple where the vows or tonsure were performed. Kiyoko later received the posthumous name of Tōjiin dono 等持院殿.

in response to Go-Daigo's death the previous year. After receiving visits from several women, including Kiyoko, Senseimon-in entered Hoanji 保安寺 and took up a new life as a Buddhist nun.[31] Kiyoko's relationship with Senseimon-in is intriguing and one wonders how it might have come about, as Takauji and Kōgon did not enjoy a particularly close relationship at this date. She may have become acquainted with Senseimon-in and Kōgon through a mutual interest in poetry. Nonetheless, these events—taking Buddhist vows with Kosen Ingen and visiting Senseimon-in—help us envision the types of activities Kiyoko enjoyed during the last years of her life. Whether she was still living in Tanba or had moved to Kyoto during that time is not known, but it is likely she was living with one or the other of her sons in the late 1330s.

Kiyoko's Poetry and Letters

As a daughter of a noble family who grew up near the capital, Kiyoko was trained in the arts, most notably writing and poetry. Education for their children was highly valued by such families living in the provinces, as it enabled them to distinguish themselves from the "warrior other" and maintain cultural ties with Kyoto. By all accounts, Kiyoko became an accomplished poet. Her name appears in the 1337 waka poetry index, *Waka sakusha burui* 倭歌作者部類, as having attained the highest level of poetic accomplishment, and her poems were apparently of such quality that they were included posthumously in an imperial anthology, *Fūgashū* 風雅集, commissioned by the retired emperor Kōgon (1313–1364) and published between 1346 and 1349. Kiyoko has a single poem in the volume, while Takauji contributed sixteen, the same number as the venerable courtier Saionji Sanekane 西園寺実兼 (1249–1322), who had close personal and marriage ties to both imperial lines.[32] *Fūgashū* had the distinction of being the first imperial anthology that required vetting by a warrior government.[33] This unprecedented requirement provides evidence of the weakness of the imperial family vis-à-vis the Ashikaga and their need for Ashikaga economic support in the mid-fourteenth century, but it also highlights the desire of the Ashikaga to appropriate the poetic cultural capital of the court.[34]

The official wives of the early Ashikaga shoguns did not keep daily records and, in general, left few personal correspondences. But as the daughter of a noble family, Kiyoko wrote a number of letters that have been preserved. The earliest, dated Kenmu 5 (1338).5.27, provides a rare example of a woman's perspective of a battle. The letter places her at an important battle near Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine 石清水八幡宮, about twelve miles south of Kyoto on Otokoyama 男山, where Kitabatake Chikafusa's 北畠親房 son, Akiie 顕家 (1318–1338), a Southern court commander and one of Takauji's most formidable rivals, was

31 *Moromoriki* 師守記 in *DNS* 6:6, p. 172. Senseimon-in was the royal princess Kanshi Naishinnō 懽子内親王, daughter of Go-Daigo's first queen consort, Saionji Kishi 西園寺禧子. Hoanji no longer exists, but was located in the Fushimi area south of Kyoto.

32 *DNS* 6:7, p. 472. Kiyoko's poem is number 1602 (1601) in Takizawa 1991, p. 121.

33 The emperor was required to ask permission of the Ashikaga before going forward with the anthology. See Huey 1997, pp. 186–87.

34 Takauji made other attempts to control court culture. In 1356, for example, he initiated what would become the *Shinsenzai wakashū* 新千載和歌集 (1359) anthology by "directing" Emperor Go-Kōgon to order its commission. Huey 1997, pp. 187–89.

killed by the forces led by Kō Moronao 高師直 (d. 1351).[35] Kiyoko's letter vividly describes how the gods Hachiman and Sumiyoshi helped determine the outcome by miraculously appearing on the battlefield, and also reports that six ships were burned and sunk. Although it is not clear whether she witnessed these events herself or heard about them from someone who did, she writes in great detail, naming people and places.[36] Other contemporary sources corroborate that Kiyoko witnessed Akiie's defeat in the fierce battle and even gloated over his death.[37] Her personal account radically alters our perceptions of medieval women and their involvement in military affairs. The letter, probably sent to one of her sons, served as a battle report, and demonstrates that Kiyoko's judgment was valued, and that at sixty-nine years of age, she was both active and involved in the ongoing power struggles taking place around her.

Two other handwritten letters by Kiyoko are preserved in *Ankokuji monjo* 安国寺文書; both are related to land stipends that were donated to Kōfukuji in Tanba.[38] In the first letter, dated 1339 (Ryakuō 2.10.15), a year after Takauji became *seiitai shōgun*, Kiyoko conveyed the ownership rights of Hinayashiki 日名屋敷 in Mikawa Province (Aichi Prefecture) to the temple. Hinayashiki had been Kiyoko's father's residence when he was provincial governor of Mikawa, and the site also had deep connections to the Ashikaga clan in the Kamakura period. Kiyoko inherited it from her family and perhaps offered it to Kōfukuji in gratitude for Takauji's investiture. The second letter, written by Kiyoko from Kyoto just four months prior to her death in 1342 (Kōei 1.8.13), is addressed to her nephew, Uesugi Tomosada 上杉朝定 (1321–1352), head of the Uesugi house and provincial governor of Tanba at this time.[39] In this correspondence, Kiyoko reminisced about her birth and growing up in the Uesugi domain, the influence of Kōfukuji on her Buddhist faith, her desire to designate the temple an *ujidera* 氏寺, and her desire to transfer the ownership of the land rights from Imanishi, located in the Yakuno district of Tanba, to Kōfukuji.[40]

These two letters indicate that Kiyoko's land holdings were extensive and suggest that she had inherited them from her natal family.[41] Although the Muromachi law codes relegated mothers to insignificant roles within the formal family organization and necessitated greater economic dependency on their husbands, women developed various

35 Takauji's interactions with Iwashimizu Hachimangū date to 1335 when he first offered prayers there for divine power in ruling the realm after parting ways with Go-Daigo; later, his son, Yoshiakira, would further reinforce Ashikaga involvement with the shrine by granting additional land rights to Iwashimizu for "stability in the realm and [Ashikaga] prosperity." Conlan 2003, p. 171, note 24.

36 See letter dated Kenmu 5 (1338).5.27 at http://komonjo.princeton.edu/shoguns-mother/. I am deeply indebted to Thomas Conlan for providing a translation and interpretation of this letter.

37 Akiie died at the battle of Ishizu on 5.22, five days before Kiyoko's letter was written. See Niigata kenshi hensan iinkai 1981, pp. 528–30, cited in Conlan 2011, p. 59, note 52.

38 Information about the letters can be accessed online at http://ayabe.citynews.jp/04fmwalk/04fmwalk_3.htm. *Ankokuji monjo* contains many documents related to Kōfukuji, primarily *kishinjō* 寄進状 (documents conveying ownership rights) and *andojō* 安堵状 (documents of confirmation or guarantee).

39 Tomosada was *shugo* 守護 of Tanba, but the meaning of the term changed over time. In Kamakura times, the position indicated a "province-level constable appointed by the bakufu," but later in the Muromachi period came to mean "a provincial military governor appointed by the Ashikaga bakufu" (Mass 1982, p. 295).

40 This second letter documents the complicated process of a land conveyance (*kishin* 寄進) in the mid-fourteenth century, showing how the request for action went from Kiyoko to the head of the Uesugi house, who sent a *jungyōjō* 遵行状 to the estate manager, who then wrote an *uchiwatashijō* 打渡状 to Kōfukuji's head abbot.

41 For details, see *Nanbokuchō jidai no Tanba* 1993, pp. 1–2.

"informal" ways to hold power. Used in this way, land stipends served as one avenue for women to effect change and provide for their afterlife, albeit in an increasingly minor way as the laws changed to allow landholding only for a woman's lifetime.[42] Kiyoko seems to have used land transfers primarily to support Kōfukuji, no doubt in part to assure the continuance of memorial services at the temple for her parents and future services for herself and her family. Although we have examined only a small sample of letters, two appear to be "business-type" letters that were preserved by the temple because they documented gifts of land. The other letter that Kiyoko wrote about the battle at Ishizu 石津 and Kitabatake Akiie's death expressed her observations or those reported to her. That letter probably survived because it was written by the mother of a shogun, and today is in a collection of documents related to the Uesugi held by the Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum (Yonezawashi Uesugi Hakubutsukan 米沢市上杉博物館). As more local repositories digitize their collections, it is likely that other letters will come to light that will enhance our understanding of the scope of Kiyoko's and other women's interests and involvement in economic, political, and cultural affairs in the fourteenth century.

Kiyoko's Death and Posthumous Identity

Kiyoko died at age seventy-three on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month of 1342. Upon her death, Takauji's archenemy Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) expressed concern about her passing, saying he feared it would lead to political disorder.[43] Although Chikafusa does not explain his statement, his comment suggests that he saw Kiyoko as the lynchpin in maintaining good relationships between Takauji and Tadayoshi. At the time of her death, although Takauji held the title of *seiitai shōgun*, governmental affairs were still far from settled and Chikafusa's statement acknowledges the crucial role Kiyoko had played in mediating affairs between her two sons, a role far greater than understood to date.

Kiyoko's funeral was held at Tōjiin, the Ashikaga temple in northern Kyoto, and the site where she had taken Buddhist vows. Her death was recorded in over a dozen contemporary sources, but they include few details about her funeral or how her remains were treated. We know only that the monks who officiated were associated with Rinzai Zen temples, there were offerings of incense and flowers while monks chanted sutras, and her body was cremated.[44]

Nonetheless, we can learn important facts about Kiyoko from records written after her death. For one, she had many names—some used during her lifetime and others bestowed upon her later. If we look closely at these names, we see that they connect her to specific individuals and sites in a way that effectively constructs a posthumous identity for her. For example, she is seldom referenced by her given name, "Kiyoko," except by the modern annotators of these texts. Rather, she is most commonly identified as "Takauji's mother, junior rank third grade, of the Uesugi clan," signifying that her social importance rested on her position as the mother of a powerful man, an award of high court rank, and the importance of her birth family, in that order.[45] A number of other references serve more as

42 Tonomura 1997, p. 163.
43 *Kitabatake Chikafusa*, pp. 565–66.
44 Details of three Buddhist sermons that were given during her funeral are recorded in *Eidan butsuji shū* 英壇仏事集, but the text has little to say about the funeral itself; *DNS* 6:7, pp. 468–71.
45 See references to her many names in Kōei 1.12.23 in *DNS* 6:7, pp. 462–80.

honorific identifiers than names and are applied broadly to elite women in the medieval period, not only to Kiyoko, such as Ōkata dono 大方殿, a term used to refer to the senior female in a family; it is a general term used to indicate status. A variation of that phrase, Ōkata Zenni 大方禅尼, identifies the recipient as a senior female who has taken Buddhist vows.

Among the more specific appellations that augment our picture of Kiyoko and her posthumous identity are Jōmyōji dono 浄妙寺殿, Tōjiin dono, and Nishikikōji dono 錦小路殿. All speak directly to the Ashikaga lineage in which she participated through marriage and the births of her children. They articulate Kiyoko's connections to her husband and two sons, as well as to specific sites that were important during her lifetime. The first two names are derived from temples that were closely associated with the Ashikaga; the third is an area of Kyoto. Jōmyōji is a Zen temple located in Kamakura and the site of Kiyoko's husband Ashikaga Sadauji's 1331 funeral and interment.[46] Jōmyōji dono was one of Sadauji's posthumous names, but when Kiyoko died eleven years later, the name was transferred to her, solidifying her connection to and identification with her husband (and the Ashikaga) in death.[47] In addition to highlighting familial links and creating identities for posterity, this practice of passing along names also served as a way for family members to remember those who had died. Tōjiin dono was Kiyoko's original posthumous Buddhist name, likely bestowed by Kosen, who had received her vows there. The temple had been founded under Ashikaga patronage and was the site of regular offerings and Buddhist memorial services for Kiyoko, and later Takauji. While Tōjiin dono was first Kiyoko's posthumous Buddhist name, a decade later it was given to Takauji when he died, and Kiyoko's Buddhist name was changed to Kashōin dono 果証院殿.[48] The transference of Kiyoko's posthumous Buddhist name to her son Takauji confirmed their mother-son bond in the next world, just as the transference of Sadauji's name to Kiyoko linked her to him. Nishikikōji dono is a name that early on was associated with Kiyoko's second son, Tadayoshi, because he once lived in that quarter of Kyoto.[49]

It is not always clear how or why posthumous names moved from one person to another or who was responsible for the process. But in general, a Buddhist master typically conferred a Buddhist name when an individual took Buddhist precepts, and it was common for the immediate family of the deceased to request this same priest or a priest of the family temple to bestow the posthumous Buddhist name. Posthumous names were also requested from other high-ranking monks. For example, another name recorded for Kiyoko, Settei Zenni 雪庭禅尼, appears in a record titled *Sesson oshō goroku* 雪村和尚語録.[50] The first character of the name may have come from the record's author, Sesson Yūbai 雪村友梅 (1290–1346), a Rinzai Zen monk who studied with Issan Ichinei 一山一寧 (1247–1317) around 1300 in Kamakura at Kenchōji 建長寺, and then went to study in China for almost thirty years. Upon his return, he became a well-known Gozan poet whose poems are

46 The temple became one of the five Kamakura Gozan Zen temples and the main Ashikaga *bodaiji* in Kamakura. For details of the death anniversary rituals performed there for Sadauji, see Stavros 2010, p. 11.

47 After Sadauji took the tonsure, he was given the Buddhist name Gikan 儀観, but after his funeral at Jōmyōji, he was most often referred to as Jōmyōji dono.

48 Entry for "Uesugi Seishi" in *Kokushi daijiten* (online).

49 The area is only a few blocks south of the Ashikaga compound at Sanjō Bōmon 三条坊門.

50 Kōei 2.10.12 in *DNS* 6:5, p. 600.

collected in an anthology titled *Mingashū* 岷峨集.[51] After serving at several other temples, in 1340 Yūbai was invited by Takauji to take up residence at Manjūji 万寿寺 in Kyoto.[52] Because of his renown as a poet, Yūbai may have known Kiyoko through poetry circles or perhaps through his contacts with her sons. Kiyoko's many names, used both during her lifetime and after death, suggest that both immediate family members and Buddhist priests were involved in their selection. Such a plethora of changing and overlapping appellations certainly complicates our ability to trace individuals in medieval texts as, for example, Tōjiin dono might refer to either Kiyoko or Takauji, depending on the record's date. It is clear, however, that providing multiple names was intended to solidify and display important secular and religious relationships, much in the way that we make those links today by naming children after parents or grandparents.

Other names for Kiyoko appear in texts written or edited in much later periods, making it instructive to follow the construction of her identity beyond her own time. For example, the record of Kiyoko's official natal clan lineage, *Uesugi keizu*, probably written in the fifteenth century, highlights her Ashikaga connections by referring to her as Jōmyōji dono Settei Ashikaga Ōkata dono 浄妙寺殿雪庭足利大方殿, and also noting that her honorific Buddhist name was Kashō-in 果証院.[53] By the time the Uesugi genealogy was written and collated in the fifteenth century, the social prestige of the Ashikaga far outweighed that of the Uesugi, and Kiyoko's affiliations with the Ashikaga were considered an asset that the Uesugi were proud to highlight. On the other hand, *Zokushi gushō* 続史愚抄, a product of the late-eighteenth century, ignores Kiyoko's ties to the Ashikaga shogunate and emphasizes her court ties, calling her Fujiwara Ason Kiyoko [ni] 藤原朝臣清子（尼）, or Lady Fujiwara Kiyoko [Nun].[54] By that date, shogunal ties of any sort may have lost their usefulness, so the original roots of the Uesugi within the prominent Fujiwara noble house were stressed instead. Further study is needed of how women are "named" in historical documents, a topic that has great potential to yield interesting perspectives on how women's identities were constructed and reconstructed over time.

Information about where Kiyoko's remains were interred is inconclusive. Some scholars think that they are in Tanba because her memorial tablet is kept at Kōfukuji, as is a stone grave marker, lined up next to one for her son, Takauji, and another for his wife, Akahashi Nariko 赤橋登子 (1306–1365) (see figure 4).[55] But the presence of tablets and grave markers is not a reliable indicator of where someone's remains were laid to rest. Memorial tablets are placed in Buddhist temples, sometimes more than one, associated with the deceased's religious beliefs and located near family so that offerings can continue for many years. None of the records, however, confirm that an *ihai* 位牌 was made for Kiyoko after her death, and there is no tablet for her today at Tōjiin. Because written references to *ihai* are rare before

51 Imaizumi 2012, pp. 22–24; also *Encyclopedia of Japan* (online).
52 Entry for "Sesson Yūbai" in *Kokushi daijiten* (online).
53 *DNS* 6:7, p. 472. For more on the compilation of military lineages, see Minegishi, Irumada, and Shirane 2007. Titles ending with the character "in" 院 were given only to people of high rank, generally individuals who made notable contributions to their families, temples, or society. "In" was initiated for retired sovereigns, who were referred to by the name of their retirement residence after abdication.
54 *DNS* 6:7, p. 464.
55 Matsuzaki 1990, p. 48.

Figure 4. Grave markers for Takauji (L), Kiyoko (C), Nariko (R). Ankokuji (Kōfukuji), Ayabe City. Photo by T. Masuzaki. http://www.ayabun.net/bunkazai/annai/ankoku/ankokuji.htm.

the latter decades of the fourteenth century, it is likely that Kiyoko did not have one at the time of her death and that the tablet currently at Kōfukuji was placed there at a later date.[56]

Gravesites are equally ambiguous markers of where someone was buried, because it was common practice among the military elite at this time to divide the deceased's cremated remains and inter them in several graves in different locations. The second Ashikaga shogun, Yoshiakira 義詮 (1330–1367), for example, left some of Takauji's remains at Tōjiin and distributed others to Tadanoin 多田院 in Settsu, Kōfukuji in Tanba, and Mt. Kōya's An'yōin 安養院, and also had a memorial tablet for his father dedicated at An'yōin.[57] Because we know that Kiyoko's funeral was held at Tōjiin, most scholars assume she was buried there.[58] Many secondary sources say Kiyoko's grave is at Tōjiin, but no fourteenth-century document confirms that a marker was placed there; nor is there a grave for her at the temple today, although Takauji's grave marker is identified for visitors. As Tōjiin was an Ashikaga temple, Kiyoko's remains may have been interred there temporarily after the funeral, but then moved to her natal family temple in Tanba. Indeed, an entry in *Ankokuji monjo*, dated 1414, tells us that Yoshiakira ordered his father's remains divided (*bunkotsu* 分骨) and moved to Tanba, and that he commissioned stone markers for both his father (Takauji) and his grandmother (Kashōin dono Settei [Kiyoko]) to be placed near the founder's grave at Kōfukuji.[59] This suggests that Kiyoko's remains, or at least some of them, were interred in Tanba, and the text is clear that a gravestone was made for Kiyoko at Kōfukuji in the early fifteenth century.

56 See Gerhart 2009, p. 165.

57 Enbun 延文 3 (1358).6.29 in *DNS* 6:21, pp. 922–23.

58 Stavros (2010, p. 19), for example, states, "the shogun [Takauji] insisted that his mother be buried at the original temple of Tōjiin in Kinugasa."

59 *Ankokuji monjo* for Ōei 応永 21 (1414).11.20, written several decades after Yoshiakira's death; *DNS* 7:20, pp. 419–20. For a photographic reproduction of Yoshiakira's official decree (*migyōsho* 御教書) regarding his father's remains, see Uejima 2001, vol. 2, p. 105.

Various official directives were also issued upon Kiyoko's death that highlight her importance in the realm and affected both court ceremonies and the daily work of the bakufu. It was typical to cancel or delay government business, festivals, and rituals for a number of days after the death of a high-ranking individual to avoid death pollution. This was a protocol first associated with the sovereign and the court, but one later adopted by the military elite. It allowed those who had been exposed to pollution through the death of a family member to avoid coming in contact with others and gave them time to mourn. Thus, on 1342.12.26, three days after Kiyoko died, a royal directive (*inzen* 院宣) was issued to halt for thirty days litigations (*zasso* 雑訴) that were dealt with by the bakufu, thereby allowing those individuals to stay home.[60] Because Kiyoko's death occurred just before the New Year, the traditional flute music and dancing that usually accompanied the New Year's White Horse Festival (*aouma no sechie* 白馬節会) at the palace were also said to have been canceled.[61]

Although the seven Buddhist offering services typically held during the first forty-nine days (seven weeks) of mourning after death were performed for Kiyoko, we have the most information about the fifth service on the thirty-fifth day after her death.[62] On that day, Takauji ordered priests from a number of temples to chant one thousand sections of the *Sutra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma/Light* (*Myōhō renge kyō* 妙法連華経) for an entire day and copy the *Garland Sutra* (*Daihō kōbutsu kegon kyō* 大方広仏華厳経), and he also ordered a portrait (*zue seizō* 図絵聖像) [of his mother] to be dedicated that day. The term "*seizō*" refers to a portrait of an extraordinary individual, usually a "son of heaven" or, in later eras, a Christian saint, but here it indicates a portrait of Kiyoko.[63] Unfortunately, as far as we know, no portrait of Kiyoko has survived, but the one mentioned on this day and others like it would have been hung during offering services on her annual death anniversaries. We are told that the Chinese Rinzai Zen monk Zhuxian Fanxian (Jp. Jikusen Bonsen 竺仙梵僊, 1292–1348), who recorded this information, gave the sermon at this memorial service. Jikusen had also officiated a decade earlier (1332.9.5) at the second-year death memorial for Kiyoko's husband at Jōmyōji in Kamakura.[64]

On Kiyoko's second-year death anniversary, an "eye dropping" *tengan* 点眼 (also "eye-opening" *kaigan* 開眼) ceremony was performed for a new Jizō Bosatsu 地蔵菩薩 image that was dedicated at Tōjiin on Kiyoko's behalf.[65] A Jizō image was chosen because when she became pregnant, as discussed earlier, Kiyoko had established a special connection to the Jizō at Kōfukuji and believed it had aided her in safely delivering an heir. Kiyoko passed on her affinity for this deity to Takauji, who was known to carry a small Jizō image tucked

60 *DNS* 6:7, pp. 475–76.

61 *DNS* 6:7, pp. 543–46. This festival was one of the annual ceremonies for the court. On the seventh day of the New Year, the emperor would go to the Burakuden or the Shishinden to view twenty-one white horses led by officials.

62 See *Jikusen roku* 竺仙録 in *DNS* 6:7, p. 466.

63 In the mid-1300s, portraits of the deceased were typically made after the funeral, but before the second-year memorial. In Japan, the year of death is calculated as the first year, and one year after death is considered the second year anniversary (Gerhart 2009, p. 39).

64 In 1341, Takauji and Tadayoshi invited Jikusen to move from Kamakura to serve as the abbot of Nanzenji. Collcutt 1997, p. 281.

65 A small carved Jizō is enshrined today as the *honzon* in Tōjiin's Reikōden 霊光殿, but the temple identifies it as Takauji's "*nenji butsu*" 念持仏 and attributes it to Kōbō Daishi (ninth century).

inside his armor and who drew countless images of the bodhisattva from around 1349 until his death.[66] At this same memorial, Kiyoko was also posthumously awarded a promotion in court rank, raising her to second grade.[67]

Although the records are irregular, there is evidence that memorial rituals (*tsuizen butsuji* 追善仏事) were performed on Kiyoko's behalf throughout the country for many years after she died, first by her sons and grandsons and later by both Uesugi and Ashikaga descendants. Details of Kiyoko's seventh-year memorial service on Jōwa 貞和 4 (1348).12.23, for example, confirm that she continued to be remembered with carefully choreographed rituals and special offerings. Beginning on 12.18, five days prior to the service, a *Hokke hakkō* 法華八講 was performed for her at Tōjiji.[68] This esoteric Buddhist rite consisted of a series of eight lectures on the eight fascicles of the *Lotus Sutra* (two per day). *Hokke hakkō* performances were typically held before memorial services, as they were intended to accrue merit that could be transferred to the deceased. Tōjiji had been the site of prior *hakkō* sponsored by Tadayoshi for his father, beginning on Sadauji's seventh-year death anniversary in 1339 and again in 1344, 1345, and 1347.[69] This form of Buddhist merit building spread first in the Heian period among Buddhist priests and aristocrats, then to Zen patriarchs, typically as a preface to memorial services.[70] By the mid-fourteenth century they were also held for warrior patriarchs as a form of public lineage display.

The *Hokke hakkō* for Kiyoko's seventh anniversary marks the first recorded performance of the ceremony on her behalf and is one of only two such services documented for an Ashikaga wife or mother. Thus, the *hakkō* was an important form of recognition for Kiyoko and can be seen as part of a larger agenda to aggrandize the Ashikaga lineage at a time when its continuance was anything but a given, as discord between Takauji and Tadayoshi increased.[71] Five chiefs of staff in the Ashikaga regime (*mandokoro shitsuji* 政所執事) sponsored Kiyoko's 1348 *hakkō*—Sasaki Dōyo 佐々木道誉 (1296–1373), Nikaidō Tokitsuna 二階堂時綱 (b. 1280), Nagai Hirohide 長井広秀 (n.d.), and two others (unnamed).[72] The *hakkō* for Kiyoko at Tōjiji was clearly a public affair, paid for by officials high in the Ashikaga government and intended to make a public statement.[73] As *Hokke hakkō* were attended by a wide range of important people, the rites were calculated to highlight Kiyoko's noble heritage and solidify her position as the "mother" of a long lineage of Ashikaga shoguns.

66 *Inryōken nichiroku*, Kentoku 3 (1372).7.15, in Shimizu 2013, p. 92. For further discussion of Takauji's belief in Jizō, see Conlan 2003, pp. 187–88.

67 Kōei 2.3.4 in *DNS* 6:7, pp. 576–77.

68 *Daijōin kiroku nukigaki* 大乗院記録抜書, *DNS* 6:12, p. 213.

69 See Stavros's (2010, p. 16) discussion of the public functions of the *Hokke hakkō* for Ashikaga Sadauji; also Ōta 2002.

70 See Tanabe 1984.

71 The other *hakkō* was conducted on Eikyō 3 (1431).4.22 for Fujiwara no Keiko 藤原慶子 (d. 1399), mother of both Ashikaga Yoshimochi and Yoshinori, the fourth and sixth Ashikaga shoguns, respectively. See Ōta's (2002, pp. 50–51) extensive summary of recorded *Hokke hakkō* associated with the Ashikaga from 1339 to 1494.

72 *DNS* 6:12, p. 213.

73 Tadayoshi seems to have been behind the *hakkō* for his mother and father, because after his death in 1352 only one other was conducted for Sadauji, in 1362. After Takauji died in 1358, however, *hakkō* were regularly conducted for him instead, suggesting that Sadauji had been replaced; Ōta 2002, pp. 50–51.

For Kiyoko's memorial service on 12.23, also at Tōjiji, according to Nanzenji's 南禅寺 head abbot, Kenpō Shidon 乾峰士曇 (1285–1362), an especially fragrant powdered incense (*nenkō* 拈香) was burned as an offering and numerous priests of high rank attended the service. An image of Shōgun Jizō 勝軍地蔵, a form of the bodhisattva usually depicted wearing armor and on horseback that was much favored by warriors, was copied on this day, modeled after one that Takauji himself had drawn, and the sutra known both as *Jōmyō kyō* 浄名経 and *Yuima kyō* 維摩経 was offered.[74]

Kiyoko's thirteenth death anniversary on Bunna 文和 3 (1354).12.23 was sponsored by Takauji at Tōjiin. (Tadayoshi died in 1352.) It was a particularly unsettled time. The forces of the Southern court occupied the capital on the following day (1354.12.24), causing Takauji and Go-Kōgon to retreat quickly to Onjōji 園城寺 in Ōmi Province. The service for Kiyoko reflects this turmoil: it was brief, including only prayers, offerings of incense, sutras read and copied, and special offerings of water (*suiriku ku* 水陸供, also *suiriku e* 水陸会) for the hungry ghosts.[75]

Many decades after Takauji had passed on, memorial services for Kiyoko continued to be held at a number of venues. On 1374 (Ōan 応安 7).12.23, Kiyoko's thirty-third death anniversary, a memorial service was performed at Zuisenji 瑞泉寺 in Sagami 相模 Province (Kanagawa Prefecture), the family temple of the Kamakura *kubō* 公方 and the site of Kiyoko's grandson Motouji's 足利基氏 (1349–1367) funeral in 1367. The second Kamakura *kubō*, Ashikaga Ujimitsu 足利氏満 (1359–1398), and the Kantō *kanrei* 関東管領, Uesugi Yoshinori 上杉能憲 (1333–1378), attended.[76] Services continued to be held for Kiyoko at Tōjiin in Kyoto as well. For example, the fourth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimochi 義持 (1386–1428), sponsored a Buddhist memorial service at Tōjiin on her behalf in 1419 (Ōei 24.12.22).[77] On the previous day, spells from the *Daizō kyō* 大蔵経 (Great Collection of Buddhist Sutras), including parts of the *Daijō hifundari kyō* 大乗悲分陀利経 (also *Hike kyō* 悲華経, "Compassion Lotus Sutra") and *Byaku sangai butchōju* 百傘蓋仏頂呪 (also *Daibutchōju* 大仏頂呪) were incanted and explained.[78] Thus, seventy-seven years after Kiyoko's death, the descendants of the shogunal lineage that she had initiated with the birth of Takauji continued to pay homage to her memory as their "founding mother."

Conclusion

Some details about Kiyoko's life can now be clarified. We know that she was born and brought up in Tanba, not in Kamakura, because she herself tells us so. Although we do not have a completely satisfactory answer to the question of where she lived during her marriage to Sadauji, we can say with some confidence that she probably remained in her natal home throughout most of it. As discussed by Hitomi Tonomura and others, marriage patterns were in flux in the early fourteenth century, with traditional *tsumadoi* arrangements (man visiting the wife in her natal home), popular among aristocrats in the Heian period, gradually giving way to *yometori* marriages (wife moving into her husband's home) that

74 *Kōchi kokushi goroku* 広智国師語録, *DNS* 6:12, pp. 211–12.
75 *DNS* 6:19, p. 306.
76 *DNS* 6:41, pp. 360–61.
77 *DNS* 7:28, pp. 179–80.
78 The latter spell consists of 427 phrases and was believed to be useful in curing illness and driving away maleficent spirits that contribute to illnesses. See Inagaki and O'Neill 1984, pp. 31, 99, 21, and 27–28.

became more the norm under warrior regimes.[79] In Kiyoko's marriage we can actually see this change in progress, as she seems to have transitioned from one type to another. When she first married, Kiyoko likely remained with her family in Tanba, while Sadauji lived in Kamakura with his primary wife. Thus, the couple seems to have originally followed a *tsumadoi* arrangement. But after the original heir died in 1317 and Takauji was designated to succeed his father, Kiyoko may have moved, at least for a time, to Kamakura to be near her sons, who would have been preparing there for military duties, conforming to a *yometori* pattern.[80]

After perhaps a decade in Kamakura, Kiyoko returned to the Kyoto/Tanba area after her husband died in 1331. This seems a likely move, given the growing turmoil in Kamakura in the 1330s. We are not certain whether she actually lived in Tanba or Kyoto, but there are records, including a letter that she herself wrote, that place her in Kyoto between 1338 and her death in 1342, presumably living with one or the other of her sons. Kiyoko's activities during these years, as well as her funeral at Tōjiin, are documented by over a dozen Kyoto chroniclers, including important courtiers and eminent monks. The attention she received from such illustrious members of society underscores their growing recognition of Kiyoko's significance to the Ashikaga.

But what can we say about Kiyoko's interactions with her sons or her broader impact on the formation of the Ashikaga polity? We still know very little because no records about Kiyoko exist before 1336, when Takauji first formed his new government with the promulgation of the *Kenmu shikimoku* 建武式目, and Kiyoko died just six years later, in 1342. In the years before 1336, it was not at all clear that Takauji was destined to form a new government and most sources documenting those years focus on his military prowess. Thus, during most of her life Kiyoko was the mother of a great general, but barely on the radar of those living in the capital until after Takauji made it clear in 1336 that his intentions were serious. All earlier evidence of Kiyoko's existence, such as the petitions she presented to Kokawadera and Kōfukuji for safe birth in 1305, was brought to light only later, in 1336 and 1339 respectively, when she made donations of thanks to those temples; at that point the reasons for the donations were explicated and the donation records preserved as proof of the gifts. We first see Kiyoko through the eyes of Kyoto chroniclers when she takes Buddhist vows with Kosen Ingen in 1339 and again when she visits Senseimon-in in 1340. Even her siblings, who were staunch supporters of Takauji, were noticed only after Takauji formed his government.[81]

Important evidence of Kiyoko's activities can be found in the letters she herself wrote in 1338, 1339, and 1342; more letters may exist, but they have not yet come to light. The 1338 missive places her near an important battle in which Takauji's main enemy at the time was killed. The letters of 1339 and 1342 register her donations of land rights to

79 See Tonomura's (1997, pp. 145–48) discussion of Takamure Itsue's foundational work on marriage patterns in Japan.

80 For an in-depth discussion of early Japanese marriage types in English, see McCullough 1967.

81 For example, in 1336, Kiyoko brother Norifusa 憲房 was killed in a battle at Shijō Kawaramachi while protecting Takauji and allowing him to escape to Kyushu. Her other brother, Yorinari 頼成 (d. 1346), a provincial governor of Sagami and Tango, also supported Takauji by chasing Chikafusa Akiie out of Nara in the first month of 1338. But few wrote about Kiyoko or her brothers until Takauji became sufficiently important to make him of special interest to those in the capital.

Kōfukuji. The donations show that Kiyoko's land stipends enabled her to enjoy a modicum of economic independence and provided for her afterlife. Kiyoko was also involved in court poetry circles in Kyoto; she was recognized as an accomplished poet during her lifetime in the 1337 poetry index, *Waka sakusha burui*, and she contributed a poem to the *Fūgashū* imperial anthology published after her death. Other references to Kiyoko are written and dated after her death and recount her funeral and memorial services, services that became increasingly more important as the Ashikaga dynasty strengthened and later generations of shoguns began to honor her as "the mother" of the shogunal line. In sum, one reason we know so little about Kiyoko's life in her own time is because she was not a person of interest until after Takauji became a permanent presence in the capital.

One subject we would like to understand better is Kiyoko's relationship with her two sons, Takauji and Tadayoshi. Although very close in age and very ambitious, the two seemed to work together while Kiyoko was alive, but after her death in 1342, the relationship deteriorated. Tadayoshi undoubtedly had a lifelong inferiority complex because of his birth order, which relegated him to the role of "younger brother" in his relationship with Takauji, and also because Kiyoko seems to have favored her eldest. In the letter accompanying her donation of curtains to Kokawadera, she paid Takauji the highest compliment by comparing him to the founder of the Kamakura bakufu, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199), a man he greatly admired and after whom he consciously modeled himself.[82] After Kiyoko's death, Tadayoshi's insecurities began to display themselves more prominently, particularly after Takauji shifted his favors to the Kō 高 brothers, Moronao 師直 (d. 1351) and Moroyasu 師泰 (d. 1351), in order to utilize their superior battle prowess. Could Kiyoko have kept their sibling rivalry at bay or mediated the fatal rift that developed had she been alive? Even Takauji's enemy, Kitabatake Chikafusa, thought she could have—strong evidence, indeed, that Uesugi Kiyoko played a significant, yet heretofore unrecognized, role in mediating affairs between her two sons.

In this essay, I have examined records written by courtiers and priests, personal letters and poetry by Kiyoko herself, and explored a number of physical sites to help me reconstruct the life of Uesugi Kiyoko. We now know where she was born, where she lived major parts of her life and gave birth, what sorts of activities and people she was involved with in later life, and how she was remembered after death. Taken as a whole, these small but significant pieces of information help us see Uesugi Kiyoko as a formidable woman who persevered through decades of political upheaval, and one who deserves to be remembered.

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82 See Nakamura 1991, p. 252, and *Baishōron*, pp. 139–40.

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A Critique by Any Other Name: Part 2 of Imagawa Ryōshun's *Nan Taiheiki*

Jeremy A. SATHER

I have divided the translation of and commentary on *Nan Taiheiki* into two parts. In part one, I outlined the main concerns that influenced Ryōshun to write the text: the loyalty of the Imagawa to the ruling Ashikaga family, his frustration with *Taiheiki* (*Chronicle of Great Peace*), and his resentment toward Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The overarching theme of *Nan Taiheiki*, then, is the protection of the Imagawa legacy. In part two, I continue my analysis of this theme through an examination of Ryōshun's description of Hosokawa Kiyouji and his rebellion against the Ashikaga. Ryōshun's father Norikuni proposed a plan to the shogun that would have sacrificed his son in an attempt to kill Kiyouji and nip his rebellion in the bud. I then examine the significance of the Kamakura outpost, its overlord the Kantō *kubō*, and his deputy the *kanrei* for both Kiyouji's rebellion, which took place as a result of the strife surrounding the position of *kanrei*, and later, for Ryōshun's participation in the Ōei Disturbance, which resulted from the discord between Kyoto and Kamakura. What Ryōshun likely perceived as similarities between his participation in the Ōei Disturbance and Kiyouji's rebellion motivated him to include the Kiyouji episodes in *Nan Taiheiki*. Accordingly, *Nan Taiheiki* demonstrates, through Kiyouji, how easy it was to fall from grace, and, through the idealistic origins of the Kamakura outpost, just how far the Ashikaga had fallen under Yoshimitsu's rule.

Keywords: Ashikaga Mitsukane, Ashikaga Ujimitsu, Hosokawa Kiyouji, *Kanrei*, *Kubō*, Imagawa Ryōshun, Nanbokuchō, *Nan Taiheiki*, Sasaki Dōyo, *Taiheiki*

Introduction

In *Japan Review* 29 I provided a translation of the first half of Imagawa Ryōshun's 今川了俊 (1326–1420?) *Nan Taiheiki* 難太平記 (*Criticisms of Taiheiki*), as well as an introduction to the text. Two primary concerns, I argued, motivated Ryōshun: first was his wish for *Taiheiki* 太平記 to be amended to include his family, and second was his frustration toward the then retired shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408). Criticizing *Taiheiki* was not Ryōshun's main purpose, but rather a vehicle through which he might express these concerns. He dedicated much of the work to displaying his objectivity as an historian, the

better to show how favoritism influenced *Taiheiki*'s writing. This was calculated to lend weight to his criticisms of Yoshimitsu.[1]

Here I provide the second portion of *Nan Taiheiki*, with an analysis of Ryōshun's opinion on Hosokawa Kiyouji 細川清氏 (?–1362). Ryōshun describes two incidents. The first involves Ryōshun's father Norikuni 今川範国 (1295–1384) putting forth a plan to the second shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira 足利義詮 (1330–1367) to have Ryōshun kill Kiyouji when the latter was on the verge of revolt. The second incident concerns the matter of Kiyouji's guilt or innocence in having ambitions to overthrow Yoshimitsu. Kiyouji, as *shitsuji* 執事, or shogunal deputy, was in a position of great power, being the interlocutor between the *shugo daimyō* 守護大名 and the shogun.[2] Others around him, such as Hatakeyama Dōsei 畠山道誓 (?–1362) and Shiba Yoshimasa 斯波義将 (1350–1410), also sought to occupy the office of *shitsuji*; if we add that to the instability in the years following the death in 1358 of the first shogun Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358), then the seriousness of the Kiyouji rebellion takes on added significance. Kiyouji's innocence is the subject of the second episode.

But there was another issue at hand: the antipathy between the shogun in Kyoto and his counterpart in the east, the Kantō *kubō* 公方. Kamakura had been an integral part of the Ashikaga's plan since the beginning of their march to power. For example, when Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288–1339) sent Takauji to assault Kyoto and Takauji's kinsman Nitta Yoshisada 新田義貞 (1301–1338) to Kamakura in 1333, Takauji knew how important it was to have a presence in Kamakura; his followers would not follow Yoshisada unless a family member was present, so he sent his one-year-old son Yoshiakira to accompany Yoshisada.[3] Later, in 1336, after Takauji had rebelled against Go-Daigo, he left Yoshiakira, then four, in Kamakura in the care of three important individuals: Kiyouji, whose rebellion is the subject of the following analysis; Uesugi Noriaki 上杉憲顕 (1306–1368), who would become the *kanrei* to the Kantō *kubō*, and whose family would hold that post in perpetuity; and Shiba Ienaga 斯波家長 (1321–1338), the son of Shiba Takatsune 斯波高経 (1305–1367), who, like Kiyouji, fell prey to the scheming of Sasaki Dōyo 佐々木導誉 (1306–1373). Takauji understood quite well that by placing one of his family members in Kamakura he would both bolster the shogunate's authority and provide a buffer against rebellions in the east and north. So it was that in 1349 he appointed his son Motouji 足利基氏 (1340–1367) Kantō *kanrei*.[4]

But like many of the best laid plans, this one went awry. Placing one's family members in positions of power had the advantage of blood ties to prevent betrayal; however, such

1 Sather 2016.

2 I use "shogunal deputy" as a rendering of *kanrei* 管領, *shitsuji*, and *tandai* 探題, all of whose incumbents took their authority from the shogun.

3 Yoshisada, being only a chieftain, held little sway outside his own house and so needed Takauji's support to muster enough troops for the assault on Kamakura—thus Yoshiakira's presence among his army. Naturally, Takauji saw the advantage in sending his son to assist, as everyone would know that despite Yoshisada's nominal leadership it was in truth the Ashikaga's power that made the assault possible. See part 2 in Minegishi 2005.

4 This was the original term for what would later be known as the Kantō *kubō*. When the term *kubō* became widely adopted as a moniker for the shogun in Kyoto, the Ashikaga in Kamakura also became known as the Kantō *kubō*; meanwhile, the office of Kantō *kanrei* was transferred to Motouji's *kanrei*, Uesugi Noriaki. The post was monopolized by the Uesugi thereafter.

arrangements could be dangerous, for a disaffected family member often possessed enough prestige and power in his own right to present an alternative if enough people grew dissatisfied with the current regime. Indeed, this was the thinking that led the second and third *kubō*, Ashikaga Ujimitsu 足利氏満 (1359–1398) and his son Mitsukane 足利満兼 (1378–1409), to rise up against Yoshimitsu, and Ryōshun to join them.[5]

Nan Taiheiki's account of Kiyouji's rebellion and the backdrop against which it erupted—the struggle for power between the shogun and his counterpart in Kamakura—are both integral to understanding *Nan Taiheiki*. Let us first take up the tale of Norikuni's plan to murder Kiyouji, as it segues nicely into the broader arc of the conflict between Kyoto and Kamakura.

Murder, He Wrote: Imagawa Norikuni's Plot to Murder Hosokawa Kiyouji

Part one of *Nan Taiheiki* concludes with two episodes regarding Kiyouji's rebellion, "Concerning Norikuni's Desire to Kill Kiyouji Using Ryōshun" and "Concerning Kiyouji's Ambition and Innocence Thereof." In the former, Ryōshun describes how *Taiheiki* leaves out his father Norikuni's secret plan to have Ryōshun murder Kiyouji, while the latter shows Ryōshun to be skeptical of claims that Kiyouji had any intent to rebel. Both episodes are also pertinent to our understanding of Ryōshun's overall goals in *Nan Taiheiki*, but here I will take up the former.

Kiyouji was like many high-born warlords of his time: brave in battle, stubborn when challenged, and covetous of lands and titles. He was one of the three men entrusted with Yoshiakira's care when Takauji left Kamakura to fight against Nitta Yoshisada in 1336. He was a staunch supporter of Takauji, having fought alongside him against his younger brother Tadayoshi 足利直義 (1306–1352) in the Kannō Disturbance (1350–1352). Later, against Takauji's outcast son Tadafuyu 足利直冬 (1327–1387), he was appointed personal guard to Emperor Go-Kōgon 後光厳 (1338–1374). He was the *shugo* 守護 of the provinces of Ise, Iga, and Wakasa, and served in the Ashikaga's administration as a member of the judicial council (*hyōjōshū* 評定衆) and, like Ryōshun, as chief of the council of adjudicators (*hikitsuke tōnin* 引付当人). Kiyouji's service was meritorious to the degree that he rose to the highest levels of government, becoming *shitsuji* in 1358. However, advancing beyond one's station was fraught with peril, as Ryōshun rightly observes, and Kiyouji became the target of his peers' resentment.[6] Kiyouji was not innocent: according to Ryōshun he had few qualms about lying when it suited his purpose.[7] In short, Kiyouji was a man of many accomplishments, but men of accomplishments rarely rise high in the world without making enemies, and he was no different in this regard.

But how did it get to the point where Kiyouji would be the target of murder? In brief, Kiyouji was the loser in a squabble with the aforementioned Sasaki Dōyo, and due to the latter's machinations Kiyouji fell under Yoshiakira's suspicion and, so it goes, had no choice but to rebel. Dōyo and Kiyouji were at odds over lands and other emoluments, using

5 As I have argued, whether or not Ryōshun actually rebelled or not is up for debate. Thomas Conlan, for instance, leaves the debate up in the air, while Ogawa Takeo argues that Ryōshun played a principle role in the event. What does seem clear, however, is that at the very least Ryōshun raised troops. Sather 2015, pp. 58; Tyler, Conlan, and Uyenaka, 2016, pp. 223–31; Ogawa 2012, p 193.

6 Hasegawa 2008, p. 40.

7 Hasegawa 2008, p. 33.

incidents such as Yoshiakira's snubbing of Kiyouji's Tanabata poetry contest (*utaawase* 歌合) for a gathering at Dōyo's to illustrate the pettiness of the rivalry.[8] That rivalry would take a turn for the worse when Kiyouji made a critical error: he took his child to Iwashimizu Hachiman shrine to perform his coming-of-age *genpuku* 元服 ceremony, naming the boy Hachiman Hachirō. Such a move could be interpreted as an attempt to usurp the Ashikaga's authority, a fact that Dōyo seized upon as a perfect pretense to see his rival destroyed.[9]

At the heart of the matter was a *ganjo* 願書, or written prayer.[10] According to *Taiheiki* it asked for Kiyouji's descendants to rule the realm, for Yoshiakira to fall ill and die, and for Ashikaga Motouji to fall from grace.[11] There were serious doubts as to whether the *ganjo* was authentic: both Ise Nyūdō, to whom Dōyo presented the prayer, as well as Ryōshun and his father were skeptical of the document's authenticity. Nevertheless, such doubts were enough to arouse the shogun's suspicions. Notwithstanding that Ryōshun corroborates at least the first of the three points in *Nan Taiheiki*, the seal on the prayer "was most certainly Kiyouji's."[12] Furthermore, Yoshiakira did indeed become ill, the malady clearing up following the revelation of the *ganjo*, a timely recovery that would have lent credence to the truth of the curse. Convinced that Kiyouji was at fault, Yoshiakira decided to have him killed. It was sometime before 1361.09.23, when Kiyouji fled to Wakasa Province, that Norikuni secretly presented his plan to Yoshiakira to have Kiyouji murdered and in doing so prevent rebellion.

Norikuni intended to leverage Ryōshun's friendship with Kiyouji as a means of having the two meet in person, at which point Ryōshun would kill him. Ryōshun was not told of the plan in advance, however, and was left speechless (*gongo dōdan* 言語道断) when he found out. Interestingly, nowhere does Ryōshun suggest he would have countermanded his father's wishes, and in fact seemed impressed by his father's willingness to sacrifice a favored son for the sake of peace.[13] Indeed, for Ryōshun, such a deed would have been seen as one of unparalleled loyalty to the Ashikaga that should go recorded. And yet he claims that *Taiheiki* says nothing of the incident but simply that "the shogun entered Imagumano."[14] In this he is correct, for no extant version of *Taiheiki* records the plan, and knowledge of it would be lost if not for *Nan Taiheiki*.

One riddle about the plot surrounding the *ganjo* remains unsolved: unlike *Taiheiki*, Ryōshun never claims outright the culprit was Dōyo.[15] In order to understand why Ryōshun would refrain from directly implicating Dōyo, we must take into account Ryōshun's position at the time of *Nan Taiheiki*'s writing. A political pariah, Ryōshun's goal was to have *Taiheiki* amended, both to exculpate his participation in the Ōei Disturbance, and also to

8 Hasegawa 1998, pp. 235–37.
9 Hasegawa 1998, p. 238.
10 While there has been some argument as to whether this document was real, that Ryōshun discusses it and that it found its way into *Taiheiki* strongly suggests that it was. For more, see Wada 2015, pp. 265–70.
11 Hasegawa 1998, p. 239.
12 Hasegawa 1998, p. 241; Hasegawa 2008, p. 31.
13 "It was only when I arrived in Kyoto that my father explained the situation, leaving me speechless.… My father believed his action to be a great service, and even though it is no secret that he thought to put an end to a matter of great significance by sacrificing one of his children, it is not recorded in the *Taiheiki*." Hasegawa 2008, pp. 31–32.
14 Hasegawa 2008, p. 31.
15 Ryōshun refers instead to some unknown individual (*aru hito* 或人). See Hasegawa 2008, p. 33.

warn his descendants against disloyalty against the Ashikaga. Moreover, while most versions of *Taiheiki* suggest that Kiyouji's downfall was Dōyo's fault, other versions of the tale exist in which the responsibility for the plot against the Ashikaga is laid at the feet of Kiyouji and Hatakeyama Dōsei. However, *Taiheiki* variants bearing this version of the tale were most likely rewritten to show favoritism to Dōyo.[16] Evidence suggesting that Dōyo's branch of the Sasaki family had some influence on *Taiheiki*'s narrative strengthens this notion.[17] It stands to reason that if Ryōshun was seeking to have *Taiheiki* amended, he might have been hedging his bets, leaving Dōyo and the Sasaki family alone on account of their influence on *Taiheiki*.

And yet, why stir up suspicions at all if not to put feet to the fire? This question becomes all the more pertinent when we consider how strange it is that Ryōshun would defend Kiyouji even though he cheated Ryōshun out of lands.[18] Ryōshun is careful to emphasize this, and to say that even so "he does not believe Kiyouji had rebellious intent." It makes sense for him to defend a known rebel and thief only when we consider that Ryōshun was not simply trying to amend *Taiheiki*, but to establish his credentials as an historian. Ignoring Dōyo's role in the events while defending Kiyouji allowed Ryōshun to demonstrate his ability to separate his personal concerns from his public ones. And for those clever enough to read between the lines, it would have been obvious that Ryōshun was speaking of Dōyo.

In conclusion, Ryōshun brings up his father's plan to murder Kiyouji both to highlight his objectivity and also to criticize *Taiheiki* for overlooking his father's plan to prevent rebellion by sacrificing his son. Both also served to chip away at *Taiheiki*'s credibility, which he would need to do if he wanted the text to be amended. He would also need to avoid inflaming tensions with the Sasaki house, who had some modicum of control over the text, requiring him to avoid accusing Dōyo directly.

A Tale of Two Cities: The Conflict between Kyoto and Kamakura

Ryōshun's description of the origin of the Kamakura outpost is critical to understanding the power struggle in which he became embroiled. After Go-Daigo's defeat and flight to Yoshino in 1336, the Ashikaga moved the seat of the warrior government from Kamakura to Kyoto. The reasons for this are many, some of which are outlined in the Ashikaga's first legal document, the Kenmu Formulary (*Kenmu shikimoku* 建武式目).[19] Certainly, economic interests were central to the decision, as the capital was a center of commerce and trade.[20] However, proximity to the court was also a concern for the fledging warrior government, as

16 Wada Takuma is a bit more cautious regarding Dōyo's culpability, but I am inclined to go with Koakimoto's explanation that the Sasaki, who are shown to have had an undue influence on later versions of *Taiheiki*, were in some part responsible for having it rewritten to downplay their role in Kiyouji's downfall. Koakimoto 2005, p. 117; Wada 2015, pp. 265–91.

17 Not all versions of *Taiheiki* are created equal. It is this fact that makes it such a difficult text to unravel. For instance, the *Tenshōbon* variant seems to prioritize the Sasaki family and its deeds, even while it posits Dōyo as the one responsible for Kiyouji's destruction. The process by which variants were amended has been the subject of much debate among Japanese scholars. What we can say is that warriors were heavily interested in how they appeared in *Taiheiki*. Perhaps Dōyo and his descendants simply did not care that *Taiheiki* portrayed him as the one responsible for Kiyouji's downfall. He was a court rebel, after all. Kami 1985, pp. 45–46.

18 Hasegawa 2008, p. 33.

19 For more on this document, see Grossberg 1981.

20 Harrington 1985, pp. 68–69.

it afforded them necessary symbolic capital for their continued battle with Go-Daigo, who sought to direct his own sacerdotal authority against the Ashikaga. All in all, Kyoto was a smart choice for a new government wishing to rule without the burden of being compared to its predecessor and needing the flexibility to break with its precedents, even while it sought to live up to its example.

Kamakura's importance was never in question, however. Rebellious kinsmen and followers were common, perhaps nowhere more so than in the east, and since its establishment, Kamakura had acted as a sort of buffer between the warriors there and the central government in Kyoto. Tadayoshi and Yoshiakira were stationed there until Takauji's fourth son Motouji was established as head of the outpost in 1349 under the title of Kantō *kanrei*. This title would later be transferred to the Uesugi family when Motouji's son Ujimitsu began to be styled the Kantō *kubō* after the practice of referring to the shogun in Kyoto via that moniker. Whatever its name, the office was one of great influence and power, and while Motouji resisted the temptation to take up arms against Kyoto, his son and grandson were not so restrained. Following his death in 1367, Kyoto and Kamakura would be at odds, the eastern scions of the Ashikaga believing they had just as much claim to power as their western brethren.

The importance of the office of *shitsuji*/*kanrei* cannot be overstated. It was the most sought after office in government, and when Kiyouji was appointed *shitsuji* in 1358, he became the target of his peers' machinations. The three powerful families that battled to fill it—the Hosokawa, Hatakeyama, and Shiba, collectively referred to as the *san kanrei* 三管領—were involved in nearly all the major conflicts throughout the latter half of the fourteenth century. While Yoriyuki's ascension in 1368 did indeed mark a less overtly volatile period, it in no way diminished the frequency of political intrigue, in large part because of this office. Indeed, Yoriyuki himself became the victim of intrigue, and in 1379 was forced to abdicate his position in what is known as the Kōryaku Incident (*Kōryaku no seihen* 康暦の政変).[21]

The conflicts over the office of *kanrei* would have ramifications, both direct and indirect, on Ryōshun's life. Indeed, his own flirtation with rebellion in the Ōei Disturbance was directly related to fighting between the shogun and Kyoto and his counterpart in Kamakura, both of whom had their own *kanrei*. Moreover, after Yoriyuki's death in 1392, Shiba Yoshimasa saw to it that the Shibukawa, a family that had once held the position of Kyushu *tandai* 九州探題 (shogunal deputy for Kyushu), would reclaim the office at Ryōshun's expense.[22] That Ryōshun saw fit to bring this up at the end of *Nan Taiheiki* is a testament to how much it weighed on his mind, and how shameful he thought such intrigues to be.

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21 Following Yoriyuki's victory over his cousin Kiyouji and subsequent ascension to the office of *kanrei* in 1368, *shugo daimyō* such as Sasaki Dōyo, Shiba Takatsune and his son Yoshimasa, as well as the Yamana and Toki families, arrayed themselves against Yoriyuki. Certain failures in his policy or military maneuvering gave them opportunities to chip away at his authority, and after his younger brother Yoriharu failed to subdue a Southern court general in 1378, the voices speaking out against him grew louder. Just as Kō no Moronao and his brother Moroyasu surrounded Takauji and forced the shogun to acquiesce to their wishes to see Tadayoshi ousted from government on 1349.08.13, Dōyo's son Takahide and Shiba Yoshimasa surrounded Yoshimitsu's palace and demanded Yoriyuki's dismissal. Yoshimasa subsequently became *kanrei*. For more on Moronao surrounding Takauji's mansion, see Satō 1990, pp. 61–62; for Yoriyuki's ouster, Satō 1990, pp. 137–38.

22 Kawazoe 1964, p. 212.

Indirectly, the politicking surrounding the office of *kanrei* was such that Yoshimitsu could not help but be suspicious of anyone who had sufficient power and authority to challenge him. Ryōshun, it should be said, was one such individual. There is a tendency to see Yoshimitsu as a sort of villain, particularly in accounts by *shugo daimyō* such as Ryōshun who served him; however, we must also appreciate the difficulty of his position—that of lord of men whose *modus operandi* was to arrogate as much power and authority as possible, usually at each other's expense. It was natural, then, for him to be suspicious of Kiyouji and Ryōshun, who were of collateral families of the Ashikaga and possessed of their own wealth and resources. In short, both fell victim not only to political machinations that directly impacted their lives, but also to the characteristics of the milieu in which they lived.

In any event, Ryōshun explains Takauji and Tadayoshi's thinking regarding the establishment of the office of Kantō *kanrei* as wanting the Kamakura outpost and its chieftain to be stabilizing forces in the east, which would weld the warriors there to the shogun in Kyoto through ties of Ashikaga blood.[23] It was risky, however, as the temptation was real for a powerful leader commanding the military might of the East and North to secede from Kyoto's control. Indeed, this was not the first time the idea of creating an independent kingdom in the east had occurred; Taira no Masakado 平将門 (903–940) was an early precedent. The Ashikaga were clearly aware of the risk, for they tried to hammer home the point to young Motouji that the rulers of the Kantō should be "hereditary protectors of the shogun." It was well that they did so, for Ryōshun explains that "though many often spoke their grudges against Yoshiakira to Motouji and urged him to rebel, he faithfully carried out the wishes of his father. . . . Motouji suppressed this desire out of fear that the realm would fall into turmoil."[24]

Still, such commitments rarely lasted beyond a generation or two, the personal ties that originally bound agreements fraying with the passage of time. We must remember that there were few other options available to the would-be hegemon aside from entrusting a family member with the authority to rule in one's stead. It was either that or appoint someone with no blood ties whatsoever, a risky move at best given the well-established duplicity of *shugo daimyō*. Furthermore, it was a simple matter to retain control of Kantō following Go-Daigo's defeat, as the relationship between Takauji and Tadayoshi was copacetic, with the latter providing an authoritative presence there. As the Ashikaga's prominence became obvious, they could leave it in the hands of another such as Motouji without fear.[25] It was only after the deaths of Takauji and Motouji that things took a turn for the worse.

The conflict between Kyoto and Kamakura continued well into the waning years of the Sengoku period (1477–1573). The desire of Kamakura's Ashikaga overlords to remain independent would devolve into a conflict between the Kantō *kubō* and his *kanrei*, eventually leading to the Kyōtoku Disturbance 享徳の乱 of 1454, where the fifth Kantō *kubō* Ashikaga Shigeuji 足利成氏 (1438–1497) fled to Kōga in Shimōsa Province after assassinating his own *kanrei*, Uesugi Noritada 上杉範忠 (1408–1461?), an Ashikaga loyalist appointed by the eighth shogun Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436–1490). Shigeuji would become known as the Kōga *kubō*, while the Ashikaga's replacement, Masatomo 足利政知 (1435–1491), came to

23 Hasegawa 2008, p. 39.
24 Hasegawa 2008, p. 39.
25 Watanabe 1995, p. 131.

be known as the Horigoe *kubō* when the war with Shigeuji and the internecine struggles of the Uesugi clan prevented him from even arriving in Kamakura, obliging him instead to take up residence in Horigoe in Izu Province! Such was the ironic and bloody fate of the east, first set down by the Ashikaga brothers' well-meaning decision to place Motouji in Kamakura in what would end up an empty hope of forging a lasting peace.

Conclusion

In part 2 of *Nan Taiheiki* I have chosen two sections that contribute to my conclusion that Ryōshun saw the work as both a corrective and a criticism. The tale of Kiyouji's rebellion, Imagawa Norikuni's plot to have him murdered, and the importance of the Kamakura outpost are noteworthy not simply because they are integral aspects of both Ryōshun's life and his stance in *Nan Taiheiki*, but also because, more broadly, they highlight the precariousness of life in the fourteenth century. Hosokawa Kiyouji, the Yamana and Toki families, and even Ryōshun's friend Hosokawa Yoriyuki, one of the major political forces of the latter half of the fourteenth century, were laid low on account of the whims of the shogun and the machinations of their peers. As is evident from *Nan Taiheiki*, skill, will, and not a little bit of luck were necessary to navigate the Scylla and Charybdis that was the political environment in which Ryōshun and his peers lived, an environment in which even the most powerful might be here one day, gone the next.

Translator's Note

As in part one, I have relied primarily on the original *Nan Taiheiki* contained in the *Gunsho ruijū*, which contains no section titles or breaks of any kind, and Hasegawa Tadashi's reprint and translation of Arai Hakuseki's 新井白石 (1657–1725) *Jōkyō sannenban* version of *Nan Taiheiki*, which contains not only the section titles but also Arai's annotations. I have used the latter only where the original exhibits ambiguities.[26] My own divisions within the text—parts one, two, and three—are based on an understanding of the text indebted to Hakuseki and the interpretations of Hasegawa and Wada Takuma.[27] Any and all errors are my own.

Other resources include an online facsimile of the *Gunsho ruijū Nan Taiheiki* by Hanafusa Tomokazu that provided a useful comparison where there are slight discrepancies between the two texts, usually regarding place names.[28] Thomas D. Conlan has also recently published an English translation of *Nan Taiheiki*.[29] My translation had been finished for some time and both were in press simultaneously, so I have not relied on it as a comparative tool.

Regarding names, it was common in medieval Japan to refer to individuals by their court titles, Buddhist appellations, or the location of their domiciles. Ryōshun, for instance, is sometimes called Sadayo in the text, but I have chosen to use the former, as it is the name

26 Extant versions of *Nan Taiheiki* include the *Sonkeikaku bunkobon* 尊経閣文庫本, the *Tanimura bunkobon* 谷村文庫本, and the *Tawa bunkobon* 多和文庫本.

27 Wada 2015.

28 Hasegawa 2006; Hasegawa 2008; Hanafusa 2009. Alternatively, *Nan Taiheiki* is located in book 938 of *Gunsho ruijū*, in the "Battles" section (*kassenbu* 合戦部).

29 Tyler, Conlan, and Uyenaka 2016, pp. 223–60.

by which he is most commonly known. I refer to all individuals by their actual names as opposed to their titles, footnoting the latter. Additionally, for powerful individuals such as Ashikaga Takauji and his brother Tadayoshi, I have opted to apply the title "Lord" to their names to preserve the respect with which Ryōshun addresses them in the text.

Nan Taiheiki or Criticisms of Taiheiki

Part Three

Concerning the Rebellion of the Kamakura *Kanrei* Ujimitsu

Lord Ujimitsu lamented that "Because Lord Yoshimitsu's government was biased toward certain people, some powerful individual might in the end appear and steal the realm from the Ashikaga; would it not be better [to have it taken by someone in the family] than some unrelated individual?" "Rebellion for the sake of the people" is a widely-accepted notion, so had the shogun changed his mind entirely—even had he not focused wholly on good government—why would such thoughts have occurred to Lord Ujimitsu if Lord Yoshimitsu had but ceased his recent evils and unprincipled deeds and worked toward dispelling the grievances of the people? Lately everyone seems to speak of some grudge against Lord Yoshimitsu, yet his destiny is strong and his authority is absolute. Thus, if his administration were even slightly correct, who indeed would join their hearts with Lord Ujimitsu?

Out of fear, Lord Yoshimitsu even now commonly performs prayers, and it is rumored that maledictions for the subjugation of the Kantō are being performed. It seems to me that if he would do away with prayers and sorcery and concentrate even a little on how to govern properly, he would immediately come to know the way of heaven and the hearts of the gods and Buddhas.

Is this not true even for warfare? Thinking of this in terms of the triad of Heaven, Earth, and Man, the advantage of Heaven resides in dates and timing, auspicious directions, and the nature of an individual by birth. Is not the advantage of Heaven simply using what is beneficial? The advantage of Earth is nothing more than placing impregnable mountains, seas, and other defensible areas in front of you, and fortifying oneself in a good stronghold. The advantage of Man is reason.[30] In accordance with the saying, "If the hearts of all people are in harmony with reason, then the advantages of Heaven and Earth will become unnecessary," if all the people of Japan give thanks for the blessings of their lord with one heart, then would even one villain be born? Then Lord Yoshimitsu's prayers would be answered naturally. In the event that his mind is filled with evil and immorality, if he is of the mind to dispel them through prayer, it will not matter what secret rites he performs: his prayers will go unanswered.

Concerning the Details of Ryōshun's Forced Resignation
from the Office of *Tandai* and Subsequent Retirement

When Ōuchi Yoshihiro attacked Izumi, I harbored no ambitions, nor did I communicate with or receive any letter from the Kantō. It was likely Ōuchi himself who said [that I had]. A communiqué had been sent to me just as it had to others, and [upon receiving it] I ought to have immediately protested my innocence to Lord Yoshimitsu. Though I was in no way insincere, someone must have told him that I was late to Kyoto because my children and retainers in Tōtōmi were sympathetic to the Kantō. I heard whispers that he suspected me of treachery, and that I was to be sent off to Kyushu by pirate ship. I feared it was nothing

30 Ryōshun uses the word *ri* or *kotowari* 理, which means logic or reason. This is similar to *dōri* 道理, or reason, as defined by Ikegami 1997, pp. 86–90.

but a pretext to get rid of me,[31] and that malefactors in Kyushu likely plotted [against me] and spoke to Lord Yoshimitsu, referring to precedents, to rescind the communiqués and directives I had received and send me home.[32]

I received three or four communiqués urging me only to "do my duty," but even so, Lord Yoshimitsu's doubts continued to grow, so I thought it better to retire to my province and for the time being entrust the fate of my children to him. And if until the end he still would not spare me, then Lord Ujimitsu might have preserved the fortunes of the Ashikaga in perpetuity and brought stability to the people (*banmin ando* 万民安堵).

Previously, when Lord Tadayoshi and Lord Takauji's relationship soured, the people of the realm could not choose between them and followed either as they pleased. People at that time believed that it would be difficult to dispense with Lord Tadayoshi, for he was not corrupt in the least; nor was Lord Takauji, as military shogun, given to private concerns, and so he too was impossible to dispense with. Lord Tadayoshi was a man of deep compassion and so willingly transferred the realm and chieftainship to his brother after the Battle of Hakone Mountain during the Nakasendai Disturbance. Lord Takauji never forgot this, and, wanting to affect a smooth transfer of power to his son Yoshiakira, did not condemn Lord Tadayoshi for killing Moronao and Moroyasu at the Battle of Ide in Settsu Province, nor did he condemn him when Uesugi Noriaki fled Izu Mountain after the Battle of Yuiyama. The brothers were completely reconciled.[33]

The brothers may have had some secret agreement, without which it would have been difficult to maintain peace, for they could not be swayed no matter what Lord Yoshiakira said. Even if the administration of government were mismanaged in the least, the shogun would be able to protect all of Japan were he but to unify the lords of the Kantō. Moreover, there was a secret pact with Lord Tadayoshi that they would choose someone from among Lord Yoshiakira's brothers as Lord of Kamakura. They ceded the Kantō to Lord Motouji, who was told repeatedly that his children and grandchildren should be hereditary protectors of the shogun.

Later, after the Ashikaga brothers had passed away, though many often spoke of their grudges against Lord Yoshiakira to Lord Motouji and urged him to rebel, he faithfully carried out the wishes of his father. Lord Yoshiakira may have feared Kamakura would seek independence as Lord Tadayoshi had wished, but Lord Motouji suppressed this desire out of fear that the realm would fall into turmoil. I hear that he made various oaths to the kami and passed away before Lord Yoshiakira, but the truth of the matter remains unknown.

As for recent events, when I went to Tōtōmi I decided only to look to someone from among the Ashikaga who I believed would pursue correct government, since this was Takauji's wish.[34] But around the time when it became clear to me that Kyoto would send a force to subdue me, I heard that Uesugi [Norisada] strongly urged Lord Mitsukane to make peace with Lord Yoshimitsu. I knew then and there that Lord Mitsukane did not think to

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31 *Kokoro no oni* 心の鬼, literally "demons of the heart." This phrase was used to indicate apprehension or worry, indicating that such emotions were likely the result of the intrusion of some outside influence. Hasegawa 2008, p. 42, note 57.

32 Neither Hanafusa nor Hasegawa attempt to clarify what "precedents" (*onkojitsu* 御故実) Ryōshun refers to here.

33 A reconciliation that would not last long, for Tadayoshi would be slain, most likely poisoned, while in Kamakura, marking the end of the Kannō Disturbance.

34 "Recent events" refers to Ujimitsu and Mitsukane's rebellion in the Kantō.

revolt for the sake of the realm, and so, respectful of Kyoto's judgment, I retired of my own volition to Fujisawa and stayed there, thinking that my children should be of assistance to Lord Yoshimitsu and Lord Mitsukane. But even after the reconciliation, Lord Yoshimitsu and Norisada must have thought that I, being in Fujisawa, continued to urge Lord Mitsukane to rebel. Once they were reconciled, both Kyoto and the Kantō decided that there was to be no distinction between a daimyo's hereditary lands or delegated lands, so I was free to retire to whichever I preferred.[35] I told Norisada repeatedly that I preferred my province, and so returned once again [to Suruga]. However, I heard that Lord Mitsukane told Lord Yoshimitsu that my fate was at his discretion, and that he, Mitsukane, was prepared to deal with me if necessary. Though I thought it inconvenient, I was grateful for the dispensation and traveled to the capital because Lord Yoshimitsu had often indicated that he would spare my life because of my past service if I would but present myself to him in person.[36]

When I consider the entirety of the situation, I exerted myself in vain because I foolishly thought of past connections and duty. How I lament having wasted the honor and wealth I accrued over long years. The truth about my sojourn to Kyushu is simply that I did not know my place. Though I was not necessarily as favored by or as close as others to Lord Yoshimitsu, I put my own concerns aside entirely and, having been ordered above all to pacify the West, entrusted myself to that decision, all because I thought only to do my duty for the Ashikaga. Not in their wildest dreams did my followers think that I would lead them to their deaths, lose my honor, or now even my hereditary lands. Men ought to perform loyal service according to their rank, for others will become resentful of those who perform service beyond their station.

Concerning Ōuchi Yoshihiro's Rebellion and His Attempt at Allying with Ryōshun

When Ōtomo Chikayo returned to his province, Ōuchi Yoshihiro came to me in secret and said: "From beginning to end the Ōtomo have through your support had their lands confirmed and received many benefits, a rare example of benevolence.[37] However, recently, when Lord Yoshimitsu summoned you to the capital and you made that arduous journey, Ōtomo returned home without uttering a word of thanks to you. It is truly lamentable, not to mention rude and boorish. Even so, I beseech you to meet with him. He is still lodging at the port in Hyōgō. If I were to accompany you there and your relationship can be repaired, will he not be increasingly loyal?"

I replied: "I bear him no ill will, and my trip to the capital on account of Lord Yoshimitsu's censure was only because he slew Ōtomo Ujisato.[38] Ōtomo asked me for my honest opinion about traveling to the capital. As I had already set out, I sent a message saying that he too should come. When I arrived, Lord Yoshimitsu questioned me immediately, asking why Ōtomo considered me an enemy. I replied that I had no idea. I

35 Hereditary lands were called *bunkoku*, allotments over which the lord had personal control, while delegated lands, over which the lord had been given administrative authority, were called *chigyōkoku* 知行国.

36 That is, Ryōshun's service as Kyushu *tandai*.

37 Ōtomo Chikayo was Yoshihiro's son-in-law and *shugo* of Bungo Province. Hasegawa 2008, p. 50, note 77.

38 The reason for Chikayo's slaying of Ujisato is unclear, but according to Hasegawa, Chikayo sent Ujisato against Ryōshun as a sort of challenge to his authority as *tandai*. Additionally, Ujisato's elder Ujinori collaborated with Ōuchi Yoshihiro, so perhaps there was some connection between Ujisato's death and Yoshihiro's attempts to smooth things over between him and Chikayo. Hasegawa 2008, p. 51.

heard nothing from Chikayo even once he arrived in the capital. In spite of that, I still have not spoken ill of him to Lord Yoshimitsu. If you are saying that [Ōtomo] resents his errors and wants to meet with me, I have no intention of refusing. However, I have been ordered to depart immediately. Moreover, Lord Yoshimitsu gave me orders at length about Ōtomo—I fear I would lose his confidence if I suggested a meeting with Ōtomo myself. At any rate, since you are acting as my intermediary, perhaps I should just meet with him; or perhaps I should discreetly obtain Lord Yoshimitsu's permission first?"

Ōuchi replied: "That won't do at all. Please go to Ōtomo yourself. According to your wishes I have twice submitted oaths to the effect that I would not support him. It should be no trouble [for you] to privately obtain forgiveness after the fact."[39] To which I replied, "Well, that would mean I am to go against Yoshimitsu's wishes." Whereupon, Yoshihiro drew close to me and said: "It is well known that while the weak have done nothing wrong, Yoshimitsu mistrusts them and they lose face, while the strong are left alone despite going against his wishes. Even though you believe yourself safe because you are loyal and of the shogun's line, if there comes a time when you are not in a position to defend yourself, may not something unexpectedly occur that will result in dishonor? For my part, I have received more provinces and estates than is fitting for my rank, so I must think of not losing them. If the three of us were to become allies there should be no censure—let alone punishment—regardless of what Yoshimitsu thinks. Recently having served in Kyoto and surveying the situation, [I can say] there is no need to be concerned about other daimyo or your family. If we can unite Kyushu and the provinces of the Chūgoku region, peace will extend to our children and grandchildren. After all, Ōtomo is a daimyo of Kyushu; if we were to unite beneath you, you would have no reason to fear. If you agree, I shall immediately write out an oath that binds us as allies for all time. This is why I wanted to repair the relationship with Ōtomo."

I continued: "Your relationship with my younger brother Nakaaki is well-known.[40] Any mutual assistance between us goes without saying. Furthermore, sealing a formal alliance with you would cast undue suspicion on us, and turning against Lord Yoshimitsu [simply because of our past connection] is simply not something I can do.[41] Nor can I have you risk the extirpation of your house on my account. However, why should you lose your provinces and estates if together we continue to serve Lord Yoshimitsu with greater devotion? In particular, you have recently received your orders concerning him, so any private settlement between us would be fruitless. If you would help Ōtomo, tell him that he should exercise caution and refrain from selfishness for the sake of the realm."[42]

Unfortunately, the recent events and those of Kyushu were entirely Ōuchi's doing, as well as the reason behind my being dismissed [from the position of *tandai*]. Speaking

39 This indicates thinking that prioritizes past service as a way of mitigating present mistakes. One who had committed a transgression in the present, but who had been loyal in the past, could expect leniency. Of course, one's relation to one's lord, in this case Ryōshun's to Yoshimitsu, was an important factor, as well as one's status and actual power.

40 Ryōshun's younger brother Nakaaki was related by marriage to Yoshihiro.

41 Literally "Firing an arrow at His Lordship is not something I can allow myself [to do] (*Kami o imōsu koto, gushin ni oite wa aru bekarazu* 上を射申すこと、愚身に於いては有べからず)."

42 Ryōshun uses the word *shikyoku* 私曲, which means an action that is dishonest or unjust. In the context of the times, the first ideogram, also read *shi* or *watakushi* 私, had the connotation "private." Ergo, here he is indicating an action that is personal, not public, in nature, and therefore of lesser importance. To concern oneself overly with private matters would have been seen as unprincipled.

further on the matter, Lord Yoshimitsu's intentions were entirely contrary to the folk of Kyushu's expectations, so they suspected me of treachery and dishonesty, and shunned me. Even so, I thought that I could put Lord Yoshimitsu at ease over the matter of Kyushu if I could just go to the capital and clear everything up, but in the end he gave me no opportunity to defend myself. I imagine this was because those in Kyushu criticized me as unjust. Nevertheless, the truth always becomes known, and so everyone should know by now that Lord Yoshimitsu's judgment was incorrect. Indeed, when it became clear that Ōuchi had marched on Izumi, Lord Yoshimitsu straightaway said to me: "Ōuchi has done just as you said. How shameful." This is well known.

When one thinks about it, it might have been better had I acted without principle, morality, or justice when it suited me, for I have lost everything by being old-fashioned. Unfilial children; disloyal younger brothers; treacherous and unfaithful retainers; unprincipled and insolent followers, city folk, and farmers, each and every one prefers selfishness according to the occasion. This world is the same in all things. I write this that my descendants should all strive to be stalwart and humble. Show this to no one while I live.

Oh children, grandchildren! Though you think yourself clever,
You are yet inferior to your parents' foolishness.

With humility,
The second month of the ninth year of Ōei,

Tokuō[43]

Postscript

Lord Motouji in Kamakura has the same name as my grandfather. It is said that taking the name of one without exceptional fame from among the members of a family is auspicious. Undoubtedly some among the Nitta have taken the name of Ashikaga ancestors for their own. This is why my father originally gave my eldest son the name Yoshinori.[44] However, recently while in Kyushu I renamed him Sadatomi. This was most unfilial of me.

This year I have become ill unexpectedly, so my brush has begun to wander. Any mistakes or missing characters are due to old age. I can only beg the reader's forgiveness for any errors.

Folks say that my departure from Kyushu was because I fell into the plots of two individuals—that of Ōuchi Yoshihiro, who desired the office of Kyushu *tandai*, or to that of Shiba Yoshimasa, who plotted to make Shibukawa Mitsuyori Kyushu *tandai*. How very clever, people said, that when peace came the position was given to a meritless relative [Shiba Yoshimasa] when Ryōshun was the one who went to great pains to subdue powerful enemies. Thinking about the matter of Bitchū Province, I am ashamed of Shibukawa's actions.[45] I shall speak no more of it.

43 Ryōshun's retired name. He was seventy-eight at the time of writing in 1402.

44 Sadatomi was Ryōshun's eldest son. Yoshinori is the name of Nitta Yoshihige's son Yoshinori, who was the ancestor of the Yamana.

45 Mitsuyori was made to give up the *shugo* rights (*shiki* 職) of Bitchū Province in order to qualify for the position of Kyushu *tandai*. Shiba Yoshimasa then succeeded in having Mitsuyori, who was cousin to Yoshimitsu by marriage, as viceroy. Kawazoe 1964, pp. 212–13.

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Fit for a Shogun's Wife: The Two Seventeenth-Century Mausolea for Sūgen-in

Elizabeth SELF

It has been established that in the seventeenth century, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651) launched a widespread program of art and architectural patronage, intended to claim legitimacy for his rule, including the construction of elaborate mausoleums for his father and grandfather. However, the part played by women in this process has not yet been examined. I argue that despite the seeming invisibility of these women in the historical record, Iemitsu purposefully incorporated his mother, Sūgen-in (b. 1573), into this aggrandizing program of architectural patronage. After Sūgen-in's death, her youngest son Tadanaga (1606–1633) had a grand mausoleum built for her at the Tokugawa family temple of Zōjōji, completed in 1628; the mausoleum was then rebuilt, only twenty-some years later, by her eldest son, Iemitsu. This new 1647 mausoleum was constructed in a very different architectural style. Previous scholars have claimed that the rebuilding was due to Iemitsu's desire to outdo his younger brother. I argue that the new style for the 1647 mausoleum instead resulted primarily from Iemitsu's changing political needs and priorities. While the earlier structure was a square, single building in the tradition of other earlier mausoleums, the 1647 mausoleum was firmly located within the tradition of tripartite *gongen zukuri* shrines, used for official Tokugawa shogunal mausoleums. I argue that through these changes, Sūgen-in's identity was integrated into a standardized Tokugawa memorial tradition.

Keywords: early modern Japan, women, Tokugawa shoguns, shogunal wives, architecture, mausolea, patronage, Tokugawa Iemitsu, Zōjōji, Kenchōji

Introduction

Sūgen-in 崇源院 (b. 1573), wife of the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada, died at the age of 53, in 1626.[1] Her husband and sons subsequently ordered a magnificent funeral and a prolonged period of mourning to commemorate her death. On the day of her cremation, a grand funeral procession, composed of many of the most important warrior leaders and courtiers in the land, traveled a kilometer across Edo, from the cremation grounds at Azabu 麻布 (near modern-day Roppongi 六本木) to Zōjōji 増上寺, her final resting place. The path

1 For these birth and death dates, and those that follow, I have followed the dates given in *Nihon jinmei daijiten*.

Figure 1. Outside view of Kenchōji Buddha Hall (1628 Sūgen-in Mausoleum). All photographs by author.

of the procession, covered with straw mats and white cloth and bordered with a fence made of tall bamboo spears, was guarded on both sides by daimyo and their attendants.[2] Sūgen-in's funeral pyre was composed of agarwood (*jinkō* 沈香), a fragrant wood from Asia, and was said to have been piled to a height of 32 *ken* (about fifty-eight meters).[3] The smoke from that mighty fire blanketed Edo in the scent of incense, reminding all the inhabitants of the city that a powerful woman had died.

Sūgen-in's ashes were subsequently interred at Zōjōji, one of the memorial temples (*bodaiji* 菩提寺) for the Tokugawa family in Edo, where successive generations of Tokugawa shoguns and their wives were commemorated in magnificently-decorated mausolea.[4] Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579–1632, r. 1605–1623), the second Tokugawa shogun, was the first to be interred on the grounds of Zōjōji, in a mausoleum called the Taitoku-in *reibyō* 台徳院霊廟.[5] Yet Hidetada's mausoleum was not the first to be built at Zōjōji. Sūgen-in's mausoleum was completed in 1628, some four years before Hidetada's mausoleum. She was also the first Tokugawa family member to be interred at Zōjōji.[6] Her mausoleum set the standard for memorial structures dedicated to Tokugawa wives and mothers and, eventually, a total of seven shogun's wives were interred at Zōjōji. However, none of them were commemorated with anything approaching the grandeur of Sūgen-in's mausolea.[7]

The initial construction of Sūgen-in's mausoleum began in 1626. At the time of her death, her husband Hidetada held the post of retired shogun, while her son Iemitsu 家光

2 Her funeral is described in *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, pp. 397–99. For an explanation and a modern Japanese translation, see Suzuki 1985, 90–91.

3 Agarwood is also called aloeswood in English.

4 Other shoguns and their wives and children were memorialized at Kan'eiji 寛永寺, in modern-day Ueno Park.

5 Taitoku-in Mausolem was named after Hidetada's posthumous title, Taitoku-in. This was commonly the case for such mausolea.

6 A memorial structure for Tokugawa Ieyasu, which held his *ihai* 位牌, was initially built at Zōjōji in 1617 and subsequently rebuilt a number of times in the seventeenth century. It was called Ankoku-den 安国殿. However, this was only one of many sites dedicated to Ieyasu, including one at Kunōzan 久能山 in Shizuoka, and the Nikkō Tōshōgū, where his body was interred. Isaka 2009, pp. 82–83.

7 Itō 2001. Only Sūgen-in and Keishō-in 桂昌院 (1627–1705, Iemitsu's secondary wife and mother to Tsunayoshi, the fifth shogun) had mausolea built for them at Zōjōji. The mortuary tablets (*ihai*) for the other women—Ten'ei-in 天英院 (1662?–1741, primary wife of Ienobu), Gekkō-in 月光院 (1685–1752, secondary wife of Ienobu), Kōdai-in 広大院 (1773–1844, primary wife of Ienari), Tenshin-in 天親院 (1823–1848, primary wife of Iesada), and Seikan-in no miya 清寛院宮 (1846–1877, primary wife of Iemochi)—were enshrined in already existing mausolea, with stone pagodas (*hōtō* 宝塔) for each erected separately. This was also done for later shoguns, probably due to financial difficulties. Other Tokugawa wives were interred at Kan'eiji, the other Tokugawa *bodaiji* in Edo.

Figure 2. Exterior of the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 89.

(1604–1651, r. 1623–1651) had recently ascended to reigning shogun. However, her first mausoleum was reportedly constructed not by Iemitsu or Hidetada, but at the behest of her beloved youngest son, Tadanaga 忠長 (1606–1633). As a result of its large scale and elaborate decoration, it took two years to complete. Two stories high and lavishly decorated with paint and lacquer, the mausoleum would have been an imposing structure on the grounds of Zōjōji (figure 1). Apparently, however, it was not grand enough. In 1647, then-shogun Iemitsu, Sūgen-in's eldest son, ordered the construction of a new, even larger mausoleum for her at Zōjōji, which replaced the earlier structure (figure 2). The original 1628 mausoleum was moved to the Zen temple Kenchōji in Kamakura, and repurposed as a Buddha Hall (*butsuden* 仏殿).

Although the two buildings were constructed only twenty years apart, the 1647 mausoleum had a dramatically different ground plan from the initial 1628 mausoleum. I argue that the changes Iemitsu made in constructing Sūgen-in's replacement mausoleum demonstrate the changing political needs and priorities of the Tokugawa bakufu. Sūgen-in's 1628 mausoleum was one of the first memorial structures to be built for a member of the Tokugawa family, since only the first shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616, r. 1603–1605), and Hōdai-in 宝台院 (also Saigō no Tsubone 西郷局, 1562–1589, Ieyasu's wife and the mother of Hidetada), had predeceased her. The differences in these respective mausolea neatly demonstrate two different streams of mausoleum architecture that diverged in the early seventeenth century. The mausoleum for Ieyasu's wife, Hōdai-in (built early seventeenth century), was part of an earlier tradition of elite memorial architecture for warrior class men and women.[8] By contrast,

8 It is unclear exactly when the Hōdai-in mausoleum was built. Hōdai-in died in 1589, and Ieyasu is reported to have subsequently had a mausoleum built for her at a temple then called Ryūsenji 龍泉寺, now in Shizuoka City 静岡市. Hideyoshi was at that time still living, and Ieyasu was not yet the shogun. Therefore, Hōdai-in died merely a daimyo's wife. However, from 1626 to 1628, Hōdai-in's son Hidetada—then the second Tokugawa shogun—moved the temple to a different site, rebuilt at least some of the temple grounds, and named the new temple Hōdai-in, after his mother's posthumous Buddhist name. It appears that this was meant to coincide with Hōdai-in's thirty-third death anniversary. The rebuilding and subsequent memorial rituals are recorded in *Tokugawa jikki*, Kan'ei 寛永 5 (1626).5.19, vol. 39, p. 435. See also Sawashima 1940.

Ieyasu's Nikkō Tōshōgū shrine (initially built 1617, rebuilt 1636) and the later Taitoku-in mausoleum for Hidetada were built to an entirely different ground plan, marking a new architectural style that would come to signal specifically Tokugawa power and legitimacy.

I argue that Sūgen-in's two mausolea, built in the formative years of the Tokugawa regime, echoed this dichotomy. Her 1628 mausoleum participated in an older architectural tradition for mausolea. Although Sūgen-in died the wife of a retired shogun and mother of the reigning shogun, her first mausoleum identifies her primarily as an elite warrior woman, a daughter of her natal Asai 浅井 clan. By contrast, the 1647 mausoleum explicitly positioned Sūgen-in as the wife and mother to shoguns, and a founding member of the Tokugawa dynasty. Like the Nikkō Tōshōgū and Taitoku-in mausoleum, it employed the vocabulary of *gongen*-style architecture, a form that came to be used exclusively for Tokugawa mausolea and memorial buildings. By including Sūgen-in's two mausolea in a broader look at the development of Tokugawa memorial architecture we can deepen our understanding of this transitional period.

More broadly, this article engages with questions about the role played by the identity of Tokugawa wives and shogunal mothers in the legitimation of the Tokugawa regime. Herman Ooms has established that the Tokugawa employed an ideology of self-deification, with accompanying art and architecture, to claim legitimacy for their dynasty.[9] Other scholars have closely examined the iconography of Tokugawa mausoleum architecture, arguing that the Nikkō Tōshōgū and the Taitoku-in mausoleum worked to reinforce Tokugawa legitimacy.[10] However, no scholar has yet explored how the process of building mausolea for women was integral to this policy of political legitimization and identity creation. I will argue that, despite the seeming invisibility of women in the historical record, rulers like Iemitsu purposefully incorporated their female relatives into their aggrandizing political narratives.

Using temple records, architectural diagrams, and comparisons with other mausolea, I first reconstruct the original form of the now much-altered 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum, sponsored by Tadanaga, which still exists in modern-day Kamakura, at the Zen temple of Kenchōji. Next, I resurrect the 1647 mausoleum, built by Iemitsu, but subsequently destroyed by World War II firebombing, using Tanabe Yasushi's prewar maps and photographs. Both mausolea have been changed considerably since their original inception, so it is necessary to depend on these various documents to understand their original context. Ultimately, I will argue that the new ground plan and style of the 1647 mausoleum reflected the different goals of Tadanaga and Iemitsu (the mausolea's two patrons), and Iemitsu's changing beliefs about how his mother should be portrayed for eternity.

Methodology

Although Sūgen-in's mausolea were important sites in early Edo, few scholars have studied either of them in detail. The 1628 mausoleum has been studied in its role as a Buddha Hall at Kenchōji, but most scholarship has been descriptive in nature.[11] In addition, surveys

9 Ooms 1985.

10 Murakami 1990; Coaldrake 1996, chapter 6; Gerhart 1999, chapter 3; Yamasawa 2009, chapters 1 and 3; Pitelka 2016, pp. 143–51.

11 Examples include Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981; Fujimoto, Osaragi, and Fukuyama 1960.

of mausoleum styles have discussed the building as a rare extant example of a Tokugawa mausoleum, most of which were destroyed by war or fire.[12] However, scholars have not yet looked at this early mausoleum in terms of its sociopolitical meaning.

The 1647 mausoleum was comprehensively surveyed and photographed before its destruction, and a number of books and articles resulted.[13] The scholar who carried out the survey, Tanabe Yasushi 田辺泰, wrote a brief article on the mausoleum, which focuses on its history and form.[14] More recently, architectural historian Itō Ryūichi 伊東龍一 has investigated the paintings and carvings that form the decoration of the 1647 building.[15] He has also conducted a brief comparative study of mausolea dedicated to Tokugawa wives and mothers at both Zōjōji and Kan'eiji, focusing on the relationship between mausoleum style and official court rank.[16]

While past scholarship has been very useful in establishing the basic facts about the mausoleum, the two Sūgen-in mausolea have not been compared, and no serious attempt has been made to understand them within their broader social contexts. The intertwined and complicated history of the two buildings has made such studies difficult, and the complete destruction of the 1647 mausoleum, together with the relocation and repurposing of the 1628 version, presents a variety of challenges.

In addition, the history and function of these relatively small mausolea for women have been overshadowed by the legacy of the large and magnificent mausolea for the Tokugawa shoguns. Much has been written about these mausolea from a formalistic or aesthetic point of view.[17] In addition, scholars have also increasingly looked at shogunal mausolea within their political and social contexts, focusing on the strategies by which political leaders created authority and made statements about political power through architectural patronage.[18] Ieyasu's Nikkō Tōshōgū has received particular attention, and Karen Gerhart has studied the iconography of the Yōmeimon 陽明門 gate, arguing that Ieyasu's grandson, Iemitsu, deliberately used patronage of art and architecture to "disseminate specific political messages."[19]

By contrast, women's mausolea have received relatively little attention from scholars.[20] Although the effort Iemitsu spent on rebuilding Sūgen-in's mausoleum suggests that it was important to him, neither the 1628 or 1647 mausoleum have been examined in the context

12 Murakami 1990. See also Isaka 2009, pp. 84–85.

13 Tanabe's original report was published in 1934 (See Tōkyō-fu 1934). Tanabe later revised this material and published it as a new book focusing on the Tokugawa mausolea in particular, including additional research and photographs (Tanabe 1942).

14 Tanabe 1936.

15 Itō 2004.

16 Itō 2001.

17 One of the most important examples in English is Okawa 1975. A more recent Japanese example of such work can be seen in Itō and Kurita 1993.

18 For a good summary, see Coaldrake 1994. Coaldrake also discusses this in his chapter entitled "Tokugawa Mausoleum: Intimations of Immortality and the Architecture of Posthumous Authority" (Coaldrake 1996). More recently, Morgan Pitelka has also looked at this question; see Pitelka 2016, pp. 143–51. In addition, Anton Schweizer has investigated the use of *gongen*-style architecture in a more peripheral structure, the Ōsaki Hachimangū in Sendai, and its stylistic connections to Hideyoshi's mausoleum in Kyoto. Schweizer 2016, pp. 201–43.

19 Gerhart 1999, p. 73.

20 Few publications have looked at women's mausolea. For one example, see William Samonides's discussion of the *tamaya* at Kōdaiji, built by Kōdai-in for herself and her husband, Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Samonides 1996.

of their role in the formation of Tokugawa authority. Yet Sūgen-in's two mausolea, both of which can be reconstructed, are rich sources of information about the role of women in this transitional period, a time when the Tokugawa were beginning to figure out how to represent themselves.

Who was Sūgen-in?

Throughout her life, Sūgen-in had many social identities. Here I refer not to her own personal self-identity, but the identity created by her place in the social, political, and familial groups that surrounded her. Because Sūgen-in was dead by the time her mausolea were built, she had no agency with regard to their appearance and form. Yet her social identity inevitably informed the appearance of these structures and, as people's perceptions of her identity in life changed, so too did the form of her mausolea. In the next few pages, I will outline Sūgen-in's life and discuss the ways in which her various identities may have influenced the creation and appearance of her mausolea.[21]

Sūgen-in was born under the childhood name Gō 江. Her father, Asai Nagamasa 浅井長政 (1545–1573), was lord of Odani Castle 小谷城 in northern Ōmi 近江 (modern-day Nagahama, Shiga Prefecture). When Nagamasa was in his early twenties, he married O-Ichi no kata お市の方 (1547–1583), the sister of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582). The marriage cemented an unequal alliance between the Asai and the vastly more powerful Oda.[22] Subsequently, O-Ichi gave birth to three daughters, known today as the Asai sisters, of whom Sūgen-in was the youngest.[23] Within a few years of the marriage, the alliance between the two clans began to crumble when the Asai sided with the Asakura 朝倉 family, their hereditary allies, against Nobunaga. Nobunaga subsequently besieged Nagamasa's Odani Castle, and it fell in 1594. Nagamasa and his father committed suicide, but O-Ichi and her three daughters fled from the burning castle to the safety of their relative Nobunaga's camp.[24]

After her death, Sūgen-in and her sisters were cared for by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–1598); her eldest sister, Yodo-dono, eventually married him and gave him an heir, Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593–1615). Sūgen-in herself married three times in total,

21 For the following biographical sketch, I have drawn heavily upon the recent full-length biography of Sūgen-in (see Fukuda 2010). Fukuda makes use of shogunal women's biographies such as *Ryūei fujo denkei* 柳営婦女伝系 (1716–1741?), *Iki shōden* 以貴少伝 (1791–1818?), and *Bakufu soin-den* 幕府祚胤伝 (1838). See Kaneyoshi 1967. She also looks at contemporaneous diaries, including *Gien Jugō nikki* 義演准后日記, and *Bonshun nikki* 梵舜日記 (also known as *Shunkyūki* 舜旧記). In addition to the Fukuda biography, other recent books with biographical information on Sūgen-in include Owada Tetsuo's biography of the three Asai sisters (2010); and an exhibition catalog published by the Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan and the Fukui Kenritsu Bijutsukan (2011), which focuses on material culture.

22 Fukuda 2010, pp. 9–10.

23 Sūgen-in is also known as Tachiko 達子 and O-Eyo no kata お江与の方. In addition, some scholars suggest that her name was in fact pronounced Sōgen-in. I have called her Sūgen-in throughout as that was her posthumous Buddhist name, and I am here discussing her mausoleum. Her other two sisters were Chacha 茶々 (also known as Yodo-dono 淀殿, or Yodo-gimi 淀君 1567–1615), and Hatsu 初 (also known as Jōkō'in 常高院, ?–1633).

24 Fukuda 2010, pp. 12–14.

divorcing her first husband, and outliving the second.[25] Her third marriage, to Tokugawa Hidetada, Ieyasu's heir, was more successful and longer-lasting.

Sūgen-in had five daughters and two sons with Hidetada.[26] Her older son, Iemitsu, became the third shogun, while her younger son Tadanaga ended his life in exile. Two of Sūgen-in's daughters made important political marriages. Her eldest, Sen-hime (1597–1666), married Toyotomi Hideyori, Hideyoshi's heir, and another daughter, Kazuko (also Masako, later known as Empress Tōfukumon-in 東福門院, 1607–1678) married Emperor Go-Mizunoo 後水尾天皇 (1596–1680). Her marriage was the culmination of Ieyasu's political ambitions, placing the Tokugawa in the role of imperial regents.

While Sūgen-in seldom makes an appearance in the official records of the Tokugawa bakufu, she is believed to have been a powerful and influential woman, who controlled the Ōoku 大奥 (women's quarters) of Edo Castle, and did not permit her husband any other wives.[27] Born as the daughter of a defeated provincial daimyo, Sūgen-in died in 1626 the most powerful woman in Edo, wife to the retired shogun and mother of the reigning shogun. In addition, by marrying Hidetada, Sūgen-in effectively served as a link between the three "great unifiers" of the age: Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Her familial links—her mother's connection to Nobunaga and her connection to Hideyoshi through her adoption and her sister's marriage—served to legitimate Hidetada's rule, which was, in the early 1600s, by no means assured, as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi's failure to establish a dynasty proved. The expense and time lavished on her two mausolea demonstrate that even well after her death, her memory loomed large.

The History of Mausolea in Japan

Sūgen-in's death in 1626 was a momentous occasion, and for her primary descendants, her two sons, it was imperative that she be properly memorialized. The structures built for her at Zōjōji, which I will refer to as "mausolea," were of a particular historical type. To explain what these structures were and the function they served, it is necessary first to briefly discuss the history of memorial architecture in Japan.

Throughout this paper, I refer to the two buildings dedicated to Sūgen-in at Zōjōji as "mausolea." This is my translation for the terms *reibyō* or *reihaijo* 礼拝所, large buildings created specifically for the purpose of enshrining the spirit of the deceased. *Reibyō* was a term reserved for memorial architecture for the shogun, while *reihaijo* could refer to structures for his family or other high-ranking elites, including his wife.[28] However, in addition to these terms, there are many words for structures that memorialize the dead,

25 Her first husband was Saji Kazunari 佐治一成 (1569–1634), head of the Ono 小野 clan, in modern-day Aichi Prefecture, and a supporter of Oda Nobunaga. After he fell out of favor, she was married again to Toyotomi Hidekatsu 豊臣秀勝 (1569–1592), a son of Oda Nobunaga who was subsequently adopted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1592). Hidekatsu's death in the ill-fated Korea campaign resulted in Sūgen-in's third and final marriage, to Tokugawa Hidetada.

26 Her five daughters were Sen-hime 千姫 (1597–1666), Kazuko 和子 (1607–1678) (later Tōfukumon-in), Nene-hime 子々姫 (1599–1622), Katsu-hime 勝姫 (1601–1672), and Hatsu-hime 初姫 (1602–1630). Most traditional sources agree that Sūgen-in had five daughters and two sons. Fukuda disputes this, claiming that Iemitsu was not Sūgen-in's natural child. Regardless of whether or not they were her natural children, however, it is clear they had that status. Fukuda 2010, pp. 161–71.

27 Seigle and Chance 2013, p. 72.

28 Tanabe 1936, p. 320.

including *tamaya* 霊屋, *tamadono* 霊殿, *hōtō* 宝塔, and *haka* 墓.[29] All of these comprise the general category of what I refer to as "memorial architecture," buildings that were intended to evoke memories of and respect for the deceased.

While, for convenience's sake, I translate *reibyō/reihaijo* as "mausoleum," one major distinction between the functions of such buildings in the West and in Japan was that *reibyō* and *reihaijo* did not usually contain the remains of the deceased.[30] Remains were typically interred in a different location, under a stone stupa (*hōtō*).[31] Mausolea in the Japanese context instead housed vivid reminders of the presence of the deceased, such as an *ihai* (a tablet with the name of the deceased), or a painted or sculpted portrait of the person honored there.[32] They also held a Buddhist icon, to which the relatives of the deceased made offerings. Relatives would also pay monks to perform memorial rituals on the successive death anniversaries of the deceased, which accumulated merit for both the subject of these rituals and the patrons, helping them attain a better rebirth.[33] From a pragmatic standpoint, such rituals comforted the survivors, and, when the deceased was an influential elite, provided a reminder of his or her power—and the accompanying power of his or her lineage—to the living. The two mausolea built for Sūgen-in were *reihaijo*. They originally contained *ihai*, but, to my knowledge, no portraits.[34] Her body was cremated, and her ashes were buried at Zōjōji under a *hōtō*, some distance from her mausoleum.

Reibyō and *reihaijo* were the culmination of a long tradition of building memorial architecture. In Japan, women were seen as protectors and preservers of lineages, with a special responsibility to carry out memorial rituals for the ancestors.[35] As such, it was common for them to serve as both recipients and patrons of memorial architecture. Beginning in the Heian period (794–1185), elite men and women memorialized their deceased relatives with small structures (*tamadono* or *tamaya*), located at temples and often

29 *Tamaya* and *tamadono* usually refer to small wooden one-bay square structures common in the Heian and Kamakura periods, while *hōtō* (treasure pagoda) and *haka* (tomb) refer to solid stone (or metal) structures, placed over buried ashes or a body and functioning like a gravestone in the Western context. The term *hōtō* can be applied to pagodas used for various purposes, not exclusively for memorializing the dead. (See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry.) However, *hōtō* is the common term for small solid metal or stone structures commonly placed over gravesites in premodern Japan for memorial purposes. Tokugawa Ieyasu's remains are contained in one such *hōtō* in Nikkō. By comparison, *haka* is a generic term meaning "tomb," often used in the modern context. The term *funbo* 墳墓 is also often used. See the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* entry for *haka*.

30 In the Kamakura period and earlier, *tamaya* and *tamadono* often contained, either permanently or temporarily, the ashes of the dead. In one anomalous case, the Konjiki-dō in Hiraizumi, this memorial structure contained the mummified (rather than cremated) bodies of its subjects. For more information, see Yiengpruksawan 1993.

31 In the case of particularly high-status people—such as the Tokugawa shoguns and their wives—the stone pagoda marking the burial site might additionally be covered or fronted by another, smaller, more private building (often also called a *tamaya*), with its own accompanying worship hall. In some cases, where multiple mausolea were built for the same person (such as Tokugawa Ieyasu), the actual physical remains of the person were in a different location entirely. For example, Ieyasu's body was buried at the Nikkō Tōshōgū, but many other memorial buildings were built for him in other locations, such as the Ueno Tōshōgū in Tokyo.

32 For more information, see Gerhart 2009, particularly chapter 5.

33 Gerhart 2009, pp. 165–66; for a good general summary of funerary practices in premodern Japan, see Walter 2008, pp. 248–51.

34 The only known portrait of Sūgen-in is kept at Yōgen'in, a *bodaiji* for the Asai family, founded by Sūgen-in's sister, Yodo-dono. It appears that the *ihai* at Zōjōji is no longer extant, but it is mentioned in the *Tokugawa jikki*'s description of Sūgen-in's funeral. Entry for Kan'ei 3 (1626).10.18. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, pp. 397–99.

35 Nishiguchi 2002, pp. 426–28. See also Yonemoto 2016, pp. 13–16.

placed over the buried ashes.[36] In the Muromachi (1336–1573) and Momoyama (1568–1603) periods, memorial temples called *bodaisho* 菩提所, memorial sub-temples for elite lay people at Zen temples, became increasingly common. Since temples were less able to depend on the court, which was impoverished for many of these centuries, they turned to individual patrons of the warrior class, who were willing to pay for memorial services.[37] *Bodaisho* and *bodaiji* (free-standing memorial temples, rather than sub-temples) at Zen temples like Daitokuji 大徳寺 and Myōshinji 妙心寺 were often built by women, since wives quite often outlived their warrior husbands.[38] After the woman's death, the structures would serve to memorialize her as well.[39] The best known example of this kind is the *tamaya* at Kōdaiji 高台寺, founded by Kōdai-in 高台院 in memory of her husband, Hideyoshi. After her death, she was memorialized there as well.[40] In the Edo period, the building of mausolea for the Tokugawa family was taken over by the bakufu, and became highly standardized. Women, to a large degree, were written out of the history of the production of memorial architecture.

The 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum

The first Sūgen-in musoleum was begun in 1626, directly after Sūgen-in's death, and finished in 1628.[41] The *Tokugawa jikki* records that on Kan'ei 5.9.5, a third year memorial service (*daishō no hōe* 大祥の法会) was held for Sūgen-in, and on the tenth day of that month, the mausoleum was completed.[42] It is likely that Sūgen-in's youngest son, Tadanaga, oversaw the construction of the first mausoleum, although it was presumably financed by Hidetada, still living at the time of Sūgen-in's death.[43] Tadanaga and Sūgen-in were said to have had a close relationship, which may explain why he took responsibility for the initial construction of the 1628 mausoleum.[44]

The 1628 mausoleum no longer exists at Zōjōji, but it is possible to reconstruct it. When Iemitsu replaced the Sūgen-in mausoleum in 1647, the original was not destroyed, but instead relocated to Kenchōji (Kamakura) where it still exists today.[45] The process of

36 Yiengpruksawan 1993, p. 43.
37 Levine 1997, pp. 52–55.
38 Levine 1997, p. 83, footnote 75.
39 Levine lists a few examples during this time period. Levine 1997, pp. 415–16.
40 Samonides 1996, pp. 100–101.
41 Tanabe 1936, pp. 320–21. For that reason, I will refer to it as the 1628 mausoleum, rather than the 1626 mausoleum.
42 Although this was held two years after Sūgen-in's death, in the Japanese counting system, this is considered her "third" year anniversary, since the year of her death was the "first" anniversary. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, p. 442.
43 Tanabe identifies Tadanaga as the builder of the 1628 mausoleum, citing *Chūshaku Nihon rekishi* (Hagino 1919, p. 360). However, Hagino provides no primary source for this claim. Tanabe also says this claim about Tadanaga was repeated by Ōtsuki Nyoden, writing in the journal *Fūzoku gahō* 風俗画報 (Meiji 30, vols. 6–8), and Tokutomi Sohō, in *Kinsei Nihon kokuminshi* (1934–1936, later revised and republished by Kodansha from 1979–1996), but notes that neither provided sources for their claims. Tanabe 1936, p. 321.
44 According to *Tokugawa jikki*, Sūgen-in loved Tadanaga, far more than she cared for Iemitsu. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, p. 699. Scholars have suggested this was because Iemitsu was reportedly a sickly child, while Tadanaga was strong. Other scholars have proposed that Tadanaga was Sūgen-in's natural child, while Iemitsu was adopted. For a summary of the debate, see Fukuda 2010, pp. 161–71 and pp. 180–82.
45 Kenchōji temple records verify that the Buddha Hall and Sūgen-in's 1628 mausoleum were one and the same. Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981, p. 119. Shibusawa and Nakagawa cite various temple records, including *Kenchōji sanka nikki* 建長寺参暇日記, *Konchi nichiroku* 金地日録, *Hattō saiken boenjo* 法堂再建募縁序, and *Saigaku Genryō goroku* 最岳元良語録.

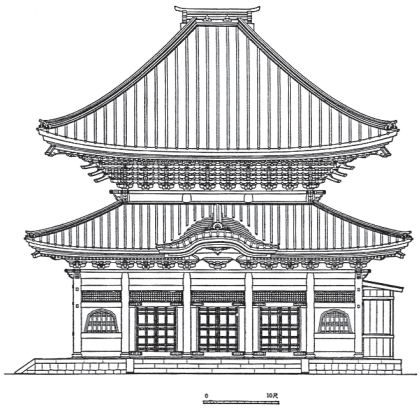

Figure 3. Frontal view of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall. Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981, p. 118.

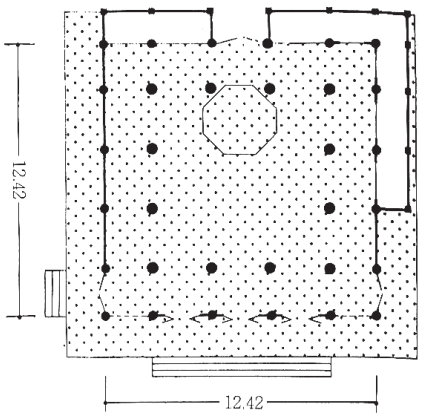

Figure 4. Plan of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall (1628 Sūgen-in Mausoleum). Mainichi Shinbunsha "Jūyō Bunkazai" Iinkai Jimukyoku 1973, p. 107.

moving it must have been arduous, but as the structure was richly decorated and elaborately carved, it was surely worth the effort.[46] Once the mausoleum arrived at Kenchōji, it was reconstructed between the large Sanmon Gate and the Lecture Hall, in the same location as the temple's original Buddha Hall (destroyed in the fifteenth century).[47]

The current Buddha Hall at Kenchōji is a five-bay square structure with a hipped roof (*yosemune yane* 寄棟屋根). Below the hipped roof, a protruding pent roof covers the outer aisle of the structure, giving the building the appearance of having two stories. The lower pent roof is fronted by a curved gable (*karahafu* 唐破風), and the roof is currently covered in copper tiles. The facade is composed of Chinese-style paneled and hinged doors (*sangarado* 桟唐戸), framed by bell-shaped windows. The structure is set on an elevated stone base, with a wide set of stairs on the front. While the basic structure is square, an unusual feature called a side corridor (*wakidan* 脇段) interrupts the symmetry of the building. This is a low corridor that runs along the back of the Buddha Hall (broken by a door in the central bay) and then continues for three bays down along the right-hand side of the structure, culminating in a small open hut that contains Kenchōji's temple bell (figures 3, 4).

46 The reason that Kenchōji, rather than some other site, received the mausoleum is unclear. Starting from the early Edo period, expensive gifts of land, buildings, and other temple objects were given to Kenchōji by the bakufu, suggesting a renewed interest in the temple. This revival is often credited to Saigaku Genryō 最岳元良 (1585–1657), the temple's 180th abbot and a disciple of the powerful priest Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝 (1569–1633), who was active as Ieyasu's political advisor and, later, prominently involved in the religious debate over where and how Ieyasu should be deified. It may have been this link with the Tokugawa shoguns that led to their gift of the mausoleum structure. See Shibusawa and Nakagawa 1981, p. 98. In addition to the mausoleum structure itself, Kenchōji also received a richly carved Chinese-style gate (*karamon* 唐門) and a side gate from the mausoleum. The gate also still stands at Kenchōji today, and became the temple's Karamon gate, standing in front of the Abbot's Hall (*hōjō* 方丈). Fujimoto, Osaragi, and Fukuyama 1960, p. 8.

47 The *Kenchōji garan sashizu* 建長寺伽藍指図, a map of Kenchōji that dates to the fourteenth century, reveals the original location of the Buddha Hall.

The interior space of the Buddha Hall consists of an interior core (*moya* 母屋) and exterior corridor (*hisashi* 庇), connected with roof beams. Transom panels, spanning the upper portion of the area between pillars, divide the interior into these two spaces. The interior decorations seem to be unchanged from when the structure was a mausoleum, although they are now much damaged. Gold and paintings of heavenly maidens decorate the walls, and the transom panels are carved with phoenixes and flower designs. The coved and coffered ceiling (*oriage kogumi gōtenjō* 折上小組格天井) is decorated with paintings of birds. This style of decoration was very common at mausolea, because it references ideas about the appearance of paradise.[48] It suggests that the interior was largely unchanged from when the building was moved, since such decoration is unlikely to have been seen as appropriate for a Zen Buddha hall (figure 5).

Figure 5. Interior of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall (1628 Sūgen-in Mausoleum).

Changes to The Building after Its Move

Some well-documented changes were made to the building after its move, such as a change from cedar shingles (*kokera-buki* 柿葺き) to a tiled roof, following the structure's almost complete collapse during the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923.[49] However, the mausoleum was subsequently rebuilt in the same form, using wood from the wreckage. A few other changes may have been made, but for the most part, the structure as it exists now seems to be substantially the same as it was in its original incarnation as a mausoleum.

This idea is also supported by a depiction of the mausoleum in the *Edo zu byōbu* (江戸図屏風), a two-part folding screen (National Museum of Japanese History). The date of production of this screen is fiercely debated, but scholars agree that it was intended to illustrate Edo before the devastating Meireki 明暦 fire of 1657.[50] In the screen, Sūgen-in's mausoleum is depicted within the grounds of Zōjōji temple, next to her husband's. Like the current Buddha hall, it is a square structure that appears to be two-stories high (although it is slighter smaller, only three by three bays square). In the image, the Sūgen-in mausoleum is gorgeously decorated with black lacquer, gold metal fittings, and polychrome painting. The decoration of the mausoleum echoes that of its neighbor, the Taitoku-in mausoleum, albeit with less gold. Other contemporaneous mausolea that still exist today, such as the Nikkō

48 Bettina Klein and Carolyn Wheelwright have extensively discussed this style of decoration and its connection to death and mausolea. Klein and Wheelwright 1984.

49 Isaka 2009, p. 84.

50 McKelway 2006, pp. 204–206.

Figure 6. Section of the *Edo zu byōbu* showing Sūgen-in's mausoleum. Suwa and Naitō 1972.

Tōshōgū, are also decorated in this way. The 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum was likely originally decorated this way as well, but since the exterior of the Kenchōji Buddha Hall is exposed to the air and the elements, and has collapsed many times and undergone numerous renovations over the years, the decorations likely wore off over time (figure 6).

The most obvious change to the building is the addition of the side altar, likely added when the mausoleum was moved to Kenchōji and converted into a Buddha Hall. Its slightly ramshackle appearance and the disruption it creates in the symmetry of the building's facade strongly suggest that the altar was a later addition. In addition, such a side corridor would have been far more useful to the building's new function as a Buddha Hall than as a mausoleum. Side corridors like these are common to Zen architecture, acting as extrusions which served to complicate interior space.[51] At Kenchōji, the side altar served as a space to enshrine additional images, including a collection of smaller *Jizō* images and founder statues, allowing for more room within the main area of the hall. The addition may have been necessary because elite mausolea were often relatively small sacred spaces, whereas the Buddha Hall at Kenchōji was required to play host to a number of priests during rituals. Maps depicting the original Kenchōji Buddha Hall support this idea, showing that it was a considerably larger building.[52]

Architectural Style and Precedents

The 1628 mausoleum drew not on the tripartite *gongen* style of mausolea architecture, which later became the standard for Tokugawa mausolea, but on the older *tamaya* tradition of square, single building mausolea, which were built for both women and men. They were built in a style often called *hōgyō zukuri* 宝形造 (after the pyramidal roofs, with sacred jewel finials called *hōju* 宝珠) or *hōkei zukuri* 方形造 (square-style). Many very small examples exist, ranging from one to three bays square in size, but there were larger structures too. The style was often employed for seventeenth-century mausolea, and a number of examples remain where it was used for mausolea for women, specifically (although not exclusively). For example, the famous Kōdaiji *tamaya* built by Hideyoshi's wife, Kōdai-in, for her and her husband, is in this style. Built around 1604–1605, it is a single, roughly square building (3 x 4 bays), with a pyramidal roof and jewel finial (figure 7).[53] Although unique in its magnificently lacquered interior, it clearly derives from the tradition of *tamaya*.

51 Inoue 1984, p. 117.
52 Sekiguchi 2010, p. 429.
53 Murakami 1990, pp. 17–18.

Figure 7. Exterior of the Kōdaiji *tamaya*.

The style was also used in the earliest example of a mausoleum made for a Tokugawa wife or daughter, the Hōdai-in mausoleum dedicated to Saigō no Tsubone, one of Ieyasu's wives. Although she was not Ieyasu's primary wife, she was the mother of Hidetada, his heir, which raised her status considerably.[54] Like the Kōdai-in *tamaya*, the Hōdai-in mausoleum was a square (3 x 3 bays) single-story building with a *hōgyō*-type roof. The interior was beautifully decorated and included a coved and coffered ceiling painted with flowers, and a large altar (*zushi* 逗子) in the center of the room, where offerings were made. These two examples suggest that at the dawn of the seventeenth century, the *tamaya* style was considered the most appropriate architectural form for a mausoleum for an elite woman.[55]

With a few adjustments, the 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum fit neatly into the *tamaya* style, particularly in terms of its ground plan. It was a square stand-alone building (5 x 5 bays), and while the roof was hipped rather than in the *hōgyō* style, it was still simple compared to later Tokugawa mausolea, which had more complex hip-and-gable (*irimoya* 入母屋) roofs. In addition, interior decoration was very similar to the Hōdai-in mausoleum, with paintings of birds replacing paintings of flowers in the squares of the coved and corbelled roof. However, the 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum was arguably grander than any of the *tamaya*-style mausolea that preceded it, even the sumptuously lacquered Kōdai-in *tamaya*. At 12.42 meters (approximately 41 *shaku* 尺) and 5 x 5 bays square, it was larger in physical dimensions than the earlier mentioned mausolea for women. It also had a greater height than the Kōdai-in

54 The Hōdai-in mausoleum was destroyed by fire in the modern period, but photographs and descriptions of it remain. See Bunkachō 2003, pp. 305–306.

55 This style also continued to be used for elite men who were not of Tokugawa origin, such as the mausoleum for Date Tadamune 伊達忠宗 (1600–1658), completed in 1664, and located in modern-day Sendai, Miyagi Prefecture. The original was destroyed, but a modern reconstruction now exists at the site. Bunkachō 2003, pp. 414–15.

tamaya, and was fronted by a *karahafu* gable, an indication of high rank. Thus, although Tadanaga's mausoleum for his mother was not a *gongen*-style building, it displayed Sūgen-in's importance through size, decoration, and special features. However, compared to much larger *gongen* mausolea, the *tamaya* style was smaller and more intimate, unable to accommodate large crowds of worshippers and retainers, so it may have been seen as more appropriate for the private rituals for women and ordinary daimyo.

By 1647, Iemitsu seems to have felt that the original 1628 mausoleum was not sufficient for the wife and mother of a Tokugawa shogun. As the Tokguawa become more firmly established, they strived to display themselves not as only one warrior family among many, but as part of an entirely different class of elites—descended from the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu. Sūgen-in was therefore no longer simply an elite daimyo wife, but an important link in Iemitsu's semi-divine lineage. Like the mausolea Iemitsu built for his father and his grandfather, a grander, *gongen*-style mausoleum was also required to memorialize his mother properly.

The 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum

Sūgen-in's magnificent second mausoleum was built less than twenty years after the completion of her initial mausoleum in 1628. This time, it was Iemitsu, rather than Tadanaga, who ordered the construction of the new mausoleum. It appears to have been completed in 1647 (specifically, Shōhō 正保 4.3.5).[56] Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum was the first mausoleum for a woman to be constructed in the *gongen* style, a tripartite floor plan previously used only for shrines dedicated to deified military and political leaders. Why was Sūgen-in's mausoleum rebuilt so quickly, and why was it rebuilt in a style so dramatically different than the first mausoleum?

I will now briefly consider the first question. Although the periodic restoration and sometimes complete rebuilding of prestigious buildings was not uncommon in Japan at this time, it was rather unusual for a completely new building to be constructed only two decades after the original. Scholars have suggested that the reason for the quick reconstruction lay in the infamous feud between Iemitsu, the third shogun, and his younger brother Tadanaga.[57] This brotherly rivalry is said to have been rooted in a struggle for power.[58] Initially, the brothers' parents, Hidetada and Sūgen-in, favored Tadanaga over Iemitsu for the position of shogun, although Iemitsu was the eldest. However, Ieyasu, still the true power despite his retired status, insisted on primogeniture.[59] Shortly before Hidetada's death in 1632, Tadanaga was accused of all manner of evils, and was put under house arrest in Takasaki (modern-day Gunma Prefecture).[60] Eventually, he committed suicide, purportedly by his

56 This is according to the *Shōhōroku* 正保録, quoted in Tanabe 1936, p. 320. See the record for Shōhō 4 (1647).3.15. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, p. 478. A memorial ritual for Sūgen-in subsequently took place on the seventeenth day (p. 479).

57 Tanabe 1936, p. 323.

58 The struggle between Tadanaga and Iemitsu is documented in many official histories. For a good English-language summary of the feud, see Bodart-Bailey 2006, pp. 13–14. Tokutomi Sohō also provides an extensive discussion of the life and death of Tadanaga. Tokutomi 1983, pp. 320–80.

59 *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 40, p. 699.

60 Entry for Kan'ei 9.10.20. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, p. 569.

brother's command.[61] Many have suspected that Tadanaga's crimes were partly or wholly invented by Iemitsu, pointing out that the timing of these accusations, around the time of their father's final illness and death, was suspicious.[62] Whatever the truth of the matter, it seems clear that there was no love lost between the two brothers. It is generally agreed that Tadanaga sponsored the construction of the 1628 Sūgen-in mausoleum, and Tanabe Yasushi, among others, suggested that it was Iemitsu's desire to erase Tadanaga's memory in Edo that led him to remove the mausoleum built by his brother and replace it with one of his own.[63]

However, while it is true that Iemitsu sometimes destroyed or removed buildings as a symbol of his power or his displeasure, it seems unlikely that he would wait some fifteen years after his brother's death to destroy a mausoleum dedicated to their mother. Iemitsu usually acted more promptly, as when he ordered the destruction of Tadanaga's Surugu mansion shortly after his brother's suicide.[64] Instead, I suggest that his desire to rebuild his mother's mausoleum can be linked to his desire to legitimate Tokugawa rule through architectural patronage, a desire that is well-documented by scholars like Herman Ooms, Karen Gerhart, and William Coaldrake.[65]

In his seminal work, *Tokugawa Ideology*, Herman Ooms described the process by which the earliest Tokugawa shoguns worked to transform their military authority, derived from superior force, into a legitimate authority. This more permanent form of power would rely not on more ephemeral military coercion, but a lasting religious ideology.[66] This was necessary because Ieyasu first established the Tokugawa dynasty in a time when succession was confused and uncertain. While Ieyasu had military and financial strength, he had to compete with Hideyoshi's heir, Hideyori, for official authority (*kōgi* 公儀).[67] Past rulers had depended on the court to legitimate their claims to the right to rule, but Ieyasu was wary of this strategy, realizing that authority given by the emperor's appointments was impermanent and could be taken away or given to others.[68] Ultimately, he needed a separate authority to shore up the power of his heirs, and to ensure his Tokugawa dynasty would last, unlike the Oda and Toyotomi. Scholars have often argued, therefore, that Ieyasu's deification upon his death in 1616 was an attempt to create a new authority for his heirs.[69] Iemitsu, in particular, was quick to adopt and build on his grandfather's strategy. Because Iemitsu had only assumed power when the newly unified Japan was largely at peace and the major battles were over, he needed to demonstrate an authority that was separate from both purely

61 The *Tokugawa jikki* reports that Tadanaga committed suicide on Kan'ei 10.12.6. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, p. 613.

62 An entry for Kan'ei 8.4 in the *Tokugawa jikki* records that Tadanaga was accused of attacking his vassals in a fit of insanity and wantonly killing sacred monkeys. *Tokugawa jikki*, vol. 39, 512. However, as Tokutomi pointed out, Tadanaga was already under house arrest in a different province when these acts were supposed to have been carried out. Tokutomi 1983, pp. 329–30. These documents, as official histories of the bakufu, would naturally have supported Iemitsu, the eventual supreme victor in this feud.

63 Tanabe 1936, p. 322.

64 Iemitsu donated part of Tadanaga's Suruga mansion to the Confucian Hall founded by Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), called Sensei-dō 先聖殿. *Dai Nihon shiryō* 12.917.44, entry for Kan'ei 11.3. See also McKelway 2006, 208.

65 For good overviews see Gerhart 1999, Coaldrake 1994, and Ooms 1985. See also Pitelka 2016.

66 Ooms 1985.

67 Ooms 1985, p. 39.

68 Ooms 1985, p. 169.

69 Ooms 1985, p. 39.

military might and imperial power, and calling upon the memory of his deified grandfather was one way of doing this.[70]

In addition, art and architectural patronage played a large part in demonstrating Iemitsu's right to rule Japan. Nikkō, the site of Ieyasu's deification, was intended to be to Tokugawa authority what Ise Jingū, the imperial ancestral shrine, was to the imperial family. Correspondingly, Edo—rather than Kyoto—was to act as the new center for authority in Japan.[71] By building the magnificent Nikkō Tōshōgū at the extraordinary cost of 500,000 *ryō* (said to be one seventh of Hidetada's inheritance) and forcing daimyo and the court alike to make periodic obeisance there, "[Iemitsu] converted his political mandate into a sacred one, linking his rule to that of an ancestral divine lord."[72]

However, as William Coaldrake and Karen Gerhart have pointed out, rebuilding the Nikkō Tōshōgū was only a small part of Iemitsu's architectural program. Coaldrake observes that after the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara established Tokugawa supremacy, the clan "turned increasingly to buildings, as 'things seen,' to establish a working definition of authority unseen."[73] Initially, there was an enormous effort to place a Tokugawa stamp on Kyoto, the traditional capital and center of authority, with new construction at Nijōjō's castle complex, and the rebuilding or restoration of the important temples of Kiyomizudera, Nanzenji, and Chion-in, and the Kyoto gosho 御所 (the imperial palace).[74] Iemitsu spent additional, unprecedented amounts of money on creating or rebuilding important buildings in other locations as well, including his father's Taitoku-in mausoleum (1632–1633) in Edo, and Nagoya Castle (1634).[75] Other major building projects included the reconstruction of Edo Castle (1637–1638), and, I will argue, the reconstruction of his mother's mausoleum at Zōjōji in 1647.[76]

While Iemitsu may have wanted to emphasize his mother's importance as part of his overall building plan, we still need to consider why he chose a radically different style and ground plan from that of the initial 1628 mausoleum, and what the implications of that style were. To this end, I will first reconstruct the no-longer-extant 1647 mausoleum.

Reconstructing the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum

Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum survived until the modern era, but it was destroyed in 1945 in the fires that raged throughout the city as the result of heavy bombing. However, Tanabe Yasushi, an architectural historian, conducted an archaeological survey of the mausoleum before its destruction. His descriptions, photographs, and diagrams make reconstructing the 1647 mausoleum relatively easy (figure 8).[77]

The mausoleum was divided into three connected parts. The front building was called the worship hall (*haiden* 拝殿), a space used for conducting rituals. This was a rectangular

70 Ooms 1985, pp. 57–61.
71 Gerhart 1999, pp. 78–79.
72 Ooms 1985, p. 57.
73 Coaldrake 1996, p. 141.
74 Coaldrake 1996, p. 143.
75 Gerhart 1999, pp. 104–105.
76 Coaldrake 1996, p. 136.
77 See footnote 13 of this essay for more information on Tanabe's work. In addition, my description of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum relies heavily on the diagram and written descriptions published in a report on destroyed culture properties. See Bunkachō 2003, pp. 426–27.

structure (5 x 3 bays), set on a stone base.[78] The façade consisted of latticed shutters (*shitomido* 蔀戸) and Chinese-style folded and paneled doors. The ceiling was finely latticed and coffered, although undecorated. The exterior and interior of the structure were decorated with black lacquer and polychrome carvings, with themes including *fujisui* 藤水 (wisteria and waves), *shishi* 獅子 (lion-dog), *hōō* 鳳凰 (phoenix), *karakusa* 唐草 (arabesque patterns), and *sai* 犀 (rhinoceros) (figure 9).[79] Front and back buildings were connected with a long corridor (3 x 1 bays), called the *ai no ma* 相の間 or *ishi no ma* 石の間.[80] This served to connect the worship hall—a relatively public space—and the sacred building behind it, called the main hall (*honden* 本殿), which was off limits to virtually everyone, in contrast with the relatively accessible worship hall.

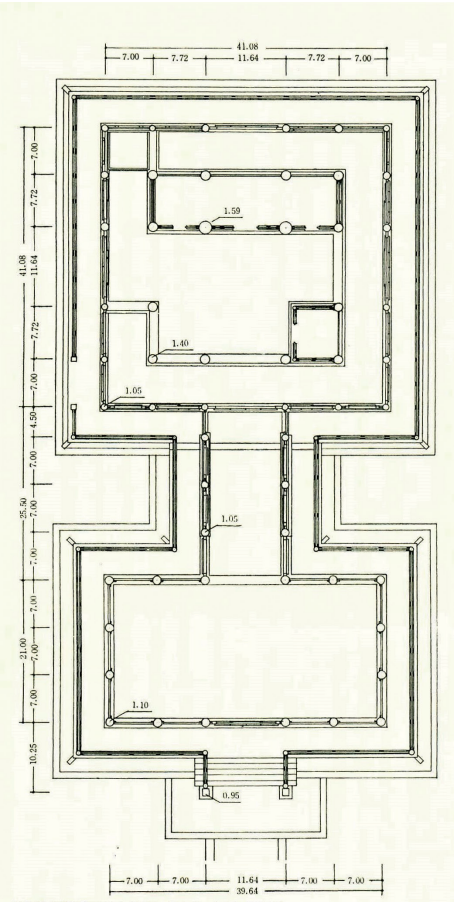

Figure 8. Plan of the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 427.

The main hall was a large square structure (5 x 5 bays; approximately 12.45 meters, or 41 *shaku*, square). Like the 1628 mausoleum, the main hall was divided into an interior core, and an exterior corridor, with a corresponding hipped and gabled and pent roof. Inside, the inner room was covered with a coved and coffered ceiling, decorated with painted roundels. Strikingly, the main hall is very similar to the 1628 mausoleum. Both are 5 bays square, and both have identical facades composed of folded shallow Chinese-style doors and bell-shaped windows. However, the 1647 mausoleum is much larger because of the addition of the other elements of the *gongen* style. Originally, the altar only held one shrine, placed on a raised dais, dedicated to Sūgen-in, but at the time of Tanabe's survey, two additional shrines had been added, dedicated to later shogunal wives and mothers.[81] The main hall, like the corridor and worship hall, was richly decorated with brilliant polychrome paintings and carvings, with subjects including pheasants (*kiji* 雉), quails (*uzura* 鶉), and *jimon* 地紋 patterns (derived from textiles) (figure 10).[82]

78 "Bay" (*ken* 間) is a term commonly used in descriptions of Japanese architecture to refer to the distance between two pillars in a building. This can vary in terms of actual measurements.

79 Itō 2004, p. 127.

80 For details on decoration and more, see Itō 2004, p. 127.

81 In Tanabe's pictures, Sūgen-in's shrine holds the place of honor in the middle of the altar, while to the left was a shrine for Ten'ei-in, and to the right was a shrine for Kōdai-in. Bunkachō 2003, p. 427.

82 Itō 2004, p. 127.

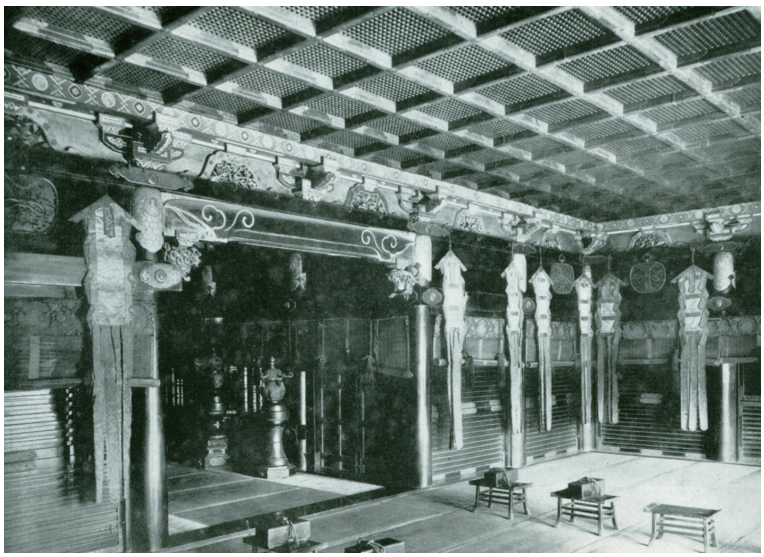

Figure 9. Interior of the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum's worship hall. Bunkachō 2003, p. 289.

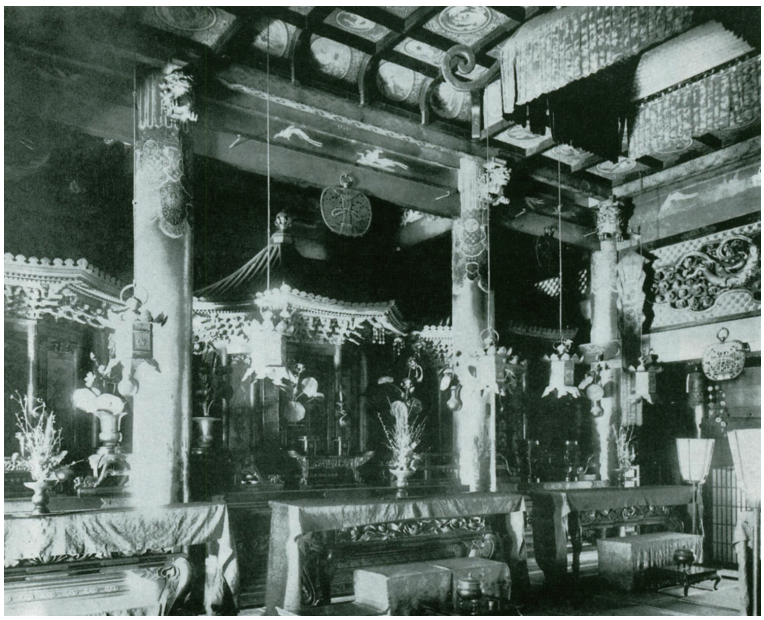

Figure 10. Interior of the main hall of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 289.

Table 1. Chart showing size, in bays, of early-seventeenth century mausolea.

Mausoleum Name	Date of Construction	Dedicated to	Dimensions of Worship Hall *haiden*	Dimensions of Corridor *ishi no ma*	Dimensions of Main Hall *honden*
Kōdaiji Otamya	1605	Kōdai-in and Toyotomi Hideyoshi	—	—	4 x 3
First Sūgen-in Mausoleum	1628	Sūgen-in	—	—	5 x 5
Taitoku-in Mausoleum	1632	Tokugawa Hidetada	3 x 5	4 x 1	5 x 5
Hōdai-in Mausoleum	1604–1628?	Saigo no Tsubone	—	—	3 x 3
Nikkō Tōshōgū	1634–1636	Tokugawa Ieyasu	4 x 9	4 x 3	5 x 5
Second Sūgen-in Mausoleum	1647	Sūgen-in	3 x 5	3 x 1	5 x 5
Taiyū-in Mausoleum	1651	Tokugawa Iemitsu	3 x 7	5 x 1	5 x 5

The Use of *Gongen* Architecture

The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum employed a tripartite *gongen*-style floor plan. Both before and after the construction of the 1647 mausoleum, this floor plan was primarily used for the mausolea of important men from the Tokugawa family.[83] The term *gongen* refers to a particular type of syncretic deity, a Buddha manifested as a Shinto kami, of which Ieyasu, as Tōshō Daigongen, was one. Nikkō Tōshōgū, rebuilt from 1634 to 1636, became synonymous with this type of building, and thus the name *gongen* was given to this style of building.[84] Subsequently, mausolea with this kind of floor plan became synonymous with Tokugawa authority. The mausolea of subsequent Tokugawa shoguns were all built in the *gongen* style, including the mausolea for Hidetada and Iemitsu. The *gongen* style floor plan was diffused throughout Japan by the creation of a number of local subsidiary Tōshōgū shrines.[85]

I argue that the reconstruction of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum was part of the process, begun by Iemitsu, of adopting a unified style of memorial architecture to represent Tokugawa authority. Chronologically, Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum is situated between the mausoleum of her husband, Taitoku-in mausoleum (1632), the rebuilt Nikkō Tōshōgū (1634–1636), both commissioned by Iemitsu himself, and the Taiyū-in mausoleum

83 I refer to Tōshōgū specifically as memorial temples rather than mausolea because 1) they were propagated widely throughout Japan, not only created by Ieyasu's relatives, in a clear attempt to create a religious cult around him; and 2) Ieyasu was worshipped as a kami as well as a Tokugawa ancestor.

84 The specific term for this type of architecture was likely not used at the time, but I will use it here for simplicity's sake.

85 Most, although not all, Tōshōgū shrines were built in the *gongen* style. Boot 2000, p. 160.

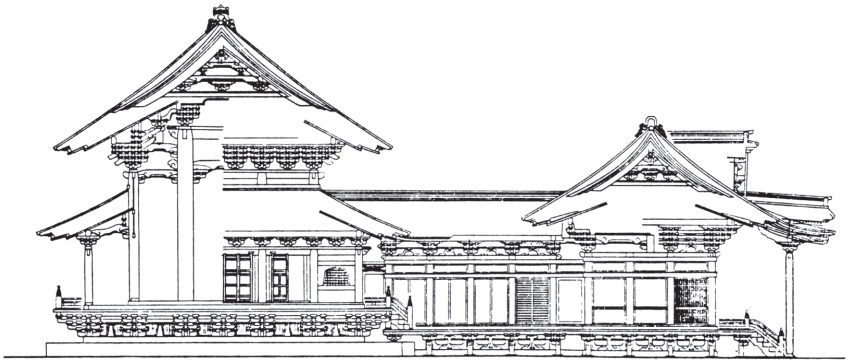

Figure 11. Plan of the Taitoku-in Mausoleum. Bunkachō 2003, p. 421.

(1651) for Iemitsu. As I will show, the Sūgen-in mausoleum, together with her husband's Taitoku-in and her son's Taiyū-in, form a distinctive style in dialog with each other. The Nikkō Tōshōgū, while in the same basic style, differs slightly (table 1).

The Taitoku-in mausoleum, for Hidetada, was one of the first structures ordered by Iemitsu after his father's death in 1632. It thus played an important role in defining his favored architectural style.[86] In both floor plan and style, it was extremely similar to Sūgen-in's 1647 mausoleum (figure 11). Like her mausoleum, it was a tripartite *gongen* building, composed of a main hall (5 x 5 bays) and a worship hall (5 x 3 bays), connected by a corridor (1 x 4 bays). Also like the Sūgen-in mausoleum, the main hall has a hip and gable and pent roof, making it appear to be two-stories high.[87] The facades of the two buildings were also virtually identical, composed of Chinese-style doors and bell-shaped windows (figure 12).

Remarkably, although Sūgen-in's mausoleum is often described as subsidiary to her husband's Taitoku-in mausoleum, the two structures were of a similar scale.[88] The worship halls were almost exactly the same size, while the Sūgen-in main hall was only about 4 *shaku* (approximately 1.2 meters) smaller on each side than the Taitoku-in main hall. While the Taitoku-in mausoleum was undoubtedly the more magnificent of the two, Sūgen-in's importance as a key facilitator of Iemitsu's lineage is reflected in the sheer size and magnificence of her mausoleum. The tradition of building these types of *gongen* structures for Tokugawa family members solidified after Iemitsu's death, and his own mausoleum, the Taiyū-in (1651–1653) mausoleum in Nikkō, was built following almost exactly the same

86 Although the Taitoku-in mausoleum was destroyed along with the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum, it was included in Tanabe Yasushi's prewar survey. I base my description here primarily upon his photographs, diagrams, and descriptions. See Tanabe 1942. This information was later republished in Bunkachō 2003, pp. 419–26. For an English description, see Coaldrake 1996, pp. 164–79.

87 Coaldrake 1996, p. 166.

88 The worship hall of the Taitoku-in was 41.07 x 21.03 *shaku*; the Sūgen-in worship hall was 39.64 x 21.0 *shaku*. On the other hand, the main hall of the Taitoku-in was 45.61 x 45.61 *shaku*, and the Sūgen-in main hall was 41.08 x 41.08 *shaku*. The measurements come from Tanabe's survey. See Bunkachō 2003, pp. 421 and 427.

floor plan as the Taitoku-in and Sūgen-in mausolea.[89]

Later mausolea for the wives and mothers of Tokugawa shoguns, located at Zōjōji and Kan'eiji, were also constructed in *gongen*-style, but none of them was as grand as the mausoleum for Sūgen-in.[90] The main halls of these later mausolea were considerably smaller (3 x 3 bays) than those of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum, and they were also lower and less visually impressive, being single-story, rather than double-story.[91]

Finally, the 1634–1636 Nikkō Tōshōgū was also a *gongen* style building, but it followed a slightly different model.[92] Perhaps because Ieyasu was deified as a syncretic *gongen* deity, it contains architectural elements identified with Shinto, such as *chigi* 千木 and *katsuogi* 鰹木.[93] In addition, the main hall is only one story, without an accompanying pent roof. The proportions of the plan are different as well: the main hall is very similar in size to the other mausolea (5 by 5 bays) but the worship hall is much larger (9 x 4 bays), and the corridor is also much wider (4 x 3 bays) than those in the Taitoku-in and Sūgen-in models.

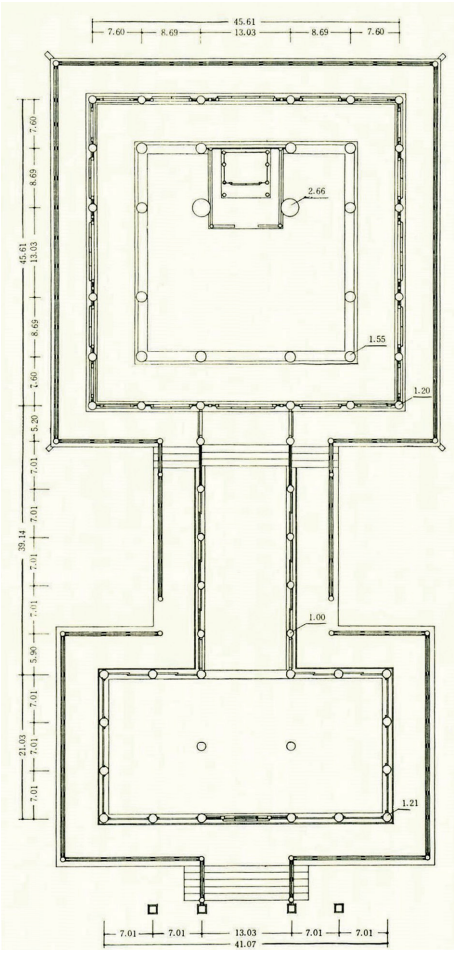

Figure 12. Elevation showing the Taitoku-in Mausoleum. Coaldrake 1996, p. 170.

The Ideological Function of the 1647 Sūgen-in Mausoleum

I argue that, although it took place later in his reign, Iemitsu's reconstruction of the 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum was part of his desire to create legitimacy through architectural patronage. Iemitsu died only four years after constructing the second Sūgen-in mausoleum, making it one of his final building

89 The main hall was identical to the other mausolea (5 x 5 bays), but the worship hall of the Taiyū-in mausoleum was slightly longer than usual (7 x 3 bays). Okawa 1975, pp. 76–77.

90 Itō lists the Kōgen-in 高厳院 mausoleum (completed in 1681) for Asa no miya 浅宮 (1640–1676), the primary wife of the fourth shogun Ietsuna (at Kan'eiji); the Chōshō-in 長昌院 mausoleum (completed in 1705), for Ohora no kata お保良の方 (1637–1664), the mother of the sixth shogun Ienobu; and the Keishō-in 桂昌院 mausoleum (completed in 1705) for Otama no kata お玉の方 (1627–1705), the mother of the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi. Itō 2001.

91 Itō 2000, p. 164.

92 For architectural differences between the Nikkō Tōshōgū and the other Tokugawa mausolea, see Itō and Kurita 1993, p. 22.

93 Coaldrake 1996, p. 185. In addition, *chigi* and *katsuogi* are prominently used in the sacred architecture at Ise Jingū, and their use may have been an attempt to refer to that highly symbolic space.

projects. In the late 1640s, his youthful energy for huge construction projects may have been fading, yet he made the decision to rebuild Sūgen-in's perfectly serviceable mausoleum and embark on another ambitious project. Why? The theory that it was linked to his rivalry with Tadanaga does not explain why Iemitsu would wait more than fifteen years after his brother's death to rebuild. On the other hand, the timing of the construction of the new mausoleum makes perfect sense in the context of the celebration of Sūgen-in's twenty-first death anniversary, which occurred around 1647.[94] I suggest that Iemitsu took advantage of this special twenty-first anniversary to rebuild his mother's mausoleum in an even grander style, just as he had done in 1634–1636 for the Nikkō Tōshōgū, the reconstruction of which was completed for Ieyasu's twenty-first death anniversary.

Twenty-first-year death anniversaries are one of the important yearly anniversaries upon which memorial rituals for the deceased are performed. It is also possible that the timing of this anniversary had political significance. Ise Jingū, the ancestral shrine of the imperial family, was traditionally rebuilt every twenty years. The Tokugawa understood the symbolic power of financing the reconstruction of Ise Jingū, and were quick to assume the financial burden of its periodic rebuilding.[95] Iemitsu's choice to rebuild the Nikkō Tōshōgū on the twenty-first anniversary of his grandfather's death, therefore, may have referenced the tradition of rebuilding the Ise shrines, sending a clear message about the importance and high status of Tōshō Daigongen.[96] It seems that the reconstruction of Iemitsu's mother's mausoleum on this same potent anniversary speaks clearly about the importance of the building project.[97]

The form of the new 1647 mausoleum would have also sent an important message. Iemitsu, I have argued, hoped to glorify his mother by creating a spectacularly large and elaborately decorated structure. By using the *gongen* style for the 1647 mausoleum, which had by then become associated with the Tokugawa family, Iemitsu positioned Sūgen-in as a founding member of the Tokugawa. It was a dramatic change from the original, 1628 mausoleum, built by his younger brother Tadanaga. Although the 1628 mausoleum was a large and expensive structure, it did not carry the necessary symbolic weight.

Conclusion

In this article, I have posited that the form and appearance of architecture often both reflects and constructs political goals, such as legitimation. The 1647 Sūgen-in mausoleum functioned as a reflection of her son Iemitsu's changing political ambitions. In addition, architecture reflects identities—in the case of Sūgen-in, a posthumous identity, which her son Iemitsu still found politically useful. As a result, her identity as depicted by the 1647 mausoleum was very different than the identity portrayed in the original 1628 mausoleum. The 1628 structure positioned Sūgen-in as a wife and mother in an elite warrior family. By

94 1647 actually marked Sūgen-in's twenty-second death anniversary. However, the ceremony marking the completion of her new mausoleum did not occur in the month in which she actually died, as was typical. Instead, it took place a few months later. Thus, it is possible there were construction delays or political circumstances which necessitated this change.

95 Coaldrake 1996, p. 42.

96 Gerhart 1999, p. 80.

97 Iemitsu never rebuilt his father Hidetada's Taitoku-in Mausoleum (completed in 1632). This may have been because he died before Hidetada's twentieth death anniversary.

contrast, her 1647 mausoleum focused on Sūgen-in's identity as mother to the third shogun Iemitsu, and thus part of the Tokugawa dynasty. As a result, the 1647 mausoleum strongly resembled other mausolea associated with the Tokugawa family, which were built as part of Iemitsu's legitimizing architectural program. I have argued that the 1647 mausoleum was part of this strategy, and its creation reframed Iemitsu's mother as one of the founding members of a powerful dynasty. In this way, Sūgen-in's identity was employed for Iemitsu's own ends. Like the mausolea built for Iemitsu's father and grandfather, the mausoleum he built for his mother not only displayed his filial piety, but also served a pragmatic political purpose: representing his important lineage and legitimating his right to rule.

However, even while acknowledging that Sūgen-in's identity after death was largely controlled by her sons, it is not my intention to portray Sūgen-in as passive, or deprive her of agency in life. By all accounts, Sūgen-in was an immensely strong-willed woman, and her importance at the time is shown by the fact that no other shogun's wife before or since received a mausoleum as large as hers. Scholarship often depicts elite women of the early Edo period as pawns for political marriages, kept hidden away in the Ōoku of their husbands. While it is true that women were often confined to more private spheres in life, death allowed women to appear publicly in the magnificent structures that commemorated them. Sūgen-in was one of the most important women of the seventeenth century, and Iemitsu's attention to creating an appropriate mausoleum for her emphasizes her importance to the Tokugawa family in both life and death.

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The Nagasaki Trade of the Tokugawa Era: Archives, Statistics, and Management

Louis CULLEN

The study of Tokugawa-period trade policy poses problems because of the poor survival of archives. *Rōjū* took their records with them when they vacated office, as did *bugyō* in Nagasaki. Trade records transmitted to Edo had a poor survival rate. In contrast, the records of the Kaisho (trade office) and of interpreters in Nagasaki were remarkably well maintained up to the Meiji Ishin. We know less about the process of loss in 1868 than we do about the effort of a small number of individuals to recover records. In Japanese sources, trade statistics—apart from originals for 1709–1714 (wrongly said to be Edo files)—survive in mere scraps for both the Chinese and Dutch trades. As a consequence, the archives of the Dutch factory on Dejima are not only a complete run for the Dutch trade, but even with gaps compensate in part for the loss of records of the trade with China.

Sakoku did not imply intent to reduce trade. It reached its peak in 1661, and thereafter the shortage of silver and copper successively posed problems. The Dutch trade receded from the 1690s. The Chinese trade by contrast recovered briefly in the 1690s and the early years of the following century, partly through the presence of a lobby favoring imports, partly by some upturn in the copper supply. Nagasaki's prosperous days were, however, behind it by the 1720s. A recovery from the end of the eighteenth century was not broad based, but simply a burgeoning exchange of marine products for medicinal products. The Nagasaki authorities, seeking a quasi-monopoly of this trade for the port, had long sought to eliminate Satsuma from much of it. The evasion of restrictions was exaggerated by facile assumptions about the extent of smuggling.

Keywords: archives, trade statistics, silver, silk, copper, Ryukyus, Satsuma, Nagasaki, China, Dejima, smuggling

1. Introduction

Japanese trade is a story of trade buoyed up by an abundant supply of silver in the first sixty years of the seventeenth century, followed by progressive contraction, especially after 1715, although towards the end of the eighteenth century, there was an upturn in Chinese trade. This story has also to be seen in the context of the *sakoku* policy from the 1630s. One thing

is clear, however, from the tenor of the statistical evidence. The Japanese were not actually seeking policy reasons to reduce the volume of trade at that time or even to lower the ceilings set to trade either in 1685 or in the much less happy circumstances of 1715.

Trade continued to grow for several decades to a peak in 1661. On the Japanese side it was imports and not exports that provided the drive for promoting trade. The key commodity was silk, in which domestic production was deficient in both quantity and quality. The rise in incomes among daimyo and upper samurai amid the prosperity of a stable and increasingly un-warlike Tokugawa regime accounts for the sharp rise in silk imports. Japanese weaving itself was already of a high standard; the weakness lay in the inferior quantity and quality of raw silk. But quite quickly the pattern began to change, with raw silk holding up better than cloth in imports. In other words, the domestic industry was already maturing, in time virtually terminating imports. The change in silk was to be part of a process over two centuries of silent but profound change in domestic production: it laid the basis in the open economy of the 1860s and 1870s for a dramatic expansion of exports of both tea and silk.

For foreigners, the lure of Japan lay in silver, important in money supply in many countries. On a world scale, Japan's output of silver was large, and expansion of mining provided in the short term what seemed a painless means of payment. For Europeans, lacking domestic supplies, they had to acquire silk in China and Southeast Asia, or in the case of the Dutch, in default of supplies, on occasion by plundering vessels laden with silk for Japan. The revamped *bugyōsho* (governor's administration, located in offices on four sites) of 1633, with power transferred from local elite figures to shogunal officers dispatched from Edo, put the five decrees on *sakoku* into effect in Nagasaki. The move of the Dutch from Hirado to Nagasaki in 1641 was primarily prompted by the simple urge of concentrating all foreign trade in a single port under the watchful eye of a reinforced *bugyōsho*.

Seventeenth-century Japanese trade was an exchange of silk for silver, gold, and later copper; silk accounting for 70 percent or so of the value of imports. Japanese early expansion attracted vessels from three European nations in addition to the Portuguese already using Nagasaki as a base since 1570. It is impossible to quantify this early trade, not least because of its many channels: Japanese red-seal ships, Portuguese vessels, Dutch and Chinese and fleetingly English and Spanish. Chinese vessels traded at many locations along the coast of Kyushu in contrast to Europeans tied *ab initio* to either Hirado or Nagasaki. In a recasting of control of trade, all foreign trade narrowed down by the end of the 1630s to Dutch and Chinese traders, with Nagasaki becoming the sole center of foreign trade. The control of the trade lay firmly in the hands of shogunal officials, aided by a new breed of interpreters employed directly by them, and not as in the past by the foreign traders. One result was that meaningful statistical totals for commodities began to appear from 1648.

This paper is a study of archives, and of the overall statistical profile of Japanese trade over two centuries. Many of the sources, and indeed most quantitative sources, have failed to survive in Japan. Contracting from a peak in 1661, meager evidence suggests stagnation from the 1670s. But there was an upturn in the 1690s and the following decade, and the case was even argued for increasing imports. Chinese trade was later to stage a recovery in the late eighteenth century. Vessels were fewer, but cargo values significantly higher. The policy of the *rōjū* is far from clear in the absence of *rōjū* archives. Even papers by officials

such as the surviving papers of Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1675–1725), advisor to two shoguns, 1709–1716, are all too rare.[1]

The older view of *sakoku* was that it was an isolationist and reactionary policy. It was well summarized as late as 1970 by the American historian Harootunian, for whom the *uchi harai rei* (fire and repel order) of 1825 was "little more than a tired restatement of Tokugawa isolationship, which revealed the incapacity to see beyond the immediate implications of events."[2] The work of Iwao in the 1950s and 1960s, followed by Tashiro Kazui's writing which provided a coherent economic and diplomatic account of Tsushima and the Korean trade, laid the basis for reinterpreting *sakoku* policy.[3] In some ways Iwao's is the more influential reinterpretation. He claimed that *sakoku* was directed against existing Catholic countries, and that a reopening of English trade might have occurred had England sought it in later times when, after the reign of Charles II, the problem of a Portuguese consort no longer arose. In the absence of archival evidence, however, Iwao not only adverted to a Dutch effort to foment Japanese unease about the English vessel, the *Return*, seeking trade in 1673, but assumed that it accounted for the rejection of the English request.[4] The case was taken a step further in 1984 in the influential *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan* by Ronald Toby. He followed Iwao's arguments closely and, as a research student, had benefitted by contacts with Tashiro, at the time himself a doctoral candidate.[5] Toby argued that "the possibilities of the system were far more open-ended, more manifold, than what has been visible in the received vision of the Tokugawa past."[6] He saw Matsudaira Sadanobu, leading senior councillor in 1787–1793, as taking advantage in 1793 of the absence of contacts other than with the Dutch and Chinese for a century and a half, to create an argument that the Russian request for trade was precluded by "ancestral law."[7]

Much discussion of the issues was to take place in Japan from the 1970s to the 1990s. For Arano Yasunori, in the subtlest contribution to the debate, the central measure in the *sakoku* policy of the 1630s was the prohibition on Japanese going abroad. The shogunate's long-standing policy was to avoid being drawn further into the troubles of East Asia (the reason for prohibiting Japanese settlement overseas). Contemporaries did not, on his argument, see the issue as one of either opening or closing the country, and the aim was to conserve orderly relations with Japan's neighbors. Only from the 1790s onwards, faced with novel Western appearances, did a clear-cut idea of a closed society begin to take a forceful shape.[8]

It is commonplace for modern accounts to refer to four portals (*yottsu no kuchi* 四つの口) of external trade: Nagasaki itself, Korea (via the island of Tsushima), the Ryukyus (for Chinese goods to Nagasaki or Satsuma), and Ezo. This concept is a somewhat optimistic assessment of the reality and extent of "foreign" trade. Its significance is weakened by the

1 Ackroyd 1979; Nakai 1988.
2 *Towards Restoration: the Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan*, quoted in Cullen 2003, p. 307.
3 Tashiro's work was first summarized in an article in *Acta Asiatica* 1976. Tashiro 1981 is his major work on the topic.
4 Iwao 1963, pp. 30-31; Iwao 1976, p. 16.
5 Toby 1991, pp. xxvii, xxxvii (preface to original 1984 edition).
6 Toby 1991, p. 11.
7 Toby 1991 (reprint of 1984 edition), pp. 10–15, 24, 242.
8 Arano 1994; Arano 2005.

arguments of Nakamura and others about an overstatement of Tsushima trade.[9] As for Ezo, the absence of a frontier in the chain of islands to the north of Japan suggests that the trade was a domestic one, which for well over a century expanded little.

There are two practical challenges in the statistical study of trade. One is that notional limits to foreign trade set in 1685, while intended to define firm ceilings to exports of silver, proved flexible in regard to the actual size of imports, once payment was not in silver. The second and related problem is Satsuma's trade with the Ryukyus, for which ungenerous notional limits and efforts to confine its shipments to sales in Nagasaki were set in the 1680s.[10] These were never observed by Satsuma and, for political reasons, were de facto unenforceable by the shogunate. This situation makes it necessary to look at allegations of smuggling, which in the absence of reliable documentary evidence, are sometimes too readily made.

2. Archives and Lost Documents

There is a paradox in early Japanese statistics. They were abundant in the mid-seventeenth century, when they were few in Europe. But though European trade statistics were slower to appear by as much as two or three generations, when they did appear they survived, in contrast to Japanese figures. Trade data, when passed from Nagasaki to Edo, had a poor survival rate.[11] By contrast, the sources remaining in Nagasaki remained complete until after virtual total loss in 1868. Compilation from Japanese sources of either a full or a partial record of the Dutch and Chinese trades is now impossible. A problem does not arise for the Dutch trade as the Dutch sources compiled in Dejima provide a remarkably detailed record. For the Chinese trade, were we to depend on Japanese sources, apart from isolated *satsu* for 1709–1714 and a private notebook of a merchant in 1804, we would be almost entirely in the dark.[12] The statistics, in so far as they can be assembled, otherwise come from the Dutch records.

Good record keepers though they were, the Dutch did not consistently transfer statistical information from the *jonken boekjes* (booklets recording cargoes on Chinese junks) into the *dagregister* office diary or daily record kept by the *opperhoofd* (head of the factory). From the 1640s, the *dagregister* records much detail of the import trade because figures for silk supplied by their competitors were of vital interest to the Dutch. The export trade on the other hand was recorded perfunctorily in the *dagregister*, and references to copper begin to recur frequently only from the 1680s. For imported cargoes, a separate record for 1652–1657 was a precursor of the *jonken boekjes* of later decades.[13] Early practice in relation to recording exports is not clear, but in December 1689 the "possible cargoes"

9 Nakamura 2000, pp. 173–91; Lewis 2003, pp. 96–98. Diplomatic ties—*tsūshin* 通信—of course survived.

10 There is some uncertainty about low and varied early figures for the size of the permitted trade. It is as low as 120 *kan* in Tashiro (1976, p. 91). The problem rests in the distinction between the tribute trade to China and the private trade. Kaempfer's estimate was 125,000 *tael* (or 1250 *kanme*), and may serve also as a working figure for the eighteenth century. Bodart-Bailey 1999, p. 228.

11 See Cullen 2013 for a survey of Edo, daimyo, and Nagasaki records.

12 For the 1709–1714 returns, see "Kaidai" by Yamawaki (1970), twelve pages at the end of volume 2 of *Tōban kamotsuchō* (1970). For the manuscript of 1804 by the merchant Murakami under the title *Sashidashi chō* 差出帳, see Yamawaki 1964, pp. 196–203.

13 Nagazumi 1987, p. 6. Nagazumi drew the details of trade in 1652–1657 from AJ 823 *Staten houdende opgave van goederen door Chinese junken an Nagasaki angevoerd* in the State archives in the Hague

of eighteen outgoing junks were noted in a *jonken boekje*.[14] With figures entered in *jonken boekjes* there was no compelling reason to enter precise figures in the *dagregister* itself. But for that reason the later loss of the *jonken boekjes* resulted for historians in an irreparable loss for the years up to 1706 when their compilation seems to have ceased.

Dutch access to information seems to have remained problem-free until a novel clampdown was imposed from 1682 on information on the Chinese trade in the face of a worsening crisis in the supply of silver and, post-1684, an abrupt rise in the number of Chinese vessels. In 1689 the Chinese were corralled in a *Tōjin yashiki* 唐人屋敷, (often referred to by the Dutch as "the Chinese island"), an enclave of 229 by 133 meters surrounded by a wall and four watch towers, a temporary home every year for over two thousand individuals in unhygienic and difficult circumstances.

The Japanese interpreters of Dutch now lacked a ready flow of information from the interpreters of Chinese. Nevertheless, an interpreter, Motoki Tarōzaemon 本木太郎左衛門, remained an informant to a greater or lesser degree, until his death in 1695. In noting in October that without him the rumored amount of copper on seventeen vessels could not be confirmed, the *dagregister* seems to hint that his services had remained useful.[15] In the circumstances of the time he did not have a replacement. But a trickle of information from various, usually lesser, sources was possible in part because the junior Dutchmen, many of whom had remained for years in Dejima, spoke some or much Japanese.[16]

The monumental work by Nagazumi to reconstitute the Chinese trade from the *dagregister* suggests unintentionally that the Dutch were more poorly informed than they were. Much of the recorded information was too vague for use in her scholarly approach.[17] Intermittent information, however, continued to be received. On one occasion, uniquely in the reporting of trade, the *dagregister* noted in November 1696 after five junks had left, that "secretly we manage[d] to get the little book in which their sales had been recorded."[18] The *jonken boekjes* continued in existence: on an occasion in November 1703 the *opperhoofd* recorded that "the junks booklet and the diary give different numbers."[19]

The information flow deteriorated very sharply for 1708–1718. It is tempting to assume that a ragged supply of intelligence led to abandonment of the *jonken boekjes* (never mentioned in the *dagregister* after 1706), and these now obsolete documents were lost with the passage of time. An abrupt upturn in 1718 was made possible by the fact that a Dutch interpreter was brother to the chief interpreter of the Chinese island. In February 1718, Ichijirōzaemon, the chief interpreter, provided a bill of lading for nine outward junks.[20] Thereafter the information came from his brother. This situation lasted till July 1727 when the *opperhoofd* was told by an interpreter, "On pain of corporal punishment the governor

14 DDR 1986, vol. 1 (1680–1690), p. 83.
15 DDR 1987, vol. 2 (1690–1700), p. 60.
16 Many of the Dutch resided for years in Dejima. The slaves of the Dutch, brought by individual Dutchmen as their servants, may have spent the rest of their lives in the factory, even after their owners had left. That may explain why they acquired a good command of Japanese, about which a question was posed at the shogunal reception of the Dutch in 1684. DDR 1986, vol. 1 (1680–1690), p. 32. For a useful account of the duration of stays and responsibilities of some of the members of the factory, see Matsui 2015, pp. 151–57.
17 Nagazumi 1987.
18 DDR 1987, vol. 2 (1690–1700), p. 79.
19 DDR 1990, vol. 3 (1700–1710), p. 59
20 DDM 1700–1740, p. 222.

had forbidden the Japanese to supply us with information concerning Chinese exports and imports."[21] Two years later an interpreter, when asked for a price list, replied, "The governors had forbidden the servants of the Chinese island to disclose the prices."[22] A flow resumed in 1732–1738. Interpreters, like Japanese officials at large in financial penury, privately borrowed money from the Dutch. That may explain some of the information flow. But by 1740 the new regularity of the flow must have reflected an easing in policy. The informants were either rapporteur interpreters (*nenban tsūji* 年番通事), or interpreters well established enough to later reach that rank. Information was also usually received in writing, and was without fail and in full recorded in the *dagregister*. Thereafter the only interruption for the remainder of the century was in exports only for 1754/1755. In October 1755 the interpreters, when asked for details of cargoes in and out, informed the Dutch that "the interpreters of the Chinese island have been forbidden to inform them about the cargo (sic) of the junks."[23]

Edo government and Nagasaki *bugyōsho* retained within their archives few policy documents. *Rōjū* as a matter of course took them away with them at the end of their period of office. And Nagasaki *bugyō* seem to have done likewise. While statistics appear to have survived very well in Nagasaki, they were less secure in Edo. Comprehensive runs of figures from 1648 were furnished on at least two known occasions (at Hakuseki's request in 1708 and on a *rōjū* order in 1719); perhaps two of many such requests. They imply either a lack of material already in Edo or simply poor awareness of what was held there. In the great assemblage of documents from several centuries collected in the late 1840s and 1850s, the *Tsūkō ichiran* 通航一覧 (TKIR), launched by a team engaged by shogunal order in the late 1840s, there is a gap for the Dutch trade after 1670 and for Chinese trade after 1672 despite their consulting the Hakuseki records. The TKIR lacks runs of figures for other items apart from listing until 1718 gold for the Dutch.[24]

For copper, despite its importance as the dominant export, there is a remakable lacuna in records for three and a half decades. The TKIR has no details of copper. Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟, with an official brief in the 1880s, despite past service as an official both in Tokugawa and Meiji times, was able to provide litttle data on trade at large. In the case of copper, for the Dutch trade there were gaps in his figures, which themselves appear to have been drawn from isolated sources.[25] Contrary to belief that pre-1868 trade figures had survived in the finance ministry of later times and were lost in the earthquake in 1923, the ministry had in fact inherited little from the Kanjōsho.[26]

21 DDM 1700–1740, p. 326.
22 DDM 1700–1740, p. 368.
23 DDR 1993, vol. 7 (1740–1760), p. 308.
24 The figures appear in TKIR 1912–1923, vol 4, *kan* 巻 160 and 161. See also footnote 62.
25 For the Dutch, he had figures for 1698, 1715, and a run for 1760–1839 (1775, 1776, 1777, and 1820 missing), and for the Chinese trade for 1755–1839 (1820 missing). Katsu does not indicate sources, but the sequence of information suggests that he drew on three *shahon* 写本 for his Dutch data, and two for his Chinese data. He also had isolated and imperfect data for Chinese trade for 1688, 1698, 1742, 1746, and 1749 from a single *shahon*. From *a further* three isolated sources, he appears to have drawn figures for 1749 (a duplicate figure), 1765, and 1791. Katsu 1976, pp. 3–60 (from part four of *Suijinroku*).
26 The absence in Meiji times of surviving trade data for earlier years is confirmed in the huge *Nihon zaisei keizai shiryō* 日本財政経済史料 in ten volumes, each in two parts, assembled before the destruction of the *Ōkurashō* in the 1923 earthquake.

The surviving and unique original *satsu* on the Chinese trade of Nagaski in 1709–1714 are not as Yamawaki stated and Nagazumi and Nakamura repeated, papers from central archives in Edo.[27] They are original Nagasaki documents, collected into the sort of maverick compilation typical of the Edo era. In this instance they were collected by an unknown individual into twenty booklets, the *satsu* for individual cargoes (of which six original texts were created and signed by six individual officers for each cargo). Some of the twenty booklets containing the *satsu* were later lost and some individual *satsu* are missing within the surviving booklets. They were later bound into four *kan* by an unknown individual.[28] Unfamiliar with the *satsu*, he omitted a key word from their title.[29] An identical omission occurs in a separate document, *Nagasaki goyōdome* 長崎御用留, compiled from several sources to fill the many gaps in vessels numbered from 17 to 54.[30] Though there were several individuals involved in compiling this document (in the writing there are several hands), repetition of the omission suggests that a sole person may have been responsible for both compilations.

The two compilations, one binding originals together, the other a straightforward transcription of documents, finally reached the National Archives. The first was from a very unlikely source (*Nōshōshō kyūzō* 農商省旧蔵, the former archives of the Agriculture and Trade Ministry), the other from an unidentified one. Further illustrating the random pattern of dispersal, Kaisho 会所 repertories (*hikae mokuroku* 控目録) of its records for the year 1719 ended up in the Ōmura Municipal Library.[31] Finally, 163 files dealing with individual cases or *jiken* in the Ansei 安政 period form a small part of the *Koga zōsho* 古賀蔵書, a collection assembled by Koga Jūjiryō 古賀十二郎 (1879–1954), one of the main Nagasaki collectors of documents of Tokugawa times.[32] While no primary record of post-1715 licences to Chinese vessels survives, there is also in the Koga collection a *shahon* containing them.[33] Its status—whether a copy in official archives in 1868 or an earlier private copy—is not clear.

The records of the interpreters, for whose bureaucratic effectiveness the Dutch had a high regard, had also been well kept. In 1704, the interpreters were reported as looking at their archives as far back as 1681.[34] In May 1744, the *opperhoofd* somewhat dramatically recorded that the interpreters had been ordered "to draw up an exhaustive report about all the goods the company had imported during the last twenty-nine years. Toeksemon (sic) told me that fourteen clerks were busy day and all night copying their records concerning our imports."[35] For the interpreters of Dutch there is now scant material apart from what has been handed down in two interpreter families, the Nakayama family (now in the

27 Yamawaki 1970, pp. 1, 11; Nagazumi 1987, p. 6; Nakamura 2000, pp. 192–96.
28 Published as *Tōban kamotsuchō*, 1969–1970, 2 vols.
29 *Kamotsuchō* 貨物帳 in place of *kamotsu aratame chō* 貨物改帳. His prefixing the term *Tōban* 唐蛮 to the title of the collection, however, is correct as it included both Dutch and Chinese shipping.
30 The *Tōban kamotsu aratame chō* had a complete run for the first sixteen vessels; thereafter gaps emerged in the listing.
31 By perusing footnotes in Nakamura 2000, pp. 201, 203, 207, 237, the catalogue numbers in the Ōmura library can be identified as 102-1, 103-2, 103-3, 103-4, 103-5, 103-12, and 103-13.
32 Nakamura 2000, p. 228, footnote 109. On Koga, see Nakajima 2007, p. 37. At first a teacher in a middle school, he returned to Nagasaki to devote his life to collecting documents and writing, in a close association with the Kenritsu Toshokan.
33 Hao 2015, pp. 37 and 53, note 11.
34 DDM 1700–1740, p. 62.
35 DDR 1993, vol. 7 (1740–1760), p. 72.

Figure 1. Chinese vessel unloading into flat-bottomed boats (*sampan*). Vessels were moored in the open bay close to shore; speedy unloading was important to admit replacement of the cargo with ballast to stabilize vessels in what were at times stormy waters. (Courtesy of Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture.)

Siebold Museum in Nagasaki) and the Motoki 本木 family (shared between a museum in Nagasaki and an art gallery in Kobe). For the Chinese trade, though a substantial quantum survives for both Kaisho and interpreters, it is a small part of what once existed.

Ironically, we know more about the recovery of material in and beyond Meiji times than about the losses in 1868.[36] Apart from large batches mainly of bakumatsu papers, records in Nagasaki seem to have been either abandoned haphazardly or even given away at the time. The clearest single illustration is the primary series of *hankachō* 犯科帳 (criminal investigation records) complete from 1666 to 1867. No longer serving a purpose, as the *bugyōsho* office had ceased to exist, they were given to the police, who, likewise finding no use for them, sold them to an antiquarian dealer. The first and pioneering savior of records was Kanai Toshiyuki 金井俊行 (1850–1897), a ward official who saved many documents.[37] Held in his ward office at his death, they remained in city possession to finally find a place in the City Museum (opened in 1941). Other collections were to find a home in the prefectural library, founded in 1912. Koga himself in 1919 gave it two *satsu* of the *hankachō*; on his death, his own collection of papers went to it. Documents collected by Watanabe Kurasuke 渡辺庫輔, a local historian and writer, were deposited as late as 1964.

The vulnerability of papers even after 1868 is well illustrated in the story of the surviving *nikki* of the interpreters of Chinese for 1663 to 1715, held along with many other papers in the Seidō 聖堂 (the Confucian temple under the care of the Mukai 向井 family,

36 There is a very general but all too rare account in Yasutaka 2010, pp. 148–52.
37 For details, see Cullen 2013, p. 37.

hereditary head of the Seidō). By the time Kanai began his salvage work, only nine of ten volumes of *nikki* for the period survived. Presumably because he failed to acquire the originals, the nine were copied in 1886–1889 and from the ward office (and successor city offices) they finally reached the City Museum. As for the originals of the *nikki*, all that survived were a mere two *satsu* which passed in 1934 from the head of the family to the prefectural *kyōiku kai* 県教育会, then in the war years to the prefectural library and finally to the museum in 1959.[38]

3. Trade: Composition and Structure

The composition of trade is clear. Sugar gradually replaced silk as the major import. Figures are not readily or, indeed, at all available for many items. But many of them served a vital need, enjoying official encouragement. Ginseng (*ninjin* 人参, especially from Korea), much sought after for its medical properties, and sandalwood (*kō* 香), the source for fragrances used in domestic and formal settings, were outstanding items, and to them should be added many other pharmaceuticals.[39] The importance of this trade was already recognized in loans granted to Chinese shipowners under Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (1680–1709) and which were a subject of repayment years later under the frugal Yoshimune 吉宗 (1716–1745).[40] In April 1738, with the supply of Chinese medicines short and the good will of the Dutch being sought to encourage the Chinese traders in Batavia to respond to Japanese needs, the *opperhoofd* of the Dutch factory in Dejima noted his offer to supply these goods (were the Dutch allowed to import them): "I concluded that the Japanese cannot do without the Chinese imports."[41]

Two features have an interest out of the ordinary, even if hardly of consequence in volume terms. The first arises from the concern felt by the Nagasaki authorities about books in Chinese, leading to their listing or inspection on arrival.[42] The second is the analysis in recent times in remarkable detail by Professor Ishida Chihiro 石田千尋 from the Dutch sources of the categories of *kenjōhin* 献上品 gifts by the Dutch for the shogun; *shinmotsuhin* 進物品, gifts for high officials; and *atsuraemono* 誂物, goods ordered by or for the shogun and by Edo and Nagasaki circles.[43] The latter goods included cannons ordered by the famous artillery expert Takashima Shūhan 高島秋帆 (1798–1866), a subject studied in much detail by Ishida. Exports on Dutch vessels were in a very narrow range, but camphor was sought after and at times the supply fell well short of Dutch demand. It was, next to metals, their major export.

Unlike Europe, a multilateral trade, in which surplus earnings in trade with one country were already helping to bridge a gap between imports and exports in other areas of trade, did not exist. The absence of such a structure underlies the thinking of Japanese officials. While their emphasis in political terms was more on imports than exports, they saw the figures for exports and imports as broadly identical. In Japan imports and exports were siamese twins, and trade was effectively a single protracted operation spread over

38 *Tōtsūji Kaisho nichiroku* 1984, vol 1, pp. 1–7; vol. 7, 109–14.
39 Hellyer 2009, pp. 87, 117–20.
40 DDM 1700–1740, p. 465.
41 DDM 1700–1740, p. 479.
42 Ōba 1967, p. 67.
43 Ishida 2009.

months. At the end of the process, there was neither surplus nor deficit to carry foward, with the exception until the 1680s of an amount of silver denominated as *tsukaisutegin* 遣捨銀 (import income by the Chinese and Dutch not converted into exports, and subject to approval available for other purposes and notably the living expenses of the Chinese).[44] It was effectively the balance of trade. Originating in retained income from the proceeds of imports, it should, in theory at least, if substracted from imported commodity figures, give us the total amount of exports. With the termination of tolerance for *tsukaisutegin* in a silver crisis in the 1680s, the Chinese had to cover their expenses in other ways, including bringing funds with them for this purpose.

Gross trade figures, given the extremely high value of the main items (silk and silver), greatly overstate the physical size of the trade in Nagasaki. A small tonnage contrasts with a huge tonnage in Osaka's coastal traffic in rice or in Europe with the massive trade in basic goods such as minerals, wood, wine, and grain. The 29,314 *kanme* 貫目 of exports by Chinese for 1661, if converted into sterling currency, amounted to £685,068.[45] This figure is one and a half times the exports in 1665 of Ireland, a country with good statistics for the 1660s and, through its colonial status, a highly developed trade.

Yet it was, in terms of tonnage, a small traffic carried in 1661 on a mere thirty-nine vessels. During the Ching or Manchu challenge to the rule of the Ming dynasty that terminated only in 1684, the Ching dynasty prohibited foreign trade with the result that for several decades traders were Ming loyalists rather than traders from Ching-controlled districts, and disproportionately from Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and Siam. With the final triumph of the Ching in 1684 admitting a resumption of trade, the number of ships from the central reaches of the Chinese coast rose sharply from 1685. The peak was 192 in 1688.[46] In response, the Nagasaki authorities limited incoming vessels to seventy (later briefly raised to eighty), though many of these vessels were refused permission to land their cargoes.

For concrete information about individual vessels, the sole source is the *fūsetsugaki* 風説書 submitted from the 1640s by vessels on their arrival in Nagasaki.[47] Declarations provide some commentary on cargoes and the difficulties in sales.[48] While for vessels from China silver had always been the most sought-after item, the statements by the Chinese of Batavia in 1685 made a point of stressing that their return cargoes had been in goods, not silver.[49] The *fūsetsugaki* do not provide information on merchants, who must have been aboard as passengers. They remain a shadowy group.[50] They were probably small-scale operators, their operations somewhat augmented by petty speculations by sailors. The issue of new Japanese licences in Chinese from 1715 posed a problem for Chinese merchants who had traded in earlier years but had not been in Nagasaki at the time of their issue in

44 See trade details for 1659, 1686, 1693, and 1804 in Yamawaki 1964, pp. 35, 72, 103, 206.
45 Valued at £23.37 per *kan* (Cullen 2003, p. 41, note 51).
46 Ishii 1998, p. 10.
47 *Tōsen Shinkō kaitōroku* 唐船進港回悼録, *Shimabarabon Tōjin fūsetsugaki* 島原本唐人風説書, and *Wappu tomechō,* 割符留帳; Ōba 1974. The first and third items are single *kan* or volume sources. The second—the *Shimabara fūsetsugaki*—consists of thirty-seven volumes, *Shimabara fūsetsugaki* included. *Tōsen fūsetsugaki* from all sources amount to seventy-seven volumes. Ishii 1998, pp. 6–7.
48 Ishii 1998, p. 56.
49 Ishii 1998, pp. 211–13.
50 Matsuura 2007, pp. 191, 193.

1715. It affected "all together about fifty merchants, some of whom have traded to Japan for several years, as well as sailors . . . and are now experiencing financial hardship."[51] Licences were issued to vessels while in Nagasaki, and on their next voyage had to be produced for permission to enter the port; without them vessels were turned away.

Tonnage figures for individual vessels are rare.[52] However, according to Souza, junks were usually 120 to 220 tons burthen, small vessels or *wankan*s 30 to 150 tons.[53] Japanese ships, which of course were prohibited from trading overseas, were limited to a capacity of 500 *koku* (roughly seventy-five tons). Fisscher, a warehouseman in Dejima 1821–1829, noting that vessels from Ezo were the largest, observed that they were capable of taking a cargo of sixty tons while leaving generous room for passengers and crew.[54] The Ryukyu trade was free from this restriction. In the 1790s, a British officer had noted in Naha "twenty large junks" at anchor, from two to three hundred tons.[55] Vessels from the Ryukyus and Satsuma were said in the 1860s to have been somewhat short of twenty in number.[56]

For some purposes the value or at least estimates of cargoes are more useful. For cargoes in the 1710s, the most common estimate was 200 *kanme*, and in the 1720s even lower.[57] In contrast, the value of goods on the nine vessels arriving in 1803 was 5,800 *kanme*, or an average of 644 *kanme* per vessel.[58] Such cargo values were a new norm: the figure is even close to the value for cargoes on the annual Dutch vessel. The Chinese trade had become more ordered, and individual cargoes more valuable (with the continued rise in pharmaceutical products) and varied (including from 1763 silver from China), and the merchants fewer and more prosperous. While Dutch trade had contracted to about 1,000 *kanme* by the end of the century, Chinese trade in 1803 or 1804 was significantly higher than it had been in the 1720s. Exports other than metals, once a weakness of trade, expanded to fill the gap and were central to the trade. Regular, almost daily official harassment of the Chinese was no longer a feature, though the authorities could act decisively in 1825 or 1835–1837 in the face of problems.

4. Trade Statistics[59]

From 1648 figures for trade existed (the starting source of the figures on metals later supplied to Hakuseki).[60] With the exception of export figures for 1648–1672 (from the TKIR), figures are few.[61] There is a run in Iwao for 1690–1700, and in Yamawaki for 1704–1711 (source not directly indicated but on the evidence of references elsewhere apparently

51 Ishii 1998, p. 243. The licences were suspect to the Chinese authorities at the outset, and were seized by them for a considerable period of time before being returned to their holders.
52 On tonnage, see the "Glossary of Weights and Measures" in the Appendix.
53 Souza 1986, p. 133. On tonnage, see also Ishii 1998, pp. 3–4.
54 Van Overmeer Fisscher 1833, p. 251.
55 Broughton 1804, vol. 1, p. 239; BPP, vol. 5, p. 681.
56 BPP, vol. 5, p. 681.
57 Nakamura 1988, pp. 344, 347.
58 Nakamura 1988, p. 433. A memoir in 1837 assumed a value of 490 *kan* for cargoes. Hellyer 2009, p. 136.
59 See the Appendix for a glossary of weights and measures.
60 The figures covered gold, silver, and, from 1663, copper, exported from 1648 to 1708. Ackroyd 1979, p. 24.
61 TKIR 1912–1922, vol. 4. The figures are reproduced in Ōta 1992, pp. 93–95. They are also in Iwao 1953, p. 22.

Table A. Exports, Chinese and Dutch, including silver exports (averages).

	kanme				*kanme*		
	Chinese vessels				Dutch vessels		
years (average)	vessels (no)	exports	of which silver	balance*1	vessels (no)	exports	of which silver
1648–1654	49.4	10,694	5,199	2,293	6.6	6,054	5,139
1655–1661	48.6	17,786	12,671	1.074	7.6	6,767	5,008
1662–1668	36.4	12,734	8,322	2,167	8.4	8,719	4,940*2
1669–1670	37	12,825	345	3,021	5.5	10,665	—

*1. *Tsukaisutegin*. Silver retained by Chinese (and Dutch) from import income. Ōta includes it in the export total; Iwao correctly excludes it. The Dutch balance, while deducted from Dutch exports above, is not particularized in the table.
*2. Average of six years.

Table B. Composition of combined Chinese and Dutch exports (averages).*1 (in *kan*/*kanme*)

years (average)	Total*2	silver	gold*3	copper coins*4	merchandise*5
1645–1654	16,634	10,338		229	6,296
1655–1661	24,551	17,679		341	6,872
1662–1668	21,453	12,557	(7,769)*6	434	5,563
1669–1670	23,989	345	17,330	530	6,314
Chinese vessels only					
1671	11,815	950	5,931		3,934
1672	11,729	8,964	9		2,756

*1. Slight variances between the grand total and totals for China and Holland in Table 1 above.
*2. Net of Chinese and Dutch *tsukaisutegin*.
*3. Value of gold in *kanme*.
*4. Figures for 1662–1668 and 1669–1670 include exports by the Dutch, not available for earlier years. Though figures appear in Ōta's tables, they are excluded from his grand totals.
*5. Merchandise excluding metals apart from copper.
*6. Average for three years, 1666–1668. Individual years were as follows: 1666: 2292 *kanme*; 1667, 4,322 *kanme*; 1668, 16,784 *kanme*. A sum of 29 *kanme* was recorded for 1664.

from the diaries of the Chinese interpreters).[62] In Nakamura, there are imports for 1715–1726 from a *shahon, Shinpai kata kiroku* 写本信牌方記録.[63]

The *kan* itself was a unit of weight, and silver passed hands in coins or bars in terms of its weight (a *kan* of silver weighed 3.75 kilograms); *kanme* signifies silver money of account

62 Iwao 1953, p. 19; Yamawaki 1964, p. 106. The figures are reproduced in Ōta 1992, pp. 93–95. They are also in Iwao 1953, p. 22. Iwao's figures are only superficially different, with *tsukaisutegin* excluded from his table. Ōta has expressed doubts about the figures (Ōta 2000, pp. 152–53). The erratic values from year to year, in some years wholly out of proportion with any conceivable level, suggest strongly that they are to be disregarded.

63 Nakamura 1988, p. 347.

(with a variation in its purchasing power in proportion to commodity prices as they rose or fell). For commodity exports in an upsurge from 1658, especially by Chinese vessels which continued into the mid 1660s, a total for Chinese and Dutch trade combined of 36,982 *kanme* in 1661 was the peak.[64] The exports of silver, comprehended as a *commodity* within the total, peaked in the same year at 31,313 *kan*. These years were the high-water mark of the trade, both Dutch and Chinese. The silver exported was currency standard *chōgin* 丁銀 (silver bars with purity of 80 percent). Exports in 1650 were 6,827 *kan* of *chōgin* plus *haifukigin* 灰吹銀 (pure silver) and *gindōgu* 銀道具 (silverware). The amount of *tsukaisutegin* was 3,178 *kan*, and it remained substantial at least into the early 1670s. As silver exports were at that stage reduced and virtually ended in the mid-1680s, *tsukaisutegin* (silver balances or at least entitlements to silver, which in the case of the Chinese could also provide a cover for exporting silver) likewise ceased to exist.

The composition of exports underlined the vulnerable nature of the trade. Commodity trade in items other than metals were as little as a mere quarter of the total. Changes over the 1660s in regulating exports of silver, copper, and gold reflected the falling output of metals.[65] Given a sense of crisis, exports of silver to the Chinese were halted for almost three years before resuming at lower levels than in the past. In the years 1669–1671, silver to Chinese traders (now the only permitted outlet for silver) averaged a mere 547 *kan*. The short-term termination of silver exports was compensated for by dramatically increased exports of gold. In the very short term, that made it possible to maintain total exports by the Chinese and Dutch at a high level.

5. Contraction and Recovery: The Course of Trade ca.1672–1708

The need from the 1660s to conserve for home use the declining output of silver finally accounted for a notional ceiling to the value of trade in 1685 (6,000 *kanme* as the ceiling in silver money of account, for the Chinese trade, and 3,000 *kanme* for the Dutch). Already from 1668 the Dutch were no longer permitted to ship silver, but on the other hand were allowed a generous ceiling in gold (50,000 *ryō*, the equivalent of 3,000 *kan* of silver).[66] The celebrated limit of 6,000 *kan* applied both to silver (the metal itself in *kan* weight), and also to the total value of trade as measured in silver money of account (*kanme*). The original ceiling for 1685 rested pragmatically on the fact that exports of silver to China were around 6,000 *kan* in 1682–1684. However, given a persistent quest for silver and a shortage of the metal, exports of silver became nominal well before 1697. With silver progressively reduced, the ceilings lost their original significance, becoming mere orders of magnitude to guide the management of trade.

For the two decades from 1672, a shortage of trade figures makes some conjecture unavoidable. Exports of silver, for which figures do survive, averaging 6,184 *kan* in 1672–1684, were roughly a quarter of the level of the 1660s. A crude estimate of trade can be made for 1690–1694.

64 The total net of *tsukaisutegin*.
65 Cullen 2003, p. 42.
66 Round-figure conversion of silver *kan* into gold *ryō* at 17.2 *ryō* to a *kan* (at an official exchange rate of 58 *monme* to the *ryō*).

Table C. Exports to China 1690–1694 (average).
(in *kanme*)

copper	4,123
non-metal exports*	2,443
grand total	6,556

* There are no figures for the total of non-metal exports in 1690–1694, but a rough estimate is possible if we calculate the figure for 1663–1672 and then proceed to assume that it remained constant in later years. While copper and non-metal products were combined in a single rubric in the surviving trade abstract for 1663–1672, the known figures for copper, once converted into *kanme* averaging 798 *kanme*, when deducted from a total for copper and non-metal products of 3,241 *kanme* left a residue of 2,443 *kanme* as an estimate of non-metal exports in 1663–1672.

A value of 5,910 *kanme* for the China trade in 1693 is a confirmation of sorts of this crude arithmetic.[67] In other words, post-1672 trade was probably static. Despite post-1672 stagnation, trade acquired a real momentum in the second half of the 1690s. A policy from 1697 of the bartering or exchange of copper (*shiromono gae* 代物替) intended to encourage imports and guaranteed a supply of copper within a ceiling set at 5,000 *kanme*.[68] However, this facility itself accounted for a mere 42,000 piculs in 1697, well short of the total exports of 89,081 piculs of copper.[69]

In a table by Yamawaki for the years 1704–1711, exports were close to 12,000 *kanme* in two years, and above 12,000 in another two of the five years from 1704 to 1708. These high figures in turn explain a high level of silk imports before 1709.

Table D. Trade with China, 1704–1717.[70]

	Exports to China*		Imports
	kanme		*kin*
	Exports	Barter copper	Raw silk
1704	12,524	5,000	84,250
1705	7,625	2,670	38,525
1706	12,430	4,763	44,460
1707	11,859	4,100	70,970
1708	11,220	4,260	81,830
1709	4,561	2,720	23,850
1710	7,163	2,825	23,859
1711	4,794	600	50,276

* Export figures include the barter trades in copper and in marine products.

67 Yamawaki 1964, p. 103.
68 On *shiromono gae*, see Ackroyd 1979, pp. 242–43, and for a fuller account, Ōta 1992, pp. 345–64.
69 Price calculated on the basis of the data for 1697 in Yao 1998, p. 88. They give 8.4 piculs of copper to a *kan* of silver.
70 Yamawaki 1964, p. 106.

To 12,000 *kanme* should be added a figure for exports to Korea (in some ways simply an extension of the traffic in goods to and from China), negligible in the past but in 1684–1710 averaging a subsantial 2,977 *kanme*.[71] If, with much optimism, the fluctuations in the supply of copper from Osaka and Sakai are disregarded, a figure of 15,000 *kanme* makes it easy to see how political and commercial pressures in favor of imports of silk, ginseng, and medicines, all seen as vital, prevailed. Effectively this lobby ruled out the alternative strategy of simply cutting imports. The lobby, encouraged by the sharp rise in exports of copper in the late 1690s, even pressed for an increase in permitted imports.[72]

In 1698, Chinese exports of copper were 60,824 piculs and in 1708, 66,040 piculs or 7,204 *kanme* and 7,862 *kanme* respectively. A crude picture of the expanded export trade would emerge as follows.

Table E. Estimated exports in 1698 and 1708.
(in *kanme*)

	1698	1708
Copper to China	7,204	7,862
Other products*1	2,500	2,500
Dutch exports*2	2,228	1,541
Total	11,932	11,903

*1. This is a round figure for exports. The barter trade other than in copper was set at a value of 2,000 *kanme*, and averaged 2,389 *kanme* in 1710–1712. It was mainly in marine products. Exports appear to have been in two categories, *tawaramono* 俵物 (bagged goods) and *shoiro mono* 諸色物 (various goods). *Tawaramono* were *iriko* 煎海鼠 (sea cucumber extract), *hoshika* 干鰯 (dried sardines), *fukahire* 鱶鰭 (shark fins); *shoiro mono* were goods such as *shiitake* 椎茸 (mushrooms) and marine goods such as *surume* 鯣 (cuttle fish) and *konbu* 昆布 (tang).

*2. An import figure in the absence of export figures, hence an imperfect replacement.

The buoyant trade in wares to and from China contrasted with the Dutch trade, which was static or falling after 1700. If the Tsushima trade (ca. 3,000 *kanme*) is added to the figure for exports to China the short-term buoyancy of Chinese demand is all the more evident.

6. The Role of the Kaisho

An increasingly complex policy was operable only through the establishment in 1698 of the Kaisho (translated as the expressive Dutch word, *geldkamer* or cash office).[73] This office provided the machinery in Nagasaki to execute a closer scrutiny of what was already a highly managed trade. The emphasis in the office's work was on accounting operations, not on the physical transfer of goods. An *opperhoofd* was to observe in 1717 that, "It is a strange way of doing business. First we have to sell the goods and only after the goods have been sold they are inspected by the merchants."[74]

71 Tashiro 1976, p. 90.
72 Ackroyd 1979, pp. 242–43, 249.
73 The *locus classicus* is Nakamura 1988, pp. 390–422. See also *Nagasaki kenshi* 1985, pp. 581–98.
74 DDM 1700–1740, p. 215.

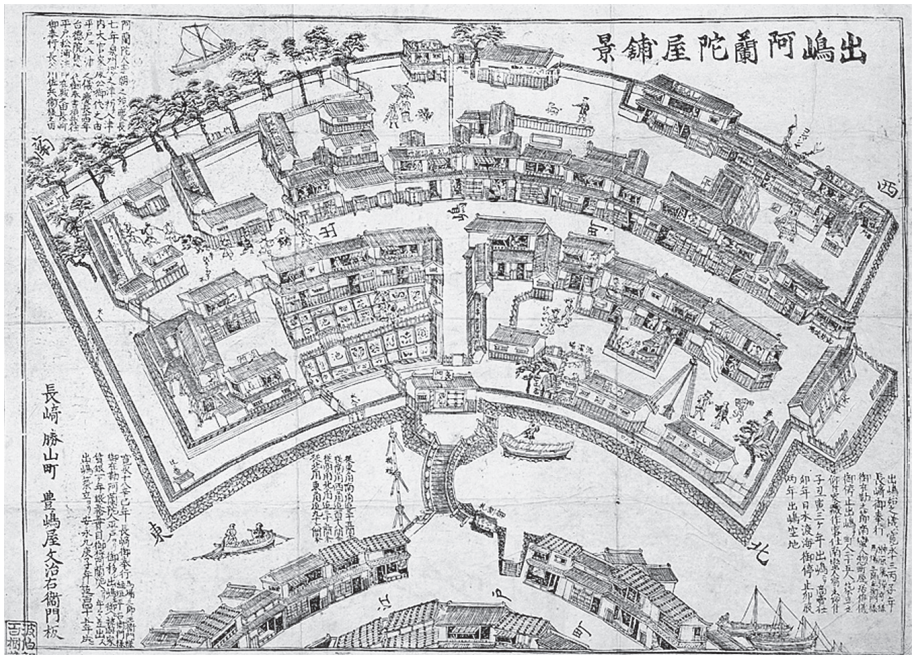

Figure 2. Dejima Island and structures (warehouses, residences, and the office for the interpreters). The entrance and exit by the bridge was guarded all day everyday. (Courtesy of Kobe City Museum)

Silver had not been prohibited in the letter of the law to the Chinese in 1685. For the thirteen years from 1685 to 1697 exports of *chōgin* (silver metal of currency standard) averaged a mere 229 *kan*.[75] In 1687 the figure was 465 *kan*; in 1693 it was a mere 2.5 *kan* of silver in a total 65 *kan* mainly of *gindōgu* silverware.[76] Exports of silverware averaged 77 *kan* in 1685–1697. From 1699, total silverware was limited to 100 *kan* a year, and its export was finally prohibited from 1708. From 1699, the export of silver itself was limited to minute quantities per vessel. For four years in 1718–1725, for which actual figures exist for some vessels, it was of the order of 2 *kan* per vessel, and in one year, 1718, quantities were somewhat more generous, in one instance actually being around 12 *kan*. From 1733, no more than 950 *monme* (that is, slightly less than one *kan*) per vessel was permitted. Between 1709 and 1762, shipments averaged 23 *kan*. Shipments were totally stopped in 1763, and Japan itself became an importer of silver.[77]

The office ran into difficulties in its management of the copper trade. There was the unceasing challenge to ensure a supply of copper to meet Chinese demands, eased only by a fall in Dutch exports of copper. The concept of an orderly barter of copper in exchange for imports was breaking down and, for want of copper, Chinese cash surpluses began to emerge. The barter traffic was recorded in separate files, that is, not entered in the general

75 Yamawaki 1964, pp. 57, 214.
76 Yamawaki 1964, pp. 57, 72, 103.
77 This paragraph draws on Yamawaki 1964, pp. 57, 213–15, and on the trade returns in Nagazumi 1987.

files. (In the 1709–1714 returns, the files are extant only for Dutch cargoes.) The consequence shows in Yamawaki's count from the surviving *satsu* of copper exports on Chinese vessels for 1711: a mere 17,547 piculs as against the actual Chinese exports that year of 42,579.

7. The Copper Supply, 1698–1715, and the Shinrei of 1715

The export of copper peaked in 1697 and 1698 at 89,081 and 90,202 piculs respectively.[78] It then fell sharply in 1699 and 1700 to the lowest level since 1694. In the first decade of the new century, quantities were to oscillate wildly. In February 1700, unprecedented permission had to be conceded to the Chinese "to leave large balances in Japan and settle these next year because there is not enough copper to export."[79] To keep the balance down, the authorities in some desperation conceded permission to export silver. The amount for the year was 1,085 *kan*.[80] Much, although not all of it, may have been in the form of silverware. The Dutch in February made a note of "secret" information that the Chinese were being permitted to buy silverware for want of copper.[81] However, there was a remarkable upturn in total copper exports in 1704–1710 to figures of between 64,000 and 74,000 piculs. Chinese exports in 1708 were second only to the peak figure of 1696.

The year 1708 was the last buoyant year. In early 1709, copper was already in insufficient supply and the last two junks of the season left belatedly in March.[82] Total exports of copper by both the Chinese and Dutch fell in 1711 to 52,578 piculs and in 1712 even more sharply to 37,701.[83] In June 1714, some vessels were again said to have been in Nagasaki for ten months. They were finally given permission to depart, leaving some of the income from sales behind them—in a repetition of what had occurred in 1700—to be used for the purchase of ink fish in the following year's sales.[84] Strict adherence to the ruling is seen in the Chinese exports of copper in 1715 of a mere 7,637 piculs. In contrast, Dutch exports at 11,500 piculs conformed closely to their level of the preceding year.

When the crisis in copper had to be faced, the strength of the political lobby that favored imports can be seen in the terms of the Shōtoku Shinrei 正徳新令 or new decree of 1715 regulating trade.[85] An impasse between optimists and pessimists was mirrored in the wavering of the ceiling level set in the first years, and in high exports. Opposition to cutbacks existed even among the *rōjū*, and was ended only on Yoshimune's ascent to office in 1716.[86] The new decree was, in essence, a response to the copper problem, which had replaced the silver crisis of an earlier generation. The bureaucratic and discredited *shiromono gae* was terminated, and replaced by a simple quantitative restriction of copper to 45,000 piculs. It was not in the circumstances ungenerous: the figure was almost identical to the

78 There is a convenient table of exports in *kin* 斤 from the outset of the copper trade up to 1715 in Kobata 1993, pp. 695–97.
79 DDR 1987, vol. 2 (1690–1700), p. 135.
80 Yamawaki 1964, p. 57.
81 DDR 1990, vol. 3 (1700–1710), p. 5 The exceptional silver exports for the year 1700 included 371 *kan* in silverware (Yamawaki 1964, p. 57).
82 DDM 1700–1740, p. 110.
83 Kobata 1993, p. 687.
84 DDM 1700–1740, p. 175.
85 Nakai 1988, pp. 106–107, 111–12; Ackroyd 1999, p. 249. On the decree, see Nakai 1988, pp. 109–14; Yamawaki 1964, pp. 140–47.
86 Nakai 1988, pp. 113–14.

level of exports in 1713 and 1714. Chinese vessels, however, were henceforth to be limited to thirty, under a new and tight licencing system (with licenses granted only to vessels already in the trade); Dutch vessels to two. The promises of trade ceilings being maintained and of a reduced but relatively generous ceiling for copper were one matter, but reality was another. The protracted time Chinese vessels still had to remain in port in 1718–1720 was an indication of reality.[87]

The symbolic notional ceiling for the Chinese trade was reduced from 6,000 *kanme* to 4,000 *kanme* for the year 1720. More concretely, the ceiling of 45,000 piculs of copper was reduced to 30,000 piculs (20,000 for the China trade, 10,000 for the Dutch).[88] Aside from an interlude in the early 1740s, an attempt was made until 1791, though with variable success, to adhere to the 1720 ceilings. It was the regulations in 1719–1720 that finally marked a change from a policy which favored foreign trade to one of contracting its scale. The average value of imports in the 1720s was the lowest on statistical record.[89] The nominal ceilings were gradually reduced, replaced in 1791 by still lower figures, which then remained unchanged until the time of the opening of the ports in 1859. In 1791, the nominal ceiling of Chinese trade was set at 2,740 *kanme*, the Dutch trade at 700 *kanme*.[90] The number of vessels was limited to ten Chinese vessels and one Dutch. In the case of copper the effort by the authorities to honor the promises of 1720 was finally abandoned, and copper to the Chinese and the Dutch alike entered a decidedly downward trajectory. In 1839, Chinese exports of copper, now a minor constituent of the export trade, were a mere 920 *kanme* (that is, less than 8,000 piculs).

8. Post-1720 Evolution of Trade

In contrast to an earlier story of success in maintaining trade at, or even above, the level of 1685, the trend from 1720 was firmly downwards. Japan had little in quantity to offer in the short term that foreigners wanted other than metals. Post-1690, copper remained the crucial element in maintaining a Chinese and Dutch presence. As for imports of silk, they began to fall as early as the 1660s and contracted sharply in the early 1700s. Even imports through Tsushima, now the main channel for silk, contracted. Sugar, already an import and becoming the main one when silk waned, was a relatively low value product and did not attract merchants to Nagasaki as silk had done. Nor did it provide the profit that silk did at its peak.

The ceilings for Nagasaki trade do not include the permitted ceilings for trade with Korea (1,000 *kanme*) and the less clear or changing ceiling for the Ryukyus (variable but

87 Nakamura 1988, pp. 348–51.

88 There is an almost complete absence of statistics of copper exports from Japanese sources for the second half of the 1710s and the following three decades (see footnote 26 above). In the few incomplete figures given in Katsu (1976), a count of ten vessels and twenty thousand piculs for 1746 is probably close to actual exports. Nagazumi (1987) has counts of Chinese vessels for some years, with 16,590 piculs in 1725, and another of twelve vessels and 17,415 piculs in 1745 that are probably close to the actual figures. Her statistics for 1724 and 1725 suggest that many Chinese vessels were rationed to 760 piculs; from the 1750s, the figures provided by Katsu suggest totals of twenty thousand piculs or less. There was no gap in Dutch figures. For them, see the comprehensive accounts by Shimada 2006 and Suzuki 2012.

89 Nakamura 1988, p. 347.

90 Nakamura 1988, pp. 372–75, provides details of ceilings from 1715 to 1848.

not above 1,250 *kanme*).[91] The Tsushima trade was favourably singled out, notably by its access to silver, when silver exports from Nagasaki had virtually ended, and in 1710–1714 specially minted silver coins made to the former standard were provided. The reason for this favor was almost certainly the fact that this trade was tightly controlled by a small milieu in Tsushima and a factory in Pusan, and the belief that abuses at the two ports could be monitored or prevented more easily than in Nagasaki. Atypically, trade figures are known because of the survival of an account book into which an unknown official of the Wakan 倭館 copied in 1716 details of the trade for 1684–1711.[92] The scale and importance of the Tsushima trade has been a subject of controversy mainly over the accuracy of calculations, but the general outlook is not in doubt.[93] While raw silk imports in the Korean trade with Tsushima for a time exceeded those of Nagasaki, they were in sharp decline in the first decade when the silk import trade at large was declining.[94] It is not in doubt that the general trade of Tsushima never came near to equaling the Nagasaki trade. It flourished for a decade either side of 1700; it later tapered off and in time altogether withered. The Satsuma trade unfortunately lacks documentation comparable to that of the Tsushima trade. Its profile is obscure, and its scale rests on a belief, lacking in quantitative terms, of widespread smuggling.

The fact that copper had been necessary to attract the Chinese and Dutch for a long time had protected copper from further decline. As far as the Dutch trade is concerned, the most obvious cutback was in gold, which was reduced to a negligible amount, and in camphor, much sought after but where their demands often were not met. The Dutch trade entered slowly into a permanent decline. In contrast the Chinese trade staged a recovery, at first shadowy because of an absence of statistics but very evident in trade figures for 1803 and 1804. The trade had acquired a new dynamic. Though the number of ships was small, the value of cargoes was much higher and the export trade, laggard apart from metals in the past, shared in the dynamism. The trade in real value was now well above the post-1791 notional ceiling of 2,740 *kanme*. Exports were 7,345 *kanme* in 1804 and 7,034 *kanme* in 1839.[95] In something of a parallel to the pre-1715 *shiromono gae*, imports of pharmaceuticals were encouraged provided the outlay was matched by exports of marine products.[96]

The cutbacks in copper and in silk imports combined with the limitation in 1715 of Dutch vessels to two a year was the decisive feature in accounting for the reversal of the city's fortunes. The presence of crews (on a single vessel up to one hundred men or more), in combination with the long delay in getting return cargoes, resulted for decades into the eighteenth century in a transient population of several thousand Chinese in Nagasaki. With its China trade gradually reduced, the fears of the Dutch abandoning Dejima often recurred, and in the years in which either one or both Dutch vessels failed to appear, poverty was rife. The port's population, at a peak in 1696 of 64,524, was halved by 1789. Officials

91 See footnote 10.
92 Tashiro 1976, p. 87.
93 Lewis 2003, pp. 96–98.
94 See figures in Tashiro 1976, p. 89 and in Yamawaki 1964, p. 229. The fullest recent account is in Nakamura 2000, pp. 173–91.
95 Yamawaki 1964, pp. 206, 208. In 1839, 2,093 *kanme* of imports were retained, that is, not expended on exports.
96 Hellyer 2009, pp. 80–81, 84, 97, 121–24, 173–74, 178, 182, 183.

and their dependents accounted for about a third of the population. In other words, it was a company town, and from the early eighteenth century, the reduced traffic added to the penury characteristic of all direct employees of the shogunate.

Adjusting to altered circumstances over the eighteenth century, dynamism finally reemerged in the trade to China. With vessels from the southern areas in Southeast Asia declining, trade now centered on ports in the central reaches of the coastline. By the 1760s this region (Nanjin, Ningbo, and Shanghai) accounted for 90 percent of shipping.[97] This contraction was in part a consequence of a direct involvement by the Chinese government in securing its supply of copper. Management was entrusted by the Ching government to the Bō 茫 family who, from 1735 over several generations, became responsible for securing copper on behalf of the Ching government.[98] Hao has described it as a *soshikika* 組織化 (systemization) of trade.[99] Much on the trade was on contract. The Bō family was provided with loans from the Ching authorities with this object in view. Control at both ends (in China for copper, in Nagasaki for pharmaceuticals) gave the trade a new stability. An added support was the import of silver on the account of the shogunal authorities from 1763.[100] Imports linked to the ever-pressing demand for medical/pharmaceutical goods ensured that far from trade stagnating, it began to expand. The buoyancy may explain why Satsuma tapped into the Chinese trade of Nagasaki. A few of the Chinese vessels licensed to trade in Nagasaki unloaded irregularly on the coasts of Satsuma with the consent of the Satsuma authorities.

9. Smuggling: Hovering Chinese Vessels on the Coasts and *Uchi Harai*.

Smuggling looms large in the story of trade. The secretive nature of smuggling, readily assumed in modern writing to have been large, has usually led in Europe and Japan to a great overestimation of its scale. Japan lacked the high duties which, in Europe, led to a concentrated and highly organized international business in a small number of commodities. It has been argued that the reduction of official trade from the 1710s provided a fillip for its expansion in Japan.[101] There was both small-scale activity and larger ventures. Small-scale activity was driven by the sheer number of Chinese vessels present in Nagasaki in the late 1690s and early-eighteenth century, and by the problems both in marketing a surfeit of imports and in securing either goods or metal for the return journey.

With no high duties to evade, Japan's concerns in the Genroku 元禄 era about smuggling centered on the outward smuggling of silver. The administration was obsessive to the point of hysteria often over minute quantities, with savage penalties for Japanese who became partners of Chinese. The stay of the Chinese was worsened by a harsh and arbitrary administration, long delays, and an uncertain outcome to their demands for return cargoes. Some official actions operated outside the realm of the judicial processes recorded in the *hankachō*. At times the Chinese were required to strip naked before they boarded their

97 Shimada 2006, p. 25.
98 For a table of the Bō family succession, see Hao 2015, p. 181.
99 Charts illustrating the nature and evolution of the new organization of trade are in Hao 2015, pp. 245–46.
100 For details of both ships and houses engaged in the silver trade, see Hao 2015, pp. 259 and 266. In peak years, imports exceeded 1,000 *kan*, and in the two years of 1801 and 1802 were around the 2,000 *kan* mark. From 1804, they fell very sharply. Nakamura 1988, p. 447.
101 Nakamura 2000, pp. 146, 148; Hao 2015, p. 15.

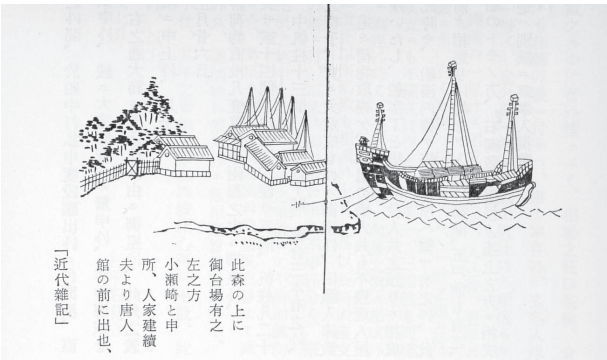

Figure 3. "To the left of the fort on the summit of the forest in a location called Shōraisaki are dwelling houses; proceeding from that point and facing them the residence for the Chinese stands out [Recent miscellaneous notes]". (TKIR *zokushū*, vol.1, p. 136.)

vessels. The "island" was subject to searches, and when vessels were being loaded, streets in the proximity were closed and policing was redoubled. For the Chinese, many of whom were small or marginal traders, some mere sailors, a demand for silver reflected less a large secret trade in silver imagined by officials than an often fatal hope of concealing minute quantities as the reward for petty speculations ashore. The *opperhoofd* in his *dagregister* often expressed the opinion that a profitless trade was driving the Chinese in desperation to resort to smuggling. A frenzy in punishing smugglers in the wake of the closure of silver exports was recorded in Kaempfer's account of his stay as medical doctor in Dejima in 1690–1692.[102] This changed in time as ships became fewer and minor abuses became less pervasive. When a skipper was allowed to board his junk in 1738 without his person being searched, the *opperhoofd* noted that "The Chinese are treated better than before."[103] By the middle of the century the travails of the Chinese had begun to lose their former painful prominence in the *dagregister*.

Official concern about larger ventures had already emerged before 1715. In I714 in the wake of a request by Osaka merchants, the shogunate issued orders to the *bugyō* of cities and to daimyo. The arrest of some smugglers in Osaka led to forty-one citizens of Nagasaki being named as accomplices, and later, after three days of house searches in Nagasaki, seventeen arrests were made.[104] Smugglers required access to established distribution channels. They neither bartered nor bought goods for their return journey. Hence they depended on contact with businessmen with capital or at least cash. Some of the ringleaders were said by the Dutch in 1713 to be individuals who had settled in Shimonoseki and Osaka. For these reasons, Chinese vessels hovering (*hyōryū* 漂流, "drifting on the coast") were rarely to be found beyond the coasts of Kyushu from Nagasaki to Kokura,

102 Bodart-Bailey 1999, pp. 221, 222, 227, 391, 393–95, 397, 435, 437, 438.
103 DDM 1700–1740, p. 481.
104 DDM 1700–1740, p. 176.

coincidentally also close to the established routes of Chinese and of the much rarer Korean vessels.[105]

Where goods appeared in Osaka or in northern Japan, as far afield as Kaga 加賀 or Matsumae 松前, they originated in Kyushu. In general, goods legal and illegal alike were moved by established coastal shipping, its scale measured somewhat in a report in June 1713 of some thirteen vessels with "Chinese goods" being then in Osaka.[106] Inevitably, Satsuma vessels, active participants in coastal traffic, were drawn into it. While in 1772, on the evidence of the *hankachō*, goods were loaded into vessels which had travelled from the north of Japan,[107] Satsuma vessels equally travelled far afield. One of the attractions of engagement was the use directly or indirectly of Chinese goods as payment for the marine products of Matsumae, especially *iriko* sea cucumber. The exchange centered on the province of Echigo 越後, especially at Niigata 新潟. The shipwreck in 1835 of a Satsuma vessel loaded with Chinese medicines was much commented on in official reports. While *bugyō* belief in 1835 has an exaggerated tone, it saw an exchange of Chinese goods for marine products as responsible, via the Ryukyus, for an alleged decline in the quality and quantity of marine goods arriving on Nagasaki for its own China trade.[108]

Chinese vessels hovering off the coast of Kyushu aimed to land goods at particular locations, counting on contact with local merchants. There were two official responses to this challenge. The first was to demand identification of the Nagasaki origins of Chinese goods both in Kyushu and in the final market destination. As early as 1714 the *opperhoofd* recorded that, "Even if the Chinese do succeed in smuggling goods into the country, it has become impossible for the merchants to sell them since they have to say from whom and where they bought them."[109] Preventive measures had some teeth. In Osaka in 1718, two thousand pieces of smuggled loincloth and three thousand Persian fabrics were identified and confiscated.[110] Preventive action was even more important at the local level in Kyushu. As early as 1717 in Saga and Chikuzen, the buying and selling of Chinese goods were under observation. Of the merchants in Kokura 小倉 only one was licensed to buy Chinese goods and from not more than one of four designated Nagasaki houses.[111] Saga was in 1763 prohibited from handling Chinese goods with the exception of pharmaceutical products.[112]

The second step was to ensure within Kyushu a vigorous coastal watch when hovering vessels were spotted. The policy of *uchi harai* developed in response to their presence in the region.[113] The domains mainly concerned were Kokura and Fukuoka. The shogunate itself in 1718 dispatched a *metsuke* 目付け from Edo to Kokura to direct the chasing off of Chinese vessels.[114] The *opperhoofd* was prompted to observe that, "The smuggling trade must be very profitable since the Chinese do not seem to be afraid of the Japanese musket

105 "Hovering" is a technical term formerly of English customs usage.
106 DDM 1700–1740, p. 161.
107 Nakamura 2000, p. 151.
108 Yamawaki 1964. See the long quotation on pp. 269–71.
109 DDM 1700–1740, p. 181.
110 DDM 1700–1740, p. 223.
111 Nakamura 2000, p. 148.
112 Nakamura 2000, p. 152.
113 Yamamoto 1995, p. 159. See also Wilson 2015, pp. 67–93.
114 DDM 1700–1740, p. 222. The *metsuke*'s name was Watanabe Geki. Wilson 2015, pp. 80–83, 84–86, 89.

balls."[115] In 1726 when two vessels off the coast at Shimonoseki refused to depart, the Japanese opened fire, killing several crew.[116]

As for the scale of the traffic, the market for most goods was finite. The exception was the insatiable market for pharmaceutical products. Traders, too, both in Nagasaki and in Osaka, claimed that slow sales were caused by a flood of goods. The sparse evidence suggests, however, that ventures were episodic rather than sustained, and that smugglers had to count on established intermediaries. In other words, unlike Europe where trade depended on the irresistible appeal in high-tax regimes of a handful of smuggled consumer goods (passing through parallel markets), smugglers in Japan did not have the benefit of a network of their own.

The Ryukyus and Satsuma stood in a special position. Unlike the Gotō 五島 islands, sometimes seen as a haven for smugglers, Satsuma did not openly welcome Chinese smugglers. It had a lucrative market in Nagasaki, and had no wish to undermine its trade at large by free and ready access for vessels to its shores in rivalry with its own shipping. The balance implicit in the *bakuhan taisei* (system of shogunate and domains sharing administration of Japan) is relevant. The Shogunate and *han* shared an interest in coastal protection and the domains of Kyushu followed a policy of *uchi harai*. Ships were fired on and, as often reported in the *dagregister*, vessels arrested off Satsuma's coasts were brought into Nagasaki by escorts. In contrast to this harmony about hovering vessels, once one turns to regulation of the trade of the Ryukyus, the interest of shogunate and Satsuma diverged. The shogunate, especially under the long reign of Ienari 家斉 (1787–1837), valued a good relationship with Satsuma more than did the officials in Nagasaki with an exclusive interest in the port. From the outset, in the seventeenth century Satsuma's Ryukyu trade had been limited by order (eased on occasion when Chinese goods were in short supply) with the aim of preserving a near monopoly of trade for Nagasaki, and excluding most Ryukyu goods from direct sale by the domain to other markets.[117] Regulations had set ceilings for individual goods rather than for an overall valuation of the trade. Given variations over time and some uncertainty over the total value, the safest figure remains that of Kaempfer in 1691 as a working estimate. In 1810, the number of Chinese goods that Satsuma could trade even on these terms had been a mere eight items. The notional figure of permitted trade was set at 1,720 *kanme* in 1825 (with specified limits for each of sixteen items).[118] In 1810, in regard to a question as to the coverage of permitted Chinese medicines, opposition by the Kaisho was overruled by the shogunate.[119] However, permitted trade even in the categories of 1825 excluded many medical items.

10. Problems in Interpreting the Character of Smuggling

Satsuma is associated in the modern literature with smuggling, at first inwards to the domain and as a second stage outwards from the domain to Japanese markets. There are two aspects to this. The first is the scale of the Ryukyu trade, and more specifically the

115 DDM 1700–1740, p 223.
116 DDM 1700–1740, p. 317.
117 Yamawaki 1964, pp. 266–69.
118 Uehara 1981, pp. 197, 209–10.
119 Yamawaki 1964, p. 271.

extent to which the trade as a whole was more substantial than the amount actually landed in Nagasaki (often somewhat below the permitted level).

This leads to the second aspect, namely the extent to which there was on its coastline a smuggling of goods into Satsuma by Chinese vessels. In some studies, a large smuggling trade on the coasts of Satsuma is taken for granted, as for instance those by authoritative historians like Miyamoto Matao 宮本又郎 and Hayami Akira 速水融 or Ichimura Yūichi 市村祐一 and Ōishi Shinzaburō 大石慎三郎, who in brief words saw the coast of Satsuma as frequented by smugglers.[120] The picture is not different in monographs on trade. Yamawaki alleged that Chinese vessels were numerous in the many islands on the western coastline of Satsuma and that the *han* provided Chinese interpreters.[121] Uehara, drawing on official concern in 1835, saw an open-ended Chinese traffic "in the many islands off Satsuma [where] Chinese vessels were able to conduct a lucrative trade."[122]

The problem that this poses can be seen at its starkest in Sakai's article, which assumes at one and the same time an official tolerance of smuggling on the coasts and, in contradictory fashion, a need by smugglers to conceal their goods:

> This activity could have been stamped out had the Satsuma government so desired. It is probable that the government was a silent partner in the trade, though this would be difficult to establish. Satsuma's own seclusion policy, which kept out strangers and hampered the activities of bakufu agents, no doubt served to provide the necessary security for the operators along the coast.[123]

Satsuma on the record of its history did not welcome Chinese vessels hovering on its coasts. The question is, therefore, whether the welcome in Satsuma for some vessels which broke their China-Nagasaki run to visit Satsuma extended to other Chinese vessels, and whether these latter vessels were numerous.[124] Given a place for two or three vessels, which broke their route to Nagasaki, it seems likely that there were Chinese vessels coming direct from China, which enjoyed similar permission. But with a closely monitored trade, a jealous protection of its own commercial interests, and harsh production monopolies, an unmanaged trade is highly improbable. In other words, the activity may have been both known and closely policed. If smuggling by Chinese vessels on the coasts of Satsuma was as wholesale as suggested in modern accounts, calculations based on the number of vessels in the Ryukyu-Satsuma fleet would result, with the addition of Chinese vessels, in either an impossibly large quantity of smuggled goods or else a greatly underutilized fleet. Traditions of concealment of smuggled goods in locations on the coast point not to the silent toleration suggested by Sakai, but to clandestine activity intended to evade domain restrictions.[125]

A rising trade in marine products financing an equally burgeoning trade in pharmaceutical goods led over time to a significant direct exchange in the northwest of Honshu of marine products from Ezo for pharmaceutical products from Satsuma or from

120 Ichimura and Ōishi 1995, pp. 50–51; Miyamoto and Hayami 1988, pp. 163–64.
121 Yamawaki 1965, pp. 93–95, 100.
122 Uehara 1981, p. 211.
123 Sakai 1964, p. 402.
124 Bōnotsu, a center at an earlier date, is a suspected case. See Hellyer 2009, pp. 46, 130.
125 *Kagoshima kenshi* 1940, pp. 758–62.

Nagasaki. The shogunal policy had long been to keep Satsuma out of this circuit.[126] This concern may also explain why statistics of the quantities of pharmaceuticals imported in Nagasaki, which had lapsed in 1735, resumed in 1820.[127] The shogunate took over Niigata in 1843, in part acting in response to a report of 1841 of an estimated six Satsuma vessels a year in Niigata.[128] Claims of depression or of difficulties in 1835–1837 emanating from Nagasaki may have been special pleading in favor of the Kaisho's business.[129] But there may have been a contrast between intervals within the 1830s. While imports in Nagasaki in 1839 were 20 percent above the level of 1804 (carried on eight vessels compared with eleven in 1804), there is evidence of unsold goods in the latter years of the decade.[130]

The uncovering in 1835 of some of the vessels licenced for the Nagasaki trade as visiting Satsuma is not surprising. The marketing in Nagasaki of Chinese wares coming from the Ryukyus gave Satsuma merchants regular business links in Nagasaki to an extent enjoyed by no other domain. The domain's *yashiki* had its officials; daimyo sometimes visited either Dejima or the Dutch in their inn when in Edo on the *hofries* (an association famous in the long friendship of the daimyo Shimazu Shigehide 島津重豪 [1745–1833]); and Satsuma merchants had long resided in Nagasaki. From 1810, the Ishimoto family settled there, and in 1822–1835 Ishimoto Heibei 石本平兵衛, domain agent in Nagasaki, selling commodities on domain accounts and remitting payments to the domain, had a direct interest in the trade. In 1835, he even passed into shogunal service.[131] An overlapping profile of the trade of the two ports inevitably meant that merchants were likely to find shared interests.

11. Official Measures in the 1830s

A vigorous campaign conducted against smugglers in 1825 had a local context. A total of fifty-three cases appeared in the *hankachō* between the second month of 1825 and the third month of 1826 as against token action at other times, namely an average of below three cases a year from 1718 to 1862. It was still being followed up in 1827. Events developed rapidly in the 1830s. The arrival of two Chinese vessels in Nagasaki in ballast in the autumn of 1834 was an awakening.[132] The *bugyō* in 1835 in the third month ordered the implementation of tight supervision.[133] The routine responsibility for this fell on the *metsuke* Togawa Yasuzumi 戸川安済 (1787–1868), already in Nagasaki and promoted on the spot to the rank of *bugyō* in 1836. At the outset of 1836 the authorities became aware of a Chinese vessel which visited Kataura 片浦 at the end of 1835 and shortly afterwards entered Nagasaki.[134] Togawa had made a series of notes on the pattern of the shipping at Nagasaki from the

126 Hellyer 2009, pp. 86–88, 132.
127 Miyashita 1997, pp. 250–67.
128 Hellyer 2009, pp. 139–40.
129 Hellyer 2009, pp. 134–64.
130 Yamawaki 1964, pp. 206, 208.
131 Sakai 1964, pp. 399–400; Buno 1954.
132 TKIR *zokushū*, vol.1, p. 164. From reports/commentary, 1835.3.
133 TKIR *zokushū*, vol I, p. 162, 1835.3; p. 186, 1835.7.
134 TKIR *zokushū*, vol.1, p. 130, referred to on the first page of *kan* no. 8 in this volume. Kataura is sited on the tip of a promontory (in the modern district of Kasasa-chō 笠沙町 in Minami Satsuma-shi 南さつま市) on the southern end of a long curve, on the external coast of the western arm of Kagoshima bay. From Yahoo Maps.

outset of the century, adding further detail for vessels in the Bunka 文化 and Bunsei 文政 periods, and for Tenpō 天保 years noting the numerical identification from their last visit to Nagasaki of vessels dallying in Satsuma.[135] However, Kataura apart, another source, *Kindai zakki* 近代雑記, cited in the same pages of the TKIR *zokushū*, contained a sketch of a Chinese vessel anchored seawards of a *Tōjinkan* 唐人館 residence for Chinese at Shōraisaki 小瀬崎.[136] Though the TKIR is usually a negligible source for action against smuggling, for 1835–1837 the account was enriched by access by the compilers of the TKIR *zokushū* to a copy of the widely transcribed *Nagasaki shi zokuhen* 長崎志続編 into which Togawa had copied commercial intelligence and correspondence.

In the mid-1830s the Nagasaki authorities pursued a carrot-and-stick policy. On the one hand, punishment of Chinese for criminal offenses had been extended in the late 1820s to branding on the arm;[137] a number of Chinese were jailed, including, as the Chinese shipowners claimed in petitions, innocent ones as well as the guilty. On the other hand, the atmosphere was open enough for the Chinese shipowners to petition collectively about the effects of *bugyōsho* actions on their trade, and petitions were listened to attentively and sometimes favorably. Even if some ships were excluded from trade and shipowners punished, the overall impact of official policy may have been benign. There was a remarkable temporary intervention by the authorities to buy goods the merchants were unable to sell. This may have been recognition of the adverse effects of policy on trade and an effort to mop up unsold goods, which might otherwise be smuggled. This was first taken in response to a request from the Chinese merchants, apparently in 1835, and a request for a further year was acceded to in 1836, in the fourth month.[138] That the policy may have been extended for several further years is suggested by the fact that the figure for exports fell short of imports of 9,217 *kanme* in 1839, leaving a balance of 2,183, and suggests that sales may have been sluggish. Held in *gin satsu* (paper money convertible into silver), it was used for several purposes, including defraying costs of the Chinese community in Nagasaki.[139]

The many reports in the TKIR papers have no reference to Chinese vessels literally hovering on the Satsuma coasts. There was, however, repeated concern about Chinese goods introduced to Satsuma and filtered to Osaka and other trading centers.[140] The concern led finally to an order prohibiting all Satsuma trade in Chinese goods in 1839.[141] This was in some senses a futile gesture as in the absence of direct action by the *bugyōsho* in the domain or on its borders it was unenforceable. The 1839 order was reversed in 1846 when trade

135 TKIR *zokushū*, vol. 1, pp. 130–48.

136 TKIR *zokushū*, vol. 1, p. 136. The location has not been identified with certainty but may be Kozechō 小瀬町 in Ichiki kushikino shi いちき串木野市, Kagoshima-ken 鹿児島県 at the northern end of the curve of coast referred to in note 134. This location, if correct, is within the immediate hinterland of Kagoshima town itself, and is not the island suggested in some modern writing.

137 TKIR *zokushū*, vol. 1, p. 183. Japanese practice involved limited legal action against Chinese in the past. They were usually expelled or prohibited from returning, and jailing was uncommon. They were said not to be subject to physical punishment (Hao 2015, pp. 150–51), though in fact the Dutch recorded the torturing of Chinese in 1718 (DDM 1700–1740, p. 222).

138 TKIR *zokushū*, vo1. 1, pp. 337–38. 1836.4.12.

139 Yamawaki 1964, p. 208.

140 See the long reports/commentary on trade, TKIR *zokushū*, vol. 1, 1835.3, pp. 162–86; 1835.7 to 1835.11, pp. 186–202; 1836.4 (also with correspondence from earlier dates), pp. 320–58. Details of *bugyōsho* dealings with shipowners are continued in later pages of the volume.

141 Yamawaki 1964, pp. 272–75; Uehara 1981, p. 250.

in sixteen commodities was restored.[142] If Abe Masahiro 阿部正弘, the new leader, made the change to improve relations with Satsuma (in part because of the common threat of the novel presence in the 1840s of some Europeans in the Ryukyus), the concession itself points to the problems of reconciling the conflicting interests of the Kaisho and of Satsuma (sometimes denoted by the name of the domain's head town, Kagoshima). While permitted exports were restored to the former number, the ceiling set at 1,200 *kanme* was well below the former ceiling of 1,720 *kanme*.

12. Quantification of the Trade

The trade from the Ryukyus to Satsuma is impossible to assess other than very tentatively in quantitative terms. At the peak, a fleet of some twenty vessels may serve as some measure of general capacity. Some twenty cargoes each valued at 200 *kan* would have amounted to 4,000 *kanme*. Deducting 1,000 *kanme* for sales in Nagasaki, the balance of goods destined for sales in the domain or beyond its boundaries could have been 3,000 *kanme*. Allowing for a number of imponderables making for either plus or minus adjustments, a trade of 3,000 *kanme* is very credible. No data are available in domain archives on the trade of Satsuma for 1808–1839.[143] Matsui's suggestion—which appears to be derived from revenue data—that "after 1830" the exports from Satsuma were 5,000 *kanme* is not clear enough to be convincing.[144] However, it would tend to lend support to higher rather than lower estimates. Satsuma exports, whether 3,000 or 5,000 *kanme*, would in relative terms have made official apprehensions understandable.[145]

The domain's legitimate traffic in Nagasaki, plus unquantified and, indeed, unquantifiable traffic to other locations gave Satsuma a real weight. The basic problem is the absence of documentation of the unquantified trade from the Ryukyus to Satsuma. Even Satsuma business in Nagasaki is poorly documented in surviving Kaisho records, and only from a late date. In 1847, it was 947 *kanme*, in 1848 1,337 *kanme*, and 951 *kanme* in 1849.[146] In 1858 it was 2,265 *kanme*, and in 1859 1,346 *kanme*.[147] In the eighteenth century, reference in the *dagregister* to vessels to and from Naha underlined the regularity of the traffic. In 1739, for instance, four from Naha were noted. And at year end, seven sailed to Naha. In 1734, ten vessels were noted from Naha, a total that might suggest in 1734 a trade of 1,000 to 2,000 *kanme* (assuming that the value of cargoes lay between 100 and 200 *kanme*). As the trade of vessels from China to Nagasaki averaged 4,000 *kanme* in the 1720s, Satsuma's supply to the Kaisho, even if we cannot be sure of its precise value, would have been a significant addition to Kaisho business.

Moving back along the supply chain, the trade in goods of Chinese origin from the Ryukyus to Satsuma has no statistical documentation. For the trade between China and the Ryukyus in both imports and exports there are data only for the years from 1821 to

142 Sakai 1964, p. 398; Yamawaki 1964, pp. 272–75. Nakamura 1988, pp. 501–504 has details for the permitted items from 1825 to 1846.
143 Matsui 1975, p. 244.
144 Matsui 1975, p. 246.
145 Figure for 1803 in Nakamura 1988, p. 433.
146 Uehara 1981, p. 266. Matsui has taken the amount of the actual trade to have been at its permitted ceiling (2015, p. 246), which was far from being the case.
147 Nakamura 1988, p. 508.

1873.[148] These statistics are uncharacteristically complete (presumably reflecting Satsuma's close scrutiny of the trade even in Naha) though in modern accounts the figures warrant no comment on their archival significance. Exports to China from the Ryukyus, limited in number, reflected the poverty of the Ryukyus (and indirectly of Satsuma itself). By far the largest item in volume terms in exports was *kaigan sai* 海岸菜 (seashore plants and edibles), running at 2,000 to 3,000 piculs. As they would take up no more than 180 tons of shipping space, they suggest the underlying limitations of the trade, and indeed of Satsuma's capacity to pay for imports. Imports were varied, but medical goods (*yakuzai* 薬材) and textiles were the sole significant categories. Medical (or pharmaceutical) products, demand for which in Nagasaki repeatedly outran supply, were the real strength of Satsuma's trade. Amid fluctuations, where goods came from China to the Ryukyus, by reverting to but not exceeding preceding peaks, the pattern suggested a steady rather than expansive profile.

13. Bakumatsu Trade of Nagasaki and Satsuma

From the late 1840s, Nagasaki trade wilted. From 1846 to 1851, the number of Chinese vessels in Nagasaki was down to between four and six a year, and in the 1850s as few as one, two, or three. In 1858, there was a single vessel. A table for 1858 seems to suggest imports worth 3,792 *kanme* and exports of 5,214 *kanme*. The superficially substantial figures appear to relate to two-way speculative movements in currency or precious metals and no longer mirror a commodity trade. Nagasaki benefited from English trade from 1859. The consular reports from Nagasaki noted trade from Shanghai worth 1,104,061 dollars (the equivalent of approximately 7,360 *kanme*) for the first half of the year. However, as the port did not open to trade until 1 July, it must have referred only to China traffic. That, combined with a lack of vessels, suggests speculation in currency as the main feature in transactions. A figure of 870,436 dollars for the second half of the year covers the first months of open trade, and would have included trade in English as well as Chinese hands. Rutherford Alcock, British consul general, noted in June 1859 that there were already fifteen British residents and fifteen foreign vessels in the harbor.[149]

Less is known of Satsuma. The domain's trade continued in the 1860s and to a degree in stable quantitative terms if the statistics of trade between the Ryukyus and China are regarded as a proxy for its trade. In the shelling by the British of Kagoshima in 1863, five junks from the Ryukyus in the harbor were destroyed.[150] The past history of arbitrary levies imposed on Osaka merchants helped to sharpen the fears Saigō Takamori expressed on October 1867 to Ernest Satow about the implications of the shogunate proposing to take over control of the new trade in prospect for Osaka.[151]

Though in a precarious state in the 1850s, Nagasaki's trade increased in the 1860s. At the outset of the decade, at least as measured by the Shanghai statistics (the focal point for British trade at the outset of the open ports), its trade exceeded that of the newly opened port of Kanagawa. This reflected the initial advantage of Nagasaki as an established center, and the consequent settlement of several merchants, especially Thomas Glover, arriving

148 Uehara 1981, pp. 271, 272. Figures for fifteen years. There are fuller tables for every tenth year from 1821 to 1871 in *Kagoshima kenshi* 1940, pp. 765–72.
149 BPP, vol. 4, p. 13.
150 BPP, vol. 2, p. 109.
151 Satow 1921, p. 179.

in 1859, first dealing in tea and from 1864 establishing close ties with dissident domain.[152] Nagasaki's poor immediate hinterland handicapped it in relative terms. As it made more sense to buy near the sources, foreign trade moved to Yokohama (the successor location to Kanagawa) and after 1868 also to Osaka/Hyogo. While Kagoshima's trade appeared to hold its own in the 1860s (on the evidence of the figures for China-Ryukyu trade), the import of medical goods failed to return to the high 1861 figure. In other words, it may have begun to lose ground in the wake of open trade from China to other ports. The Chinese were quick to become the most numerous foreigners in the ports. Satsuma and the Ryukyus alike figure little in the commercial story of early Meiji. Satsuma's small oceangoing fleet probably counted for less in Satsuma leadership of the future Meiji navy than the realpolitik of ensuring that defence was shared in a rough and ready way between the two great rivals, Choshu and Satsuma.

14. Conclusion

Japanese trade had continued to expand for several decades in the wake of the introduction of *sakoku*. Later, when silver was virtually prohibited, political pressures in support of maintaining and even expanding imports existed for a time. The contraction of the Dutch trade, very real by the end of the 1690s, was the beginning of the long-term trade decline of Nagasaki. The pattern of the China trade is more nuanced. Exports to China rose in the 1690s and in the following decade, but thereafter trade fell and stagnated. But by the end of the eighteenth century, cargoes of greater value on a much-reduced number of vessels represented a new vigor. Imports in 1804 were 83 percent above the average of the 1720s. Demand conditions favored Satsuma's irregular trade as much as they did Nagasaki's legal trade. Nagasaki's exports to China of 7,345 *kanme* in 1804, combined with estimated Satsuma/Ryukyu exports of 3,000–4,000 *kanme*, would give a figure in excess of 11,000 *kanme*, close to the relatively high exports to China a century before in 1704–1708.[153] But the comparison is not quite like with like. The Tsushima trade, if added to the 1704–1708 total, would have raised the total for the base years. Later, for the nineteenth century Satsuma trade, we have to rely on a crude estimate, which must have included shipments to other parts of Japan, as well as trade with China. Japan's trade, moreover, had become increasingly an exchange of marine products for pharmaceutical imports. Satsuma and Nagasaki were in sharp competition with one another for imports and exports alike in what may have been difficult years in the late 1830s. Perhaps significantly, exports from Nagasaki to China, resting on surviving figures for a mere two years at 7,035 *kanme* for 1839, were somewhat below the level of 1804.

Uchi harai (fire on and repel), a measure originally intended to deal with smugglers, was directed against Western vessels from the 1790s to the early 1840s. From the 1840s, it was to take second place to wider defence preoccupations. Influenced by the rise in the number of foreign vessels on Japan's coasts, fear of the risk of disruption to the vital trade in rice from the northern domains to Edo led finally to the remarkable study of Edo's

152 Jansen 2000, p. 316.

153 Satsuma sales to the Kaisho are disregarded to avoid double counting as they were in all probability reexported to China.

intake by sea of goods for the year 1856.[154] Defence concerns centered on the approaches to Edo. While Noell Wilson has seen complacency recur in Nagasaki in the decades after the *Phaeton* incident, sustained investment in Edo Bay and its approaches began in the 1840s.[155] By 1853 there were one hundred cannons in batteries around Edo Bay, though Admiral Perry's men had a dismissive opinion of them. Effective cannons required high-quality cast iron. This need was met by small blast furnaces in several domains in the 1850s, producing annually around three hundred tons of good-quality cast iron.[156] The cannon in Edo Bay came from Saga.[157] While Japanese cannons lost artillery duels with foreign warships in the strait of Shimonoseki in 1863 and 1864 and in Kagoshima in 1863, the cannons inflicted real damage on the enemy, notably so in the latter and most serious instance.

If, in the 1820s, shogunal officials had divided over *uchi harai*, daimyo did so in the 1850s over opening ports to trade. Acquiescence in 1858 was for many daimyo a means of buying time, intended from a position of later-acquired strength, either to end or change the treaties. As for the new trade, an ongoing difference in mint ratio (that is, the relative price of silver and gold) between the outside world and Japan, together with a hybrid currency, introduced an extended period of problems, some simply in bookkeeping terms, but some very real.[158] On the commodity front, *sakoku* has often been seen as having had a high cost in opportunities foregone. Overblown accounts of *ikki* (rural unrest) have been taken as proof of impoverishment caused by a closed society. But Japan in the final decades of *sakoku* was already a food surplus region.[159] Its isolation moreover had not prevented its silk industry from developing dynamically; tea production, in now specialist regions responding to a growing domestic taste, had become larger and more efficient. Silk and tea, both sold to Americans, were to be the backbone of foreign trade. While exports went to the United States, imports were drawn in more widely. If one made a counterfactual argument of opening the ports in, say, 1848, the external markets would not have been there. But in extending its frontier to the Pacific, the American market trebled from 1859 to 1900 (from a population of 23.2 million to 76.2 million). Foreign trade in 1848 would have been modest in outcome; later, resting on a fast-spreading railway system, it led to a vast market and a changed course of history for both Japan and the broad north Pacific.

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154 Cullen 2009, pp. 205–206.
155 Wilson 2015, pp. 135–70.
156 Cullen 2003, p. 171.
157 Wilson 2015, pp. 162–68.
158 Cullen 2010, pp. 74–79
159 Ishikawa 1967, pp. 94–95, 98–100.

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APPENDIX

Glossary of Weights and Measures

kin 斤: unit of weight, 160 *monme*, 0.6 kg or 1.32 lb.

kan 貫: unit of weight, 1,000 *monme*, 3.75 kg or 8.27 lb.

kanme 貫目: silver (coin or metal) by weight as a measure of value. Silver coins were assessed by weight, their purchasing power fluctuating in proportion to the commodity price level and to demand for silver relative to other coins, especially the gold *ryō*.

koku 石: unit of capacity, approx. 180 litres or 5 bushels. Weight of a *koku* of rice approx. 150 kg or 330 lb.

monme 匁: unit of weight, 1,000 to the *kan* and *kanme*.

picul ピクル: *pikuru*, unit of weight, 60.48 kg or 133 1/3 lb . Weight often quoted in *kin* (100 *kin* to a picul).

ryō 両: Round-figure conversion of silver *kan* into gold *ryō* at 17.2 *ryō* to a *kan* (see section 5 of this paper). An official exchange rate, as opposed to the market rate, of 58 *monme* to the *ryō*. The official rate was set from time to time by shogunal decree (See Cullen 2003, pp. 73, 76).

ton: maritime ton: gross tonnage (measure of total capacity), net tonnage (gross tonnage less capacity reserved for crew and passengers), and deadweight tonnage (weight of cargo). Japanese maritime tonnage calculated in *koku* (see above). Japanese figures are probably of net capacity or deadweight tonnage. Net capacity and deadweight cargo of a sailing vessel probably differed little for a cargo of rice.

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Kuki Shūzō and the Idea of Metempsychosis: Recontextualizing Kuki's Lecture on Time in the Intellectual Milieu Between the Two World Wars[1]

INAGA Shigemi

Shortly before his departure from Europe, Kuki Shūzō held two public conferences at the Pontigny gathering of philosophers in 1928. One of the themes he addressed in one of them was the "Oriental" notion of time. It was not until recently, however, that the meaning of this presentation, which was given in French, was seriously taken into account by philosophy scholars in Japan.

This paper will first show the significance of the idea of "metempsychosis" in modern intellectual history between 1890 and 1930, and then focus on how Kuki presented it. In closing, this paper will consider the relevance of Kuki's proposal from a fresh perspective. His reflections shed light on the metaphysical relevance of the idea of metempsychosis. Despite its basic incompatibility with Christian doctrine, the idea of metempsychosis opens up to us a new insight into the spiritual dimension of the world.

Far from being a simple case of superstition, the idea of metempsychosis may suggest a rational way of radically redefining individuality and multiplicity in subject-formation, which Kuki was aiming to do on the fringes of theosophical thought in the global context of the late 1920s.[2] The paper has no pretention to be a philosophical treatise or a philological study of Kuki Shūzō's philosophy. Rather than demonstrating any linear connections with theosophy, it tentatively circumnavigates and maps, searching for a potential intellectual web concocted around the idea of "metempsychosis."

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1 This paper was originally presented as "Kuki Shūzō and the Idea of Metempsychosis: On the Fringe of Theosophical Thinking?" at the international conference "Theosophy Across Boundaries" (Heidelberg Center for American Studies, Curt und Heidemarie Engelhorn Palais, Heidelberg, Germany, 24–26 September, 2015). The author would like to thank Hans-Martin Krämer for the invitation to this symposium. The author also thanks Dylan Luers Toda for manuscript editing as well as two anonymous peer reviewers who provided insightful and careful comments on the original draft.

2 On theosophy per se and its resonances across cultural boundaries, refer to the post-conference publication of the above-mentioned international symposium (note 1 above). In this paper, I will refrain from providing any further explanation of theosophy and its ramifications in Japan and elsewhere. Suffice it to note, however, that in theosophy the idea of metempsychosis plays an important role, and that Kuki's hereafter-analyzed discussions are worth being treated in parallel as a constituent part of 1920s intellectual history. I believe that Okakura and Mishima, who have not been treated in connection with Kuki, can help elucidate his position in the intellectual milieu of the time.

Keywords: *advaita*, Indra, Martin Heidegger, metempsychosis, Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin), Paul Carus, Suzuki Daisetsu, Tao, transmigration

Introduction

Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造 (1888–1941) is best remembered for his "*Iki*" *no kōzō*「いき」の構造 (Structure of Iki, 1930). His *Gūzensei no mondai* 偶然性の問題 (The Problem of Contingency; 1935) was translated into French by Omodaka Hisataka 澤瀉久孝. In this paper, however, I will consider his lesser known papers, focusing on the notion of metempsychosis. By so doing, I aim to demonstrate tentatively the relevance of Kuki's reflections on this idea in the intellectual milieu of the era.[3] His metaphysical preoccupation with the idea of reincarnation has also begun to attract academic attention in recent studies on Japanese philosophy.[4] In this context I hope to contribute modestly to our understanding of the encounter between Western and Eastern ideas from the hindsight provided by an intellectual history perspective.

One circumstantial reason that I am considering Kuki is that his name is engraved in the intellectual history of the university town of Heidelberg: when he was staying in Heidelberg, he asked Heinrich Rickert to teach him personally at home. Furthermore, Eugene Herrigel was Kuki's tutor, and Jean-Paul Sartre later became his French tutor when he was in Paris, where he met Henri Bergson and Leon Brunschvicg. I omit Kuki Shūzō's bibliographical details, as one can easily access them. Indeed, Kuki is one of the rare Japanese philosophers whose main writings are available in major European languages. I would also like to mention here that le Baron Kuki jokingly explained to Rickert that his name means in German "Neun Teufel" (that is, nine demons), a fact that will be relevant later.

1. From Okakura to Kuki

Shortly before his permanent return to Japan after spending more than eight years in Europe, Kuki delivered two lectures in French at Pontigny, on the outskirts of Paris, in 1928. Let us begin with his second lecture: "L'expression de l'infini dans l'art japonais."[5] Kuki's text begins with a citation from the book by Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin) 岡倉覚三 (天心) entitled *The Ideals of the Orient* (translated into French as *Les Ideaux de l'Orient* in 1917): "l'histoire de l'art japonais devient l'histoire des idéaux asiatiques."[6] Okakura's original in English states, "The history of Japanese art becomes thus the history of Asiatic

3 Sakabe (1990, pp. 109–34) is one of the few scholars who has discussed the importance of Kuki's Pontiny lecture. However, he does not fully develop its potential, as Furukawa (2017, pp. 129–40) and Mori (2017, pp. 118–19) critically point out. Indeed, Sakabe does not take the idea of metempsychosis into account in his paper. (He does, however, provide a fine analysis of "possession" in Sakabe 1988.)

4 Since the above-mentioned symposium and the submission of this paper, two special issues on Kuki have been published in periodicals in philosophy: "Kuki, Contingence, Iki and Time" in *Gendai shisō* 現代思想 44:23 (January 2017), and also "Kuki Shūzō" in *Risō* 理想 698 (2017). Several papers in these volumes converge with the interest of the present paper. While relevant observations are referred to in the notes, I have refrained from modifying my argument, as the present paper was prepared prior to the publication of these two special issues.

5 "The Expression of Infinitude in Japanese Art" (Kuki 1928). Refer to Obama (2012) and Obama (2013) for a detailed analysis of these texts. Here I will not provide a full explanation of this lecture.

6 Okakura 1917, p. 36.

ideals, the beach where each successive wave of Eastern thought has left its sand-ripple as it beat against the national consciousness."[7]

Though Kuki does note quote from the following phrase, Okakura continues: "Yet I linger with dismay on the threshold of an attempt to make an intelligible summary of those art-ideals. For art, like the diamond net of Indra, reflects the whole chain in every link." Obviously, Okakura is referring to the metaphor of the "infinite net" found in the Huayan Sutra (Ch. *Huayanjing* 華厳経; Jp. *Kegongyō*). Each jewel that composes the whole garland reflects and is reflected by every other jewel, which extends to the infinity, in space as well as in time. We shall see that the same metaphor is also alive in Kuki's two lectures.

Also noteworthy is the fact that in a previous paragraph Okakura states, "Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilizations; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of the race leads it to dwell on all phases of the ideals of the past, in the spirit of living Advaitism which welcomes the new without losing the old."[8] Three remarks must be made. First, the idea of *advaita* or non-duality comes from Shankar, and was renewed by Vivekananda in the footsteps of Ramakrishna as part of modern neo-Hinduism reform. Second, at the same time the same principle of *advaita* is already evident in the esoteric Shingon 真言 Buddhism propagated by Kūkai 空海 in ninth century Japan, to which Okakura has been closely linked.[9] In one of his books, *Shōryōshū* 性霊集, Kūkai asks how mosquitos, worms, and serpents could not have Buddha-nature (*gigyō zendō nanzo busshō nakaran* 蚊行蠕動なんぞ仏性なからん). Here is an implicit statement of *advaita*: he claims that all these creatures share the same Buddha-nature, and that there is not any duality between them. Third, this quote from Okakura already anticipates the outline of another Kuki lecture on the "Oriental" notion of time. Indeed, "welcoming the new without losing the old" is a key concept for his reflection on "transmigration," or *temps identique qui se répète à perpetuité* (identical time which repeats itself in perpetuity), as we shall see soon.

Incidentally, there was a rumor that Kuki Shūzō's real father was Okakura. Though this is not biologically true, Okakura's love affair with Kuki Ryūichi's 九鬼隆一 wife, Hatsu 波津, was a well-known scandal, which lead to Okakura's forced resignation from all the positions he was occupying as a high ranking civil servant, including director of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Kuki's mother would die in a mental hospital in 1931. Kuki as a child did remember Okakura well. Whenever Kuki visited his mother, Okakura, with his red drunken face, delightfully embraced the boy.[10] In a sense, Kuki was the spiritual son of Okakura. Let us briefly investigate this spiritual tie that connects the two eminent thinkers to which Japan's modernity gave birth.

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7 Okakura 2007, p. 13.

8 Okakura 2007, p. 12. On this statement and its connection with the idea of *advaita*, see Inaga 2014, pp. 138–40.

9 See, for example, Shinohara 2012. However, Shinohara does not directly mention Okakura in this book. See especially pp. 151–61. *Gigyō zendō* is usually understood as a conventional Buddhist expression referring to "all sentient beings." However, here I have restored its etymological meaning according to the original Chinese characters. The connection between non-duality and metempsychosis obviously needs further consideration, which would require a book-length study. On the interconnectedness of entities in the universe, see Inaga 2016, part I, chapter 1. Regarding the philological critique of the idea in Japanese thought that Buddha-nature is universal, see Sueki 2015.

10 Kuki 2001a; 2001b.

2. "Unité extatique"

This brings us to another lecture by Kuki Shūzō, delivered one week earlier: "la notion du temps et la reprise sur le temps en Orient" ("The Notion of Time and the Recurrence of Time in the Orient").[11] Its main topic is the notion of the "transmigration of the souls." In contrast to Martin Heidegger's "unité extatique"[12] (that is, transition from the past to present and to the future), which Kuki qualifies as "horizontal," Kuki presents another moment of ecstasy which he calls "vertical," in which the three phases of time are directly superimposed: "Each present has identical moments, on the one hand in the future, on the other hand in the past; here is an instant the depth of which is infinite" (*Chaque présent a des moments identiques, d'une part dans l'avenir et d'autre part dans le passé; c'est un instant dont l'épaisseur est d'une profondeur infinite*).[13] Thus is the definition of "le temps de la transmigration," according to Kuki.[14]

The recurrence of time is a mystical experience which causes a *profound éclat* (a profound lightning or splitting), "where the 'I' recognizes oneself with shuddering astonishment-fissure" (*où le moi se reconnaît lui-même avec un étonnement frémissant*). "The 'I' exists and at the same time it does not exist" (*Le moi existe en même temps que le moi n'existe pas*).[15] We can easily recall here a phrase in the "Art Appreciation" chapter of Okakura's famous *Book of Tea* (1964): "At once he is and is not." In a moment of ecstasy in art appreciation, the beholder at once does exist and does not or no longer exist. "He catches a glimpse of Infinity, but words cannot voice his delight, for the eye has no tongue. Freed from fetters of matter, his spirit moves in the rhythm of things."[16] To this ecstasy Kuki gives an etymological explanation of "being out of oneself" (*d'être hors de soi*), clearly referring to Heidegger's *Dasein* analysis of "ex-ist-ire" in *Sein und Zeit*, published shortly earlier in 1927.

In one of his Chinese poems, Okakura describes this experience of enthusiasm as follows: "When one contemplates the Thing, the self is already lost; The spirit of the star vibrates the autumnal sword, And the frozen heart breaks the jade bowl" (*mono ni kanzureba tsui ni ware nashi / seiki shūken o yurugase / hyōshin gyokko o saku* 物ニ観ヅレバ竟ニ吾無シ/星気秋剣ヲ揺ガセ/氷心玉壺ヲ裂ク).[17] The common use of the terms, like *éclatement* and *étonnement frémissant*, shows the strong affinity between the two authors. Here the term "enthusiasm" must be taken literally in Greek definition: possessed by a god—"theos." The ecstasy in artistic appreciation spoken of by Okakura is retranslated by Kuki into that of the encounter with one's own past in the process of the transmigration of the soul (Jp. *rinne tenshō* 輪廻転生). To the best of my knowledge, nobody has pointed out this similarity between the two thinkers. Perhaps we could see here a kind of transmigration of ideas which takes place from Okakura, the father, to Kuki, the son.

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11 "La notion du temps et la reprise sur le temps en Orient." Reprinted as Kuki 1928. (We have followed the capitalization of the French original, while the capitalization in English follows the style of *Japan Review*).

12 Kuki notes that the term comes from Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, p. 329. On Kuki's interpretation and criticism of Heidegger's idea of "ecstasy" and the latter's response to the former, refer to Sakabe 1990, pp. 116–18; Takada 2002; Mori 2017, pp. 129–30; Kioka 2017, pp. 203–208; and Mine 2017, pp. 35–37.

13 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 58.

14 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 59.

15 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 61.

16 Okakura 1964, p. 45.

17 Okakura 1905, p. 3.

3. Karma and Nirvana

Why is Kuki obsessed by the idea of transmigration, or, to use a Greek term, metempsychosis? What are the philosophical or metaphysical implications of his reflection? Let us examine Kuki's discussion on the state of *le moi existe et en même temps le moi n'existe pas*. Immediately after this phrase, Kuki quotes from the famous conversation between King Menandar (Milanda) and Nagasena. Is the fire that burns all night the same fire as the day before? Or is the light of this fire in the evening not identical with the light in the morning? To this question, the king is obliged to reply that the two fires are different but the two lights are identical. So long as the two entities are strictly identical, continual burning could not take place. Conversely, the light can be held to be identical in this span of time only on the condition that the provided fuel is consumed and inevitably replaced.[18] The idea of identity is guaranteed here by its very loss.

The logic of transmigration is concomitant with this parable. In this story, Kuki overlaps the Greek notion of *aion* with "Grandes Années"/"Great Years" (*megas enautos*; *Thimaius-Timaeus*, 39D).[19] According to this circular calendar, Socrates would once again marry Xanthippe in the next turn of the mega-time-span in the Cosmic Period. Yet by their next marriage they will have gotten older due to the scale of this mega-time-span, and it turns out that Socrates and Xantippe at this time are no longer identical with the previous couple. In this discussion, Kuki refers to Friedrich Nietzsche (*Zarathoustra* is clearly mentioned) and implicitly to his idea of *Wiederkunft*, or eternal return.[20]

If one believes that one is a reincarnation of one's precedent self, this very consciousness of one's reincarnation makes one no longer identical with one's previous self, for the previous self could not be aware of the identity of its next reincarnation. Here is the paradox of the *ewige Wiederkunft des Gleichen* (eternal return of the same). In other words, transmigration or metempsychosis can be realized so long as the concerned agent is not aware of the fact; and once one is aware of one's reincarnation, one can no longer be identical with one's former self.

Thus Kuki insists that there is a contradiction between the notion of *karma* (Jp. *gō* 業) and that of nirvana (Jp. *nehan* 涅槃).[21] If, indeed, the identity between the precedent self and the current self cannot be established in the process of reincarnation, the notion of *karma* itself would no longer be valuable, for there is no guarantee of continuity between the two. On the other hand, if the notion of *karma* were accepted, then, rejecting the transmigration of the identical self/selves would be logically indefensible. As Miura Toshihiko 三浦俊彦, a scholar of aesthetics and logic, judiciously points out, formal logic cannot demonstrate that transmigration is logically impossible, though its logical necessity cannot be demonstrated either.[22]

18 Nakamura and Hayashima 1963–1964.

19 In note 1, Kuki declares that he will not discuss the relationship between transmigration and the cosmic period, though he does recognize that the Buddhist idea of *kalpa* may be identical with the cosmic transmigration. KSZ, vol. 1, p. 64 (French), p. 285 (Japanese).

20 KSZ, vol. 1, note 3, p. 64 (French), p. 285 (Japanese). My view regarding this problem is developed in detail in Inaga 2016, part I, chapter 4, especially pp. 131–36.

21 Note 6. KSZ, vol. 1, p. 62 (French), p. 287 (Japanese).

22 Miura 2007.

An academic debate was developing on this question in Japan while Kuki was in Paris in 1927. A close colleague of Kuki, Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎, in his refutation of Kimura Taiken 木村泰賢, insisted on this point, stating that the notion of transmigration could not have existed in primitive Buddhism (despite Kimura's claims), so long as there was the doctrine of the non-existence of the self (Jp. *muga setsu* 無我説). In fact, without the guarantee of self-identity via *karma*, it would be no use to assert the existence of transmigration.[23] Lack of identity between my previous "self" and my next "self" would invalidate the notion of eternal return. Yet, by following this logic one may say that inversely it is also logically possible to doubt the existence of the "self," in so far as the notion of "self-identity" is not reliable enough to sustain the logical probability (or at least logical non-refutability) of transmigration. (However, Buddhism's doctrinal debates throughout history on the Indian subcontinent did not follow this path.)[24]

4. *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* Reinterpreted

Then, how can one realize, that is, put into reality, one's own transmigration? Replying to this question, Kuki proposes not remaining a passive victim of *karma* but rather becoming "a clever magician who creates anew on one's own account the time itself" (*un habile magician qui crée lui-même à nouveau le temps*). He continues, "This magician has the tour de force or rather tour of will to put an end to his own existence and to be reborn anew. Between one's death and rebirth one's will probably does not exist in its *actuality*, but it does exist for sure in a state of *potentiality*" (*Alors ce magician dans la solitude absolue est un veritable demon* (Teufel!!), *qui possède le tour de force, ou plutôt tour de volonté, de pouvoir terminer son existence et renaître à nouveau. Sans doute, entre sa mort et sa renaissance, sa volonté n'existe pas* actuellement, *elle n'en existe pas moins* potentiellement).[25]

It seems that Kuki here is mainly thinking of tragic heroes in the samurai tradition (Boushido-les vois des chevaliers) like Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成, an historical and legendary figure of the fourteenth century, who committed suicide on the defeated battlefield so as to be reborn seven times to serve the *patria* and the emperors in the future (*shichishō hōkoku* 七生報国).[26] Yet this rebirth may be also logically applied to the past as well: so as to assume the role of a reincarnation in terms of the metempsychosis, one also has to claim one's identity with one's previous life in the past. This reversibility or *die Rückwirkung-Rückkehr* is thereby indispensable, which Kuki calls *volonté en puissance*. It is only by way of this will that one can "overcome *saṃsāra*" (Jp. *rinne*) and thereby "attain nirvana."[27]

It is in this context that Kuki proposes a new reinterpretation of the myth of Sisyphus. Kuki disagrees with the prevailing opinion that sees this mythological figure as a victim of eternal punishment who repeatedly has to push a huge rock to the top of a mountain only to see it fall down a cliff. On the contrary, Kuki finds Sisyphus a happy man with a

23 Itō 2014, pp. 127–29.
24 For an historical overview, see the explanation by Hayashima in Nakamura and Hayashima 1963–1964, vol. 3, pp. 339–64. For my detailed demonstration of this crucial point, see Inaga 2016, pp. 134–36.
25 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 60 (Japanese translation), p. 289 (French original).
26 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 62 (Japanese), p. 287 (French).
27 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 60 (Japanese), p. 289 (French). "Volonté en puissance" may be literally translated as the "will in its potent state."

good will, as he is "capable of perpetually repeating [his job] out of his un-satisfaction" (*capable de la répétition perpétuelle de l'insatisfaction*).[28] One of the reasons why Kuki was led to this nontraditional view of Sisyphus was the Great Kantō earthquake, which had devastated Japan's capital area on 1 September 1923, "*il y a 5 ans*" (five years ago). As Kuki recalls it: "People asked me: why do you, the Japanese, construct an underground metro system, certainly destined to be destroyed by another huge earthquake which you have regularly at almost one hundred year intervals?" (*On m'a demandé: pourquoi construisez-vous le metro destiné à être toujours détruit à nouveau par un grand tremblement de terre, que vous avez périodiquement presque tous les cent ans?*).[29] Here we can see his nationalist profile *d'entre-deux-guerres*; an intellectual frustrated by the European negative view of Japan's efforts for reconstruction. Kuki claims that without suffering, the will to overcome would never be actualized. In other words, without *saṃsāra* or metempsychosis, the fate of eternal repetition, there will be no attainment of enlightenment or *nirvana*. To put it another way: there is no enlightenment without eternal transmigration.

Curiously, within two years after Kuki's premature death (1941), Albert Camus would publish his *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* (1942). One may wonder if Camus's Sisyphe was not the reincarnation of Kuki's philosophical figure partaking in the same existentialist "will" of positively assuming the *ewige Wiederkehr-Wiederkunft*, which Karl Löwith, Kuki's close friend, studied around 1935–1936.[30]

5. Okakura's English Reinterpretation of Daoism

We began this paper with Kuki's reference to Okakura. Okakura sees in Japan a "museum of Asiatic civilization" where "all phases of the ideals of the past" constitute a constellation "in the spirit of living Advaitism which welcomes the new without losing the old."[31] The same would be true of Kuki's intellectual web, a network of Eastern wisdom constituting the very idea of the Eternal Return of Time. The thought of ancient Greece, such as that of the Pythagorean school, shows a high affinity with the circular structure of the recurrence of the soul, and it influenced Plato and Aristotle. Let us re-contextualize Kuki's lecture on time in the intellectual milieu between the two world wars. By so doing we shall see the implicit relationship Kuki has entertained with contemporary Western philosophy by crossing cultural borders.

In his *The Book of Tea*, Okakura is indebted to Paul Carus, as the citation from the *Daode jing* 道徳経 is taken from Carus's English translation published in 1898 by the Open Court Company, Chicago.[32] The Chinese-English bilingual edition must have been

28 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 63 (Japanese), p. 286 (French).

29 KSZ, vol. 1, p. 63 (Japanese), p. 286 (French).

30 Sugimoto Hidetarō and Mori Ichirō, among others, thought it possible that Camus read Kuki's treatise. See Sugimoto 1981; Mori 2017, p. 131. In fact, it was Kuki himself who helped Karl Löwith escape to Japan from Nazi Germany, shortly after Löwith finished his manuscript on Nietzsche's eternal return in Rome in 1936. Löwith could no longer return to Germany because of his Jewish wife, and stayed in Japan for five years from 1936 to 1941 as lecturer at Tōhoku Imperial University before moving to the United States because of the outbreak of war between Japan and the United States. Let us also remember the fact that Jean-Paul Sartre knew of Kuki. On the implications of the similarity of Camus and Kuki's interpretation of this myth, see note 52 below.

31 Okakura 2007, p. 13.

32 This note does not remain in the Dover 1964 edition. See Kinoshita Nagahiro's critical edition of *The Book of Tea* (English, p. 23) and the editor's note in Japanese, p. 41 (Kinoshita 2013).

extremely helpful for Okakura, as he could easily check the original Chinese. In chapter 11 of Carus's translation, "The Function of The Non-Existent," we read:

> Clay is moulded into a vessel and on that which is non-existent [on its hollowness] depends the vessel's utility. By cutting out doors and windows we build a house and on that which is non-existent [on the empty space] depends the house's utility. Therefore, when the existence of things is profitable, it is the non-existent in them which renders them useful.[33]

In *The Book of Tea*, Okakura paraphrases this as follows:

> This Lao Tzu illustrates by his favorite metaphor of the Vacuum. He claimed that only in vacuum lay the truly essential. The reality of a room, for instance, was to be found in the vacant space enclosed by the roof and walls, not in the roof and walls themselves. The usefulness of a water pitcher dwelt in the emptiness where water might be put, not in the form of the pitcher or the material of which it was made. Vacuum is all-potent because all-containing. In vacuum alone motion becomes possible.[34]

Our existence in this world is like an empty vessel in which the soul of the ancestors takes its seat, to transmigrate, or navigate metempsychosis. The passage leaves behind a trace of the soul's movement and transition, which reveals the way. Okakura formulates this by stating "[t]he Tao literally means a Path." Then Okakura quotes directly from the original:

> There is a thing which is all-containing, which was born before the existence of heaven and earth. How silent [*ji* 寂]! How solitary [*liao* 寥]! It stands alone and changes not. It revolves without danger to itself [*zhouhang er budai* 周行而不殆] and is the mother of the universe [*tianxia mu* 天下母]. I do not know its name and so call it the path [*dao* 道]. With reluctance, I call it the Infinite [*da* 大]. Infinity is the Fleeting [*shi* 逝], the Fleeting is the Vanishing [*yuan* 遠] , the Vanishing is the Reverting [*fan* 反].

According to Kinoshita Nagahiro, who recently published a critical edition of *The Book of Tea*, the corresponding part of Lao Zi's original is chapter twenty-five, "Imaging the Mysterious." A comparison with Paul Carus's translation reveals how Okakura modified Carus's direct rendering:

> There is Being that is all-containing, which precedes the existence of heaven and earth. How calm it is! How incorporeal! Alone it stands and does not change. Everywhere it goes without running a risk, and can on that account become the world's mother. I know not its name. Its character is defined as Reason [*dao* 道]. When obliged to give it a name, I call it Great [*da* 大]. The Great I call the Evasive [*shi* 逝]. The Evasive I call the Distant [*yuan* 遠]. The Distant I call the Returning [*fan* 反].[35]

33 Carus 1898, pp. 101–102.
34 Okakura 1964, p. 24; Kinoshita 2013 (English part), pp. 28–29.
35 Carus 1898, p. 109.

These two translations are quite divergent in their choice of terminology found in the second half of the passage. (In the following, P.C. refers to Paul Carus's translation, O.K. to Okakura Kakuzo's rendering). "Great" (*da* 大) in Carus's is replaced by "Infinite" in Okakura's; "Evasive" (P.C.) (*shi* 逝) by "Fleeting" (O.K.); "Distant" (P.C.) (*yuan* 遠) by "Vanishing" (O.K.); and "Returning" (*fan* 反) by "Reverting." Thereby Okakura seems to be trying to convey a more coherent image of the idea to an ordinary readership. Okakura avoids terms with negative connotations ("evasive") in their English rendering. He also uses "Infinite" instead of "Great" and "Vanishing" instead of "Distant." These terms seem to be chosen to articulate the cosmic dimension with more precision. "Reverting" in place of "Returning" emphasizes "returning to a previous state" and also evokes the biological notion of "reverting to a former or ancestral type," that is, atavism, and the juridical idea of "possess[ing] or succeed[ing] to property on the death of the present possessor" in the sense of "reversion."[36] Curiously, Okakura's translation choices make it easier to connect these basic Taoist ideas with the Buddhist idea of reincarnation or transmigration. Okakura then develops his own idea in the following passages, putting more emphasis on movement rather than a static state of things:

> The Tao is in the Passage rather than the Path. It is the spirit of Cosmic Change,—[*sic*] the eternal growth which returns upon itself to produce new forms. It recoils upon itself like the dragon, the beloved symbol of the Taoist. It folds and unfolds as do the clouds. The Tao might be spoken of as the Great Transition.[37]

"The Great Transition" seems to be reinterpreted or, better, taken back ("*repris*") by Kuki to develop his own idea of metempsychosis. This is not mere speculation: it is known that during his nine-year stay in Europe Kuki confessed to having "read with absorption" English original editions of Okakura's *Ideals of the East* and *The Book of Tea* and is said to have been "deeply moved."[38] In light of our foregoing discussion, it must be said that there are undeniable traces of Okakura's writing recurring in Kuki's paper on "La notion du temps et la reprise sur le temps en Orient." The French term "la reprise" even has a hidden connotation that Okakura's *Ideals of the Orient* was *repris* or "taken back" by Kuki for his own benefit. We could also recognize that not only Okakura's English books but also Kuki's lectures in French have made positive contributions in the "migration" and "reversion" of ancient Eastern wisdom to Western modern scholarship.

6. The "Diamond Net of Indra" Around Kuki

When Okakura was consulting Paul Carus's translation of Chinese Taoist classics, Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大拙, a famous theosophist and future Zen Buddhist master, had already arrived in Chicago in 1896 and would stay there until 1909. Prior to his stay in the U.S.A., Suzuki had already published a Japanese translation of Carus's *The Gospel of Buddha* (1894)

36 See, for example, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 11th edition, 2006. The historical context of the lexicology must be further taken into account, especially in the biological terminology of contemporary literature at the end of the nineteenth century.

37 Kinoshita 2013 (English transcription), p. 24.

38 Kuki 2001a, p. 15; Kuki 2001b, p. 21.

in 1895 and 1901,[39] and he also translated into English *Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana* (Jp. *Daijō kishinron* 大乗起信論).[40] Carus's translation of the *Daode jing* was also in reality done by him.[41] Though we are not sure whether Okakura and Suzuki were in direct contact, we should note that they shared many personal connections. Recent scholarship in Japan suggests the relevance of this approach. It is also well known that Paul Carus had close ties with William James and Charles Sander Peirce. Itō Kunitake, professor emeritus of Kyoto University, has thoroughly investigated Peirce's ideas of Cenopythagoreanism and continuum and William James's concept of the pluralistic universe, seeing them as related to Kuki Shūzō's notion of transmigration-metempsychosis.[42] Theosophy and American transcendentalists were closely related, and the young Suzuki was working in this circle, from which came part of Okakura Kakuzō's thought as well as that of his spiritual son, Kuki Shūzō, thus constituting a constellation evoking Indra's Infinite Net.

Andō Reiji, an intellectual historian and critic, has reconstructed the webs of intellectual life around the Open Court Publishing Company. Paul Carus translated Ernst Mach, and Andō convincingly demonstrates the influence of Mach's analysis of *Schielen* or strabismus (Jp. *shashi* 斜視) on Orikuchi Shinobu 折口信夫, a modern Japanese national studies scholar.[43] Mach's *Die Analyse der Empfindungen und das Verhältnis des Physischen zum Psychischen* (1886) was edited and translated into English as *Contributions to the Analysis of Sensation* (1897) by the Open Court Publishing Company. Mach's idea of strabismus of the visual perception, *Augenmuskelgleichgewichtsstörung*, or the trouble with focus fixation in the eyes' binocular vision, were applied and extrapolated by Orikuchi to auditory perception to give birth to the new idea of *shachō* 斜聴, a sort of "auditory strabismus," in Orikuchi's Shinto studies graduation thesis at Kokugakuin University in 1910.[44] In Orikuchi's understanding, *shachō* means unconscious or subconscious auditory perception.[45] He further connected his idea to "atavism" and "nostalgia," a curious amalgam of Ernst Häckel, and the auditory memory of the ancient soul transmitted through poetry by way of rhythmical rendering of the sound.

Kuki was also of the opinion that rhyme (Fr. *rime*) in poetic language can convey and transmit "nostalgia" (which stems from the German neologism of *Sehnsucht*) for one's lost previous life, just like "past life regression" in psychiatry. This association also suggests the reason why Kuki in his final years before his premature death concentrated on the problem of contingency (also the topic of his PhD dissertation).[46] Let us limit ourselves to just three points. First, in his paper on "rhyme in Japanese poetry," Kuki declares that to regenerate

39 Carus 1894. Japanese translation appears in SDZS vol. 25 as *Budda no fukuin* 仏陀の福音. The same volume of SDZS also contains Suzuki's translation of Emmanuel Swedenborg's *Divine Love and Wisdom* (1889; *Shinchi to shin'ai* 神智と神愛) as well as Paul Carus's *Amitabha* (1906; *Amida butsu* 阿弥陀仏).

40 "Translator's preface" pp. x–xiv (Suzuki 1900). Japanese translation: Suzuki 2002.

41 Suzuki was the only person who could have assisted Paul Carus's Open Court translation work by directly referring to the Chinese original. Refer to the highly philological study by Yoshinaga (2014).

42 Itō 2006; Itō 2009. The idea of a parallel world in space may be logically interchangeable with that of reincarnation in time. For a detailed argument regarding this point, see Inaga 2016, pp. 132–33.

43 Mach 1886. English Translation: Mach 1897. Japanese translation: Mach 1971.

44 Orikuchi 1996, pp. 120–36.

45 Andō 2010, pp. 237–56.

46 See Itō 2014; the book review by Tanaka 2015; and Obama 2015.

and recall the tradition which we tend to forget (echoing *aletheia*, or *Verborgenheit* in Heidegger), "we only have to seize ourselves and secure our words through retrospection of our own tradition, by developing given possibilities into realities, by making a passage to put the hidden potentials (*dynamis*) into actualities (*energeia*)."[47] Clearly Kuki's argument, based on Aristotelian terminology, is the same as his own discussion in "La Notion du temps et la reprise sur le temps en Orient" that we have examined above.

Second, Kuki states that the recurrence of the same rhyme in a poem repeats by its very recurrence the genealogy of the poetic tradition. Undoubtedly here is a circular structure which generates *poiesis*, resulting in a *répétition infinie*. This infinite repetition "put a poem in the present place, stepping on the same place as if in a standstill. Yet this enables the poem to concentrate itself on a moment of infinity which can be described as eternal present."[48] Once again this is what he has formulated in French: "Vivons dans le temps perpétuel, dans *l'Endlosigkeit* en termes de Hegel. Trouvons *l'Unendlichkeit* dans *l'Endlosigkeit*, *l'infini* dans *l'indéfini*, *l'éternité* dans *la sucession sans fin*" (Let's live the perpetual time in "endlessness" to use Hegel's term. Let's find out the "unendness" in the "endlessness," the "infinity" in the "indefinite," the eternity in the endless succession).[49]

Third, and finally, Kuki sees in this repetition of rhyme "contingency converted into necessity": what emerges as a chance image is fixated into a stable formality. To explain this recurrence in *poietic*, Kuki makes use of the Greek term *palingenesia* (palingenesis; Fr. *palingénésie*).[50] According to Stoicism, the term means *retour périodique éternel des mêmes événements* (periodical return in eternity of the same events) or didactically *renaissance des êtres ou des sociétés conçue comme source d'évolution et de perfectionnement* (renaissance of beings and societies conceived as the source of evolution and of accomplishment);[51] in brief, metempsychosis.

7. "Plagiat par anticipation" or Affinity with Mishima Yukio[52]

"Each drop of time that flows past seems to me as precious as a sip of good wine, and I have lost almost all interest in the spatial dimension of things." Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫,

47 See "Nihonshi no ōin" 日本詩の押韻 (1931), in KSZ, vol. 4, p. 449. Handwritten revision of printed draft. Obama 2015, p. 200.

48 Kuki Shūzō, "Bungaku no keijijōgaku" 文学の形而上学, in KSZ, vol. 4, p. 51. Obama 2015, p. 203.

49 Kuki 1928, p. 26; KSZ, vol. 1, pp. 62–286. Obama (2015, p. 204) comes to the same conclusion as mine. Obviously, Kuki here implicitly refers to Immanuel Kant's *Die Metaphysik der Sitten* (1797). See Takada 2002, p. 146.

50 It is an open question whether Kuki had access to Pierre-Simon Ballanche's (1776–1846) *Essai de palingenésie sociale* (1820) while he was in Paris. See also McCalla 1998. My thanks to Julian Strube who directed my attention to this point. Ballanche's volume is not included in Kuki's library that is preserved in Kōnan University Library.

51 See, for example, Robert 1978, vol.1, p. 1344. For literature contemporary to Kuki that elucidates the idea of *palingenesia*, refer to Chisholm 1911.

52 The author owes the term "plagiat par anticipation" (plagiarism by anticipation) to Pierre Bayard (2009). The pejorative connotation of "plagiat" in fact stems from a mistranslation of the classical Roman jurisdiction by the encyclopedists of the eighteenth century. See Maurel-Inder 2011, pp. 20–21. By referring to these metaphors, I wish to avoid the false question of plagiarism, seeing it as worthless. Consequently, Kuki's possible influence on Albert Camus or Yukio Mishima is not the matter here. More important is the fact that Japanese authors like Kuki and Mishima repetitively returned to the idea of metempsychosis and relied upon it whenever they wanted to explain the phenomenon of transmigration to the Western public and its readers (among whom we can potentially count Albert Camus, if we are allowed to follow the tricky wordplay practiced by Kuki).

shortly prior to his sensational hara-kiri suicide, wrote the previous sentence to his colleague and Nobel Prize winner in literature Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 on 4 July 1970. Almost the same phrase can be found in the last volume of Mishima's final tetralogy, *Hōjō no umi* 豊饒の海 (*The Sea of Fertility*). Needless to say, the tetralogy is based on the idea of the metempsychosis-transmigration of the soul.

A pluralistic universe and metempsychosis are not logically incompatible with each other.[53] A pluralistic universe supposes that the same individual as "I" would also exist somewhere in the universe. If the distance separating the "I" and the other "I" is in the scale of several millions of light years, the notion of simultaneous coexistence practically loses meaning. One may well speculate regarding simultaneity beyond the velocity of light, and yet we shall see the limit of this speculation: ultimately, the possibility of a spatial coexistence of the "I" in plural parallel worlds jeopardizes the relevance of metempsychosis of the same soul scattered, here and there, on the vast lapses of time.[54] Indeed, if "I" does exist in different places in the universe, it is no longer meaningful whether or not they exist simultaneously or in a different phase of the time span. Unless one can communicate with one's other "I" (in synchronicity beyond the velocity of light, by way of telepathy, if you like), the reality would not change in any sense. However, what does it mean to "communicate" with one's own identical self?

At the same time, we have already made it clear in examining the Nietzschean *ewige Wiederkunft* that the identity of the soul in transmigration cannot be guaranteed so long as the soul in question is conscious of its own reincarnation. If one is conscious of one's reincarnation, one would no longer be strictly identical with one's ancestral existence because of the presence of this awareness. Honda Shigekuni, one of the protagonists of Mishima's trilogy, clearly states this fact: "It seems as if transmigration consists of a sterile effort of proving what you can never verify."[55]

What is at stake here is no longer the relevance or irrelevance of the idea of metempsychosis. Rather, it is the very notion of identity (which has been taken for granted, and heretofore unconditionally posited) that should be questioned. Let us set up a (pseudo-) syllogism. Primo: logically (in the sense of formal logic) we cannot negate the probability of metempsychosis. Secundo: metempsychosis puts the presupposed notion of identity in question. A conclusion that can be deduced from these double premises is that the very identicalness of the notion of "identity" must be reexamined.[56] In fact, the logical and ontological foundation of this "sameness" is questioned here. Following the same line of

53 For a detailed demonstration, see Inaga 2016, pp. 122–36. I hereafter limit myself to the core argument of the question while leaving aside the remaining debatable problems.

54 "[V]arious reincarnations extending over a period of time are no more significantly linked to one another than the lives of all the individuals who happen to be alive at the same given moment. In other words, I felt that in such a case the concept of reincarnation would be practically meaningless" (Mishima 1972, p. 230). Original Japanese: Mishima 1977a, p. 246.

55 Mishima 1977a, p. 246. "And so it's obvious that it would be pointless to try to produce any proof of transmigration" (Mishima 1972, p. 230).

56 Here I am intentionally bridging a logical question and an ontological question. The logical evidence regarding the idea of "identity" is sapped by the ontological uncertainty of the identical self. The latter cannot be guaranteed in front of the non-verifiable yet imaginable possibility of transmigration. Kuki himself concentrated his thinking on this enigma in his final PhD dissertation, *The Problem of Contingency* (1935) (Kuki 1935). A discussion of this work belongs, however, to another study. Refer to the recent publications mentioned in note 4.

thinking, Mishima comes to the conclusion that reincarnation/paligenesis/metempsychosis *must* exist *de juri*; otherwise—and obviously this is a tautology—humanity would not be able to liberate itself from its passive destiny.

> Everything exists through *alaya*, and since it does, all things are. But what if *alaya* is extinguished./But the world *must* exist!/Therefore, *alaya* consciousness is never extinguished. As in the cascade, the water of every moment is different, yet the stream flows in torrential and constant movement./Thus *alaya* consciousness flows eternally in order to make the world exist./For the world *must* at all costs exist! [*sic*]/But why?/Because only by the existence of the world—world of illusion—is man given the chance to enlightenment.[57]

This conviction shows a striking affinity with the "will" that Kuki proposed (in his reinterpretation of Sisyphus): "Without *saṃsāra* or metempsychosis, fate of eternal repetition, there will be no attainment of enlightenment, nirvana." There is no enlightenment without eternal transmigration. I wonder if Mishima referred to Kuki's reflection on metempsychosis when writing his final trilogy. Whether this is the case or not, a kind of transmigration of the idea is potentially (that is, beyond the realm of verification, by nature) taking place from Kuki to Mishima.

8. Rhyme in the Ise Shrines: In the Guise of a Conclusion

One typical case of metempsychosis is practiced not in Japanese Buddhism but rather in the ritual succession of the Ise Shrines. Every twenty years, the old wooden structures are torn down and replaced by the next generation, identical in form and located next to them. At the interval of twenty years, the old buildings disappear and the new buildings appear, composing an oscillation with a rhythmical undulation. The metaphor of the *rime*-rhyme that Kuki imagined in the poetry may find its physical reincarnation in this ritual replacement of the *shikinen sengū* 式年遷宮. The soul of the collective spirit of a nation is supposedly transmigrating through this interminable abolition and reconstitution, putting into question the materialism of the physical idea of conservation. The chrono-political manipulation of identity lies at the core of this cosmic idea of transmigration.[58]

57 Mishima 1977b, pp. 160–61. Mishima 1970, p. 126.

58 Inaga 2012. It should be noted that Kuki was among the faculty members of Kyoto University when Bruno Taut, the German architect, came to Japan to visit the Ise Shrines at the suggestion of his acquaintances at the university in 1934. After this visit, Bruno Taut would become the main proponent of ideas regarding the Ise Shrines, such as metempsychosis and eternal permanence in impermanence. Connecting Kuki's discussion of regeneration through rhyme with recurrence of the past at the Ise Shrines is relevant in light of the analyses of Kuki's poetics by Gōda Masato (2017) and Kushida Jun'ichi (2017). A full discussion of this issue will be left for another study. I would like to stress that not only Kuki but also Karl Löwith and Bruno Taut all took special interest in the idea of "ewige Wiederkunft" in their contact with Japan, and that an intellectual constellation—or a kind of "web"—had been formed by the relationships among them in the "magnetic field," which Japan constituted in the late 1920s and early 1930s as a cultural and geopolitical "topos." It must also be added that the question of metempsychosis as well as that of contingency undermines the logical distinction between simultaneous and independent events, thus dangerously sapping the very foundation of rational thinking. Sakabe (2002, pp. 1–17), Washida (2002), and Matsuoka (2017) among others see in this perilous zone (which destroys stable categorical thinking, indicates the limit of the Reason-Vernunft, and opens up the field of poetics composed of incontrollable word play and rhyme), a yet-to-be-explored aspect of Kuki's writing, a zone which obviously lies beyond the reach of the present paper.

We have thus far sketched in haste the case of palingenesis in and around Kuki Shūzō. This story serves as one of the parallel worlds located at the fringe of a border-crossing history of ideas. Like the pluralistic universe defined by William James, or the infinite web of Indra, these parallel worlds reflect each other and mutually elucidate the notion of metempsychosis which transmigrates not only within the circle of a particular school of philosophical thought, but also in its unlimited extension—as Kuki himself put it—beyond this closed cycle.[59]

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59 See also Takada 2007. The paper brilliantly examines the relevance of an Italian translation of Kuki's writing and presents the possibility of understanding Kuki at the intersection of philosophy and poetics, as suggested in note 58 above.

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Local Theater Responding to a Global Issue: 3.11 Seen from Japan's Periphery

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Scrutinizing local theater productions from Aomori, this article looks into the role of the arts as a critical voice after the 2011 triple disaster. The Aomori perspective is of special interest in this context. While the city was hardly afflicted by the calamity, Aomori is part of Japan's northern periphery and home to nuclear facilities, thereby sharing central problems with the disaster zones such as economic hardship, depopulation, and the threat of nuclear contamination. I analyze two plays by Hatasawa Seigo, a local playwright, director, and high school teacher. The first, *Moshiita: Moshi kōkō yakyū no joshi manējā ga Aomori no "itako" o yondara* (Moshiita: What if the Manager of a High School Baseball Team Called in an Aomori *itako* Shaman, 2011), was written for and performed by the high school drama club under Hatasawa's supervision and won the National High School Drama Competition Prize 2012. Originally planned for performances in consolatory visits to the afflicted areas, it was eventually staged nationwide. The second, *Saraba! Genshiryoku robo Mutsu: Ai · senshihen* (Farewell to Nuclear Robot Mutsu: Soldiers of Love, 2014) is a newly arranged version of a play written for Hatasawa's troupe Watanabe Genshirō Shōten (Nabegen) in 2012. The satirical piece is rare in that it focuses on the global issue of nuclear waste disposal. Analyzing two plays by this local director, who is gaining recognition and reputation on a national level, this article aims to scrutinize how these performances relate to site-specific memories and stories and construct narratives that go against the dominant Tokyo perspective.

Keywords: contemporary theater, regional theater, school theater, Hatasawa Seigo, emotional healing (*iyashi*), processing trauma, sociopolitical critique, nuclear criticism, nuclear waste disposal, ecocriticism

Introduction

The Fukushima disaster triggered deep shock waves that coursed through the Japanese social and cultural sphere. In addition to the tremendous trauma and physical damages, some key problems of contemporary Japan came to the fore. Artists of various fields felt a need to react to the traumatic events through their work. With the ability to tell peoples' stories and create a public sphere that evokes temporary communities, performing

arts are highly effective in helping people come to terms with individual and collective suffering and, at the same time, have the potential to trigger critical engagement. How artists address these issues and which aspects they choose to tackle depends heavily on the artist's positionality, to name but one crucial factor. Productions originating in places removed from the disaster zones, such as Tokyo, tend to address issues related to 3/11 from a national perspective. For example, Takayama Akira's 高山明 *Refarendamu purojekuto* レファレンダム プロジェクト (Referendum Project, 2011) and Okada Toshiki's *Genzaichi* 現在地 (Current Location, 2012) are highly political interventions in this respect. Takayama (b. 1969) is known for creating theater that does not appear to be theater. His approach is often compared to the work of Terayama Shūji 寺山修司 (1935–1983), the infamous avant-garde Japanese playwright, filmmaker and poet, who took theater to the streets in the late 1960s and 1970s.[1] *Refarendamu purojekuto* consisted of a truck that was sent to locations all over Japan. Rather than directly addressing the political or straightforwardly voting for or against the use of nuclear power, the project attempted to collect a variety of post-Fukushima voices, including those of high school students from Tokyo and Fukushima, invited guest speakers, and audience members.[2] *Genzaichi* by Okada Toshiki 岡田利規 (b. 1973) dwells on the dispute of *fūhyō higai* 風評被害 (harmful rumors) and reveals the deep fault lines running through post-disaster Japan. Okada is one of the most interesting of the younger generation playwrights and directors in Japan and has a decisive impact on the image of contemporary Japanese theater abroad. The play translates his concept of "recessive reality," a kind of fiction that threatens reality by proposing an alternative.[3] Although both Takayama and Okada refer to the calamity in a rather subtle and indirect fashion, this can be considered a rather effective approach in post-disaster Japan where direct criticism runs the risk of being rejected as *fukinshin* 不謹慎 (indiscretion).

Furthermore, young theater people from metropolitan regions, such as Nakatsuru Akihito 中津留章仁 (b. 1974), an actor, playwright, director, and founder of the TRASHMASTERS theater company, traveled to the disaster zones to serve as volunteers and/or do research for the purpose of subsequently producing works that aim at directly transmitting knowledge about the status quo in Tōhoku to their audiences. His play *Haisui no kotō* 背水の孤島 (Backwater Island, 2011), for example, combines human drama with social critique and was inspired by the author's volunteer activities in Ishinomaki, a town particularly affected by the calamity. The title (literally "A remote island that has its back up against the wall") points at the state of Japan in the immediate aftermath of the disaster.[4] On the other hand, performances by local playwrights, such as Ōnobu Pelican's 大信ペリカン *Kiruannya to Yūko san* キル兄にゃとU子さん (Kiruannya and Uko, 2011), often raise questions of immediate relevance to people living in the disaster area and attempt to provide a space for processing the trauma triggered by the catastrophe. Ōnobu (b. 1975) is playwright and director of the Manrui Toriking Ichiza 満塁鳥王一座 troupe in Fukushima City. His documentary play *Kiruannya to Yūko san* engages in the cultural work of transforming individual suffering into collective memory. Ōnobu has constructed

1 Ridgely 2010.
2 Iwaki 2017.
3 Geilhorn 2017.
4 Performing Arts Network 2012b.

a narrative that goes against images of "Fukushima" as a mere disaster zone without neglecting contentious issues of the nuclear catastrophe or uncritically supporting slogans of quick recovery.[5]

In this context, the viewpoint of Aomori-based artists occupying a position lingering somewhere between the local and the national perspective is of special interest. While the city was hardly afflicted by the calamity, Aomori is part of Japan's northern periphery and home to nuclear facilities, thereby sharing central problems with the disaster zones, including economic hardship, depopulation, and the threat of nuclear contamination.[6] The power complex in Rokkasho 六ヶ所, which is notorious for a never-ending series of accidents, was flagged to be the first facility in Japan geared for processing uranium.[7] However, for various reasons, including the stricter safety standards established by the Nuclear Regulation Authority (NRA) after the nuclear meltdown in March 2011, the date of its entry into operation has been postponed—for the twenty-third time—to 2018.[8] Consequently, the various pending issues concerning nuclear power in northern Japan make contemplation and debate highly relevant and topical.

Similar to other nations that obtain a large share of energy from nuclear power, Japan has traditionally built its nuclear plants in remote, less developed areas that depend on the jobs and subsidies related to the facilities and where civil society is considered less likely to mobilize resistance.[9] While the far north has long been designated as an "inner colony" of the Japanese nation state, exploited to provide industrial centers with food and cheap labor, in recent decades it has also become a supply base for the increasing amounts of energy needed for the country's economic growth.[10] What the philosopher Takahashi Tetsuya has called *gisei no shisutemu* 犠牲のシステム (sacrificial system) is a collusion between companies and Japanese policymakers to assign the tremendous risks of nuclear energy to peripheral regions such as northern Japan, whose safety and future are put at risk for the benefit of the nation and continued corporate profit.[11]

My article, which is part of a bigger project on theatrical responses to the 11 March disasters,[12] analyzes two plays by Hatasawa Seigo 畑澤聖悟 (b. 1964).[13] The playwright, director, and high school teacher was born in Akita Prefecture. After moving to Aomori

5 Geilhorn 2018.

6 Aomori Prefecture has one active nuclear power plant in Higashi ōdōri 東大通り and four more reactors under construction or in the planning stage. At the time of the 11 March disasters, Higashi ōdōri 1 was shut down due to regular safety inspections. Now the restart of the idle reactor will depend on the assessment of active fault lines found to be running under the plant (*The Japan Times*, 28 November 2015). The work at the Ōma 大間 nuclear plant, the prefecture's new site for nuclear reactors, resumed in October 2012 after the project was suspended in the aftermath of the calamity (*The Japan Times*, 12 March 2013).

7 The storage pools of the Rokkasho Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing Facility are already near full capacity with spent fuel rods from reactors around the nation. Companies might be forced to shut down reactors if the Rokkasho plant can no longer accept additional fuel (*Asahi Shinbun*, 31 October 2014). Furthermore, the stockpiles of plutonium could be used to produce nuclear weapons, which makes the reprocessing of spent fuel a highly contested issue that has severe repercussions with regard to Japan's relations with neighboring countries as well as with the United States.

8 *The Japan Times*, 5 January 2016.

9 Aldrich 2012.

10 Hopson 2013.

11 Takahashi 2012.

12 I am much obliged to the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) for providing me with the funding to conduct research in Japan and to write this article.

13 For further information, see Onoe 2014a, Performing Arts Network 2012a, or the website of his troupe.

City, he founded his troupe Watanabe Genshirō Shōten 渡辺源四郎商店 (Nabegen なべげん for short) in 2005. Hatasawa also writes plays for other troupes and is the author of award-winning radio dramas. The two productions I will examine here gained local and national attention, leading to their invitation to perform at the important Festival/Tokyo 2014 (F/T 2014). The first, *Moshiita: Moshi kōkō yakyū no joshi manējā ga Aomori no "itako" o yondara* もしイタ: もし高校野球の女子マネージャーが青森の「イタコ」を呼んだら (Moshiita: What if the Manager of a High School Baseball Team Called in an Aomori *itako* Shaman?, 2011) was written for and performed by the Aomori Chūō Kōkō Engekibu 青森中央高校演劇部 (Aomori Prefecture Central High School Drama Club) under Hatasawa's supervision and won the *Dai 58 kai zenkoku kōtō gakkō engeki taikai* 第58回全国高等学校演劇大会 (National High School Drama Competition prize, 2012).[14] Originally, the play was to be performed during consolatory visits to the afflicted areas, but the play was ultimately staged nationwide. The second, *Saraba! Genshiryoku robo Mutsu: Ai · senshihen* さらば！原子力ロボむつ: 愛・戦士編 (Farewell to Nuclear Robot Mutsu: Soldiers of Love, 2014), is a newly arranged version of a play written for Hatasawa's troupe *Nabegen* in 2012.[15] The satirical piece addresses the problem of nuclear waste disposal. By analyzing two plays by a local director gaining recognition at a national level, my article aims to examine how these performances relate to site-specific memories and stories and construct narratives that go against the dominant Tokyo perspective.

1. *Moshiita*: What if the Manager of a High School Baseball Team Called in an Aomori *itako* Shaman?

Moshiita, a play for high school theater, originated from Hatasawa's shock and consternation in the face of the disaster and his thoughts about what he, as a citizen of northern Japan hardly affected by the calamity, could do for the people living in the disaster zone. The play won extraordinary acclaim: it was very well-attended in afflicted areas and was soon frequently performed nationwide.[16] Although *Moshiita* was initially intended to be staged for the immediate audiences in the disaster zone and for a limited time only, Hatasawa now regards the play as an instrument in helping to keep alive the memory of the catastrophe and communicating the feelings of those affected to people far away from the disaster zone.[17] To this aim, along with the performances at Festival/Tokyo 2014, he also held a workshop for Tokyo high school students in August of the same year. In my opinion, *Moshiita* has the potential to offer students from Aomori and beyond the opportunity to learn much more than performance skills. In the ideal scenario, the performance triggers the students' awareness and they would come to realize the existence and importance of values that transcend the extreme consumerism that frames their everyday life.[18]

14 Hatasawa 2014a and Watanabe Genshirō Shōten 2014.
15 Watanabe Genshirō Shōten 2014; Hatasawa 2014c.
16 Hatasawa 2014b, p. 125. Between September 2011 and November 2014, *Moshiita* was staged fifty six times (Kudō 2014, p. 6). According to Hatasawa (Onoue 2014a, p. 4), the critical attitude in some areas of the disaster zone where the play was being performed changed with the play's increasing recognition.
17 Onoue 2014a, p. 4.
18 Kudō (2014, p. 6) provides some reactions of high school students participating in the performances in the stricken areas shortly after the disaster hit.

Figure 1. *Moshiita*. All photos by Kazuyuki Matsumoto. Festival/Tokyo 2014.

Moshiita, which premiered in 2011, is a story of growth and maturation. The play centers on the Aomori Saigawa High School baseball team, whose members have lost their motivation after being repeatedly defeated in high school tournaments, and Kazusa, who has just been transferred to their school from a village heavily damaged by the Great East Japan earthquake and ensuing tsunami. Kazusa was a passionate baseball player on his former high school team, but being the only team member to survive the catastrophe, he feels conflicted about continuing to play baseball. Shiori nonetheless succeeds in convincing the traumatized Kazusa to join the Aomori team. She also takes care to hire a much-needed coach capable of leading the team on the road to success: her grandmother Takahashi, an *itako* イタコ or female shaman for which northern Japan is famous. Under Takahashi's guidance, the team undergoes a month of strenuous training to acquire the ability of *hotoke oroshi* 仏降ろし (spirit possession) (figure 1). Possessed by the spirit of Sanemura Eiji, a legendary Japanese pitcher from the 1930s, Kazusa leads his team to win one match after the other until he loses his magical powers and returns to his former self in the final game.[19] Thus, the play's focus is not on winning. Rather, the central scene shows Kazusa surrounded by the spirits of his former team members playing baseball together for the last time.[20]

In terms of staging, the play is designed to be adaptable to different performance spaces: sports halls and community centers close to temporary shelters and housing sites in the immediate aftermath of the disaster. Performing outside of conventional theaters, the students had to prepare everything by themselves, from setting the stage to arranging the chairs in the auditorium. Moreover, the student drama club did the advertising and on occasion even provided shuttle services for audience members. In many cases, students had to learn to adapt and react appropriately to new and unpredictable situations. Although

19 Sanemura Eiji was a member of Japan's first professional baseball league. He died as a soldier in 1944, at the age of twenty-seven (Kreindler n.d.).

20 For a detailed synopsis, see Performing Arts Network 2012a.

Figure 2. *Moshiita*. Festival/Tokyo 2014.

the city of Aomori provided some financial support, the costs were partly covered by the students themselves.[21]

In *Moshiita*, Hatasawa refrains from using any sort of stage sets, props, lighting, or sound effects. Students wear simple tracksuits as they would for physical education. A feature of the play is that all of the participating high school students are permanently on stage, with every student acting in various roles, including portraying stage design items or props such as trees, birds, or a chiming longcase clock. This adds to the dynamic and fast tempo of the play that has already been created by baseball practice scenes and game scenarios featuring numerous team members and cheerleaders, shouting, rooting for their team, and performing well-known baseball chants and cheers (figure 2).

Although *Moshiita* aims at providing solace to people living in affected areas by presenting the story of a winning team and displaying the energy and vigor of the young students, it should not be dismissed as a trite story of hope to trigger feelings of *iyashi* 癒し (emotional healing). By showing the protagonist overcoming his sense of guilt towards his dead baseball teammates and his efforts to go on living when so many people around him have died, the play addresses a crucial issue in the experience of trauma victims. *Moshiita* harkens back to works responding to the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; in particular, it is reminiscent of Inoue Hisashi's (1934–2010) *Chichi to kuraseba* 父と暮らせば (*The Face of Jizō*).[22] The play depicts the anguish of a woman suffering from her sense of guilt after she had to leave her father trapped under the debris of their house in order to save her own life. It is only through conversations with her late father's spirit that she is finally open to find happiness in her own life. *Moshiita* is one of several plays written in the aftermath of the 11 March disaster that address the relationship between the living and

21 Hatasawa (2014b, p. 124) writes about problems in securing funding. For further details, see Kudō 2014, p. 6.

22 While the official English title is somewhat beside the point, the literal translation, "If [I still] lived with father," succinctly sums up the content of the play. *Chichi to kuraseba*, published in 1950 and first staged in 1994, was put on stage again after the Fukushima disaster. See Performing Arts Network 2007 for a synopsis of the play. Hatasawa is a great admirer of Inoue's oeuvre.

Figure 3. *Moshiita*. Festival/Tokyo 2014.

the dead.[23] However, Hatasawa's play is unique in that it stages their reunion. Arguing for survivors' obligation to go on living and carry on for the sake of those who are no longer alive, *Moshiita* hints at a path to overcome feelings of shame and opens up a road back to life.

The play is highly charged, with a local atmosphere evoking feelings of belonging on both sides of the stage: an *itako* shaman specific to the Aomori area serves as the means to convey the message of the play. The plot is set in Aomori City and the *itako* adds color by speaking in a strong local dialect. Moreover, by making an old woman the lynchpin of the play, *Moshiita* brings generations together in pursuing a common goal and appeals to the emotions of the elderly who comprise a large percentage of residents and audience members in disaster-stricken areas. The *itako* character also provides a good source of humor when skillfully performed by a young student (figure 3).

In a nutshell, Hatasawa created a space to realize small escapes from the harsh and bitter everyday reality in the disaster zone from the specific Aomori perspective and also provokes feelings of solidarity between people of two neighboring provinces excluded from economic development, but susceptible to suffering from the risks of natural disasters and nuclear power. However, *Moshiita* focuses on the implication of the earthquake and tsunami, omitting problems related to the use of nuclear energy and the threats of radioactive contamination, thereby considerably reducing the complexity of the 11 March calamity. This notwithstanding, Hatasawa should not be dismissed as an uncritical or apolitical playwright. The long-term consequences of the nuclear meltdowns are still extremely hard to assess, which makes the nuclear dimension of the disaster even more emotionally challenging than the effects of the earthquake and tsunami. Thus, Hatasawa's omission of these issues in *Moshiita* should be seen as an endeavor to provide solace to

23 For example, Okada Toshiki's *Jimen to yuka* 地面と床 (Ground and Floor, 2013; see Eckersall 2015) or Matsuda Masataka's *Antigone e no tabi no kiroku to sono jōen* (Record of a Journey to Antigone, 2012; see Poulton 2017), to name but a few.

audiences in stricken areas in the immediate aftermath of the catastrophe. In contrast, harsh criticism of the foolhardiness that comes with the use of an energy source that is unmanageable and has consequences for generations to come when things do go wrong is the focus of the next play I will analyze.

2. *Saraba!* Farewell to Nuclear Robot Mutsu: Soldiers of Love

The Fukushima nuclear disaster shattered the myth pedaled by pro-nuclear governments and energy providers alike that Japanese reactors were safe. At the same time, it triggered general doubts in the Japanese public about the reliability of science and technology. Although the anti-nuclear movement in Japan can be traced back to the early postwar years, the long-term risks and problems caused by radioactive waste disposal were not addressed until the 1990s.[24] And it was only after the triple disaster that the broader public became aware of these issues. In this sociopolitical context, Hatasawa Seigo's *Saraba!* was a very timely intervention. The dark science fiction comedy with fairytale-like characteristics ridicules the human delusion of being able to manage a technology that will jeopardize life on earth for many thousands of years.

The play is the revised 2014 version of *Tobe! Genshiryoku robo Mutsu* 翔べ！原子力ロボむつ (Fly! Nuclear Robot Mutsu),[25] which premiered in Aomori in April 2012 and was then performed in Tokyo the following month.[26] Producing revised versions of earlier plays and adapting them for school theater productions are major characteristics of Hatasawa's work. This is due to his obligations as a high school teacher and the limited time he can dedicate to theater. Yet at the same time, this approach has the potential to further develop and broaden the perspectives of a given play, as will be shown in the following.

While Hatasawa has long been interested in the issue of nuclear power and the relationship between perpetrators and victims,[27] the subject matter was directly inspired by the Fukushima catastrophe. *Saraba!*—like *Moshiita*—is written from an Aomori perspective and aims at making audiences reconsider the risks of nuclear energy. In the new version, Hatasawa expands the theme of intergenerational justice and sharpens the conflict between Tokyo and the Japanese periphery. The former was definitely influenced by the playwright's work with the Aomori High School Drama Club.

Before analyzing the contents of the play in more detail, I would like to consider briefly the role of genre. *Saraba!* is unique in the way it deals with the delicate topic of reprocessing nuclear fuel and radioactive waste disposal, as I will argue later. However, similar to other artists before and after the triple disaster, Hatasawa utilizes science fiction to express his criticism of nuclear power.[28] Generally speaking, by reflecting on the potential and consequences of science and technology for future life on earth in an entertaining fashion,

24 Sugai 2009.

25 Watanabe Genshirō Shōten 2012. *Tobe! Genshiryoku robo Mutsu* was nominated for the renowned 57th Kishida Kunio Drama Award (*Kishida Kunio gikyokushō*) in 2013.

26 Suzuki 2012.

27 Hatasawa's *Inosento pīpuru* イノセント・ピープル (Innocent People, premiered 2008, staged by Tokyo-based troupe Subaru) raises questions about the responsibility of the American scientists who constructed the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki without neglecting Japan's resposibility for the war. The play was later revised for the Aomori Prefecture Central High School Drama Club (Kudō 2014, p. 5).

28 Suter (2014) provides an analysis of selected works of post 3/11 science fiction literature and manga.

Figure 4. *Soraba!* Festival/Tokyo 2014.

science fiction can be considered a highly effective platform for social critique.[29] In the early aftermath of the 11 March disaster, Okada Toshiki's play *Genzaichi*, for example, relates to the genre's basic ability to challenge reality to consider alternatives to the status quo of Japanese society. Hatasawa Seigo uses the fantastic and comic potential of the genre to point at the absurdities of blind faith in science and technology.

Saraba! is set one thousand years into the future (3014) in the Kingdom of Apples, where agriculture and fishery are no longer possible. The story unfolds around Yōsuke, a mayor from one thousand years before (that is, the present day), who succeeded in convincing his people to support the innovative "Marvelously Unbelievable Total Separation Unit" (MUTSU), a robot that will reprocess nuclear waste and foster development in their rural area, hard hit by recession and depopulation. Yōsuke has agreed to be cryogenically frozen and then thawed in a millennium to watch over the future of what has been propagated as an absolutely safe technology. However, since the means to bring him back to life still have to be invented, Yōsuke can be read as a personification of the unconditional and unquestioning faith in the unlimited progress of science in general and in the safety of technology in particular. His presence hints at two central and recurrent topics of the play: the *anzen shinwa* 安全神話 (safety myth), crucial for the acceptance of nuclear power in a country that was the target of the first atomic bombs used by mankind, and the reckless attitude to defer the solution of serious problems related to this technology to later generations, hoping for a significant advancement of human capabilities.

During Yōsuke's one thousand years of sleep, the Kingdom of Apples has become exceedingly wealthy by accepting and storing spent fuel rods from all over the world. In addition, Mutsu has been instrumental in attacking and destroying Tokyo, and former citizens, seeking refuge in the Kingdom of Apples, have been enslaved. Rebelling against their exploitation, the refugee slaves reveal the dangers of the Mutsu technology. However, their rebellion fails and Yōsuke is cryogenically frozen again (figure 4). Another one

29 Arai 2011.

Figure 5. *Soraba!* Festival/Tokyo 2014.

thousand years later, mankind has developed a new and even more dangerous technology to cope with the problems of Mutsu, but the hazard of radioactivity remains. Finally thawed after fifty thousand years, Yōsuke is the only human being on earth. He finds the Mutsu technology defunct, but the area still polluted by radiation.[30]

Saraba! is a highly dynamic, musical-like play with quick scenery changes facilitated by lighting. The plot is constructed as a centrifugal loop: the cycles of Yōsuke's travels through time get faster and faster, accelerating the tempo towards the climax of the play. Time and again, Yōsuke experiences déjà vu: Hatasawa's dystopia depicts humankind as unable to learn from past errors, repeating the same mistakes over and over again. The bleak contents are set in stark contrast to the carefree and whimsical mode of performance, the better to emphasize the insanity of the storyline. There are roughly forty performers singing and acting. *Saraba!* alludes to the film *Star Wars* (figure 5) and includes various songs that are well-known to the vast majority of the audience, among them the *Tetsuwan atomu* 鉄腕アトム (*Astro Boy*, literally Iron Arm Atom) theme song. In Japan, this famous manga character, created in 1951 by Tezuka Osamu (1928–1989), has to this day shaped the image of robots as friends of humankind. Promoted by a series of animated films and merchandising, *Astro Boy* soon evolved into a symbol for human-friendly technology in general, and the peaceful use of nuclear power in particular.[31] The *Astro Boy* song is played at the beginning and end of the play. Initially, it sets the play's amusing and credulous tone and alludes to its fantastic topic. At the end, the song conveys biting humor and expresses complete delusion when hummed by the lonely Yōsuke. Modern man's illusions about the manageability of nuclear power and his unconditional faith in the endless progress of humankind are revealed as wishful thinking.

30 What appears to be an inconceivably long period of time turns out to be rather tightly calculated, considering plutonium's half life of 24,400 years. An area polluted by plutonium would actually stay contaminated for about 250,000 years (Caldicott 2014, pp. 9–10).

31 Wagner 2011, p. 7.

Figure 6. *Soraba!* Festival/Tokyo 2014.

In terms of staging, Hatasawa was obviously influenced by the high school theater version he created of the original play. Costumes, stage sets and props, as well as sound effects are kept to a minimum. High school students perform group scenes or step in as the huge robot Mutsu alongside the Nabegen troupe actors. They add to the freshness and entertainment value of the performance, but are also part of the unpretentious attitude of the play, which presents a fantastical story featuring cute robots, queens, and kings (figure 6). However, the obvious parallels to reality can hardly be missed: although the story is set in the fictitious Kingdom of Apples, this is a barely hidden reference to Aomori Prefecture, whose main agricultural product is apples. Aomori residents will also be reminded of the hazardous Rokkasho reprocessing plant and Mimura Shingo 三村申吾, the prefecture's pro-nuclear governor, who easily won the election for his third term only a few months after the Fukushima meltdown.[32]

The robot's name Mutsu also sparks associations with the historical province Mutsu 陸奥, that once included the prefectures of Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori, and roughly corresponds to the area most afflicted by the 11 March earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disaster. In addition, Mutsu also is an apple variety named after the province. Moreover, Mutsu City on the Shimokita Peninsula, the northern tip of Aomori Province on Japan's main island of Honshū, lent its name to another disaster in the country's nuclear energy policy. Mutsu, a nuclear-powered ship, was built in 1969 to explore the prospects of using nuclear energy as fuel in trading vessels. During a 1974 test run, the engine's radioactive fuel leaked into the sea, leading local fishermen, concerned with the contamination of their fishing grounds, to block the ship's return to the harbor. Although the government finally reached an agreement, the ship could not be repaired. It was not until 1990 that Mutsu finally became seaworthy, only to be decommissioned two years later without ever having carried cargo.[33] Thus, with Mutsu, Hatasawa created a multilayered

32 Hayashi 2011.
33 Zöllner 2011, p. 87.

symbol for the province's risk of future calamities. Although Aomori was hardly affected by previous nuclear disasters, they have unmistakably revealed the hazardous nature of nuclear power and the inaptitude of humankind to provide safety and security.

Saraba! shows the absurdities arising from a naïve faith in technology. People's delusion that humankind can control a high-risk technology is held up to ridicule. However, what seems completely ludicrous and insane on stage comes appallingly close to reality. Hatasawa critiques the implementation of nuclear power in one of Japan's major agricultural areas, which puts at risk the very livelihood of farmers and fishermen in the unforeseeable future. The imposition of a potentially harmful technology on later generations is a recurring issue in the play. Furthermore, the conflict between the northern periphery and the capital is a crucial subject. Hatasawa reveals this uneven symbiosis by turning the quasi-colonial relationship upside down. Although the play is written from the Aomori perspective, the prefecture is presented as a part of Tōhoku, sharing comparable risks with the areas devastated by the natural and manmade disasters. For the Tokyo performance, Hatasawa exacerbated the conflict between Tōhoku and Tokyo to include a scene in which the fictitious kingdom splits off from Japan, declares war on Tokyo, and plans to use the area as a permanent disposal site for spent fuel rods. In an interview with the *Asahi shinbun*, Hatasawa talked about his feelings that Japan's northern periphery has long been discriminated against and his intention to develop and extend this aspect of the play.[34]

Despite all the criticism of the central government's exploitation of Tōhoku, *Saraba!* does not neglect the involvement of the local stakeholders. Yōsuke is presented as a ruthless tactician, switching between political sides and misleading citizens, repeatedly confirming the safety of the new technology by using the central computer to keep a check on people. The Kingdom of Apples' chancellor and minister of science can be perceived as allegories of *genshiryoku mura* 原子力村 (the nuclear village), which has controlled Japan's energy sector for decades. This intricate economic-political network of corruption linking nuclear advocates from the power companies, the financial sector, the bureaucracy, politicians, scientists, and, importantly, the mass media, was a main factor in the culture of complacency and lax safety standards that led to the 11 March catastrophe.[35]

To surmise, *Saraba!* pursues a twofold objective: first, to make audiences, particularly those living in an area with many nuclear facilities, reflect on the risks of nuclear energy, and second, to alert Tokyo audiences to the fact that the vast amount of energy needed for the capital's affluent lifestyle is produced at the cost of the livelihood of those living in rural areas.

3. Conclusion

The plays I have discussed here pursue seemingly opposing objectives—providing emotional healing on the one hand and pursuing sociopolitical critique on the other—from a distinctively site-specific perspective. While *Moshiita* utilizes the figure of an *itako* shaman characteristic of the Aomori region to provide solace to audiences living in the disaster zone, *Saraba!* addresses some crucial problems the prefecture shares with areas afflicted by the 11 March calamity. Both plays thus evoke feelings of solidarity between the people

34 Suzuki 2012.
35 Kingston 2012.

of two prefectures belonging to the same larger region of Tōhoku and sharing a similar fate. Among the many plays that have expressed a concern for Japan's nuclear future in the aftermath of the catastrophe, *Saraba!* is rare in that it focuses on the issue of nuclear waste disposal, and also hints at the close interconnectedness of the peaceful use of nuclear power and the production of nuclear weapons. By relating to site-specific memories and pushing the plot to extremes, Hatasawa succeeds in constructing a narrative that reveals the wide gap between the capital and Japan's periphery and goes against the dominant Tokyo perspective.

In this way, Hatasawa's approach is reminiscent of the work of artists from the stricken areas, such as Wagō Ryōichi 和合亮一 (b. 1968), or the cultural initiative Project Fukushima![36] Both aim at countering the stigmatization, which reinforces the already existing marginalization of the aging, rural prefecture of Fukushima. Wagō Ryōichi's disaster poetry, which gained immense prominence in the immediate aftermath of the catastrophe, is a highly sophisticated exposure of the increasing gap between the Japanese nation and its government while at the same time insisting on Fukushima as an integral part of Japan, as Iwata-Weickgenannt has shown.[37] However, *Saraba!* is more radical in staging Tōhoku's split-off from the country and makes its point in a rather direct way. Nevertheless, Hatasawa and Wagō share in common a concern about Tōhoku's fate as an "inner colony," place a similar emphasis on the nuclear catastrophe as more than a local problem, and realize the urgent need to keep the issue alive in public discourse.

Generally speaking, in the cultural life of Japan, which is strongly focused on the capital, voices from other areas are rarely heard. It is only in the aftermath of the Fukushima disasters that theater (among other art forms) from Tōhoku has drawn attention in the big city centers. Now, five years after 3/11, the earlier boom of productions relating to the issue is already fading away. Yet, keeping the public memory of the disaster alive is becoming an ever more important issue in both Tōhoku and Tokyo theater alike. This is even more the case in light of recent developments in Japanese policy to push ahead with the restarts of idle reactors, ignoring the serious concerns of major portions of the population. *Saraba!* in particular is thus a very timely intervention. The play addresses contentious issues that are rarely mentioned in public discourse. Although it might be perceived as rather naïve and simplistic by audiences used to avant-garde and socio-critical performances, it is exactly its entertaining mode and community theater-like quality that has the potential to attract a broad local audience and convey the anti-nuclear message in a country where direct criticism easily runs the risk of being rejected as too political.

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36 Project Fukushima! website: http://www.pj-fukushima.jp/jp/

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Matrices of Time, Space, and Text: Intertextuality and Trauma in Two 3.11 Narratives

Linda FLORES

This article examines Furukawa Hideo's *Umatachi yo, soredemo hikari wa muku de* (Horses, Horses, in the End the Light Remains Pure) and Kawakami Hiromi's "Kamisama 2011" (God Bless You, 2011), two 3.11 narratives that employ intertextuality to construct radical counter-narratives to trauma. As rewritings of earlier source texts by the respective authors, these intertextual narratives draw the reader into a dynamic relationship with the text, creating a subject position for the reader that is fluid and unsettled. As in the Barthesian "writerly text," the reader becomes engaged not only in the *consumption* of the meaning of the text, but also in the very *production* of meaning. With Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011" this occurs primarily through the use of language in the text; with Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* this takes place through the necessary act of assembling the fragmented pieces of the narrative. This article explores how Kawakami and Furukawa employ intertextuality to represent hallmark trauma narratives that also function as counter-narratives to trauma through their engagement of the reader. These intertextual 3.11 narratives serve as examples of the Barthesian "writerly" text but simultaneously disrupt this aspect of Barthes's narrative theory by placing emphasis on how the reader is actively implicated in the production of meaning of the text, and how this is contingent on the shared historical, temporal, and sociocultural experience or knowledge of trauma.

Keywords: Furukawa Hideo, Kawakami Hiromi, Barthes, writerly, counter-narrative, re-writings, Fukushima, literature

3.11 as Ruptured Time

In the six years that have passed since the Great East Japan earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear incident at the Fukushima nuclear power plant, writers, scholars, and critics have continued to debate the meanings surrounding "3.11." Artists and critics from multiple genres—poetry, art, music, prose, fiction, nonfiction, and film—have responded in various ways to the trauma of 3.11, articulating the scale of the disaster and its ongoing aftereffects. In fact, 3.11 is frequently regarded as a turning point, a date that demarcates a pre-11 March 2011 Japan (and arguably the world) from a post-11 March 2011 Japan. Following the disaster, newspapers, journals, and the media conducted surveys on how people's lives

had been altered by the events of 3.11. For example, the April 2012 special edition of the literary journal *Shinchō* 新潮 published responses to a survey that posed the following two questions: "What has the disaster changed for you?" and "What have you read since the disaster?"[1] Numerous well-known writers contributed to the survey, including Tsushima Yūko 津島佑子, Mizumura Minae 水村美苗, Matsuura Rieko 松浦理英子, Ikezawa Natsuki 池澤夏樹, and Yoshimoto Banana よしもとばなな. It elicited a variety of reactions; some, like Matsuura, provocatively claimed that their own worldview had not changed, but that everyday life had changed a great deal. Matsuura further cautioned against the conceit of writers who pronounced that everything had changed simply to demonstrate their own sensibilities and sense of morality.[2] In November 2012 a special edition of *Hihyō kenkyū* 批評研究 was published with the title "*Igo no shisō*" 以後の思想 (The Ideology of Post).[3] The edition consisted of a compilation of interviews, essays, and roundtable discussions by writers, critics, academics, and intellectuals, some of whom queried the very concept of a "post 3.11." Topics included whether it was even possible to speak of a "post 3.11";[4] an exploration of ethics after 3.11;[5] and how the Fukushima incident brought issues regarding Japan's relations with East Asia into greater focus.[6] Although seemingly anachronistic, as made evident by the title of Suh Kyungsik's 徐京植 interview in *Hihyō kenkyū*, "'Igo' ni arawareru 'izen': Fukushima to Higashi Ajia"「以後」に現れる「以前」: フクシマと東アジア, "before" gives rise to the "after." In other words, the temporal disjuncture of 3.11 simultaneously creates both an "after" (*igo*) and a "before" (*izen*).

Nevertheless, alongside these debates, discourse on a "post 3.11" has continued apace. Literature scholar and critic Kimura Saeko 木村朗子 in her study (2013) proclaimed writing after 3.11 as the advent of a new literary genre: "A new literature is flourishing. Just as wartime literature is completely different from postwar literature, through the experience of the Great East Japan earthquake, something has been lost, and something has been born. The veil has been lifted from the eyes of the world, and our sense of values has been renewed."[7]

Kimura's bold declaration suggests that the events of 3.11 and their continuing effects constitute what Piotr Sztompka in his study of cultural trauma has referred to as "traumatogenic change." Sztompka identifies four traits that characterize traumatogenic change. The first, "sudden and rapid" change, refers to changes occurring within a period of time that is relatively short given the nature of the process; the second, "comprehensive" change, refers to wide-ranging changes which affect people's personal or social lives; the third, "radical, deep, fundamental" change, describes change which reaches the core of one's social or personal life or affects universal experiences; the fourth characteristic of traumatogenic change according to Sztompka is "unexpected" change, or change that is shocking, unexpected, or which deals with what he refers to as "an unbelieving mood."[8]

1 *Shinchō*, April 2012, pp. 158–217. Cited in Kimura 2013, pp. 116–19.
2 Matsuura 2012, p. 190.
3 Takahashi H 2012.
4 Yamada 2012.
5 Takahashi J 2012.
6 Suh 2012.
7 Kimura 2013, p. 9. Translations are mine.
8 Sztompka 2004, pp. 158–59.

Taken as a totality, the devastation wrought by the Great East Japan earthquake, the tsunami that followed in its aftermath, and the nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant can clearly be regarded as "sudden, comprehensive, fundamental, and unexpected," fulfilling the conditions Sztompka posits as constitutive of traumatogenic change.[9] The magnitude nine quake destroyed large swathes of northeastern Japan and unleashed a brutal tsunami in its wake. The tsunami waves reached peaks of up to forty meters in places, traveling as far as ten kilometers inland. The waves destroyed seawalls in numerous places along the Tōhoku coastline, even overwhelming refuge stations believed to be entirely secure. Six years after the tsunami, roughly sixteen thousand deaths have been confirmed, with about two thousand five hundred still missing and presumed dead. The tsunami caused a level-7 nuclear meltdown at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, releasing radioactive water into the Pacific Ocean, a problem that continues to plague efforts at containing the damage.

Even those who did not experience the disaster firsthand were impacted in some way by the events of 3.11. Powerful visual footage of the disaster was relayed continuously in the media, drawing the nation and indeed the world into the shocking spectacle. Even apart from the tragic loss of life on a massive scale, the continuing effects of the disaster in Japan were far-reaching: devastated towns, displaced residents, widespread anxiety over radioactive contamination, environmental pollution, stringent energy conservation measures, the challenges of reconstruction (and the impossibility of it in many cases), and ever-growing concerns over the dangers associated with nuclear power. Sudden, unexpected, comprehensive, fundamental change occurred with 3.11 in Japan, and its effects persist well into the present day.

Importantly, the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown at Fukushima had the immediate effect of creating pre-disaster and post-disaster spaces. Around the nuclear power plant at Fukushima exclusion zones and evacuation zones were quickly established. In both Fukushima and Tōhoku certain places were declared *hisaichi* 被災地, or "disaster areas." The scale of the damage was such that following the disaster and in the years to come the media would offer up paired visual images for viewers' comparison and consumption: photos and footage of areas *before* and *after* 3.11. These striking images symbolize the traumatic temporal break of 3.11, signaling Sztompka's "traumatogenic change." The date 3.11 created topographical spaces associated with the disaster, but it also created conceptual and temporal spaces which, like the physical landscape, acquired a pre-disaster and a post-disaster history and identity. This article examines the intersecting matrices of time and space in two intertextual post 3.11 narratives by Kawakami Hiromi 川上弘美 and Furukawa Hideo 古川日出男. Both narratives identify 3.11 as a temporal rupture, a point of "traumatogenic change," characterized by transformations in both modes of writing and reading in the aftermath of the disaster. At the same time, both 2011 texts by Kawakami and Furukawa function as counter-narratives to trauma, engaging the reader in a dynamic relationship with space and time.

9 Sztompka 2004, p. 159. Numerous debates were waged regarding the nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant as "*sōteigai*" 想定外, meaning "unexpected" or "unimaginable." In February 2016 three former executives at the nuclear power company TEPCO (Tokyo Electric Power Company Holdings) were charged with professional negligence in relation to the disaster. For a discussion of the meltdown as *sōteigai*, see Samuels 2013, pp. 35–39.

3.11 First Literary Responses

An oft-repeated chorus among writers in the immediate aftermath of 3.11 was the difficulty of formulating an adequate response to the disaster. Due perhaps to the scale of the disaster, as well as the nature of fiction writing and the publishing world, literary responses to the Great East Japan earthquake by authors of fiction were not immediately forthcoming and did not begin to appear in publication until several months after 3.11. In fact, as Jeffrey Angles has noted in his detailed study of 3.11 poetry, the very first literary responses to the triple disaster came from poets such as Wagō Ryōichi 和合亮一, a well-established poet and native of Fukushima.[10] Wagō was residing in Fukushima when the disaster struck, and he began writing poetry about the disaster during his stay in a camp for evacuees from the affected zones. He published his first poems about 3.11 online through the news and social networking provider Twitter. Through this popular digital medium, Wagō articulated his sentiments about the disaster and about his hometown of Fukushima to a broad audience. Moreover, he was able to convey his poetry with a sense of immediacy that prose fiction simply could not rival. Wagō became an overnight sensation in the world of poetry with his Twitter poems about the disaster, a collection of which was later published in an anthology titled *Shi no tsubute* 詩の礫 (Pebbles of Poetry, 2011). In this manner, poets responded while the crisis was still ongoing, whereas works by their literary counterparts in the world of fiction were several months behind.

In the months and years that followed 3.11, publications from the world of fiction gradually began to appear in journals, in anthologies, and in book form. Three noteworthy literary projects emerged in the months following the triple disaster, which Roman Rosenbaum refers to as "palliative literature" or "charity writing": *2:46: Aftershocks* (2011), *March Was Made of Yarn* (2012), and *Shaken: Stories for Japan* (2011).[11] Publications such as these represented efforts on the part of writers to utilize their literary talents towards the relief effort, and constituted an important trend in writing about 3.11. Over the past few years the literary world has witnessed an increasing number of publications related to 3.11, especially in the genre of fiction, and 3.11 fiction is becoming more recognized in the academy as well. A recent anthology of essays edited by Barbara Geilhorn and Kristina Iwata-Weickgenannt (2017) includes three chapters relating to 3.11 literature: Jeffrey Angles on 3.11 poetry, which highlights the work of Wagō Ryōichi;[12] Rachel DiNitto on 3.11 fiction by Shigematsu Kiyoshi 重松清 and Taguchi Randy 田口ランディ, which presents these early literary responses to 3.11 as "contending narratives of cultural trauma";[13] and Kimura Saeko's exploration of the theme of "uncanny anxiety" in post Fukushima writing, which examines the work of two transnational writers, Sekiguchi Ryōko 関口涼子 and Tawada Yōko 多和田葉子.[14]

Published in the literary journal *Gunzō* 群像 in June 2011, "Kamisama 2011" 神様 2011 was among the first fictional works to emerge in response to the disaster in the months after 11 March 2011. As the magnitude of the damage of 3.11 became apparent,

10 Angles 2014. See also Wagō and Angles 2011; Angles 2017a; and Angles 2017b.
11 Rosenbaum 2014. *March Was Made of Yarn* (Luke and Karashima 2012) is the English translation of *Soredemo sangatsu wa, mata* (Tanikawa 2012).
12 Angles 2017a.
13 DiNitto 2017.
14 Kimura 2017.

writers such as Kawakami Hiromi were presented with a fundamental challenge: they felt an ethical compulsion to write, but at the same time faced the difficulty of doing so. After 3.11 Furukawa Hideo experienced a similar struggle, and his novel (Furukawa 2011) is a testament to this very dilemma. Trauma fiction is frequently characterized by a crisis of representation: how to represent in words that which defies explanation. Kawakami approached this dilemma by rewriting an earlier story from her oeuvre titled "Kamisama" 神様 (God Bless You, 1993). The resulting "Kamisama 2011" is an intertextual piece of fiction that invites comparisons between the two texts. In *Horses, Horses* Furukawa also made reference to his earlier *Seikazoku* 聖家族 (The Holy Family, 2008), and incorporated elements of his previous work into his post 3.11 novel. It is not only the act of writing, however, that confronts this existential challenge after 3.11. As I will argue below, Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011" and Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* provocatively suggest that the very practice of reading has been altered by the events of 3.11. The following section addresses the issue of reading after 3.11, drawing on examples from poetry.

Reading After 3.11

In the wake of 3.11, Ikezawa Natsuki, author and winner of the Akutagawa Prize and other prestigious literary awards, turned to nonfiction to express his sentiments. An established writer long concerned with environmental issues and nuclear power, Ikezawa defines 3.11 as a critical turning point for Japan and the literary world. In 2011, he published a collection of essays detailing his reflections on the disaster and its impact on society under the title *Haru o urandari wa shinai*: *Shinsai o megutte kangaeta koto* 春を恨んだりはしない: 震災をめぐって考えたこと (I Don't Reproach the Spring: Thoughts on the Disaster). For the title of this publication, Ikezawa took his inspiration from the opening line of the poem "Parting with a View" (Pożegnanie widoku, 1993) by the Polish poet Wislawa Szymborska, winner of the 1996 Nobel Prize in Literature. The first two stanzas of Szymborska's poem read:

> I don't reproach the spring
> for starting up again.
> I can't blame it
> for doing what it must
> year after year.
>
> I know that my grief
> will not stop the green.
> The grass blade may bend
> but only in the wind.[15]

Szymborska penned "Parting with a View" following the death of her husband, and the poem can be read as a lamentation on a passing and the impossibility of adequately capturing one's grief in words. As Charity Scribner writes in her analysis of the poem: "Since traumatic loss always extends beyond us, the terms generated to represent it remain

15 The poem was originally published in Polish in 1993. The translation above is from Szymborska 2000, pp. 240–41.

inadequate, unmasterable, unbearably light."[16] This representation of the trauma of losing a loved one articulates not only an outpouring of grief, but also a transformation in the very form that outpouring takes: words themselves are fundamentally altered by the traumatic experience. In *Haru o urandari wa shinai*, Ikezawa reveals how Szymborska's "Parting with a View" acquired new shades of meaning for him in the wake of 3.11: "This spring in Japan, no matter how much everyone is grieving, the leaves and the cherry blossoms have still bloomed. Even though we do not reproach the spring, it is nevertheless a futile spring where we have lost something important. Our perspective when viewing the cherry blossoms is somehow meaningless."[17] Szymborska's "Parting with a View," read prior to 3.11 by Ikezawa as an expression of grief for the loss of a spouse, adopts a very different nuance in the aftermath of 3.11.[18] For Ikezawa and the post 3.11 reader, the meaning of the poem is effectively transformed by the experience of traumatic events.

Numano Mitsuyoshi 沼野充義 has argued that the reception of a work of literature can fundamentally change in the wake of traumatic experiences such as the Great East Japan earthquake and the Fukushima incident. He asserts that there are many literary works written before the disaster that have since come to possess separate connotations. Numano cites Ikezawa Natsuki's "Sakura no shi: Nihen" 桜の詩: 二篇 (Two Poems on Cherry Blossoms, 2011) to illustrate his point.[19] The two poems by Ikezawa are titled "Nayuta no umi" 那由他の海 (The Deep, Deep Sea) and "Kotoshi bakari wa" 今年ばかりは (This Year Alone). The poems were written before the disaster for a cherry blossom viewing event that was scheduled to take place during the final weeks of March, the peak season for cherry blossoms. The event was cancelled due to 3.11, and the poems were subsequently published in the June edition of *Shinchō* in 2011, just a few months after 3.11. Numano refers specifically to the first stanza of the second poem, "Kotoshi bakari wa," but the poem in its entirety reads as below:

目を閉じて、/心しずかに、/想像してください——/この桜がすべて灰色だったら、と。

昔、ある詩人がそう言いました。/大事な人が亡くなった次の春も/桜ははなやかに咲く。/
でも、共に見る人はいない。/それならばいっそ、/山いっぱいの、喪服の色の桜を！

深草の野辺の桜し心あらば今年ばかりは墨染めに咲け

古今集です。

16 Scribner 1999, p. 321.
17 Ikezawa and Washio 2011, p. 18. Translation is mine.
18 See also Numano 2013, pp. 164–65.
19 Numano 2012, p. 368.

> Me o tojite, /kokoro shizuka ni, /sōzō shite kudasai—/kono sakura ga subete haiiro dattara, to.
>
> Mukashi, aru shijin ga sō iimashita. /daiji na hito ga naku natta tsugi no haru mo/ sakura wa hanayaka ni saku. /demo, tomo ni miru hito wa inai. /sore naraba isso, / yama ippai no, mofuku no iro no sakura o!
>
> Fukakusa no/nobe no sakura shi/kokoro araba/kotoshi bakari wa/sumizome ni sake
>
> *Kokinshū* desu.[20]
> (Ikezawa Natsuki, "Kotoshi bakari wa" in "Sakura no shi: Nihen")

The English translation is as follows:

> Close your eyes, /quiet your heart/and imagine—/if all these cherry blossoms were grey.
>
> In ancient times, a poet said this./The spring after a loved one died/the cherry blossoms still bloom brilliantly./But, there is no one to view them with./And so, more than ever/ Let us see a mountain full of cherry blossoms the color of mourning dress!
>
> *If you can sense then/cherry blossoms of the Fukakusa fields/this spring alone/pray, bloom a pale grey!*
> From the *Kokinshū*.

At the end of "Kotoshi bakari wa," Ikezawa includes Poem 832, a lamentation poem written during the Heian period included in the "Mourning" section of the *Kokinshū*. Attributed to Kamutsuke no Mineo 上野岑雄, Poem 832 was composed following the death of the Horikawa 堀川 Chancellor;[21] an earlier poem was also written after the chancellor's remains were interred near Mount Fukakusa 深草山. The final line of Poem 832 includes a reference to *sumizome* 墨染め, a type of cherry blossom whose petals appear whitish and pale grey— the color of a monk's robe— at first bloom before turning a pink hue. The poem implores the cherry blossoms to reflect the grief at the Horikawa Chancellor's passing in the very color of their bloom. Ikezawa's poem "Kotoshi bakari wa" expresses both the irony of beauty in times of sorrow (seasonal cherry blossoms in resplendent bloom irrespective of one's personal tribulations) and the poet's own perspective as tainted by grief (in the grey appearance of the cherry blossoms). According to Numano, a post 3.11 reading of "Kotoshi bakari wa" transforms the meaning of the poem: after 3.11 the poem signifies the sense of dissonance conveyed by the cherry blossoms in bloom following the devastation of 3.11.[22] Ikezawa and Numano both articulate the view that, irrespective of the context in which a work of poetry was written, the act of reading it can be fundamentally altered by a traumatic

20 Ikezawa 2011, p. 89. The translations of both Ikezawa's poem and Poem 832 from the *Kokinshū* are my own.
21 Shirane 2012, p. 109.
22 Numano 2012, pp. 368–69.

event. Here, author and critic alike identify preexisting works of literature in an attempt to make sense of the world after the disaster. This signals an important shift in focus from the *production* of literature to the *reception* of literature, highlighting the role of readers and their response to the work.

Trauma and Temporality

The above examples of reading poetry by Wislawa Szymborska and Ikezawa Natsuki illustrate how 3.11 signifies for many a violent temporal rupture. Time is a salient topic within the field of trauma studies. Cathy Caruth has argued, for example, that trauma does not obey the laws of temporality; she defines trauma as an experience that was never fully realized in the first instance, that then returns to haunt the traumatized victim in the form of repetitions, nightmares, and/or compulsive behavior.[23] Trauma is inherently anachronistic, as events that belong to the past can return in the present as "hauntings." Referring to trauma as an "unclaimed experience," Caruth points out that sufferers "return" to trauma, with the past infringing upon the present, often in violent form.

Trauma theorist and psychoanalyst Robert D. Stolorow has poignantly suggested that "trauma destroys time," emphasizing the role of temporality in traumatic events.[24] He argues that traumatized subjects find themselves violently wrenched from the shared structures of temporal reality. As such, they occupy a different time: "Because trauma so profoundly modifies the universal or shared structure of temporality, the traumatized person quite literally lives in another kind of reality, an experiential world felt to be incommensurable with those of others."[25] If, as Stolorow and other trauma theorists have contended, "trauma destroys time," how is this manifested in the trauma fiction of 3.11? How does trauma fiction, and intertextual trauma fiction in particular, articulate this temporal dissonance? Can it also function to re-engage the traumatized subject within the structures of communal temporality?

Trauma, Intertextuality, and the "Writerly Text"

Most critics trace the term "intertextuality" to the work of Julia Kristeva in the 1960s. In an essay titled "Word, Dialogue and Novel," Kristeva wrote that any text is "a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another."[26] In developing this theory of intertextuality, Kristeva drew inspiration from Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogic criticism, which regarded texts as complex sites of interaction and discourse. Roland Barthes was profoundly influenced by the work of both Kristeva and Bakhtin in developing his own theory of intertextuality. Characteristically poststructuralist in his approach, Barthes argued that all texts were inherently intertextual: no text is completely bounded in terms of meaning, and all texts should be open to a plurality of interpretations. Literary works can therefore be regarded as open-ended entities, as arbiters of multiple meanings, rather than a singular meaning. In his seminal work *S/Z*, Barthes divides texts

23 Caruth 1996, p. 4.
24 Stolorow 2011, p. 54.
25 Stolorow 2015.
26 Kristeva 1986, p. 37.

into two categories: "readerly" and "writerly."[27] According to Barthes, the majority of texts are "readerly"; they tend to unfold in a conventional manner and follow a linear narrative structure. In such works meaning can be regarded as stable, and the reader principally functions as a conduit or receptacle for the information conveyed. "Writerly" texts, on the other hand, allow the reader agency outside of the text. They generally do not adhere to conventional narrative forms, and their meaning is neither fixed nor stable. Whereas in a "readerly" text the reader operates as the passive recipient of the information presented in the narrative, in a "writerly" text, they assume an active role and participate in the production of meaning. Barthes proposes the "writerly" text as an ideal: "Why is the writerly our value? Because the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text."[28]

In his 1968 essay, "The Death of the Author," Barthes argued against the preeminence of authors as sole arbiters of meaning in the production of their work.[29] For Barthes, the displacement of the author was necessary in order to liberate the text from its existence as a bounded system of meanings. He wrote, "To give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing."[30] In signaling the "Death of the Author," Barthes opens the text to a potentially infinite number of interpretations. He maintained that the text should exist as a "multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash."[31] Barthes advocated polysemic readings of texts, but in order for this to be actualized, the author, a historically, culturally, and psychologically bounded figure, first had to be deposed. Barthes even went so far as to state that "the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author."[32] But are the two in fact mutually exclusive categories? Two active, though not necessarily competing, forces are at work in Barthes's essay: the act of writing and the act of reading. Barthes's essay suggests that the personal, historical, and arguably cultural specificity of the author necessarily forecloses polysemic interpretations of texts, and it is for this reason that he advocates the displacement of the author in the act of reading. Barthes's essay, which itself engenders a multiplicity of possible readings of a text, demands a sacrifice—the death of the author and, importantly, of the textual reading that a consideration of the author as an historical figure might itself engender. What if one possible set of meanings could be attached to the Text with Author at the precise moment of its production, and other possible meanings beyond that singular moment?

The discipline of trauma studies recognizes the importance of preserving the historical, sociocultural, and temporal situatedness of texts. Indeed, within the context of historical trauma and trauma fiction, one can even argue that there is an ethical imperative to do so. As the previous examples of poetry by Wislawa Szymborska, Kamutsuke no Mineo, and Ikezawa Natsuki illustrate, a text might elicit one system of meanings with a consideration

27 Barthes 1974. Barthes employs the French terms "*lisible*" and "*scriptible*" for "readerly" and "writerly" respectively. See the discussion of Barthes's readerly and writerly texts in Allen 2011, pp. 74–86.
28 Barthes 1974, p. 4.
29 Barthes 1977. Note that Barthes distinguishes between the "work" and the "text" in his writing. See Allen 2011, p. 69.
30 Barthes 1977, p. 147.
31 Barthes 1977, p. 146.
32 Barthes 1977, p. 148.

of the author who produced it, but that need not necessarily exclude future interpretations of the poem. Here I argue that Barthes' notion of a "writerly" text, and its concomitant polysemic interpretive meanings, can be maintained without completely displacing the author and the context of the production of the work. Through a consideration of intertextuality and Barthes's "writerly text," the dynamic nature of textual readings can be brought to the fore.

In intertextual fiction—especially works that draw on an earlier source text written by the same author—intertextuality poses a fundamental challenge to the Barthesian "Death of the Author." The intertextual novel generally derives meaning primarily or at least in part in relation to its literary antecedent. Accordingly, with the intertextual novel, the author cannot be "dead," as the text always already contains traces of the author inscribed within it. Moreover, possessing knowledge of a text as a rewritten version gives the reader access to particular meanings that might otherwise remain unavailable to them. As John McLeod has aptly noted of intertextual narratives that are rewritten versions of a work from an author's preexisting oeuvre, "A re-writing often implicates the reader as an *active agent* in determining the meanings made possible by the dialogue between the source-text and its re-writing."[33] Anne Whitehead also highlights the role of the reader in an intertextual novel: "The intertextual novel constructs itself around the gap between the source text and its rewriting, and depends on the reader to assemble the pieces and complete the story."[34]

"Kamisama 2011" and *Horses, Horses, in the End the Light Remains Pure* as Intertextual Narratives

In this article, intertextual fiction is defined as a work that invites comparisons (in the case of rewritings, this is usually between the source text and the rewritten version), constructs a dialogue between the two texts and provokes reconsideration of either work, or in some cases, of an event such as 3.11.[35] Both Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* and Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011" can be linked to preexisting texts by their respective authors. Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* makes overt reference to the source text, the author's earlier work *Seikazoku*, whereas Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011" is a rewritten version of the author's short story "Kamisama." As "writerly texts" and intertextual narratives, both 3.11 works certainly *invite*, and arguably even *demand*, reader response. What results is a dynamic mode of reading, one that encourages readers to establish their own unique relationship to the text.

In his analysis of the source texts and rewritten works by both Furukawa and Kawakami, Jinno Toshifumi 陣野俊史 refers to this practice of rewriting a story from the authors' ouevres as a "completely new method for addressing the nuclear incident."[36] Jinno further argues that for the author the act of rewriting a work is a particularly brazen move, as it suggests that their writings are not necessarily finished works, subject as they are to future revision. This implies that texts are not closed, bounded systems of meaning; rather, they are open to multiple interpretations, as Barthes has argued. Similarly, in *Kawakami Hiromi o yomu* 川上弘美を読む (Reading Kawakami Hiromi), Matsumoto Katsuya

33 McLeod 2000, p. 168. See also McLeod's extensive discussion on the rewritings of English literary classics in McLeod 2000, pp. 139–71.
34 Whitehead 2004, p. 93.
35 See McLeod 2000, p. 168.
36 Jinno 2011a, p. 107.

松本和也 evaluates Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011" in the context of her earlier work, "Kamisama," and uses the expression "*nijū utsushi*" 二重写し, or "double exposure," to refer to Kawakami's rewritten version of her earlier story.[37] This "double exposure" method can be regarded as a form of textual layering as the meanings associated with the rewritten text are derived partially from the source text. According to this, the rewritten text does not supplant the source text, but instead exists alongside it. Takahashi Gen'ichirō 高橋源一郎 refers to "Kamisama 2011" as a "*rimeiku*" リメイク, or a "remaking" of her 1993 story, "Kamisama." He further argues that Kawakami has created a narrative in which the two worlds portrayed in "Kamisama" and "Kamisama 2011" essentially coexist in the same place.[38]

These comments by Jinno, Matsumoto, and Takahashi underscore the importance of evaluating the 2011 fictional works by Furukawa and Kawakami as intertextual narratives and as rewritten versions of previously authored texts. The following section will explore the practice of textual layering in "Kamisama 2011" through a detailed analysis of the altered use of language in the 2011 story in comparison to its source text, "Kamisama." A subsequent section on Furukawa's work will similarly examine how the layering of the two novels, *Horses, Horses* and *Seikazoku*, results in a journey across textual space that transcends boundaries of time and geography. Both texts by Kawakami and Furukawa simultaneously represent the trauma of 3.11 and construct counter-narratives to trauma through their intertextual layering.

"Kamisama" (1993) and "Kamisama 2011" (2011)

Kawakami's original 1993 story, "Kamisama," can be interpreted as a reflection on the lack of communal ties and traditions in modern society. Fairly simplistic in terms of plot, it is the story of a bear that has recently moved into an apartment in the same complex as the unnamed human protagonist. The bear comes across as somewhat old-fashioned to the protagonist, offering traditional "moving-in noodles" and packets of postcards as presents to his new neighbors, a gesture that is less common in modern times. Despite the apparent differences between the old-fashioned bear and the human protagonist, they sense a common bond between them. The bear invites the protagonist on an outing, and together they walk to the river, stopping to rest on the riverbank. They encounter a young boy fishing with two adults, and the boy pulls at the bear's fur, then kicks and punches him playfully. Unperturbed by the boy's behavior, the bear darts into the river and deftly catches a fish. He fillets and salts it on the spot to present as a gift to the protagonist when they return home. The two enjoy a picnic lunch and return home to their respective apartments. The protagonist declares his outing with the bear an altogether pleasant excursion. This delightfully unassuming story of two characters—one bear, one human—on a day out together decries the erosion of traditional customs in modern society. "Kamisama" also demonstrates the lack of connections (*kizuna*) between people in modern times.[39] How then did Kawakami modify the 2011 version of her story "Kamisama" to represent life in post Fukushima Japan?

37 Matsumoto 2013, p. 42.
38 Takahashi 2011, p. 541.
39 Tokita 2015, p. 7.

"Kamisama 2011," Kawakami's reworked version of her 1993 story, is very nearly identical to the original version, "Kamisama." The main characters are the same; the plot is the same; the setting is the same; the language is largely unchanged. The two main characters remain a bear and a human who live in the same apartment complex. The bear has moved in relatively recently, and again, seems to be more mindful of cultural customs and traditions than most people. The protagonist and the bear go out for a walk and a picnic and then return home. Similar to the original story written in 1993, the post 3.11 version implies that the nuclear disaster at Fukushima has resulted in a further erosion of the already disintegrating connections between people in the modern world.[40] Tokita Tamaki argues that "Kamisama 2011" constitutes a step towards Japan's recovery from 3.11, "guiding . . . readers to accept what has already happened and move forward, living in harmony with nature, so that their homeland can be passed onto future generations without further damage."[41]

How does one read an intertextual narrative such as Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011," as a rewriting of her earlier work, "Kamisama"? A line-by-line analysis of passages from both works reveals the extent to which the two narratives are similar, but also highlights the significant differences between them. In *Shisha no koe, seija no kotoba: Bungaku de tou genpatsu no Nihon*, Komori Yōichi 小森陽一 (2014) scrutinizes passages from both texts by Kawakami, emphasizing the modifications the author made to the original text in her 2011 version.[42] To illustrate those changes, Komori quotes a passage from the original "Kamisama," immediately followed by the altered version of the same passage in "Kamisama 2011." Below I include both passages in Japanese: the first passage is taken from "Kamisama"; the second from "Kamisama 2011." Following this, I quote the English translations for both the 1993 version and the 2011 version. The modifications made to the text are highlighted in the second passages in both the original Japanese and in the English translation.

> Opening passage of "Kamisama" (1993) in Japanese:
> くまにさそわれて散歩に出る。川原に行くのである。歩いて二十分ほどのところにある川原である。春先に、鳴(しぎ)を見るために、行ったことはあったが、暑い季節にこうして弁当まで持っていくのは初めてである。散歩というよりハイキングといったほうがいいかもしれない。[43]

> Opening passage of "Kamisama 2011" (2011) in Japanese with emphasis from Komori:
> くまにさそわれて散歩に出る。川原に行くのである。歩いて二十分ほどのところにある川原である。春先に、鳴(しぎ)を見るために、**防護服をつけて**行ったことはあったが、暑い季節にこうして**ふつうの服を着て肌を出し**、弁当まで持っていくのは、**「あのこと」以来**初めてである。散歩というよりハイキングといった方がいいかもしれない。[44]

40 Tokita 2015, p. 8.
41 Tokita 2015, p. 10.
42 Komori 2014, pp. 79–80.
43 Kawakami 2011b, p. 109.
44 Komori 2014, pp. 79–80. Passage is from Kawakami 2011a, p. 104.

> Opening passage of "Kamisama" (1993) in English:
> The bear invited me to go for a walk to the river, about twenty minutes away. I had taken that road once before in the early spring to see the snipes, but this was the first time I had gone in hot weather, and carrying a box lunch to boot. It would be a bit of a trek, somewhere between a hike and a stroll.[45]
>
> Opening passage of "Kamisama 2011" (2011) in English (with emphasis from Komori in bold):
> The bear invited me to go for a walk to the river, about twenty minutes away. I had taken that road once before in the early spring to see the snipes, but **then I had worn protective clothing**; now it was hot, and for the first time **since the "incident" I would be clad in normal clothes that exposed the skin**, and carrying a box lunch to boot. It would be a bit of a trek, somewhere between a hike and a stroll.[46]

Komori carefully examines the use of language in Kawakami's 2011 story, and argues that it demonstrates an implicit understanding between the reader and the text. This is manifested primarily in two ways: first, through the insertion of key vocabulary relevant to a post Fukushima audience; and second, through the use of language which demonstrates a shared understanding among the readership. Both characteristics rely upon shared information structures, knowledge that exists within particular contexts and without which understanding is not possible.

To begin with, Komori highlights the use of the term *bōgofuku* 防護服 (protective clothing) in the first few lines of "Kamisama 2011"; the radical imposition of this term upon the 1993 narrative structure operates as a form of textual violence symbolizing the nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. Komori indicates that, although the text never overtly mentions radioactive emissions, radioactive particles, or even radiation, the mere inclusion of *bōgofuku* is itself revealing. He points out that until 3.11, *bōgofuku* was a specialized term only used among those who worked with nuclear power; after 3.11, the repetition of the term in the news and mass media rendered it familiar to the general public.[47] "Protective clothing," he further suggests, is then juxtaposed to "*futsū no fuku o kite hada o dashi*" ふつうの服を着て肌を出し (normal clothes that exposed the skin). According to Komori, once the reader has been made aware of this initial juxtaposition, others naturally fall into line: "*kawara*" 川原 (river bed) signals an exceedingly ordinary space contaminated by emissions from the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant; "*harusaki*" 春先 (beginning of spring) represents the normal start of spring that becomes directly linked to 3.11.[48] In his study of post 3.11 literature, Rosenbaum classifies the product of Kawakami's juxtapositions as "horrendous": "By giving us two 'almost' identical versions of the same story—one written prior to and another post-3.11—she suggests that

45 Kawakami 2012f, p. 48.
46 Kawakami 2012d, p. 37. All translations from Kawakami Hiromi's stories are taken from the Goossen and Shibata translation in *March Was Made of Yarn*. Goossen and Shibata translate the title "Kamisama 2011" as "God Bless You, 2011." I have added emphasis in bold to reflect the changes to the passage as indicated by Komori in Komori 2014, pp. 79–80.
47 Komori 2014, pp. 80–81.
48 Komori 2014, p. 81.

even our traditional narratives have become distorted by the deep psychological scars of the disaster."[49] Both Rosenbaum and Komori concur that Kawakami's subtle transformations of language between "Kamisama" and "Kamisama 2011" reveal the gravity and depth of the changes brought about by 3.11. These subtleties of language resonate in a particular way to a post 3.11 readership with collective knowledge or experiences of the events.

With respect to the use of language in "Kamisama 2011," Komori draws particular attention to the term *ano koto* あのこと (translated as the "incident" in the English version). Tokita renders *ano koto* as "that thing," arguing, "Kawakami prefers to refer to nuclear incidents as 'that thing' as though to avoid placing the full blame on those who operated the power plant (by calling them *genpatsu jiko*, or 'nuclear accidents,' for example). This shows Kawakami's willingness to accept some of the blame as a member of society who used electricity derived from nuclear power without questioning its safety."[50] However, Komori does not attribute the ambiguous use of *ano koto* to a displacement of responsibility for the nuclear meltdown at Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. Instead, he argues that *ano koto* signals a "shared understanding" (*kyōtsū rikai* 共通理解) between the speaker and the listener (author and reader, or perhaps text and reader): "That 'incident' is made to function as a site of meaning in which that 'incident' already cannot be thought of as anything other than the Fukushima incident after '3.11.'"[51] Komori suggests that this "shared understanding" is forged through the juxtaposition of terms that underscore the transformations in life *before* and *after* 3.11, linked together by *ano koto*. He refers to this as a "*torinitī*" トリニティー or "*sanmi ittai*" 三位一体—a "trinity" that is formed through the triangulation of the expressions *bōgofuku*, *futsū no fuku o kite hada o dashi*, and *ano koto*.[52] This involves labor on the part of the reader, who must construct and derive meaning from this triangular relationship. In this Barthesian "writerly" text, the reader locates *ano koto* as the fulcrum on which the changes in life since 3.11 hinge: the protagonist of "Kamisama 2011" inhabits a world where "protective clothing" is rendered necessary following the "incident," and where wearing "normal clothing that exposed the skin" can be classified as extraordinary behavior. Komori's argument can be extended to include not only the phrase *ano koto*, but also a range of other expressions referring to 3.11 in "Kamisama 2011" and other texts, both fiction and nonfiction. These include *ano hi* あの日 (that day) and *ano hi irai* あの日以来 (since that day).[53] Komori identifies a proliferation of works published after 3.11 suggesting a *before* and *after* the event. The August edition of the journal *Subaru* すばる contained an article titled "'3.11' *to 'sono go' no shōsetsu*"「3·11」と「その後」の小説 ('3.11' and novels 'After' 3.11) in which Jinno Toshifumi suggested that the meanings associated with previously completed novels had been transformed.[54] Literary scholar Kitada Sachie in her comments on literature and feminist criticism after 3.11 refers to "Kamisama 2011" as an important turning point; she argues that life had changed markedly since *ano*

49 Rosenbaum 2014, p. 105.
50 Tokita 2015, p. 10.
51 Komori 2014, p. 81.
52 Komori 2014, pp. 82–83.
53 The numerous publications, both fiction and nonfiction, which refer to 3.11 employing the expressions *ano hi* or *ano koto* are a testament to this. Many news stories and television programs commemorating the sixth anniversary of 3.11 also used *ano hi* in their titles.
54 Jinno 2011b.

ato あのあと (after the incident), and that people had to negotiate a way forward through these unusual times.[55]

Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011" reveals these changes through subtleties in the language. In linguistic terms, demonstratives, referred to in Japanese as *ko-so-a-do* こそあど words such as *kono* この, *sono* その, *ano* あの, and *dono* どの (this, that, that one over there, and which one), are used when there is either an identifiable referent or a shared experience. Sakoda Kumiko defines the two major functions of Japanese demonstratives as deictic and anaphoric: "The deictic demonstratives point out referents directly, while the anaphoric demonstratives are used in the discourse."[56] Sakoda argues that in anaphoric use, the "*so*-series" (*sono*, *sore*, and *soko*) terms suggest that knowledge of the information or the experience in question is not shared. On the other hand, when used anaphorically, "*a*-series" terms (*ano*, *are*, and *asoko*) "are used to indicate that the speaker thinks that the referent (i.e. hearer) shares the experience or mutual knowledge."[57]

Linguistics scholar Kuno Susumu's research on demonstratives clearly delineates the anaphoric functions of the *a*-series and the *so*-series in particular:

> (i). The *a*-series is used for referring to something (at a distance either in time or space) that the speaker knows both he and the hearer know personally or have shared experience in.
>
> (ii). The *so*-series is used for referring to something that is not known personally to either the speaker or the hearer or has not been a shared experience between them.[58]

Hence, according to Kuno, anaphorically, the "*a*-series" of demonstratives is only used when both speaker and listener are aware of the referent. With respect to the "*a*-series," linguistics scholar Kuroda Shigeyuki 黒田成幸 emphasizes that it is used to represent knowledge acquired through direct experience.[59] Building on Kuno's argument on the "*a*-series," Florian Coulmas adds that the speaker "has reason to believe that such is the case."[60] That is, the presentation of the text presumes the reader's knowledge of a thing, or in the case of 3.11, an event.

Curiously, in Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011," the expression *ano koto* is used to refer to the meltdown at the nuclear power plant at Fukushima, yet it occurs in the opening lines of the narrative, without explicit mention of what is being referred to. There is no prior discussion of the nuclear incident at Fukushima, nor is there a physical object to which the demonstrative *ano* refers. It follows, then, that this "anaphoric" function of demonstratives is "regulated by the locus of a reference object in the universe of knowable objects, with a speaker and a hearer pivot."[61] *Ano* therefore operates as a pivot, a point of

55 Kitada 2012, p. 113. Cited in Komori 2014, pp. 74–75.
56 Sakoda 2016, pp. 137–38.
57 Sakoda 2016, p. 138.
58 Kuno 1973, p. 290.
59 Kuroda 1979.
60 Coulmas 1982, p. 215.
61 Coulmas 1982, p. 215. See also Kuno 1973.

mutual understanding that binds readers across both textual space ("Kamisama" [1993] and "Kamisama 2011" [2011]) and across time (pre 3.11 and post 3.11).

Here I argue that the anaphoric usage of *ano* (as in *ano hi* or *ano koto*) has several implications: (1) it suggests that 3.11 exists as shared knowledge within the public realm; (2) it creates a sense of psychological distance, effectively placing a "safety buffer" between the reader and the disaster; and (3) it invites the reader in, implying a sense of intimacy or familiarity.

Shared knowledge operates on multiple levels. First of all, "Kamisama 2011" is an inherently intertextual piece of literature; the repetition of part of the title, "Kamisama," in the 2011 piece further underscores this point. "Kamisama 2011" is premised on a shared body of knowledge, in this case, a work from the author's existing oeuvre. In addition, the usage of the demonstrative *ano* also implies shared knowledge of 3.11 in general, and of the nuclear meltdown at Fukushima in particular. Although "Kamisama 2011" does not necessarily center on a shared personal experience of the earthquake or the tsunami per se, the use of *ano* in "Kamisama 2011" binds the speaker and listener (here: author/text and reader) through shared knowledge or experience of the referent. Because of this shared knowledge, overt mention of 3.11 is ubiquitous. Indeed, as Coulmas's work suggests, this anaphoric usage of *ano* implies that the speaker believes that it is not necessary to provide a referent.

The second function of the term *ano* in "Kamisama 2011" is applicable more broadly in discourse since 3.11. It suggests both a shared understanding as well as a reluctance to directly mention the traumatic events of 3.11. Instead of referring to "11 March, 2011," "3.11," or "Fukushima," *ano koto* and *ano hi* are sufficient for meaningful communication among those with shared knowledge of the incident. Hence, for those located within these communal structures of knowledge, "3.11" can be referred to in relatively ambiguous terms, and this creates a critical distance between the event and those with shared knowledge of the event (text and reader). To put it another way, the use of *ano* imparts a psychological buffer between the reader and the disaster. At the same time, it enables discussion of the traumatic event without overt mention of it.

In its third function, *ano* operates as an invitation to readers, ushering them into the community of shared knowledge and/or experience. In other words, *ano* is inclusive; it forges a community defined not simply by national identity (the Japanese people), firsthand experience of the disaster, or shared knowledge of the disaster. *Ano* also invites the reader to consider other nuclear incidents in addition to Fukushima, due to the inherently ambiguous nature of the demonstrative. In fact, '*ano koto*' could be used to refer to nuclear incidents before or after 3.11, including Chernobyl, for example. It has the potential to embrace broader meanings for the community of readers who share a common concern for nuclear issues. Indeed, it creates a community defined even more broadly—by the readership itself. In Kawakami's rewritten version of her 1993 story, the reader and the text are linked by these complex textual nuances and subtleties of language.

While on the surface the two narratives appear more similar than different, the changes that Kawakami makes to the text clearly demonstrate that life *after* 2011 is fundamentally different from life *before* 2011. The alterations to the text signal a new, post Fukushima Japan in which everything, including the quotidian aspects of life, such as going for a walk or one's attire, have been subtly but fundamentally transformed. On the formal level of the text, these alterations can also be regarded as a kind of textual violence: Kawakami's 1993

"Kamisama," the story that launched her literary career, has been symbolically defaced. The fact that the two stories, "Kamisama" and "Kamisama 2011," were printed side by side with the author's afterword in three separate publications, *Gunzō*, *Soredemo sangatsu wa, mata*, and the English translation of *Soredemo sangatsu wa, mata*, *March Was Made of Yarn*, means that the reader has no choice but to draw comparisons between the two narratives. The reader's movement between the two stories need not rely only on their memory of the source text, "Kamisama"; the reader can move spatially as well as temporally between the texts, as access to the source narrative is immediate. Significantly, the intertextual narrative alone does not accomplish the work of building connections and creating meaning; this can only be achieved through the intervention of the reader. The intertextual narrative functions as an intermediary, connecting the reader, text, and arguably the author into a triangular relationship wherein each performs a crucial role. In "Kamisama 2011" the reader is charged with the responsibility of bridging between the source text and the rewriting.

Furukawa Hideo's *Seikazoku* (2008) and *Horses, Horses, in the End the Light Remains Pure* (2011)

Furukawa has won high accolades in the literary world in recent years, including the Noma Prize for New Writers and the 2015 Yomiuri Prize for Literature. Furukawa's *Seikazoku* 聖家族 is set in the Tōhoku region and even incorporates the Tōhoku dialect into the text. It tells the story of the Inuzuka 狗塚 family alongside the history of the region. There are three siblings in the Inuzuka family, two brothers, Gyūichirō 牛一郎 and Yōjirō 羊二郎, and a sister Kanaria カナリア, but the narrative focuses mainly on the exploits of the two brothers. The narrative recounts history in multiple ways, including conversations with and letters from the grandmother, and imagined conversations between the two Inuzuka brothers. Like its literary successor, *Horses, Horses*, *Seikazoku* follows two primary trajectories: space and time. It traces the spatial geography of Tōhoku, wandering throughout the region, but it also tracks a seven-hundred-year historical time span, offering an "alternative history" of Tōhoku. The narrative is told in nonlinear fashion, mingling at times past, present, and future. It also charts the temporal journey from the Sengoku era to the Meiji Restoration, and on to the Pacific War, calling into question the very existence of a singular narrative of history.

The protagonist of *Horses, Horses* is based on the author Furukawa himself, and specters of his literary past can be located throughout the novel. *Horses, Horses* is intertextual in the strictest sense of the term as it is "haunted" by *Seikazoku*; in fact, *Horses, Horses* can be regarded as a sequel of sorts to Furukawa's 2008 "mega-novel." His 2011 novel documents the centripetal journey of the author/protagonist as he travels to the disaster zone of Fukushima together with his colleagues.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, the protagonist describes the difficulty he faced trying to write in the aftermath of 3.11, combined with the compulsion to articulate his sentiments. The protagonist is repeatedly haunted by a voice that presents him with three simple imperatives: travel to Fukushima, witness the spectacle, and write about his experiences. Unable to ignore the voice and its multiple directives, he travels by car with colleagues from his publishing company to the heart of the disaster zone in Fukushima. What is the impetus for this seemingly self-destructive pilgrimage? Kawamura Minato 川村湊 initially speculates that the journey is perhaps motivated by heroism, a simple desire to stand apart

from the crowd, or excessive love for one's hometown; he then proposes that it may be fueled by a desire to become irradiated, to endure suffering together with the people of Fukushima, implying a nihilistic desire on the part of the protagonist.[62]

Horses, Horses stubbornly resists simple categorization into one particular genre of writing. Similar to the violence evident at the structural level in "Kamisama 2011" as a modified version of the source text, "Kamisama," Furukawa's novel *Horses, Horses* is fragmented, disjointed, even broken. As described by the translator Douglas Slaymaker in his afterword to the novel, *Horses, Horses* is perhaps best classified as "a sort of memoir, sort of fiction, sort of essay, something of a road trip; it can be chaotic and overwhelming."[63] Furukawa's 2011 novel is a literary mélange of sorts, and as Kawamura points out, "This documentary work which revolves around the nuclear disaster zone of Hamadōri in Fukushima prefecture unfolds as a curious 'dialogue' between the author and a character from the author's literary world."[64] Kawamura's use of the term *taiwa* 対話 (dialogue) to describe Furukawa's 2011 novel about Fukushima appropriately highlights the intertextual nature of *Horses, Horses*. The intermingling of genres in the text prompts Kawamura to interrogate the genre of the work itself: "Is this a novel or a tale? Or perhaps, it is the daydream of a novelist who goes to the horrible site of the nuclear-quake disaster, an absurd fictional space that blends the world of reality with the world of imagination, hallucinated by a radiation-afflicted mind."[65]

The anachronistic appearance of a character from *Seikazoku* in *Horses, Horses* also characterizes the novel as a piece of intertextual fiction. During the journey to Fukushima, the protagonist discovers that one of the main characters from *Seikazoku*, the older brother Gyūichirō, has mysteriously appeared as a passenger in the back seat of his rental car. Elements of magical realism are clearly at work here; Gyūichirō suddenly appears out of nowhere, and yet his presence is unquestioned by the protagonist. This can be attributed in part to the nature of the post 3.11 text in the hands of Furukawa, where the unexpected, the unbelievable, has already taken place. After all, how extraordinary is the supernatural presence of Gyūichirō when compared to the devastation of the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown at Fukushima? The introduction of Gyūichirō into Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* is significant for several reasons. First of all, the anachronistic appearance of a character from the author's canon of works juxtaposes a pre 3.11 world with a post 3.11 world. The fact that the setting for *Seikazoku* is also the Tōhoku region further underscores this point. Second, the sense of magical realism that Gyūichirō's appearance imparts to the narrative psychologically prepares the reader for what follows in the protagonist's journey to the disaster zone. In other words, throughout the novel our sense of normalcy is continually and consistently disrupted. When the protagonist of *Horses, Horses* arrives at Fukushima, he is surprised to find the scene relatively quiet, with little visible damage. He encounters the animals that have been abandoned after the evacuation, and ruminates on the history of horses in the Fukushima region as well as the history of the region itself.

62 Kawamura 2013, p. 34.
63 Slaymaker 2016, p. 141.
64 Kawamura 2013, p. 36.
65 Kawamura 2013, p. 36.

What results from this combination of literary elements is a novel emblematic of the disjointed character of the experience of trauma. Furukawa's novel bears the hallmarks of trauma fiction: it does not follow a conventional linear narrative structure; it does not obey the laws of temporality; it constantly shifts narrative focus. Just as the events that unfolded in the wake of 3.11 were disjointed and confusing, so too is the novel. In this way, the novel mimics the very structure and form of traumatic events.

Central to this embodiment of trauma is the novel's portrayal of time. The novel describes the temporal disjuncture that followed 3.11, referring to it with the expression *kamikakushi no jikan* 神隠しの時間, or "spirited-away time":[66]

> I experienced one day as though it was a week. Or three days that felt like a month. This is how "spirited-away time" works. I was not the only one that lost all sense of days of the week, I was not the only one for whom the dates of the calendar disappeared. (Everyone I was talking with seemed to be experiencing the same thing).[67]

The narrator conveys this sense of being "out of time" during the aftermath of 3.11 not only through the content of his words, but also through the very form of the narrative. Within the space of several pages, the reader travels temporally through discontinuous time: 11 April, 9 April, 10 April, 27 March, 13 March, then to the day of the Great East Japan earthquake, 11 March 2011.

> This takes us back to two Sundays before March 27. On March 13 I received a writing request from the press agency. Now I was still fully wrapped up within the "spirited-away time," and even though dates and days had been hijacked, if I go back over it now I can get it in order enough to talk about it. I will lay it out carefully.[68]

Later in the text the narrator continues to express disbelief at having been thwarted by time: "The turnover of the months took me by surprise. May? Was it already May? I have no recollection of encountering the end of April. Thus the fact of, the reality of, the twelfth of *May*, shocked the hell out of me."[69] The protagonist refers to "calendar days expanding and changing," as though the mathematical certitude of something as seemingly fixed as the length of a day, week, month, or even year has been called into question. *Horses, Horses* suggests that time itself is unreliable, as trauma has fundamentally disrupted the flow of temporality. The reader too shares this communal sense of disorientation with the protagonist and with other readers as the text leaves the reader searching for narrative cohesion or logic. The practice of reading is thus transformed into an act of assemblage, rearranging the disparate pieces of the narrative. Without a clear narrative focus or a coherent sense of time, only one thing remains constant: Fukushima and the centripetal journey to the heart of the disaster zone.

66 Slaymaker and Takenaka's translation of *kamikakushi no jikan* is "spirited-away time."
67 Furukawa 2016, p. 6. All translations of Furukawa's text are by Slaymaker and Takenaka.
68 Furukawa 2016, p. 17.
69 Furukawa 2016, p. 107.

With Fukushima as a target destination, the protagonist embarks on numerous literary excursions along the way: dialogues with Gyūichirō from *Seikazoku*; historical accounts of the Warring States period; memories of the protagonist's childhood; histories of horses in the Sōma 相馬 region; and self-authored poetry on 9.11, to name a few. In this meandering text, the reader cannot help but become a bit lost. Without a central, unifying plot as a compass to guide the way in this "writerly" text, the reader is tasked with the act of bringing together the seemingly disparate elements of the novel. The fact that the only consistent and reliable trajectory in the narrative is that of the protagonist's (and reader's) movement ever nearer to the center of the Fukushima disaster zone adds the aspect of spatial movement to discourse. This is significant, as although issues of time are frequently discussed in discourse on trauma fiction, issues of space are seldom at the heart of discourse.[70]

In fact, whereas time itself is the site of rupture, it is space—both geographical and textual space—that offers a counter-narrative to the trauma of 3.11. The text transports the reader on a journey that they cannot themselves take: towards the center of the disaster. As readers trace this literary geography, they are also traveling through the space of the text, or the in-between spaces of the text. Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* simultaneously charts a journey through several distinct but inter-related types of space: geographical space (from the outside of the disaster zone to the center of the zone), conceptual space (from a post 3.11 reality to a pre 3.11 reality), and textual space (from *Seikazoku* to *Horses Horses*). Whereas Kawakami Hiromi's "Kamisama 2011" focuses on the *time* of the disaster, pinpointing 3.11 as a turning point through references to *ano hi* or *ano koto*, Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* instead emphasizes the *space* of the disaster. The protagonist not only feels compelled to go to Fukushima of his own volition, he is *ordered* to go there by a mysterious, unnamed voice: "'Go.' There was the voice. 'You must go there. Inside the concentric circles.' What is this feeling?"[71]

This emphasis on geographical and corporeal space is even reflected in the language employed in the text. In particular, there is the directive the protagonist hears issued repeatedly by a disembodied voice telling him to "Go there." The original Japanese text reads: "*Soko e ike*" *to*「そこへ行け」と.[72] In fact, the informal imperative *soko e ike* occurs several times throughout the text. Although in Furukawa's novel *Horses, Horses*, the protagonist is a native of Fukushima, the narrative implies that while he may possess knowledge of the Fukushima that existed *before* 3.11, he does not know of the Fukushima that exists *after* 3.11. Hence, when the voice commands the protagonist, "*Soko e ike*," "*soko*" indicates a post 3.11 Fukushima that has been transformed in ways that the protagonist cannot yet fully comprehend.

The protagonist emphasizes the status of Fukushima as *soko* (there, not here), a place that is effectively "othered" through its status as the site of the nuclear meltdown. Fukushima, he suggests, is being excluded from Japan proper; as the disaster zone, the zone of exclusion, *soko* signals its status as an abject site: "*Fukushima*—no matter how you spell it—was being locked out. People have been chased outside those circles, but it's all such

70 Anne Whitehead examines the work of Geoffrey Hartman on landscape in relation to trauma theory and memory. See Whitehead 2003. Marinella Rodi-Risberg investigates how trauma is enacted and represented through textual, geographical, and corporeal space. See Rodi-Risberg 2010.

71 Furukawa 2016, p. 25.

72 Furukawa 2011, p. 5.

an empty fiction. 'Beyond the prefectural border?' Can one truly escape by leaving the prefecture?"[73]

Even when the protagonist reaches the disaster zone of Fukushima, his target destination, the novel offers no sense of closure: "And at this point my essay ends, and begins."[74] Caught up in these endless cycles of repetition, the reader too is unable to escape from the confusion of the text. Stolorow, in his explication of how "trauma destroys time," argues: "In the region of trauma, all duration or stretching along collapses; past becomes present, and future loses all meaning other than endless repetition."[75] Given the temporal disruptions to Furukawa's novel *Horses, Horses,* spatial movement constitutes an attempt by the protagonist to escape from so-called "spirited-away time." Despite this, however, the novel does not *end* so much as *continue*, demonstrating the inherent difficulty or perhaps impossibility in transcending the fractured time of trauma.

In fact, the protagonist of *Horses, Horses* expresses his reluctance to employ 3.11 as a marker of time: "I oppose calling this current catastrophe of Japan, officially known as the Great East Japan Earthquake, '3.11.' [. . .] because the nuclear accident is ongoing, even after. Indeed, things got much worse after March 11. I know that people desire commemorative phrases, I get that."[76] His resistance represents the fact that "3.11" cannot be regarded as a traumatic event that can be historicized; its after-effects are ongoing, and the trauma is *now*. Despite his inherent reluctance in principle to attribute "3.11" as a moniker for the triple disaster, the protagonist concedes, "This was all before 3.11. Before 99 percent of Americans knew that a place called 'Fukushima' even existed. And then the event occurred in the afternoon of March 11, Japan time, and Japan came to own 3.11."[77]

As the earlier discussion on reading before and after 3.11 has shown, literary works can acquire new shades of meaning in the aftermath of a traumatic event. The protagonist of Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* illustrates this with an anecdote about attending a concert in support of disaster victims held on 9 April 2011, just under a month after the earthquake. He describes how the concert helped those after the trauma as it represented a return to the quotidian, to the "everyday" aspects of life: "Just what everyone wanted. To have music come back into everyday life like this, or perhaps to have an *everyday* in which music came back like this, is what everyone wanted. And my friends delivered a concert in tune with that desire."[78] These musician friends of the protagonist expressed their concern at playing a particular song, written several years before, that mentioned "radioactive rain":
"In this world," he began the song, "with twisted bodies we're gonna keep running,"

73 Furukawa 2016, pp. 24–25.
74 Furukawa 2016, p. 140.
75 Stolorow 2011, p. 55.
76 Furukawa 2016, p. 110.
77 Furukawa 2016, p. 111.
78 Furukawa 2016, p. 10.

Pelted by radioactive rain
We're gonna keep dancing
To the beat of this rain that does not stop
To the dance beat that does not stop
And again
Crank it up a notch[79]

Knowing that the protagonist is from Fukushima, the band debated whether or not to play the song: "'But you know, Furukawa-san, he was so troubled because he knew you were going to be here today. K was worried about playing this song in your presence; he was worried about the appropriateness of singing this with you in the audience.'"[80] Despite the protagonist's professed resistance to "naming" 3.11 in the same way that the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and other sites in America have become known globally in common parlance as "9.11," the musician's comments illustrate that since 3.11, something has profoundly changed. At the concert, the song brings the protagonist to tears, and performing it produces a visceral reaction in the lead singer: "The emotions were concentrated in my friend's body; you could see him shudder, could see the axis of existence, a staff of life, could see that his entire body and being was in the song."[81] Here, for both performer and audience alike, the song has acquired a profoundly different meaning from the time of its original production.

Conclusion

Recent studies of the construction of memory after 9.11 prove instructive for understanding the role of intertextuality in both Kawakami Hiromi's "Kamisama 2011" and Furukawa Hideo's *Horses, Horses*.[82] In a study of post 9.11 theater, Ilka Saal argues that, "trauma work entails not only the mending of physical and psychic wounds, but also the reconstruction of narrative structures."[83] Both "Kamisama 2011" and *Horses, Horses* represent the devastation wrought by the trauma of 3.11 not only through their content, but also through their narrative structure. "Kamisama 2011" can be regarded as a violated version of the original text, "Kamisama," structurally altered to reflect the realities in a new, post 3.11 Japan in which radiation screenings, protective clothing, and specialized terms such as cesium have come to constitute the "new normal." In *Horses, Horses* the narrative itself is in ruins: it is fragmented, disjointed, and out of order. Arguably, reading this type of trauma narrative is itself a profoundly unsettling act. The text does not provide a compass to guide the reader through the act of reading; instead, they must navigate through the frequently rocky terrain of the text, meandering through various literary styles and genres (stream of consciousness, historical narrative, poetry). In their study of literary and visual arts related to the trauma of the Holocaust, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub examine how fragmentation in testimony emphasizes the importance of the listener: "When the trauma fragments, on the contrary,

79 Furukawa 2016, p. 11.
80 Furukawa 2016, p. 12.
81 Furukawa 2016, p. 11.
82 Although the two events, 9.11 and 3.11, are not directly comparable, it is noteworthy that after 3.11 some Japanese writers turned to 9.11 as a point of reference for thinking about traumatic events.
83 Saal 2010, p. 353.

accelerate, threaten to get too intense, too tumultuous and out of hand, he has to reign them in, to modulate their flow. And he has to see and hear beyond trauma fragments, to wider circles of reflections."[84] Felman and Laub argue that the fragmented nature of testimony creates an intimate bond between the traumatized subject and the listener; the listener becomes emotionally invested in the experience. In a similar vein, when evaluating "Kamisama 2011" and Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* as trauma narratives, reading similarly becomes an act of reassembling pieces of a puzzle, of forging connections, and of locating and producing meaning through those very acts.

Importantly, in "Kamisama 2011" and Furukawa's *Horses, Horses*, the formidable task of creating a counter-narrative to trauma does not simply fall to the author. When encountering these texts the reader is interpolated in the act of piecing together the fragments of trauma narratives, and thereby becomes an active agent, a subject participating in the production of meaning in the world post 3.11. The protagonist of Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* describes his struggle to formulate a literary response to the events of 3.11:

> Every time there was a strong aftershock, I would revise.
>
> The aftershocks left no options. A clear voice: "Revise completely and thoroughly."
>
> Same voice as that earlier voice that said: "Go there." So I followed the voice, waited for some things to fall into place, and started writing this. When the flow of things gets stopped up, sometimes you have to devise a way through. So I fashioned one.[85]

In their respective studies of Japanese fiction on 3.11, Kimura Saeko and Komori Yōichi both cite writer Don DeLillo's essays on 9.11, in which he argues for the importance of a response in the wake of disasters. As DeLillo suggests, there is arguably an ethical imperative for the reader to construct a counter-narrative to, or perhaps *from*, the "rubble" of the disaster.[86] Reading Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* and Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011" not only as intertextual "trauma narratives" but also as intertextual "trauma counter-narratives," it becomes evident that in the Barthesian "writerly" text, not only the author/text, but also the reader is required in the task of "devising a way through" trauma.

As previously discussed, most intertextual fiction is reflexive in nature, hearkening back to a preexisting trauma that continues to haunt the narrative in the present. Contrary to this norm, "Kamisama 2011" and *Horses, Horses* both contain traces of a *pre-traumatic past* in their present narratives. Undoubtedly, in both narratives the trauma exists not as a specter of the past haunting the present, but rather as a seemingly eternal present. With intertextual narratives, commonly the rewritten version destabilizes meanings associated with the preexisting narrative. In the case of both Furukawa's *Horses, Horses* and Kawakami's "Kamisama 2011," however, the source text is destabilized through the rewritten version, but the rewritten version is also profoundly *destabilizing*. That is, the rewritten texts identify a post 3.11, post-Fukushima reality that suggests an unsettling and uncertain

84 Felman and Laub 1992, p. 71.
85 Furukawa 2016, p. 8.
86 DeLillo 2001.

future. As scholars reflecting on the meanings associated with a "post 3.11" have indicated, declaring an "after" simultaneously creates a "before." A "post 3.11" creates a "pre 3.11," and what the 2011 texts by Kawakami and Furukawa highlight are the transformations in our way of looking at the world *before* and *after* 3.11. Unlike other intertextual works of trauma fiction, in these two works trauma does not constitute an historical event to be revisited or reworked; instead the trauma is *here* and *now*.

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The Hyphenated Films of Steven Okazaki: Japanese Identities in American Film

Roman ROSENBAUM

This paper investigates how transnational Asian American identities are constructed in the context of Japan's diasporic Japanese American community. The research in this paper focuses specifically on the contemporary films of the third generation Japanese American director Steven Okazaki, whose documentaries portray diasporic communities created by the legacy of the Asia-Pacific conflict. It is through the shared communal trauma in the Asia-Pacific region that Okazaki generates a transnational discourse of remembrance that transcends the confines of the nation state and implies the existence of a larger Pan-Pacific community. Okazaki's documentaries also contextualize the notion of transnationality in a global world as it contributes to a specific Pan-Pacific identity formation that undermines the hegemony of cultural nationalism, homogeneity, and ethnocentrism through an emphasis on the heterogeneity inherent in hyphenated identities. Special emphasis is given here to the reception of Japanese American documentary films in America. To what extent do Okazaki's films contribute to the discourse of a Pan-Pacific cinema and how are his films received in Japan?

Keywords: transnationality, remembrance, Steven Okazaki, documentary, identity formation, hyphenated identities, hybridity, Asian American, atomic bomb, Hiroshima, Nagasaki

However, what goes on the screen is, of course, far more than the story of the production and the directors behind the camera. In this sense, the study of Japanese cinema is a wide-open field, one into which many new scholars from a variety of disciplines are moving. (Nornes 2003, p. xviii)

Taken together, the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism promise a broad understanding of all the forms and implications that derive from the vast movements of populations, ideas, technologies, images, and financial networks that have come to shape the world we live in today. (Quayson and Daswani 2013, p. 2)

Towards a Representation of the Intractable

Facing yet another recalcitrant commemoration of the end of the Pacific War approaching fast, the seventieth anniversary in 2015 was marked not only in Japan but also the world over as a pop-culture public spectacle defined by consumption and cultural production; there was little time for remembrance and historical insight. The contemporary vestiges of collective memory of the dropping of the atom bombs, the most apocalyptic events of the twentieth century, still create an inescapable historical vortex, whose depictions in books, films, and dramas have fascinated us since 1945. Many examples of films exist, from the very early depictions of devastation in Hideo Ōba's *Nagasaki no kane* 長崎の鐘 (The Bells of Nagasaki, 1950) and Kaneto Shindo's *Genbaku no ko* 原爆の子 (Children of Hiroshima, 1952) to more recent documentaries like Okazaki's *White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki* (2007), discussed in some detail below. Our obsession with the man-made nuclear apocalypse has created its own genre, which is nowadays referred to as "atomic bomb literature" and was arguably inaugurated by Kanō Ryūichi 加納竜一 and Mizuno Hajime's 水野肇 (1965) study. Yet much earlier, Kanō began his study with a science documentary entitled: *Hiroshima, Nagasaki ni okeru genshi bakudan no kōka* 広島、長崎における原子爆弾の効果 (The Effects of the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1946), which focused on the aftermath of the atomic bombings. Shot in 1945 and finished in the first months of 1946, it represents the first full-fledged documentary on the atomic bomb attacks.[1] Closely intertwined with the production process of atomic bomb cinema is the notion of anniversaries. As a major trigger for commemoration and remembrance, several anniversaries have also spawned the production of documentary films. For instance, the sixtieth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima led to the production of the BBC docudrama *Hiroshima* (2005), with historical reenactments and firsthand eyewitness interviews. This was followed by the more recent transcultural meditations created by Steven Okazaki, which are placed in the context of global cultural production below. Okazaki's documentaries follow a long history of attempts to transcend the "specter of impossibility" for re-presenting the trauma of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[2] The analysis that follows also highlights documentaries as a type of Bhabhaesque third space, through which identity formation can be contested by emphasizing the importance of hybridity in between cultures and nations.[3] As is exemplified below in the analysis of Okazaki's documentaries, the notion of hybridity becomes one of the key metaphors for contextualizing transnationality in a global world and also for advancing a specific Pan-Pacific identity that undermines the hegemony of cultural nationalism, homogeneity, and ethnocentrism.

In-between Spaces: *Sansei* Documentaries

Steven Okazaki (1952–) was born and raised in Venice, California, as a third generation Japanese American. He is based in the San Francisco Bay area and explains that his penchant for depicting Asian American issues arose from the discrimination, which he,

1 For details, see also Nornes 2003, p. 193.
2 See, for example, the discussion in Dreamer 2014, p. 273.
3 Bhabha writes for example that "for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is 'the third' space which enables other positions to emerge." Cited in Rutherford 1990, p. 211.

his parents and grandparents personally encountered due to their Japanese appearance. Okazaki's films often focus on the in-between paradox experienced by hyphenated identities like "Japanese-Americans." He went to Japan for the first time in 1982, and now feels comfortable with both American and Japanese society, but also thinks of himself as an outsider in both cultures:

> I've always felt a certain distance from both cultures. I'm an American, but my grandparents, parents, and I were treated as lesser because of the way we look. My grandparents lost everything [during the war]. My parents were squashed and oppressed. And I have had to fight twice as hard for my opportunities. But I'm not Japanese. If I don't open my mouth when I'm in Japan, then I fit in. But as soon as I do, then I'm a foreigner, an outsider. I understand the culture, but I'm not part of it and don't want to be. I guess I always feel like an outsider, even among peers, in my community and at family gatherings.[4]

Not only does Okazaki communicate the issues intertwined with his *sansei* 三世 (third generation) Japanese ancestry via his documentaries, but he also demonstrates through his dramatic realism how Americans with Asian ancestry are developing new ways of imagining their place in society by eschewing stereotypes and focusing instead on the creation of spaces that offer alternative models for identity formation.[5] For instance, Okazaki adopts short documentaries for sociopolitical narratives focusing on his generation of America's postwar baby boomers. He is far removed from the legacy of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, one of his favorite subjects. Yet, he also belongs to a generation whose identity is linked to the legacy of the Pacific War, which is part of his Japanese heritage. Throughout his career as a documentary filmmaker, Steven Okazaki has not shied away from controversial subjects. After graduating from San Francisco State University's film school in 1976, he produced *Survivors* in 1982, his first feature documentary short about those *hibakusha* 被爆者, Hiroshima and Nagasaki's atomic bomb survivors, who were living in San Francisco.[6] This was to become one of the main themes that he would pursue throughout his career. Okazaki's background as a third generation Japanese American filmmaker puts him in a uniquely transcultural position from which to reexamine the hegemony of Hollywood's film industry. His preference for realism and historical accuracy is also reflected in his favored genre of the documentary.

Okazaki's films abound with themes arising from his cross-cultural heritage. His first Academy Award nomination came in 1985 for *Unfinished Business*, a story about three *nisei* 二世 (second generation Japanese Americans) who challenged their internment in court during World War II after President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 9066, which effectively stripped the rights and property from all American citizens of Japanese ancestry in the Western states. Okazaki's historical survey of the long-winded Japanese internment case portrays the process towards restitution and redress while exploring the meaning of citizenship in the contemporary world. Through interviews and archival

4 Okazaki 2007b.
5 *Sansei* is an abbreviated form of *nikkei sansei* 日系三世, or third generation Japanese American.
6 For a discussion see Feng 2002, pp. 60–61.

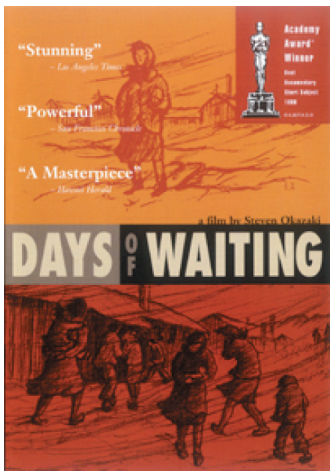

Figure 1. *Days of Waiting*, 1990 poster.

footage of the euphemistically styled "relocation centers," Okazaki depicts the power of the state over the plight of disenfranchised citizens. Even though his oeuvre is dominated by documentaries, in 1987 Okazaki also wrote and directed the independent film, *Living on Tokyo Time*, which revolves around Ken, a Japanese American aspiring rock musician, and his marriage of convenience to Kyoko, a young émigré from Japan who speaks limited English. Amid an environment of cross-cultural clashes, the two protagonists venture into a fake cross-cultural marriage. Both young adults are precarious daydreamers: Kyoko is motivated by her need to obtain a green card, with her only quirky nuptial requirement being a visit to Yosemite Park, while Ken is the introverted, passive escapist persuaded into wedlock as a favor to their mutual friend, Lana. When Ken eventually does fall in love with his new and stereotypically devoted Japanese wife, Kyoko, he is left heartbroken by the cultural gap between them.

In his analysis of this film, Peter Feng suggests that Okazaki's cinema articulates a romanticized aesthetic of belonging, which depicts immigrant children in their struggle to create an identity in opposition to mainstream society. The struggle contributes to a politics of exclusion that resulted in the imprisonment of 110,000 Japanese Americans following the entry of the U.S. into World War II.[7] In 1991, Okazaki received an Academy Award for Best Documentary (Short Subject) as well as a Peabody Award for *Days of Waiting*, a film about the artist Estelle Peck Ishigo, one of a small number of Caucasian Americans who followed her Japanese American husband voluntarily to Heart Mountain, one of the World War II internment camps in Wyoming. Instead of the commonplace portrayal of Asian internment, Okazaki stages a Caucasian female in the camp in order to invert racial stereotypes and dismantle the viewer's belief in the absolute truth of popular cultural representations. Estelle married Arthur Ishigo despite the fact that interracial marriages were illegal in California at the time. In *Days of Waiting*, Okazaki reevaluates American identity through a confrontation with the Japanese alterity and the resulting change in American identity formation.

Okazaki's film version of Ishigo's autobiography defamiliarizes and reconfigures supposedly fixed racial categories in a process of self-erasure that constitutes the modus operandi common to many of his documentaries. In the citation below, Estelle describes the forced alteration to her selfhood during interment, and elucidates why she decided to follow her husband into confinement:

7 Feng 2002, p. 67.

> Strange as it may sound, in this lonely, desolate place, I felt accepted for the first time in my life. The government had declared me a Japanese. And now I no longer saw myself as white—as a *hakujin*. I was a *Nihonjin*—a Japanese American. My fellow Heart Mountain residents took me in as one of their own. We all shared the same pain, the same joys, the same hopes and desires, and I never encountered a single act of prejudice or discrimination.[8]

In this sense, several of Okazaki's films deal specifically with the postwar legacy of internment and the resulting solidarity of Japanese American identity. The focus of his long list of films and documentaries falls on the process of retracing the history of Japanese representation in Hollywood and the expression of a sense of Japanese American subjectivity in dialogue with the hegemony of the dominant American identity. Throughout his early career, Okazaki continued to make documentary films for America's largest independent non-profit, Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), and later switched to the pay television service Home Box Office (HBO), reaching a large audience in the United States.[9] His third Oscar nomination came in 2006 for *The Mushroom Club*, a personal documentary about his journey to Japan to interview atomic bomb survivors on the sixtieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. In 2008, Okazaki was co-recipient of a Primetime Emmy Award in the category of Exceptional Merit in Nonfiction Filmmaking for his documentary *White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*. He is also the owner of his own California-based production company called Farallon Films.

Towards a Methodology: Okazaki's Documentaries

Okazaki's production of documentaries coincided with a time of profound interest in Chinese American representation. This keen sense of curiosity was triggered by the crossover of Hong Kong filmmakers and actors to Hollywood. Steven Okazaki's documentaries highlight the somewhat sidelined Japanese American subjectivity by focusing on the complex historical circumstances of the Japanese American identity. His documentaries seek to invigorate the arguably dwindling interest in Japan during the current dominant period of China's cultural production.[10] Yet Okazaki's preferred film style of the documentary, rather than other more financially viable mainstream genres, allows him to convey a more "realistic" representation of Japanese American identity within the context of mainstream American society and culture. His documentaries belong to the Asian American independent film tradition, which directly impacts not only on the type of audience who will watch his movies, but also on their expectations in regards to the content on display. Viewers of Okazaki's dramas expect realistic representation, historical accuracy, contemporary relevance, and real-life answers

8 The quote is taken from the film's script; italics are added. Also cited in Creef 1994, p. 98.

9 Okazaki has also worked directly with Japan's leading public broadcaster NHK, from 1994 to 1996, where he produced some of the earliest HD-TV programming. Two films, *Alone Together: Young Adults Living with HIV* and *Life Was Good: The Claudia Peterson Story*, about a family living next to the Nevada Test Site, won UNESCO Awards.

10 I suggest "arguably" because well-established Japanese crossover actors like Kitano Takeshi, Asano Tadanobu, Sanada Hiroyuki, Kudō Yūki, and Watanabe Ken make sure that the contemporary representation of the Japanese identity is in no danger of being sidelined any time soon.

to complex sociocultural questions that hinge on the formation of the Japanese American identity.

Okazaki's documentaries present a new development in the tradition of cinéma vérité, or cinema of the real, where a tangible absolute truth is negated by exposing the inherent artificiality of film making. The revolutionary part of this type of methodology is that its proponents demonstrate the impossibility of documentary objectivity and the portrayal of the hidden verities in a film's production process. Okazaki's documentaries follow in the footsteps of experimental cinema pioneered by ethnographer Jean Rouch and sociologist Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un été* (Chronicle of a Summer, 1961), which aimed to be as true as a documentary but with the content of a fiction film. The aesthetic tradition underlying the methodology of this film came to be known as cinéma vérité, which engaged with its subjects by getting them to talk about their experiences and ambitions. Okazaki's aim in adopting the cinéma vérité methodology is simply to unmask the inherent artificial nature of cinematographic representation. His documentary style clearly establishes that films can, indeed, accurately represent disenfranchised Japanese American identities as protagonists, just as mainstream American film history has eschewed representation of peripheral characters in favor of cultural stereotypes.

Okazaki moves effortlessly from the provocative counter-hegemonic histories of American internment camps in *Days of Waiting: The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo* (1990), to the contemporary depiction of atomic bomb survivors in *White Light/Black Rain* (2007). Okazaki single-handedly rewrites the portrayal of Japanese Americans in the tradition of the American film industry. Yet, he has not confined himself to Japanese American identity, and in 2009 he began to explore issues of morality and complicity in the story of a sixteen-year-old Khmer Rouge soldier, who was given the job of photographing six thousand men, women, and children before they were tortured and executed (*The Conscience of Nhem En*, 2008). Okazaki turned to Nhem En and the story of Cambodia as a metaphor for exile and historic marginalization that, for him, is symbolic of the larger representation of the Asian American community.

On a more holistic level, besides Okazaki's insistence that documentaries cannot signify absolute truths, his postmodern cinéma vérité eschews fly on the wall types of film in the pursuit of true to life representations of Japanese Americans. Indeed, his work depicts provocative subjects like the discrimination, stereotyping, and deracination of entire communities, and so alerts mainstream society to America's hidden truths.

A Brief Historiography of Asian American Rhetoric

Perhaps no metaphor more appropriately reflects the ambiguities of ethnicity, nation, and culture in the contemporary climate of globalization than "hyphenated identities." That is to say, in today's global cultural communities, where national boundaries have become increasingly irrelevant, cross-cultural or "hyphenated identities" are becoming the norm rather than the exception. It used to be common practice for commentators to reduce a large number of unique and distinct heterogeneous communities under the all-encompassing "Asian American" label. Even though this linguistic merger of two irreconcilably diverse communities, via the simplicity of a horizontal bar, at first glance invokes the transcendency of a nation's singularity and its culture, the practice of hyphenating is nowadays better dismissed as an oversimplification. For instance, Eleanor Ty and Donald Goellnicht

explain in their introduction to *Asian North American Identities: Beyond the Hyphen* that the colonizing embrace implicit in the nomenclature of "Asian Americans" negates political and national differences via an umbrella term that no longer has the same resonance as it did a decade ago.[11]

Ty and Goellnicht's important essay collection on identity formation proposes to remove the hyphen from Asian American studies, and makes a case for the emergence of a new Asian American subjectivity that moves beyond national and ethnic distinctions towards a transnational way of self-representation. This is precisely the direction in which Steven Okazaki's documentaries have been moving, as they debunk the hegemony implicit in the homogenizing labels of "Asians" and "Americans." His documentaries struggle against those monolithic considerations, and postulate the representation of more abstract, incongruous, and heterogeneous communities with their own unique set of sociocultural assumptions. It is these concerns that explain why Okazaki insists upon displaying the legacy of a specific Japanese American identity through the documentary format: it offers a higher degree of verisimilitude than mainstream film.

Okazaki's films deal with a specific Japanese identity within the context of the larger Asian American cultural tradition, and the insecurity felt by the Asian part of the hybrid identity is becoming more and more obvious on the American side. Identity formation has become increasingly problematic in the emphatically labelled "American film industry," a once reliable marker that has been destabilized by competing discourses arising from a variety of independent Asian American film festivals and other transnational media. It is to the issue of competing identities that Caroline Levander and Robert Levine's collection of essays, *Hemispheric American Studies*, addresses itself. The book focuses on "the complex ruptures that remain within but nonetheless constitute the national frame," and sets out to "put different national and extra-national histories and cultural formations into dialogue."[12] It tackles such important issues as the reframing of disciplinary boundaries within what is generally called "American studies" in order to consider regions, areas, and diasporan affiliations that are engaging different national and extra-national histories and cultural formations in dialogue. In essence, Okazaki's documentaries engage in precisely this sort of reframing process, and shine the spotlight on the Japanese American identity as one such extra-national affiliation. In so doing, they open a dialogue between different identity constructs that transcend the narrow confines of mainstream American individuality.

Timothy Iles suggests that a similar reframing process is taking place in Japanese films, which often display contemporary identity in problematic terms through the clash arising from the presence of the traditional within the modern.[13] Increasingly, it appears, identity formation along boundaries of ethnicity, nation, and culture fails to provide convincing sites where individuals can locate their sense of belonging in today's complex world. It is this very complexity that has led to the emergence of hybrid nomenclature, like "cross-cultural," "multiethnic," and "transnational," which somewhat simplistically seek to combine the supposedly irreconcilable and overriding ideals of homogeneity in diversity.

11 Ty and Goellnicht 2004, pp. 1–2.
12 Levander and Levine 2008, p. 2.
13 Iles 2008, p. 214.

Stereotypical representations of Japanese among Asian Americans in Hollywood films have enjoyed a long tradition. Japanese characters, historically portrayed as undesirables, were never completely absent from images of mainstream America. Hollywood has captured the enigma of this Asian other and, following American involvement in the Pacific War, Asia's inextricable relation to the American identity, in a myriad of complex characterizations ranging from the hackneyed martial arts films championed by Chinese American Bruce Lee to Swiss-Russian born Yul Brynner's roles that foreground a mysterious exoticism in *The King and I* (1956) and *The Magnificent Seven* (1960). More recently, coinciding with the rise of China and its increasing economic power, as well as the cultural "soft power" of the Asian continent, attitudes towards representation of Asian characters have shifted. The stereotypical depiction of Asian characters in the American film industry transformed in the mid-1990s, when Chinese filmmakers such as John Woo, Ang Lee, Chen Kaige, and Joan Chen migrated to Hollywood and began to diversify the theatrical roles available to Asian characters in mainstream films. Subsequently the international following of Chinese films continued to grow and created offspring film communities in India, which in combination with the popularity of Miyazaki Hayao's Japanese animation continued to influence the portrayal of a new Asian identity. This in turn stimulated the re-contextualization of a nascent global cinema tradition. This new global framing of the Asian identity also triggered a change in the frequency and representation of the Japanese body in mainstream American film. Similarly, Okazaki's films also suggest that a transformation has occurred in the perception of Japanese identities in serious documentaries. There is evidently a move away from an idealized model minority to a more realistic casting of lead actors, and this has enabled the growth of positive transnational role models that undermine the influence of cultural ethnocentrism.

This transformation of Japanese identity in American film—from minority diasporic community to a more significant and capable persona existing vis-a-vis the mainstream American identity—is also visible in the formation of a Eurocentric cinematic approach, where minority cultures are internalized into a "global European" community.[14] This new trend of cultural inclusivity reflects the rapidly changing identity formation in the context of global transnational cinema. The new Japanese transcultural and transnational identities have been equally evident not only in film, but also in literature and many other areas of popular cultural representation. This has been documented in a number of studies as the incipient academic paradigm of transnationalism.[15] For instance, LuMing Mao and Morris Young's work on Asian American rhetoric argues that crucial to "conceptualizing Asian American rhetorical space is a need to understand the ideological underpinnings that have imagined, and continue to imagine, Asians (whether in America or elsewhere) as Other, and as foreign against the domestic space of the United States."[16] Their study explores how the alterity of Asian Americans provides an environment of dynamic "togetherness-in-difference," where the interplay of mainstream and diasporic communities in contemporary popular culture creates new cosmopolitan meaning in American society. For people with

14 For details of how European cinematographic coproductions articulate the political and cultural redefinition of a distinct European identity, see Rivi 2007, p. 152.

15 For an investigation of the growing intellectual and cultural wave of cinematic production across and beyond national borders see, for example, Iordanova, Martin-Jones, and Vidal 2010, pp. 46–49.

16 Mao and Young 2008, p. 7.

hyphenated identities, such as Okazaki's Japanese Americans, the denomination of "America" is no longer sufficient. Nor can a homogeneous Hollywood reflect the contemporary film culture of the United States. This exploration of identity fragmentation is also evident in the landmark volume, *The Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups in Hollywood* (2002), where James Robert Parish painstakingly explores the ethnic background of five disenfranchised hyphenated groups including African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, Jewish Americans, and Native Americans in an attempt to shed light on ethnic minority exclusion in American film. Studies such as these provide important information on the cultural contribution of disenfranchised communities in comparison to mainstream cultures.

It is perhaps a sign of the times we live in that the contribution of minority cultures and the importance of the ethnic dimension of Hollywood are being reevaluated through alternative counter-hegemonic, cross-cultural, and transnational paradigms. Whereas books like Hye-Seung Chung's *Hollywood Asian* (2006) attempt to rewrite Korean American subjectivity in Hollywood cinema, directors like Steven Okazaki use the documentary genre to shine the spotlight on Japanese American identity formation. Hollywood is no longer just "American"; Okazaki's documentaries demythologize a multi-faceted industry that is breathtakingly rich in ethnicity and diverse in culture.

The Role of Steven Okazaki in the Changing Representation of Japanese Americans

Steven Okazaki's cross-cultural sensibility is part of the Asian American film tradition popularized by Jackie Chan and the cast of ethnic Chinese actors brought to the screen in films like Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*.[17] Steven Okazaki is one of a select few Japanese American film directors who have deconstructed strict cultural divides and portrayed eclectic transnational identities through the promulgation of Pan-Pacific cinema. Okazaki's films complicate the existing Japanese American rhetorical space by suggesting that it is not an exclusive entity, but a vibrant and essential aspect of the "new" contemporary American national identity. In the context of globalization, this new American identity has already formed its own novel historical discourse vis-à-vis the dominant discourse of the settlement of the American continent by Europeans. Through his documentaries, Okazaki reconstructs the discourse of Japanese American history in dialogue with the established historical discourse of disenfranchisement. On a global level, this scope ranges from the internment camps resulting from World War II to the *hibakusha* community arising from the Pacific War and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Okazaki's films highlight the existence of *zaibei* 在米 or America-resident *hibakusha* not as a dividing presence but as a transnational community that arose phoenix-like out of the war and provides a vital building block for Japanese American identity formation.

Through engaging with divisive dichotomies, like self versus other, or insider versus outsider, across sociopolitical as well as ethno-cultural spheres, Okazaki develops counter-hegemonic discourses in his films.

17 This includes a vast number of American actors who attempted to represent—at least philosophically—an Americanized version of Asian martial arts, such as Chuck Norris, Steven Segal, and many others. Their trademark is a fake Asiatic sentimentality.

Figure 2. *The Mushroom Club* (2005) poster.

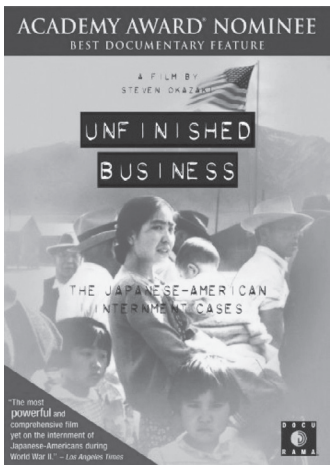

Figure 3. *Unfinished Business* (1985) poster.

For instance, in *The Mushroom Club* (2005), which is the forerunner of *White Light/Black Rain* produced two years later, but with a similar theme, style, and cast, Okazaki focuses on the alterity of the so-called *Kinoko kai*. Translated verbatim as *Mushroom Club*, it consists of a group of people diagnosed with microcephaly or "small-headedness." One of his protagonists, Yuriko Hatanaka, aged fifty-nine, has the mental ability of a two-year-old as a result of her mother experiencing the atomic bombing and being exposed to the bomb's radiation three months into her pregnancy. Her story is that of an outsider who waited thirty years for Japanese and American scientists to admit to her parents that her mental and physical disabilities were caused by radiation exposure. By foregrounding those few remaining victims of the atomic bombings some seventy years ago, Okazaki's films are a memorial to the atomic bombings, the memory of which is now under threat of becoming inaccessible to a new generation of Japanese and to audiences the world over.

Okazaki also juxtaposes the moral conundrum arising from the Pacific War with alternative tropes like mass incarcerations in the United States as well as the legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

For example, in *Unfinished Business*, produced during the early part of his career, Okazaki narrates the sociopolitical history of Japanese internment in the United States via the personal stories of three victims. Their stories become the palimpsest for the generational development of Japanese Americans, from the first generation *issei* immigrants to the American-born *nisei* generation (who bore the psychic scars of internment quietly for several decades, preferring cultural assimilation to antagonism), and finally to the politicized third generation *sansei*, who reintroduced the internment into public discussion in the 1970s, demanding reparations.[18]

Okazaki's documentaries remind us that for many Americans the supposedly moral and just war in the Asia Pacific continues to define their contemporary sense of authority to speak or write about global realities. Okazaki supplants this authority with the equally convincing reality of the wholesale internment of Japanese Americans and the nuclear bombings of entire communities, which he argues should continue to weigh heavily on American identity and the sense of morality. Most importantly, his documentaries reveal that the representation of these events and their perception in American society have

18 See, for example, the review by Strub (2005). For details about the eyewitnesses portrayed in *Unfinished Business*, see Bannai 2015, p. 40.

changed with the passage of time. While researching his 2007 film, *White Light/Black Rain*, Okazaki asked young people in Tokyo's trendy Harajuku district about the significance of 6 August 1945. His expectation was that at least some would recognize the date as signifying the day Hiroshima was bombed. "We asked, and all of them said 'I don't know,' said Okazaki. It was not a big survey, but not one of them knew the significance (of the date). And these people will grow up to be the voters of Japan."[19]

In brief, from the discourse on American internment camps in *Unfinished Business* (1985) and *Days of Waiting* (1990) to his re-conceptualization of the dropping of the atomic bombs in *White Light/Black Rain* (2007), *mise en scènes* in Okazaki's documentaries bridge the Japan/American Pacific divide in imaginative ways that destabilize the simplicity of the self-versus-other dichotomy.

HiroshimaNagasaki: White Light, Black Rain

In Japan, Okazaki met with more than five hundred Japanese survivors of the bombings to produce his documentary *White Light, Black Rain*, which was renamed and marketed in Japan as *HiroshimaNagasaki* (ヒロシマナガサキ). The director also collected over one hundred interviews from Hiroshima and Nagasaki before settling on the fourteen *hibakusha* who feature in the film. They include the famous manga artist Nakazawa Keiji 中沢啓治 and Sasamori Shigeko 笹森恵子, one of the so-called Hiroshima Maidens, who went to the United States for reconstructive plastic surgery. In order to balance his reportage, Okazaki also interviewed four Americans for the film, including Morris R. Jeppson, the weapons test officer, as well as Theodore Van Kirk, navigator, who were on board the Enola Gay during the bombing missions. In so doing, Okazaki weaves together a powerful narrative of the recollections of the survivors and of eyewitness accounts of the atomic bombs that destroyed two entire Japanese metropolises in 1945.[20]

As Okazaki's final film on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *White Light, Black Rain* is a rich montage of paintings and photographs accompanied by voice-overs that combine into a multidimensional display of one of humanity's greatest tragedies. In Okazaki's representation of the atomic bombings, the two place names of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as if strangely intertwined, are combined into a single neologism to create the movie's Japanese title, *HiroshimaNagasaki*. This is not a mistake, and neither should the two places be separated by a hyphen. This neologism reflects the fusion of two traumatic geographical sites into a single space that redefined the history of Japan and, by extension, human kind. The emphatic brevity of the Japanese title, *HiroshimaNagasaki*, eschews the long-winded English title.

Even though Okazaki's eclectic mix of interviews provides the foundation of the film, his cinematographic collage incorporates examples from the manga of Nakazawa Keiji, whose rendition of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, *Hadashi no Gen* はだしのゲン (Barefoot Gen), has since become available in English through the efforts of a volunteer

19 Willingham 2006. It is interesting to question whether a different result would have been obtained by asking about the significance of "the twentieth year of Showa," rather than of 1945. Nonetheless, the importance of the message of the film regarding the diminishing historical memory of the events remains.

20 During the shooting of the film, the memory of 9.11 lent credence to the revisitation of historical holocausts, as has been observed by Derry 2009, pp. 261–62.

Figure 4. One of several drawings from atomic bomb survivors shown in Okazaki's *White Light, Black Rain*. Original image created by Yoshimura Kichisuke. Image courtesy of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

organization, Project Gen, formed in 1976. *Barefoot Gen* was one of the first manga ever published in English.

Okazaki originally intended to show *White Light, Black Rain* in 1995 for the fiftieth anniversary of the bombing but, due to the political controversy surrounding the Enola Gay exhibition at the Smithsonian Museum, he only finally completed the project for the sixtieth anniversary in 2005.[21]

White Light, Black Rain was Okazaki's fourth documentary film about the atomic bombings.[22] Released across the United States on HBO cable TV on 6 August 2007, it reached a broad audience and provided an alternative perspective to the orthodox view of the dropping of the atomic bomb. In Japan, too, it was released in 2007 amid increasing concern on the part of Okazaki that the legacy of the only deployment of nuclear weapons in history was underrepresented and has become progressively inaccessible to Japan's younger generations. Shigesawa Atsuko 繁沢敦子, translator and coproducer of the film, has herself written extensively about the "contracting" and declining cultural memory of the atomic bombings in Japan.[23]

21 The exhibition held in 1994 was accused of overemphasizing the victimization of Japan, and for not sufficiently explaining the motivation for the atomic bombings. It raised the historical revision of bombing to national attention and, after failing to satisfy various interest groups, the exhibition was cancelled. For a detailed discussion, see, for example, Barta 1998, pp. 47–49. For an investigation of the revisionism of Hiroshima, see Maddox 2007, pp. 1–5.

22 Okazaki had produced *Judy & Paul* in 1980 as the first of several films on the dropping of the Atomic Bombs. In 1982 he produced the documentary *Survivors* about the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In 2005 he produced *The Mushroom Club*, a documentary about his journey to Japan to interview atomic bomb survivors for the sixtieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

23 Shigesawa 2006, pp. 228–29. For a detailed analysis of the topic, see also Selden 2007.

The same failing is true for the United States where the memory, and especially the imagery, of the atomic bombings have long been suppressed. In an interview published in 2007 in one of Japan's oldest popular movie magazines, *Kinema junpō* キネマ旬報, Okazaki and the Japanese film critic Watanabe Hiroshi discussed the lack of historical representation of the bombing in America and the significance of Okazaki's film in highlighting how Asian American history has been underrepresented in the American media.[24] Okazaki revealed here that he saw the first images of the atomic bombings, banned from public release in the United States, through scenes in Alain Resnais' film *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959).

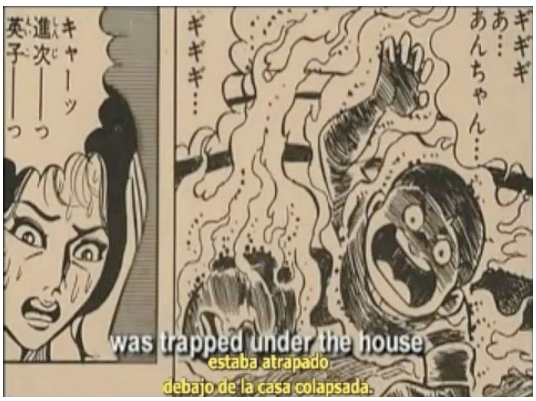

Figure 5. Nakazawa Keiji's own childhood experience of the atomic bombing is rendered in manga panels, which are used as montage techniques in the documentary.

It was in 1983, shortly after the broadcast of the ABC Television Network drama *The Day After*—which hypothesized a nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States—that the Pentagon first transferred images of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings to the National Archives for public viewing. The absence of images depicting the bombings is one of the most conspicuous omissions in American history. It is only recently, by and large through the efforts of the growing transnational communities in America and of directors such as Okazaki, that the representation of the nuclear legacy of Japanese identities in American film has become possible.

The public perception of Japanese American identities in the United States was jolted by the film's revelation of how many Korean and other non-Japanese nationalities were affected by the atomic bombing. Once again, Okazaki was a key figure in the projection of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a traumatic site of memory that involved all nations on earth and not just Japan, when he met the chairman of the Association for Resident American Hibakusha, Kuramoto Kanji 倉本寛司, in 1980. Okazaki had received a call from Kuramoto, inviting him to fly to Los Angeles immediately and film *hibakusha* Judith Enseki, who was dying of cancer.[25] The film he subsequently made of his discussion with Enseki was the beginning of the representation in American cinema of a group of individuals who straddled the Japan/America divide through their illness caused by the atomic bombing. Okazaki turned this interview into the short film *Judy & Paul* (1980), which was also one of the first works in the United States to depict the negative ramifications of the atomic bombings. The film was shown at the Sundance Film Festival and the Human Rights International Festival, and Okazaki's introduction of the grotesque, malformed Japanese body into American popular cultural discourse demanded of Americans an acknowledgement of, and sense of responsibility for, the legacy of the Pacific War.

24 Okazaki and Watanabe 2007, p. 66.
25 Okazaki and Watanabe 2007, p. 68.

Although Okazaki initially produced the documentary for special interest groups in America, it was shown several times in Japan and later also on HBO. There it reached a much larger audience than initially anticipated. It is difficult to gauge the reception of the film by mainstream audiences in Japan and the States, but in an interview with Michael Guillen in 2007, Okazaki observed that some of the progressive political response to the film had been much better than anticipated. Although Okazaki was initially reluctant, the documentary was also shown to high school audiences in the U.S., indicating that public interest in Japanese American issues was strong.[26] Films like Okazaki's *White Light, Black Rain* and books such as Sodei Rinjirō's 袖井林二郎 *Watashi-tachi wa teki datta no ka: Zaibei hibakusha no mokushiroku* 私たちは敵だったのか: 在米ヒバクシャの黙示録 (*Were We the Enemy? American Survivors of Hiroshima*, 1978), which commemorates the three thousand *nisei* who died from the atomic blast in Hiroshima, and documents the plight of another one thousand *hibakusha*, who returned to the West Coast after the war, significantly increased the public profile of the Japanese American transnational community in the United States and their representation in American popular culture.

Docudrama: "Asian" American Sons

Steven Okazaki's cinematic representations of diasporic communities have helped to debunk the stereotypes surrounding Asian American identity and helped to redefine it as an integral part of the American national discourse. He has used previously unimagined artifices such as roundtable discussions, showing dual perspectives with interviews from American and Japanese eyewitnesses, as well as the incorporation of manga stills and personal photographs. Okazaki's films have provided a distinct identity platform for the disenfranchised communities of Asian Americans, and in particular Japanese Americans, whose diversity in the global context has received little attention from anthropologists, sociologists, and historians. Nobuko Adachi's study, *Japanese Diasporas*, analyzes their global diversity and highlights their importance as a vital element in the continual reshaping of mainstream culture.[27] In 1994, Okazaki produced the film *American Sons*, as a response to the inadequate cinematic portrayal of Asian American masculinity. The docudrama focused on the lives of Asian American men as shaped by racism. The cast is a cleverly composed ethnic mixture consisting of Kelvin Han Yee, who plays Mitchell, a Chinese American; James, played by Yuji Okumoto, is a Korean American adopted by a middle class white couple; Ron Muriera plays Danny, a Filipino American; and Lane Nishikawa is Robert, a third generation Japanese American. The actors retell factual stories of hate violence, and the stereotypes forced on Asian men, based upon interviews with Asian Americans throughout the United States. Okazaki's film engages the myth of Asian identity in America as an ideal minority, and analyzes the deep psychological scars that racism causes over generations. *American Sons* opens with a series of portraits introducing the four main characters against a photo studio backdrop that suggests an interview taking place. Characters are filmed performing lengthy monologues that reflect their experiences as Americans with Asian heritage. For instance, James, the character with Korean ancestry, relates how his migrant parents were not interested in his wish to learn more about Korean culture. Despite their

26 Guillen 2007.
27 Adachi 2006, pp. 5–20.

Figure 6. Actors portraying Asian American identity in Steven Okazaki's *American Sons*. From left to right, Kelvin Han Yee as Chinese American Mitchell, Yuji Okumoto as Korean American James, Lane Nishikawa as Japanese American Robert, and Ron Muriera as Filipino American Danny.

objections, James chose to form relationships with other Asian Americans in college, and discovered a community in the shared sense of confusion and alienation surrounding his identity. He eventually married a Japanese American girl, and enjoyed the memory of the cultural connection he felt while participating in a performance of traditional Korean drums. Yet, James also suggests that it is his "hybridity" as a Korean American that traps him forever in between cultural associations. He tells how when he visits his country of birth, he is instantly labelled as an American whenever he opens his mouth, and realizes that he can never be Korean either.

> So, I float. I was born in Korea but I have no roots there. I grew up in America but I'm not welcome here. I just float. That's what being Asian American feels like.[28]

James' insightful observation is applicable to all identities portrayed in *American Sons*, and it is through this insistence in his films on the relativity of one's identity that Okazaki promotes the notion of hybridity. Okazaki adopts the multivalence of his characters' identities to explore notions of hybridity; he also carefully constructs the form of his films to undermine stereotypical singularities. The revolutionary format of the film's cinematographic expression employs the simple technique of the *zadankai* (roundtable talk) with four Asian American actors, who narrate their own story as if responding to questions from a moderator, which in this case is the director Okazaki himself. With this Japanese-inspired framing device, Okazaki's theatrical piece reinvigorates the dialogue of Asian American self-representation. Okazaki's defamiliarization of the Asian American identity dilemma in *American Sons* is rooted in his adoption of hybridity as a structural device to blend his favorite genre of the documentary with theatrical artifices. This blending of differences results in an aesthetic expression of the stigma experienced by people of color.

28 Feng 1996, p. 29.

Here the mixing of cinematic forms resonates with the stereotypical ethnic and cultural "impurity" of the actors on the screen.

Okazaki's multiracial staged documentary is as much a dramatization as it is a mockumentary. Unfortunately, it appears that Okazaki may have alienated his audience with his eclectic multiethnic cast. This after all was 1994, well before Asian cinema became globally popular.[29] In his review of *American Sons* in the popular film periodical *Cinecast*, Peter Feng suggested that for typecast Asian American men, who have been emasculated or ignored by the popular cultural media, the display of violence and anger provides a dramatic means of redefining their masculinity. That *American Sons* was rarely shown at theaters in America was due in large part to the provocative anger displayed by the film's main character Mitchell. Feng's analysis insinuates that Mitchell's anger is unrelenting and counter-productive to the "improvement" of Asian American relations in a pluralist American society: "Racism made me the way I look, the way I walk, the way I talk."

Mitchell also admits that he might have been something besides a bouncer had he grown up in a different atmosphere. But he refuses to let other Asian Americans off the hook: "I meet Asian Americans who say they've never experienced prejudice in their lives." They say, "Why are you so angry? Racism's never affected me." I look at them and I think, "Whoa—check again, brother! You got your shoulders hunched up, your eyes are staring at the ground, you're so used to being treated like a houseboy you don't even know the difference. You're so oppressed you think it's normal!"[30]

Provocative and perhaps somewhat true in a cynical way, these sentiments and Mitchell's pent-up anger may unfortunately have prevented *American Sons* from reaching out to a wider Asian or perhaps global audience. This failure to appeal is also due in part to the underlying historical legacy of the Japanese colonization of Korea and China during the Pacific War. The subtext is not spelt out in Okazaki's films, but contemporary reconciliation is hampered by unresolved issues from Japan's colonial period. For instance, recalcitrant disputes over *ianfu* 慰安婦 or "comfort women," unresolved wartime financial reparations, controversial visits to Yasukuni Shrine repeated by Japanese politicians, in addition to escalating territorial disputes, remain major stumbling blocks between Japan and the nations of Asia. In this regard, the film also epitomizes the existing internal tension between China, Korea, and Japan during the 1990s after the end of the Cold War.[31]

With its sense of incompatibility of racial identities and even malevolence, *American Sons* draws attention to the importance of ethnicity in the perception and representation

29 The relatively recent transition to a more ethnically inclusive global cinema is evident in a variety of genres such as interracial martial arts comedies like the *Rush Hour* franchise starring Jackie Chan and Chris Tucker, or the increasing popularity of animation pioneered by Japanese anime director Miyazaki Hayao. Both genres display carefully painted protagonists that resemble Westernized avatars. Other examples include more serious works like *Romeo Must Die* (2000), which although loosely adapted from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, has been modernized to involve two hyphenated families (African American and Asian American) fighting over a piece of waterfront property; it stars Jet Li and Russell Wong.

30 Feng 1996, p. 29.

31 Several issues plagued the China-Japan relationship in the 1990s including, for example, the perception of a security threat due to Tokyo and Washington's reinforced alliance in the face of the escalating North Korean crisis. In addition, China's rapid economic growth and Japan's declining bubble economy led to a decrease in Japan's official development assistance (ODA) to China. In combination, these issues led to an increase in anti-Japanese sentiment within Chinese society, which was also felt by Japanese and Chinese communities across the world.

of Asian identities. The emotional intensity and cross-cultural complexity involved in Okazaki's juxtaposition of several Asian ethnicities may have been too much for many viewers. When Asian identities are shuffled, as with Yuji Okumoto playing James, who is cast as a Korean American in *American Sons*, or again with Chinese actresses Gong Li and Zhang Ziyi playing the roles of Japanese geisha in *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005), a complex sense of historical humiliation and inaccuracy is generated. Just as with Okazaki's films, *Memoirs of a Geisha* deconstructed the uniqueness of national stereotypes, and whether American Japanese or Chinese Japanese, the film played with the audience's sense of national values. Even though *Memoirs of a Geisha* was the first Hollywood movie featuring only Asian actors, it was heavily criticized for featuring "the wrong Asians." The film was eventually banned in China because of government fears that it could fan the flames of anti-Japanese sentiment.[32] This criticism is reminiscent of what Commers, Vandekerckhove, and Verlinden have described as the Asian values movement, which originally surfaced in the 1990s in Singapore and espoused a specific set of Asian ethical values in opposition to the imposition of Western values arising out of the colonial legacy.[33] Okazaki's documentaries explore how Asian values compete and clash with mainstream American ethical values and create a dialogue around the complex interaction between issues including Asian equality, a pan-Asian identity, and a sense of Asian collectivism rooted in the Asian values movement.

For Asians, the physical differences between Japanese, Chinese, and many other ethnicities are often obvious, and there is evidence that they strongly object to national traits of their culture being portrayed by other nationals. Needless to say, this is similar to when British audiences object to Americans playing them in movies, or when Americans object to characters being played by Brits. Renowned director Chen Kaige, for example, argued that a Chinese woman cannot portray a Japanese geisha because a geisha is a traditional feature of Japanese culture.[34] Hollywood still has a lot to learn when it comes to the representation of Asian identities in American films, but it is through the continuing efforts of directors like Okazaki that the shared American experience of Asian identity is being explored in new and innovative ways.

A remarkable six of Steven Okazaki's films have played nationwide on the American non-profit PBS, but the pluralism in *American Sons* was perhaps too radical for PBS's target audience. Ironically, it may have done too good a job of giving a voice to the disenfranchised Asian American identity. Members of America's fringe ethnic communities may not have been able to identify with the reactionary attitude of these men, who rejected the stereotype of the emasculated, silent, and obedient Asian American cultural heritage. However, the sense of estrangement experienced by non-mainstream Americans was precisely the point that *American Sons* wanted to make in order to stir a debate about the stereotypical construction of identities in a supposedly homogeneous American society.

Undoubtedly, the film's sense of anger was a subliminal expression of director Okazaki's own repressed feelings. Yet, much has changed since Okazaki's theatrical roundtable talk was aired in 1996. In America, the maturation and expansion of the Asian American International Film Festival, inaugurated in 1978 to provide a voice in a

32 Coonan 2006.
33 Commers, Vandekerckhove, and Verlinden 2008, pp. 96–100.
34 Mottram 2005.

landscape dominated by European Americans, has since driven a dramatic increase in the number of countries represented, and a greater array of stories that parallel, mirror, and resonate with the Asian American experience.[35] The festival also placed Asian American identity within a much larger global context of disenfranchised diasporic groups vying for national recognition alongside mainstream cultures. In this context, *American Sons*, with its provocative combination of naturalistic techniques and stylized cinematic devices, endures as Okazaki's masterpiece of cinéma vérité. Yet, despite Okazaki's failure to garner widespread public support with this serious documentary, others have had more success through the disarming power of irony and humor. For example, *The Flip Side* (2001) became the first Asian American film to premier at the Sundance Film Festival, the largest independent cinema festival in the United States. This iconic film by director Rod Pulido explores the Filipino American Delacruz clan, and humorously depicts the identity crisis that many Filipino youths experience due to the lack of suitable Filipino role models in the American media.

In another example, the Center for Asian American Media (CAAM), founded in 1980, has now developed into one of the largest organizations dedicated to the advancement of Asian Americans in independent media, in particular television and filmmaking. CAAM took over the planning, programming, and management of the high-profile San Francisco International Asian American Film Festival, and in 2005 created its first competitive awards categories of Best Asian American Feature and Best Asian American Documentary. These and many other support organizations have transformed the voices of Asian Americans into a well-established community that contributes cross-cultural understanding to an increasingly pluralistic American society.

Towards a Conclusion: The Japanese Reception of Okazaki's Films

Through the foregoing analysis of Okazaki's cinéma vérité, this paper has demonstrated how hyphenated identities are not merely a means to the end of differentiating between various racial groups but rather provide an end in and of themselves. I have argued that Okazaki has been instrumental in transforming such cultural stereotypes as assumptions of mainstream homogeneity into an acceptance of pluralism and hybridity in American culture. The neorealism Okazaki displays in his films has the psychological power not only to reflect and shape the daily realities of hyphenated identities, but also to affect identity formation in radically cathartic ways. Mary Banks Gregerson has revealed in her treatise on "cinematherapy" that many clinicians reach for the stimuli of popular films to teach clients how to behave, feel, and think, so turning the visionary aims of films into concrete realities.[36] A similar mechanism is at work in Okazaki's documentaries, where through the portrayal of disenfranchised communities he strives to relieve the trauma related to identity formation and to challenge Hollywood's portrayal of the archetypical American way of life. Despite the fact that Japan is juxtaposed in several of Okazaki's films as the American alter-ego where the main protagonists of many of his documentaries find their origin, it is

35 The festival was organized by the nonprofit media arts organization Asian CineVision (ACV), which was founded by grassroots activists in 1975, and is dedicated to the promotion and preservation of Asian and Asian American media expressions. It is considered the first Asian American film festival in the United States, and is the longest running film festival in New York City.

36 Gregerson 2010, p. 7.

difficult to ascertain how Okazaki's documentaries were received in Japan. The Japanese media coverage of his films is scarce, and only a handful of articles—mainly interviews such as the one that appeared in the aforementioned *Kinema junpō*—about his films have been published in mainstream movie magazines. As is clear from an interview in the film magazine *Shine furonto* シネ・フロント published for the release of *HiroshimaNagasaki*, Okazaki's film focuses solemnly on the voices of the *hibakusha* community and does not engage with the Japanese discourse surrounding the atomic bombings in Japan.[37] At the time of writing this paper, no serious criticism of his films has been published in Japan. However, there is evidence that some critics see Okazaki's refusal to use existing archival footage and interview material available at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum as an unacceptable neglect of the rich tradition of *hibakusha* research in Japan.[38] This could have easily been misconstrued as another example of an outside film director making his/her own interpretation of events without fully understanding the rich history and background of the topic. Yet with four documentaries about *hibakusha* under his belt, Okazaki surely qualifies as an expert on the topic.

Okazaki's specialized focus on the *zaibei hibakusha* community makes him a pioneer in the field of popular cultural representation of the Japanese American community as well as transnational issues arising out of the legacy of the Pacific War. His exploration of the legacy of atomic bomb victims who went to the United States both for treatment and to escape ostracism back in Japan brings another dimension to the reimagining of Japanese American identity formation in the United States. Steve Okazaki's films successfully remove the formerly customary hyphen between the "Japanese American" compound identity markers, and help to develop a new sense of subcultural inclusivity in contemporary global societies. His documentaries reveal that Japanese American ethnicity and nationality are inextricably linked to the multicultural contemporary American identity and have become a vital part of the complex process of identity formation in the United States.

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37 Okazaki 2007a, p. 39.
38 Okazaki and Watanabe 2007, p. 68.

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APPENDIX

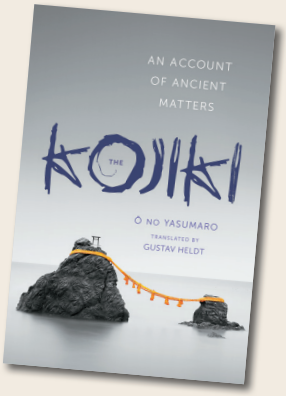
Steven Okazaki Filmography

(1976) *A-M-E-R-I-C-A-N-S*
(1980) *Judy & Paul*
(1982) *Survivors*
(1983) *The Only Language She Knows*
(1985) *Unfinished Business*
(1987) *Living on Tokyo Time*
(1988) *Hunting Tigers*
(1990) *Days of Waiting: The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo*
(1992) *Troubled Paradise*
(1993) *The Lisa Theory*
(1994) *American Sons*
(1995) *Alone Together: Young Adults Living with HIV*
(1996) *Life Was Good: The Claudia Peterson Story*
(1999) *Black Tar Heroin: The Dark End of the Street*
(2002) *The Fair*
(2005) *Rehab*
(2005) *The Mushroom Club*
(2007) *White Light/Black Rain: The Destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*
(2008) *The Conscience of Nhem En*
(2009) *Unlisted: A Story of Schizophrenia*
(2010) *Crushed: The Oxycontin Interviews*
(2011) *Approximately Nels Cline*
(2011) *All We Could Carry*
(2015) *Heroin: Cape Cod, USA*

Book Review

The Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters

Translated by Gustav Heldt



Columbia University Press, 2014
xv + 279 pages.

Reviewed by ANDASSOVA Maral

The *Kojiki*, believed to have been written in 712, is the oldest Japanese written text. In contrast with the *Nihon shoki*, dating back to 720, the *Kojiki* was ignored during the medieval period. However, this changed in the Edo period, when *kokugaku* scholar Motoori Norinaga published his *Kojiki-den*, an annotated version of the text. Following this, the *Kojiki* became well known.

During the late nineteenth century, B. H. Chamberlain arrived in Japan and encountered the *Kojiki*. He was the first scholar to translate this text into English. Chamberlain's translation was greatly influenced by the philologist research carried out by Motoori Norinaga. The next English translation appeared in 1968 by D. L. Philippi, and half a century later in 2014 Gustav Heldt has published the third translation. I would like to reflect here on the peculiarities of Heldt's translation and the issues that transpire from it.

The most notable peculiarity of Heldt's translation is that all proper nouns (that is, names of deities and place names) are translated into English, rather than being Romanized to preserve their original pronunciation. Heldt explains: "The chief reason I have attempted to translate the names of these individuals and places often lies at the heart of those 'ancient matters' (*koji*) of which the *Kojiki* is an 'account' (*ki*) set down in writing." He adds that "names and narratives were intimately intertwined in a world where speech and song often acted as spells, and where the terms *koto* or *ji* could refer both to 'words' as such and to 'matters' or 'phenomena' in a more general sense. The *Kojiki* often links ancient words to ancient matters with proper nouns that reflect specific actions or characteristics associated with the particular entities they designate" (p. xiv).

In other words, the *Kojiki* depicts a world where the term *koto* refers to both "words" and "phenomena." It is a magical world where the power of language is created through the medium of proper nouns. Undeniably, deities' names in the *Kojiki* are strongly linked to this magical world and Heldt's translation presents several good examples to illustrate this point.

One is given by Heldt himself in the story surrounding the marriage of Izanagi and Izanami. There, the two deities exchange marriage vows, becoming a couple and giving birth to several deities of islands and nature. By translating the two deities as "He Who Beckoned" and "She Who Beckoned," Heldt depicts clearly the mythological content in which they beckon each other and form the marriage. Another good example is the story

of the marriage between Hononinigi and the daughter of a mountain deity. There, the mountain deity points Hononinigi to his two daughters. Hononinigi then rejects the ugly older daughter, "Lady Lasting Rock," favoring the beautiful younger daughter, "Lady Blooming Tree Blossoms," and spends a night with her. However, the mountain deity promises Hononinigi eternal life for his older daughter, and prosperity for his younger. Thus, this myth explains how Hononinigi descended from Takamano-hara and came to lose eternal life in favor of prosperity. The English translations of the names of the two daughters, "Lady Blooming Tree Blossoms" and "Lady Lasting Rock," perfectly conveys the magical power imbued in them. By translating the names into English, the content of the story makes a greater impact on readers.

However, these are rare cases, and most of the time deities possess more than a single meaning in their name. The *Kojiki* was written in Chinese characters transmitted from China, but it has a style of its own. It combines ideograms conveying meaning (*hyōi moji* 表意文字), and phonograms conveying sound (*hyō'on moji* 表音文字). This style allows for one word to possess several meanings. For example, let us focus on the world to which Izanami travelled after her death, Yomi no Kuni 黄泉国. It is written in Chinese characters 黄泉 (*kōsen*), but it is read *yomi* in the native Japanese. The Chinese characters represent the "underground world," but their Japanese reading *yomi* represents *yami* (darkness) or *yama* (mountain). Thus, several theories are possible; one that sees Yomi no Kuni as an underground world, another as a world on top of a mountain, and finally one as a world connected on the same plane to the surface world.[1]

Heldt translates Yomi no Kuni as "land of the Underworld," thus emphasizing its Chinese meaning. However, by doing so, his translation completely ignores the phonetic meaning conveyed by its Japanese reading. A translation is not only a task concerned in the meaning of a word, but also one that should consider the linguistic properties a particular word has. Thus, we should reflect on how best to translate the *Kojiki* without overlooking its peculiarity as a text that combines ideograms and phonograms.

Another example I would like to point to is the name of the river Sawi-gawa. Heldt translates this as "Lily River." His reasoning is based on an annotation of the *Kojiki* that tells us that *sawi* was the ancient name for lily, borrowed from the area surrounding the river covered in lilies. However, the Chinese characters for *sawi* are 狭井. According to Nishimiya, 狭 does not signify "narrow," as one might expect, but rather "recently spouting." Therefore, 狭井 signifies "a well that has just recently started spouting water."[2] Sawi-gawa is thus a river represented by this image. Moreover, in songs and annotations, *sawi* is written with the phonogram 佐韋 (*sawi*), based on the verb *sayagu* 騒ぐ, signifying a "rustling or buzzing sound" suggesting "a threatening and dangerous" condition.[3] The river is also the place where Emperor Jinmu marries Isukeyori-hime, daughter of the deity of Yamato. Sawi-gawa can be interpreted then in a number of ways, and its interpretation of this river influences the meaning of Jinmu's sacred marriage. By limiting the translation of Sawi-gawa to "Lily River," Heldt overlooks its other meanings and interpretations.

1 Saigō 1967; Saijō 2005; Kōnoshi 1986.
2 Nishimiya 1979.
3 Nishimiya 1979.

Heldt himself admits he was forced to choose only one interpretation among the several meanings of each word in the *Kojiki*. This task must have been a daunting one. However, by only conveying one meaning, the translation limits the understanding of the reader and overlooks the complex linguistic world behind each proper noun. Upon quoting the *Kojiki*, researchers might need to adopt a different meaning or several different interpretations not included in Heldt's translation. When reflecting on this issue, Heldt's translation might be inappropriate for academic use. On the other hand, by conveying one specific meaning, Heldt's translation might be very well suited for beginners newly introduced to the world of the *Kojiki* and Japanese culture.

A translator faces a series of challenges. The first can be traced back to the diverse nature of the readership. A translation of a classic work like the *Kojiki* should both reflect the current fruits of academic scholarship, and also be easily accessible to a beginning reader. It is therefore an extremely difficult task. Another problem is presented by the complexity of translating the peculiar style of the *Kojiki* into another language. Translating is not just substituting words into a different language. It also requires conveying the nature, style, rhythm, and context imbued in the multifaceted world of the text. Heldt's translation of the *Kojiki* presents us with a multitude of important issues.

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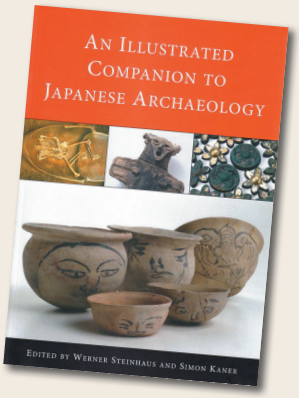
Book Review

An Illustrated Companion to Japanese Archaeology

Edited by Werner Steinhaus and Simon Kaner

Archaeopress, 2015
344 pages.



Reviewed by Gina L. BARNES

In 2004, a special exhibition on Japanese archaeology was sponsored in Germany by the Nara Cultural Properties Research Institute (Nabunken) and the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō). A total of fifty-two Japanese scholars from these institutes and others wrote essays, picture captions, and artefact descriptions that were translated from Japanese to German for the exhibition handbook and catalogue. The book under review here is drawn from these materials, consisting of English translations of the German texts, and lavishly illustrated with photographs specially taken for the exhibit and presented with other maps and drawings. Despite more than a decade separating the original manuscripts for the exhibition and their English presentation, this book is extremely informative, gorgeously photographed, and worth the wait.

The editors state that this book is not intended to be a comprehensive review of Japanese archaeology. Instead, it is an excellent introduction through the eyes of local scholars. The essays are succinct summaries, while more detail is given in long picture captions—especially useful as artefact studies. The text is divided into five period chapters (Palaeolithic, Jōmon, Yayoi, Kofun, Asuka-Nara), each chapter having a site map and a timeline at the beginning. Additional sections on "Accessories and Ornaments" and "Archaeology in Japan" give thematic overviews, and an appendix of archaeological sites in Romanization, *kanji*, and general location is helpful.

Refreshingly, the Palaeolithic chapter does not deal only with stone tool types: both developmental and research stages are defined, stratigraphic contexts of volcanic ash and submerged swamp deposits are elucidated, and two site studies are undertaken. Major tool types are described in detail but often obliquely (a trapezoid is "shell-shaped," but what kind of shell?). Beyond typology and function, discussion ranges to raw material sources and the development of six regional technological styles in the Late Palaeolithic.

The Jōmon introduction, describing Japan's early hunter/gatherer/fisher/horticulturalist populations, provides interesting factoids: 76,000 Jōmon sites are known, 85 percent in eastern Japan; these are divided into four hundred local cultures and seventy major cultural traditions. The large number of sites includes settlements but also shell- and bead-working workshops, salt production locales, paths, small water-holding tanks, and shellfish-steaming and dolphin butchering sites; many of these features are described herein. Case studies

include Sannai Maruyama and Korekawa in Aomori, Ōyū in Akita, Satohama in Miyagi, Teranohigashi in Tochigi, Nakazato in Tokyo, and Uenohara in Kagoshima. Isotope studies document a variety of regional diets, with nuts and shellfish predominant, while several plant foods, including chestnuts, were in the process of domestication. Exploitation of *Rhus vernicifera* to produce lacquer dates to 7000 BC, two millennia earlier than China or Southeast Asia. Kagoshima sites reveal that narrow-necked jars and earplugs were known there millennia earlier than in eastern Japan. It is often stated that deer and boar bones account for 80 percent of the faunal remains in the Jōmon, but at Sannai Maruyama only 20 percent of bones were these large mammals. Analysis of Jōmon cookies revealed they were made of nut starch and condiments like *shiso* (perilla), wild onions, yams, and Alpine leeks. The Minerva Debate about the earliest date of Jōmon pottery is mentioned (p. 66) but not elaborated. The interested reader should see Barnes 1990.

The Yayoi chapter is the longest, beginning with an interesting section on Jōmon and continental peoples mixing to produce the Yayoi physical type. Much space is devoted to the coming of rice cultivation and its tools of production. Itazuke, Yoshinogari, and Karako-Kagi are the well-known featured sites, but Kitajima in Saitama and Aoya-Kamijichi in Tottori are new additions. Bronze and iron artefacts and their technologies are woven into the topic of warfare in the islands. Recoveries of wooden armor and shields, as well as many skeletons suffering wounds are new data sources. Wooden vessels from Aoya-Kamijichi illustrate lathe skills.

The Kofun period chapter concentrates on *kofun* (mounded tombs), beginning with the transition from mound burials in the Late Yayoi period. Tomb structures and contents are detailed, clarifying many chronological sequences. Case studies include the tombs Yukinoyama and Shinga (Shiga), Kurozuka, Tōdaijiyama, and Bakuya (Nara), and Higashinomiya (Aichi). Shinga is exceptional for surviving intact, and full details on tomb structure, artefact contents, and placement are knowable. Only one residential site, Mitsudera no. 1 (Gunma), is presented, but it reveals many crafts were carried out at this elite moated compound. State formation and relations with the Korean Peninsula lead into the next chapter.

The Asuka period is formally part of the Kofun period, but shifts to Buddhism and urbanism are discussed together with the Nara period. This chapter perhaps has the newest information to offer, accompanied by photos of models of sites excavated in the last few decades such as Naniwa (Osaka) and the Nara record: Kiyomigahara and Fujiwara capitals, craft workshops at the Asuka-ike site, Prince Nagaya's residence, and gardens at Heijō capital. Architectural constructions, including roof tile series, are an important aspect of both capital and temple. The Yakushiji, Kōfukuji, and an abandoned temple in Naō, Mie Prefecture, showcase the abundant Buddhist materials, while the end of *kofun* construction is highlighted by paintings from the Takamatsuzuka and Kitora tombs (Nara) before the beginning of Buddhist cremations, some with epitaphs.

This text could have benefitted from professional copyediting, as translation has led to various grammatical and spelling errors and erroneous words: for example, 戈 should be "halberd" but is variously described as "sickle-like" or a "tanged spear," or "spearhead." Jade artefacts are mis-identified throughout the book as nephrite (see plates 23, 42): they are the rock jadeitite from Itoigawa, one of two sources of the mineral jadeite in eastern Asia. (The other is Myanmar; all true jade sourced in China is nephrite.) This mistake is very

distressing, as it will take years to correct misconceptions drawn from it. Some discrepancies derive from the different authors. For example, on page 27, it states that fifty sites have yielded eighty dugout canoes, but on page 80 the figures are over one hundred boats from sixty sites. There is no glossary, and it is not clear why some terms are given in Japanese but not others. Production problems include reversal of captions for Figures 208 and 209, and the "Archaeology in Japan" section begins on page 324, not page 326 as listed in the Table of Contents.

Still, the message of this volume is clear: Japanese archaeology is a rich mine of information for past lifeways and the emerging state, and this book is the best on the subject in twenty years.

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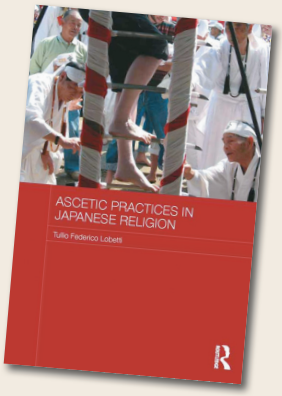
Book Review

Ascetic Practices in Japanese Religion

By Tullio Federico Lobetti



Routledge, 2014
xviii + 174 pages.

Reviewed by Ugo DESSÌ

Ascetic Practices in Japanese Religion was originally written as a PhD thesis at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the University of London. Tullio Federico Lobetti's book is a fascinating journey through the world of Japanese asceticism, a topic that occupies a peripheral position in the study of Japanese religions and is certainly worthy of more scholarly attention. Lobetti's book is based on his extensive fieldwork conducted among groups of ascetics in different parts of Japan, and aims to clarify three key issues: the applicability of the term "asceticism" to the Japanese context; the religious and social dimensions of asceticism; and the identification of common themes in Japanese asceticism (p. 2).

Lobetti addresses the first issue in chapter 1, in which he explores a wide range of cultural perspectives on the human body. The author argues that the common Western misunderstanding of asceticism as self-denial has been heavily influenced by the modern body/soul dualism. He suggests, however, that an inter-linguistic use of this term is possible insofar as one focuses on points of cultural convergence such as "the dignified and powerful figure of the ascetic," and "the determinant role of the body in religious practice." This emphasis on the body, Lobetti claims, should not lead us to conclude that ascetics in various traditions are mere "self-centred individuals" (p. 23); rather, the interplay between the ascetic and the social context is both fluid and ambivalent.

In chapter 2, Lobetti introduces the distinction between ascetic acts and ascetic practices, and illustrates three different modes of practice: the "occasional borrowing of ascetic acts," and "practices taking place outside" or "within an institutional religious body." The first mode is often found in religious festivals (*matsuri*) and includes practices such as fire-crossing (*hiwatari*) and climbing the ladder of swords (*hawatari*). The second mode is illustrated through reference to the cold practice (*samugyō*) at Mt. Ontake and the ascetic practices at Mt. Nanao. The third mode of practice—fully institutionalized religious asceticism—includes the Haguro *akinomine* within Shugendō and the *rōhatsu sesshin* within Sōtō Zen Buddhism, and is characterized by a "richer and more structured practice taxonomy." For Lobetti, this impacts positively on the efficiency of the ascetic acts in terms of the two basic elements of the ascetic practice, that is, "performativity" and "transformative power" (p. 60).

Chapter 3 deals with the "agents" of ascetic practices. In this respect, Lobetti distinguishes between the asceticism of laypeople and that of religious professionals, an example of the latter being the well-known one-thousand-day practice of the Tendai "marathon monks" at Mt. Hiei (*kaihōgyō*). The second part of the chapter focuses on the "why" of ascetic practice, which basically revolves around the pursuit of some form of benefit or power, and acquires different meanings for different persons. In turn, the author notes, these benefits are pursued by ascetics "either for themselves or for other people" (p. 87).

In chapter 4, Lobetti explores the spatial and social context of Japanese asceticism by introducing the twofold typology of "extra-ascetic society" and "intra-ascetic society" (p. 92). In the second part of the chapter, the author engages in a comparative analysis of ascetic practices performed within a Shinto and Buddhist context, respectively. He convincingly shows that "ascetic acts are not necessarily the direct expression of religious doctrine," and that the appropriation of religious meanings and the hermeneutic of the body enacted through performance take place on different planes (p. 116).

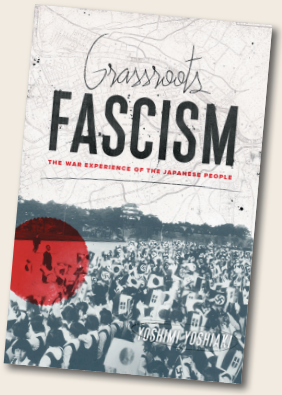
Finally, chapter 5 sheds light on the "constants" of ascetic practice: the human body, the intentional production and endurance of a certain amount of pain and physical exhaustion, and a bodily hermeneutic that serves the scope of interpreting the sensations arising from ascetic practice (p. 119). For Lobetti, these sensations are articulated by practitioners in terms of "loss" and "gain," and make possible a progressive process from impurity to purity that envisions the "perfect body" as its ideal end. As Lobetti puts it, pain acts as a "malleating power" that will eventually allow the ascetic to "manage death." In this way, practitioners aim to realize the ultimate paradox of the experience of "death-in-life," which is exemplified within the Japanese religious tradition by the self-mummified Buddhas (*sokushinbutsu*) (pp. 126, 131). Based on his findings, Lobetti provides a new definition of asceticism as "a structured and defined process of reversal of the flow of the body of the practitioner, and having as a consequence the production of power" (p. 136).

It is very difficult to do justice to the richness of this book within the limited space of a short review. Lobetti's work is to be commended for both the value of his research data, which in many cases have been collected through "extreme" fieldwork (the author himself performed several of the harsh practices analyzed in the book), and his thoughtful use of typologies for the clarification of this somewhat elusive religious phenomenon. I could only find a few minor points of criticism: the expression "Japanese religion" in the title would seem to imply that there is a "unified" religion in Japan, which is in contradiction to the variety of religious forms found in the Japanese context; given the relevance of the idea of gratitude to both Japanese asceticism (pp. 86–87) and Japanese religious culture at large, something more on this topic would have been welcome; the book ends rather abruptly, and perhaps a few additional pages with the author's conclusions would have allowed it to be more easily digested by readers; and at some points, as the author himself seems to acknowledge (p. 129), the explanatory potential of his "philosophical anthropology" is not fully convincing. Despite these minor reservations, Lobetti's book is a welcome addition to the literature on Japanese asceticism and ascetic practices in general, and will be extremely useful for scholars and advanced students in the fields of Japanese religions and comparative religion.

Book Review

Grassroots Fascism: The War Experience of the Japanese People

By Yoshimi Yoshiaki;
Translated by Ethan Mark



Columbia University Press, 2015
347 pages.

Reviewed by Rotem KOWNER

This recent publication is a long-awaited translation of the widely known 1987 book *Kusa no ne no fashizumu: Nihon minshū no sensō taiken*. It is essentially a structured and thematic compilation of personal records of wartime experiences, but has much more to offer beyond this. The book's four chapters present a large selection and analysis of biographies and unpublished texts originating in a vast array of diary entries, government reports, and postwar memoirs. Their authors were non-elite Japanese men, mostly soldiers, who participated in their country's imperial expansion during the crucial period of 1937–1945. In this respect, the book reveals the profundity of the popular participation in Japan's imperial designs, the belief in official propaganda (even after the war), the sense of national superiority and hatred for the Other, and the readiness to engage in violent and at times even horrendous acts in the name of the state and the emperor.

Grassroots Fascism also bears a degree of importance associated with its author's identity. Currently emeritus professor of history at Chuo University, Yoshimi Yoshiaki is probably Japan's most critical voice of his nation's wartime conduct. A founding member of the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility, the 71-year-old Yoshimi has worked indefatigably for the last four decades to bring Japanese war crimes during the war against China (1937–1945) and the Pacific War (1941–1945) to light. Besides the above book, his efforts culminated in later years in the publication of three additional books on the comfort women issue (Yoshimi 1992; Yoshimi 1995) and gas warfare (Yoshimi 2004) as well as several co-authored and edited books on these and related wartime themes. *Grassroots Fascism* could thus be seen as a token of his relentless commitment to uncovering Japan's grim history, believing that self-reflection and responsibility are necessary to create a better society. One must also commend Ethan Mark, the book's translator and a prominent historian in his own right, who succeeded in producing an accessible and very readable translation and enriching it with an invaluable thirty-nine-page introduction and numerous notes.

That said, the book can be read in several ways. It can be regarded as a straightforward oral history about the popular reaction to the war, not unlike later compilations of wartime oral history and diaries of Japanese soldiers and civilians (for example, Cook and Cook 1992; Yamashita 2005; Ohnuki-Tierney 2006). Alternatively, it can be seen as a study of

the personal and political background of Japanese wartime behavior and atrocities in East and Southeast Asia. A third reading might consider it as presenting voices of dissent among lower-class officials and the rank and file, and as offering a somewhat different outlook on Japanese society and its support for war and imperial expansion. Finally, and as the title indicates, it can be read as an analysis of grassroots fascism, that is to say a view from below on the crystallization of the Japanese militarist mindset during the final and climactic eight years of the imperialist period.

Nonetheless, the fascinating texts and their interpretation are underpinned by an all-embracing blunt message. By concentrating on the mode of thinking and actions of low-echelon men in the military and bureaucracy, Yoshimi propagates a view that suggests that ordinary Japanese participated willingly in their nation's imperial designs. Hence, he also places the blame on millions of lower-ranked soldiers and officials who shared and at times even prodded a racist and violent culture of expansion. Yoshimi's perspective, as reflected in this book, can thus be considered a moderate functionalist view (to borrow a phrase from the discourse on the origins of the Holocaust) of Japanese imperialism and militarism. It is somewhat at odds with the mainstream historiography of this theme, certainly at the time of the book's publication. A further uncommon and illuminating insight, especially with respect to today's Japan, is Yoshimi's demonstration of the wartime divergence between the popular spite for the colonial Other and the official propaganda which argued that Japan was fighting for the liberation of fellow Asians.

These remarkable features notwithstanding, the book suffers from several drawbacks that even the mediation of Mark's superb introduction cannot alleviate. The first among these is methodological. Yoshimi does not provide any hint on the manner in which he chose his protagonists, their specific experiences, and their texts. One can only wonder, therefore, whether the book's sample represents the typical soldier and/or civilian's wartime thought and experience. Such an unspecified selection could make sense when dealing with a small unit, such as the five hundred Germans who served in Reserve Police Battalion 101 (Browning 1992). But when one examines the personal experience of ordinary individuals serving in armed forces that mobilized more than seven million soldiers toward the end of the war, there should be clear criteria for the choice of illustrative texts alongside an evaluation of the actual prevalence of the experiences mentioned. Without these, one can only doubt the extent to which it is possible to draw valid conclusions about grassroots consciousness and experience from the sample presented in the book.

A second drawback is associated with the way Yoshimi presents his materials. All too often, it seems, he acts as a committed writer (*écrivain engagé*), whose agenda is obvious and who will do his utmost to prove it. To this end, Yoshimi does not seek to balance his testimonies, nor does he look for additional interpretations or even nuances. In fact, he does not even provide his readers with essential information on whether the texts were written during the war or retrospectively after the war. The final drawback deals with the book's theoretical exposition and concern for academic foundations. The author does very little in the way of presenting a general theoretical argument that places the book within a broader framework. (This specific point, however, is addressed by the translator's introduction.) Similarly missing are definitions of the concepts employed. Fascism may serve as a case in point. Although it is found in the titles of both the original book and its translation, there is no discussion of this concept, and, in fact, the word itself hardly appears in the text.

Moreover, Yoshimi does not provide any operational definition of this concept, nor does he discuss its differences compared to either similar forms of motivation (such as militarism, imperialism, or even patriotism) or other forms of fascism from outside Japan.

All things considered, *Grassroots Fascism* is an important contribution to the English-language literature on Japan in general and on its imperial era in particular. Moreover, this book should also be judged against the background of its time of original publication (the late 1980s) when the texts it disclosed and the critical perspective it brought forth so forcefully were considered pioneering. And yet, even today, some thirty years after its initial publication in Japanese, the book does not feel dated. In this respect, the availability of an English translation now allows a far greater circle of students and scholars to access its wealth of primary materials and to compare it with other similar records currently available with regard to Japan and other participants in World War II or other conflicts. Likewise, given the current climate of rising nationalism and growing attacks on historians that diverge from the official self-serving perspective now predominant in the historiographies of Japan, East Asia, and many other parts of the world, *Grassroots Fascism* serves as a reminder, if not an emblem, of intellectual and civil courage.

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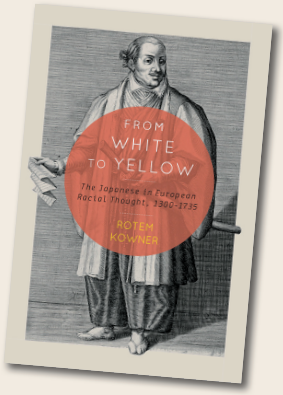
Book Review

From White to Yellow: The Japanese in European Racial Thought, 1300–1735

By Rotem Kowner



McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014
712 pages.

Reviewed by Tarik MERIDA

From White to Yellow is the first part of a two-volume project in which Rotem Kowner attempts to retrace the history of the "racial" encounter between Japan and the West. The scale of sources Kowner uses can only be deemed impressive, as testified by the bibliography of one hundred pages. Hence, the reader is taken from Marco Polo's travel report through Carl Linnaeus' *Systema Naturae* (1735) to seventeenth-century Jesuit writings. The amount and diversity of sources (many of which are difficult to obtain in English translation) are the work's greatest strength.

Kowner divides his book into three chronologically ordered phases. The first one (1300–1543), that of "speculation," is focused on the initial encounter of Europeans with Japan. Racial writings on the Japanese during this phase are deemed rudimentary (p. 61) and the main factor that shaped European views of the Japanese was their association with the less elusive Chinese (p. 63). Phase two (1543–1640), the age of "observation," is equivalent to the so-called "Christian century." It is the most enlightening part of the book, as Kowner bases his analysis not only on the writings of eminent Jesuits but also of Portuguese and Dutch merchants. The reader is also offered fascinating insights into the influence of slavery and sexual encounters on the overall appraisal of the Japanese, but is left wanting for explicit references to "race," a problem that holds true for the whole work and will be discussed in greater detail below. The third phase (1640–1735) of "reconsideration" sees the birth of a more "scientific" approach to racial thought and also the appearance of the color yellow as a somatic marker.

Unfortunately, despite Kowner's claim that his book is foremost about race (p. 21), it is difficult to find solid references to the concept. None of the sources he presents are convincing examples in support of his main argument, namely that "the European encounter with the Japanese . . . serves as a compelling case study that sheds new light . . . on the sources but also motives of modern racial thought" (pp. 3–4). The obvious complication Kowner faces—and acknowledges—is to discuss "race" in a time when the concept itself was nonexistent. He tries to avoid this by referring to a variety of racial "rudiments" which form a racial discourse about a certain group. This discourse is made racial by "describing some aspects of their physical appearance, offering details about their

origins to allow classification, or providing some information and even forming judgment that facilitates their placement on a scale of achievement" (p. 7).

However, his approach presents a major conceptual problem: the process of describing physical appearance or classifying people is not racial *per se*. It is the nature of the arguments that are being used to describe or classify a group that can eventually make the discourse racial. Hence, it is not clear in Kowner's definition how the racial discourse he sees differs from a discourse based on religion or culture—both particularly relevant for this book—or eventually on gender or class. The comprehension is not made easier by his assumption that the "premodern" racial discourse only differs from the modern one in that it did not contain notions of immutability and heritability (p. 8). One is left to wonder what, if not these two notions, is supposed to make a discourse racial.[1]

This conceptual weakness makes Kowner's racial labelling of the sources he describes seem rather arbitrary. Take the example of Marco Polo's remark about the inhabitants of Cipangu (Japan) as "white, civilized, and well-favored" (p. 40). Kowner sees this as racial in character and crucial for the ensuing discourse. But what exactly makes "white" in this particular context a racial connotation? The argument that before the eighteenth century white skin color was often associated with a high level of cultural attainment seems out of place here (p. 40). While it could without doubt be argued that culture and race were overlapping concepts in the eighteenth century, the same would be difficult to say for the thirteenth century in which notions of race did not exist. Moreover, it is important to remember that Marco Polo never went to Cipangu himself; everything he wrote about the Japanese was thus hearsay and may just be a translation. In the same vein, it is unclear to what extent the sources had an impact on the whole European image of the Japanese as a people, let alone as a race. For example, who had direct access to Jesuit reports and could comprehend them?

Finally, it remains vague why, except for the intrinsic value of novelty, the focus is put on Japan. Kowner concludes that the pre-1735 discourse on the Japanese shows that the concept of race "requires a certain contact and familiarity between observers and their target" (p. 309), an assumption that rings true, but is not peculiar to the Japanese case. Furthermore, the argument that Japan "delayed the consolidation of a world view that placed Europeans at its apex" (p. 325) out of respect for its achievements is novel, but it ignores the fact that the Japanese were not the only non-white people who were granted a racial moratorium.[2] Factors such as the Japanese domestic policy that forbade contact with foreign nations, a still premature technological level that prevented easy access to and frequent contact with Japan, and foremost a lack of scientific apparatus, seem more intuitive to explain the belated appearance of a hierarchy dominated solely by Europeans.

From White to Yellow is an ambitious and impressive work, and it is unfortunate that it displays some conceptual shortcomings. The breadth of sources as well as the extensive period of time it covers make it mandatory reading for those interested in cultural confrontations and in the Japanese image in the European mind. However, those curious

1 Kowner does mention factors such as a description of physical and behavioral characteristics, acknowledgement of the inferiority of certain groups, and so on (p. 8). However, these factors are in no instance specific to a racial discourse.

2 Native Americans too went through a phase of being first categorized as "white" (with everything this implied) before being darkened. For details, see, for example, Vaughan 1982.

about the concept of race and the racial identity of Japan will probably have to consider consulting additional works as well. It is to be hoped that volume II of Kowner's book project will be exempt from the shortcomings mentioned here, since the time period under scrutiny itself offers a clearer conceptual framework.

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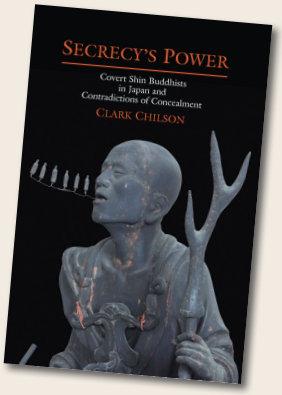
Book Review

Secrecy's Power: Covert Shin Buddhists in Japan and Contradictions of Concealment

By Clark Chilson



University of Hawai'i Press, 2014
xvii + 242 pages.

Reviewed by Kate Wildman NAKAI

In *Secrecy's Power* Clark Chilson examines several strands of covert Shin Buddhism, most of which mainstream "overt" Jōdo Shinshū, or the True Pure Land School, has traditionally held to be heretical. He takes up some of the Tokugawa and Meiji antecedents of such groups, but devotes most of the book to a consideration of the immediate background and practices of two present-day varieties of covert Shin. The fieldwork he has been able to do among them enriches this approach.

As the book's title indicates, Chilson is particularly interested in forms of concealment and their consequences. He accordingly divides the cases he considers into three types. The first covers instances where the adoption of strategies of secrecy was seen itself as problematic and led to criticism and persecution. Among these were several incidents in Kyoto, Edo, and the Tōhoku area in the mid-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries involving Shin-related practices that were held to be aberrant. Chilson also puts in this category a present-day Tōhoku group known as Gonaihō that remains highly secretive and largely inaccessible to researchers.

The second type centers on instances where overt Shin was subject to persecution and groups that may not originally have been covert went underground to protect themselves. Shin groups in Satsuma domain, which proscribed Shin itself, offer the prime example. Chilson notes that over time protective strategies of secrecy may transform the original tradition as it absorbs different observances meant initially to camouflage its own practices. To examine this phenomenon, he takes up a present-day Kyushu group with which he has been able to engage to some extent. Known today as Kirishimakō, this group has developed an association with the Kirishima Shrine, and its members sometimes describe themselves as practitioners of Kirishima Shinto rather than Shin Buddhism, although they retain elements clearly deriving from Shin traditions.

The third type subsumes groups that continue to remain covert today, even when social and political conditions that may have originally necessitated secrecy no longer are a factor. Chilson's major example is the group with which he has had the most extensive contact, a number of confraternities based in Kyoto and Gifu known as Urahōmon. Although, like Kirishimakō, these confraternities have formed ties with an outside religious organization, in this case a Tendai-affiliated Kyoto temple known as Kūyadō, the degree of assimilation is

less than with Kirishimakō. Exploring the implications of secrecy for Urahōmon, Chilson concludes that remaining covert is in part a matter of identity but also has to do with the role of the confraternity leader, the *zenchishiki*, the figure above all responsible for guarding and transmitting the group's secret traditions.

Chilson's conclusions regarding the second and third types are plausible and fruitful. In particular, the situation of covert Shin practitioners in southern Kyushu and the process of assimilation that he describes invite comparison with the circumstances of hidden Christian groups in other regions of Kyushu. His argument concerning the first type, where he sees the pursuit of secrecy as the source of persecution, seems to me, however, to conflate separate issues. In the instances Chilson describes, it often was overt Shin temples and leaders who brought the existence of covert groups to the attention of government authorities, who then took action against those groups. This does not mean, though, that the Shin leaders and government authorities saw the situation from identical perspectives. For overt Shin leaders, claims of secret knowledge and the performance of secret rituals that bore on fundamental Shin tenets may indeed have been the key issue. For government authorities, on the other hand, the major problem more likely was the status of those promoting the covert practices.

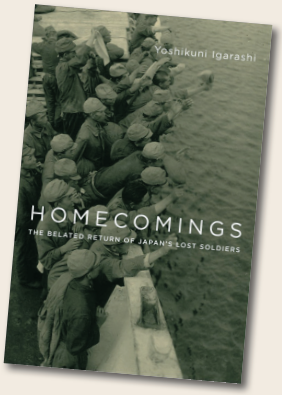
The Tokugawa shogunate banned Christianity and certain Buddhist groups such as the Nichiren offshoot Fuju Fuse as socially and politically pernicious (Satsuma prohibited Shin on the same grounds). Otherwise, it expected recognized religious groups to police themselves through hierarchically organized mechanisms for licensing temples and clergy. Shogunal and domainal authorities in fact tolerated a wide variety of lay confraternities, but they saw proselytization and doctrinal interpretations as being the prerogatives of licensed clergy and not something to be arrogated by lay practitioners. Government animus against the groups in Chilson's first category would seem to have been directed more at the groups' transgression of this principle than the claims to secret knowledge condemned by Shin leaders.

Although Chilson's primary focus is the reason for covert Shin groups to adopt strategies of concealment and those strategies' consequences, running through his discussion are other issues that might profitably be pursued further. A common element shared by most of the groups he takes up is a secret rite meant to ensure an act of true faith that will in turn guarantee not only rebirth in Amida's paradise but rebirth in this life. Such practices resonate with elements found quite widely in other branches of Japanese Buddhism, but they also speak to a fundamental anxiety arising from the premise that salvation rests solely on faith, an anxiety thus innate to Shin itself: How can one be sure one's faith is true? Might not this circumstance help account for both the recurrent appeal of these practices and mainstream Shin's hostility to them? The paradoxical role of the *zenchishiki* as a lay practitioner (not priest) who performs the rite ensuring faith and salvation similarly raises questions regarding the role of the clergy within Shin. I would have liked the book to address such issues more explicitly and earlier, but it provides a good starting point for their further exploration.

Book Review

Homecomings: The Belated Return of Japan's Lost Soldiers

By Yoshikuni Igarashi



Columbia University Press, 2016
302 pages.

Reviewed by Ryota NISHINO

In his introduction, Yoshikuni Igarashi, historian of postwar Japan, states that *Homecomings: The Belated Return of Japan's Lost Soldiers* complements his earlier work, *Bodies of Memory*.[1] Whereas *Bodies of Memory* explores collective memories of the Pacific War, *Homecomings* zooms in on micro-level history (pp. 6–7). Igarashi embeds individual experiences in sociocultural and economic contexts, and examines how individual cases have affirmed or disrupted the mainstream narratives of Japan's defeat: that heroic sacrifice laid the foundation for postwar peace and prosperity. *Homecomings* speaks mostly to the postwar generation with little or limited exposure to wartime memories passed on by returned soldiers. Today, the majority of the Japanese population learn about the war from such diverse representations as films, literature, poetry, and media coverage. Igarashi traces cultural and media histories of those representations as his object of enquiry (p. 10). He fulfills his promise and presents a masterful and innovative interdisciplinary history. His prose is jargon-free, lucid, and, above all, eloquent. Igarashi traverses several intellectual terrains with apparent ease, and always remembers to anchor his analysis to historical currents.

As Igarashi stresses throughout the book, the figure of returning soldiers disrupted the popular narrative of heroic sacrifice for postwar prosperity. Initially heralded as brave, some 3.67 million returned soldiers suffered opprobrium from the public, not only for bringing Japan the shame of defeat but also for failing to make the necessary sacrifice for the nation. Igarashi deals with the ways returned servicemen articulated their struggle to adapt and adjust to a postwar Japan stripped of its militaristic ethos and jingoistic nationalist pride. In example after example, Igarashi demonstrates that many soldiers struggled with transwar memories of the humiliation of defeat: some fared well, some less so. Chapter 1 analyzes two films, Kurosawa Akira's *Stray Dog* (1949) and Gosho Heinosuke's *Yellow Crow* (1957). The psychodrama on film, Igarashi finds, became the motif for Japanese reconstruction and prosperity while leaving unaddressed profound issues of trauma. Igarashi points out that commercialism and war fatigue thwarted the films from addressing those issues. Yet, it was the psychodramatic effects that conveyed immediacy to the audience, and made

1 Igarashi 2000.

these films popular. Chapter 2 analyzes Gomikawa Junpei's pseudo-autobiographical *The Human Condition* (1956–1958). Gomikawa depicts the protagonist's paradox as he has to obey his duty to the state even though his conscience runs counter to this state. Igarashi's comparison of the novel and its cinematic adaptation shows significant dissonance between these two media. The fissures remind us, and reiterate his earlier point about, the constraint of the media and the time of production. Chapters 3 and 4 juxtapose politically attuned PoWs with the poet Ishihara Yoshirō. Igarashi explores how Japanese PoWs struggled with humiliation and anxiety amid harsh winters and their treatment at the hands of Soviet officers. The prison experience severely undermined PoWs' faith in Communism. For politically attuned PoWs, it was the latter that brought the greatest humiliation. The camp experience tested their faith in Communism and brought them to disillusionment. By comparison, Igarashi contends Ishihara's chasm was more personal: Ishihara confronted his own humiliating memories, and chose poetry as a means of reconstructing his body and mind, which the camp had destroyed (p. 132).

While these chapters lean towards the cultural representation of transwar experience, chapters 5, 6, and 7 turn to cultural histories about the mass media's engineering of Southern Pacific stragglers to accommodate, reject, or ignore the inconvenient reminders of the past. Yokoi Shōichi, who returned from Guam in 1972, capitalized on his fame, but it soon inhibited him from openly discussing his own trauma (pp. 169–70). Onoda Hiro'o, who was in the Philippines until 1974, rejected the media limelight and contemporary Japan, and fled to Brazil. Chapter 7 shows the Japanese media's indifference to Nakamura Teruo's return from Indonesia to his homeland, Taiwan. Nakamura's identities as an indigenous Taiwanese man with his Ami "tribal" name, Chinese name, and Japanese name, underline the complex undercurrent of Japan's imperialism. To this reviewer, chapter 7, the shortest of all, offers the most fertile ground for future research into the transwar experience of servicemen from the Japanese colonies as demonstrated by Takashi Fujitani's pioneering work.[2] In the epilogue, Igarashi introduces Kurosawa Akira's *Dreams* (1990) as a springboard to the elusive nature of home (p. 229). Those soldiers' efforts to negotiate and recreate their homecoming bring out the irony of the present becoming a foreign country and the past the home that no longer was.

Homecomings will serve many current and future scholars rather well, especially those working in the emerging field of the psychological effects of war on returned soldiers.[3] Last, but not least, another vital scholarly value of *Homecomings* lies in its bilingual publication. The English publication postdates the original Japanese by four years. My comparison of both editions reveals minor modification between the two editions. The English edition has trimmed some of the prose, but its endnotes are generous and helpful for curious readers. Together with the earlier Japanese edition, *Homecomings* will bridge the gap between scholars working on Japanese history in English and in Japanese.[4]

2 Fujitani 2011.
3 Grossman 1995; Nakamura 2016; Shepard 2002.
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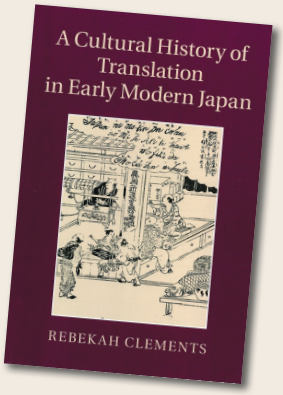
Book Review

A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan

By Rebekah Clements



Cambridge University Press, 2015
xii + 275 pages.

Reviewed by Gouranga PRADHAN

Although "translation"—in its multitude of meanings—always remains a defining aspect of Japan's cultural history, the field of "translation studies" in Japan has yet to receive adequate attention. This is especially true for research covering the early modern era. There is undoubtedly a growing body of related works in the areas of the historiography of textual circulation, characteristics of readership, reception, and canon formation of specific texts in premodern Japan. However, until now we did not have a book-length study that could provide a comprehensive treatment of translation practices covering the whole Tokugawa era. It is in light of this that Rebekah Clements's *A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan* is a crucial piece of research that will go a long way to fill the void in this field.

Clements's book starts with an introductory chapter in which she defines the term "translation" for the current study, before explaining her primary objectives: to inquire into what was translated (and what was not), what drove translation practices, and what translation strategies were adopted by Tokugawa translators. She rejects the monolithic Western definition of translation, and instead proposes a loose interpretation of the term in order to accommodate the numerous textual practices adopted by Tokugawa scholars, which involved some form of semantic transference. Japanese translation practice thus goes beyond the usual Western notion of faithful and accurate reproductions from a source to target language, and Clements's study covers various Japanese practices: translation from foreign languages such as Dutch and English, vernacular reproductions from classical Japanese texts, and Japanese renditions of Sinitic texts through the *kundoku* mechanism. The first chapter serves as a background from which the subsequent three chapters are developed. Here, she discusses the socioeconomic and technological transformations that unfolded during the early Tokugawa era, such as urbanization, the rising literacy level, and progress in the commercial print industry. All of these promoted multilingualism, and gave rise to cultural productions through translation. The following three chapters provide an exhaustive treatment of translation within three disparate linguistic traditions: classical Japanese, Sinitic, and Western works respectively. These form the main body of research in this book. The penultimate chapter sheds light on the phase of "crisis translation" experienced during the late Tokugawa period, triggered by the growing threat from Western powers.

The cultural history of translation in Japan predates the Meiji era, as convincingly presented by Clements, contrary to the popular perception that translation in Japan started after the end of the so-called "isolation" of the nation. This is indeed one of the most resilient myths associated with Japan. The country's active translational trade relationship through Nagasaki for the duration of the period is further proof that Japan was never completely isolated in the way that scholars once claimed. Clements refrains from explicitly mentioning the "modernization of Japan," but the discussions in various chapters make quite clear her view that Japanese modernity did not start *ab initio* with the Meiji revolution. The groundwork was in fact laid, at least partially, during the Tokugawa era. The transnational textual circulation network and the vibrant cultural production during the so-called period of "isolation" were among the factors that contributed to the transformations brought about in the Meiji era.

However, the vast scope of this study is both its strength and weakness. Clements states that her approach is to go beyond the compartmental studies conducted hitherto within individual disciplinary boundaries, in order to tell the "long story of translation in Japanese history" (p. 5). Certainly, her choice of a "macroscopic perspective" and the simultaneous treatment of works belonging to three linguistic traditions within a two-and-a-half-century timeframe readily "fills a lacuna that for too long has been the elephant in the scholarly room," as the blurb on the back cover of the book states. Some scholars, nevertheless, might find this methodology lacking, for nowhere does she discuss individual case studies. The scope of her endeavor is also confusing. Clements mentions that the works she considered include "linguistically distinct source-target languages" as well as "tertiary language," the translation of which "leave[s] the majority of the storyline or substantive content intact" (p. 15). Why then does she not include "commentaries" designed to aid navigation through complex content? For commentary, just like *kundoku*, helps in the comprehension of complex content without tampering with the source. Is it merely space constraints or the loose nature of the definition of "translation" in the Japanese context (for commentaries in a strict sense do not conform to any of the three translation categories offered by Roman Jakobson) that explain the omission of such works? Regardless, it seems clear that a universal definition of "translation" that applies across time and cultures does not exist. We need to explore further what constitutes "translation in the Japanese context."

One of the objectives of this study is to understand the likely selection criteria of Tokugawa scholars when choosing works for translation into vernacular Japanese. Aside from the commercial aspect, Clements claims that the "linguistic and conceptual complexity" of specific works like *Genji Monogatari* and *Ise Monogatari* could be one of those potential factors when selecting which work to translate (pp. 53–55). However, if complexity was a concern, then why were so many commentaries of works like the *Essays in Idleness*—as the author has discussed (p. 92)—produced during the Tokugawa era, with no attempt at translation? Is it plausible that the work's relative complexity for its Tokugawa readership could be a reason behind these numerous commentaries, which were produced to help navigation through complex subjects? Or was it the "canonized" status—like the Sinitic canons discussed in chapter three—of these works that prevented scholars from tampering with the source material? Yet another possibility could be that the specific religious connotation associated with individual works dissuaded Tokugawa scholars from studying them. For instance, there was a trend among disparate schools

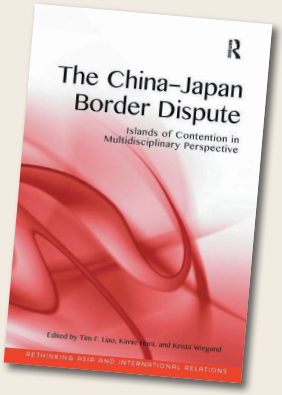
during this time to appropriate classical Japanese works in the line of their own school's ideologies. While Kokugaku intellectuals—who were in constant search of some "authentic Japanese" culture—found works like the *Kojiki* and *Genji monogatari* worthy of scholarship, Confucian scholars on the other hand were busy finding concealed Sinitic elements in works like the *Essays in Idleness* and *Hōjōki*. We need more research on the reasons why some texts were translated, while others were not. We can anyway look forward to the publication of more research from Clements in the near future, which will hopefully tackle the contentious issue of the unidirectional nature of text circulation into Japan from abroad.

As usual with surveys, Clements' book mostly relies on secondary sources for developing its arguments. It thus comes with the usual limitations associated with such works. However, its survey nature is precisely what helps in providing a broad view of translation practices in the Tokugawa era, for which Clements deserves the highest commendation. The book includes an exhaustive bibliography and is extensively annotated, and will surely be of immense help to scholars. This work will certainly serve as the foundation for future scholarship in the field.

Book Review

The China-Japan Border Dispute: Islands of Contention in Multidisciplinary Perspective

Edited by Tim F. Liao, Kimie Hara, and Krista Wiegand



Ashgate, 2015.
xii + 202 pages.

Reviewed by Giulio PUGLIESE

This edited book provides an excellent multidisciplinary approach to the study of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute between Japan and China. There is no encompassing thread, but all essays tackle one or more questions highlighted in the introduction. First, how did the Japan-China border dispute arise? Second, which party has the more credible claim to sovereignty over the small archipelago? Third, what are the possible solutions to the dispute, both in the short and long term? In order to answer these questions, the book makes good use of the expertise of three historians, two legal experts, one sociologist, and two political scientists.

The variety of approaches, analyses, and conclusions reached is refreshing and hints at the complicated nature of the subject. The editors want to transcend disciplinary biases that end up favoring either Japan or China's claims. For instance, Gavan McCormack is particularly critical of Japan's rock-solid stance and sympathizes with China on historical grounds, not least because he understands international law as "an evolving expression of global power relations." McCormack presents valid evidence to debunk Japan's qualification of the Senkakus as "inherent territory," such as Japan's secret act of incorporation of the Senkakus in January 1895 during the final stage of the first Sino-Japanese war. Yet, notwithstanding Japan's resolute denial over the existence of a dispute, its restraint has been remarkable compared to China's heavy-handed methods in the China Seas. Moreover, in stark contrast to Russia and South Korea's behavior, the Japanese government has not developed the disputed islands under its control. In other words, Japan's rock-solid stance is relatively moderate compared to its neighbours. That said, this reviewer agrees with McCormack's conclusions: China has a stronger claim based on history, but a weaker one based on international law.

Underlining this book's panoply of voices, Ryan M. Scoville argues in favor of Japan's sovereignty claims from a legal perspective. According to his cogently argued essay, acquisitive prescription trumps prior occupation, not least because evidence of earlier Chinese acquiescence to Japanese claims is "damning." Interestingly, the careful reader will notice that the book's two legal experts disagree over a fundamental point concerning international law. Carlos Ramos-Mrosovsky posits that international law facilitates Sino-Japanese confrontation over the disputed islands, since both governments aim at bolstering

their sovereignty claims; on the contrary, Scoville states that attempts at reinforcing effective control over the islands are meaningless to reinforce either side's claims. This difference proves that disagreements abound within and without disciplines.

Sociologist Tim F. Liao provides an overview of Japan and China's reconstruction of the way the islands are remembered. He does so by analyzing government-sponsored messages at both the domestic and international level, and concludes that China is mostly concerned with the former, while Japan pays attention to both. Quite worryingly, both countries' "memory projects" run in parallel lines, meaning that it would be incredibly difficult to bridge the gap. Political scientist Paul Midford's essay is particularly helpful because it spells out the international political context that allowed the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute to flare up in 2010 and, especially, 2012. In other words, the ongoing Sino-Japanese standoff over a set of uninhabited islands is representative of the rapidly changing power balance between China, Japan, and the United States. Midford also suggests creative solutions based on underappreciated case studies. For instance, the 1920 treaty between Norway and Russia, which disentangles the sovereignty dispute from resource exploitation over the Svalbard archipelago, is illuminating.

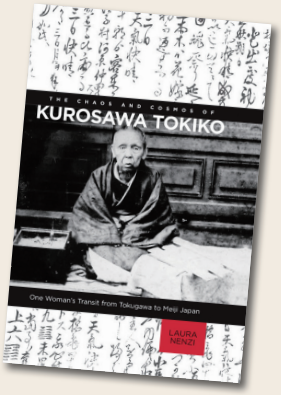
This book is the result of an April 2013 research workshop at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Thus, this valuable collection of essays was thought through during the very early months of the Abe Shinzō and Xi Jinping governments. It is now evident that Abe and Xi are the most consequential leaders of post-Cold War Japan and China, especially in light of their remarkable political longevity and power centralization. Given Xi and Abe's taste for power politics and for an uncompromising stance on territorial integrity, future studies on the Japan-China border dispute will necessarily have to take into account the role of personality and of the interplay of domestic politics with the Senkaku/Diaoyu crisis. For instance, "memory projects" underwent a renaissance under the Abe and Xi administrations: domestic and international publicity on the islands and denunciations of the counterpart's activities have skyrocketed in recent years.

That said, this book is particularly important for academics interested in a thorough multi-disciplinary approach to the study of the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute, advanced university students, journalists, and practitioners. Apart from the quality of each essay, the book's multiple perspectives showcase that the territorial dispute is no easy task to solve; nor should siding with either side be automatic given the garbled history, politics, and constructed (if not manipulated) "memories" attached to the islands.

Book Review

The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko: One Woman's Transit from Tokugawa to Meiji Japan

By Laura Nenzi



University of Hawai'i Press, 2015
ix + 265 pages.

Reviewed by G. G. ROWLEY

Biography is booming. Every week the broadsheet newspapers and literary supplements bring us word of new biographies of women we thought we knew well—Jane Austen, Anne Brontë, Cleopatra—as well as those hitherto less familiar: the "last surrealist" Leonora Carrington, the mathematicians who worked at the Harvard College Observatory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mussolini's "last lover" Claretta Petacci.

Our own field has not lagged behind. Scholars have excavated the lives and explored the impact of an enormous variety of Japanese women, from Nara period emperors and sixteenth-century Christian converts to artists and poets from all periods of Japanese history. A short list limited to subjects born before 1900 would include Patricia Fister's pioneering *Japanese Women Artists, 1600–1900* and Haruko Nawata Ward's *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650*; collections of biographical essays, such as Gail Lee Bernstein's *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, Chieko Irie Mulhern's *Heroic with Grace: Legendary Women of Japan*, and Rebecca L. Copeland's *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*; and monographs on individual women, such as Christina Laffin's *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality, and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu*, Bettina Gramlich-Oka's *Thinking Like a Man: Tadano Makuzu*, and Anne Walthall's *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration*.

I have enjoyed reading and learned much from these and other biographies, but I must confess to feeling a certain trepidation as I began Laura Nenzi's life of Kurosawa Tokiko (1806–1890), the village teacher and oracle—Tokiko specialized in yin-yang divination—who became an ardent "loyalist." As if the xenophobia of late Tokugawa loyalists is not tiresome enough (Tokiko wrote: "I never thought that / our country would be violated / by foreigners; / may I strike them / with bow and arrows," p. 49), there is their belief in the salvific power of monarchs, a form of derangement that seems to me little different from faith in astrology or blood types, and which in 1859 caused Tokiko to decide to walk from her home village in the Mito domain to Kyoto in order to petition Emperor Kōmei to release the former daimyo of Mito, Tokugawa Nariaki (1800–1860), from domiciliary confinement. Tokiko's petition was couched in the form of a long poem of more than 150 lines and is full of references to "my august lord" (*kashikoki kimi*), "my august country" (*mikuni*), and the realm above the clouds (*kumoi/kumo no ue*) where the court and emperor reside (pp. 70–77). Then there is the comet, visible to

the naked eye throughout the last four months of 1858, which Tokiko read as a distress signal from the heavens. And finally the Tenmangū, a.k.a. Sugawara no Michizane, who materialized in Tokiko's Kyoto prison cell and entrusted her with a "divine message" (pp. 103–107).

To enjoy this book then, one must stop wishing that Tokiko would wise up and instead give oneself up to Nenzi as she guides the reader through this radically different world. Nenzi's is not a straightforward telling of Tokiko's story—the author is with us every step of the way, explaining just what Tokiko's experiences reveal: not so much what the larger picture *is*, but what Tokiko's story *means*: "The ways in which it intersects with, and enriches, the broader narrative of the late-Tokugawa crisis, the collapse of the shogunate, and the rise of the modern state" (p. 3). At times I wished that Nenzi would step back and simply get on with the story. But this is not a popular treatment for a general audience. Her book is at least as much about the historiography as it is about Tokiko: part III, entitled "Memory, Manipulation, and Amnesia," comprises four whole chapters about Tokiko's "journey in historical memory" (p. 197), from official recognition of her dedication to the imperial cause in 1875, through her fate at the hands of twentieth-century historians, to her appearance in Funabashi Seiichi's historical novel *Hana no shōgai* (1952–1953), in 1963 selected as NHK's first televised *taiga dorama*.

Only a writer as good as Laura Nenzi could have made this biography of a nobody, who changed nothing, interesting. Throughout, the argument is clearly, beautifully, and vividly expressed. What wouldn't one give to be able to write, for example:

> The past is not the exclusive domain of historians and ideologues. Novelists and cinematographers, among others, poach in the preserve of history, if not in the name of accuracy, in the name of action; if not for study, for spectacle; if not to educate, to entertain. (p. 190)

Or to note: "As any historian knows, nostalgia requires selective amnesia" (p. 197). The narrative is studded with such gems of observation.

All biographies illuminate the context of their subjects' lives, whether those lives were extraordinary or ordinary. If there is a trend in biographical writing, it is that authors no longer assume that the life is a sufficient self-explanatory unit; rather, they feel that "however singular a person's life may be, the value of examining it lies not in its uniqueness, but in its exemplariness, in how that individual's life serves as an allegory for broader issues affecting the culture as a whole."[1] This is an argument that Nenzi explicitly rejects in her conclusion: "Tokiko's story is meaningful neither for its results (arguably inconspicuous) nor for its 'exemplary' value" (p. 201). Nonetheless, she argues, it "demonstrates the advantages of looking at large historical events from the peephole of microhistory" (p. 203). Among the many lessons we learn is the one that Tokiko herself learned:

> The hexagrams with which she divined the fate of her fellow villagers taught her that the universe consisted of a series of permutations of high and low, big and small, strong and weak; they told her that opposites worked in tandem, not independently. Such a view of the cosmic order was not at all incompatible with the idea that even a base-born person could rise above her station in life. If anything, it encouraged such a notion, and in doing so, inspired Tokiko to play a role that was larger than life. (p. 203)

1 Lepore 2001, p. 133.

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Book Review

Imagining Exile in Heian Japan: Banishment in Law, Culture, and Cult

By Jonathan Stockdale

University of Hawai'i Press, 2015
ix + 179 pages.

Reviewed by Sara L. SUMPTER

The motif of exile, whether imposed or self-directed, is a recurrent theme in the myths, legends, stories, and poems of Japan. The ubiquity of this motif naturally gives rise to the question: why does exile resonate so strongly? This is the question underpinning Jonathan Stockdale's richly researched and thought-provoking study, *Imagining Exile in Heian Japan*. Focusing on the Heian period, the book examines the implementation of the exile motif in Japan's early myth-histories, works of fiction, cultic practices, and legal system. In adopting this approach, Stockdale looks beyond disciplinary boundaries to explore how constellations of power—defined by one's proximity to the "privileged 'center'" (p. 2)—were imagined, and reimagined, through narratives of exile that were characterized by their constantly shifting function: on the one hand to reify, on the other to disrupt, established power hierarchies.

In the first of the book's four main chapters, Stockdale examines how the story of the exile of the god Susano-o, as recounted in the myth-histories of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, served to bolster the authority of the newly emergent Yamato court. In his analysis, which locates these myths within the framework of Yamato politics, Stockdale builds from, and challenges, the theories of Orikuchi Shinobu, who first categorized exile narratives as belonging to a distinct literary genre that he called *kishu ryūritan* (lit. "tales of exiled and wandering nobles") (p. 19). For Orikuchi, such tales are depoliticized and reveal perspectives unique to the Japanese people. Stockdale, however, rightly rejects this interpretation as ahistorical, noting that the varying versions of the Susano-o myth found in the court histories and regional *fudoki* records in fact reveal a multiplicity of perspectives and objectives in line with the liminal nature of the exile narrative.

In the following chapter, Stockdale turns his attention to the deployment of the exile narrative in fiction, taking for his example the early-ninth century text *Taketori monogatari*. Again, Stockdale's analysis is sharply critical of ahistorical interpretations of the work, notably Michele Marra's, which casts the tale as a triumph of Buddhist values over those of Daoism. Arguing instead that the story's employment of the exile narrative "links the story . . . to the political and legal realities of the Japanese court" (p. 54), Stockdale turns to a contemporary perspective on the *Taketori monogatari*, namely Murasaki Shikibu's *Genji monogatari*, which was written a century later. Focusing on the picture contest chapter,

which references the earlier work, Stockdale argues that *Genji*, like the *Taketori* before it, envisions a world where—via the exile narrative—cultural power, if not political power, can be made to rest in the hands of the marginalized.

Building off this argument, Stockdale next turns his attention to cultic practices to explore the story of the life, death, posthumous revenge, and subsequent apotheosis of the ninth-century courtier Sugawara no Michizane (845–903). Michizane's exile serves as one of the most prominent examples of how narratives of exile could be turned against the status quo—what Stockdale refers to as the "dialogic nature of exile in Heian Japan" (p. 82). In Michizane's case, the reversal of legally imposed punishment in response to public ritual practice functioned as a recognition that the political hierarchy could be reordered, if not an outright admission of political weakness.

Finally, Stockdale returns to concepts first raised in his discussion of the *Taketori monogatari*, a story set in a world where transgressions are punished with exile in a clear mirroring of existing legal proscriptions. Expanding upon this point, Stockdale considers the early *ritsuryō* legal codes as imaginative texts that envision "a particular constellation of power enacted in part through the trope of banishment" (p. 86). For this, he draws heavily on Rebecca French's theory of "legal cosmologies" and Michel Foucault's concept of the "microphysics of power," suggesting that the Heian court's emphasis on exile over execution served to articulate a vision of power that was determined by one's proximity to, or removal from, the "courtly center" (p. 94). The Heian court's long-standing avoidance of execution gave way during the Hōgen Disturbance of 1156, when several high-ranking nobles were put to death for their involvement. It is in his exploration of the disturbance and its history, *Hōgen monogatari*, that Stockdale begins to move away from an analysis of exile. In describing the shock and horror with which the late-Heian-period executions were met, Stockdale hints—perhaps unwittingly—at a society in which exile no longer dominates the cultural imagination. Instead, the narrative of exile gives way to the narrative of execution as the Heian period passes into the Kamakura.

While the interdisciplinary structure of Stockdale's argument gives it an occasionally disjointed feel, that approach is exactly what makes it such a valuable resource to scholars and students of history, religion, literature, and art. Moreover, as I noted above, being predominantly a study of exile in the Heian period, Stockdale's work invites further exploration of the topic. In his conclusion, the author suggests that exile should be understood alongside such "structuring categories of thought" as *mujō* (impermanence), *mappō* (the end of the dharma), and *mono no aware* (poignant awareness) as one of the major frameworks by which the people of the Heian court understood their culture, their society, and its norms (p. 121). He also argues that exile narratives became, with the influx of modernity in the Meiji period, "not merely irrelevant, but contradictory to the national imagination" (p. 120). This raises questions about the exile narrative's place, not just in modern-day discourse, but in the intervening centuries between the end of the Heian period and the beginning of the Meiji. If exile does not appear within the modern Japanese world as a viable trope, what replaced it? And when? And how do we understand it now in light of its supposed extinction?

Book Review

The Rise of Sharing: Fourth-Stage Consumer Society in Japan

By Miura Atsushi; translated by Dana Lewis

LTCB International Library Trust/International House of Japan, 2014
xxiv + 350 pages.

Reviewed by Jan SÝKORA

Most economic and social historians agree on the simple argument that consumption can generate economic prosperity and that the rise of the modern state, at least in the West, has been closely related to mass consumption that has penetrated almost all parts of everyday life. Modern economics is based on the assumption that individuals increasingly experience life as consumers, who spend their lives in a consumer environment, and identify themselves through consumer culture. Although some economists vehemently point out that the deeply rooted idea about consumer spending as a driving force behind economic growth is the greatest fallacy in modern economic theory, one can hardly deny the obvious fact that consumption and consumerism, the concept which refers to the consumption of branded, mass-produced goods and services, have become the key concepts in analyzing modern social and economic history. In the most developed countries the idea of consumerism has even been interpreted as an ideology which actually triumphed in the twentieth century, since "the belief that goods give meaning to individuals and their roles in a society, was victorious even though it had no formal philosophy, no parties, and no obvious leaders."[1] Indeed, since what you buy and consume is increasingly defining who you are or who you would like to be, a study of the changing patterns of consumption offers us fascinating insights into the substantial metamorphosis in the material and intellectual life of any society, and provides us with the answer to the most profound questions of where we came from and where we are headed.

The Rise of Sharing is, without any doubt, a perfect road map for travelling though the undulating landscape of Japanese consumerism, and Miura appears to be the most competent guide for such an adventurous journey. After graduating from university, he joined Parco, the leading chain of department stores and one of the symbols of Japanese consumer culture, where he spent eight years as chief editor of the influential marketing magazine *Across*. His rich experience in various research activities, including not only an analysis of consumer behavior and forecasts on changing consumer values but also a comprehensive analysis of demographic and social trends, inspired him to write more than twenty-five books on a variety of topics related to Japanese consumer society.

1 Cross 2000, p. 1.

In this, his first book translated into English, Miura narrates an absorbing story of the emergence and the blossoming of consumer society in Japan from the early-twentieth century to the dawn of the third millennium. He advances the concept of four distinct stages of Japanese consumerism and demonstrates, through an analysis of the main social and demographic phenomena, value systems, consumer aspirations, and other key characteristics, how Japanese society had been shifting from prewar national/state interest-driven consumption, via postwar family-oriented mass consumption, to individualized and diversified consumption in the eighties and nineties. Finally, he envisions a new type of consumer society based on a social network in which people will own less and share more. His lively discussion on where Japanese society is headed is backed up by many charts, graphs, photos, posters, and advertisements that he carefully collected over many years. The final part of the book is devoted to interviews with influential architects, designers, and entrepreneurs including Tsujii Takashi, a highly respected intellectual, businessman, and the founder of the Muji chain store.

Despite the innovative nature of the book, however, it contains some shortcomings and controversial points. The first one relates to the lack of a distinct methodological framework. Although Miura warns in the preface that "it is all but impossible to write a thoroughly comprehensive overview of consumer society itself" (p. xv), a curious reader would definitely welcome a simple methodological tool for easier navigation in the opaque waters of consumer society in Japan. Indeed, some of his arguments are anchored in sociology, demography, or labor economics, while others relate to psychology or gender studies. The lack of a methodological root is obvious, particularly with regard to the concept of sharing per se. The author provides many vivid examples of how the Japanese are giving up the possession of things to pursue new meanings in life, but he does not strive to put them into the context of the current discourses on whether the sharing economy has the potential "to serve as an umbrella concept that may bring together and re-frame older and recent alternative forms of economic activity and their academic conceptualization."[2]

The second issue in dispute consists of the tricky question of what forces actually lie behind the acclaimed rise of sharing. Despite the obvious fact that the principle and the practice of sharing can be found to some extent in any society, the question arises as to whether today's shift in the patterns of consumption results from the deliberate decision of mature citizens who have become aware of the blind alley of a (post)modern society and are trying to find a way out of it, or is nothing more than making a virtue of necessity in the situations when sharing seems to be more effective or—to put it in extreme terms—the only way of living. In this context, the photograph on the book jacket—namely the picture of people staying overnight at the evacuation site after the Tohoku earthquake—is the most telling demonstration of such doubt.

The last but not the least question coming to a reader's mind relates to the potential contradictions between the key factors of a sharing society (such as personal happiness or a shift "from money to people") and the iron logic of capitalism which is based primarily on economic efficiency. A vision of a society in which human relations are "organized without using money" (p. 137) seems to be an appealing idea, but the problem is how to make such a

2 For current discourse, see Jackson 2005, Mont 2004, and Princen 2003. For the citation, see Heinrichs 2013, p. 230.

dream come true in the world where the only instrument for the measure of value is money. The Net Economic Welfare (NEW) proposed by Nobel Prize winner Paul Samuelson is one of the best known, but almost completely unadopted, attempts to incorporate such noneconomic phenomena as happiness into the economic system.

Despite the aforementioned controversial issues, the *Rise of Sharing* is an absorbing, eminently readable, and thought-provoking case study of relatively new and almost undiscussed social phenomena that definitely require deeper investigation. The book is, without any doubt, an effective *vade mecum* not only for eager students of Japanese consumerism, but for anyone interested in contemporary Japanese affairs.

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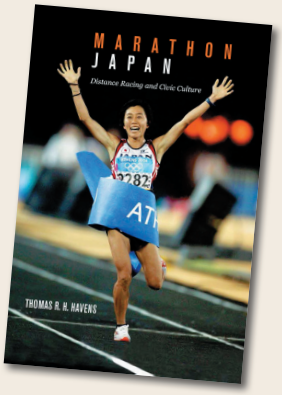
Book Review

Marathon Japan: Distance Racing and Civic Culture

By Thomas R. H. Havens



University of Hawai'i Press, 2015
227 pages.

Reviewed by USHIMURA Kei

If you visit Japan from late autumn through winter, you will invariably encounter, up and down the land, multiple marathon races, where not just "elite" runners but a considerable number of general or citizen (*shimin*) runners participate, cheered on by spectators lining the course. The most conspicuous of them is, no doubt, the Tokyo Marathon in February. This is a familiar scene in present-day Japan, but the history of marathons featuring *shimin* runners alongside the elite is not of long standing. It started rather recently, just before the turn of the millennium. In races authorized by the Japan Amateur Athletics Federation (JAAF), the participants' times count as an official record. Previously, these events were exclusively for athletes affiliated to corporate or university teams, in addition to a handful of invitees from abroad, namely "elite runners."

In contrast, marathon races offered for elite runners have a century-old history that can be traced back to the Meiji era. Invited by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to participate in the Olympiad in Stockholm in 1912, Meiji Japan held a competition in November 1911 to select two athletes to dispatch to the Swedish capital. One was a sprinter; the other was a long-distance runner named Kanaguri Shizō, a student at Tokyo Higher Normal School where Kanō Jigorō, a well-known educator and judo enthusiast, then served as principal. Although Kanaguri was not able to complete the marathon due to the hot, humid weather on the race day—indeed, it was so extreme that one contestant lost his life—he competed in two subsequent Olympic games in a row (1920, 1924), while teaching his pupils to follow his career with success. He has since been celebrated as "the father of the marathon in Japan."

After the war, Japan gradually began to produce excellent marathon athletes. Some, like Tsuburaya Kōkichi and Kimihara Kenji, won Olympic medals in Tokyo (1964) and in Mexico City (1968) respectively, whereas others, such as "Mr. Marathon" Seko Toshihiko, and Nakayama Takeyuki, did not, despite the occasionally outstanding records they established. No less noteworthy, of course, is the emergence of female marathon competitors, starting with Sasaki Nanae and Masuda Akemi around 1980, through Arimori Yuko in the 1990s, to Takahashi Naoko and Noguchi Mizuki in the new millennium. Arimori won two medals in consecutive Olympiads (1992, 1996), while Takahashi and Noguchi became gold medalists in 2000 and 2004 respectively. Since Noguchi's triumph in Athens, however, no

Japanese marathon runner has attained any medal in the Olympics, although several have competed in each of the games. Male runners in particular have been far behind the recent records accomplished by African athletes.

Marathon Japan is an amazingly well researched monograph. Based on the perusal of an extensive number of historical documents and related books, in addition to some interviews with former athletes and coaches, the book invites us into the Japanese tradition and culture of distance races in a chronological order. The author places special emphasis on the process of distance running as it turned from a temporary boom into a permanent segment of Japanese culture.

The book begins its narrative by delineating the history of marathons from the Meiji era on, with constant reference to *ekiden*, long-distance relay races usually performed by more than ten runners in a team. This juxtaposition of marathons and *ekiden* might be intended to lead us to consider the frequent debate on whether the current "plateau" of Japanese marathon runners is attributed to Japan's obsession with *ekiden*. Behind the controversy lies the prevalent view that distance runners affiliated to corporate or university teams need to give priority to *ekiden*, thus leaving them ill prepared for marathons. Havens seems to concur, citing a comment made by a famous *ekiden* coach: "Claiming that elite Japanese marathoners complete more races than is true of foreigners, Okada [the coach] thinks that running ekidens is a major reason runners seldom fail to finish marathons" (p. 169).

No less amazing than the extensive research is the book's comprehensive approach, which attests to the versatility of its author. In writing "open-participation *ekiden*s and marathons have been claimed by ordinary citizens as community events for all, completing the democratization of a sport dominated a hundred years earlier by upper-crust males at exclusive universities" (p. 115), Havens is an intellectual historian. When describing Takahashi Naoko as "running steady ahead, with a gait so economical and with so little bounce that the sole of her shoe was barely visible to runners behind her as her other foot hit the pavement" (p. 116), he proves himself to be an excellent sports writer.

Also noteworthy is the reader-friendly way the author handles each document. For instance, when referring to the specific record of a specific athlete, he discusses it in a manner synchronic as well as diachronic. That is, he evaluates the record not only within the career of the athlete but also within the context of the year the record was established. The reader can accordingly grasp with ease each record the author refers to. When he writes, however, regarding Tsuburaya Kōkichi, the first Japan-born marathon runner to win an Olympic medal, that "Tsuburaya, a second lieutenant in the Ground Self-Defense Force, exemplified the close ties between athleticism and the Japanese military since the 1930s" (p. 15), the author seems to be too insightful, given the fact that the Japan Self-Defense Force is no equivalent for the old Japanese army.

The most impressive and instructive part of *Marathon Japan* is where the author discusses in detail the development of the civic culture of long distance running. In so doing, he puts special emphasis on two female elite runners: Tanigawa Mari and Takahashi Naoko. Tanigawa, not so famous abroad as Takahashi, was an ordinary office clerk, who at the age of 24 took to jogging around the imperial palace and ended up winning international marathons at Tokyo (1991) and Paris (1994). She rose to stardom and "quickly became one of the first-top echelon female athletes to tout the pleasure of running to the general public"

(p. 105). Tanigawa functioned as "the key link between elite distance running . . . and the open-participation marathons for tens of thousands of citizens epitomized by . . . Tokyo Marathon" (p. 107). By contrast, Takahashi Naoko was an elite runner from the start and fulfilled her dream of winning gold. She became a national celebrity. Her "Olympic victory and sunny personality triggered more interest in running, especially among young women, than any other factors during the early 2000s" (p. 117). One might then wonder whether—had it not been for Tanigawa Mari and Takahashi Naoko—the current boom of civic marathons, culminating in the Tokyo Marathon starting in 2007, would have been possible at all.

The narrative is convincing indeed, and yet the author could have added something more. For instance, he could have discussed why no male elite runners, such as Seko Toshihiko, the Sō brothers, and the silver medalist in 1992, Morishita Kōichi, have ignited or contributed to popular marathon running. Also, he could have presented a more concrete suggestion for, or even a solution to, overcoming the current slump of elite runners. The only prescription he presents us is as follows: "Some combination of Noguchi's self-sparing and Kawauchi's gentle defiance of convention may be the formula for Japan's elite runners to follow in taking their metier from its present plateau to the next peak of accomplishment" (p. 140).

Throughout the book, the style is lucid and even rhythmic, sometimes reminding us of the constant moving of long distance racers' legs. Being a devotee, first as an active athlete then as an enthusiastic fan, of track and field sports for nearly a half century, I can argue with certainty that *Marathon Japan*, providing not a general but an extensive history of marathons plus other events of track and field, is among the best monographs on the topic, including those written in Japanese.

Marathon Japan deals with hundreds of Japanese people and places and, amazingly enough, unlike most other English books on Japan, almost all names are cited and read with accuracy. The meticulous research Havens has attained is certainly impressive. All this reviewer can contribute is, perhaps, to suggest two minor corrections: from Soma Kanjirō to Aijima Kanjirō (pp. 33–34) and from the Katsuta National Marathon in Tokyo to the Katsuta National Marathon in Ibaragi (p. 143).

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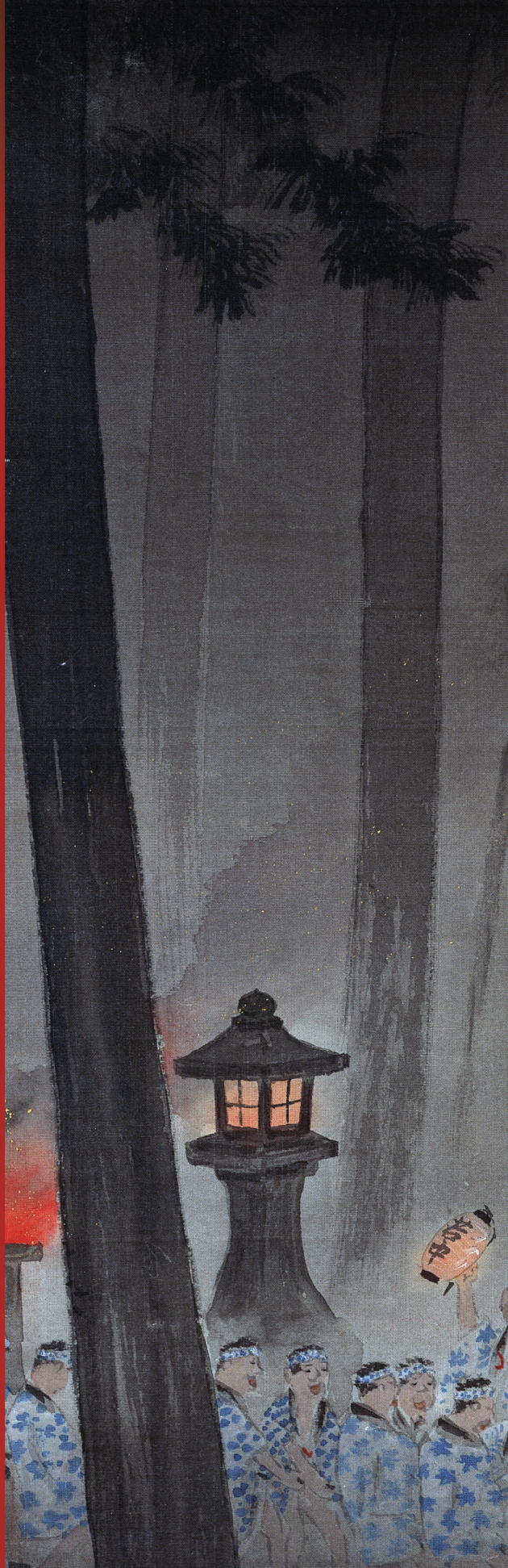

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