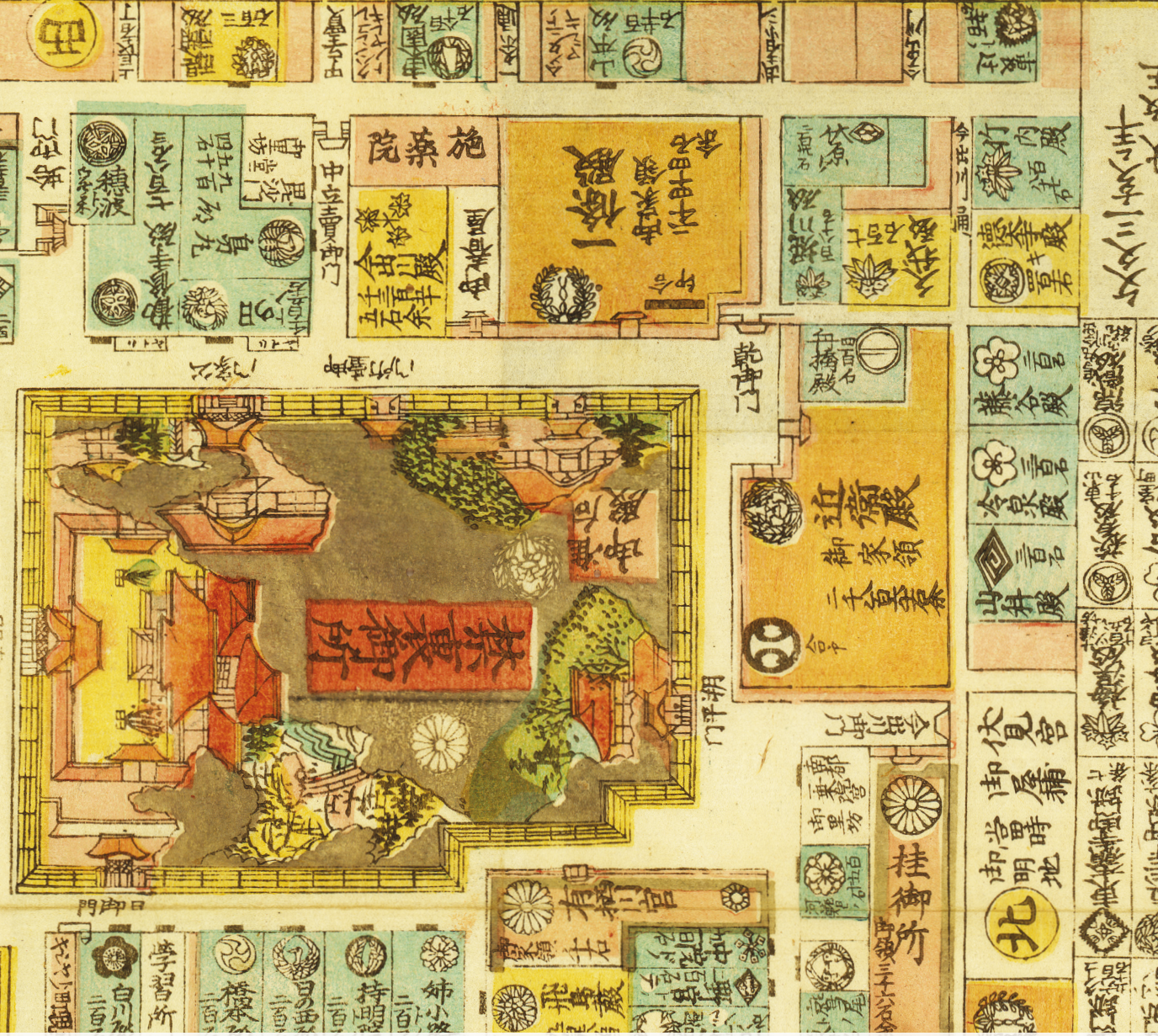


JAPAN REVIEW

NUMBER 36 2021

Japan Review Number 36, February 2022
Published by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies
3-2 Goryo Oeyama-cho, Nishikyo-ku, Kyoto 610-1192, Japan
Tel. 075-335-2210 Fax 075-335-2043

Print edition: ISSN 0915-0986
Online edition: ISSN 2434-3129

JAPAN REVIEW

Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies

Number 36 2021

About the Journal

Japan Review is a refereed journal published annually by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies since 1990. *Japan Review* solicits outstanding manuscripts relating to Japan. It also publishes shorter research notes and review articles, as well as annotated translations of important texts. The Editor is interested in receiving proposals for special issues and special sections of the journal.

Submission to *Japan Review* is open to all those engaged in the study of the Japanese past and present. Manuscripts under consideration for publication are refereed anonymously by scholars whose opinions are solicited by the Editor.

Nichibunken, in accordance with the Center's "Operating Guidelines," digitalizes and preserves the full text of articles, book reviews, and other items published in *Japan Review*. All *Japan Review* content—manuscripts and book reviews—is available open access via the journal's website (https://nichibun.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=repository_opensearch&index_id=165), and through other academic databases licensed by the Center (such as JSTOR and EBSCO).

JAPAN REVIEW

Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies
Number 36 2021

CONTENTS

Japan Review 36 (2021): 5–32

Maritime Disasters and Auspicious Images: A New Look at Hokusai's *Great Wave*

Timon SCREECH*

Hokusai's print known as the *Great Wave*, from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*, is among the most recognized works of art worldwide. Prior scholarship has addressed its production, circulation, and extensive afterlife. This paper, by contrast, enquires into what the subject actually means. Why did Hokusai make a representation of vessels in heavy seas, with a sacred mountain behind them? I question what Hokusai might have wanted to impart, and where his visual conceptualization could have come from. In this iconographic investigation, the argument will be made for the *Great Wave* being best understood in terms of Dutch maritime disaster painting. Such works were theological, offering the terror of death averted by some external divine intervention. Several examples were brought to Japan during the Edo period. It would not have seemed odd to Japanese viewers that ships were capable of supporting symbolic meanings. At the same time, there is no previous example of an independent Japanese depiction of ships in distress. Furthermore, Mt. Fuji offered precisely the promise of safety, its name punning on "no death."

Keywords: disaster, Dutch maritime painting, *Great Wave*, Hokusai, Nagasaki, *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*

Katsushika Hokusai's 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) print *Under the Great Wave off Kanagawa* (*Kanagawa oki nami ura* 神奈川沖浪裏) is among the world's most recognizable works of art (figure 1). One might say that no other work of art has enjoyed such phenomenal worldwide fame.

Popularly known simply as Hokusai's *Great Wave* or even the *Great Wave*, this print was first published in the Edo 江戸 (1603–1868) period at the premises of Nishimura-ya Yohachi 西村屋与八, whose company operated under the name of Eijudō 永寿堂 (Hall of longevity), and by then had been in existence for eighty years. The work was part of a set, *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji* (*Fugaku sanjūrokkei* 富嶽三十六景), probably begun in 1830,

* I would like to thank Jenny Preston and Lucy North for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper, and also Perry Anderson, in whose house it was written.

Figure 1. Katsushika Hokusai, *Under the Great Wave off Kanagawa*, from *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1831. The British Museum, London.

likely at New Year, since Fuji was a New Year's theme.[1] The image is exciting, but it would also have had great novelty for viewers, as will be proposed below.

The set sold well, as can be inferred from the fact that the artist and publishers did not stop at the prescribed thirty-six views, but continued until they had produced forty-six (though still titled "thirty-six views"). The enterprise seems finally to have been discontinued in 1833. The *Great Wave* (as we will call it) was thus part of a three-year slew of publishing thrills that the public evidently relished. However, there are no Edo-period commentaries left on any prints. Historians today can only deduce authorial motivation, and the reasons for public appreciation.

Although envisaged as part of a series, the *Great Wave* now enjoys a largely independent existence, and perhaps it always did. Edo printing was on-demand, and inevitably some items enjoyed more acclaim than others, as is still the case, and so were issued in greater numbers. There are no contemporary comments about this, but scholars have estimated, on the evidence of block-wear, that some five thousand copies of the *Great Wave* were made. This is very much more than other items in the set, and very high for Edo prints overall.[2]

Perhaps by reason of its later fame and the dearth of information from its time of issue, scholarship has concentrated on the *Great Wave*'s later life. Early European promoters of Japanese prints cited this work specifically. Edmond de Goncourt, one of the fathers of *Japonisme*, singled it out for praise in 1896, and his written comments are in fact the first ever made about the image. Whether his ideas were typical of French views, or even of Edo ones, is moot, but he was struck by the "religious terror of the formidable sea … the

1 Oddly the images have no publisher's mark, and the identity is known only from an advertisement included in back matter to Ryūtei Tanehiko's 柳亭種彦 (1783–1842) novel, *Shōhon jitate* 正本製 (1830). This text is reproduced and translated in Smith 2005, pp. 254–255; the same translation appears in Guth 2015, p. 17.

2 Guth 2015, p. 172.

Figure 2. Anon, cover to score of *La Mer*, A Durand & Fils, 1905. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

full fury of the wave's ascent in the sky … the rending of its crest as it dispersed in a rain of droplets formed as animal claws."[3] It is telling that Goncourt saw in the *Great Wave* an image of fear—a point to which we will return.

Nine years later, Debussy's publisher used a pared-down borrowing of the *Great Wave* for the printed score to his "symphonic sketch for orchestra," *La Mer* (The Sea). Cropping the image and removing the boats and the mountain made the wave more assertive still (figure 2). And yet, Hokusai's work is not, in fact, about the sea. The great wave is but one element of three. If Goncourt's is the first written analysis, then Debussy's is the first twisting of the original conception of the *Great Wave*. For the image, I will argue, relies essentially on an interlocking of these three elements: sea, mountain, and boats.

Accumulating ever greater attention, and perhaps like its namesake gathering ever greater force, the *Great Wave* has gone on to adorn posters and postcards, and eventually ballpoint pens, mouse pads, and fridge magnets, all across the globe. Then, in 2011, it had a new lease of life, seemingly with a more profound resonance. This followed the devastating East Japan earthquake and tsunami.[4] Hokusai does not, in fact, depict a tsunami (which are walls of water, not breakers), but nevertheless, it is relevant that many interpreters also perceived the image of this wave (or these waves) as a source of terror.

3 Goncourt 1896, pp. 132–128, cited in Forrer 1988, p. 266. Goncourt states the print, "should have been called the Wave, which it is." For more information, see Inaga 2003.

4 See for example, Winchester 2015, pp. 54–55. See also the Wikimedia commons image: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tsunami_by_hokusai_19th_century.jpg (Accessed 11 November 2020).

Figure 3. Katsushika Hokusai, *Express Delivery Boats Rowing through Waves*, ca. 1803. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 4. Katsushika Hokusai, *Honmoku off Kanagawa*, ca. 1805. Kawasaki Isago-no-Sato Museum.

The history of interpretations was brought together by Christine Guth in a monograph of 2015.[5] The *Great Wave* is the only single work of Japanese art to have an entire English-language book devoted to it. Guth has definitively covered the legacy of this famous print. Nevertheless, I would like to offer a new proposal for Hokusai's creative motivations in generating this extraordinary image, one which so far seems to have escaped consideration. In full acceptance that the sparseness of data makes proof impossible, I will marshal contextual works which seem to me to reflect concerns articulated by the *Great Wave*, and in so doing will address the question of what exactly Hokusai sought to convey in this print.

Form and Style

Scholars who inquire into the origins of the *Great Wave* have offered some formalistic observations, based on appearance. Two earlier Hokusai prints are routinely adduced as precursors. One is "Express Delivery Boats Rowing through Waves" (*Oshiokuri hatō tsūsen no zu* おしおくりはとうつうせんのづ) of circa 1803. The other is "Honmoku off Kanagawa" (*Kanagawa oki honmoku no zu* 賀奈川沖本杢之図) (figures 3 and 4).[6] In both, Mt. Fuji is absent: we see only boats tossed among dangerously towering waves. Both prints have a Western feel to them in the use of perspective and, in the case of "Delivery Boats," a horizon line. The use of perspective also prefigures the *Great Wave*. "Delivery Boats" is additionally labeled with vertical writing turned sideways. This is a convention often followed to mimic European script, sometimes for humor, sometimes more seriously.[7] "Honmoku," for its part, incorporates an entirely European printed frame. In short, the theme of tremendous waves endangering shipping, which had never before appeared as an independent theme in Japanese art, comes with distinctly Western associations. At this point Hokusai was clearly interested in waves and boats. Mt. Fuji would be added later.

The *Great Wave* is referred to in the singular (and Debussy's print shows only one). But the Japanese language does not differentiate singular and plural. Hokusai's three prints all depict a succession of massive waves, not just one. The prints are not about a great wave, but about heavy seas, and specifically, ships sailing in them. A better translation of the caption printed on the *Great Wave* would be "under the waves," not "under the wave." Still, the root subject is not in fact a wave, or even waves, but the vessels that confront these dangerous seas—and that are literally "under" them. A quarter-century—one third of Hokusai's creative life—divides the three images. The theme of imperiled shipping was evidently an enduring interest, and each time he engaged with it, he gave it a European flavor.

The Edo viewer would register this foreignness, but feel a familiarity too in the types of boat. Those shown off Honmoku are standard junks, but the other two prints depict high-speed vessels known as *oshiokuribune* 押し送り船. Such boats had six or eight oarsmen, and were used to deliver time-sensitive food to Edo's markets. Being swift, they were narrow and unstable. The boats are bringing some seasonal first catch, and huge profits awaited those who could get samples to market soonest. Thus, we might go further: the boats are probably the property of merchants who were risking human life on ferocious seas for vast financial rewards. The depicted figures are not subsistence fishers, nor self-employed, but rather are

5 Guth 2015.

6 Honmoku, usually written 本牧, is a cape near Kanagawa.

7 For a humorous example, see Santō Kyōden 1984, p. 104.

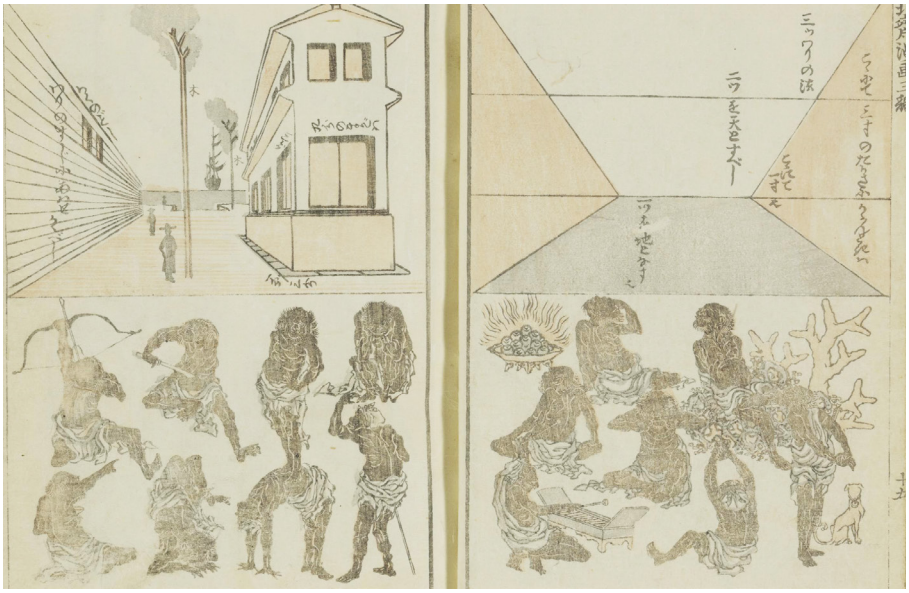


Figure 5. Katsushika Hokusai, from *Manga*, volume 3, after 1814. The British Museum, London.

Figure 6. Katsushika Hokusai, *Edo*, *Nihonbashi*, from *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*, ca. 1830–1834. The British Museum, London.

individuals within a system of profit and return. The viewer participates in this too, as a likely consumer of such foodstuffs.

European Conventions

Let us examine further the conjunction of a local view with an imported imagistic overlay. Perspective had been used in Japan for decades before this time, though often ad hoc and loosely. Hokusai conducted specific perspective studies, some of the earliest extant, and he published these studies in volume 3 of his *Manga* 漫画 (figure 5). ("Manga" is hard to translate, but implies random pictures. The cavorting figures in the lower half of each page illustrated here are unrelated to the upper sections.)

Perspective, however, was not much followed in Japan. Perhaps this was because it seemed curiously arbitrary to separate importance from size merely on the basis of where in the pictorial space an object was located. In the *Great Wave*, Mt. Fuji looks sorely diminished. This is accurate mathematically speaking, but was it right and proper? Edo people called these types of work "floating pictures" (*uki-e* 浮絵), or alternatively "sunken pictures" (*kubomi-e* 窪絵) because the contents seemed either to well up from the page, or to invite the viewer to fall into them.[8] They were thrilling, but only for a moment. The senior government artist Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1763–1841) was recorded as saying in 1811, "I used to have a quantity of European works in my collection, but I came to find them short on meaning (*imi* 意味)."[9] He did not cite perspective as the feature that failed to interest him; but perspective was the overriding association of Western work in Japan. The assumption that European art was, in essence, little more than perspectives irked the overtly Western-style artist Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢 (1747–1818). In seeking to promote the European mode, Kōkan stressed, "European pictures are more than just 'floating images,'" and he went on, "Those who construe Western art as simply perspectives are entirely incorrect."[10]

We may compare the *Great Wave* with another of Hokusai's *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji*. This work shows Mt. Fuji from Nihonbashi 日本橋. Captured is Edo's central vista, looking down a canal to the shogun's castle (figure 6).

Here Hokusai has clearly used perspective for the central section, but Mt. Fuji and the castle have been removed from its grid; according to the rules of perspective, being so distant, both should be mere dots. To the Edo viewer, rendering them in that way would look odd, giving priority to orthogonal rectitude over an object's meaning. We can even speculate that, for the artist and his publisher, shrinking the shogun's residence would reveal an insufficiency of "awe" (*osore* 恐), the key response that government installations were supposed to elicit from commoners. In this picture, the castle exists in an independent spatial continuum, and so does the mountain. That was, after all, the expected way. The *Great Wave* therefore creates an outlandish construct of a familiar sight. Hokusai does not reduce Mt. Fuji to render it trivial, nor to show it without "awe." The resulting image, and so surely Hokusai's aim, was to make the view more precise under imported pictorial codes.

8 The former term is well attested and often inscribed on perspective works. For the latter, from 1802, see Ishino 1980, p. 273. For a translation, see Screech 2003, p. 71.

9 Tani 1916, pp. 189, 212.

10 Shiba 1976, p. 492.

If such regimented perspective looked alien to the Edo viewer, then this sense would have been much augmented by the print's colors. Along with perspective, color was cited as a distinguishing feature of European art. When the senior functionary Hirasawa Tsunetomi 平沢常富 (1735–1813; penname: Hōseidō Kisanji 朋誠堂喜三二) came across a painting in the Western style, he wrote humorously of the experience. To him, the work was peculiar not, in this case, because of perspective, but because of the use of color:

> What a picture to see in this land of ours!
> Look at the shadows,
> Look at the colors![11]

Tsunetomi's lord, Satake Yoshiatsu 佐竹義敦 (1748–1785), practiced the European mode, and it was he who had painted the work that provoked Tsunetomi's witty reaction. Yoshiatsu wrote Japan's first treatises on Western art in 1778, under the penname Shozan 曙山, accompanied by perspective study drawings, the first known in Japan. In 1785, Yoshiatsu went so far as to visit the official Dutch residence in Edo, extremely risky for someone in his position.[12] Between Tsunetomi and Hokusai, however, a striking change had occurred in terms of color, and specifically the color blue. Full color printing had been known in Japan since 1765, and images were sold under the label of "brocade prints" (*nishiki-e* 錦絵). But they had a deficiency. They were not in fact full-colored because no one had ever discovered a permanent, printable blue. Printed blues did exist, but were weak and rapidly faded to yellow. Across the whole range of Japanese woodblock prints, as we know them, there simply are no blues—until, that is, the color starts to appear circa 1830. This was the result of the invention in Germany of a rich, resilient blue that could be painted and printed. Available in Europe from 1724, "Berlin blue" (also known as "Prussian blue") took the art world by storm. Dutch merchants imported it to Japan, where the pigment acquired the local name of *bero* ベロ (from Berlin) or *bero-ai* ベロ藍 (*bero* blue).[13] Its first proven use in Japan dates to 1765, but that was on a painting made for an elite temple, and even then, it was used sparingly.[14] Satake Yoshiatsu, as a daimyo, was aware of *bero*. Chinese intermediaries imported this blue pigment in 1782, while Dutch records mention an import in 1798.[15] Only from circa 1830 did Berlin blue come to Japan in quantities sufficient to lower the price to levels for use on popular works. This was a radical event in the history of Japanese prints. Berlin blue allowed designers and publishers to add landscape views to the staple themes of actors and bordellos. Painted landscapes have a long history in Japan, as do monochrome printed landscapes contained in gazetteers and topographies. Now, for the first time, enduring bright-blue skies, seas, and waterfalls appeared in loose prints. Hokusai stood in the fore of this development.

---

11 *Fusō ni mo kakaru on-e o miru koto yo kumadori to ii, irodori to ii* 扶桑にもかかる御絵を見ることよ隈取りと言い、彩りと言い. The verse is cited in Iwasaki 1984, p. 124, citing Hirafuku 1939 without page reference, but the verse cannot be found in that book, so its source (and *kana*/*kanji* usage) are moot.

12 Satake 1927, pp. 99–103. For his visit to the Dutch, see Blussé and Viallé 1996, p. 80.

13 The transmission of Berlin blue to Japan has been extensively researched. See, *inter alia*, Smith 2005, pp. 234–269, and Screech 2000, p. 288.

14 Berlin blue is used by Itō Jakuchū 伊藤若冲 (1716–1800) in his series *Dōshoku sai-e* 動植彩絵 (1755–1765). See Hayakawa 2012, p. 212.

15 Screech 2000, p. 288.

Symbols in Pictures

So much for pictorial conventions and materials. Hokusai combined a more emphatic use of perspective than was usual, and filled the surface with a novel blue. Viewers would register these striking features, and with them they would look, in a new way, at a picture of ships in heavy seas. It was a theme that Hokusai had experimented with before, but not one with which Edo viewers were at all familiar. In the *Great Wave*, Hokusai abandoned the mock inscription and frame, which were perhaps too-obviously Western. His third essay in ships in heavy seas is not couched as something playful or exoticizing; it is more than that. Hokusai demands the content be taken seriously: waves hanging over boats and threatening to crash down on them. It is a very dramatic moment. Left suspended is the heart-stopping question of what follows: Will the vessels ride through to safety, or will they be broken into pieces by the force of the water? This may seem abstract today, but many Edo communities were seafaring, or depended on those who were. Every Edo-ite knew how prices rose when delivery vessels were wrecked, so that their safe passage was a matter in which every family had a stake, even far from the coasts. The print exposes a keen anxiety, far more than its two precursors do.

In giving this theme a strong, European surface appearance, Hokusai was experimenting with something more. Its content was imported too. This is not a matter of "influence," but of cooptation and adaptation. In 1794, Kōkan, mentioned above, explained to Edo readers that Western art (he called it Dutch art) depicted topics that were intended to be taken symbolically. He even concluded, "You can describe [Dutch paintings] as symbolic constructions (*tatoe* 喩)."[16] He mentioned this more than once. On another occasion he retained the Dutch term *zinebeelt* (symbol), transliterating it as *shinebeeruto* シネベエルト.[17] East Asian art also used symbols. Kōkan's readers, and Hokusai's viewers, would have had no problem with the concept. The difference lay in what was expounded in, and through, the vocabulary of tangential meaning. This, I propose, is what Hokusai was working on. When we think in these terms, we can surmise that the two precursor prints are not so much evidence of Hokusai's attempt to create the perfect form of waves (as previous commentators have claimed), but evidence of ongoing experimentation with an imported pictorial theme, namely endangered shipping. In the West, as we shall see, this was an established metaphor with a theological meaning. Hokusai may or may not have known the specifics, but it is clear that in the *Great Wave* he went further than before. In the first precursor, *Express Delivery Boats*, the main vessel moves with the wave, utilizing its power; the predicament looks risky, but not deadly. In the second precursor, *Honmoku*, one ship sails obliquely under the wave, while the other (faint and uncolored) floats above it. Only in the *Great Wave* do we see utter threat to life, and it is shown in an imported mode.

Hardly any Japanese paintings have titles, and although prints sometimes do, many designations used today are the inventions of modern curators or collectors. The *Thirty-Six Views* are all titled, though these are merely geographical, stating the location, and perhaps manner, by which Mt. Fuji is captured. In this case, as we know, it is *Under the Waves off Kanagawa*. I venture to suggest another title: *Ships in Distress*. Such a title allows us to recognize what Hokusai was doing. The work is not only foreign to look at (in perspective

16 Shiba 1993a, pp. 108–109.
17 Shiba 1977, p. 5.

Figure 7. Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Travelling into Exile from Sagami Province, Encountering Waves at Tsunoda and Chanting the Mantra*, from the series *Short Biography of the Great Founder* 1835–1836. Tokyo National Museum.

and color), but also in theme. *Ships in Distress* was a major topic in one tradition of the period, that is, in Netherlandish art. Hokusai reconfigures that genre, and in so doing generates a work to be read as polyvalent and hybrid, but certainly also to be interpreted symbolically.

Ships in Distress

To clarify the condition that Hokusai depicts, we can compare *Ships in Distress* with a print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳 (1798–1861). Published as Hokusai's set came to a close in 1835–1836, this is also part of a series, this time a narrative one, telling the life of the great medieval monk Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282). One image is of Nichiren travelling into exile, a historical event that happened in 1272 (figure 7).

As the waves threatened his ship, Nichiren is said to have stilled them by invocation of the *Lotus Sutra*. The words he intoned were miraculously imprinted on the water, causing the waves to tremble and lose power—and this is what we see in the work. The waves in Kuniyoshi's print, like those in Hokusai's (which Kuniyoshi would have seen), threaten imminent death. But Nichiren's intervention ensures the ship is safe.

An early Dutch master of the theme was Simon de Vlieger, who died in 1653. He was followed by Willem van de Velde the Elder (1610–1693), probably a trained mariner, and who was appointed painter to the Dutch fleet. He sailed with naval vessels in the 1660s, allowing him to add a high degree of precision to his paintings. Van de Velde sent his son to study with de Vlieger, then continued to train him himself. Willem van de Velde the Younger (1633–1707), who lived into the next century, took Dutch maritime art into its "golden age." Their shared theme was sometimes ships in plain sailing, but far more often, in distress, either engaged in battle or confronting raging seas.

Figure 8. Abraham de Verwer, *The Battle of the Zuider Zee, 1621*.
Oil on canvas. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

In 1639, needing a suitably impressive gift for the shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651), the Dutch East India Company, or VOC, commissioned and sent three paintings. There are copious documents relating to the arrival of these works from the Dutch side, though Japanese officials do not appear to have maintained equivalent records.[18] Of the three imported paintings, one was a waterborne battle, and two were land fights. De Vlieger was in his prime, and he could well be the artist who painted the sea battle, which the VOC register enters as *The Count of Bossu's Naval Battle*. This was a seminal engagement of the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) also known as the Battle of the Zuiderzee, in which the Dutch destroyed a large Spanish fleet in 1573. The two land fights concern us less, but one is recorded as the *Battle of Flanders* (also known as the Battle of Nieuwpoort) of 1607, occurring later in the Eighty Years' War, and the other is an unspecified *Cavalry Skirmish*. The first two paintings, and probably the third as well, show the Dutch vanquishing the same Iberian enemies that Japan had recently expelled. Recall that although separate nations, Spain and Portugal were under the same king, Philip IV. Indeed, the new Dutch trading post in Nagasaki was the one vacated after the enforced departure of the Portuguese. The painting themes were very well chosen. The artists' names are unrecorded, but the values are given as *f*700, *f*1000, and *f*750 respectively. Rembrandt received *f*600 for a large work executed for the Dutch court at about the same time. This suggests that the works brought to Japan were exceptionally fine.

Abraham de Verwer painted what is now known as *The Battle of the Zuider Zee* in 1621, and although dating to rather earlier, it is a viable comparison with what must have been seen in Edo in 1639 (figure 8).

The Dutch put some effort into these matters, though not always with success. This can be seen in the case of another painting, which De Verwer undertook for the VOC. In 1639, he painted the *Battle of Gibraltar*, costing no less than *f*1200. This was a sea fight from 1607, when the Dutch surprised and destroyed a great portion of the Spanish fleet. The VOC first took Verwer's painting to Iran where it was offered for sale to Shah Safi,

18 Kobayashi-Sato 2014, pp. 268–290.

though he declined it.[19] It then came to Japan and was offered to Iemitsu, though he too rejected it, perhaps because he had just received a similar work as a gift. De Verwer's *Battle of Gibraltar* then went on Ayutthaya, where King Prasatthong of Siam also refused it. The final home of the painting is unknown. It is worth noting that de Verwer's son, Justus, sailed with the VOC and deposited paintings in many Asian ports.[20]

No other war pictures, whether maritime or land-based, were sent to Japan for a long time after the sad rejection of this expensive piece. Paintings of a quality to impress the Japanese (or Iranians and Thais) were expensive to commission and hard to transport without damage. They were highly acceptable as presents, but no ruler was interested in purchasing them, at least not for the sums demanded. Still, ensconced in the former Portuguese trading house, the VOC had made its point. Edo Castle had at least one fine Dutch maritime painting, *The Count of Bossu's Naval Battle*, and it showed ships in distress. Where this was kept and who viewed it are not known.

In 1646, the shogunate asked the VOC for pictures depicting European countries, "especially those that rule the seas."[21] The next year, the great prelate Sessō Sōsai 雪窓宗崔 (1589–1649) visited Nagasaki where the Dutch laid on a demonstration for him of onboard gymnastics. Sailors dived from the rigging, and Sōsai toured the ships.[22] He noted that while Iberian vessels had been filthy, those of the Dutch were wholesome. Sōsai was making comments about national character, as he understood it, and was using the imagery of ships to do so. The Spanish and Portuguese had been a menace to Japan, and the vileness of their bottoms proved this; the Dutch, on the other hand, were clean, and their sailors were well-trained. To use Kōkan's term of a century later, Sōsai was using ships as "metaphors" (*tatoe*).

After 1657

Under Iemitsu's son, Ietsuna 家綱 (1641–1680), a terrible fire struck Edo in 1657. This resulted in the loss of almost the entire city, including the castle. It so happened that a Dutch retinue was visiting at the time, and its leader, a German named Zacharias Wagenaer, recorded the horror with great frankness.[23] "Court trips" by the Dutch (D. *hofris*; Jp. *sanpu* 参府) were annual, and on the next one, in 1658, the VOC was approached with a particular request. A monk from the shogunal temple of Kan'eiji 寛永寺 had been deployed by Inoue Masashige 井上正重 (1585–1661), the *ōmetsuke* 大目付 (grand inquisitor), to bring up a matter of urgency: Ietsuna needed "a beautiful map of the world," and also "some paintings of battles on land and sea." Masashige seems to have been informed that certain items lost in the previous year's fire had to be replaced, and it was his job as *ōmetsuke* to do this; it is not clear why he used a monk as interlocutor. The new Dutch leader, Johannes Boucheljon, undertook to provide these, though it would take some time, he said, since original works would have to be commissioned in Amsterdam.[24]

It was not until 1660 that Boucheljon was able to advise a retainer of Masashige that, "Some of the things his master had ordered two or three years ago from the Netherlands

19 Viallé 2014, p. 299.
20 Bok 2014, p. 199.
21 Blussé and Viallé 2001, p. 24.
22 Blussé and Viallé 2001, p. 289.
23 Blussé and Viallé 2005, pp. 294–298.
24 Blussé and Viallé 2005, pp. 340–343.

Figure 9. Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Battle of Leghorn, 1653*. Ink pen on paper. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

[have] been shipped on the *Bul*." They were thus en route, and "will be brought here next year."[25] In the interim, on the next court trip in 1661, the VOC presented to Kan'eiji's sister temple, Sensōji 浅草寺, a "small wooden ship," which delighted the abbot.[26] Why he received this is not stated, but it must surely have been a "symbol" of some kind. Masashige's paintings, intended for the shogun, arrived safely in 1663. However, Masashige was dead. He could not be the intermediary, but there was no reason why that should impede the paintings going to Ietsuna, as intended. They would remain in Nagasaki for several months until the next court trip. There is no mention of a map, and rather than "some" paintings, which Masashige had asked for, the Company had only brought two. However, both were major works, described by the new Dutch head, Wilhem Volger, as "two large paintings" in "heavy frames." The prices paid for them in Amsterdam were over *f*300 a piece, far less than the three sent to Ietsuna's father, though that was partly due to shifts in currency.[27] During the 1660s, exceedingly few Dutch paintings cost as much as *f*300.[28] Now arriving were paintings of a land battle and a sea fight. The former was again the *Battle of Flanders* (aka of Nieuwpoort), thus replicating, at least in terms of subject, the one lost to fire. The latter work is referred to as a "sea battle between the Dutch and the English." With the Iberians gone from Japan, the Dutch may have wanted to show that they had a new enemy. It no doubt depicted a moment in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–1653, very likely the Battle of Leghorn (Livorno), since that was the most important Dutch victory (figure 9).[29]

We have no makers' names associated with the works. In the case of the naval piece, which concerns us more, Van de Velde the Elder is a possibility. He charged exactly the

25 Blussé and Viallé 2005, p. 407.
26 Blussé and Viallé 2010, p. 12.
27 The *Dutch Trade Journal* gives the cost at *f*607, 14 stuivers for the two (20 stuivers = *f*1), thus almost *f*608. I am grateful to Cynthia Viallé for this information. The cost equates to about two years' work for a laborer. *f* is the abbreviation of guilder.
28 Montias 2002, p. 89 gives the proportion of paintings fetching this price as 0.1 percent.
29 For a history, see Jones 1996, pp. 107–144.

same fee, some *f*300, or least he did at the height of his career. In 1674, Van de Velde sold Cardinal de Medici a *Dutch Flag Ships at Sea in a Moderate Breeze under Easy Sail* for *f*325.[30]

There are no records pertaining to these paintings from the Japanese side, although the Dutch recorded their estimation of Japanese reactions. The narrative does not differentiate between the naval and the land battle, but we learn that early in 1664, in preparation for the springtime trip to Edo, Volger sent the paintings to the Nagasaki governor (*bugyō* 奉行), Kurokawa Masanao 黒川正直 (1602–1680), for approval. Masanao was overwhelmed. He said (as the Dutch reported it) that Ietsuna would love them. Masanao was sorely tempted to borrow the works for display in his mansion, though he forewent this pleasure for fear of what might happen if they were damaged.[31] Volger had a carpenter make stands for displaying the works in Edo, as framed pieces were too heavy to hang on Japanese non-masonry walls.[32] A month later, in early February, Masanao called for the paintings again: this time he did keep them. On 9 February, however, the Dutch claimed, he had a tantrum. There was no reason for it that anyone could detect, but Volger confessed that he feared "heads would roll." The governor's rage was surely related to the paintings, for when Volger went to retrieve them, for packing prior to transfer to Edo, he was told that the splendid things were not suitable after all. They could not be given to Ietsuna since they showed "very sad scenes, such as dead people and the burning of ships." This was inauspicious, and rendered the paintings, however fine, useless as gifts.[33] The governor's words make it clear that his greatest disappointment at the newly-realized impropriety was specifically related to the maritime painting. Japanese paintings of battles exist, but it is true that they seldom depict hurt bodies, and where they do, such works would not be presentation items for a superior. Volger tried to counterargue, but to no avail because the governor was in such a rage that none of the interpreters dared convey the remonstrations to him. The paintings were shipped out, and were not heard of again.

Later Encounters

The VOC was fairly scrupulous with its records, but obviously not everything survives. Nor was everything ever set down in the legers and daily registers. The above exchanges, and failed exchanges, were at the highest level, but there were countless people in the chain of command, and many in the lower echelons also required gifts and bribes. There was also a growing community of Europeans, Chinese, and mixed-race residents in Southeast Asian ports who desired Dutch paintings. Given the means by which such people lived, ship art was no doubt attractive. The Dutch trading station at Batavia (now Jakarta) was the last port before Japan, and where all Nagasaki-bound ships sailed from and returned to. Abraham de Verwer's son, mentioned above, was dispatched here, as was the more famous Frans Hals' son, Reinier, who lived in Asia in 1641–1644; Hals' two grandsons

30 Keyes 1990, cat. 3. An initial price of *f*400 was reduced. The work is in the Pitti Palace, entitled *Dutch Fleet under Sail*. However, all the dozen or so works known by Van de Velde are grisaille (including figure 9 here). Had the work sent to Japan been so, the Dutch merchants might have commented on the fact, making it unlikely that Van de Velde was the painter.

31 Blussé and Viallé 2010, p. 93.

32 Blussé and Viallé 2010, p. 98.

33 Blussé and Viallé 2010, p. 97. The Dutch disbelieved this reason. It is possible that inauspiciousness relating to Masashige's death was a factor, though this was known well before, so would not account for the governor's outburst.

(both called Jan) went to Asia too. The painter Cornelis Suijthoff was in Batavia in 1671–1691, and if he is not well-known today, his wife is, being Rembrandt's daughter, Cornelia. Jan Steen's grandson (also Jan), was in Batavia 1717.[34] Southeast Asia seems to have been the place to send "modestly talented descendants," as one critic has cruelly put it.[35] Along with family portraits, maritime works were the most common subject matter. More eager administrators and merchants could acquire better work on their periodic voyages home. One of these was Rijckloff van Goens, governor of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), who commissioned several portraits and one maritime piece from Willem van de Velde the Elder, working with his son, Willem the Younger, when in Amsterdam in 1665.[36] Nothing is certain, but such works might have filtered into Japan.

Then in 1722, the shogun himself, Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684–1751), asked for some Dutch paintings. This was not in response to the loss of prior works, but simply because he wanted some, five items to be exact. They duly arrived in 1726. One showed flowers, one birds and flowers, one "an elephant and tiger with a house by a waterfall." There was also a hunt, and "armies fighting each other with a castle." The shogun donated the two floral works to an Edo temple, Gohyaku Rakanji 五百羅漢寺, to be put on permanent public display, while he kept the three with more martial themes for himself.[37] However, none showed ships in distress.

Items in the shogunal collection were not widely viewed, and needless to say, the paintings ordered in vain by Inoue Masashige were not seen outside Nagasaki. The works Yoshitsune donated to the Edo temple attracted widespread attention, though not being maritime, they are outside the scope of this paper. Another body of data comes from paintings displayed in the VOC trading station in Nagasaki. Shiba Kōkan travelled to the port in 1788, funding his trip by showing pictures of famous sites in Edo, produced in the European manner using perspective, color, and shading. On arrival in Nagasaki, Kōkan gained admission to the Dutch compound, and although he was rather clipped about his visit (his presence there was not quite legal), he produced a sketch of the main reception room. This was published in 1794 in *Saiyū ryodan* 西遊旅譚 (Account of a journey to the West) (figure 10).

On the evidence of Kōkan's sketch, the room had paraphernalia like chairs, table, decanters, and spittoons, but also seven paintings. Two are portraits, one is a Cupid, one a landscape, one has an unclear narrative theme, one is an indeterminate piece; however, one is a ship in full sail. The Kyoto physician Hirokawa Kai 広川獬, who resided in Nagasaki for six years, visited the same facility a few years after Kōkan. He stated in his journal, *Nagasaki bunken roku* 長崎聞見録 (Record of things seen and heard in Nagasaki), that the station had five paintings, not seven, and each was of maritime disaster averted. He said each was very large, at 4 x 6 *shaku* 尺 (120 x 180 cm). In Kai's understanding, they were a set that showed an actual event: "once long ago" a Dutch ship returning from Japan "got into distress," and the paintings formed a narrative sequence of this (near) disaster. Kai saw, or perhaps had explained to him, the subject of each image. These were lowering skies and a storm brewing;

34 Bok 2014, pp. 184, 197–198.
35 Bok 2014, p. 185.
36 Adams 2009, p. 16.
37 Screech 1993.

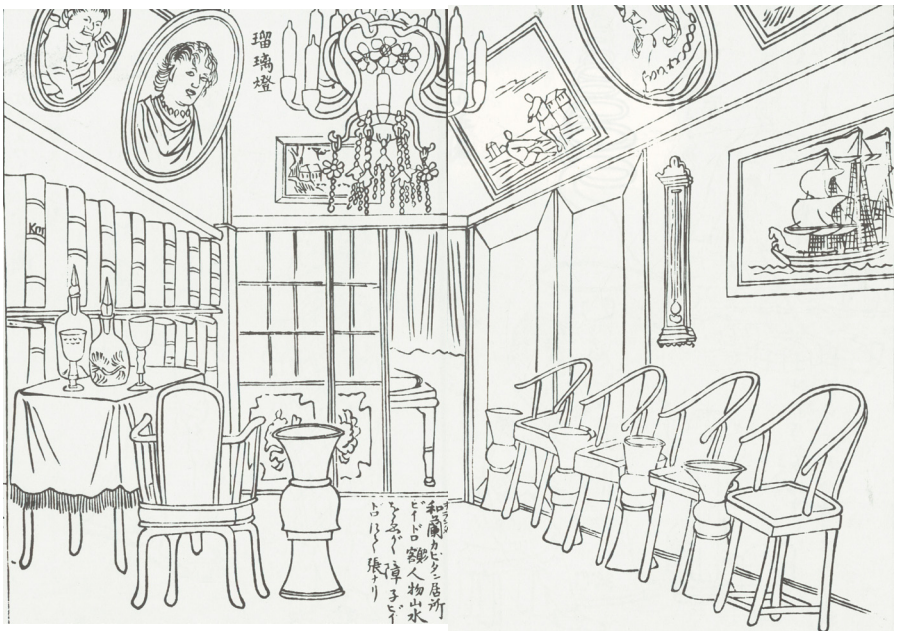


Figure 10. Shiba Kōkan, *Dutch Trading Station on Dejima*, from his *Saiyū ryodan*, 1794. Waseda University Library.

persistent gales with only the sky visible; the swell rising and the ship losing control; the ship floundering, and finally, despite all this, the ship reaching port. Most likely the works were not a set and did not tell a specific story, since such a configuration would be anomalous in Dutch art. But Kai was correct in concluding that "they were painted as warnings; the purpose being that we must not forget the tribulations we encounter."[38]

From the end of the seventeenth century, Dutch pictures of ships in distress tended to detach from actual naval battles and become independent, meditative subjects. The key figure in this development was the painter Ludolf Backhuysen (1630–1708), who was actually German though working in Amsterdam, and was acknowledged as the top master of maritime art from the 1670s. In Backhuysen's case, it was less enemies than tempests that assaulted the ships. One fairly early example is *Ships in a Storm* (1667), painted during a period in which he was seeking to differentiate himself from the legacy of Van de Velde (figure 11). These paintings were of the type Kōkan and Kai would have seen in Nagasaki.

Backhuysen's ships, moreover, were merchantmen, not men o'war. Being non-military, his works do not speak of noble defiance by the Dutch state, but of diligent commerce. It is a lower-level but wider field of concern. These ships have owners, but their voyages ensure everyone's prosperity. Backhuysen positioned ships between disaster and safety, as human life is so often found to be. The viewer is placed in a frozen moment between utter loss and

38 Hirokawa 1975, vol. 5, p. 81. He visited Nagasaki twice, in 1790 and 1795, and published his journal in 1800.

Figure 11. Ludolf Backhuysen, *Ships in a Storm*, 1667. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund.

salvation. To the Dutch, all was in the hands of God. Backhuysen's ships are about to sink when clouds part and the sun bursts radiantly. It is not hard to see that Hokusai showed the very same thing. We now see the significance of integrating distressed ships with Mt. Fuji—the trio of waves, vessels, and the mountain. Mt. Fuji is not only hallowed, but its name puns on "no death" (*fu ji* 不死). It is a location of salvation. Including the mountain is akin to Kuniyoshi's depiction of Nichiren's miracle, but now rendered obliquely and symbolically as in Dutch art. Backhuysen and Hokusai, each in their own worldview, show a maritime disaster about to ensue, but with the promise of release.

The *Burgh* and the *Eliza*

No Japanese person had seen a Western ship actually get into distress. Ships certainly went down plying to and from Nagasaki, but those disasters happened invisibly, far out at sea. In 1772, for the first time, a VOC vessel ran into difficulty on approaching Japanese waters. As the head of the Dutch station in Nagasaki, Arend Feith, explained, a storm hit the *Burgh*, which lost "her masts, bowsprit, head, quarter-galleries &c." It sprang a leak, with "a great quantity of water in the powder-room and hold." The commander, Daniel Armenault, gave orders to abandon ship. The sailing companion, the *Margaretta Maria*, came into view just in time, similarly minus masts, but seaworthy. The men on the *Burgh* transferred with their valuables, and the *Margaretta Maria* made it to Nagasaki.[39] VOC rules forbade the abandoning of ships: they had to be either towed to land, or watched until they sank. Despite looking poised to disappear under the waves, the *Burgh* did not sink. Instead it

39 Blussé and Viallé 2010, pp. 109, 117.

drifted, eventually coming to rest on the coast of Satsuma 薩摩. This was reported to the authorities.

The *Burgh* was the first Dutch ship to which the shogunate had unfettered access. The inspectors dispatched to investigate were intrigued but also horrified. "The Japanese," wrote Carl Peter Thunberg, a Swedish physician who visited Nagasaki a few years later, "having thus the ship at their disposal, discovered all her corners and hiding places, as also a great number of chests belonging to the principal officers, which were full of the most prohibited goods, and marked with their names."[40] The Dutch hushed up the incident, and Feith's official log claims only that he went to retrieve cargo. Yet many villagers along the coast must have watched as the *Burgh* listed shorewards and ran aground.

On arrival from Nagasaki, Feith was immediately asked to remove the ship's carvings and figurehead "to forestall the possibility that the statues might be regarded as Portuguese religious statuary."[41] Unlike residents of Nagasaki, people in Satsuma had not seen a Western ship since the expulsion of the Spanish and Portuguese a century before. The authorities did not want them to think that Christian missionaries (whose wickedness the Japanese populace had been frequently warned about) were sneaking back. Feith had the ship stripped and towed to Nagasaki, where he tried to sell the hulk for five thousand taels, in the end accepting less than half. Some of the contraband was publicly burned in Nagasaki: ill-gotten gains benefit no one. In an equally symbolic gesture, the abbot of one of Nagasaki's most elite temples, the "beautiful, fairytale-like" Kōtaiji 晧台寺, donated trees to be made into new masts for the *Margaretha Maria*.[42]

This embarrassing episode was not made the subject of a painting, but in 1798, something even more consequential came to pass, which was that another Western ship found itself in difficulty, this time at the mouth of Nagasaki Bay itself, not while arriving, but at anchor, preparing to leave. This was the *Eliza*, a United States vessel. American ships were being used by the VOC because the Napoleonic Wars meant the Royal (that is, British) Navy would attack Dutch shipping. The VOC kept the shogunate in the dark about these changes in the international situation, and took down the stars and stripes on entering Japanese waters, running up their tricolor. The *Eliza*'s commander, William Stewart, was said to be "always drunk and quarrelsome," which partly explains what occurred.[43] As the Dutch scribe, Leopold Ras, reported,

> A rising southerly wind had cast the ship adrift and she had hit a reef we had not been aware of. This caused the ship to heel over so much that she could not straighten up and it was feared that she would capsize. The captain [Stewart] decided to cut down the three masts to see if that would right the ship and save the crew, ship and cargo. The ship was back on even keel, but shortly after a large leak had been discovered …[44]

40 Thunberg 2005, pp. 81, 83, 273, 306. Thunberg mistakenly calls the *Burgh* the *Burg*.
41 Blussé and Viallé 2010, p. 117.
42 This assessment of Kōtaiji is from a modern tourist website, https://dreamofacity.com/2015/03/14/teramachi-寺町-or-a-pilgrims-tour-of-nagasakis-temple-quarter/ (Accessed 8 August 2020).
43 Blussé and Viallé 1997, p. xi.
44 Blussé and Viallé 1997, p. 115.

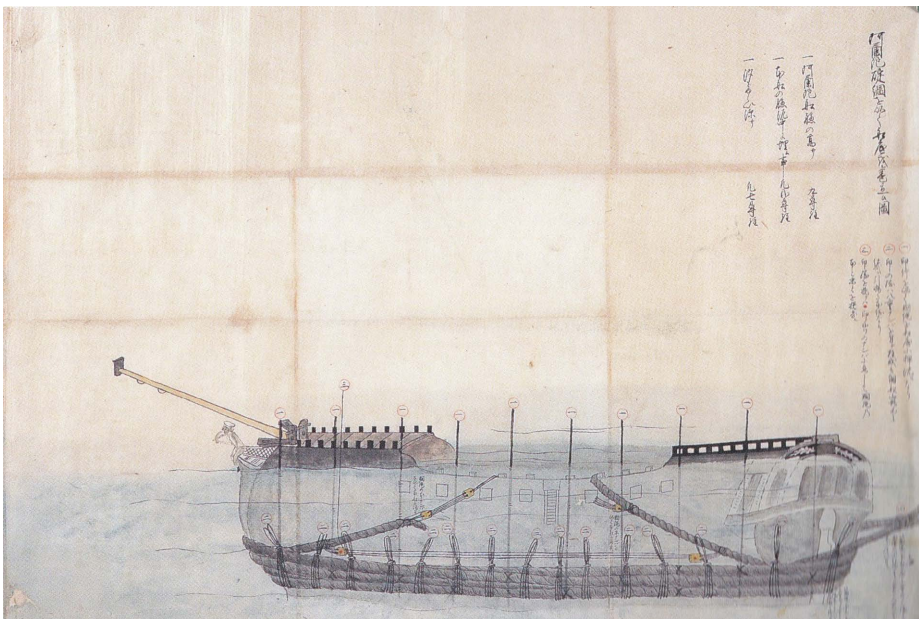


Figure 12. Anon, detail from handscroll, *Raising the Sunken Dutch Ship*, 1799. Ink and color on paper. Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture.

The ship was brought closer to shore and emptied, but then it sank with merely the prow protruding at low tide. This was all the more serious as, owing to the wars, the VOC was sending just one ship annually. The Dutch authorities in Batavia would have no way of knowing why the *Eliza* failed to arrive. Many times, the Dutch and Americans tried to refloat the vessel, once using three hundred empty saké barrels, but it was no use.[45] The ship sat in water, a monument to carelessness, for several months. Then a rich fisherman named Murai Kiemon 村井喜右衛門 (1752–1804) from the domain of Hagi 萩 in Suō 周防 Province, heard about it, and came to Nagasaki, offering help. He said he would raise the ship at his own expense. The VOC secretary Ras confided in his log,

> He has already prepared everything. He does not want any reward if his plan succeeds, only a token present. He says he does not want money, but he would like the fame of having salvaged a Dutch [*sic*] ship. On behalf of both of us [Ras and Stewart] we offered him twenty canisters of powdered sugar, which pleased him.[46]

This occurred two days before lunar New Year, that is, just prior to the main annual festival of renewal and felicity. The symbolism and auspiciousness of raising a ship for the incoming year would surely have appealed to Kiemon, and to the Japanese crowds watching from the shore: deliverance after disaster.

45 Blussé and Viallé 1997, p. 116.
46 Blussé and Viallé 1997, p. 119.

Ras went on, "I went to look at the contraption with which the ship will be salvaged. I do not doubt that they will succeed, for the fisherman is sparing neither trouble nor expense." New Year came and went. A shogunal officer was sent to make drawings of the ship, and then a fortnight or so later, Kiemon managed to bring the ship up. A full scroll depicting the proceedings was produced in honor of the event (figure 12).

Kiemon's lord, Mōri Narifusa 毛利斉房 (1728–1809), gave him the right to wear a *kamishimo* 裃 and swords, that is, he was raised to samurai rank.[47] This also entitled him to a family crest (*kamon* 家紋), and one was conferred and conceived in a "Dutch" way, showing a beaver hat and crossed tobacco pipes.[48] The Nagasaki governor, Asahina Masamoto 朝比奈昌始 gave him thirty pieces of silver and sent a letter in his praise to Edo.[49] As well as sugar, the Dutch gave Kiemon several bottles of saké.[50] It was a happy denouement. This incident became known at the highest levels in Edo, and a shogunal councilor (*rōjū* 老中) requested pictures to be sent without delay, and a model, which might be dispatched later. These were viewed by the shogun himself, Tokugawa Ienari 徳川家斉 (1773–1841), and all his close relations in the Three Noble Households (*gosanke* 御三家) and the Three Lords (*gosankyō* 御三卿).[51] Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1759–1829), former head of the shogunal council, wrote about it, and perhaps also viewed the paintings and model. Sadanobu noted in his *Taikan zakki* 退閑雑記 (Leisure jottings) that the ship had proved impossible to raise, until "a man from the castle town of Hagi, named Kiemon" winched it up. For this, Sadanobu stated, he was presented with a gift of sugar by the Japanese (not Dutch), while Chinese merchants had his portrait painted. [52]

With the *Eliza* floating, the abbot of Kōtaiji stepped in again to provide masts, this time receiving four hundred taels in thanks.[53] When summer came, the *Eliza* departed Japan. Not long afterwards, the next VOC ship, the *Franklin* (also a U.S. vessel) entered Nagasaki Bay, commanded by James Devereux. However, the *Eliza* then returned, having met a storm. When the weather calmed, it sailed out again, as the *Franklin* continued to unlade.

In addition to the documentary images mentioned above, two formal paintings were made of this sequence of events. After William Stewart brought the *Eliza* home to Boston, Massachusetts, the dangers through which he passed were depicted. Regrettably, the painting is unsigned and undated (figure 13).

God had evidently tested Stewart, but seeing his mettle (drunkenness being expunged from the exhilarating narrative), had brought him safely home to riches. On the Japanese side the ship was painted by Shiba Kōkan. He had visited Nagasaki a decade before, but was now living in Edo. Kōkan was not of high rank, but he was close to the elite Katsuragawa Hosai 桂川甫斎 (penname: Morishima Chūryō 森島中良 1756–1810), whose brother, Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751–1809), was a senior shogunal physician. Hoshū is

47 Katagiri 2017, pp. 44–45.
48 Blussé and Viallé 1997, p. xv.
49 Katagiri 2017, p. 42.
50 Katagiri 2017, p. 45. The empty bottles are extant; see figure 16.
51 Katagiri 2017, p. 51. For a reproduction and analysis of paintings and prints on the raising of the *Eliza*, see pp. 56–98.
52 Matsudaira 1980, pp. 241–242.
53 Blussé and Viallé 1997, p. 123.

Figure 13. Anon, *The Eliza Floundering off Japan*, ca. 1800. Oil on canvas. Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

Figure 14. Shiba Kōkan, *The Eliza and the Franklin in Nagasaki Bay*, 1799. Ink and color on silk. Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

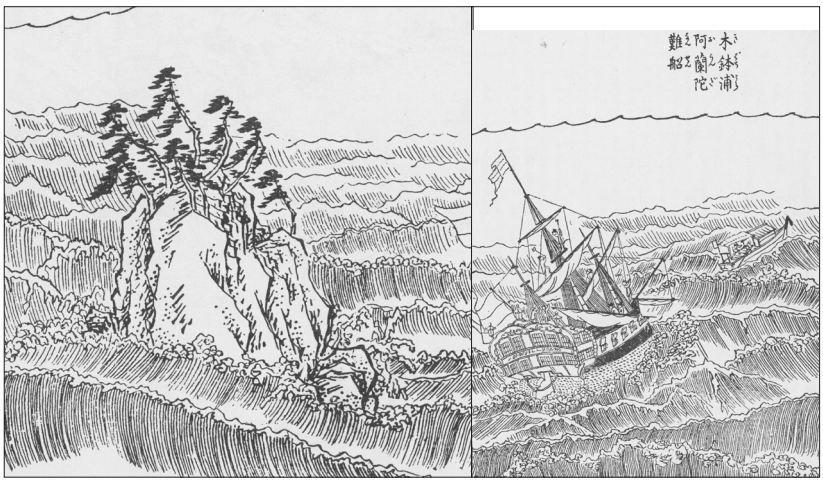


Figure 15. Ichibashi Chikuun, from Nigita Yugi and Noguchi Bunryū, *Nagasaki meishō zue*, ca. 1820. In Etchū 1975 series 1 vol. 3, pp. 212–213.

recorded as having viewed the paintings and model sent up from Nagasaki, and may have been in a position to furnish much more information besides.[54] Via Kōkan, the rescue surely became widely known.[55] Who might have commissioned such a work is open to question. The Japanese painting is in hanging scroll format, so it was for display, not just for reference, and labeled in Western fashion, "An: 1799 Nagasaki" (*anno* = year) (figure 14). The *Eliza* and *Franklin* lie at anchor, which gives a window of about four months, from summer to autumn.

The wreck and escape of the *Eliza* were drawn for publication, and hence for wider circulation still. They were selected for inclusion in a guidebook to Nagasaki, commissioned in 1818 by the then magistrate, Tsutsui Masanori 筒井政憲 (1778–1859, under the title of *Nagasaki meishō zue* 長崎名勝図会 (Illustrated famous places in Nagasaki).[56] The text was provided by Nigita Yugi 饒田喩義 (1772–1833) a Confucian scholar, and Noguchi Bunryū 野口文竜 who also wrote an important, though undated, literary reference work, *Nagasaki saijiki* 長崎歳時記 (The Seasons of Nagasaki). Pictures for the governor's book were supplied by Uchibashi Chikuun 打橋竹雲 and others (figure 15).

Thus, some twenty years after the event, this unique chance to see a "Dutch" ship in distress was "famous."[57] Even some twenty years later this was still the case, for one of Chikuun's images was reworked for another guide to the city, *Nagasaki kokon shūran meishō zue* 長崎古今集覧名勝図絵 (Illustrated old and new collected famous places in Nagasaki), by Ishizaki Yūshi 石崎融思 (1768–1846) in 1841, though this post-dates Hokusai's *Great Wave* (figure 16).[58] Neither of the "Nagasaki famous places" anthologies was published, remaining only in manuscript.

54 Katagiri 2017, p. 51.
55 Naruse et al. 1993, pp. 354–355.
56 The date is generally said to be unknown, but 1818 is given in Goree 2020, p. 7.
57 Nigita and Nomura 1983, pp. 210–215.
58 Ishizaki 1975.

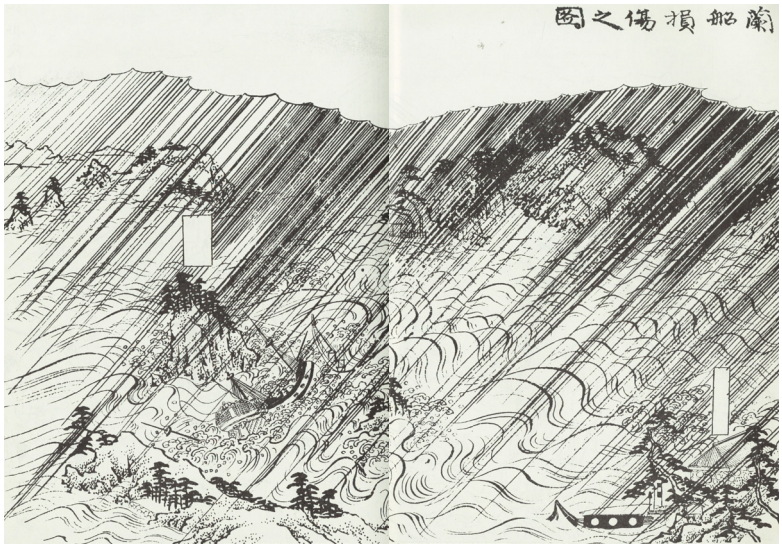


Figure 16. Ishizaki Yūshi, from *Nagasaki kokon shūran meishō zue* 1841. In Etchū 1975, series 2, vol. 1, pp. 188–189.

Auspicious and Inauspicious

In 1814, before these books were compiled and long before Hokusai's *Great Wave*, Shiba Kōkan wrote of something he had heard. It is a clear articulation of an understanding of the meaning of imagery of ships in distress, and how these relate to Japanese artistic expectations.

> Once in the past when the Dutch came on their tribute mission to Edo, one of the men fell ill in their residence, and it seemed that he might die. Fortunately, he recovered and so they held a celebratory banquet. They hung pictures to the left and right of his seat, which they displayed in frames. The subjects were ships in distress. A Japanese person who was present asked why they did this. The Dutchman replied, "It's a lesson that we should never forget danger."[59]

Kōkan wrote this in formal language (*kanbun* 漢文), making it objective and official. But then he continued in the vernacular, indicating that this was his own gloss, rather than what he had been told:

> If someone is deathly sick but makes a full recovery so that a celebration is held, we Japanese hang in the display alcove [a picture of] cranes, terrapins, pine and bamboo. [We feel that] if you just dwell on the matter [of sickness], it's a recipe for further ill health.[60]

59 Shiba 1993b.
60 Shiba 1993b.

Figure 17. Maruyama Ōkyo, *Cranes with Pine and Terrapins with Bamboo*. 1777. Diptych of hanging scrolls, ink and color on silk. Egawa Museum, Nishinomiya.

Indeed, while there are next to no pictures of distressed ships in Japanese art, *Cranes with Pine* and *Terrapins with Bamboo* are legion. They are the ultimate in auspicious images, cranes being said to live for one thousand years, and terrapins for ten thousand, while pines and bamboo are evergreen, and so unchanging. Often the theme was rendered in the form of a diptych (figure 17).

Conclusion

Hokusai's print has now been positioned, I hope, in a line of Japanese engagements with Dutch maritime painting, and especially depictions of imminent disaster. Albeit faltering and interrupted, this line stretched over some two centuries. We do not need to prove—we cannot do so—that Hokusai saw any of the above works. But equally, the large number of lost imports, and the paucity of records of all kinds, mean that we cannot say that the incidents listed above are the full complement of what came to Japan. Cheaper Dutch prints came in their thousands, but all are lost.

Hokusai, somehow, encountered an imported theme—ships in distress—and worked on it across half of his long, productive life, at least from circa 1803 to circa 1832. He retained the foreign orientation, unhidden, though progressively homogenizing it, to invest it with meaning for his audience, while never disguising the alterity. The *Great Wave* does not show foreign ships in Japanese or foreign waters, but local vessels at a local place which his viewers would know, and even visit; the boats convey goods that his viewers would consume, thanks to the endeavors of crewmen to whom these same viewers could well be related. The maritime undertaking depicted is perilous, but lucrative, and rich in symbolic meaning. What Hokusai is surely not trying to do is banally show "express delivery boats" bringing food to market. The elements threaten, but Mt. Fuji offers security.

REFERENCES

Adams 2009

Ann Jensen Adams. *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Blussé and Viallé 1996

Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, ed. *The Deshima dagregisters*, vol. 9. Leiden Institute for the History of European Expansion, 1996.

Blussé and Viallé 1997

Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, ed. *The Deshima dagregisters*, vol. 10. Leiden Institute for the History of European Expansion, 1997.

Blussé and Viallé 2001

Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, ed. *The Deshima dagregisters*, vol. 11. Leiden Institute for the History of European Expansion, 2001.

Blussé and Viallé 2005

Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, ed. *The Deshima dagregisters*, vol. 12. Leiden Institute for the History of European Expansion, 2005.

Blussé and Viallé 2010

Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, ed. *The Deshima dagregisters*, vol. 13. Leiden Institute for the History of European Expansion, 2010.

Bok 2014

Marten Bok. "European Artists in the Service of the Dutch East India Company." In DaCosta Kaufmann and North, 2014, pp. 177–204.

DaCosta Kaufmann and North 2014

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, eds. *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*. Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

Etchū 1975a

Etchū Tetsuya 越中哲也, ed. *Nagasaki bunken sōsho*, series 2, vol. 1 長崎文献叢書 第二集第一巻. Nagasaki Bunken Sōshosha, 1975.

Etchū 1975b

Etchū Tetsuya, ed. *Nagasaki bunken sōsho*, series 2, vol. 5 長崎文献叢書第二集 第五巻. Nagasaki Bunken Sōshosha, 1975.

Forrer 1988

Matthi Forrer (with texts by Edmond de Goncourt). *Hokusai*. Rizzolo, 1988.

Goree 2020

Robert Goree. *Printing Landmarks: Popular Geography and Meisho Zue in Late Tokugawa Japan*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2020.

Guth 2015

Christine Guth. *Hokusai's Great Wave: Biography of a Global Icon*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2015.

Hayakawa 2012

Hayakawa Yasuhiro. "On the Colourants." In *Colorful Realm: Japanese Bird-and-Flower Paintings by Itō Jakuchū*, ed. Yukio Lippit. National Gallery of Art & University of Chicago Press, 2012, pp. 207–217.

Hirafuku 1939
Hirafuku Hyakusui 平福百穂. *Nihon yōga no shokō* 日本洋画の曙光. Iwanami Shoten, 1939.
Hirokawa 1975
Hirokawa Kai 広川獬. *Nagasaki bunken roku* 長崎聞見録. In Etchū 1975b.
Inaga 2003
Inaga Shigemi. "The Making of Hokusai's Reputation in the Context of Japonisme." *Japan Review* 15 (2003), pp. 77–100.
Ishino 1980
Ishino Hiromichi 石野広通. *Esoragoto* 絵そらごと. In *Enseki jisshu*, vol. 6 燕石十種 第六, ed. Mori Senzō 森銑三 et al. Chūō Kōronsha, 1980, pp. 254–275.
Ishizaki 1975
Ishizaki Yūshi 石崎融思. *Nagasaki kokon shūran meishō zue* 長崎古今集覧名勝図絵. In Etchū 1975a, pp. 184–187.
Iwasaki 1984
Haruko Iwasaki. "The World of Gesaku: Playful Writers in Eighteenth Century Japan." PhD dissertation, Harvard University.
Jones 1996
J. R. Jones. *Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century*. Longmans, 1996.
Katagiri 2017
Katagiri Kazuo 片桐一男. *Kōmō chinsen hikiage no gijutsu to kokoro iki: Ryōshi, Murai Kiemon no sōkyo; fu kankei shiryō* 紅毛沈船引き揚げの技術と心意気: 漁師・村井喜右衛門の壮挙, 付関係資料. Bensei Shuppan, 2017.
Keyes 1990
George S. Keyes. *Mirror of Empire: Dutch Marine Art of the Seventeenth Century*. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1990.
Kobayashi-Sato 2014
Yoriko Kobayashi-Sato. "Japan's Encounter with the West through the VOC: Western Paintings and their Appropriation in Japan." In DaCosta Kaufmann and North, 2014, pp. 267–290.
Matsudaira 1980
Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信. *Taikan zakki* 退閑雑記. In *Zoku Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, vol. 6 続日本随筆大成 6, ed. Mori Senzō et al. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980, pp. 11–253.
Montias 2002
John Montias. *Art at Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*. Amsterdam University Press, 2002.
Naruse 1993
Naruse Fujio 成瀬不二雄 et al., eds. *Shiba Kōkan zenshū*, vol. 4 司馬江漢全集 第四巻. Yasaka Shobō, 1993.
Nigita and Noguchi 1983
Nigita Yugi 饒田喩義 and Noguchi Bunryū 野口文竜. *Nagasaki meishō zue* 長崎名勝図絵. In *Nihon meisho fūzoku zue*, vol. 15 日本名所風俗図会 15, eds. Asakura Haruhiko 朝倉治彦 et al. Kadokawa Shoten, 1983, pp. 33–240.

Santō 1984

Santō Kyōden 山東京伝. *Komon gawa* 小紋雅話. In *Asobi no dezain: Santō Kyōden, 'Komon gawa'* 遊びのデザイン: 山東京伝『小紋雅話』, ed. Tani Minezō 谷峯蔵. Iwasaki Bijutsu, 1984.

Satake 1927

Satake Yoshiatsu 佐竹義敦 (Shozan 曙山). *Gahō kōryō, Gazu rikai* 画法綱領・画図理解. In *Nihon garon taikan*, vol. 1 日本画論大観 1, ed. Sakazaki Shizuka 坂崎坦. Arusu Sha, 1927, pp. 99–103.

Screech 1993

Timon Screech. "The Strangest Place in Edo: The Gohyaku Rakan-ji." *Monumenta Nipponica* 48 (1993), pp. 407–428.

Screech 2000

Timon Screech. *The Shogun's Painted Culture: Fear and Creativity in the Japanese States, 1760–1829*. Reaktion Books, 2000.

Screech 2003

Timon Screech, trans. and ed. *Artistic License: A Translation with Commentary of Ishino Hiromichi's 'Esoragoto' (1802)*. In *An Episodic Festschrift for Howard Hibbett*, episode 13, ed. John Solt. Highmoonoon Press, 2003, pp. 1–75.

Shiba 1976

Shiba Kōkan 司馬江漢. *Seiyō gadan* 西洋画談. In *Nihon shisō taikei*, vol. 65 日本思想体系 65, ed. Numata Jirō 沼田次郎. Iwanami Shoten, 1976, pp. 489–497.

Shiba 1977

Shiba Kōkan. *Kunmō gakaishū* 訓蒙画解集. In *Kunmō gakaishū*, *Mugen dōjin hikii* 訓蒙画解集・無言道人筆記, ed. Sugano Yō 菅野陽. Heibonsha, Tōyō Bunko, 1977, pp. 1–203.

Shiba 1993a

Shiba Kōkan. *Saiyū ryodan* 西遊旅譚. In *Shiba Kōkan zenshū*, vol. 1 司馬江漢全集 第一巻, ed. Naruse Fujio et al. Yasaka Shobō, 1993, pp. 1–196.

Shiba 1993b

Shiba Kōkan. *Mugen dōjin hikki* 無言道人筆記. In *Shiba Kōkan zenshū*, vol. 2 司馬江漢全集 第二巻, ed. Naruse Fujio et al. Yasaka Shobō, 1993, pp. 139–140.

Smith 2005

Henry D. Smith. "Hokusai and the Blue Revolution in Edo Prints." In *Hokusai and His Age: Ukiyo-e Painting, Printmaking, and Book Illustration in Late Edo Japan*, ed. John T. Carpenter. Hotei Publishing, 2005, pp. 234–269.

Tani 1916

Tani Bunchō 谷文晁. *Bunchō gadan* 文晁画談. In *Nihon shogaen*, vol. 2 日本書画苑 第二, ed. Numata Jirō. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1916, pp. 182–235.

Thunberg 2005

Carl Peter Thunberg, ed., and Timon Screech, intro. *Japan Extolled and Decried: Carl Peter Thunberg and the Shogun's Realm*. Routledge, 2005.

Viallé 2014

Cynthia Viallé. "To Capture their Favor: On Gift-Giving by the VOC." In DaCosta Kaufmann and North 2014, pp. 291–319.

Winchester 2015
Simon Winchester. *When the Earth Shakes: Earthquakes, Volcanoes and Tsunamis*. Penguin, 2015.

Japan Review 36 (2021): 33–59

The Auspicious Dragon Temple: Kyoto's "Forgotten" Imperial Buddhist Convent, Zuiryūji

Patricia FISTER*

Zuiryūji has been notably absent from research related to Japan's imperial convents, despite being founded by Toyotomi Hideyoshi's sister. One of the reasons the convent has been overlooked is its relocation from Kyoto to Ōmi Hachiman in the 1960s, physically removing it from the public eye. In addition, a male was appointed head following the death of the last abbess, so officially it was no longer functioning as a convent. However, for more than two hundred and fifty years, it was one of the highest ranking and wealthiest (by landholdings) *bikuni gosho* in Kyoto, headed by a succession of abbesses heralding from aristocratic families. The founder, Nisshū, was also an important patron for two major Hokke (Nichiren) sect temples, Honkokuji in Kyoto and Kuonji on Mt. Minobu. Historical documents have purportedly not survived at the convent itself, but I discovered many important objects (including portraits) and documents at Zenshōji, where all of the Zuiryūji abbesses are buried. Bringing together what I have uncovered to date, this article comprises an overview of Zuiryūji's history, highlighting the founder as well as the tenth-generation abbess who vastly expanded the convent's network by establishing a women's association with branches throughout Japan. As the only Hokke sect imperial convent in Kyoto, Zuiryūji has always had a unique status. But faced with unprecedented challenges to survive in the modern era, its abbesses broke through the glass walls traditionally defining "convent culture."

Keywords: *bikuni gosho*, Hokke sect, Honkokuji, imperial convent, *kyōdōshoku*, Kuonji, Murakumo Fujin Kai, Nichiren sect, Nisshū, Nichiei, Zenshōji, *Zuiun*

Despite having been founded by the elder sister of the powerful warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598), the convent Zuiryūji 瑞龍寺 has to date been notably absent from research and exhibitions related to Japan's imperial convents. The convent has

* I would like to thank my colleagues at the Medieval Japanese Studies Institute (Chūsei Nihon Kenkyūjo 中世日本研究所), Monica Bethe and Katsura Michiyo 桂美千代, for carefully reading my manuscript, checking sources, and offering important suggestions as well as corrections. I am also grateful for the insightful comments and suggestions provided by the two anonymous referees and *Japan Review* editor, John Breen.

been overlooked, in part, due to its relocation from central Kyoto to a mountain in Ōmi Hachiman 近江八幡 (Shiga Prefecture) in the 1960s, which physically removed it from the public eye. I myself was unaware of its existence when I entered this field of research more than two decades ago. After coming across the name of Zuiryūji, I queried abbesses at other Kyoto imperial convents, only to be told by them that it was no longer functioning as a convent. As it turned out, the son of the last abbess, Nitchō 日澄 (1917–2011), was appointed as chief priest in April 2011 after his mother's death. While Zuiryūji may survive as a Buddhist institution, its future as a convent is thus uncertain.

For more than two hundred and fifty years, though, Zuiryūji was one of the highest-ranking and wealthiest (by landholdings) *bikuni gosho* 比丘尼御所 in Kyoto.[1] As we work to build up a comprehensive understanding of these elite institutions, we must not neglect the women who headed Zuiryūji during those centuries. Many of the abbesses were members of aristocratic families with imperial connections. With the sense that I and other scholars had been remiss, I felt compelled to research the convent and its abbesses, to restore them to Japan's religious and cultural history.

On two visits to Zuiryūji I met with the male abbot, Washizu Etoku 鷲津恵得 (?–2019), only to be informed that original documents have not survived. Visits to archives in Kyoto and Tokyo, which have supplied rich sources of material for other Kyoto imperial convents, likewise revealed very little.[2] At the suggestion of an archivist at the Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives, I also investigated archives in the Ōmi Hachiman area, on the assumption that documents might have been surveyed or deposited there after the relocation of Zuiryūji.[3] However, in each case I came up empty handed.

Luckily, I discovered a cache of important objects and documents at the Kyoto temple Zenshōji 善正寺 where all of the Zuiryūji abbesses are buried.[4] The former chief priest of Zenshōji, Rev. Nishimura Taidō 西村泰道, kindly empathized with my quest and allowed me to study materials in the temple's collection. Without his generosity, my research on this elusive convent would have come to a dead end. Bringing together what I was able to uncover about the lives and activities of the founder and successive abbesses, I have reconstructed an outline of Zuiryūji's history. The outline, which appears below, highlights two figures from the history of the convent: (1) the founder, and (2) the tenth-generation abbess, who vastly expanded the convent's network.

1 Literally "nun's palaces," *bikuni gosho* were private temple residences of tonsured imperial princesses or elite noblewomen.

2 Kyoto Institute, Library and Archives 京都府立京都学・歴彩館 (formerly Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives 京都府立総合資料館), Kyoto City Library of Historical Documents 京都市歴史資料館, and the Historiographical Institute, The University of Tokyo 東京大学史料編纂所.

3 Ōmi Hachiman Shishihensanshitsu 近江八幡市史編纂室, Ōmi Hachiman Shiritsu Shiryōkan 近江八幡市立資料館, and Shiga-ken Kenmin Katsudō Seikatsuka Kenmin Jōhōshitsu 滋賀県県民活動生活課県民情報室.

4 It is common practice for abbesses to be buried at a different temple designated as the *bodaiji* 菩提寺 (mortuary temple) for the convent, a tradition perhaps related to a desire to protect the living from "pollution" caused by death.

The Founder's Early Years and Her Conversion to the Hokke (Nichiren) Sect

The founder of Zuiryūji, a woman named Tomo 智 (1533–1625), was the daughter of Kinoshita Yaemon 木下弥右衛門 (d. 1543) and his wife Naka 仲 (1513–1592).[5] They lived in the small village of Nakamura 中村, in Owari 尾張 domain (present-day Aichi Prefecture). Tomo's fate was inextricably tied to the rise to power of her brother, Hideyoshi. His meteoric ascent began after he joined the ranks of the warlord Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1532–1584) and continued after Nobunaga's death.

Tomo married one of Hideyoshi's vassals, Miyoshi Yoshifusa 三好吉房 (1534–1612), though the precise year of the union is not clear.[6] She bore three sons—Hidetsugu 秀次 (1568–1595), Hidekatsu 秀勝 (1569–1592), and Hideyasu 秀保 (1579–1595)—all of whom served as vassals under her brother. In 1574–1575, Hideyoshi built Nagahama Castle 長浜城 in the province of Ōmi, on land received from Nobunaga. Tomo and her family may well have moved there. Following Nobunaga's death in 1584, Hideyoshi shifted his residence to Kyoto, where he received court appointments: first as chancellor (*kanpaku* 関白), and later as great minister of state (*daijō daijin* 太政大臣). Tomo's husband, Yoshifusa, was appointed lord of Inuyama Castle 犬山城 around 1590, and later lord of Kiyosu Castle 清洲城, both in Owari.

Hideyoshi's son Tsurumatsu 鶴松 died at the age of three. As a result, Tomo's eldest son Hidetsugu was designated as Hideyoshi's successor, receiving the title of *kanpaku* in 1591. Also in that year, Hideyoshi transferred his Jurakutei 聚楽亭 Palace to Hidetsugu. As the mother of a chancellor, Tomo gained a new status in the aristocratic world. Her residence at this time is not clear, but records of some of her activities suggest that she was spending time in Kyoto.

It was at this point that she became a devotee of the Hokke 法華 or Nichiren 日蓮 sect of Buddhism, which flourished in Kyoto during her lifetime. She received teachings from two notable priests: Nisshin 日禛 (1561–1617) and Nichiken 日乾 (1560–1635).[7] The Hokke sect was popular with women due to the importance it placed on the *Lotus Sutra* (*Hokkekyō* 法華経), which included passages stating that females were capable of attaining buddhahood. Nichiren (1222–1282) had himself proclaimed that women could achieve salvation in their present life through faith in the *Lotus Sutra*, citing as evidence the well-known parable about the Dragon King's daughter in the "Devadatta" chapter.[8]

Tomo as Major Patron

As Hideyoshi's sister, Tomo no doubt had access to considerable wealth, and she became an important benefactor for two major Hokke temples associated with the priests mentioned above: Honkokuji 本圀寺 in Kyoto and Kuonji 久遠寺 on Mt. Minobu 身延山 in Yamanashi Prefecture. Through her auspices, in 1590 a section of the Azuchi 安土 Palace was

5 Sources with substantial biographical information on Tomo include *Honge betsuzu busso tōki* 本化別頭仏祖統紀 and *Nichirenshū jiten* 日蓮宗事典. Naka was later known as Ōmandokoro 大政所.

6 He is also known by the names Kinoshita Yasuke 木下弥助 and Nagao 長尾.

7 Nisshin served at Honkokuji 本圀寺 for nineteen years as the sixteenth abbot, and is credited with playing a major role in its revival and restoration. Nichiken became the eighth abbot of Honmanji 本満寺 in Kyoto in 1588, and in either 1602 or 1603, the twenty-first abbot of Kuonji located on Mt. Minobu in Yamanashi Prefecture.

8 For further information on Nichiren's position on women's salvation, see Kurihara 2003.

Figure 1. Large bell gifted to Honkokuji by Tomo (Nisshū) in 1593. Bronze. H. 240 cm, D. 150 cm.

transferred to Honkokuji where Nisshin was abbot.[9] She sponsored the reconstruction of Honkokuji's large reception room (*daikyakuden* 大客殿), living quarters (*kuri* 庫裡), gate for imperial envoys (*chokushimon* 勅使門), belfry (*shōrōdō* 鐘楼堂), and sutra library (*issai kyōzō* 一切経蔵) buildings. Unfortunately, Honkokuji suffered extensive damage in a fire that scorched much of Kyoto in 1788. All that survives from Tomo's era is the large bell (*daibonshō* 大梵鐘) that she gifted in 1593 (figure 1).[10] The bell is inscribed with the Buddhist names of approximately two hundred Hokke sect devotees, including Tomo's parents and other Kinoshita family members.[11]

The other major Hokke temple that Tomo patronized was Kuonji, which Nichiren had established on Mt. Minobu. As the site of Nichiren's tomb, it stands as one of the sect's most sacred sites. In 1593 Tomo sponsored the construction of an abbot's hall (*daihōjō* 大方丈), a gate (*karamon* 唐門), and a bathhouse (*yokusho* 浴所).[12] The rebuilding of the abbot's hall (consecrated in 1594) and commissioning of its main imagery were memorials to her son Hidekatsu, who died in 1592 at the age of twenty-seven during Hideyoshi's ill-fated expedition to conquer and annex Korea.[13] Following the deaths of her remaining two sons in 1595 (see below), Tomo continued her support of Kuonji. She funded the construction of a *hondō* 本堂 at Kuonji in 1599, and commissioned sculptures for it in the following years.[14] An Edo-period painting of the temple compound gives us a glimpse of what these structures may have looked like.[15]

9 Information received from Honkokuji. See also *Nichirenshū jiten*, p. 533. Originally located in the vicinity of Rokujō 六条 and Horikawa 堀川 streets, north of present-day Nishi Honganji 西本願寺, Honkokuji was relocated to Yamashina 山科 in 1971.

10 The bell was covered with gold leaf in 1995 when it was reinstalled at Honkokuji.

11 See Kubo 1937 for further details of the bell inscription. Tomo is referred to by her Buddhist name Zuiryūin-den Myōshū 瑞龍院殿妙秀, which she presumably adopted or received upon taking vows.

12 Recorded in the *Minobusan shodō ki*. Reference from Mochizuki 2009, pp. 180–184.

13 Mochizuki 2009, pp. 180–181.

14 Mochizuki 2009, p. 183. The central image, presumably a Daimoku jeweled stupa (*daimoku hōtō* 題目宝塔) bearing the title of the *Lotus Sutra*, had an inscription by priest Nichion 日遠 (1572–1642) dated 1605. This central icon was surrounded by four bodhisattva sculptures.

15 See Mochizuki 2011, p. 57 for a photograph of a painting of Kuonji in the Minobu Bunko.

Figure 2. Seated image of Muhengyō Bosatsu gifted by Tomo to Kuonji. Wood covered with gold lacquer. H. 42.5 cm. Collection of Minobu Bunko. From Mochizuki 2006, p. 149.

All of the buildings at Kuonji were destroyed by a fire in 1824. Fortunately, one of the sculptures commissioned by Tomo has survived. Now housed in the Minobu Bunko 身延文庫, this seated image of Muhengyō Bosatsu 無辺行菩薩 (Sk. Anantacāritra; Bodhisattva of Limitless Practice), was originally installed in the main worship hall (*hondō*) or possibly in the abbot's hall (*daihōjō*).[16] Seated with its palms joined together in prayer, the bodhisattva is made of wood using the joined-block technique (*yosegi zukuri* 寄木造), coated with gold lacquer, and adorned with inlaid crystal eyes (figure 2).

In 1606, as an expression of gratitude for her generous patronage, Kuonji presented Tomo with four pages (two sheets, inscribed recto and verso) of calligraphy in Nichiren's hand.[17] The text, transcribed by Nichiren, is from the *Jōgan seiyō* 貞觀政要 (Important principles of government from the Zhenguan era, Ch. *Zhenguan zhengyao*).[18] It was well known among the nobility and warriors, and repeatedly copied and published from ancient times.[19] This gift of sacred writing by the founder of the Hokke sect indicates the magnanimity of her support.

Tomo's Tonsure and the Founding of Zuiryūji and Zenshōji in Kyoto

Tomo's youngest son Hideyasu died of illness in 1595, at the age of seventeen, leaving her eldest son Hidetsugu. However, Hidetsugu's fortunes began to decline in 1593, the year in

16 Muhengyō Bosatsu is one of the four great bodhisattvas and appears in the fifteenth fascicle of the *Lotus Sutra*. An inscription on the back of the image written by priest Nichiyū 日裕 (d. 1737; thirty-fourth abbot of Kuonji) in 1717, the year that the image was restored, records that it was a gift of the nun Zuiryūin Nisshū 瑞龍院日秀比丘尼. This was Tomo's Buddhist name after her formal tonsure in 1596. But the inscription does not specify the building in which it was placed. It could have been one of the statues in the *daihōjo* or *hondō*; the size (height 42.5 cm) suggests that it may have been the latter (Mochizuki 2009, p. 184). The inscription is transcribed in Minobu-chō Kyōiku Iinkai, p. 148 and Mochizuki 2009, p. 184.

17 Mochizuki 2009, p. 184. Recorded in *Minobusan Kuonji goreihō kiroku* 身延山久遠寺御霊宝記録 (Terao 1997, p. 187). Four scrolls by Nichiren are included in a Meiji-period inventory (*Kyōto-fu jiin jūkibo*) of Zuiryūji, the convent later founded by Tomo, suggesting that each of the pages were mounted as separate hanging scrolls. I have not been able to confirm whether or not these works still exist, although the *Kyōto-fu jiin jūkibo* notes that one scroll was deposited in the Kyoto National Museum.

18 Zhenguan 貞觀 (627–649) was the era name used by Emperor Taizong 唐太宗 (598–649) of Tang China.

19 Photographs of other pages from the *Jōgan seiyō* (collection of Honmonji 本門寺, Shizuoka) are reproduced in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2003, p. 51, with explanation on p. 223.

which Hideyoshi's principal consort Chacha 茶々 (d. 1615, also known by her sobriquet, Yododono 淀殿) gave birth to a son and new heir (Hideyori 秀頼) to Hideyoshi. Out of favor with his uncle, accused of disloyalty, Hidetsugu was forced by Hideyoshi to commit ritual suicide in 1595.[20] Nor was Hidetsugu's tragedy individual, for his wives and children were also put to death. Tomo's husband Yoshifusa was implicated as well and exiled to Sanuki 讃岐 in Shikoku.

At the turn of the year 1596, having thus lost all of her sons in the brief span of a few years, the grief-stricken Tomo took the tonsure from the priest Nisshin at Honkokuji, which she had helped to rebuild. When she became an ordained nun, her Buddhist name was changed from Myōshū 妙秀 to Myōe Nisshū 妙慧日秀. The character *nichi* 日 was commonly used by Hokke sect prelates in memory of Nichiren, and the character *hide/shū* 秀 was one used in the personal names of the Toyotomi clan. After her ordination Tomo was commonly referred to by her later Buddhist name Nisshū, so I follow that custom hereafter. Her husband Yoshifusa was pardoned after Hideyoshi's death in 1598 and returned to Kyoto, where he lived out the remainder of his years at a subtemple of Honkokuji, Ichion'in 一音院.[21]

After taking vows, Nisshū moved to the area of Saga Kameyama 嵯峨亀山 in what is now western Kyoto, where she established a small temple near Nison'in 二尊院 in memory of Hidetsugu. Touched by her plight, around 1597 Emperor Goyōzei 後陽成 (r. 1586–1611) granted Nisshū land in the Murakumo 村雲 district in central Kyoto (in the vicinity of the present-day intersection of Horikawa 堀川 and Imadegawa 今出川 streets) to construct a convent. The emperor named the convent Zuiryūji 瑞龍寺 (Auspicious Dragon Temple), utilizing two characters from Nisshū's earlier Buddhist name, Zuiryūin Myōshū.[22] The convent survived at that site through the Meiji Restoration. A report written in 1875, after an inspection of the convent's holdings by Kyoto Prefecture, related that the *hondō* and *shoin* had been built by Hideyoshi, and that the convent had also received one thousand *koku* of landholdings from him.[23]

Despite its holdings and its receipt of imperial patronage, Zuiryūji did not secure official designation as a *bikuni gosho* until after Nisshū's death (see below). According to Oka Yoshiko 岡佳子, most of the imperial convents in Kyoto received *shuinjō* 朱印状 ("vermilion seal document" affidavits of official recognition) from Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada in the Genna 元和 era (1615–1624), but Zuiryūji was initially excluded because of its affiliation with the House of Toyotomi.[24] Thus from the start, Zuiryūji was set apart from the other *bikuni gosho*, which were headed by imperial princesses and women from noble families. Little is known about Zuiryūji's original appearance, but with backing from the powerful Toyotomi family, Zuiryūji no doubt was splendidly outfitted, whatever its official status.

Around 1600, Nisshū seems to have moved her Saga sanctuary to its present-day location near Okazaki Park in east-central Kyoto, and to have formally established it as the

20 For biographical information on Hidetsugu, see Fujita 2015.
21 Fujita 2015, p. 218.
22 Recorded in *Oyudono no ue nikki* 御湯殿上日記. Included in *Goyōzei tennō jitsuroku*; see Fujii and Yoshioka 2005, vol. 1, p. 502.
23 Section on Zuiryūji in "Meiji hachinen nijūsan-ka-in yuisho torishirabe shorui."
24 Oka 2002, pp. 46–47.

Figure 3. Portrait sculpture of Nisshū enshrined at Zenshōji. 1601. Wood. H. 40 cm.

temple Zenshōji 善正寺.[25] The name derives from Hidetsugu's posthumous dharma name, Zenshōin-den Kōgandōi 善正院殿高巖道意, and the temple's mountain name (*sangō* 山号), Myōezan 妙慧山, comprises the two characters "Myōe" that form part of Nisshū's Buddhist name. Priest Nichiei 日鋭, the twenty-eighth abbot of Honkokuji, was designated as the founder and it was here that Hidetsugu's remains were laid to rest.

In 1601, the year marking Hidetsugu's seventh death anniversary, Abbess Nisshū installed portrait sculptures of her son and herself (figure 3) in Zenshōji's main worship hall.[26] According to inscriptions on the statues, Hidetsugu's was completed in 1597 and Nisshū's in 1601.[27] The earlier date of Hidetsugu's statue suggests that it was made at the time of his third death anniversary, and that it had perhaps been first enshrined at Nisshū's sanctuary in Saga. Priest Nichiei performed the "eye-opening" or consecration ceremonies for the statues, both still preserved in niches flanking a central image of Nichiren. The painted wood sculptures are approximately one meter in height, and are housed in portable shrines that were donated by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616).[28]

25 From 1624, one year prior to Nisshū's death, until 1872, Zenshōji became a university (*danrin* 檀林) for Nichiren priests and was commonly referred to as Higashiyama Danrin 東山檀林. *Nichirenshū jiten*, p. 536 (entry on Zenshōji).

26 For a photograph of Hidetsugu's statue, see Shigemori 1935, figure 1. The paired statues at Zenshōji bring to mind Kōdaiin 高台院, where Hideyoshi's principal wife Nene installed portrait sculptures of her late husband and herself.

27 The inscription on Hidetsugu's portrait sculpture records that it was made by Minbukyō Hōgen 民部卿法眼, better known as Kōshō 康正 (1534–1621). See Shigemori 1935, figure 2 for a photograph of the inscription. Kōshō was a well-known Buddhist sculptor who succeeded his father as head of the Shichijō Bussho 七条仏所 atelier. Patronized by the Toyotomi family, he produced and restored images for major temples such as Tōji 東寺 and Mt. Kōya 高野. The sculptor of Nisshū's portrait is not identified, but stylistic similarities suggest that it is also by the hand of Kōshō. For further information on Kōshō, see Kanbe 2005.

28 Shigemori 1935, p. 201.

Figure 4a (left) and 4b (right). Portrait of Nisshū. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. 78.5 x 33.7 cm. Zenshōji.

Sculptural and Painted Portraits of Abbess Nisshū

At the time Zenshōji's portrait statue of Nisshū was consecrated, the abbess was sixty-eight years old. In her portrait, she wears formal clerical robes with a gold brocade draped over her right shoulder. Following the standard format of Hokke sect portraits, in her left hand she holds a scroll (one of the fascicles of the *Lotus Sutra*), and in her right, a ceremonial scepter (*shaku* 笏). Her crystal eyes open wide, staring straight ahead, as she embodies inner strength and determination; wrinkles on her forehead are the only hint of her old age. The inscription by the priest Nichiei on the back of the statue refers to it as a "longevity image" (*juzō* 寿像), a term often used to describe portraits of living people.[29] Such portraits were intended to serve as memorial images once the sitter had passed away. A second portrait sculpture of Abbess Nisshū, preserved at present-day Zuiryūji in Ōmi Hachiman, presumably dates to after 1788, the year when the convent was largely destroyed in a conflagration in Kyoto. The pose of this seated image is similar to that of the Zenshōji sculpture, but in this image, Nisshū holds a rosary in her right hand instead of a *shaku*. The shape and demeanor of her face follow the Zenshōji sculpture, but the carving is crisper and more stylized, indicative of a later date.

Likewise commissioned by the abbess herself, a painted portrait of Nisshū also survives at Zenshōji (figure 4). This and the "longevity" portrait sculpture are among the most important material objects remaining that transmit Nisshū's persona. The hanging scroll, painted with ink and colors on silk, follows the format typical of Hokke sect portraits, with Abbess Nisshū kneeling beneath a jeweled canopy and "Namu myōhō renge kyō," the

29 For the full inscription on Nisshū's portrait sculpture, see Shigemori 1935, p. 202.

title of the *Lotus Sutra*, inscribed above her head. It is undated, but at the right is a line of characters reading "Zuiryūji Nisshū yoshu" 瑞龍寺日秀預修 (Offered by Nisshū of Zuiryūji in advance of her death). The characters *yoshu* 預修 have the same meaning as *gyakushu* 逆修 (literally "reverse rites"), indicating that the portrait was for use in premortem rituals to secure benefits in the next world.

Here, Nisshū is dressed more regally than in her sculptural portrait, with a brocade robe overlaying a brown robe of simpler design. Her head covering is typical of women who have taken the tonsure. Compared to the sculptures, the painting presents more signs of age: lines on her forehead and under her eyes, and the "crow's feet" wrinkles around the corners of her eyes (figure 4b). Before the abbess sits a small table, on which are placed scrolls inscribed with the *Lotus Sutra*. Nisshū holds the second scroll from the set of eight; her mouth is slightly open as though to capture her as she is chanting. This portrait clearly emphasizes her devotion to the scripture and her diligent practice.

The Toyotomi clan was decimated in 1615 after Tokugawa Ieyasu's siege and destruction of Osaka Castle 大坂城. No record survives to recount Nisshū's experience of the event, but surely it wreaked havoc upon her life. The absence of writings known to have been from her hand has led to speculation that she may have been illiterate. That lack makes these portraits all the more poignant, as they reveal that she wished to be remembered as a nun deeply devoted to the Hokke sect and to her family, none of whom survived her.

Nisshū lived to the age of ninety-two. She was buried at Zenshōji, nearby Hidetsugu's memorial grave. Zenshōji subsequently became the mortuary temple and burial ground for all later Zuiryūji abbesses. There is also a "memorial grave" (*kuyōbo* 供養墓) for Nisshū at Honkokuji, the temple where she was ordained and to which she was an important donor.[30]

Zuiryūji after Nisshū

Nisshū died in 1625, but fifteen years passed before a successor was appointed. Following the pattern of *bikuni gosho*, the abbacy shifted to aristocratic women. A daughter of the high-ranking nobleman Kujō Yukiie 九条幸家 (1586–1665) and Toyotomi Sadako 豊臣完子 (1592–1658) entered the convent around 1640. She was given the Buddhist name Nichi-i 日怡 (1625–1664). (Sadako was the daughter of Nisshū's son Hidekatsu; she later was adopted by Tokugawa Hidetada, making her a half-sister of Empress Tōfukumon'in 東福門院.) Considering that Nichi-i was born in the year Nisshū died, she is likely to have been designated as the next abbess of Zuiryūji when she was still a young child. There was no doubt a search for someone who could lift the convent into *bikuni gosho* status, and Nichi-i fulfilled this by being born into one of the prestigious five regent houses (*gosekke* 五摂家), which were connected with the Fujiwara 藤原 clan.[31] The fact that there was no one to take responsibility for her care and training at the convent may explain why Nichi-i did not enter Zuiryūji until she reached the age of fifteen.

After her niece was appointed abbess, Empress Tōfukumon'in became an avid patron of Zuiryūji. She was, no doubt, instrumental in persuading her brother Tokugawa Iemitsu

30 In addition, a separate "joint" memorial grave (*gōshibo* 合祀墓), for Tomo's father, mother, husband, and third son, sits near Nisshū's grave at Honkokuji.

31 The five regent houses were: Konoe 近衛, Takatsukasa 鷹司, Kujō 九条, Ichijō 一条, and Nijō 二条.

徳川家光 (1604–1651) to grant five hundred *koku* in landholdings to the convent.[32] It was during Nichi-i's tenure of fourteen years that Iemitsu also donated to Zuiryūji a section of the guest house (*kyakuden* 客殿) from Nijō Castle 二条城. Through such benefactions, the convent's Toyotomi heritage was gradually overshadowed by its relationship to the Tokugawa family.

Later, Zuiryūji achieved official recognition as a *bikuni gosho* with a *shuinjō*.[33] Until the Meiji period (1868–1912), in terms of landholding it was second only to Donkein 曇華院 (684 *koku*) among the imperial convents. Popularly referred to as the "Murakumo Gosho" 村雲御所, Zuiryūji's distinct identity as the only Hokke-sect *bikuni gosho* set it apart from the others, which were mostly affiliated with Rinzai Zen or Jōdo schools.

Nichi-i's Patronage of Kuonji

Following in the footsteps of founding Abbess Nisshū, Nichi-i herself began to patronize other Hokke temples. Abbess Nichi-i contributed to the construction of a so-called *Jōroku* Śākyamuni statue 丈六釈尊像, still enshrined in the Shaka Hall (Shakadō) 釈迦堂 at Kuonji.[34] *Jōroku* is a measurement term equivalent to approximately 4.8 meters; in Japan, many large-scale Buddhist images were made to this specification, which was purportedly the height of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. The hall to accommodate the statue was donated by Jufukuin 寿福院 (1570–1631), principal wife of the daimyo Maeda Toshiie 前田利家 (1538–1599) who presided over the Kaga 加賀 domain.[35] The huge Śākyamuni image, made by the famous Nichiren priest-sculptor Chūshōin Nichigo 中正院日護 (1580–1649), was completed around 1643. Funding came from more than one hundred donors, including Abbess Nichi-i and Tokugawa Ieyasu's consort Oman no kata お万の方 (Yōjuin 養珠院, 1577–1653).[36] Documents detailing these contributions were later discovered in the statue's left hand and both feet. Among them is a scroll which lists one hundred and three donors and the amount each contributed. It revealed that Zuiryūji made four separate donations, totaling twenty-five *monme* and one *fun* in silver.

A painted portrait of Nichi-i is preserved at Zenshōji in Kyoto (figure 5). The composition is similar to Nisshū's portrait, with Nichi-i wearing a light blue head cloth and sitting under a canopy below which is written "Namu myōhō renge kyō." The abbess faces to the left (the reverse of Nisshū's portrait), and is seated at a table on which is laid a set of scrolls of the *Lotus Sutra* along with a rosary. Nichi-i holds the third scroll in her hands and looks at it intently. At the left is an inscription reading "Zuien'in-den Nichi-i eizō" 瑞圓院殿日怡影像 (Portrait of Zuien'in Nichi-i). Since this inscription refers to her by her posthumous dharma name (Zuien'in) as well as Nichi-i, we can assume it was done after her death.

32 Hanafusa Miki gives the year as 1641 (Kan'ei 寛永18), citing the *Ōuchi nikki* 大内日記, vol. 11. See Hanafusa 2009, pp. 329 and 336.

33 This was around 1665. See Oka 2002, p. 46.

34 The Shaka Hall is commonly referred to as the Jōrokudō 丈六堂. The primary source of information about the Jōrokudō sculptures at Kuonji is the *Minobusan shodō ki*, cited in Mochizuki 2007.

35 Mochizuki 2006, p. 116.

36 For a discussion of the donors, see Mochizuki 2007, n. 12, pp. 331–332. A list of the individual donors appears on pp. 333–337. Other women of the *ōoku* 大奥 or women's quarters of Edo Castle 江戸城 also made contributions. See Mochizuki 1989.

Figure 5. Portrait of Nichi-i. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. 77 x 35 cm. Zenshōji.

Succession of Abbesses from High-ranking Court Families

Nichi-i's niece Otokimi 乙君 (1653–1672) entered the convent as a novice (*kasshiki* 喝食) in 1664, the year that Nichi-i died. She was formally tonsured by Honkokuji priest Nichiun 日運 three years later (1667), and was given the Buddhist name Nittsū 日通. However, she was only in residence for eight years, as she died at the age of twenty. For the next century and a half, Zuiryūji saw a succession of abbesses heralding from high-ranking aristocratic families (Nijō, Takatsukasa 鷹司, Arisugawa 有栖川, Fushimi 伏見). Nearly all of them were adopted into the Kujō family prior to entering the convent, continuing the lineage that began with Nichi-i. Adoption for "political" purposes, that is, eligibility to become abbess, was practiced at other *bikuni gosho* as well. Brief biographical details for the third to eighth generation abbesses are provided in the table below.

Biographical details for Zuiryūji abbesses.

ZUIRYŪJI GENERATION	BUDDHIST NAMES	BIRTH/DEATH DATES	FAMILY BACKGROUND	TONSURE DETAILS	YEARS AT CONVENT
3rd	Nittsū 日通 Zuishōin 瑞照院	1653–1672	Daughter of Nijō Yasumichi 二条康道 (1607–1666), son of Nichi-i's father Kujō Yukiie. Mother was Teishi Naishinnō 貞子内親王, daughter of Emperor Goyōzei and Konoe Sakiko 近衛前子. Adopted by Kujō Kaneharu 九条兼晴 (1641–1677).	1667 by Honkokuji priest Nichiun 日運	1664–1672
4th	Nichiju 日壽 Zuihōin 瑞法院	1647–1691	Daughter of Takatsukasa Norihira 鷹司教平 (1609–1668). Mother was daughter of Reizei Tamemitsu 冷泉為満 (1559–1619). Adopted by Kujō Kaneharu 九条兼晴 (1641–1677).	1672 by 9th abbot of Zenshōji, Nichijo 日成	1672–1691
5th	Nikken 日顕 Zuigen'in 瑞現院	d. 1690	Daughter of Takatsukasa Fusasuke 鷹司房輔 (1637–1700).		Arrangements were made for her to become Nichiju's pupil and successor, but she died at the age of five without ever taking the tonsure *No abbess from 1691 to 1713
6th	Nichiji 日慈 Zuiōin 瑞應院	1699–1716	Daughter of Takatsukasa Kanehiro 鷹司兼熙 (1660–1725). Adopted by Kujō Sukezane 九条輔實 (1669–1730).	1714 by Nissen 日宣 of Honkokuji	1713–1716 Entered convent in 1713 (age fifteen), but died three years later *No abbess from 1717 to 1727
7th	Nichigo 日護 Zuimyōin 瑞妙院	1717–1746	Daughter of Nijō Tsunahira 二条綱平 (1672–1732) and Masako Naishinnō 栄子内親王 (1673–1746), daughter of Emperor Reigen'in. Adopted by Kujō Sukezane 九条輔實 (1669–1730)	1727 by Nichidatsu 日達 of Honkokuji	1724–1746 Entered convent in 1724 (age eight) *No abbess from 1747 to 1761
8th	Nisshō 日照 or Nichien 日圓 Jōkōin 常孝院 Given name was Mominomiya 茂見宮	1753–1778	Daughter of Arisugawa Otohito 有栖川音仁 (d. 1758). Adopted by Kujō Naozane 九条尚實 (1717–1787).	1762 by Nissei 日誡 of Honkokuji	1762–1778 Entered convent in 1762 (age ten) *No abbess from 1779 to 1815

As one can see from this table, there were four periods from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century during which Zuiryūji had no abbess. This absence occurred at other convents as well, for it was not always easy to find an appropriate candidate to fill the abbacy position. During those stretches, the convent was maintained by other lower-ranking nuns.

Destruction of Zuiryūji in the Great Fire of Kyoto and Reconstruction

In 1788, Zuiryūji nearly burned to the ground in a conflagration that devastated 80 percent of Kyoto. The flames raged for three days, destroying the imperial palace as well as other temples and convents. No abbess was in residence at Zuiryūji at that time. The convent was later rebuilt during the term of the ninth-generation abbess, Nisson 日尊 (1807–1868). A daughter of Fushimi Sadayoshi 伏見貞敬 (1776–1841), she entered the convent in 1816 at the age of ten and was tonsured by the priest Nichiryō 日陵 (1745–1819) of Honkokuji.[37] Begun in the 1820s, the reconstruction of Zuiryūji took twenty years to complete; Nisson was later honored with the title of "restorer" (*chūkō* 中興) for her tireless endeavors to bring the convent back to life during the fifty-three years of her abbacy.

For a time, the convent was back on its feet. In 1862, Nisson found a successor: her niece Masanomiya 萬佐宮 (1855–1920), a daughter of her brother Fushiminomiya Kuniie 伏見宮邦家 (1802–1872). After being adopted by Kujō Hisatada 九条尚忠 (1798–1871), who held the position of chancellor (*kanpaku*), she entered the convent at the age of two and was tonsured by Abbess Nisson at the age of eight, at which time she was given the name Nichiei 日榮. Two of Nichiei's sisters also entered imperial convents and became abbesses: Seien 誓圓 (1828–1910) at Zenkōji Daihongan 善光寺大本願 in Nagano, and Bunshū 文秀 (1837–1926) at Enshōji 圓照寺 in Nara. In addition to religious teachings, Nichiei received lessons in calligraphy and *waka* from two distinguished Nichiren priests, Kubota Nichiki 久保田日龜 (1841–1911) and Binisatsu Taigon 毘尼薩台厳 (1829–1909) respectively.

Turmoil Following the Meiji Restoration

Nichiei's mentor Nisson died in 1868 at the turn of the era, leaving her to face heretofore unimaginable obstacles.[38] With the dissolution of the bakufu and formation of a new government, Zuiryūji and other *bikuni gosho* confronted new challenges in what was to become a chaotic and volatile era for Buddhist institutions. Just around the time Nichiei turned twenty, the anti-Buddhist *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈 (literally "abolish Buddhism and destroy Śākyamuni") movement erupted. The impetus for this crusade was the government-initiated separation of Shinto and Buddhism (Shinbutsu Hanzenrei 神仏判然令), and the designation of Shinto as the state ideology. The imperial family was forbidden from taking Buddhist vows, and in 1871, a law went into effect abolishing *bikuni gosho* titles.[39]

Thereafter, little by little, convents were divested of their historical ties to the imperial house. In 1873, abbesses were instructed by the government to return to lay life as part of

37 Nisson's childhood name was Tamenomiya 為宮. Prior to entering the convent, she was adopted by Kujō Suketsugu 九条輔嗣 (1784–1807).

38 Nisson was posthumously known as Zuishōmon'in 瑞正文院.

39 The edict reads: *Shomonzeki bikuni goshogō tō o haishi, jiin wa chihō kankatsu to nasu* 諸門跡比丘尼御所號等ヲ廃シ寺院ハ地方官管轄ト為ス. See *Hōrei zensho* 法令全書, vol. 4, p. 16.

Figure 6. Photograph of Nichiei. Undated. Author's collection.

the separation of religion and state.[40] Temples were shuttered, land was seized, and countless temple buildings and treasures were destroyed. Deprived of their traditional status and financial resources, many temples and convents once connected with the imperial family were reduced to poverty.

Nichiei and her two sisters adamantly protested the 1873 government order to return to secular life, declaring that they had taken unbreakable vows to uphold the precepts and the strict lifestyle set forth in original Buddhist teachings. By refusing to abandon the Buddhist path, they succeeded in regaining the trust of society after the initial suppression, and figured importantly in the later revival of Buddhism in the Meiji era. Nichiei devoted the remainder of her life to proselytizing, making a name for herself and Zuiryūji. Through donations, she eventually secured the financial stability of her convent.

She began by promoting Buddhist teachings among women at Hokke temples in Kyoto from the late 1870s, gradually expanding to the Kantō 関東 area (initially Tokyo and Yokohama).[41] Whereas previous abbesses had confined themselves primarily to overseeing their own convent, the circumstances of the times led Nichie to shift her attention more

40 The edict reads: *Bikuni chikuhatsu nikushoku enzuki kizoku tō zuii to su* 比丘尼蓄髪肉食縁付歸俗等随意トス. See *Hōrei zensho*, vol. 6, p. 23. For further information on the effect of the *haibutsu kishaku* movement on the imperial house, see Sakamoto 1983, pp. 470-496 and Takagi 2013.

41 Ishikawa 2008, p. 231.

to the public arena. She participated in the Great Promulgation Campaign (*taikyō senpu undō* 大教宣布運動) initiated by the Ministry of Doctrine (Kyōbushō 教部省) in 1872, since anyone involved in religious teaching had to join.[42] National instructors, known as *kyōdōshoku* 教導職, were recruited from Shinto and Buddhist clergy, who were asked to preach doctrines promoted by the new government, known as the Three Great Teachings (*sanjō kyōsoku* 三条教則).[43] The *kyōdōshoku* system was abolished in 1884, however, presumably leaving Nichiei free to focus on teaching the doctrines of her own faith.

Relaunching Zuiryūji and a Spiritual Network for Women

In 1885 Nichiei established a branch (*betsuin* 別院) of Zuiryūji in Tokyo's Nihonbashi Kodenma-chō 日本橋小伝馬町 district, constructing a hall to enshrine an image of Kishibojin 鬼子母神 (Sk. Hārītī), which she had transported from Kyoto.[44] Kishibojin (or Kishimojin) was a popular female deity who was incorporated into the Nichiren pantheon during the Edo period. Nichiei gave sermons and led practice/worship sessions for women in Tokyo. From there she began traveling to temples in northeastern Japan (Niigata, Gunma, and Nagano prefectures). By 1887, she was proselytizing in western Japan as well. Over the years she visited Osaka, Hyōgo, Ōita, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Nagasaki, Saga, Shimane, and Tottori prefectures. In Kumamoto, home to a large number of Nichiren followers, she set up a society dedicated to the preservation of Zuiryūji convent (Murakumo Monzeki Hozonkai 村雲門跡保存会) and was successful in collecting donations.[45] Nichiei realized that it was essential to garner financial support to replace the former system of patronage of *bikuni gosho*, which had received stipends from the shogunate. She was no doubt a compelling speaker and religious figure, but part of her appeal was due to her status as a member of the aristocracy, which still commanded respect among the general public despite the anti-Buddhist policies of the new Meiji government. The fact that she was not an actual member of the imperial family made it acceptable for her to continue serving as abbess after the Meiji Restoration. An undated photograph of her wearing a vestment displaying the imperial chrysanthemum crest conveys some sense of her noble character (figure 6).

The Nichiren sect in general was active in proselytizing inside and outside of Japan from the early 1890s.[46] Although Nichiren himself had promoted aggressive evangelizing, Nichiren clergy may have been inspired by the outreach activities of Christian missionaries as well as native Pure Land sects. For example, the Jōdo Shinshū school had set up branch temples in Pusan 釜山, Korea, where many Japanese were living as a result of Japan's growing influence in the peninsula, and the Nichiren

42 Ishikawa 2008, p. 231. Nichiei was first appointed to the *gonchūkyōsei* 権中教正 rank, but was promoted to the higher rank of *chūkyōsei* 中教正. Her sisters Seien and Bunshū also served as a *kyōdōshoku*. See Inoguchi et al. 1965, p. 21; Odaira 2016, pp. 78, 81 nn. 17 and 18.

43 The Three Great Teachings were: 1) instill respect for the gods and patriotism; 2) elucidate the principles of heaven (*tenri* 天理) and the way of humanity (*jindō* 人道); and 3) revere the emperor and obey the will of the court.

44 Ishikawa 2008, p. 232. I draw much of my information regarding Nichie's proselytizing from this book. Ishikawa carefully documented her visits to Nichiren temples throughout Japan by investigating Nichiren sect bulletins.

45 During the Azuchi Momoyama 安土桃山 era (late sixteenth century), the castle's lord, Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 (1562–1622), was a devout Nichiren believer. Ishikawa 2008, p. 258.

46 Ishikawa 2008, p. 242.

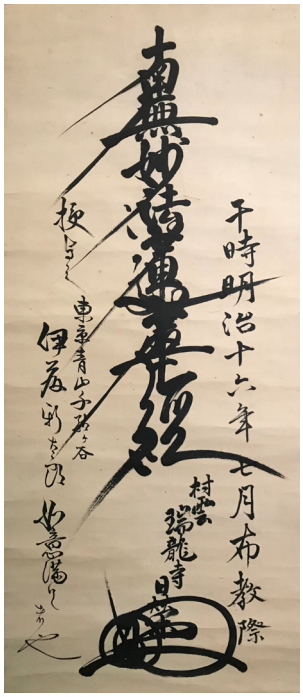


Figure 7. *Gohonzon* mandala written by Nichiei. 1883. Hanging scroll, ink on paper. 67.7 x 30 cm. Private collection.

sect decided to follow suit.[47] Nichiei herself donated a calligraphic mandala and a calligraphy plaque to a Nichiren temple that was constructed in Pusan.[48] She was a skillful calligrapher, and judging from the large corpus of remaining examples, she was frequently asked to write calligraphic mandalas (*gohonzon* 御本尊) for worshippers. Mounted as hanging scrolls, *gohonzon* serve as the main object of devotion to which chanting is directed. The example in figure 7 was calligraphed by Nichiei when she was preaching in Tokyo in 1883. In the center she has written the sacred *daimoku* "Namu myōhō renge kyō," followed by her name (Murakumo Zuiryūji Nichiei 村雲瑞龍寺日榮) and a stylized cypher signature (*kaō* 花押). To the left she has written the name of the recipient (Itō Shintarō 伊藤新太郎) and location (Tokyo, Aoyama Sendagaya 青山千駄ヶ谷). Her calligraphy follows the Nichiren style, with the characters written closely together and swordlike brushstrokes extending out dramatically.

Seeking to further expand Zuiryūji's network, Nichiei traveled to Hokke temples in Chiba, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, Tochigi, and Fukushima prefectures.[49] She gained an ever-increasing following and in 1893, she even went to preach in Hakodate 函館 and Sapporo in

47 Nichiren clerics involved in Meiji-era propagation efforts in Korea also cited the example of Nichiren's direct disciple Nichiji 日持, reputed to have crossed over to the Asian continent to spread Nichiren Buddhism there.

48 Myōkakuji Betsuin 妙覚寺別院. See Ishikawa 2008, p. 243.

49 Ishikawa 2008, p. 243.

Figure 8. Murakumo Fujin Kai pin badge. Author's collection.

Hokkaido. By proselytizing throughout the country and achieving a kind of celebrity status, Nichiei dramatically stood out from the abbesses of other imperial convents.[50]

In addition to promoting Nichiren's teachings and the efficacy of the *Lotus Sutra*, Nichiei's spiritual message to Buddhist women included social welfare and humanitarian concerns. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), she worked for the Red Cross Society, which had been actively supported by the Japanese imperial family from its initiation in Japan in 1887. At this time, it was patronized by Empress Shōken 昭憲皇太后 (1849–1914; wife of Emperor Meiji) with whom Nichiei maintained close ties (Shōken was her niece).[51] Nichiei was also close to Empress Dowager Eishō 英照皇太后 (1835–1897), a daughter of Nichiei's adoptive father, Kujō Hisatada. Both the empress and empress dowager were devotees of the Hokke sect; when Eishō died in 1897, a memorial service honoring her was held at Zuiryūji.[52]

After the Russo-Japanese War ended, Nichiei began to work toward forming a national support group for her convent called the Murakumo Zuiryūji Monzeki Hozonkai 村雲瑞龍寺門跡保存会 (Murakumo Zuiryūji Convent Preservation Society). This association eventually came to comprise wealthy private and company donors. In conjunction with this organization she also set her sights on the establishment of a women's association, and in 1906 was given approval by elders in the sect to inaugurate the Murakumo Fujin Kai 村雲婦人会 (Murakumo Women's Association), whose purpose was to promote Nichiren teachings and spiritual development, as well as encourage feminine virtues and morality. Originally based at the Hokke temple Jōshinji 浄心寺 in Tokyo's Fukagawa 深川 district, the association opened branches throughout Japan.[53] In the beginning there were approximately five hundred members, but after ten years the number had swelled to more than ten

50 Her sister Bunshū, who as abbess of Enshōji was affiliated with the Rinzai Zen schoool, was also engaged in speaking to Buddhist women's groups, but on a much smaller scale.

51 Shōken's adoptive mother was a daughter of Nichiei's father, Fushimi Kuniie.

52 Ishikawa 2008, pp. 253–254.

53 Branches were set up in Hokkaido (Sapporo, Otaru 小樽, Asahikawa 旭川, Hakodate); Kantō (Mito 水戸, Utsunomiya 宇都宮, Gunma, Mobara 茂原, Yokohama, Katase 片瀬); Chūbu (Shizuoka, Yamanashi, Mie); Kyushu (Moji 門司, Kumamoto, Kagoshima); and Taiwan. Branches were also set up in Korea (Pusan); Manchuria (Mukden 奉天, Dalian 大連, Lushun 旅順); and Hawaii. Ishikawa 2008, p. 310.

thousand.[54] Members received pin badges (figure 8) which they proudly wore to meetings and events.

Other Buddhist sects were actively establishing women's associations around the same time, especially Jōdo Shinshū.[55] They were likely influenced by the popularity of Christian women's education and women's societies in the early Meiji period.[56] Zuiryūji's women's association sponsored monthly lectures and provided aid to charitable organizations. For example, it dispatched members to help after the Great Kantō flood in 1910.[57] Nichiei said it was not enough to simply recite the *Lotus Sutra*; one had to pour one's heart and body into religion, not just pray for the well-being of the country and people of the world, but physically become a bodhisattva and help others.[58] Even at the age of sixty, she kept up an exhausting schedule from morning to night, traversing the country, giving lectures, attending ceremonies, and visiting charity organizations and hospitals to pay her condolences. Like her work for the Red Cross Society mentioned above, these activities are reminiscent of those undertaken by the high-ranking female members of the imperial family from the Meiji years onward. The fact that Nichiei had close ties to some of those women suggests that she may have been inspired by them.

Her activities and efforts to preserve Zuiryūji during the fifty-nine years she was in residence were instrumental in keeping the convent and Buddhism "alive" after the anti-Buddhist movement. A perusal of the *Yomiuri Shinbun* 読売新聞 digital archives reveals a number of short articles noting her travels around the country and attendance at meetings of the various branches of the Murakumo Fujin Kai, suggesting that she was regarded as a kind of celebrity.[59]

Nichiei's successor was decided a couple of years before her death: Haruko 温子 (1896–1962), a daughter of Sengoku Masayuki 仙石政敬 (1872–1935). After being adopted by Kujō Michizane 九条道実 (1870–1933), Haruko was tonsured by Nichiei in 1918 (age twenty-three) and given the name Nichijō 日浄. In commemoration of the tonsuring of her successor, in 1919 Nichiei established a training center for nuns (Nishū Shūdōin 尼衆修道院), located in Matsugasaki-mura 松ヶ崎村 north of Kyoto, which is still in existence today.[60] At that time Zuiryūji covered tuition fees. Nichiei died the following year (1920).[61]

Following the path laid out by her predecessor, Nichijō poured her heart and soul into promoting the activities of the Murakumo Fujin Kai. A few years ago, I had the good fortune to purchase an old album that includes several photographs of her officiating at

54 Ishikawa 2008, p. 310.

55 Ishizuki Shizue has done some pioneering research on Buddhist women associations in modern Japan. See Ishizuki 1999.

56 One of the largest and best-known women's organizations in modern Japan was the Aikoku Fujinkai 愛国婦人会 (Patriotic Women's Association) established in 1901 by Okumura Ioko 奥村五百子 (1845–1907), whose objective was to provide support to war-bereaved families. Like Nichiei, she traveled all over the country seeking to expand the organization's membership and activities.

57 Ishikawa 2008, p. 310. Ishikawa mistakenly notes the year as Meiji 44, but it should be Meiji 43 (1910).

58 Ishikawa 2008, p. 310.

59 I am grateful to Saka Chihiro 坂知尋 for searching for articles related to Zuiryūji and the Murakumo Fujin Kai in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* digital archives database (https://database.yomiuri.co.jp/rekishikan/).

60 Now called the Nichiren-shū Nishū Shūgakurin 日蓮宗尼衆宗学林, it celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 2019. Schools for training nuns had been established earlier in Kyoto, for example the Nishū Gakkō 尼衆学校 run by the Jōdo-sect temple Chion'in 知恩院, which opened in 1887.

61 Nichiei's posthumous Buddhist name became Zuihōin 瑞法院.

Figure 9. Nichijō (center) with members of the Murakumo Fujin Kai at Myōshōji 妙照寺 in Okayama. Dated 18 April 1961. Author's collection.

Figure 10. Nichijō (center) with members of the Tokyo branch of the Murakumo Fujin Kai attending a 650th death anniversary memorial service for Nichiren in Nagoya in October 1961. Author's collection.

various meetings and ceremonies (figures 9 and 10), as well as a full view portrait. In April of 1926, the association announced its plans to build a large Western-style assembly hall near Zuiryūji called the Murakumo Fujin Kaikan 村雲婦人会館.[62] This hall was ostensibly constructed to commemorate a visit by Empress Teimei 貞明皇后 (1884–1951; wife of the Taishō emperor), and was to be used to accommodate large gatherings for events and for lodging for members of regional branches.[63] A set of postcards produced at the time of its inauguration in April 1929 shows views of both the exterior and interior (figures 11a and 11b). Empress Teimei visited Zuiryūji on 6 December 1924.[64] Her visit was commemorated in a photographic album published by Zuiryūji, showing the empress being greeted by all of the regional branch heads in front of the convent's gate, walking along a corridor inside the compound, and leaving in a black automobile.[65] It appears that the imperial visit was attended by approximately one hundred people.

Not long after Nichijō became abbess, the Murakumo Fujin Kai began publishing the bulletin *Zuiun* (Auspicious clouds) in 1923.[66] In addition to announcing upcoming lectures, it included short articles on topics such as Nichiren's teachings, women and Buddhism, and self-cultivation, as well as reports on events and activities at Zuiryūji and the various branches. The brief reports reveal that the abbess regularly associated with other convents in Kyoto and Nara, and that abbesses participated in each other's ritual events. This demonstrates that Zuiryūji was accepted and treated as an equal among the other convents, despite sectarian differences. The bulletin also includes calls for donations and lists of contributions received. The information contained in *Zuiun* makes clear the immense scale and scope of Zuiryūji's network.

The Murakumo Fujin Kai also published books.[67] Abbess Nichijō herself authored *Nihon fujin no shinkō* 日本婦人の信仰 (Japanese women's faith, 1941). A photograph of Nichijō together with a *tanzaku* 短冊 poem card by her hand is included as a frontispiece, presenting her as both a cultured noblewoman, and religious figure. Her activities are less

62 An announcement appeared in the morning edition of the *Yomiuri Shinbun* newspaper, which reported that Zuiryūji had held a memorial service honoring the seventh death anniversary of Nichiei on 22 April, a memorial service honoring the three hundredth death anniversary of its founder Nisshū on 23 April, and a national meeting of the Murakumo Fujin Kai on 24 April, at which the construction plans were announced.

63 *Zuiun* 瑞雲, the bulletin published by the Murakumo Fujin Kai, notes in October 1929 that a ceremony of completion (*shunkōshiki* 竣工式) had been held in April of that year. The July 1929 issue records that a three-day summer worship meeting was convened from 11–13 July (with eighty attendees), and that the first public lecture was held at the hall on 13 July. The April 1930 issue of *Zuiun* includes a list of various regional groups who stayed overnight there, ranging in size from ten to thirty-four people. See also note 67.

64 Her visit is mentioned in the Buddhist newspaper *Chūgai Nippō*, 6 December, 1924, p. 5. I am grateful to Sōkendai graduate student Gu Setsuken 虞雪健 for checking the *Chūgai Nippō* microfilm archives at Nichibunken to confirm the exact date. In addition to Zuiryūji, the empress visited other temples and shrines to pray for the emperor, whose health was failing. Afterwards she donated a large bronze incense burner to Zuiryūji as an invocation for her husband's convalescence. See "Kōgōgū gokashi hin" 皇后宮御下賜品, *Zuiun* 9:2 (1925), p. 14.

65 The title of the album is *Kōgō heika gyōkei kinenchō* 皇后陛下行啓記念帖. It was privately published by Zuiryūji and Tsuji Shinjirō 辻信次郎 in May 1925. I tried to purchase this album when it appeared in a Yahoo auction in 2019, but regretfully was unsuccessful. Since then I have not been able to locate any other copies. I only have printouts of the photographs made available on the internet by the dealer at the time of the auction.

66 The name of the bulletin combines the *zui* 瑞 character from Zuiryūji and the cloud (*un/kumo* 雲) character from Murakumo. Sixty volumes (1923–1935) are preserved in the archives of the Gifu-ken Rekishi Shiryōkan 岐阜県歴史資料館. Further detailed investigation of this bulletin is a desideratum for future scholarship.

67 Examples include *Budda no jokun* 仏陀の女訓 (1907) and *Nichiren shōnin goibun monogatari* 日蓮上人御遺文物語 (undated).

Figure 11a. Postcard showing the exterior of the Murakumo Fujin Kaikan. Author's collection.

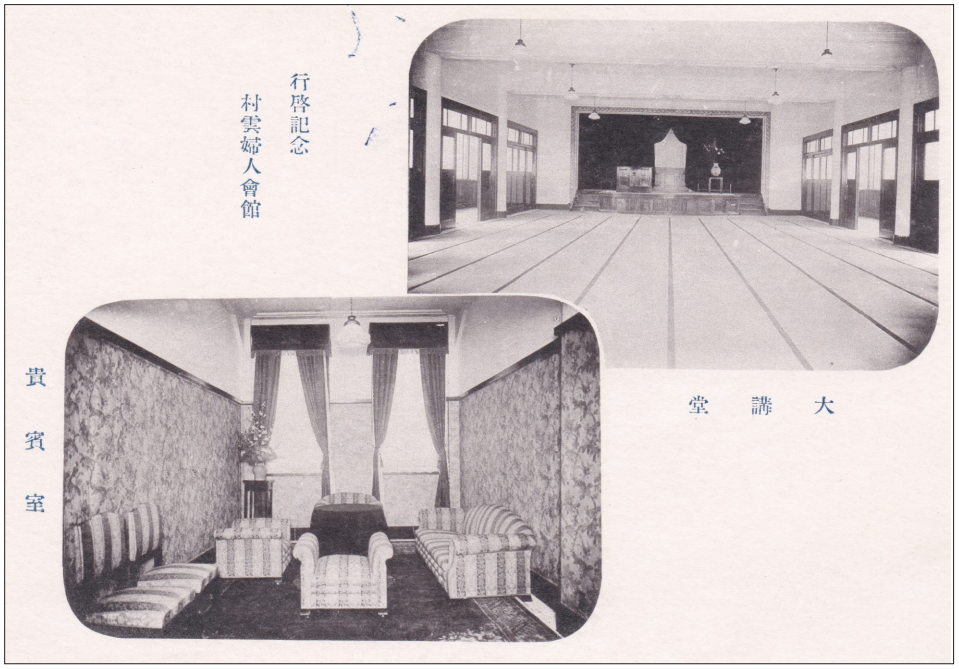


Figure 11b. Postcard show interior views (lecture hall and reception room) of the Murakumo Fujin Kaikan. Author's collection.

Figure 12. Nichijō arriving at Tokyo station on 7 July 1936. Special edition of *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun*.

well documented than Nichiei's, but an article in the *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper (figure 12) shows her arriving ceremoniously at Tokyo Station on 7 July 1936 to attend the ceremony installing her as the new president of the Dai Nihon Reiyūkai 大日本霊友会, a "spiritual friendship" lay Buddhist association dedicated to the *Lotus Sutra* and ancestor rites.[68] Another photograph taken in the same year shows her at a temple in Mukden, Manchuria, participating in a Buddhist teaching tour, indicating that she continued to build upon Nichiei's network.[69]

The Asia-Pacific War (1941–1945) disrupted the activities of Zuiryūji and the Murakumo Fujin Kai, and after the war ended, public interest tended to shift away from imperial-related institutions. The war thus signals the end of an era in which the convent enjoyed significant public and private support. The branches of the Murakumo Fujin Kai that had been established throughout Japan withered away, and as a result funding for Zuiryūji dried up. In 1959, believing that there was no longer any benefit to be gained from being affiliated with the Nichiren sect headquarters at Kuonji Temple, the convent considered withdrawing: around this time, many former *bikuni gosho* were establishing themselves as independent temples (*tanritsu jiin* 単立寺院).[70] However, sect officials, who wanted to keep the convent with its *monzeki* status within its orbit, discovered what they cited as the improper disposal of assets and reportedly wanted to dismiss Nichijō as abbess.[71]

68 For more information on this lay Buddhist association, see Hardacre 1984.

69 Ishikawa 2008, front matter. A branch of the Murakumo Fujin Kai was located in Mukden.

70 This trend may have resulted in part from the financial burden of having to pay fees on a regular basis to maintain their affiliations with large *honzan* 本山 (headquarters) temples.

71 Majima 2006, p. 383. For further details on what transpired, see the entry on "Zuiryūji iten" 瑞龍寺移転 in *Nichirenshū jiten*, p. 802.

In addition to political and financial problems, there was disagreement among the convent's board members. Eventually a compromise was reached in 1961. It was decided to sell the land in Kyoto and relocate the convent on the top of a mountain in Ōmi Hachiman, the site of a castle built by the founder's son Hidetsugu in 1585. Nichijō, however, did not live to see the move completed: she died in September 1962.[72] The transferal of the temple's buildings in December 1962 from Kyoto to Ōmi Hachiman was financed by the founder of the Seibu Railway Company, Tsutsumi Yasujirō 堤康次郎, a native of Shiga Prefecture who had been a long-time supporter of Zuiryūji.[73] While much of the convent's sculptural imagery was reinstalled at the new site, scroll paintings, calligraphy, and historical documents appear to have been scattered or even lost during this turbulent period.

Zuiryūji in the Twentieth Century: A Change in Façade

Only three years after Nichijō's death was her successor decided, and the relocated convent ready to be reset. The selection of the first abbess without any imperial connections was another dramatic turning point for Zuiryūji. The new abbess Nichiei 日英 (1914–1988) was born in Tokyo as the fifth daughter of Ogasawara Nagayoshi 小笠原長幹 (1885–1935). She married in 1931, after graduating from Gakushūin Joshi Daigaku 学習院女子大学. She had three children, but later divorced, leaving the children with her ex-husband. At the age of forty-nine (1960) she was tonsured by the abbot of Chōshōji 長勝寺 in Kamakura, who arranged for her to take over the abbacy of Zuiryūji five years later (1965). By that point, nearly one third of the temple compound had fallen into disrepair, and the Murakumo Fujin Kai had been more or less disbanded. To take up residence atop a mountain in Shiga Prefecture, in a temple partly in ruins, Nichiei must have had sincere commitment to the Buddhist path and an intrepid spirit.

Before long she was joined at Zuiryūji by a woman who was officially adopted into Nichiei's family, making her Ogasawara Eihō 小笠原英法 (1914–2002).[74] Eihō's background was even more unconventional than Nichiei's. Before becoming a nun, she had been one of the star performers at the Takarazuka Revue, an all-female musical theater troupe based in Hyōgo Prefecture.[75] She retired from her singing/dancing career in 1940. In 1965, at the age of fifty, she decided to take the tonsure, and eventually she found her way to Zuiryūji.

Nichiei and Eihō were both the same age. Dedicating themselves to reviving Zuiryūji, as well as the Murakumo Fujin Kai, they broke down barriers by opening up the convent to the public, and by banishing the historical image of an *amamonzeki* 尼門跡 (former imperial convent) as a place for daughters of emperors or women from aristocratic families. In addition to giving sermons, they counseled people seeking help in dealing with personal matters. According to Eihō, Nichiei put up a sign at Zuiryūji: "Any person filled with worries amid dark clouds who visits Zuiryūji for whatever reason will be illuminated by the wisdom of Buddha."[76] The revitalized Murakumo Fujin Kai met monthly at Zuiryūji,

72 Her posthumous Buddhist name became Zuishuin 瑞珠院.
73 Ishikawa 2008, p. 322.
74 Her original name was Kanzaki Fujiko 神崎不二子.
75 Her artistic name was Sakura Hisako 桜緋紗子. For further details about Eihō's life, see the Wikipedia entry (in Japanese) for Sakura Hisako at https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/桜緋紗子
76 In Japanese the sign reads 一人でくよくよ悩むのは・暗い暗い雲の中・どんなことでも瑞龍寺参り・仏の智慧で光さす. This story is related in Shufu no Tomo Sha, p. 109.

but members were no longer just women affiliated with the Nichiren sect. Women of all sects participated, and after chanting in the main worship hall, they would move to another building and listen to a lecture on the *Lotus Sutra*.[77] When Nichiei died in 1988, Eihō took over.[78] Upon becoming the thirteenth-generation abbess, she adopted the name Nichiō 日凰. Both nuns authored books targeting a popular audience.[79]

Nichiō was succeeded by Nitchō 日澄 (1917–2011), the fourteenth and final abbess of Zuiryūji.[80] She entered Zuiryūji in 2003 after having headed the Nichiren sect temple Saimyōji 最妙寺 in Osaka Prefecture for more than forty years. Nitchō served at Zuiryūji for eight years until her death. She was succeeded by her eldest son, Washizu Etoku 鷲津恵得 (?–2019). He, too, was only head for eight years before passing away.

I visited Zuiryūji twice during his residence, and he kindly showed me around and answered questions. When I inquired about remaining historical documents, he replied that there was "nothing." Of course, this absence may have resulted from the fire in 1788 and the more recent move to Ōmi Hachiman, but I could not help feeling that records and objects may have been dispersed due to ignorance or lack of interest. After all, an inventory of the convent's holdings carried out by Kyoto Prefecture around 1897 lists a number of paintings, pieces of calligraphy, and other documents.[81] I was dismayed to find that he seemed to be more interested in the founder's son, Hidetsugu, than in the generations of abbesses who had lived at Zuiryūji during the Edo and Meiji periods. Since the precedent has now been set for a male to become chief priest, the future of this convent is uncertain. Two Nichiren sect priests knowledgeable about Zuiryūji told me of their conviction that it should continue as a convent and hoped that a suitable nun would be found. The current situation has incited me to continue searching for materials related to Zuiryūji so that the generations of nuns who served there will not be consigned to oblivion.

As the only Hokke/Nichiren-sect imperial convent in Kyoto, Zuiryūji has always had a unique status. But faced with unprecedented challenges to survive in the modern era, its abbesses broke through the glass walls traditionally defining "convent culture" by pursuing unorthodox and innovative activities that extended far beyond the convent's walls. In particular, the Murakumo Fujin Kai led by Nichiei and her successor Nichijō played a significant role in propagating Buddhist teachings among women throughout Japan. As the compilation of the history of this convent is a work in progress, I hope that this interim report will encourage further attention to a vital, if threatened, piece of Kyoto's Buddhist heritage.

77 Ishikawa 2008, p. 323.
78 Nichiei's posthumous name was Zuikōin 瑞興院 and Eihō's was Zuikain 瑞華院.
79 Nichiei, *Torawareru kokoro kara dasshutsu* 捉われる心から脱出 (Toki Shobō 朱鷺書房, 1978) and Nichiō, *Gujo isshin* 愚女一心 (Shirakawa Shoin 白川書院, 1971).
80 Nitchō's original name was Washizu Keisei 鷲津啓静; her posthumous Buddhist name is Zuisen'in 瑞仙院.
81 *Kyōto-fu jiin jūkibo*.

REFERENCES

Fujii and Yoshioka 2005

Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治 and Yoshioka Masayuki 吉岡真之, comp. *Goyōzei tennō jitsuroku* 後陽成天皇実録. 2 vols. Yumani Shobō, 2005.

Fujita 2015

Fujita Tsuneharu 藤田恒春. *Toyotomi Hidetsugu* 豊臣秀次. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2015.

Hanafusa 2009

Hanafusa Miki 花房美紀. "Empress Tōfukumon'in and the Imperial Convents" 東福門院と尼門跡たち. In *Amamonzeki, a Hidden Heritage: Treasures of the Japanese Imperial Convents* 尼門跡寺院の世界: 皇女たちの信仰と御所文化. Sankei Shinbunsha, 2009, pp. 327–340.

Hardacre 1984

Helen Hardacre. *Lay Buddhism in Contemporary Japan: Reiyukai Kyodan*. Princeton University Press, 1984.

Honge betsuzu busso tōki 1797

Honge betsuzu busso tōki 本化別頭仏祖統紀. Hokke Shūmon Shodō 法華宗門書堂, 1797. Collection of Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館. Republished by Honmanji, 1973, pp. 499–500.

Hōrei zensho 法令全書, in the online National Library Digital Collections.

Inoguchi et al. 1965

Inoguchi Yūichi 井之口有一, Horii Reiichi 堀井令以知, and Nakai Kazuko 中井和子. *Nimonzeki no gengo seikatsu no chōsa kenkyū* 尼門跡の言語生活の調査研究. Kazama Shobō, 1965.

Ishikawa 2008

Ishikawa Yasushi 石川泰志. *Kindai kōshitsu to Bukkyō: Kokka to shūkyō to rekishi* 近代皇室と仏教: 国家と宗教と歴史. Hara Shobō, 2008.

Ishikawa 2012

Ishikawa Yasushi. "Haibutsu kishaku ni kōshita kōzoku shusshin no nisō" 廃仏毀釈に抗した皇族出身の尼僧. *Daihōrin* 大法輪 79:12 (2012), pp. 102–104.

Ishizuki 1999

Ishizuki Shizue 石月静恵. "Kindai Nihon no Bukkyō fujinkai ni tsuite: Gifu-ken ni kansuru shiryō shōkai o chūshin ni" 近代日本の仏教婦人会について: 岐阜県に関する史料紹介を中心に. *Ōka Gakuen Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 桜花学園大学研究紀要 2 (1999), pp. 117–119.

Kanbe 2005

Kanbe Yoshifumi 神戸佳文. "Daibusshi Kōshō no hōgen, hōin jonin" 大仏師康正の法眼・法印叙任. *Hyōgo Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan kiyō* 兵庫県立歴史博物館紀要 16 (2005), pp. 9–18.

Kitazawa 1984

Kitazawa Kōshō 北沢光昭. "*Minobusan shodōki*, *Minobusan saikon shodōki*, *Minobusan saisaikon shodōki*" 身延山諸堂記・身延山再建諸堂記・身延山再々建諸堂記. *Seishin* 棲神 56 (1984), pp. 131–214.

Kōgo heika gyōkei kinenchō
Kōgo heika gyōkei kinenchō 皇后陛下行啓記念帖. Zuiryūji and Tsuji Shinjirō 辻信次郎, May 1925.

Kubo 1937
Kubo Tsuneharu 久保常晴. "Kyōto Honkokuji no shōmei" 京都本圀寺の鐘銘. *Kōkogaku zasshi* 考古学雑誌 27 (1937), pp. 830–839.

Kurihara 2003
Kurihara Toshie. "A History of Women in Japanese Buddhism: Nichiren's Perspectives on the Enlightenment of Women." *Journal of Oriental Studies* 13 (2003), pp. 94–118.

Kyōto-fu jiin jūkibo
Kyōto-fu jiin jūkibo 京都府寺院什器簿, vol. 10 (section on Zuiryūji). Ca. 1897. Unpublished manuscript. Collection of Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館.

Majima 2006
Majima Jōkei 馬島浄圭. "Kindai kyōdan ni mirareru nisōtachi: Murakumo nikō to nisō hōdan o chūshin ni" 近代教団にみられる尼僧たち: 村雲尼公と尼僧法団を中心に. *Gendai shūkyō kenkyū* 現代宗教研究 40 (2006), pp. 380–385.

"Meiji hachinen nijūsan-ka-in yuisho torishirabe shorui"
"Meiji hachinen nijūsan-ka-in yuisho torishirabe shorui" 明治八年二十三ケ院由緒取調書類 8–44. In *Jūyō bunkazai Kyōto-fu gyōsei monjo* 重要文化財京都府行政文書. Unpublished manuscript. Collection of Kyōto Institute, Library and Archives 京都府立京都学・暦彩館.

Minobu-chō Kyōiku Iinkai
Minobu-chō Kyōiku Iinkai 身延町教育員会, ed. *Heisei jūrokunen Minobusan Kuonji shiryō chōsa hōkokusho* 平成十六年 身延山久遠寺史料調査報告書. Yamanashi-ken Minamikoma-gun Minobu-chō Kyōiku Iinkai, 2004.

Minobusan shodō ki
Minobusan shodō ki 身延山諸堂記. Collection of Kuonji Minobusan Bunko 久遠寺身延山文庫.

Mochizuki 1989
Mochizuki Shinchō 望月真澄. "Edo-jō ōoku josei no Hokke shinkō: Minobusan Kuonji no Edo degaichō o chūshin ni" 江戸城大奥女性の法華信仰: 身延山久遠寺の江戸出開帳を中心に. *Ōsaki gakuhō* 大崎学報 146 (1989), pp. 51–92.

Mochizuki 2006
Mochizuki Shinchō. *Gohōmotsu de shiru Minobusan no rekishi* 御宝物で知る身延山の歴史. Nichirenshū Shinbunsha, 2006.

Mochizuki 2007
Mochizuki Shinchō. "Kinsei ni okeru Minobusan shinkō to chiiki: Minobu sanjō no sanjōrokudō nai Shakazō tainai monjo no bunseki" 近世における身延山信仰と地域: 身延山上の山丈六堂内釈迦像胎内文書の分析. In *Nichiren seijin to Hokke Bukkyō* 日蓮聖人と法華仏教, ed. Ueda Honshō Hakushi Kiju Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 上田本昌博士喜寿記念論文集刊行会. Daitō Shuppansha, 2007.

Mochizuki 2009
Mochizuki Shinchō. “Kinsei garan no jidai” 近世伽藍の時代. In *Hōtō yugen: Minobusan gojūnotō fukugen konryū kinenshi* 宝塔涌現: 身延山五重塔復元建立記念誌, ed. Minobusan Gojūnotō Fukugen Konryū Kinenshi Henshū Iinkai 身延山五重塔復元建立記念誌編集委員会. Minobusan Gojūnotō Fukugen Konryū Hōsankai, 2009.
Mochizuki 2011
Mochizuki Shinchō. *Minobusan shinkō no keisei to denpa* 身延山信仰の形成と伝播. Iwata Shoin, 2011.
Nichirenshū jiten
Nichirenshū jiten 日蓮宗事典, ed. Nichirenshū Jiten Kankō Iinkai 日蓮宗事典刊行委員会. Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1981. Republished in 1999 by Nichirenshū Shinbunsha.
Odaira 2016
Odaira Mika 小平美香. “Jinja, Shintō o meguru joseitachi no shosō: Saishi girei to kokumin kyōka o chūshin ni” 神社・神道をめぐる女性たちの諸相: 祭祀儀礼と国民教化を中心に. *Rikkyō Daigaku jendā fōramu nenpō* 立教大学ジェンダーフォーラム年報 18 (2016), pp. 17–82.
Oka 2002
Oka Yoshiko 岡佳子. “Bikuni gosho no hensen: Hōkyōji o chūshin ni” 比丘尼御所の変遷: 宝鏡寺を中心に. In *Chū, kinsei monjo ni miru nimonzeki jiin no rekishiteki hensen to seikatsu bunka, nisō no shinkō kenkyū* 中・近世文書にみる尼門跡寺院の歴史的変遷と生活文化、尼僧の信仰研究, Report of Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research, 2002, pp. 14–69.
Sakamoto 1983
Sakamoto Ken’ichi 坂本健一. *Meiji Shintō shi no kenkyū* 明治神道史の研究. Kokusho Kankōkai, 1983.
Shigemori 1935
Shigemori Mirei 重森三玲. “Zenshōji no Nisshū-ni zō to Hidetsugu zō” 善正寺の日秀尼像と秀次像. *Shiseki to bijutsu* 史迹と美術 55 (1935), pp. 197–204.
Shufu no Tomo Sha 1989
Shufu no Tomo Sha 主婦の友社, ed. *Amadera: Kazari o otoshita nyonintachi* 尼寺: 髪を落とした女人たち. Shufu no Tomo Sha, 1989.
Takagi 2013
Takagi Hiroshi. “The Buddhist Faith of the Japanese Imperial Family after the Meiji Restoration.” *Japan Review* 25 (2013), pp. 21–32.
Terao 1997
Terao Eichi 寺尾英智. *Nichiren shōnin shinseki no keitai to denrai* 日蓮聖人真蹟の形態と伝来. Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1997.
Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2003
Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, ed. *Dai Nichiren ten: Rikkyō kaishū 750 nen kinen* 大日蓮展: 立教開宗750年記念. Sankei Shinbunsha, 2003.

Japan Review 36 (2021): 61–87

Art and Gender in an Age of Revolution

Simon PARTNER

This essay examines the social, cultural, and economic life of Kawai Koume (1804–1889), a *bushi* housewife and artist living in the Wakayama castle town of Kishū domain in the final years of the Tokugawa era and the early years of Meiji. Using a diary that Koume kept over a period of at least fifty years, the essay examines the ways in which Koume's art was integrated with her daily life as household manager, and it explores the transformations of those relationships after the Meiji Restoration. While acknowledging the reality of class and gender ideologies and their effects on daily life, the essay focuses on Koume's determination to contribute meaningfully to her family's social, cultural, and economic life. And in the wake of a decade of disruption and transformation following the Meiji Restoration, it points to the unsung heroism of many women in forging new paths to economic recovery and self-sufficiency.

Keywords: Kishū, Wakayama, bakumatsu, Meiji, literati painting, *bunjinga*, diaries

This essay examines the social, cultural, and economic life of Kawai Koume 川合小梅 (1804–1889), a *bushi* 武士 (member of the samurai class) wife and artist living in the Wakayama castle town of Kishū 紀州 domain in the final years of the Tokugawa 徳川 era (1603–1868) and the early years of Meiji 明治 (1868–1912). Using a diary that Koume kept over a period of at least fifty years, the essay examines the ways in which Koume's art was integrated with her daily life as household manager, and it explores the transformations of those relationships after the Meiji Restoration.[1] While acknowledging the reality of class and gender ideologies and their effects on daily life, the essay focuses on Koume's determination to contribute meaningfully to her family's social, cultural, and economic life. And in the wake of a decade of disruption and transformation following the Meiji Restoration, it points to the unsung heroism of many women in forging new paths to economic recovery and self-sufficiency.

Kawai Koume was born in 1804 to Kawai Kanae 川合鼎 (d. 1808) and his wife Tatsuko 辰子 (d. 1866). Kanae was a teacher in the Kishū domain school, the Gakushūkan 学習館. Tatsuko's father had been one of the founding teachers in the school, and Koume's husband Hyōzō 豹蔵 and son Yūsuke 雄輔 were in turn to become teachers in the school. Kanae died

1 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974. Only seventeen years of the diary have survived, in whole or in part.

when Koume was still an infant, and she was raised in the home of her grandfather, Kawai Shunsen 川合春川 (1751–1824). She remained in the Kawai family residence until the end of her life.

The Kawai family had a hereditary stipend of around twenty *koku* 石 (3,600 kg) of rice, placing it at the lower end of the domain's samurai hierarchy. Unlike samurai retainers who had served the Tokugawa since fighting their way across Japan in the civil wars of the sixteenth century, the Kawai family were relative newcomers to Kishū domain. Shunsen had been the son of a doctor in central Japan, and he had only arrived in Kishū after a lengthy personal journey across three domains and several areas of knowledge. A brilliant man, he quickly became a key figure in Kishū's developing educational system. Along the way, he was granted retainer status and a hereditary stipend, as well as a large house in the Uji 宇治 district north of Wakayama Castle.[2]

In addition to his public duties as a schoolteacher, Shunsen operated a private academy out of his home. Koume grew up alongside students in the academy, and she attended at least some of their classes, becoming highly literate, gaining a basic knowledge of Chinese philosophy and poetry, and a deep understanding of Japanese literary traditions. Koume's mother was a locally noted composer of *waka* 和歌 poetry, and she made sure that Koume studied with one of the domain's leading teachers, Motoori Ōhira 本居大平 (1756–1833).[3] Koume also studied painting under a highly regarded artist, Nogiwa Hakusetsu 野際白雪 (d. 1849).

Hakusetsu painted in the literati (*bunjinga* 文人画) style that was popular among the scholarly elite of Kishū's *bushi* class. It took its themes from traditional Chinese painting: landscapes, images of birds and flowers (particularly bamboo, plum, orchid, and chrysanthemum), and portraits of well-known historical figures.[4] *Bunjinga* were often collaborative productions (*gassaku* 合作): paintings overlaid with prose and poetry in Chinese or Japanese, usually brushed onto a section of the painting by literary collaborators. This style had an obvious appeal to Koume's family, since most of its male members were poets and writers in the Chinese tradition. Koume also benefited from the relative openness of *bunjinga* to female practitioners.[5]

At the age of fifteen Koume was married to the twenty-five-year-old Umemoto Hyōzō 梅本豹蔵 (1794–1871), who had been a live-in student in the Kawai household through much of Koume's childhood. Although Hyōzō was from a samurai family, he too had shallow roots among the ranks of the Kishū retainer corps. His grandfather had been a common foot soldier (*dōshin* 同心), and his mother was from a merchant family. Hyōzō was now a junior teacher in the domain school, and, shortly before Shunsen's death in 1824, he was adopted into the Kawai family and became its head. Koume's status as the wife of a *muko* 婿 (a son-in-law adopted as heir into the family headship) may have enhanced her authority and influence in family affairs.

2 Abe 2013, pp. 209–219.
3 Ōhira was the adopted son of the renowned *kokugaku* 国学 scholar, Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801).
4 Yonezawa and Yoshizawa 1974, p. 116. See also Satō 2015, pp. 194–201.
5 Fister 1988, p. 97. See also Buckland 2013, pp. 13–14.

Artist and Household Manager

As her husband became established as a teacher and scholar in the domain's cultural elite, Koume in turn established her reputation as an artist. Her art was an essential element of her identity throughout her life, but it was not the only element. Koume was also a wife, with duties to her husband and family that often took precedence over her art. Through the 1850s and 1860s Koume referred in her diary to her activities as a painter only once or twice a month on average. Later in her life, after the death of her husband and her retirement as household manager, Koume's references to painting would dramatically increase.

During Koume's prime years in the 1850s and 1860s, the Kawai household was a busy space of family life, education, and economic and cultural production. The full-time residents of the household included Koume and Hyōzō, their son Yūsuke, and Koume's mother Tatsuko. In addition, a succession of students took up temporary residence in the household.

As wife and household manager, Koume's role was to support and care for her husband, mother, son, and daughter-in-law, resident students, and, from the end of the 1850s, grandchildren; to manage the family's complex family and social networks; to hire and supervise servants and helpers; to maintain the family's property; to provide food and drink for family members and guests; to control the family's day-to-day finances; and to participate in the ritual and cultural life of the family and community. She was helped in these activities by her high standing in the community, her intelligence and eagerness for information, and by her status as wife of a *muko*.[6] Koume's diary is an important witness to her multiple contributions to the family's social economy. For Koume, it was also a central tool in her management of the information needed to fulfill her role.

Koume's diary describes intense, daily interactions between the Kawai family and their network of friends, colleagues, and extended family. While Hyōzō and Yūsuke went out visiting or attending parties or study groups, Koume often stayed home. Her duty was to make sure that the household was running smoothly, and to receive and entertain guests when they called. But despite her limited movement outside the home, Koume was a central figure in her family's social networks. There was a constant stream of visitors into the Kawai family home, none of whom were sent away without first being offered a cup of saké and a few simple snacks. Often, Koume prepared more elaborate entertainments for the many events the family hosted, including study groups, family and school celebrations, poetry gatherings, and drunken parties for Hyōzō's colleagues. Throughout the day, Koume gathered information from visitors, passersby, shopkeepers, domain officials, servants, and others, recording it all in her diary. She supplemented it with information which her family picked up on their excursions outside the house and subsequently related to her.

At the heart of the social networks over which Koume presided was the culture of gift exchange. For cash-poor *bushi* families, gift giving was a way to obscure differences in wealth, and to recognize value without engaging in monetary exchange. In Koume's diary, almost every day's entry includes some record of a gift received or given. Koume generally included enough detail for her to assess the gift's rough value, maintaining a

6 Women who married to *muko* husbands had a different status from those who married into outside families. Since they stayed within their birth family, they retained some sense of power and ownership of their inheritance. Indeed, women with *muko* husbands had a reputation for being entitled and dominating.

complex balance sheet of service and obligation so that no favor would go unreturned, and no kindness unrequited. Gifts were given to celebrate family milestones; to express sympathy on the occasion of a loss or disaster; or to express thanks for a service received. Often, gifts represented a form of payment: these were more acceptable than a cash payment in a samurai culture that disdained commercial transactions, and more elegant. Much of Hyōzō's teaching was paid for in such gifts, so the Kawai family received a significantly greater value than they gave.

Servants and household helpers were also an integral part of the smooth operation of the Kawai household, for which Koume was responsible. Koume generally employed one manservant, either a young man from the town (who would attend the family during the daytime) or a student who offered his services in exchange for board and lodging. For heavier jobs or those needing a handyman's skills, Koume used the services of day laborers with whom the family had a connection. The Kawai family also usually kept a live-in maidservant. These young women were either residents of the *nagaya* 長屋 (tenement houses) in the nearby neighborhoods, or they were from the villages surrounding Wakayama.

Koume's diary also shows that she played a significant role in the family's financial management. In the pages of the diary, she recorded most of the family's financial transactions, from salary received and loans made and given, to daily purchases and the costs of commodities in the marketplace. Koume seldom clarified whether discussions and decisions about finances were made by Hyōzō, Koume, or both together. Probably Hyōzō handled major transactions, particularly those involving the domain administration, while Koume oversaw the day-to-day management of the family's cash resources. She took responsibility for most purchases, sending her servant to the shops to pick up merchandise. She made and repaid small loans, and she also took charge of the family's obligations to its social network, including gift giving and offering financial assistance to needy relatives.

Koume often faced a cash crunch when it came time to pay her retail suppliers. In most cases accounts were to be settled monthly. Faced with pressing cash needs, Koume resorted again and again to sending her servant to the pawn shop. There is a pattern throughout the diary of Koume buying nice clothes when money was available, and using them as security when times were harder. Fine clothes kept their value, sometimes for generations, if they were properly cared for. Silk cloth was high-value, portable, and easily stored. And fine clothes were also beautiful—and necessary for a woman of Koume's social status.

Koume also presided over an active domestic production regime. The scarcity of cash meant the family had to do all it could to provide for its own needs. The Kawai had a vegetable patch in the back of the house in which they grew eggplants, cucumbers, turnips, radishes, sweet potatoes, and burdock root, as well as an orchard with citrus and plum trees. Koume and her helpers pickled many of the vegetables, as well as the plums, for off-season consumption. She also tried distilling the fruit as a flavoring for homemade liquor. Koume occasionally bought vegetables in the market or from farmer acquaintances, but these were usually bulk purchases for home pickling. In the eleventh month of Kaei 嘉永 2 (1849), for example, Koume bought a total of two hundred daikon radishes, which she and her helpers pickled during the twelfth month.[7] Koume also bought large quantities of raw cotton,

7 Purchases were made on 11.21 and 11.29. The pickling took place on 12.7 and 12.20. Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 22, 23, 24, 28.

which she and her daughter-in-law Kano 鹿野 span into cotton thread, either for sale or for eventual weaving into clothes.[8]

Koume's duties as household manager also included ensuring that her family correctly observed the numerous holidays and religious rituals in the annual calendar of the domain. Many of these doubled as family celebrations: the New Year's holidays, for example, when the family ate celebratory rice cakes, drank plenty of saké, and put on their best clothes to call on their neighbors. Others involved visits to temples and shrines to observe rituals, but also in many cases to enjoy the spectacle of spring blossoms or festival parades. The family also participated in rituals connected to the daimyo and his court. Most involved only Hyōzō, but a death or memorial observance could require the entire castle town to forego entertainments, as on Kaei 6 (1853).3.3, when Koume wrote "Very fine weather. Calm. This is a day of *chōji* 停止 [suspension of music, dance, and entertainment as a sign of mourning for a prominent person] so it was gloomy (*sabishiku*)."[9]

Although she stayed at home much more than her husband and son, Koume's role in the family's social and cultural life was by no means passive. Her education, artistic skills, and status as a birthright Kawai allowed her to interact with the family's social networks as an equal. When guests visited in Hyōzō's absence, Koume discussed matters of family and domain business with them, recording the information in her diary so she could pass it on to Hyōzō. Hyōzō even trusted her with some of his official duties. On Ansei 安政 6 (1859).6.4, for example, "Koume wrote five memorials," indicating the official requests for advancement or promotion that Hyōzō would submit to the domain.[10] She also took it on herself to respond to business letters at times, when Hyōzō was busy with other work.

Koume was a skilled entertainer, putting on parties for dozens of colleagues and friends, and sometimes also attending them with Hyōzō. Often, those parties were occasions for cultural production, as the participants vied to compose poems and to brush paintings and calligraphy. Koume was more than equal to these occasions. An accomplished poet as well as a skilled painter, she and her mother were regular contributors to the scholarly community's *gassaku* production: collaborative compositions that included painting, calligraphy, and Japanese- and Chinese-language poetry and prose. An excursion to the seashore at Arahama 荒浜 on Kaei 4 (1851).3.11 offers a glimpse into Koume's participation in such events. Arahama means "rough shore," but Koume commented, "It was calm, an Arahama only in name." Koume spent the afternoon painting and composing poems:

あら浜は其の名のみして春の海
なみもしづけくたつもわすれて

Arahama wa
sono na nomi shite

8 In the ninth month of Bunkyū 文久 1 (1861), for example, Koume and Hyōzō bought at least 40 kg of raw cotton, which they span through the ninth and tenth months.

9 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 86, Kaei 6 (1853).3.3. For spring blossom viewing, see for example Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 50, Kaei 4 (1851).4.5. For a shrine festival, see Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, pp. 22–23, Bunkyū 4 (1864).4.17.

10 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 175, Ansei 6 (1859).6.4.

haru no umi.
Nami mo shizukeku
tatsu mo wasurete

The ocean in springtime
Arahama only in name
The waves are quiet, as though
they had forgotten how to stand up[11]

Afterward, a friend invited them back to his house, "where we amused ourselves" composing linked verses. Each participant was given a word to place at the start or end of a poem. Koume was given the place-name "Yoshino" 吉野 to start, and the character *aru* 有 (there is, there are) to end. "The flowers were in full bloom, with just one or two petals fluttering to the ground. The moon was shining its white light on the flowers, and the view was beautiful. But the lines would not come, and our spirits just got flustered. It had been a long day, and eventually we all fell silent from exhaustion." Finally, as they were about to give up and go home, Koume found her inspiration. "To the east of this house there is a pure water stream that runs through the garden … I wrote and recited the following":

よし野にもますをの清水底すみて
照らせる月に花の影有

Yoshino ni mo
masu-o no shimizu
soko sumite.
Teraseru tsuki ni
Hana no kage aru

In Yoshino too
The trout-filled streams are
Pure to the bottom
In the moon's shining light
There are the shadows of flowers[12]

We can sense Koume's satisfaction that it was she, rather than the eminent men in the gathering, who had found the inspiration for this atmospheric poem.

Local historians in Wakayama have tended to see Koume's painting and poetry as a hobby or ladylike pursuit that she pursued when she had the time amid her duties as a wife and mother.[13] Indeed, her gender and social status required her to present such an appearance. But Koume's cultural production also contributed significantly to her

11 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 46, Kaei 4 (1851).3.11.
12 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 46, Kaei 4 (1851).3.11.
13 Abe 2013, pp. 511–514; Wakayama-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 2012, p. 17.

Figure 1. Kawai Koume and Kawai Hyōzō, *Manzai no zu* 万歳の図. Collaborative work (*gassaku*) of *manzai* performers, date unknown. Courtesy of Wakayama City Museum.

management of the Kawai family's affairs. In a world in which financial capital was scarce, intangible assets such as cultural prestige were a meaningful currency for social and career advancement. By contributing to the family's cultural standing, Koume was helping her husband and son build their positions as valued members of the domain's educational community. Their value was recognized with successive increases in Hyōzō's official stipend, culminating in his appointment as principal of the domain school.[14]

Koume's art also contributed to the family's complex economy of non-cash exchange. Koume often used her art as currency in this economy, giving paintings to friends and acquaintances, and accepting requests to produce sketches or more formal works without any direct expectation of payment, but rather as part of "the complex economies of obligation and exchange within which literati artifacts acquired meaning and value."[15]

In Kaei 4 (1851), Koume mentioned painting on average two or three times a month. The recipients of her work came from all over the social spectrum: courtiers, patrons, colleagues, friends, family members, and servants. On 1.22, a friend requested to her to execute a painting for one of the ladies in waiting at the retired daimyo's residence. On 1.27, she decorated a folding fan for the priest of Ennyoji 円如寺 Temple. In the second month, she worked on several paintings of young dancing girls for Noro Seikichi 野呂清吉, a colleague of Hyōzō's. On 3.8, Hyōzō hosted two friends for an evening of *gassaku* poetry-writing and painting. Koume was happy to contribute, but commented on the stress of managing their guests' entertainment while also painting and composing poetry. At the

14 Abe 2013, p. 335.
15 Lippit 2008, p. 167.

end of the day, she "rested, exhausted by being pressured by everyone." On 3.20 she was painting and reciting poems with a book seller called Kusumotoya 楠本屋. And on 3.25, she composed some poems and painted chrysanthemums for a scholar's sixtieth birthday. In the fourth month, she did a series of paintings on silk for Ichikawa Hitoshi 市川斎, to go into an exhibition he was helping organize. A courtier who saw the paintings proposed to send them to the Edo residence of Andō Naohiro 安藤直裕 (1821–1885), daimyo of Tanabe 田辺 (a sub-domain of Kishū). In a panic, Koume asked for the paintings back so that she could work on improving them. In the sixth month, she created a series of eleven paintings for a patron, Mr. Taya 田屋. And in the seventh month, she gave two painted fans to her maid Toyo とよ, to take back to her family in her home village.[16]

With such a wide variety of recipients, it is not surprising that the content of Koume's work should be diverse. Although Koume herself used the word *bunjinga* to describe her own artistic training, the diary shows her painting in a variety of genres that defy easy categorization.[17] Koume was commissioned to decorate sets of sliding screens (*fusuma* 襖) that were used to divide the rooms of a house, or smaller versions (*kofusuma*) for ornamental shelving used in reception areas. She painted military surcoats (*jinbaori* 陣羽織) as the warriors of the domain prepared for war in the 1850s and 1860s.[18] She painted classical Japanese themes, such as portraits of warriors from the *Tales of the Heike*, as well as portraits of living and dead friends and family members. She sketched birds and flowers for her students to use as study aids, as well as a variety of trivia: "O-fuku" お福 masks (portraying a popular female figure associated with good fortune); comic sketches of fish and animals; and portraits of popular deities such as the "seven gods of good luck" (*shichifukujin* 七福神). The largest surviving collection of her work is a copy of a sixteen-volume book called *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞 (Strange things heard in foreign lands), which Koume made in 1837 on the request of her husband's boss. The book, which was an account of eight years spent in Russia by a group of shipwrecked sailors, was illustrated with over one hundred color pictures in the style of popular illustrated publications, with little reference to literati traditions.

An 1853 portrait of Miwa Bunkō's 三輪文行 parents (figure 3) helps illustrate why Koume's work was in such demand. Bunkō asked Koume to paint a portrait of his parents for him to carry with him to Edo, where he was about to go for a period of residence. The portrait shows an elderly couple sitting companionably side by side. The details of their old age are vividly but sympathetically drawn: wrinkled skin, thinning hair, slightly bent stature, wispy eyebrows, and loosely worn, informal clothing. The wife has a cushion resting on her lap and a cup of tea in her hand. She is sitting on the floor with one knee raised, as though in readiness to take care of her husband. He is depicted smoking a pipe, a look of calm satisfaction on his face. In front of him is a small flask of saké, and in his right hand

16 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1. Painting for lady in waiting, p. 35, Kaei 4 (1851).1.22. Folding fan, p. 36, Kaei 4.1.27. *Gassaku* event, p. 45, Kaei 4.3.8. Kusumotoya, p. 47, Kaei 4.3.20. Sixtieth birthday, pp. 48–49, Kaei 4.3.25. Request to return paintings, p. 57, Kaei 4.5.11. Taya paintings, p. 64, Kaei 4.6.13. Gift to Toyo, p. 70, Kaei 4.7.15.

17 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 238, 9 August 1882.

18 The Kishū retainers were mobilized in 1853 for a possible war against the United States, in 1863 to combat the Tenchūgumi 天誅組 rebellion, several times during the 1860s to quell unrest in Kyoto, and in 1866–1868 for the two campaigns against Chōshū domain.

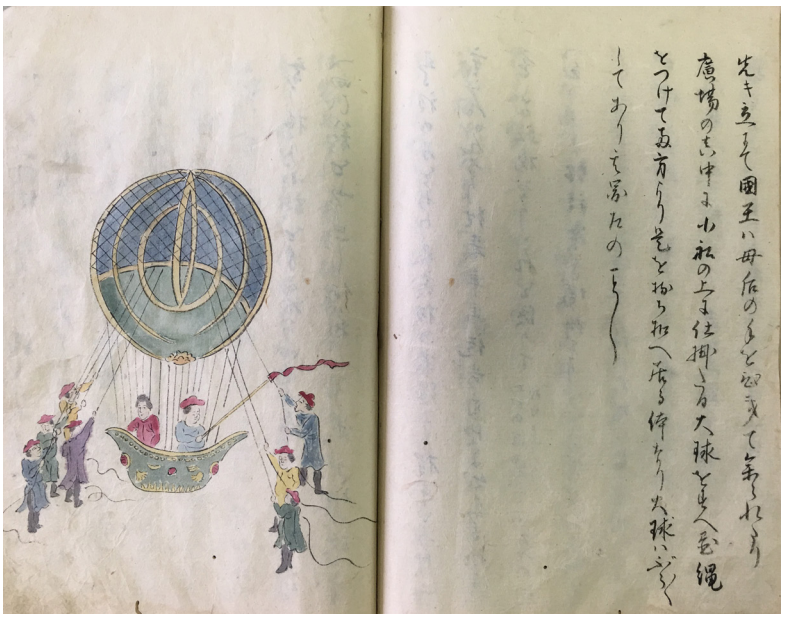


Figure 2. Kawai Koume, *Untitled*. Illustration in Ōtsuki 1837. Courtesy of Wakayama Prefectural Library.

he holds an *inrō* 印籠 (a small box worn suspended from a belt) ornamented with a *netsuke* 根付 (sculpted fastener) in the shape of a disk. The colors are subdued, but expressive of peace and calm. Both subjects are looking into the middle distance outside the frame of the painting, and the wife's right hand is raised, perhaps suggesting a farewell gesture as their son sets off on his long journey. The painting presents at the same time a charming domestic scene; the peace and calm of a well-earned retirement; a homage to family conventions; an endearing depiction of old age; and an acknowledgement of the separation that was about to take place. This charming portrait owes less to any particular school of painting than to Koume's deftness of portrayal and her warmth of expression.

Most of Koume's artistic production was in response to commissions and requests. She had some regular patrons: people who repeatedly requested paintings from her, often to pass on to other collectors within the community. Most prominent among these were Sakai Baisai 酒井梅斎, Endō Ichirō 遠藤一郎, and Ichikawa Hitoshi. Sakai Baisai was an old family friend, perhaps a former pupil of Hyōzō, and an amateur painter himself. Endō was a domain official and an avid patron of the arts; and Ichikawa was a teacher in the domain school. We do not know why these men were so keen to promote Koume's work, but they continued to support her for decades, placing her art with dozens of collectors throughout the domain.

It was a lot of work to create a beautiful painting, especially for a collector whom Koume may not have known personally. The proscriptions on overt commercial activity by the samurai class, as well as the social expectations about the role of women, made it difficult for Koume to ask for cash payment. But that does not mean she was painting purely for the love of it. While *gassaku* paintings at elegant gatherings might accrue to the Kawai family's cultural capital, Koume expected to be rewarded for commissioned work.

Figure 3. Kawai Koume, *Miwa Bunkō fubo zō* 三輪文行父母像 *A Portrait of Miwa Bunkō's Parents*. 1853. Courtesy of Wakayama City Museum.

Her reward was usually in the form of "thank you" (*rei* 礼) gifts, such as fresh fish, sweets, and saké coupons. For example, on Genji 元治 1 (1864).9.9 a messenger came bringing three sea bream, some tobacco in an elegant box, and a stick of *yōkan* 羊羹 , as thanks for a set of paintings Koume had executed for an acquaintance. A high-quality fresh fish was worth anything from two to five *monme*, so the total value might have been around ten *monme*.[19] As a comparison, on Genji 1 (1864).8.13 Koume had paid fourteen *monme* to two gardeners for two days' work. Sometimes, Koume's patrons even brought cash as payment for her work. On Genji 1 (1864).3.5, Sakai Baisai came to visit, bringing two hundred *hiki* [around fourteen *monme*] as thanks for Koume's painting a fan. Koume wrote: "I tried to refuse it, but [Baisai] left it anyway."[20]

There are a few references in the diary that suggest Koume was sometimes producing material directly for the commercial market. On Tenpō 天保 8 (1837).3.29, Koume wrote: "On the twenty-seventh, I bought three pieces of *chirimen* [crepe] cloth, a total of three *shaku* [about 36 inches] for 3.6 *monme*. I received this money from Yasuda as payment for making *haribako*." A *haribako* 貼り箱 is a box made of wood or thick paper, over which is

19 There are numerous references to fish prices throughout the diary, varying with size, quality, and rate of inflation. For an example of prices of top-quality fish, see Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 178, Ansei 6 (1859).6.18.

20 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, p. 41, Genji 1 (1864).8.13; p.16, Genji 1.3.5.

stretched decorative paper. Such boxes were typically used for accessories or jewelry. Why was a cash transaction considered acceptable in this case, while it was frowned on in others? Perhaps because the *haribako* was clearly for commercial distribution. Many samurai at the low end of the salary scale had to struggle to make ends meet. It is possible that Koume, who was still in her early thirties at the time, was producing these boxes for Yasuda to sell into the commercial market. Koume was still working on *haribako* in the ninth and tenth months of Kaei 6 (1853). By this time, she was working on a larger scale, with several young relatives coming regularly to help her out.

Around thirty of Koume's paintings have survived, most owned by the descendants of friends and family members. The largest collection, which includes nine paintings, is in the Wakayama Prefectural Museum. The works include portraits, humorous sketches, a representation of the deified poet Sugawara no Michizane, portraits of Miwa Bunkō and his parents, and several flower paintings. A particularly striking work in this collection is the undated *Kanbai ensō bijinzu* 観梅円窓美人図 (Beautiful woman gazing at plum blossoms through a round window, figure 4). In this painting, a richly-dressed woman with a Chinese hairstyle is staring dreamily out of a circular window at a flowering plum branch. The wintry scene of the plum tree over a background of horizontal banded grey clouds (all executed in *sumie* ink and wash) contrasts with the vivid colors of the woman's clothing. Kondō Takashi 近藤壮, the former director of the museum, speculates that this painting represents the story of a sage of the Sui Dynasty, who lived on Mt. Luo Fu 羅浮仙 [Jp. Rafusen], famous for its plum blossoms. One day, the sage entered a drinking house and began carousing. After a while, a beautiful woman appeared, accompanied by young dancers and musicians. The woman and the sage talked and drank long into the night, until eventually the sage fell asleep. When he woke up, he found himself in a plum grove, lying at the foot of a beautiful plum tree. He realized that in his dream he had been talking to a sprite of the plum trees. Kondō suggests that this painting, when hung in the *tokonoma* (alcove) of a reception room, would be an evocative image to accompany a scholarly drinking party.[21]

One of the seals Koume used to stamp the painting reads Rafudōsen 羅浮洞仙, a pseudonym Koume sometimes used, which could be translated as "the cave-dweller of Mount Luo Fu." The scene of plum blossoms associated with Mount Luo Fu suggests an autobiographical nuance. Did Koume (whose name means "Little Plum") want to suggest that she herself was the plum sprite sitting inside the window? The references to Chinese legends, plum blossoms, drinking, and dreams are all characteristic of the *bunjinga* style. It is tempting to see this dreamy scene of a beautiful woman and blossoms as particularly feminine, a representation of Koume's gendered esthetic. But women had no monopoly of *bijinga* (images of beautiful women), which were equally popular among male painters. Patricia Fister, author of the standard English-language work on Japanese women painters, comments that looking for "feminine" traits in paintings is a futile exercise.[22] Gender was embedded in the social context of Edo-era paintings more than in the images themselves.

The painting is, however, representative of an elegant and unworldly esthetic, common to *bunjinga* art. As a female artist, Koume was encouraged to present the appearance of

21 Kondō 2019, pp. 9–12.
22 Interview with Patricia Fister, 26 November 2019.

Figure 4. Kawai Koume, *Kanbai ensō bijinzu* 観梅円窓美人図, *Beautiful Woman Gazing at Plum Blossoms*, detail. Date unknown. Courtesy of Wakayama City Museum.

a gifted amateur, a lady practicing painting and poetry as an elegant cultural pursuit. Male artists in the *bunjinga* tradition, including Koume's teacher Hakusetsu, might attain positions as official painters within the domains, effectively establishing themselves as salaried professionals. Others painted purely for the commercial market, ironically cultivating a spontaneous, amateur style as a mark of their professional skill, developing what Yukio Lippit calls "sophisticated techniques of de-skilling in order to cultivate an amateurity of expression."[23]

For women of the samurai class, it was much harder to establish professional careers. There were renowned female artists, but those women often achieved professional success at the expense of the security and comfort of a traditional family structure. Ema Saikō 江馬細香 (1787–1861), one of the best-known female painters in the *bunjinga* style, lamented toward the end of her life that she had never married, asking "Why should it be the lot of talented women to end up like this? Most of them in empty boudoirs, writing poems of sorrow."[24] Okuhara Seiko 奥原晴湖 (1837–1913), a highly successful artist of the late Edo and early Meiji eras, also renounced marriage, cutting her hair short, dressing like a man, openly living in a lesbian relationship, and ignoring the gossip and opprobrium heaped on her by society.[25]

Koume's path in life was much more traditional. She grew up educated and skilled in the fine arts, but still she prioritized marriage and the domestic duties of a wife and mother.

23 Lippit 2008, p. 169.
24 Fister 1988, p. 103.
25 Wakamatsu 2016. See especially chapter 4, "Female Masculinity: Discursive Constructions of 'Okuhara Seiko,'" pp.171–243.

Figure 5. Kawai Koume, untitled sketches of O-Fuku faces and animals from her diary. Courtesy of Wakayama Prefectural Library.

As an artist, Koume accepted and even embraced her designation as a *female* painter, usually signing her work "Koume joshi" 小梅女史 (Madame Koume). Much of her artistic work was in the tradition of the "passionate amateur" and contributed to the complex culture of exchange rather than to her family's cash balance. But other aspects of her work suggest a more commercial orientation. Was Koume operating as a professional even while maintaining the guise of a literati amateur? Her diary is too reticent to yield a definitive answer. It seems likely that she was bringing in a small cash income. But the bigger picture is clear. Through her art, as through her household management, Koume was adding to the family's material well-being as well as its intangible capital.

The Meiji Restoration and the Female Artist

Following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the new government initiated an unprecedented program of reforms aimed at unifying the country, creating a strong central government, and developing the infrastructure for a modern nation-state. In five short years, the government abolished the semi-independent domains and unified the nation under the emperor; ended the centuries-old system of class distinction and privilege; created a national army under universal male conscription; launched a compulsory education system; placed households and land under a compulsory registration system; and replaced in-kind taxes with a standardized land tax payable in cash. These radical changes to the nation's social, political, and financial institutions inevitably had profound effects on families throughout Japan. Families of the *bushi* class, which saw the abolition of their Edo-era privileges and the loss of their hereditary stipends, were among the most affected.

Koume's diary is missing for the years 1868 to 1875. When it resumes in January 1876, Koume was a widow. Her son Yūsuke was now the family head. Yūsuke had followed in the footsteps of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, qualifying as a Confucian scholar and getting a job in the domain school. But in 1871, the domain itself was abolished, replaced by Wakayama Prefecture. The following year the school was closed, and its faculty

left jobless. Yūsuke's samurai stipend amounted to only four yen a month, and even that was under threat given the poor state of the prefecture's finances.

In 1876, after four years eking out a living as a private instructor, Yūsuke secured a job as teacher in a village elementary school, moving later in the year to another school closer to Wakayama. His salary was still about four yen a month. Although he was highly qualified, Yūsuke's career as an elementary school teacher only lasted a year. The new school curriculum emphasized Western science and mathematics over Chinese literature, and classically trained teachers like Yūsuke were ill-equipped to meet the schools' needs. By 1877, Yūsuke was once again taking in private students.

According to Wakayama prefectural records, the family was still receiving a rice stipend of twenty *koku* in 1870. At some point in the early years of the 1870s, that was converted to a cash payment of forty-eight yen per year. Then, in September 1878, that was in turn converted to a government bond, in the amount of 617 yen and paying interest of thirty-seven yen per year.[26] It was the last official support Yūsuke would receive from his hereditary status as a member of the samurai class. From the late 1870s prices went into an upward spiral in Japan, with the price of rice doubling between 1877 and 1880, and the buying power of Yūsuke's bond sank proportionately.[27]

The Kawai family gained a little extra income from several rental houses that the family had purchased at the beginning of the Meiji era. The income was about five yen per month including rent and income from the sale of the tenants' "night soil" (sewage). The family also owned a little rice-producing land. Combining these resources, the Kawai family had a total income of around one hundred and fifty yen per year in the late 1870s, enough to buy around nineteen *koku* of rice. That was sufficient to maintain a middle-class lifestyle, but it did not represent financial security. Yūsuke had a family of seven to feed and clothe, a large house to maintain, and several big expenses on the horizon, including the marriage of his two oldest daughters. His employment was unstable and his income precarious, and prices were going up. By 1880, one hundred and fifty yen would buy only fourteen *koku* of rice. He could not have found it easy.

Koume, too, struggled to adapt. During the Edo era, she had been an integral partner in the social, cultural, and economic life of the Kawai family. In situations of cash scarcity, she had contributed to the family's finances though careful household management, through the complex economy of gift exchange, through domestic production of foods and textiles, through nurturing and teaching students in the family's home school, and through her art. As the manager of most aspects of the household, Koume had also been free to spend as she saw fit. Now, her daughter-in-law Kano had taken over most of Koume's former responsibilities and privileges. Koume not only lost her authority in the household; she also lost her access to spending money. Koume could not expect much support from Yūsuke, who was himself struggling. He gave her a small share of the house rental income, about 0.50 yen per month, but it was not enough to buy clothes or participate in entertainment. When she was invited by her daughter-in-law on a shopping expedition, Koume wrote: "I have no money so I didn't go. Instead, I stayed home and sewed socks."[28] As a widow, then, Koume

26 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, pp. 37–38, 2 September 1878.
27 Shindo 1954, p. 46.
28 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, p. 271, 6 December 1876.

had to earn her own economic independence. We see her working as hard in her old age as she ever did during her middle years.

In 1876, Koume was working as both artist and teacher, while also doing her part to support her family. In the early months of the year she spent several weeks helping Yūsuke get himself set up in Nishimura 西村 Village, where he had taken a job as an elementary school teacher. She also devoted much energy to the care of her grandchildren, particularly her eldest granddaughters Yone 米 and Tsune 恒, for both of whom the family was seeking suitable marriage partners. Tsune's case turned out to be particularly difficult, as over the next five years she endured several failed negotiations, and two marriages that ended quickly in divorce. But amid these family duties, Koume also worked hard to increase her income.

In July 1876, a relative helped get Koume a position as tutor to O-Tei お貞, a daughter in a senior branch of the Mizuno 水野, one of the great families of Kishū. Each morning Koume taught her pupil reading, writing, and drawing. It was understood that Koume would also make herself available to paint for O-Tei and other family members, and she often found herself staying late into the day painting, particularly for O-Tei's grandmother, who needed company and entertainment. The Mizuno paid her two yen a month—not a bad income for a part-time teacher, considering that Yūsuke only made four yen working full time at the Nishimura school. But for reasons that Koume was never able to discover, the Mizuno abruptly laid her off in November. Although she lost her most lucrative teaching position, Koume continued to accept students who would come to her house for instruction once or twice a week. In 1876 she was teaching two girls, Ayame あやめ and Masue 益恵. Both studied painting, and Ayame also studied literature and composition.

Koume also taught many of her son's students, particularly after Yūsuke abandoned school teaching and began to focus exclusively on his private academy at end of the 1870s. Koume often sat with Yūsuke's students, teaching reading and writing to some, and drawing and painting to others. In addition to teaching the students, Koume prepared copy-books, with examples of flowers, birds, and other common themes, for them to use as models in their drawing practice. Sometimes she just sat with them to keep them calm. On 16 August 1880, Yūsuke gave an exam to his students. "Many children came. Fusanosuke had a fight with the boy from the bathhouse, so I painted for them to calm them down. Then they all came upstairs and I painted for them, and they drew lots [for the paintings]. There were sixteen of them."[29] Incidentally, this incident also points to the democratization of Chinese learning in the new era: Yūsuke would probably not have taught the children of a bathhouse keeper in the Tokugawa era.

Koume worked with other teachers, particularly her patron and close family friend, Ichikawa Hiroshi 市川潤. The Kawai family's ties to the Ichikawa stretched all the way back to the 1840s, and there are hundreds of mentions of them throughout the diary. Ichikawa Hitoshi was the same generation as Hyōzō and Koume. He was a scholar, a poet, and a fellow teacher at the domain school. By the 1870s, Hitoshi's son Hiroshi was the family head. Like Yūsuke, Hiroshi became an elementary school teacher in 1876.[30] Later, like Yūsuke, he started his own private academy. The exact relationship between Yūsuke and Ichikawa's academy is unclear, but both Koume and Yūsuke often went there to offer

29 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 79, 16 May 1880.
30 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 42, 26 September 1878.

instruction or to paint with the students. For example, on 11 June 1877, Koume attended a school event to celebrate the autumn colors.[31] After a picnic lunch, she sat with the students and did seven paintings of autumn flowers, to which the students added poems. The event was in the *gassaku* (collaborative) tradition that Koume had valued so much in her years as a scholar's wife. But rather than the intangible capital accruing to Koume and Hyōzō in the Edo era, Koume's work on this occasion was part of the financial economy of the Kawai household. Yūsuke received a cash income for sharing Ichikawa's teaching work, part of which he shared with Koume.[32]

Koume's work as a teacher was partly to help Yūsuke, and partly for a little extra income for herself. But most of her effort went into her painting. The years between 1876 and 1882 (when the diary ends) were a period of extraordinary artistic activity for Koume. In her diary there are almost one hundred references to painting in each of the six years recorded by the diary, with many projects extending over days or weeks.[33] It is tempting to attribute this intense activity to Koume's greater leisure as a widow relieved from her duties as wife and mother, and finally free to pursue her lifelong love of painting and poetry. But it would be wrong to see Koume as a retired lady pursuing her passion. Although she was by now in her mid-seventies, Koume worked as hard as she ever had in her life. And her work was driven primarily by financial need.

Now that she had lost her husband, Koume was seldom invited to the creative gatherings that had been such an important part of his cultural circle. But she still received numerous commissions and requests. Some of these came from close friends and family members, and as she always had, Koume painted in the knowledge that the reward would be largely intangible. Other requests were from students, for whom she painted samples and copy-books. But most came from her patrons, who commissioned large numbers of paintings from her either for their personal use, or for circulation among the community of art lovers in Wakayama and the surrounding region.

Most prominent among Koume's patrons was Ichikawa Hiroshi. Through the late 1870s and into the 1880s, Ichikawa used his wide contact network to find commissions for Koume, who painted in a wide variety of genres and mediums for his friends and acquaintances. For example, on 14 November 1876,

> After noon, I worked on *tanzaku* 短冊 [rectangular paper used for poetry and painting] paintings of Yō Kihi 楊貴妃 [Yang Guifei, a famous beauty of Tang era China] requested by Ichikawa. Three paintings. In the early afternoon I went to Ichikawa to temporarily mount the paintings, and while [the glue] dried I painted a woman in a rice field as well as a *daruma* [stylized image of Bodhidharma]. Finished by the evening. Then I did another *tanzaku* with autumn leaves and cherry blossoms. When it got dark, they gave me saké. They also offered me food, but I didn't eat. Their maid accompanied me home as far as Omotebashi.[34]

31 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, p. 314, 11 June 1877.

32 For example, on 29 September 1877, Yūsuke received monthly tuition of 0.15 yen from a student. He divided the fee with Koume, giving her 0.06 yen. Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, p. 334.

33 Abe 2013, p. 516.

34 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, p. 270, 14 November 1876.

On 16 November, a letter from Ichikawa asked her to bring over some paintings she had been doing for a third party, and to stay overnight and do more painting. Koume had been planning to quietly mount paintings at home, but instead she went to the Ichikawa house and worked on paintings of roses, bamboo, daffodils, pinks, lotus, dandelions, and field horsetails. She worked all through that day and the next. On 17 November, "in the morning, I was asked to paint a pine in front of the rising sun, in gold on silk. I complied. Then I was called to lunch. I was planning to go home, but instead I painted the [portrait] I had promised, then five or six other paintings. I also quickly painted some masks on folding fans." She finally was able to go home late in the day.[35]

Ichikawa was placing Koume's work with new owners throughout the area. Sometimes Koume mentioned the name or location of the ultimate owner, though often she painted in bulk for Ichikawa to place the paintings in his own time. And he paid Koume for her work. Shortly before she went home from her overnight stay with Ichikawa, "a traveling saleswoman called Yasuno came [to the Ichikawa house], offering a purple-lined silk crepe kimono for 2.30 yen." Koume knocked the price down to two yen and bought the kimono. While this was a common thing for her to do in her prime, she very seldom bought clothes after becoming a widow. Clearly, she was in the mood to indulge herself a little. She added: "I used my own money for this. I had been told I would receive two silver coins [probably 0.25 yen each] in wages." This is one of the most explicit acknowledgments Koume makes that she was being paid by Ichikawa for her work. Just a month later, on 26 December 1876, she wrote: "Ichikawa came over, and as always he gave me two *shu*, or half a yen. Three of his students contributed 0.10 yen each."[36] Koume mentions receiving the same sum of money from Ichikawa, 0.50 yen, on two other occasions in her diary. At other times, she received smaller amounts of money from Ichikawa, or small gifts.[37]

Ichikawa was not the only patron who acted as commissioning agent for Koume's work. Sakai Baisai, another old family friend who was himself an artist, also sometimes requested work. For example, on 26 August 1878, Koume received a letter from Baisai asking her to paint six sliding screens (*fusuma*) for an acquaintance of his in Yamada village. Baisai specified that four were to be of chrysanthemums and two of plum blossoms, in black ink or in pale colors.[38] Later in the year, on 31 October, Sakai Kiyotami 酒井清民 (whose relationship to Baisai is unclear) sent a servant to pick up several paintings he had commissioned from Koume. In a letter, Sakai wrote "Since I am not planning to keep them myself, please name your price." Koume reflected: "I had no choice but to say how much, so I said 0.12 yen per painting. [The servant] immediately handed over the money and left. It certainly made me feel dirty (*hiretsu* 卑劣), but that's the world we now live in, so what can I do?" Since Koume had done six black ink paintings for Sakai, she was paid 0.72 yen.[39]

In October 1880, Koume traveled to Nango 永穂 Village, a half day's walk from Wakayama, where she spent more than two weeks working on a total of twenty-five *fusuma* screens for a family friend, Tsuji Kenzaemon 辻健左衛門. She painted flowers of the four

35 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 1, p. 270, 16 November 1876.
36 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, p. 277, 26 December 1876.
37 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 196, 22 January 1882; pp. 209–210, 13 April 1882.
38 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 36, 27 August 1878.
39 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 47, 31 October 1878.

seasons, lucky gods, and other scenes for the *fusuma*. Koume was also in charge of the delicate and time-consuming job of stretching the paper over the screens. And while she was staying with Kenzaemon, she received many visits from the villagers and their children, who often asked her to do small paintings. She was busy from morning till night, and ended up staying much longer than she had originally planned. Koume did not mention payment at the time, but the following year, on 20 March, she had a visit from Kenzaemon, who gave her a bolt of white cloth and one yen "as payment for the *fusuma* I did for him last year."[40]

On 10 June 1881, Koume discussed another commission in Nango Village, this time at the request of another old friend, Miwa Saizō 三輪才蔵, on behalf of the priest of Eishōji 永生寺 Temple. The main hall of the temple was being rebuilt, and Miwa wanted Koume to paint one hundred and eighty ceiling panels. In this case, the negotiation was transparent, and purely financial. Koume asked for 0.05 yen per panel, but she accepted the temple's counteroffer of 0.03 yen. It is unclear if Koume ever completed the commission, but the total fee for the project (5.40 yen) would have been substantial even at this low rate per panel. [41]

Between 1878 when she had found asking for money to be "dirty," and 1881 when she negotiated this contract, Koume's views on cash payment seem to have undergone a transformation. Since her patrons were old family friends, it is easy to see why Koume might have felt uncomfortable with the commercialization of her work. In the past, Koume had painted for the samurai community mainly in exchange for intangible rather than financial capital. It must have been difficult for her to discuss money transactions with those same people. However, painting for cash became acceptable for Koume, partly because she needed the money, but also because her friends were in turn selling her work to people she did not know. As she herself wrote, this commercial economy was the new world in which she lived.

Indeed, by the 1880s, Koume seems to have had a clear expectation of payment for her labor. Several times, she referred to payments she received for her work as a "wage" (*chin* 賃).[42] When she failed to receive an expected payment, she was embittered. On 27 August 1882, for example, "Kusano came to thank me for the paintings.… He gave me fifteen sweets and two hundred sheets of paper.… He had promised to give me 1 yen, but that's all he brought.… There's nothing I can do about it. It's a big loss."[43] In another entry, Koume complained: "I have been painting for many people, but I haven't even made one *sen* [0.01 yen]. It's charity."[44]

The members of the Kawai family's ex-samurai community were the hardest to work with. While some, like Ichikawa, clearly understood the economic importance for Koume of her work, there remained an awkwardness around the question of money, and a tendency for others to undervalue Koume's work. Koume's identity as a female artist in the *bunjinga* tradition, whose practitioners had always prided themselves on their remove from the sordid commerce of the marketplace, made it all the harder for her to ask for money.

But in this new Meiji era, Koume also found a market in the burgeoning commercial culture. Increasingly, she became involved in commercial ventures with residents of the

40 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 128, 20 March 1881.
41 For a discussion of this commission, see Takeuchi 2012.
42 See, for example, Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 204, 17 March 1882.
43 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 243, 27 August 1882.
44 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 220, 31 May 1882.

townsmen's quarters, as well as with ex-samurai who had gone into business for themselves. These ventures also led her into a variety of new types of painting.

From the late 1870s, Koume began drawing stencil designs for embroidered cloth (*oshi-e* 押絵). She mostly collaborated with an Aoyama 青山 to produce a large number of drawings, and worked with seamstresses to create the finished product. For example, on 12 April 1878, Koume spent the day drawing humorous pictures, including one of a baby racoon carrying a flask of saké, and one of a monkey stealing peaches. The next day, some of Aoyama's workers came and worked on embroidering the designs onto cloth. Koume added her own touches to the finished cloth, painting it to embellish the work. Koume also worked on painting cloth to stretch over paper or wooden boxes (*haribako*), although it is unclear if she did this as a commercial venture.[45]

On 26 April 1878, Take 竹, one of the women living in the Kawai rental houses, came to Koume to ask her to paint the curtain (*noren* 暖簾) of a rickshaw the family had acquired. Koume spent much of the day painting an imaginative design. Take had asked her to include the character for bamboo (*take* 竹), so Koume wrote a poem and painted it on the cloth:

竹の子ものり出て社(こそ)千代のかげ

Takenoko mo
Nori idete koso
Chiyo no kage

If you ride the bamboo shoot, you will have eternal shade.[46]

Above the poem she painted a bolt of lightning in black and indigo, as well as a pair of bamboo stilts; and below, she painted a humorous image of a dwarf. On 31 May 1880, Suzuki Yoshiemon 鈴木芳右衛門 came over to ask Koume to paint a pair of *noren*. Koume undertook the commission, and delivered it on 4 June. On 12 July, the Suzuki family gave her 0.50 yen for the *noren* in addition to three other paintings.[47]

Clearly, Koume was painting for a living. And she was extremely busy with it. Her output during the six years from 1876 to 1882 was enormous, and it increased as time went on. Koume mentioned her painting activities 225 times between 1876 and 1878, but 318 times between 1880 and 1882, the last year of the diary. Undoubtedly she loved painting, but often her descriptions made it sound more like work than pleasure. Koume describes staying up late at night painting; working to finish paintings even though she felt unwell; working with frozen hands in the winter; struggling to mount paper as her glue froze; and tearing up drafts as she struggled to get a painting right for a client. For example, on 10 March 1877, she wrote, "Since yesterday I have been working on the painting requested by Yoshiyama Suitei 吉山水偵, on paper of five to six *sun* [15–18cm], but it just won't come out well. I tore one draft I did into pieces. Oh dear, it's hard." Four days later, she wrote, "Today

45 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 16, 12 April 1878.
46 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 19, 26 April 1878.
47 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 82, 31 May 1880; p. 82, 4 June 1880; p. 91, 12 July 1880.

I finished the three small paintings requested by Yoshiyama. They came out much worse than I expected. It was cold so that the glue froze."[48] In a particularly woeful entry, she recounted,

> Worked on my painting of pine trees that I'm supposed to send to Ichikawa tomorrow. But I couldn't do it. I was disgusted with myself, so I drank seven and a half *choko* [small cups] of saké all at once. Kano came home from Naito, and I listened to her [while she told me about family problems], but then I began to feel sick as well as drunk. [Later] I picked up the brazier to carry it downstairs, but I dropped it, and the hot ashes scattered everywhere. When Kano heard the noise she came up, and she pushed me out of the way and stomped on the embers.[49]

In August 1882, an exciting request was delivered to Koume. The prefecture was planning to submit several works of art to the Domestic Painting Competitive Exhibition (Naikoku Kaiga Kyōshinkai 内国絵画共進会) to be held in Ueno Park in Tokyo starting 1 October, and a prefectural official invited Koume to submit some paintings. Koume was summoned to the prefectural offices, where the official read her the rationale for the exhibition: "These days the fashion is for Western art, oil paintings and things foreign, and Japanese art is being completely abandoned.… His Majesty is concerned that people have become ignorant of the way things used to be, and so we are asking traditional painters such as the Kanō family, painters in the Chinese style, and Utagawa Toyokuni and painters in the Maruyama style and others to contribute to the exhibition." Excited at the invitation, Koume responded that, "I will submit two paintings, one of a court lady looking at flowers, the other of peonies, orchids and crab apple blossoms. I paint in the *bunjinga* school, having learned painting under Nogiwa Hakusetsu, who was a student of Noro Kaiseki."[50]

Both were subjects she had painted many times, but she took her commission very seriously, painting multiple drafts and having her work professionally mounted before she was satisfied enough to submit it at the end of August. From September till December, Koume wrote many entries about the exhibition in her diary. She was excited to think of her work being exhibited in the Ueno Park exhibition hall, and she also had to deal with all sorts of paperwork coming out of the prefectural office.

The exhibition was widely reported in the press. It featured the work of 2,480 artists. The emperor visited the exhibition on 24 October, and the publicity brought huge crowds to view the show. (At a second exhibition held two years later, soldiers had to be brought in to control the crowds.)[51] The exhibitors included some of Japan's most celebrated artists, and prizes were awarded to twenty-nine exhibitors. One celebrity artist, Kawanabe Kyōsai 河鍋暁斎 (1831–1889), shocked the judges by putting a price tag of one hundred yen on a black ink painting of a crow.[52]

48 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 2, p. 290, 10 March 1877.
49 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, pp. 114–115, 7 January 1881.
50 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, pp. 239–240, 15 August 1882. Noro Kaiseki 野呂介石 (1747–1828).
51 Buckland 2013, p. 3 See also Miwa Hideo, "Naikoku kaiga kyōshinkai" in Kokushi Daijiten (https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=30010zz354090; last accessed 6 January 2022).
52 *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 15 November 1881, p. 1.

However, Koume's artwork was not so avidly received. On 22 December 1882, she reported, "I went to the prefectural office. My works were indeed exhibited at the prize show [in Tokyo]." But "The ink painting was sold for 0.50 yen, while the painting of the court lady will come back [to Wakayama]. The price was very low. It barely covers the cost of the paper."[53]

The concern of the organizers of the Domestic Painting Competitive Exhibition that traditional Japanese arts had fallen into decay turned out to be misplaced. The early Meiji years opened new possibilities for professional artists in the literati style, including women. The boom in education, including Chinese studies, the continuing rise in incomes of the commercial and farming classes, and the spread of printed materials including primers on Chinese poetry and painting, contributed to the popularity of *bunjinga* painting in the years after the Meiji Restoration. Far from falling into decay, its practitioners experienced a boom in interest and demand, accompanied by what Yurika Wakamatsu calls "commercialism and commodification on a scale never witnessed before."[54] Indeed, one critic commented of this period that anyone with a little knowledge of Chinese culture thought they could paint "landscapes, orchids, or bamboos, by merely smearing India paper with ink."[55] Although most professional artists in the *bunjinga* style continued to be male, some women were able to take advantage of the "wide-open atmosphere" of new possibilities in the early Meiji period.[56] The aforementioned Okuhara Seiko, who had a studio and academy in Tokyo, was so popular that "an article in the newspaper *Yūbin Hōchi Shinbun* 郵便報知新聞 proclaimed that two things had come to be sold nonstop in Tokyo since the Meiji Restoration of 1868: Hōtan 宝丹, a medicine for intestinal problems that was said to prevent cholera, and paintings executed by Okuhara Seiko."[57]

Whether or not she was aware of these trends, Koume worked hard to establish herself as a professional artist through the late 1870s and early 1880s, and she was consistently in demand as a painter in the *bunjinga* style, as well as in a variety of other genres. She expected to be paid, and, increasingly she was rewarded in cash for her work. But her age, gender, and class background hampered her efforts. At best, she was able to eke out a modest income. The evidence from the diary is very partial, but it appears that Koume was earning around 0.12–0.13 yen for a single painting, and 0.50 yen for sets of paintings that might take from one to several days to execute. Adding up the fragmentary references to payment, it seems reasonable to conclude that Koume was making between 2 and 4 yen a month from her painting. Koume's income could not compare with that of Okuhara Seiko or other celebrity female artists of the time. Nor indeed was she able to earn as much as the artisans and craftsmen living in the townsmen's quarters. Koume's income was more comparable to that of a female textile factory worker.[58]

53 Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974, vol. 3, p. 265, 22 December 1882.
54 Wakamatsu 2016, p. 15; Buckland 2013, pp. 43–95; Fraleigh 2015.
55 Quoted in Buckland 2013, p. 100.
56 See Howell 2009, p. 204.
57 Wakamatsu 2016, p. 171. According to Wakamatsu, a price list published in 1882 states that the going rate for a painting by Seiko was seven yen (p. 196).
58 According to the standard compendium of long-term statistics, carpenters in 1885 earned an average 5.675 yen for a twenty-five-day working month. Female textile workers earned 2.825 yen. Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku 1987, vol. 4, pp. 228–231 (chart 16–1).

Koume was able to engage in these semi-professional painting activities because of the profound changes that were taking place in her own society. The social contract, in which she had accepted her role as a mostly unpaid cultural producer in exchange for the intangible capital accruing to herself and her husband in a world of status and privilege, had disappeared together with the disestablishment of the samurai elite. In the new environment of equal rights and the privileging of commercial development, Koume had opportunities to pursue her painting as a professional activity. Indeed, the world she now lived in at times demanded that she set a price for her services.

However, the evidence of the diary suggests that her ability to professionalize her work was only partial. The one salaried job she took, as art teacher to the daughter of the wealthy Mizuno family, lasted only a few months before being abruptly terminated without explanation. As an artist, Koume was sometimes able to negotiate directly for monetary payment for her work. She herself expressed discomfort with the need to ask for money. But more often, she expressed her frustration at the difficulties she encountered monetizing her efforts. Those frustrations were particularly evident when she was dealing with former members of her samurai circle, who tended to still see her as a scholar's wife, producing art for the sake of intangible benefits, and who failed to acknowledge her need to provide for herself.

Conclusion: Art and Gender in an Age of Revolution

In the basement of Wakayama Castle, there is a display of a half dozen famous citizens of the prefecture. They include Matsushita Kōnosuke 松下幸之助 (1894–1989), founder of the National/Panasonic electronics empire; Mutsu Munemitsu 陸奥宗光 (1844–1897), one of the great statesmen of the Meiji era; and Kawai Koume. We learn from this exhibit that Koume's grandfather, father, husband, and son were all teachers in the domain school; that she married early; that she kept a diary; and that her substantial body of work "was not merely a housewife's hobby, but was an accomplishment that earned her the name of artist." Similarly, the most comprehensive work on Kishū artists of the Edo era devotes three-quarters of its brief entry on "The Female Artist, Koume-san" to her pedigree. Each of the male members of her family—grandfather, father, and husband—is introduced, as well as her (male) teachers of poetry and painting. The entry mentions Koume's diary. Only at the end does it describe in a few words two of her paintings, before concluding: "Koume was particularly good at these kinds of paintings of beautiful women, and of flowers and birds."[59] As an artist, Koume's most distinctive features were not her style or the quality of her work, but her (male) scholarly pedigree and her gender. Even today, it seems that Koume is defined to a great extent by those social markers, neither of which she chose.

Status and gender are indeed two of the most pervasive categories of historical identity in Tokugawa Japan, and no scholar of Tokugawa-era women's history can altogether avoid their pervasive reach. In the decades after the Meiji Restoration, the rigidity of the Tokugawa-era social system, "one of the most conscious attempts in history to freeze society in a rigid hierarchical mold," was often taken for granted, a useful foil for the celebration of Japan's successful modernization. [60] Women, in particular, were seen as victims of an

59 Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 2016, p. 57.
60 Norman 1940, p. 12.

oppressive Confucian patriarchy, doomed to "'the three obediences,'—obedience, while yet unmarried, to a father; obedience, when married, to a husband and that husband's parents; obedience, when widowed, to a son."[61]

Later research has cast doubt on the rigidity and even the meaning of these categories. Class boundaries turn out to have been surprisingly porous. Intermarriage between members of different status groups was relatively common, as were career jumps between groups (Koume's own family offers several examples). There was no dominant ideology of race or caste to keep people in a fixed place.[62] Rather, the system is best understood, as Maren Ehlers recently defined it, as "a flexible mechanism of governance that accommodated social change and inspired people's energies and aspirations."[63]

Women's destinies, too, were far more varied and (often) empowered than Tokugawa gender ideologies might lead us to expect. In her biography of the poet and activist Matsuo Taseko 松尾多勢子 (1811–1894), Anne Walthall asserts that, "To become a woman is a process in no sense fixed." Walthall's protagonist was able to occupy a conventionally respectable position in society and play a vital role in the economic life of her family; but, when she felt the call, she was also able to throw herself into the activist politics of the restoration movement.[64] Amy Stanley's recent biography of Tsuneno, a priest's daughter from Niigata, vividly illustrates her protagonist's willingness to risk everything in the hope of forging for herself a new and better life in Edo, ultimately helping to "shape the modern world that she would not live to see."[65] A popular Edo-era *sugoroku* 双六 board game offered women thirty possible paths in life, including maid, midwife, child-minder, shamisen player, bride, brothel keeper, schoolteacher, acupuncturist, and tomboy.[66] "Real life," writes David Howell, "is infinitely complex. Even with all the structures to classify and thereby constrain social relations—household, community, and national status order—people nonetheless found ample space to engage in all manner of activities autonomously of status, however defined."[67]

Koume's life as artist and household manager, while conventionally respectable and in no way challenging to the Tokugawa ideologies of class and gender, also shows the inadequacy of those categories to describe the complex world in which she lived and worked. Koume was far more than "The Female Artist, Koume-san" described so condescendingly in the compendium of Kishū painters.

Despite its elite scholarly pedigree, her family was relatively poor. It had close ties to the merchant classes, and Koume was as much at home gossiping with shopkeepers and servants as she was in the company of scholars and retainers. Like social actors at all levels of society, Koume was determined to use her skills and energy for the betterment of her life, and of her family. She played a leading role in almost every aspect of her family's social, economic, and cultural lives. And although the conventions of class and gender precluded her from openly

61 Chamberlain 1902, p. 424.
62 Howell 2005, p. 25.
63 Ehlers 2018, p. 2.
64 Walthall 1998, p. 59.
65 Stanley 2020. The quote is from Stanley 2016, p. 447.
66 Yabuta and Yanagiya 2010, pp. 3–4 The game is "New sugoroku game for instructions in female success" (*Shinpan musume teikin shusse sugoroku* 新版娘庭訓出世雙六). See also https://library.u-gakugei.ac.jp/digitalarchive/pdf/honji-sugoroku1.pdf (Accessed 12 January 2020).
67 Howell 2005, p. 43.

pursuing a professional artistic career, she accepted commissions and requests from a wide range of constituents, from leading cultural figures to maidservants. Her painting, injected into the complex economy of gift exchange, helped enhance her family's material well-being. And through her art, she helped advance her family's cultural standing and contributed to the advancement of her husband's career.

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan's social and economic conditions changed significantly, particularly for the *bushi* class. While some scholars have pointed to the disruption and resistance created by this era of change, others have emphasized the new sense of potential, particularly for women who mobilized to call for changes in their status and legal rights.[68] For Koume, the new era brought the challenges of lost status, widowhood, and economic insecurity. As she had throughout her life, Koume accepted the status quo. She was not an activist, nor, in her diary at least, did she articulate a vision of new opportunities. Outwardly, her life appeared to be that of a dignified widow, pursuing elegant accomplishments in her old age. But once again, she refused to be defined by labels of status, gender, or age. Driven by economic need and loyalty to her family, she worked extraordinarily hard to produce works of art that would be valued and compensated accordingly. Despite the enormous challenges for someone of her age, class background, and gender, she moved toward establishing herself as a self-supporting, professional artist.

Koume faced many challenges. Her one salaried job was insecure and lasted only a few months. As an artist, Koume struggled at times to obtain reasonable compensation for her efforts. Her frustrations were particularly evident when she was dealing with former members of her samurai circle, who tended still to see her in terms of her role as a scholar's wife producing art as an elegant hobby, and who failed to acknowledge her need to provide for herself. Her class background and her gender remained obstacles to the fulfilment of her aspirations.

Yet the fact remains that faced with the loss of much that had made her life comfortable and pleasant, Koume confronted the challenges of the brave new world of the Meiji state mostly without complaint. Many were the days when she painted in the cold, her hands barely able to feel the brush, the glue she used to mount her paper coming unstuck from the cold. She painted furiously, sometimes completing dozens of sketches in a day, other times painting and repainting the same work until she was satisfied that she had it right. She persevered out of determination and need. And, increasingly, she was able to establish a stable place for herself in the commercial economy of artistic production. Kawai Koume never achieved wealth or fame as an artist, nor did she stake a claim as an activist pushing against the boundaries of social custom or political ideology. Nevertheless, her work seems more like the trailblazing of a pioneer than the leisurely pastime of a retired old lady.

68 See, for example, Sugano 2010; Anderson 2011.

REFERENCES

Abe 2013

Abe Takeshi 阿部健. 2013. *Bakumatsu Kishū Kawai Koume no wandafuru wārudo* 幕末紀州川合小梅のワンダフルワールド. Aunsha, 2013.

Anderson 2011

Marnie S. Anderson. "Women's Agency and the Historical Record: Reflections on Female Activists in Nineteenth-Century Japan." *Journal of Women's History* 23 (2011), pp. 38–55.

Buckland 2013

Rosina Buckland. *Painting Nature for the Nation: Taki Katei and the Challenges to Sinophile Culture in Meiji Japan*. Brill, 2013.

Chamberlain 1902

Basil Hall Chamberlain. *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan for the use of Travellers and Others*. J. Murray Kelly & Walsh, 1902.

Ehlers 2018

Maren Annika Ehlers. *Give and Take: Poverty and the Status Order in Early Modern Japan*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2018.

Fister 1988

Patricia Fister. *Japanese Women Artists, 1600–1900*. Spencer Museum of Art/Harper & Row, 1988.

Fraleigh 2015

Matthew Fraleigh. "Kanshibun in the Late Edo Period." In *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane. Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 465–470.

Howell 2005

David L. Howell. *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. University of California Press, 2005.

Howell 2009

David L. Howell. "The Girl with the Horse-Dung Hairdo." In *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II*, ed. Jennifer Purtle. Center for the Arts of East Asia, 2009, pp. 203–219.

Kawai, Shiga, and Murata 1974

Kawai Koume 川合小梅, Shiga Yasuharu 志賀裕春, and Murata Shizuko 村田靜子. *Koume nikki: Bakumatsu, Meiji o Kishū ni ikiru* 小梅日記: 幕末・明治を紀州に生きる. Heibonsha, 1974. 3 volumes.

Kondō 2019

Kondō Takashi 近藤壮. *Kawai Koume no sakuhin to gagyō: 'Dai jūikkai Koume ki' kōen kiroku* 川合小梅の作品と画業:「第十一回小梅忌」講演記録. Koume Nikki o Tanoshimu Kai, 2019.

Lippit 2008

Yukio Lippit. "Urakami Gyokudō: An Intoxicology of Japanese Literati Painting." In *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper. National Gallery of Art, 2008, pp. 166–187.

Norman 1940
E. Herbert Norman. *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period*. International Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940.
Ōtsuki 1837
Ōtsuki Gentaku et al, *Kankai ibun* 環海異聞, 1837 (ms).
Satō 2015
Satō Yasuhiro 佐藤康宏. "Chūgoku no bunjinga to Nihon no nanga" 中国の文人画と日本の南画. In *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* vol. 6 *Higashi Ajia no naka no Nihon bijutsu* 日本美術全集 6 東アジアの中の日本美術, ed. Itakura Masaaki 板倉聖哲. Shōgakkan, 2015, pp. 194–201.
Shindo 1954
Motokazu Shindo. "The Inflation in the Early Meiji Era: History of Inflation in Japan." *Kyoto University Economic Review* 24:2 (1954), pp. 39–59.
Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku 1987
Sōmuchō Tōkeikyoku 総務庁統計局. *Nihon chōki tōkei sōran* 日本長期統計総覧. 5 vols. Nihon Tōkei Kyōkai, 1987
Stanley 2016
Amy Stanley. "Maidservants' Tales: Narrating Domestic and Global History in Eurasia, 1600–1900." *The American Historical Review* 121 (2016), pp. 437–460.
Stanley 2020
Amy Stanley. *Stranger in the Shogun's City: A Woman's Life in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Vintage Books, 2020.
Sugano 2010
Sugano Noriko. "Kishida Toshiko and the Career of a Public-Speaking Woman in Meiji Japan." In *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*, eds. Peter F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G. G. Rowley. University of Michigan Press, 2010, pp. 171-190.
Takeuchi 2012
Takeuchi Yoshinobu 武内善信. "Kawai Koume no gagyō ni tsuite no gonin" 川合小梅の画業についての誤認. *Wakayama chihōshi kenkyū* 和歌山地方史研究 63 (2012), pp. 26–30.
Wakamatsu 2016
Yurika Wakamatsu. "Painting in Between: Gender and Modernity in the Japanese Literati Art of Okuhara Seiko (1837–1913)." PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2016.
Wakayama-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 2012
Wakayama-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 和歌山市教育委員会, ed. *Wakayama-shi no ijin, senjin* 和歌山市の偉人・先人. Wakayama-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 2012.
Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 2016
Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 和歌山市立博物館. *Jōkamachi Wakayama no eshitachi: Edo jidai no Kishū gadan; Tokubetsu ten* 城下町和歌山の絵師たち: 江戸時代の紀州画壇; 特別展. Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, 2016.

Walthall 1998

Anne Walthall. *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration*. University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Yabuta and Yanagiya 2010

Yabuta Yutaka 藪田貫 and Yanagiya Keiko 柳谷慶子. *Mibun no naka no josei* 身分のなかの女性. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010.

Yonezawa and Yoshizawa 1974

Yonezawa Yoshiho and Yoshizawa Chū. *Japanese Painting in the Literati Style*. Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1974.

Japan Review 36 (2021): 89–109

Fictitious Images of the Ainu: *Ishū Retsuzō* and Its Back Story

SHIRAISHI Eri*

In 1789, there was an Ainu uprising against Wajin (Japanese) in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts of eastern Ezo. The uprising was quickly quelled in what is often referred to as the Battle of Kunashiri-Menashi. A year later, Matsumae domain, assigned by the Tokugawa shogunate to govern Ezo, completed *Ishū retsuzō*, a set of portraits of twelve Ainu chiefs who collaborated with the domain in suppressing the uprising. The paintings, executed by Kakizaki Hakyō (1764–1826), were intended not just to honor the chiefs' deeds but also to represent Confucian ideals. This was a time when the shogunate was campaigning to revive Confucianism. It duly commissioned a work of similar style and purpose, namely the *Kenjō no sōji*, a set of wall panels for the Shishinden Hall in the imperial palace in Kyoto featuring thirty-two Chinese sages. Was the contemporaneous creation of these two sets of paintings a mere coincidence? *Ishū retsuzō* was first taken to Kyoto, where it was viewed by Confucian scholars, court nobles, and the emperor himself. The visually striking portraits enjoyed a quiet popularity among intellectuals and daimyo in Kyoto and Edo. Toward the end of the Edo period, part of the *Ishū retsuzō* was included in publications by Ezo explorer Matsuura Takeshirō. Contrary to the original intent of the work, it was used to introduce the "customs" of the Ainu, and was even introduced to Europe as such.

Keywords: Matsumae domain, Kakizaki Hakyō [Hirotoshi], Ezo, *kōshinzu*, *Kenjō no sōji*, Matsudaira Sadanobu, Emperor Kōkaku, Matsuura Takeshirō

Introduction

The *Ishū retsuzō* 夷酋列像, a set of portraits of twelve Ainu chiefs, is one of the leading works of Kakizaki Hakyō 蠣崎波響 (Kakizaki Shōgen Hirotoshi 蠣崎将監広年, 1764–1826), a painter and poet who was also a house elder (*karō* 家老) of Matsumae 松前 domain. His work inspired a major exhibition in 2015–2016 called *Ishū retsuzō, the Image of Ezo: Tracing*

* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers, and to John Breen, acting editor of *Japan Review*. This work is a revised and translated edition of Shiraishi 2019, supported by KAKENHI (20K00928).

Persons, Things and the World which was held in Sapporo, Chiba, and Osaka.[1] The Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) introduced the exhibition on national television, all at once making the existence of the *Ishū retsuzō* widely known. The exhibition provided a thorough overview of research on the *Ishū retsuzō* conducted over the three decades since 1984, when eleven of the original twelve portraits were discovered, along with the *Ishū retsuzō jo* 夷酋列像序 (Introduction to the *Ishū retsuzō*) at the Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology of Besançon, eastern France. The exhibition catalogue includes the latest research findings, numerous photographs showing details of each original portrait, materials relating to hand-copied versions of the original work, a chronology, and a bibliography. The lineage of copies and imitations is well set out, and the relationships among the daimyo who owned versions of the works and the painters who did the copying are described in detail. The historical and social background of the imagery itself, however, awaits scholarly attention.

Ishū retsuzō, a grand project fully backed by Matsumae domain, is a mysterious set of paintings. No one has been able to answer such basic questions as why Matsumae domain commissioned the work; how many copies they commissioned, and for whom; how Hakyō created the unlikely portraits and why the project took him one whole year; why *Ishū retsuzō* was carried first to Kyoto instead of Edo; and how it was that one set of original copies made its way to France. This study is especially concerned with shedding new light on the hidden intent behind the production of *Ishū retsuzō*. For clues to Matsumae motives, I focus here on the shogunate's cultural policy of restoring a Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, on relationships between the Tokugawa shogunate and the imperial court, and on the contemporaneous paintings of a similar style in the Shishinden 紫宸殿 Hall of the imperial palace, namely the panel portraits of Chinese sages known as *Kenjō no sōji* 賢聖障子.

Production of *Ishū Retsuzō* and the Imperial Viewing

The *Ishū retsuzō* set of portraits was created in the aftermath of an Ainu uprising in the eastern Ezo districts of Kunashiri and Menashi in the fifth month of Kansei 寛政 1 (1789) (figure 1). It began as a riot triggered by repeated cases of inhumane treatment (including forced labor) of Ainu workers by Hidaya 飛騨屋, the *basho ukeoi shōnin* 場所請負商人, or merchant contracted by Matsumae domain to administer affairs with the Ainu in specific districts (*basho*).[2] When Matsumae domain dispatched an armed force to suppress the uprising, some Ainu chiefs collaborated with the domain. The uprising was quickly quelled in what became known as the Battle of Kunashiri-Menashi, but not before many on both sides had died.

To "honor the meritorious service" of the Ainu chiefs who had collaborated, domain lord Matsumae Michihiro 松前道広 (1754–1832) commissioned Kakizaki Hakyō to make portraits of the chiefs. He began work immediately, and completed the set of portraits in about one year. Hakyō's uncle Matsumae Hironaga 松前広長 (1737–1801) was then commissioned to write an introduction (*Ishū retsuzō jo*), as well as a supplement (*Ishū retsuzō*

1 The official Japanese title of the exhibition is *Ishū retsuzō: Ezochi imēji o meguru hito, mono, sekai* 夷酋列像: 蝦夷地イメージをめぐる人・物・世界.

2 Iwasaki argues that, "[The incident] was what is known as friction between different cultures, and occurred when the order of prescribed relations was threatened from the viewpoint of both the Ainu and Japanese." See Iwasaki 1998, p. 200.

Figure 1. Left: "Ikotoi"; center: "Shonko"; right: "Tsukinoe." From the *Ishū retsuzō* by Kakizaki Hakyō. 1790. Color on silk. 40.0 x 30.0 cm each. © Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie de Besançon. Photo by Pierre Guénat.

furoku 夷酋列像附録).[3] The latter deals with the history of Ainu subjugation by Matsumae domain, the details of the 1789 battle, and also sketches in the biographies of the Ainu chiefs portrayed.

The *Ishū retsuzō* portraits appear to be a product of Hakyō's own imagination. Matsumae Hironaga insisted that twelve chiefs, including one woman, be chosen from among more than forty Ainu who received an audience with the Matsumae domain lord, but historical accounts indicate that only five Ainu out of the twelve actually visited Matsumae castle.[4] It is not clear whether Hakyō had a chance to meet the other seven that he painted, and it is hard to imagine that he sketched them individually since they all display stereotypical facial features. Hakyō's work was overseen by Matsumae Michihiro and Matsumae Hironaga among others.

In the eleventh month of Kansei 2 (1790), Hakyō left Matsumae for Kyoto, carrying with him the completed *Ishū retsuzō* portraits. In the second month of the following year, he arrived in Kyoto, and took up residence at the Masuya 升屋 Inn at Kiyamachi Sanjō-agaru 木屋町三条上ル.[5] There he made clean copies of the portrait set. Through the auspices of his acquaintance and fellow painter Ōhara Donkyō 大原呑響 (?–1810) and loyalist intellectual Takayama Hikokurō 高山彦九郎 (1747–1793), he was able to show these copies to such local cultural figures as Confucian scholar Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園 (1734–1807); the Classical Chinese poet Rikunyo 六如 (1734–1801); Daiten Zenji 大典禅師 (1719–1801), the abbot of Shōkokuji 相国寺 Temple and friend of the painter Itō Jakuchū 伊藤若冲 (1716–1800); and the Tendai priest and poet, Jien 慈延 (1748–1805). Takayama borrowed Hakyō's portraits, and showed them to members of influential aristocratic families like the Iwakura 岩倉—with whom he was staying at the time—Fushihara 伏原, and Hiramatsu 平松.

3 There are two versions of the *Ishū retsuzō furoku*, one written in *katakana*, block style (*ichimei mōi zuga kokuji furoku* 一名毛夷図画国字附録 [Supplement to the Ainu portraits, written in Japanese script]) and the other in *hiragana*, cursive style.

4 *Kansei Ezo ran torishirabe nikki*, p. 725. The five Ainu were Shimochi, Ininkari, Nishikomake, Ikorikayani, and Chikiriashikai, a sixty-five-year-old female.

5 *Kansei Kyōto nikki*, p. 45.

In the meantime, a messenger (identity unknown) from Matsumae domain approached twelve prominent Confucianists in Kyoto to write testimonial poems (*san* 賛) for the *Ishū retsuzō*. These men included Minagawa Kien, Akamatsu Sōshū 赤松滄州 (1721–1801), Ōta Gan'ō 太田玩鴎 (1745–1804), and Tatsu Sōro 龍草廬 (1714–1792). In the fifth month of the same year, Matsumae Hirohide 松前広英 (1761– ?), Hironaga's heir, also arrived in Kyoto. He commissioned Minagawa Kien to write about Matsumae's manufacture of cannons for the dual purpose of defending the coastline against the incursion of Russian ships, and for dealing with any future Ainu uprising.[6]

Soon afterward, in the seventh month of Kansei 3 (1791), Sasaki Nagahide 佐々木長秀 (dates unknown), a retainer of Einin 盈仁 (1772–1830), the prince-abbot of the Shōgoin 聖護院 Temple, borrowed the *Ishū retsuzō* from Hakyō. Einin then showed the portraits to his brother, Emperor Kōkaku 光格天皇 (r. 1779–1817).[7] The emperor honored Hakyō with a gift of an inkstone, which he treasured. Hakyō even made a seal bearing the legend "Previously Viewed by the Emperor" (*sokyō tenran* 曽経天覧) that he would affix to works he was especially fond of. Hakyō left Kyoto immediately thereafter, and by the end of the ninth month was back in Matsumae with the original set. The domain held a grand banquet to celebrate the emperor's appreciation of the "Ainu portraits."[8] Meanwhile, about three months after the imperial viewing, Matsumae Hirohide left Kyoto carrying with him another copy of the *Ishū retsuzō*, and this time headed for Edo. There, in the eleventh month, he requested Inoue Shimei 井上四明 (1730–1819), a Confucian scholar-official of Okayama 岡山 domain, to write a foreword for the collection, which he styled *Ezo zuzō san* 蝦夷図像賛.[9] He had Confucian scholar Yūki (Inuzuka) Inami 結城(犬塚)印南 (1750–1813), who had studied at the Shōheikō 昌平黌, the shogunate's official academy, write an afterword.

Hakyō as Painter

Kakizaki Hakyō was the son of Matsumae Sukehiro 松前資広 (1726–1765), the seventh lord of Matsumae domain. He lived in the domain's Edo residence until the age of twenty, and later served as a house elder. On the recommendation of his uncle, Matsumae Hironaga, Hakyō studied painting first with Takebe Ryōtai 建部凌岱 (1719–1774) and then with Sō Shiseki 宋紫石 (1715–1786), both of the Nanpin 南蘋 school.[10] The young Hakyō appears to

6 According to Minagawa Kien, Matsumae Hirohide came to see him in the fifth month of Kansei 3 (1791) and commissioned him to write an account of cannon manufacture in the domain. Earlier, in the third month of that year, Kakizaki "Hirotoshi" had entered Kyoto by domain order and, at his lodging, copied the "eleven [sic] portraits of meritorious Ainu chiefs," and had a "messenger" visit Kien asking for a poem. It has long been presumed that either Matsumae Hirohide or Kakizaki Hakyō himself asked Kien and other Kyoto Confucianists for a poem, but Kien's account indicates a third party was responsible. See *Matsumae-kō shinsei taihō ki*, p. 241.

7 Sasaki and Tanimoto 2017, p. 146.

8 Nagata 1988, p. 90.

9 A later reproduction is held today by the Matsura Historical Museum. See Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan 2015, p. 178.

10 This was a school of realistic painting featuring gorgeous coloring and meticulous brush techniques. It was introduced to Japan by Chinese painter Shen Nanpin 沈南蘋 (Jp. Shin Nanpin; 1682–1760), who came to Nagasaki in the twelfth lunar month of Kyōhō 享保 16 (1731). During his less-than-two-year stay in Japan, Shen taught painting to Nagasaki artist, Kumashiro Yūhi 神代熊斐 (1712–1773). Many pupils from across Japan came to Nagasaki to study under Kumashiro. On the spread of the Nanpin style of painting, see Miyajima 1985 and Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2001.

Figure 2. Detail from *Nanban kishi no zu* (Drawings of European knights), by Kakizaki Hakyō. Late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth century. Sumi on paper. 27.9 x 19.7 cm. Collection of the Hakodate City Central Library.

have been apprenticed to Ryōtai for only a brief period of time. His relations with Sō Shiseki are mentioned in a number of biographical publications from the late Edo to Meiji periods. Volume 3 of the *Gajō yōryaku* 画乗要略 (Brief history of painting, 1832) mentions that he was called "Shōgen," and studied under Sō Shiseki, and that he was known in the northern provinces of Mutsu 陸奥 and Dewa 出羽 for his paintings of birds and flowers. In an essay published in 1907, Kōno Saisen 河野犀川 (1862–1930) drew on the Kakizaki family archive to confirm that Hakyō studied under Shiseki for three years from An'ei 安永 7 (1778) when he was fifteen. During this time, his painting technique greatly improved. Kōno also notes that he produced many outstanding works under the name of Kyōu 杏雨.[11]

Sō Shiseki (real name Kusumoto Kōhachirō 楠本幸八郎) was born in Edo, went to Nagasaki at the age of around forty during the Hōreki 宝暦 era (1751–1764), and studied painting first with Kumashiro Yūhi and then with Song Ziyan (Sō Shigan) 宋紫岩 (? –1760), a Chinese painter who came to Japan in Hōreki 8 (1758). His elaborate Chinese-influenced painting technique, which Shiseki himself called "a method of drawing things as they are" (*shasei shinsha hō* 写生真写法), was favorably received in Edo, where modern empiricism was enjoying popularity owing to the influence of Dutch learning, as well as Korean practical studies (*silhak*; *jitsugaku* 実学). Shiseki was in charge of illustrations for the *Butsurui hinshitsu* 物類品隲 (Classification of materials, 1763) written by multi-talented physician and inventor Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 (1728–1780). There is evidence of Hakyō's study of Western painting in the *Nanban kishi no zu* 南蛮騎士の図 (Drawings of European knights; figure 2), which is said to be in Hakyō's hand. He copied this series of drawings from hanging maps originally produced in the Netherlands in the second half of the seventeenth century.[12] Hakyō presumably encountered the original through someone close to Sō Shiseki, who had European geographical works in his collection.

Shiseki was in the final phase of his life during the three years from An'ei 7 (1778) to An'ei 9 (1780) when he taught the young Hakyō. Shiseki enjoyed close relationships with daimyo families and upper-ranking samurai in Edo. Around An'ei 1 (1772), he had painted

11 Kōno 1907, p. 9.
12 Isozaki 2005, pp. 168–169.

Figure 3. Part of *Ezo kokufū zue* (Illustrated customs of Ezo), attributed to Kodama Teiryō. Mid-1700s. In *kansubon* (scroll). 23.5 x 972.5 cm. Collection of Hakodate City Central Library.

the *Hyakuchō zu* 百鳥図 (A hundred birds) for the daimyo of Kaga 加賀 domain, and from An'ei 8 (1779) he was a frequent visitor at the Edo residence of Sakai Tadazane 酒井忠以 (1755–1790), lord of Himeji 姫路 domain. It is likely that he also lectured Tadazane's younger brother, Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一 (1761–1828), on painting.[13] When Hakyō studied the techniques and composition of realistic drawing in his teens and twenties, he took Shiseki's works as his models. The *Ishū retsuzō*, which Hakyō painted at age twenty-seven, fully displayed both his debt to the Nanpin style in its depiction of texture, as in the softness of bird feathers, and to such Western painting techniques as shading, evident in faces and folds of clothing.

Sometimes art historians in Japan have discussed the *Ishū retsuzō* in the context of the history of Ainu painting (Ainu-e アイヌ絵). It makes little sense, however, to place Hakyō's work in the same category as paintings by artists such as Kodama Teiryō 小玉貞良 (active 1750–1760), who produced Ainu paintings in and around Matsumae prior to Hakyō (figure 3). These so-called "Ezo ga" 蝦夷画 typically depicted groups of Ainu (faces, bodies, and clothes of young and old, male and female), landscapes indicative of their lifestyle (sea, mountains, and other natural features, and dwellings), their means of livelihood (fishing, hunting, and related animals and artifacts), and distinctive rituals and practices (such as the Iomante "bear-sending ceremony," and ceremonial banquets). These paintings were done by Japanese (whom the Ainu called "Shamo") to satisfy Japanese interest and curiosity. They exaggerated and distorted, and depicted no identifiable individuals, except for the occasional elder.

By contrast, the *Ishū retsuzō* portraits each show a full-length figure with no background. The artist gives the name of each figure in kanji characters phonetically corresponding to his or her native name. Such portraits were extremely unusual. The only other Ainu painting done in a similar style seems to be the *Ezo Monbetsu shūchō Tōbu gazō* 蝦夷紋別酋長東武画像 (Portrait of Tōbu, Ainu Chief of Monbetsu), produced by Hakyō himself in Tenmei 天明 3 (1783) (figure 4). The portrait is inscribed "Painted at the request of Ainu Chief Tōbu in Monbetsu." In terms of imagery, this portrait was clearly the prototype for the later *Ishū retsuzō*, although they diverge in terms of production, brushwork technique, and design.

13 Tsuruta 1993, pp. 68–69.

Figure 4. *Ezo Monbetsu shūchō Tōbu gazō* (Portrait of Tōbu, Ainu Chief of Monbetsu), by Kakizaki Hakyō. 1783. Color on paper. 164.8 x 90.9 cm. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. Source: ColBase (https://colbase.nich.go.jp/).

Kansei-Era Cultural Policy as Found in the *Kenjō no sōji*

How then might we understand the significance of the *Ishū retsuzō* set of portraits? In his aforementioned introduction to the work, Matsumae Hironaga wrote:

> The domain lord [Matsumae Michihiro] … ordered his vassal Hirotoshi to portray the twelve [Ainu chiefs] who had performed meritorious service. He would keep the portraits by his side so that he might show to others the rewards [to be earned by those who do good] and the punishments [that await those who do evil].

Hironaga also wrote as follows in the *Ishū retsuzō furoku* supplement:[14]

> The lord summoned more than forty loyal Ainu and received them in audience. He bestowed on them abundant rewards. He had Kakizaki Shōgen [Hirotoshi] paint the portraits of twelve chiefs among them who had displayed the greatest wisdom and courage in quelling the uprising and who were also were widely respected by their communities. In this, he secretly followed the precedent of the Kirin Tower episode (Rinkaku no kyo 麟閣の挙), to ensure they serve as examples of Ainu loyalty for future [generations]. He provided brief biographies of each, the better to honor them.

The Kirin Tower episode refers to the portraits of Huo Guang 霍光 (? –68 BC) and eleven other meritorious vassals which Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BC) displayed in the Kirin 麒麟 Tower in the grounds of the Chang'an 長安 Palace. Kakizaki Shōgen [Hirotoshi]'s portrayal of the twelve Ainu chiefs was a way for the domain to praise their loyalty in emulation of such ancient Chinese practice. This was precisely the purpose of "rewarding good, punishing evil" paintings (*quanjie hua*; Jp. *kankai ga* 勧戒画) or paintings of loyal

14 From the reproduced scroll paintings of *Ishū retsuzō* (ca. 1798–1829), National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka.

Figure 5. Reference paintings for the *Kenjō no sōji byōbu*, by Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki. Eighteenth century. Colors on silk. Collection of Tokyo National Museum. Source: ColBase (https://colbase.nich.go.jp/).

vassals (*kōshinzu* 功臣図). These were genres of traditional Chinese painting that depicted historical events and figures in line with Confucian ethics.

The best example of such painting in Japan is the *Kenjō no sōji*, a set of paintings featured on the wall panels of the Shishinden Hall of the Kyoto imperial palace (figure 5). The paintings, which depict thirty-two Chinese sages from the Yin 殷 (ca. 1600 BC–ca. 1046 BC) through Tang 唐 (618–907) dynasties, decorate the Shishinden Hall's northern wall behind the emperor's throne. The space above the portraits is lined with square sheets giving each figure's name and profile. Representing the Japanese tradition of partition or interior wall painting (*shōhekiga* 障壁画), the *Kenjō no sōji* were reworked over and over for one thousand years from the early Heian 平安 (794–1185) through the late Edo periods.[15] There is no established theory about when the *Kenjō no sōji* paintings were first made, but the mid-thirteenth century *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 (Notable tales old and new) mentions them in passing: "[They] probably follow the example of the portraits of meritorious vassals displayed at the Kirin Tower."[16] This suggests that the *Kenjō no sōji* also originated in the Kirin Tower episode. However, no comparative study of the *Kenjō no sōji* and the *Ishū retsuzō* has so far been attempted.

The comparison here of the extant versions of the *Kenjō no sōji* and the *Ishū retsuzō*, both dating back to the Kansei era (1790–1792), is intended to reveal the differences and commonalities of these two "rewarding-good" sets of paintings.[17] The imperial palace was rebuilt eight times during the Edo period.[18] The *Kenjō no sōji*, too, were reworked each time, except for during the Ansei 安政 era (1855), when the Kansei era (1792) paintings were

15 Kawamoto et al. 1979a, pp. 10–11.

16 "Shishinden *Kenjō no sōji* and Sliding-screen Paintings of the Seiryōden 清涼殿 and Elsewhere," in vol. 11 (Paintings and Drawings, no. 16) of the *Kokon chomonjū*.

17 This study of the *Kenjō no sōji* draws on Kawamoto et al. 1979a and b; Fujioka 1987; Fujita 1991; Kamata 2007; and Kamata 2009.

18 The rebuilding took place in Keichō 慶長 18 (1613), Kan'ei 寛永 19 (1642), Jōō 承応 4 (1655), Kanbun 寛文 2 (1663), Enpō 延宝 3 (1675), Hōei 宝永 6 (1709), Kansei 4 (1792), and Ansei 2 (1855).

reused. The *Kenjō no sōji* on display at the Kyoto imperial palace today date back to the Kansei era, although partial repairs have been made. The artist was Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki 住吉広行 (1755–1811), a painter in the service of the Tokugawa shogunate (*goyō eshi* 御用絵師).

The Kyoto imperial palace had burned down in the great fire of the first month of Tenmei 8 (1788). Its reconstruction started in the seventh month of Kansei 1 (1789), and was completed in the eighth month of the following year. Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758–1829), Shirakawa domain lord and the shogunate's chief senior councilor (*rōjū shuza* 老中首座), was overseer (*sōbugyō* 惣奉行) of the project. Yielding to the imperial court's request, the shogunate allowed the reconstruction of the palace according to Heian-court style. Emperor Kōkaku's initial proposal that the entire palace grounds be restored to their ancient grandeur and solemnity was not adopted, however, partly at least for financial reasons. The reconstructed palace ended up being limited to the Shishinden, the Seiryōden, and other important ceremonial halls. Be that as it may, the imperial court's success in having its way can be seen as an indication of the rise of power in the court.[19] To put it another way, the reconstruction illustrates how important it was for the shogunate to utilize imperial prestige in order to maintain its authority.[20]

The reconstruction project took as its basic reference source the *Daidairi-zu kōshō* 大内裏図考証 (Historical research on the plan of the Heian imperial palace) by Uramatsu Kozen 裏松固禅 (1736–1804), scholar of ancient court and military practices. Also consulted were *funpon* 粉本 (study sketches), and picture scrolls passed down in the Tosa 土佐 family of designated head painters of the court (*edokoro azukari* 絵所預), and held in various temples and shrines. Court noble Nakayama Naruchika 中山愛親 (1741–1814) and others were appointed commissioners of construction (*zōei goyō gakari* 造営御用掛).[21] Sadanobu assigned to two men the task of studying the first drafts of portraits of the *Kenjō no sōji*. They were Confucian official Shibano Ritsuzan 柴野栗山 (1736–1807), and rector (*daigaku no kami* 大学頭) of the shogunate's chief educational institution, Hayashi Nobutaka 林信敬 (1767–1793). The ancient style restoration of Shishinden Hall saw it enlarged from six spans (*ken* 間; 1 *ken* = 1.82 meters) to nine spans. The thirty-two portraits of the sages were arranged so that sixteen fitted in the four-span space on the east and sixteen on the west, with a one-span space in between them.

The *Kenjō no sōji* were destined for the walls of the most prestigious hall within the palace, so naturally they were assigned to prominent painters in the service of the shogunate. The highest-ranking Kanō 狩野 school painters employed by the shogunate (*oku eshi* 奥絵師) had taken charge of the six reworkings that preceded the Kansei era. At the time of the Kansei restoration of the palace, too, Kanō Michinobu 典信 (1730–1790) worked on the *Kenjō no sōji*, although the shogunate commissioned painters of the Kyoto-Osaka region for other partitions and interior wall paintings in order to cut down on expenses. When Michinobu died in the eighth month of Kansei 2 (1790), immediately after completing the preliminary sketches, the aforementioned Sumiyoshi Hiroyuki took over.

The Kansei period *Kenjō no sōji* took four years and five months from planning to completion in the tenth month of Kansei 4 (1792). This was nearly two years after the

19 Fujita 1991, pp. 15–16.
20 Takeda 2008, p. 82.
21 Matsuo 1992, pp. 58–59.

emperor's return to his new palace. The delay was probably owing to Shibano Ritsuzan's repeated revisions to the preliminary sketches.[22] According to a record by Mizuno Tamenaga 水野為長 (1751–1824), an aide to Matsudaira Sadanobu, Sadanobu would reply to complaints of slow progress with, "The paintings will remain for generations to come. A delay of two or three months is no problem. Do not be in the least concerned. The thing is to produce paintings that will be models for later generations."[23]

What then was the proposed design for the *Kenjō no sōji*? There are several historical records of discussions on this matter between Shibano Ritsuzan and the two professors (*monjō hakase* 文章博士) of the Bureau of Education (Daigakuryō 大学寮). The professors took charge of research on design history for the third set of preliminary sketches done in 1792.[24] Ritsuzan and the two professors differed in terms of their reference materials, but shared a recognition that each portrait must have the headgear, clothing, ornamentation, and accessories suitable to the time and status of the portrait's subject. The figures in the pre-Kansai-era portraits wore almost the same headgear, court dress, and footwear. It would have been impossible to tell which portrait represented which figure if the order in which they stood had not been known. At the same time, Ritsuzan and others undertook thorough research on the colors, and shapes of the faces, clothing, headgear, and even the small accessories worn by each of the thirty-two figures. As a result, the portrayals in the Kansei-era *Kenjō no sōji* are varied and diverse, and the individual sages are distinct for each of the periods in which they lived.

Most interesting were the discussions between Ritsuzan and the two professors concerning the colors and postures of portrait figures. Ritsuzan proposed, "Bodily posture is secondary, but if all figures have a similar pose you cannot distinguish them. If possible, I would like them to differ somewhat from one another in appearance and color." The professors disapproved, however, insisting, "The imagery should be such that you can identify who is depicted through his court rank, and his visage which should suggest his age. Color variation of the clothing would only please the eye, nothing more."[25] As this exchange suggests, what they aimed for was not flowery, varied appearances but imagery faithful to historical accounts. The Kansei-era restoration of the *Kenjō no sōji* was not intended to "follow painting traditions," but to "form new images obtained through scholarly research."[26]

It can be said, therefore, that the *Kenjō no sōji*, while placed in the most symbolic space in the palace, were not flamboyant at all. Rather, they were rendered solemn and dignified by faithful adherence to historical accounts, and by their greater emphasis on the Confucian spirit than had been the case before. The style was consistent with Matsudaira Sadanobu's ongoing policy of restoring a Neo-Confucian orthodoxy.

The *Kōshinzu* Approach and Matsumae Domain Objectives

Now, let us return to the *Ishū retsuzō*, completed around the time when the preliminary phase of sketching was being done for the *Kenjō no sōji*. What was the design desired by the

22 Kamata 2009, p. 47.
23 *Yoshino sasshi* 15 (entry of the first day of the second month, Kansei 3 [1791]).
24 Kamata 2009, pp. 55–61.
25 Kamata 2009, p. 60.
26 Kamata 2007, p. 497.

Figure 6. "Mautarake" from *Ishū retsuzō* by Kakizaki Hakyō. © Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie de Besançon. Photo by Pierre Guénat.

Figure 7. From *Ressen zusan* by Gessen, 1784. Courtesy of the National Diet Library.

lord of the Matsumae domain? After all, it was he who had commissioned paintings in the style of famous Confucian sages.

First, the subjects of the portraits were to be twelve living leaders of the Ainu, whom the Japanese called "Ezo" or "Ijin" 夷人, not figures of antiquity. Moreover, the domain lord chose local painter Kakizaki Hakyō, master of the modern Nanpin style of painting that merged decorative realism with Western-style expression. The *Kenjō no sōji* depict Chinese themes in a plain style using traditional *yamato-e* 大和絵 techniques. But the *Ishū retsuzō* portraits feature bright colors and elaborate decorations. They are full of elements that please the eye, and would no doubt have incurred the displeasure of the *monjō hakase*.

The postures of the Ainu figures are diverse: they stand, sit, bend over, twist sideways, face forward, and look back. It has been pointed out that the posture of Mautarake appears to have been borrowed from the painting of Chinese hermits titled *Ressen zusan* 列仙図賛 (1784) by painter-priest Gessen 月僊 (1741–1809) (figures 6 and 7).[27] All the portraits in the *Ishū retsuzō* appear to have been carefully composed with reference to Chinese and Japanese picture albums, and various kinds of art manuals (*etehon* 絵手本) and study sketches (*funpon*). It is likely that the motifs used were intentionally chosen from ancient Chinese figures, as in the case of the *Kenjō no sōji*. One such figure was Dong Fangshuo 東方朔 (ca. 154 BC–ca. 93 BC), a second-century-BC scholar-official of the Western Han dynasty. Another was Guan Yu 関羽 (162–219), the principal character in *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, the fourteenth-century Chinese historical novel, and a popular subject of painting. The posture of Guan Yu in Hakyō's 1815 portrait *Kan U zu* 関羽図 is quite similar to that of Ainu chief Ikotoi (figure 1) in the *Ishū retsuzō*.[28]

27 Inoue 1991, p. 17.
28 This is from a private collection, shown in Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan 2015, p. 86.

Kikuchi Isao 菊池勇夫 holds that the early modern Japanese view of the Ainu was determined by their physical features and customs.[29] Indeed, the features more or less common to the Ainu chiefs in the *Ishū retsuzō* are thick, connected eyebrows, "sinister" eyes with conspicuous whites, large noses and ears, unbound hair, long beards, hirsute bodies, and garments worn with the right side over the left (considered in ancient China to be "barbaric"). These were the symbolic features Japanese used to depict Ainu at that time. Hakyō followed those precedents with some consideration for the age differences of his subjects.

At the same time, Hakyō does seem to have had firsthand knowledge of the distinctively Ainu apparel and articles with decorative motifs shown in the portraits, such as the *shitoki* necklace Ainu women always wore for rituals, the *kuwasaki* decorative crest treasured by Ainu, the *attush* robe (made from the inner bark of the elm tree) worn daily, as well as bows and arrows, spears, and tobacco pouches. These and other items were preserved in the storerooms at Matsumae Castle, and Hakyō was presumably able to see them with his own eyes and sketch them.[30] Despite the stereotyped faces, the details of the costumes and accessories skillfully depicted by Hakyō with his Nanpin-school techniques endow the portraits with an outstanding feel of reality.

Hakyō dressed almost all the figures in the elaborately embroidered garments that Japanese of the time called "Ezo nishiki" 蝦夷錦 (Ezo brocade). Such garments were brought to Matsumae via Karafuto 樺太 (Sakhalin) and Sōya 宗谷 through the Ainu's trade with other northern peoples, such as the Santan 山丹; they were thought to have originally been worn by members of the Chinese court. From the seventeenth century, Matsumae domain sold Ezo brocades in Edo and the Kyoto-Osaka region. When Ainu chiefs had audiences with the domain lord, they typically borrowed these clothes. At the time of their audience after the Kunashiri-Menashi battle, the Ainu chiefs were lent "Ezo brocades, battle surcoats, and such like," since their own apparel was so poor.[31]

In addition to the Ezo brocade coats, the portraits show blue beads made of glass and seal skin boots—both acquired through trade with northern peoples—as well as white tights and even European shoes, thereby emphasizing their "foreignness." Sasaki Shirō 佐々木史郎 asserts that the Russian coats worn by chiefs Ikotoi and Tsukinoe were intended to show that "eastern Hokkaido, including Kunashiri and Etorofu, was at the forefront of relations linking Russia, Ainu people and the Matsumae clan."[32] If that iconography was deliberate, it may be possible to interpret the Ainu chiefs' apparel as hinting at the grave threat to Ezo posed by Russia, and the importance of Matsumae domain resistance.

Some of the portraits display formal aspects of the Ainu, such as the figure stroking his beard in greeting the Japanese, while others depict aspects of ordinary daily life, such as figures holding hunting equipment or carrying game. The *Ishū retsuzō* portraits were clearly intended to demonstrate the diversity of Ainu life in its formal and informal aspects. It is intriguing to note that content related to salmon and herring fishing, a major source of livelihood for the Ainu and often depicted in Ainu painting, was simply eliminated. This

29 Kikuchi 2013, p. 77.
30 *Matsumae shi*, pp. 294–296.
31 *Kansei Ezo ran torishirabe nikki*, p. 726.
32 Sasaki 2015, p. 120.

may be a consequence of the fact that the Kunashiri-Menashi battle arose over management of the local fisheries.

Between Political and Cultural Affairs

To what extent can the *Ishū retsuzō* portraits be evaluated as "rewarding good" paintings, in the manner of the *Kenjō no sōji*? It is difficult to see in them evidence of such Confucian qualities as benevolence, righteousness, or virtue. The similarity of the faces and the diversity of the figures and colors are ironically opposite to the approach that informed the palace portraits. The *Ishū retsuzō* collection stands out, rather, for its panoply of Ezo-related visual information. Indeed, Ezo and the Ainu were topics of rapidly growing interest in Japanese society. We can observe here a deliberate attempt on the part of Matsumae domain to imbue the paintings with all the information to which it had privileged access. It seems, moreover, that by creating dignified but artificially constructed Ainu images, the domain was asserting its authority. The views expressed by Matsumae Hironaga in his supplement were colored by a civilized-versus-barbarian bias against the Ainu.[33]

As noted above, Hironaga wrote that the series was painted secretly following the model of the Kirin Tower episode. The domain's true intent of this set of Ainu paintings in the *kōshinzu* style was meant to go unnoticed. Ordinarily, the aim of the "rewarding good" paintings was both to display the high moral standards observed by the ruler in public and private life, and to serve as political propaganda: the larger the painting, the greater its impact.[34] The dimensions of the *Ishū retsuzō* portraits, however, were small, each 40 cm high and 30 cm wide, making them suitable for private appreciation, and of course highly portable. No doubt the original intention was to have them taken to Kyoto. Maybe the *Ishū retsuzō* portraits were fashioned from the start in the image of the *Kenjō no sōji*. Is it too much to suggest that the artist depicted the Ainu chieftains as though they were Chinese sages, and that the desired outcome was a sort of intellectual caricature?

Again, the shogunate and domains throughout Japan were increasingly interested in Ezo. This interest led to a flurry of publications: commentaries on Ezo and treatises on how to defend northern Japan against Russian incursions.[35] Moreover, "foreigner" itself was a controversial topic from both political and cultural perspectives. During the Tokugawa period, Korean and Dutch diplomatic envoys made their way along the Tōkaidō to Edo, attracting attention wherever they went, fueling an interest in all things foreign. In Kansei 2 (1790) as well, led by the Satsuma 薩摩 domain, the kingdom of Ryukyu sent its eighth mission to the Tokugawa shogun in Edo. The envoys dressed in costumes of a Chinese style as if to emphasize their exoticism.[36] The *Ishū retsuzō* set of Ainu paintings drew on this heightened interest. Matsumae domain was anxious to share information, the better to demonstrate its vital state role. The tool it chose for that purpose was painting,

33 Kikuchi 2013, pp. 201, 207.

34 Sakakibara 1990, p. 133.

35 Examples of such work include *Kamuchatoka koku fūsetsukō* 加模西葛杜加国風説考 (also known as *Akaezo fūsetsu kō* 赤蝦夷風説考; 1783) by the Sendai domain's physician, Kudō Heisukesu 工藤平助 (1734–1801), and two works by Hayashi Shihei 林子平 (1738–1793), a specialist in military affairs: *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* 三国通覧図説 (1785) and *Kaikoku heidan* 海国兵談 (1787–1791).

36 Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai 2001, p. 3.

an indispensable medium through which the political elite and the literati might create interpersonal networks.

Political motives were no doubt at work as well. There were tensions between the shogunate and imperial court over such matters as the rebuilding of the palace on account of the shogunate's financial straits. Another source of tension was the so-called *songō* incident (*songō ikken* 尊号一件; 1789–1793), in which Emperor Kōkaku had sought in vain to bestow the title of "retired emperor" (*daijō tennō* 太上天皇) on his father, Prince Kan'in no miya Sukehito 閑院宮典仁 (1733–1794). In other words, these were times when the imperial court was seeking to assert its authority against the bakufu. The Kunashiri-Menashi battle occurred at this historical juncture.

For generations, Matsumae domain had been closely related by marriage to the court aristocracy in Kyoto. It cultivated those ties through the *kitamae-bune* 北前船, ships that plied the coast of the Japan Sea. This was how Kyoto culture, ranging widely from religion to language, lifestyles, and customs, made its way up to Matsumae.[37] In Meiwa 明和 7 (1770), the domain lord, Michihiro, married Keiko 敬子, daughter of Minister of the Right Kazan'in Tokimasa 花山院常雅 (1700–1771). One of Kazan'in's relatives was Nakayama Naruchika, mentioned earlier as the court noble charged with constructing the new imperial palace buildings. Naruchika was a close aide to the emperor and, during the *songō* incident, was sent to Edo as an imperial emissary. No records confirm his overt connection to the *Ishū retsuzō*, but by way of Nakayama Naruchika and others around him, Michihiro had access to information about the moves of the emperor, the court, and the shogunate. There is a good possibility, therefore, that the *Ishū retsuzō* was made for the emperor's gaze as a manifestation of Matsumae domain's loyalty. Among those possibly behind any such scheme were Ōhara Donkyō, Michihiro's advisor on military art, and Takayama Hikokurō, the imperial loyalist much favored by Michihiro.[38] The *kōshinzu* type of painting was an ideal medium for persuading twelve leading Confucian scholars in Kyoto to write testimonials for the portraits. Their testimonials would be powerful support for Matsumae domain at a time when the movement for restoration of Confucianism was gathering momentum. After the emperor's viewing, the collection was carried to Edo to facilitate cultural and information exchange with various daimyo. The plan was presumably to show to the shogunate at the same time Minagawa Kien's *Matsumae-kō shinsei taihō ki* 松前侯新製大砲記 (An account of Lord Matsumae's newly produced cannon). Together these volumes were intended to demonstrate the domain's high level of culture and military preparedness.

Matsumae domain carefully chose the Ainu chiefs for the portraits. They gathered information about their status, achievements, skills, and physical characteristics which no doubt mixed fact and fiction. Matsumae Hironaga used the information to write his supplement to the *Ishū retsuzō* which became thereby an "authentic record" of the domain and the Ainu. The *Ishū retsuzō* was complete only after Hakyō had painted his portraits and after Hironaga—the greatest scholar in the domain—had completed the supplement.

37 *Matsumae chōshi* 1984, pp. 930–931.

38 *Matsumaeke ki* 1974, p. 23 notes that "[Michihiro] invited Ōhara Donkyō from Kyoto to study military arts." It also notes that "[Michihiro] loved Takayama [Hikokurō] Masayuki from Ueno the most, and they interacted beyond their class and status."

Circulation of the Ainu Virtual Portraits

In Kyoto, Minagawa Kien interacted with Hakyō and was present when Hakyō produced a copy of *Ishū retsuzō*. The farewell poem he wrote for Hakyō, on his return to Matsumae, reads in part,

> This painting of twelve meritorious Ezo figures.
> So elaborate and precise.
> Whoever sees it sighs with admiration.[39]

Sasaki Nagahide, who acted as intermediary when the portraits were shown to Emperor Kōkaku, wrote in his letter to Hakyō:[40]

> When I showed the prince-abbot the *Ishū retsuzō* which I had borrowed from you the day before yesterday, he was so impressed by the extraordinary imagery and the exquisite brushwork that he showed it to the emperor. The work was kept in the palace for the whole day.

Both the poem and the letter testify to the strong impression made by the artist's new techniques and the striking imagery. The *Ishū retsuzō* duly enjoyed a quiet popularity among daimyo, scholars, and others in Kyoto and Edo. Hirado domain lord Matsura Seizan 松浦静山 (1760–1841), for example, borrowed the work from the Matsumae lord, and had it copied by a Kyoto painter in 1799.[41] The aforementioned Matsudaira Sadanobu, the Tokushima domain lord Hachisuka Haruaki 蜂須賀治昭 (1758–1814), and the Hiroshima domain lord Asano Nagamichi 浅野長訓 (1812–1872) followed suit, and had the collection of portraits copied, or presented copies to others. Indeed, copies were made intermittently over a period of some fifty years. Toward the end of the shogunate, some of the portraits were revived in a new context by Matsuura Takeshirō 松浦武四郎 (1818–1888), activist and explorer from Ise Province (now Mie Prefecture). The *Ezo nisshi* (1850), a collection of his records of exploration of Ezo in Kōka 弘化 2 (1845), reproduces three of the portraits of Ainu chiefs (Poroya, Nishikomake, and Shimochi). Takeshirō wrote that he had been given privileged access to the twelve portraits which were kept under lock and key by the Matsumae family.[42]

In a later publication, *Ezo manga* 蝦夷漫画, Takeshirō made use of the portrait of Ainu chief and master archer Shimochi, to help popularize Ainu life and culture (figures 8 and 9). This was the first case in which an *Ishū retsuzō* portrait was carried in a printed publication. It was a simple woodblock print, which gave a quality of authenticity to the fictitious garment and the hair ornaments worn by the chief. The same portrait is found in David MacRitchie's book on Ainu, titled *The Aïnos*, published in Leiden and elsewhere in

39 *Shahon Kien bunshū (shōroku)*, p. 410.

40 The letter is in the collection of Hakodate City Central Library.

41 The copied works comprise two volumes of scroll, colored on paper. They are in the collection of the Matsura Historical Museum in Hirado. See Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan 2015, pp. 52–55, 149, 177.

42 *Ezo nisshi*. In the *Hokkaido Shinbun* (evening edition, 29 August 1985), Tanisawa Shōichi 谷澤尚一 indicates the likely involvement of Yamada Sansen 山田三川 (1804–1862) from Ise Province, a Confucianist and a feudal retainer of Matsumae domain, who was on close terms with Matsuura Takeshirō. See Miura 2015.

Figure 8. “Shimochi” from *Ishū retsuzō* by Kakizaki Hakyō. © Musée des beaux-arts et d’archéologie de Besançon. Photo by Pierre Guénat.

Figure 9. From *Ezo manga* (Illustrated Ezo) by Matsuura Takeshirō, 1859. Color woodblock print.

Figure 10. *The Aïnos*, by David MacRitchie. 1892. From International Research Center for Japanese Studies database “Overseas Images of Japan.” (https://sekiei.nichibun.ac.jp/GAI/ja/detail/?gid=GP008042&hid=12)

the Netherlands in 1892 (figure 10). The book introduces the portrait as that of "Eyutoi, chief of Akkeshi," an erroneous reference made by Takeshirō, taken directly from the *Ezo manga*. Fiction was mistaken here for reality. In time, some of the *Ishū retsuzō* portraits were introduced overseas as reference material for research on the Ainu. Matsuura Takeshirō blamed the "tyrannical rule" of the Matsumae domain for the Kunashiri-Menashi battle, and sympathized with what he understood to be the simple, naively honest, and pure-hearted Ainu people.[43] Yet, ironically, he was a leading disseminator of fictitious images.

One of the two original sets was in the keeping of the Matsumae family at least until 1902.[44] Its whereabouts since then remain unknown. In 1933, the *Ishū retsuzō* was registered in the inventory of the Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology of Besançon.[45] No historical records exist to indicate how the collection was taken abroad. French missionaries, military men, or merchants may have been involved.[46] It may have reached Besançon as early as 1914.[47]

Today, eleven of the original portraits and the introduction are owned by the Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology of Besançon, and two original portraits are held by the Hakodate City Central Library. In addition, eight copies by other painters are extant. Recently, a portrait of Ainu chief Shimochi painted by Hakyō himself (1802, private collection) was discovered in Hokkaido. It seems to be a later version of the original in the *Ishū retsuzō*.[48] This discovery has overturned the established theory that Hakyō never painted an Ainu after the *Ishū retsuzō*.

Conclusion

The set of portraits produced in the late Edo period as an integral part of domain cultural policy generated a visual appeal beyond that which the artist can have anticipated. To this day, the portraits are still disseminated as representations of Ainu people in a manner far removed from that of the original context.

In July 2020, Upopoy, a national center for Ainu history and culture, opened in Shiraoi, Hokkaido.[49] Before then, in April 2019, the government enacted a new law certifying the Ainu as the "indigenous people in the northern part of Japan, especially in Hokkaido." The law marked a breakthrough after the long history of Ainu oppression. However, this author was surprised to see that the *Ishū retsuzō* featured last year in a promotional video of the opening of Upopoy. Similarly, I feel deep misgivings whenever I see the *Ishū retsuzō* portraits displayed in European art galleries, say. After all, they symbolize the fact that ethnic representations have taken on a life of their own without due regard for the distinction between fiction and fact. This is partly an outcome of multicultural contact. It is also a dangerous phenomenon created by a society where revision in meaning and content cannot keep pace with the speed at which information is disseminated.

43 Miura 2015.
44 Yagi 1902, p. 440.
45 Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan 2015, p. 6.
46 There are no records, either, that would prove that the portraits taken out to Besançon had belonged to the former collection of the Matsumae family.
47 This is according to a curator of the Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology of Besançon who appeared on the NHK program *Nichiyō bijutsukan* 日曜美術館 (Sunday Museum) aired on 24 January 2016.
48 Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan 2015, p. 71.
49 https://ainu-upopoy.jp/en/ (Accessed 3 May 2021).

REFERENCES

Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2001

Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 千葉市美術館, ed. *Edo no ikoku shumi: Nanpin-fū dairyūkō* 江戸の異国趣味: 南蘋風大流行. Chiba-shi Bijutsukan, 2001.

Ezo manga

Ezo manga 蝦夷漫画, 1859. Matsuura Takeshirō 松浦武四郎. In *Matsuura Takeshirō kikōshū*, vol. 3 松浦武四郎紀行集 下, ed. Yoshida Takezō 吉田武三. Fuzanbō, 1977.

Ezo nisshi

Ezo nisshi, vol. 1, part 11 蝦夷日誌一編 巻之拾一, 1850. Matsuura Takeshirō. In *Kōtei Ezo nisshi*, vol. 1 校訂蝦夷日誌 一編, transcription and ed. Akiba Minoru 秋葉實. Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā, 1999, pp. 467–496.

Fujioka 1987

Fujioka Michio 藤岡通夫. *Kyōto gosho* 京都御所. Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1987.

Fujita 1991

Fujita Satoru 藤田覚. "Kansei Dairi zōei o meguru chōbaku kankei" 寛政内裏造営をめぐる朝幕関係. *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 517 (1991), pp. 1–17.

Gajō yōryaku

Gajō yōryaku 画乗要略. In "*Teihon" Nihon kaiga ron taisei*, vol. 10「定本」日本絵画論大成 第10巻, ed. Kimura Shigekazu 木村重圭. Perikansha, 1998, p. 192.

Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan 2015

Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan 北海道博物館, ed. *Ishū retsuzō: Ezochi imēji o meguru hito, mono, sekai* 夷酋列像: 蝦夷地イメージをめぐる人・物・世界. Ishū Retsuzō-ten Jikkō Iinkai and Hokkaidō Shinbunsha, 2015.

Inoue 1991

Inoue Ken'ichirō 井上研一郎. "Kakizaki Hakyō no shōgai to *Ishū retsuzō*" 蠣崎波響の生涯と『夷酋列像』. In *"Kakizaki Hakyō to sono jidai" ten zuroku* 「蠣崎波響とその時代」展図録, ed. Hokkaidō-ritsu Hakodate Bijutsukan 北海道立函館美術館. Hokkaidō-ritsu Hakodate Bijutsukan, 1991, pp. 11–19.

Isozaki 2005

Isozaki Yasuhiko 磯崎康彦. *Edo jidai no ranga to ransho: Kinsei Nichi-Ran hikaku bijutsushi gekan*, vol. 2 江戸時代の蘭画と蘭書: 近世日蘭比較美術史 下巻. Yumani Shobō, 2005.

Iwasaki 1998

Iwasaki Naoko 岩崎奈緒子. *Nihon kinsei no Ainu shakai* 日本近世のアイヌ社会. Azekura Shobō, 1998.

Kamata 2007

Kamata Junko 鎌田純子. "Kansei-do gosho zōei ni okeru *Kenjō no shōji* no seisaku katei ni tsuite" 寛政度御所造営における賢聖障子の製作過程について. *Kashima bijutsu kenkyū nenpō bessatsu* 鹿島美術研究年報 別冊 24 (2007), pp. 492–501.

Kamata 2009

Kamata Junko. "*Kenjō no shōji* no kenkyū: Kansei-do o chūshin ni" 賢聖障子の研究: 寛政度を中心に. *Biyō: Tokugawa Bijutsukan ronshū* 尾陽: 徳川美術館論集 5 (2009), pp. 47–65.

Kansei Ezo ran torishirabe nikki

Kansei Ezo ran torishirabe nikki 寛政蝦夷乱取調日記. Niida Magosaburō 新井田孫三郎. 1789. In *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei*, vol. 4 日本庶民生活史料集成 第4巻, ed. Takakura Shin'ichirō 高倉新一郎. San-Ichi Shobō, 1969, pp. 679–730.

Kansei Kyōto nikki

Kansei Kyōto nikki 寛政京都日記. Takayama Hikokurō 高山彦九郎. In *Takayama Hikokurō zenshū*, vol. 4 高山彦九郎全集 第4巻, eds. Hagiwara Susumu 萩原進 and Chijiwa Minoru 千々和實. Takayama Hikokurō Ikō Kankōkai, 1954, pp. 1–129.

Kawamoto et al. 1979a

Kawamoto Shigeo 川本重雄, Kawamoto Keiko 川本桂子, and Miura Masayuki 三浦正幸. "*Kenjō no sōji* no kenkyū (jō): Ninnaji zō Keichō-do *Kenjō no sōji* o chūshin ni" 賢聖障子の研究(上): 仁和寺蔵慶長度賢聖障子を中心に. *Kokka* 国華 1028 (1979), pp. 9–26.

Kawamoto et al. 1979b

Kawamoto Shigeo, Kawamoto Keiko, and Miura Masayuki. "*Kenjō no sōji* no kenkyū (ge): Ninnaji zō Keichō-do *Kenjō no sōji* o chūshin ni" 賢聖障子の研究(下): 仁和寺蔵慶長度賢聖障子を中心に. *Kokka* 1029 (1979), pp. 7–31.

Kikuchi 2013

Kikuchi Isao 菊池勇夫. *Ainu to Matsumae no seiji bunka ron: Kyōkai to minzoku* アイヌと松前の政治文化論: 境界と民族. Azekura Shobō, 2013.

Kokon chomonjū

Kokon chomonjū 古今著聞集. In *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 84. Iwanami Shoten, 1966, pp. 308–310.

Kōno 1907

Kōno Saisen 河野犀川. "Hokkai gaka no taito Kakizaki Hakyō" 北海画家の泰斗蠣崎波響. *Hokumei shinpō* 北鳴新報, 1 January 1907. In *Hakyō ronshū* 波響論集. Hakyō Ronshū Kankōkai, 1991, pp. 9–10.

Matsumae-chō 1994

Matsumae-chō Chōshi Henshūshitsu 松前町町史編集室, ed. *Gaisetsu Matsumae no rekishi* 概説 松前の歴史. Matsumae-chō, 1994.

Matsumae chōshi

Matsumae chōshi: Tsūsetsuhen, vol. 1 (part 1) 松前町史: 通説編 1巻上, ed. Matsumae Chōshi Henshūshitsu 松前町史編集室. Matsumae-chō, 1984.

Matsumaeke ki

Matsumaeke ki 松前家記 (with supplement). In *Matsumae chōshi: Shiryōhen*, vol. 1 松前町史 史料編 第1巻, ed. Matsumae Chōshi Henshūshitsu. Matsumae-chō, 1974, pp. 5–50.

Matsumae-kō shinsei taihō ki

Matsumae-kō shinsei taihō ki 松前侯新製大砲記. Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園. In *Kien bunshū*, vol. 8 淇園文集 第8巻 (1816). In *Kien shibunshū: Kinsei juka bunshū shūsei*, vol. 9 淇園詩文集: 近世儒家文集集成 9, ed. Takahashi Hiromi 高橋博巳. Perikansha, 1986, pp. 240–241.

Matsumae-shi

Matsumae-shi 松前志 (1781). Matsumae Hironaga 松前廣長. In *Hokkai zuihitsu, Matsumae-shi, Tōyūki* 北海随筆・松前志・東遊記, ed. Ōtomo Kisaku 大友喜作. Hokkō Shobō, 1943, pp. 95–316.

Matsuo 1992

Matsuo Yoshiki 松尾芳樹. "Kansei-do zōei ni okeru Seiryōden hekiga ni tsuite" 寛政度造営における清涼殿壁画について. In *Tosa-ha kaiga shiryō mokuroku (3): Dairi zōei funpon* 土佐派絵画資料目録(三): 内裏造営粉本, ed. Kyōto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Geijutsu Shiryōkan 京都市立芸術大学芸術資料館. Kyōto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Geijutsu Kyōiku Shinkō Kyōkai, 1992, pp. 56–59.

Miura 2015

Miura Yasuyuki 三浦泰之. "Bakumatsu no shishi, Matsuura Takeshirō to Kunashiri-Menashi no tatakai" 幕末の志士・松浦武四郎とクナシリ・メナシの戦い. In Hokkaido Hakubutsukan, 2015, p. 142.

Miyajima 1985

Miyajima Shin'ichi 宮島新一. "Santo ni okeru Nanpin gafū no ruden" 三都における南蘋画風の流伝. *Yamato bunka* 大和文華 73 (1985), pp. 7–22.

Nagata 1988

Nagata Tomisato 永田富智. *Matsumae eshi: Kakizaki Hakyō den* 松前絵師: 蠣崎波響伝. Hokkaido Shinbunsha, 1988.

Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai 2001

Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai 沖縄県文化振興会, ed. *Edo-nobori: Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo sanpu* 江戸上り: 琉球使節の江戸参府. Okinawa-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 2001.

Sakakibara 1990

Sakakibara Satoru 榊原悟. "*Teikanzu* shōkai"『帝鑑図』小解. In *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, etehon ten II: Meiga o unda hanga* 近世日本絵画と画譜・絵手本展(Ⅱ): 名画を生んだ版画, ed. Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan 町田市立国際版画美術館. Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990, pp. 124–137.

Sasaki 2015

Sasaki Shirō 佐々木史郎. "Hokutō Ajia no naka no Ainu" 北東アジアの中のアイヌ. In Hokkaido Hakubutsukan, 2015, pp. 118–120.

Sasaki and Tanimoto 2017

Sasaki Toshikazu 佐々木利和 and Tanimoto Akihisa 谷本晃久. "*Ishū retsuzō* no saikentō ni mukete: Shimochi zō to eiran to"『夷酋列像』の再検討に向けて: シモチ像と叡覧と. *Hokkaidō Hakubutsukan Ainu Minzoku Bunka Kenkyū Sentā kenkyū kiyō* 北海道博物館アイヌ民族文化研究センター研究紀要 2 (2017), pp. 135–154.

Shahon Kien bunshū (shōroku)

Minagawa Kien 皆川淇園. "Genkun Seiko Matsumae ni kaeru ni okuri tatematsuru" 奉送源君世祐帰松前. In *Shahon Kien bunshū (shōroku)*, vol. 2 写本淇園文集(抄録) 第2巻. In *Kien shibunshū: Kinsei juka bunshū shūsei*, vol. 9, ed. Takahashi Hiromi. Perikansha, 1986, p. 410.

Shiraishi 2019

Shiraishi Eri 白石恵理. “Mitate to utsushi no Ainu giga: Media to shite no *Ishū retsuzō*” 見立てと写しのアイヌ戯画: メディアとしての夷酋列像. In *Utsushi to utsuroi: Bunka denpa no utsuwa to shokuhen no jissō* 映しと移ろい: 文化伝播の器と蝕変の実相, ed. Inaga Shigemi 稲賀繁美. Kachōsha, 2019, pp. 55–77.

Takeda 2008

Takeda Yōjirō 武田庸二郎. “Kansei-do Kinri Gosho zōei ni okeru eshi no sentei ni tsuite” 寛政度禁裏御所造営における絵師の選定について. In *Kinsei goyō eshi no shiteki kenkyū: Bakuhansei shakai ni okeru eshi no mibun to joretsu* 近世御用絵師の史的研究: 幕藩制社会における絵師の身分と序列, eds. Takeda Yōjirō, Eguchi Tsuneaki 江口恒明, and Kamata Junko. Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2008, pp. 78–129.

Tsuruta 1993

Tsuruta Takeyoshi 鶴田武良. “Sō Shiseki to Nanpin-ha” 宋紫石と南蘋派. *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術, no. 326 (1993), pp. 1–98.

Yagi 1902

Yagi Shōzaburō 八木奨三郎. “Ezo no kuwasaki” 蝦夷の鍬先. *Tōkyō jinrui gakkai zasshi* 東京人類学会雑誌 197 (1902), pp. 436–448.

Yoshino sasshi

Yoshino sasshi よしの冊子 15. Mizuno Tamenaga 水野為長. In *Zuihitsu hyakkaen*, vol. 9 随筆百花苑 第9巻, eds. Mori Senzō 森銑三 et al. Chūō Kōronsha, 1981, p. 253.

Japan Review 36 (2021): 111–138

"What is the Antonym of Sin?": A Study of Dazai Osamu's Confrontation with God

Massimiliano TOMASI

Dazai Osamu's literature is replete with Biblical references and Christian motifs. The Anglophone scholarly community has, however, traditionally dismissed the importance of Christianity in his work, calling it "disconcerting," "confused," and "obvious."

This study is concerned with how Dazai interfaced with the Christian religion and whether it is true that—to put it in one scholar's words—that interface "failed to give his works the additional depth he sought." The purpose of the study is twofold: 1) to address the current paucity of scholarship on this topic among researchers overseas and provide a long-overdue analysis of Dazai's interaction with Christianity, and 2) to offer evidence that the modalities of that interaction were deeply rooted in the Meiji Christian experience and as such a development consistent with the outcomes of that legacy. The significant similarities between Dazai and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke in terms of their fictional representation of fate and the Christian God, and an early infatuation with Uchimura Kanzō's works, demonstrate Dazai's own exposure to those ideas, reaffirming the need to reinterpret his religious discourse *vis-à-vis* earlier developments.

Keywords: fate, faith, Christianity, Bible, divine punishment, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, *Haguruma*, protest

In 1971 Donald Keene, who by then had already translated into English both *Shayō* 斜陽 (*The Setting Sun*, 1947) and *Ningen Shikkaku* 人間失格 (*No Longer Human*, 1948), wrote:

> The innumerable references to Christianity in Dazai's works are another source of difficulty for the Western reader. Christianity seems at times to have filled a spiritual vacuum in Dazai's life, and some think that at the end he genuinely considered himself to be a Christian. But the mentions of Christianity are hardly more convincing than an American beatnik's references to Zen. In *The Setting Sun* especially there is such excessive quotation of the Bible that this was the one place where I felt it necessary to abridge in making a translation. The quotations and frequent references to Christianity at no point suggest sincere belief or even desire to believe. Dazai is intrigued by

> Christianity, and he is delighted to discover appropriate passages to insert in his books, but whatever degree of faith he may have attained in his private life, in his writings Christianity is a disconcerting and not very important factor. It failed to give his works the additional depth he sought.[1]

Keene's assessment of the purpose of Christianity in Dazai Osamu 太宰治's literature did not fail to catch the attention of the Japanese scholarly community. In 1972, for example, literary critic Kawamori Yoshizō 河盛好蔵 (1902–2000) endorsed his view, and two years later in a short piece that appeared in a special issue of *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学: 解釈と鑑賞. Tsukakoshi Kazuo 塚越和夫 essentially did the same, albeit with some reservations.[2] Elsewhere, in a roundtable hosted by the journal *Bungei* 文芸, renowned authors Yasuoka Shōtarō 安岡章太郎 (1920–2013) and Ōe Kenzaburō 大江健三郎 had already characterized Dazai's use of the Bible as pedantic, suggesting that Keene was not necessarily alone in viewing this distinctive trait of his works with skepticism.[3] A number of Japanese scholars and critics, however, disagreed with this assessment. In the late 1950s, for example, Sako Jun'ichirō 佐古純一郎 (1919–2014) and Kamei Katsu'ichirō 亀井勝一郎 (1907–1966) had drawn attention to the importance of Christianity in Dazai's works, warning about the difficult task of interpreting his literature without a clear understanding of the unique role of the Bible in it. Within a decade, Terazono Tsukasa 寺園司 and Watabe Yoshinori 渡部芳紀 had followed up with significant evidence in support of that view, cementing the conviction in the academic community that a careful analysis of the place of Christianity was going to be a *sine qua non* for an understanding of Dazai's *oeuvre*.[4] In a preface he authored in 1973, shortly before his death, prominent Christian author Shiina Rinzō 椎名麟三 (1911–1973) similarly emphasized the centrality of the Bible in every aspect of Dazai's literature.[5]

Evidence of the lasting nature of that consensus can be found in the extensive volume of research published thereafter, including that which directly addressed Donald Keene's statement. In "Donarudo Kīn shi no gokai" ドナルド・キーン氏の誤解 (Donald Keene's misunderstanding), for example, Kikuta Yoshitaka 菊田義孝 argued that his mentor Dazai never, in fact, wrote about the Christian religion; nor was he ever interested in its dogmas:

> The theory of the Atonement according to which Christ, the Son of God, was crucified and died in order to atone for humanity's sins against God is an essential dogma of Christianity. More than a dogma, it is a belief at the core of Christ's gospel. However, Dazai never spent a word on this, nor did he ever affirm it or deny it. He was therefore completely uninterested in this dogma and Christianity as a whole … However, as he read the New Testament, he became extremely passionate about Christ and his

1 Keene 1971, pp. 198–199. Keene's views on this topic also appeared in Japanese in volume 65 of *Nihon no bungaku* (Chūō Kōronsha, 1964), as quoted in Sako 1983, p. 13 and Kikuta 1985, p. 43.
2 See Kikuta 1985, p. 43 and Tsukakoshi 1974.
3 The roundtable took place in May 1966. See Kikuta 1985, p. 61.
4 See Sako 1958, Kamei 1959, Terazono 1974 and Watabe 1971. For a summary of these scholarly developments in Dazai studies, including the early contributions of other important scholars like Sasabuchi Tomoichi and Satō Yasumasa, see Saitō 1983, pp. 181–186.
5 In Saitō 1973, p. 1.

> persona. He came to worship his purity of heart unconditionally. He adored Christ, not Christianity.[6]

Kikuta's attempt to distinguish between Christ and Christianity may appear odd, but as another scholar also pointed out, "Words like God and faith appear often in Dazai's works. However, he disliked going to church and did not call himself a Christian. The word Christianity for him does not mean the teachings of Christ. It indicates organized religion and church."[7]

To be fair, Keene's negative assessment came at a time when research on the place of Christianity in Japanese literature was still at an embryonic stage. Despite the fact that many writers had converted during the Meiji era and that an equally remarkable wave of conversions had taken place during the immediate postwar period, studies in this area did not flourish until at least the late 1960s. This was a time when the growing popularity of Christian authors like Shiina Rinzō, Endō Shūsaku 遠藤周作 (1923–1996) and Miura Ayako 三浦綾子 (1922–1999) prompted the scholarly community both to evaluate the impact of these authors on the evolving narrative landscape of the period, and to reassess the influence exerted by the Western religion on the literary developments of the Meiji and Taishō years. At the time Donald Keene was writing, the Japanese academic community was only beginning to discover the details of those developments; the magnitude of Christianity's impact on Dazai's works had yet to be fully unveiled. In addition, Keene's note that Dazai was "delighted to discover appropriate passages to insert in his books" was not completely inaccurate. The idea that Dazai's inflated use of the Bible was probably driven by a calculated effort to use its materials in an aphoristic fashion continued to be shared by a significant segment of the academic community.[8] It is to this inflated and at times inconclusive use of the Scriptures that Donald Keene was likely referring.

The question of Keene's legacy in Dazai studies overseas remains nonetheless a concern, since the Anglophone scholarly community has traditionally dismissed the importance of Christianity.[9] As Mark Williams noted in a piece that appeared more recently, however,

> [T]o dismiss entirely the importance of Biblical motifs in Dazai's *oeuvre* is … to belittle the continuous soul-searching evidenced in his literature as suggested by the following comment in "Human Lost:" "By one book, the Bible, the history of Japanese

6 Kikuta 1985, p. 44. Sako Jun'ichirō also found Keene's assessment problematic. See Sako 1983, pp. 13–17. More recent monographs that have unveiled the importance of the Bible in Dazai's narrative include Akashi 1985, Nohara 1998 and Osabe 2002.

7 Akashi 1987, p. 65.

8 See, for example, Tōgō et al. 1987, pp. 33–34.

9 In 1968, for example, David Brudnoy seemed to concur with Keene when he highlighted the puzzling and confusing nature of Dazai's use of Christian motifs. Masao Miyoshi later stated that "Dazai was very fond of quoting from the Bible. But it is a mistake to take his Christianity seriously. Sako Jun'ichirō, for instance, is much too eager to read a Christian saint into Dazai's histrionic utterances." Neither Makoto Ueda nor Thomas Rimer significantly explored this topic, although James O'Brien did—if only very briefly. For Phyllis Lyons, "When [Dazai] uses the Bible, his references are only of the most obvious kind, such as any high school graduate would have known by the 1930s: the story of Abraham and Isaac, for example, or the parable of the prodigal son." See Brudnoy 1968, p. 460; Miyoshi 1974, pp. 187–188; Ueda 1976, pp. 145–172; Rimer 1978, pp. 182–199; O'Brien 1975, pp. 64, 77–78, 138; and Lyons 1985, p. 6.

> literature was clearly divided into two parts, with such a distinction as was impossible in the past."[10]

Keene himself mentioned that the issue is not necessarily whether Dazai attained any degree of faith in his private life; this is an aspect of the debate that lends itself to the dangers of speculation. Indeed, the present study does not assert the impossibility of reading Dazai's *oeuvre* outside the borders of his Christian experience. Rather, it is concerned with how Dazai interfaced with the Christian religion and whether it is true, to put it in Keene's words, that the interface "failed to give his works the additional depth he sought."[11] The purpose here is twofold: (1) to address the current paucity of scholarship among researchers overseas, and so provide an overdue analysis of Dazai's interaction with Christianity, and (2) to shed light on the origins and modalities of that interaction. The evidence shows that Dazai's early interface with the Bible and the Christian religion did not exist in a vacuum, but was deeply rooted in the experience of earlier decades and as such a development consistent with the outcomes of that legacy. Thus, for example, the tensions between Ōba Yōzō 大庭葉蔵 and God in Dazai's last major novel *Ningen shikkaku*, emblematically captured by the protagonist's restless search for "the antonym of sin," should not be seen merely as the author's attempt to exploit a random Christian motif that would add depth to his story, but rather as the manifestation of a discursive religious continuum that can be traced back to other writers before him. Understanding the issues at the core of that discursive continuum is key to mitigating the opaqueness and the (sometimes) distracting presence of Christian elements in Dazai's literature. It is also a necessary condition for a reinterpretation of his postwar works vis-à-vis the literary deliberations of those earlier years.

Fate, Sin, Hell, and the Unforgiving God

First and foremost among the intellectuals whose Christian experience loomed large over Dazai's persona was Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927).[12] Dazai revered him as the model author he wished to emulate, and "Nyoze gamon" 如是我聞 (Thus have I heard, 1948), a piece he wrote a few months before he took his own life, is the most direct evidence of the deep connection and profound sympathy he felt for his idol. In a passage that has become emblematic of his feud with author Shiga Naoya 志賀直哉 (1873–1971), Dazai wrote:

> There is one more thing I dislike about you, and it is the fact that you don't understand Akutagawa's pain, which is the pain of one who lives in the shadow. Weakness. The Bible. Fear of life. The prayers of one who feels defeated. You don't understand any of these and you are even proud of it.[13]

Dazai and Akutagawa shared many traits, including an extraordinary familiarity with the Scriptures, but one of the most striking similarities can be found in their fictional

10 Williams 2003, p. 311.
11 Keene 1971, p. 199.
12 For Akutagawa's influence on Dazai, see Miyasaka 1998 and Sekiguchi 2001.
13 Dazai 1990, vol. 10, p. 441.

representation of fate, sin, and God's resulting punishment.[14] The notion of a God who may have already determined a person's fate or precluded the possibility of individual agency had already plagued a number of Meiji and Taishō writers, and Akutagawa was no exception. Concerns about the existence of a higher power capable of manipulating an individual's fate at will manifested themselves very early in Akutagawa's life. In 1914, for example, in a letter to his friend Tsunetō Kyō 恒藤恭 (1888–1967), he wrote, "I am not quite sure of the power of my own will … I feel as if there is a higher will, a will much stronger than that of the State or society … Perhaps you need to rely on an absolute 'other force' in order to become free."[15] More than a decade later, constantly haunted by the thought of having been punished by God, he reflected:

> As a boy I loved Christianity because of the stained-glass windows, the censers, and rosaries … Around 1922, I began to write short stories and aphorisms that ridiculed Christianity and the Christian faith, and I continued to use the solemn artistic heritage that accompanied the Christian religion as material for my stories. But in the end, as I looked down on it, I actually loved it. This may not be the only reason why I have been punished, but it is certainly one of them.[16]

Akutagawa never converted, but like the vast majority of his contemporaries who engaged Christianity, he was especially preoccupied with the question of sin and its awareness, and some of his early *Kirishitan mono* 切支丹物—his stories "Tabako to akuma" 煙草と悪魔 (Tobacco and the devil, 1916) and "Samayoeru Yudayajin" さまよえる猶太人 (The wandering Jew, 1917), for example— mirrored that preoccupation. Most notably, the protagonist of his novel *Haguruma* 歯車 (Spinning gears, 1927) is constantly worried about his iniquity. At one point, he meets an old friend, and as they chat about women, he experiences a sense of revulsion, and becomes deeply worried about his past transgressions. Feeling doomed by an uncontrollable fate of which he believes God to be the ultimate agent, he senses "the sneer of Fate," and cannot "help but feel in this the presence of something mocking [him]."[17] His decision to visit "a certain old man," the only man who might know why he had been punished, reflects his hope that the course of his destiny may be altered by a compassionate God.[18] After an exchange with the man, however, he realizes that his fate cannot be changed. Hell is the outcome of his realization: "I sensed the inferno I had fallen into," and "I was in hell for my sins."[19]

Fate, sin, and hell were reoccurring themes in Dazai's fiction as well, and the opening section of "Omoide" 思い出 (Memories, 1935) foreshadowed their importance in his later works. The young Shūji 修治 first becomes aware of the existence of hell via his maid, Take たけ:

---

14 Sako Jun'ichirō's observation that it was Dazai Osamu who picked up the Bible found next to Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's bedside at the time of his death suggests the intricate connections between these two writers. See Sako 1972, p. 51.

15 Akutagawa 1998, vol. 17, p. 153.

16 "Aru muchi" (A whip, 1926); in Akutagawa 1998, vol. 23, pp. 221–222.

17 English translation in Rubin 2006, pp. 213–214.

18 The man has been identified as Muroga Fumitake 室賀文武 (1869–1949), a fervent Christian who had worked for Akutagawa's father as a milk deliveryman at the time Ryūnosuke was still a toddler. See Miyasaka 1971.

19 Rubin 2006, pp. 213 and 220.

> Take also instructed me in morals. Often taking me to the temple, she showed me the hanging scrolls of Heaven and Hell and explained them to me. Those who had set fires carried on their backs baskets full of red, flickering flames; those who had had concubines choked in the coils of a blue, two-headed serpent. In the Lake of Blood, on the Mountain of Needles, in the bottomless deep hole called The Limitless Hell where white smoke hovered, everywhere, pallid, emaciated people opened their mouths in tight little o's and wept and howled. If I told a lie, Take said, I would go to Hell and have my tongue torn out like that for the demons to eat. I burst into a storm of tears.[20]

It was not only his awareness of the existence of such a place, however, that terrorized him. It was also an underlying conviction, or at least fear, that hell and "his" fate might be connected, and that nothing could be done about it:

> On a small slope in back of the temple, there was a cemetery. Along a hedge of yellow roses or the like, many tall wooden funerary tablets stood like a forest. A black iron wheel, the size of a full moon, was attached to the tablets. If you spun the wheel clatter-clatter, and when it stopped it stayed there without moving, the person who had spun it would go to Heaven. But if, once it had stopped, it then turned backward, the person would fall into Hell, Take said. When Take spun it, the wheel would spin around for a while with a nice sound and always quietly come to a full stop. But when I spun it, it now and then went backward. I remember one day, it was Autumn I think, when I went to the temple by myself. No matter which of the wheels I tried spinning, they all, as if by previous arrangement, went backward with a heavy clatter. Keeping down my anger which was starting to explode, I stubbornly kept on spinning a wheel many tens of times. The sun had begun to set, so in despair I came away from that graveyard.[21]

References to divine retribution became increasingly abundant in the works leading up to Dazai's more mature years. In "Nijusseiki kishu" 二十世紀旗手 (The standard-bearer of the twentieth century, 1937), for example, God is described as being worse than *kogarashi* 木枯らし (a wintry northerly wind), and there are multiple allusions to the inevitability of his wrath.[22] Similarly, in "Kaze no tayori" 風の便り (Letters from the wind, 1941), a story written in the form of an epistolary exchange between two writers, Ihara, the more senior, explains that writing is like confessing to God, where God's punishment, rather than his forgiveness, is important. Finally, in "Hanamuko" 新郎 (The bridegroom, 1941), mulling over the score of students who came now to visit him at his house in Mitaka, the protagonist declares that he is determined to avoid corrupting any of them, so that he can make that claim on judgment day. The importance of this motif is emblematically apparent in yet another story, "Zenzō o omou" 善蔵を思う (Thinking of Zenzō, 1940), where the main character states:

20 English translation by Lane Dunlop. See Dazai 1983, p. 142.
21 Dazai 1983, p. 143.
22 On this point, see also Akashi 1987, p. 66.

> I suspect my past sins are fifty or a hundred times greater than yours. And even now I continue to sin … I could prostrate myself before God, my hands bound together with ropes, and devote myself to prayer, but even then, before I knew it, I'd be committing some atrocious deed. I am a man who ought to be whipped.[23]

But, of course, the most intriguing similarities between Akutagawa's and Dazai's representations of fate and the Christian God can be found in their respective works, *Haguruma* and *Ningen shikkaku*. As mentioned earlier, in the former, the central character decides to go and visit a certain old man with whom he has the following exchange:

> "How have you been lately?" he asked.
> "Same as always, a bundle of nerves."
> "Drugs are not going to help you, you know. Wouldn't you like to become a believer?"
> "If only I could …"
> "It's not hard. All you have to do is believe in God, believe in Christ as the son of God, and believe in the miracles that Christ performed.
> "I *can* believe in the devil."
> "Then why not in God? If you truly believe in the shadow, you have to believe in the light as well, don't you think?"
> "There's such a thing as darkness without light, you know."
> "Darkness without light?"
> I could only fall silent. Like me, he too was walking through darkness, but he believed that if there is darkness there must be light. His logic and mine differed on this one point alone. Yet surely for me it would always be an unbridgeable gulf.[24]

The protagonist of *Haguruma* can believe in the devil but not in God's love.[25] Like him, Ōba Yōzō—the protagonist of *Ningen shikkaku*—is unable to believe in God's love either. In fact, in the third notebook of the novel, when Shige-chan シゲちゃん, the daughter of the woman with whom he is now living, asks him whether God will truly grant you anything if you pray for it, Yōzō thinks that he for one would like to make such a prayer. Then, after answering that God would do so for her but not for him, he laments:

> I was frightened even by God. I could not believe in His love, only in His punishment. Faith. That, I felt, was the act of facing the tribunal of justice with one's head bowed to receive the scourge of God. I could believe in hell, but it was impossible for me to believe in the existence of heaven.[26]

23 English translation by Ralph F. McCarthy. See Dazai 1991, pp. 126–127.
24 Rubin 2006, p. 227.
25 The same is true of the protagonist of Akutagawa's autobiographical piece, "Aru ahō no isshō" 或阿呆の一生 (The life of a stupid man, 1927): "He envied medieval men's ability to find strength in God. But for him, believing in God—in God's love—was an impossibility, though even Cocteau had done it!" See Rubin 2006, p. 204.
26 Dazai 1958, p. 117.

This pronounced awareness of sin did not go unnoticed by Japanese scholars, who often touted Dazai's upper class upbringing, his recantation of communism, and the double suicide attempt that led to the death of Tanabe Shimeko 田部シメ子 (1912–1930), as the causes of a deep personal sense of guilt.[27] Born in a wealthy upper-class family, Dazai had his share of vicissitudes. In 1929 he tried to kill himself for the first time, and the following year, after being expelled from Tokyo Imperial University, he made a second attempt, this time with Shimeko, an eighteen-year-old bar hostess he had met in Ginza. He failed and ended up being charged with a crime. Already at odds with his older brother, who provided him with the financial means to survive, his family ties were later severed when he announced his intention to marry Oyama Hatsuyo 小山初代 (1912–1944), a geisha. In 1935, he tried to commit suicide again but failed, and a few weeks later he had an attack of appendicitis which led to hospitalization and dependence on Pabinal, a pain killer.

Dazai's most consequential engagement with Christianity and the Bible took place at the culmination of these events. Between 13 October and 12 November 1936, following the advice of his mentor Ibuse Masuji 井伏鱒二 (1898–1993), he was hospitalized at the Tōkyō Musashino Hospital 東京武蔵野病院 in order to cure his addiction to Pabinal. He read the Bible frantically during that month.

The Encounter with the Bible

In "Human Lost" (1937), the work that chronicled the emotional pain of that experience, Dazai wrote:

> With one book, the Bible, the history of Japanese literature has been divided into two parts, with a clarity and distinction that are almost unprecedented. It took me three years to read the twenty-eight chapters of the Gospel of Matthew. Mark, Luke, John, ah, when will I achieve the wings of the Gospel of John![28]

Although the Gospel of Matthew would play an especially important role in his narrative—it is the most widely quoted section of the Scriptures in his works—his statement that it took him three years to read it is probably to be taken figuratively. Scholars agree that his first encounter with the Bible had likely taken place a few years earlier, probably around the time he severed his communist ties, in the summer of 1932. From the fall of 1934, Dazai also came into close contact with literary critic and Bible scholar, Yamagishi Gaishi 山岸外史 (1904–1977), the author of *Ningen Kirisuto ki* 人間キリスト記 (A record of Christ the man, 1937). According to writer Dan Kazuo 檀一雄 (1912–1976), who was friends with both, the two men spoke often about the Bible and related religious matters.[29] Yamagishi himself commented on the interest he and Dazai shared:

27 On this point, see for example Sōma 1969, p. 26.

28 Dazai 1990, vol. 2, p. 83. The work's original title is in English. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

29 Sōma Shōichi has highlighted Yamagishi's overarching influence on Dazai, arguing that his reliance on the Gospel of Matthew and his interpretation of Judas's role were direct results of Yamagishi's influence. According to Sōma, the Biblical references that began to appear with increased frequency in Dazai's letters between 1936 and 1937 were also likely a reflection of the content of Yamagishi's book, which by then was in its final draft. See Sōma 1985, p. 64.

> It's not that we were not interested in the life and world of the *Kojiki* and *Man'yōshū*, it's just that through the Old and New Testaments we pursued the prototype of "humanity." That's where our heart was, and rather than Japanese art, we pursued the themes of "man" and "drama."[30]

Dazai was also a great admirer of renowned theologian Tsukamoto Toraji 塚本虎二 (1885–1973), a former student of iconic religious leader Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 (1861–1930):

> In those days [Dazai] was a subscriber to Tsukamoto Toraji's journal *Seisho chishiki* 聖書知識. On the white cover, other than the title, the journal read "there is salvation outside the church and the non-church" … I am almost certain that he continued to read that journal until right before he went to Kōfu and then retreated to Aomori Prefecture. One day he said: "Mr. Tsukamoto is the only thinker in Japan who is worthy of that name" … I was stunned.[31]

But the most important source of inspiration at this early stage, before the hospitalization experience chronicled in "Human Lost," was perhaps Uchimura Kanzō himself. Uchimura, the founder of the Mukyōkai 無教会 or Non-Church movement, was one of the most revered Christian leaders of the late Meiji and Taishō periods. His teachings, grounded in the Calvinist tradition, were characterized by a distinctly puritanical worldview that centered on the image of a strict Christian God.[32] Dazai's encounter with his writings seemingly took place before his hospitalization, when, after returning from a trip to Yugawara 湯河原 and Hakone 箱根, he decided to read some of his old books again:

> For the first time in my life I found myself wanting to pray. "Please, something good to read! Please, something good to read!" But I found none. A couple of novels made me angry. Only a collection of writings by Uchimura Kanzō stuck with me for a week. I wanted to quote a few passages from this book but couldn't. I feel like I have to quote everything. This, like nature, is a frightening book. I confess that I have been really impressed by these writings. For one thing they helped me with my dislike of "Tolstoy's Bible," and I completely surrendered to this book full of faith. I just feel I need to stay silent like an insect. It seems I may have taken the first step into the world of faith.[33]

Whether this passage should be considered a true confession of faith, or be taken with a note of caution, is open to debate. Certainly, Dazai's encounter with Uchimura's writings came at a particularly difficult moment for the young writer. Contrary to his hopes and expectations, his story "Dōke no hana" 道化の華 (The flower of buffoonery, 1935) had not

30 Quoted in Sōma 1969, p. 26.
31 Kikuta 1964, p. 158. On Dazai's admiration for Tsukamoto, see also Tanaka 1985a, p. 3.
32 On Uchimura's influence on Meiji literati, see Suzuki 1980, Takeda 1982, and Tomasi 2018.
33 "Confiteor," in Dazai 1990, vol. 10, p. 71. According to Tanaka Yoshihiko, Dazai was likely referring to Uchimura's *Kirisuto shinto no nagusame* 基督信徒のなぐさめ (Consolation of a Christian, 1893) and *Kyūan'roku* 求安録 (Search for peace, 1893), which he had borrowed from his friend, Hiresaki Jun 鰭崎潤. See Tanaka 1985b, p. 32.

been selected for the Akutagawa Prize, and he had also failed an important job interview with a major newspaper. Given these setbacks and earlier vicissitudes, the conviction and power of Uchimura Kanzō's words may have inspired Dazai to probe into the world of faith unraveling before him.[34]

It is very possible, then, that Uchimura's teachings may have influenced Dazai's views of Christianity early on, cementing his notion of an unforgiving and irate God, reinforcing old beliefs in the existence of hell and of an inevitable fate, and amplifying the sense of guilt that may have come from his many failures and regrets. Generations of researchers have acknowledged these elements as distinctive of Dazai's understanding of Christianity, corroborating the view that his early interactions with the Bible and the Christian religion did not exist in a vacuum, but rather stemmed in part from the religious discourse of the preceding decades.[35] That Dazai expressed his admiration for the works of Uchimura Kanzō, whose deliberations had not only set the tone for much of the literature-versus-religion debate of the Meiji years, but also provided the polarities around which the majority of modern writers explored their self-construction, is evidence of his familiarity with them.

But there was another important element of continuity between him and the earlier generation of writers. As Kamei Katsu'ichirō once noted,

> Dazai was a peculiar Japanese Protestant of the Shōwa period. This is paramount when discussing Dazai's literature. Of course, he did not belong to a church nor was he baptized. He read the Bible in his own way and sought to connect directly to Christ and his teachings. This is probably unacceptable for orthodox Catholics and it is likely heresy for baptized Protestants. However, there was no aesthetics or cheating in his approach to the Bible. It was intimate prayer, and a practical standard for his works.[36]

Kamei's indication that "there was no aesthetics or cheating in Dazai's approach to the Bible" is strongly evocative of Meiji writers' efforts to be true to the self. Kunikida Doppo 国木田独歩 (1871–1908), Masamune Hakuchō 正宗白鳥 (1879–1962) and Arishima Takeo 有島武郎 (1878–1923), for example, endeavored to approach the Scriptures always in the name of authenticity and in rejection of self-deception. They interpreted their faith with strictness and rigor, as exemplified by the narrator at the start of Arishima's novel *Meiro* 迷路 (Labyrinth, 1918): "I tried to immerse my life into God day and night by following the ascetic life to the point of emaciation."[37] Such a desire for authenticity was consistent with the new sense of selfhood they had acquired through a Christian-inspired process of

34 On this point, see Saitō 1973, p. 85 and Tanaka 1985b, pp. 31–36.

35 Sasabuchi Tomoichi 笹淵友一 (1902–2001), for example, maintained that his notion of God resided entirely in his awareness of sin and the Last Judgment, and for Okuno Takeo 奥野健男 (1926–1997) Dazai's literary act was in essence the writer's own way of opposing a vengeful God through art. See, respectively, Saitō 1983, p. 181 and Nishitani 2000, p. 163. Akashi Michio 赤司道雄 (1920–1993) stated that when Dazai was under the influence of Uchimura's writings, the forgiving God did not exist in his eschatology. Kanda Shigeyuki 神田重幸 has similarly argued that, "[T]he God Dazai longed for was not the God of love but rather the punishing God of the Old Testament … [R]ather than Jesus Christ the Redeemer, professed by Paul, his understanding of the Bible and Christianity centered on the awareness of a God of the Law and punishment." See Akashi 1987, p. 66 and Kanda 1996, p. 86.

36 Kamei 1959, p. 19.

37 English translation by Sanford Goldstein and Seishi Shinoda. See Arishima 1992, p. 3.

introspection and internal renewal. This upholding of authenticity did not come, however, without a price. The conflict with Meiji Protestantism—and Calvinism in particular—stemmed in fact largely from the depth of a self-introspection that dared to ask questions about belief, free will, and that religious system's most central tenets, including the theory of predestination. It is not then surprising that some of these writers strove to articulate a cogent dissent. Kitamura Tōkoku 北村透谷 (1868–1894)'s theory of the inner life (*naibu seimeiron* 内部生命論), for example, postulated the existence of a sacred temple within human beings that essentially defied mainstream Calvinism's belief in the latent depravity of mankind. Similarly, Arishima Takeo openly criticized the Calvinist theory of predestination, namely that God had already chosen those who would and would not be saved.

Dazai's relationship to the Bible should be interpreted within the context of this tradition. The notion that he was unorthodox in his reading or, to use Sako Jun'ichirō's widely accepted characterization, that his approach to the Bible was too legalistic, cannot fully capture the nuances of that relationship, because the notion does not allow for the author's determination to uphold authenticity as a centerpiece of his experience.[38] As former protégé Fukunaga Shūsuke 福永収佑 once observed, "Japanese Christians tend to rely too much on Paul's logic and believe that they are saved. Dazai did not read the Bible that way, and that's where his purity of heart was."[39] Uchimura's writings were just a departure point for Dazai, a nonetheless critically important one that situated him squarely within the tradition of Meiji Christian discourse and that later led him to a confrontation with God.

From the Despair of "Human Lost" to Hope for Reconciliation

"Human Lost" represented a significant turning point in Dazai's engagement with Christianity. His idea of the Bible as a book that had changed the course of Japanese literature, dividing it "into two parts, with a clarity and distinction that are almost unprecedented," suggests that for him its impact on Japanese literary history had been absolute. "Human Lost" contained at least five important references to Christ, including two quotations from the Sermon on the Mount—"Settle with your opponent quickly while on the way to court with him …" (Matthew 5:25–26) and "But I say to you, love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you …" (Matthew 5:44–48). These quotations eloquently captured the polemic tone of the whole piece, which chronicled the agonizing month he spent against his will in the "human warehouse" (*ningen sōko* 人間倉庫) of Musashino Hospital. Dazai believed he had been tricked by Hatsuyo and Ibuse, and therefore harbored hostile feelings towards them and the hospital itself. A couple of excerpts will illustrate his state of mind, and serve to contextualize the Biblical verses which he quoted.

> [October] 23 Cursing your wife.
> All people have innate talents. You say that I am a liar. Say it to my face. You are the one who has deceived me … You deceived someone who put his heart and life in your hands, locked him up in a mental hospital for ten days without not even a letter or flowers … whose wife are you …

38 Sako Jun'ichirō, *Dazai Osamu ron* (Shinbisha, 1963), quoted in Chiba 1987, p. 68.
39 Fukunaga 1992, p. 80.

> [October] 25 … Tricks of a private mental hospital.
> In this hospital building, out of fifteen patients, at least two thirds of them are ordinary folks. There is not a single person who has stolen or is trying to steal somebody else's property. They trusted people and got screwed for that.
> The doctors won't tell you the date you can be discharged. They won't commit. They are endlessly telling you something different.
> When new patients arrive, they always put them up in a nice bright room on the second floor. They first make their family members feel at ease and then, the following day, the head of the hospital says that they have not received a permit yet for the second floor and they throw them in the same building with the depressed fifteen patients on the first floor …
> [October] 26 … I remember the expression "individual rights." All the patients here have lost their status of "human being" …
> [November] 10 I am the one who is bad. I am a man unable to say "sorry." My bad actions have just come back to bite me … I want to go home.[40]

Tanaka Yoshihiko 田中良彦 explained the momentous nature of the changes that took place in Dazai as follows. In the years that had preceded his hospitalization, Tanaka observed, Dazai had often found respite in Christ, mainly by means of a one-dimensional self-projection onto the story of Christ's tragedy (not unlike Akutagawa). Following his failure to win the coveted Akutagawa Prize, for example, he had sent a letter of complaint to Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫, who was a member of the selection committee, in which he gave the address of the sender, Dazai himself, as "Mount Golgota." In "Human Lost," however, Dazai's focus began to move away from this type of self-representation and to shift perceivably towards Christ's teachings. After leaving the hospital, Dazai went on a trip to Atami 熱海, and the letters he sent from there to his friend Hiresaki Jun 鰭崎潤 indicated an important transition from a state of depression and self-deprecation to a positive outlook and hope for the future. Tanaka argues that a quote from Matthew 6:26, "Look at the birds in the sky; they do not sow or reap … yet your heavenly Father feeds them," signaled the seeds of Dazai's trust in God's providence, and a surrender to faith that would become important traits of his literary production during the early 1940s.[41]

The story "Kamome" 鷗 (Sea gull, 1940) provides some evidence of the authenticity of that transition. The piece begins with the narrator, who later identifies himself as Dazai, explaining that he is an ugly man and incapable of any leadership. He is weak in body and spirit, and feels as though he is being rushed along on a train whose final destination he does not know. The latter part of the story contains a conversation between him and a visitor at his house in Mitaka. The visitor, who worked for a journal, had asked him about his past health problems and how he had managed to get better. The two talked about literature and, when asked whether there was any particular "ism" he believed in or espoused, the narrator had responded that it was "regret." It was from regret, confession, and self-reflection that modern literature was born, he had insisted. He had even begun to confess his shame

40 Dazai 1990, vol. 2, pp. 75–95.
41 Tanaka 1989.

for, and disappointment with, his past actions, referring to himself as "the son of sin," but later, unable to continue, he had stumbled:

> I wanted to talk about the Bible. I wanted to say that there was a time when I was truly saved by it. But then I got embarrassed and was unable to. Isn't life more than food and the body more than clothing? "Look at the birds in the sky; they do not sow or reap, they gather nothing into barns, yet your heavenly Father feeds them" … These consolatory words from Christ once gave me the strength to live on. Isn't faith something that you have and keep as a secret inside yourself? Somehow, I just can't even pronounce the word faith.[42]

Similar passages implying trust in God's benevolence can be found in other works Dazai wrote leading up to his marriage, and during the period of relative emotional and financial stability that immediately followed.[43] The story "Hazakura to mateki" 葉桜と魔笛 (Cherry leaves and the magic flute, 1939), for example, showed concrete evidence of this metamorphosis. In this work an old woman recalls an event preceding the death of her teenage sister. She had found letters from a man whom her sister had apparently dated in secret, and who had broken up with her upon learning of her illness. Thinking of the pain this had likely caused her, the old woman had decided to write a letter in which she pretended to be the man asking for forgiveness, declaring his love and promising to come and play his flute for her the following day at six o'clock. The sister, however, uncovered the pretense, for she had faked the epistolary exchange with a man who did not exist only to cure her desire for affection. And yet, the following day, at exactly six o'clock, someone had come to play the flute, and both sisters had heard him.

> There is a God, there really is. I was sure of it then. My sister died three days later. The end came so quietly, and so suddenly that even the doctor seemed mystified. But I wasn't surprised. Everything, I believed, was according to God's will.[44]

The protagonist of "Zenzō o omou" similarly finds immense solace in discovering that the "imitation farmer woman" (*nise byakushō* 贋百姓), who had sold him the roses and whom he had thought to be an impostor, had not cheated him after all. The roses had in fact grown into outstanding specimens, and his realization that he had not been deceived brings him internal peace:

> Taking a seat on the veranda, puffing at my cigarette, I felt not a little content. God exists. Surely, He exists. Green pastures are where you find them. Behold the fruits of non-resistance … I gave thanks. And for a moment, this thought flashed through my mind: as long as these roses are living, I am king of my own heart.[45]

42 Dazai 1990, vol. 3, p. 185.
43 Dazai married Ishihara Michiko in 1939.
44 English translation by Ralph F. McCarthy. See Dazai 2000, p. 43.
45 English translation by Ralph F. McCarthy; see Dazai 1991, pp. 143–144.

Trust and deceit were crucial discursive polarities in Dazai's body of work, and "Hashire Merosu" 走れメロス (Run, Melos!, 1940) reaffirmed the primacy of these themes. The central character in this story is Melos, a naïve village shepherd with a strong sense of justice, who travels to Syracuse to purchase clothing and food for his sister's wedding. Once in the city, Melos hears from his close friend Selinunteus about the evil deeds of the king, and takes it upon himself to liberate the people from the tyrant. He is however arrested and dragged in front of the king. After a short altercation during which the latter claims that the only reason why he is executing people is that he cannot trust them, the young shepherd is sentenced to death. He accepts his sentence but pleads to be allowed to attend his sister's wedding; he promises to return in three days for his execution. His friend Selinunteus will take his place, should he not be back in time. Melos runs frantically to Syracuse, encountering all sorts of physical and emotional obstacles, including a flood, bandits, and heat exhaustion. En route, he hesitates, and questions the meaning of friendship and loyalty. He eventually makes it back in time, which saves his friend's life and also his own, as the king, astounded by the fact that Melos had kept his promise, exclaims: "You have won me over, and your hopes are fulfilled. Loyalty isn't just a hollow word."[46]

Loyalty and betrayal have been similarly touted as *leit motifs* typical of Dazai's narrative that can be traced back to the author's own betrayal of his communist comrades, of his family, and of Tanabe Shimeko, who had died alone during their double suicide attempt. They most notably resurfaced in his last major novel, *Ningen shikkaku*, where they assumed the contours of a true confrontation—a dialectical diatribe of sorts—between the protagonist and God. Yōzō's question to the Almighty about whether trustfulness is a sin (*shinrai wa tsumi nari ya* 信頼は罪なりや) was not only indicative of the continued relevance of this theme in his literary production, it also suggested that the fictional interlocutor of similar exchanges in earlier works was God all along. The "imitation farmer woman" in "Zenzō o omou," for example, could be interpreted as representing the merciful and trustworthy God, whose existence Dazai desperately sought to validate. Claiming to be the owner of the neighboring fields, the woman tries to sell roses to the new tenant, the protagonist. It is not surprising that after deciding to purchase the roses despite his suspicion of a con, the man states:

> How happy it would have made me if that woman had proved not to be a fake, if she had suddenly appeared in the fields … All I want is to see you suddenly pop up in the field, hard at work. That would be my salvation. Come out, come out, show your face.[47]

The protagonist is immediately brought back to reality by the conviction that he is doomed to be deceived. His decision to play along and buy the roses, despite his suspicions, is exactly a form of non-resistance against an uncontrollable fate. Thus, he states:

46 English translation by James O'Brien. See Dazai 1989, p. 125.
47 Dazai 1991, pp. 130–131.

> I'd been taken. There was no question about it. I had to pin all my hopes on the flowers these scraggly plants would produce. The fruits of non-resistance. I was half resigned to the probability that the flowers wouldn't be much.[48]

This act of non-resistance is at the same time an act or leap of faith. The protagonist's hope that the plants will blossom into beautiful roses is in essence the hope that God does not reveal himself to be fraudulent after all. Hence, the salvation and the internal peace that followed his discovery that the roses were not fake. In this sense, it can be surmised that the expressions "God exists" and "He exists" that are found, for example, in "Hazakura to mateki" are not necessarily affirmative answers to the question over God's existence, but rather affirmations of trust in His mercy.

Serikawa Susumu 芹川進, the sixteen-year-old protagonist of "Seigi to bishō" 正義と微笑 (Justice and smile, 1942), also places his trust in God's providence:

> I feel like reading the Bible. When I am upset beyond control, there's only the Bible. When other books, all dry and insignificant, cannot get into my mind, only the Bible strikes a chord in my heart. It's really something.
> I just opened it at random and found this line: "I am the Resurrection and the life. Those who believe in me, even though they die, will have eternal life. Everyone who lives and believes in me shall not die. Do you believe this?"
> I had forgotten. My faith is weak. Tonight, I will place my trust in God and go to bed. These days I have been neglecting my prayers, too …[49]

Susumu's diary, a chronicle of his personal struggles over a period of two years, is replete with references to the Bible, and his thoughts and actions are constantly mediated by his religious beliefs and a sense of introspection and self-admonition that are reminiscent of Kunikida Doppo's and Masamune Hakuchō's own diaries:

> Shame, Serikawa Susumu! Recently your diary has become very sloppy. There is no trace in it of an intellectual, is there? You have to stay strong. Did you forget about your great hopes? You are 17 now. You are by now a grown-up intellectual. How sloppy! Did you forget that during your elementary school years every week you used to go to church with your older brother and learn about the Bible? You are supposed to have learned of Jesus's earnest wishes. Didn't you vow to each other that you would try hard to become like Him?[50]

One time, in a similarly self-admonishing fashion, after enjoying Father Terauchi's lectures on the Bible, Susumu realizes that people's ideals are not truly the way of the Cross but merely reflections of their earthly desires. He is pained to discover that he, too, has become a person more concerned with the needs of the body than those of the spirit. This realization is, however, counterbalanced by his continued resolve to be a good Christian:

48 Dazai 1991, p. 131.
49 Dazai 1990, vol. 5, p. 103.
50 Dazai 1990, vol. 5, p. 43.

"From tomorrow I will be steadfast with noble spirit and fresh hope. I am now 17. I swear to God. Tomorrow, I will get up at 6 o'clock and study."[51]

As is thus clear, during the years that followed the experience of "Human Lost," Dazai continued to engage and integrate the Bible into his narrative, exhibiting signs of a trust in God which for some are evidence of a strong personal faith, but for others are only proof of the author's concerted effort to make effective use of the Scriptures.[52] However, this established binary does not fully capture the nuances of Dazai's engagement with Christianity. The reason why the Bible and the Christian religion cannot be dismissed as peripheral aspects of Dazai's narrative is not necessarily that they could be evidence of the author's personal faith or that they are used frequently and concertedly in his writing, but rather that many of his fictional characters often exist in tension with the teachings of the Bible. The binary fails to address Dazai's articulation of a coherent discourse of salvation that stemmed from the legacy of his ongoing engagement, and attempted to provide long-sought answers to questions on the nature of God, faith, and the free agency of man. In this sense, Dazai's investment in the Bible was absolute, and a large portion of his literary output was dependent on it. In an interview titled "Ichimon ittō" 一問一答 (One question, one answer) that appeared in *Geijutsu Shinbun* 芸術新聞 in April 1942, the author revealed the perimeters of his engagement, which clearly excluded an organized church. When asked whether he was a Christian, he responded, "I don't go to church but I read the Bible," before adding, "I think there are few peoples in the world who can understand the Bible like the Japanese do."[53] He also shared a few thoughts that had been on his mind:

> People must be honest. This is something that I have been thinking about lately … if you try to cheat, life becomes difficult and things get complicated. If you say things honestly and move forward in the same way, then life gets really simple. There is no such a thing as failure. Failure is when you try to cheat and can't quite succeed.[54]

Dazai's words were the manifestation of a latent dilemma: the inability to trust. His inability to trust people was a metaphor for his inability to trust God, and the resulting spiritual discomfort later escalated into a vehement protest that became the most distinctive trait of his final years.

"Kakekomi uttae": The Escalation of Protest

"Kakekomi uttae" 駈込み訴へ (Heed My Plea), Judas Iscariot's invective against Christ and His promise of the kingdom of God, appeared in February 1940 in *Chūō kōron* 中央公論. It is a fascinating work which marks a pivotal moment in Dazai's construction of a personal discourse of salvation—one of protest—that stemmed from Judas's explanation of the motives for his betrayal. Cast in the form of a rapid monologue that Dazai dictated to his wife Michiko in two sessions, the piece is replete with utterances and pronouncements that border on schizophrenic discourse. The speaker, Judas, goes back and forth criticizing

51 Dazai 1990, vol. 5, p. 38.

52 For different interpretations of the significance of Dazai's use of the Bible at this point in his literary career, see Watabe 1971, Kikuta 1985, Tanaka 1985a, Tanaka 1985b, Chiba 1987, and Fukunaga 1992.

53 Dazai 1990, vol. 3, p. 317.

54 Dazai 1990, vol. 3, p. 316.

and praising Christ. After first unleashing a trenchant attack, he declares his unselfish love for him, only then to revert to a furious tirade, all the while at such a fast pace as to leave the impression of being rushed onto a train whose destination is unknown, to paraphrase once more from Dazai's "Kamome." His drastic mood swings add to the already intricate complexities of the story, rendering it susceptible to various interpretations. "Kakekomi uttae" has the highest number of Biblical references in all of Dazai's *oeuvre*.[55] Thus, some early reviewers saw it as a full-fledged confession of the acts of betrayal perpetrated by the author himself; others have seen it as a mere representation of the conflict between Judas's realism and Jesus's idealism. Yet others have heralded the figure of Judas as that of the ultimate idealist.[56]

As mentioned earlier, Judas's tirade in front of the officials begins with an attack on Jesus. Jesus is obnoxious, arrogant and conceited, and yet he is also powerless and completely dependent on Judas's help. The disciples are totally inept, Judas insists, and "taken in by this mad notion of heaven," they are mainly "fools [who] can't even earn their daily bread here in this world."[57] Judas is especially upset by the impossibility of Jesus's commands to feed the multitudes with only five loaves and two fishes. Judas admits to having helped time and time again perpetrate tricks of all kinds. He does not believe in God; nor does he accept that Jesus will rise from the dead. Indeed, he openly denounces "the shameful emotion" he detected in Jesus's eyes when Mary, the sister of Martha, anointed him with oil of nard. Even more despicable than his attraction to Mary was Jesus's triumphant entry into Jerusalem and his grandiose claim that he would destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days.

Parallel to these accusations runs a separate narrative, however. On multiple occasions, Judas declares his love for Jesus, praises his beauty and purity of heart, even recalling and cherishing moments of kindness he experienced with him. The most important statement of love comes when, before the Last Supper, Jesus washes the disciples' feet. It is the moment when Judas "felt a profound love for him, but [he] couldn't express it."

> He was lonely—and so frightened that he would now cling to these ignorant bigots. What a pity. He must have realized what fate held in store for him. Even as I watched, I felt a cry rising in my throat until suddenly I wanted to embrace him and weep. Oh, how sad. Who could ever accuse you? You were always kind and just, and ever a friend to the poor, and always shimmering with beauty. I know that you are truly the Son of God. Please forgive me, for I have watched these two or three days for a chance to betray you. But not anymore.[58]

During supper, Judas is revealed to be the traitor, and in a surge of shame that later morphs into hatred, he rushes to the authorities to denounce Jesus. The story abruptly ends with Judas receiving his thirty pieces of silver. During his narration of these final events, before being exposed as the traitor, Judas explains the reasons for his betrayal and makes his case

55 For a quantitative analysis of the use of the Bible in Dazai's narrative, see Saitō 1983, p. 205.
56 For a short summary of these different scholarly interpretations, see Mitani 1998.
57 English translation by James O'Brien. See Dazai 1989, p. 94.
58 Dazai 1989, p. 104.

before all humanity. Dazai's choice of the Gospel of John is critical here. Peter is at first unwilling to have his feet washed, but Jesus explains that it is necessary in order to be in fellowship with him, although, he adds, no further washing is needed since a man who has bathed is already clean. "You are clean," Jesus states, "but not all are." At this point, Dazai's Judas recalls:

> I instantly thought "Me! That's who he meant!" He had seen through my melancholy a moment ago and knew that I planned to betray him. But things were different now—I had changed completely. I was cleansed and my heart transformed. Ah, but he didn't realize it. He hadn't noticed. No! You're mistaken! I wanted to cry out, but the words lodged in my throat and I cravenly swallowed them like a spit. For some reason I couldn't speak. I just couldn't.[59]

Judas, whose rant is in essence a projection of Dazai's own quarrel with God, believes he has changed, but Jesus's failure to understand this tears Judas apart. His emotional pain renders him unable to articulate his true feelings. Then, during supper, he is entered by Satan,

> After [Jesus] had finished speaking, something perverse sprang within me. Meekly I gave in to the feeling, whereupon the cowardly suspicion that perhaps I was unclean expanded into a dark, ugly cloud that swirled within my gut and exploded into a righteous indignation … My earlier determination revived, and I became an utter demon of vengeance.[60]

Although "Kakekomi uttae" may come across at first as merely incoherent speech, when read against the backdrop of Dazai's own internal struggle, the thematic links it shares with *Haguruma* become apparent. Judas's desperate cry recalls the anguish faced by the protagonist of Akutagawa's novel, who tried to alter the course of his destiny by visiting "a certain old man." Theirs are last-ditch efforts that are rendered vain by an uncontrollable fate. They are protests rooted in Meiji writers' Christian experience, and in their revolt against a religious system that placed excessive emphasis on the evil nature of mankind. Dazai was not immune from the aftershocks of those heated developments, and the rhetorical mechanisms he put in place to vent his dissent likely stemmed from the literary debates of the previous decades.[61]

"Viyon no tsuma" ヴィヨンの妻 (Villon's Wife, 1947) emblematically captured the contours of these tensions. The story is told from the viewpoint of Satchan さっちゃん, a young mother and wife who tries to make up for the shortcomings of her degenerate husband, Ōtani 大谷, who has stolen money from a restaurant he has been frequenting for years. When the restaurant owners threaten to report him to the police, Satchan offers to repay them, preventing the situation from escalating further. The historical setting is the immediate postwar period, and references to fluctuating gender and social roles abound.

59 Dazai 1989, p. 106.
60 Dazai 1989, p. 106.
61 For an analysis of the motives behind Meiji writers' ultimate relinquishment of the Christian faith, see Tomasi 2018.

Ōtani, a poet, is a heavy drinker who spends most of his time away from home and his family, only returning every now and then completely drunk and craving emotional care.

The morning after the incident, Satchan sets out with her child, resolved to rectify the situation. She goes to the restaurant and tells the owners what she knows to be untruths: that she will return the money by that very evening or the following day at the latest. She offers to work and literally be held as a hostage until the money is returned. That very night, while she is working at the restaurant, her husband shows up with a woman who asks to speak to the owner in private. Although the narrator is not privy to the conversation, Satchan thinks that "it was all over. Everything had been settled. Somehow I had believed all along that it would be, and I felt exhilarated."[62]

The money has indeed been returned, but Satchan continues to work at the restaurant, and one night, walking back home together, her husband resuscitates a familiar theme in Dazai's *oeuvre*: he has an overwhelming desire to die, and yet, as he states, "I can't seem to die. There is something strange and frightening, like God, which won't let me die." He then adds: "What frightens me is that somewhere there is a God. There is, isn't there?"[63] Satchan does not know, and suggests that the question has never concerned her, but their exchange becomes a dark prelude to developments also present in Akutagawa's *Haguruma*. The protagonist of that story, it will be recalled, is deeply concerned with his sinfulness for which he believes he is being punished. At one point, he is "especially bothered by the way people were casually strolling along as if they had never known the existence of sin."[64] In similar fashion, in the latter half of "Viyon no tsuma," after working for some twenty days at the restaurant, Satchan comes to the realization that every customer is a criminal. In fact, not only the customers but everyone walking in the street hides some dark crime, so that it is impossible for anyone alive to have a clear conscience. Her words are of crucial importance because they epitomize the nature of Dazai's cry of protest:

> Is there any way that in this world, just like in a card game, once you accumulate all the minuses, you can turn them into pluses?
> God, if you exist, show yourself! Toward the end of the New Year Season I was raped by a customer.[65]

As Satchan herself explains, one night she had allowed a customer, a fan of her husband's, to accompany her home, and eventually spend the night in the hall because of the late time and the heavy rain. In the morning, the man forced himself on her. Satchan's cry to God is thus the desperate cry of someone who has already played all her cards, and is waiting to find out whether, at the last minute, a loss can be turned into a win. Satchan's plea is Dazai's own, and her protest—brilliantly epitomized by the metaphor of the card game—is not unlike that of the protagonist of *Haguruma*, who asks the certain old man whether even someone like him could become a Christian and be saved. The very last line in "Viyon no tsuma," Satchan's retort to her husband that "there's nothing wrong with being a monster,

62 English translation in Keene 1960, p. 410.
63 Keene 1960, p. 412.
64 Rubin 2006, p. 217.
65 The English rendering is partly mine, as the first half of the passage is missing in Keene's translation. See Keene 1960, p. 412.

is there? As long as we can stay alive," underscores her determination to live on, resign herself to the inevitability of sin, and acknowledge that no one can be trusted, not even God himself.[66]

The Final Act: *Shayō* and *Ningen shikkaku*

Like Satchan, twenty-nine-year-old divorcee Kazuko かず子, the protagonist of Dazai's *Shayō*, also realizes, to cite Makoto Ueda, "that becoming a sinner is the condition of being alive in this world," and she, too, articulates a discourse of protest aimed at God.[67] Heralded as one of Dazai's masterpieces, and said to have been inspired by the diary of Ōta Shizuko 太田静子, Dazai's mistress who bore his child during the last tumultuous years of his life, *Shayō* provides a dramatic sketch of postwar Japan from the viewpoint of an aristocratic family, chronicling their loss of wealth and social status, and their inability to adapt to the new realities of a rapidly changing society. The novel is not, however, a "mere sociological account."[68] It is in fact nothing short of Dazai's own manifesto against conventional morality, as exemplified by Kazuko's decision to bear the painter Uehara 上原's illegitimate child. Her growing conviction that she "must start a revolution," and "survive and struggle with the world in order to accomplish [her] desires," underlines the author's intention to entrust her with one of his last existential cries.[69] Dazai emphasizes the magnitude of the revolution at the beginning of chapter 5, where Kazuko links her resolve to a very consequential moment in the Gospel:

> I could not remain forever immersed in my grief. There is something for which I absolutely have to fight. A new ethics. No, even to use the word is hypocrisy. Love. That and nothing else … The words of teaching spoken by Jesus to his twelve disciples, when he was about to send them forth to expose the hypocrisies of the scribes and Pharisees and the men of authority of this world and to proclaim to all men without the least hesitation the true love of God, are not entirely inappropriate in my case as well.[70]

A long quotation from Matthew 10 followed this passage: "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses … Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves … He that findeth his life shall lose it …" This is but one of many Biblical references in this novel, and it is probably such instances that Donald Keene found "disconcerting." Certainly, some references to Christianity by Kazuko and her addict brother Naoji 直治 can be distracting. Early in the novel, for example, Kazuko inadvertently causes a fire, and comforted by her mother, she states with relief:

> I was swept by a wave of happiness. I remembered from childhood Sunday school classes the proverb in the Bible, "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of

66 Keene 1960, p. 414.
67 Ueda 1976, p. 153.
68 Rimer 1978, p. 183.
69 Dazai 1956, p. 112 and p. 125.
70 Dazai 1956, p. 129.

> silver," and I thanked God from the bottom of my heart for my good fortune in having a mother so full of tenderness.[71]

Other such cases include Dazai's profound fascination with the figure of Mary, be it Kazuko's comparison of her dying mother to Michelangelo's *Pieta*, or the self-referential statement in her last letter to Uehara. In the letter, announcing that she has become pregnant with the man's child, she writes that "even if Mary gives birth to a child who is not her husband's, if she has a shining pride, they become a holy mother and child."[72] In his suicide note, Naoji also seems to be projecting Mary's figure on to Suga-chan スガちゃん, Uehara's wife, when he declares that, despite a decadent life of "wild orgies with all sorts of women," he "never once felt any of [his] women friends was beautiful or lovable except her."[73] It had all begun during a winter evening when he had ended up sleeping at the painter's apartment after spending the whole day drinking with him. He was dozing off when a blanket was gently thrown over his body:

> I opened my eyes a crack and saw her sitting quietly with her daughter … Her regular profile, its outlines clear-cut with the brilliance of a Renaissance portrait, floated against the background of the pale blue of the distant sky. There was nothing of coquetry or desire in the kindness which had impelled her to throw the blanket over me. Might not the word "humanity" be revived to use of such a moment?[74]

Shayō is thus replete with Christian references, and just as in the case of Satchan and Ōtani in "Viyon no tsuma," Kazuko's determination to survive stands in stark contrast with her brother Naoji's resolution to die. But here, too, the female protagonist is not exempt from the same sense of ineluctability that had caused Satchan to cry out to God. Thus, reflecting upon the reasons for her divorce, Kazuko reflects, "I have the feeling that my divorce was settled from the moment I was born." "[E]ven assuming that this has been a short period of respite vouchsafed by God to my mother and myself, I can't escape the feelings that some threatening, dark shadow is already hovering closer to us."[75] Like Satchan, Kazuko is no longer able to trust:

> I am convinced that those people whom the world considers good and respects are all liars and fakes. I do not trust the world. My only ally is the tagged dissolute. The tagged dissolute. That is the only cross on which I wish to be crucified.[76]

Ningen shikkaku, Dazai's final act, commenced with this very deliberation: the inability to trust. Trust (in God) is therefore the likely answer to the famous riddle on the antonym of sin played by Ōba Yōzō in the third notebook of this final novel.[77] That trust for Dazai may

71 Dazai 1956, p. 32.
72 Dazai 1956, p. 172.
73 Dazai 1956, p. 167.
74 Dazai 1956, pp. 163–164.
75 Dazai 1956, pp. 69–70 and p. 27.
76 Dazai 1956, p. 97.
77 Sako 1972, p. 51.

in some way be connected to Christianity is confirmed early on when, after explaining a crime perpetrated on him as a child, the protagonist all of a sudden brings Christianity into the equation. As he himself observes, there is indeed no link of necessity between trusting others and Christianity, but the fact that he questions the link is indicative of Dazai's intention to capitalize on this motif.

> Some perhaps will deride me. "What do you mean by not having faith in human beings? When did you become a Christian anyway?" I fail to see, however, that a distrust for human beings should necessarily lead directly to religion. Is it not true, rather, that human beings, including those who may now be deriding me, are living in mutual distrust, giving not a thought to God or anything else?[78]

Like many of Dazai's characters, Yōzō is "burdened with a pack of ten misfortunes," and believes he has been punished.[79] His life has been full of shameful acts, and the first two of the three notebooks that comprise the novel are in essence a personal confession of his debauchery and his struggle to be part of human society. In the third notebook, Yōzō is now living with Shizuko シズ子 and her daughter Shige-chan, and it is following an exchange with the latter that he declares:

> I was frightened even by God. I could not believe in His love, only in His punishment. Faith. That, I felt, was the act of facing the tribunal of justice with one's head bowed to receive the scourge of God. I could believe in hell, but it was impossible for me to believe in the existence of heaven.[80]

Yōzō can believe in hell but not in God and his compassion. Both he and the protagonist of *Haguruma* are thus terrified by God and his anger, sharing a sentiment common to many Meiji and Taishō writers. Masamune Hakuchō, for example, recalled viewing God as cruel and irate during his younger years, and Endō Shūsaku capitalized on those recollections in his famous essay "Chichi no shūkyō, haha no shūkyō: Maria kannon ni tsuite" 父の宗教・母の宗教: マリア観音について (Fatherly Religion and Motherly Religion: On Maria Kannon, 1967), characterizing such disproportionate fear of God as an unfortunate and enduring legacy of Meiji Christianity:

> When Masamune Hakuchō wrote "I believe God to be a terrifying God," he was not alone. When post-Meiji Japanese writers thought of God, the main image on their mind was that of a God who stood in judgment over their unconfessed sins and who punished them. As such, they came to look on Christianity, not as a religion of love and harmony, but as an oppressive religion. It is this one-sided interpretation, plus the view of Christianity as a Western religion, that has led to the predominantly negative view of Christianity since the Meiji era.[81]

78 Dazai 1958, p. 36.
79 Dazai 1958, p. 25.
80 Dazai 1956, p. 117.
81 English translation in Williams 2003, p. 309.

Yōzō's perception of God is clearly indebted to that older view of a "God who stood in judgment over their unconfessed sins, and who punished them." Like many other characters in Meiji and Taishō literature, he is deeply concerned with sin, but even by Meiji standards his preoccupation is disproportionally intense. The apex of his concerns is reached in the second section of the third notebook. Yōzō is now married to Yoshiko ヨシ子—someone so gullible that she would believe anything—and one day, at his house, he and his friend Horiki 堀木 begin a guessing game of tragic and comic nouns, which later morphs into a game of antonyms. Yōzō's question "What's the antonym of sin?" is in essence Dazai's own question, and the entire novel seems to have been conceived around this query. Yōzō is unable to find a suitable answer. As Mark Williams points out, he "struggles desperately to find an antonym for the word." He "alights on various possibilities (including law, god, salvation, confession, repentance)," but "fails to arrive at the 'orthodox' answer—that of forgiveness."[82] Indeed, the fact that the word "forgiveness" is missing is curious, as it would seem no less plausible an answer than "salvation," "confession," and "repentance." But Yōzō's failure to think of this term is Dazai's way of underscoring the main fallacy of the Meiji Christian experience, namely its excessive emphasis on sin. Accordingly, the term "forgiveness" becomes *in absentia* a clear signifier of his view of Christianity, with the question of sin sitting squarely within. Yōzō feels in fact that if he were able to find the antonym of sin, he would be able to grasp the essence of sin, and possibly of faith and even of God. Yōzō's guessing game was not merely a futile ploy on Dazai's part to add depth to his story, it was rather a narrative setup for the real question Dazai wanted to ask. It is here that the metaliterary merit of his fiction becomes apparent. By asking a question that borders the semantics of the absurd and paradox, Dazai hones in on the remains of the literature-versus-religion debate of the Meiji years, prompting a reconsideration of the meaning of sin, faith, free agency, and salvation in ways that few had done since Akutagawa. Thus, as Yōzō and Horiki entertain themselves, drinking, cracking jokes, and playing the guessing game, Yōzō happens to witness a man taking advantage of his wife. Assailed by feelings of terror rather than hatred or sadness, he finds himself reflecting upon the incident immediately after: "Yoshiko was a genius at trusting people. She did not know how to suspect anyone. But the misery it caused. God, I ask you, is trustfulness a sin?"[83]

Yōzō's cry to God is framed within the semantic borders of a rhetorical question, a linguistic device whose effectiveness rests upon the obviousness of its answer. The more obvious the answer is, the more effective the device. Dazai's choice of the term trustfulness immediately following the game suggests that, at least in his mind, it was this word that best represented the opposite of sin. To Yōzō, trustfulness was equivalent to purity of heart, and as he himself explains, it was not Yoshiko's defilement that anguished him, but rather the defilement of her trust, hence his follow-up question to God: "Is immaculate trustfulness after all a source of sin?"[84]

Following the assault on his wife, Yōzō drowns himself in alcohol and eventually becomes addicted to morphine. Like Ōtani in "Viyon no tsuma," he "want[s] to die," and

82 Williams 2003, p. 310.
83 Dazai 1958, p. 150.
84 Dazai 1958, p. 151.

believes that no matter what he does, "it's sure to be a failure … All that can happen now is that one foul, humiliating sin will be piled on another … Living itself is the source of sin."[85] This latter deliberation constitutes the climax of Dazai's discourse of protest, and is key to understanding the nature of his Christian experience. Both Satchan, with her question of whether all minus points can become pluses, and Kazuko, with her embracement of depravity as a *modus vivendi*, had in fact already come to the same conclusion: life is an existential state where human agency is precluded and sinning is unavoidable.

Yōzō's awareness of sin stems from these same conclusions. Far from being merely a product of Dazai's own spiritual sensibilities, it was deeply rooted in those strains of Meiji Protestantism that had preached man's innate depravity and his predestination for either salvation or damnation. Indeed, in Yōzō's plea resonate Arishima Takeo's words and reason for apostasy:

> If human beings are not granted free will, then they should not be able to be aware of their sins. Since they are still deemed responsible for their sins, there must be another force within them that is totally independent of the power of God. But that should not exist. If it does not exist, then who should be responsible for their sins? Man or God? Given the very fact of my existence, the responsibility shall reside with God. If that is the case, then, what is the theory of atonement for?[86]

Dazai's characters seem to have no agency in regard to matters of morality. Their fate is predetermined from the beginning, and Yōzō's confrontation with God becomes in essence a reenactment of the drama lived by the protagonist of *Haguruma*. Both characters feel they are doomed because they are unable to alter the course of their destiny, hence their cry to God as a last resort. Dazai's final narrative act was therefore an inquisitive response to the same paradigm of damnation that had caused many fellow writers before him to relinquish the faith. It is *vis-à-vis* this realization that the presence of Christian elements in his postwar literary production should be interpreted. They are not, that is, an assemblage of random Biblical materials; rather, they constitute a coherent salvific discourse of protest that would in turn become a point of departure for the postwar generation of Japanese writers of Christian faith.

REFERENCES

Akashi 1985

Akashi Michio 赤司道雄. *Dazai Osamu: Sono kokoro no henreki to seisho* 太宰治: その心の遍歴と聖書. Yagi Shoten, 1985.

Akashi 1987

Akashi Michio. "Dazai Osamu to Kirisutokyō" 太宰治とキリスト教. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学: 解釈と鑑賞 52:6 (1987), pp. 65–71.

85 Dazai 1958, p. 163 and p. 164.

86 Arishima Takeo "*Ribinguston den*" (1917); see Arishima 1980, p. 371.

Akutagawa 1998
Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介. *Akutagawa Ryūnosuke zenshū* 芥川龍之介全集. 24 vols. Iwanami Shoten, 1998.
Arishima 1980
Arishima Takeo 有島武郎. *Arishima Takeo zenshū*, vol. 7 有島武郎全集 第7巻. Chikuma Shobō, 1980.
Arishima 1992
Arishima Takeo. *Labyrinth*. Trans. Sanford Goldstein and Seishi Shinoda. Madison Books, 1992.
Brudnoy 1968
David Brudnoy. "The Immutable Despair of Dazai Osamu." *Monumenta Nipponica* 23:3/4 (1968), pp. 457–474.
Chiba 1987
Chiba Masaaki 千葉正昭. "Shōwa jūroku-shichi nen no Dazai Osamu to seisho" 昭和十六、七年の太宰治と聖書. *Nihon kindai bungaku* 日本近代文学 37 (1987), pp. 68–80.
Dazai 1956
Dazai Osamu. *The Setting Sun*. Trans. Donald Keene. New Directions, 1956.
Dazai 1958
Dazai Osamu. *No Longer Human*. Trans. Donald Keene. New Directions, 1958.
Dazai 1983
Dazai Osamu. "Memories." Trans. Lane Dunlop. *Mississippi Review* 12:1/2 (1983), pp. 141–154.
Dazai 1989
Dazai Osamu. *Crackling Mountain and Other Stories*. Trans. James O'Brien. Tuttle, 1989.
Dazai 1990
Dazai Osamu 太宰治. *Dazai Osamu zenshū* 太宰治全集. 13 vols. Chikuma Shobō, 1990.
Dazai 1991
Dazai Osamu. *Self Portraits: Tales from the Life of Japan's Great Decadent Romantic*. Trans. Ralph F. McCarthy. Kodansha International, 1991.
Dazai 2000
Dazai Osamu. *Blue Bamboo: Japanese Tales of Fantasy*. Trans. Ralph F. McCarthy. Kodansha International, 2000.
Fukunaga 1992
Fukunaga Shūsuke 福永収佑. *Dazai Osamu ron: Kirisutokyō to ai to gi to* 太宰治論: キリスト教と愛と義と. Shiraishi Shoten, 1992.
Kamei 1959
Kamei Katsu'ichirō 亀井勝一郎, ed. *Dazai Osamu* 太宰治. Kadokawa Shoten, 1959.
Kanda 1996
Kanda Shigeyuki 神田重幸. "Dazai bungaku ni okeru 'aganai': 'Viyon no tsuma' o megutte" 太宰文学における〈贖い〉:「ヴィヨンの妻」をめぐって. *Kirisutokyō bungaku kenkyū* キリスト教文学研究 13 (1996), pp. 86–91.
Keene 1960
Donald Keene, ed. *Modern Japanese Literature*. Grove Press, 1960.

Keene 1971
Donald Keene. *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture*. Kodansha International, 1971.
Kikuta 1964
Kikuta Yoshitaka 菊田義孝. *Dazai Osamu to tsumi no mondai* 太宰治と罪の問題. Shinbisha, 1964.
Kikuta 1985
Kikuta Yoshitaka. *Dazai Osamu to kirisuto* 太宰治とキリスト. Kirisutokyō Tosho Shuppansha, 1985.
Lyons 1985
Phyllis I. Lyons. *The Saga of Dazai Osamu: A Critical Study with Translations*. Stanford University Press, 1985.
Mitani 1998
Mitani Norimasa 三谷憲正. "Dazai Osamu 'Kakekomi uttae' sairon: 'Watashi' to 'ano hito' no zōkei o megutte" 太宰治「駈込み訴へ」再論: 「私」と「あの人」の造型をめぐって. *Kyōto gobun* 京都語文 3 (1998), pp. 130–149.
Miyasaka 1971
Miyasaka Satoru 宮坂覺. "Akutagawa Ryūnosuke to Muroga Fumitake: 'Akutagawa Ryūnosuke to Kirisutokyō' ron e no ichishiten" 芥川龍之介と室賀文武: 「芥川龍之介とキリスト教」論への一視点. *Jōchi Daigaku kobungaku ronshū* 上智大学国文学論集 5 (1971), pp. 104–124.
Miyasaka 1998
Miyasaka Satoru. "Dazai Osamu to Akutagawa Ryūnosuke" 太宰治と芥川龍之介. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 63:6 (1998), pp. 49–53.
Miyoshi 1974
Masao Miyoshi. *Accomplices of Silence: The Modern Japanese Novel*. University of California Press, 1974.
Nishitani 2000
Nishitani Hiroyuki 西谷博之. "Dazai Osamu to Kirisutokyō" 太宰治とキリスト教. *Seigakuin Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 聖学院大学総合研究所紀要 20 (2000), pp. 143–168.
Nohara 1998
Nohara Kazuo 野原一夫. *Dazai Osamu to seisho* 太宰治と聖書. Shinchōsha, 1998.
O'Brien 1975
James A. O'Brien. *Dazai Osamu*. Twayne Publishers, 1975.
Osabe 2002
Osabe Hideo 長部日出雄. *Ōtō to kirisuto: Mō hitotsu no Dazai Osamu den* 桜桃とキリスト: もう一つの太宰治伝. Bungei Shunjū, 2002.
Rimer 1978
J. Thomas Rimer. *Modern Japanese Fiction and Its Traditions: An Introduction*. Princeton University Press, 1978.
Rubin 2006
Jay Rubin. *Rashōmon and Seventeen Other Stories*. Penguin, 2006.

Saitō 1973
Saitō Suehiro 斎藤末弘. *Dazai Osamu to Shiina Rinzō* 太宰治と椎名麟三. Ryokuchisha, 1973.
Saitō 1983
Saitō Suehiro. "Shiryō 1: Dazai to seisho" 資料1: 太宰と聖書. In *Dazai Osamu to seisho* 太宰治と聖書, ed. Sako Jun'ichirō 佐古純一郎. Kyōbunkan, 1983, pp. 181–211.
Sako 1958
Sako Jun'ichirō. *Dazai Osamu ni okeru dekadansu no rinri* 太宰治におけるデカダンスの倫理. Gendai Bungeisha, 1958.
Sako 1972
Sako Jun'ichirō. "Akutagawa Ryūnosuke to Dazai Osamu ni okeru Kirisuto to tsumi no ishiki" 芥川龍之介と太宰治におけるキリストと罪の意識. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 37:12 (1972), pp. 48–52.
Sako 1983
Sako Jun'ichirō, ed. *Dazai Osamu to seisho* 太宰治と聖書. Kyōbunkan, 1983.
Sekiguchi 2001
Sekiguchi Yasuyoshi 関口安義. "Dazai Osamu to Akutagawa Ryūnosuke: Mittsu no kyōtsūkō o megutte" 太宰治と芥川龍之介: 三つの共通項をめぐって. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 66:4 (2001), pp. 32–37.
Sōma 1969
Sōma Shōichi 相馬正一. "Marukishizumu, Kirisutokyō sōkyoku no naka no Dazai Osamu" マルキシズム・キリスト教双極の中の太宰治. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 34:5 (1969), pp. 20–27.
Sōma 1985
Sōma Shōichi. "Dazai Osamu to Yamagishi Gaishi" 太宰治と山岸外史. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 50:12 (1985) pp. 62–66.
Suzuki 1980
Suzuki Norihisa 鈴木範久. *Uchimura Kanzō o meguru sakka tachi* 内村鑑三をめぐる作家たち. Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1980.
Takeda 1982
Takeda Tomoju 武田友寿. "Shūkyō to bungaku (2): Uchimura Kanzō no mondai" 宗教と文学（二）: 内村鑑三の問題. *Seisen Joshi Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyūjo kiyō* 清泉女子大学人文科学研究所紀要 4 (1982), pp. 28–47.
Tanaka 1985a
Tanaka Yoshihiko 田中良彦. "Dazai Osamu to Tsukamoto Toraji: Dazai Osamu to Kirisutokyō e no ichishiten" 太宰治と塚本虎二: 太宰治とキリスト教への一視点. *Kirisutokyō bungaku kenkyū* 3 (1985), pp. 1–12.
Tanaka 1985b
Tanaka Yoshihiko. "Dazai Osamu to Kirisutokyō" 太宰治とキリスト教. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 50:12 (1985) pp. 31–36.
Tanaka 1989
Tanaka Yoshihiko. "Dazai Osamu ni okeru Kirisuto no ichi (2)" 太宰治におけるキリストの位置（二）. *Kirisutokyō bungaku kenkyū* 6 (1989), pp. 9–18.
Terazono 1974
Terazono Tsukasa 寺園司. *Bungakusha to shūkyō* 文学者と宗教. Kasama Shoin, 1974.

Tōgō et al. 1987
Tōgō Katsumi 東郷克美 et al. “Teidan: Shōwa jūsannen-nijūnen no Dazai Osamu o dō yomu ka” 鼎談: 昭和十三年〜二十年の太宰治をどう読むか. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 52:6 (1987), pp. 22–40.
Tomasi 2018
Massimiliano Tomasi. *The Dilemma of Faith in Modern Japanese Literature: Metaphors of Christianity*. Routledge, 2018.
Tsukakoshi 1974
Tsukakoshi Kazuo 塚越和夫. “Kindai sakka to shūkyō: Dazai Osamu” 近代作家と宗教: 太宰治. *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kanshō* 39:8 (1974), p. 92.
Ueda 1976
Makoto Ueda. *Modern Japanese Writers*. Stanford University Press, 1976.
Watabe 1971
Watabe Yoshinori 渡部芳紀. “Dazai Osamu ron: Chūki o chūshin to shite” 太宰治論: 中期を中心として. *Waseda bungaku* 早稲田文学 3:11 (1971), pp. 98–141.
Williams 2003
Mark Williams. “Bridging the Divide: Writing Christian Faith (and Doubt) in Modern Japan.” In *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins. Brill, 2003, pp. 295–320.

Japan Review 36 (2021): 139–164

Boundary Work and Religious Authority among Ordained Buddhist Women in Contemporary Japan

Monika SCHRIMPF

This paper explores how ordained Buddhist women define and implement their clerical role within the context of a secularized society, and the indeterminacy of the clerical lifestyle in contemporary Japan. Ordained women may live a monastic life or head a temple, or they may also live "secular" lives, married or not. How do they claim religious authority and legitimize their agency under these conditions? I argue here that boundary work, or the creation, contesting, bridging, and dissolving of boundaries, is an important means to this end. On the one hand, boundaries such as those of gender are often experienced as having strongly constraining and even discriminating effects. On the other hand, actively drawing or bridging boundaries from male clerics, other ordained women, or lay Buddhists is a means of creating solidarity, elevating women's contribution to the clerical role, and legitimizing various actions and appearances as conforming to that role.

Keywords: female priest, nun, women's agency, Japanese clericism, contemporary Buddhism, boundary work

Introduction

In contemporary Japanese Buddhism, the religious authority of clerics is contested in various ways.[1] First, they are confronted with a highly secularized society.[2] In modern Japan, urbanization and individualization, declining birthrates and an aging society, as well as a negative image of Buddhism, have contributed to the dissolution of the traditional ties between households and family temples (*dannadera* 檀那寺, *bodaiji* 菩提寺). As a result, the

1 I draw on Bruce Lincoln's concept of authority as an "aspect of discourse" (Lincoln 1994, p. 2). Irrespective of whether someone is "'in authority' (e.g., political leaders, parents, military commanders)" or "'an authority' (e.g., technical experts, scholars, medical specialists)," authority is "the effect of a posited, perceived, or institutionally ascribed asymmetry between speaker and audience that permits certain speakers to command not just the attention but the confidence, respect, and trust of their audience, or—an important proviso—to make audiences act *as if* this were so" (Lincoln 1994, pp. 3–4). Religious authority, therefore, refers to communicative interaction in which one person's statements are regarded as truthful, based on an acknowledgement of his or her religious expertise.

2 The particular characteristics of "secularization" in Japan and the applicability of this term to the modernization of Japan have been discussed in special issues of the *Journal of Religion in Japan* (January 2012) and *Japan Review* (2017). See Rots and Teeuwen 2017.

demand for Buddhist rituals and interest in Buddhist practice in general are decreasing, and many Buddhist temples have lost the income from their parishioners.[3]

Second, the practice of clerical marriage and the system of intrafamilial temple inheritance have led to the laicization of clerical status and a diversification of lifestyles. In particular, for someone not born into a priest's family, ordination in a Buddhist school does not necessarily lead to a clerical position in a temple. These conditions have a strong impact on ordained men and women's self-understanding and agency. In this paper, I focus on ordained women and the diverse ways in which they embody their clerical role based on these particular conditions.

As a consequence of these developments, ordained women's social contexts are widely different, thus providing diverse structural conditions that simultaneously restrict and enable their clerical agency. For example, a nun living in a convent is able to follow the monastic rules of her school, whereas this is impossible for an ordained temple wife. Within this framework of diverse life circumstances, boundary work is a primary tool for legitimizing individual agency and claims on religious authority, in accordance with each woman's immediate social context and the repertoire of skills, attitudes, meanings, and patterns of behavior that are accessible to her within the given context. Closely related to boundary work as a means of agency is the felt impact of other social agents' boundary work with regard to gender, the distinction between clerical and lay status or ways of living, and differentiations among ordained women. Negotiations of exclusion and inclusion are the focus of this paper, which explores how ordained women perceive the effects of these boundaries, and how they actively refer to them in their ideas about the clerical role.

Terms

In this paper I use the term "ordained woman" as an equivalent to *josei kyōshi* 女性教師, an umbrella term for all women who have acquired the "status of a religious instructor" (*kyōshi shikaku* 教師資格). This status designates those who have accomplished the full ordination. That is, not only have they received the initial ordination (*tokudo* 得度) which is required to be registered as a cleric. They have also successfully accomplished practical ritual and ascetic training (*shugyō* 修行) in the respective training centers of each Buddhist school (see Schrimpf 2014, 82; 2015, 191–195). Only then do they posses the right to perform rituals, head a temple, and teach disciples. The term "ordained woman" therefore comprises all celibate nuns (*nisō* 尼僧), female priests (*josei kyōshi, josei sōryo* 女性僧侶) (women who head a temple, live in a convent, or are employed as a cleric in a temple), ordained temple wives, and ordained women living "secular" lives who have acquired the status of *kyōshi*. Although these terms are widely used, the categorizations they imply are problematic. For one thing, these roles often overlap because they partly rest on the distinction between celibate and non-celibate ways of living, and partly on organizational positions within Buddhist institutions: a female priest can also be a nun or a temple wife. Furthermore, these categories do not necessarily coincide with social groupings, nor do they reflect the diversity and flexibility of distinguishing criteria that are relevant for the women I talked to. For example, for nuns, the distinction between an ordained woman with a family

3 Reader 2012, pp. 16–20; Covell 2005, pp. 32–34; Nelson 2012.

and one who lives a world-renouncing life may be essential, whereas those who are not affiliated with a temple tend to emphasize the difference between themselves and those who run temples, irrespective of marital status. On this emic level, boundaries between Buddhist women are constantly being created, blurred, and even dissolved, as they are ascribed with different values and hierarchies. This is one reason why boundary work is a useful tool that allows a glimpse into the individual taxonomies that are effective among ordained women.

Ordained women who live outside temple Buddhism or occupy inferior positions in temple life have largely been ignored in research. Although there are as many life stories as there are ordained women, they often share similar constraints, namely limited or no access to ritual practice, and limited visibility as clerics. If they do not work in or run a temple and do not wear the garb of a Buddhist cleric, they cannot partake in the religious authority of either a religious site or religious dress, nor can they perform the "work" of a cleric. This paper considers both ordained women who hold positions within temple Buddhism and those whose lives take place primarily outside the system of temple Buddhism.

Structure and Data

After briefly introducing my data, I will proceed to illustrate some of the conditions mentioned above, namely the gendered structures of Japanese clericism, which are especially visible in attitudes concerning the custom of clerical marriage, and the various ways in which the clerical role is embodied. Next, I introduce the concept of boundary work before turning to examples of how the gender boundary and the differences between clerical and lay ways of living impact on ordained women's agency and self-conceptualizations. My aim is to outline specific forms of boundary work and to exemplify them using data aquired through interviews with six ordained women of various Buddhist schools, plus participant observation, and through publications by ordained women. The data are backed up by fieldwork and about thirty interviews that I conducted between 2013 and 2018 with ordained women from various Buddhist schools who occupy a variety of positions.[4] The six women mirror this diversity: two are head priests in Sōtōshū 曹洞宗, one in Tendaishū 天台宗 and Nichirenshū 日蓮宗 respectively, another is a scholar and employed in a Nichiren Buddhist temple, and the sixth is a Shingon 真言 Buddhist not officially affiliated with a temple at all. Most of them are in their forties or fifties, with the exception of Sōtōshū headpriest Aoyama Shundō 青山俊董, who is in her late eighties. I focus on these women because their boundary work is exemplary of my data: that is, their opinions can also be found in my interviews with others.

Clerical Marriage and the Diversity of Lifestyles

As mentioned above, the religious role of a Buddhist cleric, male and female, is fulfilled in various ways; it is not strictly determined by the religious precepts that are conferred in the ordination ceremony (*tokudo*). Since 1872, Buddhist clerics have legally been allowed

4 My sincerest thanks to all the ordained and non-ordained Buddhist women who openly shared their thoughts and experiences with me and allowed me a glimpse into their lives. I am deeply grateful for each encounter and everything I learned about what it means to be a female cleric in contemporary Japan. All the women who agreed to my using their names in print or have published under their own names themselves are mentioned using their full names.

to marry, eat meat, and dress like laypeople.[5] This is in direct opposition to the official Buddhist precepts, which in most Buddhist schools prohibited (and still prohibit) sexual intercourse and required the wearing of clerical garb. The situation is different in Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗, where clerical marriage has been the custom since the time of its founder Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1263).

Nowadays, the majority of male Buddhist priests are married, and the practice of intra-familial temple inheritance (mostly by sons) is widespread.[6] This inherent contradiction in acquiring the status of a "world renouncer" (*shukkesha* 出家者) upon ordination while having to provide a son or daughter as a temple successor has been labeled as "fictitious celibacy" (*kyogi no shukke shugi* 虚偽の出家主義) or "fake world-renouncerism."[7] It raises problems for both the priest and his wife.[8] Due to the legally indeterminate status of a temple priest's wife (*jizoku* 寺族, *jitei fujin* 寺庭婦人, *bōmori* 坊守) in most Buddhist schools, the privileges and duties of her position are not officially acknowledged, and often her residence rights are dependent on her husband's status.[9] This means that when a husband dies, his wife and children are not allowed to remain on the temple grounds if they are unable to assume his priestly duties. Avoiding this risk is one incentive for many temple priests' wives to become ordained themselves.[10] In Zen Buddhist Sōtōshū, temple wives used to obtain a "temple wife ordination" (*jizoku tokudo* 寺族得度).[11] Seno Misa has described this status as "quasi-nun" (*minashi nisō* 見做し尼僧) to emphasize that this ordination did not include clerical rights such as heading a temple, but it allowed the ordained to "fill in" by performing minor rituals if required.[12] Since 2015 temple wives are registered in the *jizoku* register (*jizokubo* 寺族簿) and receive a Buddhist name (*anmyō* 安名).[13] Furthermore, being registered as a *jizoku* excludes one from registration in the clerical register.

5 These rights were granted in two decrees issued in May 1872 and January 1873 by the Grand Council of State, the Dajōkan 太政官, in an attempt to eliminate clerical privileges. They aimed at the laicization of the clerical status, and were complemented by the requirements to adopt surnames and register in the new government household registration system. See Jaffe 2001, pp. 70–78.

6 Jaffe 2001, pp. 1–2.

7 See respectively Kawahashi 2012, p. 72, and Covell 2005, p. 118.

8 Kawahashi 2012, pp. 71–74; Covell 2005, pp. 109–139. See also Kawahashi's recent discussion of this problem in Sōtōshū, in Kawahashi 2017.

9 Note that, although the term *jizoku* originally refers to all people living within a temple precinct, including those who are not ordained, it is generally used in Sōtōshū to designate the wife of a temple priest. See Kawahashi 2017, p. 58.

10 See Ōshima 2016 for the example of a Jōdoshū 浄土宗 temple wife who was ordained when her husband and father-in-law fell seriously ill. In 2012, Kōyasan Shingonshū 高野山真言宗 reduced the clerical training period for women from one year to six months in order to enable temple wives to acquire clerical status. The spokesperson of the administrative headquarters stated that the purpose was to allow the widowed temple wife to keep the temple running until a successor is found. The Women's Association (Fujinkai 婦人会) of the Buddhist school welcomed this change. See Jimon Kōryū 2012a.

11 This kind of ordination was introduced in 1944 in order to enable temple wives to run the temple should their husbands die in the war. Their role as temple priests was considered temporary, that is, either until their sons could take over or until a new head priest was appointed. See Seno 2019, pp. 46–49.

12 Seno 2019, p. 49. Since 1984, the "Regulations for *jizoku*" (*Jizoku kitei* 寺族規定) clearly state that the term designates "those who live in the temple precincts and are not clerics." Seno 2019, p. 54.

13 Seno 2019, pp. 61–62. The definition of *jizoku* in Sōtōshū as of 2015 reads, "*Jizoku* are those who believe in the doctrines of our school, who live in a temple and are registered in the *jizoku* register." Seno 2016, p. 49. Their tasks are defined in the "Regulations for *jizoku*": "*Jizoku* believe in the doctrines of our school, they cooperate with the head priest, and together they must work for the prosperity of the temple, the education of the head priest's successor, and the teaching of parishioners and believers." Seno 2016, p. 51.

Although both male and female temple priests are legally allowed to marry, female priests are often expected to remain unmarried and to take on the appearance of a traditional Buddhist nun, with a shaved head and Buddhist clothes.[14]

> The fact that most male priests in world-renouncing Buddhist schools give up their bachelor status and marry, while female priests are expected to remain single and unmarried, is often due not only to the fact that they commit proudly to world renunciation, but also due to a double standard in relation to gender. Male priests are expected to marry and entrust various tasks to their wives in order to spread the teachings. However, if a female priest has a husband and children, isn't the general tendency to think that she will favor housework and childraising over the priestly functions?[15]

The laicization of the clerical status through marriage has led inevitably to a diversification of the living environments of ordained men and women. Whereas temple priests are usually recognized as endowed with ritual authority, the situation is different for those who are not head priests (*jūshoku* 住職) or assistant priests (*yakusō* 役僧). The religious authority deriving from clerical status is contested by the "secular" lives and appearances of those who do not live in a temple and are married to laymen or laywomen, raise children, and/or are employed outside Buddhist institutions. For men and women who are not the sons and daughters of temple priests, it is especially difficult to attain the position of a priest within a temple. Possible alternatives are adoption into a temple, establishing one's own temple, taking over particular tasks within one's Buddhist school (such as overseas missions), employment in the administrative institutions of one's Buddhist school, or offering ritual services—for example, at funerals—without belonging to a temple.[16]

These conditions affect men and women differently. Clearly, male and female head priests have to deal with similar issues such as maintenance of the temple, interactions with parishioners and other believers, and relationships with other temples. Yet parishioners and believers have different expectations of ordained men and women, for example, with regard to combining the priesthood with parenthood. Since mothers typically assume the primary responsibility for childcare, it is easier for men to combine the role of a head priest with parenthood.

Many of the women I interviewed consider themselves neither feminists nor the victims of a patriarchal system, yet they acknowledge that gender plays a decisive role in their clerical agency. Gendered education and perceptions of social roles, the expectations they encounter as women, as mothers or wives, the experience of having a different standing from that of their ordained male counterparts—these and other gendered experiences influence how they perceive themselves both as women and as clerics, and how they combine these two roles. Various studies of temple wives, female monastics, and female priests have provided valuable insights into the everyday lives, social contexts, discourses,

14 Jaffe 2001, pp. 1–2, and Niwa 2019, pp. 3–4.

15 Kawahashi 2012, p. 118. All quotations from Japanese references are my translations.

16 Mokuseisha 2005, pp. 166–175. This manual for aspiring monks and nuns was written by representatives of the administrative headquarters of Tendaishū, Shingonshū Buzanha 真言宗豊山派, Jōdoshū, Sōtōshū, and Nichirenshū, see p. 174.

and experiences of Buddhist women in different positions.[17] Most recently, Niwa Nobuko 丹羽宣子 has discussed gender and clerical self-images and activities in her study of Nichiren Buddhist female priests. She analyses how female priests in the "man's world" (*otoko shakai* 男社会) of Japanese Buddhist clericism redefine and embody their clerical role in ways that reconcile notions of priestliness and femaleness.[18]

Individual Interpretations of the Clerical Role

It is impossible then to talk about ordained women's agency without considering the diversity of structural conditions that frame a woman's agency. The way in which an ordained woman lives her clerical role is strongly influenced by individual knowledge, skills, and behavior patterns rather than by objectified role-specific norms of acting. Often, non-ritual expertise, such as artistic, scholarly, or parenting skills, are seen as a way for the cleric to enact her religious role.

The women I interviewed were often ambivalent about the conditions that determined the frame of their clerical agency. As Anthony Giddens has pointed out, social and physical structures not only provide a preexisting and restrictive frame, they are simultaneously the conditions that enable action. Hence, they can be described in a negative sense as material and structural constraints, or in a positive sense as "tool kits," that is, habits, skills, meanings, or linguistic repertoires that are available to actors in their respective social contexts.[19] For example, not being the head priest of a temple or not participating regularly in a temple's religious life may be experienced as a lack and a disadvantage; these same conditions are also conceived as allowing a certain freedom in deciding how to live, what to do, and how to look. For Ann Swidler, individual and collective actors develop strategies of action by selecting from cultural repertoires and interpreting their actions in specific ways: "[T]o construct such a strategy means selecting certain cultural elements (both such tacit culture such as attitudes and styles, and, sometimes, such explicit cultural materials as rituals and beliefs) and investing them with particular meanings in concrete life circumstances."[20]

These processes of selecting and interpreting affect the kinds of action ordained women perceive as conforming to their religious role. The women I spoke with often explained their role or function (*yakume* 役目) as clerics in terms of various actions invested with religious meaning, including those that reflect personal skills and are compatible with other social roles. For example, Gotō Asuka 悟東あすか is a Shingon Buddhist ordained woman and manga artist in her late fifties or sixties, married and with an adult daughter. She is not a resident priest or employed in a temple, but occasionally participates in funerary rites, *goma* rituals, and other Buddhist services.[21] To her, the general role of a cleric is to help people realize and cultivate their close connection to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and gods. In addition, she describes her individual calling as making use of her skills as an illustrator

17 See Heidegger 2006 and 2015; Starling 2013a, 2013b and 2019; Kawahashi 2003 and 2017; Seno 2012 and 2019 on temple wives; Arai 1999; Seno 2016 on nuns; Kuroki 2011; Rowe 2017 and 2019; and Niwa 2019 on female priests.

18 Niwa 2019.

19 Giddens 1984, pp. 174–179. See also Swidler 1986, p. 283.

20 Swidler 1986, p. 281.

21 *Goma* rituals are those in which wooden sticks inscribed with the donor's wishes are burnt.

Figure 1. Daihōin (Nichirenshū), Tatebayashi.

to fulfill this purpose. She has published several illustrated books, as well as cards, in which she introduces Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and gods in terms of the many benevolent ways they are interwoven into everyone's life.[22] Since she is a mother and wife, she also advises other wives on family-related problems as part of her agency as an ordained woman.

Kusano Myōkei 草野妙敬 is the daughter of a temple priest and lived as a mother and wife until some years ago she was ordained and took over Daihōin, a small Nichiren temple without a parish in Tatebayashi, Gunma Prefecture. She is in her forties, divorced, and has two adult children. In her view, a cleric's role cannot be reduced to performing rituals. Rather, all clerics should find their individual ways of realizing the Buddha's teachings within their lives.

> K: I think my role is to first of all do what only I can do. It's easy to tell people what is written in the scriptures, but if a cleric's task were only to convey the teachings, well, in a sense it would be reduced to mere work. Personally, I think a cleric's role, a cleric's way of living (*arikata*), should be like an example [of a Buddhist life]; it is great if we become role models.
> M: Do you think so?
> K: Otherwise, I think it's a lie.
> […]
> M: So you think a cleric's role is not only to conduct ceremonies, rites, and funerals, but more in their everyday actions and approaches?
> K: Yes. Many clerics think it's enough to conduct memorial rites, and many will come to perform a funeral when they are called. But being aware of what only you can do,

22 Gotō 2011, 2017, 2018.

Figure 2. Main hall of Daihōin.

> realizing it in your way of living and conveying what you consider important, that's what I call a Sangha.[23]

Kusano Myōkei has created a set of "Lotus Cards" that interweave short quotes from the *Lotus Sutra* with an interpretation of the quotes' meaning for everyday life.[24] As she explained to me, she was directed by Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282) to follow this idea when she "channeled" him to find out how to maintain her temple.[25] As these cards are in line with her interest in the so-called "spirit world" (*seishin sekai* 精神世界), including channeling, they are her way of spreading the Buddhist teachings as expounded in the *Lotus Sutra*.

Satō 佐藤 M., also an ordained Nichiren Buddhist woman, is unmarried, in her forties, works in a temple in Tokyo, and conducts postdoctoral scholarly research on Nichiren Buddhist doctrines and history. She sees the cleric's role as listening and responding to anything a person brings up without leading the conversation. As a passionate scholar, however, she defines her individual task as researching Nichiren's writings and the history of Nichiren Buddhism.[26]

A different understanding of the role of the cleric is expressed by Aoyama Shundō 青山俊童, head of the Sōtō Zen Buddhist convent, Aichi Senmon Nisōdō 愛知専門尼僧堂 in Nagoya. Now in her eighties, Aoyama is one of the best-known nuns in Japan besides Setouchi Jakuchō 瀬戸内寂聴 (1922–2021). She considers the role of nuns to involve transmitting the world-renouncing monastic life demanded by the Sōtō Zen tradition:

> The contemporary Buddhist world in Japan has declined, but we cannot give up the original teaching of Shakyamuni. We must turn to America and Europe and transmit the correct Buddhist law to those who seek it there, as well as here in Japan. I wonder

23 Interview, November 2018. All interviews referenced in this article were conducted in Japanese and translated into English by the author.
24 Kusano 2018.
25 "Channeling" is a term in New Age religiosity that refers to practices that allegedly establish contact between a medium, the "channel," and a transcendent world, from which the medium is said to receive messages. See von Stuckrad 2006.
26 Interview, November 2013.

> who can do this if not nuns who do not have families and are seriously engaged in Buddhism? This is why, in these times, in the declining age of present-day Japanese Buddhism, we will not surrender. I think it is we nuns who can take the responsibility for conveying the original form [of Buddhism] to Europe and America, and to the next generation.[27]

Three of these four women define the clerical role without referring to ritual tasks. Only for Aoyama does it revolve around a monastic way of living. The others emphasize the need to activate their personal skills, be they academic, artistic, or "spiritual," in order to spread Buddhist knowledge and support others. Their statements reflect how individual social contexts, structural constraints, such as the lack of regular access to ritual practice or to a temple parish, and individual abilities influence conceptualizations of the clerical role.

Boundary Work

Boundary work, that is, the creation, maintainance, contesting, bridging, and dissolving of boundaries, is an important tool in the construction of individual and collective identity, as well as of hierarchical social relationships. Boundaries create in-groups and out-groups; they define the social positions of others, as well as one's own position in relation to others.[28] They regulate access to "resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities," and create a sense of belonging to an in-group. Lamont and Molnár define "social boundaries" in contrast to "symbolic boundaries" as "objectified forms of social differences."[29] For example, the distinction between a cleric and a lay Buddhist constitutes a social boundary because the cleric's status provides rights (such as conducting rituals) that a lay Buddhist does not have. The complementary term "symbolic boundaries" denotes "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space."[30] The main difference between symbolic and social boundaries is that the former "exist at the intersubjective level whereas the latter manifest themselves as groupings of individuals."[31]

The distinction between clerics and lay Buddhists is a symbolic boundary because of the different qualities ascribed to each, such as the alleged spiritual superiority of clerics, or their erudition with regard to Buddhist scriptures.[32] Being a cleric gives one access to resources such as ritual expertise, offering rituals, receiving remuneration for services rendered, and embodying a specific social status. Ordained people who are not affiliated with a temple belong to the same social group of clerics but have only limited or no access to these resources, nor do they partake in the religious authority that derives from these resources. Instead, they must emphasize the relevance of other resources that *are* accessible to them. For example, personal closeness to laypeople enables the cleric to reach out beyond a temple, and spread Buddhist knowledge at the grassroots level.

27 Interview, February 2014.
28 Lamont 2001; Lamont and Molnár 2002.
29 Lamont and Molnár 2002, p. 168.
30 Lamont and Molnár 2002, p. 168.
31 Lamont and Molnár 2002, p. 169.
32 A different ascription is the accusation that priests are greedy, and exploit their clerical role in funerals financially.

For ordained Buddhist women, it is difficult to belong to an in-group as defined by the role of a cleric. Although they have the status of religious instructor within their respective schools, there is no unified social grouping called "female priests" or "ordained women" with shared patterns of behavior and a sense of belonging either within or beyond their Buddhist school. To be sure, many Buddhist schools have associations of nuns, for example the Sōtōshū Nisōdan 曹洞宗尼僧団 or the Nichirenshū Nisō Hōdan 日蓮宗尼僧法団.[33] But they address only one category of ordained woman, and consequently reinforce feelings of exclusion among others.

Various groups of ordained women, however, are created discursively in the women's narrations: "nuns" (*nisō*), a term which mostly refers to those who are celibate and maintain religious precepts; "temple daughters" (*o-tera no musume* お寺の娘), or those from a "temple background" (*o-tera shusshin* お寺出身), and those "from a lay background" (*zaike shusshin* 在家出身). Depending on a woman's position, these terms may be used in either an appreciative or a critical sense. For example, "nuns" may be viewed either as clerical role models, or as an elitist and exclusive group of ordained women.

Shifting boundary work creates temporary in-groups and out-groups by means of which the interviewee *ex*cludes herself from alleged in-groups (for example, by emphasizing that she has a marginal position in the clerical organisation), *in*cludes herself in other, sometimes newly created in-groups (of, for example, Buddhist women rather than Buddhist clerics), or emphasizes the singularity of her actions. Each of the interviews I conducted revealed a particular structuring of the field in which boundaries are constructed, made permeable, or dissolved. These boundaries not only delineate different types of ordained women, they also distinguish clerics from lay Buddhists, men from women, and Japanese Buddhism from Buddhism in other Asian countries.

Social boundaries in contemporary Japanese Buddhism are created by ordination, clerical rank, and gender. However, they are also subject to individual and collective symbolic boundary work, which may support or undermine inherent hierarchies, reframe boundaries, give them new meanings, and even dissolve them. The following sections will present examples of how this kind of symbolic boundary work is performed with regard to distinctions between genders, and those between clerics and the laity.

The Restrictive Frame of Gender

In contemporary Japanese Buddhism, gender is a social and symbolic boundary experienced by many ordained women as a mechanism of exclusion and marginalization. As mentioned above, ordained women are a minority among the Buddhist clergy. According to the annual statistics of the Agency for Cultural Affairs in the Ministry for Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Monbukagakushō, MEXT), in 2019 the ratios of fully ordained men and women (*kyōshi*) were 3,642 males to 322 female clerics (8.8 percent) in Tendaishū, 5,278 to 806 (15.3 percent) in Kōyasan Shingonshū, 3,324 to 195 (5.9 percent) in Shingonshū Chisan-ha 真言宗智山派, 2,851 to 332 (11.6 percent) in Shingonshū Buzan-ha, 9,665 to 955 (9.9 percent) in Jōdoshū, 14,388 to 2,757 (19.2 percent) in Shinshū Ōtani-ha

33 The Sōtōshū Nisōdan was founded in 1944 as Sōtōshū Nisō Gokokudan 曹洞宗尼僧護国団 and renamed in 1945, Seno 2018, pp. 62–63. The Nichiren Buddhist Nisō Hōdan was founded in 1951; it was most influential between the 1950s and the 1980s, see Majima 2006.

真宗大谷派, 16,423 to 2,782 (16.9 percent) in Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha 浄土真宗本願寺派, 3,207 to 88 (2.7 percent) in Rinzaishū Myōshinji 臨済宗妙心寺, 15,114 to 449 (2.9 percent) in Sōtōshū, and 6,996 to 877 (12.5 percent) in Nichirenshū.[34] In Zen Buddhist schools the percentage of ordained women is the lowest, while the two Jōdo Shinshū schools rank at the top. One reason for this is that Zen Buddhist clerical training takes several years during which trainees live in a temple, whereas in the Ōtani and Honganji sects of Jōdo Shinshū the doctrinal and practical aspect of the training can be done in a condensed form before ordination.[35] Therefore, it is easier to integrate the latter's clerical training into family and/or work life.

A dominant form of unequal gender-related treatment is the exclusion of women from ritual practice, in particular with regard to funerary rites, the main ritual domain of contemporary temple Buddhism. Some parishioners do not want women to perform the rites for fear they might be ineffective.[36] One explanation for this was offered by Ms. O., a Tendai Buddhist priest in her forties who runs a small temple she founded herself in Chiba Prefecture. Ms. O., who is unmarried, wants her temple to be a bright place where people bring their children or pets to talk about their concerns. In her eyes, there is a general tendency to prefer male to female priests:

> O: Yet families who ask for a funeral, they feel safer with a male priest. If the priest is a woman, they think it's a bit strange; for the people around here, it feels different … To them there's a difference. After all, elder male head priests have a high rank, and that's why people feel grateful [for their services]. Nuns, they don't fit the image of who a priest should be; for the people here, a priest is a man.
> M: And that even though there have been nuns since ancient times?
> O: Yes, there have been nuns in the past, but still, in people's minds, men's work differs from women's work. Nowadays we have equality, so there are male nurses and female fire fighters, but, you know, in people's minds, there is still women's work and men's work. In the past, there were times when women were not allowed in temple compounds; it was a very restricted [Buddhist] world, so people feel comfortable and thankful with male priests.[37]

Female priests are also often treated as inferior within the clerical communities of their respective Buddhist schools. Iijima Keidō 飯島惠道, head priest of a small nun's temple (*amadera* 尼寺) of the Sōtō school in Nagano Prefecture, has written about her experiences.[38] She was adopted into the temple by the female headpriest who became her mother, and grew up with her mother, her adopted grandmother, that is the previous headpriest, and her adopted sister. After working as a nurse, she took over the temple in 2011. For Iijima, who is

34 Bunkachō 2020, pp. 66–79.
35 Mokuseisha 2005, pp. 123–125; Jimon Kōryū 2012b, p. 51.
36 See Schrimpf 2015, p. 196; Starling 2019, p. 111.
37 Interview, April 2016.
38 Iijima 2004, 2015, 2018, and 2019. Like many nun's temples in Sōtōshū, Iijima's temple does not have parishioners (*danka* 檀家) but is affiliated with a greater temple which it is expected to support with its ritual services. Typically, she performs the *o-tsuki mairi* お月参り, monthly memorial rites in the homes of the main temple's parishioners; see Iijima 2015. See her temple, Tōshōin, in Matsumoto: https://tousyouji.com (Accessed 2 December 2021).

Figure 3. Iijima Keidō as young girl with her sister.

married and in her late fifties, gender-related inequalities are typically manifest in everyday interactions between male and female clerics.[39] For example, at local rituals (*hōyō* 法要) that include male and female clerics, ordained women frequently prepare and serve tea, and during the chanting they are often seated in the back rows.[40]

Iijima also cites the example of *sutra*-chanting at Sōtō Zen funerals, where women are usually only permitted to perform such tasks as beating the *mokugyō* 木魚, a wooden drum. Very rarely do they lead the chanting of *sutra*s because their voices are perceived as not matching those of the male priests.[41] The issue of the female voice and its "disturbing" effect in joint chanting was recurrent in my conversations with ordained women. Iijima recounted the following conversation:

> Recently, I said I wanted to play the *kitō taiko* 祈祷太鼓.[42] I said I wanted to take my turn when the drum [used in a joint ritual] rotates. The answer was, "You may play the drum, but being the leading voice, that's a different thing." Here is the reason I was given: "When a woman takes the lead in chanting, the keys [of male and female voices] do not match. It is not dignified." What?? Of course they do not match. But don't we always recite *sutra*s, no matter whether the keys match or not? Besides, do we nuns not always adapt to the male voices? Why can't male priests adapt to our voices? And there's no dignity? What's that supposed to mean?[43]

39 For the development of the legal status of nuns in Sōtōshū from the Meiji era to present-day Japan, see Seno 2018.

40 Iijima and Kawahashi 2015, p. 40. The same observation was made by many of the ordained women I interviewed.

41 Iijima 2018, p. 100.

42 This is a drum used in rituals.

43 Iijima 2018, p. 100.

Figure 4. Iijima Keidō performing a memorial rite under Corona conditions.

In interviews, I often heard of similar experiences from ordained women in other Buddhist schools. [44]

Another case of structural inequality is the exclusion of women from high-ranking positions within Buddhist schools. For example, ordained women in Nichirenshū cannot become *shuhosshi* 修法師 (a specialist in ascetic practice) because this kind of clerical specialization requires the successful completion of the "one hundred days severe ascetic practice" (*hyakunichi daiaragyō* 百日大荒行), a practice that is not open to women.[45]

In these examples, gender is a very effective symbolic boundary which restricts access to religious practice and consequently to prestige, material benefits, and ultimately political influence within a Buddhist school. It is clear that gender relations in Japanese society shape interactions between male and female priests. The gender boundary thus provides the context or frame for situating the agency of ordained women.

Reinterpreting the Gender Boundary

How do women make use of boundary work in order to maintain religious authority? Some ordained women I talked to claimed to contribute uniquely to the clerical role precisely on

44 See, for example, the female Jōdoshū vice-head priest who was told that for men it is difficult to adapt their chanting to the pitch of women's voices. She was subsequently asked by male colleagues to chant in a low voice. Ōshima 2019, p. 30.

45 See Honkōji Annai Hyakunichi Daiaragyō 本光寺案内百日大荒行. Official information about the "one hundred days severe ascetic practice," 2020: https://www.honkouji.com/info/jusyoku/aragyou (Accessed 7 March 2021). According to the head priest of Onjuin, Toda Nisshin 戸田日晨, this practice is not open to women because it is considered physically too demanding. See Niikura Rieko 新倉理恵子, Hyakunichikan no daiaragyō wa sōryo no kokoro o migaku: Onjuin Toda denshi ni kiku 百日間の大荒行は僧侶の心を磨く: 遠壽院（おんじゅいん）・戸田伝使に聞く. Interview with Toda Nisshin, head priest of Onjuin temple: https://myoukouji.or.jp/taeback/backnumber/201603/02.html (Accessed 7 March 2021). However, other clerical specializations in Nichiren Buddhism, such as *shōmyōshi* 声明師 (specialist in ritual chanting) or *fukyōshi* 布教師 (specialist in propagation) are open to both men and women.

account of their gender. They mentioned gender-specific character traits, patterns of action, or experiences to explain why and how they fulfill social functions different from ordained men. In these cases, they reinterpret the gender boundary as something that emphasizes women's strengths, and transforms ordained women from a marginalized out-group into an in-group of clerics with particular skills. This argument is used in a self-affirmative way, and often entails a critique of gendered behavior patterns, in particular of what is perceived as a male priestly habitus. Let us look at some examples.

In the following quote, Nichiren Buddhist Satō M. emphasizes women's supportive and caretaking role:

> What can nuns do, other than use strong words and lead people? I think the most important attitude an ordained woman should have is to make people feel that they are not alone, that there is someone who they can turn to in need; there is someone by their side, that is, to be open and accepting.
>
> Men, they push their way in; they get angry, so I think they should leave it to us, because women can, when someone comes to them and needs to talk, create a feeling of safety, a feeling that someone is there for them.[46]

Ms. Satō's differentiation between male and female behavior is based on personal observations. It is both a generalized appraisal of ordained women's social skills and a critique of the lack of empathy expressed by ordained men. An open and accepting attitude is her ideal for all clerics, irrespective of gender. In a later interview, she pointed out that gender-specific clerical functions often result from hierarchical gender images in Japanese society.

> The people who come to the temple, well, they want male priests to chant. They say it's better if men do it. The idea that men are superior to women, that men are able and women inferior, this way of thinking is still strongly rooted in Japan … The image still exists that men act with all their strengths, powerfully, and that women should not try to do what men do.[47]

Ms. O., the Tendai Buddhist head priest, draws another distinction between male and female behavior. She also claims that, while ordained women and men share the same ritual and social tasks, they also have different functions due to their gender and the gendered expectations of their surroundings:

> Some things only men can do, and others only women can do. It's the same with male and female priests: their roles differ, and the people around them approach them differently in their respective position. But it is also true that there are things only male priests can do nowadays, and that only male priests are allowed to do.
>
> … Loving, not as in romantic love, but unrewarded love, the compassionate caring of the Buddha, this kind of love, or the kindness our mothers gave us—if male priests

46 Interview, November 2013.
47 Interview, October 2018.

> approached female believers like a mother, that would be awkward. But because nuns are of the same sex, they are accepted easily, and it's easy to talk to them. On the other hand, male clerics, they are strong, they are vigorous, and they can make people feel safe.[48]

The gender-specific roles alluded to here seem to reflect the parental model of a strict father and an understanding, caring mother, justified by the perception of different character traits.

Other women suggest a differentiation of men's and women's functions on the basis of the latter's experiences. For Ms. Gotō, all clerics have the same responsibility to make people realize their close connection with Buddhas or gods. Yet there is something ordained women can do because they are women, namely listen to "women's sufferings":

> There are sufferings about which women don't want to talk to men, you know. In that case they come to me because I'm a nun. For example, when a child has died in the womb and there was a miscarriage, or in cases of sexual problems. These are things they don't want to talk about to a man. Many people prefer to ask advice from a nun. And these sufferings, like all sufferings, they can be dissolved by connecting to [the Buddhas and gods] above. I want to make them understand this in a way appropriate to each case, in a way that's easy to understand and to feel, so they realize, "Right, that's it!"; this is how I want them to connect. And I think especially nuns can do this with regard to women's sufferings. Like problems in the family, or when there are tensions between bride and mother-in-law, men tend not to understand these things. [49]

Here gender is maintained as a boundary, yet interpreted in a way that endows it with a particular competence. The gender boundary serves to emphasize the particular value of ordained women in contemporary clericism due to their social skills, as well as their experiences as women.[50] This attitude is also reflected in a 2004 survey of Nichiren Buddhist ordained women, many of whom emphasized their contribution as mothers and wives in supporting other women.[51]

The emphasis on women's special contributions or skills also reflects gender images within Japanese society that are manifest in the different ways in which female and male priests are approached by laypeople. Nearly all the ordained women I interviewed acknowledged that female clerics are considered easier to confide in than male clerics.[52] Yet this difference is also seen critically. For example, Iijima points out that the approachability of female clerics due to their gender at the same time creates a lack of reverence towards them:

48 Interview, April 2016.
49 Interview, October 2018.
50 See also Schrimpf 2015, pp. 199–204.
51 Nichirenshū Gendai Shūkyō Kenkyūsho 2004; Niwa 2019, pp. 28–44.
52 The same observation has been made by Starling in her study of Shinshū temple wives. See Starling 2019, p. 109.

> That's right; I believe there's a difference in how people approach a male and a female head priest. If it's a male head priest, somehow, people are careful to be polite, not to upset him. They flatter him. But with a female head priest, because it's easier to have a casual, everyday conversation, they treat us in a very friendly way, and I am happy about this. But, well, it would also be nice to be treated a bit more like a male head priest, like someone superior, to be approached more carefully.[53]

Another critical voice is raised by a Nichiren Buddhist ordained woman introduced by Niwa Nobuko. She disapproves of gendering the role of a priest because it risks reducing the priestly functions of ordained women:

> Another time, A-san said: "Personally, I don't like emphasizing that I am a woman, that I can do something because I am a woman. If we end up imposing a frame on the practices of ordained women, then I am afraid there'll be a backlash and the frame will become quite narrow." She thinks that, "Of course our skills as women are important, but first, there's my temple and my parishioners."[54]

As these examples demonstrate, boundary work serves a self-affirmative purpose. At the same time, it also reveals that gender images prevalent in Japanese society influence the different ways in which ordained men and women are approached.

Creating Solidarity on the Basis of Gender

The discriminatory effects of the gender boundary are one reason for the creation of networks among Buddhist women. For example, members of the nonsectarian Tōkai Network for Women and Buddhism (Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Nettowāku 女性と仏教東海ネットワーク) and Kantō Network for Women and Buddhism (Josei to Bukkyō Kantō Nettowāku 女性と仏教関東ネットワーク), founded in 1996 and 1997 respectively, include women of all Buddhist schools, ranging from temple wives to ordained women to "ordinary Buddhist women who do not belong to a particular temple." As Kawahashi insists, "No matter how different in position and perspective, what all women share is their individual decision to live a life that is related to Buddhism or a temple."[55]

In this network, boundaries between ordained and lay Buddhist women, and among ordained women of different schools, are bridged by the women's shared experiences of unequal treatment and their need for solidarity and collaborative action. Kawahashi Noriko and Kobayashi Naoko explain the networks' agendas in the following way:

> These networks are engaged in rereading conventionally androcentric Buddhist history and doctrine in light of the members' own experience as women and their aim is to present a reimagined vision of Buddhism. In this sense, their activities align in part with the cooperative efforts by Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish women in the feminist theology movement to overcome traditional gender discrimination

53 Interview, October 2018.
54 Niwa 2019, p. 82.
55 Kawahashi 1999, p. 14.

> in Judeo-Christian religions. The women gained awareness in themselves that the gender discrimination they experience directly as present in their everyday lives is not something separate from the institutions they deal with, but is structured as part of those institutions. This is the recognition, well-known in the history of feminist movements, that the personal is political. The women came to realize the importance of linking together and voicing their protests themselves in order to resolve this issue of discrimination."[56]

The de-emphasis on ordination as a boundary in these networks is accompanied by the founding members' aim of creating a collective identity as Buddhist women, rather than as ordained women or temple wives. At meetings and in publications, network participants discuss their own experiences as Buddhist women, introduce recent developments concerning the legal status of women in Japanese Buddhism, or present their academic research on women (or attitudes toward women) in Buddhist history. I attended study group meetings of the Kantō network between 2013 and 2018. They were characterized by strong feelings of friendship and solidarity, by respect for each other's authority as cleric, scholar, temple wife, or lay Buddhist, and by mutual support. They also brought together a vast amount of doctrinal and historical knowledge.

The creation of such an in-group based on the same gender counters individual experiences of being an outsider within the system of temple Buddhism for reasons of gender. Gender here is a boundary that fosters appreciation, support, and solidarity, with the ultimate goal of overcoming gender distinctions and inequalities.

Lifestyles: Clerical vs. Lay as a Boundary

In all Buddhist denominations, full clerical ordination endows the ordained with the right to conduct rituals and head a temple, thus creating a clear social boundary from lay Buddhists. As we have seen, not all ordained women acquire these privileges, and in some cases an ordained married woman's life mirrors that of a lay Buddhist. As a consequence, many Buddhist women perceive a disparity between ordained women living in or running a temple and those who do not. How does this disparity relate to a woman's self-perception as an ordained woman? Is a way of living that does not permit the regular performance of Buddhist rituals or becoming the head of a temple perceived as a threat to an ordained woman's authority?

A strong argument in favor of the family life of married ordained women was made by the respondents to a survey of ordained Nichiren Buddhist women conducted in 2004.[57] Many of the respondents argued that their experiences as wives and mothers enabled them to address young mothers, wives, and women who take care of their parents or in-laws, and show them how to integrate Buddhist doctrines, values, and practices into their family lives.[58] These women demand appreciation of their value as ordained women *because of* their lay lives. In her recent study of Nichiren Buddhist ordained women, Niwa Nobuko

56 Kawahashi and Kobayashi 2017, p. 5. See also the three major publications of the network: Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku 1999, 2004, and 2011. The ongoing activities are documented in the many articles by Buddhist women published in the network's journal, *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 女たちの如是我聞.

57 Nichirenshū Gendai Shūkyō Kenkyūsho 2004.

58 Nichirenshū Gendai Shūkyō Kenkyūsho 2004, pp. 23–24.

introduces several married temple priests who make use of their experiences of marriage, raising children, and caring to convey to parishioners the importance of religion in family life.[59]

The opposite attitude is expressed by Aoyama Shundō. To her, the Buddhist law can only be maintained and transmitted by "real" world renouncers:

> I believe that for a genuine, determined world renouncer to run a temple having a family is wrong … Your children are dear to you, you care about the family, about yourself, about the children, and once financial questions come to predominate, the Buddhist law cannot be practiced in a real sense …[60]

She believes that female clerics, especially those in her convent, are those who uphold the ideal of world renunciation:

> Actually, someone who is married cannot be a world renouncer, yet in present-day Japan's Buddhist world, being married has become normal. There is nothing we can do about it, but that's why only nuns are able to maintain the original ideal of a true world renouncer.[61]

Aoyama's view that the norm of clerical marriage among male temple priests compromises their religious authority reflects public discourse. In his study of contemporary temple Buddhism, Stephen Covell concludes that the lay life of priests contributes to their damaged public image:

> The relaxing of precepts leaves little to distinguish priest from laity. Furthermore, the moral authority derived from maintaining a strict code of conduct is lost … Rather than entering the temple as an act of leaving home (renouncing the world), the priest now views the temple as his household.[62]

In addition to these opposing attitudes towards the family life of a cleric, Niwa's study introduces female clerics who combine notions of "priestliness" (*sōryo rashisa* 僧侶らしさ) with those of "femaleness" (*josei rashisa* 女性らしさ), for instance, by offering activities for women and children in their temples, such as baby massage classes. A major issue in this context is the decision whether they grow their hair or shave their heads.[63]

59 Niwa 2019, p. 43.
60 Interview, February 2014.
61 Interview, February 2014.
62 Covell 2005, p. 79.
63 For example, an ordained woman in Niwa's study grew her hair before she took over the temple as head priest because she wanted her children and friends still to see her as a woman. With her investiture as head priest, she changed to the tonsure as a symbol of her determination to embody this new role. See Niwa 2019, pp. 107–110.

Outward Appearance as a Boundary Marker

Outward appearance is an important means of both drawing and concealing the boundary between the ordained and the laity. A shaved head (*teihatsu* 剃髪) and *samue* 作務衣 (Buddhist work clothing), or *koromo* 衣 (Buddhist robe) are visible markers of clerical status. As kinds of religious dress, they signal that the wearer holds a particular Buddhist role, whereas letting one's hair grow (*uhatsu* 有髪) and the wearing of ordinary clothes hide this religious affiliation and commitment.[64] Clerical dress sets the wearer apart from lay Buddhists and implies possession of religious authority deriving from status, expertise, and privilege. It shapes interactions, depending on whether the interaction partner relates in a positive or a negative way to this religious authority.[65]

At a Buddhist ceremony, for example, the dress of ordained men and women is generally acknowledged as a precondition for the effectiveness of their ritual practice. Many ordained women told me that they encounter different expectations and attitudes towards them depending on how they dress. For Ms. Satō, for example, wearing clerical dress in public raises expectations of dignified conduct, adherence to precepts, and a compassionate attitude. She describes how, when she goes to a supermarket in clerical dress, other customers will closely scrutinize what she buys (presumably expecting her to buy neither alcohol nor meat).

The ordained women I met ascribe various meanings to the tonsure, as integral to Buddhist practice, as symbol of the monastic life, and as marker of the boundary between cleric and layperson. In their assessments, they either emphasize its symbolic relevance or its effect on interactions. For Aoyama Shundō, for example, the tonsure is proof of a woman's sincere resolve to follow the Buddhist path:

> Those who come here because they want to, they are real world renouncers … If a woman shaves her head, even more than if a man does, well, she wouldn't do it if she weren't serious. And without the serious determination to follow the Buddhist path (*honki hosshin* 本気発心), real religious practice (*shugyō* 修行) is not possible, and the Buddhist law will not be mastered. That's a fact, isn't it?[66]

To her, the shaved head is inextricably linked to the practice of monastic life, and not merely a symbol. It is an inherent part of Buddhist practice itself. By contrast, the value assigned to the shaved head by women shifting between lay and clerical roles tends to be situation-dependent. In general, however, this value is judged according to the effect it has on interaction. This is most obvious in cases where ordained women have young children who have a difficult time connecting with their mothers when they shave their heads and/or are wearing traditional robes.

When Ms. Gotō, who is not a temple-based priest, performs rituals, engages in public talks, or provides Buddhist counseling, she has a shaved head and wears a robe, thus

64 In accordance with Lüddeckens's (2013, p. 38) definition of "dress" as the product of "dressing," that is, "actions undertaken to modify and supplement the body," I understand religious dress to include hairstyle and other alterations to the body that are motivated by a concept of one's religious role. See also Lüddeckens 2013, p. 57.

65 Lüddeckens 2013, pp. 63–69.

66 Interview, February 2014.

emphasizing her clerical status. Apart from these occasions, she dresses casually or wears a *samue*, often with a cap to cover her shaved head. Ms. Satō, on the other hand, works at the reception desk of a temple. She has shoulder-length hair and wears a *samue* when at work in the temple, and non-religious clothes outside the temple grounds. Both have changed their hairstyle at a particular point: Ms. Gotō let her hair grow (though cut short) while her daughter was young, and changed to a shaved head some years ago after her daughter had encouraged her to do so. Ms. Satō had a shaved head while she worked as a priest performing ritual tasks in a previous temple; in her present job, she has let her hair grow and rarely takes on ritual assignments. Both describe the effects of shaved heads and Buddhist dress on their social relationships, as they create a distance between themselves and lay people that makes them less accessible. Ms. Gotō finds that people do not dare to talk to her about minor issues, nor to express critical views of Buddhist priests:

> Well, personally, I like the shaved head very much; it really feels good. But well, there's this distance from other people, like, you know, because my head is shaved it's difficult for people to talk to me; it feels as if there's a wall. This is what I have been told, and why I put on a cap.
> … The perception that I am someone you can easily talk to, it really disappears. People think, "That's too trivial; I can't ask this," and turn away. Only when my hair has grown back do people ask me about minor matters, like "It's not a big thing but I would like to ask." Or if people have some kind of resentment towards temples, or Buddhism, or if they have doubts, they only tell me if I don't have a shaved head.[67]

Similarly, Ms. Satō explains that, in the temple where she works, many people talk to her about their problems rather casually; for some of them it seems important that she does not look like a cleric:

> I really like shaving my head and wearing a *samue*—really! But among the people who come to the reception desk, some are only able to open their hearts to me because I am a woman who doesn't look like a priest. Sometimes, while drinking a cup of tea, they say to me: "You know, I cannot talk like this to those priests over there," and I say "Is that so?" and listen to them. But when I want to act as a nun, rather than a researcher, I will shave my head.[68]

Both women suggest that a head of hair creates a closeness to "ordinary" people that provides an opportunity to offer support with everyday problems. However, the distance created by the visibility of their clerical status is also a source of religious authority. Ms. Gotō explains that, when she is recognizable as a priest, people seek her advice on serious matters:

> On the other hand—how can I say this?—when someone is in serious trouble and wants help, if your head is shaved, well, they approach you straightaway, feeling "I

67 Interview, April 2016.
68 Interview, November 2013.

> want to ask a priest," because a priest is someone you can turn to, it's like a trademark. That's what I realized when I shaved my head. People who come to talk to me when I have a shaved head and those who come when I have my hair grown, they are very different.[69]

In these examples, outward appearance is a boundary marker applied selectively by the women to create various kinds of social relationships.[70] Ms. Gotō and Ms. Satō emphasize the value inherent in this diversity, namely that they can approach people on different levels. By emphasizing or de-emphasizing the boundary between themselves and lay people, they make use of both their clerical role and their lay role in order to support people. They adopt two strategies to justify different kinds of counseling: first, visibly marking their religious status in order to be seen and approached as an authority figure; and second, consciously blurring the boundary between themselves and laypeople in order to be seen as similar and approachable. Even in the latter case the boundary is not really dissolved, however, because, as Ms. Gotō insists, their counsel still rests on their religious expertise.

Conclusion

As we have seen in this paper, boundary work differs significantly according to social position and subsequent discursive and practical conditions. In addition, the meaning ascribed to boundaries depends upon the situation and the role an ordained woman takes on. In interaction with laypeople, the boundary between lay and cleric may be perceived as a hindrance, and thus its permeability as essential. However, in ritual practice or in counseling in times of crisis, the impermeability of the boundary is crucial. Therefore, it is difficult to determine trends or group-specific types of boundary work. The examples introduced here serve rather to highlight the diversity of boundary work, as exemplified in the following concluding statements:

The *gender boundary* is relevant in various ways. The women and Buddhism networks point to the discriminatory effects of this boundary in order to create a collective identity based on shared experiences and common interests. They use the gender boundary to foster awareness of being a Japanese Buddhist woman rather than a Jōdo Shinshū temple wife or a female cleric of Tendaishū. By means of this awareness, they aim to strengthen solidarity among women, and gender becomes a means to counter experiences of discrimination and ultimately to overcome the limitations and marginalization resulting from gender inequalities in the Buddhist world.

The same mechanism of creating an in-group is at work when Aoyama Shundō states that the transmission and survival of Buddhism depend upon monastic nuns. By distinguishing between ordained men and women with regard to their religious commitment, she prioritizes monastic nuns and invests them with the authority to represent actual Buddhist practice. In both cases, drawing a boundary between men and women

69 Interview, April 2016.

70 This does not mean that they constantly shift between shaving their heads and letting their hair grow again. Rather, they change their outward appearance by wearing either conventional clothes, a *koromo* or *samue*, and in the case of Ms. Gotō by hiding her tonsure under a cap.

serves to create gender-specific collectives and foster solidarity in order to strengthen their members' position in the field of contemporary Japanese Buddhism.

Another strategy with regard to the gender boundary makes use of this distinction in order to value women and their particular contribution to the clerical role. For example, respondents to the Nichiren Buddhist survey reinterpret that role in a way that emphasizes the social functions of the cleric rather than ritual practice, while stressing women's predisposition to fulfill these social functions. Although not consciously designed to counteract the negative effects of gender, reevaluating gender as a symbolic boundary in this way has an empowering effect, as it affects ordained women's self-perceptions, and shapes discourses about women in Buddhist clericism. It must be kept in mind, however, that this gendered conception of the clerical role often mirrors the gendered ways in which male and female priests are approached by parishioners or believers. As some women pointed out, gendering the role of a cleric reflects the gender hierarchies prevalent in Japanese society, and implies the risk of reducing women's clerical functions and reputation.

Discourses about the *boundary between lay and clerical* often revolve around the lay and clerical lifestyles of ordained women. For nuns living in a convent, the distinction between a monastic life and clerical marriage or a lay life is the basis on which they rest their religious authority. In contrast, women who combine clerical roles *and* lay roles claim authority on the basis of their ability to cross this boundary, depending on their experiences and their outward appearance. Because these women can blend into the secular realm, they are able to fulfill their clerical task of supporting others beyond the temple and in everyday conversations.

REFERENCES

Arai 1999

Paula Kane Robinson Arai. *Women living Zen*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

Bunkachō 2020

Bunkachō 文化庁. *Shūkyō nenkan: Reiwa ninenban* 宗教年鑑: 令和二年版. https://www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/hakusho_nenjihokokusho/shukyo_nenkan/pdf/r02nenkan.pdf (Accessed 7 March 2021).

Covell 2005

Stephen G. Covell. *Japanese Temple Buddhism: Worldliness in a Religion of Renunciation*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.

Giddens 1984

Anthony Giddens. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Polity Press, 1984.

Gotō 2011

Gotō Asuka 悟東あすか. *Shiawase o yobu butsuzō meguri: 'Hotokesama, kamisama' kyarakutā chō* 幸せを呼ぶ仏像めぐり:「仏さま、神さま」キャラクター帳. Futami Shobō, 2011.

Gotō 2017

Gotō Asuka. *Oshiete! Hotokesama: Anata ni yorisou hotokesama BOOK* 教えて！仏さま: あなたに寄りそう仏さま BOOK. Jakometei Shuppan, 2017.

Gotō 2018
Gotō Asuka. *Kamisama hotokesama ga kossori oshiete kureta koto* 神さま仏さまがこっそり教えてくれたこと. Daiyamondosha, 2018.
Heidegger 2006
Simone Heidegger. *Buddhismus, Geschlechterverhältnis und Diskriminierung: Die gegenwärtige Diskussion im Shin-Buddhismus Japans*. LIT Verlag, 2006.
Heidegger 2015
Simone Heidegger. "Shin Buddhism and Gender: The Discourse on Gender Discrimination and Related Reforms." *Journal of Religion in Japan* 4:2–3 (2015), pp. 133–183.
Iijima 2004
Iijima Keidō 飯島恵道. "Kettobashitai genjitsu" 蹴っ飛ばしたい現実. In Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku 2004, pp. 16–37.
Iijima 2015
Iijima Keidō. "Amadera sodachi: Dai nikai; kazoku" 尼寺育ち: 第二回; かぞく. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 女たちの如是我聞 15 (2015), pp. 88–89.
Iijima 2018
Iijima Keidō. "Amadera sodachi: Dai yonkai; Heisei rasuto ni atari purasu arufa" 尼寺育ち: 第四回; 平成ラストにあたりプラスα. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 18 (2018), pp. 97–100.
Iijima 2019
Iijima Keidō. "Jendā no genba no fubyōdō no repōto: Dentōteki shukkegata nisō no shiza kara" ジェンダーの現場の不平等のレポート: 伝統的出家型尼僧の視座から. In Nasu et al. 2019, pp. 115–130.
Iijima and Kawahashi 2015
Iijima Keidō and Kawahashi Noriko 川橋範子. "Ryūkoku Daigaku Ajia Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyū Sentā 'Gendai Nihon no Bukkyō to Jendā' wākushoppu kara miete kita mono" 龍谷大学アジア仏教文化研究センター・「現代日本の仏教とジェンダー」ワークショップからみえてきたもの. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 15 (2015), pp. 39–42.
Jaffe 2001
Richard Jaffe. *Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.
Jimon Kōryū 2012a
Jimon Kōryū 寺門興隆. "Jūshoku hosa de naku jūshoku to tomo ni to jizoku ninmu ga henkō sareta wake" 住職補佐でなく住職と共にと寺族任務が変更された訳. *Jimon kōryū* 寺門興隆 4 (2012), pp. 12–19.
Jimon Kōryū 2012b
Jimon Kōryū. "Jizoku mo kyōshi shikaku o toraneba naranu no ka" 寺族も教師資格を取らねばならぬのか. *Jimon kōryū* 5 (2012), pp. 47–53.
Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku 1999
Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku 女性と仏教東海・関東ネットワーク, ed. *Bukkyō to jendā* 仏教とジェンダー. Toki Shobō, 1999.
Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku 2004
Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku, ed. *Jendā ikōru na Bukkyō o mezashite* ジェンダーイコールな仏教をめざして. Toki Shobō, 2004.

Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku 2011
Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku, ed. *Shin Bukkyō to jendā: Joseitachi no chōsen* 新・仏教とジェンダー: 女性たちの挑戦. Nashinokisha, 2011.
Kawahashi 1999
Kawahashi Noriko. "Bukkyō to gendai josei: Shūha o koeta taiwa kara" 仏教と現代女性: 宗派を超えた対話から. In Josei to Bukkyō Tōkai Kantō Nettowāku 1999, pp. 11–26.
Kawahashi 2003
Kawahashi Noriko. "Feminist Buddhism as Praxis: Women in Traditional Buddhism." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 30:3–4 (2003), pp. 291–313.
Kawahashi 2012
Kawahashi Noriko. *Saitai Bukkyō no minzokushi: Jendā shūkyōgaku kara no apurōchi* 妻帯仏教の民族誌: ジェンダー宗教学からのアプローチ. Jinbun Shoin, 2012.
Kawahashi 2017
Kawahashi Noriko. "Women Challenging the 'Celibate' Buddhist Order: Recent Cases of Progress and Regress in the Sōtō School." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 44:1 (2017), pp. 55–74.
Kawahashi and Kobayashi 2017
Kawahashi Noriko and Naoko Kobayashi. "Editor's Introduction: Gendering Religious Practices in Japan. Multiple Voices, Multiple Strategies." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 44:1 (2017), pp. 1–13.
Kuroki 2011
Kuroki Masako. "A Hybrid Form of Spirituality and the Challenge of a Dualistic Gender Role: The Spiritual Quest of a Woman Priest in Tendai Buddhism." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 38:2 (2011), pp. 369–385.
Kusano 2018
Kusano Myōkei 草野妙敬. *Rōtasu kādo* ロータスカード. Hayashi Taketoshi, 2018.
Lamont 2001
Michèle Lamont. "Culture and Identity." In *Handbook of Sociological Theory*, ed. Jonathan Turner. Kluwer Academic, 2001, pp. 171–185.
Lamont and Molnár 2002
Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár. "The Study of Boundaries in Social Sciences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002), pp. 167–195.
Lincoln 1994
Bruce Lincoln. *Authority: Construction and Corrosion*. University of Chicago Press, 1994.
Lüddeckens 2013
Dorothea Lüddeckens. "Relevanz in der Interaktion: Kleidung und Religion." In *Die Sichtbarkeit religiöser Identität: Repräsentation—Differenz—Konflikt*, eds. Dorothea Lüddeckens, Christoph Uehlinger, and Rafael Walthert. Pano Verlag, 2013, pp. 37–75.
Majima 2006
Majima Jōkei 馬島浄圭. "Kindai kyōdanshi ni mirareru nisōtachi: Murakumo Nikō to Nisō Hōdan o chūshin ni" 近代教団史に見られる尼僧たち: 村雲尼公と尼僧法団を中心に. *Gendai shūkyō kenkyū* 現代宗教研究 40 (2006), pp. 380–385.

Mokuseisha 2005
Mokuseisha 木精舎, ed. *Ima, sōryo e no michi: Manabi, shugyō, jissen* いま、僧侶への道: 学び・修行・実践. Sanshūsha, 2005.
Nasu et al. 2019
Nasu Eishō 那須英勝, Honda Aya 本田彩, and Ōmi Toshihiro 碧海寿広, eds. *Gendai Nihon no Bukkyō to josei: Bunka no ekkyō to jendā* 現代日本の仏教と女性: 文化の越境とジェンダー. Hōzōkan, 2019
Nelson 2012
John K. Nelson. "Japanese Secularities and the Decline of Temple Buddhism." *Journal of Religion in Japan* 1:1 (2012), pp. 37–60.
Nichirenshū Gendai Shūkyō Kenkyūsho 2004
Nichirenshū Gendai Shūkyō Kenkyūsho 日蓮宗現代宗教研究所, ed. *Nichirenshū josei kyōshi ankēto hōkokusho* 日蓮宗女性教師アンケート報告書. Nichirenshū Shūmuin, 2004.
Niwa 2019
Niwa Nobuko 丹羽宣子. *'Sōryo rashisa' to 'josei rashisa' no shūkyō shakaigaku: Nichirenshū josei sōryo no jirei kara* 「僧侶らしさ」と「女性らしさ」の宗教社会学: 日蓮宗女性僧侶の事例から. Kōyō Shobō, 2019.
Ōshima 2016
Ōshima Shūshi 大島周志. "Jizoku kara josei sōryo ni natte" 寺族から女性僧侶になって. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 16 (2016), pp. 41–44.
Ōshima 2019
Ōshima Shūshi. "Josei sōryo meisōki: Heisei o furikaette" 女性僧侶迷走記: 平成を振り返って. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 19 (2019), pp. 28–35.
Reader 2012
Ian Reader. "Secularisation R.I.P.? Nonsense! The 'Rush Hour Away from the Gods' and the Decline of Religion in Contemporary Japan." *Journal of Religion in Japan* 1:1 (2012), pp. 7–36.
Rots and Teeuwen 2017
Aike P. Rots and Mark Teeuwen, eds. *Formations of the Secular in Japan*. Special Issue of *Japan Review* 30 (2017).
Rowe 2017
Mark Rowe. "Charting Known Territory: Female Buddhist Priests." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 44:1 (2017), pp. 75–101.
Rowe 2019
Mark Rowe. "Bukkyō jinruigaku to jendā: Josei sōryo no taiken kara" 仏教人類学とジェンダー: 女性僧侶の体験から. In Nasu et al. 2019, pp. 169–234.
Schrimpf 2014
Monika Schrimpf. "Nisō no me kara mita gendai Nihon Bukkyō" 尼僧の目から見た現代日本仏教. *Rikkyō Daigaku jendā fōramu nenpō* 立教大学ジェンダーフォーラム年報 15 (2014), pp. 79–90.
Schrimpf 2015
Monika Schrimpf. "Children of Buddha, or Caretakers of Women?" *Journal of Religion in Japan* 4:2/3 (2015), pp. 184–211.

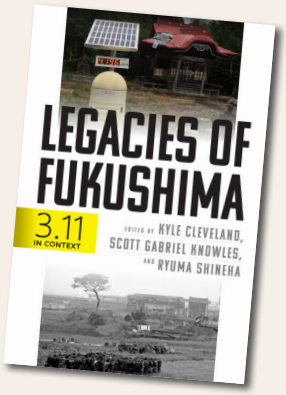
Seno 2012
Seno Misa 瀬野美佐. “Shisetsu jizoku kyōdan shiryaku: Onna to otoko no riyū” 私設寺族教団史略 女と男の理由. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 12 (2012), pp. 65–78.
Seno 2016
Seno Misa. “‘Seshūsei to jizoku mondai’ o megutte”「世襲制と寺族問題」をめぐって. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 16 (2016), pp. 45–53.
Seno 2018
Seno Misa. “Shisetsu Sōtōshū kindai nisō nendaiki” 私設曹洞宗近代尼僧年代記. *Onnatachi no nyoze gamon* 18 (2018), pp. 55–75.
Seno 2019
Seno Misa. “‘Jizoku mondai’ to wa nan datta no ka?” 「寺族問題」とは何だったのか. *Onnatachi nyoze gamon* 19 (2019), pp. 46–67.
Starling 2013a
Jessica Starling. “Neither Nun nor Laywoman: The Good Wives and Wise Mothers of Jōdo Shinshū Temples.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40:2 (2013), pp. 277–301.
Starling 2013b
Jessica Starling. “Women’s Religious Affiliation in the Jōdo Shinshū.” *Religion Compass* 7:8 (2013), pp. 273–283.
Starling 2019
Jessica Starling. *Guardians of the Buddha’s Home: Domestic Religion in Contemporary Jōdo Shinshū*. University of Hawai‘i Press, 2019.
Swidler 1986
Ann Swidler. “Culture in Action.” *American Sociological Review* 51:2 (1986), pp. 273–286.
Von Stuckrad 2006
Kocku von Stuckrad. “Channeling.” In *Wörterbuch der Religionen*, eds. Christoph Auffahrt, Hans G. Kippenberg, and Axel Michaels. Alfred Kröner Verlag, 2006, p. 90.

Book Review

Legacies of Fukushima: 3.11 in Context

Edited by Kyle Cleveland, Scott Gabriel Knowles, and Ryuma Shineha

University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021
344 pages.



Reviewed by Wesley CHEEK

Legacies of Fukushima: 3.11 in Context, edited by Kyle Cleveland, Scott Gabriel Knowles, and Ryuma Shineha, is a new installment in the Critical Studies in Risk and Disaster series from the University of Pennsylvania Press. One of the difficult issues in writing about the nuclear crisis at the Fukushima Dai'ichi nuclear reactor is separating the particulars of that event from all of the surrounding events of the 3.11 disaster, while simultaneously integrating them into the larger picture. This may sound contradictory at first, and that is why it is so complicated. For many people, especially for those outside of Japan, "Fukushima" is synonymous with the entirety of the 3.11 disaster. It is possible that equating Fukushima with the totality of the disaster is a self-centered concern. Nuclear radiation is the facet of this disaster that had the potential to impact on people located well outside of the disaster-affected area; it is possible though that this conflation is just a normal reaction to the terrifying threat of a nuclear meltdown. One outcome of this merging of the nuclear meltdown in Fukushima with the disaster as a whole, however, is the subsuming of a complex crisis involving a large and diverse geographic area into "Fukushima."

Fortunately, what *Legacies of Fukushima* does effectively is to frame the events at Fukushima Dai'ichi into the broader context of nuclear power in Japan. This not only serves to alleviate the problem of conflation, it also offers an approach to the issue from a variety of academic disciplines and a focus on how researchers from differing backgrounds understand the production of nuclear power in Japan. It is not possible within the limits of this review to comment upon each chapter of the volume. Instead, I will discuss some of the main themes that emerge.

The picture that the varied sources gathered in *Legacies of Fukushima* reveal is one of the "nuclear village" as a formidable coalition that serves to smooth over public concerns with nuclear power, to downplay its risks, and to ease its continued existence. The nuclear village is depicted here as comprising, roughly, the alliance of the nuclear power industry, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the business lobby, investors, and the conservative media.

This village does what it can to obscure the risks of nuclear power while engaging in boosterism of the industry on multiple fronts. Few accounts of the 3.11 disaster delve into the complexities of the existing Japanese political economy; several chapters in this book do

so. The cozy relationships that permeate the technocratic ruling class of Japan's development economy are interrelated and integrated within the nuclear village. This entanglement led to the conditions that would produce the nuclear meltdown in Fukushima, and also worked to reestablish control over the narrative in its aftermath.

One begins to detect a trend reading the diverse chapters in *Legacies of Fukushima*. Regulatory capture, the preeminence of the technocracy, and the exclusivity of the managerial class are at the heart of the powerful political machine of the Japanese economy and how it is reflected in the built environment. This political machine influences not only the site selection and approval process that allowed for a nuclear reactor to be built upon this specific piece of coastline in Fukushima, but also the small towns surrounding it which have an economic dependence upon the continuation of the production of nuclear energy.

As someone who has worked in, and continues to research, the areas affected by 3.11, I found several chapters that helped to fill in holes in my knowledge. Robert Jacobs's chapter "Fukushima Radiation Inside Out" goes into great technical detail about the issues with measuring radiation levels in Fukushima, and how these concerns factor into political decision making. In "The Politics of Radiation Assessment in the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis," Kyle Cleveland describes the tensions that emerged between the U.S. military and the Japanese government. Scholars of different disciplines will surely find chapters here that bridge gaps in their own knowledge.

One difficulty with an edited volume like this is that it can be hard to read straight through. Of course, that is intrinsic to the nature of commissioning multiple authors from varied backgrounds to write on a centralized topic. This reviewer felt the need for more of a unifying thread to bring the chapters together. Another small but related quibble is that for all of the evident expertise on the nuclear power industry, the book is light on the broader world of disaster scholarship. The majority of the chapters discuss nuclear power and relate that to the 3.11 disaster, but they rarely make the connection to other facets of the disaster, or to the study of disasters in general. This, however, is a minor complaint. What the volume does do is provide sources which disaster scholars can then use to make connections in their own work.

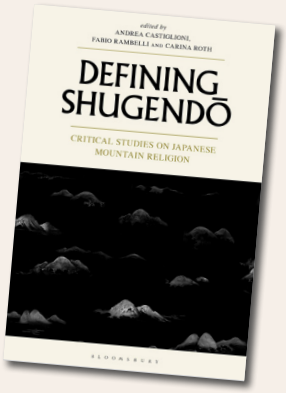
Legacies of Fukushima is a solid primer for those not familiar with the ins and outs of nuclear power in Japan. If we are to refer to the Great East Japan earthquake and tsunami as the 3.11 Triple Disaster, then understanding the nuclear facet of that triumvirate is critical. Each of the chapters in this book can serve as useful reading for undergraduate or graduate courses on disasters, risk, or Japan in general.

Book Review

Defining Shugendō: Critical Studies on Japanese Mountain Religion

Edited by Andrea Castiglioni, Fabio Rambelli, and Carina Roth

Bloomsbury Academic, 2020
287 pages.



Reviewed by Shayne A. P. DAHL

Like a weathered statue of En, the ascetic resting on the side of an old mountain trail with a votive text sealed inside, Shugendō (mountain asceticism) has long existed on the periphery of scholarship despite containing vital insights into the history of Japanese society and religion (p. 130). Compared to Buddhist studies, Shinto studies, or even the study of new religions in Japan, Shugendō has long been treated as a marginal subject. To date, it has mostly been scrutinized through the disciplinary lens of Japanese folklore studies, which is associated with problematic discourses about ethnic national identity (pp. 19–20). Most Japanese people are not even aware that Shugendō exists, let alone that it is a millennium-long tradition still practiced on the slopes and in the shadows of mountains throughout the Japanese archipelago today.

All of this makes *Defining Shugendō: Critical Studies on Japanese Mountain Religion* an essential and overdue contribution. The volume introduces the subject of Shugendō to the next generation of Japanese religions scholars, and presents a game-changing reorientation of the field. The editors have drawn together a diverse group of experts from America, Europe, and Japan to present the most comprehensive historical account of Shugendō in English yet published, drawing the so-called "secret world" (*himitsu no sekai*) of mountain asceticism into the spotlight of contemporary scholarship.

The editors state that their goal with the volume is to "disentangle" Shugendō from folklore studies and "relocate" it "within the broader track of religious and historical studies." The book thus offers readers a thorough analysis of Shugendō as an understudied Japanese religion, and a "critical reevaluation of the interpretive categories and research topics that have characterized Shugendō studies until recent times" (p. 25). In the words of Max Moerman, the book effectively repositions Shugendō "as a religious tradition central to Japanese culture, during all historical periods, in all geographic regions, and for people of all social classes" (p. 219).

Defining Shugendō is organized into four parts: "Intellectual History of Shugendō Studies," "Constructed Topologies and Invented Chronologies," "Imagining the Founder En No Gyōja and Fictionalizing Shugendō," and "Materiality and Visual Culture of Shugendō." While each part offers a broad sweep of essays concerning Shugendō and its place in the religious landscape of Japanese history, many chapters are relatively short, giving the volume

a somewhat fragmented, encyclopaedic style. Some chapters gesture towards comprehensive synthesis and interpretation, but readers may be left wondering what the bigger picture is that the book, as a collective, points to. What can the study of Shugendō teach us about society and religion in Japan or in East Asia more broadly? What multidisciplinary insights might the continued study of Shugendō yield?

Despite the thoroughly described, multi-era historical accounts presented, the contemporary practice of Shugendō is mostly omitted from this otherwise wide-ranging volume. If Shugendō is indeed as central as the editors claim, it is unclear why they tend to overlook contemporary practice. There are two notable exceptions: a section in the editors' introduction that characterizes modern interpretations of Shugendō as a matter of prewar ethnonationalism and postwar nostalgic primitivism when narratives of Japanese identity were in transition (pp. 18–22).[1] There is also Suzuki Masataka's discussion of the modern significance of sacred mountains in Japan in terms of government heritage programs, UNESCO World Heritage status, and the recent proclamation of "Mountain Day" as a national holiday (pp. 55–59). Beyond these examples, there is no further discussion in the book of contemporary Shugendō. This reviewer, at least, wanted to know who modern ascetics are, why they are motivated to undergo mountain austerities (*shugyō*), and what this may tell us about Shugendō as a living tradition.

Caleb Carter argues in his chapter that Shugendō-related *engi* (origin accounts) in Mount Togakushi were refashioned by an eighteenth-century monk, but not just to express a nostalgic or romantic view of the mythic past. Rather, *engi* were put to use in order to localize Shugendō and cement its role in new communities for the *longue dureé*. Shugendō sites with multiple competing historicities are common in both the historical and ethnographic record.[2] As Carter observes, such accounts reveal that Shugendō possesses a degree of "temporal elasticity" and general adaptability when figuring itself into new social and geographical environments (p. 86). It might be more accurate, therefore, to suggest that the nostalgic primitivism characterizing modern Shugendō signals the common practice of a religion that constantly reconfigures itself in order to thrive and expand. In other words, modern Shugendō is not merely a simulacrum of a once-authentic tradition. So long as Shugendō is analyzed as an exclusively historical religion, and its contemporary practice is omitted from the record or treated as an aberration, the view that modern practice is inauthentic will dominate Shugendō studies.

Notwithstanding its lack of engagement with contemporary mountain asceticism, *Defining Shugendō* lays out a strong historical and theological foundation that certainly justifies further research, and points to areas needing more attention. More than anything, this volume is a history of the assemblage of Shugendō: its ideas, its deities, and complex temple politics. Shugendō has a long tradition of secrecy, but modern sentiments of transparency are prevailing, and conventions regarding initiation and practice are changing. In the wake of a post-bubble, post-disaster economy, in the enduring aftermath of the triple disaster of March 2011, and now, during an ongoing pandemic, Shugendō seems poised to make its mark on the world. Each of the chapters of *Defining Shugendō* is a doorway to new perspectives on this ancient religion, revealing its quiet but consistent presence in mountains

1 See also Hopson 2017, and Dahl 2019.
2 See Castiglioni 2019, Dahl 2020, and Dahl 2021.

across the Japanese archipelago, and the undeniable influence it has exerted over the course of Japanese religious history.

REFERENCES

Castiglioni 2019

Andrea Castiglioni. "Devotion in Flesh and Bone: The Mummified Corpses of Mount Yudono Ascetics in Edo Period Japan." *Asian Ethnology* 78:1 (2019), pp. 25–52.

Dahl 2019

Shayne A. P. Dahl. Review of *Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast: Tohoku as Japanese Postwar Thought, 1945–2011*, by Nathan Hopson. *Japan Review* 32 (2019), pp. 199–201.

Dahl 2020

Shayne A. P. Dahl. "Buddhist Mummy or Living Buddha? The Politics of Immortality in Japanese Buddhism." *Anthropological Forum* 30:3 (2020), pp. 292–312.

Dahl 2021

Shayne Allan Peter Dahl. "Ascetic *Ressentiment*: Historical Consciousness and Mountain Politics in Northeastern Japan." *History and Anthropology* (2021), DOI: 10.1080/02757206.2021.1881081

Hopson 2017

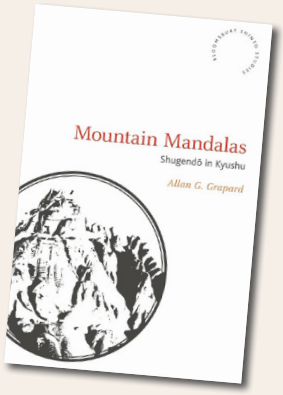
Nathan Hopson. *Ennobling Japan's Savage Northeast: Tohoku as Japanese Postwar Thought, 1945–2011*. Harvard University Press, 2017.

Book Review

Mountain Mandalas: Shugendō in Kyushu

By Allan G. Grapard

Bloomsbury Academic, 2016
xvii + 301 pages.



Reviewed by Anna DULINA

In *Mountain Mandalas: Shugendo in Kyushu*, Allan Grapard explores the ways in which sacred space in Japan is created, conceptualized, visualized, and performed. The book is the culmination of a lifetime of research on sacred geography that has been theoretically influential.[1] For example, his earlier articulation of the concept of "mandalization"—the organization of sacred space within a mandala structure—is now a common term in cultural anthropology and religious studies.[2] The book under review focuses on the mountain-based institutional and ritual system of Shugendō, and three cultic sites in northern Kyushu: Mt. Hiko, Usa, and the Kunisaki Peninsula. Here, I discuss one aspect of Grapard's book, which has received far less critical attention, namely the worship of the tutelary deity Hachiman.

In the first chapter ("Shugendō and the Production of Social Space"), Grapard analyzes the Hachiman cult's formation in the Usa region of northeast Kyushu. He thoroughly investigates a variety of sources, from archaeological records to *engi* narratives (which he translates as "etiological records"). He shows that Hachiman, the oldest "combinatory cult" (that is, an amalgamation of autochthonous and imported beliefs), was created under continental influences, and elaborated as a result of political alliances between regional leaders of northern Kyushu and the Yamato court (p. 5). Grapard accurately portrays the competition between the Usa Shrine's sacerdotal houses, the influence of the Miroku (Maitreya) cult and Tendai esoteric doctrine, Hachiman's status in the early imperial cultic system, supported by his identification with Emperor Ōjin and his receipt of the title "bodhisattva."

Grapard does not aim to illuminate every aspect of the Hachiman cult in this book; his focus is on spatial features. However, it is unfortunate that he does not, for example, provide evidence as to why the Buddhist rite of atonement (*hōjō-e*)—intended to erase the sin of killing sentient beings—contains such non-Buddhist elements as purifying "the ritual pollution garnered by the court's political decisions to kill human beings in the process of territory building" (p. 102).

1 See Castiglioni, Rambelli, and Roth 2020, pp. 1–18.
2 Grapard 1982, pp. 209–210.

The spatial aspects of the Hachiman cult are effectively illustrated in the ritual procession called the "Stately Progress Ritual Assembly" (*gyōkō-e*), which Grapard addresses in a section styled, "Hachiman's Traveling Icons." Every six years from the ninth through to the eighteenth century, "icons" (*mishirushi*) symbolizing the Hachiman triad of Emperor Ōjin or Hachiman himself, his mother Empress Jingū, and his wife Himegami, were reproduced, and presented to the eight shrines auxiliary to the Usa complex. This set of rites, which was abandoned in the Edo period (1603–1867), has been the object of dispute among Japanese scholars. Some explain it as a display of the superiority of the Usa complex over other sites of the Hachiman cult in northern Kyushu.[3] Others emphasize the connection of Hachiman (as Emperor Ōjin) with the imperial cultic system, and associate the pillow (*komo-makura*) used as Hachiman's seat during the procession with the pillow (*saka-makura*) used in the *daijōsai* imperial succession ritual.[4] Grapard himself interprets this parade of icons as a "reminder of the powerful unifying force of the court-sponsored Hachiman cult," which defined the territorial dominance of the Usa complex (p. 98). His interpretation here seems most apposite. Medieval narratives concerning the stately progress associate it with Great Bodhisattva Ninmon's quest for *nirvāna*. Ninmon is considered a founder of the Kunisaki Peninsula's system of twenty-eight temples, and a reincarnation of Hachiman. Grapard finds this association intriguing, but offers no further analysis. My own study of the Hachiman *engi* narratives suggests that the progress reflects the unique feature of the Usa cult, which is the association of Hachiman with mountain religious practitioners or *shugenja*.

In chapter 3, Grapard emphasizes that sacred space is also "thoroughly managed social space" (p. 161). Here he investigates the Usa complex as a powerful institution involved in politics: "The symbolic world of the Hachiman cult rests on oracles related to travel narratives, bespeaking of territorial conquest and control" (p. 213). He draws here on an analysis of the early fourteenth-century *Hachiman Usa-gū gotakusenshū*, a compilation of oracular pronouncements made by Hachiman, and interpreted by the compiler. Grapard points out that many of the pronouncements focus on space. The pronouncements of the third scroll describe the peregrinations of Hachiman, who manifested himself in various forms in various places. Grapard finds a similar pattern of territorial discovery and control in the medieval "Chronicles of Yamatohime no Mikoto" (*Yamatohime no mikoto seiki*), which described the journey of the legendary Yamatohime, in her search for a suitable site to enshrine Amaterasu. The last section "Usa: Hachiman's Return in Disguise" of chapter 4 briefly describes how in 1868 the "combinatory deity" Hachiman was reconstructed as a native *kami* after the government-directed separation of Shinto from Buddhism, and was subsequently put to the service of Japanese ultranationalism in the Meiji period (1868–1912).

The study of the Hachiman cult has developed considerably in recent years. For example, Murata Shin'ichi has examined oracle pronouncements of Usa Hachiman.[5] Hinokuma Masamori has investigated disputes between Usa and Kagoshima Shrine in southwest Kyushu regarding issues of authority and the origins of the Hachiman cult.[6] It is

3 Murata 2016, pp. 324–325.
4 Tsuji 2003, pp. 290–291.
5 Murata 2016.
6 Hinokuma 2011.

regrettable that our author's bibliography is out of date, and does not include this and other more recent research.[7] Nonetheless, it is my view that *Mountain Mandalas* is the marvelous outcome of many years of work, and a profoundly insightful analysis of historical sources. *Mountain Mandalas* enhances our knowledge of Hachiman, and revises the "common but erroneous and oversimplistic view that Hachiman is the Shinto God of War" (p. 5).

REFERENCES

Castiglioni, Rambelli, and Roth 2020

Andrea Castiglioni, Fabio Rambelli, Carina Roth, eds. *Defining Shugendō: Critical Studies on Japanese Mountain Religion*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.

Grapard 1982

Allan Grapard. "Flying Mountains and Walkers of Emptiness: Toward a Definition of Sacred Space in Japanese Religions." *History of Religions* 21:3 (1982), pp. 195–221.

Hinokuma 2011

Hinokuma Masamori 日隈正守. "Hachiman Shōgū (Ōsumi no kuni Shōhachimangū) sekitai jiken no rekishiteki imi ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu" 八幡正宮（大隅国正八幡宮）石体事件の歴史的意味に関する一考察. *Kagoshima Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu kenkyū kiyō jinbun, shakai kagaku hen* 鹿児島大学教育学部研究紀要人文･社会科学編 62 (2010), pp. 37–47.

Murata 2016

Murata Shin'ichi 村田真一. *Usa Hachiman shinwa gensetsu no kenkyū: "Hachiman Usagū gotakusenshū" o yomu* 宇佐八幡神話言説の研究:『八幡宇佐宮御託宣集』を読む. Hōzōkan, 2016.

Tsuji 2003

Tsuji Hidenori 辻日出典. *Hachimangūji seiritsushi no kenkyū* 八幡宮寺成立史の研究. Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2003.

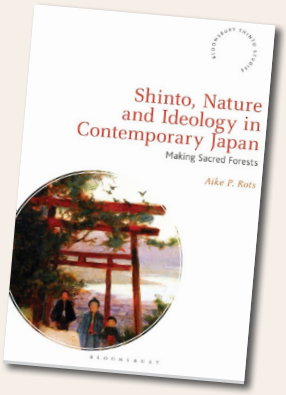
7 I am thinking here of works in Japanese by Iinuma Kenji, Kitai Toshio, Tamura Masataka, and Tsuji Hidenori, and in English by Bernhard Scheid.

Book Review

Shinto, Nature and Ideology in Contemporary Japan: Making Sacred Forests

By Aike P. Rots

Bloomsbury Academic, 2017
x + 260 pages.



Reviewed by Matt HAYLER

Researching for a project about ecology and human entanglements with environments, I wanted to learn more about non-Western traditions which conceived of those relationships differently: not as relationships of conquest and domination, but instead, perhaps, as meetings of active, maybe equal, subjects, or as moments deserving respect and care. A friend had recently finished a book about Shinto, Japan's "indigenous nature religion," and recommended it as an avenue to investigate. Each book I read, starting with basic introductions and moving to official shrine and academic discussions, supported a view of Shinto as a source of unproblematic reverence for a natural world alive with agentic beings. An understanding of Shinto as, at the least, a spiritual outlook underpinning practices that should educate environmentalists both inside and outside of Japan is widespread, and the vast majority of books available as introductions to Shinto emphasize a worship of the natural world that is both ancient and unique to "the Japanese people." These assumptions, about Shinto, Nature, and Japan, are thoroughly questioned by Aike P. Rots in his *Shinto, Nature and Ideology in Contemporary Japan*.[1] He investigates the role that Shinto might play, or is positioned as playing, in contemporary environmental thought, and the other uses to which it has been put in recent Japanese politics.

Rots' study rests on the problem of defining "Shinto." It is a difficult thing to pin down because of the variety of paradigms by which it has been conceptualized, each of which persist to a greater or lesser extent today. His study focuses on the "environmentalist paradigm" that has come to dominate contemporary discussion, but this conceptualization, both consciously and unconsciously, draws on historic paradigms for mythic resonance, including "imperial," "ethnic," "local," "universal," and "spiritual" framings. In an environmentalist frame, Shinto has been positioned as apolitical; Shinto shrines are associated with an ancient, homogenous, and unchanging system of nature worship where sites and practices escape politics by dint of predating political systems and carrying on as they always have. Rots, however, traces the more complex reality of Shinto sites, particularly the Ise shrines, and their acting in a fundamentally romanticized and ideological way,

1 "Nature" is capitalized here to refer to the ahistorical and romanticized concept of "Nature" that Rots discusses throughout his work.

linked with potent and mutable conceptions of Nature, nation, and imperial power. "Much of what today counts as 'traditional' or 'ancient'—including the 'love of nature' supposedly expressed in ritual and (agri)cultural practices at Ise—goes back to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century myth-making and was part of the modern nation-building project" (p. 2).

To see Shinto as both Japan's indigenous religion, and as a fixed combination of beliefs, practices, and spaces which can be traced back beyond record, "essentializes 'the Japanese people' as a single entity with a singular historical experience … [denying] the diversity of beliefs, practices, and experiences of the various people who have lived in the areas that later became the nation-state 'Japan'" (p. 35). This kind of myth-making can be incredibly politically affective and effective, and Rots understands its appeal for a variety of actors, including politicians, priests, scholars, and corporations. He also brings out, in his challenges to a simplistic (and essentializing) notion of "the" Japanese people, the realities of attitudes towards Nature in contemporary Japanese society. The illusion of "the Japanese people" as universally reverent towards nature, thanks to Shinto's underpinning of daily life, occludes the reality of histories and presents (shared with a great many nations) of intensive deforestation, unsustainable consumer culture, pleasures taken in manicured and artificial (rather than truly "wild") environments, and emphasis on local and public health concerns over global ecology. Throughout his work, Rots brings out the damaging effects of myth-making on critical thinking: fuller understandings of Shinto, the concept of Nature, contemporary politics, and the experiences of people in Japan become impossible when conceiving of Shinto and Japanese citizens through essentializing and distorting frameworks.

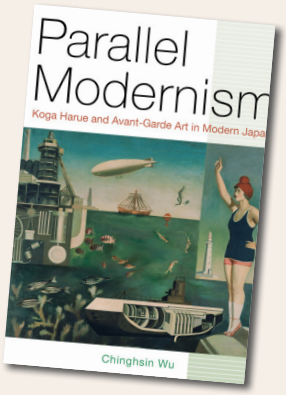
This said, Rots is not dismissive of the possibilities that Shinto's practices—and its contemporary environmental paradigm—offer for environmental movements both inside and outside of Japan. Some of the same rhetorical, myth-making power that sees Shinto put to political work also sees it usefully motivating environmentalist and conservationist activity, and, in particular, bringing together actors across political divides who are able to agree on the significance of aspects of the shared stories of Shinto for Japanese life. Similarly, the sacred forests of Shinto shrines have both symbolic and physical importance: they function as both spiritual and political sites, but also as real spaces where non-human environments and environmental practices can be explored and communities can meet and become oriented around ecological interests. As Rots explains, "sacred," in this way, is not the same as "religious." The ways in which spaces are made sacred, and the physical and intellectual work that this enables, need not be tied to a particular, enduring belief structure; secular sites can still be sacred, and sacrality can be put to all sorts of ideological work. But the sacred is also the special, the worthy of attention, the worthy of protection. Identifying the sacred in non-human life will be a vital part of any ecological work that might undo some of the ongoing damage of an Anthropocene era. In this way, Rots gives us the less mythically satisfying, but more truthful and sustainable story of Shinto: even if we understand the (frequently cynical) construction and political nature of its paradigms, Shinto still causes people to look to the world around them with wonder, to see it as alive and worthy of protection, full of non-human agency. This is a starting point, not a solution, for changing human relationships with Nature, and one start among many. But to understand it better, as Rots undoubtedly helps us to do, is not to harm it or to underestimate its power.

Book Review

Parallel Modernism: Koga Harue and Avant-Garde Art in Modern Japan

By Chinghsin Wu

University of California Press, 2019
ix + 236 pages.



Reviewed by Matthew LARKING

The critical year was 1929. The work of three painters, Koga Harue, Tōgō Seiji, and Abe Kongō, were exhibited in the Bunten secessionist forum, the Nikakai (The Second Society). These painters' seemingly surprising convergence of the uncanny in pictorial themes and artistic methods inaugurated Japan's visual Surrealism. The European allegiance, apparently spelled out in the title of one of Tōgō's works, *Surrealist Stroll* (1929), was then buoyed by the authority of Fukuzawa Ichirō who had been abroad when he submitted thirty-seven works from Paris to the Dokuritsu-ten (Association of Independent Artists Exhibition) in January 1931. These four, Koga, Tōgō, Abe, and Fukuzawa were Japan's early cardinal Surrealist points in oil painting (*yōga*), though their disagreements—including over who among them were actually Surrealists—leant a splintered character to Japanese Surrealism from the outset. Wu's *Parallel Modernism* privileges Koga for his sometimes ambivalent and personalized relations to European influence, and so her study is essentially a biographical and artistic monograph, bracketed by an introduction and epilogue of broader concerns.

In drawing scholarly attention to, and rehabilitating the careers of, a small number of Japan's modern Western-style painters, many of whom are overlooked outside of Japan, Wu joins the company of a number of mostly America-based scholars: Bert Winther-Tamaki, Gennifer Weisenfeld, Ming Tiampo, Alicia Volk, Justin Jesty, and Michael Lucken (France). The significance of this apparent surge in recent times, and Wu's addition to it, cannot be underestimated in a field which has long seemed intellectually complacent regarding Japanese modernism in general, and the dilemmas presented by Western influence on modern Japanese arts in particular.

Wu's narrative takes the reader through romanticized modern artist tropes, the last of which was Koga's untimely death. Growing up in a small town in Fukuoka Prefecture—his later-year contemporaries called him a "country bumpkin" (p. 207, n. 24)—Koga was at least partly a self-taught artist, befriended and instructed by another self-taught local Western-style painter of small repute, Matsuda Teishō. Koga dreamed of moving beyond mediocrity, and Fukuoka. As an outsider in Tokyo, he joined passé institutions, the Taiheiyō Gakai Kenkyūsho (Pacific Art Society Institute) in 1912, then the Nihon Suisai Gakai Kenkyūsho (Japanese Watercolor Society Institute) in 1913. His formative influences, like those of many of Japan's early oil painters, were eclectic, and forward- and backward-looking: Buddhist

iconography; the romanticisms of Aoki Shigeru and Takehisa Yumeji; El Greco's Mannerist compositions; a Croatian sculptor, Ivan Meštrović, who was influential among 1920s Japanese architects of the Bunriha Kenchikukai (Secession-school Architectural Society); and Paul Klee. Koga struggled for recognition until two of his paintings were accepted for the Nikakai in 1922. His quest for artistic freedom was bolstered by the momentum he drew from his Cubist period (1922–1925), then from Expressionism (1925–1929).

Koga's publicly and critically lingering achievements were in Surrealism, which he adopted, localized, and developed piecemeal and personally from 1929, at a time when earlier and contemporary overseas examples remained scarce in Japan, and when local understandings of Surrealism were especially fragmented.[1] Japanese Surrealism embodied little of André Breton's incendiary sketch in the Second Surrealist Manifesto (1930):

> The simplest Surrealist act consists of dashing down into the street, pistol in hand, and firing blindly, as fast as you can pull the trigger, into the crowd.[2]

In contrast to the more ludic and lunatic moments in European Surrealism, Wu argues for the existence of a tempered scientific and technology-induced optimism in Japanese Surrealism. It was, however, only ever partly thus. This comment applies equally to Koga, the subject of Wu's study. Koga's fascination with the modern metropolis and mass culture, and the spectacles of industrial and societal innovation and change, also owes something to an earlier Baudelairean celebration of modern life, while his technology and machine thematic suggests an Italian Futurist inheritance. Koga's future-oriented robot-themed paintings are proximate to pulp science-fiction illustration.

Wu's especial address within Koga's oeuvre is to his collage paintings. The Surrealist collaging of popular culture and reproduced imagery as a form of visual automatism had begun with Max Ernst from around 1919, but Koga's approach was to clip and compose imagery culled from Tokyo's mass-culture publications before working them up into oil paintings. A crucially interesting feature of Koga's late-career work was that he often created poem-paintings to accompany his visual images. These painting "postscripts" arose in the period 1924–1931 (p. 203, n. 73). Wu's analyses of these visual/verbal pairings are among the best moments in her book, though it is unfortunate that she sometimes relegates significant information to her footnotes.

The book's framing generates a sense of unease. Wu states in her introduction, "Drawing inspiration from the concept of the quantum entanglement of parallel universes, found in the many-worlds interpretation of quantum physics, this book proposes a view of modernism in Japan as coexisting in close parallel with other modernisms around the world …" However, for the most part she does not discuss "parallel modernism" (p. 5), and, in fact, she seems aware of the concept's minimal purchase. Wu notes the following: "The phrase *parallel modernism* has occasionally appeared in the arguments or titles of articles discussing modern art in non-Western contexts, but the term itself has not yet been fully developed or defined" (p. 194, n. 8). More problematic is that even Japanese

1 Ōtani 2003, pp. 20-21. Surrealist poetry and literature began to be introduced to Japan from 1925, and painting and the other arts from 1928, though more fully from 1930.

2 Breton 1969, p. 125.

modernism never constituted a single world; it was always composed of multiple art-worlds, mediums, genres, and idioms, with distinctively different casts, roles, and understandings of modernism and avant-gardism. Wu's "parallel modernism" is also a less compelling interpretative methodology here than what she considers to be the significant modernist moments and movements relativized to Koga's individual creativity. The implication is that there are as many parallel worlds as there are artists. Her approach somewhat isolates Koga (both from European contexts, and from his Japanese contemporaries), and this stands in distinct contrast to the inclusionary "global modernism" overtures Wu makes in her introduction.

The epilogue addresses Surrealism in wartime Japan after Koga's death, although the author covers little Surrealist territory except for the most well-known individuals. Practically none of the Surrealist-leaning exhibiting organizations are given their proper dues or appreciable discussion (for example, the Dokuritsu Bijutsu Kyōkai, Sōki Bijutsu, Bijutsu Bunka Kyōkai, Kyūshitsukai-ten, Ekōru do Tōkyō-ten). Overlooked, too, is the seepage of Surrealism into wartime artistic spheres other than oil painting, such as ceramic design (for example, Yagi Kazuo's Max Ernst-inspired vessel decoration), the mid-1930s photo dessins of Ei-Q, or Surrealism in *nihonga* avant-gardism as found in the Rekitei Bijutsu Kyōkai (Rekitei Art Association). By taking the now well-worn route that authoritarian repression of the art world in wartime from the late 1930s resulted in Surrealism's quietus from 1941, Wu also overlooks a small number of variant and exceptional Surrealisms. These include the attenuated but still-Surrealist still-life paintings of Ai Mitsu in the early 1940s, and Yamashita Kikuji's striking *The Collapse of Japan's Enemy, the American Forces* (1943) as an outstanding example of Surrealism tuned into state support. She culminates her study with one of Matsumoto Shunsuke's self-portraits from 1942 (mostly unrelated to Surrealism in important ways), as if Surrealism had somehow led up to the assertion of individual self-expression via portraiture in wartime circumstances; this is a miscalculation. Markedly, Japanese Surrealism's late wartime repression resulted in its postwar reinvigoration.

REFERENCES

Breton 1969

André Breton. *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane. University of Michigan Press, 1969.

Ōtani 2003

Ōtani Shōgo 大谷省吾. "Dreams of the Horizon: Introduction." In *Chiheisen no yume: Shōwa 10-nendai no gensō kaiga* 地平線の夢: 昭和10年代の幻想絵画, trans. Kikuko Ogawa. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan, 2003, pp. 20–29.

Book Review

Japan's Occupation of Java in the Second World War: A Transnational History

By Ethan Mark

Bloomsbury Academic, 2018
xii + 386 pages.

Reviewed by Takuma MELBER

In spring 1942, only a few months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the "opening shot" of the Asia-Pacific War (1941–1945), the empire of Japan started occupying much of Southeast Asia. As in its other occupied territories, the Japanese installed a propaganda squad (*Jawa sendenhan*) on the island of Java hoping to win the hearts and minds of the Indonesian population and convince Indonesians of the virtue of Japan's official war aim, the "liberation of Asia" from Western subjugation. "Asia for the Asians" and the establishment of a "Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" (*Daitōa kyōeiken*) were just two catch phrases of Japanese wartime propaganda.

In the propaganda squad, which accompanied the invading Japanese Sixteenth Army, were so-called *bunkajin*. These "men of culture" (p. 6), a mixture of Japanese artists, philosophers, writers, filmmakers and other intellectuals, remained with the Sixteenth Army on Java for a little less than four years, with the aim of producing cultural propaganda for the Indonesian masses.

This study by Ethan Mark, historian of modern Japanese and Indonesian history at Leiden University, focuses mainly on the Japanese-Indonesian encounter: namely, the exchange of ideas between the aforementioned *bunkajin* and Indonesian political and national leaders. Among the latter were prominent figures such as the founding fathers of the Indonesian nation: Sukarno, the first president of an independent Indonesia after the war, and his vice-president, Mohammad Hatta, who cooperated and collaborated during the war with the Japanese occupying power. The fact is that Indonesian politicians and students cherished the hope that Japan, as some kind of "Asian big brother," would help Indonesians cast off the yoke of Dutch rule, and fulfil their dream of becoming an independent Indonesian nation.

Japan's Occupation of Java in the Second World War offers an analysis of Japanese wartime propaganda, of the strategy behind it, and of Indonesian reactions to it. The author shows how the ignorant and brutal behavior of the Japanese towards the Indonesians gradually undermined their optimism and their hopes. Even if some Japanese had an honest desire to liberate Asian nations, the occupation policy was all in all subordinate to the primacy of the military and military-strategic war aims. Ethan Mark argues that the Japanese considered the island of Java, its population and raw materials, as nothing more

than a resource for war and exploitation. It was only when Japan's defeat was clearly in sight—mainly as a consequence of the Battle of Midway—that Indonesian ambitions for national independence were promoted and began to gather steam. It is well-known that Japan's occupation led eventually, after Japan's surrender, to an independent Indonesian nation. Unfortunately, Mark does not sufficiently elaborate the legacy of the particular Japanese-Indonesian wartime encounter which he is describing in his book.

Mark's study covers the first months of the Japanese-Indonesian wartime relationship in a satisfactory and concise manner, but leaves just fifty pages to discuss the "turning point," the time from late 1943 to the war's end (pp. 241–292). This gives his study a lack of chronological balance. At the same time, and in contrast to other experts in the field, Mark does not avoid consideration of the fierce contestation within China. This reviewer shares with Mark his conviction that the ignorance and brutality which the Japanese displayed in Java had their roots in the war theater of the Second Sino-Japanese War (pp. 11–23). Furthermore, Mark skillfully sidesteps the pitfall of over-determination. He does not overstress Eurocentrism/Western-centrism, orientalism, or nation-centrism, and he avoids the dangers of black-and-white-narration.

This book claims to be a "transnational history," but its treatment of the fate of Allied soldiers who became POWs and forced laborers of the Japanese empire, and of the fate of civilians, women, and children, falls short. The author also fails to address the "prisoners' camp," which existed on Java. Furthermore, he treats the story of indigenous forced laborers (*rōmusha*) in less than fifteen pages. This is inadequate in both length and depth. After all, thousands of *rōmusha* were transported to other Japanese occupied territories, for example the Malay Peninsula and Singapore, and their presence places the history of occupied Java into a real transregional framework. Of course, the book meets the requirements of a "transnational history," but perhaps it is ultimately more "binational" in its exclusive focus on the Japanese-Indonesian relationship. The author missed a trick to exploit the story to its full potential.

Moreover, Ethan Mark fails to provide his readers with a sufficiently clear understanding of Japan's occupation politics, methods, and structures in Southeast Asia. For whatever reason, he shies from seeing the bigger picture. He does not sufficiently embed his case study in the overall history of Southeast Asia under Japanese rule. His study really needed to point to similarities, to draw parallels, and to show differences between the example of Java and other Japanese-occupied Southeast Asian territories. The Pan-Asian dream of an independent "Indonesian empire," for example, circulated in the neighboring Malayan Peninsula as well, but Mark does not mention it.[1] One remaining unanswered question for readers unfamiliar with the topic is: To what extent was the occupation of Java unique within occupied Southeast Asia?

The fact that Mark's study remains mainly on the micro level does not mean that it is of little importance—far from it. Mark's book is without doubt a very well researched and detailed study based on English, Japanese, Indonesian, and Dutch primary and secondary sources. It is a welcome contribution to academic research on World War II, and helps to sharpen the overall picture of Southeast Asia under the rising sun. This monograph is recommended reading for experts on Pan-Asianism or Southeast Asia under the Japanese

1 Melber 2017, pp. 242–251.

occupation. However, it is in parts overwritten and somewhat convoluted. Also, it does not provide the reader with a satisfying historical overview of Java's "Japanese episode" from 1942–1945, as some readers might assume on reading the book's title and blurb. The book is, in the end, a good addition to Sato Shigeru's groundbreaking study of Java under Japanese occupation (Sato 1994), and Peter Post's comprehensive *The Encyclopedia of Indonesia in the Pacific War*.

REFERENCES

Melber 2017

Takuma Melber. *Zwischen Kollaboration und Widerstand. Die japanische Besatzung in Malaya und Singapur (1942–1945)*. Campus, 2017.

Post 2010

Peter Post, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Indonesia in the Pacific War*. Brill, 2010.

Sato 1994

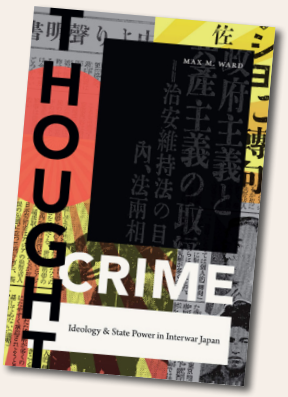
Shigeru Sato. *War, Nationalism and Peasants: Java under the Japanese Occupation, 1942–1945*. Routledge, 1994.

Book Review

Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan

By Max M. Ward

Duke University Press, 2019
xviii + 294 pages.



Reviewed by Jason MORGAN

In *Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan*, Max M. Ward examines a key mechanism in maintaining the balance between the Japanese empire and imperial subjects: *tenkō*, or what Ward calls "ideological conversion" (p. 1). By means of *tenkō*—a conversion to the imperial cause employed by police, bureaucrats, and affiliated functionaries such as Buddhist prison chaplains—the Japanese government was able to preserve a degree of political continuity across the empire, as well as diachronically in the face of extraordinary changes in East Asia and the wider world during the 1920s and 1930s. Ward has produced an in-depth study of the *tenkō* phenomenon and, in the process, a fascinating intellectual history of prewar, wartime, and the early years of postwar Japan.

In his introduction, Ward explains that he will "engage with Althusser's theory of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)" in analyzing the "Peace Preservation Law apparatus," the set of laws and state practices which attempted to define and maintain the *kokutai*, or national character of Japan (p. 13). Ward also relies heavily on Michel Foucault's "tripartite schema of sovereign-juridical power, disciplinary power, and governmentality" to understand how the central government instilled in subjects a conformity to the *kokutai* through "a single security complex" (p. 13). Ward incorporates insights from Nicos Poulantzas' investigation of "Foucault's theory of power," and considers how Poulantzas' reading of Foucault might fit "into a structural-Marxist theory of the state" (p. 11). But not all is theory. In the introduction we also meet Hirata Isao, director of the Tokyo Thought Criminal Protection and Supervision Center (Tokyo Shisōhan Hogo Kansatsu Sho), who helps show how the theories of Foucault, Althusser, and Poulantzas actually played out "on the ground" during the decades of *kokutai*-shaping and *tenkō*.

In chapter 1, Ward focuses on the 1925 Peace Preservation Law (Chian Ijihō). Central to Ward's argument is the "ghost in the machine" metaphor, and how "this metaphysics [of the sovereign emperor, the imperial subject, and 'the radiant Japanese spirit (*nihon seishin*)'] was produced through and animated the particular policies and practices of the Peace Preservation Law apparatus" (p. 9). "Kokutai," Ward argues, "indexed the ghosts that animated an ever-expanding institutional apparatus to combat political crime in the interwar Japanese empire" (p. 22). Here Ward makes a significant departure from many prior studies by inquiring into "the constitutive ambiguity of sovereignty itself" (p. 25).

It is not just that the Japanese *kokutai* was notoriously difficult to define. More generally, "the deployment of kokutai indicates a problem immanent to sovereignty" (p. 25), Ward writes. His remit is thus twofold: to understand how *kokutai* "was inflected in the particular imperial form of the prewar Japanese state," as well as how sovereignty more universally is manifested in and transmitted through polities (p. 25). Ward tracks the debates around the Peace Preservation Law to find that *seitai* and *kokutai* began appearing as "an inseparable categorical dyad—wherein kokutai signified the location of sovereignty, and seitai designated the means or form through which that sovereignty was expressed" (p. 39).

Chapter 2 explores how the ideological framework of the Peace Preservation Law guided the work of state agents during the early stages of anti-communist activities. Ward cites the work of Mizuno Naoki, who argues that "the first application of the Peace Preservation Law was actually against suspected communists in Korea" predating the arrests of members of the Marxist-Leninist group Gakuren during the winter of 1925–1926 (p. 57). Mizuno notes, as Ward points out, that *kokutai* discourse "was not used during the initial incorporation of Korea into the Japanese Empire" in 1910, but was used to prosecute suspected thought criminals and Korean independence activists as part of the Peace Preservation Law regime (p. 63). Special leniency was a common tool in Japan to coax thought offenders back into society, but "Korean colonial procurators emphasized prosecution over reform," Ward finds (p. 73).

In chapter 3, Ward combines a Foucauldian analysis of the criminal and the reformable delinquent with Althusser's theories of how ideology is perpetuated through "institutions and the practices specific to them" (p. 77). This theoretical blending helps us understand how the Imperial Renovation Society (Teikoku Kōshinkai) "became a laboratory for experimenting with and developing the procedures that would come to define the state's policy of ideological conversion (tenkō)" (p. 78). One of Ward's foci here is the sensational(-ized) *tenkō* of two incarcerated Japan Communist Party leaders, Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika in the summer of 1933 (p. 79). Sano and Nabeyama's conversion showed that the thought-policing apparatus could be used by the state proactively as a thought-reforming catalyst. Ward contrasts Althusser's theory of Ideological State Apparatuses (pp. 86–89) with the early postwar work of Japanese intellectual and Harvard graduate "Tsurumi Shunsuke and the Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai (Science of Thought [Research Organization])," which "between 1959 and 1962 … published a three-volume study of *tenkō*, [thus establishing] a methodological framework for many later studies" (pp. 84–85). Ward argues that spontaneous conversions, such as Nabeyama's (p. 85), were actually embedded in an Althusserian ideological network continually reproducing ideological totality and control. The entire point of *tenkō*, on this reading, becomes the preservation of the "productive capacity" of the convert to the social order. Ward argues that, "in the process of eliminating the ideological threat against the imperial state, the Imperial Renovation Society and groups like it served to also relink individual subjects to their labor capacities in specific social stations" (p. 89). Ward highlights the work of the head of the Imperial Renovation Society's Thought Section, Kobayashi Morito—himself a convert from communism—in setting up a more precise working model for encouraging *tenkō* in thought criminals (pp. 89–103).

Chapter 4 is a continuation of chapter 3. Here, Ward extends his investigation of the burgeoning *tenkō* apparatus: within the Japanese metropole and on the Korean Peninsula,

where Kobayashi and the Imperial Renovation Society were rehabilitating former thought-criminals like "reformed Korean communist, Sim Kil-bok" (p. 126), and others still struggling with *tenkō*. Across time, they were seeing the changes in practice through to the "passage of the Thought Criminal Protection and Supervision Law in 1936" (p. 142).

In chapter 5, Ward examines the Tokyo Thought Criminal Protection and Supervision Center (Shisōhan Hogo Kansatsu Sho) (pp. 145, 149). An early 1938 "Thought War Symposium (Shisōsen kōshūkai)" organized by the Cabinet Information Division and held at the prime minister's residence (p. 161), and a simultaneous "public Thought War Exhibition (Shisōsen tenrankai) in Takashimaya Department Store in downtown Tokyo" (p. 166), show the dual nature of the *tenkō* apparatus. It was coordinated during massive bureaucratic meetings and also sold to the general population as preparation for total war. Kobayashi's "mobilizing his fellow tenkōsha in a wartime factory" (p. 178) symbolizes, for Ward, the vicissitudes of the thought reform movement, and the ways in which converts to the *kokutai* were co-opted into service to the wartime state. The Althusserian thread remains prominent throughout Ward's investigation into the history and intellectual significance of *tenkō*.

Thought Crime: Ideology and State Power in Interwar Japan is a theoretically and archivally rich intervention into discourse surrounding *tenkō* and the *kokutai*, two of the most ubiquitous and contentious topics for scholars of prewar and wartime Japan. Max Ward's incorporation of theory into the body of literature on thought crime in Japan yields an important rethinking of politics and ideology during this most fraught of historical periods. Reading Ward's portrayal of the *tenkō* apparatus in Japan, one sees both the state's overweening interest in, and the human faces of, the attempt to indoctrinate subjects into an imperial gestalt constantly changing in response to outside events. Ward's Althusserian reading thus accommodates the person-to-person exchanges which modulated the *tenkō* regime.

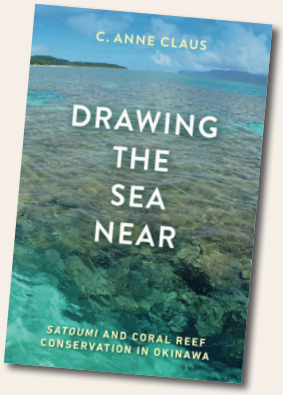
By the same token, reading Ward in concert with Etō Jun, Takahashi Shirō, and other scholars of American censorship and reeducation campaigns during the postwar Occupation, it becomes clear that constructing thought-conformity is the business of states in general, and not specifically of Japan, confirming Ward's important point about the Althusserian replication of ideology. The Japanese *kokutai* was largely defined by external factors, and conversion to harmony with the *kokutai* was thus ever a work in progress. Ward has pulled back the curtains to show how states form subjects, and how the Japanese empire, in particular, tried to find the balance that all empires must seek between near and abroad, belonging and incorporation, benefit and sacrifice, and the realities and promises of the political imagination.

Book Review

Drawing the Sea Near: Satoumi *and Coral Reef Conservation in Okinawa*

By C. Anne Claus

University of Minnesota Press, 2020
249 pages.



Reviewed by Aike P. ROTS

The Ryukyu Islands are home to many coral reefs, which are of great importance for marine biodiversity. These coral reefs and the species that depend on them are threatened by pollution and climate change, and in recent years large parts of the reefs have died. In response, Japanese and Okinawan actors have set up various coral reef conservation initiatives. In her new book, C. Anne Claus introduces some of the activities of marine conservation NGOs on the islands of Ishigaki and Okinawa. The result is an original, ethnographically rich, and convincingly interdisciplinary monograph of interest not only to environmental anthropologists and Okinawan studies scholars, but also to scholars working in development studies, political ecology, and nature conservation more broadly.

Drawing the Sea Near takes us to the coastal town of Shiraho on Ishigaki in the Ryukyu archipelago (Okinawa Prefecture). It introduces Sango Mura (Coral Village), a WWF field station where long-term conservation work has taken place. In the 1980s and 1990s, the WWF joined forces with a local protest movement and prevented the construction of a new airport on reclaimed land that would have destroyed the coral reef. In the following decades, the WWF field station in Shiraho transitioned from "conservation-far"—initiatives implemented by transnational organizations that fail to engage local populations actively—to "conservation-near"—initiatives that "cultivate proximity," "invite intimacy," and "create conservation affect" (p. 10), which actively engage local communities. In Coral Village, the transition from "conservation-far" to "conservation-near" can largely be accredited to one charismatic individual, director Kamimura Masahito. Claus describes Kamimura as a *yosomono* (p. 17), an outsider to the worlds of international conservation, natural science, and the community of Shiraho, who was able to negotiate and bridge the three. He is one of the main actors in the book, and consistently referred to by his first name, which creates a sense of intimacy. (Mistakenly, he is also listed by his first name in the index.)

The monograph is divided into an introduction, six long, thematically organized chapters, and five short ethnographic vignettes in between. Chapter 1 presents the history of the anti-airport struggle in Shiraho and the start of the WWF's presence in the area. It also provides background information about the colonial history of Okinawa, and the lingering consequences of this history, including the ongoing U.S. military presence (which

mainly affects the main island of Okinawa, not Ishigaki). When discussing relations between mainland Japanese conservationists and Okinawan actors, Claus argues that "the problematic colonial [North-South] dynamic evident in many transnational conservation projects is replicated in domestic Japanese environmentalism" (p. 38). This is hardly surprising, given that the Ryukyu Islands are still very much treated as a colony and that inconvenient Okinawan majority opinions are ignored by Tokyo. It is nonetheless important information for readers not familiar with Japan, who may not be aware that Japan is a *de facto* colonial state that structurally ignores the rights of indigenous minorities. Claus's study demonstrates that colonial power dynamics and epistemologies are reproduced by Japanese nature conservation and development NGOs, not only in the global south (see Watanabe 2019 for an example), but also *within* the Japanese archipelago.

Chapter 2 takes us away from Shiraho and presents a genealogy of the Japanese term *satoumi*—the marine equivalent of *satoyama*—and its uses in conservation discourse. Claus makes clear that *satoumi* does not refer to one particular type of seascape—coves and bays in mainland Japan are different from the shallow nearshore sea (*ino*) and coral reefs of Ishigaki—but to a particular conservation *imaginary*, which acknowledges the significance for ecosystems of human cultural practices. The environmental imaginary evoked by *satoumi* and *satoyama* is profoundly different from the "wilderness" paradigm that has influenced conservation practices worldwide. It acknowledges the role of humans as "one species collaborator among many" (p. 46), instead of seeking to construct a "wild nature" from which humans are expelled. Here Claus does a good job introducing, historicizing, and contextualizing the emergence and popularization of *satoumi*, acknowledging its conceptual strength without romanticizing it. I have long been looking for a scholarly introduction to *satoumi* that I can assign to students, so I am indebted to Claus for this useful and comprehensive chapter.

Chapters 3 and 4 constitute the core of the monograph. It is here that the reader really gets to know Coral Village, the Shiraho community, and Kamimura. We learn how Coral Village gradually departed from standard WWF conservation practice and became more inclusive and participation-based. Some activities organized by Coral Village are hardly meaningful from the perspective of international nature conservation, but they serve to involve and engage the local community. These activities include a Sunday market, cooking classes, and the reconstruction of a traditional *inkachi* fish pond. According to Kamimura (and Claus), such projects involving the local community will have better results for conversation than top-down projects that fail to consider local sensitivities and cultural traditions.

Chapters 3 and 4 are rich, full of interesting ethnographic details, and written in a lively and accessible style. The same applies to the short vignettes between the chapters, which introduce different aspects of community life in Shiraho: folk songs about crabs, harvesting seagrass in the *ino*, rituals for the sea gods, and more. Reading these, I felt a strong desire to go to Ishigaki, wade through the *ino*, and try those grilled clams myself. They are compelling ethnographic accounts.

Chapter 5 brings together the analysis of chapter 2 with the ethnographic material from chapters 3 and 4. Here we learn more about how the conflicting epistemologies of international conservation (WWF, IUCN, UN), marine science, and local ecological knowledge are negotiated on the ground. It is an insightful chapter, relevant not only for

development anthropologists and ecologists but also for nature conservation professionals. I was particularly intrigued by Kamimura Masahito's role: how he maintains good relations with scientists and the WWF's headquarters, using scientific knowledge to legitimize controversial decisions such as the construction of the *inkachi*, while simultaneously "cultivating autonomous 'offstage' spheres" (p. 164). His aim is to explore a diversity of practices that lead to increased community participation, even if they do not constitute "proper" nature conservation according to some.

Finally, in chapter 6, Claus introduces a coral restoration company on Okinawa island named Sea Seed, hundreds of kilometers away from Ishigaki, unrelated to Coral Village and the WWF. It is a fascinating case study. Tourists can invest in coral restoration by sponsoring transplanted coral, pictures of which are uploaded to the internet, together with individual messages that serve for memorialization, sponsoring, or even "petitioning the gods" like *ema* at shrines (p. 193). However, I struggled to see the connections between this corporate, tourism-based coral reef restoration project on Okinawa Island and the community-centered "conservation-near" Coral Village in Ishigaki. Claus does not bring the two cases together in a conclusion, and the Sea Seed case does not fit very well with the rest of the monograph. It could have been left out, making chapter 5 the last and concluding chapter of the book.

Another small point of criticism concerns the transcription of Japanese words. The おう sound, for instance, is sometimes transcribed as *ō*, sometimes as *ou*, and often simply as *o*. On page sixty-three, for example, there is *kougai* and *kankyo*, instead of *kōgai* and *kankyō*.

These are minor issues, however. All in all, this is an excellent study. It is written in an accessible and engaging style, which makes it one of those rare academic books that will be of interest both to experts in the field *and* to undergraduate and postgraduate students. It is a rich, theoretically informed ethnography with profound implications for nature conservation not only in Okinawa and Japan, but globally.

REFERENCE

Watanabe 2019

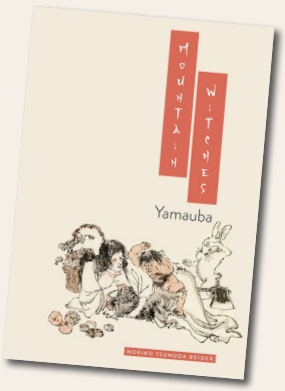
Chika Watanabe. *Becoming One: Religion, Development, and Environmentalism in a Japanese NGO in Myanmar*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2019.

Book Review

Mountain Witches: Yamauba

By Noriko Tsunoda Reider

Utah State University Press, 2021
224 pages.



Reviewed by SAKA Chihiro

Noriko Tsunoda Reider's *Mountain Witches: Yamauba* focuses on complex representations of the mysterious mountain women, *yamauba*, and covers a wide range of expressions including literary and folk narratives, religious beliefs, performances, visual imagery, and popular culture. *Yamauba* appear in folktales familiar to many Japanese, and their portrayal in the Noh play *Yamauba*, for example, has received a great deal of scholarly attention. However, this book is the first comprehensive investigation in English of *yamauba* in all their diversity and in the narrative transformations and imagery related to them. Reider explores how *yamauba* developed from *oni* (ogre) archetypes, demonstrating the process of the persona's recreation and reinterpretation over time.

As Reider states, *yamauba*, as the Other constrained by gender norms and the social expectations of the secular world, embody the ambivalent status of Japanese women in history and modern society. In this regard, they are an intriguing subject for scholars concerned with women, gender, and sexuality, and this book will certainly serve their interests. Reider's book sheds light on underexamined aspects of *yamauba* as they appear in multiple cultural spheres, and it will appeal to a diverse readership: scholars of Japanese literature, folk studies, and art history as well as those interested in contemporary Japanese culture.

The book consists of six chapters along with an introduction and conclusion. Each chapter highlights selected attributes and aspects of *yamauba*, showing their interconnections. Some attributes are well known and common to many *yamauba* examples, while others are less conspicuous and can be found only in specific cases. For example, a *yamauba*'s duality featured in chapter 1 and discussed in other chapters may be her most prominent and fascinating feature, since it distinguishes her from a simply frightful woman. On the one hand, her cannibalism and transformative ability probably originate in the anthropophagous nature of *oni*, who devour human flesh and change their appearance to deceive victims. On the other hand, a *yamauba* sometimes aids people in escaping from danger and bestows good fortune such as wealth, a blissful marriage, and safe childbirth. This positive, benevolent aspect may derive from her archetypal nature as a goddess. Reider summarizes this dual nature of *yamauba* by observing, "[She] brings death and destruction

as well as wealth and fertility, possesses the duality of good and evil, and has the power of transformation, able to manifest herself as an ugly crone or a young beauty" (p. 52).

In chapter 6, Reider investigates the contemporary adaptations of *yamauba*, thus distinguishing her book from previous studies that have focused primarily on representations in literary narratives and folktales. Reider even extends her analysis to the subculture of young Japanese women who came to be called *yamauba gyaru* (mountain-witch girls) in the 1990s. Their unique appearance, characterized by a dark tan, contrasting makeup, fair-colored hair, and platform shoes was a communal symbol that enabled them to establish a certain cultural position and acquire a sense of fellowship. Their collective behavior did not correspond to the image of independent, autonomous *yamauba* in folktales. However, neither traditional *yamauba* nor contemporary *yamauba gyaru* adhere to the normative concept of female beauty and established social and cultural expectations. In addition to *yamauba gyaru*, whom Reider defines as folkloresque or "yamaubaesque," she discusses contemporary instances of adaptation including Yubaba in the film *Spirited Away* (2001), *yamauba* in the manga *Hyakkiyakō shō* (1995–) by Ima Ichiko, Tsuya in Setouchi Jakuchu's novel *Yamauba* (2015), and *yamauba* in Itō Hiromi's narrative poem *Watashi wa Anjuhimeko de aru* (1993). Although the image of folkloric *yamauba* is superimposed on these characters, they are reframed in the context of contemporary culture.

Several chapters investigate *yamauba* through such diverse aspects as her association with childbirth, aging, and dementia, as well as her ability to fly, to read people's minds, and to foresee the future. I was most fascinated by chapter 4, with its focus on Yasaburō Basa, the folk figure who embodies features of *yamauba* and the Buddhist deity Datsueba, and eventually came to be worshipped as the goddess Myōtara Tennyo. According to one legend, after Yasaburō Basa's identity as the flesh-eating hag was revealed by her son, she flew to Mt. Yahiko where she resided under a large tree hung with the clothes of people she had devoured. This representation overlaps with that of Datsueba, who takes the clothes of the deceased by the Sanzu River, which people cross after death, and hangs them on tree branches. Eventually, a Buddhist monk helped Yasaburō Basa amend her conduct, and she became Myōtara Tennyo, guardian of virtuous people and scourge of evildoers. Arguing that Yasaburō Basa/Myōtara Tennyo, Datsueba, and *yamauba* are all conflated in the perspective of common people, Reider discusses how old narratives evolve by drawing upon various tales and then creating new stories and images. I agree that these overlapping representations influenced one another, contributing to the development of the multifaceted characteristics of each distinctive figure.

Another intriguing discussion concerns *yamauba*'s association with spinning and weaving as explored in chapter 2. In folktales, *yamauba* sometimes weave cloth on a loom or transforms into a spider. Reider points out several features shared between *yamauba* and spiders, such as the dual nature of benevolence and malevolence, fecundity, and the recognition of beings living outside social norms. As noted above, duality is a most prominent feature of *yamauba*, as it is of spiders. Spiders eat prey as well as their own kind; they carry their babies on their backs; and they are sometimes regarded as good omens. Moreover, the *yōkai* spider Tsuchigumo is said to refer to indigenous people, and thus symbolizes the Other. *Yamauba* are also regarded as the Other, the embodiment of a non-normative female character. Captivated by this association between *yamauba* and spiders, I began to rethink Datsueba's connection with cloth. Datsueba herself does not weave cloth.

However, in many examples of Datsueba worship, people offer clothing to Datsueba, and in some cases, this involves spinning, weaving, and sewing by the worshippers themselves.[1] Although Reider does not address this point, her analysis aroused my curiosity. In sum, by revealing the rich, multilayered nature of the mysterious *yamauba*, the book stimulates the imagination, and inspires readers to relate the figure to a broad range of issues.

REFERENCE

Saka 2018

Saka Chihiro. "The Function of Cloth in Datsueba Worship." *Japanese Religions* 43:1 & 2 (2018), pp. 69–96.

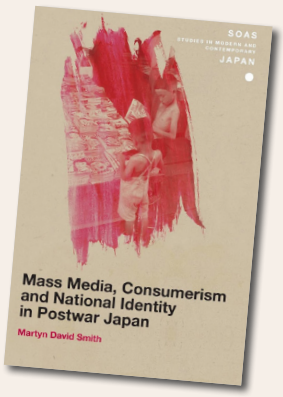
1 For the use of cloth in Datsueba worship, see Saka 2018.

Book Review

Mass Media, Consumerism and National Identity in Postwar Japan

By Martyn David Smith

Bloomsbury Academic, 2018
vi + 165 pages.



Reviewed by SUZUKI Takane

At times, an unexpected coincidence occurs in reviewing a book. Martyn David Smith's new book attempts to clarify how the Japanese reestablished their national identity after the Occupation, in the period 1952 to 1972. Smith's recurring focus here is on the year of the Olympics, 1964. As Smith notes, the accepted narrative is that the success of the Olympics allowed postwar Japan to join the free, democratic world in a spirit of "global modernity" (p. 61). Japan was hoping to repeat in 2020 the triumph of 1964, with a strong sense that it would enjoy a second Olympic bounce, recalling the glories of 1964, as opposed to the horrors of 1945. But what really constituted the glories of 1964, which have become part of Japan's collective memory? Martyn Smith attempts to address this very slippery question. He offers substantial insights into how Japan tried to recover its self-esteem and rediscover its identity in the two decades under review, and he examines how popular culture both surrendered to and resisted the allure of Western, and particularly North American, culture.

In recent years numerous studies have mined the popular culture of the period of high economic growth in mid-1950s–1960s Japan. Smith not only takes such studies into account, but complements them from a geopolitical viewpoint, examining, particularly in chapters 3 and 4, the growth of Japanese popular culture during the Cold War and the Vietnam War. His main interests lie in the transition and growth of mass print media. He focuses on popular magazines such as *Heibon* and *Heibon Punch*, whose content and readership were far more elusive and ephemeral than middlebrow publications.

Satō Takumi and Sakamoto Hiroshi have published standard works on popular magazines and propaganda in modern Japan.[1] For Smith, too, popular magazines constitute functional representations of the hopes and desires of ordinary working people in the face of unbearable experience. He broadens this notion with an examination of the postwar emergence of a far more individual subjectivity driven by a massive growth in consumerism.

Smith discusses how perceptions of postwar democracy came to frame postwar Japan's notion of national unity. In his introduction, he quotes Ishihara Shintarō, former Tokyo governor (1999–2012) and a frequent contributor to *Heibon Punch*. Ishihara repeatedly urged his readers to indulge in consumerism, highlighting his generation's opposition to

1 Satō 2002; Sakamoto 2008.

ethics and the parsimony of those who had come through the war. His contributions were perhaps ephemeral, but they did expose young male readers to regular, weekly, critical commentary on the bright new life they were turning to.

The great accomplishment of the 1964 Olympics was to demonstrate the possibility that there could be a brighter side to postwar Japan. At the same time, many young political activists tried to draw attention to what they saw as Japan's over-dependence on U.S. diplomacy. Japanese society today seems to believe that there is no need for Japan to depart from its 1960s and 1970s models. Smith's observations regarding Japan's belief in the norms fostered in these years raise more questions than he can hope to answer but the questions are still worth asking.

Heibon, which Smith draws on for his interpretation of the desires of the younger generation, has been researched in detail by Sakamoto Hiroshi. Sakamoto points out that such magazines helped grow workers' awareness of their potential. Eventually, however, they served to structure a new individual subjectivity alongside high economic growth, another factor empowering young Japanese people's sense of national identity.

As Smith sees it, the success of the Tokyo Olympics brought about three changes that helped Japanese citizens to construct both a national and an individual subjectivity: depoliticizing U.S. and Cold War influence on domestic policies; encouraging a younger generation to participate in a consumer society increasingly connected to the outside world; and the normalization of middle-class culture. From the mid-1960s to the 1970s, ordinary working-class people believed that fulfilling individual hopes and gaining financial stability could best be achieved as a white-collar worker, a salaryman. Belonging to a company, an ordinary Japanese could engage fully in consumer culture. However, within this popular faith lay an irony: that to fulfill individual desire, to find love and then marriage, a fundamental commitment to a good company and a life-long devotion to labor were needed. This in turn required Japanese adherence to U.S. diplomatic policies, "under the shelter of the US-Japan alliance" (p. 109).

As Smith's study comes to an end, his arguments become more definitive. In 1979, when Ezra Vogel published *Japan as Number One*, Japan seemed to have recovered its status as an advanced nation but without debating ambiguities and difficult issues, such as how Japan should deal with Okinawa and the ANPO treaties. In chapter 4, Smith observes the younger generations who participated in anti-Vietnam war activities. Known as Beheiren (Betonamu ni Heiwa o Shimin Rengō, the Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam), there were two major representatives, Oda Makoto and Iida Momo.[2] Iida urged the Japanese to be conscious of the fact that they are part of Asia. As he saw it, postwar Japanese democracy forced the younger generation to study harder, the better to reproduce the middle-class North American culture in which they grew up. It is still quite common for Japanese to stay with their parents until they are financially independent. Iida even proposed that the time had come to rethink the relationship between mothers and children. Iida clearly implied that it was time for Japan to rethink its relationship with the U.S.

2 Oda Makoto is the author of the 1961 bestseller, *Nandemo mite yarō*, based on his experience in the U.S. as a Fulbright student. Iida Momo is a well-known Marxist intellectual who, with Oda and Tsurumi Shunsuke, established Beheiren as the major anti-Vietnam War movement in Japan.

Mass Media, Consumerism, and National Identity in Postwar Japan also extends its scope to the theories of *Nihonjinron*. This departure is thought-provoking, but our author needed to examine and reference many more studies, such as those of two Japanese sociologists, Mita Munesuke and Minami Hiroshi.[3] Nevertheless, none of the above detracts from the importance of this work. Has postwar Japan accomplished a truly subjective identity? Smith's fine study cannot offer a definitive answer to this all-important question.

REFERENCES

Minami 2006

Minami Hiroshi 南博. *Nihonjinron: Meiji kara konnichi made* 日本人論: 明治から今日まで. Iwanami Gendai Bunko, 2006.

Mita 2011

Mita Munesuke 見田宗介. "Manazashi no jigoku" まなざしの地獄. In *Teihon Mita Munesuke chosakushū* 定本 見田宗介著作集, vol. 6. Iwanami Shoten, 2011, pp. 1–66.

Oda 1961

Oda Makoto 小田実. *Nandemo mite yarō* 何でも見てやろう. Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1961.

Satō 2002

Satō Takumi 佐藤卓己. Kingu *no jidai: Kokumin taishū zasshi no kōkyōsei*『キング』の時代: 国民大衆雑誌の公共性. Iwanami Shoten, 2002.

Sakamoto 2008

Sakamoto Hiroshi 阪本博志. Heibon *no jidai: 1950 nendai no taishū goraku zasshi to wakamonotachi*『平凡』の時代: 1950年代の大衆娯楽雑誌と若者たち. Shōwadō, 2008.

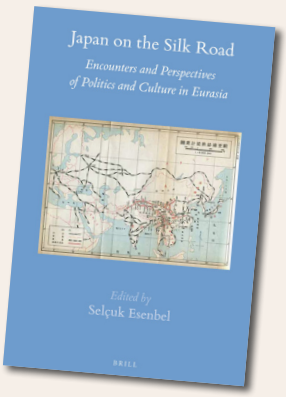
3 See, for example, Mita 2011 and Minami 2006.

Book Review

Japan on the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture in Eurasia

Edited by Selçuk Esenbel

Brill, 2018
xvi + 373 pages.



Reviewed by Jan SÝKORA

A plethora of books on the geopolitical significance of Central Eurasia has been published in the many years since Halford J. Mackinder advanced his thought-provoking theory of the heartland as a pivotal area for taking control of the world.[1] The crucial questions regarding what Eurasia is, and how to control it, dominated scholarly and political debates throughout the short twentieth century. Central Eurasia has become one of the hottest issues in the international arena since 2013 when China launched her ambitious Belt and Road Initiative, generally referred to as the New Silk Road. Coined by German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905) in 1877, the term Silk Road *per se* was an apt designation for the new wave of exploration and discovery of the vast Eurasian geo-space from the Mediterranean to the coastline of East Asia, a rich source of ancient and medieval encounters between Europe and Asia.

Conventional wisdom has it that Japan rejoined the global community as a latecomer and embarked on a journey to "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*), implementing a policy of Westernization and catch-up with the Western powers. However, it is less well known that in Meiji Japan there were also men of politics, military men, entrepreneurs, and intellectuals who did not veer so strongly to the West, and who were drawn rather to countries and regions located particularly in Central Asia. Indeed, for Japan, perceived as an insular, maritime country located on the easternmost point of the ancient Silk Road, such multifaceted engagement in continental Asian and Eurasian sub-regions offered an entirely new perspective. The new perspective constituted an important element in the burgeoning imperial ambitions of the late Meiji, Taishō, and early Shōwa periods. Current scholarship on the spatial, geo-cultural and intellectual dimensions of the Silk Road, both ancient and new, is more or less Sino-centric, and publications focusing on modern and contemporary Japanese encounters with Eurasia are still relatively rare.[2] From this perspective, *Japan on the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture in Eurasia* edited by Selçuk Esenbel is, without doubt, an impressive contribution to the field of modern global history.

1 Mackinder 1904; Mackinder 1919.
2 Notable examples include Len et al. 2008; Murashkin 2020.

The editor of a book focused on such a complex problem as a "multidisciplinary exposé of Japanese transnational history along the Silk Road" (p. 3) during the imperial period faces the tricky dilemma of approach. In general, he or she has three options: first, to define the topic and analyze it using different methodological approaches; second, to sketch a single methodological framework for the discussion of different aspects of the problem; and third, to follow a strict chronological pattern and analyze the vast range of problems in terms of different time segments. Selçuk Esenbel, who has assembled a team of eminent scholars from various parts of the world, has adopted a fourth and more difficult option of combining the three aforementioned approaches. The result is a fascinating volume comprising sixteen extremely heterogeneous chapters, which differ significantly in thematic topics (from Japan's strategic interest in the Central Eurasian region via the view of right-wing Pan-Asianist radicals on the Middle East and Islam to the rise of Turkish philology and linguistics in Japan), methodological approaches (from political history and geopolitics to literary and translation studies), and analytical scope (from historical narrative via comparative textual analysis to a simple list of publications by Japanese scholars on the Old Uyghur culture).

It might be noted that the editor herself points to the heterogeneity in her introductory chapter, and categorizes the topics of the papers into five distinct groups. Unfortunately, the structure of the book does not reflect her categorization, since most chapters relate to more than one category. The result of this editorial strategy is an impressive collection of first-class essays, which lack the imaginary "red thread" for the reader to discover and follow. Indeed, the true intellectual value of the book consists in the individual chapters, which reveal a wealth of almost untouched archival material, especially primary and secondary sources located in Japan. Due to the space constraints of this review, it is impossible to do justice to each chapter, but if I had to mention the lowest common denominator, it would be the changing view of the role of Central Asia in global history, and the significance of Japan's contribution to knowledge production about Eurasia, particularly during Japan's imperial period.

Despite its shortcomings, *Japan on the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture in Eurasia* is, without doubt, an eminently readable and inspiring study of relatively new phenomena that require deeper investigation, particularly from a comparative perspective. It should have a place in the bookcase of all enthusiastic students and scholars of Japanese and Central Asian affairs.

REFERENCES

Len et al. 2008

Christopher Len, Tomohiko Uyama, and Tetsuya Hirose, eds. *Japan's Silk Road Diplomacy: Paving the Road Ahead*. Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2008.

Mackinder 1904

Halford J. Mackinder. "The Geographical Pivot of History." *The Geographical Journal* 23:4 (1904), pp. 421–437.

Mackinder 1919
Halford J. Mackinder. *Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction*. Constable, 1919.
Murashkin 2020
Nikolay Murashkin. *Japan and the New Silk Road: Diplomacy, Development and Connectivity*. Routledge, 2020.

Resource Review

Brill Asian Studies Primary Source Database

https://primarysources.brillonline.com
/subject/Asian%20Studies

Reviewed by TSUCHIYA Reiko

The Brill Asian Studies Primary Source Database is a collection of English-language materials, primarily English-language newspapers published in Japan and Asia from the late nineteenth century through to the 1950s. Newspapers are "the first draft of history"; they constitute a vital record of our times, and leave traces in our collective memories. In recent years, newspapers and magazines have become available to many researchers in reprints, microfilms, and databases. The database under review here is an important element in a growing body of such historical material. Its value to the researcher is enhanced by cross-referencing and its comparison of multiple sources.

Of the English-language newspapers published in modern Japan, *The Japan Times* (1897–), and *The Japan Advertiser* (1913–1940) are the best known, and both can be accessed in *The Japan Times Archives* database.[1] Digital versions of *The Independent* (1896–1899) and *The Korea Daily News* (1896–1989), both published in Korea under Japanese rule, have also been digitized. However, the collection under review here contains nine other important English-language newspapers, as well as magazines, yearbooks, and pamphlets in English. Together they constitute a very rare and interesting resource for scholars and students of Japan and Asian studies.

The most important of these is *The Japan Chronicle* (1900–1940). This newspaper was founded in Kobe by Robert Young (1858–1922), a Londoner with Scottish roots. Although Japan's first English-language newspaper was published in Nagasaki in 1861, Yokohama and Kobe became the two centers for foreign-language newspaper publishing in Japan. *The Japan Chronicle* was notable for being relatively balanced and liberal in its tone. Indeed, it was, according to one authority, "the best of Japan's pre-war English-language newspapers."[2] This online version usefully also includes *The Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, the initial title of *The Japan Chronicle*.

Other English-language newspapers published in mainland Japan and included here are *Trans-Pacific* (1919–1940) and *Japan News-Week* (1938–1941). The former was published by Benjamin Fleisher, who was also responsible for *The Japan Advertiser*. Indeed,

1 https://info.japantimes.co.jp/archives/.
2 O'Connor 2002, pp. 334–347.

Trans-Pacific was a weekly summation of *The Japan Advertiser*. Brill's online version is the most complete available. The latter was the last independent English-language newspaper funded by foreign capital in Japan before the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War. There is, however, an unfortunate and significant gap in coverage from summer to December of 1941, at the height of negotiations between Japan and the U.S.A.

Brill's collection also comprises two important English-language newspapers based in China: *The North China Herald* (1850–1940s), and *The North China Daily News* (1864–1950). Both papers were published in Shanghai at about the same time by the same company, one being a weekly and the other a daily. *The North China Herald* was the official journal for British consular notification, and announcements of the Shanghai Municipal Council. It also carried news and gossip about foreign nationals in the settlements in China. Meanwhile, *The North China Daily News* was the most influential daily, and the most important Anglophone source of information about East Asia. What strikes the reader today is the way news about events in Asia, such as Japan's first modern expedition to Taiwan in 1874, was distributed through a media network of English-language newspapers in Shanghai, Nagasaki, and Yokohama, Chinese newspapers in Shanghai, as well as Japanese newspapers in Tokyo.

The Brill collection also contains four English-newspapers published in Seoul, Dalian, Beijing, and Hong Kong respectively. Their shared purpose was to promote the Japanese imperial cause. The first of these, *The Seoul Press* (1907–1937), was a successor to *The Seoul Press Weekly*, founded in 1905 by the Englishman J. W. Hodge with a grant from the Japanese legation in Korea. *The Seoul Press* was in part an official riposte to *The Korea Daily News*, founded in the same year by another Englishman, Ernest Thomas Bethell, whose journalism had been critical of Japanese colonial policy. *The Seoul Press* was acquired by the Resident-General in Korea, and after the 1910 annexation of Korea it became the official daily for the Office of the Government General of Korea (Chōsen Sōtokufu).

The Manchuria Daily News (1908–1940) was the sister paper to the *Manshū Nichi-nichi shinbun*, a Japanese language newspaper founded in Dalian in 1907. Both newspapers were capitalized by the South Manchurian Railway Company. With the establishment of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932, the paper showcased Manchukuo as a modernizing, dynamic new Asian power. With the addition of related supplements, such as *Manchuria Magazine*, *Manchuria Month*, *Contemporary Manchuria*, and *The Manchuria Information Bulletin*, the paper provides for contemporary researchers a rounded picture of Japanese power in Manchuria.

The North China Standard (1919–1930) was founded by John Russell Kennedy (1860–1928), master architect of Japan's English-language propaganda network in East Asia. Russell Kennedy brought in a series of capable editors, who between them made of the paper something substantially more than a propaganda outlet. The very fact of its pro-Japanese foundation makes the paper a useful guide to Japanese official thinking on China.

The Hong Kong News was a Japanese propaganda paper founded immediately after the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong. It ran from 25 December 1941, the day known as Black Christmas, until 17 August 1945, the week before liberation. It is an invaluable guide to life in Hong Kong under the Japanese Occupation.

The Brill collection contains other wartime publications issued under the auspices of Japan's flagship semi-official newspaper, *The Japan Times*. They include *The Japan Times*

Weekly (1938–1942) and its successor, *The Nippon Times Weekly* (1943), both of which had full-color covers. Zumoto Motosada's 1941 *Short History of The Japan Times* is also accessible here, and it demonstrates the importance to Japan of keeping some English-language channels of information open to the Western powers in wartime.

Other highlights of the Brill collection include the magazine *Contemporary Japan* (1932–1970) and *The Japan Year Books* (1931–1952), both of which are important basic sources for understanding Japan in wartime and during the Allied Occupation. *Contemporary Japan* was a quarterly magazine published in Tokyo by the semi-official Foreign Affairs Association led by Masamichi Royama (1895–1956). Each issue consisted of articles and speeches by leading Japanese intellectuals, politicians, and writers such as Baba Tsunego, as well as articles by Hugh Byas and other influential Western journalists of *The Times* and *New York Times*. *Contemporary Japan* offers a relatively even-handed view of contemporary East Asia at a time when rational discussion was increasingly under attack. *The Japan Year Books* collection, for its part, constitutes a series of directories averaging fifteen hundred pages each, brimming with information on Japan and overseas territories like Sakhalin and Manchuria. This is the most comprehensive and concise guide to the general situation in Japan for the 1930s and 1940s.

Finally, the collection *Mobilizing East Asia Online*, offers the researcher such rare periodicals as *Israel's Messenger* (1904–1941), published in Shanghai for Jewish communities in East Asia. It is a vital source of information on Jewish settler relations with official Japan and the Japanese community. In a dedicated section named "Bookshelf," there is an extensive collection of rare English-language books and pamphlets on Japan and Asia published between the 1930s and 1950s. One such, *The Peking and Tientsin Times Christmas Supplement* (1937), is striking for the insights it affords into the foreign community in the Tianjin Concession six months into full-scale war with Japan. *Mobilizing East Asia Online* also incorporates a digital version of *The English-Language Press of East Asia, 1918–1945* (Brill 2010) by Peter O'Connor, an advisor to the collection and a specialist on English-language media in Japan and Asia.

In terms of user-friendliness, the quality and legibility of most images are only as good as the original holdings: some images are digitized from the original hard copy, and others from microfilm so that legibility is uneven. Moreover, microfilm holdings are only in black and white, even when the original was published in color. The result is a loss of historical validity. However, any researcher who has performed irksome microfilm searches of newspapers will appreciate these fully-searchable sources. The word search function is efficient, fast, and on the whole user-friendly. On the downside, searching through all the hits is hampered somewhat by the need to enter and exit each individual issue that comes up in the search results. This can be time consuming given the sheer scale of this collection. So, there is room for improvement in the subscriber interface.

Overall, however, Brill Asian Studies Primary Source Database promises to bring Japan's modern history closer to scholars and students, affording a deeper understanding of contemporary biases and hitherto unknown rivalries. This collection is certainly an essential source of information for the study of Japan and Asia in the first half of the twentieth century.

REFERENCES

O'Connor 2002
Peter O'Connor. "The *Japan Chronicle* and Its Three Editors, 1891–1940." In *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits Volume IV*, ed. Hugh Cortazzi. Japan Library, 2002, pp. 287–298.

O'Connor 2010
Peter O'Connor. *The English-Language Press of East Asia, 1918–1945*. Brill, 2010.

Book Review

Like No Other: Exceptionalism and Nativism in Early Modern Japan

By Mark Thomas McNally

University of Hawai'i Press, 2016
xv + 287 pages.

Reviewed by Michael WACHUTKA

Kokugaku may be narrowly understood as a philological examination of Japan's oldest mytho-historical sources, whose exponents endeavored to uncover an indigenous ancient way, and elevate its precepts to the idealized status of a contemporary creed. The subtleties of kokugaku's formative discourse, especially the complex nature of its emergence as ideological alternative to Confucian studies, are often ignored. In its broadest sense, kokugaku encompasses all forms of learning, poetry creation, and antiquarian scholarship that focused on Japan. Throughout its history, kokugaku demonstrated a surprising breadth of subject matter and diversity of approaches in sociopolitical, intellectual, and literary contexts. It was neither a coherent movement nor a monolithic school and, indeed, only since the Meiji period was it uniformly self-identified as kokugaku.[1] The term's ambiguity itself has long been a vexing problem.

Ever since seminal studies by Harootunian and Nosco, kokugaku has commonly been described in English as a form of nativism.[2] Mark McNally considers this to be a case of "mistaken conceptual categorization" (p. xiv), because both kokugaku and nativism "exhibit affinities with another conceptual category, rather than directly connecting to each other" (p. 17). *Like No Other* is McNally's attempt to establish a new paradigm. He argues that the critical concept that best resonates "with both nativism in the American case and Kokugaku in the Japanese case is exceptionalism" (p. 17).

The key phrase is "the American case." For, despite the book's subtitle, the two longest chapters are devoted to expounding the meanings in the U.S. of "nativism" (chapter 1) and "exceptionalism" (chapter 3). McNally points to two major forms of nativism, "anthropological" and "historical," as represented in influential studies by Ralph Linton and John Higham respectively. McNally, who sees these concepts as mutually undermining and contradictory (p. 55), nevertheless identifies in them "one important commonality, namely, antiforeignism" (p. 26). Moreover, "[n]ativism is not merely another form of antiforeignism; it is essentially antiforeigner" (p. 22). As foreigners for much of the Tokugawa period were confined to specific areas and forbidden to intermingle with the broader population, he

1 Wachutka 2013.
2 Harootunian 1988 and Nosco 1990.

affirms that "Kokugaku scholars directed their antiforeignism against cultural abstracts, represented by Confucianism, Buddhism, and later, Rangaku/Yōgaku" (p. 63). Hence, "nativism is antipeople" (p. 67), and "Kokugaku cannot qualify as nativism, since its development did not involve the arrivals of foreigners [… and its hostility] was not directed at a foreign presence in Japan" (p. 199).

A major shortcoming in this line of argument, however, is McNally's reliance on "the American historical context" (p. 101), especially as espoused by Higham. Higham's findings, first published in 1955, drew on American nativist sentiments towards European immigration and so towards the physical presence of foreigners. In later studies, however, as Bergquist (not cited by McNally) proposes, the misleading old habit of positing a clear contrast between "native" and "foreigner" shifted to a view of nativism in which natives can also be divided among *themselves* on cultural or religious grounds.[3] This is akin to the ideological struggle of "Shintoist" kokugaku scholars with "Buddhist" interpretations of the otherworld, or with the intellectual predominance of "Confucianist" scholars in the public sphere. The concept of nativism emerging from the analysis of later historians is not merely hatred for foreigners or a weapon for dealing with their competition; rather, it represents a mindset wherein the nativist believes that society should be organized on the basis of conformity to older cultural values. After Higham, the study of nativism was increasingly seen within a broader context of *cultural* conflict.[4] In fact, there are many different nativisms, "according to the context of the particular conflict of cultures in which they arise."[5] Arguments can surely be made that kokugaku fits Bergquist's definition of nativism.

My main disaccord with *Like No Other* is its heavily U.S.-centric (politico-historical) view, a view that is challenged by comparative studies such as those of Mühlmann (1961), who examined nativist outbreaks in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Mühlmann generalizes the different forms nativism may take from a religio-psychological and sociopolitical point of view, defining it "as a collective course of action driven by the urge to restore a community's sense-of-self, shaken by superior foreign culture, via massive demonstration of an 'own contribution.'"[6] Again, the affirmative case can be made that this definition quite neatly resembles kokugaku's main intellectual endeavors. Furthermore, as Paranjape (not cited by McNally) argues in the case of India, for instance, "the issue is not native vs. non-native so much as freedom vs. slavery, selfhood vs. subjection, svaraj vs. subordination."[7] He applies the concept of nativism to Ghandi's explicitly *non-violent* activism.[8] Yet for McNally, who largely follows Linton's and Higham's concepts, hostility and violence are essential components of nativism. Since they are absent in kokugaku (p. 62), the equivalence, he argues, should instead be *sonnō-jōi* (pp. 18, 22; chapter 2), the post-1853 movement to expel the foreign barbarians: for the "acts of terror and murder against Westerners, nativism is clearly an appropriate categorization" (p. 83). Nonetheless, McNally also argues "against equating *sonnō-jō'i* [sic] with nativism" (p. 235, n. 3), since it "is better to think of *sonnō-jō'i* [sic] as exhibiting a range of ideas, and that nativism is an important part of this intellectual

3 Bergquist 1986, p. 131.
4 Bergquist 1986, p. 138.
5 Bergquist 1986, p. 140.
6 Mühlmann 1961, pp. 11–12.
7 Paranjape 1997, p. xiv.
8 Paranjape 1997, p. 127, n. 19.

range" (p. 99). This is, indeed, the crux of the matter: the exact same argument can be made for the range of ideas and multivocality exhibited by kokugaku.

McNally stresses that nativism is incorrectly connected to Tokugawa kokugaku, which restricted its study while ignoring other correlations. He dislocates kokugaku from nativism, ascribing to it the new analytical category of exceptionalism. As roots of this exceptionalism, McNally points to early Tokugawa Confucianists who argued that Japan had displaced China as the world's "central realm," and sought universal truths in ancient Shinto texts (chapter 4). He then focuses on late Tokugawa Confucianism, namely Mitogaku and its role in the transition to the Meiji period (chapter 5). Here the argument is that Mito scholars were as exceptionalist as their kokugaku counterparts, and that post-1853 nativism equally reflected the influence of Mitogaku, which "served as the ideological arm of the *jō'i* [sic] movement" (p. 80). McNally is right to reconsider the artificial boundaries between categories of early modern scholarship. Yet he blurs the picture by indiscriminately applying the term "exceptionalism" to all Tokugawa intellectuals who promoted a view of Japan as equal or superior to China, despite varying ideological persuasions.

In the prologue, McNally explains "that more needed to be done to explain Kokugaku's status during the eighteenth century" (p. xiii). Hence, it is perplexing that he omits all discussion of kokugaku itself during this period in question. The narrative jumps back and forth geographically between the U.S. (chapters 1, 3) and Japan (chapters 2, 4, 5) and chronologically, in the case of Japan, between the early seventeenth century (chapter 4) and the late nineteenth century (chapters 2, 5). McNally omits completely the long eighteenth century until Hirata Atsutane's death in 1843, in which kokugaku thought and scholarship emerged and is traditionally seen as most dominant, and does not engage critically with major proponents and their ideas, writings, and activism. Consequently, the reader is left to wonder whether statements that kokugaku is equal to "this" (exceptionalism) but not to "that" (nativism) are indeed valid, and whether such terminological hair-splitting is at all productive. The exchange of one multifarious term for another equally elusive one does not of itself enhance understanding. To facilitate a better appreciation of what kokugaku was and enable an assessment of the claim that exceptionalism accommodates its salient aspects more effectively necessitates tangible representation. McNally's arguments would have gained coherency had they been supported by concrete examples based on the study of firsthand accounts. This neglect is all the more regrettable, because his earlier works prove he is in command of relevant primary sources.

Like No Other is no-doubt thought-provoking. By trying to untangle the complex web of Tokugawa intellectual history and to relink its proponents via alternative categories, McNally presents valuable new perspectives. His call to consider Japan more often as a case study to verify the broader applicability of general academic theories is most welcome, but would have been better directed at colleagues in other disciplines instead of "Japanologists" (pp. 103, 225). His comparative approach helps sharpen our analytical tools. Utilizing precise terminology is indeed essential, and fostering better understanding often necessitates comparison to more familiar phenomena. However, one should never force one's subject of study into any Procrustean bed of perceived equivalents. McNally strives for the most appropriate terminology, but unfortunately falls short in substantiating his assertions with actual content. Still, *Like No Other* is a welcome contribution to the study of early modern Japan.

REFERENCES

Bergquist 1986

James M. Bergquist. "The Concept of Nativism in Historical Study Since 'Strangers in the Land'." *American Jewish History* 76:2 (1986), pp. 125–141.

Harootunian 1988

Harry D. Harootunian. *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*. University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Paranjape 1997

Makarand Paranjape, ed. *Nativism: Essays in Criticism*. Sahitya Akademi, 1997.

Mühlmann 1961

Wilhelm E. Mühlmann. *Chiliasmus und Nativismus: Studien zur Psychologie, Soziologie und historischen Kasuistik der Umsturzbewegungen*. Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1961.

Nosco 1990

Peter Nosco. *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan*. Harvard University Press, 1990.

Wachutka 2013

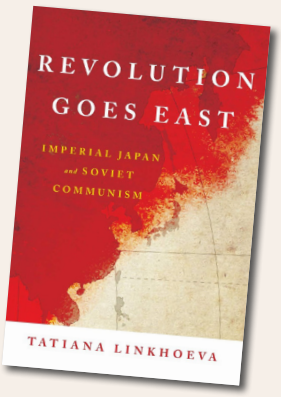
Michael Wachutka. *Kokugaku in Meiji-Period Japan: The Modern Transformation of "National Learning" and the Formation of Scholarly Societies*. Global Oriental, 2013.

Book Review

Revolution Goes East: Imperial Japan and Soviet Communism

By Tatiana Linkhoeva

Cornell University Press, 2020
x + 283 pages.



Reviewed by YOSHIKAWA Hiroaki

Tatiana Linkhoeva's *Revolution Goes East: Imperial Japan and Soviet Communism* is the first comprehensive work focusing on an enigma at the heart of the modern history of Japan but ignored for dozens of years after the end of the Cold War: namely, how the Japanese reacted to the outbreak and subsequent progress of the Russian revolution during the 1920s. Studies on the Japan-Soviet relationship during the interwar period have to date developed separately, some dealing with the ideological or military conflicts between their governments, and others only with the revolutionary movement led by the Japanese Communist Party (JCP). By contrast, Linkhoeva's book avoids this dichotomy between rulers and resisters, and chooses rather to examine a wide range of discourse from right to left. She emphasizes the fact that views on the Russian revolution were not uniform, but complex, even within the same group.

Part 1 concerns Japanese domestic and foreign policy toward the Soviet Union and International Communism. The first two chapters give an overview of the Japanese formation of an image of Russia before the Meiji period, and show how Russia emerged as a major issue in Japanese public opinion from the beginning of the February revolution to the Japanese intervention in Siberia. Taking up Pan-Asianist views, the third chapter demonstrates that Mitsugawa Kametarō and Ōkawa Shūmei affirmed the October revolution as an "anti-Western revolution," and that their sympathetic attitude drove even the influential imperialist politician, Gotō Shinpei, to negotiate the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Of course, some military officers and bureaucrats took a hostile attitude to the Soviets; nevertheless, the instability of the situation in China determined their policy. Geopolitical factors outweighed ideological ones, as Japan and the Soviet Union realized it was in their mutual interest to cooperate in defending their influences in China. So, Tokyo and Moscow drew closer diplomatically, but this meant domestically a higher risk of communist expansion within the empire, and prompted legislation against anti-imperial ideas. As Linkhoeva points out in chapter 4, the liberals criticized the tide of communist and socialist radicalism spreading out of Russia, and thus agreed with the anti-communist policies, ending up as victims of the Peace Preservation Law during the 1930s.

Part 2 handles the discourse on the Russian revolutions by Japanese leftist groups: anarchist, communist, and national socialist. The fifth chapter explores how Ōsugi Sakae and his fellows strongly criticized Bolshevik avant-garde theory and dictatorship from early in the 1920s, to the extent that they were unable to stand in solidarity with other revolutionary movements, got isolated, and consequently committed to terrorism after the Great Kanto earthquake. In the sixth chapter, with its focus on the early years of the JCP, Linkhoeva insists on the autonomy of the JCP and the diversity of members' ideas, whereas researchers have traditionally emphasized the top-down control of the Comintern over the JCP. The problem here is the perception of the Chinese revolution during the 1920s: the Comintern took a keen interest in, and offered enthusiastic support for, the Chinese and East Asian revolutionary movement. At the same time, however, the JCP remained skeptical, because Marxist theory held that the Chinese and Korean socioeconomic level was less developed than in Japan, and so their revolutions were at a different stage. Moreover, the JCP's leading figure, Yamakawa Hitoshi, was opposed to the Comintern on the grounds that Japan was at a more advanced stage even than Russia, and thus could not introduce the Bolshevik way into the Japanese revolution, until Yamakawa's group (the so-called Rōnōha) lost its influence in 1927, and the JCP became "bolshevized."

Chapter 7 clarifies the ambivalent and distinctive view of the National Socialists, mainly through an examination of Takabatake Motoyuki's thought. In Takabatake's view, the October revolution was a political revolution from above, not a social revolution from below. This fact revealed an error on Marx's part, namely that proletarian revolution originates in the regions of Europe. As a nationalist, Takabatake strongly opposed the communist movement and the Soviet expansionist policy in East Asia, but as a socialist he approved of Lenin's elitism, totalitarianism, and dictatorship. He looked up to the Soviet state as a national socialist model capable of overcoming capitalism. His political movement never became popular, but his ideas drove some bureaucrats to create the national mobilization system (the New Regime Movement) during the 1930s.

Revolution Goes East succeeds in its attempt to draw a comprehensive picture based on various primary historical materials, and a huge quantity of secondary sources in Japanese, English, and Russian. Given that the Russian and Soviet factors have constituted a major missing link in East Asian studies, I regard as extremely significant Linkhoeva's efforts to uncover many unknown facts and figures in the history of Japanese-Soviet relations. She also introduces to the English-speaking reader an extended body of Japanese scholarship. However, it must be said that the conclusion to part 1—that the Japanese empire advocated coexistence with the Soviet Union diplomatically while repressing communists domestically—is already well known, owing to Sakai Tetsuya's classic contribution. Again, the author's criticisms in part 2 of the Japanese communists' perception of Japanese particularity (that is, superiority) have been made many times in the past twenty years. It is difficult for the reader to identify the author's own distinctive perspective.

Revolution Goes East is itself too broad in scope, and it also lacks a comparative perspective. The author argues at the end that the "Russian Revolution did not have the same meanings in Asia as it did in Europe or Russia itself," and that "it was understood differently in Japan than in the rest of Asia because Japan was not a colonized country but rather a colonizer" (p. 217). If this is indeed the case, our author would have been better off using previous studies to compare how the reception of the Russian revolution

in Japan differed from China and the West. The uniqueness and location of the Japanese people's experiences of the Russian revolution could be made clear simply by careful research of secondary literature, for instance work by Cœuré and Koenen. And if we can find commonalities as well as differences in the Japanese, "European," and "Asian" images of the Russian revolution, we might then finally be able to construct an unexpected axis of comparative history. Having said that, *Revolution Goes East* is indispensable for thinking more deeply about the history of Japan in the first half of the twentieth century from an international perspective, and for reflecting more carefully on the history of the Soviet Union and communism in the East Asian world.

REFERENCES

Cœuré 1999

Sophie Cœuré. *La grande lueur à l'est: les Français et l'Union soviétique 1917–1939*. Éditions du Seuil, 1999.

Koenen 2005

Gerd Koenen. *Der Russland-Komplex: die Deutschen und der Osten, 1900–1945*. C. H. Beck, 2005.

Sakai 1988

Tetsuya Sakai. "The Soviet Factor in Japanese Foreign Policy, 1923–1937." *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 6 (1988), pp. 27–40.

CONTRIBUTORS

Wesley CHEEK is currently a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Disaster Mitigation of Urban Cultural Heritage, Ritsumeikan University. He is a sociologist of disasters, focusing on critical urban theory and community involvement in post-disaster reconstruction, and earned his PhD from Tulane University in 2019. Wesley has undertaken extensive ethnographic fieldwork in the town of Minamisanriku, a small fishing village in Miyagi Prefecture still recovering from the 2011 earthquake and tsunami, and through his studies there looks to integrate urban theory into disaster research. This work sits at the nexus of architectural history, cultural heritage, and disasters; much of it examines post-disaster reconstruction processes as a means perpetuating the social production of risk and the reinforcement of existing inequalities. With Ksenia Chmutina he recently co-authored "'Building Back Better' Is Neoliberal Post-Disaster Reconstruction" in *Disasters* (2021). Other recent publications include "The Paradox of Community Involvement: Rebuilding Minamisanriku" for *Disaster Prevention and Management* (2020), and "The Social Reduction of Risk: History, Tangible, and Intangible Heritage in Minamisanriku, Japan" in the *Journal of Disaster Mitigation for Historical Cities* 15 (2021).

Shayne A. P. DAHL is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies at Harvard University. He received his PhD in sociocultural and linguistic anthropology from the University of Toronto in 2019 and has held appointments at McMaster University and the University of Prince Edward Island. His research explores recent innovations in Shugendō (mountain asceticism), including the transnational expansion of ascetic practice.

Anna DULINA is a PhD student in the Department of History at the Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University. She received her MA from the Department of Philosophical Anthropology, Toyama University (2010), and a PhD in history from the Institute of Asian and African Studies, Moscow State University (2013), with a dissertation on the history of the Hachiman cult. Previously, she was a lecturer at Moscow State University (2014–2018), and a visiting scholar at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (2019–2020). Her research interests lie in the field of Japanese religions and the history of medieval Japan. More recently she has published "About the 'Origin' of the Hachiman Deity in the Writings of Monk Nichiren" in *Problems of Philosophy* 3 (2018); and "Roshia ni okeru Nihonshi kenkyū no genjō to dōkō: Chūseishi o chūshin ni" ロシアにおける日本史研究の現状と動向: 中世史を中心に in *Nihonshi kenkyū* 705 (2021).

Patricia FISTER is Professor Emerita at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, and Director of Research at the Medieval Japanese Studies Institute/Center for the Study of Women, Buddhism, and Cultural History in Kyoto. After receiving her PhD in

Japanese art history from the University of Kansas (1983), she became a pioneer in the field of Japanese women artists, and curated the world's first exhibition devoted to this subject (*Japanese Women Artists 1600–1900*, 1988). She later published a book in Japanese, *Kinsei no josei gakatachi: Bijutsu to jendā* 近世の女性画家たち―美術とジェンダー (1994). Fister has also been involved in organizing two exhibitions in Japan featuring Buddhist art by women: *Art by Buddhist Nuns: Treasures from the Imperial Convents of Japan* (2003) and *Amamonzeki, A Hidden Heritage: Treasures of the Japanese Imperial Convents* (2009). She is continuing to research the art, history, and culture of Japan's imperial Buddhist convents. In addition to authoring numerous journal articles, she has contributed chapters to *Women, Gender and Art in Asia* (2016), *Zen and Material Culture* (2017), and *Women, Rites and Objects in Premodern Japan* (2018). At present, she is working on the life and legacy of the thirteenth century nun Mugai Nyodai.

Matt HAYLER is Senior Lecturer in contemporary literature and digital cultures at the University of Birmingham, and co-directs the Centre for Digital Cultures. His research and teaching explore human embodiment and our entanglement with technological artefacts and other non-human actors, drawing on the cognitive and digital humanities, 4E cognitive science, and posthumanist, post-phenomenological, and object-oriented philosophies. He most recently worked on the AHRC Ambient Literature project, and is currently working on the ethics of human enhancement and the implications of posthumanism for real-world practices, such as artistic creation, legal systems, scientific and technological progress, ecology, teaching, and daily ethics. Alongside Professor Christine Daigle and Dr Danielle Sands, Matt edits the Bloomsbury Academic series Posthumanism in Practice.

Matthew LARKING is an adjunct lecturer at several universities in west Japan. He received his BA and MA in Art History and Theory from the University of Otago, New Zealand. In early 2018 he was awarded his doctorate from The Graduate University for Advanced Studies (SOKENDAI), Japan, for his dissertation addressing the Pan Real Art Association (パンリアル美術協会) and the context for postwar avant-gardism in *nihonga*. He is presently working on a book-length manuscript centering on this art organization and its painters. A recent essay related to this topic was his "Death and the Prospects of Unification: *Nihonga's* Postwar Rapprochements With *Yōga*" in *Japan Review* 34 (2019).

Takuma MELBER is a Japanese-German historian trained at the Universities of Mainz and Zurich. Since 2016 he has been coordinating the Master's program in Transcultural Studies at Heidelberg University. Melber's research and teaching are on modern Japanese history, modern Southeast Asian history, and German colonial history in the Asia-Pacific region. From time to time he works as a scientific expert adviser for TV and radio stations, because of his expertise on "Japan and the Second World War." His dissertation on the Japanese occupation of Malaya and Singapore had the distinction of receiving one of the most prestigious military history awards. He has also published a book about the Japanese

attack on Pearl Harbor. Melber's current research project is about German prisoners of war in Japan during World War I.

Jason MORGAN is Associate Professor at Reitaku University in Kashiwa, Japan. His essays and reviews have appeared in *JAPAN Forward*; *The International Review of Asian Studies*; *Seiron*; *Kokkiken kiyō*; *Rekishi ninshiki mondai kenkyū*; *Dao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy*; *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*; *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*; *The Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*; *Human Life Review*; *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations: Kokutai bunka*; *Shūkyō mondai*; *Ibuki*; *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia*; *Studia Gilsoniana*; *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*; *Reitaku Review*, and elsewhere. Morgan is a research fellow at the Rekishi Ninshiki Mondai Kenkyūkai and Japan Forum for Strategic Studies, and a columnist for *Seirondan* (Sankei Shimbun), *The Remnant*, and *New Oxford Review*.

Simon PARTNER is Professor in the History Department at Duke University. He completed his BA and MA at Cambridge University where he studied English literature. After graduation, he spent twelve years in banking and management consulting, working in India and the USA. He completed his PhD at Columbia University in 1997. Partner's interest in history "from the bottom up" has led him to concentrate on the social and cultural histories of ordinary people. He has published four biographies of otherwise unknown individuals – farmers, workers, and merchants. His book publications include: *The Merchant's Tale: Yokohama and the Transformation of Japan* (2017); *Bull City Survivor: Standing Up to a Hard Life in a Southern City* (2013); *The Mayor of Aihara: A Japanese Villager and His Community, 1865–1925* (2009); *Toshie: A Story of Rural Life in Twentieth Century Japan* (2004); and *Assembled in Japan: Electrical Goods and the Making of the Japanese Consumer* (1999).

Aike P. ROTS is Associate Professor at the University of Oslo. He holds a PhD from the University of Oslo, an MA degree from SOAS, and BA degrees from Leiden University. He is the author of the monograph *Shinto, Nature and Ideology in Contemporary Japan: Making Sacred Forests* (Bloomsbury, 2017), and the co-editor of *Sacred Heritage in Japan* (Routledge, 2020) and the *Japan Review* Special Issue on *Formations of the Secular in Japan* (2017), both with Mark Teeuwen. In addition, he has written articles and book chapters on a range of topics, including corporate religion, Okinawan sacred groves, Asian heritage politics, modern Shinto, religious environmentalism, religion in contemporary Vietnam, and Japanese Christianity. He is currently leader of the ERC-funded project "Whales of Power: Aquatic Mammals, Devotional Practices, and Environmental Change in Maritime East Asia" (Starting Grant, 2019–2024), a comparative study of changing human-nature relations and ritual practices in the Asia-Pacific region.

SAKA Chihiro is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures, Ryukoku University. After completing her MA in Pacific and Asian Studies at the University of Victoria, she earned a PhD in Japanese Studies at the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (SOKENDAI), Kyoto. She is particularly interested in the development of Japanese hell imagery and the representation of women, including the old hag popularly associated with Buddhist images of hell, Datsueba. Her publications include "Bridging the Realms of Underworld and Pure Land: An Examination of Datsueba's Roles in the Zenkōji Pilgrimage Mandala" in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 44:2 (2017) and "The Function of Cloth in Datsueba Worship" in *Japanese Religions* 44:1–2 (2018).

Monika SCHRIMPF has been Professor of Japanese Studies at University of Tübingen, Germany since 2010. She received her "habilitation" in the Study of Religions at Bayreuth University in 2000 and her PhD in Japanese Studies at Bonn University. Her research foci are in the fields of modern and contemporary religion in Japan, gender studies, the entanglement of religion and medicine in contemporary Japanese religion, and inter-religious encounters in modern Japan. Major publications include: "Reformist Buddhist Groups in the Late Meiji Era and Their Relationship to Christianity" in *Intercultural Relations* 3:2 (2019); "Medical Discourses and Practices in Contemporary Japanese Religions" for *Medicine, Religion, Spirituality: Global Perspectives on Traditional, Complementary, and Alternative Healing*, edited by Dorothea Lüddeckens and Monika Schrimpf (Transcript, 2018); "Religious Responses to Secularization in Meiji Japan: The Case of Inoue Enryō" for *Religion, Politik und Ideologie. Beiträge zu einer kritischen Kulturwissenschaft. Festschrift für Klaus Antoni zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Michael Wachutka, Monika Schrimpf and Birgit Staemmmler (Iudicium, 2018); "Children of Buddha, or Caretakers of Women? Self-Understandings of Ordained Buddhist Women in Contemporary Japan" in the *Journal of Religion in Japan* 4:2–3 (2015); and "The Pro- and Anti-Christian Writings of Fukan Fabian (1565–1621)" for Volume I of *Critical Readings on Christianity in Japan*, edited by Mark Mullins (Brill, 2015).

Timon SCREECH was for thirty years Professor at SOAS, University of London, before moving in 2021 to the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) in Kyoto. He has also taught at numerous institutions in the EU, Japan and the USA. Screech is the author of some dozen books on the visual culture of the Edo period, as well as many articles. His PhD was published as *The Lens Within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan* (CUP, 1996) and remains in print in a second, paperback edition (Curzon, 2002). Perhaps best-known is his *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan*, *1700–1820* (Reaktion, 1999; second ed., 2009; available in Chinese and Polish translations). His field-defining study, *Obtaining Images: Art, Production and Display in Edo Japan* was published in 2012 (Reaktion/University of Hawai'i) and paper-backed in 2017. He has recently published two further books, *The Shogun's Silver Telescope: God, Art and Money in the English Quest for Japan* (OUP, 2020) and *Tokyo Before Tokyo: Power and Magic in the Shogun's City of Edo* (Reaktion/University of Chicago,

2020; available in Chinese translation). He is now completing a major monograph on the deification and cult of Tokugawa Ieyasu, as well as a short book on English contacts with Lūchū (J: Ryūkyū) in the early seventeenth century. Screech is a Freeman of the City of London and a Fellow of the British Academy.

SHIRAISHI Eri is Assistant Professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies. She gained her MA degree from the Art and Archaeology Department of SOAS, University of London, and completed a doctoral program in Philosophy (Japanese Art History) at the Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University. She is interested in the influence of images of ethnic groups on Japanese society, and their meaning from the perspective of friction between cultures. In recent years, she has been studying prints made by Meiji-period missionaries. Her works include *Ekkyō suru rekishigaku to sekai bungaku* 越境する歴史学と世界文学 [History and World Literature across Boundaries], co-edited with Tsuboi Hideto et al. (Rinsen Shoten, 2020), and "Doro hanga ni miru Nihon imēji no juyō to tenkai" ド・ロ版画にみる日本イメージの受容と展開 [Images of Japan Seen in the Woodblock Prints of Father Marc de Rotz] in *Doro hanga no tabi: Yōroppa kara Shanhai〜Nagasaki e no tabunkateki yūgō* ド・ロ版画の旅: ヨーロッパから上海~長崎への多文化的融合 [The Woodblock Prints of Father Marc de Rotz: From Konstanz to Shanghai and Nagasaki (c. 1875)], edited by Guo Nanyan (Sōjusha Bijutsu Shuppan, 2019).

SUZUKI Takane is an Associate Professor in the Humanities Division of the Faculty of Science, Toho University in Chiba, Japan. Suzuki's research focuses on the transformation and sentiments of middle-class culture that emerged with modernization during the 1920s in Japan. Her main interests are in the cultural representations of the so-called "salaryman," the archetypal white-collar worker in Japan. She is now preparing her first monograph for publication with Seikyūsha 青弓社 on that topic, entitled *Sararīman no bunkashi: Kindai Nihon ni okeru 'Kazoku' to 'antei' no seishinshi* サラリーマンの文化史: 近代日本における「家族」と「安定」の精神史. The book is based on her PhD dissertation from the University of Tokyo. Suzuki is also interested in exploring the history of the Gordon W. Prange Collection, and has been on the editorial board of the 20th Century Institute of Media at Waseda University since 2017.

Jan SÝKORA is Associate Professor of Japanese studies at Charles University in Prague. He was educated both in Asian studies (PhD, Charles University) and economics (MA, Saga University, Japan), and majored in Japanese economic history with a special focus on economic thought in early modern and modern Japan. He was a Visiting Research Scholar at Nichibunken (1997–1998), and Visiting Professor at Osaka University (2005–2006, 2017). His field of research covers the social-economic and intellectual history of early modern and modern Japan, and current issues in contemporary Japanese society. He lectures at universities in Europe (Oxford Books University, Universität Zürich, Lund University, Universität Heidelberg) and Japan (Osaka University, Kansai University, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University). His main publications include *Economic Thought in Japan* (Prague,

2010), "The Trust Deficit in Sino-Japanese Relations" (with Caroline Rose) in *Japan Forum* 29 (2017), and "Collective (Historical) Memory and National Identity in Contemporary Japan" in *Identity, Culture and Memory in Japanese Foreign Policy*, edited by Kolmaš and Sato (Peter Lang, 2021).

Massimiliano TOMASI is Professor of Japanese and Director of the Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University. He received his PhD in Japanese from Nagoya University in 1997. His publications include the following: *Rhetoric in Modern Japan: Western Influences on the Development of Written and Oratorical Style* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); *The Literary Theory of Shimamura Hōgetsu and the Development of Feminist Discourse in Modern Japan* (Mellen, 2008); *Religion and Spirituality in Japanese Literature* (Association for Japanese Literary Studies, 2016); and *The Dilemma of Faith in Modern Japanese Literature: Metaphors of Christianity* (Routledge, 2018). Recent articles on the topic of Christianity include "The Influence of Christianity on Meiji and Taishō Literature and Beyond" in *The Place of Christianity in Modern Hebrew and Japanese Literature: Its Roots and Its Contemporary Expressions*, edited by Ada Cohen (Doshisha University, 2020); "Purotesutantizumu to katorishizumu no kattō no nakade: Akutagawa Ryūnosuke no *Nankin no Kirisuto* ni okeru 'shinkō' to 'kindai' no mondai" プロテスタンティズムとカトリシズムの葛藤の中で: 芥川龍之介『南京のキリスト』における「信仰」と「近代」の問題 for *Akutagawa Ryūnosuke kenkyū* 8 (2014); *Hōkyōnin no shi*: Ai saretai higeki no monogatari『奉教人の死』: 愛されたい悲劇の物語 in *Akutagawa Ryūnosuke to Kirishitanmono: Tasei, kōsa, ekkyō*, edited by Miyasaka Satoru (2014); and "Kaigai kenkyūsya kara mita Nihon kindai bungaku to Kirisutokyō to no kankei no mondai" 海外研究者から見た日本近代文学とキリスト教との関係の問題 for *Kirisutokyō bungaku kenkyū* 37 (2020).

TSUCHIYA Reiko is Professor at the Faculty of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University, Tokyo. She is the author of *Ōsaka no nishikie shinbun* 大阪の錦絵新聞 [Illustrated News Leaflets published in Osaka] (Sangensha, 1995); *Taishūshi-no genryū* 大衆紙の源流 [Origin of Popular Newspapers in Japan] (Sekai Shisō sha, 2002); and *Tainichi sendenbira ga kataru Taiheiyō sensō* 対日宣伝ビラが語る太平洋戦争 [Propaganda Leaflets in the Pacific War] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2011).

Michael WACHUTKA is Director of Tübingen University's Center for Japanese Studies (TCJS) in Kyoto. His research focuses on Japanese intellectual and religious history, especially on questions of the interrelationship between folk belief, spiritual culture, and national identity; the mythology and canonization of Shinto scriptures; and aspects of the history of ideas of the *tennō* system. In addition to numerous articles, his most recent book publications include: *Kokugaku in Meiji-period Japan: The Transformation of 'National Learning' and the Formation of Scholarly Societies* (Global Oriental, 2013); *Staatsverständnis in Japan: Ideen und Wirklichkeiten des japanischen Staates in der Moderne* (co-editor, Nomos, 2016); *Religion, Politik und Ideologie: Beiträge zu einer kritischen Kulturwissenschaft* (co-editor,

Iudicium, 2018) and *Heilige Orte und sakraler Raum in den Religionen Japans* (Iudicium, 2022).

YOSHIKAWA Hiroaki is a PhD Student in Japanese Studies at the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (SOKENDAI), Kyoto. He is also a Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) Research Fellow (DC1). After completing his MA in Western history at Kyoto University, he is now working on his doctoral research project examining the cultural relationship that existed between Japan and the Soviet Union from the 1920s to the 1940s. He is also interested in historical thought and the historiography of modern Japan and Europe, including the Kyoto School. His publications include "Ujaku Akita's experience in the Soviet Union (1927): Transnational Communication with Western Intellectuals in the Journey to Caucasus and Ukraine" in *A Noon of Liberal Arts* 9 (2019).

Japan Review Style Guide

* The information that follows is drawn directly from the *Japan Review* Style Guide (http://id.nii.ac.jp/1368/00006983/). Authors are strongly advised to consult the Style Guide before submitting their manuscripts.

1. Instructions for Authors

1.1. Submission of Manuscripts

Manuscripts submitted to *Japan Review* should be sent as an attachment in Word by email or via file-sharing software to the Editor, Edward Boyle (jr-editors@nichibun.ac.jp). *Japan Review* draws on the *Chicago Manual of Style*, and follows the conventions of American English usage. An excellent short guide to American usage is 'A Handbook of Style,' pp. 1604–1609 of *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed. (Merriam-Webster, 2004). On spelling and punctuation, see *Japan Review* Style Guide 4.9. Manuscripts should be double spaced, 12 point, and in Times New Roman. If English is not your native language, we strongly recommend that you have a native speaker look over the manuscript prior to submission. Manuscripts submitted to *Japan Review* should not be under consideration elsewhere.

1.2. Requirements for Submission/Preparation of Manuscripts

1.2.1. The submission must contain a cover sheet with the following information:

The title of the manuscript.

The author's contact details, email address, postal address, telephone number, and biographical information of no more than 250 words that include current affiliation (if any), research interests, and major publications.

An abstract of roughly 150–250 words, plus 5–10 keywords. Please exclude from the keyword list words that appear in the title of the article.

1.2.2. Please send separate files for all images and graphs. Indicate in the main body of the manuscript where any images and graphs are to be placed. (See *Japan Review* Style Guide 3.3 for requirements for images.) Please attach a separate list of images, graphs, tables, and so on. Include all captions, along with proof of any permissions if required.

1.2.3. If submitting an annotated translation, a copy of the text in the original language must also be supplied.

1.2.4. A typical manuscript is normally 10,000 words in length, including footnotes, tables, references, and captions, but the Editor will accept longer manuscripts.

1.3. Manuscript Evaluation

All manuscripts are peer reviewed by two external referees. The referee reports are returned to the Editor and then sent on to the author. When a manuscript is accepted for publication in *Japan Review*, we ask that authors not distribute their manuscript in any shape or form prior to publication. Please note that all articles and book reviews are subject to editorial revision.

2. Copyright and Permissions

The copyright for all manuscripts published in *Japan Review* resides with the authors. We nonetheless ask authors to submit to the Editor all requests to republish material elsewhere, and to include in a footnote written acknowledgment of first publication in *Japan Review*.

Japan Review will grant permission for the reproduction and reprinting of essays and reviews previously published in the journal. Authors will be notified beforehand as a matter of courtesy.

(11 September 2019)
(Revised 12 November 2021)

Contents

Cover Image:
Bunkyū San-nen Dairizu　文久三年内裏圖
Published by Ikeda Hōzen (池田奉膳)
Collection of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies

Print edition: ISSN 0915-0986
Online edition: ISSN 2434-3129

2021
36
JAPAN REVIEW
Journal of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies