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Emperor Jinmu in the *Kojiki*

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As an outcome of the Meiji Restoration, Shinto was established as national ritual system and the rule of the emperor was emphasized as absolutely sacred. Imperial authority was linked to the world of deities, starting from Amaterasu, and attention fell on the first Emperor Jinmu in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

Emperor Jinmu, third-generation descendant of Hononinigi, and grandson of Amaterasu who descended from Takama no Hara to rule the land, moved east from Hyūga to find a most suitable place to rule in Yamato. According to historical research, Emperor Jinmu was a mythological figure and did not exist. Historians identify the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as sources to research classical history, rather than discuss the significance of their myths.

In contrast, Saigō Nobutsuna views the myths in the *Kojiki* as structurally universal, and he thus defines imperial sovereignty as universal. According to Saigō, Yamato, conquered by Emperor Jinmu, represents a sacred center, while the remote regions of Kumano, Izumo and Kumaso are peripheral regions placed under the sovereign's order by virtue of being conquered.

However, from the point of view of the shamanic experience of Emperor Jinmu, Yamato cannot be seen as a sacred center. Emperor Jinmu himself does not conquer Yamato; rather he confronts Yamato as a shaman. This paper focuses on reinterpreting the myth of Emperor Jinmu in the *Kojiki* from the point of view of shamanism

Keywords: *Kojiki*, Yamato, Jinmu, shamanism, Shinto, Ōmononushi, savage, River Sawi

Introduction[1]

Emperor Jinmu, the great-grandson of Hononinigi, who was in turn grandson of Amaterasu, descended to earth from the Plain of Heaven (Takama no hara 高天原). The emperor moved

1 Note: I wrote this article as a researcher at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto. I would like to extend my thanks to the Center for this important opportunity. I would also like to thank Giorgio Premoselli, currently a researcher at Bukkyo University in Kyoto, for translating this article from Japanese into English.

away from Hyūga 日向 and entered Yamato in search of a suitable place from which to rule. Emperor Jinmu was of course a mythical figure, who has no basis in historical fact.

Emperor Jinmu has been studied both by historians and literature scholars. However, there are differences in their methodology. Historians identify the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as sources with which to explore classical history, rather than discuss the significance of their myths. At the same time, Japanese scholars of literature explore the peculiarities of narrative in both texts. For a long time, the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were understood as identical to each other. Indeed, they are known by the generic term *kiki shinwa* 記紀神話.

One of the pioneer explorers of the individual cosmology of the *Kojiki* was Saigō Nobutsuna 西郷信綱.[2] Saigō focused on to the "internal structure" (*naiteki kōzō* 内的構造) of the *Kojiki* narrative, which he divided into two main parts, center and periphery. For example, there are several worlds featured in the *Kojiki*, and he saw them not as worlds which have meanings outside the text but as worlds within the text, which have an opposing relationship to one another. One outcome of Saigō's method was a reinterpretation of the Central Land of the Reed Plains (*Ashihara no nakatsu kuni* 葦原中国). Saigō denied the common assumption that this was a referent for Japan; he understood it rather uniquely as a mythological world within the *Kojiki* narrative. For him the Plain of Heaven and Yamato represented a sacred center, while the Central Land of the Reed Plains and Izumo 出雲 represented the periphery. The narrative of the whole text is formed by the contrast between the sacred center and the outskirts. The legacy of Saigō's research lies here in his interpretation that these worlds have meaning uniquely within the narrative context.

Kōnoshi Takamitsu 神野志隆光 inherited Saigō's approach, similarly focusing on the *Kojiki*'s internal structure, but he also noted differences between the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*.[3] Kōnoshi's analysis demonstrated that the *Nihon shoki* was based on Chinese yin-yang theory, while the *Kojiki* was formed around the cosmology of *musuhi* 産巣日. Kōnoshi highlighted distinct features of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, criticizing the established generic *kiki shinwa* approach that took them as indistinguishable. His method, "text theory" or *sakuhinron* 作品論, made it possible to explore the peculiarities of mythology in each text.

This paper inherits Kōnoshi's approach, and interprets the narratives of Emperor Jinmu within the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* as separate myths. My purpose here is to compare the two in order to highlight the peculiarities of the Jinmu narrative in the *Kojiki*. The *Kojiki* depicts Emperor Jinmu's expedition from Hyūga to Yamato, and his accession to the throne there as emperor. As stated above, Saigō interpreted Yamato as sacred center; Izumo and Kumaso 熊襲 for him constitute the periphery conquered by Yamato. Kōnoshi followed suit to show that Jinmu entered Yamato, conquered it, and established it as center before proceeding to take Izumo and Kumaso.

However, a rereading of the *Kojiki* narrative reveals that it does not portray Jinmu as conquering Yamato at all. Rather, it takes Yamato as the abode of unruly (*araburu* 荒ぶる) deities, and a place where the emperor communicates with these deities. Yamato is not an unshakable sacred center. This paper will explore the peculiarities of the Jinmu narrative in the *Kojiki* and analyze the significance of Yamato. It does so, partly at least, through a comparison with the Jinmu legend as recounted in the *Nihon shoki*.

2 Saigō 1967, pp. 15–29.
3 Kōnoshi 1986, pp. 36–37.

1) Iwarebiko Moving East[4]

Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko no Mikoto 神倭伊波礼毘古の命 (hereafter Iwarebiko) set off east from the palace of Takachiho in Hyūga in search of a suitable place to rule the realm (*ame no shita* 天の下).[5] After leaving Hyūga, Iwarebiko, his elder brother, and his forces arrived in Usa 宇沙 in the land of Toyo 豊国. Iwarebiko then spent one year at the palace of Okada 岡田 in Tsukushi 筑紫, seven years at the palace of Takeri 多祁理 in Aki 阿岐, and eight years at the palace of Takashima 高嶋 in Kibi 吉備. Upon entering "the straits of Paya-supi," Iwarebiko encountered "a person riding on a tortoise's back, fishing and flapping his wings as he came."[6]

While the arrival of the turtle and the fishing represent a messenger from the deities of the sea, the flapping of wings signifies the fluttering of a bird.[7] Birds were believed to come and go between the spirit and human worlds, and it is safe to assume that this figure, riding on the carapace of a turtle, is indeed an approaching deity.[8] Next, Iwarebiko holds a dialogue with this deity.

> Calling him closer, he asked: "Who are you?"
> He answered: "I am an earthly deity."
> Again he asked: "Do you know the sea lanes?"
> He answered: "I know them well."
> Again he asked: "Will you serve as my attendant?"
> He answered: "I will serve."
> Then he stretched out a pole and drew him into the boat. He bestowed [upon him] the name Sawo-ne-tu-piko. This is the ancestor of the Kuni-no-miyatuko of Yamato.[9]

The figure replies to Iwarebiko's "Who are you?" with, "I am an earthly deity." He then confirms he knows the sea lanes well. Iwarebiko invites the deity onto the boat and, giving him a pole, names him Saonetsuhiko 棹根津日子. It is worth noting that Iwarebiko is here conferring a designation on a nameless deity from another world. The action of name-conferring implies the exercise of magical control. By naming him and handing him a pole, Iwarebiko has the deity follow him. The figure that approaches riding on a turtle flapping his wings then transforms into a guardian deity, charged with guiding Iwarebiko to Yamato. This is thus a narrative of Iwarebiko's spiritual power. Upon overcoming the straits of Hayasui 速吸門, the forces of Iwarebiko reach Shirakata 白肩, where they do battle with Tomi no Nagasunebiko of Tomi 登美能那賀須泥毘古. There, Iwarebiko's brother, Itsuse no Mikoto 五瀬の命, is wounded, his penalty for daring to fight facing the sun, since he is "himself a descendant of the Sun Deity." The forces of Iwarebiko are forced to take a detour

4 Throughout I use Donald L. Philippi's translation of the *Kojiki* in preference to that of Heldt, whose approach is to translate deity names and proper nouns into English. For a review of Heldt's translation, see Andassova 2017, pp. 195–97.

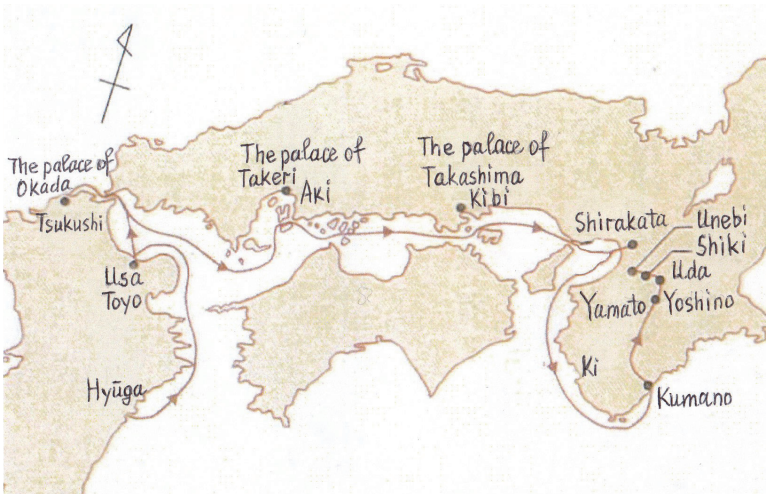
5 From his departure from Hyūga to his enthronement at the palace of Kashiwara, Emperor Jinmu is referred to in the *Kojiki* as Kamu-Yamato-Iwarebiko. Kamu-Yamato-Iwarebiko is another name for Jinmu.

6 *Kojiki*, Book Two, Chapter 47, p. 164; Heldt 2014, p. 61.

7 Saigō 2005, pp. 30–32.

8 Saigō 2005, p. 30.

9 *Kojiki*, Book Two, Chapter 47, p. 164; Heldt 2014, pp. 61–62



Map 1. Jinmu's route to Yamato. (I have recreated this map from Kōnoshi 2017, p. 141.)

south through the river mouth of Wo (O no Suimon 男の水門) in the country of Ki (Ki no Kuni 紀国, where Itsuse no Mikoto dies from his wounds.

Yamato does not easily accept the authority of Iwarebiko. Yamato is indeed depicted as an extremely dangerous place where a simple mistake can lead to death. It represents for Iwarebiko a world filled with uncontrollable spiritual power. Iwarebiko fails to enter Yamato, and is forced to take a detour south, through Kumano 熊野.

2) Jinmu's Kumano Experience

The *Kojiki* depicts Iwarebiko's passage through Kumano as follows:

> When Kamu-yamato-ipare-biko-no-mikoto journeyed around from that place and arrived in the village of Kumano, a large bear [could be seen] faintly moving around; then it disappeared. Then Kamu-yamato-ipare-biko-no-mikoto suddenly felt faint; his troops also felt faint and lay down.
>
> At this time [a person called] Taka-kurazi of Kumano came bringing a sword to the place where the child of the heavenly deities was lying.
>
> As he presented it, the child of the heavenly deities woke up and rose, saying: "Ah, what a long time I have slept!"
>
> At the very time that he received that sword, all of the unruly deities in the Kumano mountains were of themselves cut down; and the troops, who had been lying in a faint, all woke up and rose.[10]

When Iwarebiko enters the village of Kumano, then, a large bear emerges from the mountains only to disappear immediately. This causes Iwarebiko to faint. Saigō Nobutsuna

10 *Kojiki*, Book Two, Chapter 49, p. 167; Heldt 2014, p. 63.

argued that Iwarebiko was hit by the malice of the bear, the deity of Kumano. That he lost consciousness further identified Kumano as a remote region populated by unruly deities in contrast with what Saigō identifies as "civilized" Yamato.[11] I would like to focus here on the meaning of unruly or *araburu* 荒ぶる.[12] The adjective refers to a being in possession of, and wielding, supernatural powers, and does not always refer to one that needs to be suppressed in order to be controlled.[13] Iwarebiko encounters not an unruly being that needs to be controlled, but a deity wielding awe-inspiring supernatural powers. Of interest is the fact that the appearance and disappearance of this deity causes Iwarebiko to faint. Fainting refers to the loss of health.[14] This is confirmed in the dream of Takakuraji 高倉下, where Amaterasu 天照 and Takaki no Kami 高木の神 refer to Iwarebiko as sick (*yakusamu* 不平む). Iwarebiko feels the power of the deity of Kumano but, unable to counter it, he becomes sick, lies down, and his army lie down also. This is a strikingly different scenario to Iwarebiko's encounter with Saonetsuhiko in the Hayasui Straits.

Iwarebiko's sickness and defeat before the supernatural power of the deity testifies both to a weakness in the lineage of Amaterasu, and also to Iwarebiko's spiritual immaturity. To the prostrate Iwarebiko, Takakuraji brings a sword, and tells him how he received the sword in his dream. In the dream, Amaterasu, Takaki no Kami, and Takemi-kazuchi 建御雷 appeared, dropping the sword from the roof into Takakuraji's storehouse. This sword was thus also known as the sword that subjugates. After narrating his dream, Takakuraji presents the magical sword to Iwarebiko, who comes to his senses along with his army. Iwarebiko recovers on receipt of the magical sword passed down to him from Amaterasu and Takaki no Kami.

It is also worth mentioning here that Iwarebiko, upon coming to his senses, is named Amatsukami Miko 天神御子 or Child of the Heavenly Deities. Iwarebiko assumes and retains this name until he enters Yamato. Amaterasu and Takaki no Kami function as Iwarebiko's guardians as he travels to Yamato. Under the guidance of the Giant Crow, a messenger from the Plain of Heaven, Iwarebiko proceeds to Yoshino 吉野. After defeating Naga-sune-biko, Iwarebiko finally enters Yamato, where he ascends to the throne at the palace of Kashiwara 白檮原. Only after his enthronement is Iwarebiko called Emperor (*tennō* 天皇) Jinmu.

3) Jinmu's Marriage Proposal to Isukeyori-hime

Emperor Jinmu married Aira-hime 阿比良比売 in Hyūga and Aira-hime gave birth to Tagisi-mimi and Kisu-mimi, Jinmu's children. But when Jinmu came to Yamato, he sought a new wife for himself. Ōkume no Mikoto 大久米の命 informed the emperor of the existence of Isukeyori-hime 伊須気余理比売, the child of a deity (*kami no miko* 神の御子) born from Miwa no Ōmononushi 美和の大物主 and Seyatatara-hime 勢夜陀多良比売. Ōmononushi was the deity (*jinushi no kami* 地主神) of Yamato, where Miwa mountain was located. For Jinmu, marriage to Ōmononushi's daughter meant the opportunity to communicate with the power of Yamato.

11 Saigō 2005, pp. 47–48.
12 The original version uses *araburu*, which Chamberlain translates as "savage." Chamberlain 1982, p. 165.
13 Nakamura 1995, pp. 66–70.
14 Kurano 1994, p. 203.

Ōmononushi represents the ultimate uncontrollable spirit (*mono* モノ).[15] As Orikuchi Shinobu points out, deities (*kami* 神) and spirits (*seirei* 精霊) had different ranks. A deity was a being with a name and whose power was controlled. In contrast, *mono*, which was one of the spirits, referred to a being that had no name and could not be controlled. Since it could not be controlled, *mono* brought misfortune and harm upon humans. Ōmononushi appeared in the section of *Kojiki* on Emperor Sujin, issuing a curse on the emperor's realm which caused a plague. In order to stop this plague Ōmononushi asked the emperor to look for Ōtataneko. The emperor then found Ōtataneko and ordered him to worship Ōmononushi. What was the significance, then, of the marriage of Emperor Jinmu to the daughter of the plague-inducing Ōmononushi?

> At this time there were seven maidens playing on [the plain] of Taka-sazi-no, Isuke-yori-pime was among them.
> Opo-kume-no-mikoto, seeing Isuke-yori-pime, said to the emperor in a song:
>
> "Seven maidens
> Walking along
> The plain Taka-sazi-no
> In Yamato
> Which of them will [you] wed?"
>
> At the time Isuke-yori-pime was standing out in front of those maidens.
> Then the emperor, looking upon the maidens, knew in his heart that it was Isuke-yori-pime standing out in front, and replied in a song:
>
> "The eldest maiden
> Standing slightly out in front
> Her will I wed."[16]

Seven maidens are playing on the field of Takasaji and Isukeyori-hime is among them. Upon seeing her, Ōkume sings to the emperor, "Seven maidens, walking along the plain Taka-sazi-no in Yamato. Which of them will [you] wed?" In other words, Ōkume asks the emperor which one he shall marry. Isukeyori-hime stands at the front of the group. Glancing at her, the emperor understands that she is to become his wife, and replies with a song: "The eldest maiden standing slightly out in front. Her will I wed."

I would like to stress that the *Kojiki* describes here the process by which the emperor recognizes the daughter of Ōmononushi from the group of maidens. We can conclude that Ōkume's question was meant to test the emperor's ability to distinguish the daughter of Ōmononushi. Had the emperor failed the test, it would have meant he was unable to communicate with his soon-to-be wife, and thus he did not merit her hand in marriage. By succeeding, he gains the right to marry her.

15 Orikuchi 2017, pp. 5–15.
16 *Kojiki*, Book Two, Chapter 54, p. 180; Heldt 2014, pp. 69–70.

It is also interesting to reflect on the fact that the emperor never addresses Isukeyori-hime directly. Ōkume conveys the emperor's song to Isukeyori-hime, and then brings back her answer to the emperor. This is indicative of Yamato's highly dangerous potential. As we have previously observed, Itsuse no Mikoto died after badly misjudging Yamato. Yamato belonged to Ōmononushi, the leader of unnamed and demonic spirits. When dealing with these unruly spirits, the utmost caution was required. For the emperor, Yamato represents a matter of life and death, and a place of extreme danger.

4) Jinmu's Marriage with Isukeyori-hime

Emperor Jinmu now heads to Isukeyori-hime's house to marry her:

> The home of Isuke-yori-pime was by the River Sawi. The emperor journeyed to Isuke-yori-pime's home and slept there one night. [17]

Emperor Jinmu spends one night with Isukeyori-hime at her house by the River Sawi 狭井河. Even though he has already arranged for the marriage to take place at Kashiwara Palace, he takes the trouble to go to her house by the river. The River Sawi flows north of Sawi Shrine, a branch of Ōmiwa Shrine.[18] Sawi Shrine, also known as Sawi-Ni-Imasu-Ōmiwa-Aramitama Jinja 狭井坐大神荒魂神社, worships Ōmononushi's *aramitama* 荒魂, his unruly, curse-uttering manifestation.[19] The marriage between Emperor Jinmu and Isukeyori-hime is thus narrated around the Sawi River, where the unruly spirit of Ōmononushi is worshipped.

Nishimiya Kazutami states that the naming of the Sawi River can be traced to *sawi* 騒, the character for "loud," or "noisy," and most likely refers to the Sawi River's powerful current.[20] Moreover, Tsuchihashi Yutaka claims that the word *saya* (サヤ) not only means the sound of a river but also expresses the presence and activities of spiritual powers.[21] We cannot overlook the significance of the fact that Isukeyori-hime's house is located by a river, for rivers link the world of the living to the spiritual world, or the fact that the emperor and Isukeyori-hime share a bed on the border of the two worlds.[22] This border, overflowing with the sound of the river, is also where the *aramitama* of Ōmononushi manifests itself. It is here, by the river, that Emperor Jinmu faces the unruly spirit of Yamato. After spending one night with Isukeyori-hime, Emperor Jinmu sings a song:

> "In a humble little house
> Nestling in a reed-plain,
> Spreading out the clean
> Rustling sedge mats
> The two of us slept"

17 *Kojiki*, Book Two, Chapter 54, p. 181; Heldt 2014, p. 70.
18 Nishimiya 2005, pp. 121–22.
19 *Shintōshi Daijiten* 2004, p. 154.
20 Nishimiya 1993, p. 419.
21 Tsuchihashi 1965, pp. 166–68
22 *Sekai shinboru daijiten* 1996, pp. 265–66.

> Thus the children born were named Piko-ya-wi-no-mikoto; next, Kamu-ya-wi-mimi-no-mikoto, next, Kamu-nunakapa-mimi-no-mikoto. (Three children)[23]

"Reed-plain" (*ashihara* 葦原) here refers to the reed plain, filled with the sound of the reed leaves, mentioned in the first part of the *Kojiki* as the Central Land of the Reed Plains, the world full of the voices of unruly deities. "Humble," Philippi's translation of *shikeshiki* しけしき, implies dirty and neglected.[24] The emperor sings of his marriage to Isukeyori-hime inside an abandoned hut surrounded by reeds. The act of spreading layer upon layer of mats is conveyed by the sound of sedge rubbing against sedge. In connection with the background noise from the reed-plain, the sound of the sedge mats creates an eerie cacophony.[25] It is in a place such as this that the emperor's marriage takes place. The emperor spends the night with Isukeyori-hime at the Sawi River, a borderland between the world of the living and the world of the spirits. That noise not only emanates from the river's powerful current but also from the manifestation of the *aramitama* of Ōmononushi. As though possessed by a spirit, the emperor expresses this noise in a song, and, by doing so, also sings of the *aramitama* of Ōmononushi.

Ōmononushi is the deity of Miwa, the mountain in Yamato where Jinmu established the Miwa dynasty. Wada Atsumu argues that the emperor worshiped Ōmononushi by himself before making the entire Miwa clan worship the deity. The *Kojiki* depicts Jinmu getting closer to the fierce power of Yamato, the place he had strived to reach ever since his departure from Hyūga. The description of the emperor singing and expressing the sound of the Sawi River portrays him stepping into the world of Ōmononushi. The communication between the emperor and Ōmononushi can be understood as the emperor worshiping Ōmononushi.[26] The emperor does not conquer Ōmononushi by force; rather, he worships him and marries his daughter. It is his marriage that enables him to establish his base in Yamato and create his dynasty there. Isukeyori-hime subsequently gives birth to three children named Hikoyai, Kamu-yamimi, and Kamu-nunakahamimi respectively. Their third son Kamu-nunakahamimi becomes the next emperor.

5) The *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* Compared

How is Emperor Jinmu portrayed in the *Nihon shoki*? What are the crucial differences between his *Nihon shoki* portrayal, and that we have seen in the *Kojiki*? The *Nihon shoki* narrative certainly resembles that of the *Kojiki*. Emperor Jinmu leaves Hyūga and heads for Yamato.[27]Upon trying to enter Yamato, the emperor and his forces fight against Nagasune-biko and the emperor's brother is injured. The emperor is unable to enter Yamato, and thus takes the long way round, through Kumano. In Kumano, he loses consciousness, and receives a sword from Takakuraji, regaining his senses. The story to this point is very close

23 *Kojiki*, Book Two, Chapter 54, pp. 181–82; Heldt 2014, p. 71.
24 Yamaji 1978, p. 41. Heldt's translation of *shikeshiki* しけしき is "dirty." Heldt 2014, p. 71.
25 Tetsuno 1989, pp. 94–95.
26 This is according to the theory of Wada Atsumu which says that the emperor worshiped the Miwa deity by himself. Wada 1985, pp. 323–338.
27 In the *Nihon shoki* the emperor is nowhere referred to as Iwarebiko. He is called Jinmu from his departure from Hyūga to the time of his enthronement.

to the one in the *Kojiki*. However, what differs is the section regarding Emperor Jinmu's wedding. This part is represented as follows.

> Year Kanoye Saru, Autumn, 8th month, 16th day. The emperor, intending to appoint a wife, sought afresh children of noble families. Now there was a man who made representation to him, saying: "There is a child who was born to Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami by his union with Tamakushi-hime, daughter of Mizo-kuni-ni no Kami of Mishima. Her name is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto. She is a woman of remarkable beauty." The emperor was rejoiced and on the 24th day of the 9th month he received Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto and made her his wife.[28]

From this we can infer a number of things. Whereas in the *Kojiki*, Emperor Jinmu's wife is the daughter of Ōmononushi, in the *Nihon shoki* she is Hime-tatara-i-suzu-hime no Mikoto, daughter of Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami. Koto-shiro-nushi no Kami's name signifies that he is a deity who speaks on behalf of other deities. He plays an active part in the scene of the transfer of the Land of Reed Plains. The transfer scene is described in the *Nihon shoki* as follows. Susanowo's descendant, Ōho-na-mochi, creates the Land of Reed Plains and becomes its ruler. However, Amaterasu, deity of the Plain of Heaven, declares that her own descendant should rule over Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni, and dispatches a messenger to Ōho-na-mochi to request he hand over the realm. Ōho-na-mochi does not answer, but has his own son, Koto-shiro-nushi, speak on his behalf. It is important to note that Koto-shiro-nushi makes an appearance in order to declare his obedience to Amaterasu, Emperor Jinmu's ancestor. The marriage between Emperor Jinmu and Koto-shiro-nushi's daughter thus signifies that the emperor has chosen a deity obedient to his own ancestor. The *Nihon shoki* portrays Yamato as a place where deities obedient to Emperor Jinmu reside.

By contrast, in the *Kojiki* narrative, Emperor Jinmu marries the daughter of Ōmononushi. As we have already seen, the *Kojiki* narrative has Emperor Jinmu tested on whether he can recognize his future wife, the "divine child" Isukeyori-hime. Upon successfully proving his ability, the emperor goes on to marry her. In the *Nihon shoki*, however, the future bride is recommended to the emperor and only then does he make her his wife. There is no description of exactly how his ability is tested. The *Kojiki* portrayal of Emperor Jinmu's ordeal and his marriage to the daughter of the deity of that land, Ōmononushi, signify that Yamato is not a place fit to be conquered by Jinmu. In the *Nihon shoki*, by contrast, Emperor Jinmu marries the daughter of an obedient deity, and thus he is never tested.

In conclusion, we can see that in the *Kojiki*, Emperor Jinmu experiences the fierce power of Ōmononushi and marries his daughter. Due to the marriage, the unruly power of Yamato is transformed into a sacred power. Yamato becomes a place where a new state is born. We can speculate that this happened not because of a battle, but by a gradual process of communication between Jinmu and the deities, whereby he earns their support. This process is fundamentally different from that in the *Nihon shoki*, where Yamato is portrayed as a place where a deity obedient to the emperor's ancestor resides.

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28 Aston 1972, p. 132.

Conclusion

From the analysis presented here, it is clear that the *Kojiki* narrative does not portray Yamato as a land of absolute order, but rather a place filled with unruly and uncontrollable power. The imperial authority, as represented in the *Kojiki*, is not something stable and absolute, but rather something precarious and fluctuating. The *Kojiki* narrative I have analyzed in this paper can be seen as portraying the dynamic process through which the emperor deals with the land of Yamato and begins worshipping its unruly deities, eventually asserting control.

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Liquid Landscapes: *Tosa Nikki*'s Pioneering Poetic Contribution to Travelogue Prose

Gustav HELDT

This article seeks to illuminate the innovative contributions of *Tosa nikki* to the representation of travel in Heian Japan through a subtle blending of fact with fiction that employed poetic structures to mark space, time, and affect in its prose representation of the places segmenting its narrative. The diary's placement in a liquid landscape far removed from the capital opens up a distinctive discursive space in which even the most banal sentences are deployed to great effect. Such aspects of the diary enable a greater appreciation of its longstanding significance as a new form of travel narrative, a dimension often overlooked in contemporary Anglophone accounts that focus on its connections to script and gender.

Keywords: *Tosa nikki*, Ki no Tsurayuki, Japanese travel literature, *waka* poetry, anthologies, fictionalization, place names, Pacific Ocean, diaries, illustrated narrative

Introduction

The famous opening sentence of *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (Tosa Diary) by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (d. 945) in the voice of a woman declaring her intent to write a journal akin to those kept by men has been the touchstone for most Anglophone scholarship on the diary, often serving as a point of departure for interrogating the connections between *kana* 仮名 and gender in Heian court literature.[1] By contrast, much less attention has been accorded the succeeding two sentences which describes its content as "those affairs" (*sono yoshi* その由) that took place on the voyage of an anonymous ex-governor back to the capital. Yet it is these two which have arguably played a more longstanding role in evaluations of the diary. For most of its history, *Tosa nikki* has been valued primarily for its contribution to the development of Japanese travel narrative.

As both literature and life increasingly came to take place along a burgeoning transportation network in the Edo period (1600–1867), many writers turned to Heian accounts of travel in *kana* as models for their own autobiographical travelogues.[2] Being the earliest example of such a text, one that moreover was authored by the premier *waka* 和歌

1 Okada 1991, Miyake 1996, Mostow 2001, Yoda 2004, and Heldt 2005.
2 Nenzi 2008, pp. 93–95.

poet of its time, *Tosa nikki* gained newfound prominence in this period as a paradigm of "travel writing" (*kikōbun* 紀行文).[3] Perhaps its most esteemed reader at the time was Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694), who cited it along with *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 (Diary of the Sixteenth Night, 1283) in his own travel journal *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文 (Knapsack Notebook, 1688), as exemplary "road journals" (*michi no nikki* 道の日記) relating travelers' emotions.[4] No doubt its combination of prose with poetry and blending of fact with fiction provided a template for his own travel accounts. *Tosa nikki*'s status as a model of travel writing in early modern Japan was eventually ensured by the scholar Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 (1746–1821), who placed it at the head of the Travel section (*kikō-bu* 紀行部) of *kana* writings that follows a diary section (*nikki-bu* 日記部) devoted to memoirs of life at court in his authoritative compendium of earlier Japanese texts known as the *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 (Writings by Category, 1819).

The earliest mention of the diary in English shares this estimation of its import, albeit somewhat less enthusiastically, when it states that, "It contains no exciting adventures or romantic situations; there are in it no wise maxims or novel information; its only merit is that it describes in simple yet elegant language the ordinary life of a traveler in Japan at the time when it was written."[5] The one scholar to discuss *Tosa nikki* as an instance of travel writing, on the other hand, finds it lacking in descriptive detail, particularly by the standards of the Edo writer who esteemed it so highly: "It is hard to imagine a Japanese diarist passing the whirlpool at Naruto in the Awa Strait without alluding to it. Even if it had been too dark to see anything, Bashō would surely have been able to imagine what the whirlpool was like, and might even have lied to the extent of saying that the starlight was so bright he could see the swirling waters."[6] This negative evaluation of the diary's landscapes is also a critical commonplace among modern Japanese scholars.

And yet, Bashō must have had his reasons for revering the *Tosa nikki*'s representation of travel. This article will seek to demonstrate that the diary made a singular contribution to the history of Japanese travelogue writing through an innovative application of poetics to prose. After taking up the predecessors, both literary and historical, that its author might have had on hand as a model for travel writing, I will proceed to identify three ways in which the diary's prose differs. First, it deploys place names for literary effect rather than geographical veracity to a remarkable extent. Second, despite scholars' overall negative evaluation of its prose descriptions of landscapes, and despite its own critique of the limits of poetry in describing such scenes, the diary depicts them in vivid sentences that embrace the rhetorical and structural asymmetries of *waka* poetry. Finally, the large number of uneventful days in the narrative, which have been essentially ignored up until now, can be seen to have been carefully sequenced for dramatic effect. The entirely new form of travelogue prose represented by these features, I will argue in conclusion, can be attributed not only to its author's poetic proclivities and the radical distance of its wintry liquid landscape from the usual court literature settings, but also to the often-overlooked possibility that it was originally illustrated.

3 Ikeda 1971, pp. 4–5.
4 *Oi no kobumi*, p. 47.
5 Aston 1875, p. 117. Aston's talk would be followed almost two decades later by the earliest translation of the diary (Harris 1891).
6 Keene 1989, p. 23.

Earlier Travelogues

Scholars from Edo times onward have compared *Tosa nikki* with many earlier travel accounts. Kishimoto Yuzuru 岸本由豆流 (1788–1846), for example, noted its similarities to the early Chinese travelogue *Lai nan lu* 来南録 (A Record of Coming South).[7] This account of a six-month journey from the capital at Loyang 洛陽 to a posting in Guangzhou 広州 in 809 by the late Tang 唐 literatus Li Ao 李翺 (774–836) shares its daily entry format and content with *Tosa nikki*. Both open with a concise description of the journey's destination and purpose, and both record the names of well-wishers at banquets, along with the birth of a daughter in one and her death in the other.[8] At the same time, the *Lai nan lu* is more concerned than *Tosa nikki* with offering readers the sort of verifiable and quantifiable details, such as the distance covered in a day, that were expected of a travelogue recording an actual journey. Nor, as has been pointed out, does it contain poetry.[9] Subsequent travel writers in the better documented Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279) also kept their prose accounts separate from their poetic production. Even when citing older poems in their travelogues, these writers omitted their own compositions.[10]

Tosa nikki has also been compared to a Japanese travel account known as the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求巡礼行記 (Account of a Pilgrimage Overseas in Search of the Holy Law, ca. 838–847) by the priest Ennin 円仁 (794–864) when recording his nearly decade-long sojourn on the continent.[11] In addition to such details as the custom of tossing mirrors into stormy waters, the two often follow the description of a scene with a personal observation or feeling informed by an awareness of their distance at sea from the norms of life at court.[12] This or other accounts in literary Sinitic, such as the *Gyōrekishō* 行歴抄 (Notes from a Pilgrimage, ca. 851–858) by Enchin 円珍 (814–891) and the *Zaitō nikki* 在唐日記 (Diary of A Sojourn Overseas, ca. 717–718) by Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (693–775), could have inspired Tsurayuki's interest in a maritime setting and its potential for innovative forms of writing.[13]

While we cannot say with certainty if Tsurayuki read any of the above travelogues, there are others he would have been reasonably sure to have had access to prior to becoming governor of Tosa Province in 930. To begin with, in his role as the palace library custodian (*gosho-dokoro no azukari* 御書所預) tasked with copying and storing its volumes while he was overseeing compilation of the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Old and New Poems, ca. 905–914), Tsurayuki had access to some version of the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720), whose current text includes the earliest known references to Japanese travel journals. The first of these is the *Iki no Hakatoko no fumi* 伊吉博徳書 (Record of Iki no Hakatoko) describing the fourth embassy to China from 659 to 661. The four citations from it in the historical chronicle include brief mentions of such details as the route, the weather, and the party's reception by Tang authorities.[14] Overlapping with this account is a brief citation from another text, the *Naniwa no Kishi Obito no fumi* 難波吉士男人書 (Record

7 For a partial English translation, see Schafer 1967, pp. 22–24.
8 Mori 1976, p. 31.
9 Kawaguchi 1982, pp. 215–16.
10 I am indebted to Cong Ellen Zhang for this observation. For a wide-ranging account of Song representations of travel, see Zhang 2011.
11 For an English translation of Ennin's diary, see Reischauer 1955.
12 Mekada 1962.
13 Honma 1968, pp. 55–57.
14 *Nihon shoki* (SNKBZ 4), pp. 197, 223, 233, and 243 (Kōtoku 高徳 5/2, Saimei 斉明 5/7, 6/7, and 7/5).

of the Naniwa Noble Scholar) kept by an immigrant from Koguryŏ 高句麗.[15] Like the aforementioned records of pilgrimages, these journals are exclusively concerned with travel to foreign lands. Domestic travel diaries, while perhaps also being written at the time, were not considered important or unusual enough to merit inclusion in the historical chronicle or its five successors.

For records of domestic travel, Tsurayuki could have turned to the accounts of imperial progresses kept by royal scribes (*naiki* 内記) who were charged with recording the sovereign's words and deeds, since he worked in this office from 910 to 917. While no such records survive from his tenure, we can perhaps infer something of their characteristics from similar accounts of a royal tour undertaken by Uda 宇多 (867–931) shortly after his abdication in 898. The three-week affair involving the recently retired sovereign included a hunt at Katano 交野 in emulation of the capital's founder Kanmu 桓武 (737–806) and a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sumiyoshi 住吉.[16] Two records of it have survived in fragmentary form: the *Teijiin no Miyataki gokō ki* 亭子院宮滝御幸記 (Account of His Majesty Uda's Excursion to Miyataki) by Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845–903), and the *Kisoigariki* 競狩記 (Account of a Hunt for Wild Herbs) by his colleague Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845–912).

Haseo identifies himself as a court historian (*shishin* 史臣) in his record of the imperial excursion, perhaps suggesting he imagines himself occupying a role similar to that of a *naiki* official but with a different goal in mind. He states the record's purpose is to present Uda's tour as a more suitable mirror for posterity than those of his predecessor Yōzei 陽成 (869–949), whose hunting expeditions allegedly burdened the lives of commoners by requisitioning horses and other possessions.[17] The *Kisoigariki*'s detailed description of the expedition's procession from the capital and the ensuing hunt lists the numbers of participants, their clothes and accoutrements, game captured, and the round of drinks at the celebratory banquet afterward before the record is cut short when a riding accident forces Haseo to return to the capital. Its depictions of flirtatious exchanges, breast groping, and kissing of female entertainers in particular shares *Tosa nikki*'s bawdiness in entries where fish are kissed and genitalia exposed.

Michizane's more extensive account of the same excursion boasts a *kana* version in addition to one in *kanbun* 漢文.[18] Both texts share the same names of places and people, but are otherwise different in intriguing ways. Whereas the *kanbun* version appears to follow the conventions of royal scribe diaries in its details, the *kana* text takes the form of brief, memo-style jottings.[19] While the *kanbun* record offers such quantifiable details as times of

15 *Nihon shoki* (SNKBZ 4), p. 227 (Saimei 5/7).

16 An account of the journey in English can be found in Borgen 1986, pp. 260–68.

17 Kawajiri 2004, p. 3. *Kisoigariki* appears in the *Kikeshū* 紀家集 (Ki House Collection), an anthology of Haseo's writings that has survived in a partial copy of the original made by the literatus Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886–958) in 919. For the most accessible print version, see *Kisoigariki* in the references. I am grateful to James Scanlon-Canegata for helping me track down this edition.

18 The *kanbun* portion appears in the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (Abbreviated Chronicles of Japan, ca. 1094). The *kana* portions are found in the *Fukuro-zōshi* 袋草紙 (Pocket Book, ca. 1156–1159) and *Gosenshū seigi* 後撰集正義 (Correct Meaning of the *Gosenshū*, ca. 1304). All three can be conveniently found together in Ishihara 1997, pp. 119–21.

19 Ishihara 1997, p. 124. There are lingering doubts about Michizane's authorship of the *kana* record. Ishihara himself has gone on to suggest that it may have actually been written by a female attendant in his household (2002, p. 7). However, it is difficult to imagine the role such a woman would have played in an imperial entourage.

day, the number and type of gifts, and the number of participants at events, moreover, the *kana* version ignores these in favor of an encounter with an old woman who is questioned about the waterfall at Miyataki 宮滝 in the manner of a *monogatari* 物語 tale. Both versions mention poems composed for the event, a distinctively Japanese innovation taken up in *Tosa nikki* as well.[20] The *kana* text includes one *waka* by Uda, while the *kanbun* version features a couplet from a *kanshi* 漢詩 by Michizane and mentions *waka* in passing, often critically.

Given such precedents, it is probably not coincidental that Tsurayuki's earliest known foray into *kana* prose also began with imperial processions. Nine years after Uda's progress to Miyataki, he composed the *Ōigawa gyōkō waka no jo* 大井川行幸和歌序 (Preface to Waka for the Royal Procession to the Ōi River) in order to commemorate smaller-scale processions to the Ōi River made by the same sovereign and his successor.[21] Tsurayuki's achievement in this regard might have contributed to his own appointment as a junior royal scribe (*shōnaiki* 小内記) three years later in 910. Like Michizane's *kana* account, Tsurayuki's preface is accompanied by one in *kanbun*. Unlike it, however, Tsurayuki's *kana* prose draws on the parallel constructions and epithets favored in earlier Japanese poetry. As we shall see, he would turn to still other forms of poetic rhetoric in *Tosa nikki*'s novel style of travelogue prose.

Another model for domestic travel which Tsurayuki would have had to hand at the palace library were poem sequences from the eighth-century *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 that were connected by a minimal amount of prose marking their locations, authors, and topics. As early as the eighteenth century, Ueda Akinari 上田秋成 (1734–1809) and Fujitani Mitsue 富士谷御杖 (1768–1873) pointed out the diary's possible links to the longest and most complex such sequence describing the domestic portion of an embassy's departure to and return from Silla 新羅, due to their shared characteristics as texts that include seaside poems of parting and elegies for those who died before returning home.[22] If anything, however, an even closer model from the anthology is provided by a poem sequence attributed to retainers of Ōtomo no Tabito 大伴旅人 (665–731) who describe their travails on a voyage back to the capital from Dazaifu 太宰府.[23] In its exclusive focus on a journey from countryside to capital and its preference for poems from the household followers of a former official—many of whom are so low in status that they (like the majority of *Tosa nikki*'s poets) remain anonymous—the sequence is strikingly similar to Tsurayuki's diary.

The most unambiguous source of inspiration for *Tosa nikki* is the *Kokinshū*'s unprecedented Travel section (*kiryo-bu* 羇旅部) created by Tsurayuki in his capacity as the anthology's chief editor. Like the diary, every one of its poems either incorporates place names into its words or the accompanying prose.[24] The most detailed study of its tightly organized and compact structure divides the book into five contexts for composing travel poems: at a journey's beginning, mid-journey, returning to the capital, while in a provincial posting, and while on royal processions.[25] All of these situations are evoked to one degree or

20 Watanabe 1991, p. 262.
21 For the most extensive study and translation of this preface, see Ceadel 1953.
22 Nihei 2006, p. 30.
23 *Man'yōshū* poems 17: 3890-99; SNKBZ 9, pp. 149–51. For an English translation of the sequence, see Horton 2012, pp. 360–70.
24 Hasegawa, 1982, p. 16.
25 Matsuda 1965, pp. 376–91. On Travel's connection to the world of provincial officialdom, see Heldt 2008, pp. 164–69.

another in *Tosa nikki*. Furthermore, the diary's only named poets also feature prominently in Travel: Abe no Nakamaro 阿倍仲麻呂 (698–770) inaugurates the section, while Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825–880) is its best-represented poet. *Tosa nikki*'s connections to this anthological category would carry over into the *Kokinshū*'s successor *Gosen wakashū* 後撰和歌集 (Collection of Later Selections, 951), whose Travel section attributes two anonymous poems from the diary to Tsurayuki.[26] Intriguingly, both *waka* in *Tosa nikki* are originally inspired by those of Nakamaro and Narihira, suggesting that Tsurayuki was already being viewed shortly after his death as belonging to a lineage of travel poets that he himself had created in the *Kokinshū*.

References to Narihira's *Kokinshū* travel poems are particularly frequent in the diary. One of the most extended examples occurs on 1/11 when the party come to a place called Hane 羽根 (wings):

> Just now we have arrived at a place called Wings. After being told the name of the place, a child who is still quite immature says: "I wonder if this place called Wings actually resembles bird wings." People laugh at these childishly naïve words. Then a girl recites this verse: (今し、羽根といふところに来ぬ。わかき童、このところの名を聞きて、「羽根といふところは、鳥の羽のやうにやある」といふ。まだ幼き童の言なれば、人々笑ふときに、ありける女童なむ、この歌をよめる)
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | まことにて | If it is truly the case |
> | 名に聞くところ | that there are wings |
> | 羽根ならば | in this place whose name I hear, |
> | 飛ぶが如くに | then let us fly like birds |
> | 都へもがな | back toward the capital! |
>
> That's what she said. Men and women alike are thinking in their hearts how much they would like to return to the capital and so, although this poem cannot be said to be a good one, it nonetheless rings true and people do not forget it. The child's query about the name Wings brings back memories of the one who once was. Is there ever a time when she is forgotten? Still, today's events bring her mother fresh grief. Being short one person from the number that originally came out to the provinces, the words from the old song that go "a smaller number now appear homeward bound" come to mind. (とぞいへる。男も女もいかでとく京へもがなと思ふ心あれば、この歌よしとにはあらねど、げにと思ひて、人々忘れず。この羽根といふところ問ふ童のついでにぞ、また、昔へ人を思ひ出でて、いづれの時にか忘るる。今日はまして、母の悲しがらるることは。下りし時の人の数足らねば、古歌に、「数は足らでぞ帰るべらなる」といふことを思ひ出でて)[27]

In its use of a hypothetical construct to invoke the connotations of an avian name while longing for the capital aboard a vessel, the girl's *waka* closely resembles Narihira's famous

26 *Gosenshū* poems 1355 and 1363, pp. 411 and 414.

27 *Tosa nikki*, pp. 27–28. Diary entries are identified numerically by the month and day in that order. Although the original text uses virtually no *kanji*, my citations adopt the orthography of a modern critical edition for greater ease of reference. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

poem addressing "capital birds" (*miyakodori* 都鳥) at the Sumidagawa 墨田川 river.[28] The prose prefacing this Travel poem is perhaps also echoed on 12/27, when the captain's brusque command to the party to hurry on board recalls the ferryman's similarly curt words urging Narihira to do the same.[29]

It is theoretically possible that the diary could be alluding here to the Sumidagawa episode in *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語, some version of which is likely to have been in circulation at the time. However, the passage that follows the girl's poem suggests rather that the *Kokinshū* is its source. When the child's naïve question brings back memories of the ex-governor's deceased daughter, the diarist recalls the final two lines from "an old song" (*furu uta* 古歌) that appears as an anonymous verse in the anthology immediately after Narihira's Sumida poem.[30] Although both poems also appear in the Travel section of the *Shinsen waka* 新撰和歌 anthology completed by Tsurayuki in Tosa, moreover, they are not adjacent there.[31] Further hints that *Tosa nikki* is specifically referencing the *Kokinshū* can be found in the commentary that follows the anonymous song in the latter text, which attributes it to a woman making her way back to the capital after the man she had originally set out with had died while they were in the provinces. This narrative context makes the anonymous song doubly relevant to *Tosa nikki* as both the first poem in Travel to depict the return to the capital from a provincial posting, and the first such to mention a person who died before coming back.

One close reading of the diary suggests that sequencing techniques also organize its poems into four movements, dividing the journey into distinct stages. The first one consists of exchanges with well-wishers, highlighting human relations through the pronouns *kimi* 君 (milord), *hito* 人 (you/that one), and *ware* 我 (myself). Poems in the second movement portray a world in which time is marked through terrain, flora, and fauna. Upon reaching the Kinai 畿内 home provinces, the third movement reenters the human world with poems that mention weaving and, perhaps by implication, the wealth (and greed) of the capital region as well.[32] Trees then appear in all the poems belonging to the riparian final movement as the party go up the Yodo-gawa 淀川 to the city. Individual *waka* are further connected to one another across and within these movements, forming pairs and triads through homonyms, homophones, and antonyms.[33]

The evident attention paid to poetic sequencing in the diary, it has been argued, might indicate it originated as an anthology to which prose was added later.[34] In this sense, *Tosa nikki* could be considered akin to the aforementioned *Man'yōshū* travel poem sequences. As we shall see in the following sections, however, the sophisticated use of poetic devices in its prose distinguishes the diary from both *waka* anthologies and the poem-tales that grew out of them. Whereas the prose of such texts as the *Man'yōshū*, *Kokinshū*, and *Ise monogatari*

28 *Kokinshū* poem 411, p. 175: "If you bear that name / let me ask something of you, / capital birds. / Is the one I think of / alive or no?" (名にし負はば / いざ言問はむ / 都鳥 / わが思ふ人は / ありやなしや)

29 Hasegawa 1991, p. 135.

30 *Kokin wakashū* poem 412, p. 176: "Northward fly / the wild geese I hear cry. / Of those that filed here, / a smaller number now / appear homeward bound!" (北へ行く / 雁ぞ鳴くなる / つれてこし / 数はたらでぞ / 帰るべらなる)

31 *Shinsen waka* poems 194 and 200, pp. 188 and 206. The anonymous song concludes Travel in this anthology.

32 On weaving as wealth in Heian times, see Cavanaugh 1996, pp. 599–605.

33 Ogawa 1985, pp. 244–45.

34 Seto 2000, pp. 12–14.

typically lack figural language—perhaps in order to draw attention to these features in the poems that appear after them—*Tosa nikki* can be seen drawing on *waka*'s rhetorical techniques even in entries without poems.

Place Names as Poetic Fictions

Unlike the abovementioned travel narratives' shared concern with documenting an actual itinerary, *Tosa nikki* uses fictional place names to mark its route with notable frequency. In doing so, it draws on a poetic tradition that dates back to the earliest extant Japanese texts, in which otherwise unknown locations occasionally appear in songs for their descriptive qualities. Such place names would become categorized and codified after Tsurayuki's time as part of a corpus of poetic toponyms known as *utamakura* 歌枕 (poem pillows).[35] Whereas the treatment of place names as fictional rhetorical devices was limited to poetry in earlier texts, however, the diary does so in prose as well. This fluid mingling of both forms of language is enabled at least in part by the fictional nature of *Tosa nikki*'s liquid landscape.

The alien and terrifying nature of a maritime journey would have been sure to arouse horrified fascination in a readership who rarely left the environs of the capital, as attested to by its dramatic treatment in such contemporaneous tales as *Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語 (Tale of the Bamboo Cutter) and *Utsuho monogatari* 宇津保物語 (Tale of the Hollow Tree). Fear of its dangers is also hinted at in *Tosa nikki* poems likening waves to snow and blossoms, a formula that some have argued is used in the *Man'yōshū* to pacify water spirits.[36] The terrors of journeying by sea from Tosa would have made it a particularly attractive setting in this regard, as its Pacific coast was deemed to be especially treacherous. One popular *imayō* 今様 song from the late twelfth century gives us a striking description of its pelagic perils:

土佐の船路は恐ろしや	How fearsome the sea route of Tosa!
室津が沖ならでは	No way to avoid the offing at Murotsu.
しませが岩は立て	Reefs near shore jut out like islands.
佐喜や佐喜の浦々	At Saki, ah Saki, bay after bay!
御厨の最御崎	The mighty sacred cape of Hotsu.
金剛浄土の連余波	Kongō's Pure Land awash in waves.[37]

Like the diary, this song maps out a route dominated by waves and reefs, both of which forced boats to head far out into the ocean. Such dangers would explain why the journey back to the capital from Tosa could also take place partly by land across Iyo 伊予 Province, making it at least possible that Tsurayuki substituted the Pacific coast for his actual route back to the capital in the interests of dramatic appeal.

The infinite expanse of the open Pacific itself blurs the line between fact and fiction due to its liminal location at the edge of the perceptible world. In the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Engi Codes, 927) that details court governmental posts and procedures in Tsurayuki's day, Tosa

35 For an extensive treatment of *utamakura* in English, see Kamens 1997.
36 Satō 1993, p. 82.
37 *Ryōjin hishō*, song 348, p. 278.

Province represented the southernmost border of the Heian realm.[38] The vanishing point on its horizon where sky and water merge also marked the boundary between this world and the mythic land of eternal life known as *Tokoyo* 常世 (Everworld) described in the legend of Urashimako 浦嶋子 who, like the diarist, returns to a home changed beyond recognition.[39] Its space is so vast that it erases normal visual distinctions and reduces the viewing subject to a forlorn mote swallowed up by its surroundings in an anonymous poem on 1/17:

かげ見れば	Reflections reveal
波の底なる	beneath the waves
ひさかたの	a far-off firmament,
空漕ぎわたる	rowing across whose sky
われぞわびしき	is this forlorn I![40]

Through a play on reflective images, the boat in this poem drifts over both waves and sky, bringing together real and imagined spaces in the same manner as the diary merges autobiography with fiction.[41] In addition to removing distinctions between sky and water, the diary's ocean also causes landscapes to appear the same from a distance or close up, for the cardinal directions to disappear, and for the seasons to blur as waves morph by turns into winter snow or spring blossoms.[42] Taken together, these aspects of its maritime setting unmoor *Tosa nikki*'s landscape from the tangible coordinates of physical space.

The fictional quality of *Tosa nikki*'s liquid landscape is also suggested by its frequent foregrounding of language's role in its construction. The omnipresent wind and waves, representing a causal relationship between an invisible entity and its temporary manifestation in visible traces, has even been likened to the relationship between signified and signifier.[43] Similarly, the boat captain's recurring inability to read the weather parallels his failure to recognize poetry throughout the diary. Language's capacity to represent the experience of travel also decreases in tandem with the contraction of the diary's liquid landscape, from the open ocean at its beginning, to a dried-up pond choked with pine saplings at its end.

These connections between liquid, language, and landscape all come together in a poem on 2/4 marking a place named Izumi 和泉 whose literal rendering as "wellsprings" inspires a verse about its paradoxically dry coastline:

手をひてて	Our dipped hands
寒さも知らぬ	do not know cold
泉にぞ	at a wellspring which
くむとはなしに	we never once drew from
日頃経にける	for all these many days![44]

38 *Engi shiki*, p. 558.
39 Higashihara 2009, pp. 7–9.
40 *Tosa nikki*, p. 31.
41 Watanabe 1985, p. 80.
42 Nishinoiri 2005, pp. 115–16.
43 Kanda 1997.
44 *Tosa nikki*, p. 44.

The poem's waterless wellspring draws on the phrase "fountain of words" (言泉) used to describe an upwelling of poetic language gushing forth from emotion. Originating in the sixth-century *Wenxuan* 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature, ca. 520), this figure of speech also appeared in Tsurayuki's preface to the *Shinsen waka*.[45] The association of liquid with language here is further deepened through the verb *kumu* くむ, which can refer either to the actions of scooping (汲む) or assembling (組む), thereby making it a comment on the length of the days spent with nothing to do but put poems together to pass the time.[46]

In the prose surrounding this poem, the same place name presents the single most puzzling geographical detail in the diary when it appears as Izumi no Nada 和泉の灘 on 1/30 and then again on 2/5. Beginning with the eminent linguist Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄 (1873–1958), many have suggested that when Tsurayuki was assembling the diary from earlier notes and poems he mistook the first "Nada" chiasmatically with the Tanagawa 多奈川 river the party passed later that same day.[47] Others view the place name's repetition as a rhetorical device for conveying stasis, since *nada* 灘 can refer to a long stretch of beach as well as to a location where the wind and waves are fierce.[48] In fact, there is no such unbroken shoreline in the region.[49] The length it represents is thus likely to be temporal rather than spatial, reflecting the diary's tendency to map the passage of time through the placement of toponyms.

Other instances in which fictional concerns appear to determine place names include a Fawn Cape (Kako no Saki 鹿児の崎) on 12/27, where we are first introduced to the deceased girl whose ghost subsequently haunts the party throughout the journey. Similarly, the name Great Harbor (Ōminato 大湊) marks the place where the diarist's ship experiences the greatest amount of time at anchor. Place names in prose are also put to poetic ends through an orthographic twist on 2/5 when the first syllable of Ozu 小津 (little port) is written with を (thread), rather than the more typical お (little), in order to introduce a poem that seamlessly weaves together its endlessly onward-stretching shoreline with a lengthy skein.[50] Conversely, the absence of place names in the diary is as deliberate as their presence. Fear entirely subsumes geography, for example, when they disappear for eight days beginning on 1/21 during the party's frantic flight from rumored pirates, as if to suggest that the diarist no longer cares where she is as long as she can be elsewhere.

Although the above instances are typically viewed as anomalous, moreover, many other locations along the Pacific coast mentioned in the diary could very well be fictional. Beginning with *Tosa nikki chiri ben* 土佐日記地理辨 (Geographical Observations of the Tosa Diary, 1857) written by the Tosa native Kamochi Masazumi 鹿持雅澄 (1791–1858), much effort has been expended by generations of scholars in retracing *Tosa nikki*'s precise itinerary, an undertaking reflected in the maps that invariably accompany modern annotated

45 *Shinsen waka*, p. 188.
46 Ogawa 1985, p. 245.
47 Yamada 1935, p. 9. See also Mitani 1960, pp. 95–97.
48 For an overview of scholarly controversies surrounding the diary's treatment of this place name, see Higo 1988, pp. 58–64.
49 Nakazato 1968, p. 35.
50 *Tosa nikki*, p. 45: "What we cannot go past, / however far forth we go, / is the lovely lady's skein / of Thread Port's winding line / of shore-side groves of pine!" (行けどなほ / 行きやられぬは / 妹が績む / をづの浦なる / 岸の松原)

editions.[51] However, the majority of the diary's place names are first documented in early modern times, with only a handful that can be dated prior to the thirteenth century.[52] What is more, these exceptions only appear in songs: Saki and Murotsu from the aforementioned *imayō* and Nawa no tomari 縄の泊まり as Nawa no ura 縄乃浦 in the *Man'yōshū*.[53]

Unless they had happened to be posted to the same province, Tsurayuki's initial readership would not have been expected to possess any detailed knowledge of the locales the travelers pass by during the maritime leg of their journey. This is perhaps why geographical references only start to become reliable once the party enters the mouth of the Yodo-gawa leading up to the capital. By contrast, his aristocratic audience's limited geographical knowledge of the Pacific coastline would have given Tsurayuki free rein to select toponyms for their imagistic effects in that portion of the journey. Certainly, the many descriptive names populating its itinerary—such as Ōtsu 大津 (great port), Urado 浦戸 (bay mouth), Narashizu 奈良志津 (level port), Ishizu 石津 (stone port), and Kurosaki 黒崎 (black cape)—would have helped readers picture their landscapes.

This creative use of place names even extends to the diary's title which, like the aforementioned example of Izumi, can be read as a form of meta-commentary on the discursive nature of its landscapes. Like Izumi, Tosa is both the name of a province the party passes through and a site where poems are composed. Although its title is ostensibly derived from the party's point of departure, *Tosa nikki*'s eponymous place name appears only once on 1/29 as a Tosa Anchorage (*Tosa no tomari* 土佐の泊まり) the party reach after they have already left behind the province bearing that same name:

> Our ship draws near an intriguing place. I hear that someone asking where we are was told the place is called Tosa Anchorage. Apparently a woman who lived long ago in a place said to bear the name of Tosa is with us now here on board! She spoke, saying: "Why, it is the same name as that of the place where I once lived for a while in the past! How moving!" Then she recited this verse: (おもしろきところに船を寄せて、ここやいどこと問ひければ、土佐の泊まりといひけり。昔、土佐といひけるところに住みける女、この船にまじれりけり。そがいひけらく、「昔、しばしありしところのなくひにぞあなる。あはれ」といひて、よめる歌)
>
> 年ごろを　　Since it bears the name
> 住みしところの　　of a place I had lived in
> 名にし負へば　　for many long years,
> 来寄る波をも　　even approaching waves
> あはれとぞ見る　　are a moving sight to see![54]

Tosa Anchorage's chief significance for the episode lies in the opportunity it provides for a poem by a woman who has lived in another place with the same name. Moreover, this other Tosa is not even the province the party have departed from, since the diarist relates its name

51 For an annotated edition of the *Tosa nikki chiri-ben*, see Ide and Hashimoto 2003. Other book-length studies of *Tosa nikki*'s geography are Takemura 1977 and Shimizu 1987.
52 Takata 2006, p. 31.
53 *Man'yōshū* poems 3: 354 and 357; SNKBZ 6, pp. 211 and 212.
54 *Tosa nikki*, pp. 40–41.

as hearsay from an unspecified past in the manner of a *monogatari*: "long ago in a place said to bear the name of Tosa" (*mukashi*, *Tosa to iikeru tokoro* 昔、土佐といひけるところ). In its preference for exploring the poetic possibilities of fictional place names over the prosaic ones of actual historical locations, this episode can be seen as emblematic of the diary's overall divergence from earlier travelogue prose.

Landscapes in Poetic Prose

A similarly poetic approach can be detected when we turn from place names to their landscapes. At first sight, these seem to be little more than a formulaic recitation of pine trees, waves, and moonlight.[55] The narrator's impressions of them are equally limited, with *omoshiroshi* 面白し (alluring) being the most frequent response to its scenes. Often used to describes song and dance in Heian texts, the adjective retains a performative dimension in the diary, where it typically precedes poetic composition. The other predominant adjective, *kurushi* 苦し (trying), plays a similar role in generating poetry toward the end of journey as the party's sluggish progress upriver inspires poems seeking to assuage growing impatience.[56] Overall, the waves, wind, and rain appearing throughout *Tosa nikki* are sources of frustration rather than aesthetic inspiration. This apparent lack of interest in describing landscapes is at least partly due to the diary's wintry waterborne setting, removed as it is in time and space from the autumnal and springtime gardens favored in Heian court literature. Even snow, the quintessential seasonal motif for winter and early spring in the *Kokinshū*, only appears in *Tosa nikki* as a visual simile for surf.

Pine trees are perhaps the landscape element most saturated with poetic connotations, yet even here *Tosa nikki* differs from the imperial anthology. The pine saplings (*komatsu* 小松) that bring the diary to a close with a final recollection of the dead girl occur only once in the *Kokinshū*, where it represents the future promise of a long life.[57] By contrast, *Tosa nikki* draws on less auspicious poetic conventions. Pine saplings glossed as 子松 (child pine) appear in two funerary *banka* 挽歌 from the *Man'yōshū*.[58] The tree's association with death is even more common in Heian elegiac *kanshi* where pines often appear beside graves.[59] At the same time as they constitute the most paradigmatically poetic landscape element in the diary, however, pines also appear to represent the limits of this mode of representation in a famous vignette on 1/9 in which a poem is portrayed falling short of its setting:

> And so we pass by the Uda Pines. It is beyond knowing how many they are, or how many thousands of years they have passed in this place. Waves lap against each root, and cranes alight on each branch. Overcome by the charm of this sight, someone on board recited this verse: (かくて、宇多の松原を行き過ぐ。その松の数いくそばく、幾千歳経たりと知らず。本ごとに波うち寄せ、枝ごとに鶴ぞ飛びかよふ。おもしろしと見るに堪へずして、船人のよめる歌)

55 Kondō 1959, p. 28.
56 Yamada 1972, pp. 2–6.
57 *Kokin wakashū* poem 907, p. 343: "Of catalpa bows / is the stony strand of the pine sapling. / In whose reign was it, / thinking of reigns to come, / that its seed was planted?" (梓弓 / 磯辺の小松 / たが世にか / 万世かねて / 種をまきけむ).
58 *Man'yōshū* poems 2: 146 and 3: 357; SNKBZ 6, pp. 108 and 212.
59 Kojima 1968, p. 433.

見わたせば	My gaze sweeps out to see
松のうれごとに	pines on whose every branch
すむ鶴は	there roost cranes who
千代のどちとぞ	I think must surely be
思ふべらなる	millennium-old companions.

Those were the words. This poem cannot surpass seeing the place. (とや。この歌は、ところを見るに、えまさらず)[60]

In keeping with the diary's fictional treatment of toponyms in its prose, the otherwise unknown locale of Uda Pines contains the posthumous name of the recently deceased sovereign who was largely responsible for the efflorescence of court *waka* in Tsurayuki's day. Consequently, the diarist's declaration that the poem cannot surpass seeing its landscape has been taken as a manifesto of sorts, rejecting court poetry's mannered conventions in favor of a spontaneous and unmediated response to the actual scene.[61] However, the birds in this landscape make it an imaginary one: the party would have been more likely in reality to have seen storks on the coastline rather than cranes (which favor wetland areas).[62] On the other hand, cranes appear frequently on pine branches as felicitous symbols of long life in the screen poems Tsurayuki composed for the birthday celebrations of his patrons before and after his tenure as governor of Tosa. One such poem written in 915 is particularly close to the above *Tosa nikki* poem in its wording.[63]

Rather than rejecting poetic convention out of hand in depicting landscapes, it could be argued that the diarist's comment points instead to the importance of also including *waka*'s formal features in prose describing such scenes. This is accomplished through the entry's opening description of the setting, which creates a symmetrically pleasing picture of complementary oppositions in hue and motion by matching the poem's implicit color combination of dark green pine needles and white birds with that of seawater and white crested waves in the prose, which also creates a contrast between the stillness of its roots and the movement of the waves. It has been suggested that a screen painting inspired this carefully balanced landscape description.[64] If so, the prose description of moving waves would have provided a critical additional dimension by bringing to life the static imagery of the original depiction. Regardless of its source of inspiration, however, it is the poetic structures of crafted juxtapositions in the prose which provide vivid detail in this passage.

Unlike Tsurayuki's earlier forays into *kana* prose, which were largely structured though such parallel clauses and archaic epithets, *Tosa nikki*'s sentences at times also draw on the asymmetry of *waka* poetry. One strikingly vivid example of their intermingling can be found in a sentence on 2/1 that describes Kurosaki's landscape through an enumeration of the five primary colors (*goshiki* 五色) associated with the cosmos' cardinal directions:

60 *Tosa nikki*, pp. 25–26.
61 Konishi 1975, pp. 982–87.
62 Hagitani 1967, p. 167. Perhaps for this reason, Porter renders *tsuru* つる as "storks" (1912, p. 45).
63 *Tsurayuki-shū* poem 51, p. 67. "In my garden / are pines on whose branch tips / there roost cranes who / I think must surely be / a millennium of snow." (我が宿の / 松の梢に / 棲む鶴は / 千代の雪かと / 思ふべらなり)
64 Katagiri 1991, pp. 50–52.

> The name of the place is black and the color of the pines is green, while the waves of its reefs are like snow and the colors of its shells are red, leaving it just one short of all Five Hues. (ところの名は黒く、松の色は青く、磯の波は雪の如くに、貝の色は蘇芳に、五色に今一色ぞ足らぬ)[65]

The sentence intricately interweaves sound and meaning in a structure that is located somewhere between prose and poetry. End rhymes bind the first four clauses into couplets, as does the repeated use of the particles の and は. Both paired clauses also share a common trajectory as they move from a locale to an object situated within it. While these parallelisms adopt the structure of a *kundoku* 訓読 vernacularized rendition of a *kanshi*, the hallmark symmetry of such poems is avoided by substituting a simile for the color white in the third clause and by ending with the comment that a single color is missing in the final one.[66] This subtle yet insistent deferral of precise parallelism through both an asymmetrical five-clause structure and differences in those clauses' internal wording make the sentence remarkably reminiscent of *waka*'s metrical and rhetorical contours.

The most concisely powerful example of this figural flow from parallelism to asymmetry occurs in the final entry's depiction of the river port of Yamazaki 山崎. The densest site of human habitation outside the capital, its thriving environs are famously portrayed by the literatus Ōe no Mochitoki 大江以言 (955–1010) several decades after *Tosa nikki* in a *kanbun* preface entitled "On viewing women entertainers" (*yūjo wo miru* 見遊女):

> The vicinity of Kaya lies between the three provinces of Yamashiro, Kawachi, and Settsu, making it the most important port in the realm. People traveling back and forth from west, east, north, and south all follow its roads. As for its folk who sell the pleasures of women to people from all over the realm at exorbitant prices, both old and young mingle and support each other in towns and hamlets gazing out at one another. Boats are tethered before the gates and customers are eagerly awaited in the middle of the river. (河陽則介山河摂三州之間、而天下之要津也。自西自東、自南自北、往反之者、莫不率由此路矣。其俗天下衒売女色之者、老少提結、邑里相望、維舟門前、遅客河中)[67]

Unlike Mochitoki's relatively expansive prose—which dwells on Yamazaki's strategic location at the convergence of three provinces, the volume of its traffic, its economy, and the intimate proximity of its inhabitants to one another—*Tosa nikki*'s description of the river port deploys the poetic devices of metonymy and pivot-words (*kakekotoba* 掛詞) to convey its physical density and bustling activity in a single sentence:

> There has been no change to the small sign depicting a chest at Yamazaki, or to the large effigies of a conch-shaped rice cake and fishing hook off the great road curving along the river bend at Magari. (山崎の小櫃の絵も、まがりのおほちの形も、変はらざりけり)[68]

65 *Tosa nikki*, p. 42.
66 The one missing color, yellow, represents the center from which all the other cardinal directions branch out.
67 *Honchō monzui*, p. 272. For a complete translation of Mochitoki's preface, see Kawashima 2001, pp. 33–34.
68 *Tosa nikki*, p. 53.

The objects represented in this noun-heavy sentence carry more than one meaning, as well as an ambiguous spatial relationship to one another. The picture is either painted on a small chest of the sort used to store utilitarian objects and dolls, or it is the depiction of such a chest on a shop-sign.[69] The second half of the sentence is even more ambiguous: *magari* まがり might refer to a place name, a rice cake, a water container, or a prominent bend on a road or river. Similarly, おほち (pronounced as either *ōchi* or *ōji*) could also refer to roads or rice cakes, as well as to hooks or conch shells.[70]

The two most popular translations of the diary address these ambiguities in different ways. Porter's version places the picture on the box and omits the place name of Magari, instead rendering まがりのおほち as rice cakes twisted into the shape of shells in a fusion of two meanings.[71] McCullough's rendering, on the other hand, reads the sentence as a series of complementary relationships: Yamazaki and Magari are place names representing mountains and rivers respectively, while the small two-dimensional pictorial representation of a chest is contrasted with the large three-dimensional effigy of a hook.[72] Her interpretation is consonant with the parallelisms favored in premodern East Asian texts, but it can also be augmented by following Porter's example and adding on other potential meanings to the translation of the second half of the sentence. In addition to marking a place name, in other words, the curved shape common to all meanings of *magari* could simultaneously describe a fishhook, a rice cake, a turn in the road, and a river bend, with all of these objects being both spatially similar and adjacent to one another. Such semantic ambiguities complicate and thicken the initial parallelisms of the sentence to form an asymmetrical distribution of figural language in its second half through pivot-words that produce a wealth of objects and shapes packed into a few syllables whose semantic density matches the spatial one of a site filled with human activity and objects.

Even when their sentences do not mingle parallelism with asymmetry, prose depictions of landscapes in the diary at times draw on the spare descriptiveness of poetic language, as seen in the following brief passage from 2/3 in which a single word that denotes the movement of water metonymically connotes an adjacent landscape:

> Since the surface of the sea is the same as yesterday, we don't set out in the ship. Since the blowing gusts don't let up, waves are rolling back from shore in rising crests. The following verse was recited about this: (海の上、昨日のやうなれば、船出さず。風の吹くことやまねば、岸の波立ち返る。これにつけてよめる歌)
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 緒を縒りて | Twining hemp strands |
> | かひなきものは | serve no purpose, |
> | 落ちつもる | when piles of fallen |

69 Hagitani 1967, p. 410. Hagitani further notes that the latter interpretation would make this the first mention of shop signs in Japan prior to the fourteenth century.

70 Hagitani 1967, pp. 402–403.

71 Porter 1912, p. 125: "He saw in the shops at Yamasaki the little boxes painted with pictures and the rice-cakes twisted into the shape of conch shells."

72 McCullough 1985, p. 289: "We noticed there had been no changes in the pictures of small boxes at Yamazaki or in the shapes of the big fishhooks at Magari."

涙の玉を	tears are the jewels
貫かぬなりけり	remaining unstrung![73]

The seaside setting of this entry is outlined with masterful economy through a single verb, *tachikaeru* 立ち返る (rolling back), whose motion implies the existence of a level sandy shore nearby. If it had instead been a rocky coastline of the sort the ship encounters elsewhere, the windswept waves would have dashed against it in a fine spray.

Unlike the prose of anthologies and poem tales, which typically introduce the wording of the poem that follows, the imagery in this sentence is entirely separate from that of the *waka*, which replaces the rhythmic lapping of waves with the equally repetitive act of twining threads for a jeweled necklace. Moreover, metonymy in the *waka* moves in the opposite direction from the prose: the poem's objects imply movement rather than the other way around. Hemp was a particularly time-consuming material to work with. After the plant was soaked to disentangle its fibers, they were twined together into threads of a similar thickness before being bundled into long loops piled up and stored in a wooden container.[74] The circular shapes produced by this repetitive process evoke the rhythmic movement of the waves and subsequent swaying roll of a boat at anchor. As we shall see in the next section, the lack of forward movement characterizing both this entry and the diary overall is conveyed through a detailed chronology that distinguishes it from its putative daughters in the genre of diary literature (*nikki bungaku* 日記文学).

The Banality of Travel

The extended periods of stasis within *Tosa nikki* are another remarkable aspect of its travelogue prose, one sustained by a format that is unique among works of diary literature: the consistent opening of each entry with a date, even for days when nothing noteworthy occurs. Such non-events contribute to a remarkably long journey. Its fifty-five days are more than double the twenty-five allotted for a voyage from Tosa to the capital in the *Engi shiki*.[75] Frustration at the snail's pace of progress in an early spring setting suspended between wintry desolation and vernal promise is compounded by the additional delay forced on the ex-governor's household by his replacement's tardy arrival, forcing them to risk dangerous sailing conditions in a desperate attempt to make it back in time for the New Year's promotions at court. Fear of pirates subsequently gives added urgency to this frantic attempt to race back home.

In addition to providing a detailed chronology, the introduction of the date for each entry is remarkably uniform throughout the diary—with the exception of a few days in the early stages that involve formal actions such as the prayer for safe travel that begins the voyage in the second entry, the observances on the Seventh of New Year, and the final round of farewells from provincial well-wishers two days later. In its use of this daily entry format, *Tosa nikki* resembles the annual almanacs (*guchūreki* 具注暦) given to officials, which marked each day in the calendrical year by its date, zodiac sign, and auspicious or

73 *Tosa nikki*, p. 43.
74 Hagitani 1967, pp. 308–309.
75 *Engi shiki*, p. 618.

inauspicious nature. The higher-grade versions belonging to an aristocrat or a governor included a few blank lines (*ma-aki* 間明) in which one could write down personal notes about the day's events.[76] Given both the diarist's status as an attendant of a former governor and the simplicity of their format, such almanacs are likely to be the sort of men's diaries she claims to draw inspiration from. The latter characteristic in particular makes it possible for her to mimic the almanac's format without having to ever see one itself, much less possess it. Thus she can use *kanji* for her dating system when these are otherwise largely absent from the diary, while at the same time omitting zodiacal information and occasionally departing from the standard opening in the abovementioned entries.

A similar uniformity is used to mark non-events in the diaries of nobles that were assembled from such almanacs. At times their language can be strikingly similar to that of *Tosa nikki*. For example, the opening sentence on 1/8 declaring, "We are still in the same place on account of a hindrance" (障ることありて、なほ同じ所なり)[77] is virtually identical to a comment made by Tsurayuki's patron Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880–949) in his diary *Teishin kōki* 貞信公記 (Account of Lord Teishin, ca. 907–948) when similarly unspecified hindrances cause the aristocrat to miss an important rite (有障無参).[78] Terse expressions of annoyance, irritation, or disapproval at violations of protocol, minor social disappointments, setbacks, and inconveniences caused by weather or astrology are par for the course in later noblemen's journals. However, *Tosa nikki* occasionally betrays signs that such expressions are intended to further fictional aims. By virtue of its banality, for example, the abovementioned sentence lends plausibility to the subsequent description of the moon sinking behind the ocean horizon, a sight that would have been precluded in reality by the boat's orientation.[79]

An even more telling example of the conscious crafting applied to such banalities can be found in the brief entry for 1/12, which simply notes: "No rain falls. The ships of Fumutoki and Koremochi have come from Narashizu, where they had fallen behind, to join us at Murotsu" (雨降らず。ふむとき、これもちが船の遅れたりし奈良志津より室津に来ぬ).[80] The opening sentence's terse mention of the absence of rain is peculiar given that the same condition has implicitly obtained on preceding days without the need to note it overtly. As it happens, however, this turns out to be the last day with clear weather for an extended period. Through its connections with the entries before and after it, this simple and seemingly superfluous observation thus lays the groundwork for a bitterly ironic situation within the larger narrative arc of the diary, as it becomes apparent in hindsight that the party has foregone a critical opportunity to make forward progress. Other brief and seemingly trivial passages also seem carefully crafted. For example, the terse comment about the weather on 1/28 contains a deadening rhythm as the growing disappointment at a lack of change in the party's situation is conveyed first through a negative verb and then by omitting verbs altogether: "All night long the rain doesn't let up. Next morning too"

76 For the most recent book-length study of *guchūreki*, see Yamashita 2017.
77 *Tosa nikki*, p. 24.
78 *Teishin kōki*, p. 134. For a partial translation of the diary, see Piggott and Yoshida 2008. Teishin was Tadahira's posthumous name.
79 Kikuchi 1980, pp. 124–26.
80 *Tosa nikki*, p. 29.

(夜もすがら雨やまず。今朝も).[81] Similarly, the repetition of the phrase "the ship isn't put out to sea" (*fune idasazu* 船出ださず) in the opening sentence for three days in a row beginning on 1/18 accentuates both the narrative's lack of forward movement and the diarist's growing frustration.

The attention to sequencing evident in the above examples of banal detail can also be seen in the arrangement of non-events within *Tosa nikki* as a whole. On the one hand, its daily entry format has been critiqued for hindering the sustained treatment of any single emotion.[82] However, it could also be argued that consecutive stretches of uneventful days are placed strategically throughout the diary in order to structure the progression of emotions within it. For example, the longest periods of stasis—clustered around the diary's middle portions at Ōminato, Murotsu, and Izumi—delineate more eventful periods and establish a stark contrast with the sense of excited anticipation at returning home that characterizes the journey's initial and final portions. Smaller sequences within these larger units amplify the underlying sense of frustration, as can be seen in the following series of days at Ōminato in which brief banal entries contrast with longer, more eventful ones to create narrative progressions in affect:

> The second. Still at rest in Ōminato. The bishop has sent over food and wine. (二日、なほ大湊に泊まれり。講師、物酒おこせたり)
> The third. Still in the same place. Perhaps the wind and waves have a heart that hopes for us to stay a while. The thought fills my heart with dread. (三日、同じところなり。もし風波のしばしと惜しむ心やあらむ。心もとなし)
> The fourth. A gale blows, making it impossible for us to set out to sea. Masatsura offers up liquor and various delicacies to the former governor. Since we can hardly stand by and do nothing in response to such generosity, we return the kindness with some trifle. There is nothing of much worth with which to do so. Everything seems fine on the surface, but it feels as though we have lost face. (四日、風吹けば、え出で立たず。まさつら、酒よき物奉れり。このかうやうに物持て来る人に、なほしもえあらで、いささけわざせさす。物もなし。にぎははしきやうなれど、負くる心地す)
> The fifth. Since the wind and waves don't let up, we are still in the same place. People come visiting us one after the other in an endless stream. (五日、風波やまねば、なほお同じところにあり。人々絶えず訪ひにく)
> The sixth. Same as yesterday. (六日、昨日のごとし)[83]

Initially, perhaps there is an attempt to find humor in the delay. After noting the bishop's solicitude in the first entry, the second one suggests a similar concern for the travelers on the part of the wind and waves, which "have a heart" (*kokoro aru* 心ある) befitting that of a well-wisher seeking to detain the party. But it is not the sort of concern that the diarist finds desirable, giving rise rather to anxiety in her own heart. The next entry describing the awkward reciprocities entailed by the receipt of unsolicited gifts also avoids monotony by omitting mention of the waves that accompany the windy weather in the entries before and after it. Their return with the wind in the fourth entry also heralds a return to witticism in

81 *Tosa nikki*, p. 39.
82 Shibuya 1961, p. 24.
83 *Tosa nikki*, p. 21.

a sentence likening the waves' endless movement to the stream of people visiting the ship, perhaps further suggesting both are equally undesirable. However, this renewed attempt at humor vanishes entirely in the final entry, whose abruptness suggests the diarist's inability to continue making light of the situation.

Another series of brief entries from 1/23 to 1/25 also hints at an emotional progression as it builds dramatic tension through growing fear and frustration at the inability to continue sailing despite the threat of pursuing pirates:

> The twenty-third. The sun shines and then is clouded over. Talk of pirates in the area leads us to pray to the gods and buddhas. (廿三日、日照て、曇りぬ。「このわたり、海賊の恐りあり」といへば、神仏を祈る)
> The twenty-fourth. The same place as yesterday. (廿四日、昨日の同じところなり)
> The twenty-fifth. That captain fellow says, "The northerly looks ominous," so we don't row out. All day ears are filled with rumors of pursuing pirates. (廿五日、梶取らの、「北風悪し」といへば、船出ださず。「海賊追ひく」といふこと、絶えず聞こゆ)[84]

The ordering of the two sentences in the first entry, in which clouds gather in the sky while rumors of pirates lead to entreaties for it to clear, succeeds at concisely enfolding the human world within its surroundings. The seemingly banal comment that nothing has changed in the single sentence of the next entry thus also implicitly contains the bitter observation that the previous day's prayers have gone unheard. The last entry then returns to paired observations of the heavenly and human realms as it contrasts the stillness of the boat with the perceptible movement of the wind and the rumored one of pirates. Variety is thus maintained at the same time as tension builds in both diarist and readers at the prospect that pirates will appear at any moment.

The last protracted period of stasis, extending from 2/12 to the penultimate day of the journey on 2/14, is also ripe with narrative and emotional connotations that build through seemingly minor details in its description of an extended stay at Yamazaki:

> The twelfth. We stay over in Yamazaki. (十二日、山崎に泊まれり)
> The thirteenth. Still in Yamazaki. (十三日、なほ山崎に)
> The fourteenth. Rain falls. We send for carriages to take us to the capital today. (十四日、雨降る。今日、車、京へとりにやる)[85]

While no reason is given for this extended delay, it is easy to attribute it to protracted negotiations over payment with the captain, whose greed is foregrounded throughout the diary. Stasis in the first entry is amplified the following day by omitting verbs entirely. Growing impatience is then conveyed by the word "today" (*kyō* 今日) in the succeeding entry. The downpour mentioned that day is a telling detail, suggesting that the party's frustration at being cooped up in close quarters on board the ship so near to the end of the journey has reached the point where they cannot bear waiting any longer, regardless of the weather. Such terse notations of non-events endow *Tosa nikki*'s narrative with taut webs of suppressed affect

84 *Tosa nikki*, p. 37.
85 *Tosa nikki*, p. 53.

that intermingle the language of *kanbun* diaries with an anthological attention to sequencing in order to create dramatic progressions within the emotional arc of the narrative.

Conclusion

The static quality of so many entries in *Tosa nikki* is one example of the diary's tendency to organize its narrative spatially around the names of places the party moves to or stays in.[86] By plotting time through the linear progression of contiguous spaces, and by possessing a clearly delineated beginning and end, travel provided a ready-made structure for narrative development. Such characteristics would also have been ideally suited to pictorialization, and it is worth noting in this regard that Tsurayuki was composing many screen poems in the year immediately following his return from Tosa. One scholar has even suggested that the diary's combination of self-contained narratives binding together each individual entry with a retrospective viewpoint framing the entire journey was inspired by the doubled perspective of such screen poems, whose viewpoint is often simultaneously located inside and outside the frame of the painted scene.[87]

A related possibility is that a pictorial dimension to the original text may have helped shape its prose. Evidence for the existence of this visual element has survived in the headnote to a poem in the *Egyō hōshi shū* 恵慶法師集 (Reverend Egyō Anthology) expressing the thoughts of a character from the diary that appears in a painting of its final scene:

> On the feelings aroused by a house that had become dilapidated over the course of five years depicted in an illustration of Tsurayuki's *Tosa Diary*. (つらゆきがとさの日記をゑにかけるを、いつとせをすぐしける家のあれたる心を)
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | くらべこし | Even the wave-path |
> | なみぢもかくは | I came to compare it with, |
> | あらざりき | was never such as this. |
> | よもぎのはらと | The weed-choked moorland |
> | なれるわがやど | my grounds have become.[88] |

Its combination of painting with poetry and prose could have made this early version of *Tosa nikki* akin to the more detailed description of the journal created by Genji 源氏 while in exile at Suma 須磨, which triumphs at the picture contest in the Eawase 絵合 chapter of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語:

86 Takahashi 1992, pp. 110–11.
87 Horikawa 1974, pp. 63–78
88 *Egyō hōshi shū*, poem 192, p. 184.

> The appearance of various locales, bays, and stony shores that were otherwise obscure to his audience were depicted for them in full. Kana writings were mingled with grass-style calligraphy here and there and, though it lacked the details of a proper diary, it included many moving poems with great appeal. (所のさま、おぼつかなき浦々磯の隠れなく描きあらはしたまへり。草の手に仮名の所どころに書きまぜて、まほのくはしき日記にはあらず、あはれなる歌などもまじれる、たぐひゆかし)[89]

Like Genji's Suma journal, Tsurayuki's Tosa diary portrays a landscape of bays and beaches unfamiliar to its audience, omits many of the quantitative details found in a normal diary, and includes many poems expressing the diarist's feelings. Given the frequency with which *Genji monogatari*'s author mentions Tsurayuki in her tale, it is possible she may have had this early illustrated version of *Tosa nikki* in mind when she envisaged her hero's journal.

We have no way of knowing if this pictorialization was originally made by Tsurayuki or added on to it later by an early reader such as Egyō, who was an acquaintance of Tsurayuki's son Tokifumi 時文 (ca. 922–966). Nor is it clear whether the illustration is from a picture scroll or a folding screen. The poem inspired by it is clearly in the voice of a character from the diary, making it similar to *waka* from the roughly contemporaneous *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 created by women viewing illustrations of the tragic tale of the maiden of Ikutagawa 生田川 and her two rival suitors that are composed in the voices of all three protagonists.[90] Although it is typically assumed that these illustrations were painted on folding screens, there is nothing in the prose of the poem tale that specifically supports that assumption. Moreover, the fact that the *Egyō hōshi shū* headnote mentions the *final* scene from the diary suggests it is referring to a complete version of the text, which would have been easier to assemble and view as a picture scroll. Some of *Tosa nikki*'s characteristics would have made it especially amenable to this format. Expressions such as *kaku aru uchi ni* かくあるうちに (meanwhile) or *kakute* かくて (so then) dividing separate locations within a day's entry, for example, could have provided cues for the unrolling of the next scene on a scroll.

Regardless of its original format, the distinctive aspects of the diary's prose identified in this article would also have lent themselves to pictorial adaptation. Fictional place names marking locations within the narrative would have augmented otherwise generic painterly depictions of landscapes, as would the attention to detail of color and shape that the diary's more poetically-structured sentences provide. Likewise, the brief enumeration of a sequence of days spent at the same place could convey temporal duration in an economical manner by combining multiple entries with a single picture. The fact that *Tosa nikki* continued to attract a readership without illustrations in ensuing centuries is no doubt due in part to Tsurayuki's posthumous fame, but it can also be attributed to the diary's innovatively fluid intermingling of poetic fictions with prosaic details in the vivid depiction of a voyage over liminal liquid landscapes that were far removed from the Heian court's familiar environs.

89 *Genji monogatari*, SKNBZ 21, pp. 387–88. One other illustrated diary is briefly mentioned earlier in the Akashi 明石 chapter (SKNBZ 21, p. 261) when Murasaki 紫 consoles herself in Genji's absence by "drawing out pictures and putting them together with writings in the manner of a diary" (絵を描き集めたまひつつ、日記のやうに書きたまへり).

90 *Yamato monogatari*, episode 147, p. 371.

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Abbreviations
KST *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系
SNKBZ *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集
SNKBT *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新編日本古典文学大系
ZZGR *Zoku zoku gunsho ruijû* 続々群書類従

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Kano Motonobu's *Shuten Dōji Emaki* and Anti-demon Rituals in Late Medieval Japan

Quitman Eugene PHILLIPS

Shuten Dōji emaki in the Suntory Museum was produced by Kano Motonobu (1477–1559) and assistants along with noble calligraphers in the first part of the sixteenth century. It presents in text and illustration a highly influential version of the story of the defeat of the demon king Shuten Dōji and his followers by a band of human warriors. Earlier scholarship has established that anti-demon rituals had an impact on the origins of the story. This study takes that as a starting point and draws upon key findings, but focuses on a single work, the Suntory scrolls, with the goal of better understanding its particular emphases and nuances, especially as seen in the pictures and overall structure. It argues for the profound importance of anti-demon rituals in the production and reception of the text. In particular, it shows how the images of key figures in the narrative are overlain with those of ritual performers such as *yamabushi*, *miko*, and *onmyōji* and even those of supernatural protectors such as *shikigami* and *gohōdōji*. While some parallels are so striking that they suggest a certain level of intention in their inclusion, the larger argument is that both producers and consumers witnessed and took part in numerous anti-demon rituals annually and that they were, inescapably, a major part of their cultural imaginary.

Keywords: Kano Motonobu, Shuten Dōji, Minamoto Raikō, Abe no Seimei, *emaki*, *oni*, *yamabushi*, *miko*, *shikigami*, *gohōdōji*

The ancient and medieval Japanese saw demons (*oni* 鬼) as causes of natural calamities as well as of the illnesses and afflictions that brought suffering to individuals and families.[1] Diaries record their efforts to combat these entities through demon-expulsion rituals performed at shrines and temples and through private exorcisms conducted on individuals. At the same time, there emerged numerous tales that featured the taming or vanquishing of demons, which would have provided another sort of benefit. Since ills and calamities continued to occur despite the performance of rituals, such stories of the defeat of demons

1 "Demon" (*oni*) is used here in its broadest sense and so refers to a broad range of entities including "plague gods" (*ekijin* 疫神), and so on. The bibliography for the study of oni is far too extensive to list here so I will limit mention to the pioneering works of Baba Akiko 1971 and Chigiri Kōsai 1978; the edited volume by Komatsu Kazuhiko 2000; and, in English, Reider 2010.

no doubt had a cathartic effect and provided psychological bolstering and reassurance by modeling an ultimate triumph over the agents of misfortune. Given that themes of defeating supernatural causes of human suffering as embodied in demons are common to the rituals and narratives, it seems natural that the two would share a number of significant formal and conceptual elements.

This essay closely examines *Shuten Dōji emaki* 酒呑童子絵巻 (hereafter the Suntory scrolls), a set of three illustrated handscrolls from the first half of the sixteenth century in the Suntory Museum of Art, to argue that it does indeed possess such shared elements. In doing so, this study reaches beyond superficial similarities that might be shared by any number of works to analyze and discuss specific, sometimes subtle, textual, pictorial, and structural elements in the Suntory scrolls to show that they parallel and echo those found in a variety of anti-demon rituals. We can no longer fully recover the intentions of those who produced this work of art, but we can gain a deeper insight into sources that likely inspired them and resonated with its viewers. By showing the number and variety of overlaps with anti-demon rituals, this study supports the conclusion that those rituals were significant parts of the visual cultural imaginary of medieval Japan.

The main body of this essay has three sections. The first introduces the Suntory scrolls, presents what we know about the circumstances of their production, and offers a summary of the story as recounted in its text. The second identifies textual and pictorial elements in the Suntory scrolls that evoke components of anti-demon rituals, including those who performed them, whether in actual practice or legend. It shows that characters in the Suntory scrolls echo figures such as the old man (*okina* 翁), who provides blessings in a variety of rituals, the famous yin-yang master (*onmyōji* 陰陽師), Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明, mountain ascetics (*yamabushi* 山伏, *shugenja* 修験者), demonic-looking helpers of diviners and exorcists (*gohō dōji* 護法童子 and *shikigami* 式神), and various dancing ritualists. The third section takes a closer look at the actions and depictions of the warrior heroes of the story and argues that, in some cases, they strongly echo those of *yamabushi*. It then addresses key depictions of certain captive ladies to show that they should not be read simply as "damsels in distress" since they play active, vital roles in their own rescue. In doing so, they echo the figure of the *miko* 巫女, a female shrine attendant who aided *yamabushi* as mediums at some shrines.

1. An Introduction to *Shuten Dōji Emaki*

As noted above, *Shuten Dōji emaki* is a set of three illustrated handscrolls, which are designed for horizontal viewing from right to left as they rest on a flat surface, and are gradually unrolled by the left hand, slid to the right, and temporally rerolled by the left hand. The most common layout, as in the Suntory scrolls, is the alternation of segments of text and pictures. Each of the illustrations in this case takes up from one to three sheets of paper. Like all illustrations, those in the Suntory scrolls are always more than simple pictorial equivalents of the associated texts, necessarily providing specifics such as color or spatial relationships even if they are not mentioned. They often draw primarily on visual sources.

The Suntory scrolls contain the second oldest extant version of the story of Shuten Dōji, the first complete one, and also the first for which we have evidence regarding at least the basic circumstances of its production. What is more, the paintings are by Kano Motonobu 狩野元信 and members of his atelier. Motonobu was the second-generation

head of the Kano school who set it on a path of rapid expansion that led to its dominant position in the painting world by the early Edo period. His compositions, including those for the Suntory scrolls, were treasured, copied, and disseminated far and wide, first to school members and later to outsiders. The result is that the overwhelming majority of the more than ninety illustrated handscroll sets and books and at least five screen paintings that survive today are either copies or close variants, or they owe at least some debt to the pictorial compositions of the Suntory scrolls.[2]

Sakakibara Satoru 榊原悟 has securely dated the Suntory scrolls to the early sixteenth century and established the key participants in the project.[3] The only extant version that is older is the *Ōeyama ekotoba* 大江山絵詞 in the Itsuō Art Museum (hereafter, the Itsuō scrolls), which is attributed to the fourteenth century. Some scholars believe that the Suntory scrolls are closer to an even earlier text, with or without images, based on its partial derivation from Chinese stories of the *White Monkey*.[4] Nobles of high status brushed the main texts: Konoe Hisamichi 近衛尚通 (1472–1544) the first scroll; Jōhōji Kōjo 浄法寺公助 (dates unknown) the second; and Shōren-in Sonchin 青蓮院尊鎮 (1504–1550) the third. Another distinguished nobleman, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三條西実隆 (1455–1537), added the colophons. Kano Motonobu was one of the two leading painters in the capital. The powerful feudal lord Hōjō Ujitsuna 北条氏綱 (1486–1541) commissioned the set. While no documentary evidence clearly establishes Hisamichi as a general overseer of the project or editor of the handscrolls, his rank and cultural accomplishments, and the fact that he brushed the texts on the first scroll, suggest that he played a significant role.[5] He was head of one of the five regent (*kanpaku* 関白) families, and at the time of the project held the exalted honorary title of *jusangū* 准三宮, which gave him an honorary rank equivalent to an empress, after having twice been regent.

A Summary of the Text of the Suntory Scrolls:[6]

Scroll One

Prologue: The land of Japan is blessed, and well-ruled down to the current day, but now there has been a disruption of order.

Young ladies are disappearing from the capital. One distraught nobleman, Middle Counselor Ikeda Kunikata (Ikeda Chūnagon Kunikata 池田中納言国方), engages the great yin-yang master (*onmyōji*), Abe no Seimei, to find out what has happened to his beloved

2 This count was related to me informally some years ago by Okamoto Mami 岡本麻美, now at the Yamaguchi Prefectural Art Museum. For studies in the screen format, see Phillips 1996 and Minobe and Minobe 2010.

3 Sakakibara 1984a; for more on the *emaki*, see also Sakakibara 1984b. The precise date of the completion of the project is unclear. While there is documentary evidence that the text of the first scroll was brushed in 1522, we have no such evidence for the second and third, and the colophon was brushed in 1531.

4 Takahashi 1992, p. 384. Takahashi further develops the research of Kuroda Akira (1987).

5 Watada 2017 has presented a narrative that gives a larger role for Jōhōji Kōjo and presumes that only Hisamichi's work on the first scroll dates to 1522 while the other texts and the paintings date closer to the time of the colophon in 1531. That is about the time Ujitsuna married Hisamichi's daughter, and Watada sees it as commissioned as a gift for her. It is not yet possible to assess his argument since it has been presented only in an informal manner without citing specific historical sources.

6 This summary is based on my own reading of the original, aided by a modern Japanese translation of a nearly identical version owned by Tōyō University Library (Ōshima 2002). Until very recently, there were English translations only for a quite different print version of the Shuten Dōji story published in the seventeenth century: Reider 2005 and Kimbrough 2007. Kimbrough (2018) has just published a translation of the text of the Tōyō University version.

daughter.[7] Seimei presents a report identifying the culprit as Shuten Dōji, who lives with his demonic gang deep in the mountains and notifies Kunikata that he has insured his daughter's survival using his divination cards. The father reports this to the emperor, requesting action. The emperor gives the task of quelling the demon to Minamoto Raikō (Yorimitsu) 源頼光, and his band of four great warriors called the Shitennō 四天王 (Four Heavenly Kings): Watanabe Tsuna 渡辺綱, Sakata Kintoki 坂田公時, Usui Sadamitsu 臼井貞光, and Urabe Suetake 卜部末武.[8]

Raikō and his men split up and go to visit their ancestral shrines to pray for aid against their supernatural enemy. Next, Raikō adds one more warrior, Fujiwara Hōshō 藤原保昌, to his band, and they all set out in the guise of *yamabushi*.

After being dazed and lost in the mountains for a time, they meet three men, whom they later discover to be the gods (*kami* 神) of the shrines that they had visited. Their leader, an old man (*okina*), gives Raikō a magical helmet that would hide the wearer's thoughts from Shuten Dōji and protect his head from demonic physical attack. The men from the capital also receive poisonous saké to serve to the demons. The three men then guide the warriors through the mountains, using superhuman prowess to help them accomplish their journey. Eventually, they lead them through a cave and, on the other side, tell them to follow a stream. They promise to appear again at some point inside the demon stronghold, identify themselves as the gods of the three ancestral shrines, and vanish.

Scroll Two

Upstream, the warriors meet a young woman washing bloodied garments in a stream. She tells them of the circumstances in the demon's great castle with stone walls, iron gates, and a four-seasons garden. With horrifying regularity, the demons seize one of the many ladies they hold captive and take her to a place called the "jail" (*hitoya* 人屋), where they press her body for blood. They then serve this, calling it "saké." A magic potion keeps the woman from dying, so that they can press her several times, but eventually, they butcher her and serve pieces of her flesh, calling them "tidbits" (*sakana* 肴). She also describes Shuten Dōji and his main henchmen, two in the form of huge youths (*dōji*), and four more who are also called Shitennō. The warriors make their way up to the gate of the castle, where they are met by fearsome looking beings in various forms. Alerted to their arrival, Shuten Dōji gives orders to the henchmen at the gate to invite the visitors in since they might have valuable information about the capital, but promises his demons that they can devour them one by one starting the next day. The demons install the visitors in a waiting room, and Shuten Dōji comes out with a retinue to greet them, appearing in his daytime form of a giant youth.

Later, Shuten Dōji reclines before the visitors as they all gather in a nearby room. The men need to convince him that they are not his enemies, so they drink human blood when it is offered, and Raikō and one of his men eat human flesh as well. The demon lord is taken in and greatly pleased when the men offer him saké from the capital. He even summons

7 Seimei and other characters in the tale are based on historical individuals, but the focus here is on their roles in the story, so no dates are given.

8 The name Shitennō comes from the fierce Buddhist guardians of the four directions, typically represented treading on demonic figures.

his two favorite ladies, one of whom is the daughter of Kunikata. He and the other demons drink the poisonous saké prodigiously. Inebriated, Shuten Dōji tells something of his history and relates his fear of the one called Raikō and his companions. As he speaks, he suddenly realizes that the men before him might be the very ones he most feared, but Raikō is wearing the special helmet that hides his thoughts, and the warriors convince Shuten Dōji that they are not the feared Raikō and his band.[9]

The party continues and one of the demons dances and sings a song that suggests the visitors will be eaten. Raikō's follower Kintoki answers the taunt with his own dance and a song suggesting that the demons' castle will be destroyed. Shuten Dōji is so befuddled by drink, and Kintoki's steps so intricate and skillful, that he fails to understand the threat even though his henchmen do. He retires, urging that the party continue. Raikō and his companions note the power of the demons and begin to press the poisonous saké on them. They become violently ill and oblivious to what is going on. The warriors then speak with the two ladies, revealing their mission and finding out from them the situation in the castle. The two young women agree to guide them to Shuten Dōji.

Scroll Three

The warriors then put on their armor and the two ladies show them the way to the demon lord's chamber. They come to Shuten Dōji's inner chamber, where he lies beyond a door in his huge, fully demonic form being soothed in his poisoned state by a group of captive ladies. The warriors cannot force open the door to Shuten Dōji's chambers and are despairing when the three deities reappear. The deities force open the door, give the warriors magic chains to bind the demon lord, and tell them how best to attack him. The companions bind Shuten Dōji as he sleeps and proceed to strike him with their weapons. He springs awake, breaking two of the chains, but the others hold. Raikō attacks his neck, and on the third stroke severs it. The demon's head flies up into the air and comes back down to kill Raikō, but the magical helmet under his own protects him. The men then battle with the demonic Shitennō and slay them. They then face and defeat those demons that were at the castle gate and remain sober.

With the death of Shuten Dōji, a spell is broken and the towers and gardens of the castle change back to natural boulders and grottoes. When they investigate the ruins, they find the skeletons of hundreds and thousands of people and bodies dried and pickled. They also find the remains of the daughter of Horie no Nakatsukasa 堀江の中務, whose limbs provided the "tidbits" that evening. Finally, they fight and capture the last two demons, who, like their master, have the forms of giant acolytes. The companions make their way out of the territory of Shuten Dōji with over thirty ladies.

The capital receives the warriors as heroes as they march into the city carrying the heads of Shuten Dōji and several of his henchmen along with the captive demons. The families of the returning ladies greet them with joy. The Horie family, however, are distraught when they find that their daughter has been killed. Horie no Nakatsukasa invites the ladies who were closest to her to come and tell them all that happened. The ladies have brought back a lock of her hair as a focus for mourning and memorial rites. Afterwards, her father dedicates himself to Buddhist practices.

9 The small headgear he is wearing in the relevant illustrations would not actually cover the special helmet.

Epilogue: extols the virtues of the major participants and notes that the emperor is a manifestation of the bodhisattva Miroku 弥勒, Raikō of Bishamonten 毘沙門天, and Shuten Dōji of the demon king of the sixth heaven in the realm of desire (*dairokuten no maō* 第六天の魔王). It ends by saying how the story shows the miraculous benefits of Buddhism.

2. Defeating Demons: Ritual and Narrative

Previous scholarship has laid firm groundwork for studying the Shuten Dōji story through the lens of anti-demon rituals, primarily to show that they contributed to the formation of the Shuten Dōji story and its visual representation, especially as seen in the Itsuō scrolls.[10] Takahashi Masaaki 高橋昌明, for example, sees rites to protect the capital and the realm from plagues as a key early factor.[11] Hashimoto Hiroyuki 橋本裕之 has argued for the importance of the ritual music-and-dance performance called *dengaku* 田楽, even suggesting that the name "Shuten Dōji," which scholars generally ascribe to the demon's excessive love of saké and which may be translated "Drunken Acolyte (or Youth)," originates with the youths (*dōji*) who play drums, called *shitten* しってん and thus are *shitten dōji*.[12]

This study, which is not concerned with the origins of the Shuten Dōji story, looks at *dengaku* and other rituals involving dance, but pays particular attention to *onioi* 鬼追い (driving away demons) and to the exorcistic and spiritually protective practices of *onmyōji* and *yamabushi*. The latter will be taken up in the next part of the essay.[13]

Onioi, which is also known as *tsuina* 追儺 (chasing away evil spirits), *oniyarai* 鬼遣 (driving out demons), and *onibarai* 鬼払い (purifying of demons), is a type of ritual for driving away malignant spirits that survives today. The actual performances vary significantly, but they nearly always involve one or more figures who wear demon masks and clothing, as well as monks, priests, and/or ritual specialists who drive them away by such actions as shooting arrows, stamping, ringing bells, and throwing beans.[14] By the Nara period, the demon expulsion rituals were established in the imperial court's annual cycle of ritual under the name *tsuina* and, over time, came to be performed at innumerable shrines and temples.[15] Some of the earliest documentation of temple performances relates to *onioi* as the culmination of the *shushōe* 修正会, a multi-day series of rites performed early in the New Year to achieve renewal and provide blessings.[16] A wealth of evidence tells us that *onioi* rituals were, without question, part of the lived experience of the majority of Japanese people of most, if not all, social ranks.[17]

On the simplest level, the fully demonic form of Shuten Dōji (figure 1) links the Suntory scrolls, conceptually and visually, to the rituals through the similarity of his visage

10 The tale has been studied from a variety of other perspectives—including notions of "inside and outside" and the maintenance of royal authority—by Komatsu Kazuhiko (1997); affirmation of royal authority and the *kenmon* 権門 system by Irene H. Lin (2002); the carnivalesque by Noriko T. Reider (2008), with deep connections to the legendary figure of Ibuki (Kashiwabara) Yasaburō 伊吹 (柏原) 弥三郎; the figure of the abandoned child by Satake Akihiro (1977); and resistance to authority by Minobe and Minobe (2010), and so on. Kamei Wakana (2005) has taken politics and gender as the focus of her study of the Suntory scrolls.

11 Takahashi 1992.

12 Hashimoto 2002.

13 Okamoto 2008 addresses the impact of *onmyōdō* beliefs on imagery in the Itsuō scrolls.

14 For more on this topic, see Suzuki 2014.

15 Nakamura 2018.

16 Yamaji 2000.

17 In addition to Yamaji 2000, see Nakamura 1978 for a more extensive treatment.

Figure 1. Shuten Dōji in his demonic form reclining and his limbs being rubbed by his attendant ladies inside. Kano Motonobu and workshop, *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 3, ca. 1522 or 1531. Set of three hand scrolls, color on paper, h. 33.1 cm. Suntory Museum of Art.

to the demon masks, such as those preserved at Takisanji 瀧山寺, with their large bulging eyes, bristling brows, and bestial mouths.[18] The masks were usually accompanied by wigs of unruly hair similar to Shuten Dōji's. The representations of the "heroes" of the story, on the other hand, suggest more complex and nuanced connections to rituals and deserve close attention. They include the deities of the ancestral shrines, Abe no Seimei, Raikō, his men, and a number of the captive women.

In the Suntory scrolls, the warriors visit their ancestral shrines to seek divine aid, Raikō going to Iwashimizu Hachiman 石清水八幡, Tsuna and Kintoki to Sumiyoshi 住吉, and Suetake and Sadamitsu to Kumano 熊野 (figures 2, 3, and 4). The Suntory scrolls' depictions of the three shrines as well as of the deities offer insights into a fuller understanding of their roles. The text states that Raikō had stayed at his ancestral shrine for three days and received a prophetic dream, and the accompanying picture shows him seated in intense concentration in front of the inner shrine (figure 2). Oneiromancy—the interpretation of dreams to foretell the future—was certainly one means for finding solutions to crises, including plagues, in premodern Japan.[19] The textual account of the other shrine visits says only that the warriors supplicated themselves and sponsored prayer rites, but the Kumano scene shows the two warriors sitting in the inner courtyard facing the sanctuaries while a *miko* dances to their right and a *yamabushi* sits to their left (figure 4). Thus, the textual account of Raikō's visit to Iwashimizu Hachiman specifies what happens and what benefit he receives, while the illustration of the visit to Kumano depicts a specific ritual performance that seems to go further than a "prayer rite," and will be discussed below. What of Sumiyoshi? Visually, it stands in striking contrast to the other two, depicted as if seen from a more distant vantage point with a *torii* 鳥居 and bridge the only shrine

18 For images of the Takisanji masks, see https://takisanji.net/jihou_tsuinamen.html. Viewers of the Suntory scrolls would also likely have been exposed to such visages in depictions of tormenters in the Buddhist hells, which helped establish the general appearance of the oni. See Kuroda 2000, pp. 340–44.

19 Dreams provide guidance multiple times in Motonobu's earliest narrative handscroll project, *Anbagaiji engi emaki* 鞍馬蓋寺縁起絵巻, surviving today only in a copy. For an introduction to this work, see Aizawa 2000.

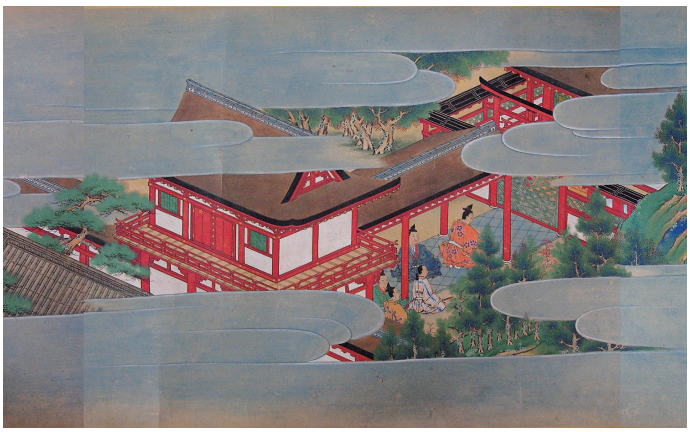

Figure 2. Raikō visiting Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 1.

Figure 3. Tsuna and Kintoki visiting Sumiyoshi Shrine. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 1.

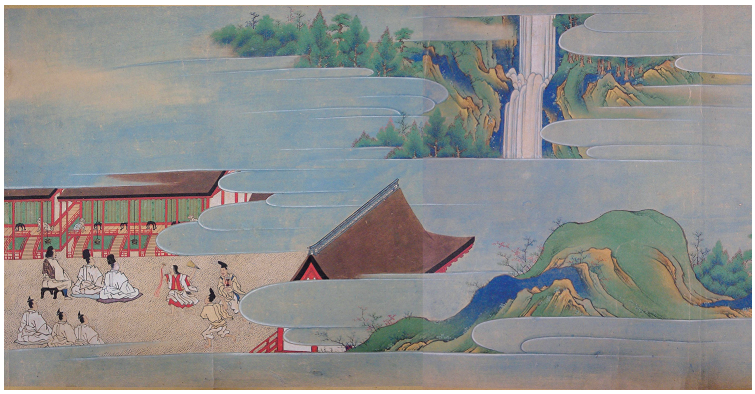

Figure 4. Sadamitsu and Suetake visiting Kumano shrine. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 1.

Figure 5. Sumiyoshi giving one of the warriors the chains and the other two gods pushing at the door. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, Scroll 3.

structures visible (figure 3). Furthermore, the warriors have not yet passed over the bridge or entered the shrine precincts proper. Thus, the illustration does not offer details comparable to those for the other shrines.

Considering the depictions of the three shrines together suggests an explanation for this distinction. Each appears on one of three sheets of paper with only clouds to mark one off from the other. This continuity invites viewers to open the scroll more widely than usual and view them together. What they see then is an arrangement that evokes Buddha (and other deity) triads, in which the flanking entities, here places, are the ones that most actively aid human beings, while the one in the center—here Sumiyoshi—is a more powerful source of blessing and benefits. In other words, the scrolls' depiction of the visit to Sumiyoshi does not stress a particular rite or action, but instead the shrine's all-permeating sanctity and power of blessing.

The distinctiveness of Sumiyoshi recurs later in the first scroll, when the warriors meet the deities themselves in the mountains not knowing who they are. The three kami provide critical aid in various forms, but Sumiyoshi never joins the other two in physical acts, such as helping the men up the mountains or forcing open doors. Instead, he provides advice and gifts, such as a magical helmet and chains to bind Shuten Dōji (figure 5). In addition, the scroll represents him in the form of an old man (*okina*). The *okina* appears in rites as a giver of blessings, as in two of the most common ritual performances of the medieval period (1185–1573), *dengaku* and *sarugaku* 猿楽.[20] The *okina* is also strongly associated with the *jushi* 呪師 (also *shushi* and *sushi*), or spell master, who performed in the *shushōe* rites mentioned above.[21] The visual image of the *okina* in Shuten Dōji illustrations thus

20 Amano 1998.

21 For more on the emergence of this figure, see Omote and Amano 1987, p. 331.

Figure 6. Demons confronting the warriors at the gate. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 2.

Figure 7. Detail of warriors at the gate. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 2.

Figure 8. Seimei with his two *shikigami* preparing to conduct a healing rite. *Legends of the Weeping Acalanatha* (*Naki Fudō engi*), 15th c. Color on paper, two handscrolls, h. 32.5 cm. Shōjōke-in, Kyoto. After Kyoto National Museum, *Dai emaki ten*, 2006, p. 28.

transcended any simple identification with Sumiyoshi Daimyōjin 住吉大明神 for viewers with deep experience in protective and exorcistic rituals.

Turning to Abe no Seimei, we have a figure of both history and legend. The historical Seimei (921–1005) did what was expected of an *onmyōji* by reading the heavens and performing divinations, and also by conducting a variety of protective rituals. Those included the Taizan Fukun sai 泰山夫君祭, an invocation of deities of the land of the dead in order to extend life, bring good things, and prevent calamities, which incorporated *henbai* 反閉 (反閇, 反陪) namely, the ritual treading of the ground to the accompaniment of incantations in order to ensure personal safety.[22] The latter term is still used for the dance of the *okina* and performances during *tsuina*. By the fourteenth century, however, Seimei's image had become more and more that of a magician with all sorts of powers. In the Suntory version he performs the divination needed to reveal the identity of the abductor of young ladies from the capital, including Lord Kunikata's daughter, and he also tells Lord Kunikata that he has used his divination cards (*fu* 符) to save his daughter's life and that she will see her parents again.

Seimei's promise invites the reader/viewer to consider him in relation to Raikō. It is, after all, the martial actions of Raikō and his men that ostensibly bring about the return of Kunikata's daughter and the other women. One might see Raikō, then, as the instrument for fulfilling Seimei's promise, and be alert to possible visual links between the two. One such link comes in the series of three scenes at the start of the first scroll. Uninterrupted by text, the tight sequence shows Seimei reporting to Lord Kunikata, Lord Kunikata petitioning the emperor, and the emperor delivering his commission to Raikō through Lord Kunikata. The first and last links in this chain of actions are Seimei and Raikō.

In addition, there are visual representations of Raikō together with two of his followers that evoke depictions of Seimei as well as En no Gyōja 役行者, the legendary founder of the *yamabushi*, and more broadly evoke anti-demon ritual performers. In the scene where the warriors confront Shuten Dōji's followers at the gate, Watanabe Tsuna and Fujiwara Hōshō stand out in front, hands on swords, with Raikō just behind them as if they were his protectors (figure 6).[23] Later, while the warriors wait for the appearance of Shuten Dōji, they sit closest to him, and the three converse. On closer inspection, especially in the scene at the gate, the eyes of Tsuna and Hōshō appear larger and rounder than those of the other warriors, tending somewhat toward the bulging eyes of demons and demonic-looking protective beings (figure 7). They are also dressed in green and reddish brown.

In paintings of Seimei and En no Gyōja, we see corresponding paired servants in actual demonic form. In a handscroll of the fifteenth century, *Naki Fudō engi* 泣き不動縁起 (Legends of the Weeping Acalanatha), they appear on the veranda as Seimei engages in a healing ritual (figure 8), and in a hanging scroll from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, they accompany En no Gyōja (figure 9). In the former case, these entities are referred to in the text as *shikigami*, which literally means "rite deities," while *gohō dōji*, literally "boys (or acolytes) who protect the (Buddhist) law," is a more common term in lore related to

22 For more on Abe no Seimei and his roles, see Shigeta 2013.

23 All of the warriors are labeled with inscriptions in an earlier picture, and their clothing remains consistent throughout the scrolls, so this identification is straightforward.

Figure 9. Jakusai, attributed, Portrait of *En no Gyōja*, 14th–15th c. Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Public Domain.

yamabushi.[24] The two types of beings would seem to have merged somewhat over time, at least in their visual representation, including the depiction in green and red. In other words, the Suntory scrolls present Hōshō and Tsuna in a way that echoes the visual representation of paired, supernatural protective figures with their bulging eyes and green and red (or reddish) color contrast. This is another visual link between Raikō and Seimei though not necessarily an exclusive one.

Paired green and red figures also evoke *onioi*. For example, a list of treasures at Mirokuji 弥勒寺, a shrine temple of Hachiman Hakozakigū 八幡筥崎宮, includes several items used in such a ritual.[25] It lists costumes for two performers in the roles of *oni*: masks—red for the husband and green (*ao* 青) for the wife—and formal clothing (*shōzoku* 装束) appropriate for rituals. Also listed are costumes and accessories for performers in the roles of the dragon king and Bishamonten: masks of green and red, leggings (*fugake* 踏懸), helmets (*kabuto* 冑), long swords (*tachi* 大刀), formal clothing (*shōzoku*), jackets (*hō* 袍) of red (*beni* 紅) and green, trousers (*hakama* 袴), and overrobes (*uchikake* 打懸) with grounds of red and deep

24 For more on *shikigami* and *gōhō dōji*, see Blacker 1975, p. 77; Lin 2004, and Koyama 2003.
25 Hachiman Hakozakigū goshinpōki, p. 180.

Figure 10. Kintoki dancing. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 2.

blue (*kon* 紺) silk, and spears (*hoko* 鉾).[26] Thus, the costuming of both exorcist and demon performers featured red-and-green pairings. This practice has continued in many *onioi* rituals down to the present day, as at Shoshazan Engyōji 書写山円教寺 in the mountains above the city of Himeji.[27] In the darkened main hall, the Maniden 摩尼殿, two demonic-looking figures, masked and dressed in red and green, circumambulate, pausing and loudly stamping on the plank floor in the corners as a priest in the middle sits before the altar reading sutras and manipulating various ritual implements, such as bells. The red figure has a large hammer strapped to his back and carries a burning torch in his left hand and a bell in his right, while the green one carries a sword held out in both hands. The temple does not identify the two figures as demons but as *gohō dōji*. The sword is thus for driving away unseen evil spirits, and the temple considers this figure to be a manifestation of Fudō Myōō 不動明王, himself a sword wielder, and the other of Bishamonten.[28] These identifications conform with the legends of the temple's founder, Shōkū 性空, which say that avatars of Fudō and Bishamon in the form of *gohō dōji* served him.[29] Thus, the visual echoes of *gohō dōji* and *shikigami* that we see in depictions of Tsuna and Hōshō offer links to performers in *onioi* rituals as well as to the supernatural servants of Seimei and En no Gyōja. It is hard to imagine that these echoes are simple coincidences or that they would have evoked no

26 While "ao" today tends to be used to refer to colors in the English "blue" range, in earlier periods, the range was much broader, and included most shades of green as in the case of the pairing of red and green *oni* (*aka-oni* 赤鬼, *ao-oni* 青鬼). For a discussion of the masks as ritual implements, see Yamaji 2000, pp. 68–69.

27 Author's personal observation on 18 January 2009.

28 The local people today treat the *gohō dōji* as kami, offering worship at a small hall up the mountain. They comfortably insist that they are not oni of any sort because they have no horns on their otherwise demonic masks. (Kaneko Shunyū 金子俊邑, Steward of the General Affairs Office at Engyōji, personal conversation with the author, 18 January 2009.)

29 For a detailed discussion of Shōkū and his *gōhō dōji*, see Koyama 2003, pp. 122–30; for a brief discussion in English, see McCormick 2009, p. 201. For discussion of a painting of Shōkū and his *gohō dōji*, see Hikonejō Hakubutsukan, entry 36, pp. 100–101.

sense of recognition from medieval viewers of the Suntory scrolls such as Hōjō Ujitsuna, his family, and elite retainers.

Another warrior to look at more closely is Kintoki. In the Itsuō scrolls, Raikō goes to Hie 日吉 Shrine, where he receives spiritual aid through a *dengaku* ceremony that includes an ecstatic dance. While we may see the performance of the *miko* at Kumano in the Suntory scrolls as something of a parallel, I would argue that Kintoki also enacts the role of ritual dance performer in one scene. While Shuten Dōji is entertaining Raikō and his companions, one of his servants exchanges insults with Kintoki in the form of chanted poems accompanied by dances. The demon says, "Whatever sort of straying of their feet brought them here, the men of the capital will become saké and bits to eat." Kintoki replies with, "Spring has come to the cave of the old *oni*; it appears that the wind will blow things away in the night" (figure 10). The exchanges are like spell and counter spell. Kintoki's performance is described as beyond comprehension or expression (*kokoro kotoba mo oyobazu maikereba* 心詞も不及まいけれは).

3. Warriors and Captives, *Yamabushi* and *Miko*

Raikō and his followers ostensibly defeat the demons through their martial prowess as sword wielders, but, as shown above, textual and visual clues suggest that, on some level, they succeed by supernatural means as well. This section takes this argument further by focusing on the *yamabushi* guise they take. These mountain ascetics were credited with great supernatural powers, including the ability to control and exorcise demons based on their knowledge of esoteric Buddhist practices and the yin-yang rituals that had spread beyond the confines of the imperial court over time.[30] This section proposes that the *yamabushi* guise of the warriors in the Suntory scrolls amounted to more than deceptive costuming. It also examines the portrayals of the captive ladies to argue that we can see at least some of their actions as echoing those of *miko* and other female mediums.

First, there is the arduous journey the warriors take. The practices of the *yamabushi* included two types of difficult journeys. One was travel in high and remote mountains as part of their training for becoming adepts. Another was the trance journeys of adepts to "the other world," which often took the form of visiting hell in a cave or a dragon palace in the mountains.[31] In both cases, the *yamabushi* depended on guidance: for physical journeys they chose *sendatsu* 先達 to lead them, and for spiritual ones, they had supernatural guides.[32] The difficult journey of Raikō and his followers through the mountains to the otherworldly land of human suffering controlled by Shuten Dōji shows clear parallels to both these practices. The Suntory version, perhaps only because it is more complete than the Itsuō version, highlights the rigors of their journey.

In the final stage of the journey through the mountains, they require the aid of the three gods: Sumiyoshi to lead and the other two to perform stupendous feats that make it possible for the warriors to cross ordinarily impassible mountains. At the same time, the text evokes the image of more mundane *sendatsu* guides, who lead others on pilgrimages into the mountains. In repeated passages, the warriors find themselves at an impasse until they

30 Miyake 2001, pp. 68–69, 104–107.
31 Iwasaki 1977.
32 Ōshima 2002, esp. p. 281, note 6.

Figure 11. Ladies leading the now-armored warriors through an open gate. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 3.

"take the three men as *sendatsu*" (*sannin no hitobito o sendatsu ni shite* 三人の人々を先達にして). Thus, the three entities parallel both the human and supernatural guides and protectors that *yamabushi* depended on.

Likewise, their vanquishing of the demons coincides with the exorcistic healing practices of *yamabushi*. Most tellingly, when the men have dressed for battle, only Raikō dons a helmet; every other warrior keeps on his *tokin* 兜巾 (figure 11), the cap which is one of the most distinctive elements of the mountain ascetic's apparel, representing a lotus-cap or the head protuberance apparent on representations of the Buddha.[33] The *tokin* also functions as a protective item for monks practicing mountain rituals. To the viewer who understands the *yamabushi* garb merely as a disguise, this pictorial element makes no sense: a samurai helmet would afford better protection from physical harm, as it does in the Itsuō version. The clear implication is that the battle ahead is not merely physical, but has some elements of an exorcism, for which the men require mystical protection. They are, on some level, clearly to be understood as *yamabushi*.

There is a subtler suggestion of this in the warriors groups' adherence to the esoteric Buddhist principle of the conversion of five elements to six. Among mountain ascetics, this finds visual and material expression in the *yuigesa* 結袈裟, a sort of surplice comprised of sashes running down each side of the torso and joined at the back into one that runs down the spine.[34] The *yuigesa* is adorned with a set of six circular attachments—four in front and two in back—that sometimes take the form of small pom-poms, but in the Suntory illustrations are medallions. There are five elements of the universe—water, fire, wood, metal, and earth—but, according to the esoteric Buddhist beliefs that were part of

33 Takahashi (1992, pp. 148–49) also stresses the identification with actual *yamabushi* and made the important observation about the warriors wearing the *yamabushi*'s tokin in battle. However, his focus is on constructing an argument about the formation and spread of the story and does not pay close attention to differences between the Suntory and Itsuō versions.

34 Miyake 2001, pp. 80–85.

shugendō's syncretic mix, the five elements on their own are inanimate. It is only when a sixth element—mind—is added that life exists, and *yuigesa* are a constant reminder of this. The Suntory version appears to put additional emphasis on the principle of a sixth element being added to five. The party begins as a group of five, but without explanation, Raikō adds Hōshō, who appears in the Itsuō version as his fellow general with his own retainers. I would argue that this is a visual representation of the need to bring the benevolent powers of the universe into alignment so as to support the exorcism of Shuten Dōji.

Another possible link to actual *yamabushi* is a subtle reference to Fudō Myōō, the divine exorcist and a major deity in the *shugendō* pantheon. Unlike the text of the Itsuō scrolls, that of the Suntory scrolls does not mention him directly. However, the weapons that the men wield when they attack Shuten Dōji, swords and binding chains, distinctly parallel those of Fudō, with his sword and binding cord.

I would also argue that the actions of some of the captive ladies parallel those of *miko* and other women who served as mediums, although less obviously.[35] To begin with, they serve as guides for the warriors/*yamabushi*, while they are in the realm of Shuten Dōji, a place separate from that controlled by human beings. In the Itsuō scrolls, the deities perform this function, but the deities in the Suntory scrolls vanish before their entry, appearing briefly only once to provide needed gifts and advice. The Suntory scrolls, textually, pictorially, and structurally, emphasize rather the role of the women as guides.

The importance of the *miko* as a ritual performer is suggested early on in the first Suntory scroll in the scene at Kumano Shrine, which shows one dancing and shaking a rattle with a *yamabushi* seated nearby. Various accounts make it clear that the pairing of *yamabushi* and *miko* was a mainstay of divinatory and exorcistic rites at Kumano. For example, an early episode in *Hōgen monogatari* 保元物語 shows a coordinated effort between a *miko* and forty *yamabushi* at Kumano to summon and communicate with a deity.[36] According to that account, the retired sovereign Toba-in 鳥羽院 (1103–1156) went to Kumano in 1155. While there, he received a disturbing omen and decided to petition the shrine deity Kumano Gongen 熊野権現. A "peerless *miko*" was given the task of calling down the deity. Although she started in the morning, she was not able to call the deity down into her by noon, so forty old *yamabushi* of great merit recited the *Wondrous Hannya Sutra* and prayed for a long time. At the same time, the *miko* threw her body on the ground and prayed, and the deity descended. After various manifestations of the deity's presence in her, he/she faced Toba, showed that he/she knew the nature of the omen, and explained that it meant that Toba-in would die the next autumn.

A key point here is that the role of a medium necessitated suffering on *her* part in order for the exorcist to relieve the suffering of others. We see the violence of possession even more clearly in the noh play called "Makiginu" 巻絹, which is generally thought to date to the fifteenth century and may be based on a much earlier tale.[37] Certainly, it would have been well known to military men and aristocrats. The *miko*/medium under possession danced and performed the divinity of the god, and then woke from her madness after the god had ascended. The suffering of non-*miko* female mediums appears in accounts of exorcism in

35 For a thorough introduction to the varied roles of *miko* in premodern Japan, see Meeks 2011.
36 Cited in Wakita 2001, pp. 35–36. A translation of the episode in full can be found in Wilson 2001, pp. 4–5.
37 Cited in Wakita 2001, p. 36.

Figure 12. Raikō and his men coming upon a woman washing bloodied garments in the stream. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 2.

Makura no sōshi 枕草子, where the effect of possession by a malignant spirit on the medium is related in some detail.[38] The *Makura no sōshi* text asserts that the suffering is the spirit's rather than hers, but it is difficult for the reader to separate the two. The young woman serving as medium trembles before she falls into a trance and is possessed. The text notes that she would be ashamed of her possessed self, and those who know her feel pity as she wails and writhes and cannot keep her clothing straight while the possessing spirit is being exorcised. The suffering of the *miko*/medium clearly makes it possible for the exorcist to engage with the possessing spirit and ultimately conquer it: she serves as an instrument for releasing others from suffering. Let us look at the relevant pictures more closely, beginning with the scene at the river.

In the Itsuō version, the men encounter an old woman at the riverside beside a tree on which hang simple pieces of cloth. It has been noted that this is close to the depictions of Datsueba 奪衣婆, the old hag who, in some East Asian belief systems, takes the clothes of those who have begun their journey after dying and that, on some level, the men are heading into the land of death itself.[39] In the Suntory version, in contrast, the men come upon a beautiful, distressed young woman in the act of rinsing blood out of a robe in the river (figure 12). The picture emphasizes the horror of what is happening to the young ladies abducted from the capital and introduces the image of the youthful victim. It also holds an important place in the development and structure of the narrative. In the Itsuō version,

38 Sei Shonagon 1971, pp. 460–63.

39 Takahashi 1992, p. 127, cited and elaborated upon in Komatsu 1997, pp. 26–27. For an introduction to Datsueba in English, see Saka 2017, especially pp. 191–93.

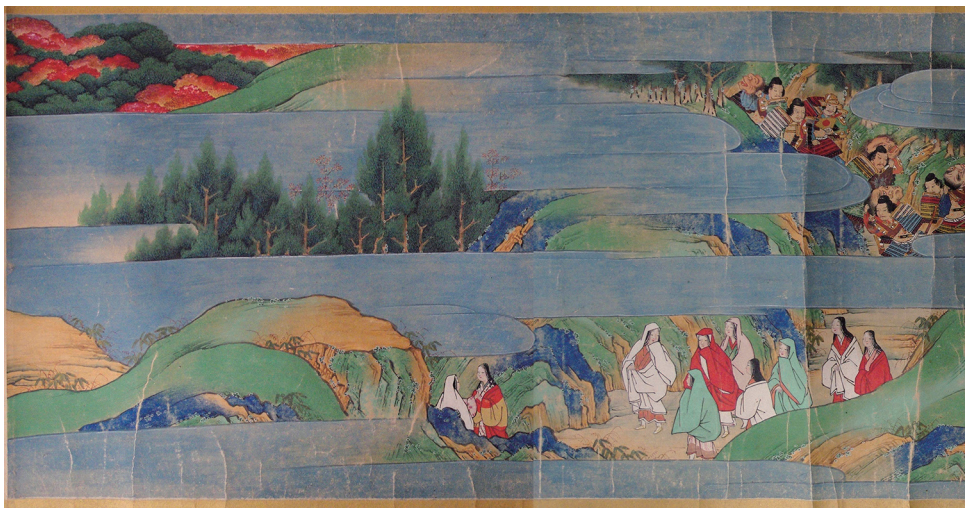

Figure 13. The men and the young ladies leaving the mountains with the ladies in the lead. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 3.

the gods accompany the men up the river and remain with them as guides throughout their entire sojourn in the realm of Shuten Dōji. In the Suntory scrolls, however, the gods depart before the men arrive at the river, and it is the young washerwoman who provides the warriors with information about the demons' dwelling and leads them to it. She does so at the start of the second scroll. This combination of a young woman wearing robes and red trousers (*hakama*) guiding men dressed as *yamabushi* evokes not just a medium but a *miko* and her role in revealing the causes of afflictions and means of curing.[40] The fact that she is possessed in a physical sense by a demon and is suffering merely heightens the association.

That association becomes stronger in the context of another scene of critical transition. At the beginning of the third scroll, when the warriors are heading off to find Shuten Dōji's sleeping chamber (figure 11), they are led by the two women who remained with them, their gestures of guidance clearly depicted. This scene is described in the text, but of itself this hardly meant that it had to be illustrated; in fact, later versions based on the Suntory scrolls often omitted depictions. Thus, we have both the second and third scrolls beginning with young women directing the men as they first penetrate into Shuten Dōji's realm, and as they set out to slay him, respectively. Such a structural parallel between scenes in which women provide guidance to warriors dressed as *yamabushi* in the first case and still wear the headgear of *yamabushi* in the second hardly seems the result of coincidence. One could, in fact, argue that a female figure plays a critical role even at the start of the first scroll, only in this case, it is through her absence. The entire motivation for the initial scene of divining by Seimei is the disappearance of Kunikata's daughter, and his findings about her ultimately set the warriors on their journey.

40 The trousers alone do not, of course, demand a reading of the women as stand-ins for *miko*. Trousers (*hakama*) were, in fact, required dress of all female palace attendants and the ones for ladies-in-waiting were generally red. See Takeda 1999, especially pp. 56–59. Further, there are studies that focus on the red trousers' relation to sexuality, for example Fujiwara 2002.

Figure 14. The Horie family mourning over the lock of hair. *Shuten Dōji emaki*, scroll 3.

Another transitional scene in which women take the lead appears near the end, when the party is coming out of the mountains after the men have completed their mission (figure 13). For no immediately apparent reason, the rescued women walk ahead of the men, something not called for by the text. It is as if to emphasize yet again the warriors' dependency on the women for guidance the entire time they are in this "other" place. After all, they do not have the direct guidance of the gods as in the Itsuō version.

Finally, the illustrations of the Suntory scrolls end not with the triumphal return to the capital, but with a scene of mourning over a lock of hair from the young woman whose body provided the flesh consumed by the men in order to deceive the demons (see figure 14). Its placement at the end just after the scene of the warriors' triumphal entry puts a final emphasis not on the men's achievement, but on the necessary, even sacrificial, contribution of a woman. Her physical consumption parallels the temporary spiritual consumption of the *miko* or other female medium as she is taken over in the rites of possession. Furthermore, the text tells us that her father devotes the rest of his life to Buddhist practices.[41] His daughter's sacrifice thus leads him on a spiritual quest of his own.

The scene by the river appears in the great majority of multi-scenic paintings of the story in handscroll or book format. However, the scenes of the two ladies leading the warriors to Shuten Dōji's resting place, the rescued ladies preceding the men out of the mountains, and the Horie family mourning are the ones most often omitted in later Suntory-inspired versions. Even the next oldest extant version, which is attributed to Motonobu's great-grandson, Takanobu 孝信 (1571–1618), and which closely follows many of his illustrations, omits all three scenes. This suggests that the ritual echoes had become less significant to

41 This resonance with the figure of the sacrificed woman with that of the *miko* should be seen in juxtaposition with, rather than contradiction to more Buddhist readings of dead female bodies serving as reminders of impermanence as discussed in, among other places, Kimbrough 2013, p. 40.

later producers and consumers, while the simple narrative of heroic men saving young women continued to hold attention. Such fading may also explain why the well-known figure of Seimei is replaced as diviner in some later versions by an obscure character named Muraoka no Masatoki 村岡政時.[42] Another possible explanation for the fading is that the connection with Kumano, famed for its *miko* mediums and *yamabushi* healers, was much more meaningful to those who worked on the Suntory version than to those who produced the many later variants. At the time that the Suntory scrolls were produced, Kumano was certainly one of the most prominent sites of *shugendō*, the religion of the *yamabushi*, and had close ties to the high echelons of the nobility. Konoe Hisamichi's own uncle Dōkō 道興 had been overseer (*kengyō*, *kenkō* 検校) in Kumano from 1465 to 1501, and his son, Dōzō 道増, held the same position from 1515 to 1551 while his father was working on the Suntory scrolls.[43] Dōkō had held great sway over Kumano pilgrimage guides (*sendatsu*), and himself practiced austerities in the mountains.[44] While Hisamichi's intentions are not the main concern of this essay, we can certainly see that his close relationship to Kumano helped give the Suntory scrolls their ultimate shape. Finally, the image of the Kumano *miko* was perhaps fading from the scene as other women, like the well-known Kumano *bikuni* 比丘尼, gained much more public prominence.

Conclusion

In choosing anti-demon rituals as a point of focus for this study of the Suntory scrolls, I drew inspiration from the work of Takahashi Masaaki, Hashimoto Hiroyuki, and others. I took their observations and conclusions about the Shuten Dōji story in general as a starting point for performing a close reading of one highly influential work with the goal of understanding its particular emphases and nuances. I believe that this analysis has shown that anti-demon rituals, experienced both directly and in literary accounts, such as tales of Seimei, played a significant part in shaping the work, especially in its illustrations and overall structure. While some features of the work are so striking that they suggest a certain level of intention in their inclusion, the larger argument is that the echoes of anti-demon rituals were there because they were meaningful as shared components of the medieval cultural imaginary.

This essay has expanded on Takahashi's observation that the *yamabushi* guise of the warriors is more than simply a disguise and that their demon quelling on the physical plane parallels those of the *yamabushi* exorcist on the spiritual one. It has shown that the gods served as *sendatsu* and that Fudō Myōō was evoked through the devices of binding chains and swords. The analysis of the visual representations of Raikō and two of his followers demonstrates that they overlap with those of Abe no Seimei and En no Gyōja and their paired supernatural assistants. Those assistants in turn have parallels in anti-demon figures in *shushōe* rituals such as Bishamonten and the Dragon King and paired *gohō dōji*. Finally, to the best of my knowledge, this study suggests for the first time that the female figures represent not only the victims of demons, but agents in their destruction. In doing so, they parallel the *miko*, even if they do so in a less obvious way than the warriors parallel the

42 I am grateful to Keller Kimbrough for this suggestion.
43 Shingū-shi 2018.
44 Kornicki and McMullen 1996, pp. 132–33.

yamabushi/exorcist. This role is instantiated in the very structure of the handscrolls and in the women's critical roles as guides, something not seen in the earlier Itsuō scrolls.

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Natsume Sōseki's English Translation of *Hōjōki*: Characteristics and Strategies[1]

Gouranga Charan PRADHAN

This paper examines the English-language translation of *Hōjōki* by famed novelist Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916). Sōseki's pioneering translation moved away from previous interpretive readings of the classic, which focused on its Buddhist elements, disaster narratives, and theme of reclusion. Rather, Sōseki's interest lay in reading *Hōjōki* as a Romantic Victorian work on nature, to which end he likened its author, Kamo no Chōmei (1153 or 1155–1216), to English poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850). Sōseki's English literature professor, James Main Dixon (1856–1933), played a crucial role in the crafting of this novel and radical interpretation, yet the translation and essay present unique views on translation as well, namely that translation simultaneously comprises a critical element of cultural circulation and yet is of dubious efficacy as a mechanism of transference between cultures and languages. In addition to bringing such matters to light, this critical analysis of Sōseki's *Hōjōki* translation and essay also shows how important perspectives on translation that would appear later in the novelist's career actually took shape during his university days.

Keywords: Sōseki and translation, Japanese literary circulation, reception of *Hōjōki*, Kamo no Chōmei, medieval Japanese literature

Introduction

The English translation of *Hōjōki* 方丈記 (An Account of My Hut, 1212) by Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916), in the year 1891, marks one of the earliest efforts to translate Japanese literary works into Western languages; it is also among the initial foreign-language translation attempts of a Japanese work by a Japanese person. Studying Sōseki's translation affords a glimpse into the making of Sōseki, arguably the greatest Japanese novelist representing the Meiji era, and sheds important light on the journey of *Hōjōki*, a classical Japanese work, beyond its native borders. Few studies exist on this topic in any language, and scholarship on *Hōjōki* in Japanese and English often relegates this particular translation

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to the footnotes.[2] Some scholars attribute the lack of interest in Sōseki's *Hōjōki* translation to the indifference displayed by Sōseki's early disciples, an attitude that subsequent scholars simply followed.[3] What Willis Barnstone describes as the "shame of translation" also helps to explain the lowly position of the translation within Sōseki's oeuvre.[4] Alternatively, we might connect the disinterest with the fact that Sōseki undertook the translation during his university days, a period that has not yet received adequate scholarly attention.

The precise reasons for the neglect of Sōseki's translation may be unclear, but there are many key questions that remain unanswered due to this academic apathy. What, for instance, drew Sōseki to read a medieval text famous for its Buddhist leanings particularly regarding the notion of impermanence, or *mujōkan* 無常観, in terms of Victorian-era romantic writings on nature? More fundamentally, what led Sōseki, who for the most part of his career was apprehensive about the efficacy of translation, to take on such a task in the first place? What did the younger Sōseki think of translation as a textual practice? To engage and unravel these questions, my argument unfolds in three parts. First, I construct a brief historiography of *Hōjōki* and its interpretations. In the second section, I discuss Sōseki's novel interpretation of the classic and the factors that likely shaped it. The final section of the paper explores Sōseki's thoughts on translation, with reference to his *Hōjōki* translation. I specifically focus on a small but critical essay authored by Sōseki about *Hōjōki* that formed part of his translation project, and I also consider such matters as textual additions, omissions, and stylistic features. The approach I adopt here allows us to explore not only the world of the young Sōseki—his views on translation and the philosophy of literature—but also, and more generally, the reception history of *Hōjōki* in the Western world and the role of translation during Japan's modern transition.

1. The Historical Reception of *Hōjōki*

With a readership history extending over eight hundred years, Kamo no Chōmei's 鴨長明 *Hōjōki* is an undeniable classic in the history of Japanese literature.[5] Generations of authors, scholars, and ordinary readers have evoked the work time and again, and continue to do so. The earliest mention of *Hōjōki* may be traced to *Kankyo no tomo* 閑居友 (1222), a collection of Buddhist tales that was compiled roughly ten years after *Hōjōki*'s composition.[6] Many medieval works, including *Jikkinshō* 十訓抄 (1252), *Bunkidan* 文机談 (1272), *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (thirteenth century), *Shūsōshō* 拾藻鈔 (1334), *Hitorigoto* ひとりごと (1467), *Tōsai zuihitsu* 東斎随筆 (fifteenth century), *Saigyō monogatari* 西行物語 (late Kamakura era), subsequently referred to it. *Hōjōki* began to receive scholarly attention early in the Edo period (1603–1868), resulting in the production of several annotated texts. Moreover, several parodies that imitated *Hōjōki*'s disaster narratives emerged at that time as symbols of criticism against the Tokugawa administration's inefficiency in handling

2 Shimonishi Zenzaburō (1983, 1990, 1994 and 1996) has published most of the research on Sōseki's *Hōjōki* translation, yet not on the reception of *Hōjōki* or the possible factors shaping Sōseki's interpretation of it. He has also not discussed Sōseki's views on translation. For other brief treatments of Sōseki's *Hōjōki* translation, see Morikawa 1992, Matsuoka 1998, Matsumoto 1999, Sakamoto 2002, Matsui 2012, and Matsui 2013.

3 Refer to Shimonishi 1983, p. 23.

4 Barnstone 1993, p. 9.

5 Imamura 1997. See also Suzuki 2016, p. 204.

6 Imanari 1991, pp. 33–34; Imamura 1997, p. 159.

such natural disasters as famine and fire. The popularity of *Hōjōki* flourished when it was included as part of school curricula during the Meiji period (1868–1910). It continues to be part of the middle and high school curriculum today. Many prominent figures from the modern era, literary and otherwise, found the work compelling enough to comment upon it again and again. Apart from Sōseki, these include, for example, novelists Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1891–1927), Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫 (1892–1964), and Hotta Yoshie 堀田善衛 (1918–1998), cartoonist Mizuki Shigeru 水木しげる (1922–2015), and architect Kuma Kengo 隈研吾 (1954–).

It is difficult to pinpoint a single reason underlying *Hōjōki*'s popularity, although the brevity of the work—hardly thirty pages—and its easy-to-understand narrative have surely contributed to its widespread fame. The reception history of *Hōjōki*, however, suggests that its three conspicuous themes might have been the main draw over the centuries. The *Hōjōki* was best known for its exploration of the Buddhist concept of impermanence (*mujōkan*) until the Meiji era at least. Medieval writers, for example, repeatedly highlighted this. Indeed, the popularity of impermanence in the religious and literary discourses of medieval Japan may have partly prompted Chōmei to write *Hōjōki*.[7] Japan's frequent natural disasters and civil wars during the medieval period provided ample occasions for writers to reference *Hōjōki*, as in *Heike monogatari* and *Jikkinshō*.[8] In addition to direct references to various Buddhist allegories throughout, *Hōjōki* depicts in animated detail how Chōmei abandoned the capital city of Kyoto to spend the last part of his life as a Buddhist recluse on Mt. Hino 日野山. So strong is *Hōjōki*'s Buddhist flavor that an abridged version (*ryakuhon Hōjōki* 略本方丈記) that omitted the disaster descriptions all together was even produced. This version of the work was especially popular among Buddhist followers who idealized Chōmei's reclusion and considered the work a sacred religious text.[9]

In the work's detailed descriptions of Chōmei's reclusion in a tiny mountain hut on Mt. Hino, we find another theme frequently highlighted by *Hōjōki* readers over the centuries. *Hōjōki* was even accorded a special place in the medieval genre of "recluse literature" (*inja no bungaku* 隠者文学). Despite being Buddhist, Chōmei was lackadaisical in his spiritual regime, preferring to engage in mundane activities such as composing *waka* poems and music. He did not consider indulging in music and poetry to be sacrilegious, but rather a means for seeking salvation in the tumultuous context of medieval Japan. Chōmei's manner of reclusive living came to be considered something of a model for subsequent generations, garnering praise from the authors of *Kankyo no tomo* and *Hitorigoto* among others.

Disaster narrative is the third most popular theme in *Hōjōki* that evoked immense interest from readers. Chōmei recounts five natural and man-made disasters in *Hōjōki* as symbols of material ephemerality in fact. Disaster-related depictions occupy more than half of the work's total space. In addition to medieval works like *Heike monogatari*, several Edo-era works were produced under the direct influence of *Hōjōki*'s disaster narratives. For instance, books written in *kana* (*kanazōshi* 仮名草子) such as *Kanameishi* (かなめいし, 1662) and *Inu Hōjōki* (犬方丈記, 1682) imitate *Hōjōki*'s disaster accounts but present them

7 See Nishida 1970.

8 The author of *Heike monogatari* adopted several disaster narratives from *Hōjōki* as examples of ephemerality, and the opening lines of *Jikkinshō* illustrate the universality of impermanence à la *Hōjōki*. For more on this, see Saeki 1986.

9 Taguchi 1978.

in contemporary terms. As previous studies suggest, the famous *Meireki* 明暦 inferno of 1657 triggered the production of a series of annotated versions of *Hōjōki*, for the authors of these texts discern that the disaster narratives of this work will find wide readership in the aftermath of the great fire.[10] Subsequently, many literary figures from the Meiji era onward, including the aforementioned Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Uchida Hyakken 内田百閒, and Hotta Yoshie, likened their own disaster experiences to that of *Hōjōki*. Akutagawa's *Honjo ryōgoku* 本所両国 (1927) depicts the aftermath of the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923. Uchida and Hotta recalled *Hōjōki* while recollecting their own World War II experiences. More recently, a number of scholars have revisited *Hōjōki*'s disaster accounts from an ecocritical perspective following the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and tsunami disasters. As evident from the said examples, *Hōjōki*'s readers often equate their own circumstances to the work's narratives which shaped their interpretation of the work.[11]

Rather than being mutually exclusive, however, the three themes discussed above—impermanence, reclusion, and disaster—often overlap and are frequently discussed in concert by *Hōjōki*'s readers. Sōseki, on the other hand, rejected all these historical interpretations, presenting instead an altogether new reading.

2. Sōseki's Essay and Reading of *Hōjōki*

2-1. Constructing the Interpretative Schema

When Sōseki translated *Hōjōki* at the request of his English literature professor, James Main Dixon, in 1891, he rendered the title in English as "A Translation of Hojio=ki with a Short Essay on It." The essay is barely six pages long but provides a rare glimpse into the mind of the young Sōseki, one that reflects his concerns about the fundamental issues involving literature and translation practices, albeit in a rudimentary manner. Sōseki devotes nearly the entire essay to expressing his thoughts on diverse matters such as literary works, authors, the process whereby certain works become popular and, thus, worthy of translation (while others do not). References in the essay to *Hōjōki* or its author are few and far between. Sōseki, at the time an undergraduate student, seems to have used the essay as a venue to showcase his critical and academic understanding, and to impress Dixon. The translation may have been a mere "class assignment" for Dixon, as some scholars have suggested, yet it was also an opportunity for Sōseki to demonstrate his academic acumen and seriousness.[12]

For reasons discussed in the third section of the paper, Sōseki did not translate the *Hōjōki* in its entirety; he considered it unnecessary to treat all the disaster narratives. His efforts, nevertheless, mark the first attempt to translate *Hōjōki* into a foreign language. Sōseki deserves recognition for his role in the early transmission of Japanese literature beyond the borders of Japan. It should be noted that Dixon used Sōseki's translation later to produce a new English-language version of *Hōjōki*, which was published in the *Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan* in 1893, and thus made widely available to a foreign readership.[13]

10 Yanase 1969.

11 See, for example, Kato and Allen 2014 for an ecocritical examination of *Hōjōki*. For *Hōjōki*'s contemporariness, refer to Araki 2014, p. 261.

12 Shimonishi 1983, p. 24.

13 Dixon 1892a, pp. 193–204; Dixon 1892b, pp. 205–15.

Sōseki opens his essay with a discussion of two fundamental literary issues: categories of authors and characteristics of their works. He then spends more than half of the essay explaining his philosophy of literature. Sōseki makes no reference to *Hōjōki* until the latter half of the third page out of a total of six pages. A cursory reading of the first part of the essay offers the impression of a simple introduction; a closer look, however, reveals that the introductory remarks are vital to his overall interpretation of the classic. That is, they function as a literary schema upon which Sōseki develops his arguments. The essay begins as follows:

> The literary products of a genius contain everything. They are a mirror in which every one finds his image, reflected with startling exactitude. […] The works of a talented man, on the other hand, contain nothing. There we find fine words, finely linked together. […] But then they are only set up for show. […] Again there is a class of literary production which stands half-way between the above two and which will perhaps be most clearly defined by the name "works of enthusiasm." Books of this class are not meant for all men in all conditions, as are those of a genius, nor are they written from the egoistic object of being read, nor as a pastime of leisure hours, as those of a talent, but they are the outcome of some strong conviction which satiating the author's mind finds his outlet either in form of a literary composition or in that of natural eloquence.[14]

Writing in impeccable English, Sōseki groups authors and their works into three different categories: the genius, the talented, and those authors who fall somewhere in between the two categories. Literary productions of the "genius," according to Sōseki, are of the finest quality, and all readers can enjoy them in any situation: they transcend individual preferences and times. The works of "talented" authors, on the other hand, receive only momentary attention. In Sōseki's view, their fine words and sentiments are linked together for show, and slip from the mind like a mirage soon after striking the reader. The works of the in-between group, Sōseki continues, are born spontaneously from the strong internal urges of their authors. These works may not be suitable for everybody in all conditions, yet at their best they are tantamount to works of genius; at their worst, they still attract some readers. *Hōjōki*, according to Sōseki, belongs to the in-between category: it is neither a genius-level, outstanding piece, nor a talented author's mediocre work.

We can gauge that this tripartite categorization was of great importance to Sōseki. First, these categories developed into much more robust academic propositions in his later works. In *Bungakuron* 文学論 (1907), for instance, Sōseki presents a detailed debate on the various categories of authors and the characteristics of their respective works. *Bungakuron* also features the subject of human genius and its relationship with creativity, which appeared in embryonic form in his *Hōjōki* essay. Sōseki's interest in human intelligence and creativity remained a career-long obsession, and seems connected to the heated academic debates on

14 Natsume 1996b, pp. 373–51.

the topic in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century.[15] Unsurprisingly, Sōseki's personal book collection housed at Tohoku University contains an 1891 edition of Cesare Lombroso's *The Man of Genius*, an influential work on anthropological criminology that contains detailed treatments of human intelligence. 1891 is, incidentally, the year in which Sōseki translated *Hōjōki*. Thomas Carlyle, a major figure in Lombroso's volume, seems to have exerted a profound influence on Sōseki as well. Sōseki visited Carlyle's museum in London during his studies there, and even penned an essay about his visit. Second, and more relevant to the argument here, the aforementioned categorization served as the analytical platform upon which Sōseki built his new interpretation of *Hōjōki*. As I will argue, this literary schema permitted Sōseki to disregard *Hōjōki*'s historical interpretations and propose a new reading of his own.

2-2. Reading Hōjōki *as a Romantic Nature Work*

Sōseki positions *Hōjōki* in a middle category of literary works that were authored by neither a genius nor a talented author, then evaluates Chōmei's way of life in the following manner:

> An apparition, possibly, the following piece [*Hōjōki*] may seem to most of us, inasmuch as only a few can nowadays resist its angry isolation and sullen estrangement from mankind, still fewer can recognise their own features reflected in it. Philosophical arguments too may be urged against the author's narrow-minded pessimism, his one-sided view of life, his complete renunciation of social and family bonds.[16]

Sōseki here criticizes Chōmei's reclusion and even labels him a misanthrope, an altogether unheard-of characterization of the twelfth-century Buddhist recluse. At no point in the long reception history of *Hōjōki* do we find any mention of Chōmei disliking humanity. The generally accepted view of Chōmei's leaving the capital city Kyoto, and entering a life of reclusion frames his actions as a response to his failure to secure a priestly position in a family shrine, as his predecessors had done. We can understand Sōseki's choice of terminology by looking at nineteenth-century Western literature, in which misanthropy constituted a major theme.[17] The word "misanthrope" appears in Sōseki's notes and letters from his university days, which has led scholars to argue that his own troubled childhood and family problems may have influenced his decision to brand Chōmei as such.[18] This particular argument is curious, however, as *Hōjōki* had already been canonized for its Buddhist tropes of reclusion and solitariness. Nevertheless, Sōseki reconstrued Chōmei's

15 See chapter five of *Bungakuron* on the theme of "genius." For a detailed discussion on this subject matter, see Takahashi 2010 and 2011. It is well known that both Kant and Schopenhauer, two Western philosophers interested in human cognition and intelligence, exerted a profound influence on Sōseki. On this, see Park 2003 and Mochizuki 2012. A detailed discussion on the Western debate over this matter can be found in Higgins 2007, pp. 12–20.

16 Natsume 1996b, p. 371 (126). Author's note: p. 371 and p. 126 are the Japanese and English pagination respectively. Same applies hereafter.

17 For instance, Hippolyte Taine's *The History of English Literature* (1872), which discusses misanthropy, is held in Sōseki's collection. Similarly, Sōseki was a great admirer of George Meredith's *Egoist* (1879), which also discussed the subject in detail.

18 Sōseki, in a letter dated 9 August 1890 and addressed to his friend Masaoka Shiki, uses the term "misanthropic disease 病" to describe his present state. See Shimonishi 1994b. Also refer to Natsume 1996a, pp. 21–24.

reclusion in terms of a "narrow-minded pessimism."[19] This manner of interpretation, applied to the threefold literary schema discussed above, elevates a "genius" like William Wordsworth (1770–1850) to a much higher position. Chōmei's lifestyle choices, at least for Sōseki, were not praiseworthy.

Sōseki's motivation for categorizing authors becomes apparent when he offers a comparison of Chōmei and Wordsworth later in the essay. Despite the obvious differences between a twelfth-century Buddhist recluse in Japan and a nineteenth-century Romantic poet in England, the essay draws distinct parallels between the two men. Sōseki was less interested in traditional interpretations of *Hōjōki*, and he does not seem to have been moved by its religious elements or disaster narratives; rather, he consciously constructed a new reading of the work and Wordsworth was the lens through which he did it.

> With all that, the work recommends itself to some of us for two reasons: first, for the grave but not defiant tone with which the author explains the proper way of living, and represents the folly of pursuing shadows of happiness; second for his naïve admiration of nature as something capable of giving him temporary pleasure, and his due respect for what was noble in his predecessors.[20]

Here, Sōseki offers two justifications for the reader to pay heed to the *Hōjōki*: first, Chōmei's modest way of life and refusal to pursue worldly happiness; and second, his "naïve admiration of nature." For many, or even most, Chōmei's reclusion made for one of the work's most compelling themes, and his secluded life came to be seen as something of a model for aspiring recluses. The ingenuity of Sōseki's interpretation, however, lies in his novel characterization of Chōmei as a nature lover. Sōseki must have been aware of *Hōjōki*'s earlier interpretations, as one of the two source texts he used for translation, *Hōjōki ryūsuishō* 方丈記流水抄 (1719), contains perhaps the most exhaustive corpus of annotations and commentaries of all versions.[21] It is thus difficult to believe that Sōseki was unaware of the work's historical interpretations. While his ignoring of the earlier interpretations of the work is intriguing, his allusion to Victorian views of nature in his interpretation of Chōmei's thoughts is what makes his interpretation unique. His emphasis on Chōmei's love of nature is certainly intentional; Sōseki later compares Chōmei's view of nature with that of Wordsworth as a means of defending his decision to explicate Chōmei as nature lover.

After presenting Chōmei as a nature lover, Sōseki explains how he lacks a Romantic Wordsworthian view of nature, which was comprehensive and humane:

19 Natsume 1996b, p. 371 (126).

20 Natsume 1996b, p. 371 (126).

21 One of the two source texts that Sōseki referred to for the translation was an Edo-era annotated version called *Hōjōki ryūsuishō*. This text is one of the most comprehensive annotated versions of *Hōjōki* ever produced with references to all the historical interpretations of the work, making it impossible to believe that Sōseki was unaware of other readings of *Hōjōki*. For further details, see Shimonishi 1990.

> It is an inconsistency that a man Chōmei who is so decidedly pessimistic in tendency should turn to inanimate nature as the only object of his sympathy. For physical environments, however sublime and beautiful, can never meet our sympathy with sympathy. […] After all, nature is dead. Unless we recognize in her the presence of a spirit, as Wordsworth does, we cannot prefer her to man, nay we cannot bring her on the same level as the latter, as our object of sympathy.[22]

Sōseki first brands Chōmei as a misanthrope; now he observes that Chōmei embraced the physical qualities of nature for consolation. Chōmei's utterly material view of nature means for Sōseki that he lacked the ability to recognize its spirit, as Wordsworth had. Wordsworth conceived of nature as a manifestation of divine spirit, something deeply infused with animism. As with Sōseki, who yearned for an animate and spirited nature, Wordsworth's view of nature was highly humanized.

In truth, the notion that Chōmei sought solace in an inanimate nature was a deliberate strategy—a plan crafted by Sōseki to fit *Hōjōki* into his own interpretative agenda. However, Sōseki never clearly states which descriptions of *Hōjōki* his interpretation is based on, and neither the text itself nor other works that reference it contain descriptions of nature that match Sōseki's charges. To the contrary, Chōmei's account of the surroundings of his mountain hut, for instance natural scenes like the purple clouds, boughs of wisteria flowers, and the direction of West all carry religious connotations. Considered in light of popular medieval Buddhist discourses, Sōseki's "material nature" in fact points to Chōmei's Buddhist leanings. Discourse on inherent enlightenment (*hongaku* 本覚), which proposed that all animate and inanimate objects of nature are inherently enlightened and hence considered as the Buddha, flourished in the medieval Tendai school of Buddhism, of which Chōmei was a patron.[23] Similarly, discourse on the enlightenment of inanimate objects (*sōmoku jōbutsu* 草木成仏; lit. Buddhahood of grasses and trees) also became popular in the medieval period. Chōmei likely inserted popular Buddhist allegories as a form of "expedient means" (*hōben* 方便), intended to guide readers on the Buddhist path. This is a far cry from what Sōseki criticized as a merely physical environment.[24] But why did Sōseki choose to ignore the distinctive Buddhist elements of *Hōjōki* and read it in terms of romantic nature writing?

2-3. Dixon's Role in Shaping Sōseki's Interpretation

Shifts in a work's interpretation do not signal a problem or error, per se. Long ago, Roland Barthes freed the reader from the authorial control of the historical writer.[25] Barthes proposed that, although the author pens a text, the reader puts together the story from the text during the reading process. Likewise, the reader's individual circumstances leave an imprint on the new narrative thus construed. Interpreted in the aforesaid way, Sōseki's reading of *Hōjōki* as a work of nature is important of its own accord; but the factors lying behind this original interpretation are equally crucial, as they mark a shift in the work's

22 Natsume 1996b, pp. 371–70 (126–27).
23 Stone 1995.
24 See Sueki 2015 for a detailed discussion of *sōmoku jōbutsu*. For the concept of *hōben* in medieval Japanese Buddhism, refer to Leighton 2006, pp. 202–205.
25 Barthes 1977.

readership history. Several works published subsequently in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America and England, for example, follow Sōseki's interpretation of *Hōjōki*.[26] It may appear that Sōseki's reading of *Hōjōki* was merely an outcome of his English literature studies at university, but there was another crucial factor that determined his interpretation. Although Sōseki pioneered the new reading, it was his English literature professor Dixon who likely provided the invisible force majeure behind it. Unfortunately, no documentary evidence exists that directly discusses Dixon's request to Sōseki, nor did Sōseki leave much information about the prompt for the translation project. Yet circumstantial evidence suggests that our hypothesis may not be wrong.

Gideon Toury's notion of "norms" that arise in the act of translation proves helpful in this regard.[27] Toury shows that translation involves at least two sets of norm-systems, that is, at least two languages and two cultural traditions. He states that the translator has usually two options to choose from. Either they faithfully follow the source text, preserving its associated linguistic and cultural norms, or prioritize the norms active in the target culture instead. Adopting the first stance helps to ensure that the translation conforms to the source text's basic linguistic system, but it may cause incompatibilities with the target norms and practices. Opting for the second stance entails a shift away from the source text, but one that can enhance the chance of the translation's acceptability in the target culture. Let us apply this theoretical framework to Sōseki's *Hōjōki*, which was governed to a certain extent by the expectations of Dixon.

It seems clear that Sōseki's translation strategy was geared toward acceptability. That is, Sōseki sought to interpret *Hōjōki* in a manner easily accessible for Dixon's different cultural milieu, and what better way than to present the work by way of comparison with English literature, which was Dixon's area of expertise. This explains why Sōseki makes extensive use of quotations in his translation from popular English literary works, such as Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and Goldsmith's *The Hermit*. It formed part of his attempt to draw a parallel between *Hōjōki* and these works. He quotes relevant parts from these works that portray the themes of mundane ephemerality and reclusion, two motifs also prominent in *Hōjōki*. We might even say that Sōseki's choice of interpretation was requisite to facilitate Dixon's understanding of an alien work. Sōseki's concern about whether his translation would help Dixon fully appreciate such a popular Japanese work is evident:

> After all, my claim as regards this translation is fully vindicated if it proves itself readable. For its literary finish and elegance, I leave it to others to satisfy you.[28]

Doubt and uncertainty over the efficacy of translation, which manifests itself briefly in his *Hōjōki* essay and then again in later works, plagued Sōseki throughout his life. He worried that foreign readers would find it difficult to comprehend an alien work like *Hōjōki*, owing

26 A series of works followed Sōseki's interpretation of *Hōjōki*. These include, for example, *Sunrise Stories: A Glance at the Literature of Japan* (1896), *Hōjōki: A Japanese Thoreau of the Twelfth Century* (1905), and *Myths and Legends of Japan* (1912).

27 Toury 1995. Further, Andrew Chesterman's "expectancy norms" in acts of translation stipulates that a translator's strategies are inevitably shaped by the expectations of the perceived readers. See Chesterman 2016, pp. 79–84.

28 Natsume 1996b, p. 368 (129).

to Japan's radical cultural and linguistic differences. Therefore, Sōseki likely interpreted *Hōjōki* as a work of nature out of consideration for the expectations of the target reader.

Why though did Sōseki regard Chōmei as inferior to Wordsworth? Sōseki's vulnerability as a student might have played a role in this regard. A comparison of Sōseki's essay and Dixon's article mentioned below reveals that the arguments which Dixon covered were identical to those appearing in Sōseki's essay.[29] For instance, the primary focus of Dixon's article, "Chōmei and Wordsworth: A Literary Parallel," was "nature," as it was in Sōseki's essay. Dixon discusses at great length how the treatment of nature with its spiritual connotation was a defining aspect of English literary traditions. He further proposes that the portrayal of nature in English literature, from the Elizabethan era through the Romantic age, radically differed from that of Chōmei's milieu. Dixon's criticism of Chōmei as a misanthrope and his view of nature as material also duplicate Sōseki's earlier charges. Surely it is no coincidence that Dixon re-presented nearly all of Sōseki's arguments. It is apparent that Dixon used Sōseki as a native informant to further his own scholarly reputation by appropriating the latter's ideas. Perhaps Dixon even instructed Sōseki to cover these specific themes in his translation assignment. Dixon's search for "cultural equivalence" in the Orient, to borrow Inaga Shigemi's words, was perhaps what influenced Sōseki's interpretation.[30] Keeping this in mind, we may now move to discuss Sōseki's thoughts on translation practice, as they appear in his *Hōjōki* essay.

3. Sōseki on Translation as Textual Practice

3-1. Japanese Language and Culture as Hieroglyphic

Owing to a long-standing lacuna of academic interest in Sōseki's *Hōjōki* translation, few serious studies have examined his ideas on translation in general.[31] Available sources do suggest, however, that he recognized the critical role translation played in the sphere of cultural circulation, even if he simultaneously maintained an incredulous stance towards the practice. As already noted, Sōseki doubted the efficacy of translation in communicating cultural nuances across linguistic barriers. We find several instances throughout Sōseki's career that demonstrate his apprehension. Michael Bourdaghs argues that the unequal world order of the early twentieth century caused Sōseki's abhorrence of translation and reluctance to join the evolving body of "world literature."[32] In his discussion of *Bungakuron* in the context of world literature, Bourdaghs references the fate of Rabindranath Tagore, Asia's first Noble Prize winner for literature, at the hands of his European colonial masters as an example of why Sōseki did not want his work to become part of Eurocentric "world

29 Dixon 1892a.

30 Inaga 2017, p. 298.

31 Kawai Shōichirō has written about Sōseki's thoughts on translation in reference to an article in the *Asahi shinbun* in which he criticized Tsubouchi Shōyō's staged performance of *Hamlet*. See Kawai 2008.

32 Bourdaghs 2012, pp. 2–7. On nineteenth-century world literature, see Damrosch 2003 and Casanova 2004. Even though Sōseki was reluctant to join the contemporaneous "world literature," he did not mind gifting a signed copy of his famous *I am a Cat* (1905) to James Carleton Young (1856–1918, mentioned as "Mr. Young" in *Sōseki zenshū* 1996b, p. 284), an American bibliophile who was on a mission to build a library of world literature that would house the "best in contemporary literature" from around the world. But when Young's project failed, his collection of books along with Sōseki's autographed copy of *I am a Cat* was auctioned, which somehow found a way to its current location in the Harvard Library. Refer to "Inscribed Books from the Library Collected by James Carleton Young, part 2." (The Anderson Galleries, Inc., New York, Nov. 1916), p. 59, for Young's collections and mention about Sōseki's book.

literature." Tagore's brief acclaim in Europe was a direct result of contemporary modernists like Ezra Pound and W. B. Yeats highly exoticising the former's works. But it was the same modernists who called Tagore a "sheer fraud" that led to his star quickly fading away from the European literary horizon.[33] Sōseki, therefore, wished for his works to forever remain as "hieroglyphics" to the Occident.

In a well-known episode from Sōseki's later career, the novelist criticizes a Japanese version of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* that was translated by and staged under the direction of Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遥 (1859–1935). Sōseki commented in a 1911 *Asahi shinbun* column that the mere translating of an English work would not move Japanese audiences in the same way that the original English version would an English audience. Following is a brief excerpt from his essay.

> Dr. Tsubouchi's translation is an example of translational fidelity. Unless one experiences the immense difficulties encountered to produce a translation, he will find it difficult even to imagine the level of efforts that Dr. Tsubouchi might have put to bring this translation to fruition. I admire him for his wonderful efforts. However, I greatly deplore his complete lack of consideration of his audiences caused by the extreme level of fidelity he showed towards Shakespeare's original work. […] Shakespeare's dramas, due to their very nature, make a Japanese translation impossible. If someone still tries to translate them, it is just like ignoring the feelings of the Japanese people. While translating a work is still fine in itself, his attempt to satisfy our artistic tastes through this translation is like committing an absurdity. It is as absurd as a claim that a person who never tasted alcohol would drink wine just because he was offered wine in place of Japanese saké. Dr. Tsubouchi should have chosen one among the two available options: either he remains faithful to Shakespeare's works, and forgets about staging Shakespeare's drama, or becomes an unfaithful translator to conduct Shakespeare's drama.[34]

In sum, Sōseki considers the "aesthetic satisfaction" of the target audience of paramount concern to the translator; this was the primary ground for his criticism of Tsubouchi's performance. Sōseki further alleges that translation has inherent limitations, which hinder the effective transference of complex cultural and artistic nuances that the author has infused into a work of art. He proffers the radical view that a piece of translation cannot satisfy the target audience's aesthetic urges unless it manipulates the source text and expresses concern for the "fidelity" of the source text and message of the author. For Sōseki, the inherent limitations of translation forces a translator either to stay loyal to the source text, sacrificing in the process the desire to meet the literary aesthetics of his implied target audience, or to manipulate the source text for the sake of the target audience. He was thus convinced of the impossibility of recreating the original literary effect of a piece of work as it was conceived by the author. These were the thoughts of a mature Sōseki after his reputation as an esteemed literary figure had been established.

33 Rogers 2016, pp. 248–59.
34 Translation by the present author. See Natsume 1995 for the Japanese original.

The foregoing incident sheds light on Sōseki's views toward translation practice as they appeared in his *Hōjōki* essay. Sōseki closes the essay with the following remarks:

> In rendering this little piece into English, I have taken some pains to preserve the Japanese construction as far as possible. But owing to the radical difference both of the nature of language and the mode of expression, I was obliged, now and then, to take liberties and to make omissions and insertions. Some annotations have also been inserted where it seemed necessary. If they be of the slightest use in the way of clearing up the difficulties of the text, my object is gained. After all, my claim as regards this translation is fully vindicated, if it proves itself readable. For its literary finish and elegance, I leave it to others to satisfy you.[35]

The "pains" Sōseki speaks of here are none other than the "immense difficulties" he refers to in the *Asahi shinbun* article cited above, and the reason why he appreciated Tsubouchi's efforts. Yet it is the "radical difference both of the nature of language and the mode of expression" across languages that makes translation a difficult task. In Sōseki's view, the translator must from the outset clarify his or her objective—whether to remain faithful to the source text or make the translation "readable" to the target audience by making "omissions and insertions." Recalling Toury's translation norms, we can see that Sōseki chose to frame his translation in such a way as to fit the cultural and linguistic norms of the target culture. He chose to craft a translation that would be comprehensible to his target reader, Professor Dixon, and accordingly made various semantic and syntactic adjustments. Comparing passages from Sōseki's English translation with the Japanese source text will further demonstrate his reader-oriented translation strategy:

> *Sōseki translation*: Walls standing side by side, tilings vying with one another in loftiness, these are from generations past the abodes of high and low in a mighty town. But none of them has resisted the destructive work of time. Some stand in ruins, others are replaced by new structures. Their possessors too share the same fate with them.[36]
> *Hōjōki ryūsuishō*: 玉しきの都の中に。むねをならべいらかをあらそへる。たかきいやしき人のすまいは。代々をへてつきせぬものなれど。これをまことかとたづぬれば。むかしありし家はまれなり。或は去年やぶれてことしハつれり。あるハ大家はほろひて小家となる。すむ人も是におなじ。[37]
> *Hōjōki shinchū* (方丈記: 新註): 玉敷の都のうちに、棟を並べ、甍をあらそへる、たかき、いやしき、人の住居ハ、代々をへて、尽きせぬものなれど、是を、まことかとたづぬれバ、むかしありし家ハまれなり。あるハ、去年やぶれて今年ハ作り、あるハ、大家ほろびて小家となる。すむ人も、是におなじ。[38]

It will be apparent that Sōseki has inserted sentences for which no corresponding expression exists in the two source texts he based his translation on. For instance, no equivalent in

35 Natsume 1996b, p. 361 (129).
36 Natsume 1996b, p. 361 (129).
37 Yanase 1969, p. 241.
38 Takeda 1891, p. 1.

Japanese of the English sentence "But none of them has resisted the destructive work of time" can be found in either work. Perhaps he added the sentence explicitly to show the Buddhist notion of "impermanence" so apparent in *Hōjōki*'s overall narrative, though he himself did not find the theme central to the work. Another example of Sōseki's concern for conveying meaning to his implied reader can be found in his translation of "或は去年やぶれてことしハつくれり。あるハ大家はほろひて小家となる" as "Some stand in ruins, others are replaced by new structures," which clearly differs from the source text. Sōseki significantly condenses the Japanese and omits certain expressions referring to time and the scale of dwellings available in the source text. Perhaps he sought to avoid semantic redundancy and add thematic clarity? In another instance, he expresses doubt about a Japanese metaphor being intelligible at all to the English audience, noting that because the Japanese expression was "very fine," something inextricably intertwined to Japanese cultural notions that he could not help but modify it to make it comprehensible in English.[39] Sōseki likens the practice of translation as an art form, a creative production which is achievable only by straying from the source text.

Sōseki considered cultures and languages as difficult to comprehend, and translation as an inadequate tool to overcome cultural and linguistic barriers. The historical nature of texts, a topic that he examined extensively in his *Bungakuron*, further adds to the complexity. Sōseki states that sociopolitical and historical dynamics shape intellectual currents or the zeitgeist of a particular culture at a specific point of time. The zeitgeist determines the reception of literary works and their authors. Even great individuals like Shakespeare cannot defy the force (*ikioi* 勢い) of the age in which they live.[40] Therefore, Sōseki posits that the twentieth-century Japanese audience will certainly find a literary work written for a seventeenth-century British audience difficult to understand. Thus, convinced that a mere translation of his works could never convey complex Japanese cultural notions to foreign readers, Sōseki felt great reluctance at having his own works translated into foreign languages; his works were authored with Japanese audiences in mind. Sōseki plainly expressed these views while he was still a student, and they stayed with him for the rest of his life.

3-2. Dismembering the Source Text

Scholarly opinion regarding Chōmei's intended message in *Hōjōki* may be mixed, but most research regards the Buddhist notion of impermanence as an important theme.[41] Chōmei emphasizes mundane ephemerality and directs attention to the (Buddhist) notion of reclusion. In the first part of the work, Chōmei graphically illustrates five natural and man-made disasters which he personally witnessed in his youth, presenting them as live examples of worldly evanescence. Such experiences forced Chōmei to realize the universal truth of impermanence, which in turn triggered his resolution to abandon the world and seek refuge

39 He rendered the Japanese ここに、六十の露消えがたに及びて、更に末葉の宿りを結べる事あり as "Now when the dew of sixty years was on the point of vanishing, once again did it condense upon a tiny leaf" and doubts whether the English translation of the Japanese metaphor "六十の露消え" is comprehensible to an English audience. Natsume 1996b, p. 357 (141).

40 Natsume 1995a, p. 27–34.

41 Some scholars doubt Chōmei's spiritual aspirations, claiming that Chōmei merely lived a life of pleasures centered around music and poetry. Beginning with Imanari Genshō (1974), however, a select group of scholars aver that Chōmei was a devout believer of Buddhism based on various Buddhist terms and concepts sprinkled throughout the text, among which *mujōkan* is most prominent.

in mountainous solitude. Chōmei then details how blessed he felt in his tiny mountain hut, free from mundane vagaries. He draws a stark contrast between the life of people in the capital city of Kyoto and his life as a recluse full of practical benefits and bliss. Thus we may consider the work as comprising primarily two main motifs embedded into a single narrative: one concerning the difficulties associated with city life, and a second highlighting the merits of reclusion. Neither motif can be ignored; they are both crucial in understanding Chōmei's quest for eternal happiness.

Sōseki's translation, which interprets *Hōjōki* as a Victorian romantic work of nature, seems to have artificially fractured the aforesaid narrative. *Hōjōki* is certainly more than a work on nature—nearly half of it centers upon cities and disasters—and yet Sōseki chooses to overlook key narrative themes in his interpretative framework. He explains away the significance of disaster narratives, for example, in the following manner:

> Several paragraphs which follow are devoted to an account of the removal of the capital to Settsu in 1180, of the famine during Yōkwa (1181), of the pestilence in the same year, the earthquake in the second year of Genreki. All these however are not essential to the true purport of the piece, so that we can dispense with them with little hesitation.[42]

Sōseki's valorization of the Wordsworthian view of nature and humanism and his preference for a reader-oriented translation strategy to facilitate smooth reading by an English-language audience leads him to discount all but two of *Hōjōki*'s disaster stories as beyond the "true purport of the piece."[43] After all, graphic depictions of chaos, horror, and death do not easily align with beautiful works on nature. So might it be possible that Dixon himself had little taste for the theme of disaster, which his later article did not touch on at all? His primary interest was the subjects of nature and reclusion. It seems that in order to meet Dixon's expectations, explicit or implicit, Sōseki interpreted *Hōjōki* in terms of Romantic nature and seclusion, at the cost of overlooking other key themes of the text, such as disaster.

And yet, Sōseki's reading of *Hōjōki* was not solely concerned with Dixon's expectations. Sōseki, aware of *Hōjōki*'s canonical status in Japan, concomitantly critiqued Chōmei's view of nature as inferior to Wordsworth and maintained that Chōmei deserved appreciation.

> In spite all its drawbacks, the author is always possessed with grave sincerity and has nothing in him which we may call sportive carelessness. If he cannot stand critical analysis, he is at least entitled to no small degree of eulogy for his spotless conduct and ascetic life which he led among the hills of Toyama, unstained from the obnoxious influence of this Mammon-worshipping, pleasure hunting ugly world. […] Let a Bellamy laugh at this poor recluse from his Utopian region of material triumph; let a Wordsworth pity him who looked at nature merely as objective and could not find in it a motion and spirit, rolling through all things; let all those whose virtue consists of

42 Natsume 1996b, p. 359 (138).

43 Textual manipulation in the process of translation is an age-old, global phenomenon. For a recent discussion on this subject, see Rooke 2013, pp. 401–409.

> sallying out and seeking adversary, turn upon him as an object of ridicule; for all that he would never have wavered from his conviction.[44]

It is unclear whether Sōseki's mention of the "obnoxious influence of mammon worshiping, pleasure seeking ugly world" here is intended as a veiled attack on the Western-influenced worship of industrialization and wealth, a recurring theme in many of his works.[45] There is no doubt, however, that for Sōseki Chōmei nevertheless deserves recognition for his exemplary ascetic lifestyle which, as Sōseki saw it, could never be appreciated in the Occident. He postulates that occidentals such as Edward Bellamy (1850–1898) would perhaps despise Chōmei's attitude towards nature and human society from the lofty perspective of utopian material achievements, but their critiques would have no bearing on Chōmei's chosen path.[46] With these evaluations, Sōseki made certain that Chōmei received respect as an Oriental ideal. Further, here again we catch an early glimpse of the East-West dichotomy that several of his later works would bring to light.

Nonetheless, Sōseki's reading of *Hōjōki* as a work of nature and his presentation of Chōmei as a misanthrope reverberate in some of his famous works. He later explores the view of nature as a refuge from the drudgery of modern life in *Kusamakura* 草枕 (1906). His portrayal of the novel's main protagonist—the artist who abandons city life to wander into the mountains—resembles a misanthropic Chōmei, as interpreted in his essay. Similarly, misanthropy defines the characters of Hirota in *Sanshirō* 三四郎 (1908) and Sensei in *Kokoro* (1914). Scholars have also suggested intertextual connections between *Hōjōki* and Sōseki's *The Tower of London* (1905).[47] Moreover, in *Bungakuron* he critically explores the problems of language and culture, two crucial parameters that shape the reception of literary works and their authors, which are also briefly discussed in his essay and translation of *Hōjōki*. Thus, his translation of *Hōjōki* and the accompanying essay provide us with valuable insights, even though in rudimentary form, into the mind of the future novelist.

Concluding Remarks

The close examination of Natsume Sōseki's English translation of *Hōjōki* and its accompanying essay allows us to discern the thoughts of the younger Sōseki who would become a world-renowned literary figure. As argued above, *Hōjōki* was traditionally appreciated for three main themes: the Buddhist notion of impermanence, disaster narratives, and the protagonist's reclusive lifestyle. Seemingly uninterested in engaging these subjects, however, Sōseki read *Hōjōki* as a work of nature. This radical rereading can best be understood as an attempt to satisfy the expectations of Dixon, Sōseki's English literature professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo. After all, Dixon requested the translation

44 Natsume 1996b, p. 369 (128).

45 Sōseki's *Kokoro* こゝろ (1914) vividly depicts the themes of modernity and urbanization. It is a theme that was very close to Sōseki's heart, and he has criticized the effect of Western-influenced modernization on several occasions. Likewise, the characters "Kiyo" in *Botchan* 坊っちゃん (1906) and the artist in *Kusamakura* (1906) also show his discontent with Western-style industrialization and modernity.

46 American novelist Edward Bellamy, in his *Looking Backward: 2000–1887* (1888), portrayed a futuristic and developed utopian society based on socialist ideals of cooperative egalitarianism. Sōseki's reference to Bellamy in the essay serves as a contrast between Bellamy's materialistic society and Chōmei's plain lifestyle.

47 Masuda 2017, pp. 120–28.

and perhaps even instructed his student to create a specific type of interpretation, although this cannot be confirmed in extant sources. The final product facilitated Dixon's ready comprehension of a foreign work with what must have been unfamiliar content. At the same time, Sōseki emphasized in his essay the culturally and linguistically specific nature of literature and viewed translations as works of art. In Sōseki's view, it was incumbent on the translator to insert or omit portions of the original text, bearing in mind the norms and expectations of the target audience. Sōseki himself thus omitted *Hōjōki*'s disaster accounts in his translation, lest they distort the desired interpretation of the work. Sōseki's English translation of *Hōjōki* and the accompanying essay unveil for the first time, albeit in fragmented form, several perspectives that would resurface in his later works. An often-overlooked translation project is thus revealed as a window into the making of Sōseki, one that deserves more scholarly attention.

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A Critique of Desire: Law, Language, and the Death Drive in Kawabata's *House of the Sleeping Beauties*

Sharif MEBED

The present study analyzes Kawabata Yasunari's novella, *House of the Sleeping Beauties* (Nemureru bijo), focusing on the role and function of law and its relationship to desire in that work and in literary art in general. To explore this question, the writer has called upon the theoretical work of the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981). At first glance, Kawabata's writing seems to be completely disconnected from French theory or theoretical discourse; Kawabata is known for his sensitive depiction of Japanese aesthetics, deploying images of Geisha, traditional dancers, and conventional family scenes, which seem distant from the student turmoil, political background and Tel Quel movement that spurred on Derrida, Kristeva, Barthes, and Lacan. Yet, as demonstrated in the paper, Kawabata and Lacan do share a common respect for Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), and a critical view of language. Additionally, Kawabata wrote a number of avant-garde works including "Crystal Fantasy, Suishō gensō" (1931), the film scenario *A Page of Madness* (1926), *The Lake* (1955), "One Arm" (1965), and *House of the Sleeping Beauties* (1960). These works and others can be read as extended meditations on the unconscious and the nature of the human subject. Among those works, *House of the Sleeping Beauties* is taken up here because it highlights the nature of human desire and its relationship to language, law, the illicit, and the taboo: concepts of key interest to both Japanese literary studies and psychoanalysis.

Keywords: Jacques Lacan, postwar Japanese literature, psychoanalysis, *nom de père*, *objet petit a*, "Prayer in the Mother Tongue"

Introduction

In recent years, interest in Lacanian thought in Japan has been on the increase, with a number of books published describing Lacanian theory, particularly in the fields of psychology, philosophy, and cultural studies.[1] There has also been some discussion of

1 A representative example is Shingū Kazushige's *Rakan no seishinbunseki*, translated into English as *Being Irrational: Lacan, the Objet a and the Golden Mean* (Shingū 2004). Another recent title is Unami Akira's *Rakan-teki shikō* (Unami 2017).

Lacanian theory in literary studies in Japan as well, but for the most part, it has been limited to the realm of Western literature, with only a few articles and books concerning Japanese works.[2] Despite Lacan's heavy reliance on literary texts to establish his theories, there seems to be little movement in Japanese literature studies towards a dialogue between Lacanian thought and Japanese literature at the present.[3] However, Blondelot and Sauret have argued that Japanese culture and Lacanian psychoanalysis are not completely alienated from one another. In their study, they highlight the similarities between the Kyoto school philosopher Nishida Kitarō and Lacan, observing their common rejection of the Cartesian *cogito* and the similarities between Lacan's writing and Zen philosophy.[4] Likewise, I believe that Lacanian theory can also bring to light various concepts in modern Japanese literature as well, and one goal of this article is to expand on that scholarship by considering Kawabata Yasunari's 川端康成 (1899–1971) *House of the Sleeping Beauties*, originally published in Japan as *Nemureru bijo* 眠れる美女 in 1960, in light of a number of Lacanian concepts.[5]

The plot of *House of the Sleeping Beauties* centers on the memories and reminisces of Eguchi, an affluent 67-year-old man who spends five separate nights in a bizarre hotel where a single guest can lie down in the presence of a young, beautiful, naked woman (or girl) who has been drugged into a deep sleep.[6] On each visit, he is welcomed to the inn by a middle-aged woman in a kimono (the Madam), who engages him in small talk before leading him into the room where a young unclothed woman is waiting, drugged and asleep. On each night, after caressing the young woman, Eguchi is visited by dreams and memories of his past loves and sexual experiences. On the climactic final visit, he is presented with two girls, one with a fair complexion, and another who is darker. During the course of the night, the darker of the two dies, her body growing cold as Eguchi sleeps. Upon awaking, Eguchi calls the Madam, who calmly carries off the dead body, coldly ordering Eguchi to go back to sleep, explaining that there is still one more girl left.

Kawabata's novella is obviously highly problematic. Just looking at the summary above, it runs the risk of being interpreted as merely a depraved male sex fantasy. Saegusa Kazuko, in her book *Ren'ai shōsetu no kansei*, briefly discusses *House of the Sleeping Beauties* in a chapter entitled "The Arrogance of Kawabata Yasunari," where she first criticizes the work, writing that the novel shows contempt for and appears to be an insult to women. However, Saegusa stops short of censuring the work as discriminatory, explaining that it has compensatory qualities in its awareness that the transgressions expressed in the book are indeed evil.[7] Nina Cornyetz is more critical of Kawabata's bizarre narrative of a brothel selling girls who've been drugged beyond consciousness. She calls the work an "extremely perverse expansion of the narrative technologies Kawabata brought to his earlier *Sound*

2 Translations of authors who write about Lacanian theory, for example Žižek's *Looking Awry* (Žižek 1991), Jane Gallop's *Reading Lacan* (Gallop 1987) are also available. Also in print are Lacan's *Ecrits* (Lacan 2006) and his various seminars. One example of a Lacanian study of Japanese literature is Katayama Fumiyasu's "Akutagwa Ryūnosuke to Rakan-teki kōzō" (Katayama 2009).

3 One exception to this is Saitō Tamaki's *Bungaku no chōkō* (Saito 2004), which discusses various modern writers including Ogawa Yōko, Ōe Kenzaburō, and Yū Miri.

4 Blondelot and Saurat 2015.

5 Kawabata 1980.

6 Throughout the paper, I use both "girl" and "woman" in reference to the sleeping beauties that appear in the novel. Their ages are unknown, but they appear to be between fifteen and twenty-five years of age.

7 Saegusa 1991, p. 100.

of the Mountain (1949)." She continues, "Eguchi's desire gathers around the sleeping girls whose various body parts become, one after another, the source-objects of desire.… There is no 'desirous other' in this version of Kawabata's sensate-erotic imaginary.… There is, instead, nothing but material bodies, subjected to his imaginary, and his fantasy flows freely, unfettered by any intrusion of reality."[8] Cornyetz's work, however, is not a gender critique, but a comparison of the narrative techniques of Kawabata and the aesthetics of fascism. She astutely describes fascist reinvention of the past and notes the fascist reaction to the modern subject and the move to dissolve that subject into an imagined folk (*minzoku* 民族) community that harkens to the "blood and soil" philosophy of Nazism. She then finds that same fascist aesthetic in Kawabata's works. In her analysis of *House of the Sleeping Beauties*, Cornyetz references Lacan to help argue a number of points, some of which are consonant with the present article, and some of which are divergent. I will reference Cornyetz work below when appropriate.

It would be easy to write off *House of the Sleeping Beauties* as a depraved male fantasy where women can only be the object and never the subject. Considering that the novel features fantasies of violence and rape against women and concludes with the death of one of the sleeping women, some might claim that it is an oppressive text not worthy of critical attention. However, from another perspective, I believe the work has some redeeming qualities, not in the realm of a gender critique, but in the fact that it draws to the fore an aspect of human reality and truth which we must confront. I shall expose that reality in three parts. First, I will highlight Lacan's concept of "*objet petit a*" as it appears in the desire of the protagonist which slips from one object to the next. Second, through a Lacanian reading, I would like to reframe *House of the Sleeping Beauties* as a chipping away at the mental exterior and an exposing of the deep-seated nature of desire and its relationship to law. Finally, I will illustrate how the death drive, as Lacan redefines it, plays an important role in the unfolding of the plot. All of these phenomena, which are key psychoanalytical concepts, function within language. Since literature is ultimately an art form completely dependent on and beholden to language, I hope to make clear the relevance of such a reading to this work and, by extrapolation, to suggest its pertinence to the study of Japanese literature in general.

1. Kawabata Predicts Lacan

Before I continue on this collision course of Asian literature and European psychoanalysis, I would like to note that the context of Kawabata was not wholly alienated from psychoanalysis, particularly Freudian theory. Kawabata's debut in the literary scene in the 1920s coincided with a flurry of interest in Freud in Japan, including magazine articles, translations of Freud's work, and the founding of psychoanalysis practices in Japan. Kawabata himself was not only aware of Freud, but as early as 1930, he wrote that Freudian methodology was "indestructible" and beneficial to both literary writers and critics alike.[9] Six years prior to that, Kawabata introduced Freud's dream interpretation to students of literature in a magazine article about new writing techniques. I will quote a section from that article.

8 Cornyetz 2007, pp. 50–51.
9 Kawabata 1982c, p. 426.

> Among the various theories of psychology, there is one school, still in its youth, called "psychoanalysis." The scholars of this school use a method known as "free association." There is no need to introduce psychoanalysis here, but I want to discuss this method of free association. In this technique the psychologist has his patient, the analysand, sit down on an easy chair or recline on a sofa. In other words, the patient should sit in a way as to relax his muscles and feel comfortable. Then, with just a fragment of a dream, for example the fact that a snake appeared in the dream, the patient should think of all that comes to his mind at the moment of seeing the snake, and this should be done as quickly as possible, without trying to order the thoughts, but just uttering them. The psychoanalyst uses the flow of the free association in order to discover the key to deep insight into the psyche.[10]

This keen interest in Freud may have led Kawabata to foreground the libidinal desires of many of his characters. Among the various writings of Freud that had appeared in Japan as of 1924, it is of great importance that Kawabata was drawn to the analysis of dreams and within that, the analysis of dream images as having some symbolic relationship to the unconscious; concepts expanded by Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900).[11] Moreover, Freud's stress on the verbal expression of patients and the use of free association was not only of great interest to Kawabata, but it is also his closest link to Lacan's concern with what he calls "the signifying chain."

Kawabata discussed the nature of the human subject in a number of literary magazine articles he wrote in the 1920s and 1930s. Some of what he wrote is comparable to Lacan's ideas. One striking position that Kawabata took was a view of language which seems to anticipate Lacan's reinterpretation of Freud's castration complex. While Freud saw the concept of castration on the physical level as a perceived threat by the father to force the child to give up his desire to maintain a romantic (or libidinal) relationship with his mother, Lacan argued that castration is a part of the development or *structuralization* of the subject. He sees the concept of castration not as a violent threat, but rather as a symbolic interaction with the "law." The recognition of the father or some symbol of authority that prevents us from monopolizing the mother's attention is a crucial moment in recognizing one's existence as a human subject.[12] Thus Lacan rewrites Freud's castration complex, recasting castration as a kind of psycho-linguistic phenomenon. The pre-linguistic infant is completely nurtured within the physical relationship of the mother who satisfies all of his needs. Initially, the infant, with no knowledge of the self, cannot distinguish the mother as *other*, imagining her to be just a part of his own body.[13] The eventual recognition of the mother as other is the first experience of the self and the beginning of a life where identity is structured by the other through difference as opposite and negative. As the child is ushered into the world of language, words (signifiers) allow for a better understanding of self, providing the tools to articulate and distinguish various things, concepts, and people. However, language also

10 Kawabata 1982b, pp. 179–80. This article, entitled "Shinshinsakka no shinkeikō kaisetsu" (An Explanation of New Trends among Up and Coming Writers), originally appeared in the literary magazine *Bungaku jidai* (January 1925), and is translated here by the author.

11 Freud 2001a.

12 Fink 1995, p. 58.

13 Fink 2003, p. 249.

forms the basis for *rules*. More precisely, at its most basic level, language is nothing but rules, admittedly with exceptions and variances in both structure and use. From phonetics and grammar rules, restrictions on word choice, to the very phrases that children are likely to hear (for example, "clean up your room," or "do your homework"), language is filled with rules. The internalization of rules is one way that we internalize the desire of the Other and in part leads to the self-alienation central to Lacan's account of the human subject.[14] Laws enforced by society invariably appear in the form of language. Lacan describes this in French as "*le nom du père*" or "name of the father," which is also a play on words being a homophone of "*no* of the father." This symbolic "no" is castration in the Lacanian sense. For Lacan, the law that takes away our ability to do what we truly want is what castrates us and not the physical father per se.

Kawabata had recognized something close to that concept when he wrote the following in an article in the literary magazine *Bungei jidai* 文藝時代 in 1924.

> Language and writing are, among all of the creations of man, the most amazing accomplishments. From that, literature is one of the human marvels. However, on the one hand, thanks to language, the human spirit and human culture has developed infinitely. On the other hand, there is much from *within the spirit and the body which has been castrated* (去勢された) *by language*. Language has given humans individuality, but at the same time, it has robbed us of individuality. (Emphasis added)[15]

Based on the above, Kawabata envisioned language as a double-edged sword that gives us freedom to create, while, at the same time, it limits and controls us. For Lacan, language comes to our minds as a ready-made system of rules that structures our personality and being. Moreover, it complicates our sensually experienced image-based world, what Lacan calls "the imaginary," with a world where everything is mediated by language, where we are separated from others, and where our experience of nature itself is passed through the cipher of language.[16] We live our existence within the limiting walls of language that determines our identity for us, and replaces our *needs* (nourishment, comfort from the mother) with insatiable *desires* (prestige, social position, money, sexual dominion, political power). After the advent of language, we are alienated from our mothers' bodies, and ultimately from ourselves because the system of signifiers which originates within the Other occupies our minds and provides our identity. Yet this basic fact of existence is below the horizon of consciousness for most people. It is within this context, where the subject is oppressed by law, alienated, and unconsciously desirous of a return to the body of the mother, that this paper approaches Kawabata's *House of the Sleeping Beauties*.

2. Eguchi's Motivation

The first aspect of *House of the Sleeping Beauties* that I would like to consider is character motivation. What is it that Eguchi lacks, and hopes to find in the secret inn? He may desire sexual adventure, but if that were the case, why not visit a waking prostitute? It is not that he is

14 Aristodemou 2014, p. 65.
15 Kawabata 1982a, p. 23.
16 Aristodemou 2014, p. 22.

unable to perform; Eguchi claims to himself that he is still virile, depending on his mood.[17] Cornyetz argues that at the hotel, Eguchi can be free of the female gaze, or any potential look that would "threaten him with its otherness."[18] In addition to that, I would like to analyze Eguchi's motive with regard to language and what is beyond that. The secret hotel seems to provide a place where Eguchi can interact with sleeping women on a level beyond language, in a place apparently free of language, where language will not castrate him in body or spirit. Eguchi could, in fact, visit a waking prostitute without engaging in much conversation; certainly, they could avoid conversation altogether. However, when meeting another human being face to face, we are never able to fully circumvent the symbolic; every action in and out of bed will be labeled with meaning. Every act will be *interpreted* by the Other. Therefore, what Eguchi seems to desire is a place where interpretation, or the effect of language, will be kept to a minimum. In other words, the inn gives a sense of freedom or escape from the symbolic itself. Because it offers an experience with the female body that is completely devoid of linguistic interaction, the hotel in *House of the Sleeping Beauties* can be read as a kind of super-topos, a *chora*, in the Kristevian sense, a nostalgic nurturing pre-linguistic place where Eguchi can escape the oppression brought on by the signifier.[19] There, he can interact with women unmediated by symbolic structure. Therefore, we see Eguchi searching for something like a pre-Oedipal nostalgic bliss; a bliss that at the outset of the story the Madam even suggests will visit him.[20]

Examples of that nostalgic experience, including memories of his wife in her younger days, his daughters, and the women he knew in extramarital affairs, can be found throughout the book. But on an unconscious level, fueling his compulsive return visits to the inn is the fact that he is looking for an ultimate nostalgic experience, a return to the world of his infancy, the world of the imaginary, not so much where the mother interacted with him, as where she was a part of him, satisfying his needs. In other words, the text can be read to mean that the sleeping beauties represent enjoyment felt before the law of the father (=language) cut him apart from the continuum of nature, separated him from the mother, and constructed him as a subject. It is a time before alienation, as alienation is the effect of language and the condition of subjectivity. Such a reading is particularly valid in light of the fact that Kawabata's narrator makes it clear in the morning after his first night at the inn that the sleeping girls are replacements for the lost mother:

> He felt for a breast, and held it softly in his hand. There was in the touch a strange flicker of something, as if it were the breast of Eguchi's own mother before she had him inside her. He withdrew his hand … [21]

The quotation expresses a pre-Oedipal relationship, not as a linguistic thought, but as a "flicker." The narrator is forced to employ the simile "as if it were the breast" because for

17 Kawabata 1993, pp. 17, 39, 75.
18 Cornyetz 2007, pp. 50–51.
19 Kristeva 1984, pp. 26–27. It should be noted that the hotel lures him with an image of a place where language will not castrate him. However, such a place is not truly attainable in the end, as he cannot actually return to a place of no language and remain a subject.
20 Kawabata 1993, p. 18.
21 Kawabata 1993, p. 36.

Eguchi, it is nothing more than an image in his imaginary world. Eguchi is clearly recalling a pre-mirror stage relation with the object of desire—a fantasy of physical return to the mother's body and to a time before alienation and lack. This, I believe, is the motivation of his visits to the inn. However, for Eguchi, who is already structured by language, such a simple return will not be possible. The "no" of the father can no longer be avoided.

3. Eguchi's Desire and *Objet petit a*

Eguchi's desire is the central concern of the novella, to the degree that the writer has banished the personalities of the sleeping girls. But how can desire be defined? Unlike a "need," exemplified by hunger which could be satisfied albeit temporarily with a good meal, "desire" exists on a different plane. Although an animal may "want" or "need," only a desire can motivate someone to paint a masterpiece, write the *Divine Comedy*, or spend months plotting to win a sweetheart's affection. Desire, as defined by Lacan, is a need that has been translated into the symbolic realm of language.[22] It is the point where visceral feeling (belonging to the realm of the imaginary) and linguistic symbols converge. Significantly, desire only retains its currency when access to it is somehow hindered. This is because enjoyment is derived not from attaining that desire, which will simultaneously cause its destruction, but from the surplus enjoyment of the chase itself. Moreover, according to Lacan, that object of desire itself is actually a lure.[23] The true object of desire lies hidden and unknown behind a curtain, possibly lost forever, and its absence is the key to its attraction. In other words, Eguchi's desire is not the naked women sleeping at the hotel, who he has access to. They are merely signifiers whose own signification has been lost or eclipsed. Eguchi visits the hotel repeatedly, searching for some lost desire whose true nature is unknown, and can only be expressed by a "flicker."

That flicker which represents a return to the body of the mother is an unconscious desire and troubling to Eguchi. That image returns later in the novel as follows:

> And who had been the first woman in his life?
>
> He was less sleepy than dazed.
>
> The thought flashed across his mind: the first woman in his life had been his mother. "Of course, Could it be anyone except mother?" came the unexpected affirmation. "But can I say that Mother was my woman?"
>
> Now at sixty-seven, as he lay between two women, a new truth came from deep inside him.[24]

What had been a "flicker" is now a "flash." Kawabata's protagonist stumbles across the fact and is shocked and surprised, indicating the alien nature of his own inner mental state. The sleeping girl becomes a metaphor representing what is now gone. Cornyetz discusses *House of the Sleeping Beauties* in a similar vein, writing that the sleeping women are "partial objects" that "stand in place of object a, or source-objects around which desire circulates."[25]

22 Lacan 2017, pp. 202–203.
23 Žižek 2018.
24 Kawabata 1993, p. 94.
25 Cornyetz 2007, p. 51.

The girls in the house are place holders for a lost object (including but not limited to the mother) that Eguchi wants to approach. Although Lacan's explanation of this aspect of our psyche changed over the years, this is one phase of what he calls *objet petit a*. Nancy Blake explains that the logic of Lacan's *objet petit a* "involves precisely an investment by which an ordinary object becomes a substitute for the unreachable Thing. In Lacan's terms, sublimation is the elevation of an object to the dignity of the Thing (*la chose*)."[26] Eguchi's intrigue and enchantment with the sleeping women (or girls) is only in small part a reaction to their own positive existence; beyond that, the enjoyment he experiences at the house is closely related to the connections he makes between the sleeping girls, his past loves, and ultimately the memory of his mother. In other words, the *objet petit a* stands for what Eguchi has lost, lacks, and desires. Moreover, access requires some real-world object (the girls), but even then, it can never be attained. The continued desire for that "thing" and its never-ending and unbearable lack is what structures the human as a subject. Thus, we can further understand Eguchi's motivation to visit the hotel as connected to the fact that he believes that there, he may access a nostalgic mental chain of signifiers that revolve around the lost object.

4. The Madam's Rules: The Structure of Law in *House of the Sleeping Beauties*

In order to understand how Eguchi's desire functions, we need to take a closer look at the structure of law in *House of the Sleeping Beauties*. The novella opens *in medias res* with Eguchi already in the outer room of the hotel which is attached to the bedroom. The Madam of the inn is explaining the rules:

> "Please refrain from doing anything indecent. You mustn't try to put your finger in the mouth of the sleeping girl."[27]

From the first page both the reader and Eguchi are initiated into the law of the inn. Only one page later the Madam explains another important rule. "Please do not try to wake the girl up."[28] The Madam creates the rules, though they are not explained, or justified. She has many rules and continues giving them throughout the novella. For example, four pages into the first chapter she forbids Eguchi from drinking spirits. Eguchi, who usually has a nightcap, is prohibited from doing so at the inn, despite the fact that the secret hotel drugs its sleeping girls to such a degree that they cannot even be shaken awake.

On his second visit to the inn, Eguchi requests to remain until the girl awakes. The Madam categorically rejects this, explaining that meeting with a sleeping girl would be a "crime," as Seidensticker translates it.[29] In the original, Kawabata chose *tsumi* 罪 which can mean both "crime," suggesting legal consequences, and "sin," invoking the idea of a more religious or moral failure. Immediately after that, she explains that no "bad" (悪) exists in the house.[30] Thus, the Madam proffers an inverted law characterized by a symbolic

26 Blake 2013, p. 46.
27 Kawabata 1993, p. 13. However, I have replaced Seidensticker's readable translation with my own more literal version.
28 Kawabata 1993, p. 14.
29 Kawabata 1993, p. 55.
30 Kawabata 1993, p. 73.

system in which usual human interaction is a crime, and old men sleeping with naked girls dangerously drugged into a coma-like sleep is "good."[31] She creates a perverse duplication of the law at the hotel by separating the signifier for "sin" from its generally accepted signified and replacing it with its opposite. This strange slippage of the signified under the signifier is an essential aspect of the human psyche as described by Jacques Lacan. Moreover, such perverse inversion of moral laws is not unheard of, especially in times of war, where savage murder, rape, and "ethnic cleansing" are often portrayed as patriotic, moral responsibilities. Kawabata has latched onto this truth in his depiction of the inn.

Next, I would like to focus on the significance of law and its structure in the *House of the Sleeping Beauties*. As stated above, Kawabata chose to place the scene where the Madam lays down the laws of the hotel at the very beginning of the novel, out of order of the *fabula*, and in doing so, he emphasized the significance of "law" within the story. The fact that the hotel is based on an illegal erotic act will of course pique the visiting men's interest, but that desire is destined to fade as visitors soon become bored with the novelty of the young sleeping women. However, there is something to prevent the boredom: the constant supply of rules. The Madam's injunction against penetrating the bodies of the sleeping women has a curious effect on Eguchi. After he hears it, he discovers a strong desire to break it. Moreover, on the next page, the Madam touches on another rule which bars virile men from visiting the hotel, saying "I only take guests I know I can trust," by which she means old, impotent men.[32] These two laws become central to Eguchi's thoughts throughout the remainder of the story. In other words, the Madam's mandate enables the continuation of desire. From the second night on, Eguchi's *jouissance* or enjoyment revolves not around caressing the sleeping nude girls but around his repeated fantasy of breaking the two laws of the inn: the prohibition against being virile and the prohibition against violating the sleeping girls. Moreover, those are actually related to two analogous desires: Eguchi's desire to overcome the castration of the law itself and the desire to rebel against the primal prohibition concerning that taboo of the mother.

It is worth noting that despite the importance I have attached to the law of the father, Eguchi's father only appears once in the novel, and in that scene, the father watches helplessly as his wife dies. He is not the *père severe* that we might expect; rather like Eguchi, he has been castrated. [33] Some might be tempted to explain this near absence of the father as an example of a special Japanese version of the Oedipus complex that does not rebel against the patriarchy.[34] However, I do not believe that to be the case. Actually, the oppressive father does appear in the novel, but he does so in the form of the Madam of the inn. Susan J. Napier argues that the Madam exists only as an enabler, to allow these seniors who are "no

31 The legal scholar Jeanne Lorraine Schroeder explains that in a Hegelian view of the master-slave dialectic, the master is master not because he (or she, as here) deserves to be master. She is the master and the servant (in this case both Eguchi and the sleeping girls) must accept that. Schroeder's explanation may be helpful in understanding *House of the Sleeping Beauties*. She notes that in legal theory, ethics and law must be independent. We need ethics, she explains, in order to critique law. Therefore, if law were equated with ethics, there could be no kind of review of any legislation (Schroeder 2010, p. 42).

32 Kawabata 1993, p. 14.

33 Kawabata 1993, p. 95.

34 Here I am referring to the "Ajase Complex" which was suggested by Kozawa Heisaku 古澤平作, a practicing psychoanalyst who studied in Vienna and was an acquaintance of Freud in the 1930s. The Ajase complex is described in Buckley 2002, p. 12.

longer men" to recuperate something of their youth.[35] However, I would like to argue that she has another vital function. When she forbids the final sex act by banning the insertion of fingers and other things into the sleeping women, she creates the desire to do just that. In other words, by providing a space in which Eguchi can approach an embodiment of the object of desire while simultaneously forbidding the final sex act, she creates a circuit of unsatisfiable desire, whose result is to perpetuate desire. As in the following, Eguchi does not think about a desire to rape the sleeping women until immediately after he recalls the Madam's pronouncement of prohibition:

> It seemed to him that to force himself on the girl would be the tonic to bring the stirrings of youth. He was growing a little tired of the "house of sleeping beauties." And even as he wearied of it the number of his visits increased. He felt a sudden urging of the blood: he wanted to use force on her, break the rule of the house, destroy the ugly nostrum …[36]

Eguchi's fantasy of prohibited sex here is linked to the unconscious allure connected to transgression and defiance. We know from Japanese works as early as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of Ise* that rule breaking and sexual desire are closely related.[37] It is clear that illicit sex acts with women whose access is prohibited by authority are much more enticing, and Lacan, in his discussion of ethics in *Seminar VII*, argues that *jouissance* can only be obtained at the moment of transgression of the law.[38] As Cornyetz has already noted, *House of the Sleeping Beauties* hinges on a very basic Lacanian concept, which is that "prohibition engenders desire."[39] Cornyetz argues that Eguchi's gaze, directed at both beauty and the unsightly, leads back to a "fascistic aestheticization of the real."[40] In addition to that observation, I believe that Lacan's concept can help to illuminate Eguchi's actions. Lacan explains that the law has two functions beyond prohibition: the first is to create the sin itself and the second is to entice the sinner.[41] This is because the conscious image of the law connects and links to the unconscious memory trace of law, as it relates to the first experience of loss symbolized by the concept of "*le nom du père*." Eguchi's compulsive craving to visit the house that he has "wearied of" could be related to his unrecognized yearning to abrogate the "law of the father" resulting in a moment of extreme fulfillment or *jouissance*, where he can take what he wants without concern for the law.

35 Napier 2005, p. 62.
36 Kawabata 1993, p. 89.
37 The hero of *The Tale of Ise* has physical relations with the vestal virgin of the Ise Shrine (episode 71), and an imperial consort (episode 65) (McCullough 1968). Likewise, in *The Tale of Genji* (Shikibu 2001), the protagonist has an affair with Lady Fujitsubo, concubine of the emperor (his father). Moreover, Lady Fujitsubo is cherished by the emperor for her similarity to Genji's beloved mother who had died. Thus, Genji not only cuckolds his own father, but with a woman who is a replacement for (or simulacrum of) his own mother.
38 Lacan 1992, p. 177.
39 Cornyetz 2007, p. 51.
40 Cornyetz 2007, pp. 52–53.
41 Lacan 1992, pp. 83–84.

5. Uncanny Law and the Sign of Virginity

Eguchi's relationship to authority is conspicuous during his second visit, when he makes the decision to take revenge for the insults that the Madam has made towards the old men by raping the young, sleeping woman who is described as appearing like a temptress and a vamp. Eguchi is driven to such a crime not by an uncontrollable sexual desire, but by a desire to lash out against authority.

> He was not yet a guest to be trusted. How would it be, by way of revenge for all the derided and insulted old men who came here, if he were to violate the rule of the house? And would that not be a more human way of keeping company with the girl? He did not know how heavily she had been drugged, but he was probably still capable of awakening her with his roughness.[42]

He grabs the girl and shakes her, intending to force himself on her, but at that very moment he finds what the narrator calls, "the clear evidence of her virginity."[43] The writing does not state the exact nature of that evidence which has stopped Eguchi from raping the girl. In Kawabata's original text, the word used is *shirushi* しるし, which is usually translated as "sign."[44] Therefore, it is the sign or *signifier* that stops him. Eguchi is prepared to break both society's and the hotel's law, and it is only this sign that can stop his actions.

The "sign" Eguchi has discovered engraved on the body of the girl is consonant with Lacan's transcendental signifier. That signifier is the phallus, a fundamental concept that Lacan has borrowed from Freud and reworked. The Lacanian concept of the phallus can be compared to unassailable and unquestionable ideological concepts like democracy, human rights, socialism, or God: concepts which in and of themselves are left ambiguously defined but function to order our society and its thought systems. In one of his most important breaks with Freud, Lacan distances the phallus from the actual male organ and removes most of its meaning.[45] He argues that the phallus is able to fix the meaning of all other signifiers. The phallus pins key concepts down, stops the slip of multivalent signifiers, and holds them in place to give meaning to the entire signification system.[46] Lacanian psychoanalysts see the loss of such a signifier as the cause of mental breakdown and schizophrenia. Moreover, the phallus functions as a special signifier that binds together Lacan's triad of the imaginary, the real and the symbolic. It also can provide meaning within the cultural milieu of competing systems of signification. In this scene of the *House of the Sleeping Beauties*, the phallus is the girl's virginal sex organ (belonging to the imaginary), which carries some special meaning for Eguchi (belonging to his symbolic universe) that castrates him, thereby controlling his actions (belonging to the real). The sign of the virginal sex organ controls Eguchi's symbolic world and, at least momentarily, restrains his desire, preventing him from breaking the rules of the house.

42 Kawabata 1993, p. 39.
43 Kawabata 1993, p. 42.
44 Kawabata 1980, p. 165.
45 Bowie 1991, pp. 124–26.
46 Grigg 2008, p. 31.

6. Death Drive and the Murder of the Other in *House of the Sleeping Beauties*

The final point in this paper relates to the uncanny, murderous side of Eguchi. In the Freudian understanding of human society, the pleasure principal could be characterized as basically good. It represents our drive to receive more pleasure, and it includes actions like love making, procreation, eating, and expanding our social circle. In other words, it exists in order for the subject to survive. It occupies the place of desire that we believe will lead to a healthy and fulfilling life. This extends beyond the bare necessities of existence and keeps us moving forward in society. The pleasure principle ensures that we continue searching for that *thing* (though we are not sure what it is), and in doing so, we have survived and prospered throughout history. Marc de Kesel, in his analysis of Lacan's seminar in *Eros and Ethics: Reading Jacques Lacan's Seminar VII*, calls this aspect of Freud's pleasure principle the "ground zero of the good."[47] However, just about the same time that Kawabata wrote *House of the Sleeping Beauties*, Lacan diverged to some degree from Freud's thinking on the pleasure principle. Lacan argues instead that we desire good things on the conscious level, but on the unconscious level, that same ethical desire is aimed at a radical evil. The ultimate satisfaction of our desire brings us evil and self-destruction, not happiness.[48] For Lacan, what is intended to bring us pleasure in one realm (for example, the imaginary) may bring destruction in another (for example, the symbolic). Moreover, Marc de Kesel explains that it is not toward one's actual physical death that the death drive propels us. It is the death of a symbolic self, constructed within the symbolic order, which simultaneously constrains and constitutes one's ego and identity. According to Lacan, the self-destructive desire appears to be fulfilled in a moment of transgression of the law where even the subject itself is lost or dissolved: in other words, a moment of pure *jouissance*.[49] Yet such a moment is really never possible, as we shall see below, since it would result in a disintegration of the subject.

The death drive appears conspicuously in *House of the Sleeping Beauties*. Between Eguchi's fourth and his final visit, an elderly associate of his has died at the inn. Despite knowledge of the danger, or possibly because of that knowledge, Eguchi is again drawn there. On his previous visit Eguchi and the Madam jokingly talked about dying in the hotel. The Madam proposed that he take one of the girls with him, to avoid dying alone.[50] This banter belies two secret death wishes, and the inhumane suggestion fatefully comes true on the final night. Throughout the novella, Eguchi's desire to kill the sleeping women appears in a number of fantasies about beating, strangulating, raping, and stabbing them.[51] Eguchi's conscious motive for murder is clear: retribution against the powers that be, the Madam and her insistence that Eguchi be impotent. However, there is one and only one actual instance where Eguchi is able to transgress her law. On the second night the Madam of the inn had explained the following:

> "I've put on an electric blanket, a double one, with two switches. …"
>
> "You can turn your side off if you like, but I must ask that you leave the girl's side on."

47 De Kesel 2010, p. 124.
48 De Kesel 2010, pp. 124–25.
49 De Kesel 2010, p. 126.
50 Kawabata 1993, p. 73.
51 Examples can be found on the following pages: pp. 40, 76, 78, 89.

> "It's American. But please don't be difficult and turn off the girl's side. You understand, I'm sure, that she won't wake up, no matter how cold she gets."[52]

As colder days approached, the electric blanket was essential to protect the lives of the anesthetized young women, and it is that side of this blanket that Eguchi casually switches off on his final visit.[53] Despite Eguchi's fantasies of violent murder and rape of the defenseless sleeping girls, this less forceful act of turning off the electric blanket is arguably the cause of death of the sleeping girl. This very small but murderous act of rebellion against the house has not been discussed in the existing literature; it has gone unnoticed. The lack of attention to this point is most likely related to its incomprehensibility. To my knowledge, only Lacan is able to offer an appropriate motive for Eguchi's action. In the end, Eguchi could not fulfill his *jouissance* in a direct way through a physical rape of a girl. He had tried to justify his planned rape by calling it revenge on behalf of the other slighted old men who visited the hotel, but in the end that road was blocked by the signifier of virginity. Faced with the fact that all of the girls in the house were virgins yet also prostitutes, the only remaining act for Eguchi was to switch off the electric blanket, which he did with no explanation from either the narrator or Eguchi himself. It is almost as though he made the decision unconsciously. On the conscious level, Eguchi has no particular motive to hurt or kill the sleeping girl, but the locus of his behavior, as depicted by Kawabata, is not merely on the conscious level. His actions are ruled by an unconscious death drive, where resentment and hostility to others is a constant. Žižek explains that the death drive is "[t]he opposite of the symbolic order: the possibility of the 'second death,' the radical annihilation of the symbolic texture through which so-called reality is constituted." According to Žižek the ultimate goal of the death drive and other negative actions that are generally inexplicable is a compulsive desire to "obliterate the signifying network itself."[54] For Eguchi, the symbolic system is the inn which constrains him when he is there, and which controls his desire even when he is not, urging him to return. This can be analyzed as expressing Eguchi's unconscious desire to free himself from the law of the father that the inn has become, and from the alienation that the symbolic world of the inn has created inside his psyche.

After turning off the blanket on the girl's side, Eguchi turns towards the girl with a fair complexion. While she is under his gaze, unexpectedly, a thought enters his mind, much like one would expect in the free association of the psychoanalyst's couch. As quoted above, he asks himself, "this is the last girl of my life, but who was the first?" His answer, "mother," comes as a shock to Eguchi (but not to a Freudian). Moreover, the act of rule abrogation allows Eguchi to approach the truth of his desire. After that realization, he immediately falls asleep and dreams that his mother, who had died during his youth, is now waiting for him and his wife to return from their honeymoon in a house covered by red flowers. His mother

52 Kawabata 1993, p. 37.
53 Kawabata 1993, p. 91.
54 Žižek 2009, p. 147. Here Žižek is discussing Lacan's death drive as it appears in the late 1950s, particularly in Lacan's *Seminar VII: The Ethics of Psychoanalysis*.

welcomes the wife into the home and we see the two female figures in close proximity, in a way fusing them into one.[55]

It is at this point that Kawabata seems to have an uncanny knowledge of Lacanian thought, or he has come to a similar conclusion consciously or unconsciously. At the beginning of this paper I suggested that Kawabata predicted Lacan's theory of language to some extent early in his career. I would like to give another example, from "Bokokugo no kitō" 母国語の祈禱, a short story published in 1928 which has been translated as "Prayer in the Mother Tongue" by Martin Holman.[56] I am using my own translation which is not as readable as Holman's excellent rendering, but more faithful to the original. In the opening of the story, the protagonist reads a book on linguistics that discusses how older immigrants who are on their deathbeds tend to speak their final words or prayers in their original native language even when they have not spoken it for years.

> "[T]he prayer in the mother tongue" is something like an old custom that ties us down so tightly that we cannot move; we do not attempt to throw that rope off, rather isn't it the case that we use that rope as a crutch as we live our lives? From the long history of humanity, we are now like dead bodies held up and tied to a tree by that rope. If we were to cut the rope, we would fall to the ground. "The prayer in the mother tongue" is also just a manifestation of that fact.[57]

Here the original native language of the dying old immigrants returns for the purpose of sacred communication with God. Yet suddenly, Kawabata's narrator begins to discuss that as a "custom." A custom is a repetitive action which has meaning only because members of a society agree to it. (Thus it is similar to language itself.) Solace comes in the act of repetition, much like Freud's grandson overcame the pain of his mother's departure by endless repetition in the *fort-da* game.[58] Therefore, in this short story, the protagonist is approaching the essence of language. That is to say, he concludes that, through representation and repetition, humans no longer live their own lives. Custom or language does the living in their place. According to the narrator in the above, language murders the speaker; it removes his life, making the living easier. Years later, Lacan would remark, "[T]hus the symbol first manifests itself as the killing of the thing, and this death results in the endless perpetuation of the subject's desire."[59] As language at its core is law, or a system that restrains us, and removes our vitality, only the death drive, a violent break, a destruction of the symbolic system can free us from that control. In *House of the Sleeping Beauties*, Eguchi's motivation to do violence against the sleeping girls and his motivation in turning off the electric blanket originate in the death drive, which means a desire to destroy the symbolic order imposed by the house and the Madam, even if it means hurting the innocent sleeping

55 Hara Zen discussed Kawabata's predilection to fuse various female characters (the mother, the wife, and the prostitute) into one image (Hara 1999, pp. 248–54). I would like to point out the similarity between this fusion of female characters and Freud's dream work of condensation, where multiple images or identities are condensed into one character or object in a dream.

56 Kawabata 1997, pp. 151–58.

57 Kawabata 1981, p. 224.

58 Freud 2001b, pp. 14–15.

59 Lacan 2006, p. 262.

beauties and himself—as he may be held responsible for the girl's death. The house affords Eguchi the opportunity to enjoy his desire, and it prolongs desire through prohibition, but at the same time it leads him to the point where he must destroy the object of desire and himself in a pathetic attempt to end the domination of the law or the big Other.

Conclusion

The destructive and self-destructive acts that Eguchi ruminates over in *House of the Sleeping Beauties* are related to an unconscious desire to reject the name and law of the father in order to achieve *jouissance*, which lies somewhere on the far side of language. The rape Eguchi fantasizes about and his murderous act of switching off the electric blanket have an uncanny allure. However, Eguchi's woeful attempts to transgress the law result only in the death of an innocent young woman, and the aftermath sees Eguchi continuing to be dominated by the Madam's final law ordering him to stay in the house and enjoy the other, still living girl. The law of the house is both heartless and resilient. It absorbs his transgression; the body of the dead girl is taken elsewhere and disposed of. Eguchi is not able to destroy the house or free himself from the rules that control him there in spite of that girl's death. This failure marks Eguchi as an existential modern hero, unable to extract himself from his circumstances. It also points to the fact that *jouissance* is ultimately unattainable.

Furthermore, Eguchi's relationship to the object of desire, and the fact that the identity of the object itself slips from one sleeping girl to the next, to women he knew in his youth to his wife and finally to his own mother is in keeping with a Lacanian cosmology, where our desire and thought process are equated to the functioning of the signifier, which moves along metonymic and metaphoric pathways. The present reading of *House of the Sleeping Beauties* clarifies the nature of Eguchi's desire, showing that it is not merely a recognition of Eguchi's nostalgic longing for reunion with the body of the mother, but in fact the object of his desire is for a "nothing." The object of his desire is a black hole whirling on the other side of language. Around that black hole, caught in its traction, are various objects that have come to be associated with one another in a string of semantic connections or metaphors and metonyms, some of which are anchored in language (the symbolic), while others appear as images (the imaginary). Moreover, we are also shown that that desire for the various objects is fueled by their prohibition, maintained in a structure of law. Ultimately a destruction of that law seems to offer itself as the only way out of the impasse that the subject finds himself in. Thus, we see a strong connection between the death drive and language.

Finally, I would like to note two points in regard to the present analysis. First, this Lacanian reading is simultaneously in accordance with Kawabata's thinking as reflected in his early writings about language and psychoanalysis, as well as the themes seen in his early work, "Prayer in the Mother Tongue." *House of the Sleeping Beauties* can be read as uncovering Eguchi's true desires in a realm on the other side of language, self-knowledge and egocentric self-determination. Those unconscious desires are often base, grotesque, and unsightly, but through his narrative, Kawabata succeeds in representing the illogical and destructive forms that desire takes in his protagonist. Second, although literary criticism that draws on psychoanalysis is not uncommon, the concepts of psychoanalysis originate from a paradigm of mental health and Freud's science of the mind, not literary study. Yet an exchange of knowledge between these two categories is justified for the reason that the

novelist and the psychoanalyst work in the same currency of language and narrative. *House of the Sleeping Beauties* especially lends itself to the present reading, in part, due to its central theme of desire. However, I suspect a reevaluation of various modern Japanese literary texts from a standpoint informed by Lacanian thought and psychoanalysis could prove profitable in expanding our understanding of character motivation, the nature of desire, and the enigmatic, uncanny death drive.

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Better Late than Never? Mizuki Shigeru's Trans-War Reflections on Journeys to New Britain Island

NISHINO Ryōta

Renowned manga artist Mizuki Shigeru's (1922–2015) multiple wartime memoirs and travelogues of his time in New Britain Island, Papua New Guinea, comprise a historical literature that provides insights into both the constant features and the shifts in Mizuki's perceptions. This article explores Mizuki's repeated renditions of his journeys by charting his evolving attitudes of admiration, disillusionment, resolution, and closure. While he identified with the villagers' carefree lifestyle as an antithesis to the work-to-rule postwar Japanese work ethic, each visit made him more concerned about the decline in the idyllic qualities of New Britain Island. The deaths of Emperor Hirohito in 1989 and of ToPetro, Mizuki's closest village friend, a few years later spurred introspection on his wartime memory and his attitude toward the villagers. Mizuki grew receptive toward the villagers' past and present grievances and reevaluated his relationship with them. He intended his parting gestures to repay the moral debt he had incurred. However, he failed to ask himself what his journeys meant to ToPetro and the villagers. This article suggests that a consideration of Mizuki's changing reflections of these relationships could form a sub-genre of war veterans' travelogues of their former battle site visits. Their writings may be understood to echo the broader power dynamics of the relationship between Japan and Papua New Guinea from the wartime period through to the postwar era.

Keywords: Pacific War, travel writing, interpersonal relationships, *manga*, Nanyo-Orientalism, nostalgia, Papua New Guinea

Introduction

The renowned manga artist Mizuki Shigeru 水木しげる (1922–2015, birth name Mura Shigeru 武良茂), repeatedly drew images of himself suffering from a condition that he called *nanpōbyō* 南方病 (South Seas syndrome) at the height of his commercial success in the 1970s. Mizuki recalled that *nanpōbyō* gave him an insatiable yearning for New Britain Island in eastern Papua New Guinea, and the people of Namale village, on the Gazelle Peninsula of the island. From November 1943 until his repatriation in March 1946, Mizuki

WHEN JOURNEY TOOK PLACE	MAIN EVENT	INTERPRETATIONS	VILLAGERS' RESPONSES
Wartime	Mizuki befriends villagers	Village as paradise	Villagers accepts Mizuki as member
1970s	Mizuki revisits Namale	Disillusionment	Villagers demand Mizuki contribute or give gifts
Late 1980s	Mizuki presents pick-up truck to villagers	Mizuki gives three different interpretations of the truck	ToPetro acknowledges belated gift
1994	Mizuki sponsors ToPetro's funeral	compensation, closure	Villagers join the funeral

Figure 1. Four phases of Mizuki's travelogues to Namale.

served in the 229th Infantry Regiment of the 38th Division.[1] Between 1970 and 1994, he visited New Britain more than ten times. Mizuki traveled without the knowledge of his demanding publishers and he found that only Namale offered him a much-needed tonic for his *nanpōbyō*.[2] Despite the enormous influence exerted on him by his time in New Britain, both during and after the war, the scholarly interest in his journeys has been negligible. However, just as Mizuki's upbringing influenced his manga on *yōkai*, one could similarly argue that his travel informed his work. His travelogues provide evidence for the shifts in his attitude to the village and the villagers in the context of the Japanese cultural imagination of the South Seas Islands, encompassing a faraway location such as New Britain Island.

This article argues that Mizuki's multiple retellings and redrawings represent not only his interactions with the villagers but also the underlying power dynamics between Japan and Papua New Guinea that altered from the wartime to the postwar eras. Mizuki wrote and drew his way through an intractable dilemma between his nostalgia for the wartime village and his disillusionment with the postwar village. Central to Mizuki's changing perceptions of Namale were two villagers: ToPetro, Mizuki's closest friend in wartime who later became the village headsman, and EPupe, a woman of astounding beauty in appearance and demeanor. Mizuki's multiple renditions of Namale chart the path of admiration, disillusionment, and resolution over four periods of his journeying. Firstly, Mizuki depicts the wartime village as a paradise where he achieves self-actualization through obtaining the villagers' acceptance. The second period concerns his journeys in the 1970s, in which his disillusionment sets in. The third period covers a single journey that Mizuki takes in the late 1980s. On this trip, Mizuki gives a pick-up truck to ToPetro as a

1 Mura adopted Mizuki as his pen name on his debut as a manga artist in the 1950s; he seldom used Mura in public or in his writing.

2 At times, the records refer to Papua New Guinea, which could mean New Britain as well as the rest of the nation. Mizuki 2002 (1995), p. 134.

gift. ToPetro's response affords Mizuki fertile ground for reflection on his friendship with ToPetro. The fourth period comprises two narratives on ToPetro's funeral, which Mizuki sponsored and attended in 1994 (see figure 1).

Mizuki's travel recollections inhabit two scholarly spaces: Nanyō-Orientalism and travel writing. Nanyō-Orientalism denotes a set of literary tropes that Japanese writers employ to create, recreate, and, at times, challenge assumptions of hierarchy between the hegemonic Japanese and the subordinate Pacific Islanders. Naoto Sudo, who coined the term, insists that Nanyō-Orientalism is not a simple mechanism for imposing Japanese superiority. Rather, it is a complex nexus of "fears and desires that arose from Japan's imperialist expansion and its concern over the activities of other powers in the Pacific region."[3] Sudo's conceptualization is derived from Mary Louise Pratt's influential *Imperial Eyes*, which treats the travelogue as a text speaking for or against the prevailing ethos of European imperialism. The metropolitan traveler's portrayal of what Pratt termed the travelees—the people and places the traveler visits, meets, and writes about—does not always denigrate the indigenous people or champion metropolitan values, but sometimes celebrates the indigenous people's culture to criticize the excess of the industrialized society.[4] Employing these idioms of Nanyō-Orientalism and travel writing can bridge the two disciplines and illuminate how Mizuki's sentiments are manifested in his portrayals of himself and the villagers.

What makes Mizuki's writing worth analyzing is that he visited the same place and met the same people many times from wartime to the 1990s, whereas travel writers generally form their impressions from a single journey and a single encounter with the people with whom they interact. Mizuki's depictions illuminate his changing impressions of the Namale village and the local people's perceptions and receptions of the traveler. The historian Roman Rosenbaum identifies the different meanings—historical, fictional, and autobiographical—that Mizuki gives to his war-themed manga. Rosenbaum finds that Mizuki's reflections on his combat experience are contingent on the wider developments in Japan.[5] This observation is useful for the analysis that follows. Mizuki traveled during the time of Japan's rapid postwar economic recovery, which affected Japan's collective memories of the war and its relationship with Papua New Guinea.

To Heaven and Back

A sharp contrast between heaven and hell dominates the accounts of wartime in all of Mizuki's writing. Mizuki's method involves rendering the villagers into the civilized Other who live in harmony with nature. In Mizuki's eyes, the villagers live in abundance; they neither experience hunger, nor are they subject to military discipline. The Japanese, by contrast, are barbaric degenerates living in a hell of deprivation, disease, and hunger, additionally enduring the constant threat of Allied attacks. For Mizuki, a conscript and a low-ranking solider, life in the Japanese military was nothing but miserable. He suffered from constant bullying by his superiors, for his clumsiness and reticence to obey orders, as well as from recurrent bouts of malaria and the loss of his left arm in an aerial raid.

3 Sudo 2010, p. 2.
4 Pratt 2008, passim, for example pp. 8, 133, and 225.
5 Rosenbaum 2008, p. 366.

Figure 2. Mizuki and the villagers. Mizuki, on the right, is sitting with a peeled banana in his hand. The woman in the middle with a fruit basket is EPupe, whom Mizuki found exceptionally beautiful. Image reproduced from Mizuki 2002 (1995), p. 19.

What made Mizuki's war experience unique was the exceptional rapport he created with the villagers. The interactions he had with the villagers were a welcome break from his hellish military life. It thereby initiated a hell-and-heaven cycle that he repeated in his writing. What led to his friendship with the villagers was the loss of his left arm following an Allied bombing. Subsequently, Mizuki was transferred to a camp in Namale, where wounded soldiers were placed on light duties. There, Mizuki heard a story from a medic who had traded his army-issue goods with villagers for food. This piqued his curiosity. One day, Mizuki slipped out of the camp and headed for Namale. Upon approach, Mizuki exchanged eye contact with a villager and the two men shared an awkward smile. He took the smile as an invitation and walked into the village. The villagers were having lunch and offered him food. Mizuki was so pleased that he devoured everything, even the portions intended for other villagers. He returned another day and brought army-issued cigarettes and blankets to recompense the villagers for the lunch. In turn, he received more food. Mizuki was indebted to the villagers' largesse for restoring his health; meanwhile soldiers who did not barter with villagers wilted away (see figure 2).[6] What awaited Mizuki back at the camp after each visit to Namale was a round of *binta* (hard slapping across the face) from his superiors for violating the prohibition on fraternizing with the locals. Mizuki remained undeterred and continued to visit Namale to make friends with the villagers. Among them was ToPetro, who brought food to Mizuki at his army camp, and with whom

6 Mizuki 1994b (1989), p. 27; Mizuki 2004b (2001), p. 284. Mizuki recalls that he was able to trade more in food than other soldiers because, as a non-smoker, he had an abundance of cigarettes at his disposal. Mizuki 1994d, p. 31.

Mizuki developed an intimacy. Indeed, in his retelling of his Namale experience, Mizuki amplifies the kindness of the villagers who helped him to recover the humanity that military life had destroyed. Mizuki's appreciation of the villagers inverted the common assumption inherent in Japanese imperialism of the civilized Japanese and the uncivilized islanders.[7]

Mizuki claimed that the villagers appreciated the fact that his interest in them surpassed the barter and that he acted without any sign of the racism of other Japanese soldiers. It seems that Mizuki earned the villagers' trust. They gave him the nickname Paulo, adopted him as a *kandere* (a matrilineal family member) and gave him shell money, of significant symbolic value in New Britain. Furthermore, he believed that the villagers took pity on him because he had lost his left arm.[8] However, in one prose essay, *Neboke jinsei* ねぼけ人生 (My Sleepy Life, 1982), Mizuki expresses the suspicion that the villagers befriended him so that he might mediate on their behalf when disputes with other Japanese soldiers came to a head. Such disputes, usually about the theft of potatoes from the villagers' plots, arose after soldiers learned of his friendship with the villagers. Mizuki recalls that the task of mediation put him between a rock and a hard place.[9] Indeed, historian Iwamoto Hiromitsu 岩本洋光 attests to the inevitably strained relationship between the Japanese military and the people of New Britain. Initially, the Japanese tried to build a cordial relationship by cultivating patronage and fostering loyalty. As the war progressed and Japanese supplies ran low, however, they turned to coercion, torture, and execution to extract food and labor from the villagers.[10]

Following the Japanese surrender, Mizuki announced to the villagers his transfer to a prisoner of war camp away from Namale. The news saddened the villagers, who encouraged him to remain and promised him a house and a vegetable plot. Mizuki even told his superiors of his intention to remain but he changed his mind after an army surgeon persuaded him to seek appropriate medical treatment in Japan for the wound from the severing of his left arm. Mizuki promised the villagers that he would return in seven years. In manga, Mizuki repeatedly drew images of himself and the villagers looking tearful as they shook hands, with the Japanese soldiers behind them unable to fathom their sadness.[11]

Mizuki's tears speak of the dilemma he faced in choosing between the village and his long-held ambition to become a painter back in Japan. Only in *Neboke jinsei* does Mizuki admit that he had harbored doubts about fully "going native." No matter how much he enjoyed the company of the islanders, he still perceived himself as being civilized and the villagers as being uncivilized, and he looked forward to his eventual repatriation.[12] His later narratives give different reasons for his repatriation to Japan. In his prose-and-manga essay *Karan koron hyōhakuki* カランコロン漂泊記 (The Diary of a Drifting Life, 2000) and a three-volume manga autobiography, *Kanzenban Mizuki Shigeru den* 完全版水木しげる伝 (The Complete Autobiography of Mizuki Shigeru, 2001), he inserts a flashback of an accidental encounter with EPupe. EPupe was a woman to whom Mizuki was deeply attracted, but he relinquished thoughts of romance when he learned that she was married. While walking to

7 Mizuki 2002 (1995), p. 126.
8 Iwamoto 2006, p. 80.
9 Mizuki 1999 (1982), p. 118.
10 Iwamoto 2011, pp. 14 and 22–23.
11 Mizuki 1994b (1989), vol. 6, p. 94; Mizuki 1999 (1982), p. 120; Mizuki 2004b (2001), pp. 338–40, 346.
12 Mizuki 1999 (1982), p. 118.

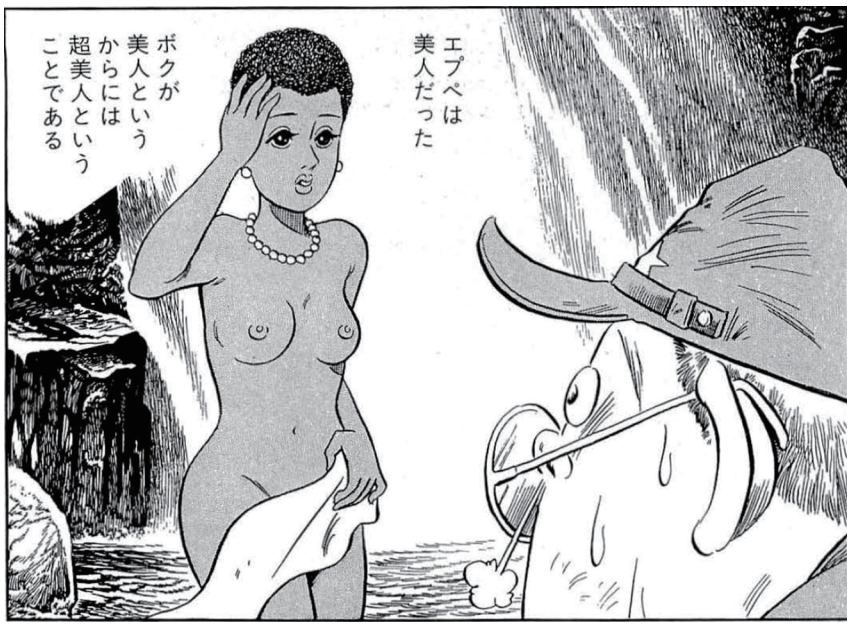

Figure 3. Mizuki encounters EPupe at a waterfall. Image reproduced from Mizuki 2004b (2001), p. 342. Mizuki writes, "Epupe was a beautiful lady. If I say so, she must have been extremely beautiful."

Namale to announce his departure, he sees EPupe naked and bathing at a waterfall. Mizuki recalls that she smiled and he suspects this is an invitation to have sexual intercourse with her. Mizuki regrets walking away from a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, but he admits his concern about contracting a sexually transmitted disease. He also wonders whether he can become a manga artist if he fathers a "mixed-blood child" (see figure 3).[13]

His anxieties epitomize the essence of Nanyō-Orientalism. EPupe represents irresistible temptation, yet poses the risk of disease and entrapment, emotional or otherwise, which could result from the potential birth of an unwanted child. His ambition to become an artist no doubt gives him further reason for resisting the opportunity to establish a relationship with this woman.[14] The farewell scene, which he went on to relate many more times, makes a poignant tale. Mizuki seems to imply that he made the best of his difficult life as a conscript and achieved self-actualization through friendship with the villagers. For better or worse, the Japanese defeat was to bring an end to both his miserable and happy times in New Britain. This is a plausible enough response to Mizuki's writing from readers who do not know his reasons for returning to Japan. Nonetheless, a reader aware of these motivations may of course form different interpretations. The reader may well suspect that his tears represent not just the sorrow of departure but also the anxiety of adjusting back into Japanese society in the aftermath of defeat.

13 Mizuki 2004b (2001), p. 342; Mizuki 2000, p. 138.

14 Mizuki drew sketches during the war and kept them, which suggests his ambition was more than an adolescent fad. Mizuki 1994d; Mizuki and Aramata 2015, p. 31.

Paradise Revisited

Mizuki's accounts of his visits to New Britain Island in the 1970s and 1980s register an ambivalent tone. Mizuki returned to the village of Namale in December 1970 for the first time since the wartime period; his time away lasted significantly longer than the seven years he had initially promised the villagers.[15] He hoped to find it the same as when he left in 1945. Instead, he saw deterioration in the standard of living and changes in the mentality of the villagers. His unfulfilled nostalgia exemplifies what travel writing scholars call "belated arrival." It refers to occasions when a traveler has failed to fulfill the hope of experiencing authentic culture because it is disappearing, or has already vanished, as a result of foreign intrusion. Consequently, the traveler's disappointment develops into a wistful and apologetic sentiment, and a lament for the corrosive effects of foreign influences on the local culture, even where the traveler's own nation is responsible.[16]

Mizuki repeatedly explains that it took him so long to visit Namale because he struggled to establish his career and to attain financial security after repatriation. By the mid-1960s, he had become a critically acclaimed manga artist but the demands of work and fame afflicted him with self-diagnosed *nanpōbyō*. He saw himself as a tormented misfit soul in postwar Japan, and identified with Robert Louis Stevenson, Paul Gauguin, and Hijikata Hisakatsu 土方久巧, all of whom made the Pacific Islands their adopted home.[17] What made Mizuki's return journey finally possible was a chance encounter with Sergeant Miya, a former military superior and fellow sufferer of *nanpōbyō*. Miya asked Mizuki to accompany him and Ishibashi, another veteran, to commemorate their comrades who had died in New Britain.[18] Toward the end of this journey, Mizuki split from his companions to look for the Namale villagers; he hired a local driver and managed to locate the village after a few hours. By the 1970s, ToPetro had become a village headman with a family, and he hosted Mizuki as a guest. Mizuki also met EPupe and found that she had lost her beauty but retained her graceful manners. She had remarried after her first husband died of illness and was busy looking after a sickly child. Mizuki spent one night with the villagers and returned to Japan.[19]

The first comment he made regarding his December 1970 journey appeared in an interview with *Asahi shinbun* in September 1973, a month after the publication of his semi-autobiographical manga, *Sōin gyokusai seyo* 総員玉砕せよ.[20] In the interview, he declares his pleasure at having reacquainted himself with the people and the landscape but laments the intrusion of "civilization" that continued to undermine the Namale villagers' lifestyle. Mizuki recognizes that Namale has become more like Japan: the cash economy

15 Zack Davisson's English translation (2015, p. 246) notes the date as November 1970, whereas the Japanese original gives December.

16 Holland and Huggan 2000, pp. 22–23 and 95–96.

17 Mizuki 1994c (1989), p. 156; Mizuki 1999 (1982), p. 243; Mizuki 2005 (2001), pp. 167 and 240–42. Hijikata Hisakatsu (1900–1977) was the sculptor who became an amateur folklorist documenting the lives of Palauan people. He returned to Japan in 1942.

18 Mizuki 1994c (1989), pp. 112–13 and 138; Mizuki 1995 (1985), pp. 222–23; Mizuki 1999 (1982), pp. 233–35.

19 Mizuki did not always state precise chronological details of his journeys.

20 This has been translated into English as *Onward Towards Our Noble Deaths* (Drawn and Quarterly, 2011) translated by Joycelyn Allen.

had damaged the carefree lifestyle in which villagers used to "eat, sleep and dance."[21] Mizuki attributes those adverse effects to Japanese businesses "selling goods, felling trees and scattering the poison of civilization."[22] Furthermore, he subverts the term *dojin* 土人 (indigenous people), a term now deemed to be highly offensive, to praise the villagers' harmonious relationship with nature. He understands the villagers' lifestyle as one of living off the land without having to work too long, and believes that *dojin*, in its literal meaning of "people of the earth," aptly describes their customs and underling principles.[23] Later, in *Neboke jinsei*, Mizuki again criticizes the social ills of the Japanese high-growth economy:

> The only place in Japan that people can relax is the coffin. As long as you are alive [in Japan], you remain anxious and busy. The natives often remind me the Japanese work too much. They have a point. In their view, happy people are the people who do not work. So, the Japanese are unhappy. I work so hard and don't like the cold. I don't really like working, and want to lead a relaxed life. My personality makes me want to get out to the South.[24]

Mizuki's enduring respect for the villagers explains why the heaven-and-hell motif of his wartime writing resurfaces in his postwar travelogues. It resonates with anthropologist Marshall Sahlins' notion of the original affluent society. Sahlins argues for a reappraisal of the hunter-gatherer society as a civilization on its own merit and dismisses its treatment as being inferior to the industrialized society.[25] Mizuki's tenderness toward the villagers amplifies his criticism of Japan's industrial prowess, which diminished the pleasure of his return to the village and even deprived the villagers of their own civilization.

Mizuki's praise of the villagers following this December 1970 visit was not as emphatic as that during the wartime. Indeed, his descriptions of the food and accommodation show signs that his rose-tinted view was fading. In one incident, ToPetro offers Mizuki a meal of large potatoes boiled in fatty water because ToPetro remembers that Mizuki has a hearty appetite. Mizuki finds the potatoes so bland that he hides them from the villagers' sight and gets up at night to throw them out into the bush. As he begins walking, he feels human flesh under his feet. He sees a dozen people sleeping on the floor, including a villager with rat feces in his open mouth. The sight shocks him, even as it makes him admire the villagers' ability to sleep in rough conditions and to coexist with nature.[26] At breakfast the next morning, Mizuki sips strange-tasting instant coffee made by ToPetro. When he finishes it, he notices mosquito larvae at the bottom of the mug. He then accepts that the larvae-filled water is normal. On following days and in subsequent trips over the years, he continues to drink the larvae-filled coffee that ToPetro makes.[27] Trumpeting his willingness to tolerate discomfort is a technique that perhaps elevates his self-image as an intrepid and adaptable

21 *Asahi shinbun* 1973, p. 13.
22 *Asahi shinbun* 1973, p. 13.
23 Mizuki 1995 (1985), p. 193; Mizuki 1999 (1982), pp. 111–12 and 240; Mizuki 2000, p. 192; Mizuki 2002 (1995), pp. 30 and 44.
24 Mizuki 1999 (1982), p. 233.
25 Sahlins 1972, pp. 32–39.
26 Mizuki 2000, p. 239; Mizuki 2005 (2001), p. 152.
27 Mizuki 1995 (1985), pp. 234 and 239; Mizuki 2000, p. 238; Mizuki 2005 (2001), pp. 151 and 154.

traveler. It enables Mizuki to claim that he returned to the village as a *kandere* who shares a significant bond with the villagers, not as a foreign traveler who only experiences the ever-widening gap in living standards between Japan and Namale.

A more crucial difference in Mizuki's account of his return visit concerns values. During the war, he was content to share his time with the villagers and absorb their culture. In *Mizuki Shigeru no musume ni kataru otōsan no senki* 水木しげるの娘に語るお父さんの戦記 (Dad's Wartime Memoir; hereafter *Musume*) published in 1985, Mizuki tells his daughters that he struggled on his return in 1970 to sustain conversations with the villagers. With his limited Pidgin and English, he shows the villagers his manga books and explains how he makes a living as a manga artist. Mizuki sees the villagers' clumsy handling of his books and blank responses to the description of his work. He quickly deduces that books and his profession are foreign to the villagers; he realizes that they and he had grown apart. Recognition of the distance makes Mizuki nostalgic for an untainted primitive culture that he can no longer find. In brief, it is clear that by his own account, Mizuki's first return journey left him with a bittersweet aftertaste. Yet he still fantasized about relocating to Namale with his family. Hoping perhaps to convince his family to emigrate, he reasoned that the clean air made everyone equal, and the simple living was worry-free.[28]

Six years later, in 1976, Mizuki paid another visit to Namale. He recounts this journey in great detail in a chapter entitled "Ushinawareta rakuen" 失われた楽園 (Lost Paradise) in *Neboke jinsei*. On this occasion, he finds that staying in the village has now become awkward for him. He sees drastic changes to the landscape: tar-sealed roads have replaced dirt roads; boats now have motors; and general provision shops are dotted along the roads. Time-honored lifestyles and values among the Namale have changed. What disturbs him most is the villagers' loss of free time as cash crop farming has replaced subsistence farming. Mizuki notices that ToPetro works long hours, husking coconuts for the paltry price of ¥6,000 for 40 kilograms. He can no longer relax in the village as he feels obliged to help ToPetro with his work.[29] The impressions he forms on this 1976 trip remain in his final autobiography, published in 2008. Here, Mizuki describes the shift in the villagers' lifestyle. Instead of living off the land, they have instead started buying canned food and importing rice from the money they earn from selling copra. Mizuki originally traveled there to escape the pressure of work in Japan but he witnesses the fact that the villagers have also now come under pressure to work. The situation leaves him wondering if this is the end of paradise.[30] His sentiments highlight the paradox of Nanyō-Orientalism, for his intended sympathy results in reifying the villagers in the past. His disillusionment turns him into a melancholic traveler caught between two conflicting impulses. He perceives that he arrived too late to wallow in nostalgia, but he cannot completely accept the reality that modernization has changed the village and the people for good.

Amid his mounting frustration on this 1976 trip, Mizuki vents his growing antipathy toward the Namale villagers. On one occasion, ToPetro's brothers offer him chickens, a much-valued food item in the village. The brothers then abruptly request that he invest in

28 Mizuki 1995 (1985), pp. 236–37 and 244.

29 Mizuki 1999 (1982), pp. 245–46. Ethnographic accounts by academic anthropologists testify to the spread of commercial farming in the Gazelle Peninsula, which triggered changes to lifestyle and underlying values. See, for instance, Epstein 1969, p. 308.

30 Mizuki 2008, pp. 240–41.

YEAR PUBLISHED/ MEDIUM/TARGET AUDIENCE	ROLE OF TRUCK	EFFECTS/SYMBOLISM INTERPRETATIONS
1989 and 2001/ Graphic novel/ Popular audience	Repayment for past generosity	End of Showa era, and friendship with ToPetro
1991/Graphic novel/ Juvenile audience	Compensation for Japan's past atrocities	Necessary compensation Reconfirms special friendship
1995/Prose essay/ Adult readership	Payment for house	Reconciles embarrassment; guilt Regrets not breaking off sooner

Figure 4. Mizuki's narratives of the gifting of the pick-up truck.

a local cocoa factory and donate a farm vehicle. Mizuki finds them brazen and annoying.[31] Arguably, he is most disappointed in the "Lost Paradise" as it relates to EPupe. On one occasion, when Mizuki gives her a wristwatch, she retorts, "I would have preferred a radio." However, she continues to play the good host and serves him a meal of chicken. Afterward, she demands of him a beautiful *laplap* (a sarong-like cloth) as payment for the meal. Mizuki writes that EPupe has turned into "a greedy old hag."[32] What emerges from a comparison between his accounts of his 1970 and 1976 trips is a shift in Mizuki's perception of Namale and its villagers. The former leaves Mizuki ambivalent about the gap between the village as he remembered it from the wartime and what he saw on his journey of 1970. The latter confronts him with the unpleasant reality of profound changes to the villagers themselves. Their responses to Mizuki suggest that his novelty as a long-lost friend had worn off by 1976. The villagers had come to see him more as a paying guest from an affluent country. His irritation indicates a creeping hubris: he had assumed that the villagers would always offer unconditional hospitality as they had during the wartime period.

It is clear from his assorted writings, notably in *Neboke jinsei* (1982) and *Musume* (1985), that the more Mizuki tries to cure his *nanpōbyō*, the more he has to tolerate the unsavory realities of contemporary Namale. Indeed, these two books reveal that he has abandoned his ambition to relocate to Namale permanently; he is now resolved to return only for short-term visits to draw artistic inspiration, and to reminisce about the past. He has lost his desire to engage with the villagers.[33]

Mizuki's Gift in Three Narratives

Mizuki's attitude to Namale evolves further on a trip he made after Emperor Hirohito's death, which occurred in January 1989. On this occasion, he donates a pick-up truck to ToPetro. In manga and the prose essays, he explains the reasons for this largesse in three

31 Mizuki 1999 (1982), pp. 245–46.
32 Mizuki 1999 (1982), p. 246.
33 Mizuki 1995 (1985), pp. 248–50; Mizuki 1999 (1982), pp. 247–48.

Figure 5. Mizuki reflects on the significance of the death of Emperor Hirohito. Image reproduced from Mizuki 1994c (1989), pp. 248–49.

distinct versions (see figure 4). The emphases vary, but each version notes the impact of Emperor Hirohito's death on Mizuki's perception of his relationship with his wartime past and with the villagers. The first narrative appears in *Komikku Shōwa-shi 8* コッミク昭和史8 (Manga History of Showa 8, 1989), the final volume of a manga series that intertwines a history of the Showa era with Mizuki's autobiography. This first narrative appears unaltered in a subsequent manga autobiography published in 2001. In the first narrative, Mizuki devotes four half-page frames to his reaction to Hirohito's death. These four frames are the longest first-person commentary passages in the book, and precede the gifting of the truck:

> Frame 1 (top right): As we went from the Shōwa to Heisei periods, somehow my mind became calm. I felt as if I were liberated from my pent-up anger.
> Frame 2 (bottom right): During the war, everything was done in the name of the emperor. Soldiers got bullied in his name. So I had this anger I could not express.
> Frame 3 (top left): I am sorry to say so, but for some reason or another I was getting angry at "the emperor" without conscious knowledge. Now, we no longer have him.
> Frame 4 (bottom left): Ever since I was a child, I loathed having my freedom taken away. This is why my weird anger at the war was bound to be stronger than other people's… (figure 5)[34]

34 Mizuki 1994c (1989), pp. 248–49; Mizuki 2005 (2001), pp. 277–78. The translation into English is my own. See also Davisson's translation in Mizuki 2015, pp. 510–11.

Mizuki's frank admission of his long-held resentment toward the emperor and the release of this emotional burden on his death make for a rare moment in Mizuki's writing. His reference to the emperor particularly demonstrates his political color, which can only have earned him support from those critical of the emperor's role and stirred the ire of his defendants. The combination of his words and images carry the intensity of Mizuki's simmering anger. In the first frame, he announces with a pun that the new era Heisei 平成 has brought him *heisei* 平静 (equanimity).[35] Together with his acknowledgement of calmness in the new era, the first frame might signal the beginning of his healing from a deep-seated trauma, or at least his willingness to address the trauma. The contrast between Mizuki's styles of drawing is worth noting. Typically, Mizuki draws people with square-ish faces and a disproportionate head-to-body ratio against a naturalistic backdrop. Cartoon-like soldiers in frames 2 and 3 might be taken to reflect how military strategists saw soldiers. In frame 3, Mizuki features himself in the jungle, looking bewildered. The contrast between the realistically drawn jungle and the caricatured soldiers seems to convey Mizuki's resentment toward the strategists who treated soldiers as toy soldiers deployed without foresight. The realistically-drawn soldiers in frames 1 and 4 convey different messages. Frame 1 seems to accentuate the isolation of a lone soldier in the vastness of nature. In frame 4, the dead solider draped over a tree is almost indistinguishable from his surroundings. The scene reminds us that over eighty percent of Japanese soldiers in Papua New Guinea died of causes that directly or indirectly resulted from starvation.

The first narrative in *Komikku Shōwa-shi* underscores Mizuki's departure from personal anger. ToPetro's reaction to the truck vindicates Mizuki's motivation in the reciprocating decades of friendship and in compensating for the inconvenience he has caused to the villagers. ToPetro is so happy to receive the truck that he invites Mizuki and the villagers to celebrate the gift. At the ceremony, ToPetro announces, "I am happy because what I did for him [Mizuki] came back."[36] This brief remark seems to have made a profound impression on Mizuki partly because he now knows ToPetro has dementia. The comment also spurs him on to speculate what ToPetro could have been thinking of ever since Mizuki began travelling back to Namale in the 1970s. To Mizuki, the remark suggests that ToPetro longed for Mizuki to recompense the decades of generosity with an item of value. Indeed, Mizuki's first narrative suggests that he believes he has fulfilled his side of the bargain as a true friend and an adopted member of the village. At the same time, ToPetro's comment humbles Mizuki because ToPetro's memory of friendship with Mizuki remains strong. Mizuki goes on to reiterate that he likes ToPetro even more for his modesty. Mizuki recalls that, unlike the other villagers, ToPetro has never asked for anything in return despite poverty besetting his family and Mizuki's repeated requests for local curios.[37] Mizuki in his first narrative gives ToPetro a rare voice that leads Mizuki to reassess their relationship. While the narrative bespeaks his renewed respect for ToPetro as an always obliging and loyal friend, it ends up silencing ToPetro's thoughts and feelings toward Mizuki.

35 The Heisei era began on 8 January 1989, with the new imperial reign that followed the death of Emperor Hirohito.

36 Mizuki 1994c (1989), p. 254; Mizuki 1994d, pp. 227–28; Mizuki 1995 (1985), p. 255; Mizuki 2002 (1995), p. 162.

37 Mizuki 1994c (1989), p. 255; Mizuki 1994d, p. 228.

Figure 6. Mizuki (left) shakes hand with ToPetro (right) after presenting the truck. Mizuki then leaves the village. On the far left is Nezumi Otoko, a shadowy cynic appearing in Mizuki's famous *Gegege no Kitarō*. Image reproduced from Mizuki 1994c (1989), p. 256.

By the late 1980s, however, Mizuki had grown more appreciative of ToPetro's sentiments. He draws a scene in *Komikku Shōwa-shi* in which he and ToPetro are shaking hands in front of the vehicle surrounded by the villagers. ToPetro is portrayed as looking far away but apparently content; this perhaps is meant to hint at both ToPetro's dementia and at his good grace in accepting Mizuki's gift. By contrast, Mizuki looks as if he is pondering what ToPetro's comment means.[38] Mizuki is conscious of having ignored ToPetro's long-held wish for him to reciprocate his kindness. Mizuki's dilemma exemplifies a rare occurrence in travel writing whereby a long-term friendship tempers the power dynamics of the oft-ephemeral traveler-travelee relationship. The scene leaves the reader wondering whether Mizuki's belated gift is better than no gift (see figure 6).

Mizuki repeats this first narrative in two subsequent prose pieces, both of which appeared in 1995: one a new epilogue to *Musume*, which he wrote ten years after the original publication, and the other a retrospective essay on his friendship with ToPetro, *ToPetro to no gojū nen* トペトロとの50年 (Fifty Years with ToPetro, 1995; hereafter, *Gojū nen*). The year 1995, the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, prompted many Japanese people to take a renewed interest in how, and to what end, the war should and could be commemorated. A case in point was the heated debate in the Diet over the wording of

38 Mizuki 1994c (1989), p. 255; Mizuki 2005 (2001), p. 285.

Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi's official apology for Japan's wartime atrocities.[39] Mizuki evidently took little notice of the debate but he seemed to have absorbed the zeitgeist in reinterpreting his relationship with the villagers. In both pieces, he reveals that he has never paid any cash to the villagers because he assumes that, living off the land, they need little else. He admits to giving small gifts such as transistor radios, hair gel, and eye drops as gestures of his appreciation and, indeed, payment for accommodation. However, he now realizes that he should have paid ToPetro for the accommodation at least, and he has been "a little stupid" for taking the villagers' generosity for granted.[40] His frank, if melodramatic, admission of hubris speaks of the belated realization of a major social *faux pas*.

It is no less intriguing that Mizuki's questioning here touches on a seminal issue of Nanyō-Orientalism: the imbalance of power between the impoverished villagers and himself as a moneyed traveler. On the one hand, Mizuki champions the villagers' carefree and innocent character and unassuming lifestyle, which he deploys as a counter to the prejudice the Japanese readers may have against the South Seas Islanders as "primitive" peoples. Nonetheless, Mizuki glosses over the more significant questions about how and why the villagers became so impoverished, and what his presence means to them. Mizuki's new sensibility resonates with postcolonial theory, that is, post-1960s English-speaking travel writing of the industrialized world. Debbie Lisle argues that writers from these metropolitan countries substitute an apolitical celebration of cultural diversity for the overtly racist idioms of imperialism when describing the former colonies. She finds it troubling that travel writers fail to ask themselves what their travel means to the continuing global inequality.[41] Mizuki's reflection fits into Lisle's mold of the travel writer who fails to ask what his or her personal journey means for the relationship between Japan and Papua New Guinea, or more broadly, the Pacific Islands under Japanese colonization or wartime occupation.

While Mizuki repeats the first narrative of the truck as his gift to the villagers for their kindness to him, he creates a second narrative in his twenty-three-page manga essay *Sensō to Nihon* 戦争と日本 (War and Japan). It first appears in *Shōgaku rokunensei* 小学六年生, a monthly magazine aimed at sixth-grade children, in 1991. *Sensō to Nihon* follows the formula of *Komikku Shōwa-shi*. It interweaves the origins and the course of the Asia-Pacific War with Mizuki's personal experience as a conscript.[42] As if responding to the growing public debate about Japanese atrocities, Mizuki draws the reader's attention to Japanese "inhuman actions" in Korea and to massacres by the Japanese of Chinese people. Mizuki's gifting of the truck appears in the final three pages of *Sensō to Nihon*. Foregrounding the truck story is a sequence in which Mizuki discusses the war with the villagers, one of whom comments that the Japanese executed a "Big Man," a prominent villager. Other villagers join in and volunteer similar episodes of the Japanese executing three "Big Men" for refusing to cooperate. Mizuki declares that this is the first time he has learned of the Japanese atrocities from the villagers directly. His late discovery of his complicity, however indirect and distant, makes him painfully aware of his ignorance and gives him a renewed appreciation of the villagers' kindness.[43]

39 Hashimoto 2015, p. 57.
40 Mizuki 1995 (1985), pp. 260–61; Mizuki 2002 (1995), p. 128.
41 Lisle 2006, pp. 15 and 256–66.
42 The English translation of this manga appears in Penney 2008.
43 Mizuki 1991, pp. 400–402.

Although Mizuki does not repeat this narrative elsewhere, *Sensō to Nihon* adds a new meaning to the gifting of the truck. He perhaps wants the reader to see the gift of the truck as his olive branch to atone for the atrocities that the Japanese troops committed. In the final four frames that follow, he reiterates the Japanese actions in Korea and China, and asserts that only when the Japanese express sincere contrition for these past events can they stand tall as world citizens.[44] Mizuki presents himself as having undergone a personal transformation from a soldier and veteran to a citizen and grassroots ambassador seeking reconciliation.

Mizuki's late discovery of the Japanese atrocities seems to have dovetailed with another discovery in the 1990s. In the 1995 epilogue to *Musume*, Mizuki writes about ToPetro chiding him for walking alone at night, because he fears there are villagers' intent on killing him. Mizuki now deduces that such a scenario was plausible because he knew that the Japanese had killed many Islanders.[45] Mizuki then refers to the episode in which he trod on villagers who were sleeping on the floor of his hut. In the 1995 epilogue and in *Mizuki Shigeru no Rabauru senki* 水木しげるのラバウル戦記 (Mizuki Shigeru's Rabaul War Memoir, 1994), Mizuki speculates that ToPetro sent the villagers to the hut to protect him from the men who still resent the Japanese. This new knowledge underscores Mizuki's ignorance of the wartime tension and makes him more appreciative of ToPetro's thoughtfulness.[46] At the same time, Mizuki is implying a gap in the villagers' perceptions of him. Older villagers, such as ToPetro and EPupe, remember him as a *kandere* from the wartime. On the other hand, others who did not know about Mizuki's wartime association perceive him merely as one of the Japanese perpetrators.

The storyline of the third narrative, as told in *Gojū nen*, is identical to the other two narratives. The difference is that the third narrative adds new reasons for his choice of gift and the timing of his gifting. In *Gojū nen* Mizuki returns to Namale in the late 1980s, where he finds out that ToPetro has built a house for him. This surprises and troubles Mizuki who wonders whether ToPetro intends this as Mizuki's final resting place.[47] The house makes Mizuki anxious about the letters that he has written to ToPetro over the years, which contained vague promises to return to the village. He has never informed ToPetro that he has in fact ruled out retiring to Namale. Mizuki suspects that ToPetro and his family believe that Mizuki holds a sincere desire to retire in Namale.[48] Mizuki informs the readers that he knows that ToPetro has wanted a pick-up truck for a long time; he leaves the reader to deduce that he hopes such a gift will be adequate compensation for the kindness received. The reader might be led to believe that ToPetro's death prompts Mizuki to reveal as much as he can in order to give closure to his friendship with ToPetro and the villagers.

Closing the Circle: ToPetro's Funeral

The donation of the truck turns out to be the last occasion where Mizuki sees ToPetro. In early 1992, Mizuki received letters from ToPetro's family that referenced ToPetro's sudden death and urged Mizuki to visit soon. He paid another visit in July. The villagers only

44 Mizuki 1991, p. 403.
45 Mizuki 1995 (1985), p. 258.
46 Mizuki 1995 (1985), p. 259; Mizuki 1994d, p. 227.
47 Mizuki 2002 (1995), pp. 157–58.
48 Mizuki 2002 (1995), p. 159.

Figure 7. ToPetro speaks through Mizuki. From left to right: Paivu, Mizuki's Japanese companion, Mizuki, and ToPetro. Image reproduced from Mizuki 2005 (2001), p. 395.

informed him then that the funeral would be held two years later; they gave no explanation for the delay. Mizuki duly returned in July 1994 with his two daughters, a friend and two magazine editors, and sponsored the entire funeral for ToPetro. The funeral was another event that Mizuki narrated in different ways. His first narration appears in prose in 1995, and the second in manga form in 2001. Both accounts show Mizuki visiting the village in 1994 and agreeing to sponsor the funeral because the villagers are too poor to pay for it themselves. Mizuki's drawing of the funeral features lavish local dances and drumming, and ends with Mizuki distributing shell money to the villagers. The gist of both stories is that he has, by virtue of the gift, fulfilled his obligation to ToPetro and the villagers and redeemed his dignity amongst them.

Apart from these similarities, the two accounts give differing emphases. In the 1995 narrative, Mizuki depicts himself, in both words and images, as being immersed in the traditional funerary rites, relishing the happy memories of the wartime and his earlier postwar journeys.[49] He muses that the ideal humans are those who live in harmony with nature, and this makes him yearn for people like ToPetro.[50] The funeral is the final and official ceremony that enables Mizuki and the villagers to mourn. For Mizuki, the funeral represents the end of not just a friendship but also his admiration of the village customs and ethos that ToPetro embodied.

The second account Mizuki wrote in 2001 (*Kanzenban Mizuki Shigeru den: Ge* [vol. 3 of 3]), six years after the first, makes use of drawings to emphasize ToPetro's enduring spiritual presence. Throughout Mizuki's negotiation over the funeral arrangement with Mr. Paivu, the mayor of the Rabaul district that includes Namale, Mizuki features the ghost of ToPetro floating beside him as if nudging him into sponsorship of the funeral (see figure 7).[51] Mizuki recalls the eerie sensation of "someone pulling him," which results in him sponsoring the funeral and paying ¥30,000 to each of about twenty family members

49 Mizuki 2002 (1995), pp. 184–86.
50 Mizuki 2002 (1995), pp. 190–91.
51 Mizuki 2005 (2001), pp. 395–96.

to perform traditional music and dance.[52] In this 2001 narrative, Mizuki draws a scene following the funeral, in which Paivu tells him that the spirit of ToPetro is issuing orders. The drawing seems to validate the idea that Paivu's comment is not merely Mizuki's own imagination and emphasizes a supernatural bond between ToPetro and himself. The acknowledgement of this spiritual bond seems to foreshadow the end of Mizuki's physical journeys to New Britain. In 1995, Mizuki learned that a volcanic eruption in Rabaul destroyed and buried many villages in ashes. The news worried Mizuki but also caused him to conclude that his relationship with Namale had come to its natural conclusion.[53]

It seems that ToPetro's death and the eruption prompted Mizuki to find new purposes in life. The 2001 narrative in *Kanzenban* indicates that from the late 1980s, Mizuki frequently traveled to destinations other than New Britain. ToPetro's funeral punctuated his travel, allowing him to ponder the impact of spiritual forces on the human subconscious, and led to later journeys to fulfill his curiosity in the world of *yōkai*.[54] In *Kanzenban*, Mizuki narrates all these journeys in quick succession with cursory descriptions, and this gives little impression of him having meaningful interactions or making lasting connections with his travelees. Nonetheless, the rapid pace of his journeys suggests his urgent desire to make the most of his remaining time and to find a new *raison d'être.* The 2001 narrative carries a certain poignancy that depicts Mizuki anew as a lost soul. No matter where he goes, no destination seems to provide an adequate substitute for Namale that could cure Mizuki's *nanpōbyō*. As we see in his disenchantment with postwar Namale, Mizuki gives up on looking for the "good old days" in Namale. He is still invested too much in the hope of finding the old Namale elsewhere in the world. This is the paradox of Nanyō-Orientalism that Mizuki's journeys to Namale manifest, and whose meanings Mizuki attempts to reconcile and resolve through his journeys and numerous writings.

Conclusion

In his manga and prose, Mizuki provides multiple renditions of his visits to Namale village from the wartime period through to the mid-1990s. What begin as tales of friendship acquire complex new layers of disillusionment, resolution, and closure. Nanyō-Orientalism is the framework in which Mizuki forms his interactions with and impressions of the New Guineans. For Mizuki, wartime Namale provides a heavenly respite from the vagaries of the war. In his postwar journeys, disillusionment with the present accentuate the pathos of belated return and the unsettling ambiguities arising from new traveler–travelee dynamics. Mizuki's growing disillusionment continues until the death of Emperor Hirohito. It forces Mizuki to confront his personal demons and reexamine his attitude to and relationship with the villagers.

In particular, Mizuki's multiple retellings of the gifting of the truck and ToPetro's funeral are attempts to tease out the meanings of his relationship with ToPetro, albeit on his terms. The three versions of the gifting of the truck and the two versions of the funeral show Mizuki trying to articulate the different motives and interpretations, which create a feedback loop on Mizuki's perceptions of the villagers, himself, the war, Japan, and Papua

52 Mizuki 2005 (2001), p. 397.
53 Mizuki 1995 (1985), p. 270; Mizuki 2002 (1995), p. 193; Mizuki 2008, p. 299.
54 Mizuki 2005 (2001), pp. 413-44.

New Guinea. The truck symbolizes for him national and personal reconciliation. The latter motivation seems salient as Mizuki grows more contrite about acting in bad faith with ToPetro. Likewise, Mizuki's two narratives of ToPetro's funeral communicate different messages to the reader. While the first conveys the self-centered motivation of the funeral, the second raises and accentuates Mizuki's spiritual sensitivity and connection to ToPetro.

At the heart of Mizuki's repeated and continual introspection is the residual influence of Nanyō-Orientalism. Over the years he became sensitive to the ambiguous tension between his naivety, his unfulfilled desire for the village, and his slow awareness of his hubris. Mizuki's belated appreciation of the villagers' plight and deep-seated wartime memory are not so much a failure on his part. Rather, his long-drawn inability to develop or express his empathy with the villagers could be considered to be a manifestation of his *nanpōbyō*. The severity of his wartime trauma and the rapid transformation of postwar Japan made him yearn for the bygone days of Namale. Mizuki's *nanpōbyō* holds him captive to his own obsession so much so that he is unable to accept the new realities as they are. It is hoped that future research will probe the finer aspects of Mizuki's travelogues, for such endeavors can only enrich the posthumous reappraisal of Mizuki as a veteran traveler to his erstwhile battle sites.

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Cultures of (Dis)remembrance and the Effects of Discourse at the Hiyoshidai Tunnels[1]

Justin AUKEMA

This paper examines the early postwar history of the physical remains of World War II through the example of Keio University's Hiyoshi Campus. During the war, the Japanese Imperial Navy's Combined Fleet used this site as their headquarters, and they built a massive underground tunnel system there. Furthermore, after the war, the campus was confiscated and used by the U.S. Occupation Eighth Army until 1949. Yet this history of the Hiyoshi Campus was almost completely forgotten until the late 1980s. This paper argues that the reasons for this lie in the postwar history of the site and the university. Namely, Keio intellectuals in the early postwar sought to portray the school as an historical pioneer of liberal democracy in Japan. Yet in this historical rewriting, instances of liberal cooperation with militarism such as Keio's wartime past became inconvenient truths, and the physical wartime remains on campus, as visible reminders of this past, became unwanted and undesirable anachronisms. In this way, the paper argues that the forgetting of war sites such as the Hiyoshidai tunnels was, in some ways, a byproduct of the creation of a liberal-democratic postwar Japan.

Keywords: war sites, World War II, Keio University, Hiyoshi Campus, Fukuzawa Yukichi, Koizumi Shinzō, liberalism, GHQ, postwar, forgetting

Introduction: Cultures of (dis)remembrance

Since the late 1980s there has been a growing interest in the material remains of World War II, called *sensō iseki* 戦争遺跡 (war sites) in Japan.[2] This war-site boom reflects a broader global focus on what Pierre Nora identified as "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*), where "memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects," as well as on

1 The author would like to thank John Breen and the two anonymous reviewers at *Japan Review*, as well as Peter Seigenthaler and Laura Hein for their support at the 2017 Association for Asian Studies annual conference.

2 For instance, a search of Japan's leading daily, the *Asahi shinbun*, for the terms "*sensō iseki*" 戦争遺跡 and its abbreviation "*senseki*" 戦跡 yields 2,690 hits between the years 1980 and 2016. In addition, from 1990 to 2016, the number of war sites preserved as *bunkazai* 文化財 (cultural properties) under the *Bunkazai hogohō* 文化財保護法 (Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties) rose from 1 to 267. Most of these have been preserved at the local and prefectural levels. See Han 2016, p.4 for figures from 1996 to 2012 and Dehara 2017 for numbers through 2016.

what Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka called "cultural memory" objects, whereby memory is object-*ified* in "texts, rites, [and] monuments."[3] Japanese scholars Jūbishi Shunbu 十菱駿武 and Kikuchi Minoru 菊池実 explained this phenomenon when they said that war memories are "moving from 'people' to 'things,'" and they indicated that war sites can be used to pass on war memories in lieu of direct survivor narratives.[4] War sites have also joined a larger discourse on "heritage," which Laurajane Smith described as "a social and cultural practice […] of meaning and identity making," and which Brian Graham indicated as "that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social."[5] This paper investigates the history of one war site to receive attention in this context: five kilometers of concrete bunkers lying mainly under Keio University's Hiyoshi Campus in Yokohama and known as the Hiyoshidai chikagō 日吉台地下壕 (Hiyoshidai tunnels). From 1944, this was the headquarters of the Imperial Japanese Navy's top command, the Combined Fleet (*Rengō Kantai* 連合艦隊), and from here they directed some of the war's deadliest battles, including the Battle of Leyte Gulf in October 1944 and the Battle of Okinawa from April to June 1945. They also sent young men, as well as former Keio students, to their deaths on suicide missions as members of the *tokkōtai* 特攻隊 (Special Attack Corps) and ordered the battleship Yamato on its final, doomed mission from the site.[6]

This paper argues that the Hiyoshidai tunnels have been shaped by various competing and changing discourses on the war and the larger biographical identity of the Hiyoshi area (mainly the Keio University campus), and that, in addition to forming an essential part of the tunnel's history, these discourses have had heterogeneous and cumulative effects on the physical object of the tunnels themselves, as well as on their place in historical memory. By focusing on what was lost and what was gained as historical discourses changed over time, this paper identifies a process it referred to as "cultures of (dis)remembrance" which it defines as the dual forgetting and remembering of objects in discourse.[7] To paraphrase Michel Foucault, objects, material, or otherwise, exist in discourse and discursive contexts.[8] This includes war sites like the Hiyoshidai tunnels, as well as sites of memory, heritage sites, and cultural memory objects which, borrowing a phrase from Laurajane Smith, can be described as being "constituted by discourse," or even, as David C. Harvey noted, being "the material consequences of discourse."[9] Congruent with this is the idea that memory itself is at least partly discursively constructed.[10] Therefore, as discourses change over time, objects change along with them and are alternatively remembered and forgotten. Put another way, cultures of remembrance (*Erinnerungskulturen*) are transformed into cultures

3 Nora 1989, p. 9 and Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, pp. 129–30.
4 Jūbishi and Kikuchi 2002, p. 3.
5 Smith 2006, p. 13 and Graham et al. 2000, p. 17.
6 Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 2011, pp. 30-40.
7 The author would like to thank Linh Vu for her assistance in coining this term. This paper follows Stuart Hall in defining "discourse" as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about—that is, a way of representing—a particular kind of knowledge about a topic" (Hall 1993, p. 291).
8 Foucault wrote, for instance, of "the regular formation of objects that emerge only in discourse" (Foucault 1982, p. 53).
9 Smith 2006, p. 13 and Harvey 2008, p. 19.
10 Nigel Hunt wrote that "memory itself is constructed partly through narrative and the social context" (Hunt 2010, p. 5).

of (dis)remembrance when the object of one discourse is replaced with that of another.[11] In this way, discourse engenders both physical and mnemonic effects on sites and objects. At the same time, as Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer indicated, sites and objects continue to "show traces of [the] differing discourses and ideologies" that comprise them.[12] Moreover, these traces of past discourses and cultures of (dis)remembrance are cumulative and together form what Marie Louise Stig-Sorensen and Dacia Viejo Rose recognized as a site's larger "biography of place" and biographical identity.[13]

The paper discerns three cultures of (dis)remembrance in particular that shaped the fate of the Hiyoshidai tunnels. The first centers on the support of Keio officials like school president Koizumi Shinzō 小泉信三 for Japan's wartime aims, and the ways in which they used the thought and image of their school's founder, the Meiji-era intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉, in the service of the wartime Japanese state. The paper refers to this as a "Fukuzawa as patriot" discourse and indicates that it formed an important discursive context in which the Hiyoshidai tunnels were built under the Keio campus. The second focuses on the U.S. occupation of the Keio Hiyoshi campus in the immediate postwar and the efforts of Keio officials like school president Ushioda Kōji 潮田江次 to have the campus returned. In their petitions, Ushioda and others again invoked Fukuzawa Yukichi, but this time they downplayed the earlier militaristic uses of his thought and instead portrayed him as a pioneer of liberal democracy in Japan. The paper refers to this as a "Fukuzawa as modern liberal" discourse and suggests that within this discursive context Hiyoshi's wartime roles and the physical traces of war there were overlooked and marginalized. The third culture of (dis)remembrance relates to a reevaluation in the late 1980s of the Hiyoshidai tunnels as "invaluable heritage" (*kichō na isan* 貴重な遺産) for World War II. Proponents of this "heritage discourse" like the Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 日吉台地下壕保存の会 (The Association to Preserve the Hiyoshidai Tunnels; hereafter APHT) actively worked to confront and uncover the wartime history and memories of the tunnels. At the same time, they competed with the cumulative effects of prior discourses at the site.

1. "Fukuzawa as Patriot" Discourse and Hiyoshi's Wartime History

Keio school presidents Kamata Eikichi 鎌田栄吉 (served 1898–1922) and Koizumi Shinzo (served 1933–1947) were active in promoting the prewar assumption in Japan that the purpose of education was to serve the goals of the nation-state. Accordingly, they were both devoted proponents of Japan's wartime aims and efforts. Koizumi especially penned many nationalistic pieces praising the Japanese empire and denouncing the enemy British and Americans. In fact, many intellectuals supported the war.[14] However, what made these Keio elites different was that they utilized the thought and image of their school's founder, Fukuzawa Yukichi, to orient the purposes of education toward a militaristic and nationalistic agenda. This section argues that this discourse—what can be termed

11 For more on *Erinnerungskulturen*, see Erll 2011, p. 49.
12 Wodak and Meyer 2009, p. 10.
13 Stig-Sorensen and Rose 2015, p. 13.
14 For instance, Waseda University president Tanaka Hozumi 田中穂積 and other Waseda-based intellectuals actively supported the state's wartime goals, including endorsing mass arrests of left-wing students (*gakusei gari* 学生狩り) and the idea of *gakusei-dō* 学生道 which encouraged students to sacrifice themselves for the state; see Kitagawa 2017 and Mochizuki 2017.

a "Fukuzawa as patriot" discourse—formed an important historical and discursive background for the school's dispatch of students to the war front, for its loan of the campus to the Imperial Japanese Navy, and, ultimately, for the construction of the Hiyoshidai tunnels.

Although overt militarism was hardly the main purpose of Fukazawa's thought, his objective of a strong and independent Japanese nation-state was predicated on support for the armed forces. This was because Fukuzawa envisioned a symbiotic relationship between individual and national liberty: on the one hand the state guaranteed and protected individual liberty while, on the other hand, the individual defended the liberty of the state. Hence Fukuzawa's focus on educating a national citizenry with a "spirit of individual independence" and his dictum that "persons without the spirit of personal independence will not have deep concern for their country."[15] Fukuzawa also made this the founding principle of Keiō Gijuku 慶應義塾 (the precursor to Keio University), which he established in 1858, and it was inherited and codified by subsequent generations of Keio graduates and leaders. In 1900, for instance, Fukuzawa's pupils compiled the *Shūshin yōryō* 修身要領 (Moral Guidelines), a collection of their teacher's instructions. Based on the idea of *dokuritsu jison* 独立自尊 (independence and self-respect), the guidelines encouraged students, as dutiful national citizens, to render their services to state and military institutions—the guarantors of individual liberty. One passage explained that, "We, the Japanese people, must never forget that, men and women alike, it is our responsibility to devote our lives and property to fight enemy countries and to protect our national independence."[16]

However, the limitations on personal freedom implicit here were tested amid growing calls for democratic political enfranchisement and social equality in the 1910s and 1920s. In response, Japanese elites argued that patriotic loyalty to the nation trumped individual liberty. Education Minister Okada Ryōhei 岡田良平, for example, expounded in 1917 that the purpose of national education was "to produce obedient and loyal subjects filled with a spirit of defending the Japanese nation."[17] Okada implemented this view via the Rinji Kyōiku Kaigi 臨時教育会議 (Special Council for Education) and the 1918 Daigaku-rei 大学令 (University Ordinance) which stated that the purpose of universities was to train "academic skills required by the state" and to inculcate a sense of "national ideology."[18]

At the same time, some asserted that Fukuzawa's concept of *dokuritsu jison* was a prerequisite for patriotic devotion, and that it could serve as an alternative to socialism, communism, and individualism. In 1920, Keio president Kamata Eikichi, for instance, wrote that students "must not be deceived by deceptive ideologies nor follow the group blindly," and instead "must […] realize the spirit of freedom, and independence and self-respect (*dokuritsu jison*)."[19] Kamata carried his ideas to the highest levels of national leadership, serving as Education Ministry head from 1922 to 1923, member of the Sūmitsu-in 枢密院 (Privy Council) from 1927, and later head of the Teikoku Kyōiku Kai 帝国教育会 (Imperial Council on Education) in 1932.[20]

15 Fukuzawa 2012, pp. 20–21.
16 Keiō Gijuku 1900.
17 Cited in Yamasaki 2017, p. 69.
18 Daigaku-rei 1918.
19 Kamata 1920.
20 Inoue 2013, p. 131.

Figure 1. Keio students conduct a military march on the Hiyoshi Campus. Courtesy of the Fukuzawa Memorial Center for Modern Japanese Studies.

Kamata's patriotic interpretation of independence and self-respect (*dokuritsu jison*) as a means to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule intensified following Japan's military take-over of Manchuria in 1931. Writing in 1933, for example, he lauded the Japanese people for their long history of "patriotism and loyalty to the emperor," and pointed to Japan's "unbroken line of emperors," as elements which formed the essence of the *kokutai* 国体 (national polity) and made Japan unique from other nations.[21] Moreover, Kamata echoed Fukuzawa's belief that victory in the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars had gained Japan independence and self-respect on the global stage, and he proposed applying the concept of *dokuritsu jison* to the current world situation: "When there is a state emergency, we must sacrifice ourselves and devote our services to the state. [...] It is our duty as loyal citizens to maintain a spirit of patriotic service at all times, whether in war or peace."[22]

When Japan instigated full-scale war with China in 1937, Keio leaders supported the war and applied Fukuzawa's thought to this end. Keio's president from 1933 to 1946, Koizumi Shinzō, for example, had personally known Fukuzawa as a boy, and his deep knowledge of Fukuzawa's works gave him the reputation of being the direct inheritor of Fukuzawa's thought among Keio students.[23] In a 1937 article in the campus newspaper, *Mita shinbun* 三田新聞 (hereafter *MS*), for example, he praised the actions of Japanese soldiers: "You are still young, but if the war grows larger the state may require your services on the battlefield. Should this come to pass, I expect that you, too, will bravely advance forward under a hail of bullets with the same patriotic vigor and unswerving loyalty as

21 Kamata 1933, p. 161 181.
22 See Fukuzawa 1966, p. 415 and Kamata 1933, p. 186.
23 Kōyama 2003, pp. 93–94.

our troops are currently doing today."[24] Moreover, in the same article he cited Fukuzawa's letter of encouragement to his friend Kimura Kaishū's 木村芥舟 son, Kimura Kōkichi 木村浩吉, a naval officer in the Sino-Japanese War (1884–1885). Fukuzawa told Kimura to "fight courageously" and not be afraid to die in battle, since he would look after his aging parents. Koizumi held this up as exemplary behavior: "This is what we national citizens must say to our troops as they go off to battle."[25]

In October 1943, the Japanese government removed the draft exemption for college students and lowered the conscription age to twenty. This resulted in masses of students being called up, including nearly five hundred from the Hiyoshi Campus alone. The same month that Keio students were leaving for the front, the prominent intellectual Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男 wrote an essay in the *MS* titled "Fukuzawa ni okeru chitsujo to ningen" 福沢に於ける秩序と人間 (Order and Humanity in the Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi). Maruyama argued that, to maintain true order, national citizens must internalize the politics and the goals of the state as their own goals. He connected this to Fukuzawa, for whom the biggest obstacle confronting a strong nation-state had been the lack of an "autonomous personality" among the Japanese people; as a result, they viewed politics and the state as largely outside themselves. Maruyama argued that for the Japanese nation to succeed, people must first attain a level of "individual subjective freedom."[26] In this sense, Maruyama echoed Fukuzawa's belief that liberalism and individualism were not only compatible with nationalism, but even a prerequisite for it. Fukuzawa "was a nationalist, precisely because he was an individualist. The state was facilitated by the internal liberty of the individual," he wrote.[27]

Not all public intellectuals in wartime Japan shared these views of Fukuzawa. For example, in March 1944, Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 attacked Fukuzawa's idea of independence and self-respect (*dokuritsu jison*), saying that it was nothing other than individualism which threatened to "wipe out beautiful Japanese customs."[28] Two months later, Koizumi refuted Tokutomi in the pages of the *MS* by invoking Fukuzawa's dictum that a spirit of independence was a requisite for a deep concern for patriotism.[29] Later that year, Koizumi wrote numerous highly nationalistic articles in major Japanese newspapers that mocked the Americans and British and encouraged Japanese civilians to fight to the death. "There can be no compromise in this war [...] There is no other option left available but to fight," he wrote in one article. "All morality during time of war stems from the belief in and hope for victory," he continued.[30] Koizumi encouraged civilians to have an "unyielding spirit of fearlessness," insisting that such spirit could not be granted externally, but rather must spring up from within individuals themselves.[31]

The physical landscape at Hiyoshi was transformed in the context of such discourse and rhetoric, and, reflecting Koizumi's 1941 statement that "our schools must be the last

24 Koizumi 1937.
25 Koizumi 1937.
26 Maruyama 1943.
27 Maruyama 1943.
28 Tokutomi 1944, p. 62.
29 Koizumi 1944a.
30 Koizumi 1944c.
31 Koizumi 1944b and Koizumi 1944c.

Figure 2. An image from inside the former Combined Fleet headquarter tunnels (Hiyoshidai tunnels) underneath Keio's Hiyoshi Campus. Photo by author, 26 January 2013.

fortress in the first line of our national defense," for instance, the white outer walls of the campus buildings were painted black to avoid detection by U.S. planes.[32] Moreover, after October 1943 most students had left for the front, paving the way for Keio to lease the campus to the Imperial Japanese Navy in March 1944.[33] By mid-1944, the Navy's Combined Fleet had been decimated, and, no longer able to command the war from the sea, the navy began instead to prepare for a final battle on the mainland by moving its headquarters inland. In this milieu, Keio's Hiyoshi Campus was a prime choice for the Combined Fleet's new headquarters since it was close to both the Navy Ministry in Tokyo and the naval base at Yokosuka, it was on a high plain suitable for sending and receiving wireless transmissions, it had ample hill space for building underground tunnels, and it had many sturdy buildings already in place, which could be used immediately.[34] Moreover, the idea to use the campus as a military base came from former Keio graduates within the navy, and it was sanctioned by President Koizumi who had "no objection to the navy using the school."[35]

It was in this climate that the Navy came not only to use the Hiyoshi Campus buildings above ground but also, with the labor of approximately two thousand military and private construction workers and up to seven hundred Korean laborers, to construct nearly

32 *Mita shinbun* 1941.
33 Keiō Gijuku 1964a, pp. 905–906.
34 Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 2011, pp. 30–31.
35 Two firsthand accounts confirm this. See Maeda 1993 and Masui 1994; cited in Masui 1994. In addition, the foremost scholar of Keio's wartime history, Shirai Atsushi, wrote that it was Koizumi's personal intent for the navy to occupy Keio (Shirai, Asaba, and Midorikawa 2003, p. 92).

five kilometers of underground tunnels below the site from August 1944.[36] Eventually over one thousand people came to work at Hiyoshi under the command of the Combined Fleet's Admiral Toyoda Soemu 豊田副武, and it was from here that the navy directed some of the Pacific War's deadliest battles, including the Battle of Leyte Gulf (October 1944) and the Battle of Okinawa (April–June 1945). Moreover, the navy sent countless youths, including mobilized students from Keio's Hiyoshi Campus, on suicide missions as members of the *tokkōtai* forces from the site.[37] One Keio student recruited for such a suicide mission was Matsuura Kiichi 松浦喜一, who narrowly survived after his plane ran into foul weather and was forced to turn back. "I thought that there was no choice but for me to give my life in a *tokk*ō attack," he recalled years later. "As long as we were at war, I felt that there was no way I could refuse death."[38]

2. "Fukuzawa as Modern Liberal" and Hiyoshi's Postwar Identity

The historical and social frameworks for remembering dramatically changed following Japan's defeat in the Asia-Pacific War and, consequently, so did discourses and memories surrounding the Hiyoshidai tunnels. From 1868 to 1945, Japan's foremost aim had been to "strengthen the foundations of imperial rule."[39] However, the U.S. occupation from 1945 to 1952 set the country on a new course: namely, to "strengthen democratic […] and liberal political tendencies," to abolish "militarism," and to "modify the feudal and authoritarian tendencies" of the government and society.[40] The Americans initially perceived the Hiyoshi Campus as a symbol of the militarism they were trying to eradicate, and, thus, the U.S. Eighth Army confiscated the campus in September 1945, and used it as a barracks and technical-training school until October 1949. Meanwhile, during this time, Keio students, teachers, and school presidents Takahashi Seiichirō 高橋誠一郎 and Ushioda Kōji, appealed to the U.S. forces for the return of their campus. In their petitions, these Keio academics argued against Hiyoshi's past as a military headquarters and the "Fukuzawa as patriot" discourse that accompanied it, instead suggesting that the true "spirit of Fukuzawa" and, hence, of Keio itself, lay in the school's role as the historical pioneer of liberal-democracy in Japan.[41] In other words, they adopted a revised "Fukuzawa as modern liberal" discourse to emphasize that the occupation of the Hiyoshi Campus was not only mistaken, but that it was also counter-productive to American aims for the reconstruction of the country.

36 Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 1993, p. 15.

37 Toyoda was one of the main architects of *Kikusui Sakusen* 菊水作戦 (Operation Kikusui) which involved suicide attacks, including *tokkō* planes and the Battleship Yamato, in the Battle of Okinawa, and he often personally greeted pilots before their fateful departure. The *Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞 of 12 April 1945 reported Toyoda issuing *tokkō* attacks from unspecified Navy HQ tunnels and proclaiming, "the fate of the nation rests on the outcome of this battle" from the site. The same article discussed final transmissions from *tokkō* pilots being received at these Navy HQ tunnels. Firsthand accounts confirm that it was the signal room in the Hiyoshidai tunnels where these last transmissions were received (Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 2011, pp. 37–38).

38 Endō, Kanetake, and Sasaki 2009.

39 From the 1868 Charter Oath (Lu 1997, p. 308). The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education likewise clarified that the purpose of education was to reinforce a hierarchical and patriarchal relationship between emperor and subject, while the 1941 Way of the Subjects minced no words, declaring: "The life and activities of the nation are all attuned to the task of giving great firmness to the foundation of the Empire" (Lu 1997, pp. 343 and 435).

40 See "Summary of United States Initial Post-Defeat Policy Relating to Japan," 1945; and J.S.C., 1945.

41 *Mita shinbun* 1946b.

The reshaping of Fukuzawa's image and Keio's postwar identity began soon after the war's end. A May 1946 article in the *MS* titled "Fukuzawa Yukichi yori hajimeyō" 福澤諭吉より始めよう (Let's begin again from Fukuzawa Yukichi), emphasized that "Fukuzawa is the life of this school": "It is imperative that we understand what the spirit of Fukuzawa really means and begin again as a school from this."[42] Similarly, an August 1946 editorial titled "Gijuku no fukkō o ronzu" 義塾の復興を論ず (Concerning the Rebuilding of the School), had this to say:

> During the war, the spirit of Fukuzawa was used for militarism. After the war, people continued to invoke Fukuzawa's name and thought. In our current situation it is no longer necessary to deny Fukuzawa's emphasis on individual freedom. Why then hasn't Keio used this opportunity to become more democratic? […] We must move on from this position of keeping Fukuzawa's thought in limbo and understand what the spirit of Fukuzawa really means. Moreover, we must overcome interpretations which distort his thought.[43]

In other words, the editorial staff refuted the prewar "Fukuzawa as patriot" discourse as a "distort[ion]" and instead implied that the true "spirit of Fukuzawa" was closer to the shared postwar vision of U.S. and Japanese liberals.

This revised vision of Fukuzawa proved useful to Keio officials as they petitioned GHQ for the return of the Hiyoshi Campus. In November 1946, acting Keio president, Takahashi Seiichirō, wrote to General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), stating that the release of the Hiyoshi Campus would "be a great contribution to the reconstruction of Japan under the culture of democratic and liberal basis of which the Keio has been the pioneer and champion in Japan since its establishment of about ninety years ago by the well-known Yukichi Fukuzawa."[44]

The next opportunity for the school to argue for the return of the campus came in May 1947. In that month, the postwar Japanese constitution was enacted, and it enshrined the goals of liberal democracy in Japan. Keio administrators and students used this event, which coincided with its ninetieth anniversary celebrations, to emphasize that the ideals embodied in the constitution and the goals of the U.S. occupation were identical to the historical tradition of the university and its founder. Moreover, they argued that the continued military retention of the Hiyoshi campus was unnecessary and even damaging to the goals of the U.S. occupation. The ninetieth anniversary ceremony was preceded by a 20 May 1947 special edition of the *MS* which featured articles connecting Fukuzawa to rebuilding the university and Japan. One article proclaimed that "Fukuzawa's thought is the torch that can guide Japan."[45]

In another article, Suzuki Yasuzō 鈴木安蔵, the legal scholar who led the Kenpō Kenkyūkai 憲法研究会 (Constitution Research Association), and influenced the GHQ draft of the constitution, condemned the wartime uses of Fukuzawa's thought as mistaken.[46]

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42 *Mita shinbun* 1946a.
43 *Mita shinbun* 1946b.
44 Takahashi 1946.
45 *Mita shinbun* 1947b.
46 For more, see Hahm and Kim 2015, pp. 142–43.


三田新聞

昭和22年（1947年）5月20日

塾復興十年のさきがけ

九十周年祭典いよいよ展開

―獨立と自尊の炬火は燃えて―

近代の父 福澤諭吉

多彩な祭典

〝第二封鎖〟ついに解

特殊預金も極めて

東大恒例の

Figure 3. Image of Fukuzawa Yukichi in *Mita shinbun*, 20 May 1947. Reprint. Fuji Shuppan, vol. 7, 1988.

Figure 4. Emperor Hirohito waves to the crowd at Keio University's 90th anniversary ceremony, 24 May 1947. Courtesy of the Fukuzawa Memorial Center for Modern Japanese Studies.

Instead, he emphasized Fukuzawa as a liberal reformer who could lead the way for Japan's postwar reconstruction.

> During the war, some people selectively drew on the early thought of Fukuzawa and his writings to portray him as a "patriot" and a "nationalist." Of course, this is not an entirely inaccurate portrayal. However, it is a mistake to ignore the fact that, more than anything, the primary theme that runs through all Fukuzawa's earlier work is his contributions to enlightenment in Japan; namely, a focus on anti-feudalism, anti-absolutism, freedom and equality, and the role of autonomy and independence in the construction of a modern citizen.[47]

Keio officials and prominent figures similarly used their school's ninetieth anniversary ceremony on 24 May 1947 as a stage to appeal the "Fukuzawa as modern liberal" discourse and called for the return of the Hiyoshi Campus. Keio president and Fukuzawa's grandson, Ushioda Kōji, for example, declared in a speech that, since its inception, Keio had attempted to "uproot feudalistic thinking in the minds of the people and implant independent, autonomous thought," and had "fought military governance and defended freedom and people's rights."[48] He concluded that "the school must now, in the spirit of these traditions, work to lead the people," and that its attempts to rebuild the school were for the benefit of democracy in Japan and world peace.[49] Emperor Hirohito, who also attended the event, echoed these sentiments when he said: "Certainly the school faces numerous hardships from the war in regards to carrying out education and managing the university. Yet I hope that it would take to heart the spirit of Fukuzawa Yukichi and contribute to the rebuilding of Japan."[50] Following this, there were cheers of "Long live the emperor" (*Tennō heika banzai* 天皇陛下万歳) and a singing of the national anthem.

The same narrative continued after the May anniversary ceremony. A September 1947 *MS* editorial, for instance, downplayed the university's wartime responsibility and, instead, cast it as the unwitting victim of both Japanese and American militarism.

> During the war, our Keio University, which was committed to carrying on the democratic principles of Fukuzawa Yukichi and to protecting academic freedom, was forced to lend the Hiyoshi Campus to the Imperial Japanese Navy. Because of this special circumstance […] the Hiyoshi Campus was confiscated by the U.S. Eighth Army.[51]

Eventually, in January 1949, Ushioda and Keio professor, Kiyooka Eiichi 清岡瑛一, another of Fukuzawa's grandsons, carried such "Fukuzawa as modern liberal" discourse to SCAP's doorstep when they directly petitioned General MacArthur for the return of the Hiyoshi Campus. Attached to their written petition was a memorandum to MacArthur that mentioned that Kiyooka especially "wished also to be sure that you were aware […] that

47 Suzuki 1947.
48 Keiō Gijuku 1964b, p. 15.
49 Keiō Gijuku, p. 15.
50 Keiō Gijuku, p. 17.
51 *Mita shinbun* 1947d.

[Keio] is often considered as the cradle of intellectual freedom and democracy in Japan."[52] SCAP ultimately heeded Keio officials' arguments, and in March 1949, MacArthur wrote to the Commander of the Eighth Army commanding him to vacate the Hiyoshi Campus by 1 October, 1949. "The prolonged retention of Japanese education facilities is inconsistent with the basic occupational objectives for the rehabilitation of the Japanese educational system. The necessity to release such facilities for educational purposes is paramount," he explained.[53] Later, a July 1949 letter from SCAP Headquarters to Ushioda explained that the campus would be promptly released "in order to hasten the democratization and rehabilitation of the Japanese educational system."[54] SCAP fulfilled its promise and returned the Hiyoshi Campus to Keio on 1 October, 1949.

Thus, on the one hand, the successful employment of the "Fukuzawa as modern liberal" discourse achieved the return of the Hiyoshi campus. Yet it also led to cultures of (dis)remembrance, on the other hand, when Hiyoshi's wartime past was discursively replaced by accounts of Keio's modern history of liberalism. Furthermore, it resulted in traces of militarism like the former navy tunnels being erased from the physical and mnemonic landscape at Hiyoshi. Throughout the 1945–1949 reversion movement, for instance, contributors to the *MS* spoke nostalgically of a beautified and idealized prewar and wartime Hiyoshi Campus to compliment the image of the school as a leader of scholarly independence. The author of one 1947 article wrote that "we will never be able to forget our fond memories of the fresh green grass and the blazing white buildings of the Hiyoshi Campus where years ago we freely learned, played, and became close friends."[55] Likewise, another *MS* article from that year titled "Wasureenu oka" 忘れ得ぬ丘 (The Hiyoshi Campus we Can't Forget) included a description of the campus as a "place where the young blood of the students boiled as they studied and played." Others from 1949 contained references to "our dear old Hiyoshi" or "our beloved old campus."[56] In addition, on the eve of the October 1949 campus reversion, one student reporter for the *MS* wrote that the walls of Hiyoshi campus buildings, which had been painted black during the war to avoid detection from U.S. bombers, were being repainted white:

> As if to wash off the filth (*aka* あか) of the long war, Building Two is being repainted white. It seems that Building One is scheduled to receive the same treatment. The time toward the end of the war when this building was painted black and the stink of the black coal tar assailed us as we studied seems like a dream now.[57]

In the author's description, the repainting of the Hiyoshi Campus signified the removal of the tangible and intangible traces of war, which they likened to a black, tar-like "filth" that was now being forgotten like a bad "dream."

In the same way, after the 1949 campus reversion, Keio administrators moved to rid the campus of the navy tunnels. In 1952, for example, Ushioda petitioned the Japanese

52 Ushioda 1949.
53 MacArthur 1949.
54 Rehe 1949.
55 *Mita shinbun* 1947a.
56 *Mita shinbun* 1947c; *Mita shinbun* 1949a; and *Mita shinbun* 1949b.
57 *Mita shinbun* 1949b.

Figure 5. An August 1945 image of one of the Keio Hiyoshi Campus buildings that still bears traces of the black paint from the war. U.S. occupation vehicles can be seen outside. Courtesy of the Fukuzawa Memorial Center for Modern Japanese Studies.

government to "restore the area to its original state," citing safety concerns: "The tunnels will pose a tremendous hindrance when we lay the groundwork for new buildings that we are planning to build in the area in the near future."[58] In another petition in 1956, Ushioda wrote that the tunnels had been built "without Keio's approval or permission," and that, "left as they currently are" they posed "a clear problem for education at the university, since children are playing in them, and unsavory characters are even using them as a place of lodging."[59] Based on these things, he requested that the government provide funds to fill in the tunnels with cement and cover the entrances with concrete.

Ushioda's arguments were generally accepted during the following decades of high economic and urban growth. In 1974, for instance, the national government implemented the Tokushu Chikagō Taisaku Jigyō 特殊地下壕対策事業 (Measures for Special Underground Facilities) to fill in former military tunnels and air raid shelters under residential and urban areas.[60] These measures were popular among the public and in the media, which worried about such structures collapsing. News articles like one from 1973 in the *Asahi shinbun* titled "Kiken! Senjichū no chikagō" 危険! 戦時中の地下壕 (Danger! Wartime Tunnels), for example, urged the national government to get rid of such underground structures.[61] Similarly, a 1975 article in the *Yokohama yomiuri* 横浜読売 called

58 Ushioda 1952.
59 Ushioda 1955 and Ushioda 1956.
60 See Itō 2014. This program has continued to the present. As of 2013, the Japanese government has identified 8,458 such underground structures. There is no equivalent measure or program to protect or preserve such places.
61 See *Asahi shinbun* 1973.

Figure 6. An image of one of the entrances to the Hiyoshidai tunnels on Keio's Hiyoshi Campus. Photo by author, 26 January 2013.

military remains like the Hiyoshidai tunnels "troublesome objects" (*yakkai mono* やっかいもの) and praised removal efforts as "long overdue cleanup from the war."[62] Such places, it stated, were finally being "filled in […] along with the bad dreams of war."[63] In this context, in 1975 and 1979 Keio University secured funds from the national government to fill in portions of the tunnels with concrete.[64]

3. The Hiyoshidai Tunnels as Contested Heritage

The first major challenge to the effacement of the Hiyoshidai tunnels came in 1989 when Keio High School teacher Terada Sadaharu 寺田貞治 and 128 others, including salarymen and housewives from the community, formed the APHT. The group's timing was not purely serendipitous—already from the 1970s civic war experience (*sensō taiken* 戦争体験) recording groups had touted the need to preserve wartime testimony for future generations.[65] Indeed, amid a background of a rapidly aging wartime generation, the question of how to overcome forgetting (*fūka* 風化) and pass on (*kataritsugu* 語り継ぐ) war memories was a perennial question for many in Japan. In this climate, the APHT was at the forefront of a national war site preservation movement to reassess the physical remains of war as "invaluable heritage" which offered "living historical testament to the Asia-Pacific War," and could be used to narrate the war in place of firsthand survivor accounts.[66] As Terada wrote:

62 *Yokohama yomiuri* 1975.
63 *Yokohama yomiuri* 1975.
64 See Ono 1975; Kusakawa 1975; Takakuma 1975; and Keiō Gijuku 1975.
65 See, for instance, *Yomiuri shinbun* 1971.
66 See Hiyoshidai Chikagō no Hozon o Susumeru Kai 1989 and Mito 1989. The *heritagization* of Japanese war sites can be seen in the context of Assmann and Czaplicka's observation of generational shifts leading to orally-transmitted "cultural memory" gradually being object-*ified* as "cultural memory" and incorporated as the heritage of a society (1995, p. 126).

> Today, more than forty years after the end of the war, over half of the population has no experience of the tragedy that was the war. Moreover, there are fewer members of the wartime generation alive who can directly narrate their experiences. […] Likewise, every day more wartime objects are disappearing, and these things invite a situation wherein mankind may once again go down the foolish road toward war. Therefore, since it's impossible for the wartime generation to remain alive forever, we must instead […] leave objects that can inspire future generations to think about the war.[67]

The "heritage discourse" employed by the APHT found widespread support in the public and media, and, as a result, their membership grew to a high of 730 in 1995.[68] In addition to conducting monthly guided tours, publishing a quarterly newsletter, and holding "peace exhibits" displaying historical materials, the group petitioned Keio University and the local and national governments to preserve the Hiyoshidai tunnels as a *shiseki* 史跡 (Historical Site) under the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. At the same time, relevant authorities continued to view the former navy headquarters as troublesome reminders of an inconvenient past rather than as heritage. In 1990, for instance, Yokohama City concluded that the tunnels were "extremely dangerous" and advocated that they "immediately be filled in," and the "entrances shut off."[69] The city also noted that the site's owners (*chikensha* 地権者), the largest of which it identified as Keio University, had a mostly negative view of the wartime remains. "It is questionable whether the owners would give permission to use the tunnels," explained a city report that year.[70] The report also said that the owners were opposed to preserving the Hiyoshidai tunnels as an historical site or, for that matter, even to raising "awareness of the existence of the tunnels," since these things could cause an "increase of visitors," interfere "with daily life in the area," and prevent "buildings from being built above ground."[71] Thus, the notion of the Hiyoshidai tunnels as heritage was, to borrow a phrase from Laurajane Smith, "inherently dissonant and contested."[72]

Nevertheless, the "heritage discourse" had a major impact by connecting Hiyoshi to broader global and national movements to preserve the negative heritage of war and atrocity.[73] After joining the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1992, for example, Japan designated the country's most infamous war site—the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)—a World Heritage Site, around the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II in 1995. That same year, the national government began its Kindai Iseki Chōsa 近代遺跡調査 (Survey of Sites from Modern History), which included former military sites like the Hiyoshidai tunnels. Moreover, in 1997 more than eighty groups from around the country formed an umbrella organization called the Sensō Iseki Hozon Zenkoku Nettowāku 戦争遺跡保存全国ネットワーク (Japanese Network to Protect War-Related Sites) for the purpose of preserving war sites as cultural properties.[74]

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67 Terada 1989, pp. 9–10.
68 See *Mainichi shinbun* 1989, *Asahi shinbun* 1992, and *Kanagawa shinbun* 1993.
69 Yokohama-shi Kōhoku-ku Kusei Suishin-ka 1990, p. 1.
70 Yokohama-shi Kōhoku-ku Kusei Suishin-ka 1990, p. 16.
71 Yokohama-shi Kōhoku-ku Kusei Suishin-ka 1990, p. 24.
72 Smith 2006, p. 4.
73 See Meskell 2002 and Rico 2008 for more on "negative heritage."
74 *Asahi shinbun* 1997.

Against this background, Keio revised its stance toward the Navy headquarter remains. In 2001, the school allotted four million yen to partly restore sections of the tunnels and, for the first time, allowed the APHT to conduct guided tours of the site from Keio property. As a result, the number of visitors on these tours increased dramatically, from 499 in the year 2000 to 1,130 in the year 2002. At the highest point, the APHT led 2,732 people on forty-eight tours of the tunnels in one year.[75] Furthermore, when the planned construction of a new gymnasium on the Hiyoshi Campus threatened to pave over three newly-discovered tunnel entrances in 2008 and 2009, the university invited an outside panel of experts to survey the site and assess its historical value. The panel reported to the university that:

> In addition to serving as important materials for studying modern Japanese history, the Hiyoshidai tunnels are cultural properties with high academic and educational value, and they can act as a catalyst for communicating war memories to future generations. […] It is extremely rare for this kind of cultural property to be found in a university campus, and, therefore, rather than view their presence as a hindrance […] Keio should be proud to possess such important cultural heritage. […] The school should use this opportunity to actively promote use of the tunnels for academic research and education.[76]

Keio accepted the advice of the panel, ultimately moving the planned gym location sixty meters to avoid destroying two of the tunnel entrances. This move can be seen as a symbolic acceptance by the university of the "heritage discourse" in general.

While the broadened "heritage discourse" thus gained the Hiyoshidai tunnels new legitimacy, it also garnered them fresh opponents. Scholars have noted the increased difficulty of incorporating heritage sites of atrocity and suffering, in particular, into national narratives of self-identity.[77] Similarly, Natsuko Akagawa's indication of the Japanese government's employment of beautified cultural heritage as a tool of cultural diplomacy and for "the projection of Japanese nationalism" abroad, can be said to come at the expense and erasure of negative heritage like the physical remains of war.[78] In this context, citing safety concerns and questioning their value as cultural properties, Yokohama City ignored the pleas of the APHT, and filled in sections of the Hiyoshidai tunnels on private land with concrete between 1999 and 2000.[79] In the same way, the city allowed a construction company to pave over another section of the tunnels on private land near the southeast edge of the Hiyoshi Campus in 2013. Keio University professor Andō Hiromichi 安藤広道 blamed Yokohama City for the destruction of the site, saying that their "passive stance in recognizing the tunnels as […] cultural properties (*bunkazai*)" invited the situation.[80] The author of one 2013 *Tōkyō shinbun* 東京新聞 article extended this critique when he said that the national and local governments were unwilling to preserve as cultural properties

75 Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 2000, p. 3; Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 2002, p. 3; Hiyoshidai Chikagō Hozon no Kai 2018, p. 5.
76 Cited in Arai 2010, p. 3.
77 See, for instance, the essays in Logan and Reeves 2008.
78 Akagawa 2014, p. 28.
79 Takahide 2000.
80 Furusawa 2013.

the "negative heritage" (*fu no isan* 負の遺産) of war that was "linked to the deaths of many Japanese citizens."[81] At the same time, APHT president and Keio High School teacher, Ōnishi Akira 大西章, indicated that Keio University was also still grappling with the negative legacies of past militarism. The school has "yet to build a museum or resource center that would offer information about the tunnels," he explained, and he continued: "The tunnels and that part of war history are hardly taught in classes at the school."[82]

Conclusion

The contested nature of the Hiyoshidai tunnels as heritage stems from the cumulative results of past discourses, each of which were connected to the site's larger biography of place and, especially, its historical identity as Keio University's Hiyoshi Campus. As discourses surrounding the Hiyoshidai tunnels changed and competed for dominance, they selectively engaged in a dual process of forgetting and remembering which this paper referred to as "cultures of (dis)remembrance," as well as engendered tangible transformations to the physical and mnemonic landscape at Hiyoshi. The paper noted three discourses that had particular effects on the tunnels. The first was a "Fukuzawa as patriot" discourse employed by prewar and wartime Keio elites like Kamata Eikichi and Koizumi Shinzō who utilized the thought of their school's founder, Fukuzawa Yukichi, to foster patriotic loyalty to the nation and in the service of the state's wartime goals. The paper argued that it was in this discursive background that Keio prepared its students for war, lent its campus to the Imperial Japanese Navy, and in which the Combined Fleet build its headquarter tunnels on the Hiyoshi Campus. The second was a "Fukuzawa as modern liberal" discourse utilized in the immediate postwar by Keio president Ushioda Kōji and others who emphasized Fukuzawa's role as a liberal modernizer in the hopes of regaining their confiscated Hiyoshi Campus from the hands of the American occupiers. Yet this discourse formed a culture of (dis)remembrance when its proponents overlooked or downplayed past militarism at Keio and the prior application of Fukuzawa's thought for wartime aims. Moreover, the paper indicated that the "Fukuzawa as modern liberal" discourse facilitated the erasure of the material traces of bygone militarism, like the Hiyoshidai tunnels, from the physical and mnemonic landscape at Hiyoshi. The third was a "heritage discourse" used from the late 1980s by the APHT who advocated saving the site as a means to transmit war memories and tales to future generations. However, Keio University, Yokohama City, and the national government have been cautious about or even opposed to the *heritagization* of the tunnels as cultural memory objects for the war. In this way, the notion of the Hiyoshidai tunnels as heritage has struggled for dominance and recognition against the successive and ongoing effects of past discourses and cultures of (dis)remembrance, some of which have sought to purge the former navy headquarters from history and memory.

81 *Tōkyō shinbun* 2013.
82 Aukema 2013.

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Earth Flavor (*Tsuchi aji*) in Postwar Japanese Ceramics[1]

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This article investigates the turn to an earthy aesthetic in Japanese ceramics of the 1950s through the early 1970s. One term for this aesthetic is "earth flavor" (*tsuchi aji*), defined here as "the beauty of the bare complexion of the earth fired for a long time" in the manner of several types of ancient Japanese pottery and practiced anew by contemporary Japanese potters in the postwar period who admired it as a "natural feeling for the oneness of clay and kiln." The postwar production of earth flavor ceramics is mapped to four sites, namely Seto and Shigaraki, regions of continuous ceramic production since ancient times, American coordinates of Japanese earth flavor, and the avant-garde ceramics group Sōdeisha. The kilns of Seto in Aichi Prefecture were the source of a canonical earth flavor associated with tea wares, but the fortunes of this type of pottery were buffeted by a series of controversies centered on the conservative Seto potter Katō Tōkurō. The medieval Shigaraki pot became an icon of earth flavor in the photography of Domon Ken, and was revalued in the practice of contemporary ceramicists. America was a powerful market for ceramic objects as well as ideals of Japanese earth flavor, but it was also the source of provocations that instigated new Japanese views of earth flavor. And finally, experiments with earth flavor in the sculptural ceramics of the Sōdeisha group ranged from forms suggesting live organisms of the soil (Yagi Kazuo) to clay firings that protested the industrial pollution of the earth (Satonaka Hideto).

Keywords: Domon Ken, Katō Tōkurō, Narahara Ikkō, Isamu Noguchi, Satonaka Hideto, Seto, Shigaraki, Sōdeisha, Peter Voulkos, Yagi Kazuo

Introduction

Ceramic art is by definition made by firing portions of earth, but some ceramicists process and refine their clay to obtain results that retain scarcely any visible trace of the earthy matter dug out of the ground underfoot, while others go to great lengths to cultivate an

1 The author would like to acknowledge the advice and assistance of the following individuals in preparing this study: John Breen, Inaga Shigemi, Rebecca Jennison, Meghen Jones, Maezaki Shinya, Niko Vicario, and Robert Yellin. Conversations with the following ceramicists were particularly illuminating, and their generosity is greatly appreciated: Akiyama Yō, Hoshino Kayoko, Hoshino Satoru, Katō Takahiro, Kondō Takahiro, Chiho Tokita, and Tsujimura Shirō. Much of the research for this project was completed during a fellowship in residence at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto.

earthy sensibility in their fired clay work. This article focuses on ceramics of the latter type, works that articulate and value the earthy quality of the presumed natural state of the material from which they are formed. To be sure, pristine, decorative, and colorful ceramic objects continued to be produced in postwar Japan, but other postwar Japanese ceramics look more like rough crusty stone, or even raw mud, than highly processed and exquisitely crafted materials. Already evident in Japanese ceramics in the early twentieth century, this sensibility emerged as a prevalent tendency after the war. One term referencing this aesthetic is "earth flavor" (*tsuchi aji* 土味), which was defined in 1981 by the ceramicist Itō Kōshō 伊藤公象 as "the beauty of the bare complexion of the earth (*tsuchi*) fired for a long time with pine wood fuel in a climbing kiln which is shared by the Six Ancient Kiln Sites (*rokkoyō* 六古窯) of Japan: Seto 瀬戸, Tokoname 常滑, Shigaraki 信楽, Echizen 越前, Tanba 丹波, Bizen 備前."[2] Earth flavor, then, is not only a ceramic aesthetic, but also a technique and a tradition bound with specific historical sites of ceramic production. Itō further observed that earth flavor was obtained by avoiding overt ornament and introducing wood ash into the kiln atmosphere to cause a glassy glaze of varied greenish shades. Despite the antiquity of this method, according to Itō, its results aligned closely with "a contemporary sense of beauty and is pursued by numerous contemporary ceramicists." Itō attributed this contemporaneity of earth flavor to the way it "amplifies the special character of the clay" and provides "a natural feeling for the oneness of clay and kiln."[3] Various terms were employed to refer to this aesthetic in postwar Japan, but among them, perhaps the term Itō used, *tsuchi aji*, and its English equivalent, "earth flavor," best convey the sense of taste for an aesthetic linked with a romantic conception of the earth that was prevalent in this milieu.[4] The prevalence of this vision of the earth may be appreciated by recognizing that the Japanese word *tsuchi*, used alone, means "soil" and "earth," while also serving as the most common word for "potter's clay," and sometimes also "the art of ceramics." This constellation of meanings of the term *tsuchi* neatly diagrams the conceptual associations between ceramics, its material, and larger conceptions of the earth that were highly topical in postwar ceramics discourse.

While Itō suggested that earth flavor was a legacy of the Six Ancient Kiln Sites, ceramic objects made in these places were by no means uniformly characterized by pottery with an earthy aesthetic quality. To be sure, specific types of clay were mined locally at each site, and the properties of the available clay were a major factor determining the pottery that could be produced. Nevertheless, these sites were active over long stretches of time. For example, one of the six sites, the region centered on Seto in the contemporary prefectures of Aichi and Gifu, boasts a millennium of continuous production. Thus, inevitably, enormous changes in market demand, production technologies, and fashion or taste induced wave after wave of dramatic changes in style. Indeed, it is impossible to identify any shared formal characteristics belonging to all the pottery produced at one site during the different periods of its development.[5] Nonetheless, these kiln sites were the focus of communities

2 Itō 1981, p. 31.

3 Itō 1981, p. 31.

4 Japanese terms that, depending on the context, could convey connotations similar to "earth flavor" include *muyū* 無釉 (unglazed pottery), *sekki* 炻器 (stoneware), *shibui* 渋い (subdued taste), *yakishime* 焼締 (unglazed stoneware), and *yaseimi* 野性味 (wild flavor).

5 For the history of dramatic changes during the various epochs of Shigaraki ware, see Cort 1979.

and histories, as well as legends, and the distinctive materiality of local clay was a key component of the social and cultural identity of the place. Moreover, each of the names of these famous kiln sites (and many others) signifies a specific earth flavor in ceramic objects, even when made in other locations. For example, as we shall see, Shigaraki clay is known for its reddish-brown color, often stippled with small bits of white feldspar, while one of the most famous types of Seto clay retains a pithy look and light buff tone, even when fired at high temperatures.

The Six Ancient Kiln Sites provide an important key to understanding the nuances of earth flavor in postwar Japanese ceramics, and this study investigates aspects of two of these sites: Seto and Shigaraki. Nonetheless, the new values and clash of perspectives that gave meaning to earth flavor in the postwar years cannot be understood by a focus on ancient kiln sites alone. I propose two additional sites as key to the development of new modes of earth flavor: first, a range of perspectives associated with America from the vantage of Japanese postwar ceramics, and second, the Kyoto-based group of potters known as Sōdeisha 走泥社. Issues ranging from American consumer demand to avant-gardist approaches to clay in the United States were influential beacons for the development of earth flavor in postwar Japanese ceramics. Despite its figurative and material grounding in local and national Japanese geography, earth flavor was a highly transnational development. The fourth site considered here, the Sōdeisha group, was first formed in 1948 by Yagi Kazuo and four young second-generation Kyoto potters; their work and that of younger members who joined the group in the 1960s represent some of the most significant transformations of earth flavor in postwar Japanese ceramics. Thus, this article moves through a sequence of four sites that each contributed significant dimensions to the discourse of earth flavor in postwar Japanese ceramics as follows: 1) Seto, the source of a canonical earth flavor that was buffeted by a series of controversies centered on the conservative Seto potter, Katō Tōkurō 加藤唐九郎 (1897–1985); 2) America, as a market for Japanese earth flavor and as the source of provocations that instigated new Japanese views of earth flavor; 3) ancient Shigaraki pottery interpreted through the photography of Domon Ken and reassessed in the contemporary practice of Yagi Kazuo 八木一夫 and Tsuji Kyō 辻協; 4) transformations of earth flavor in non-functional ceramics by Yagi Kazuo and later by Satonaka Hideto 里中英人, a younger member of Yagi's group, Sōdeisha.

This article is shaped by two methodological decisions that are somewhat unusual in ceramic studies. First, ceramicists who were adherents of functional pottery are investigated alongside ceramicists who shunned functional vessels in favor of sculptural ceramics; and second, photographs of ceramics are scrutinized with the same degree of attention as ceramic objects themselves. The first of these decisions, the straddling of functional and non-functional ceramics, might seem the equivalent of downplaying the difference between, say, Norman Rockwell and Jackson Pollock in the context of mid-twentieth-century American painting. To be sure, moving from a stern adherent of sixteenth-century modes of tea bowl making (Katō Tōkurō) to the pioneer of the hybrid genre of the kiln-fired *objet* (Yagi Kazuo) is to move from a neo-classicist to an avant-gardist. But although in many ways these figures represent diametrically opposed positions in the ceramic world, they shared a devotion to earth flavor, a devotion bordering on obsession in both cases. The aim here is to appreciate the degree to which the preoccupation with earth flavor spanned ideological divides within the ceramic world, and to gauge the friction and fault lines that separate its

interlocutors. Photographs have long been indispensable tools in ceramic discourse, but it is common to dismiss their importance by insisting, as Katō Tōkurō did, that "a photograph is just a photograph, and it is no comparison for the intensity of the actual object."[6] True, ceramic objects hold a unique intensity when held in hand, but photography is also capable of generating profound experiences of ceramics, and earth flavor was among the properties of postwar Japanese ceramics that were powerfully augmented by photography. Three photobooks by leading photographers are discussed here, and although they are extremely different from one another in style, format, technique, and intended audience, each book provides views of earth flavor in ways that equal or even surpass the intensity experienced when beholding the "actual object." One of the photographers considered here, Narahara Ikkō 奈良原一高, wrote that his all-night session photographing ceramic works by Yagi Kazuo "brought me into intimacy with the skin of pottery for the first time in my life."[7] I would argue that the extraordinary book resulting from this bout of photography in 1969 engages viewers in a similar experience.

1. Prewar Antecedents

Before pursuing the turn to earth flavor in postwar Japanese ceramics that is the focus of this article, I digress to describe early twentieth-century developments that incubated this later tendency. During the Meiji period much of the emphasis of Japanese ceramic art, including production at the Six Ancient Kiln Sites, was focused on bright, colorful, and decorative forms that were often intricately sculpted. These works were designed to appeal to prevailing European and American tastes, notably at the series of international exhibitions held in Paris, London, Philadelphia, and elsewhere in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Japanese makers and marketers were largely correct in assuming that earth flavor would not win favor in these settings. Meanwhile, brown or black stoneware pottery was stigmatized as a cheaper material unsuitable for art because it was used widely for such plebeian tasks as plumbing pipes, roof tiles, and braziers. Three movements in the early twentieth century, however, started pushing Japanese ceramic taste toward a more earthy sensibility: the Mingei (Folk Art) movement led by Yanagi Muneyoshi 柳宗悦 (1889–1961); the rediscovery and revival of the production of sixteenth-century tea ceremony ceramics at ancient kiln sites, especially Mino 美濃 and Bizen; and the continued practice of the tea ceremony by wealthy amateurs who collected and made tea wares. Each of these well-known movements attracted further attention in the postwar years, and provided a foundation for the earthy turn in postwar ceramics, so I summarize some of their earthy ramifications here.

In his promotion of pottery and other utilitarian objects made by common folks, Yanagi Muneyoshi imagined ceramics as integrated within a holistic village ecosystem; villagers created objects to fulfill the needs of daily life using materials in their local environment in ways dictated by the properties of the materials themselves. Thus, for Yanagi, "The natural environment, raw materials, and production, these three are inseparable." Further, "soil quality" was one of the fundamental elements that Yanagi imagined as harmoniously integrated within "the rich quality of common handicrafts"

6 Katō Tōkurō, interview on "Josei techō," NHK, 8 January 1973, in Katō 1979, p. 40.
7 Narahara Ikkō, untitled statement dated October 1968, in Unagami and Narahara 1969, n.p.

that is "a gift of nature."[8] But when outlining this ethos of craft materials in 1939, Yanagi maintained that "industrialism" now threatened Japan, the erstwhile "land of potters." Thanks to machine production, "shape and pattern have become false… [and] life has altered and the capacity to see and value what is good and true has been lost."[9]

While these distressing thoughts led Yanagi to seek living Mingei pottery outside of industrializing Japan, notably in Okinawa and Korea, some of his contemporaries concentrated their efforts on rediscovering and reviving types of pottery associated with the tea ceremony in the sixteenth century.[10] The potter Arakawa Toyozō 荒川豊蔵 (1894–1985) was one of the leaders of this movement; he gathered tea bowl shards in the ancient kiln sites in the Mino area of Gifu Prefecture, sourced his clay from this area, and built kilns modeled on sixteenth-century prototypes in order to reconstruct tea bowls of the Shino type. In these efforts, he was joined by his rival and contemporary, the Seto potter Katō Tōkurō, discussed below. Meanwhile, the potter Kaneshige Tōyō 金重陶陽 (1896–1967) performed a similar role in resuscitating the earthy pottery made at Bizen, another of the Six Ancient Kiln Sites, in Okayama Prefecture. Each of these potters brought new archaeological knowledge to the task of recreating pottery admired in the sixteenth century by tea masters in sophisticated connoisseurship of cracks, scars, and pits that were the outcome of firing their local clay. After the war, these types of pottery and the historicizing vision of the earth flavor they represented, were canonized and institutionalized by schools, workshops, exhibitions, and prizes.

While Arakawa and Kaneshige were professional potters who dedicated themselves to the ancient earthy potteries at the sites where they lived and worked, their friend and patron, the wealthy industrialist Kawakita Handeishi 川喜田半泥子 (1878–1963), contributed a different sensibility to postwar earth flavor. Handeishi was an ardent devotee of the tea ceremony and an amateur potter, who, in the Sino-Japanese literati tradition, idealized a relaxed, unprofessional, even slapdash approach to making pottery as superior to a careful, calculated, and systematic process. Criticizing the exacting reconstructions of old tea bowls by potters such as Arakawa, he pursued the Zen notion of *mushin* 無心 (no mind) in his own tea bowls. Handeishi developed a distinctive view of clay that defied loyalty to any one historic kiln site, for he believed that any clay found in any location could be fired to become pottery. Thus, he collected earth during travels within Japan and abroad, while also using the earth found nearby his home in Mie Prefecture. Still, he opposed mixing clays from different sources together, which was common practice among commercial suppliers. Even if the "pure" clay of one location was prone to flawed results such as cracking, Handeishi refused to add a supplementary ingredient to counteract the weakness. In his view, splitting and warping that may occur in the kiln-firing process divulged the true nature of that particular clay and such flaws could be mended later with gold-lacquer fillings.[11] Handeishi's slightly disheveled tea bowls, as well as his penchant for prioritizing the expression of *tsuchi* even when it risked fracturing the vessel, proved appealing to younger ceramicists. One of the more radical ceramicists of the next generation, Koie Ryōji 鯉江良二, revered the banker/tea-bowl maker, no doubt for the sentiment behind such statements as, "I hate skillfulness

8 Yanagi 2017, p. 92.
9 Yanagi 1972, p. 168.
10 See Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2002.
11 Chihaya and Ryūsenji 2007, p. 45.

Figure 1. Katō Tōkurō, Shino tea bowl titled Choroku; stoneware with Shino glaze over iron-bearing slip, 1969. Diameter 14 cm.

and I like the unskilled, and I hate cleverness and I like the clumsy."[12] Indeed, each of these three prewar movements—Yanagi's Mingei, the neoclassical revival of Momoyama ceramics, as well as the tea wares of Handeishi—were familiar models of promoting earth flavor among the postwar protagonists of this tendency.

2. Seto Earth Flavor and Katō Tōkurō

Yanagi Muneyoshi's view of an ideal Mingei ecosystem of village ceramics and his despair at the demise of this model due to rampant industrialization already in 1939 anticipates an even greater divergence between the ideals of earth flavor and the contemporary reality of people who lived and worked in such sites in the postwar years. Indeed, perhaps the preoccupation with earth flavor in ceramic discourse was energized by anxieties regarding this gap. With his outsized rhetoric, flair for controversy, and ceramic activism, the Seto potter Katō Tōkurō was a lightning rod for misgivings about the mismatch between the lofty ideals of earth flavor and the modern realities of present-day ceramic production (figure 1). In 1962, the sixty-four-year-old Tōkurō published an ode to earth/clay (*tsuchi*), including the following lines, in a daily newspaper:

> Surviving by consuming *tsuchi*, I am almost a worm...
> Wandering around mountains and fields in search of *tsuchi*,
> I am a *tsuchi* pilgrim. *Tsuchi* is my lover.[13]

Despite the drama of this imagery, the general notion of the potter as a devoted seeker of *tsuchi* reflects a widespread practice among postwar Japanese ceramicists of ferreting out spots in the earth where preferred clay could be obtained. Tōkurō noted that although the neighborhood near Seto where he resided from 1935 until his death in 1985 was not a particularly convenient place to live, "there is enough good *tsuchi* resembling that used to

12 Okuno 1990, n.p.
13 Katō 1973a.

Figure 2. Katō Tōkurō kneading clay with his feet, ca.1979. In Katō 1979, n.p.

make the finest old pieces of Seto ware to last one or two generations."[14] Indeed, among the potters of his generation, he was reputed to be one of the most proficient at recreating medieval Seto ware, which he and others regarded as a broad category including styles such as Yellow Seto, Shino and Oribe, though they actually originated in nearby Mino.

One ceramics specialist would remember some thirty years later how impressed he had been when he picked up a few tea bowls made by Tōkurō in the Seto styles of Shino and Black Oribe: "The *tsuchi* used was extremely good. It was *mogusa tsuchi* … Tōkurō had always said, 'First comes the clay, and second forming the shape,' and the tea bowls really were marvelous."[15] *Mogusa tsuchi* 艾土, literally "mugwort earth," is a term for the type of clay often used in Shino and other Seto styles. As the unglazed portions of a 1969 Shino-style tea bowl by Tōkurō demonstrate, it fires to a light creamy tone even at high temperatures that darken and blister other types of clay and has a slightly coarse-grained texture (figure 2). This bowl follows prototypes of the sixteenth century, but rather more loosely than works that would be considered *utsushi* うつし (copies). This cylindrical vessel has a thick lip that rises and falls rhythmically, is brushed with vigorous strokes of a liquid solution of iron-rich clay and is partially covered by a thick coat of white feldspathic glaze. In addition to gaps in the glaze that allow the naked clay and underglaze brushstrokes to

14 Katō 1964, p. 153.
15 Kiyohara 1986, p. 58.

Figure 3. Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Kamaokoshi no hi* (Kiln Unloading Day), 1955. In Iwanami 1955, pp. 28–29.

Figure 4. Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Asa, entotsu kara hono'o ga miereba, ato sūjikan da* (If flames can still be seen coming out of the chimneys in the morning, the firing will go on a few more hours), 1955. In Iwanami 1955, pp. 32–33.

show, this glaze layer is dotted with pores, and leaches the iron content of the brushstrokes to its milky surface in variegated degrees of darkness. The region around the town of Seto possessed rich deposits of clay and a long, complex history of devising techniques for firing it. Tōkurō was born and raised in a family that had operated a Seto kiln, and through his grandmother he was descended from a multi-generational lineage of Seto potters. But as we will see, Tōkurō's relationship to his native earth was riven by conflict and controversy. Before pursuing Tōkurō's battles with *tsuchi*, however, I turn to a view of Seto that is dramatically different from that which is available in the literature concerning Katō Tōkurō.

The modern media of the ceramic art world often idealize the making of pottery as a process that is in harmony with nature. In contrast, photographer Tōmatsu Shōmei's 東松照明 small photobook of 1954 focuses on the actual conditions of Seto as a major pottery-producing center.[16] While this book shares little with publications dedicated to research or promotion of ceramic art, as volume number 165 in the popular series, Iwanami Shashin Bunko 岩波写真文庫 (Iwanami Photo Library), it reached a large audience of general readers. Seto boasts an exalted role in the development of fine ceramics in Japan, including several hundred years starting in the twelfth century when it was the only place in Japan where high-quality glazed ceramics were produced, but in Tōmatsu's photographs Seto looks more like a dreary coal-mining town than a mecca for ceramic art. Attention to the ceramic *art* of Seto is limited to a brief mention on one page. Instead, one sees rows and rows of identical ashtrays, urinals, flowerpots, and teapots, as well as the labor involved in making them. Workers claw dry clay off vast cliff-like facings of earth scarred with the marks of previous removals. In 1954, according to Tōmatsu's book, almost the entire population of 57,000 people in Seto survived directly or indirectly on the pottery industry. It was a town of "squalid crowded streets," and most of the ceramic work was done in family cottage industry. A typical kiln shop, or *kamaya* 窯屋, consisted of a boss, his family, and a few employees. One of the photographs, labeled "Kiln Unloading Day," shows several workers bundling large numbers of rice bowls for shipment (figure 3). The bowls they wrap appear to be shiny white glazed porcelain, suggesting that there was little room for expression of the earth flavor of Tōkurō's tea bowl in mass-produced Seto ceramics. Nonetheless, the workers labor on a ground surface of raw earth, and indeed, the text quotes one boss complaining, "Even if you work around the clock covered in mud, you can't earn anything." Another photograph shows dark smoke billowing from a forest of chimneys and is captioned as follows: "If flames can still be seen coming out of the chimneys in the morning, the firing will go on a few more hours" (figure 4). To fire all the pottery in Seto, the text notes, some five hundred tons of coal and pinewood were consumed in kilns every day, leading to a high rate of silicosis and tuberculosis among residents.

Needless to say, the lover of *tsuchi*, Katō Tōkurō, was hardly a typical laborer in the Seto ceramic industry. In addition to his proficiency in tea wares in Seto and other antique styles, Tōkurō was also an accomplished scholar of ceramic history, and he mobilized his knowledge to reshape cultural values of Seto *tsuchi* in several controversies that were media events in their day. A brief account of Tōkurō's provocations follows: 1) his debunking

16 Iwanami 1955. Tōmatsu Shōmei is not credited by name in this book itself. He was the photographer on the staff at Iwanami, however, who was responsible for the photographs printed in it. For more on this photobook, see Nakamura 2000.

of the myth of the so-called Father of Pottery in 1933; 2) the exposure of his forgery of a thirteenth-century Seto flask in 1960; and 3) his criticism of women's ceramics on public television in 1973. Tōkurō's first book *Kiseto* 黄瀬戸 (Yellow Seto, 1933) undermined the credibility of the legend of Seto's *Tōso* 陶祖 (Father of Pottery), one Katō Shirōzaemon Kagemasa 加藤四郎左衛門景正. It was said that after studying ceramics in China, Kagemasa traveled all over Japan in search of good quality *tsuchi*, finding it at last in Seto where he established the region's first kiln in 1242. Tōkurō identified impossible historical anachronisms in the story of Kagemasa in his 1933 book and subsequent ceramic historians have generally agreed with Tōkurō's skepticism.[17] But at that time, Kagemasa was still worshipped as the deified ancestor of all local potters at a shrine in Seto, and Tōkurō's fellow potters did not take kindly to his debunking of local religious myth. According to his later account, a rally was held to "Punish Katō Tōkurō, the man who committed the great impropriety of desecrating the Father of Pottery!" and copies of his book were rounded up and burned before the altar to Kagemasa. The incident was sensationalized in the press and local hoodlums broke into and damaged Tōkurō's house.[18] Forced to leave his home and ceramic studio, Tōkurō moved several miles away from Seto to the Moriyama quarter of Nagoya where he would remain for the rest of his life. Thus, Tōkurō's research into the historical origins of Seto led his neighbors and colleagues to eject him from Seto.

Though displaced from Seto earth, however, Tōkurō could not be prevented from obtaining *tsuchi* needed for making Seto pottery. Indeed, if the mastery of Tōkurō's tea bowl of 1969, as described earlier, represents a somewhat freer and perhaps personal interpretation of sixteenth-century Shino-style prototypes, he attained this mastery very gradually and spent most of his early career making more literal copies (*utsushi*) of ancient models. In 1937, he made a flask in the Yellow Seto style with the inscription "*Einin ninen* 永仁二年" (second year of the Einin Era), a date corresponding to the year 1294. Years later, this flask rose to the attention of Koyama Fujio 小山冨士夫 (1900–1975), one of the most influential ceramic scholars of his generation, who believed it to be a fine example of thirteenth-century Seto.[19] Tōkurō remained silent while Koyama, in his capacity as Technical Officer at the Cultural Affairs Department of the Ministry of Culture, successfully nominated his forgery for designation by the national government as an Important Cultural Property in 1960. It soon became known, however, that this vessel was Tōkurō's modern fake, and both Koyama and Tōkurō were forced to remove themselves from the public eye, at least for a time. The "Incident of the Einin Vessel" (Einin no tsubo jiken 永仁の壺事件) as it became known, unleashed a public outcry and Tōkurō was seen as the "stage director" who had fooled a whole cast of collectors, dealers, and scholars.[20] The incident raised a series of doubts about the whole system of evaluating pottery: How would prices of ceramic antiques be impacted? Were potshards found at ancient kiln sites reliable indicators of authenticity? Were federal bureaucrats sufficiently in touch with local knowledge at sites like Seto? How could similar incidents be prevented in the future?

17 Cort 1992, pp. 57–58.
18 Katō 1973b, pp. 172, 174–75.
19 For more on Koyama, see Tsuchikane 2014.
20 *Geijutsu shinchō* 1960.

In 1952 Tōkurō had been honored by the government for his proficiency in Oribe-style pottery as a "Holder of Important Intangible Cultural Property" (popularly known as "Living National Treasure"), and this status was now rescinded. The irony was noted, however, that this honor had been based on the very skills of preserving and transmitting the technique for which he was now faulted. In various statements about the incident, Tōkurō took responsibility for making the Einin vessel, but also explained the incident as a consequence of the conflict between earlier values of ceramics that prioritized copying ancient models and modern views which increasingly emphasized the artist's original expression. Tōkurō implied that his actions were sanctioned under the protocols of a prewar system of ceramics where replicating ancient masterpieces was accepted and economically necessary, but that new protocols had come into play with the postwar rise of a market for works by contemporary ceramicists.[21] To this day Tōkurō's name remains inseparable from his controversial violation of the modern legal and ethical code of authorship, though his supporters make no apologies for his skill in incarnating ancient Seto earth flavor. One critic wrote that Tōkurō "understood the excellence accomplished in Momoyama period tea bowls so deeply that it is painful."[22]

In the early 1970s, it became something of a fashion among Japanese women to take lessons in making tea wares and other kinds of pottery at old kiln sites such as Seto as well as city classrooms. In this context, the now white-bearded Tōkurō declared his opposition to women's ceramics on public television. Women, he said, should absent themselves from the kiln site to allow men to devote their undivided attention to the dangerous and sensitive work of firing the kiln. Further, he claimed that the tea bowls made since medieval times in the greater Seto area evolved in the milieu of samurai culture, endowing them with a masculine quality. Unfortunately, in Tōkurō's view, when these techniques were imported from Seto into Kyoto in the early seventeenth century, they were reoriented to a feminine aesthetic favored by aristocratic patrons. Tea bowls by the Kyoto potter Nonomura Ninsei 野々村仁清 were the most egregious example of this feminization in Tōkurō's eyes. He abhorred the elegance Ninsei obtained with brushed glaze decorations and gilding influenced by the Rinpa painting styles of his day. "Ninsei's tea bowls were feminine," Tōkurō declared, and characterized by "a gaudiness, thinness, and weakness." He continued, "We can't drink tea out of them. They're repulsive. It is like drinking out of women's undergarments."[23] Tōkurō's sexist remarks provoked the editors of *Geijutsu shinchō* 芸術新潮 to devote a special issue to the work and thinking of sixteen contemporary Japanese women ceramicists.[24] Nonetheless, with the striking exception of Tsuji Kyō, discussed below, nearly all of the sixteen women featured worked in decorative polychrome styles of pottery closer to Ninsei than to the medieval tea bowl styles of Seto that Tōkurō admired for expressing a masculine character. Thus, Tōkurō's gendering of Seto earth flavor with masculine values seemed to be borne out by contemporaneous practice in the Japanese ceramics world.

Tōkurō's aggressive hold on Seto earth flavor was obtained by violating the taboos of local religious myth surrounding the Seto founder, and running afoul of modern legal

21 Katō 1964, p. 155.
22 Hayashiya 1992, p. 221.
23 Katō 1979, pp. 249–50.
24 Hata 1976, p. 23.

strictures of authorship and authenticity, not to mention denigrating women. Yet among the costs Tōkurō paid was deterritorialization from his Seto homeland. He was driven out of his home and kiln shop by neighbors outraged by his desacralization of the Seto god, disgraced by the exposure of his deception of government officials with counterfeit Seto antiquities, and dismissed as a "grandstanding old man" for his feminization of the canonical Ninsei. To be sure, Tōkurō never conceded Seto earth flavor to his critics, but neither was his loyalty to Seto *tsuchi* exclusive. Tōkurō's ceramics commanded high prices and he became a world traveler. In the ode to *tsuchi* quoted above, Tōkurō boasted that he was a "cosmopolitan" with regard to *tsuchi*, bringing it home from travels to fire at his kiln.

> Whenever I go overseas, I see *tsuchi* everywhere, and I bring it home and try firing it. India, Arabia, Africa, Central Asia, Southern Europe, Northern Europe, Siberia, Mongolia, China, Korea—I have never wearied of my *tsuchi* pilgrimages.[25]

The notion that Tōkurō's tea bowls, seemingly so rooted in the Seto earth, might actually have been made with an admixture of clay from these exotic locations casts them in an unexpected light. But considering that the Seto he knew was also the gritty industrial town Tōmatsu photographed, the town whose tubercular residents expelled him from their community, perhaps it is not surprising that this "lover of *tsuchi*" was just as happy to consummate his love in Siberia as Seto.

3. American Coordinates of Japanese Earth Flavor

The thought that America was in any way commensurable with Seto as a locus for the production of Japanese earth flavor in the early postwar period hardly seems plausible. Even accounting for the tremendous cultural presence of the United States in Japan during the seven-year military occupation (1945–1952) and after, how could America have a determining impact on Japanese earth flavor in any way comparable to the thousand-year history of Seto? Still, as Katō Tōkurō's career demonstrates, Seto itself was a highly unstable and often unreliable provider of earth flavor. Indeed, the ceramicist Koie Ryōji would remark that the actual ingredients of the "Seto clay" sold by commercial venders were mostly imported from foreign countries.[26] Nonetheless, the United States was hardly regarded by the makers of Japanese earth flavor as a source for *tsuchi*, techniques, styles, traditions, much less as a community of affiliation. Rather, I argue that American perspectives were key to the development of earth flavor in Japan in three ways: 1) provision of an eager market for the consumption of objects and values admired as Japanese earth flavor; 2) broad awareness and keen sensitivity to this American valuation of Japanese earth flavor in the ceramic community in Japan; and 3) Japanese encounters with and responses to a radical new mode of earth flavor in American ceramic art starting in the mid-1960s. More than external influence and patronage, these American coordinates of Japanese earth flavor may be reckoned as a transnational dimension of the development of this aesthetic in postwar Japanese ceramics.

25 Katō 1973a.
26 Koie and Isobe 1990, p. 60.

The reemergence of the Japanese ceramic industry after the war was greatly dependent on exports to the United States. According to Tōmatsu Shōmei's 1954 photobook, 65 percent of Seto's ceramic production in 1953 was bound for foreign export, and North America imported 60 percent of these Seto exports.[27] The most popular Seto ceramic products in the North American market were coffee sets and toys, and these inexpensive products were probably glossy porcelain with little or no expression of earth flavor. Rather, American interest in Seto earth flavor was focused on high-end products. One prominent Ginza dealer of Seto, Bizen, and other ceramics, remembered in 1966 that pottery with a "subdued taste like Bizen had only become the better selling pottery in about 1945." Moreover, he continued, "until then it was the bright and shiny pottery enameled with red and blue that sold well."[28] Thus, the market for earth flavor pottery emerged with the end of the war, and most consumers were probably American military personnel and their families, for few Japanese had sufficient funds to purchase art ceramics. The Japanese term *shibui* 渋い, used by the dealer to describe the earth flavor pottery that sold well, was introduced to a broad American audience in 1960 as the topic of two special issues of the middle-brow American monthly magazine *House Beautiful.* Not just ceramics, but Japanese arts in all kinds of media were admired under the rubric of *shibui*, which was characterized as "quiet grace through economy of means," "superb understatement," and "letting natural materials show their own nature."[29] Catering to American homemakers and designers seeking appealing approaches to interior design, the *shibui* special issues of *House Beautiful* proved extremely popular and undoubtedly helped shift the prevailing American image of Japanese pottery further in the direction of earth flavor.

In addition to the efforts of dealers, journalists, and scholars, an increasingly well-trafficked channel of ceramicists moving between the United States and Japan promoted earth flavored pottery. The five-month American tour in 1952–1953 of three leading proponents of the Mingei movement—Yanagi Muneyoshi, the potter Hamada Shōji 濱田庄司 (1894–1978), and their close associate the British potter Bernard Leach—was instrumental in introducing American potters to the charms of irregular shapes with earthy toned glazes. Watching Hamada's performance at the potter's wheel, they were reportedly "astonished by his close-to-nature, nonchalant treatment."[30] Soon thereafter, the potter Kitaōji Rosanjin 北大路魯山人 (1883–1959) exhibited pottery in the Seto, Shigaraki, Shino, and Bizen styles at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1954. Although Rosanjin was an epicurean who usually avoided the Mingei ideal of simple peasant pottery, his eclectic appropriations of classic pottery styles were viewed in much the same light as Mingei in the United States. The museum's wall label explained Rosanjin's works as "the studied cultivation of effects characteristic of primitive Japanese art [including] rough irregular shapes, deliberately chipped edges, and glazes … due to accidental conditions of firing."[31] Quoting these words, Meghen Jones observes that such primitivist themes were a conspicuous thread in American appreciations of Japanese pottery in the early 1950s. As

27 Iwanami 1955, p. 50.
28 Kuroda et al. 1966, p. 47.
29 *House Beautiful* 1960.
30 Leach 1978, p. 245.
31 Jones 2017, p. 198.

Figure 5. Earthen wall in Isamu Noguchi's studio showing his *Hanaike* (Vase) on the left and *Junsa* (Policeman) on the right, both of 1950, and a prehistoric haniwa head on the upper left. Kita Kamakura, 1952. Photo by Isamu Noguchi.

Figure 6. Isamu Noguchi, Untitled, unglazed Karatsu stoneware, wooden base, 1952. 46.3 x 26.3 x 10.0 cm. Takamatsu City Museum of Art.

we shall see, primitivism would soon emerge as a pronounced note in Japanese views of American ceramics as well.

The Japanese American sculptor and designer Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988) was surely the most influential American to work with ceramics in Japan in the 1950s. Noguchi had already worked at the Kyoto studio of the potter Uno Ninmatsu 宇野任松 in 1931, and on his return to Japan in 1950 he created a group of twenty ceramic sculptures at a Seto workshop. Noguchi's view of Seto, however, was a world apart from that of Katō Tōkurō. Noguchi was introduced to Seto by the Japanese painter Kitagawa Tamiji 北川民次 (1894–1989) who resided in Seto, but had spent fifteen years in Mexico before the war where he first met Noguchi.[32] When Tōkurō was told that Kitagawa had said he "loathed Tōkurō because of his deception," referring to the Einin vessel incident, Tōkurō responded that "he is a sad case of one who doesn't understand Seto even though he lives there."[33] Noguchi would probably have agreed with Kitagawa's criticism of faking ancient pottery styles, but he quickly learned to love Tōkurō's preferred *tsuchi*. After his week in Seto, Noguchi exclaimed, "Seto is my favorite place in Japan. The clay is good and I want to come back again."[34] The works he created here, however, were precise bisque-fired architectonic forms constructed in slabs of Seto clay that relate more to the modern sculptural and design practices of this artist's New York city art world than the earth flavor of Seto.

It was not until two years later, when he worked at the Bizen workshop of Kanashige Tōyō in Okayama Prefecture and built a studio and residence on the property of Rosanjin in Kita Kamakura, that Noguchi really engaged himself with Japanese earth flavor. Noguchi carved a space out of a hillside where Rosanjin obtained clay, and built a lean-to structure against the raw earth to serve as his studio (figure 5). While carving this hillside into a hearth, niche, and set of low platforms, Noguchi left the earth in an unpainted state roughly scored with tool marks reminiscent of the walls of clay at Seto's quarries. Here Noguchi realized a romantic ideal of closeness to the Japanese earth, a primitivizing vision of creative childlike intimacy with the raw earthy material. In an interview with Noguchi in 1952, a journalist asked the artist, "Just what is it that you find appealing about Japan?" "It's the earth," Noguchi answered, "the coarse earth which only Japanese people have. It is not in America. I am drawn to the skin of the pottery, the Japanese earth."[35] Noguchi's American experience left him with a thirst for earth flavor that was satiated by digging into the Japanese earth and absorbing lessons from Japanese ceramics. He quickly produced a diverse oeuvre of ceramics including plates, vases, beads, figures, and abstract forms. When he exhibited these works in Kamakura in 1952, they were each identified in the catalogue list with classical kiln sites and clay types including Shigaraki, Bizen, Karatsu, and Kasama. An untitled sculpture in Karatsu ware demonstrates the radical reorientation that Japanese *tsuchi* underwent in the hands of this artist who by this point in his career had rich experience creating various idioms of surrealistic and constructivist sculpture (figure 6). A thick slab of clay has been pierced and affixed with finger-like projections, curled into a wavy loop, and fired on its side. After removal from the kiln it was rotated ninety degrees

32 For a detailed account of Noguchi's ceramic work in Japan, see Winther-Tamaki 2003.
33 Katō 1973b, p. 47.
34 Nakano 1989, p. 3.
35 *Ikebana geijutsu* 1952, n.p.

and installed on a wooden post. Noguchi emphasized the burnt umber earth flavor of Karatsu by violating the standard structure of functional pottery and displaying the ceramic material like a slab of meat at a butcher's shop.

Noguchi's modernist manipulations of Japanese earth, as well as the American market for Japanese ceramics and the American celebrity of Hamada and Rosanjin, were all topics of tremendous interest in the Japanese ceramic world. Obviously, the American market for Japanese ceramics was such that "market research" concerning the taste of American consumers was of great importance to the ceramic industry, and this attitude carried over into the marketing of high-end art ceramics, as suggested by the Ginza dealer who noted that sales of subdued earth ceramics overtook those of bright colorful ceramics after the war. But there was a range of responses in the Japanese ceramic world to the varied forms of American esteem for Japanese earth flavor. Noguchi's experimental forays into Japanese ceramics were highly influential for Yagi Kazuo's innovative ceramic work in the 1950s. Yagi, whose Shigaraki ceramics and pioneering of the genre of the kiln-fired *objet* are discussed below, famously acknowledged, "When I looked at Noguchi's ceramics, I had this feeling of 'Whammo, he's really done me in!'"[36] For Yagi, Noguchi's work modeled a way of embedding modern sculptural form in the materiality of Japanese earth flavor.

Meanwhile, American appraisals of Japanese earth flavor also provoked oppositional responses in the community of Japanese ceramics. Consider, for example, the position of ceramics expert Naitō Tadashi 内藤匡 (1889–1966), who published a monograph on Ming dynasty overglaze enameled porcelains in 1953 and three years later a catalogue on Tomimoto Kenkichi 富本憲吉 (1886–1963), the foremost contemporary Japanese ceramicist associated with overglaze enameled porcelain.[37] These forms of pottery that Naitō championed concealed earth flavor beneath a bright decorative and colorful layer of glossy glaze, and Naitō's investment in this type of pottery was threatened by the American taste for Mingei. Thus, Naitō translated and published the atypical views of an American potter named Walter Kring (1917–1999) upon his visit to Japan in 1953, shortly after the sensational tour of Hamada, Yanagi, and Leach to the United States. Gratified by Kring's discovery of overglaze enamels in Japan, Naitō added the following note to his 1955 translation of Kring's essay:

> There are a lot of people in the West who really think that artistic Japanese pottery is synonymous with crude pottery characterized by bulky forms with a dusky tone and naïve patterns brushed on them. Mr. Kring, held this view, but … discovered the existence of porcelain that is more beautiful than such vulgar pottery, a more artistic kind of pottery being made in Japan.[38]

From Naitō's perspective, foreign views of Japanese ceramics were unjustly monopolized by Mingei, and he sought to reverse this bias. But if Naitō objected to the American embrace of the Mingei vision of Japanese ceramics, still others were anxious that foreigners would

36 Yagi 1981c, p. 346.
37 Overglaze enameling is a technique of achieving brighter and more diverse glaze colors by means of a second and sometimes third firing at lower temperatures.
38 Kring 1955, p. 23.

seize the mantle of earth flavor while contemporary Japan reneged on its stewardship of this native property. Thus, the architect Taniguchi Yoshirō 谷口吉郎 (1904–1979), a collaborator of Isamu Noguchi, responded to the special issue of *House Beautiful* magazine devoted to *shibui*, by noting,

> We are overjoyed that the Japanese word *shibui* is understood by foreigners and transplanted overseas, but ... it seems that *shibui* has already disappeared from this country. When considering that the classical beauty of ancient Greece is completely extinct in modern Greece and is rather received by later generations in other countries, one has a similar anxiety about *shibui*.[39]

In this thinking, earth flavor attains the status of a Japanese patrimony as part of the larger complex of *shibui* taste, but is paradoxically more valued in America than at home where it is threatened by modernization.

Anxieties about American appropriations of Japanese earth flavor were further exasperated by the work of younger American ceramicists. In 1964 the Tokyo National Museum of Modern Art organized the *Gendai Kokusai Tōgei Ten* 現代国際陶芸展 (International Exhibition of Contemporary Ceramic Art) to coincide with the Tokyo Olympics, bringing works of Japanese ceramicists into competition with works by counterparts overseas. Ninety contemporary potters from nineteen countries and over one hundred Japanese ceramicists were represented by 220 ceramic works. The ceramics scholar Koyama Fujio, who by now had rebounded from the embarrassment of the Einin affair, selected the foreign works for the exhibition. After visiting potters' studios all over Europe and the United States to make his selections, he reserved his most animated remarks for the young ceramicist he met in California, Peter Voulkos (1924–2002). He described Voulkos as the leading figure of California pottery, which though "in its infancy, has suddenly taken off in the past ten years." Koyama noted that Rosanjin's pottery had been a pivotal stimulation for Voulkos's development. After this Japanese-inspired breakthrough, Voulkos matured into an artist who Koyama admired as something of a force of nature:

> He is very large bodied, like a Niō (Buddhist temple gate guardian).... They say when he works on the wheel, it is like the clouds flowing or like a swell of the ocean.… He is like the chief of the wild beasts and makes a lot of large burly ceramic sculptures.[40]

A 1962 vase of fleshy reddish clay with mad puncturing, scarring, and bruising marks illustrates the energy in Voulkos's ceramics that so impressed Koyama (figure 7). By this point, many Japanese ceramicists had become accustomed to the flattering American esteem for Japanese pottery, but now it seemed that Japanese influence had produced an American outcome that had outdistanced its presumed Japanese inspirations.

The sculptor Yanagihara Yoshitatsu 柳原義達 (1910–2004) elaborated on the significance of new American ceramics in an essay sensationally titled "The Defeat of

39 Taniguchi 1960, p. 58.
40 Koyama et al. 1964, pp. 62–63.

Figure 7. Peter Voulkos, *Pier's Piece*, stoneware, white slip, chrome-cobalt and clear glazes, 1962. 58.4 x 29.2 x 30.5 cm. John and Mary Pappajohn, Des Moines, Iowa.

Figure 8. Domon Ken, Photograph of *Hai-kaburi no akai tsubo no soko* (Bottom of Red Pot with Ash Covering), 1965. In Domon Ken, 1965, plate 3, pp. 14–15.

Figure 9. Domon Ken, Photograph of *Hai-nadare no tsubo* (Pot with Ash Melt), 1965.
In Domon Ken, 1965, plate 13, p. 25.

Japanese Ceramic Art."[41] Voulkos and other American ceramicists, in Yanagihara's view, "do not rely on the ruins of ceramic heritage," rather they ask, "Why am I living?" and, "throw primitive doubts at the rough and rude lump that comes from fire and earth (火と土)." But perhaps the barb with the worst sting was the contention that, "They have a strong uncouth roughness like the potters of ancient Tanba, ancient Bizen, and ancient Shigaraki." In other words, Yanagihara claims that at the olympics of pottery, Japanese ceramicists were defeated by Americans who had managed to match the primitive power of the earth flavor of the Six Ancient Kilns of Japan. Yanagihara concluded portentously, "Ultimately, ceramics is the most primitive of materials and the only potters who can breathe life into it are probably those whose hands fix upon the feeling of the material by keeping it as primitive as possible."[42] The anguishing sense that American ceramicists had obtained a more immediate connection with *tsuchi* than their counterparts in Japan despite the resources of Seto and the other Six Ancient Kiln Sites was to be an enduring trope in Japanese ceramic discourse.

Seven years after the olympics of pottery, Miwa Ryōsaku 三輪龍作 (b. 1940), who belonged to a long venerable line of Hagi ware potters, described his epiphany before a work by Voulkos in the United States.[43] At age 63 in 2003 Miwa would succeed his father and assume the name Miwa Kyūsetsu 三輪休雪, as the twelfth holder of one of the most prestigious titles in Japanese ceramics, but in 1971 he was still searching for his own path between the weight of his family's tradition and such contemporary attractions as jazz, psychedelia, and erotic popular culture. Miwa's experience of a plate by Voulkos was nothing short of rapturous: "I was physically frozen in place; it was a passion felt in my flesh itself." Miwa believed that Voulkos could not equal Japanese ceramic technique, but he sensed that the American brought an enviable freshness, honesty and passion to his work. While Miwa was struggling to overcome doubts about his patrimony, an unnamed American remarked to him, "Japanese people are married to *tsuchi*, while Americans are its lovers." In other words, the relationship of the Japanese ceramicist to *tsuchi* was regulated by institutional strictures, while Americans were driven to *tsuchi* by instinctual passions. This thought would harden into something of a consensus in Japanese ceramics discourse, such that American ceramics posed a dramatic foil against which Japanese *tsuchi* was defined. Thus, while in the early 1950s America stimulated the development of Japanese earth flavor with a market and an enthusiastic audience, by the late 1960s it seemed to signify the limits of Japanese earth flavor.

4. Old and New Shigaraki Pots

While the rustic but sophisticated tea wares of the Momoyama period that Katō Tōkurō admired were considered "classics," Seto and the other Six Ancient Kiln Sites were also sources of rougher types of pottery, and this rustic pottery rose dramatically in esteem in the 1960s from neglect to objects worthy of study, emulation, and high prices. Though urban elite tea masters also admired such objects in the sixteenth century, these large lumpy pots were typically made by farmers to store grain, water, or even night soil in barns and farmyards. Yanagihara Yoshitatsu was probably referring to this kind of ancient peasant

41 Yanagihara 1964, p. 64.
42 Yanagihara 1964, p. 65.
43 Miwa 1971.

pottery when he admired Voulkos and other young American ceramicists for demonstrating a "strong uncouth roughness like the potters of ancient Tanba, ancient Bizen, and ancient Shigaraki." A new wave of enthusiasm for such artifacts was abetted by a lavish book of photographs of medieval Shigaraki pots by the prominent photographer Domon Ken 土門拳 (1909–1990) published in 1965. The large Shigaraki pot—visualized in Domon's photography, marketed as an antique, and potted anew by contemporary ceramicists—emerged as a striking new icon of earth flavor. This section examines Domon's book, the ironic renditions of Shigaraki vessels created by Yagi Kazuo the following year, and the more full-throated dedication to making a similar kind of pottery by the Tokyo-based ceramicists Tsuji Kyō and her husband Tsuji Seimei in the same period.

Each photograph in Domon's *Shigaraki ōtsubo* 信楽大壺 (Large Pots of Shigaraki) features a single monumental vessel floating in mysterious black space or cropped in close detail. These vessels were made from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries in the Shigaraki region of today's Shiga Prefecture, one of the Six Ancient Kiln Sites. Domon's thirty color plates and sixty-four black and white figures give the impression of geological formations, or planets in outer space. If the red neck and peach-colored rim around the shadowy black interior of the jar in plate 2 suggests a volcanic crater, the pitted and scarred reddish brown upended bottom of the same pot in plate 3 resembles a barren mountain peak against a black sky (figure 8). In addition to Domon's photographs, *Shigaraki ōtsubo* also includes a brief preface by the influential literary critic Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 (1902–1983), an afterword by the photographer, and a lengthy text by Koyama Fujio.

Surprisingly, in their texts commissioned for *Shigaraki ōtsubo*, Kobayashi and Koyama express misgivings about the overwhelming visual power of Domon's pictures. Domon's large book broke precedent with its glossy paper, rich range of color, deep shadows and bright reflections, and especially with its close-up photos that immerse the viewer in details of glaze flows and cratered surfaces. Koyama noted that, "Some of these full-color photographs show Shigaraki jars more beautifully than the appearance of the jars themselves."[44] In Koyama's view, the ancient makers of Shigaraki pots "survived by making the lowest cheapest things," and he characterized the jars as "simple and massive," adding "they have a coarse texture, but are a pottery type that warms the heart."[45] The lushness of Domon's photographs and almost jewel-like vividness with which each blister and glassy melt was illuminated by his photo lights endowed these humble pots with a glamor that Koyama apparently regarded as belying their true character (figure 9).

Meanwhile, in his preface to the book, Kobayashi observed that his love of pottery grew out of daily use, for example, of his personal saké bottle and saké cup. He noted that he hardly paid attention to what they look like because pouring and drinking from them every night is more of a haptic experience than visual. Kobayashi characterized this tactile sensation of pottery as its "flavor" (*aji*), a quality that is intensely gratifying yet difficult to put into words. He recognized, however, that this personal haptic experience of pottery had been impacted by modernity: "The appreciation of pottery has come to function as a visual power based on the sense of touch." He observed further that "pottery on a shelf in a display case is something looked at through glass as though it can be touched." The

44 Koyama 1965, pp. 112, 120.
45 Koyama 1965, pp. 116, 126.

modern museum culture of pottery that is increasingly removed from the hand is pressed to a further extreme in Domon's photography:

> One keenly feels the movement of the eye of a professional working through the lens, and trying to follow that eye, I wander around through these pictures. Indeed, this kind of vision seems to be of a completely different order from the eyesight of a completely average pottery enthusiast such as myself.[46]

The optical power of Domon's photography seems to have alienated Kobayashi from his experiential knowledge of pottery. Still, he recognized that the visuality of ceramics produced by the photographer's eye and lens opens up a stimulating new access to pottery itself.

The new vision of pottery in *Shigaraki ōtsubo* was very much a vision of *tsuchi*. Shigaraki earth, in unfired as well as fired forms, was valued with connoisseurial attention and affection in the text and photographs. Kobayashi imagined an intrinsic link between the Shigaraki landscape and the pottery made from the *tsuchi* mined there. Pottery connoisseurs use the word *keshiki* 景色 (landscape) to refer to the configuration of details such as drips and heat scars on a vessel, and Kobayashi noted that the incomparable *keshiki* of old Shigaraki pots was what he most liked about them.[47] On a visit to Shigaraki, he admired "the white earth and the green pine forest ... and, as if naturally, an image formed in my mind of an outrageously large Shigaraki pot with ash-covering that would be the result of a forest fire here."[48] Using Domon's photographs as didactic illustrations, Koyama Fujio offered a more technical account of the unique material basis of Shigaraki *tsuchi*, explaining that it had a greater admixture of feldspar and silica grains (causing protruding glassy white dots on Shigaraki pots) and rotted woody matter (which burns out and leaves small cavities).[49] These features conspired with still others such as *ishihaze* 石爆, tiny stones that appear to be bursting out of their ceramic matrix, to produce a ceramic with an exceptionally coarse texture (figure 8). In Koyama's judgment, this coarseness of Shigaraki, together with its warm reddish-brown color, distinguished it from all other pottery in Japan and beyond: "There is no pottery like Shigaraki, not in China, Korea, or the West."[50]

One striking aspect of the 1960s discourse of Shigaraki *tsuchi* is that although the kiln firing process was a labor-intensive endeavor, Shigaraki potters were not given much credit for the earth flavor of its products. Many of the admired features of Shigaraki pots materialized during the heat and subsequent cooling of the kiln firing: ash coverings were conveyed by the draft to the side of the pot that faces the fire box; this ash vitrified into greenish "natural" glaze by higher concentrations of heat; feldspar grains melted from the surface; small pebbles burst, and the clay body was braised to a shiny reddish color. These features were collectively referred to as *yōhen* 窯変 (kiln changes), and they gave Shigaraki pots an appearance that is greatly "changed" from what they looked like before firing. Such kiln changes, however, were determined by the specific contents of clay used in any given

46 Kobayashi 1965, p. 3.
47 For *keshiki* in ceramics, see Weiss 2013, pp. 153–71.
48 Kobayashi 1965, p. 5.
49 Koyama 1965, pp. 144–45.
50 Koyama 1965, p. 126.

vessel, the design and construction of the diagonally inclined *anagama* 穴窯 (tunnel kiln), as well as the length of time and amount and type of wood fuel used to fire it, not to mention such details as how and where vessels were loaded in the kiln. But despite the human agency underlying all these factors, for Domon Ken, kiln effects were the "work of nature" (*tenkō* 天工) rather than "human work" (*jinkō* 人工): "It is precisely because it is a work of nature that one never tires of looking at it."[51] In this rhetoric, the value of Shigaraki *tsuchi* is increased by transferring agency from humans to nonhuman phenomena.

But "nature" is by no means antithetical to cultural value in this rationale. "This aesthetic consciousness of the work of nature," Domon asserted, "is surely a Japanese type aesthetic."[52] Perhaps ironically, the Japanese cultural identification of Shigaraki was actually constructed in a transnational market-driven process. Domon confessed that not too many years before his Shigaraki book he would have contemptuously dismissed old Shigaraki vessels like these as *kuso tsubo* 糞壺 (shit pots). It was only the kind indulgence of a Kyoto dealer named Kondō Kingo 近藤金吾 that opened his eyes to the beauty of old Shigaraki pots during visits to Kingo's gallery in the late 1950s. Kondō had collected these pots from scattered farms and storehouses, and his efforts in building a market for them contributed greatly to their skyrocketing prices. Indeed, most of the Shigaraki pots photographed by Domon, which are listed in the book as belonging to various private collectors in Japan, had been sold to their owners by Kondō. Moreover, Kondō's own appreciation for Shigaraki pots, according to Domon, had initially been precipitated by an unnamed American collector. This American had urged Kondō to round up old Shigaraki pots because their kiln changes were peerless in world pottery.

The increasing esteem for Shigaraki pots was part of a broad revaluation of the historical significance of Shigaraki and similar high-fire unglazed Japanese ceramics. In the late 1960s, the ceramic historian and archaeologist Mikami Tsugio 三上次男 (1907–1987) argued that the aesthetic of Shigaraki and other types of unglazed high-fire stoneware of Japan comprised a premier distinguishing characteristic of Japanese ceramic history. Mikami's views gained wide currency overseas with the appearance of *The Art of Japanese Ceramics* in 1972 in the popular series, *Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art*. According to Mikami, the history of Japanese ceramics was exceptional for the high quality and diversity of unglazed high-fire stoneware in the medieval period, the late start and restricted reach of glazed ceramics, and the continued prevalence of stoneware after the rise of glazed ceramics in the early modern period. For Mikami, this adherence to unglazed ceramics was a "phenomenon seen rarely, if ever, in the ceramic culture of other countries," and he appreciated such wares for their "strong, uncluttered beauty." In effect, ceramics became a vehicle for national expression in Mikami's rhetoric, and in the beauty of such pottery he imagined a "warm sense of community solidarity," and a "spirit of rural society, springing from within the earth itself."[53]

Meanwhile, soon after Domon's photobook was published, Shigaraki pots received attention from a very different perspective. Yagi Kazuo (1918–1979) is justly regarded as pioneering the move of ceramics away from functional objects toward sculptural form in

51 Domon 1965, p. 158.
52 Domon 1965, p. 158.
53 Mikami 1972, p. 76.

Figure 10. Yagi Kazuo, *Shigaraki ōtsubo* (Large Shigaraki Pot), 1966. 41.5 x 43 cm.

the mid-1950s (see below). Here, I consider his brief return to vessel forms in Shigaraki in 1966, perhaps in response to Domon's 1965 photobook. Some of the vessels shown in the "Exhibition of Yagi Kazuo's Pots" (Yagi Kazuo tsubo ten 八木一夫壺展) at the Ichiban Gallery in Tokyo in 1966 were indeed quite similar in form, texture, and sensibility to those pictured in Domon's book. Moreover, these works had been made out of Shigaraki *tsuchi* and fired in a wood-fired climbing tunnel kiln at Shigaraki. Since Yagi's break with functional pottery in the mid-1950s was a dramatic avant-gardist gesture, his apparent return in 1966 to old Shigaraki vessels was rather surprising. The critic Unagami Masaomi 海上雅臣 (b. 1931), in his essay for Yagi's 1969 monograph, explained perhaps defensively that Yagi apparently produced these vessels "as if in search of new meaning after devoting himself to making *objet* for ten years," and admired Yagi's change of course, for the artist had now "finally reached an age of self-reckoning" and succeeded in "demonstrating that function is not necessarily an obstacle to imaginative significance."[54] Nonetheless, while some of Yagi's Shiraki works hew very close to ancient Shigaraki models, others were formed with an ironic twist.

Yagi added small patches of clay to the shoulder of one of his Shigaraki pots, and carved a gaping fissure into the belly of another (figure 10). To be sure, many old Shigaraki jars have encrustations and fissures that are superficially similar to those Yagi created. In his explication of Shigaraki features in Domon's book, Koyama Fujio noted that a *hittsuki* ひっつき (clinger) is a chunk of kiln wall or a neighboring vessel that fuses onto a pot in the kiln.[55] And Domon recounted the dealer Kondō Kingo's lesson about the beauty of a crack in one notable old Shigaraki pot, perhaps similar to one deeply cracked pot photographed

54 Unagami and Narahara, 1969, n.p.
55 Koyama 1965, p. 142.

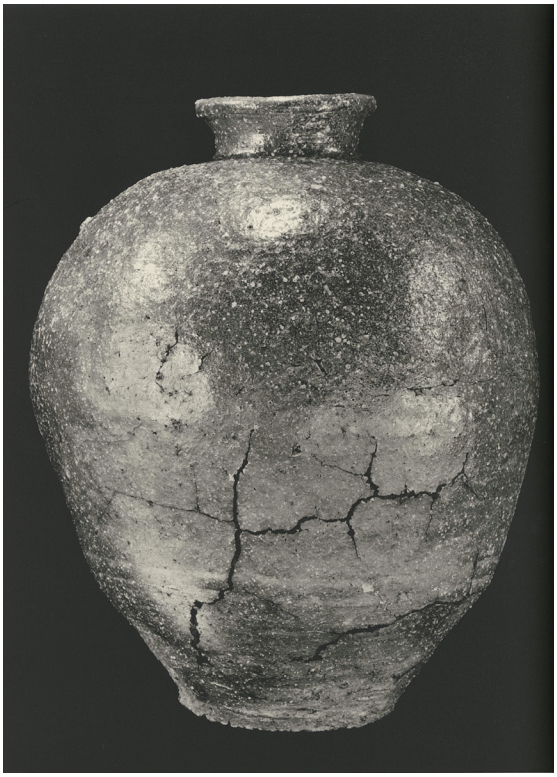

Figure 11. Domon Ken, Photograph of *Hi-ware no tsubo* (Flame-cracked pot), 1965. In Domon Ken, 1965, plate 20, p. 66.

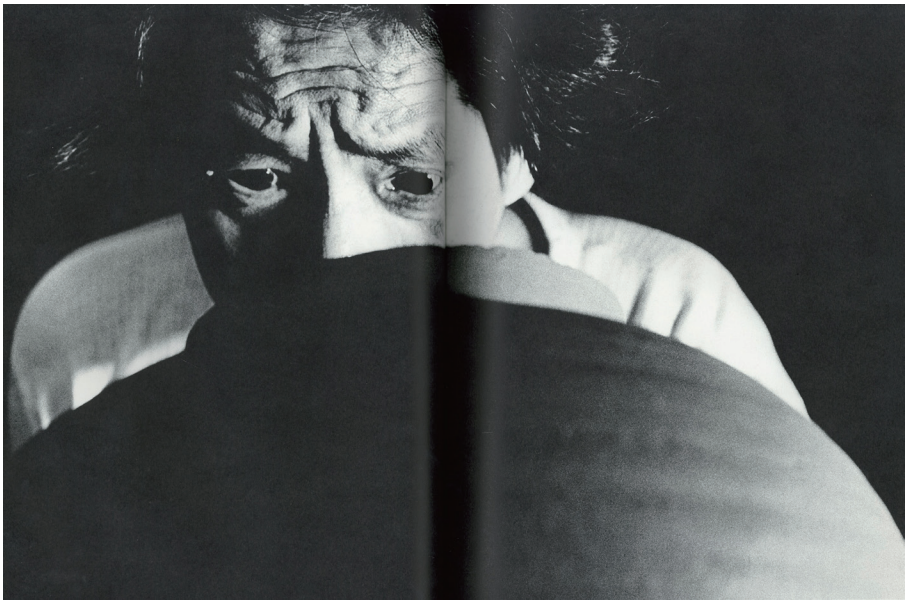

Figure 12. Narahara Ikkō, Photograph of Yagi Kazuo with a large pot, 1969. In Narahara and Unagami 1969, n.p.

in Domon's book (figure 11). Kondō explained to Domon that "a split extending from the edge of its lip, a black opening in the vessel" was a *yamakizu* 山疵 (mountain crack), this being a term for a crack occurring during the kiln firing, as opposed to a crack resulting from a breakage after removal from the kiln, which would be considered a flaw. According to Domon, Kondō acknowledged that this fissure could be repaired with a gold filling, but advised, "Leave it just as it is."[56] While the crack of Kondō Kingo's pot was a "natural" response of the Shigaraki *tsuchi* to the heat of the kiln, the crack on Yagi's pot is clearly intentional, deliberately carved by the artist into the vessel wall and further elaborated with carefully incised lines. Ōtsuki Noriko 大槻倫子 suggests that Yagi quoted Shigaraki kiln changes here with a sense of irony, making it obvious that his works were not revivals of ancient masterpieces in order to foreground a critique of customs of connoisseurship.[57]

Yagi's foray into Shigaraki vessel-making suggests the strong draw this mode of earth flavor held for him, but this was a short-lived and exceptional move in his career held in check by critical distance. The modernist basis for Yagi's antipathy to crafting "revivals of ancient masterpieces" becomes clear in a blistering denunciation of Katō Tōkurō's forgery of the Einin vessel in Unagami's text for Yagi's 1969 monograph. What outraged Unagami, and perhaps Yagi as well, was the fact that *after* Tōkurō was exposed as a forger, the market value of his tea wares rose considerably higher and he received a prestigious award. In Unagami's modernist ethos, Tōkurō's faking of a thirteenth-century object was a corrupt deception.[58] The same 1969 monograph of Yagi's work that featured Unagami's critique of Tōkurō included a photograph by Narahara Ikkō (b. 1931) that sensationalizes Yagi's authorship of his Shigaraki vessels (figure 12). Whereas the Shigaraki pots in Domon's photographs were unaccompanied by any human bodies, and their makers were imagined as anonymous "common folks" dwelling in the misty past, Narahara's shadowy photograph featured the artist peering anxiously into the bowels of one of his vessels. The photograph is skillfully cropped to give Yagi a god-like scale, his visage with a deeply furrowed brow and glistening eyes looming over the planet-like arc of his large vessel.

Nevertheless, a tension runs through Yagi's ceramic work, wavering between relinquishing control to invite chance kiln effects and reasserting artistic control as a demonstration of artistic originality. In Yagi's thinking, this duality between soliciting accidental qualities and maintaining control corresponded loosely to several other dualities: ceramics/sculpture, Japan/the West, tradition/modernity. Refusing to be confined too closely with the first terms in each of these pairs, Yagi's foray into Shigaraki was countered by his work in *kokutō* 黒陶 (black pottery), a medium that allowed him to reduce interference from chance kiln effects, and render the kiln-fired *objet* into a form that was more purely the product of the artist's hands. Moreover, in 1969 he held an exhibition of bronze works completely divorced from earth flavor. As Inaga Shigemi 稲賀繁美 has argued, many of Yagi's most compelling works seem inspired by productive exchanges with Japanese sculptors and his "immodest ambition" to outdo European and American contemporary artists such as Marcel Duchamp, Jasper Johns, and Lucio Fontana.[59] But if this ambition

56 Domon 1965, p. 156.
57 Ōtsuki 2008, pp. 144-45.
58 Unagami and Narahara 1969, n.p.
59 Inaga 2008, p. 111.

Figure 13. Tsuji Kyō unloading kiln, ca. 1977. In Yoshida 1977, n.p.

Figure 14. Tsuji Kyō, *Yakishime ōhachi* (Large Unglazed Bowl), stoneware, 1970. 31.5 x 47 cm. In Yoshida 1977, plate 5, p. 103.

motivated Yagi to subordinate *tsuchi* to his own creative voice, what makes Yagi such an interesting interlocutor of earth flavor is his incomplete and conflicted departure from *tsuchi*:

> In painting and sculpture, the ideational and the poetic come first and these bring materials and technique in. But it is not like that for me; for me the materials and technique come first. You could say that our connection to clay is destiny. That is both my own strength and weakness. In any case, I attempted to continue to dwell purely on *tsuchi*.[60]

Considering the sophistication of Yagi's work in the media of *kokutō* and bronze, the averred strength of this fatalistic tie to *tsuchi* is all the more remarkable.

Many other younger generation potters of this period, however, committed themselves to "dwell purely on *tsuchi*," without the conflicts and qualms that troubled Yagi. For example, the wife and husband team Tsuji Kyō (1930–2008) and Tsuji Seimei 辻清明 (1927–2008) launched their successful careers as potters admired for their earth flavor vessels by building a wood-fired climbing kiln in 1955. Though working in Tokyo, they imported Shigaraki *tsuchi* and embraced it as their primary material. Seimei explained that he "wanted clay that suited my character and what I wanted to make." Shigaraki came to "obsess" him, in part, because he believed it had "grown inevitably out of the lifestyle of the Japanese race, and developed into a *tsuchi* of a distinctive character that cannot be found in China or Korea."[61] But in the case of his wife, Kyō (figure 13), the embrace of Shigaraki and similar earth flavor ceramics came at a higher cost. At about the same time that Katō Tōkurō criticized women's ceramics on public television, Tsuji Kyō described the obstacles she faced as a woman potter.

> Most people would take a half teasing attitude toward a woman who worked on a potter's wheel and fired a kiln, and finally they would make it clear that they found [her presence] utterly disagreeable.... One time, an older artisan at a kiln where I went to study treated me as though I were something foul and dirty … aspects of this unthinkable feudalistic prejudice still continue. Shocking though it is, something like the superstition that women must not set foot in a saké brewery is accepted in the ceramic world.[62]

Countering this sexism with extraordinary fortitude, Tsuji Kyō became the first woman awarded the coveted annual Japan Ceramic Association Prize (日本陶磁協会賞) in 1971. Her grasp of *tsuchi* succeeded in transcending the "foul and dirty" image of women in ceramics as well as the patronizing restriction of women's ceramics to "accessory type objects." Her *Yakishime ōhachi* 焼き〆大鉢 (Large unglazed bowl, 1970) (figure 14) is a strong simple unglazed form with a robust reddish burnt skin and a rough untrimmed rim that can be admired as "natural" in terms of the connoisseurship of earth flavor aesthetic practiced

60 Quoted in Inui 1991b, p. 487.
61 Tsuji Seimei 1981, 179.
62 Tsuji Kyō 1971, 41.

Figure 15. Yagi Kazuo, *Kumo no kioku* (Memory of Clouds), unglazed Shigaraki stoneware, 1959. 50.5 x 33.0 x 23.5 cm. Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art.

by many of the ceramicists discussed in this article. But just as impressive as Tsuji Kyō's potting and firing skills was her expansive rhetoric that elevated earth flavor beyond such identifications as Shigaraki or Japan to a universal sense of self, humanity, and nature:

> I think the great work I have wished to stake my career on is nothing more than an effort at unifying the humanity that exists within me together with the character of nature comprised by *tsuchi*. From long ago, I have had the feeling that the mystery of the universe can be sought within *tsuchi*.[63]

5. Sōdeisha: From Earth Worms to Burned Flesh

Katō Tōkurō had likened himself to a worm in his 1962 ode to *tsuchi*, and the worm is indeed an apt metaphor since potters and worms are both creatures that consume and create *tsuchi*. Despite the ideological gap between Tōkurō's dedication to ceramics of the past and Yagi Kazuo's insistence on originality, Yagi's ceramic work was also associated with the earth work of the worm. In 1948 Yagi and his fellow potters coined their group's name, Sōdeisha (Crawling Through Mud Association), using the term *mimizu sōdei mon* 蚯蚓走泥文 (the pattern of the trail of an earthworm on mud), which was a descriptive term for a distinctive pattern in the glaze of Jun-ware pottery of the Jin dynasty (1127–1279).[64] However, Sōdeisha's early works tended to be glazed vessels that were not particularly noted for their

63 Tsuji Kyō, quoted in Yoshida 1977, pp. 184–85.
64 For further discussion of Sōdeisha, see Cort 2003a; Cort 2003b, pp. 156–87.

earth flavor. Later, Yagi was inspired by Surrealist *objet* and other precedents in modern European art as well as Isamu Noguchi's ceramic work to forge the new genre of the *obuje yaki* オブジェ焼き (kiln-fired *objet*).[65] This removal of ceramics from vessel function allowed Yagi to investigate metaphors of the earth with more formal freedom, as in a striking group of unglazed abstract works of the late 1950s and early 1960s that suggested the forms of earthy organisms like slugs and worms. By the early 1970s, however, younger ceramicists working in the Sōdeisha milieu moved beyond the organicist potential of abstract *tsuchi* to invoke qualities of life forms. Driven by alarming contemporary conditions of the industrial environment, Satonaka Hideto and other experimental ceramic artists in Sōdeisha pursued more disturbing analogies between firing earth and firing bodies. The Sōdeisha group would continue for half a century (1948–1998), and ceramicists working in a wide variety of styles and techniques ranked among its membership. Here I trace one thread through this group's development, from Yagi's embrace of metaphors of life to metaphors of death in the work of Satonaka.

Among the most compelling kiln-fired *objet* in Yagi's oeuvre is a series of carefully modeled and carved unglazed works dating from the late 1950s and early 1960s including *Kumo no kioku* 雲の記憶 (Memory of Clouds) from 1959 (figure 15). This work was made with Shigaraki clay, but it was not made at Shigaraki nor fired in a kiln in Shigaraki. And in his Kyoto studio and kiln, he handled this Shigaraki *tsuchi* very differently from, for example, the Shigaraki pots later photographed by Domon. This sensuous torso-like form with four tendrils was modeled with extraordinary delicacy and then, when in a semi-hard state, the surface was carefully troweled with a toothed tool to provide a fine network of cross-hatching lines that manage to irritate the surface just enough to expose some of the feldspar grains that Shigaraki is famous for and dislodge others to leave small pits in the surface, without disrupting the sensuous contours of the form. While the compelling form and fine workmanship of *Kumo no kioku* are unique to Yagi, this work is a product of the late 1950s and 1960s, when there was a broad tendency among Sōdeisha members and other ceramicists toward "divulging the purity … and emphasizing the quality of the medium of *tsuchi*."[66] In Yagi's *Kumo no kioku*, this quality of the medium of fired earth is notably manifested in the four pointy projections extending from the torso. Since the thinnest members of ceramic forms heat more quickly than large masses, and therefore begin to vitrify sooner in the kiln, the glossy dark-brown burnt tips of these projections present a quality of earth flavor that is a unique potential of ceramic art.

The organic metaphor of growth suggested by the sensuous form of *Kumo no kioku* was dramatically articulated in an interpretive photograph by Narahara Ikkō, for the same monograph of Yagi's work where Narahara's photograph of Yagi looming god-like above his pot appears (figure 16). "On a day of gentle rain, at the garden of Tokuzenji at Daitokuji temple, [Narahara] placed the *objet* on the moist moss, and aiming for the effect of a drop to fall from a tip of the *objet*, Narahara lay await under the veranda of the temple, becoming one with his camera and leaning over the *objet* for nearly an hour."[67] In

65 For Yagi, see Winther-Tamaki 1999.

66 Watanabe 2002, p. 17. A wide range of ceramic works from this period with a pronounced earth flavor are illustrated in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 1987.

67 Unagami Masaomi, Untitled essay in Unagami and Narahara 1969, n.p.

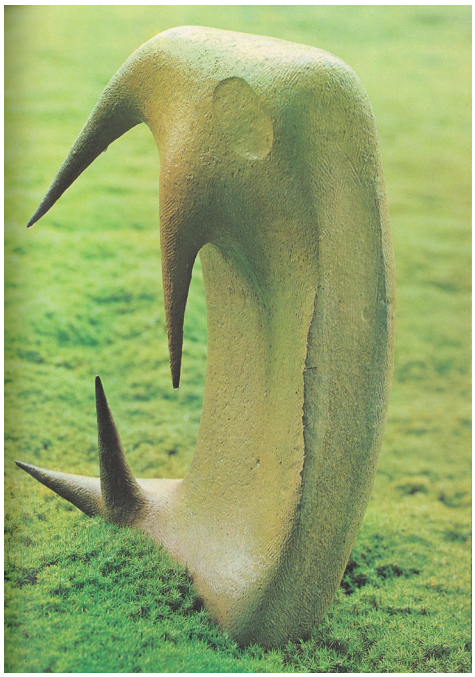

Figure 16. Narahara Ikkō, Photograph of Yagi Kazuo's K*umo no kioku* at Tokuzenji, Daitokuji, Kyoto, 1969. In Narahara and Unagami 1969, n.p.

Narahara's photograph, *Kumo no kioku* rises like a slug from a thick verdant bed of moss that casts the brown ceramic body in a green light, while drops of water form on the tips of the two tentacles facing downward. The capacity of clay to be sculpted into forms that support the illusion of soft living earth-bound organisms even after petrification into hard ceramic was investigated further in a second group of works by Yagi from the early 1960s known collectively as the *Shiwayose-de* 皺寄せで (Bunched-Wrinkled) series, including *Hekitai* 壁体 (Wall Body) of 1963 (figure 17). This work was constructed of numerous small thin sheets of clay that were bunched together when moist, and then compacted into a wall-like surface by lightly pressing a board against them. But if the "bunching of sheets" suggests a fabric-like form, this work looks more like masses of small organisms wriggling together. Perhaps the most colorful interpretation of *Hekitai* was authored by Inui Yoshiaki 乾由明 (1927–2017), a critic and curator who tirelessly promoted earth flavor ceramics from the 1960s through the 1990s. According to Inui, in works such as *Hekitai* Yagi attempted "to concentrate purely on clay" and "thus, with an attitude like a primitive craftsman, he returned to the earth, and began to work by listening humbly to the voice of the earth itself."[68] Still, while admiring the "curdling energy of the hand-clay impact" in Yagi's work, what Inui saw was not merely earth, but "earthworms." In Inui's animistic interpretation, Yagi's pottery object becomes "a strange living thing" with telluric "internal organs," though he insists that its form would be impossible in any medium other than *tsuchi*. But

68 Inui 1991a, p. 151; Inui 1991b, pp. 489–91.

Figure 17. Yagi Kazuo, *Hekitai* (Wall Body), Shigaraki stoneware with light oxide, 1963. 52.0 x 37.0 x 7.5 cm. Private collection.

in addition to such ruminations on metaphors of life suggested by the earthy materiality of these works, earth flavor also operates on another register for Yagi:

> Even the slightest tea bowl gives rise to the contemplative insight that it has indeed been formed of a handful of earth from the great earth which joins the vast stretch of the horizon to the soil beneath your own feet.[69]

Thus, the intimate connection with *tsuchi* afforded by Yagi's kiln-fired *objet* also leads outward to an expansive spatial view of the earth.

In an essay dealing broadly with unglazed ceramics, Yagi notes the long lineage of unglazed pottery in Japan, starting with such prehistoric wares as Jōmon and continuing through Shigaraki and other medieval wares, and compares such pottery to the unclothed human body.[70] Yagi regards the nude body as an honest display of inner attributes, and suggests that obscuring the body with clothing and make-up, like veiling pottery with a coat of glaze, is a falsification. "Nakedly divulging the pattern of the contact between the hand and the *tsuchi*," however, "exposes our eyes to all the physical and physiological ramifications of the artisan's stance. Truth and falsehood, the undisguised and the camouflaged, are all exposed as is." This is a clear statement of an ethic threaded through much of the rhetoric of *tsuchi* in ceramic thought, which supposes that fired clay delivers a basic truth by preserving

69 Yagi 1981b, p. 54.
70 Yagi 1981a.

"the pattern of contact between the hand and *tsuchi*." Nevertheless, this thought is prefaced in Yagi's statement by a qualification that seems to deconstruct its claim to truth:

> The difference between the conscious and the unconscious, the pretentious and the unaffected is paper thin; they are so closely adjacent to one another that they can become confused, for example in complex compounds such as "consciously unaffected," or "pretentiously unconscious."

Indeed, the surfaces of *Kumo no kioku* and *Hekitai* are so minutely labored that the unglazed (unclothed) earthen skin is no less performed than a rich coat of glaze. Louise Cort observes that by the time *Hekitai* was made in the early 1960s, smoke-belching wood-fired kilns were prohibited in the city of Kyoto due to concerns about air quality, so this work was fired in an electric kiln. In order to simulate the unique reddish tint of a wood-firing kiln, Yagi (and others in his Kyoto milieu at this time) had to "blow on a thin layer of iron-tinted 'fire-color' glaze."[71] Similarly, Koyama Fujio recognized that although "in early times *tsuchi* dug from the mountains was probably used as is, recently … even those who use coarse clay like Old Shigaraki often levigate it first and then mix in sand."[72] Ceramics with earth flavor that appeared "natural," we may assume, were often contrived to appear that way.

While works such as Yagi's *Kumo no kioku* and *Hekitai* departed radically from the functional basis of pottery tradition, the materials and many of the techniques used in making them were not radical at all. Nonetheless, in the early 1950s Sōdeisha works struck one viewer as "rude, rough, and wildly uninhibited" in comparison to craft works that "offered a modest flattering chuckle, or affected conversation."[73] This judgment was relative, however, and the standards for judging the roughness of earth flavor changed quickly. It will be recalled that in the mid-1960s the brash handling and disregard for technique of American ceramicists such as Peter Voulkos attracted much attention in the Japanese ceramics world. In this context, Yagi's kiln-fired *objet* came to seem somewhat out of date. One critic noted in 1965 that Yagi and his fellow Sōdeisha member Suzuki Osamu 鈴木治 lived in "a world of television, highways, America, the Soviet Union and Communist China, nuclear explosions, and the war in South Vietnam."[74] But if this was meant as a compliment to these artists' greater responsiveness to contemporary reality than was customary in Japanese ceramic art, it was certainly undercut when the same critic then praised their works for "a soft fine-grained sensibility that is redolent of their makers, men of the ancient capital Kyoto, a sensibility that could easily emerge in the tea ceremony world." Younger ceramicists in the Sōdeisha orbit would break more decisively from earth flavor that retained associations with tradition, elegance, and taste.

Satonaka Hideto (1932–1989), who exhibited with Sōdeisha from 1970 to 1979, was deeply devoted to the charismatic Yagi, but he would remember that this very attraction to Yagi gradually conveyed him away from the kiln-fired *objet*, and "naturally led to an exceeding attachment to the sludge that should be thrown away."[75] Satonaka's term for

71 Cort 2003b, p. 175.
72 Koyama 1965, p. 126.
73 Hamamura 1961, p. 71.
74 Mitsuoka 1965.
75 Satonaka 1981, p. 193.

Figure 18. Satonaka Hideto, *Shirīzu: Kōgai arerugī* (Series: Pollution Allergy), 1971. The National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto.

Figure 19. Satonaka Hideto with his work *Akachan no herumetto* (Baby Helmets), 1973. Nineteen units, each: 9.4 x 20.0 x 30.0 cm. Yamaguchi Prefectural Art Museum.

sludge, *hedoro* ヘドロ, refers to the by-products of clay work that end up in a mud bucket rather than an exhibition, but also signifies the soupy muck deposited in river mouths and along coastlines, especially when containing industrial waste. The harm to the environment and public health incurred by full-throttle economic development was thrust into public awareness in 1970. The media was filled with accounts of innocent victims of fatal illnesses caused by industrial pollutants. Satonaka heard a prediction that "Tokyo would be finished in twenty-nine years," and such gloomy thoughts led him to reject "the eccentric tea masters of the past who would try to console us by speaking of slumping vessels, cracking ceramics, and dripping glaze." He abandoned his "slim faith in the coexistence of nature and humans with clay" as "hopeless."[76]

In this despairing frame of mind, Satonaka created *Shirīzu Kōgai arerugī* シリーズ・公害アレルギー (Series Pollution Allergy, 1971), a group of six nearly identical hand-built ceramic renditions of standardized machine-made sinks with spigots (figure 18). The sinks were rematerialized here, however, with the coloration and inflections of form and texture that signal earth flavor, though now alienated from the connotations of the earthy life forms in Yagi's work, not to mention the nostalgic aestheticism of tea wares. Although each of the six units in the series replicated the same sink, different admixtures of metallic oxide in the clay used for the spigot caused this component to fire differently. The spigots twisted askew in the heat of the kiln, and one fell off entirely, leaving a corrosive stain dripping down from the remaining gap on the back of the sink with ominous implications for tap water. These differences in the performance of clay in the kiln due to variable amounts of metallic oxide suggest an analogy to the contamination of the environment by industrial pollutants in the sludge of Japanese waterways such as the mercury poisoning at Minamata Bay, which by February 1971 had caused forty-seven confirmed deaths, and illness in another seventy-four victims. Satonaka's work was praised for its "indictment of pollution by contemporary industry" by means of techniques "rooted in the basic character of ceramics, such that the work could not be created in any medium other than ceramics."[77]

Satonaka pursued his investigation of relationships between degrees of earth flavor in ceramics and the contamination of *tsuchi* in the environment to more sensational effect two years later. *Akachan no herumetto* 赤ちゃんのヘルメット (Baby Helmets) of 1973 consists of nineteen kiln shelves each holding a single ceramic mass (figure 19). The series illustrates stages of a metamorphosis, starting with a white dome-shaped object resembling a diminutive helmet, transforming into an object of the same shape coated with handsome earthy glaze, and ending with a flattened and charred mass that looks like a burnt pizza. According to the artist's account, each of these forms started out in the same shape (a casting of an actual helmet reduced to a smaller size), and all were fired at 1280 °C for thirty hours.[78] The variable that produced the transformations in the series was, once again, the addition of increasing amounts of metallic oxide into the clay. Greater increments of metallic oxide produced an earth-flavor ceramic and then finally caused the collapse of the form into a charred crisp.

76 Satonaka, statement of 1971, quoted in Satonaka 1976, p. 42.
77 Kōjirō 1971, pp. 67–68.
78 Satonaka 1976, pp. 130–31.

While the step-by-step construction of this piece was carried out in the manner of a laboratory experiment, the imagery of its title, *Akachan no herumetto*, was sensationalized in a science fictional narrative authored by the artist and distributed when this piece was first exhibited in 1973. In Satonaka's story, a foreigner visiting Japan ten years hence in 1983 is appalled at the new norms of a horribly polluted environment where babies are routinely required to wear protective helmets.[79] Set to this narrative, Satonaka's nineteen baby helmets function as a gruesome forewarning of the dire consequences of projected high levels of pollution. Fired *tsuchi* becomes a heuristic for the destruction of human flesh by industrial contaminants in the environment. Satonaka observed that the great sense of mystery surrounding the tradition of the wood-burning kiln was due to its operation as a "secret chamber" during one day, three days, or a month while it was being fired and therefore inaccessible to the potter.[80] For his own ceramic work, however, Satonaka declared that this mysteriousness of pottery tradition was an obstacle rather than an attraction. With the shift to an electric kiln and increasingly precise knowledge about the techniques of kiln firing, he said he no longer thought of his kiln as a "secret chamber," but rather as a *tōmei na misshitsu* 透明な密室 (transparent secret chamber), where it was increasingly possible to dictate the outcome of the firing process. He tried to use more precise methods of controlling earth flavor to address contemporary changes in the earth that were dangerously out of control.

* * *

At the outset of this study, earth flavor was defined as "the beauty of the bare complexion of the earth fired for a long time" in the manner of pottery of the Six Ancient Kiln Sites and practiced anew by postwar Japanese potters who admired its "natural feeling for the oneness of clay and kiln."[81] Four sites, including Seto and Shigaraki among the Six Ancient Kiln Sites, as well as America and Sōdeisha have been investigated as producers of earth flavor, but many other sites could be added to this mapping of the earthy turn in modern Japanese ceramics. For example, kiln sites such as Tokoname, where the avant-garde potter Koie Ryōji launched his career, and Mashiko, where the celebrity Mingei potter Hamada Shōji centered his activities, and institutions such as Nihon Tōji Kyōkai 日本陶磁協会 (The Japan Ceramic Society), founded in 1946 and growing to a membership of 2000 by 1960 were all important producers of earth flavor. Moreover, American perspectives were by no means the only foreign coordinates for the earthy turn in postwar Japanese ceramics. The sculpture of the Italian ceramicist Carlo Zauli (1926–2002), for example, first became known in Japanese ceramic circles in 1964 and became a beacon of earth flavor for several individuals discussed in this article.[82] Nevertheless, extending this investigation to topoi such as Tokoname and Zauli's work in the Italian city of Faenza would probably support the same conclusions that may be drawn from the four sites studied here. Values of earth flavor in postwar ceramics were forged amid debate and often conflict over issues such as the tension between Japanese national identifications of earth flavor, regional centers of

79 Satonaka 1976, p. 54.
80 Satonaka 1981, p. 192.
81 Itō 1981, p. 31.
82 Kyōto Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2007.

production, and the foreign or transnational conditions abetting formations of a Japanese earthy aesthetic. Reverence for models in pottery history persisted alongside avant-gardist disdain for adherence to the canon, while the positions of women underwent changes in a male-centered discourse, and ceramic aesthetics was increasingly identified with the visual to the occlusion of haptic experience.

The deeply contested character of earth flavor discourse, however, is strikingly at odds with one of the stronger threads running through all of these sites of its production, namely a transcendent ideal of *tsuchi* as a pure substance. Perhaps this enigmatic ideal was one that all these interlocutors of *tsuchi* in the Japanese ceramic world agreed upon. Earth flavor was never dirty, rather it was something that people wanted to touch, often with an erotic sense of intimacy, as in Katō Tōkurō's musing that "*tsuchi* is my lover," Isamu Noguchi's confession that what drew him to Japan was "the coarse earth which only Japanese people have," and Yagi Kazuo's comparison of unglazed ceramics to nude human bodies. At the same time, anxieties about threats to this purity abounded, whether male chauvinist fears of women potters such as Tsuji Kyō as "something foul and dirty," or Satonaka Hideto's alarm about *hedoro*, the sludge contaminated by industrial pollutants. Many of the types of pottery discussed here, whether Katō Tōkurō's Shino-style tea bowls or Yagi Kazuo's kiln-fired *objet* continue as institutionalized genres of earth-flavor ceramics practiced today, and many of the same issues endure in contemporary ceramics discourse. Moreover, the focus on the purity of *tsuchi* in postwar ceramic discourse presaged another development, namely an attempt to zero in on *tsuchi* itself, shorn of the manifold identifications that encumbered this substance when bound to such topoi as Seto, America, Shigaraki, and Sōdeisha. "Installation art" emerged as a new genre in Japan in the 1970s and this genre was perhaps a better vehicle than ceramics for essentializing *tsuchi* itself since soil could be foregrounded without undergoing the process of firing. Satonaka was among a small group of ceramicists who would stray from the making of ceramic objects, attempting instead to "make the whole of *tsuchi* itself the issue, the materiality of *tsuchi*, and to try to present the pure form of its bare existence."[83] This ideal, however, was deeply rooted in the earth flavor of postwar Japanese ceramics tethered as it was to such discursive circles as Seto, America, Shigaraki, and Sōdeisha.

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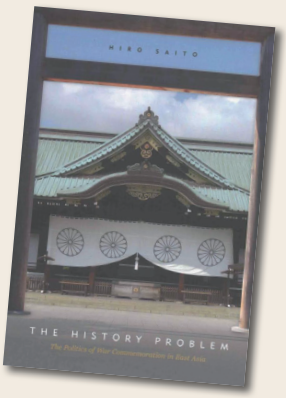
Book Review

The History Problem: The Politics of War Commemoration in East Asia

By Hiro Saito

University of Hawai'i Press, 2017
279 pages.



Reviewed by Jason BUTTERS

Since the Asia-Pacific War (1931–1945), questions surrounding the history and commemoration of its traumas have impeded Japan's diplomatic relations with its neighbors. Victimized populations seek respect and reparations while, in their engagement with that legacy of wartime violence, the Japanese government alternates between self-interested politicking and benevolent activism. In recent decades, disagreements have spurred popular demonstrations, boycotts, and even violence, characterising the latest chapter of what sociologist Hiro Saito and others have called "the history problem." Saito's *The History Problem: The Politics of War Commemoration in East Asia* outlines how conflicting interpretations of history—as articulated in government statements, commemorative acts, as well as domestic and international policy—have divided the region's populations and mobilized nationalisms. As the author explains, memories of Japan's military aggression continue to dictate the nature of its relations with China and Korea. Fuelling these divisions are Japan's selective commemoration of victimized groups, its downplaying of past military aggression and sexual violence, and public affronts to the sensitivities of neighboring societies through official visits by Japanese premiers to pay their respects to the Class A war criminals enshrined at Yasukuni. Investigating these processes, Saito asks whether the three nations most invested in these debates can "resolve the history problem and, if so, how?" (p. 3)

Demonstrating the link between war memory and international relations, *The History Problem* traces the peaks and valleys of Japan's postwar relations with China and Korea. The central actors are those responsible for official Japanese commemoration—mainly prime ministers with their official statements, actions, and policies on compensation and education—and those within Japan who seek to influence that commemoration (p. 12). The study's source base includes Japanese National Diet proceedings since 1945, relevant press releases, and popular discourse as reflected in Japanese dailies. The voices of opposition party members—usually the Japanese Socialist Party and Japanese Communist Party—illustrate the key struggle which, according to Saito, typifies war commemoration in Japan: nationalism versus cosmopolitanism. The former represents self-serving forms of commemoration that prioritize national interests, while the latter Saito uses to designate efforts that commemorate victims regardless of nationality or social status.

The book's periodization is at once familiar and refreshing, allowing readers of all backgrounds to navigate with its author more than seventy years of international political history. Saito uses the immediate postwar period (until 1964) to explain how reactions to the Tokyo trials, together with early conservative reforms under Yoshida Shigeru, planted the seed from which the international history problem later grew. Despite the hegemonic presence of this conservative mainstream, the efforts of Japan's cosmopolitan vanguard combined with the absence of normal diplomatic relations with either China or South Korea to delay the widening of rifts over commemoration. Japan's later normalization of relations with each is shown to have bolstered in Japan not only cosmopolitanism, but also reactionary, conservative challenges to cosmopolitan commemoration. Therefore, despite early efforts to connect Japanese with Korean victims of the atomic bombs and victimized populations in China, Japan's conservative mainstream forcefully rejected broad definitions of wartime culpability. Saito demonstrates this nationalist pushback with the 1979 enshrinement of Class A war criminals at Yasukuni and the LDP's reluctant portrayal of Japanese aggression in public school textbooks in the 1980s. Thus, while the LDP adopted "limited" cosmopolitanism in its proclamations of "regret" and "reproach" for wartime violence during this second period of the history problem, these gestures did little to diffuse an issue that had by then become a veritable powder keg (pp. 70–72).

Saito extols the positive effects of research, activism, and exchange, which he links with the search for war memory reconciliation. The pressure applied on the LDP by transnational organizations since the 1990s has been successful in compelling conservatives to adopt certain cosmopolitan policies and practises. This leads the author to posit a "cautiously affirmative" yes to the question of whether the history problem, together with its international ramifications, can be resolved (p. 178). In this regard, Saito notes that three recent prime ministers, heeding pressure, refrained from visiting Yasukuni, including Abe who has not been back since 2013 (pp. 112, 125). Nevertheless, while cosmopolitan commemoration has certainly influenced the conservative position, it remains unlikely that the LDP will suddenly adopt inclusive practices after decades of resistance. Thus, it is not only transnational cooperation, but in fact a collaborative reconceptualization of the very root of the history problem itself that is needed. The author explains: "East Asia's history problem developed because the Tokyo Trial, a common reference point for relevant political actors in the field, was deeply problematic" (p. 153). Victims of the crimes which the trials ostensibly punished are repeatedly angered by Japanese nationalists' dismissal of its verdicts as victor's justice. To Saito, the key is getting over and going "beyond" cleavages stemming from the trials.

Some questions remain. Cosmopolitanism has yet to appease the two sides, while consolidation of Korean and Chinese nationalism has only increased the demands of victims and advocacy groups. In response, the LDP has more than once redeployed its popular nationalism, opposing comfort women commemoration and preparing for constitutional reforms to deregulate Japanese defense and military capabilities. Meanwhile, it remains to be seen if an increased cosmopolitanism will not invite similar pushback in the future. Finally, Saito's framing of the emergence of Korea and China implies a link between strong economic and diplomatic relations with Tokyo and their participation in high-stakes war memory discourse. This reviewer wonders when one might expect states such as Indonesia or the Philippines to leverage greater power against Japan via the framework of the history

problem. Could proactive cosmopolitanism elsewhere act to contain the history problem in East Asia?

In a recent article, Saito reminds us "history problems are not unique to East Asia.… The act of remembering the past," he continues, "is indispensable to social life because it enables people to articulate their collective identity."[1] History problems occur wherever exclusive nationalism drives commemoration; they operate, in the long term, to aggravate and perpetuate national divisions and the dominance of political society by established elites. Cosmopolitanism, according to Saito, offers a way out from these cyclical clashes by transcending the nation-state and connecting societies on a more interpersonal level. *The History Problem* asks readers to question the authority of historical knowledge, the ownership of trauma, and the responsibilities of an educated citizenry. Presenting an impressive overview of recent Japanese and English-language historiography, Saito makes an important contribution to a growing body of transnational literature—the very body of work he argues is essential to cosmopolitan commemoration. Whether or not one agrees that the responsibility of academe is to inform policy, readers with an interest in postwar transnational history will find Saito's historical overview insightful and his models of analysis transposable. An intriguing and timely case study of contemporary nationalism, *The History Problem* should be widely read not only for its engagement with the study of war memory in the Pacific, but also for its closeness to the fields of international and political history.

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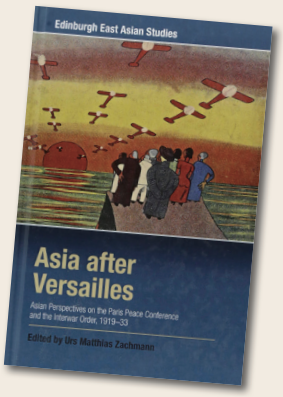
1 Saito 2017, p. 2.

Book Review

Asia after Versailles: Asian Perspectives on the Paris Peace Conference and the Interwar Order, 1919–1933

Edited by Urs Matthias Zachmann

Edinburgh University Press, 2017
248 pages.



Reviewed by Andrew COBBING

At first glance, the premise of this volume seems almost counterintuitive. The project is to search beyond the confines of Eurocentric scholarship, yet Paris appears, ironically, at the centre of the Asian experience here. There is also a familiar European look to the temporal framework, with the interwar period sandwiched between two world wars. As Cemil Aydin points out in one chapter, however, the Muslim experience involved a sustained conflict from the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911 up until World War Two. In East Asia as well, armed conflict was underway before 1914, including Japan's wars against China (1894–1895) and Russia (1904–1905), a contest even described as World War Zero.[1] Thirty years later, fighting in China again preceded the outbreak of World War Two, while the notion of "transwar Japan" also reflects a growing awareness of long-term developments bridging these years of conflict.[2]

Nevertheless, Urs Zachmann justifies the focus on Versailles by pointing out the intense global interest in the Paris Peace Conference during the early months of 1919. Its importance for people in Asia also becomes apparent when considering the long-term psychological impact of unfulfilled expectations across the continent. There was, briefly, widespread optimism, or as John Lobreglio puts it, "global intoxication with Wilsonian idealism" (p. 144), before the onset of disillusionment and, in turn, disgust at the perceived hypocrisy of Western powers for preserving an old imperial order in the new clothes of the League of Nations. Seen in this light, the legacy of Versailles appears more profound than revisionist scholars have suggested when trying to distance the peace conference from the origins of World War Two.

Zachmann, for example, claims that Margaret MacMillan, a prominent advocate of this approach, ignores her own evidence in her monograph *Paris 1919*. Similarly, Lobreglio questions MacMillan's conclusions by stressing the deep psychological scars the peace conference left on Buddhists in Japan. Disappointed by the failure of Japan's proposal for a racial equality clause, they also condemned the victorious powers as "mountain bandits" for the harsh terms imposed on Germany (p. 158). For this group, moreover, Wilson's notion

1 Steinberg 2005.
2 Gordon 2007.

of self-determination made awkward reading, prompting fears it might sow unrest among "our people" in Korea. In India, however, it was the popularity of Wilson's idea that would lead to a sense of betrayal, as self-determination was applied only to new successor states in Europe, not to European colonies beyond. Maria Framke shows how some activists still supported recourse to the League of Nations, but there was soon a wider perception that Wilsonian ideals had failed. It was thus a source of discomfort rather than pride to be the only colony signed up to league membership, with financial contributions to match, for as one newspaper put it in 1927, "this venomous reptile is also nourished by India" (p. 131).

This collection is divided into two parts: the first three essays discuss transnational themes that accompanied the war and aftermath, such as pan-Muslim and pan-Asian initiatives; subsequent chapters address topics specific to India, Japan, and China. Mark Metzler calls the war a "storm of globalisation," featuring unprecedented flows of people, among them 140,000 Chinese labourers and over a million Indian labourers and soldiers (p. 46). Other effects included a global influenza pandemic, national awakenings in a wave of mass protests during the Paris Peace Conference, and the onset of a boom-bust cycle in the world economy. As Metzler points out, it was Japan that set the pace in terms of experiencing deflation, then a newly coined term, as early as March 1920.

Conflicting loyalties also transcended borders, such as the Indian soldiers attached to both the Raj and the Caliphate. As Aydin explains, there was a postwar revival of Muslim regionalism, but this soon fractured with the emergence of new national entities, like the Saudi state in control of Mecca and Medina. Further east, attempts were made to convene All-Asia Congresses, in Nagasaki (1925) and Shanghai (1926). Torsten Weber notes that the legacy of Versailles was always present in Japanese Asianist rhetoric from below, ironically providing a framework later co-opted from above by the Japanese state in the 1930s. The differences among delegates at these conferences outweighed their commonalities, however, soon dissipating any sense of unity formed by collective outrage at the rejection of Japan's racial equality proposal in Paris, and new legislation in 1924 curtailing Asian immigration to the United States.

In Japan, meanwhile, public confidence in the diplomatic process more broadly was undermined by the "lacklustre performance" of the Japanese delegation in Paris (p. 116). Naoko Shimazu argues that this negative reception at home was the price paid by the Japanese representatives for overlooking the new importance of staging in public diplomacy, a point illustrated with statesman-like images of Wilson and the Council of Four. A series of cartoons used in advertising also illustrates Hiroko Sakomoto's survey of nationalist messages in interwar Shanghai.

Exploring the ambivalence present in these postwar years, Kevin Doak then traces the attempts of one Japanese intellectual, Tanaka Kōtarō, to reconcile the themes of internationalism and particularism inherited from Versailles. As he points out, Wilson's vision of the state was hardly liberal, his vaunted self-determination always prone to fostering an unfettered ethnic nationalism that could undermine his own League of Nations. Similarly, Gotelind Müller stresses the role of anarchists in orchestrating the May Fourth Movement, questioning the established textbook narrative of a turning point for nationalism in China by noting that the protest was less spontaneous than often portrayed.

Overall, this is a lively, thought-provoking collection, uneven in parts, but offering good breadth of coverage. Perhaps it would also be useful to learn more about Southeast

Asia, which is featured only in passing here when Aydin mentions Indonesian Muslim elites who monitored developments in the new state of Turkey (p. 68). Each chapter is accompanied by an extensive bibliography, and there is a carefully produced index at the end. The volume certainly explores some of the contradictions that arose from Versailles, and their broader impact on Asia.

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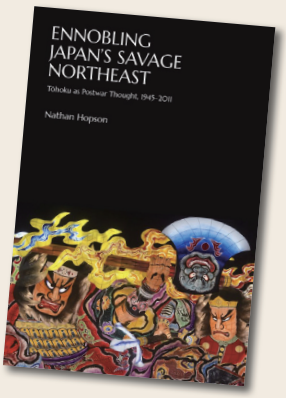
Book Review

Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast: Tohoku as Postwar Thought, 1945–2011

By Nathan Hopson

Harvard University Press, 2017
362 pages.



Reviewed by Shayne A. P. DAHL

Tōhoku appeared in the global spotlight within hours of the earthquake and tsunami of 11 March 2011 and sustained the world's attention for months as public awareness of the nuclear meltdown in Fukushima spread. A call for "urgent ethnography" in post-3/11 Tōhoku was answered by many, and continues to break new ground.[1] Yet, one problem, perhaps too obvious to notice, has so far eluded scrutiny: the concept of "Tōhoku" itself.

In *Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast*, Nathan Hopson sets his analytic sights on the idea of Tōhoku in national discourse during the postwar, pre-3/11 period. In a well-researched and compelling narrative, Hopson traces a genealogy of "postwar thoughts" that imagine Japan anew through the alterity of Tōhoku. "For much of Japan's recorded history," Hopson writes, Tōhoku was rendered a place of "savagery and backwardness" (p. 2). This haughty portrayal reflects the resistance of the people of Tōhoku to Yamato colonialism since the eighth century (p. 32). However, following World War II, Tōhoku underwent a discursive transformation, becoming "a privileged locus for the creation of postwar values," a "floating … signifier in Japanese discourses of national reinvention…." (pp. 1–2).

As Japan's first colony, Tōhoku was recast by postwar intellectuals into "a virtuous victim and marginal repository of values and traditions oppressed, suppressed, and ignored by mainstream Japan" (p. 8). In an atmosphere of postwar gloom and with growing antipathy to the imperial order, Tōhoku's link to an alternative ancestral past held redemptive potential. Until the end of the war, the Emishi, a vague moniker for the people of Tōhoku, were viewed as proto-Ainu and therefore non-Japanese (p. 40). Shifting views on the Emishi in the postwar period rendered Tōhoku ethnically Japanese. By claiming the historical legacy of Tōhoku as ethnically (yet not politically) Japanese, postwar thinkers opened a temporal doorway for Japan to return to "'the stretch of history before the mistaken detour.'" (p. 6).[2]

In the arch of Hopson's analysis, Tōhoku becomes a placeworld into which postwar Japanese could envision a "halcyon era" (p. 10) imbued with ancestral "values and virtues" that could serve as a "panacea for modernity's ills" (p. 6). Such postwar thoughts, Hopson

1 See Slater 2015 and Dahl 2017.
2 Hopson integrates lines from Schivbusch's *The Culture of Defeat* (2003, pp. 29–31) into this quote.

shows, are manifest in pop culture primitivism and nostalgia. For instance, the protagonist of Miyazaki Hayao's *Princess Mononoke*, Ashitaka, is an Emishi prince who opposed "a range of antagonists that represent various aspects of 'Japanese' culture and modernity" (pp. 16–17). The *Tower of the Sun* by Okamoto Tarō, which stands in the center of Expo '70 Commemorative Park in Osaka, is a landmark of the "Jōmonism" he himself spearheaded in the late 1960s and early 1970s (p. 203). And then there is *Oshin*, the most popular television program in Japanese history, which sentimentalizes "preexisting notions of Tōhoku as the heartland and privileged locus of the sacrosanct national past" (p. 16).

Hopson's historical narrative begins on 22 March 1950 in Hiraizumi, Iwate Prefecture, with the mummified remains of the Fujiwara family who ruled the region for generations. It is in this "moment," he claims, that a "distinctively postwar Tōhoku Studies began" (p. 21). Once a morphological analysis of the Fujiwara mummies revealed that the Emishi were not proto-Ainu, the idea of Hiraizumi as an independent but ethnically Japanese polity rivaling Kyoto quickly gained traction. The discursive removal of the Emishi from Ainu ancestry liberated Tōhoku from its "ignoble" status in the popular imagination and made it malleable for postwar self-fashioning.

One lingering question concerns the role of the Ainu in national reinvention. Unlike the Emishi, the Ainu were not figured as "noble savages" in postwar discourse because they are not ethnically "Japanese." Hopson notes Takahashi Tomio's conviction that "if Tōhoku's history and culture had been produced by a non-Japanese (Ainu) ethnic or racial heritage, [the Emishi] could and would be dismissed" as a new source of ethnic identity (p. 139). He does not clarify whether the Ainu remained ignoble in postwar discourse, or just ignored. The Ainu question strikes me as crucial to the idea of Tōhoku, at least in its absence and traces.

Hopson's analysis is rigorous and detailed but centered on Hiraizumi and the eastern prefectures of Tōhoku. Akita and Yamagata are mentioned briefly, and Aomori makes a late but significant entry in the form of the Sannai Maruyama archaeological site (p. 206). The limits of Hopson's analytic scope are understandable because, as he argues, Hiraizumi's Fujiwara mummies played a significant role in undermining racial assumptions about the Emishi. Chūsonji, the main temple complex of Hiraizumi, also gained UNESCO World Heritage status months after 3/11, which further elevates Hiraizumi's relevance (pp. 152–55). Nevertheless, the idea of Tōhoku in the popular imagination is an assemblage of constituent regions, not exclusively the politically elite, as Hopson's argument implies.

Regions along the Sea of Japan such as the Oga Peninsula of Akita and the Shōnai area of Yamagata have had a formidable influence on popular perceptions and "postwar thoughts" of Tōhoku as well. The monstrous *Namahage* of the Oga Peninsula, for example, have fanned the flames of the metropolitan imagination in scholarship for years.[3] Demanding a comparison to the Hiraizumi mummies are the self-mummified monks (*sokushinbutsu*) in the Shōnai region.[4] So, while Hiraizumi is pivotal in the scholarly debate that Hopson traces, other places in Tōhoku have contributed to the postwar reimagining of Tōhoku. There is more to unpack from within the idea of Tōhoku than any one text can accomplish.

3 Yamamoto 1978 and Foster 2013.
4 See Hori 1962 and Castiglioni 2015.

Despite its necessary limits, *Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast* is groundbreaking. It is both a critical examination of and a seismic shift within Tōhoku studies that invites further debate about postwar identity and its lasting effects.

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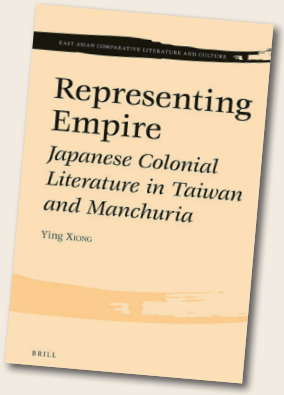
Book Review

Representing Empire: Japanese Colonial Literature in Taiwan and Manchuria

By Ying Xiong

Brill, 2014
xxvii + 375 pages.



Reviewed by Andrew ELLIOTT

Ying Xiong's study of literary works and literary scenes in colonial Taiwan and Manchuria during the 1930s and 1940s focuses mainly on two influential expats, Nishikawa Mitsuru (1908–1999) and Yamaguchi Shin'ichi (1907–1980), better known by his pen name, Ōuchi Takao. Both Nishikawa and Ōuchi left Japan while still young (the former when two years old, with his family to Keelung, the latter to join his uncle in Changchun when in his early teens), and both returned to live only when repatriated at the end of World War II. In their work as writers, editors, and translators, both Nishikawa and Ōuchi played key roles not only in the production of literature in Japan's colonies, but also in debates about the nature of colonial literature itself.

Representing Empire draws on a large, varied selection of contemporary and later sources in Chinese and Japanese (as well as English, French, and German) to provide a transnational perspective on intra-empire, multidirectional cultural flows, between two distinct colonial spaces as well as metropole and colony. For these reasons, it is a good fit in Brill's series on "East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture." In particular, Xiong explores "colonial literature as an illuminative site to reveal the complicated relationship between Japanese writers and the colonial project that contributed to Japan's modernity" (p. 42). She uses Nishikawa and Ōuchi's literary activities and writing as a means to map their shifting identifications with state, nation, and empire. While Nishikawa from the beginning of his career consistently argued for colonial literature in Taiwan as a regional subcategory of Japanese national literature targeted at metropolitan readers, China expert Ōuchi espoused the possibility of an independent, multinational, and multilingual Manchurian literature. Yet, as Xiong argues, whatever their early differences, "both writers responded to the call to join the 'decisive battle' of Japan in the 1940s and were caught in colonial integration based on the universal idea of *kokumin*" (p. 320). From this point, literary production, as with other areas of social and cultural life across the empire, was increasingly subsumed under Japanese national goals in the mobilization for total war.

Many of the key, underlying arguments here about the role of knowledge accumulation and representation in the justification for, and expansion of empire have been made elsewhere. Evidence for the intrinsic relationship of knowledge/power (its introduction in chapter 7 is, for this reader, inexplicably late), the cultural dimensions of imperialism, or

the fractures, contradictions, and shifts in colonial discourse has been well-amassed in the decades since Edward Said's *Orientalism* was first published in 1978; and Robert Tierney has considered at length the ways in which postcolonial models can be applied to the modern Japanese case.[1] More specifically, the chapters on Nishikawa's work as literary editor, views of colonial literature, and romanticism cover similar ground to research by Faye Yuan Kleeman.[2] Xiong builds on this earlier work, as the introduction, later citations, and the bibliography show, and in particular offers illuminating, comparative data and analysis of Taiwan and Manchuria.

Yet in the textual readings especially, a more sustained dialogue with previous scholarship on the workings of colonial discourse in literature, inside and outside the Japanese empire, might have been fruitful. For example, in Xiong's discussion of romantic discourse in Nishikawa's poetry and folklore writing, she writes that his "exotic literary approach was fundamentally distinct from Japanese colonial policy" at the time), arguing that his valorization of the local, customary, and decadent signaled the failure of colonial modernity: "For Nishikawa, literature retained a certain degree of independence from its political and moral influences" (p. 117). No writer is a political mouthpiece, and polyvocality might be claimed for any written text. But in this case, whatever his beliefs about art for art's sake, surely Nishikawa's literary excavations of the vestiges of alleged "Taiwanese backwardness" could just as easily be seen to justify the further imposition of colonial power? Anti-modern though Nishikawa's approach to writing Taiwan may have been, the trope of nostalgia does not necessarily challenge colonial discourse, as Renato Rosaldo and Ali Behdad have both explored.[3] In a transnational study of this kind, it would have been interesting to get a more precise sense of inter-imperial links or divergencies, especially because of the stylistic connections between Nishikawa and the French colonial travelers of Behdad's study; though perhaps this is too much to ask of an already expansive work.

In this exploration of writers' connections to the colonial project, the material often takes precedence over the symbolic. Part III takes up a greater range of colonial writers and their works, but the focus elsewhere on "two personalities" (p. 319), their motivations, interests, and influences puts great emphasis on the biographical, somewhat unexpectedly in a book entitled *Representing Empire*. Biographical criticism is as valid a form of literary criticism as any, but cannot always offer persuasive explanations for the intersection of poetics and politics that occurs within colonial literature, or the reproduction of some representational modes but not others. Recourse to the exotic in the colonial writing of Satō Haruo is presumably not simply because "it was natural for visitors to feel distant and strange in Taiwan since their stays were only short and casual" (p. 60). Nor is Xiong's excellent, nuanced analysis of omissions and changes in Ōuchi's literary translations from Chinese—whereby a critique of colonial modernity is transformed into its celebration—developed much by the knowledge that Ōuchi "sincerely believed that the Kwantung Army was aiming to spread the benefits [of agrarianism] to China and Mongolia" (p. 282).

1 Tierney 2010.
2 Kleeman 2003.
3 Rosaldo 1989 and Behdad 1994.

Mistitling may be one problem. Out of nine main chapters, only four are dedicated to textual analysis. Another might be an editorial one: the long preface, which acts as an introduction, is then followed by a much longer "Introduction," which makes for a somewhat repetitive, not to mention (for this reader at least) confusing entry point, theoretically locating the book in a great variety of ways, of which the final, and one might assume, most important is the representation of empire in colonial literature. Yet upon entering the main body of Xiong's book, the reader discovers that it is the contemporary debates, discussions, and activities of the colonial literary scenes in Taiwan and Manchuria—all fascinatingly and richly explored here—that appear center stage.

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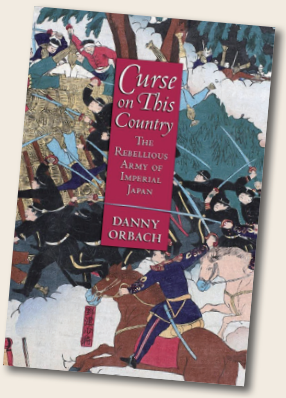
Book Review

Curse on This Country: The Rebellious Army of Imperial Japan

By Danny Orbach

Cornell University Press, 2017
384 pages.



Reviewed by G. Clinton GODART

An historian of British naval history once lamented the lack of interest in the navy among historians of Britain, saying that assessing the eighteenth-century British state without mentioning the Royal Navy would be like "writing a history of Switzerland without mentioning mountains, or writing a novel without using the letter 'e'." The problem was not a lack of specialized studies of the navy, ships, and battles, but a lack of understanding of the import of the navy in modern British history as a whole. No aspect of modern British history, he argued, would be complete without assessing its naval component.[1] The same can probably be said about modern Japanese history and the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) and Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN). While all historians of modern Japan are of course well aware of the tremendous import of the military, the number of serious historical studies in English on the Japanese military and the military *in modern Japanese history* are few and far between. Hence Danny Orbach's masterful book on the Japanese army, *Curse on This Country*, should be more than welcome.

Curse on This Country is a history of the IJA from the Meiji period to the beginning of the Asia-Pacific War, but through a particular angle, namely what Orbach identifies as a particular penchant, a "culture" for independent action, insurbordination, and rebellion. As this also bears on the problem of military-civilian relations, and thus the role of the military in Japanese society, this book is of significance for all historians of modern Japan. Orbach, a senior lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is well placed to write this history, working with archival materials in multiple languages and having previously published *The Plots Against Hitler* as well as articles on acts of military insubordination and conspiracy in countries other than Japan.[2] Well-crafted and lucidly explained, *Curse on This Country* takes us on a journey from the *bakumatsu* era through a series of acts of insubordination, unauthorized military actions abroad, civil-military clashes, and rebellion, such as the 1874 Taiwan expedition, the assassination of the Korean Queen Min, the Taisho political crisis, and the cascade of violent acts beginning with the 1928 assassination of Manchuria's

1 Rodger 2005, lxii-lxiv.
2 Orbach 2016.

warlord leader Zhang Zuolin, the Sakura kai attempted coup and the Manchurian Incident of 1931, and culminating in the rebellion of 26 February 1936.

Most of these incidents are well known to a historian of modern Japan, but Orbach shines new light on each incident and the circumstances surrounding them. However, the book's greatest contribution is that—to the best of this reviewer's knowledge—for the first time it ties all these together in one historical narrative, and as aspects of an evolving, but nevertheless single, phenomenon of Japan's modern army: its "culture of subordination." Whereas previous research studied the rash actions by the military in the 1930s primarily as a product of that era, Orbach places these in a longer history of the army going back to the 1860s. *Curse on This Country* reads at times like a thriller, but it harbors a sophisticated argument of an historical nexus of power and insubordination. Central to the argument is that the culture of insubordination was the result of systemic flaws in the makeup of modern Japan's political and military structure that were put in place in the Meiji period. Orbach describes these flaws with the metaphor of "bugs" in computer software, flaws that do not prevent the state from running: "Only in certain situations, under specific conditions, did they cause severe failures that eventually undermined the entire system" (p. 3). The book is thus also a study of how power worked in prewar Japan.

The bugs are, first, the "hazy legitimacy" of power, in particular that of the emperor, whose "will" was almost never manifested and thus always open to interpretation, strife by different factions, including mid-and-lower-ranking officers who could always act out while believing or saying it was in the emperor's name; second, "territorial expansion as a one-way street," a broad understanding that expansion was always the goal, allowing frustrated officers to set *faits accomplis* abroad (such as the Manchurian Incident). This also made it difficult to punish these officers or reverse their actions, in effect creating legal impunity, which in turn endowed officers with optimism that their actions would bear results. And third, "territorial expansion as an endless road," the absence of a defined goal for expansion, making officers never satisfied with the status quo. The bugs "created room, ideological encouragement, and endless pretexts for rebellion and resistance in the imperial Japanese army" (p. 265). Also important is that violent acts of insubordination bred later incidents as army officers consciously remembered and tried to relive the *bakumatsu shishi* culture of rash and violent action, fueled by drinking bouts and a conspicuous absence of planning. Despite these continuities, the culture of insubordination also changed overtime, and Orbach uncovers important changes such as the "democratization of insubordination" (p. 226), a process whereby each subsequent action tended to involve officers of lower ranks: the Taiwan expedition and assassination of Queen Min were planned by higher ranks, the Manchurian Incident by mid-ranking officers, and the 26 February Incident by junior lieutenants. In the end, the tide of rebellions was dealt with harshly and eliminated after the February uprising of 1936, albeit with an afterlife as the army used the threat of rebellion to get its way. No particular individual was responsible for what turned into its final crash during the Pacific War, and often the systemic flaws were the result of good, or at least rational, intentions.

A minor point of critique in my opinion is this: in the very final stage of the book Orbach rushes somewhat too quickly to connect the culture of insubordination to the escalation of the Japan-China War and the outbreak of the Pacific War (pp. 256, 259–260). That the fear of rebellion and/or insubordination was a constraining factor in decision-making for Japanese leaders, such as during the early months of the Japan-China War, is

indeed an important dimension that historians should take into consideration. But it is also one that should be carefully measured against such factors as the tactical situation on the ground, the flow of information and debates at the Army General Staff, and the series of decisions leading to all-out war in 1937, including also Chinese actions and decisions, such as that to open a second front around the Shanghai area. Orbach's book also raises questions for further research. He argues the army and even society came to be pervaded by the culture of insubordination, but also describes a tension between rebellious officers and those keen to maintain order. How should we understand the balance between rebellion and radicalism on the one hand, and conservative tendencies and figures on the other, leading up to the Pacific War? To what degree were elements outside the IJA aware of the "bugs" in the system, and to what degree did they criticize or try to change it? Orbach's focus is rightly limited to the army, and although he does touch upon the navy at times, including the involvement of navy officers in several plots, the question arises as to whether the navy was overall less prone to subordination, and if so, why, given it was functioning in the same bug-infested operating system. *Curse on This Country* is a rich and sophisticated history that deserves to be read widely by students of modern Japanese history and military history.

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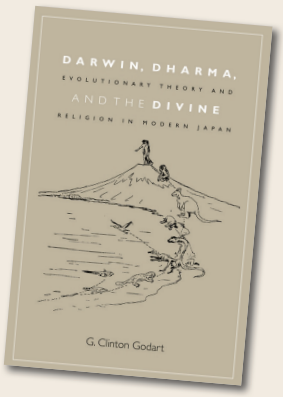
Book Review

Darwin, Dharma, and the Divine: Evolutionary Theory and Religion in Modern Japan

By G. Clinton Godart

University of Hawai ʻi Press, 2017
x + 301 pages.



Reviewed by Joy HENDRY

When I first went to Japan in 1971, I was studying Japan and the Japanese language, reading and attending classes, and by a series of serendipitous encounters, I found myself living among a group of young Japanese people who were as interested in me and my background as I was in theirs. We discussed many aspects of our differing cultural heritage, and although I had yet to start my formal training I was already very much the anthropologist. I thereby absorbed a huge amount of initial understanding that I could draw upon for years, but there was one subject which I found immensely frustrating, and it was only through agreeing to write this review of Godart's wonderful intellectual history of the introduction of evolutionary theory to Japan that I feel I can finally fill that niggling gap.

The subject was philosophy, and as an Oxford training in anthropology includes a fair smattering of Western philosophy, as background if not read in firsthand detail, I wanted to know what kind of philosophical ideas were current among nonspecialists in Japan. I drew a blank with my otherwise intellectually informed friends, and Godart's clear and comprehensive exegesis of the debates and discussions that surrounded the introduction of many Western ideas, with a focus on Darwin and Herbert Spencer, at last explains why. Godart lays out the arguments more or less chronologically, with appropriate themes relating to his subtext of religious reactions, always linking them to the wider context of political and eventually militaristic activities.

The first couple of chapters were the most fascinating for me in that they introduce a range of intellectual debates that have hardly emerged before in the English language. These mostly took place in the Meiji period, and the first chapter addresses the way the contrasting views of evolutionary theorists were read, digested, and then discussed among Japanese scholars, some of whom had embraced Christianity. There were also foreign scholars living and teaching in Japan at the time, and they espoused a range of different views. Some of this debate would have been wonderful if it had entered into Western discourse beyond a small group of specialists, especially as it raised interesting questions way beyond the evolution versus creationist dichotomy, but on the whole Europeans ploughed on with the Enlightenment project that inspired them to claim a superiority that has only recently begun to be seriously questioned.

Meanwhile in Japan questions were raised through the eyes of those espousing a fast reforming and nationalising Shinto view of the world, as discussed in chapter 2, and later by Buddhists who form the focus of chapter 3. Essentially (and this is an essentialist view, but I think it worth airing), objections centered around the idea that a society with a strong ethic of harmony and cooperation could possibly have been formed through a struggle for survival between *individuals* competing with each other for their very survival. Unlike the common association in Western thought between evolution and secularism, in Japan there were much stronger efforts made for more than a century to find a way to reconcile evolution with a spiritual worldview, or a "reenchanted" view of nature.

These arguments were initially being made in a country completely immersed in all manner of manifestations of "modernity," and another common objection was to the inevitable concomitant idea of continual *progress*, a *sine qua non* of the capitalist world that characterized America. *Materialism* was another issue, and a common Buddhist argument was that the matter out of which human beings have evolved must have a space for "life," for the "mind." Godart suggests that Buddhists adapted their approach to evolutionary theory to include this idea, partly to distinguish Buddhism from the Christian rejection of Darwin's arguments about human origins.

Of course there are many complex arguments to be considered in subsequent chapters, which cover issues such as a promise of Utopia as well as an association of superstition with modernity. Godart makes powerful links between Western ideas of evolution and the reactionary rationale for the build-up of nationalism (*kokutai*), the rejection of evolutionary ideas previously taught in Japanese schools, and Japanese ideas of superiority that led to the disastrous World War II effort. He introduces many important Japanese scholars too numerous to mention here, but the one who not only became popular in Japan but did actually impress at least primatologists in the outside world, is Imanishi Kinji whose quite comprehensive alternative to Darwin's work forms a sort of conclusive pinnacle of Japanese resistance over the years.

For me, one of the most exciting aspects of this cornucopia of interesting debates lies in the argument put by several Japanese scholars in different times and situations about the misplaced arrogance of Western scientists in thinking that they can shake off their spiritual inheritance and not only see the world objectively, rather than relationally, but ultimately find ways to control it. This is an argument shared by indigenous peoples in many parts of the world, who protest that their own scientific understanding of the environment, gained through millennia of observation, testing, and experience in their own local situations has been totally ignored, if not destroyed, by settlers from Eurocentric "enlightened" scientific countries.[1]

Godart ultimately dismisses Imanishi's alternative view of evolution, but he concedes that it did make a profound difference in the wider field of primatology, and he leaves us with the intriguing idea of broadening the perspective of evolutionary (and other scientific) theory by considering the reactions of a multiplicity of religions worldwide. Only this way will we move on from the limited dichotomy between religion and creationism on the one hand and science and evolution on the other, he argues. We might also learn more about how we can bring meaning and ethics into an otherwise rather sterile materialism.

1 See Cajete 1999 and Hendry 2014.

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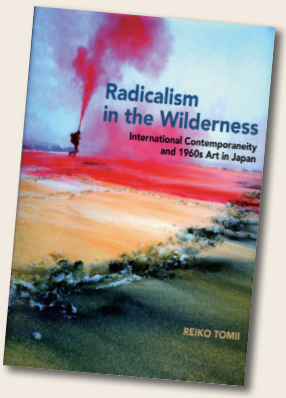
Book Review

Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan

By Reiko Tomii



The MIT Press, 2016
293 pages.

Reviewed by Gary HICKEY

In the context of world art history, Japanese art is often characterized as either peripheral or derivative. And yet, in terms of the development of world art, Japan has played a role far exceeding its size. The Japanese have achieved this through their ability to engage in an inventive way with both tradition and foreign-derived ideas. With globalization and the dominance of Euro-America in the development of contemporary art, this characterization is even more pronounced and, with the exception of a few Japanese artists who have achieved notoriety outside of Japan, developments in contemporary art within Japan are seen as either quirky, irrelevant, or merely mimicking overseas trends. For artists outside Tokyo, this characterization is even more pronounced.

Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan by New York-based scholar and curator, Reiko Tomii, posits an alternative understanding of art contemporaneity that includes artists often seen as being on the periphery of "international contemporaneity" (p. 12). Following an outline of Japanese art from Gutai to Bikyōtō in which the mainstreaming of contemporary art follows a process of "connections and resonances," or what Tomii characterizes as a synchrony of ideas, she sets out to show that "contemporaneity" is a geohistorical concept defined by both facts and lived experience. She examines three Japanese artists/artist groups working away from major Japanese art centers, "in the wilderness."

She introduces three artworks as representative of the isolated nature of their formation and execution. The first was in 1964 when the conceptualist, Matsuzawa Yutaka, opened an exhibition in Nagano Prefecture that consisted of no physical works but "formless emission" "transmitted" by the artists involved (p. 1).[1] Four years later, an Osaka-based collective of happeners (*hapunā*) known as the Play released a "humongous fiberglass egg" off the coast of southern Japan, which Tomii puzzlingly describes as being "built into the ocean" (p. 4). According to Tomii, this egg "unmistakably" carried "an image of liberation from all the material and mental restrictions imposed upon us who live in contemporary

1 Matsuzawa 1964, p. 51.

times" (p. 4).[2] Created in 1970 by a local collective known as GUN (Group Ultra Niigata), the final work *Event to Change the Image of Snow* (or "color field") utilized the idea of nature as a blank canvas, in this case snow-covered river beds on which artists sprayed color pigment to focus attention on the harsh climate, and as "a reminder of the burdens such severe weather brought to everyday life" (p. 5).

The ephemerality or nonexistence of these works enhances their isolation from the mainstream. At their core are ideas rather than concrete artworks, and Tomii's analytical frame of mind is well suited to an investigation of the concepts behind their creation. Before majoring in art history, her background was in mathematics, and thus she is understandably excited by the speculative ideas underpinning conceptual art.

Tomii sees history writing as "no precise science" (p. 201), and her exhaustive investigation of ideas finds resonance with the heavily theoretical aspect of conceptual art. This is most apparent in her admiration of the work of Matsuzawa Yutaka. His was an "alternative to the objects-based convention of art making" by "vanishing materiality," a conceptualism he equated with the Pure Land Buddhist technique of visualization (p. 46). Matsuzawa's theoretical ideas read like the path taken by a religious convert. Matsuzawa's art is intellectual and prompts an engagement with his ideas. This engagement extends the creation of the artwork to include the audience as interpreter. Tomii enthusiastically partakes in this collaborative process, and her interpretations lend credence to their ideation, but rarely extend to their aesthetic value. On the rare occasions when she does reference visual values she does so pithily, for example describing Matsuzawa's 1961 "Meaning of Psi" and "Psi Chamber" (a stenciled diagram and page of text) as "well crafted" and "exquisite" (p. 58), and GUN's "color field" as "gorgeous" (p. 5). She gives most weight to the intellectual ideas behind their creation.

It is clear that the contribution of contemporaneity in late 1960s Japan was in exploring the boundaries of art and in challenging the conventions of art making. By their nature, these artworks are experiments, and as such a fertile field for new art making. Where does this place the art critic? In seeking to elicit a written response from art critics and others to his *Mail Art by Sending Stones*, Horikawa Michio sought complicity, and by mounting these responses as artworks he aimed to validate his ideas. In the case of the stones he sent to Richard Nixon, Tomii becomes a participant by reiterating the three meanings assigned to this act: environmental awareness, race relations, and political activism (p. 125). Without the critic, these meanings would lack significance. By historicizing the creation of this work, Tomii gives the work value. Tomii dismisses as "harsh" Lee Ufan's assessment of Horikawa's *Stones* as nothing but "idea-cum-object" (p. 123).

Tomii takes pains to dismiss the accusation of imitation levelled against contemporary artists in Japan. Describing their works as "similar yet dissimilar" to works made elsewhere, she characterizes them as finding "resonances." Is this perhaps an example of the Japanization that has characterized Japanese art development historically? At one point, Tomii describes the Play's Happening as "articulating their own discourse—in order to repossess the imported idea," which approaches a definition of Japanization (p. 110). She also likens this process to an idea or a word "sometimes dissociated from its original meaning

2 Ikemizu Keiichi, quoted in *Shūkan Asahi* (date unknown), reprinted in the *Voyage* section in Play (Paris: Bat and Osaka: The Play, 2014).

but gaining layers of significance" elsewhere, in other words "internalized interface" (p. 159). When she includes historical Japanese art connections in this "internalized interface"—as with dry river beds as the site for performance and land art (a seventeenth-century screen depicting *Entertainment on the Riverbed at Shijō* and *Hole* by Group "I") and Matsuzawa Yutaka's readings of the *Diamond World Mandala*—this process appears much more complex, localized, and interesting than mere aping. Tomii feels that Japanese art has not been given its due, and she sets out to bring Japanese artists in from the periphery to the center.

Tomii's dense discussion reads like a life's work. By including, in a global historical narrative, artists who until now had existed on the periphery, her theoretical approach provides an important perspective. Articulating this history of ideas in the "lingua franca of contemporary art, English" (p. 158) helps give this fringe development in Japanese art an international context. Tomii's essay is an exemplar of more inclusive thinking towards an all-encompassing definition of world art history, and will provide an essential reference source for specialists. The importance of her work is in opening a door to further consideration of the role that Japanese artists played in the field of world art history, a narrative that will hopefully continue from the viewpoint of differing perspectives.

REFERENCE

Matsuzawa 1964

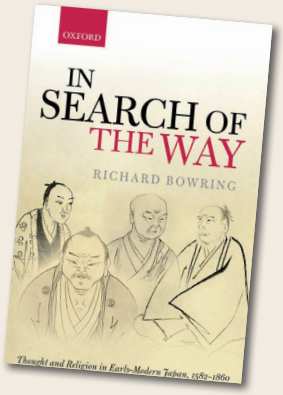
Matsuzawa Yutaka 松澤宥. "Kōya ni okeru andepandan-ten '64" 荒野におけるアンデパンダン展'64. *Bijutsu jānaru* 美術ジャーナル 51 (October 1964).

Book Review

In Search of the Way: Thought and Religion in Early-Modern Japan, 1582–1860

By Richard Bowring

Oxford University Press, 2017
xii + 329 pages.



Reviewed by James E. KETELAAR

In 2005 Richard Bowring published a major contribution to Japanese religious studies, *The Religious Traditions of Japan 500–1600* (Cambridge University Press). Indeed, not since Joseph Kitagawa's monumental 1966 *Religion in Japanese History* had a scholar writing in English attempted such a comprehensive and nuanced reading of the Japanese religious past. Using the chronological brackets of "the official arrival of Buddhism from Paekche" in 538 and the "utter destruction of the monasteries on Hieizan by Oda Nobunaga" in 1582, Bowring asked, "Can there be such a thing as a history of religion, as distinct from, say, a history of politics or social movements?" Indeed, he challenged us, is not even the term "religion" itself suspect as a modern category that will necessarily distort and "compartmentalize that particular area of human desire and experience, isolating it from other forms of activity" (pp. xii, 1). He preferred to "allow the material available to dictate the approach" (p. xii) which in turn allowed Bowring to explore methods related to material culture, historiography, doctrinal analysis, great man theories of history, national or ethnic religious constructs, rituals and the relations between ritual and society, cross-cultural comparison, transnational influence and interactions, and, one of my favorites, the role of esoteric traditions in Japanese society. For example (p. 346), if 大日本国 can be read to mean not only "The Great Land of Japan" but *also* "The Original Land of Mahavairocana (Dainichi)" would this not have consequence for many of our other interpretations of religion and society per se, not to mention the emergent discourse on Japanese nationalism?

I begin with this earlier work for two reasons. One, it demonstrates quite clearly the scholastic sophistication and intellectual acumen deployed by Bowring in his readings of the Japanese past; the work displays great creativity, engagement, and a powerful command of a wide range of textual resources encompassing a millennium. As everyone in this field knows, the necessary linguistic technical virtuosity alone here is impressive. Second, at the end of this work he concluded by writing "But the fate of the Jesuits and of Christianity in Japan belongs to another chapter in another book" (p. 435). It is a great pleasure to see that this once imagined book has indeed arrived. *In Search of the Way* "takes up the story" (p. v) and, after introductory comments to the book as a whole, the "fate" of the Jesuits is duly taken up in chapter 2, appropriately titled "The Fate of Christianity."

One is hard pressed to see *In Search of the Way* as an introductory text even though it introduces virtually all of the major intellectual and religious figures (more on this in a moment) and neatly summarizes their works over a period encompassing much of the Tokugawa period. The more one knows about Japanese history, intellectual, religious, and philosophical studies in general, and the more one engages in historiographical analysis, the more this exceptionally fine work reveals itself. Bowring begins this work by asserting a particular historiographical method, one that I have elsewhere called a recognition of the "non-modern"; he ends this current "story" in 1860 before the tumultuous events of the collapse of the Tokugawa governmental structure and the emergence of the Meiji imperium. He is not interested in charting a "steady progress towards an inevitable end" and asserts that before this historical inevitability (as we now see it) "no one at the time knew what was going to happen eight years later" (p. v). While Bowring calls this a preservation of a certain naiveté, it can also be read as a clear-minded rejection of modernist teleological history and an affirmation of a historicism directly engaged with the moment being analyzed. Bowring approaches these moments by focusing on particular ideas found in specific texts. This work draws not upon material or social history, nor on religious ritual or popular practice. Rather it is a history of ideas and the intersection of these ideas with particular times. As such, each of the three sections to the work begins with a summary of political leadership, institutional organization and the like (for example Part II begins with a chapter titled "From Tsunayoshi to Ieharu" and describes the shogunate and highlights of the Genroku period and the Kyōhō reforms), and then proceeds to a presentation and analysis of the major intellectual trends of that era.

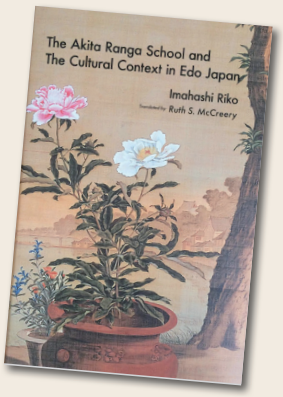
What differences there might be between religious, intellectual, philosophical, or even ideological "ideas" is not specifically addressed. While these are decidedly modernist categories, and as such are as distorting as they are enabling, given Bowring's insights in other areas, his analytical or epistemological comments here would have been much appreciated. Be this as it may, in as much as the ideas presented and discussed are each associated with thinkers working in specifically "Shinto" or "Buddhist" or "Confucian" modalities, even as these ideas address issues of political economy, social structures, or rules of governance, there is an inevitable and engaging *basso ostinato* which leads each of the sections to further enhance our understanding of The Way (capital "W") as it was known during the Tokugawa. Here is but one example. One of the most impressive contributions of this work is its treatment of the intersections of Shinto-based and Sung Confucian-based idea structures. Bowring brings new insights into the roles of Hayashi Razan and Fujiwara Seika, at the outset of this period, and Aizawa Seishisai towards its conclusion (and numerous others throughout the work), as he demonstrates with great acumen and perspicacity the "intellectual gymnastics" (p. 306) needed to draw these clearly distinct thought structures together. Bowring also points out that without a series of specific creative compromises such combinatory work in fact threatened "a form of schizophrenia." These compromises in turn formed a dominant set of ideas active in the mid-nineteenth century in Japan, and as such had profound consequences, for later historical periods. These consequences are, for Bowring, part of a different story and, we very much hope, the subject of a subsequent book.

Book Review

The Akita Ranga School and The Cultural Context in Edo Japan

By Imahashi Riko;
Translated by Ruth S. McCreery

International House of Japan, Inc., 2016
434 pages.



Reviewed by Matthew LARKING

The present volume, the translation of Imahashi Riko's *Akita Ranga no kindai: Odano Naotake "Shinobazu no ike zu" o yomu* (Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 2009), invites a wider audience to reconsider the so-called Western-style painting produced in Edo by Akita daimyo and vassals. These artists and paintings were relatively unknown in their own time. Pictures were likely not made for sale but circulated among a coterie culture following literati practices. Recent times have seen it overshadowed by interest in *ukiyoe*, the "eccentrics," and Rinpa. The "Edo boom" from the 1980s did little to shine further light on its efflorescence (less than a decade, concluding with the youthful samurai/painter Odano Naotake's death, 1780). Still, Akita Ranga is ostensibly part of the mainstream, featuring in the major Japanese art historical narratives.

The modern rediscovery of Akita Ranga began with an article published by the *nihonga* painter Hirafuku Hyakusui (1877–1933) in 1903. The prevailing view developing thereafter discerned Akita Ranga emerging from the partial relaxation of the ban on Western books in 1720, and the subsequent spread of Western science, anatomy, and botanical studies. But the significance of the "West" appears to have been exaggerated, obscuring the precedent (the nexus of Chinese literary and visual relations), and the coincident (*honzōgaku*, the local study of flora, fauna, and minerals, and Edo period customs and pastimes). Imahashi's mission has been to rehabilitate Akita Ranga's contexts, pursued through an unusual painting, Naotake's *Shinobazu Pond* (c. 1778–1779).

No contemporary commentary on *Shinobazu Pond* exists. Discovered in Yamagata Prefecture in 1948, then designated an Important Cultural Property in 1968 (the first Western-style Edo painting to be so honored), *Shinobazu Pond* has since become Akita Ranga's definitive masterpiece. Conventionally understood as a detailed perspective landscape, though one in which many of the Ueno site's emblematic and identifying features are absent, the mysteries of these erasures in addition to the painting's depicted elements have mostly been left unplumbed. The thrust of Imahashi's scholarship is to uncover the image's referential complexity in regard to a collage of its Japanese/Chinese/Western sources. She then reconceives *Shinobazu Pond* as a composite landscape/still-life/figure (*bijinga*) painting.

Among Imahashi's explanatory contexts are *Shinobazu Pond* as a topos related to China's West Lake, tragically ending romantic assignations, Edo period religious figures and apothecaries related to Akita Province, and pastimes like visiting the pond to worship Benzaiten or view lotuses. These features are potentially part of the cultural stock of period or informed viewers in Imahashi's analysis. Her pictorial contexts include *ukie* and Shen Nanpin realism, though without reference to older Chinese paintings extant in Japan that may also have appealed to Akita Ranga painters. Further contexts address the peony as a symbol of feminine beauty, the Chinese poetic tradition of the boudoir lament, and the requisition for Akita Ranga of literati concepts and worldviews.

Imahashi's final chapter, buoyed by the earlier ones, abandons grounded period contexts for half-imagined places and concepts from modern times. Imahashi conjectures *Shinobazu Pond* was made by Naotake for the daimyo Satake Shozan (1748–1785), potentially commissioned to be installed in the three-storied tower that became the Akita domain's Edo compound, completed in 1783 (p. 281). But while Imahashi makes further reasoned speculations based on historical records of kinds mostly unrelated to the painting, this is rather different from actual historical evidence. For Imahashi, Naotake produced the painting for a "secret location" (p. 278), prepared it "in secret" (p. 284), and too readily forgives the fact that Naotake died three years before the supposed Edo display space was finally erected (p. 284).

Compounding these musings, Imahashi posits the painting in its imagined architecture as being viewed through an interior Chinese-style circular window (for which there is no verification), or seen through a telescope. Cropped circularity would potentially intensify the three-dimensional aspects of (only part of) the picture (see Imahashi's diagrammatic representations, pp. 290, 291). It would also permit close-up viewing of the picture's *trompe l'oeil* features, though attentive spectators could likely apprehend these up close anyway. Viewing *Shinobazu Pond* and its environment through a telescope was also a sexualized, Edo pastime, and Imahashi addresses the representation of this in print culture to bolster her claim. But viewing *Shinobazu Pond* through a telescope simply may or may not have been an intended picture-viewing mode. And with the third-floor space for Naotake's painting being conceived of by Imahashi as having a "recreational" character (p. 284), her speculations tend to cast *Shinobazu Pond* as being less radical, more gimmicky.

Akita Ranga is referred to as "avant-garde" from Imahashi's introduction, a heavily theory-laden characterization referring the reader forward to modernism (in line with the Japanese title of her book). Chapter 6 is specifically about "An Unrecognized Avant-Gardism." Her book becomes, then, about locating the origins of Japan's art-historical modernity, or, fledgling modernity interrupted by Naotake's untimely death. Enthusiastically asking her reader to "begin again, with *Shinobazu Pond* […] to talk of the modernity, the future, that Akita Ranga might have shown us" (p. 301), Imahashi's contextual approach lapses into chronological and conceptual conflations.

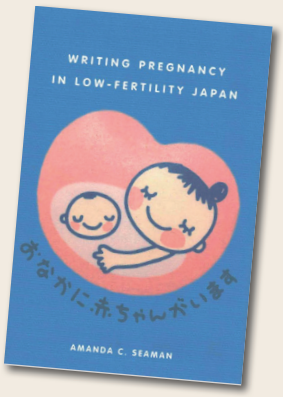
Pursuing some of Imahashi's arguments to their ends can at times require some critical suspension. The real merits of her book arrive before the concluding/colluding thoughts, realized in her stimulating accounts of Akita Ranga and *Shinobazu Pond*'s interpretatively pregnant surrounds, triumphing in the recovery of *Shinobazu Pond*'s largely unrecognized pictorial complexity.

Book Review

Writing Pregnancy in Low-Fertility Japan

By Amanda C. Seaman

University of Hawai'i Press, 2016
ix + 230 pages.



Reviewed by Bill MIHALOPOULOS

Amanda Seaman offers us an intriguing introduction to "pregnancy literature" in postwar Japan. Her book spotlights the wildly imaginative and provocative genre that deals with the experience of pregnant mothers-to-be in Japan that has hitherto gone unnoticed. An added bonus is that *Writing Pregnancy in Low-Fertility Japan* is a delightful read. Seaman's prose is crisp, lively, and agreeably jargon-free. Her feel for the intricacies of language and ability to find appropriate phrasing in translating from the Japanese vernacular to English adds to the reading experience. The journey Seaman takes us on—through horror and fantasy writing, short stories, novels, memoir, and manga—will enthral and delight undergraduate students.

In her first book, Seaman took the work of five contemporary authors to engage with a variety of social issues and concerns. *Writing Pregnancy* follows the same template. The key issue of the book is the abhorrence that cannot be named: namely that not all mothers feel joy and affection toward their baby before or after it is born. *Writing Pregnancy* is at its best when it represents the experience of the visceral metamorphoses of the female body and the accompanying psychological changes. During pregnancy, the mother's body changes rapidly. The experience of having one's body turn into something beyond one's control, a change that often is beyond full comprehension, is both terrifying and estranging for some expectant mothers. During the metamorphoses, the pregnant body also becomes host to an intruder that is both alien and intimate, as the foetus grows in and is attached to the body. This genre of writing represents pregnancy as a form of invasion. This field of literature deals with a horror that is strikingly subjective in nature: the fear of being pregnant and the anxiety about the uncertainty of the foetus' development. Seaman traces how the boundaries between self and other unravel in representations of pregnancy, due to the haziness of the outcome and the "maternal impression" that a "mother's behaviour, even her thoughts" influence the "unborn child's formation" and character (p. 48).

It is also easy to foresee the final chapter of *Writing Pregnancy* on the flamboyant and unconventional artist and author Uchida Shungiku becoming standard fare for any Japanese studies undergraduate reading list. The chapter deals with the overlap between Uchida's public persona and the manga serialization of the intimate details of her pregnancies and family life. What makes Uchida unique is that, while outspoken about gender injustice in Japan, she shuns the anti-natalists prescriptions of the early generation of Japanese feminists.

She does not see the untangling of reproduction from sex as leading to personal freedom. Instead, Uchida's quest for personal satisfaction is driven by the need to procreate. She is all for having babies—the more the merrier—but only if she can raise them on her own terms. In her case, this means having children with several different fathers and being a fully functioning and active sexual being in the process. By choosing to procreate with multiple partners, taking ownership of the childbirth process, and by introducing a view of the pregnant self that does not reduce the mother to a vessel for the expected baby, Uchida literally "takes on the man" by living in a liminal social space that is both subversive and resistive to the patriarchal norms that saturate Japanese society.

Despite the charms of *Writing Pregnancy in Low-Fertility Japan*, the book does not live up to its claim to bring to the fore new critical insights into Japanese women's history, gender studies, feminism, popular culture and beyond. A primary reason for this is the tacit "anti-medical" critique that grounds this book. Following the trend in sociological writing in North America, the United Kingdom, and Australia, Seaman places her work within the broader critique of "doctor-centered medicine." This kind of medicine is said to be reductive, objectifying, and dehumanizing. The doctor's monopoly of medical knowledge gives him (the holder of this power is represented by Seaman as being predominately male) the authority to dictate normative prescriptions on how the expectant mother should carry out her duties to the unborn child. In the process, the doctor summarily excludes the expectant mother from having a say in the management of her body. The sum result is that the experience of pregnancy in Japan as elsewhere is reduced to the vital signature of the foetus in the closed space of the mother's womb through the mediation of all kinds of instruments and dehumanizing forms of technology that alienate the expectant mother from the lived bodily-emotional experience of birth giving. Putting aside the thorny question of whether the medical model of power acts in the way Seaman purports (the issue is not as evident as Seaman would like us to believe), it is not clear that the power formations described are a universal feature of modernity, or the product of a sociocultural constellation specific to Japan.[1] Seaman further compounds this problem by conflating patriarchal power with the authority of the doctors that originates from their monopoly of medical knowledge. Seaman identifies doctor-centered medicine as the purview of older men. In her account, patriarchal power and the authority of the doctor blend into "He" who knows what is best for the unborn baby. While it is not unthinkable that doctors may embody outmoded forms of patriarchal Japanese tradition, the authority and power relations mobilized by patriarchy do not work or use the same power grid as modern forms of instrumental knowledge that Seaman identifies as constituting modern medicine. A clearer and more nuanced analysis of this issue would have greatly benefited Seaman's over-all argument.

Another unforeseen shortcoming of *Writing Pregnancy* is its historical reductionism. Seaman subscribes to the view that the "ideology of *ryōsai kenbō*" has determined gender relations since the Meiji period (pp. 163, 169). To argue that modern Japanese womanhood was obtained by a singular route, constructed on the basis of a general doctrine such as "good wife and wise mother" effectively silences the multiplicity of experiences born out of class, age, and place. Moreover, the author's overemphasis on women as docile transmitters of culture tends to give the impression that Japanese women did not have the ability to resist

1 Osborne 1992.

this form of ideology, and inadvertently airbrushes from history the numerous and diverse twentieth-century Japanese feminist struggles on the issue of motherhood and childbirth.

Despite these reservations, *Writing Pregnancy in Low-Fertility Japan* is a delightful read, and will invigorate many to explore further the themes raised by Seaman about this thought-provoking genre of literature.

REFERENCE

Osborne 1992

Thomas Osborne. "Medicine and Epistemology: Michel Foucault and the Liberality of Clinical Reason." *History of the Human Sciences* 5:2 (1992), pp. 63–93.

Book Review

Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan

Edited by Jeff Kingston

Routledge, 2017
xiv + 322 pages.

Reviewed by Jason MORGAN

In *Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan*, editor Jeff Kingston writes, "All governments manage the media, and every administration has a few spin-doctors to massage the message. Tactics may vary, but governments hope to sway public opinion in their favor." One might then expect Kingston and his authors to demonstrate a level of governmental interference with the free press in Japan categorically different from other democratic societies. Given also the recent much publicized media scandals in the United States, one might further expect Kingston to reveal government agents insinuating themselves into the highest reaches of the fourth estate in Japan, micromanaging ledes and headlines, as the Clinton campaign did at CNN and the *New York Times*, and turning major media outlets into mouthpieces like *Renmin Ribao*.

The burden of *Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan* is to justify the portrait of the Japanese government that Kingston, among others, has spent the past several years painting for overseas audiences: Abe Shinzō as a prime minister whose enmity to freedom of expression rivals that of Adolf Hitler and Boko Haram. Kingston has excoriated the Abe administration as "arrogant," accusing it of "muzzling the media" while "championing revisionist history." It should not be too difficult, then, for Kingston and his allies to build their case against Abe as picking journalistic winners and losers with impunity.

And yet, by the time I finished *Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan*, I was struck by the gauziness of the evidence. There is none there. Kingston and company succeed only in confirming the suspicion that their attacks against Abe spring from personal malice. I have a strong libertarian streak, and was prepared to join in the chorus denouncing the Abe administration for interfering with the right of people in a democratic society to think and speak as they please. But even I was left wondering what all the fuss is about. If anything, this volume resembles a fire brigade, sirens blazing and engines roaring, speeding around a neighborhood in search of an inferno. But the question remains—where is the fire?

Some chapters of *Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan*, to be sure, are less strident than others. For example, in chapter 5, "NHK: The changing and unchanged politics of semi-independence," Ellis Krauss offers a relatively sober, if selective, history of taxpayer-funded media in Japan. There are valuable passages on key Japanese court cases touching on free speech in chapter 7, "Chilling Effects on News Reporting in Japan's 'Anonymous

Society'," by Lawrence Repeta and Yasuomi Sawa. The wrangling over Okinawa is deftly covered in chapter 17, "Media Side-lines the Sit-in Protest in Takae, Okinawa," by Akihiro Ogawa. And chapter 18, Hideko Yoshimoto's "A Historical Perspective on Press Freedom in Okinawa," helpfully traces the Okinawa press issue back to 1945. These are welcome additions to the literature on journalism and censorship in modern Japan.

However, overall the book is marred by such passionate intensity that I cannot recommend it to those who seek a serious, balanced investigation of press freedom in Japan. Kingston himself sets the tone in the introduction:

> Since Abe returned to power in 2012, the recrudescence of nationalism under his leadership has emboldened right-wing activists and organizations targeting liberal media outlets, journalists, peace museums, and ethnic Korean residents in Japan. […] On August 14, 2014, the Abe statement [on the seventieth anniversary of the end of the Pacific War], approved by the Cabinet, elevated a myopic and exonerating revisionist narrative of history to Japan's official policy. The vague and ambiguous references to past misdeeds, the inadequate recognition of Japanese aggression and the horrors inflicted, the minimalist nods toward contrition and declaring an end to apologies became state policy. […] [H]is slippery circumlocutions about history only heightened scrutiny of Japan's wartime past and apparent perpetrator's fatigue. (pp. 8–9)

When the editor abandons all pretense of objectivity, what hope for the rest of the volume?

Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan is a sustained staccato of jabbing epithets. For example, by my count, there are at least ninety-three uses of some variant of "right wing" or "reactionary." I also count fifty-eight uses of some form of "revisionist" or "denialist," fifty-two of "nationalistic" or some form thereof, and a liberal lagniappe of other inflammatory phrases. As instances of the last category, the *Yomiuri shinbun* and *Sankei shinbun* are "loyal pitbulls" (p. 37); criticizing the *Asahi shinbun* for inaccurate comfort women reporting "became fair game for Japanese bureaucrats and rival media groups" after having been "the exclusive province of Japan's lunatic fringe" (p. 80); and "the Abe administration and Abe himself" are "pigheaded" (p. 86). Even Professor Donald Keene is chided by Debito Arudou for making an innocent joke at his own expense (p. 225).

Much of the language here jars, calling into question Kingston's fitness for editorial work. For example, Alexis Dudden avers that two Sankei books she received in the mail contain statements that in other countries would be "hate speech," follow "a logic that would have pleased George Orwell," and "in other places such as Germany would bring criminal charges of Holocaust denial" (p. 157). Not to be outdone, Gregory Clark warns that Japan could "easily evolve into a blind emotional nationalism similar to that of pre-war Germany" (p. 189) due to the "fascistic tendencies" (p. 190) which, along with the LDP, are pushing the country "close to real fascism" (p. 190). Clark even claims to have been "cast out into the 'desert' by a bone-pointing witch-doctor" such as might happen in "primitive Australian tribes." (Who is insulted more here—Aborigines or Japanese?) Elsewhere, the actions of Abe and his government "smack of a purge" against journalists to "weaken human rights and freedoms and replace democratic norms by a semi-authoritarian style of government" (p. 112). NHK chairman Momii Katsuto is a "revisionist buffoon" (p. 36), and those who

work in "the Japan Lobby" in Washington, DC, are "unwitting and opportunistic dupes of Tokyo" (p. 289). This is ugly stuff.

Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan is, moreover, riven with inconsistencies and contradictions. For instance, Michael Penn, in chapter 4, fawns over Barack Obama's "impressive 2008 presidential campaign," while elsewhere in the book the Japanese stand accused of being soft on their own political leaders. Nancy Snow, in chapter 20, wonders where Japan's "citizen journalists" could be, before Jeff Kingston, in chapter 21, quotes Anna Fifield, a *Washington Post* journalist based in Tokyo, complaining that she has received "unwelcome emails trying to influence my coverage on the history issue." No citizen journalists wanted, in other words. And in chapter 13, Philip Seaton engages in the usual back-patting when he says that "the idea of respecting diverse views is itself liberal," only to be contradicted by Nancy Snow and Debito Arudou, who lament that the media in Japan are *too* fair and allow *too many* opposing viewpoints to be heard.

Examples such as these abound. On the fallout from the comfort woman issue, Martin Fackler, in chapter 3, "A Pooch After All? The *Asahi Shimbun*'s Foiled Foray into Watchdog Journalism," portrays the *Asahi* as a chastened erstwhile champion of hard-hitting investigative reporting, bullied by rightist agitators. However, the picture that emerges from this chapter is of a highly competitive Japanese media environment in which truth and facts, and not ideological grandstanding, carry the day. The *Asahi* failed not because it was targeted, but because it pushed a bad story despite the evidence. If so, what is Kingston's stable of accusers so exercised about?

Yet, Kingston and company are not wrong about everything. There are, to be sure, areas of journalistic life in Japan needing reform. I too share doubts about the press club system, which comes under withering attack here. However, I fail to see how it differs much from the cultivating of sources which typifies journalistic work in any political capital. Do not *New York Times* and *Washington Post* reporters, for instance, try to get high-ranking administration officials in Washington to leak titillating information in exchange for kid-glove treatment of their pet projects? Politicians trade access for flattery, but good reporters play the game to their own advantage. It is cumbersome, but hardly unique to Japan.

Anyway, why dismantle the press club system when there is such a vibrant alternative press? Travelers on the Tokyo subway encounter advertisements for weekly news magazines featuring big-font headlines screaming about some new scandal within the Diet, the Prime Minister's office, the Self-Defense Forces, or the imperial household. These no-holds-barred publications batter Abe, his ministers, and his supporters with story after story about cover-ups, pay-offs, buyouts, sexual improprieties, and the daily round of gaffes. The press club system clearly does not prevent the roiling mix of revelation and muckraking in countless off-the-rack outlets which form a teeming bazaar of gleefully anti-establishment privateering. Kingston seems to be aware that this throttling undermines his case that Abe is puppet master of Japanese journalists, so he has Mark Schreiber and William Wetherall, in chapter 15, dismiss the tabloids as "racist." This canard is unlikely to sway anyone with more than a passing knowledge of modern Japan.

Unfortunately, much of the evidence Kingston and his contributors present for the deterioration of press freedom under Prime Minister Abe is fake news. Take, for example, the case of Kuniya Hiroko, allegedly railroaded out of NHK over her failure to bow to pressure from the Abe administration. But Kuniya herself has categorically denied that dark

forces influenced her early retirement. Likewise, the woes of Uemura Takashi, the disgraced *Asahi* reporter feted by Carol Gluck and others as a martyr of right-wing hate, seem to spring more from Uemura's own troubling career than the handful of nasty postcards presented in *Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan* as "intimidation" tactics.

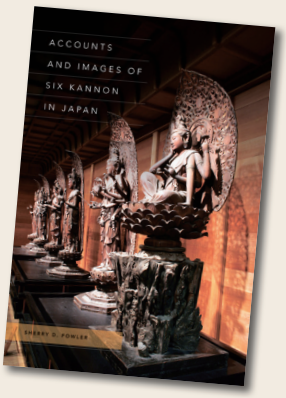
In the last chapter, Professor Kingston warns that "labeling critics […] evades engaging the arguments and the facts and instead relies on cheap shot ad hominem attacks" (p. 300). "It is unlikely," Kingston continues, "that these polemical jeremiads will convince anyone to change their mind and are more likely to incite a negative reaction" (p. 303). My sentiments exactly. *Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan*'s inflammatory and contradictory statements far outweigh any contribution it makes to dispassionate scholarly inquiry into an admittedly contentious subject.

Book Review

Accounts and Images of Six Kannon in Japan

By Sherry D. Fowler

University of Hawai'i Press, 2016
384 pages.



Reviewed by Yagi MORRIS

Accounts and Images of Six Kannon in Japan is a remarkable study of the emergence, growth, and decline of a Japanese Buddhist cult from the Heian (794–1185) to the Edo (1603–1868) periods. The study deals with a specific group of Kannon, the bodhisattva of compassion, but as Sherry Fowler demonstrates in this meticulously researched work, mythological structures and identities are in flux. Hence, it is the tension between the stability and fluidity of the Six Kannon group and the multifarious nature of the cult that surfaces through the pages.

The origins of the six Kannon are found in Chinese sources, most prominently Zhiyi's (538–597) *Mohe zhiguan*, which was the basis of a now lost composition by the Shingon prelate Ono no Ningai (951–1046), central to the cult's propagation in Japan. While the earlier forms of worship of the six Kannon focused on each Kannon individually, Fowler explains that during the Heian period a cult of Six Kannon crystallized in the Japanese context. The efficacy of the group was related primarily to salvation from the Six Paths of transmigration, based on the identification formed in the abovementioned texts of each Kannon with one of the Paths. The fixed patterns of narrative, however, differ from those of ritual, and the study reveals the transmutations that occur as the group adapts to changing cultic circumstances. Not only were there alterations within the group, sometimes one member was worshipped as an embodiment of the group (as in the case of Shō Kannon), while at other times worship of the group stemmed from the function of a single member (as in the case of Batō Kannon and the well-being of animals). Furthermore, the numerical structure of the group, that is its most significant feature, changed over time as it expanded into seven and finally became submerged in that of the Thirty-Three Kannon (following the number of guises Kannon takes in the *Lotus Sutra*). Hence, fluidity in the mythological realm does not imply a loss of identity or structure, but rather a flow between diverse structures, as mythological entities are drawn to certain organizing principles. According to Claude Lévi-Strauss, the significance of the constituent elements of a myth is produced by metonymy, or appearance in bundles, in which these elements combine among themselves. "If there is a meaning to be found in mythology," he writes, "it cannot reside in the isolated

elements which enter into the composition of a myth, but only in the way those elements are combined."[1]

Numbers are an essential component of the organizing structure of Buddhist philosophy, doctrine, visual imagery, and practice, and they also administer certain aspects of the pantheon, as with the Six, Seven, or Thirty-Three Kannon. As Fowler suggests, numbers serve further to grasp hold of the ethereal. However, in the case of Kannon, the multiplication of images also has to do with reward, since making images in increasing numbers, Fowler explains, was perceived as a form of increasing efficacy. At times, several numerical structures appear in a single place, which in turn becomes an intersection of different cults that enhance one another, as in the case of temples enshrining the Six Kannon that belong to a conglomeration of Twenty-Eight (following the number of chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*) or of Thirty-Three. Fowler further reveals that the numerical symbolism of the Six Kannon served as the basis for various doctrinal, spatial, and mythological associations. This is evidenced by the correlation of the Six Kannon with the Six Paths and also by locally formed associations, with the Six Jizō (and other deities of transmigration) or Six Gongen through which the cult diffused in Kyushu.

The association with the Six Gongen further bestowed on the Six Kannon a territorial dimension as they became integrated into local cults and practices. The relations between territory and religious practice have received much scholarly attention in the past several decades due to the rising interest in sacred space and to the growing understanding that Japanese religions in particular should be studied *in situ*.[2] However, we still lack an understanding of the networks through which local cults disseminated. Fowler takes an uncommon geographical approach to visual representation and discloses the hidden routes of the cult's diffusion. Her investigation further proffers a methodological approach to the study of local cults that is inherently regional rather than site-specific. As one follows Fowler on her journey, one gets a sensation of how Buddhist deities actually traveled from one place to another, interacting with local cults and attuning to the changing concerns of worshippers while maintaining their identity and structure.

The structure of the Six Kannon is juxtaposed in this book against changing cultic contexts, following an individual approach to the study of divinities. Yet at times, as the group becomes submerged in a new mythological and ritual context, the context, in the opinion of this reviewer, overrides the significance of the Six Kannon, exposing a weakness in this approach. The preeminence of the context, I sense, is evidenced in the Six-Syllable rites/mandalas developed at Daigoji during the medieval period. Following a classical art historical approach, Fowler discusses variations in the iconography of the Six Kannon in the Tendai and Shingon mandala traditions. She gives less attention to the appearance of the Uṣṇīṣa Buddha Shaka Kinrin at the center of these mandalas, and in the Shingon tradition, also to that of the Wisdom Kings, Fudō Myōō and Daitoku Myōō, which together form a tripartite structure within the mandala. In one exemplar she presents, a fourteenth-century mandala from Chōjuji that was the *honzon* of the Six-syllable rite, the six Kannon are not even present in the mandala. Instead, Shō Kannon (associated in related texts with Dainichi and Ichiji Kinrin) is portrayed at the center of a triad together with the two Wisdom Kings.

1 Lévi-Strauss 1963, p. 210.
2 Grapard 1993.

This iconography displays a proximity to wish-fulfilling jewel rites and to the related pattern of the "joint ritual of the three worthies" (*sanzon gōgyō hō*) that was first developed at Daigoji. I therefore suggest that in the Daigoji context it is the ritual scheme that is the primary structure, whereas the divinities featuring in these rites are almost interchangeable. As Bernard Faure has written, mythological narratives tend to emphasize the individuality of the gods, but in the ritual field equivalence reigns supreme and identities tend to dissolve.[3] Rather than iconographical variations, it would have been interesting to learn how the Six Kannon operated within the broader ritual context of Daigoji and integrated into the medieval mythological web.

And yet the strength of Fowler's work is exactly in demonstrating the sustainability of the structure of the Six Kannon in their long journey in a rich mythological, ritual, and visual realm up until their final submergence in the Thirty-Three Kannon structure. Fowler has uncovered layer upon layer of story, and reassembled lost fragments, scattered pieces, and a very broad range of textual and visual materials to reconstruct beautifully a comprehensive history of the Six Kannon cult. In her excavation, she seems to have left no stone unturned. *Accounts and Images of Six Kannon in Japan* is a definitive study and an important contribution to our understanding of Japanese religiosity.

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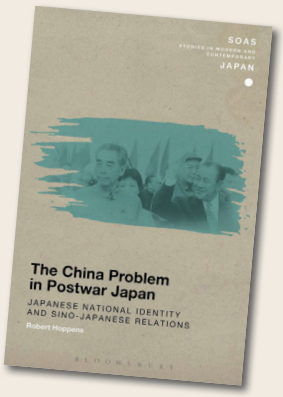
3 Faure 2015, p. 24.

Book Review

The China Problem in Postwar Japan: Japanese National Identity and Sino-Japanese Relations

By Robert Hoppens

Bloomsbury Academic, 2015
x + 298 pages.



Reviewed by Giulio PUGLIESE

This book is a valuable resource on the history of postwar Sino-Japanese relations up to the early 1980s. Robert Hoppens' study provides a useful overview of the winding road leading to the normalization of diplomatic relations in 1972, the signature of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1978, and Japan's decision to provide Official Development Assistance (ODA) to China in 1979. More importantly, this study's historical overview contextualizes Japan's China policy within the identity politics of postwar Japan.

Contrary to arguments downplaying nationalism in postwar Japan, Hoppens argues in favor of its pervasiveness. In fact, Japan's China engagement, or lack thereof, elicited a variety of national discourses aimed at understanding Japan's place in the world and its own identity. Scholars have often singled out and studied the role of the U.S. as Japan's most significant "Other," in light of the asymmetric nature of U.S.-Japan relations following the end of World War II. After all, the subordination of Tokyo's foreign policy outlook to U.S. grand strategy, particularly evident during the Cold War, has fed powerful nationalistic narratives. Intellectuals and policymakers on the right side of the political spectrum were concerned with Japan's emasculation and lack of subjectivity (*shutaisei*), while those on the left side were instead preoccupied with its "militaristic" pro-Americanism. This study, instead, sheds light on the importance of China to Japan's national identity, well before its staggering reemergence as a truly global player. In so doing, Hoppens provides a vivid picture of nationalistic and, to a lesser extent, mainstream conservative debates on the significance of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to Japan.

In the process, the author makes two major claims. First, he argues that an overly emotional approach based on feelings of war responsibility and war guilt was not the main causative factor behind Japan's engagement of China. To substantiate this claim Hoppens provides illuminating evidence from one of the founding fathers of modern Sino-Japanese relations: Ōhira Masayoshi. Ōhira's decisions to hasten normalization of diplomatic relations in 1972 and to offer substantial Official Development Assistance (ODA) to China in 1979 are often imputed to his reflection over his wartime experience as a bureaucrat with the Asia Development Board in occupied China. Instead, Hoppens demonstrates that Ōhira's feelings of remorse were secondary to the recovery of Japan's pride as an industrialized nation that benefitted greatly from its role as a "systemic supporter" of the

U.S.-led international order. For instance, Ōhira's extension of ODA to China reinforced his mainstream conservative ideas in favor of Japan as an economic powerhouse.

Hoppens' second argument is related to the first. In light of the pervasiveness of Japanese nationalist sentiment, Japan's China policy was no policy of easy submission to Chinese positions. Counterintuitively, Japanese leaders' preoccupation with domestic politics and criticism from nationalistic fringes strengthened their negotiation hand in their pursuit of national interests. For instance, Hoppens claims that the Chinese leadership compromised on all major issues of concern to the Japanese government during the negotiations for the 1972 joint communique, especially the thorny issue of imperial Japan's brutal legacy. Japan's ODA program harnessed China's economic potential during the early stage of its "Reform and Opening Up" period to the benefit of Japanese business interests. Japanese policymakers would socialize China in the U.S.-led international order—a strategic goal recognized by then Prime Minister Ōhira—and in the process conservative politicians would strengthen their own understanding of Japan as a technologically advanced nation that successfully "settled" its history of aggression.

While much of the above argument rings true, Japan could have used its economic and geopolitical leverage to greater effect. After all—as Hoppens himself acknowledges—the PRC leadership was particularly keen in bolstering its relationship with Japan to confront the Soviet threat. Japanese decision-makers could have taken advantage of China's needs to more confidently advance Japanese interests during bilateral negotiations. The Japanese government's tacit consent over the shelving of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute in 1972 and 1978 partly invalidates Hoppens' argument. After all, successive Japanese governments demonstrated a willingness to abide by the gentlemen's agreement and avoid rocking the status quo in and around the Senkaku/Diaoyu, notwithstanding Japan's effective control of the islands. To be fair, the author briefly tackles the Senkaku question by positing that there's no evidence that the Chinese leadership would have been willing to renounce its claim. Yet, Beijing's claim over the Senkaku/Diaoyu was a relatively recent one and, since Tokyo was negotiating from a clear position of strength, a sterner and more strategic approach would have helped Japan secure more results. This is particularly true of the hastened process of the normalization of diplomatic relations.

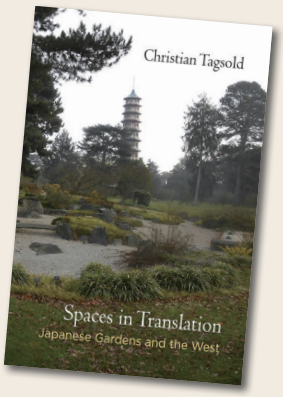
Apart from the above criticism, this study is an excellent resource. In light of the dearth of English-language literature on the same subject, and given its extensive use of archival material in three languages and, especially, recent Japanese scholarship, this book is highly recommended for the holdings of all major university libraries.

Book Review

Spaces in Translation: Japanese Gardens and the West

By Christian Tagsold

University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017
256 pages.



Reviewed by Arno SUZUKI

Why are Japanese gardens spread all over the world? This book answers the question by analyzing factual evidence without any bias. Citing some preceding authors such as Kendall Brown, Wybe Kuitert, Inoue Shōichi, and Yamada Shōji, who respectively demystified or deconstructed prevailing reputations of Japanese gardens or related authorities, Tagsold presents a more comprehensive picture by examining literary and field evidence from around the world. He excavates levelheaded or realistic accounts from a flood of romantic or mystifying explanations, and he uncovers background stories of how, together, the West and Japan created an "image" of Japanese gardens. His discoveries imply that a culture can be commercialized or utilized for other purposes. This book also suggests how to adjust Japanese gardens for enjoyment and appreciation by visitors from different cultures.

The first chapter clarifies how the Japanese garden was introduced and adopted in the West just like its Chinese predecessor. By showing what is common to both gardens, including their natural look and religious or philosophical connotations, Tagsold indicates that these characteristics alone cannot explain the popularity of Japanese gardens. They were instead a fashion trend in the West influenced by Japan's diplomatic efforts. For example, the West's reaction to Japanese *bonsai* turned positive after the country regained a good reputation, while Chinese dwarf trees remained in criticism as a distortion of nature even though they were fundamentally the same.

The second chapter explains how Japanese gardens were introduced in the West around the turn of the century. Along with some promotional literature and Western visitors' testimonies, events like world fairs prompted the export of "Japanese gardens." They, however, were more "Japonesque" than Japanese. In the third chapter, the author details the spread of Japanese gardens in the West. He makes a convincing argument that it was not just Westerners who misinterpreted or misrepresented "Japanese gardens," it was the Japanese government, cooperating scholars, and new industries who promoted a dramatized image of them. The West, then, conveniently purchased the image as a marketable commodity or a desirable setting for their businesses.

The next two chapters examine the theoretical framework of "Japanese gardens." Tagsold poses a question on cultural essentialism, referring to some existing gardens as examples. Chapters 6 and 7 are fieldwork-based, and Tagsold discusses his, or the

Westerners' reactions to each garden element he observes. Apparently, some elements in Japanese gardens make visitors feel admonished or excluded.

Tagsold, as if he is hitting back at these "admonishing fingers," unearths a misrepresentation: that some gardens are purporting to be Japanese-made by displaying Japanese names as their creators on informational boards and in brochures. He investigates the background of these "Japanese garden masters," and reveals that some of them are not as authentic as the patrons may believe. Some had not grown up or worked in Japan, some did not have proper credentials, others were not responsible for the project as it appears. This logic is similar to Kuitert's decertification of Musō Soseki, a leading garden creator in medieval Japan, from being a respectable Zen master. It also resembles Inoue's deconstructing of the reputation of Katsura Villa by unveiling the imperfect background of Bruno Taut, allegedly the first person to acclaim its beauty. Yamada did the same to Eugen Herrigel, the author of *Zen in the Art of Archery* and also to Suzuki Daisetsu, the popularizer of Zen to the West, to deny the Zen influence on Japanese arts. They all rebutted established ideas.

Chapter 8 deviates from the previous ones. It discusses the Hungarian writer Krasznahorkai's novel in which a young man runs around Kyoto trying to find "the perfect garden."[1] The "garden" here is a metaphor for Japanese culture; it is incomprehensible to those from other cultures or times. After clarifying "the gap between East and West and between past and present" by citing the novel, chapter 9 lists examples of freely interpreted and commercialized "Japanese gardens" as they appear in reality. What the West, or anybody in our time, would expect in these garden designs becomes so clear that most readers must be convinced that there is no point in authenticating or defining what is "Japanese."

One question occurs in the reviewer's mind. Are Japanese gardens really so "closed off" to the West as Tagsold indicates? Japanese gardens' fenced enclosure divides the inside from the outside; it does not separate a particular group of people from another. The author's criticism toward other Japanese authors for mystifying Japanese arts may also be a misunderstanding. Tagsold says that Shigemori Mirei's illustrated encyclopedia served "to canonize only Japanese gardens located in Japan," because it did not list any gardens overseas; but this is arguable. Shigemori, a garden designer and independent historian, did his research in the 1930s when traveling abroad was almost impossible for private citizens, and he wanted to discuss the gardens he had seen and surveyed.[2] Sano Tōemon, who appears in this book as the recalcitrant gardener for Isamu Noguchi's projects, articulates skepticism about theories and methods. He is afraid that manuals mislead because they cannot cover the wide variety of real situations. The same circumspection probably kept some classic gardening textbooks within a small group of practitioners. In fact, many garden artisans who practice traditional Japanese gardens in Japan will instruct anybody including foreigners, according to a survey.[3] The student has to be ready for the practical training, however. Another question is whether we should draw such a clear line between the West

1 Krasznahorkai 2006.
2 Personal communication with Chisao Shigemori, 2017
3 Suzuki 2015.
4 Suzuki 2013.

and Japan, or the East. Many Westerners have absorbed the Japanese teaching method, been immersed in the culture, and acquired traditional Japanese arts. Some evidence indicates that cultural understanding does not depend on genetics or nativity but on experience.[4]

That being said, Tagsold has successfully spoken for most visitors to Japanese gardens nowadays, not just for Westerners. Japanese garden creators and public Japanese garden managers may want to take his suggestion and stop imposing a "we will teach you" kind of attitude even if it is well intended. They probably should not force visitors to be quiet and meditative. This book also shows that "Japanese gardens" which Japanese people have created may not be strictly Japanese. People can easily distort their own culture. The world, therefore, should be careful not to buy a fake or valueless product for the price of an authentic treasure.

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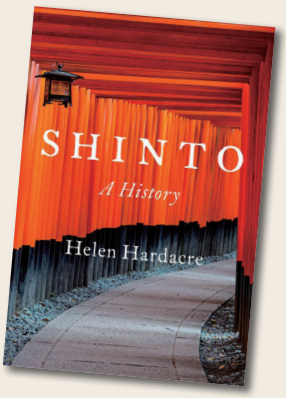
Book Review

Shinto: A History

By Helen Hardacre

Oxford University Press, 2017
xv + 698 pages.



Reviewed by Jolyon Baraka THOMAS

It must be said in no uncertain terms that this book constitutes a major contribution to the field of Shinto studies and is a must-read for any scholar interested in the tradition. At seven hundred pages of densely packed text, it is also not a book for the faint of heart. Undergraduates will struggle to hold it up, let alone read it cover to cover. But Hardacre's elegant framing and smooth chronological organization tidily arrange information about a tradition that is notoriously difficult to define. It is a tremendous accomplishment.

Two leitmotifs run throughout the book. The first concerns whether, and how, people have understood Shinto as "public" or "private" over the course of Japan's long history. The second theme concerns the extent to which Shinto can be reasonably considered indigenous to Japan. Considering the frequency with which journalists and other nonspecialists tend to describe Shinto as the "indigenous animistic religion of Japan," Hardacre's intervention on this score is quite welcome. She offers multiple lines of evidence showing that Shinto came to appear "Japanese" through contact with foreign epistemologies such as Buddhism (chapter 4) and Confucianism (chapter 8) and through conflict with non-Japanese adversaries such as Mongol invaders (chapter 5) and Allied occupiers (chapter 14). While the bipartite framing device is compelling, the two themes feature inconsistently in the text. In some chapters, they drive the discussion; in others, they retreat so far into the background as to be almost invisible.

Hardacre also offers a corrective for Kuroda Toshio's influential claim that Shinto had no independent existence from Buddhism for most of Japanese history, stating that she wants to address "the issue of continuity in Shinto history from a new vantage point" (p. 5).[1] Her main piece of evidence in support of this claim is the unbroken dominance of the Jingikan (and, in modern times, the Jinjakyoku, Jingiin, and Jinja Honchō) in overseeing kami affairs (pp. 145–46). She concedes that "Shinto" does not appear in historical sources as a *concept* until the late medieval period (p. 233), but she sees sufficient connections between shrine rites, kami veneration, and the administration of shrine affairs to describe

1 Kuroda 1981.

these collectively as "Shinto" (p. 108).[2] Many of these connections concern the "public" side of Shinto.

In offering an alternative to the influential Kuroda thesis, Hardacre makes a defensible claim (we really *can* find evidence of Jingikan influence across most of Japanese history), but she also engages in some rhetorical contortions to make her point. By reifying Shinto as an autonomous agent and by simultaneously rendering Shinto as a passive instrument, Hardacre makes it somewhat difficult to see how specific stakeholders have laid claim to the tradition in particular political contexts.

I will explain what I mean by way of a concrete example. Hardacre is clearly interested in modifying the position on "State Shinto" that she laid out in her 1989 book *Shinto and the State* so that it reflects trends in recent scholarship (pp. 355–57).[3] However, her claim that State Shinto represents instances when Shinto mediated state ideological campaigns (pp. 403–404) leaves considerable ambiguity about what constitutes "mediation" and what can be described as "ideological." It also assumes that *Shinto* mediated state initiatives rather than making the more defensible claim that particular stakeholders (Shinto priests, Ministry of Education bureaucrats) mobilized Shinto ideas for propagandistic purposes. Shinto therefore appears as a tool wielded by unnamed government agents: "The *use of* shrines in campaigns to force colonial subjects to assimilate is this era's clearest example of State Shinto" (p. 432, emphasis mine). Elsewhere, she makes Shinto the active party: "Shinto had to carve out a new place for itself in this changed [that is, postwar] public realm" (p. 455). One unfortunate side effect of this rhetorical strategy is that it removes attention from the individuals who actually made tactical decisions about how to define or defend Shinto; another is that it gives the impression that Hardacre prefers an abstract, elite Shinto over whatever may have been happening at the grassroots.

Clearly this is not the case. Hardacre shows in other parts of the book that top-down initiatives never totally monopolized Shinto. (She mentions that corporations often funded shrines when the state did not, that popular sentiment supported the construction of the seemingly "ideological" Meiji Shrine, and that "new religions" also advanced Shinto ideas during the imperial period.) Chapters on Shinto and the arts (chapter 6), Edo-period pilgrimage (chapter 9), and Shinto-derived "new religions" (chapter 10) address the popular level. Chapter 15 provides a detailed analysis of the complicated negotiations between multiple interest groups staging a local festival in Fuchū City. Chapter 16 on "Heisei Shinto" also includes a discussion of how various stakeholders have envisioned religions' duty to contribute to the "public good" in the wake of the Aum Shinrikyō sarin gas attacks and the triple disaster of 11 March 2011.

Hardacre's chosen themes form helpful correctives for the commonsense understanding that Shinto is a private religion indigenous to Japan. But it is an open question whether her challenge to the Kuroda thesis is ultimately convincing. Kuroda was probably overzealous in flatly dismissing the possibility that a premodern Shinto could even exist. A truly persuasive model should allow us to investigate the times and places where conflict and contestation have given birth to many different Shintos rather than assuming that one tradition has been with us all along.

2 On the late medieval emergence of Shinto as a concept, see Teeuwen 2002.
3 Hardacre 1989.

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Andrew COBBING has degrees in history from Bristol University (BA), Kyushu University (MA) and SOAS (University of London; PhD); he previously worked at Kyushu University, and is now Associate Professor at the University of Nottingham. His research has been mainly on Japan's cultural relations in the nineteenth century, starting with early Japanese

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Gary HICKEY is a curator and Japanese art historian. He received his doctorate in art history from the University of Queensland, and was the senior assistant curator of Asian art at the National Gallery of Australia, later lecturing in Japanese art history and curatorship at both the University of Melbourne and the University of Queensland. His publications include "Novel images: kuchi-e from the Clough collection at the National Library of Australia" (*Andon*, 2012; with Amy Reigle Newland), "Western perspective-Japanese vision" in *Pour un Vocabulaire de la Spatialité Japonaise* edited by Philippe Bonnin, Nishida Masatsugu, Inaga Shigemi (International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2013), and "Cultural divide: Japanese art in Australia (1868–2012)" (*Japan Review* 28, 2015). He is a Japan Fellow at the National Library of Australia, and in 2017 curated their major exhibition of Meiji period woodblock printed frontispieces, "Melodrama in Meiji Japan."

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Jason MORGAN is an assistant professor at Reitaku University in Chiba, Japan. He has published four books in Japanese, along with two translations (one a collaborative effort) of Japanese books into English—most recently Hata Ikuhiko's *Comfort Women and Sex in the Battle Zone* (Hamilton, 2018). His essays have appeared in *Michigan Historical Review*, *Logos*, *Modern Age*, *New Oxford Review*, *Chronicles*, *Society*, *Human Life Review*, *Libertarian Papers*, *Reitaku Journal*, *University Bookman*, *Clarion Review*, and the *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*. Some ongoing research projects focus on information and intelligence history, the Soviet spy Richard Sorge, China legal history specialist Niida Noboru, law-and-society scholar Suehiro Izutarō, Kurusu Saburō (the legal philosopher, not the diplomat), the Dai Nippon Butokukai, pro-life physician Kikuta Noboru, the intellectual history of the legal fiction, and Polanyian embeddedness and the role of the human person in economies.

Yagi MORRIS did her undergraduate studies in Japanese culture and Art History, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and her PhD studies at SOAS, in the Department for the Study of Religions and Philosophies. She also spent several years in Japan as a research student at the University of Tokyo and Waseda University. Yagi's recently submitted PhD dissertation examines a medieval ritual and mythological text, entitled *Kinpusen Himitsuden* (The Secret Transmission of Mount Kinpu), written by the monk Monkan Kōshin in 1337. Composed in the Southern Court in Yoshino after the downfall of the Kenmu regime, the *Himitsuden* was an attempt to construct symbolically and ritually a new palace at Yoshino through the transposition of the imperial ritual stage to the mountain and its adaptation to the local cultic structure of the Ōmine area centered on Kinpusen. The dissertation looks particularly at the reformulation of local gods and territories in esoteric Buddhist terms stemming from the *sanzon gōgyō* rite (Joint ritual of the Sacred Triad) and at their integration into this ritual framework. It further examines the articulation of the local cultic framework in relation to discourses on Japan as a sacred land. During her years in Japan, Yagi has also undertaken numerous pilgrimages throughout the country, including the Shikoku *henro*. She plans to embark on a new research project on the Shikoku and Saigoku pilgrimages.

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Unipress, 2011) provides historical and historiographical analyses of nationalism and racism in history textbooks. Since arriving in Fiji, he has been working on Japanese travel writing about the Pacific Islands. His publications have appeared in *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, *Studies in Travel Writing*, *Japanese Studies*, *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, *Pacific Historical Review*, and *The Journal of Pacific History*. His long-term project focuses on media histories of memories of the Asia-Pacific War.

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