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CONTENTS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE *JAPAN: PRE-MODERN, MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY. A RETURN TRIP FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST. LEARNING IN, ABOUT AND FROM JAPAN*

4-6 September 2017

V. ETHNOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTARY

VI. SUBCULTURE

I. LITERATURE

The Actual Conditions of the Imphal Operations and the Novel *Youth and Mud* by Hino Ashihei[1]

Chikako Masuda[2]

Abstract: *Thirty-nine-year-old Hino Ashihei volunteered for the Imphal operations conducted by the Japanese army during the Second World War, and served as an army press crew member. The Imphal operations were the operations that aimed to capture the city of Imphal, which was the base of the Allied Forces in north-eastern India, in order to cut the Allied lines of transportation. Three divisions, 烈 the 'Furious Division' (the 31st infantry division), 祭 the 'Festival Division' (15th infantry division) and 弓 the 'Bow Division' (33rd infantry division) were formed under Lieutenant-General Mutaguchi Ren'ya, the commander of the 15th Army, and the operations were carried out from the 8th of March to the 3rd of July, 1944. The operations did not lead to the capture of Imphal, and, as the war dragged on, the Japanese army ran short of food and other supplies, had many victims and was finally defeated. Hino left six pocket notebooks on the operations, called Army Service Notebooks. As he took part in the actions of the 'Bow Division', many people who belonged to it, as well as the actual conditions are described in these notebooks. After the war, Hino wrot the novel Youth and Mud based on his pocket notebooks. In this paper I will discuss the actual conditions of the Imphal War and the novel Youth and Mud.*

Keywords: *Hino Ashihei, Imphal operations, Army Service Notebooks, Imphal War, 'Bow Division', Youth and Mud*

1. Hino Ashihei and the War

Hino Ashihei (1907~1960) is the writer who served in the war for the longest period of time among Japanese modern writers. His service in the war started with (1) Hangzhou bay landing operations; he served mainly as an army press crew member in many other conflicts such as (2) Xuzhou battle, (3) Kwantung operations, (4) Hainan Island operations, (5) Swatow operations, (6) Yichang operations, (7) Bataan operations, and, from 1944, (8) the Imphal operations and Yunnan-

[1] Based on prof. Masuda's keynote speech.

[2] Kansai University

Hukawng operations. Of all the military conflicts Hino took part in, this paper will focus on the Imphal operations.

2. The Path to the Imphal Operations

The operations of the Japanese army for the invasion of Burma started on December 8, 1941. Rangoon, the capital of Burma, was occupied in early March the next year[3], and the operations “ceased at the end of May, Shōwa 17, with great success”[4]. Having occupied Burma, the Japanese army was temporarily in advantage. In order to regain Burma from the Japanese army, "from 1943 to 1944, the Allied Force gradually expanded its military power and shifted to a counter-offensive towards Burma."[5]

3. The Outline of Imphal Operations

On the one hand, Lieutenant-General Mutaguchi Ren’ya, the commander of the 15th Army devised a new strategy that would overcome Burma front line deadlock. His plan was to destroy Imphal, the base of the Allied Forces, and he submitted a report to the Imperial General Headquarters about his intentions. In response, on the 7th of January 1944, the Imperial Headquarters issued an order to open the Imphal operations, which aimed at capturing Imphal in Northeast India, with the purpose of breaking the transportation route of the Allied Forces; they "expected dominance of the battle by a surprise attack"[6].

The orders during the operations were transmitted from the Imperial General Headquarters to the South Army, from the South army to Lieutenant-General Kawabe Masakazu of Burma Area Army, and from Kawabe to Lieutenant-General Mutaguchi of the 15th Army[7]. In the 15th Army three divisions were formed: 烈 the ‘Furious Division’ (the 31st infantry division), 祭 the ‘Festival Division’ (15th infantry division) and 弓 the ‘Bow Division’ (33rd infantry division). The ‘Furious Division’ had to go to Imphal via north Kohima, the ‘Festival Division’ through the central area, and the ‘Bow Division’ was supposed to cross the Arakan mountain range from the south. The battle started on March 8, 1944 and continued until July 3rd. The Imphal operations were reckless, giving little importance to the supply route. They caused starvation, many injuries and deaths, leading to a historical defeat. Given the miserable result, they were even called the ‘death operations’.

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3 陸戦史研究普及会編『ビルマ侵攻作戦』(昭和 44 年 7 月 20 日、原書房)

4 陸戦史研究普及会編『インパール作戦　上巻』(昭和 44 年 11 月 5 日、原書房)

5 『戦史叢書インパール作戦』(昭和 43 年 4 月 25 日、朝雲新聞社)

6 山本武利『特務機関の謀略　諜報とインパール作戦』（昭和年 12 月 1 日、吉川弘文館）

7 磯部卓男『インパール作戦』（昭和 59 年 6 月 15 日、磯部企画）

Mutaguchi intended to have the operations finished "before the Emperor's Birthday 天長節 (April 29)"[8], and in the beginning he did not plan to continue the war later than May, when the rainy season would come[9]. Therefore, he had almost no ammunition or food for his soldiers. Yet, he did not stop the war, in spite of having no less than 36245 men[10] starved to death, injured or missing. Moreover, in an unprecedented situation, the commanders of the three divisions, Lieutenant-General Satō Kōtoku of the 'Furious Division' (the 31st infantry division), Lieutenant-General Yamauchi Masafumi of the 'Festival Division' (the 15th infantry division) and Lieutenant-General Yanagita Genzō of the 'Bow Division' (the 33rd infantry division) were dismissed. In the 'Bow Division' Lieutenant-General Tanaka Nobuo replaced Lieutenant-General Yanagita Genzō.

4. Hino Ashihei's Service in the Imphal Operations

Hino Ashihei participated in this battle as an army press crewmember. There are a total of eight pocket notebooks in Hino's *Army Service Notebooks*, comprising the period from April 25 to September 7. An entire picture of the Imphal operations and the Yunnan-Hukawng battle that Hino participated in after the Imphal battle is recorded in these pocket notebooks. In this paper, the discussion will be centred mainly on the six volumes depicting the Imphal operations.

5. he Imphal operations as Described in *Army Service Notebooks*

Mukai Junkichi, who served in the Imphal operations with Hino, completely exhausted by starvation and the horrible situation of the battlefield, said that "even in such moments, Mr. Ashihei would sit down properly and write carefully detailed notes with illustrations". In fact, in the *Army Service Notebooks*, good reflections on various aspects of the local people, small animals and nature are recorded along with Hino's own with illustrations.

6. Hino's Itinerary in the Imphal Operations and the Characteristics of *Army Service Notebooks*

Army Service Notebooks begin from Shanghai, April 25. On the 26th, Hino went to Kwantung, and then to Hainan Island on the 27th. He stayed in Bangkok on the 28th and from the 29th in Rangoon. On May 7,

[8] See 3.
[9] See 3.
[10] See 5.

Hino left Rangoon with a small reconnaissance airplane, and went to Maymyo via Naunkio. In Maymyo there were the Japanese army headquarters and he stayed until the 12th.

a) The fierce mountain crossing of the Imphal operations seen from the *Army Service Notebooks*

Hino entered Intangi on May 15. He stayed there under air-raids until the 19th, when he left for Sienn, then in the early morning of the 20th headed towards Tedim past the Chin hills, directly experiencing the turbulent war situation. In the notebooks, the Chin hills "are a mountain range" and "if you cross one mountain, another one appears, the precipices are deep, the roads are steep and the cold severe", clearly transmitting the actual feeling of hardship that he experienced when climbing them. In his records, Hino mentions: "my head can't help but sink when I think that this war is carried out through such an incredibly difficult route. And I could not imagine that the road used as a supply line for the Imphal battle is like this."[11]

b) The dismissal of Lieutenant-General Yanagita Genzō seen from the *Army Service Notebooks*

Hino headed to Laon Zhang on the 26th of May. He marched on the mountain path and returned to Tedim on the 27th. On the 28th, he met the 'Bow Division' commander Yanagita, no other than Lieutenant-General Yanagita Genzō, who had been the chief of Harbin Secret Military Agency and Kwantung Army Information Bureau in 1940. In September 1940, through the mediation of the Kwantung Army, Hino had participated in a "lecture tour for the 10th anniversary of the Manchurian Incident" as a member of a pen (writers') unit of five (Kawabata Yasunari, Ōya Sōichi and others) for about three weeks. This is why he notes: "I was surprised to see Yanagita, to whom I was indebted at Harbin" and "I felt he went through many troubles and was exhausted [...] Although he showed a cheerful look, one could guess he was intentionally suppressing his own feelings."

Hino observed Yanagita with a sharp eye. Yanagita related how the soldiers went on "a road that makes the cows freeze to death" and how they had lots of casualties like the unit that took the Picok fortress or "the hundreds of victims who fell at once in a single night raid". Then he said that "no matter who takes the command, it doesn't go well. It's probably the most difficult campaign in history. I don't understand why I'm being replaced, since I've done everything I could. I want to be

[11] All the translations from the Japanese are mine (M. C.). I would like to thank Adrian Bercea for his invaluable help with the translation and proofreading of this paper.

explained where I was wrong." Yanagita was in frequent disagreement with the Army Commander, Mutaguchi, and he submitted a full report to their superiors, infuriating Mutaguchi. For this reason he was dismissed on the 12th of May from the command of the 'Bow Division' and attached to the General Staff Office. Lieutenant-General Tanaka Nobuo became the new divisional commander.

c) The miserable situation of the Imphal Battle as seen from the *Army Service Notebooks*

Hino stayed at Tedim until June 4. He went to Hianzn on the 5th and returned to Tedim again on the 6th, stationing there until the 19th, when he writes: "I am very worried that the Imphal operations have just reached a dead end. [...] In a motionless posture, I recite to myself the Imperial Rescript to Solders and Sailors. I can't hold back my tears." These are words that reflect Hino's heart-bursting desire to have the deadlock of the battle broken and make the Japanese army succeed somehow. On the 20th he leaves Tedim and goes to Tonzang. He climbs the mountains and meets some soldiers on the way. Because of their tiredness, "everyone looked like they were angry". From the 20th of June he finally approached the 3299 high grounds. In the notebooks it is recorded how the scale of the disaster was becoming bigger day by day. On the 26th Hino advances to a point 91 miles far from Imphal, getting considerably closer to the front line. He mentions how he could see, from the window of the car he was in, the shocking view of "burnt cars scattered here and there, inside of which skeletons with shoes on were still gripping the steering wheel".

When close to Bishnupur, a violent and incessant sound of explosions and shooting could be heard. Hino reached Raimanai on July 2nd. There he heard the following story from staff officer Okamoto, which he recorded in his notebooks:

> The bombardment is a rapid-fire like the beating of a drum, and I can't even think that somebody would fire five thousand shots. As we don't have shells, we rarely shoot. If we destroy a road, they fix it in the blink of an eye. They have tanks by their side and we can't do anything but watch in silence. Even if we surround them and cut off their retreat, they get air supplies, so there is no point in doing it.

d) The miserable figure of the injured soldiers of the Imphal Battle seen from the *Army Service Notebooks*

Hino is in Raimanai on July 3 and reaches Cocadan on the 4th. Since Cocadan is very close to Imphal, he says his "heart ached" at the sight of the retreating soldiers, and he is describing the following scene in the notebook.

> Two soldiers, whose sunken eyes glared on their deadly pale faces and whose bodies were all-black with mud and rain, were crawling on their hands, more slowly even than a tortoise. Their bare feet were swelled up in a strange colour and their hands, which were holding sticks, were sodden white as if they had gloves on. [...] A soldier with blood all over his body was hanging on his comrade's shoulder. The face of the soldier coming totteringly and holding down to his stick, was in complete disorder as if it couldn't keep its original shape. The flesh under his eyes and also from the sides of his lips was hanging limply. Soldiers were lying on the roadside.

Hino notes: "It was a scene that makes you want to cover your eyes, but inside I was boiling with sadness and rage. Those American and British fellows! I am grinding my teeth unable to hold down my anger". Without writing any criticism towards the Japanese Army operations in the notebooks, he turns his hatred towards the enemy, but also criticizes the lack of home-front support as follows.

> How about the suffering of these soldiers and the connection with the home front? Stand straight in the midst of this great sorrow! Observe all straightly! This is inexcusable. The home front must pull itself together to give more support. The front line exerts all the strength it has making irreplaceable sacrifices day and night. I can't hold back my tears at the gruesome situation on the roads.

e) The figure of Commander Mutaguchi seen from the *Army Service Notebooks*

On the 1st of July, the Imperial General Headquarters approved to stop the Imphal operations, and the South Army emitted the order to stop on July 2. Although on the 5th the Burma Area Army sends the 15th Army the order to stop, it is only on July 7 that the 15th Army passes the order to the 'Bow Division'. In this way, after a stop was decided in the upper levels of the army, the order reached the lower levels late, and Hino and his comrades advanced to the front line unnecessarily. Hino and the others got a written order to return to Rangoon (recorded on 22nd). On the 21st they advance to Fort White and Mt. Kimpu, and go to Keygon on 22nd on a muddy mountain route. Hino meets Ōkubo Norimi, a journalist of the East Asia Department of Mainichi Newspaper, and hears the following about the conditions of the 'Furious Division' and 'Festival Division', which were even more terrible then the one of the 'Bow Division'.

> The commander of the 'Furious Division' was replaced. Army Commander Mutaguchi ate rice gruel twice a day and enjoyed fishing every day. There are persons saying that he will take the responsibility for what happened in this battle and commit suicide,

and there are some furious soldiers saying they will kill Mutaguchi themselves.

f) The *Army Service Notebooks* about the Imphal operations

On the 23rd of July Hino and his Division went to Scene. It was the rainy season and the sludge made the roads collapse terribly. They reached Kalemyo on the 24th and Hino records Captain Kamata's words: "It's not like they had no idea from the beginning that if the rainy season comes, the Imphal operations will come to a standstill. The origin of all miscalculation was to think that we can capture Imphal before the rainy season." It seems that the troops also thought that the recklessness of the operations themselves was from the time they were conceived. On the 25th they reach Kyaukka and cross the Myittha River by ship. They reach Kalewa on the 26th, Thickegyin on the 27th, Ye-U on the 28th and Mandalay on the 29th.

g) Mihashi, 'Bow Division' Staff Officer

On the 19th of August they went to what is commonly known as Shiragiku-bashi. This was a jungle. Here, Hino met the division commander, Lieutenant-General Tanaka Nobuo and greeted him, then met the Information Staff Officer Mihashi. It seems that Mihashi made a good impression on Hino, who describes him as "a cheerful and frank person". Mihashi was called a "baby Staff Officer" and Hino also notes (22nd) that he was "General Ugaki's son-in-law. He has a boy's face".

7. Hino Ashihei's *Youth and Mud*

Hino created many works based on his service experience in the Imphal operations. The most representative is the novel *Youth and Mud* 『青春と泥濘』, published in the magazine *Fūsetsu* 風雪 from January 1st to May 1st, 1948 and as a book by Rokkō Publishing 六興出版 on the 1st of March 1950. Hino recounts that "To finish writing a work and cry is not something that occurs every day. However, when I wrote the last line of *Youth and Mud* and put the pen down, my tears did not stop falling." Is it a sense of accomplishment? *Youth and Mud* must contain many of the things that Hino had wanted to depict.

8. *Youth and Mud* and the Imphal war

Youth and Mud is a work that describes the fierce fight of the troops led by junior soldier Sergeant Imano of the 'Bow Division' in the Imphal operations. First-Class privates like Tamaru, Komiyama, and Inada, who commits suicide, also appear in the novel. Staff Officer Shimada can be identified with Staff Officer Mihashi, and Army

Commander Seshima with Lieutenant-General Mutaguchi from *Army Service Notebooks*.

It is certain that many parts from *Youth and Mud* depicting aspects of the army in the Imphal operations overlap with accounts given in *Army Service Notebooks*. However, while its depictions are based on the Imphal operations, *Youth and Mud* "is a piece of fiction and a real novel about myself" as the author explains. In what follows I will examine the themes of *Youth and Mud*.

One of characters, Tamaru, wanted to "just completely turn into a soldier" and Private First-Class Komiyama was also a devoted soldier. Thinking that "[he has] nothing to do with youth and stuff", Komiyama gives up with the fascination sweet love may exert, as symbolized byt the fact that he wipes his bottom after he defecates with a piece of the love-letter from his girlfriend Matsuko. Then, he swears to fulfil his duty as a soldier. At first, both Tamaru and Komiyama are very devoted soldiers. However, in the second half of the work, the situation changes completely. Instigated with "there still is military force left!", a terrific order is given to Imano's troops by staff officer Shimada, and they get under the British tanks to plant bombs. Unable to oppose the overwhelming British military force, the soldiers in Imano's troops are turned into 'cannon fodder' and get into a situation close to death. Many subordinates die and Imano, called a fool by the military medic Miura, is disconsolate for a while, regretting the situation. However, he soon regains his presence of mind and "phrases about his achievements [come] again to his head" telling him he "fulfilled his duty splendidly".

Imano reflects on his past actions for a moment, however his egoism and vanity rise once again. This is also, unfortunately, the human nature. Hino mentions that "through war, which may be considered the best fighting scene between fate and will, I thought that I wanted to look at the condition of man in the middle of doubt and confusion"[12]. *Youth and Mud* focuses on the raw descriptions of humans placed in extreme situations, such as.

The human faith that he could not record in *Army Service Notebooks* can be perceived in the novel. In *Youth and Mud*, "War stands upon the approval of crime", and the words "Abandon all hope, ye who enter here" from Dante's Inferno are quoted. To plunge into the hell of war, one can do nothing but approve man's diabolism and give up hope. But can men live without hope forever?

Youth and Mud ends with the figure of Komiyama finding hope, that is to say with youth. Komiyama, who once tried to throw away youth and

[12] 火野葦平「後書」（『青春と泥濘』同）

work toward war, becomes a prisoner of the British Army. He was a disgrace as a Japanese soldier during the war, but by becoming a prisoner, he finally regains his humanity. He thinks he "has to go back to" Matsuko. This gives him "love, and an enormous will together with it". Komiyama fails during the foolish explosion operation, and that awakens him. He realizes that "human salvation is nowhere else but in that hopeful human youth". He becomes aware of the greatness of the 'freedom of youth' and 'privilege of youth' and regains 'human dignity'. Hino notes the following about the condition of the men on the battlefield:

> The awareness of the fact that the body and the spirit are actually set in an extreme situation does not allow beautiful ideas to come near. But that does not mean there is no value in ideas. I rather believe in a position where ideas save human beings. [...] I came to believe that one can see light inside ideas. And on the battlefield, I came even to see that, at some point, this will take on some sort of religious tinge.

In other words, even on the battlefield, within ideas of love, trust or freedom, a light of future and peace can be found. Among Komiyama's words we find the following: "For man, or at least for me, a place where human beings prove themselves as human beings is always a place at-the-limit." Coming across an extreme situation, one can finally realize the human way of being. In *Youth and Mud* Komiyama also says:

> You must not wage war. You must not kill your fellow human beings. Men must love each other - is there anyone who doubts or is against this? Nevertheless, why was not this simple problem solved and then put into practice by mankind even once in tens of thousands of years?

In *Youth and Mud*, Hino vividly discusses the human condition, the problem of "the great truth of war", "the secret of man and beast, god and devil, and then of nation and politics, history"[13], which he could not expand upon in his *Army Service Notebooks,* where he only recorded the war situation.

Conclusion:

In this paper, I discussed the records that Hino kept about the Imphal operations in his *Army Service Notebooks*. I also examined the

[13] See 9.

novel *Youth and Mud,* which was written based on the records of the Imphal operations. *Youth and Mud* overlaps with the actual Imphal operations and real persons appear in it under different names. However, in the novel, universal problems about humankind that were not described in *Army Service Notebooks* are depicted. For man, love, in other words youth, is necessary at all times. War is hell and evil, making one lose humanity. *Youth and Mud* is a work that depicts the peace and love necessary for humankind.

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II. JAPANESE FESTIVALS

Uchimashô - Fieldnotes on Tenjin Matsuri

***Carmen Săpunaru Tămaş*[1]**

***Abstract**: The present paper is a short ethnography of one of the most famous festivals in Japan, Osaka's Tenjin Matsuri, based on fieldwork conducted in 2017. Since my research on this particular matsuri is in its initial stages, these fieldnotes are organized as an introduction to the event, its origin, and the main elements that can be observed in contemporary society. After a brief historical background, the rituals performed on July 24th (Yoimiya) and July 25th (Honmiya) are described, and the paper ends with a short discussion on the importance of the local community in the organization and development of Tenjin Matsuri. Tenjin Matsuri started about one millennium ago as a summer ritual for pacifying angry ghosts and avoiding plagues, and in the Edo period, when the social class boundaries were strictly enforced, it was taken over by the prominent merchants of Osaka, who turned it into an opportunity to display their wealth and power. This tradition was perpetuated until the present day, when the "pillars" of the Tenjin Matsuri community boast an uninterrupted commercial history of fifteen generations or more. These fieldnotes are a first attempt to look into the mechanisms at work in this community, the interaction between its members, and the role they play in the ritual. While the religious part is by no means ignored, the sacred is manipulated by the lay community, where the god of learning becomes a protector of merchants, and spends one day eating, drinking, and watching the fireworks with them. Each group (kô) has a specific role, whose importance they jealously defend, and for those truly involved in the festival, the entire year is organized around it.*

Keywords: *Tenjin Matsuri, Osaka, summer festival, purification*

Uchimashô! Mô hitotsu se! Iôte sando[2]! [Let's clap (*clapping twice*)! Once more (*clapping twice*)! Let's celebrate three times (*clapping three times*)!] Osaka-*jime* (the Osaka "greeting") is, together with the bells of the *dondoko-bune* and the drum of the dragon dance, one of the sounds characteristic to Tenjin Matsuri. The origins of this particular type of greeting, said to have been performed by merchants when sealing a deal at the Kitahama Rice Market, are unclear, with some

[1] Associate Professor, University of Hyogo.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the translations from Japanese are mine, Carmen Săpunaru Tămaş.

researchers connecting it with a festival from the Miho Shrine in Shimane (Ueda 2016). It is by no means surprising that a celebration organized and supported by Osaka's richest merchants as a way to display their wealth and power during a time when such ostentatious gestures were permitted only to the aristocracy should feature a type of greeting that had nothing to do with the sacred, and all to do with business. The present paper is based on fieldwork conducted in July 2017, as well as participant observation over ten years, and it is an attempt to offer a glimpse into the way one of Japan's three greatest festivals is conducted in the 21st century.

1. Origins

Like most Japanese festivals, Tenjin Matsuri is proof that myths are still alive (or are being kept alive) in contemporary society, but a significant difference is that this myth began with a verifiable historical fact. Sugawara no Michizane, a character whose existence is attested by documents, was born in 845, passed the official scholastic examinations at the age of 18, and obtained the highest scholarly rank at the age of 33. He was promoted by Emperor Uda to the rank of Minister of the Right, but in 901 was exiled (after being unjustly accused of plotting against the new Emperor Daigo) to Dazaifu, in Kyushu, where he died two years later (Fukuta 2000: 166). Political views and actions aside, Michizane was incontestably a scholar, and that is why students across Japan go to pray at his shrines before tests and exams. It also seems that the prayers are quite efficient since supplicants are willing to pay 3,000 yen for a simple wooden tablet (*ema*) when the "market price" at regular shrines is around 1,000 yen or less.

While the belief is that all souls go to the land of *kami* after death, Sugawara turned into a particularly powerful and angry spirit, an *onryô* (vengeful ghost), phenomenon suggested by the fact that in 923 the crown prince died suddenly, and in 930 the Imperial Palace was struck by lightning. The incident in 930 also caused the death of some of his political rivals (who had orchestrated his exile), and thus rumors that Sugawara's ghost was responsible for the disaster appeared. The emperor himself suffered after the incident, and died shortly, which prompted a shamaness to claim in 942 that she was possessed by "the deceased Sugawara's spirit … [and] that these disasters had been willed by him. In 955 an inspired young child of a Shinto priest also announced the same divine message and proclaimed that the spirit of Sugawara had become the deity of disasters and a chief deity of the thunder demons. The imperial court, surprised by these divine messages and the public rumor, enrolled his angry spirit among the deities and dedicated to him

a shrine, named the Kitano-jinja, Kyoto." (Hori 1974: 115) Sugawara's name is associated with a religious belief popular at the time, "the belief in evil or restless spirits… [that] had to be treated with great respect." (Plutschow 2007: 72) The worshipping and appeasement rituals centered around Sugawara's spirit are a classical example of *goryô-e*, a religious practice popular in the ninth and tenth century Japan, which is also the origin of the equally famous Gion Matsuri. "Offering the spirits proper burial and enshrinement was, apparently, one of the means of appeasement. Indeed, several Japanese shrines are dedicated to evil spirits in an attempt to put them to rest. Enshrinement also entailed proper and regular worship, including periodic matsuri organized on the spirits' behalf, called *goryô-e*, or Meeting with the August Spirit. These were usually as gay and lavish as possible in order to counteract the spirits' dark, evil natures." (Plutschow 2007: 83)

Although a sacred dwelling for Sugawara's vengeful spirit was created in Kyoto, the festival for the god Tenjin has become much more popular in Osaka than in the old capital. According to the records of Osaka Tenmangu, the present-day shrine was built on the site of an older one, called the Shrine of the Great Shogun (Dai Shôgun Sha), erected around the year 650 in the northwestern part of Osaka. The area was called the Great Shogun's Forest (Dai Shôgun no Mori), later known as Tenjin no Mori, names as Minami Mori Machi or Kita Mori Machi (South Forest Town, North Forest Town) being still in use nowadays. The legend says that on his way to exile, Sugawara stopped at Dai Shôgun Sha to pray for a safe journey. Almost fifty years later, in 949, seven pine trees appeared overnight in front of the shrine, emitting a strange light in the dark. Hearing of the miracle, Emperor Murakami ordered another shrine, dedicated to Sugawara/ god Tenjin to be built there[3]. The shrine was completed in 950, and in 951 the ceremony that was to become one of Japan's greatest three festivals took place for the first time.

While the legends surrounding the creation of the festival are generally regarded as fiction (at worst), or creatively recorded history (at best), even the actual "date of birth" of the festival must be taken with a grain of salt. The rivalry between the Kyoto aristocracy and the merchant class from Osaka being a well-known fact, the records may have well been altered so that Tenjin Matsuri would appear older than Gion Matsuri (dated from the year 970). The festival was also known as Tenma (the neighborhood most involved in the organization of the festival) Tenjin Matsuri, or Tenma no Misogi. Shôji Kurahayashi

[3] I heard the story directly from one of the priests from Osaka Tenmangu, as he was introducing the various elements of the parade on July 25, 2017. Similar information is available on the shrine website.

describes it as a simple summer purification (*misogi*) festival, and, although he includes it among the three famous Japanese festivals[4], he makes no reference to Sugawara or the god Tenjin (Kurahayashi 1983: 299). Nowadays, the celebrations generally known as Tenjin Matsuri are conducted on July 24th and July 25th, with a newer addition on July 23rd: the girls' *mikoshi*, an event created 37 years ago, which will be discussed later in this paper.

2. July 24th - *Yoimiya*

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the meaning and mechanism of a Japanese *matsuri*; however, for clarity purposes, a brief explanation is necessary. A Japanese *matsuri* (generally translated as "festival") is a concrete manifestation of an ancestral set of beliefs in *kami*, some kind of supernatural presence that had the power to control nature and influence the annual cycle - particularly in relationship to agriculture. Thus *matsuri* have developed as a set of rites meant to appease a potentially wrathful deity, and to pray for the orderly continuance of daily practices that supported the human existence. Kunio Yanagita explains that initially *matsuri* were not rituals supported by a unified, coherent set of beliefs or religion, but local practices organized, conducted, and, when necessary, modified by people who had taken part repeatedly in the event. He also explicitly connects matsuri as a set of practices related to the concept of *kami*, or "the way of the *kami*." (1974: 176-177) The fact that *kami* are central to *matsuri* is extremely important, as it is this relationship that determines the basic structure of a Japanese festival: *kami oroshi/ kami mukae*, or the descent of the god from its elevated realm of existence into the world of humans, *kami asobi*, the various rites and forms of entertainment prepared by the humans in order to make the *kami* happy and well disposed towards the believers, and *kami okuri*, the return of the *kami* to the shrine from the journey place where they "vacationed" during the festival, and from there to the non-human world where they belong.

In many cases, these three stages are spread over at least two days, or even more, as it is the case of Gion Matsuri, where the *kami* spend seven days at *otabisho* - the journey place. During Tenjin Matsuri, Tenjin-san - the divine form of Sugawara no Michizane - is taken out of the shrine on July 25th in the morning, and returned at night on the

[4] It is worth mentioning that, while the other two festivals included in "Japan Greatest Three Festivals" may differ from author to author - Kurahayashi lists Aoi Matsuri from Kyoto and San'ô Matsuri from Tokyo) - Tenjin Matsuri is almost always included. Gion Matsuri is also usually on the list.

same day, which means that everything that takes place on July 24th is either preparation for the 25th, or entertainment for the local community and other participants. Like most big festivals, Tenjin Matsuri requires extensive preparations. According to one of my informants, the preparations for Tenjin Matsuri begin on July 26th. While this may be an exaggeration, the *ujiko*[5] involved in the organization of the event start having official meetings in early autumn the previous year, which means that a single day is not enough to reward the expectations and the work of those who make the festival possible. These community members belong to various *kô*, local associations that are in charge of specific events during the festival.

The day of July 24th begins very early, at 4 in the morning, with the sounds of the *moyôshi-daiko*, the huge drum that is one of the central elements of Tenjin Matsuri. The drum is enclosed in a square wooden frame with seats for six drummers, three on each side facing each other, and long wooden poles that allow it to be carried. There are 36 drummers called *aka eboshi*[6] because of the tall, red hats they wear. Everything about these drummers, who are the stars of the Taiko-naka Kô, has a symbolic meaning. There are 36 of them because when Tsushimanokami Inaba, a high official in charge of Osaka Castle, visited the shrine to pray every day (in a ritual called *nissan*), he was accompanied by 36 vassals. The yellow strips tied to their arms represent the earth, the red on their chest is the sun, the white represents the clouds, and the blue on the tails of the shirt - the water and the air, the overall meaning being that they are wrapped in the universe. (Uchida 2011: 31[7]) One of their most spectacular performances is called *kara usu* ("the empty pestle"), when the drum is turned to one side, so that three drummers are close to the ground, while the other three are high in the air. This is no easy feat, particularly considering that *moyôshi - daiko* weighs one and a half tons, and the drummers must keep up the beat the entire time. Some of the participants have asserted that to drop one of the drum sticks while on the *moyôshi - daiko* is to be shamed for the rest of your life. Considering its popularity, as well as the degree of difficulty of the performance, the *kara usu* is repeated throughout the 24th and the 25th, a symbol of masculinity, strength, and a kind of offering to the gods[8].

[5] Members of a community associated with a particular shrine.
[6] Tall lacquered hats worn since the Nara period by men who had come of age, particularly common with the aristocracy. (*Kôjien Dictionary*, 6th edition, digital version).
[7] Text by Nobuyuki Fuku and Maki Mashiba.
[8] Most Japanese festivals include at least one event where men have the chance to display their "manliness" - pure strength or endurance, be it related to cold, fire, or pain. (Tamas 2016).

At around 7am, the preparations for the first sacred ritual of the event begin. The most important amongst the organizers, a group of elders who hold significant positions in the economic world of Osaka, gather inside Osaka Tenmangu to get dressed. They are the *ujiko sôdai*, representatives and prominent members of the community. In the changing room of the Shrine, men of all ages, from the ten-year old boy who performs the role of the *shindô* (the "divine child" acting as a vessel for the descending god), to the older boys who are his official guardians, to the high priest of Osaka Tenmangu and his son, to the above mentioned *sôdai*, prepare for the first solemn event of the day. Depending on the degree of complexity of their formal attire, they either dress themselves, are aided by their secretaries, or by the *miko* - women in charge of performing various rituals at the shrine. As one of the purposes of this paper is to report on my personal observation, I will limit myself to describing the formal dress worn by the *sôdai*, which was composed of faded green *umanori-bakama* (a type of divided skirt) over a white kimono, and a black transparent *haori* (jacket), tied over the chest with a white string with tassels (*haori-himo shirofusa tsuki*). The atmosphere was formal, but the participants were obviously old friends and business partners, all quite excited by the events about to unfold.

The main event of July 24th is called *hoko nagashi shinji* - the act of letting a wooden stick flow on the river near the shrine. When the festival started in the 10th century, the *otabisho* (journey place) used to be built on the place where the *hoko* stopped, considering that it indicated the place where the god wanted to be during the ceremonies. However, after the Kan'ei period (mid 17th century), a permanent space for ceremonies was built, Osaka geography changed, so the *hoko nagashi shinji* was discontinued. In 1930 the ritual was reinstated, but with a different meaning: the *hoko* became part of the purification ceremony which is a fundamental element of Tenjin Matsuri, whereby the pollution and evil affecting the community are symbolically transferred onto the *hoko*, which is then cast away into the Dojima River. This way a celebration that started as a summer purification practice, being later enriched by the legend of the God Tenjin, comes full circle to the original ritual.

Shinji are the most sacred part of a *matsuri*, a set of Shinto rituals that directly acquiesce the presence of *kami*. They are seen in direct opposition to *kôji* (public ceremonies) and *butsuj* (Buddhist rituals), and are performed inside shrines or at designated places, that have purified and separated from the profane space through the use of various implements, such as the sacred rope *shimenawa*, or the white paper strips - *gohei*. With permission from the chief priest of Osaka Tenmangu, Mr. Tanenori Terai, and thanks to the kind support of Mr. Yoshihiko

Higashi, owner and president of the Godai Ume Company (I will return to this company later, as it has a special meaning within the Tenjin events), I was able to attend the Tenjin Matsuri *shinji* both on the 24th and the 25th, so the following report is based on direct observation.

On the 24th, the lay participants enter the Main Hall a few minutes before 8am, followed by the *miko*, and then by the priests and *shindô*, role performed in 2017 by ten-year old Isei Kanda, a student at Nishi Tenma Elementary School. A typical Shinto ritual follows the purification - offering - prayer - dance pattern, and the one at Osaka Tenmangu was no different. The purification was conducted in order of importance: first the shrine (where the god was supposed to descend), then the priests, the *shindô*, the *sôdai* (who always sit closest to the ritual stage), and finally the rest of the audience. Considering the formality and the sacredness of the ritual, the *shinji* are not open to the public; the participants are the *sôdai* (who are allowed to invite two more people each), representatives of each *kô*, and city officials. The food offerings - *shinsen*, presented immediately after the purification rite - consist of water, sake, salt, *mochi* (rice cakes made of glutinous rice), red sea bream (*tai* in Japanese, a kind of fish that is used for celebrations), seaweed, daikon radish, burdock, taro, lotus root, gourds, cucumbers, apples, and the *hoko*. Food in Japanese culture almost always has a symbolic meaning, and this is no exception. The *mochi* rice is boiled at a high temperature to make it last longer in the Japanese summer heat; the traditional Tenjin bento (packed lunch) consisted of boiled rice (*shiramushi*) and pickled plums, wrapped in bamboo bark, which was known to have anti-bacterial properties. The root vegetables are supposed to provide energy, while the cucumbers have a cooling and refreshing effect.

Once the offerings have been placed in front of the altar, the *gûji* (chief priest, a title held until March 2018 by Mr. Tanenori Terai; since April 2018, the position has been occupied by his son) reads the formal prayers - *norito* - after which a *kagura* dance is performed. After they complete the dance, the *miko* purify again the *shindô* and the audience with their bells, and the ritual ends with the offering of a *tamagushi*, first by the priest, and then by the officials present in the audience. *Tamagushi* are branches of the sacred tree *sakaki* with a *gohei* attached to them - compared to the *shinsen*, which are real food and drink

Sacred offerings for the *hoko nagashi shinji*

offerings, they have a purely symbolic value, yet they connect present-day rites with mythological episodes. According to Japan's oldest chronicle, *Kojiki* (712), when the sun goddess Amaterasu hid herself in a cave, plunging the world into darkness, the gods created a ritual space in front of the cave, attaching cloth strips to the *sakaki* tree that grew there. Another goddess, Ame-no-Uzume, danced in front of the cave holding a similarly decorated *sakaki* branch (*Kojiki* 2003: 63-67). *Sakaki*, which, depending on which characters are used, can be "the gods' tree", or "the tree at the border", signifies and creates a temporary connection between the world of the *kami* and that of the humans, and is thus indispensable to a Shinto ritual, despite the fact that it has no practical value. After the *tamagushi* rite is over, the offerings are covered, the *hoko* is handed to the *shindô*, and everybody exits the Main Hall, to head in an orderly procession towards the Dojima River.

The *shindô* and his parents in front of Osaka Tenmangu in the morning of July 24th, before the *hoko nagashi shinji* procession started.

By the river, where a temporary ritual space has been established, a shorter version of the *shinji* is performed, after which the *shindô*, two priests and a flute player - sacred music is played as a purification gesture and, at the same time, as an offering to the gods - get on a boat. The *hoko*, onto which all the pollution and negative elements afflicting the community have been transferred, is cast into the water, in a first gesture meant to rid the participants of evil and protect them from disease. A second gesture is going through the grass circle - *chi no wa* - set near the ritual space; although this grass circle is connected to the god Susano-wo and Gion Matsuri, Tenjin Matsuri developed originally as a purification ceremony meant to protect the community from the epidemics that accompanied the summer rains and heat, and incorporated many aspects not directly related to the god Tenjin.

The *hoko na gashi shinji*

Once the *hoko nagashi shinji* is completed, the formal

procession returns to Osaka Tenmangu at around 10am, where preparations for the big day continue. The 24th is a day of entertainment, when the entire area surrounding the shrine, as well as participants from all over the country can enjoy the *moyôshi-daiko*, lion dance (*shishi mai*), dragon dance (*ryû odori*), and the *mikoshi* processions. If during this season, the atmosphere in Kyoto is defined by the *kon-chiki-chin* sound of the *matsuri-bayashi* (festival musicians), it is drums that are most present on the Osaka stage: the great *moyôshi-daiko*, the drum of the dragon dance, and the one on the *dondoko-bune*. The lion dance is an old folk performing art where several wooden lion heads are worn by the dancers, said to have been imported from China before the Nara period (Kurahayashi 205-206). It is part of numerous Japanese festivals, being considered a ritual that would remove evil and misfortune, and bring luck and fertility; during Tenjin Matsuri, the performers visit the local stores and businesses, blessing them for the coming year. They are part of Tenjin Kô Shishi, an *ujiko* group that was created in 1725 (Kyôho 9), and still has around 600 hundred members. The *shishi mai* group itself is said to have the largest number of participants in Japan, and it includes dances with the lion heads, umbrellas, *bonten* (ceremonial wands with white paper strips), and *yotsutake* (bamboo castanets).

The lion dance on the eve of Tenjin Matsuri

Dondoko-bune are the boats announcing that the ceremonies are about to begin, or that they are ongoing. Designated as sacred spaces with *shimenawa* and *gohei*, they glide fast to the sound of drums, as fast "as to make the river seem slow"; one of the boats is manned by adults, the other by children (all male).

The dragon dance is characteristic to most summer festivals in the Osaka area; the performers (both male and female) dance in an apparently non-coordinated, non-formal manner to the sound of drums,

to the point of reaching a kind of mystical trance. The common characteristic is the position of the fingers of both hands, with the index and middle finger pointed so that they would suggest the horns of the dragon. The dragon dance, just like the *sakaki* tree, stands at the border between the sacred and the profane, being enacted both as ritual (mostly as a rain charm and prayer for protection and prosperity), as well as entertainment for the viewers. It is such an integral part of Tenjin Matsuri and the community around it, that it was performed during the festivities on December 5th, 2017, when Mr. Tanenori Terai was bestowed the *chôrô* title, the highest distinction awarded by the Association of Shinto Shrines, which recognizes the lifetime achievements of a Shinto priest[9].

The dragon dance

3. July 25th - Honmiya

The actual day of Tenjin Matsuri is of the highest importance, both ritual (from the perspective of the shrine and its attendants), and social, for the entire local community. As mentioned before, I received special permission to attend the religious rites performed in the morning of the 24th and 25th in the Main Hall of Osaka Tenmangu; for the 25th it was suggested (considering that it is the day when the god is considered present among the mortals) that I wear formal clothes. And thus July 25th, 2017 became the day when not only was I (symbolically, of course) in the presence of the divine spirit of Sugawara no Michizane, but I also did field work wearing a black dress and pearls. The *shinji* is called *shinrei igyosai* ("the transfer of the divine spirit"), and differed from the one on the preceding day in one aspect only: the descent of the god. After the purification - prayer - offering - dance pattern was completed, the high priest, wearing white gloves and a white piece of cloth over his mouth and nose, so that his breath or touch would not pollute the sacred presence of the god, transferred the *kami* from the shrine onto a plum branch[10], which was then reverently placed in the *mikoshi* - ceremonial

[9] The ceremony and the party that followed took place at the Imperial Hotel in Osaka, with the entire Tenjin Matsuri community in attendance (the author included).
[10] The plum was Sugawara no Michizane's favourite flower, and it is now the official crest of Osaka Tenmangu.

carriage - awaiting in front of the hall. The general public was allowed inside the shrine precincts, but for this part of the ritual the ceremonial *mikoshi* was hidden from sight, protected on three sides (except the entrance to the Main Hall) by a piece of white cloth - the descent of the god is too sacred to be seen by mere mortals, whose profane stares might pollute the divine presence.

The first procession of the day - *riku togyo*, the "land crossing" - begins once the god Tenjin is inside the *mikoshi*. First, the participants present themselves in front of the shrine, in a formal greeting, then they go around the neighbourhood, offering the god a chance to see and bless his believers. There are about 2,600 people who take part officially in this procession, the Moyôshi-Daiko Kô and Tenjin Kô Shishi counting about 1,200 members. *Moyôshi-daiko* enters first, at around 3pm, and its brave drummers display their strength and skills in front of the *kami* and other participants.

The *moyôshi-daiko* seen from inside the Main Hall of Osaka Tenmangu

They are followed by the god Sarutahiko, who is said to have guided the imperial ancestor when he descended from Heaven, and as such has a similar role during the *riku togyo*. After Sarutahiko, the following *kô* and officials present their formal greetings before starting the procession:

(1) Kami Hoko (Nishi Tenma Kami Rengô Kami Hoko Kô) - a group established mid Meiji period, and resurrected in 1930, when the *hoko nagashi shinji* started being conducted again. They are the keepers of the sacred *hoko*, and the role of the *shindô* is always performed by a boy from the districts that make up this *kô*.

(2) Ji Guruma: Danjiri - a *kô* formed by various local business, the Tenma Market being the focus of the organization. The group is

centered on *danjiri*, a parade float with intricate wooden carvings, hosting the matsuri musicians.

(3) Shôjô Dashi - a traditional noh mask embodying a character who liked to drink sake. This is also called Omiki (sacred sake) Kô.
(4) Osaka Tenma Lions Club
(5) Tenjin Kô Shishi
(6) Uneme - ladies in charge of preparing food for the Emperor; a role performed by ten young, unmarried women selected through a general application process.
(7) Chigo ("divine children) procession
(8) Osaka Tenmangu Keishin Fujin Kai (The Osaka Tenmangu Pious Ladies Association) - a fairly recent group established in 1956.
(9) Osaka Shorin Obunko Kô - a group founded in 1730, representing a publishing house.
(10) Ushi Hiki Dôji - "The Cow Pulling Children." The cow is venerated at Osaka Tenmangu as a messenger of the gods, as Sugawara no Michizane was born in the year of the cow; this particular group was created in 1949.
(11) Mihata Kô - a group representing various restaurants from the Kitanoshinchi, Dojima, and Tenma areas, established in 1887.
(12) Shinsei Karabitsu - the portable box containing the food offerings.
(13) Sakaki Kô
(14) Gobaguruma - a sacred carriage for the gods, which makes a journey across the Tenjinbashi Shopping Arcade on July 23rd.
(15) Ontachi - a *kô* dating from 1750, distinguished by the specific type of sword they carry.
(16) Beikokushô Okingai Kô - established in 1892 by a group of merchants from the Dojima Rice Market, this *kô* offers the white cloth used to protect the presence of the god from the eyes of the mortals.
(17) Hokushin Tomo no Kô - founded in 1965, this *kô* offers the *okangai* - the cover for sacred recipients.
(18) Gohôren - the most important of the *mikoshi* used during Tenjin Matsuri, this is the sacred carrier of Sugawara no Michizane/ god Tenjin.
(19) Mizue no Dôji (Shindô) - the "divine" child pays his respects to the shrine.
(20) Iwai Nushi - the chief priest of Osaka Tenmangu pays his respects to the attending divinity, followed by
(21) Osaka Tenmangu Ujiko Sôdai
(22) Ôtori Mikoshi and

(23) Mitama Mikoshi - two more carriers of divine presences in attendance for the festival.
(24) Tenjin Matsuri Bayashi - the festival musicians, which end the procession.

The above order of presenting oneself in front of the shrine and bowing to the gods that are assumed present is based on a schedule created in 2004, and it is the one I observed from inside the Main Hall of Osaka Tenmangu in 2017. More details on each *kô*, as well as the tools and symbols they carry will be provided in a later study; it must be mentioned here, however, that each group has a specific, clearly determined role. As one of the community representatives (*ujiko sôdai*) poetically told me, "Tenjin-san goes around the city once a year, to see how his believers are faring. During his journey, he might want to take a walk, that is why a box with his sandals is prepared. He might get bored, so we have a trunk of books, he might get hungry or thirsty, so we bring food. It might also rain, that is why we have an umbrella handy." I believe it is quite significant that regardless of what the participants truly think (something that an anthropologist could never ascertain), they acknowledge the god, as well as their ancestors - as the owner of a big pharmaceutical company based in Osaka asserted - present during the festivities, and they feel obligated to honour them through rituals and entertainment.

The *riku togyo* is followed by the *funa togyo* - the "crossing by ship" - which represents, at least from the lay participants' point of view, the climax of the festival. Following the old aristocratic custom of looking for some cool air during the summer on pleasure boats, a similar form of entertainment was created for the god Tenjin and the other *kami* that might be accompanying him. The land procession begins in the afternoon at Osaka Tenmangu, reaching the Yodo river at around 6pm, when the *mikoshi*, as well as the accompanying tools and boxes of provisions are transferred onto boats. The entire river procession contains over 150 boats, the three vessels carrying *kami* (the Gohôren, Ôtori, and Mitama *mikoshi*) included, and the return ride lasts about three

Shinji performed on the boat carrying the Ôtori Mikoshi

hours. All the sacred carriages, *kô*, and official participants return to Osaka Tenmangu at around 11pm, where they enjoy a few more moments together with the gods, before Tenjin-san returns to his other realm of existence, to wait patiently (and hopefully appeased) until the next year, and the next festival.

4. The community

Like all human ceremonies, Tenjin Matsuri has three major layers: the core, elevated one, pertaining to the sacred (the descent and presence of the *kami* amidst the believers), the slightly inferior one, which includes the prominent members of the community, and the one for the masses, which on the afternoon and evening of July 25th encompasses most of the northern area of Osaka City. The highly significant role played by *matsuri* in the life of a Japanese community is emphasised by John K. Nelson in his 1996 ethnography: "Festivals such as these returned the celebrants to a mythical time, when the Kami and their creations were fresh and bursting with the vigor of creating energies. One need only witness a single festival of this sort to see how much enjoyment people take, sometimes accelerating into a wild abandonment, when participating in the cycles of Shinto observances." (Nelson 41)

My first encounter with Tenjin Matsuri took place in 2007, when I was invited on one of the pleasure boats; I did not really understand the meaning of the elaborate celebration around me, but I found it interesting. A three-hour boat ride (complete with a sophisticated, two-layer food box, and all-you-can drink beer and sake) on the river, gliding along the spectacular *dondoko-bune*, or the Noh boat, under even more spectacular fireworks, was an event that I had come to look forward to each year. Without being aware of the sacred aspect of the festival, I realised that I was lucky to be included in one of the upper echelons: the group of people who could afford a ticket on a pleasure boat, with prices ranging from ¥25,000 to ¥38,000. Those who could not secure a ticket on time would wait on one of the numerous bridges connecting the sides of the river, to enjoy the fireworks show and to exchange the Osaka-*jime* with the passing boats. The bells and drums of the dragon dance musicians have an effect akin to the Pied Piper's flute on the people from Osaka: they are attracted to the river, vying for the best spots on the shores, in the nearby buildings, or paying up to ¥500,000 for one night (dinner included) in one of the rooms with a view of the Osaka Imperial Hotel. Many companies and public institutions (such as Osaka University, to give just one example) hire their own boats, for the employees and their families; trains slow down when crossing the bridge so that passengers can watch the *funa togyo* or the fireworks.

Restaurants rent spaces on the riverside and establish temporary dining places for one night only, and they strive to offer their best food in order to honour the presence of the gods, at prices that are much higher than usual, yet accepted without complaint. One such example is a restaurant specializing in French food, Carte Blanche, which offers seats plus a French-style bento for about ¥30,000 (drinks are separate), and the tables are booked well before the 25th of July. The value of the seat consists not in the quality of the food, but in the position of the stationary "boat" (the tables are set on a floating device anchored to the shore) right in front of the Osaka Imperial Hotel, one of the best spots for admiring both the procession, and the fireworks.

Pleasure boat and some of the food enjoyed by the revelers

For the organizers - Osaka Tenmangu priests, members of the *kô*, and small local business that support the festival - the entertainment is combined with a tremendous amount of work, as well as individual sacrifice. For example, the six people chosen to play special roles during the sacred procession, the *shindô*, Sarutahiko, the two *zuishin* (symbolic guardians of the deity, wearing clothes and a bow specific to the Heian period), and the two *ushi hiki* (children "pulling" the sacred cow) are supposed to keep themselves pure by avoiding contact with mortuary rites and not eating the meat of any four-legged creatures (*Weekly Osaka Nichinichi Newspaper* July 2017, p. 7) before the festival. According to an NHK documentary (2011), the *shindô* abstains from contact with any kind of polluting element for three weeks prior to the *matsuri*. One other element that indicates the deep connection between the city and its major festival is the fact that in 2017 the *ushi hiki* roles were performed by the eleven-year old twin daughters of the Mayor of Osaka, Mr. Hirofumi Yoshimura.

Another important contribution is that of the local businesses, without which the festival itself would not exist; the costs of an event of this scale are so grand, that this year (2018) the organizers decided to use the crowdfunding system in order to cover the budget deficit. As of

July 10th, 203 individual contributors had donated ¥2,090,000 - 69% of the proposed amount[11]. One such company is Godaiume, a family business established in 1834 in Wakayama, which produces and sells various plum-based foods and drinks. Despite not being a native of Osaka, the actual president, Mr. Yoshihiko Higashi (thanks to whom I had the chance of directly observing the rites pertaining to Tenjin Matsuri in 2017), is a *ujiko sôdai,* his elegant little shop specialising in pickled plums of all kinds, plum liqueur, plum sparkling wine, plum salt, and many other plum-based delicacies being located right near Osaka Tenmangu. According to popular lore, one "should eat the plum, but not its kernel, because that is where the spirit of Tenjin-san is resting", and those who do will not be able to make progress in their studies (Sugawara no Michizane/Tenjin-san being the protector of scholars). There is also a taboo on roasting plum kernels, or throwing them into the sea, as this gesture would go against the life-restoring powers of the plum tree. Pickled plums are placed on the stomach as a remedy against sea sickness, or on a bee bite, while in the case of beriberi, a plum paste should be attached to the soles of the feet - or so suggest folk remedies (Fukuta 2000: 185). An easily verifiable fact, pickled plums are indeed good in the heat of the Japanese summer, and they do make a tasty snack - as attested by all the *ujiko sôdai,* who ate the pickled plums provided by Godaiume and drank tea while waiting for the Tenjin Matsuri *shinji* to begin.

The Godaiume store on the day of the festival

Although the word "tradition" tends to suggest something that is centuries old (and Tenjin Matsuri is already beyond its millennium anniversary), a new tradition was created 37 years ago: Gyaru Mikoshi. By custom, the sacred carriages for the gods, *mikoshi*, are taken around the neighbourhood by men only (for reasons related to the concepts of pollution and taboo that shall not be discussed here), but in 1981 Gyaru Mikoshi ("gals' mikoshi") was established through the combined effort of several shopping arcades in the northern district of Osaka and the Gobaguruma Kô, with the declared purpose of creating a "bright, fun town[12]". The main day of the event is July 23rd (with a few sporadic

[11] https://www.makuake.com/project/tenjinmatsuri/?utm_source=sp_1_facebook (retrieved on July 10th, 2018)
[12] http://www.galmikoshi.com/contents_2.html (retrieved on July 10, 2018)

appearances on the 24th and 25th), as Gyaru Mikoshi is not (yet) connected to the sacred, but mainly to the local community. Pretty, energetic, fun girls between the ages of 15 and 30 are selected to wear costumes similar to those worn by men when they perform the same task, only in brighter colours, while carrying a smaller *mikoshi* through to shopping arcade for the entertainment of the local community. While offering beautiful girls to the gods is by no means an innovation in the history of religious practices, Gyaru Mikoshi is a modern, future-oriented, international organization, which takes pride in the fact that they were invited to perform abroad (Australia, USA, Thailand) and that international students joined their event. One of my own international students (German) was a *mikoshi gyaru* in 2017, when out of 150 applicants who go through a rigorous selection process, 80 were chosen to perform on July 23rd.

Gyaru Mikoshi inside one of the shopping arcades

5. Osaka Summer Festivals

Tenjin Matsuri is most definitely not singular among the summer festivals in Osaka; it is, nevertheless, the oldest, at least according to legend. Either emulating the rituals and entertainment forms conducted at the biggest shrine in the city, or simply continuing a pre-existent practice, similar *matsuri* have developed and are still performed nowadays. A summer festival with a *mikoshi* and a *taiko* (ceremonial drum) is depicted in a scroll from the second half of the Edo period, called *Hirano Gozu Tennô Matsuri* (*Tokubetsu Ten. Osaka Matsuri* 2009: 42); Gozu Tennô[13] being the avatar of the god Susano-wo, both central figures at Gion Matsuri. This *matsuri* (July 11th~14th) is currently the main event at Kumata Shrine in the Hirano district of Osaka, where the tall red hats are worn by child drummers carried around in a *taiko-dai* (a drum similar to, although not quite as spectacular as *moyôshi-daiko*). Sumiyoshi Matsuri (the Grand Sumiyoshi Shrine, July 30th~August 1st) hosts dragon dance

[13] "The deity also became associated with the legend of a Japanese kami of plague called Sominshôrai and was identified with the kami Susanoo; taking on a trinitarian nature that incorporated characteristics of Susanoo's consort and child, he also came to be identified with the Japanese kami Onamuchi." (Yonei Teruoshi - *Encyclopedia of Shinto*)

performances, and the list could continue. Regardless of the legend chosen as the mythical/historical background for the rites and festivities, one of the main functions of the summer *matsuri* remains that of ritual purification in order to prevent epidemics. A source that I have not been able to verify yet stated that the *aka eboshi* (the red hats worn by the drummers) symbolise the varicella pustules, in an attempt at a type of contagious magic that might protect children from a potentially deadly disease. Tenjin Matsuri is incontestably the biggest among these performances (as I have asserted before, it is one of Japan's three greatest festivals), but it is by no means unique. The historical, ritual, and social ramifications are intricate and vast, requiring further research, observation, and comparative analysis, an endeavor whose results shall hopefully be published in a later study.

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III. VISUAL ARTS, AESTHETICS

Esoteric Iconography as Curiosum

An Overview of Japanese Buddhist Art Displays with a Specific Example

Mónika Kiss[1]

Abstract*: Buddhist art constitutes an immense part of the history of Japanese art. Its themes dominated the visual arts for more than a millennium in Japan, and most of the oldest surviving art works were made for Buddhist purposes. Its prominence is undeniable and its aesthetic appreciation is beyond doubt, however, the shift of religiosity in the modern society, and the reconsideration of religious art is open for discussion. In the present study, I explore and give an overview of the different platforms for Buddhist art displays in Japan, and how these stages are operating in the new millennium*[2]*. I am also inserting a brief outlook of how one of the esoteric deities, Fugen Enmei bodhisattva* 普賢延命菩薩[3] *is presented in Japan and abroad*[4]*.*

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[1] Assistant Lecturer, ELTE University

[2] I am using online available data from three national museums of Japan, as well as that of the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō 文化庁). These are the biggest and most influential institutions which promote Buddhist culture in Japan, apart from the Buddhist temples. Links to their websites are given at the end of the paper.

[3] Samantabhadra Bodhisattva of Long Life. The bodhisattva's origins are vague, there is no trace of it in India, and only indirect sources (e.g. Ennin's diary) tell us about its Chinese presence. Its image is described in the *Sūtra of the Most Excellent Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Bodhisattva Samanatbhadrayū, Empowered by the Light of all the Tathāgatas, Preached by the Buddha* (Ch. *Foshuo yiqie zhurulai xin guangming Puxian pusa yanming jingang zuisheng tuoluoni jing*, Jp. *Bussetsu issai sho nyorai shin kōmyō kaji Fugen bosatsu enmei kongō saishō darani kyō* 仏説一切諸如来心光明加持普賢菩薩延命金剛最勝陀羅尼経). This text (T 1136, Vol. 20.) is attributed to Amoghavajra by its dedication line, however, as I have pointed out in my dissertation recently, it could have been either translated by one of his disciples, who accompanied him to Sri Lanka, or it could have easily been written under the influence of indigenous beliefs around Mt. Wutai, from where it was imported to Japan.
Fugen Enmei became important in Japan, after its image and text were introduced to Japan in the 9th century, by distinguished monks who promoted the esoteric teachings (Jp. *nittō hakke* 入唐八家), such as Kūkai 空海 (774-835), Ennin 円仁 (794-864), Enchin 円珍 (814-891), Shūei 宗叡 (809-884) or Eun 恵運 (798-869). Its prominence and survival are due to its image becoming the principal image (Jp. *honzon* 本尊) of the Fugen Enmei ritual, which was performed by monks of the two Japanese esoteric traditions, the Tōmitsu 東密 (Shingon 真言) and Taimitsu 台密 (Tendai 天台), from the 11th century. The ritual offers many benefits, among which longevity and good health are

Keywords: religious art - Japanese art - Buddhist art - esoteric Buddhism - Fugen Enmei bodhisattva - museology - exhibitions

I. Museums: Profane Platforms of Sacred Objects

As Giovanni Pinna, one of the pioneers of museology, wrote in 1980, "the museum is the meeting place of humanity, a collective memory, the stage of communities, where the history, resourcefulness and capability of a given community's ordinary and spiritual life are reflected, and with which the community's historical past can be linked to its present reality[5]." Religion is one important aspect of the past and present of many communities, having the power to shape the history and life of those communities. Although religion has been part of Japanese people's life for some millennia, its images have only been considered from various not spiritual viewpoints since the end of the 19th century. The preservation of art was first institutionalized in Japan in the years after the Meiji Restoration, as a result of coming in contact with Western thoughts on museums or museology, and Japan's participation in the second International Exposition in 1867, held in Paris[6].

Regarding their needs, religions and museums are quite similar, for they both need human activity to survive. Therefore curators and scholars of museums need to make the exhibitions interesting and inviting for as many people as possible. Pinna also points out that although museums have their roots in the past, they need to denote the future as well[7]. So what happens when sacred objects, which had been previously used in ritualistic environments, are put on display in the profane space of museums? Since the definition of sacred is usually the opposite of anything profane (secular), an oxymoron is created when talking about bringing sacred objects into profane spaces[8]. Joan

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some of the reasons why it became popular among the Japanese nobility, the shoguns and the members of the imperial family. It is still performed today at the Enryakuji temple on Mt. Hiei every four years (the next one will be in 2021, see more about it on the website of Enryakuji, URL: http://www.hieizan.or.jp/event/mishiho).

[4] I chose to examine this bodhisattva for two reasons: on one hand, it is the topic of my research and PhD dissertation; on the other, despite its long history in Japanese Buddhist culture, it is almost forgotten nowadays, but still quite often exhibited in Buddhist art displays.

[5] Binni – Pinna 1986: 73.

[6] Shiina 2011: 108-113. See also Shiina 2005: 3-46, where Shiina analyses the two kind of exhibitions of Meiji Japan: the expositions (Jp. *hakurankai* 博覧会), and those of what we translate today as *museums* (Jp. *hakubutsukan* 博物館).

[7] *Ibid.* 74.

[8] For more about the topic of sacrality see for example Otto 1923; or Eliade 1959.

Branhan stresses radical views about sacred objects in museum displays, and also talks of *decontextualization*. She contends that when ritual objects are displayed in a museum, then the setting is "stripping them of circumstance and purging them of original function and significance[9]."

In recent years, however, these views have changed among Western scholars. Valeria Minucciani considers the museum as a non-religious temple, after the design of the early 19th century architects, Etienne Boullée and Jean Louis Nicolas Durand[10]. She further argues that the "eradication of objects from their original context will alter their characteristics[11]." Alteration and modification of the objects are key elements in the display, and museum typology highly effects the manner of representation: what is highlighted, left out or obscured will determine the character of the object as well[12].

Charles D. Orzech speaks of religions museums worldwide, where religion is the core of the institution, as a result of the "many collections throughout history (private as well as public), [which] have been dominated by objects whose original purpose was cultic[13]." These museums[14] are dedicated to the comparative study of world religions, therefore the settings for religious artworks are different than those of art galleries or historical museums[15].

The foremost problems with the display of religious works of art are the questions of the space and the exhibition method. The discussion on the exhibitions of sacred objects in museums has been deepened recently[16]. The assessment of any exhibition is challenging in itself, but especially in the case of religious objects, for there are a number of factors which contribute to the exhibition[17].

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[9] Branham 1995: 33.
[10] Minucciani 2013: 11.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.* 12.
[13] Orzech 2015: 176.
[14] Orzech gives the example of the *Religionskundliche Sammlung* at the Philipps-Universität in Marburg, Germany.
[15] *Ibid.* 182.
[16] See for example the studies in Sullivan 2015, and Buggeln – Paine – Plate 2017.
[17] Bruce M. Sullivan has pointed out the following questions: 1) how such objects are to be understood, described, exhibited, and handled now that they are in museums; 2) wether they are objects representing cultural heritage; 3) whether they are to be understood as objects that are still sacred or as formerly sacred objects that are now art objects, or are they simultaneously objects of religious and artistic significance, depending on who is viewing the object; 4) whether through their exhibitions, museums can provide new functions for religiously significant objects or show how they function in ritual and religious contexts. (Sullivan 2015: 20.)

It is somehow baffling that such a topic is not to be found among the works on museums and museology of Japanese academics. There are numerous writings on the history of museums, Western and Japanese alike[18], or even on the museum space[19], but the question we see above does not seem to be a topic of conversation in Japanese museology circles at all.

I.1. New Attempts in Museum Displays Worldwide

Bruce M. Sullivan asks the right question of how far a museum can or should go to exhibit objects in ways that recall or emulate the sacred spaces such objects formerly inhabited[20]. Why not ask the audience? John Clarke, the planner and curator of the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Galleries of Buddhist Art, located in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London did so[21]. He used an independently conducted audience focus group study in 2008, in which Buddhists and non-Buddhists were asked what they expect to see in such a gallery, and as anticipated, the previous group voiced their expectations firmly: they "believed that the story of the Buddha himself was of primary importance, with some even suggesting it should form the overarching theme for the entire gallery[22]."

In museums, the audio, video, or other interactive elements incorporated into exhibitions are useful when we are attempting to make the visitors have a religious experience. One of the earliest example for such an experience is the building of a Tibetan Buddhist altar inside museum space. This venture was undertaken in 1990 in the Newark Museum (Newark, New Jersey, US)[23]. The altar was consecrated by the 14th Dalai Lama His Holiness himself on the 23rd of September, 1990. With this consecration by the head of the Tibetan Buddhist church, this small altar constitutes a sacred space inside the museum.

Similar attempts were the rituals which were performed by Japanese Shingon and Tibetan Buddhist monks at an exhibition at the Gardner Center for Asian Art and Ideas, Seattle Museum (Seattle, US)[24], while an

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[18] See for example the works of Shiina Noritaka published in recent years (Shiina 2005; Shiina 2010; Shiina 2011).

[19] See for example Murata 2014: 53-83.

[20] Sullivan 2015: 20.

[21] See the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Galleries of Buddhist Art webpage on the Victoria and Albert Museum website. (URL: http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/the-robert-h.-n.-ho-family-foundation-galleries-of-buddhist-art/)

[22] Moussouri 2008: 15; Clarke 2015: 101.

[23] See the Tibetan altar webpage on the Newark Museum website.
(URL: https://www.newarkmuseum.org/tibetan-buddhist-altar)

[24] See the Gardner Center webpage on the Seattle Museum website. (URL:

exhibition of Buddhist mandalas gave rise to the idea that such a mandala should be created in the museum, so the viewers could enter it and experience its universe from within. The creating of the mandala spaces took place in 2014, in the Asian Art Museum (San Francisco, US)[25].

I.2. Sacred Space in Japanese Homes

For Japanese people, though, the notion of *sacred* is not incompatible with secular spaces: the custom of Buddhist house altars, or *butsudan* 仏壇, is still alive in Japan[26]. Japanese who still carry on with maintaining a *butsudan* consider that space as the connecting device with their ancestors. Originally the main purpose of the *butsudan* was the place to worship Buddhist deities, but as the history of Japanese Buddhism evolved, from a religion of the privileged nobility, it gradually became the common people's faith for everyday usage[27].

Despite some unfortunate events, such as the *haibutsu kishaku* 廃仏毀釈[28] movement in the history of Japanese Buddhism following the Meiji Restoration in 1868 (see more about this below), it is fairly common among the Japanese people to uphold the Buddhist traditions of ancestor worship at home. This would involve mainly memorial services for the deceased loved ones of a family, which happen in front of the *butsudan*, where, in accordance with the sects' rules and regulations, usually a statue or painting of a Buddha or bodhisattva is displayed, and the photo of the not long ago departed family member, along with a sutra or inscription, candles, incense, flowers, food and water are placed near it[29]. In this sense, the Buddhist house altar is connected to the temple to which a given family belongs (Jp. *dannadera* 檀那寺), and with the same equipment, it symbolizes that temple in the family home[30].

Studies by Japanese researchers, which centre around the idea of sacred space hardly ever include the examination of the *butsudan*[31]. Only Fabio Rambelli took a brief look at the altar from a different point of view, emphasizing how the sacred nature is represented in it, by stating that the '*butsudan*, funerary tablets (*ihai* 位牌)[32], and the

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http://www.seattleartmuseum.org/gardnercenter)

[25] Durham 2015; also see the *Enter the Mandala* webpage on the website of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. (URL: http://www.asianart.org/exhibitions_index/enter-the-mandala)

[26] See for example the study about the contemporary trends of such altars: Nelson 2008.

[27] Taniguchi 2002: 16-17.

[28] '*Abolish Buddhism and destroy Śākyamuni.*'

[29] *Ibid.* 32-37.

[30] Takeda 1957: 96-97.

[31] See for example Mori 1994.

[32] It is usually a wooden tablet, on which the posthumous Buddhist name of the

kamidana 神棚[33] are not just symbolic objects and catalysts for religious activities. As veritable sacred objects, they are infused with the "spirits" of, respectively, the buddhas, the ancestors, and the kami[34].' Rambelli argues that the inauguration ritual of the new altar is similar to the eye-opening ceremony of the new statues in Buddhist temples[35]. These 'consecrations' of the objects, with a monk's presence and ritual performance, and the 'spirit' taking its place in the now sacred religious object, construct a special sacred space inside the home[36]. Since the protecting deity of the family (according to the denomination they belong to) is displayed in it, and ritualistic elements are carried out, sometimes daily, thus the space of the altar become sacralised by lay people, who buy it, install it in their home, ask the Buddhist monks to come and perform rituals in front of it, and then maintain the connection with the spirits of the ancestors, and by that also maintains the sacred aspect of the space[37].

II. Japanese Buddhist Art and Art Displays in Japan

Japanese people are familiar with buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other Buddhist deities, because they have been living among them throughout their lives. There are stone Buddhist deities in many villages, or cities, sometimes even on the side of the roads, and especially in mountains. Nevertheless, people who are not connected directly to Buddhism - for example, by not being a member of a temple family or one of the Buddhist denominations of Japan - have fewer opportunities of becoming acquainted with its teachings and deities[38].

In Japan, there are two major platforms of Buddhist image displays: the temples and the museums. As the temples constitute the natural environment of such images, they may offer more to visitors in experiencing their religious significance. The museums offer also research from a different point of view, which may provide a wider understanding, and can place the individual images in a greater perspective.

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recently departed family member is written. It is used for memorial services at home or at a temple.

[33] It is the *shintō* equivalent of the *butsudan*.

[34] Rambelli 2010: 69.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Kiss 2016: 227.

[37] Rambelli 2010: 69.

[38] In the case of Fugen Enmei bodhisattva, being the part of the vast esoteric pantheon, it is not surprising that many Japanese people, even monks have never heard of it, as I have learned in private conversations with Buddhist monks from other sects.

II.1. Japanese Museums and Buddhist Exhibitions

Japanese scholars in Japanese museums have an advantage in the number of images available, and the Japanese people's common knowledge of Buddhism and its tradition. When exhibiting Japanese Buddhist or esoteric art abroad, the advantages and disadvantages are manifested in other elements. Where ordinary people have no prior knowledge of the background and icons of the hundreds of various deities, the diversity of the collection or the knowledge and scholarly experience of the curators of the museums limits the exhibition concept.

In Japan, where people - Japanese or otherwise - can see the various Buddhist icons in their natural environment, as well as experience the rituals which give them a function and a religious atmosphere, museums have a more difficult task to attract the audience. In these museum spaces, statues and paintings are frequently displayed in a manner that the visitors may feel distanced and separated from them, thus from the experience they could give us. In Japan, exhibitions of Buddhist paintings, for example, are commonly viewed from more than one meter away, sometimes behind a glass wall, which can be seen as the curators answer to the need of preserving the condition of paintings.

Museums can still offer an experience that cannot be had in temples: historical continuity and systematic display of Buddhist art. With a given theme, a museum can demonstrate various perspectives, and highlight the similarities, or differences, through the gathered images. Taking a look at the three national museums in Japan, in the Kyoto National Museum (cited hereafter as Kyohaku) there have been 59 displays of any kind of Buddhist related exhibitions since 2001[39], which equal the total number of such exhibitions in the other two national museums[40]. The Tokyo National Museum (cited hereafter as Tohaku) lists 43 Buddhist related exhibitions since 1949, almost half (19) of which were displayed since 2001, which shows that since we entered the new millennium the number of such exhibitions doubled there[41]. The Nara National Museum (cited hereafter as Narahaku) is another bastion of Buddhist art in the Kansai region, listing 40 Buddhist art related exhibitions since 2001[42]. As the

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[39] See the exhibitions archive webpages on the Kyohaku website. (URL: http://www.kyohaku.go.jp/jp/special/koremade/koremade_archive.html); (URL: http://www.kyohaku.go.jp/jp/tenji/koremade/koremade_archive_tokuchin.html)

[40] There are different kind of displays, such as the special exhibitions (Jp. *tokubetsu tenrankai* 特別展覧会 or *tokubetusten* 特別展, or *tokushū tenji* 特集展示), or the regular displays (Jp. *tenji* 展示). There were 11 of the previous kind since 2001, and 25 of the latter.

[41] URL: http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=1470

[42] Of the three national museums, quoted here, the Narahaku has one Fugen Enmei painting in its collection. The painting (Acq. nr.: 1175-0) was formerly owned by the tendai Shōren'in temple 青蓮院 in Kyoto.

oldest permanent capital of Japan, Nara proudly hosts some of the oldest Buddhist temples in Japan. This pride is shown in the recently renewed and reopened Nara Buddhist Sculpture Hall なら仏像館, where the most prominent examples of the high period of Japanese Buddhist sculpture (from Nara to Kamakura periods) are introduced. Also, the Narahaku predominantly displays Buddhist art, and furthermore, it closely cooperates with the Tōdaiji temple: every year in February, when the Omizu tori お水取り rite is held at the Nigatsudō Hall 二月堂 of the temple, the museum simultaneously organises feature exhibitions (Jp. *tokubetsu chinretsu* 特別陳列) with the same title, introducing the history of the ritual through artefacts and images[43].

Of the total 118 Buddhist art exhibitions, 21 were dedicated to esoteric Buddhist art. Given that there are thirteen different Buddhist schools recognized today in Japan, and only the Tendai and Shingon have explicitly esoteric traditions, it becomes clear that esoteric art displays are regularly held. Also, the surveys conducted by the Tohaku show that the esoteric exhibition about Kūkai and the Shingon school[44] was visited by approximately 270 thousand people during a 41-day period in 2004, while another exhibition on this theme[45] attracted more than 550 thousand people just seven years later during a somewhat longer display[46]. By comparison, the exhibition of one of the most famous statues of Nara, the Ashura 阿修羅 of Kōfukuji temple 洪福寺, held in the Tohaku in 2009, was on for three months and had 946 thousand visitors[47], while the exhibition of the two founders of the Jōdo 浄土宗 and Jōdo shin 浄土真宗 sects, Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212) and Shinran 親鸞 (1173-1263) was open for 36 days in 2011, and the number of visitors was 212 thousand[48]. According to the 2014 report of the Agency

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[43] See the webpage of the '*Omizutori*' exhibition on the Narahaku website. (URL: http://www.narahaku.go.jp/exhibition/2018toku/omizutori/2018omizutori_index.html)

[44] See the webpage of the exhibition '*Kūkai and Mt. Kōya* 空海と高野山' on display from 6th April to 16th May, 2004. (URL: http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=235)

[45] See the webpage of the exhibition '*Kūkai and Esoteric Art* 空海と密教美術' on display from 20th July to 25th September, 2011. (URL: http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=1393)

[46] See the webpages of the evaluation of the surveys on the website of the Tohaku.
(URL 1: http://www.tnm.jp/uploads/r_exhibition/exhibition/PDF_142.pdf)
(URL 2: http://www.tnm.jp/uploads/r_exhibition/exhibition/PDF_2886.pdf)

[47] See the PDF of the survey of the exhibition *'Kokuhō Ashura ten* 国宝阿修羅展' on the Tohaku website.
(URL: http://www.tnm.jp/uploads/r_exhibition/exhibition/PDF_2549.pdf)

[48] See the PDF of the survey of the exhibition *'Hōnen to Shinran: Yukari no meihō* 法然と親鸞－ゆかりの名宝' on the Tohaku website.

for Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō 文化庁), there were 49,090,009 people registered as Buddhists in Japan, out of which 12,142,370 people belonged to either the Shingon or the Tendai sects (thus roughly representing one fifth of the Buddhist population), whereas the Jōdo and Jōdo shin sects counted 18,067,855 believers[49]. These statistics show that esoteric art in Japan may be fascinating enough for people to go to museum exhibitions. Some of the images exhibited in these events may otherwise never be available for people living in the Kantō region, for they are usually - if ever - displayed in temples of remote locations.

Great temples with countless treasures have no difficulty finding a platform for their artworks to be exhibited, either in public museums or their own museums (see below). Smaller temples, however, are sometimes struggling to find space for showing their artworks. These are most commonly displayed in prefectural or municipal museums, from time to time showing off the treasures in their prefecture or city. These exhibitions become very helpful in the case of art historical research for finding images in the collections of little known temples which are generally closed to the public[50].

The Japanese government also supports the popularization of Japanese art abroad. The Bunkachō has organized 80 exhibitions abroad since 1951[51], out of which 9 were related to Buddhist art[52].

(URL: http://www.tnm.jp/uploads/r_exhibition/exhibition/PDF_2887.pdf

[49] Bunkachō 文化庁 (ed.) 2014. *Shūkyō nenkan – Heisei 26 nen han* 宗教年鑑・平成 26 年版. (URL: http://www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/hakusho_nenjihokokusho/shukyo_nenkan/pdf/h26nenkan.pdf)

[50] Such exhibitions mostly introduce the treasures of the prefectures or cities, featuring Important Cultural Properties, designated by either the state (Jp. *koku shitei bunkazai* 国指定文化財), the prefecture (Jp. *ken shitei bunkazai* 県指定文化財), or the city (Jp. *shi shitei bunkazai* 市指定文化財). The exhibition called *Ibaraki no meihō* 茨城の名宝 (*The Noted Treasures of Ibaraki*), held in 1985, was featuring, for example, the Fugen Enmei bodhisattva painting of the Jinryūji temple 神竜寺. It is not known how this esoteric image came to be in the collection of this sōtō zen temple, but it must have arrived after the temple was established in 1532, since looking at the style and colouring of the painting, it is estimated to be the work of Late Kamakura period (middle of the 14th century). The painting was displayed again in the exhibition called *Ibaraki no bukkyō bijutsu* 茨城の仏教美術 (*The Buddhist Art of Ibaraki*) in 1996.

[51] See the Bunkachō website. (URL: http://www.bunka.go.jp/seisaku/kokusaibunka/bunkazaihogo/kobijutsu_kaigaiten/index.html)

[52] These exhibitions presented Japanese Buddhist art broadly, by introducing one aspect (e.g. sculpture, painting, etc.); or one famous image, temple (the Kudara Kannon statue or the Tōdaiji temple treasures had their own individual displays).

II.2. Art in Japanese Temples

Major esoteric headquarters, such as the Tōji 東寺, the Daigoji 醍醐寺, or the Ninnaji temples 仁和寺 in Kyoto, were established during the Heian period, so they have been collecting their treasure for more than a thousand years. This is especially true for the two major esoteric centres, the Enryakuji temple 延暦寺 at Mt. Hiei 比叡山 and the Kongōbuji temple 金剛峯寺 at Mt. Kōya 高野山, which recently celebrated their 1200 year anniversary[53]. As said before, we can see the Buddhist images in an environment that museums can rarely match, since these temple complexes are still actively performing esoteric rituals, some annually, and some at the request of people, companies, etc.

Temple museums[54] make an interesting platform for Buddhist art, where the two spheres of Japanese art display meet. They usually contain the temple's treasures and often house temporary exhibitions as well. These museums (or '*treasure houses*' as their names - *hōmotsukan* 宝物館 or *reihōkan* 霊宝館 - sometimes suggest) only display Buddhist art, usually utilising their collection pieces. They are not too common, however, as only some temple complexes can maintain such institutes, and some of these happen to be esoteric Buddhist temples[55]. The earliest was that of the Tōji temple, which was opened in 1909[56]. The *reihōkan* of Mt. Kōya have multiple displays yearly[57], while the Daigoji temple in Kyoto also organizes many exhibitions[58]. It is unclear why, but these museums are not recognized by the Japanese scholars of museology as a separate category of museums. Their roots go back to the middle ages, when temples sometimes displayed some of their Buddhist images and ritual implements (Jp. *hōgu* 法具), these events are recorded as *kaichō* 開帳 in historical documents[59]. Also, the temple airings could be visited, when all the images, documents, implements of the temples were taken out of storage to be aired under sunlight[60]. The temple museums were

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[53] The former was established by Saichō 最澄 (767-822), the founder of the Japanese Tendai sect; the latter by the aforementioned Kūkai, founder of the Japanese Shingon sect.

[54] Also Shintō shrines have this kind of museums sometimes.

[55] Altogether there are 133 temple museums around Japan. Ōhori 1997: 91-381.

[56] Niimi 2017: 1-2. It was first called 'exhibition place' (Jp. *chinretsuba* 陳列場), then the now so-called hōmotsukan 宝物館 was established in 1965.

[57] See the webpage of the index of exhibitions on the Mt. Kōya Reihōkan website. (URL: http://www.reihokan.or.jp/tenrankai/index.html)

[58] It was opened in 1935. (URL: https://www.daigoji.or.jp/fun/reihokan/index.html)

[59] For more about this see Shiina 2011: 105-106; Namikawa 2015: 1-2.

[60] Such an event is still happening at the zen Daitokuji temple 大徳寺 in Kyoto, for example. See Levine 2005: 223-313.

first established mainly for the purpose of preservation, to protect the treasures from damage by fire, or even theft[61].

Fugen Enmei has been exhibited on many occasions, the two most popular and commonly displayed images are those of the Jikōji and Matsunoodera temples, both designated National Treasures (Jp. *kokuhō* 国宝) by the state. Other older and Important Cultural Property (Jp. *jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財) images also often make appearances on Buddhist art displays[62].

III. Esoteric Iconography as Curiosum

In the past couple of decades there has been a gradual increase in the number of Buddhist, and esoteric Buddhist art exhibitions as well. It may not be wrong to link this directly to the vast pantheon, the large number of extant icons of still surviving or already vanished esoteric temples of either the Tōmitsu (Shingon) or the Taimitsu (Tendai) traditions[63]. The existence today of the once very prosperous Shingon and Tendai sects is due to the popularity of their various rituals which promise not just spiritual but various worldly benefits too. These benefits, such as long life or good fortune, avoidance of calamities and illnesses offered by Fugen Enmei bosatsu, were quite captivating especially for the aristocrats and the members of the imperial family in the Heian and Kamakura periods. Thanks to the large number of rituals held at the temples or palaces from these times onwards, and the custom of copying important paintings of its principal deity (Fugen Enmei bodhisattva), even the numbers of the surviving images of this single deity is close to eighty.

In Japan, the Fugen Enmei images can be found in museums, temples or private collections. All of the museum-owned images, or the ones in private collections, however, previously belonged to temples, since they were used principle images (*honzon*) during the Fugen Enmei rituals[64]. The monk of one such temple, the Ryūjōin 龍乗院, located in

[61] The Mt. Kōya Reihōkan had to face such challenges at the end of the 19th century. There have been financial difficulties, fires, and also thefts in 1888 and 1889. For more about the establishment of the museum see Umehara 2015: 13-16.

[62] See Table 1 at the end of the paper.

[63] The different traditions are given a separate name from their sects (Shingon and Tendai), because although the Shingon sect is centred around esoteric teachings from its beginnings, the Tendai sect was originally comprised of four Buddhist branches, so only one part consists of esoteric teachings.

[64] The only other collection where such images could have been found from the Middle Ages in Japan, is the collection of the emperor. We have sources which tell us that when the Fugen Enmei ritual was performed for an emperor, it was usually made by one of the imperial painters, therefore after the ritual, it was housed in the *Gosho* 御所,

Kōchi city 高知市 on the island of Shikoku, has shown me the dire conditions their paintings were kept in, and that is why, he said, their Fugen Enmei image was transported, and being kept in the care of the *Kōchi Prefectural Museum of History* 高知県立歴史民俗資料館 after it had been designated as Important Cultural Property, because better conditions are provided for its preservation[65]. The images in temples have almost the same fate as the ones in museums: they are usually kept in a box, waiting for their turn to be used again. Their preservation is secured; however, their significance will never be the same, compared to how monks had been praying in front of them for days for the benefits of emperors, princes, princesses, or even shoguns[66].

IV. Japanese Buddhist Art Abroad: Collections and Exhibitions

Of the numerous Japanese art collections around the world there are many which also contain Buddhist art pieces. There are usually two factors behind this phenomenon. On one hand, most collections were based on travels and acquisitions made in the second half of the 19th century, when there was a violent disintegration of Buddhist temples and denominations, the *haibutsu kishaku*. With the sudden cessation of funds, some Buddhist temples had no choice but to sell some of their treasures[67]. Shiina gives five examples of what kind of events followed the act of separating Buddhism and Shintō (Jp. *shinbutsu bunri rei* 神仏分離令, issued in March 1868), including the idea of selling the Kamakura Great Buddha to overseas buyers[68]. The wealthy but otherwise mostly ignorant travellers could gather so many artworks that these became the bases for later museums dedicated to Eastern Asian

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the Imperial Residence in Kyoto. In some cases, however, these paintings were granted to the monk who performed the ritual, therefore these images (usually paintings) ended up at one of the great esoteric temples. Such examples are the many Fugen Enmei and Enmei paintings now in the collection of the Daigoji temple in Kyoto. For more about this see Sawa 1951.

[65] From a private conversation with the monk in August, 2015.

[66] It is still better to be displayed from time to time than forgotten altogether. Even the hidden objects or closed spaces become accessible from time to time in Japan. These kind of display can only be witnessed if we are in the right time at the right place, just as it happened with me last year when I finally got to visit the Ishiyamadera temple 石山寺 where the cabinet of the hidden *honzon* (Jp. *hibutsu* 秘仏) Nyoirin Kannon bodhisattva 如意輪観音菩薩 was open. This happens every 33 years.

[67] The business of forging old paintings also boomed around this time. Professor Ajima Noriaki 安島紀昭 of Hiroshima University 広島大学, is quite convinced that a great number of Japanese Buddhist paintings in foreign collections are but forgeries. (From a private conversation with Professor Ajima in June, 2016.)

[68] Shiina 2010: 11.

arts[69]. Anthony Shelton quotes Susan Stewart's and Susan Pearce's interpretation, according to which, there are three modalities of collecting: the fetishist, the souvenir, and the systematic[70]. Most of the early Western collectors of Japanese Buddhist art fall into the second category, for they did not plan their journey to specifically buy Buddhist art works, but they just happened to come across such artefacts during their travels. There were some exceptions from very early on, though. One of the earliest non-Japanese experts of Japanese art was Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908)[71], whose utmost merit is still visible in the great collection of the Museum of Fine Art in Boston. He himself collected artworks, especially during the eight years that he taught at the Imperial University (now Tokyo University)[72].

The Asian art collections of museums around the world show the 19th and 20th century collectors' passion for what could be uncommon, even exotic for them in their time. Japan had even more appeal for being unreachable for foreigners for nearly 250 years, so we cannot be surprised by the number of people almost pouring into the main island and discovering all its secrets for the first time. Fortunately for us, their collecting passion - usually accompanied by money or the support of their governments - was fulfilled by the acquisitions of various Buddhist images, often paintings of buddhas and bodhisattvas. This is how the images of Fugen Enmei Bosatsu ended up in various Eastern Asian collections of great museums in Europe or the US.

Even Japanese people today find these multi-armed, multi-faced, sometimes wrathful, other times serene deities of the esoteric pantheon immensely fascinating, so we can certainly imagine their effect on the first foreign travelers who entered Japan in the 19th century. The

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[69] The same was the case with the Ferenc Hopp Museum for Eastern Asiatic Arts in Budapest, Hungary, established in 1919. The museum was based on the collection of Ferenc Hopp (1833-1919), a Hungarian nobleman, who travelled to India, China and Japan on many occasions between 1882 and 1914, but, as sources tell us, he also bought artworks from sellers when at home. His collection of Japanese art, which counted 2000 artworks upon his death in 1919, comprises some Buddhist art pieces as well. Here we can see that he mostly bought what was dearest to him: his small *zushi* 厨子 altar collection is the biggest among the Buddhist artworks.

[70] Shelton 2013: 10. See also: Pearce 1989 and Stewart (1984) 1993.

[71] Art historian, curator of Asian art in the Museum of Fine Art in Boston. Four years after his death in 1908, his draft of a book on Chinese and Japanese art was finalized and published by his widow, under the title of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*.

[72] His collection was first purchased by Charles Goddard Weld, who bequeathed his collection to the Museum of Fine Art in Boston, upon his death in 1911. For more about this collection see the contemporary article about the Weld-bequest (L. W. 1911). For more about the Japanese art at Boston see Tomita 1936. There were many exhibitions of these Japanese artworks in Japan as well, see for example Tsuji – Morse 1997.

collectors' homes, or their curio cabinets usually show buddha or bodhisattva statues.

The Museum of Fine Art in Boston, the greatest Japanese art collection in the world outside Japan, also contains probably the biggest number of esoteric Buddhist images[73]. As for Europe, there are a number of images of esoteric deities in the British Museum, the Musée national des Arts asiatiques - Guimet, the Langen Foundation, or the Ferenc Hopp Museum collections as well. All of the aforementioned collections also include Fugen Enmei paintings or statues[74].

There is still much to be learnt about the artworks from these huge collections. For instance, I happened on the Fugen Enmei painting in the Musée Guimet collection by accident. Owing mostly to its poor condition, it has never been exhibited or even discussed anywhere since it was purchased by Émile Guimet in the 19th century[75].

The Fugen Enmei paintings in foreign collections - those that are in good condition - are usually exhibited at Japanese art exhibitions. The British Museum painting was exhibited on three occasion since 1998 (see Table 1.), while the previously mentioned paintings in Boston (especially the Heian-period one) are also commonly displayed[76].

Conclusion

From the point of view of the modern transformation of societies, religions and museums share their problems and their goals as well. The

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[73] There are three Fugen Enmei paintings (Acq. nr.: 11.4036; 11.4048; 11.6279) and one drawing (Acq. nr.: 11.6238) in their collection. One of the paintings is dated to the Heian period (Acq. nr.: 11.4036), and shows a special iconography type which does not survive in Japan. Two of the paintings (Acq. nr.: 11.4036; 11.4048) were part of the Fenollosa-Weld collection.

[74] There is a painting (Acq. nr.: 1881,1210,0.56.JA) and a statue (Acq. nr.: 1925,1016.1) in the British Museum; there is a painting (Acq. nr.á EG1195), a statue and a *zushi* statue in the Musée Guimet (for the latter two see Frank, Bernard 1991. *Le panthéon bouddhique au Japon: Collections d'Emile Guimet*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, pp. 61-62.). The Langen Foundation has a Kamakura period painting (Acq. nr.: J81); the Ferenc Hopp Museum has a small *zushi* statue (Acq. nr. 88.18). Other than these there is also a statue in Toulon, and a *zushi* statue (Acq. nr.: S906) in Munich.

[75] I have found out about it from the website called Japanese Buddhist Art in European Collections. (URL: http://aterui.i.hosei.ac.jp:8080/index.html). I have enquired about this painting at the museum, and Helene Bayou was kind enough to show it to me in January, 2017.

[76] Most recently it was displayed at the Tokyo National Museum in 2012, when the Japanese masterpieces of the Boston museum were exhibited again in Japan (in the 20th century there were many occasions when these masterpieces were brought to Japan to be exhibited).
(URL: http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=1416&lang=ja)

rapidly shifting values make the job of museums and their experts to be never without challenges. The interconnection between museums and the everyday life of people brought religion into the museums. The increase in the number of Buddhist art related exhibitions does not necessarily mean intensification of religiosity. Looking at the history of Japanese Buddhism, it seems that Japanese people always had a special connection to Buddhism and its art. The bases of their interest in the images of Buddhist deities, however, are hard to grasp: it can be based on faith or mere curiosity. Today, owing to scientific advancements, traditional religious institutions are struggling not to disappear[77]. A boost in the number of museum-goers, however, can be attributed to the rapidly growing number of tourists visiting Japan too, so it can be an indication of the interest in Japanese art (maybe not especially Buddhist art per se) of these tourists[78].

For future studies, I think it would be interesting to investigate why Japanese academics of museology overlook the question of displaying religious objects in museum space, or to find out how they relate to the temple (or shrine) museums.

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[77] See for example Nelson 2014. John K. Nelson examines the present struggle of Japanese Buddhist denominations, and shows four individual examples as possible solutions for their survival.

[78] More tourists means more people who can visit Japanese museums, however the striking disadvantage of these museums, the ever-so-criticized language barrier of Japanese scholars, is robbing the tourists from an experience, and robbing the museum from a group of eager visitors. As my friends experienced whenever I took them to Buddhist art displays in either Nara or Kyoto, everything had to be explained to them, because they could not read the labels next to the exhibited artworks written in Japanese language only. (To be fair, even the foreigners, who have been living in Japan for years, usually cannot read those, due to the extensive use of specific art historic and Buddhist words and phrases.)

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Table 1 Exhibitions with Fugen Enmei Images in Japan and Abroad

Year	Exhibition Name	Place	Image Owners
1909	Yamato e tokubetsu chinretsu 大和絵特別陳列	Kyōto Imperial Museum (today Kyōto National Museum)	Ninnaji
1921	Kōyasan reihō ten 高野山霊宝展	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Kongōbuji
1943	Fukko yamato e ha Totsugen, Ikkei, Tamechika gashū 復古大和絵派訥言・一恵・為恭画集	Onshi Kyōto Museum (today Kyōto National Museum)	Enryakuji
1972	Boston Bijutsukan tōyō bijutsu meihin ten ボストン美術館東洋美術名品展	Kyōto National Museum Tōkyō National Museum	MFA, Boston
1975	Daigoji mikkyō bijutsu ten 醍醐寺密教美術展	Daigoji temple	Daigoji
1981	Kinokawa ryūiki no butsuzō 紀ノ川流域の仏像	Wakayama Prefectural Museum	Fugenji
1983	Boston Bijutsukan shozō nihon kaiga meihin ten ボストン美術館所蔵日本絵画名品展	Kyōto National Museum Tōkyō National Museum	MFA, Boston
1984	Kōbō daishi no meihō 弘法大師の名宝	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
1985	Ibaraki no meihō 茨城の名宝	Ibaraki Prefectural Museum of History	Jinryūji
	Genpei no jidai to Kōyasan 源平の時代と高野山	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
1986	Mie no bijutsu fūdo wo saguru: Kodai, chūsei no shūkyō to zōkei 三重の美術風土を探る－古代・中世の宗教と造形	Mie Kenritsu Bijutsukan	Keishōji
1987	Ninnaji no meihō ten 仁和寺の名宝展	Kyōto National Museum Tōkyō National Museum	Ninnaji
1991	Japanese Buddhist Art	Museum of Art, Philadelphia	MA, Philadelphia
1992	Tōji no bosatsuzō 東寺の菩薩像	Tōji Hōmotsukan	Tōji
1993	Kawana Rakusan: 19 seiki no Kano-ha gaka 川名楽山－19 世紀の狩野派画家	Tateyama Municipal Museum	Tateyama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan
1995	Nihon bukkyō bijutsu meihōten 日本仏教美術名宝展	Nara National Museum	Jikōji Matsunoodera
	Kōyasan no bosatsuzō 高野山の菩薩像	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Entsūji Shōchiin
1996	Ibaraki no bukkyō bijutsu: Kamakura, Muromachi jidai no butsuzō to butsuga 茨城の仏教美術－鎌倉・室町時代の仏像と仏画－	Ibaraki Prefectural Museum of History	Jinryūji
	Shugyoku no Nihon bijutsu: Hosomi korekushon no zenbō to Boston, Cleaveland, Sackler no wadaisaku 珠玉の日本美術－細見コレクションの全貌とボストン、クリ - ブランド、サックラ - の話題作	Chiba Municipal Museum of Art	Hosomi Zaidan
1997	Hieizan Kōyasan meihōten 比叡山高野山名宝展	Enryakuji temple	Enryakuji

1998	Buddhist Art of the Edo Period	The British Museum, London	BM, London
	Daigoji ten 醍醐寺展	Daigoji temple	Daigoji
	Herbst Wind in den Kiefern - Japanische Kunst der Sammlung Langen	Museum for Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln	Langen Foundation
	Ōchō no butsuga to girei: Zen wo tsukushi, bi wo tsukusu 王朝の仏画と儀礼—善をつくし美をつくす	Kyōto National Museum	Daigoji Jikōji Matsunoodera
1999	Langen fusai no me: sho kōkai Ōshū zuiichi no nihon bijutsu korekushon ランゲン夫妻の眼：初公開欧州随一の日本美術コレクション	Ishikawa Prefectural Museum of Art	Langen Foundation
	Bōsō no kami to butsu 房総の神と仏	Chiba Municipal Museum of Art	Chōtokuji
	Hieizan Enryakuji no meihō to kokuhō, bonshō 比叡山延暦寺の名宝と国宝・梵鐘	Enryakuji Sagawa Museum of Art	Enryakuji
	Heian jidai no bijutsu 平安時代の美術	Kumamoto Prefectural Museum of Art	Taisanji
	Hotoke no sugata ほとけの姿	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
2003	Kūkai to Kōyasan 空海と高野山	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
	Tōji Kanchiin no rekishi to bijutsu: Meihō no bi, seikyō no seika 東寺観智院の歴史と美術—名宝の美聖教の精華	Tōji Hōmotsukan	Kanchiin
2004	Fugen bosatsu no kaiga: Utsukushiki hotoke he no inori 普賢菩薩の絵画—美しきほとけへの祈り—	Yamato Bunkakan	Enryakuji Hosomi Zaidan Jikōji Matsunoodera NNM Ninnaji
	Mihotoke to goriyaku みほとけとごりやく	Kanagawa Prefectural Kanazawa Library	Ryūgeji
2005	Saichō to Tendai no kokuhō 最澄と天台の国宝	Enryakuji	Taisanji
	Mihotoke no bi to katachi み仏の美とかたち	Ōita Prefectural Museum of History	Taisanji
	Fukko Yamato e shi Tamechika: Bakumatsu ōchō renbo 復古大和絵師為恭—幕末王朝恋慕	Yamato Bunkakan	Enryakuji
	Mikkyō mandara, kosumosu no sekai 密教曼荼羅・コスモスの世界	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
2006	Shomin no shinbutsuga - Kamata Korekushon 庶民の神仏画—鎌田コレクション	Iwate Prefectural Museum	
2007	Birei: Inseiki no kaiga 美麗—院政期の絵画	Nara National Museum	Jikōji Matsunoodera
	Shuhō no bijutsu: Bessonbō to besson mandara 修法の美術—別尊法と別尊曼荼羅	Rittō Museom of History and Ethnography	Enryakuji Enryakuji
2008	Kōyasan no meihō 高野山の名宝	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
2009	Japan from Prehistory to Present	The British Museum, London	BM, London
	Hotoke no jimotsu to mikkyō hōgu 仏の持物と密教法具	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
2010	Mikkyō no bijutsu 密教の美術	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Entsūji
2011	Ofuda, images gravées des temples du Japon - collection Bernard Frank	Musée Guimet	Jōkakuji (ofuda)

2012	Boston Bijutsukan: Nihon bijutsu no shihō ボストン美術館—日本美術の至宝	Tōkyō National Museum	MFA, Boston
2013	Butsuzō hantō: Bōsō no utsukushiki hotoketachi 仏像半島—房総の美しき仏たち	Chiba Municipal Museum of Art	Daijionji
	Kōyasan no meihō 高野山の名宝	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
2014	Daigoji no subete 醍醐寺のすべて	Nara National Museum	Daigoji painting Daigoji drawing
	Kyūshūbutsu: 1300 nen no inori to katachi 九州仏— 一三〇〇年の祈りとかたち	Fukuoka Municipal Museum	Taisanji
	Nihon kokuhō ten 日本国宝展	Tōkyō National Museum	Jikōji
2015	Japan from Prehistory to Present (semi-permanent)	The British Museum, London	BM, London
2016	Kōyasan no meihō 高野山の名宝	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
2017	Shōchiin no meihō 正智院の名宝	Kōyasan Reihōkan	Shōchiin
2018	Ninnaji to omuro-ha no mihotoke - Tenpyō to shingon mikkyō no meihō 仁和寺と御室派のみほとけ — 天平と真言密教の名宝	Tōkyō National Museum	Ninnaji

The Influence of the English Landscape Garden on the Meiji Stroll Garden: between Fact and Speculation

Oana Loredana Scoruș[1]

Abstract: *The present paper explores the characteristic elements of the Meiji stroll garden and their relation to the English landscape garden. Starting with Murin-an garden, a new style of gardens developed in the Meiji period (1868-1912), having characteristics different from those of the gardens of the Edo period (1603-1868). Some researchers mention the possibility of an influence from the English landscape garden as an essential factor for the appearance of this new garden style. However, in a more recent study, Wybe Kuitert argued that it was the design of the Japanese garden from the 17th century that led to the formation of the English landscape garden in the 18th century. This paper re-analyses the new elements of the Meiji stroll garden from the point of view of their relation to the English landscape garden, taking into consideration that the common elements of the two garden styles may actually be the result of the influence that the Edo period garden had on the English garden. Rather than looking for a direct connection, this paper aims to consider the Meiji stroll garden in the broader context of the various changes occurring in this period in Japan under the various influences from the West.*

Keywords: Japanese garden, Meiji, English garden, *sharawadgi*

Introduction

Among the many gardens in Kyoto that attract tourists today, there is a small one in the Keage area, close to the more famous Nanzenji Temple, whose popularity is starting to grow. Its name is Murin-an 無鄰菴; it is a triangle-shaped garden, with a surface of only a little over 3100 square meters. This small garden actually made quite a sensation back when it was built, between 1894 and 1896 by the gardener Ogawa Jihei VII (1860-1933), also known as Ueji. The first owner of the garden was politician Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1922), who also greatly contributed to its design. In 1941, the garden was donated by the Yamagata family to Kyoto city, and in 1951 it was designated as *meishō* 名勝[2], place of scenic

[1] PhD Candidate at Kyoto University

[2] *Meishō* 名勝 and *meisho* 名所 are sometimes used with the same meaning. However, in

beauty, by the Designation System of Cultural Properties. By designating a scenery as *meishō*, the above-mentioned system acknowledges an intrinsic value of that place, value that needs to be protected and passed on to next generations. In the case of Murin-an, this intrinsic value consists in the novelty that it brought to the garden culture in the Meiji period (1868-1912). Murin-an contains many elements that were not used in the gardens of the previous periods, or that were used with different meanings, or had different roles. These can be punctual elements, such as using ferns, or using individual stones instead of the traditional groups of stones; or they can be elements that have an impact on the structure of the garden as a whole, such as making a stream the main attraction of the garden instead of the traditional pond, or making the mountain outside the garden the element to which the entire design of the garden is subordinated. Aritomo asked for these types of elements when he commissioned Murin-an garden; Ueji adopted and applied them to the design of other gardens that he built afterwards, such as those in the Nanzenji area, with Tairyūsansō (1902) being one example. Moreover, many of these novel elements were also used in gardens built by other gardeners, such as the East garden of Isuien, believed to have been designed by Horitoku in 1899, or Sankeien, built by Hara Tomitarō and opened to the public in 1906. This has prompted researchers to talk about a new style of Japanese garden that started with Murin-an. All these gardens are stroll gardens, which means that they are admired while walking, not, for example, from the veranda of a building, as it happens in the case of the *kanshō-shiki*, a different style of Japanese gardens. In this paper, I will call the gardens built after Murin-an, and which borrowed many of its features, Meiji stroll gardens[3].

The main focus of this paper is to investigate the relation between the Meiji stroll garden and the English landscape garden of the 18th century. Researchers such as Shigemori Mirei, Ono Kenkichi, and Amasaki Hiromasa mention the possibility of an influence of the English landscape garden on the Meiji stroll garden. According to Amasaki, an Ueji specialist, the open and bright lawn which brings to mind a rural landscape, "likely overlapped with the image of the English landscape garden in Yamagata Aritomo's mind, who was very well acquainted with

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this paper, *meishō* is used with the narrow sense of the designation given to landscapes starting with 1919 by the Designation System of Cultural Properties 文化財指定制度, which is a department in the Japanese government's Agency for Cultural Affairs. On the other hand, *meisho* 名所 is used here with a different meaning, i.e., to refer to the famous landscapes reproduced in the Japanese garden as early as the Heian period.

[3] In contrast with the gardens in a clear Western style, with a geometrical design, such as Kyū-Furukawa garden, in Tokyo, made by Josiah Conder.

the West[4]". Ono further argues that the influence is reflected in the "awareness of the natural beauty[5]" that the Meiji Japanese garden shows. However, in a more recent study (2014), the landscape architect Wybe Kuitert argues that it was actually the Japanese garden of the 17th century that influenced the English landscape garden as far as the approach to natural landscape is concerned. This asks for a new inquiry into the relation between the Meiji stroll garden and the English landscape garden, since Kuitert's analysis suggests that some of the similarities between the two types of gardens can be due to a relationship of influence that worked in the opposite direction, i.e., from the Japanese garden of the Edo (1603-1868) period to the English landscape garden of the 18th century.

On the other hand, Muraoka Kanako also argues that a direct influence of the English landscape garden is actually difficult to confirm, and gardens such as Murin-an have probably developed as a natural consequence of the new realities of the period. After Muraoka refutes the possibility of the direct influence of the English landscape garden, no other research further discusses the Meiji style gardens from the point of view of their relation with the West, in spite of the fact that these gardens were built in a period when Japan was obviously borrowing from the West in many different areas.

In this paper, after introducing the new features of the Meiji stroll garden in the first section, in the second section I will discuss the English landscape garden, and its relation to the Japanese garden style popular during the 17th century. I will first identify and analyse some of the elements common to the 18th century English landscape garden and pre-Meiji Japanese garden, that are also included in the design of the Meiji stroll garden, so that I can separate them from elements that are possibly the result of later influences from West. In the third section, I will reconsider the features of the Meiji stroll garden in relation to the features of the English landscape garden that were pointed out in the second section. By doing this, I attempt to shed light on the new elements of the Meiji stroll garden and to clarify the meaning of their appearance in the garden. I also intend to present valuable information for the research on gardens, as well as make a contribution to the discussion about the influences from the West that entered Japan during the Meiji period.

[4] Amasaki 1990, p. 216.
[5] Ono 2012, pp. 203-204.

1. The New Features of the Stroll Garden in the Meiji Period

Referring to the way the influence of the English landscape garden reflects in the actual design of the Meiji stroll garden, Ono argues:

> A garden type based on a design that incorporates the cozy scenery of the mountain village, or the one of the mountain stream, and where these elements are represented in life size and in a realistic way appeared. This, while receiving different influences, such as influences from the English style garden (the landscape garden[6]) that shows awareness of the natural beauty, frees itself from the symbolic methods common for the classical gardens such as the *mitate*, and from the superstitions and taboos that can be found in every sort of textbooks on gardens, from *Sakuteiki*[7], written in the Heian period, until the Edo period.[8]

In other words, Ono sees this influence in the fact that the landscape is now life-sized represented in a realistic way; he also points out that the new type of garden is liberated from the symbols that were once the core of classical methods, and from superstitions and taboos.

As it will become clear below, it is especially the elimination of *mitate* that would bring along the creation of a landscape in a life size and realistic way, playing an important role in the elimination of symbols. Ono defines *mitate* as:

> Expressing something by likening it to something else. It is (a technique) used in literature, for example in *waka* and *haikai*, or in performing arts such as kabuki. It is an important technique also for the Japanese gardens, where we can encounter typical examples such as considering a patch of white sand to be the sea surface, or a mirror-shaped stone[9] to represent a waterfall. In order for the technique of *mitate* to work, a certain convention has to exist between the people involved in the process, either actively or passively[10].

As Ono points out here, a flat standing stone that represents a waterfall, such as the one from Daisen-in, the sub-temple of Daitokuji, is a good example of *mitate*. A *mitate* playing an important role in the

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[6] The brackets are from the original text.

[7] The first Japanese book on gardens that is said to have been written around the 11th century by Tachibana Toshitsuna.

[8] Ono 2009, pp. 203-204.

[9] A flat stone with a very smooth surface.

[10] Ono 2004, p. 285. All the translations of the Japanese texts into English are made by the author of the article, unless stated otherwise.

stroll gardens built before the Meiji period is that of famous landscapes (*meisho* 名所). Starting with *Sakuteiki,* the gardener is encouraged to bring in his garden famous landscapes by this technique: “Visualize the famous landscapes of our country and come to understand their most interesting points. Re-create the essence of those scenes in the garden, but do so interpretatively, not strictly[11]”. As the word "interpretatively" also suggests, the technique of *mitate* is not copying, representing exactly, but suggesting, recreating the atmosphere of a place or an object. I will analyse below the technique of *mitate* of a famous landscape in two well-known gardens of the Edo period; later, in section 3 I will discuss what changes their disappearance of this technique brought to the garden of the Meiji period.

Maybe the most renowned *mitate* of a famous landscape is the representation of Amanohashidate, one of Japan's three scenic views, in Katsura Imperial Villa (built in the 17th century). Amanohashidate is a thin strip of land covered with pine trees that connects two opposite sides of Miyazu Bay. On the *Yokuryūchi* lake in the garden of Katsura Imperial Villa, there is a narrow, long structure that reminds the visitor of the strip of land from Amanohashidate. It is not only its overall shape that suggests the famous scenery; the original is also recalled by a small bridge that stands for the two bridges over the South part of Amanohashidate. In the original landscape, the Circle of Wisdom Stone Lantern (*chie no wa tōrō* 知恵の輪燈篭) is placed on the closest shore to these bridges, while in the garden, the lantern is represented by a small stone lantern. However, while the stone lantern in the garden is placed to the right of these bridges, the stone lantern at Amanohashidate is on their left. The technique of *mitate* is not about exact reproduction, but about symbolising, about bringing in front of the viewers the essential elements of a landscape, organized in a suggestive structure that will make them recall the original landscape.

Another example of a *mitate* of a famous landscape is the representation in Koishikawa Kōrakuen Garden (17th century) of the Togetsu bridge from Arashiyama. A first look at the bridge in the garden will not necessarily bring to mind the bridge of Arashiyama: the shape is only vaguely similar, and there is a background made of plants suggesting the mountain of Arashiyama, but this is all. However, as I already mentioned, *mitate* consists of representing the main point/points that will make the visitor remember a particular landscape. Arashiyama is most famous for red maple leaves; the Togetsu bridge in Koishikawa Kōrakuen looks similar to the one in Arashiyama only when

[11] From the translation of *Sakuteiki* by Jirō Takei 2001, p. 153.

it is admired during the red maple leaves season, and the similarity is even more striking if the viewer stands in a certain point of the garden. Thus, not only that the landscape to be recreated in the garden has to be a famous one, therefore recognized as beautiful by the community, but it also has to be represented in the conditions and from the angle most appreciated by the community surrounding the gardener and the potential viewers.

Here, it must be noted that, in order for the 3.3 km long landscape from Amanohashidate to fit into the garden of the Imperial Villa at Katsura, it had to be represented at a smaller scale; this technique is called *shukkei* 縮景, i.e, miniature landscape. Consequently, the elimination of the *mitate* of *meisho* later on meant also the elimination of the miniature landscape, which led to the representation of a life size landscape.

Ishigumi 石組 is another traditional element whose elimination meant freeing the Japanese garden of the burden of symbolism. The *ishigumi* had been the core of the Japanese gardens at least since the Asuka period (538 - 710); they are groups of stones with one dominant rock, making up a complex structure that symbolises various things, such as the sacred Mount Meru, the crane and/or the turtle that stand for a long and happy life, the Buddhist trinity, etc. The garden of Konchi-in temple (garden built in the 17th century), one of the sub-temples of Nanzenji, is a good example of the use of *ishigumi,* representing the crane, the turtle and the Buddhist trinity. Starting with Murin-an, *ishigumi* are replaced with individual stones, such as *suteishi* 捨石, whose only role is to look as if they had simply rolled down from the mountain to their current position.

According to Ono, superstitions and taboos that had a long tradition in the Japanese garden, are also no longer a part of the design of the Meiji period garden. For example, in *Sakuteiki* it is firmly stated that "when it comes to placing stones, there are many taboos, and if the owner of the house trespasses even one of these, something bad will happen to him for sure[12]". From the end of the Edo period, Japan went through a radical process of modernization, and most of these superstitions stopped making sense, consequently being ignored in the garden design. Moreover, some of the elements that were the object of these superstitions, such as the *ishigumi*, the lake, and the *meisho*, disappear form the garden making thus the superstitions pointless.

Besides the elements that Ono mentions, I want to add the new way of approaching the technique of *shakkei* 借景 to the list of elements relevant in the discussion about the relation between the English

[12] Translated from "Sakuteiki", p. 6.

landscape garden and the Meiji stroll garden. *Shakkei,* the technique of the borrowed scenery, has been an important technique in the Japanese garden for centuries. Hida Norio defines the garden that uses this technique as one that "incorporates objects from the background as structural elements (of its design), and loses its coherence without these objects[13]". Therefore, *shakkei* is a technique that consists not only of allowing the background elements to be seen from inside the garden; it actually implies taking these elements into consideration when conceiving the design of the garden itself. The background element can be a temple tower, a gate, rice fields, but most often it is a natural element, such as a mountain, or sometimes the sea. In the Meiji period, starting with Murin-an, the background will play an even more important role in garden design than before. As I will discuss in detail in section 3, Aritomo will say about Higashiyama, one of the mountains that can be seen from Murin-an, that it is the leading mountain, *shuzan* 主山, of the garden.

The element that is most often mentioned in relation to the possible influences from the English landscape garden is *shibafu* 芝生, the lawn. For example, Mirei says: "Sometimes, in the Japanese garden, an open space covered by a lawn is included, and the paths have a functional role, similar to the one they play in a European garden[14]". On the other hand, Amasaki argues that "The lawn square as a space for welcoming a large number of guests for garden parties was an indispensable element also for the daimyo gardens of the Edo period[15]". Moreover, when arguing against the possibility of an influence from the English landscape garden, Muraoka compares the design of the paths on the lawn, and shows that they are actually different in the two garden styles, her conclusion being that the lawn in the Meiji stroll gardens is most probably the result of the evolution of the lawn used in the Edo gardens[16]. Therefore, I will not include this element in the discussion about the relation between the features of the Meiji style garden and the English landscape gardens in section three.

2. The Relation between the 18th Century English Landscape Garden and the Japanese Garden from the Edo Period

The term *sharawadgi* refers the ideal natural landscape that the English gardeners were aiming for in their gardens in the 18th century; for a long period it was believed to have come from China[17]. However, in

[13] Hida 1999, p. 189.
[14] Mirei, 1971, pp. 122—123.
[15] Amasaki 1990, p. 216.
[16] Muraoka 2001, p. 39.
[17] For example, the term is defined by Michel Syme as: "A pseudo-Chinese term

an article written in 2014, Kuitert argues that Japan is actually the country where *sharawadgi* originated. According to Kuitert, the root of *sharawadgi* is *shara'aji* and it was a word used most probably by the manufacturers of art, denoting "the mastery of producing <<taste>> as suggestive invention in the design of an object of art. (...) It denoted the concealed artifice of poetics in motifs enjoyed by wealthy, highly intelligent and sensitive art lovers, and elite connoisseurs[18]". Kuitert also mentions that the term covers "the revolution in design of the second half of the seventeenth century[19]" in Japan, and it was brought to Europe by Ernst van Hogenhoek, through the cabinets painted with real topographic landscapes, most probably cited as literary motifs in Japanese literature. The essayist William Temple, whose essay *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or Of Gardening in the Year 1685* is considered to have initiated the movement of the English landscape garden, used the word *sharawadgi* to denote "beauty in irregularity[20]", placing the word in a different setting than the original, that of the taste for landscape gardening[21]. Thus, the term served Temple's purpose of implementing a "natural" landscape that opposed the one of the French style garden. I shall look bellow at how the idea of an irregular landscape was implemented in the English garden and what similarities this landscape had with the Japanese garden of the Edo period.

2.1 Characteristic elements of the English landscape garden

The English landscape garden developed in the 18th century as a reaction to 17th century formal gardens, such as the gardens from the Palace of Versailles made by André Le Nôtre. Blenheim Palace Park, Rousham Park, Stourhead can be mentioned as representative examples of the English landscape garden, but maybe the most famous of all is the Stowe garden. At the end of the 17th century Stowe was a formal garden, but in the hands of the most prominent English gardeners it will gradually change, expressing one by one the three main different stages of the English landscape garden.

The first essential step that opened the path towards the design of the English landscape garden was the replacement of the exterior fence of the garden with a ha-ha wall. A ha-ha wall is a ditch with a wall on a side that separates the land of the garden from the exterior land. The ha-ha

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suggesting elements of novelty, surprise and irregularity". (Symes 1993, p. 108)
[18] Kuitert 2014, p. 87.
[19] *Idem*. p. 83.
[20] *Idem*. p. 78.
[21] *Idem*. p. 93.

wall united into a unique landscape the garden constructed by man and the natural scenery from the outside of the garden. Although he was not the first one to use it, Charles Bridgman (1690–1738) was the one to fully develop this element. He changed the wall at Stowe garden into a ha-ha wall in 1719. The art historian Horace Walpole calls ha-ha "the leading step" of the English landscape garden, because once the ha-ha was installed "the garden in its turn was to be set free from its prim regularity, that it might assort with the wilder country without[22]". In other words, the geometrical design of the garden is replaced by a landscape that needs to be in harmony with the nature from outside the garden[23].

After Bridgeman, William Kent (1685 –1748) was hired as garden designer at Stowe in 1730. He took the desire of creating a landscape as close to nature as possible a step further, by combining the landscape that aims to hide human intervention, with classical Greco-Roman elements, such as statues, ruins, grottos, etc. In 1741, Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1716-1783) is hired to redesign the garden of Stowe. He takes out the products of human creativity, i.e., classical ornaments, leaving only the landscape, whose purpose was to give the illusion of a natural landscape. By doing this, he takes the English landscape garden to its apogee, his style being the predominant one until the end of the 18th century. Entering into the 19th century, Humphrey Repton (1752-1818) takes a big step in a new direction, rejecting the creation of an illusion of nature inside the garden, and advocating instead for a landscape that combines the regular design of the 17th century garden with the beauty of irregular nature in the 18th century.

The ha-ha wall, as I already mentioned, brought along the necessity of creating a scenery that looked as natural as possible in the English landscape garden. What did this actually mean when it came to creating a garden? The cultural historian Matsudaira Keiichi points out the three main characteristics that the landscape of the English landscape garden was supposed to have in order to look "natural": "irregularity", "diversity" and "variety[24]". If "irregularity" is a rather clear term, it can be more difficult to make a distinction between "diversity" and "variety" in the garden. Matsudaira explains diversity as "not being constant, changing" (*henka*), and "variety" as multiplicity (*tayōsei*). Therefore,

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[22] Walpole 1780, p. 55.

[23] As models for their "natural" landscapes, the English gardeners of the 18th century looked up to the works of art of the landscape painters form the same period, such as Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), Claude Lorrain (1600-1682), Salvator Rosa (1615-1673). Consequently, "picturesque" becomes a crucial concept, the word referring to a style in which the landscape of the garden is similar to a landscape picture. William Gilpin (1724–1804) was one of the first to discuss this term.

[24] Matsudaira 2001, p. 108.

"diversity" means for Matsudaira to have the elements of the garden displayed in such a way that they bring in front of the viewer a different landscape when he changes his position inside the garden. "Variety" is having many different types of objects inside the garden. "Diversity" can be considered a consequence of the combination between "irregularity" and "variety": when a variety of elements are displayed in an irregular manner in the garden, the garden will most likely show different faces to a visitor who moves inside its space.

Along with "irregularity", "diversity" and "variety", *genius loci* is an important concept when it comes to how a landscape that looks natural was represented in the English landscape garden. *Genius loci* means "spirit of the place" in Latin and refers to taking into consideration the atmosphere, the character of a certain place. The poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744), whose thoughts had an essential effect on garden design, says: "Consult the genius of the place in all; / That tells the waters or to rise or fall; / Or helps the ambitious hill the heavens to scale./ Or scoops in circling theatres the vale"[25]. Pope is also said to have praised gardener Capability Brown for respecting the *genius* of the place in everything. As Matsudaira also points out, "to consult the genius of the place" means here that, in his process of making a landscape that looks "natural", the gardener should use the natural features of the place where he is building the garden[26].

The ha-ha wall, the creation of a landscape that looks natural, and *genius loci* are elements related to the way the design of an English landscape garden should be created, and all three of them invite the gardener to hide his touch as much as possible. I will next introduce one element characteristic to the English landscape garden that relates to the way the garden should be admired. Matsudaira points out as an essential characteristic of the English landscape garden the emphasis placed on "experiencing with your own senses[27]". The landscape of the garden was meant to be experienced from inside, by positing the visitors as participants and inviting them to approach the landscape with their senses, not with their reason. Pope asserts that "sense" is the most important element when it comes to gardens[28], and, a few lines later, he stresses the fact that the garden of Stowe, since it "still follows sense" is "a work to wonder[29]".

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[25] Pope 1731, 57-60.
[26] Matsudaira 2001, p. 142.
[27] Matsudaira 2001, p.108.
[28] Pope 1731, 41-43.
[29] Pope 1731, 65-70.

The new English landscape garden reveals a shift in the two main relations mediated by in the garden, i.e., between garden and gardener and garden and viewer: as opposed to the French style garden that emphasises the skill of man in making geometrical shapes, the gardener of the English landscape garden is supposed to hide his hand from the landscape as much as possible; also, the visitor is supposed to appreciate the landscape in a more direct way than before, not only to observe it, but experience it.

2.2 Equivalents of the above elements in the Japanese garden of the Edo period

In this subsection I will discuss the features of the English landscape garden in relation to the elements of the Edo period garden. The technique of the ha-ha wall has an equivalent in the Japanese gardens before the Meiji period in the technique of *shakkei*. As I have already pointed out, the ha-ha wall, by being an "invisible" wall, made possible the unification into a coherent scenery between of the exterior and interior of the English landscape garden. In a similar way, the technique of *shakkei* succeeds in bringing together the natural landscape from the exterior of the garden, and the interior landscape made by the hand of man, who designs the garden so that it makes a coherent picture together with the exterior landscape, by hiding the wall between the two with trees, tea-rooms and various objects. The actual appearance may be different, but the functions of the ha-ha wall and of the *shakkei,* as it was used before the Meiji period, were actually similar.

"Irregularity", "diversity" and "variety" are also characteristics of the Japanese garden from the Edo period and from the previous periods. As Ono also points out, the "irregularity" was a characteristic of the Japanese garden since its formation[30]. As the example of the only garden from the Nara period that can be visited today, the Tōin garden, shows, irregularity usually characterises the entire structure of the place in the case of the majority of Japanese gardens. Famous gardens such as the ones from the temples Kinkakuji (end of the 14th century), Ginkakuji (second half of the 15th century) or the garden from Katsura Imperial Villa (beginning of the 17th century) prove that irregularity continues to play an important role in the Japanese garden design throughout history.

"Variety" was also a constant characteristic of Japanese gardens. Although the constitutive elements for the Japanese garden are limited - rocks, trees, water - they can provide "variety" by their shape, size and texture. As discussed above, "variety" combined with "irregularity" will

[30] Ono 2012, p. 63. He mentions the "lake with irregular surface" as one of the main characteristics of the gardens of the Nara period.

give, by consequence, "diversity". In the Japanese garden, the "diversity" created by the change of landscape along with the change of the position of the viewer means actually a more complex structure, constructed using specific methods. The philosopher Augustin Berque says about the Japanese garden that "it forces the person who takes a stroll to focus his attention on successive and discontinuous views, and to appreciate each of these for itself[31]". The successive sceneries are made possible in the garden by means such as the control of the view of the visitors, and of their path.

In the Japanese garden, a very similar attitude to the one represented by the *genius loci* underlines the impression of natural landscape given by the three characteristics of "irregularity", "diversity" and "variety". On the one hand, very often the materials for the garden (plants, stones, sand) are taken from the very region the garden will be built. On the other hand, the respect for the *genius loci* in Japan is obvious in the fact that the provenance of an element plays a crucial role when deciding the position and the presentation of that element in the garden. This is made explicit for example in *Sansui Narabini Nogata no Zu, a* text about gardens written in the medieval period by a certain Zōen, and translated by David Slawson as *Illustrations for Designing Mountain, Water, and Hillside Filed Landscapes: "*In the planting of trees and herbs, you make their natural habitat your model[32]". Slawson also argues that the words for "trees and herbs" can be substituted here by the word "rocks", and "natural habitat" by "geological zones", since in the Japanese garden the same affirmation is valid also about the rocks[33].

Stimulating the senses, the characteristic that I mentioned last about the English landscape garden, has always played a great part in the Japanese garden too. The sight occupies, as expected, the central place, to the point that what the visitors see is more important than what really is there. This is the case for the technique of *shakkei* that makes the visitor feel as part of the garden a space that in reality is exterior to the garden. Also, in the gardens previous to the Edo period, the olfactory sense was often stimulated by plants such as Gold and Silver Osmanthus (*kin mokusei* and *gin mokusei*) and the hearing by the waterfall placed in a remote corner of the garden and hidden by plants, so that the visitors needed to let themselves guided for a while only by their hearing in order to find it. It is worth noting here, thus, that even before the Meiji period, the design of the Japanese gardens invited the visitors to use their senses and experience the garden in a direct and active way.

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[31] Augustin Berque 1982, p. 144, translated from French by the author of this paper.
[32] Rule no. 10 in the translation of *Sansui Narabini Nogata no Zu*, *made* by David Slawson.
[33] Slawson 1991, p. 68.

3. The New "Awareness of the Natural Beauty" in the Meiji Stroll Garden

In this section, I will reinterpret the characteristic elements of the Meiji stroll garden from the point of view of the changes that affected the relations between landscape, gardener and viewer in the English landscape garden. In the second section I identified in the Edo period garden the elements corresponding to the characteristic elements of the English landscape garden. However, as I will discuss below, from these common elements, going into the Meiji period, the Japanese garden will be undergoing changes similar to the ones that the English garden went through at the end of the 17th century, when it changed from the French garden style to the English landscape garden style.

3.1 The relation between the gardener and the landscape

The elements discussed in the first section as the new features of the Meiji garden, i.e., the elimination of *mitate*, the replacement of *ishigumi* with *suteishi*, and the new way of using the technique of *shakkei,* play a crucial role in making the scenery of the garden look close to a natural landscape. Instead of the landscapes already accepted by the community as beautiful that were reproduced in the garden by the technique of *mitate*, this is what Aritomo proposes as the starting point for creating the landscape in his garden:

> As for the water, the people of the past were making it most often into a lake, but in my opinion a stream is more charming. For me, a blue stream, that you can often see in a mountain village, that keeps flowing with a murmur, as this stream here, is more interesting. This is why I decided to make a stream in my garden[34].

Aritomo does not aim for a specific landscape, but instead tries to recreate one in which a stream flows at the foot of a mountain. For him, any flow and any mountain are good enough to be represented in the garden, there is no need for the previous approval of the community, as expressed it the *mitate* of *meisho*. Since the landscape of the garden does not symbolise another landscape, the viewers do not have to search for the intention of the gardeners and ask themselves what landscape they had in mind when they created the garden. They are now simply supposed to enjoy the landscape as if it were a wild natural scenery.

The elimination of *ishigumi* is connected by Mirei to a lack in skill and creativity of the gardeners of the period[35]. Whether the gardeners

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[34] Kuroda 1907, p. 10.

[35] "While they had the pride of being the head of a traditional family, they did not

were able or not to make *ishigumi* is debatable, but indeed their replacement with *suteishi* meant that less creativity and human skill was needed in the garden. *Suteishi* can be defined as:

> The method of setting stones so they look like the stones that lay casually between the hills, and as if they were not intentionally placed there. Usually there is only one stone that is often of a large size. This method was established sometime around the end of the Edo period and the beginning of the Meiji period, and it is a manner of handling space at which Ueji excels[36].

As one can see in Murin-an and in Isui-en, *ishigumi* play a very important role in creating the impression of a natural hill on which rocks fell randomly. By this replacement, instead of admiring the capacity of the gardener to combine texture and shapes into a structure of stone, the visitors are invited to appreciate the impression of natural landscape given by the random character of the stones.

The *shakkei* in the gardens from the Nanzenji area is created mainly by using the Higashiyama Mountain. Aritomo comments on including the same mountain in his garden as follows:

> The main mountain of this garden is Higashiyama, the green mountain that rises in front of the garden. Thus, since this garden is placed where the base of this mountain is, the water of the waterfall must come out from this mountain. In this case, the disposition of the stones, the way of planting the trees, they all have to be determined based on this[37].

For "the main mountain" of the garden, Aritomo uses *shuzan*, which is actually a word invented by him to describe what Higashiyama should represent in the Murin-an garden. According to Aritomo, the fact that Higashiyama is the *shuzan* of Murin-an means that the mountain dictates the placement of all the elements in the garden, from stones, trees, and the direction of the water flow. The choice of elements can be added here, since Higashiyama was planted at the time with red pines, and, as Amasaki mentions, "the decision to plant red pines [in Murin-an Garden], must have been made with the intention of establishing a continuity between the garden and the natural landscape of

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understand the very important *ishigumi,* therefore not only did they have to live with the drama of not understanding the technique, but also the very aesthetic of *ishigumi* also was a mystery for them." (Mirei 1971, p. 122)

[36] *Ueji, the genius of water and stone* 2008, p. 116.

[37] Kuroda 1907, p. 7.

Higashiyama[38].” On the other hand, Shigemori criticises the way the technique of *shakkei* is used in the gardens of the Nanzenji area:

> It is regrettable that - and this may have something to do with the fact that too much effort was put into the borrowed scenery, or (maybe) we should say that the gardens themselves were not artistic enough - they showed the best development regarding the method of borrowed scenery, however, concerning the technique of the garden itself, they were not as good (as before). This happened because when effort is put into (including) the borrowed scenery, inevitably, the garden must be made in a naturalistic manner[39].

The design of the Meiji garden revolves around the exterior element: it has to include it in a harmonious way, which leads to a design from which the traces of human intervention have to be erased so that the landscape looks as natural as possible. Without seeing here a reason to criticise these gardens or to praise them, it is worth keeping in mind Shigemori's observation that the usage of the borrowed scenery brought along a decrease in the artistic character of the garden, which also meant a decrease in the importance attached to the gardener's skills.

Taking into consideration the elements above I can conclude that in the Meiji stroll garden, instead of admiring the good taste and the skill of the gardener, the visitor is invited to appreciate how good the gardener is at hiding his own hand so that he can create the illusion of a natural landscape. As such, the relation between gardener and landscape in the Meiji stroll garden appears similar to the one developed in the English landscape garden.

3.2 The relation between the viewer and the landscape

What Matsudaira mentioned as a way of bringing the visitors closer to the landscape and making them feel as active participants was the stimulation of the five senses. As mentioned in the second section of this paper, stimulating the senses was always important in the Japanese garden. In the Meiji period gardens, the elements that were appealing to the senses in the previous periods are, for the most part, preserved, and to these new ones are added, the most important being the stream. As Amasaki notes,

> The stream, having just the right inclination makes a gentle sound and sends up a fine white spray. The water that falls into Ueji's hands does not become a mere view; one can (easily) see it is

[38] Amasaki 1990, p. 219.
[39] Shigemori 1969, p. 153.

designed in such a way so as to appeal to all five senses of a human being[40].

For the stream at Murin-an, the technique of seochi 瀬落ち is used, which consists in making small steps here and there on the river. This increases the sound made by the water, to the point that the stream can be heard from inside the tea room. Another characteristic element of Ueji's garden that appeals to the senses is *sawa tobiishi* 沢飛石, or stepping stones used over a stream instead of a bridge, that bring the visitors very close to the water, and make them wonder how cold the water might feel if one were to fall in it, thus giving them an (imagined) tactile sensation of the water.

The elimination of *mitate* is yet another way of bringing the visitors closer to the landscape of the garden: when they admire the landscape of a Meiji stroll garden, the visitors do not need to think about anything else but what they have in front of them. Their mind does not need to interpret, does not look for hidden meanings. Actually, Suzuki Makoto says that Murin-an has a common pattern, i.e., a flow making two branches at the foot of a mountain, which resembles the landscape from Aritomo's home town[41]. It is quite likely that Aritomo had in mind the landscape he grew up with, and imagined it as the most beautiful natural landscape that deserves to be recreated in a garden. However, unlike the process of *mitate*, Aritomo's intention is not to make the viewer recognise the landscape he built, but to create a scenery that can be found anywhere in a mountain region and can be enjoyed by everyone who comes close to it, without any previous information being necessary.

The direct relation between the visitor and the landscape is also shaped by the elimination of miniatures. When Aritomo said he wanted to make his garden look like a river flowing through a mountain village, he did not mean that he wanted to create in the garden the replica of a village, with small houses, small mountains and rivers. What he created was a portion of the path a human being would most likely walk on inside a mountain village, at a full size scale. Thus, while the landscapes represented in miniature at Katsura Imperial Villa and at Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden were made so that the visitors could look at them from outside, in Murin-an, the landscape is created not only so that it appears similar to a mountain village, but, because of its real size, the visitors can walk inside the landscape. Therefore, how the landscape feels to the visitors when they walk inside the garden becomes more important than ever before. It is worth mentioning here that *shakkei* too helps making the

[40] Amasaki 1990, p. 218.
[41] Suzuki 2005, p. 349.

visitors feel as part of the landscape, by creating the impression of a regular human scale landscape, inside of which the visitors can walk freely.

Conclusion

While the direct influence from the English landscape garden is not supported by any substantial proof, the relation between the garden and the gardener, and the relation between the garden and the person who admires it both change in similar ways in the Meiji stroll garden as well as in the English landscape garden: in the case of the former, the gardener is supposed to hide his own hand as much as possible from the landscape, so that he/she can create the illusion of a natural landscape; in the latter, we can see a shift towards a more direct relation between the visitors and the landscape. These similar changes may have been what made researchers mention the English landscape garden as a possible influence for the Meiji stroll garden. Nevertheless, while the gardeners of the English landscape garden were trying in a conscious way to make a landscape that looked natural, Yamagata Aritomo was simply trying to make a garden different from what already existed. The landscape that looked natural and made the visitors experience it through all their senses instead of making them look for symbols, thus embodying two features common in the English landscape garden, came naturally to Aritomo and others, in the context of the period.

An issue to be taken up in a follow up study is how these similarities were influenced by the changes in the way nature was defined and perceived at the time. At this stage, it can be assumed that some ideas and concepts that played an essential role in the English landscape garden, such as a certain way of thinking about nature and beauty, entered Japan in the Meiji period and created the new relations between garden, gardener and visitor that shaped the Meiji stroll garden, as discussed in this paper.

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IV. EAST AND WEST

UNESCO's Humanity of Hope - The Orient Catalogue and the Story of the East

Miia Huttunen[1]

Abstract: *This article analyses UNESCO's (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) early attempts to propagate the ideal of hope in the pursuit of the organisation's agenda of "the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind". An early example of such an endeavour is a film catalogue project carried out by UNESCO and the British Film Institute in the midst of the Cold War and at the peak of the decolonisation process. Titled "Orient. A Survey of Films Produced in Countries of Arab and Asian Culture", the catalogue was published in 1959 with the aim of familiarising Western audiences with Eastern cultures to forge solidarity of humankind through the promotion of intercultural understanding. In this article, I approach the catalogue as part of UNESCO's attempts to adapt to a changing world. The catalogue included 139 feature films, 75 percent of which were produced in Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. This article analyses the plot summaries of the collection of films produced in these three countries to explore how the catalogue was used to employ the rhetoric of hope through the stories told in the plot summaries. I suggest that with the catalogue project, UNESCO argued for the importance of adapting to a new world in which humanity was not to be divided by internal differences but rather united by hope for a better future.*

Keywords: UNESCO, adaptation, hope, the East, cinema

Introduction

In the midst of World War II, a group of visionaries gathered in London to make plans for a new post-war organisation. This meeting spawned a series of others and came to be known as the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME). The four-year series of conferences gave birth to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945. Influenced by both the high idealism of universal humanism rooted mainly in the Western philosophical tradition of the Enlightenment and the lingering shadow

[1] Doctoral Candidate, Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

of the war, the newly born organisation set on a path towards a better future for all mankind. The founders of the organisation chose to embark on a mission of peace, solidarity and understanding, determined to remain a beacon of hope and envisioning a future of mankind actively creating a better world.

In this article, I explore UNESCO's early attempts to propagate the ideal of hope in the pursuit of the organisation's agenda of "the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind" (UNESCO 1945, Preamble). This ideal was challenged early on, as the 1950s witnessed a series of events, which made a major impact on the direction the organisation was steered towards. First, the world had slipped deep into the Cold War polarisation. Second, by the mid-1950s, the number of UNESCO's Member States had almost doubled since the founding of the organisation. This was primarily a result of the decolonisation process, but also due to the abandonment of the political divisions of the Second World War through the admission of Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany during the early 1950s. These events reflected UNESCO's expansion to an organisation of a truly worldwide nature, but also presented a problem the organisation needed to tackle: the world was changing and this called for serious attempts to adapt to the new order.

UNESCO's approach to the conduct of world affairs bears notable resemblance with the liberal internationalists, as Paul Rich (2002) proposes to call them, following firmly in the footsteps of Immanuel Kant. His *Perpetual Peace* (1795) is often noted to be one of the most influential works in the ideological background of the organisation. The liberal internationalists had an impact on the organisation not only on paper, but also in practice: among the architects of UNESCO was Alfred Zimmern, who was later replaced by Julian Huxley as the British candidate in the election of UNESCO's first Director-General[2]. Norman Angell, most notably, wrote about the necessity of adapting to a new world decades before UNESCO was faced with the same challenge. In his 1910 book *The Great Illusion*, Angell chose not to focus on the inevitability of conflict among nations and peoples, but instead turned to the idea of common interests that could unite humanity (Angell 1910). UNESCO took a similar approach, attempting to construct the foundations of moral solidarity upon intercultural understanding.

In 1959, UNESCO and the British Film Institute published a catalogue of Eastern films titled *Orient. A Survey of Films Produced in Countries of Arab and Asian Culture*. The aim of the catalogue project was to familiarise Western audiences with Eastern cultures through cinema. The films chosen were to best "illustrate significant aspects of

[2] For a discussion of the possible reasons behind these events see e.g. Toye and Toye 2010.

life, feeling or thought in their country of origin" in order to give Western audiences a "fuller and more informed idea of the ways of life of Eastern peoples" (Holmes 1959). In other words, the films were to contribute to intercultural understanding between the vaguely defined East and West through educating Western audiences about cultures previously alien to them. The catalogue includes 139 feature films[3] from 13 countries. Out of these, 103 are listed under Japan, the U.S.S.R. and India - a baffling 75 percent of the total number of feature films[4]. The other countries included in the feature film part are the United Arab Republic with 9 films, the Philippines with 7, Hong Kong with 5, Indonesia and Pakistan with 4 films each, Malaya with 3, and Iraq, Korea, Thailand and Tunisia with 1 film each.

Through a reading of the plot summaries the catalogue provides of the films produced in these three countries, I approach the catalogue project as part of UNESCO's attempts to guide humankind through the challenges of a changing world. There was not much UNESCO could do to influence the geopolitical realities of the time. What they could do, however, was to influence how those realities were perceived and how the representations of the other half of the world were constructed. What the Western world needed to adapt to, I suggest, was not the East with its differing cultural values. Instead, it was UNESCO's vision of a new form of humanity united by what the catalogue saw to be the fundamental human condition: hope.

The Language of Adaptation

Although more heavily associated with the constructivist tradition of International Relations theory, the importance of linguistic conventions in the changes of the conduct of world affairs was already argued by Norman Angell over a century ago. In *The Great Illusion,* Angell argued that war was futile, with the fundamental problem being that the world's leaders had failed to understand this (Angell 1910). The critics of Angell's work have all too easily cast aside his argument, claiming he saw war in the modern world as impossible. The great wars fought after the publication of his book would then be unquestionable proof that he had been mistaken. Not only the book, but in fact Angell himself, became a major target of an attack on misguided, utopian idealism, devised by the opposing realist school of IR theory. In the frontline was E.H. Carr with his 1939 book *The Twenty Years Crisis*, in which Angell became the main target of criticism and the primary representative of an intellectual tradition Carr labelled idealism. Perhaps

[3] In addition, the catalogue lists 209 documentaries and short films.
[4] The feature films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. are listed in appendix 1.

as a result of the realist attack, Angell and his work were practically forgotten for decades.

Angell's argument was primarily constructed upon the concept of interdependence. He utilised the concept drawn from economic theories to explain that in the second half of the 19th century, the industrialised world became increasingly dependent on each other in terms of finance and trade. It then followed that war would cause the system of interdependence to collapse bringing the whole economic system down with it. Behind interdependence, however, there existed a concept even more powerful: adaptation. On the more neglected side of his theory, Angell turned to the social-evolutionary inspired concept of adaptation to argue that, essentially, the world's leaders and scholars alike had failed to adapt to a changing world.

Language, for Angell, was what linked the two sides of his argument together. He promoted the introduction of a new vocabulary better suited to the realities of an interdependent world, discussing the ways language affects our ability to understand the world. The great illusion the book's title refers to is a collectively held perspective preventing statesmen and scholars from seeing the world the way it really is. As this illusion is sustained by an obsolete terminology, it can only be broken by education, which for Angell was proof of how language affects our ability to adapt to political realities. Thus, change could be achieved by replacing the old conceptions of that language with new ones, and ensuring that they were collectively held. Following the path paved by Norman Angell, the process of aiding the adaptation to the new world of UNESCO, shared by the representatives of both Eastern and Western cultural tradition, must begin with language. Thus, my focus here is on the ways the films in the catalogue were spoken of.

A modern version of Angell's idea is Oliver Bennett's theory of the institutional promotion of hope, referring to how a collection of established social conventions can maintain and reinforce optimism (Bennett 2015). Like Ernst Bloch famously argued, what actually drives us, is our dreams of a better world, and it is through our hopes that our visions of the future are manifested (Bloch 1959). His monumental three-volume epic, *The Principle of Hope*, lays out the principles through which hope appears in our daily lives. Through an ontology of not-yet-being, he suggests we express our hopes in the form of stories, dreams and fairytales, which he saw as the expressions of hopes which could not yet be realised. For Bennett, too, cultures of optimism answer to our fundamental social and personal needs by offering visions of a meaningful future of hope. My focus will be on what Bennett calls the "rhetorical promise" (Bennett 2015, 49-57), approached here as an analytical tool for

an exploration of how the catalogue was used to employ the rhetoric of hope in the pursuit of the organisation's agenda and to propagate hope through the stories told in the plot summaries. It is actions rooted in various institutions that maintain and reinforce optimism and hope, Bennett argues. Institutions are understood in their widest possible sense, as established sets of social practices, such as family or religion. My approach here focuses on how a specific organisation - UNESCO - constructs, maintains and mediates the ideal of hope. Hope is understood here in terms of values and desires, as "positive expectation", a way of envisioning a brighter future (Bennett 2015, 2).

One of Bennett's institutions is democratic politics, which he approaches from two perspectives: first, democracy itself as an agent of hope; and second, the demands democracy places on the reproduction of optimistic narratives (Bennett 2015, 25-57). Even though Bennett's focus is specifically on political speeches in the realm of democratic politics, his approach arguably covers a much wider array of phenomena. The basic idea behind his account of the rhetorical promise is that hope can be harnessed to function as a powerful tool in the pursuit of one's goals - be they by nature personal or aiming to produce a wider impact. The plot summaries in the catalogue can be interpreted as a form of political speech: they are pieces of text aiming to make an impact. The formulations with which the catalogue introduces the films serve a specific purpose: to introduce the East to Western people. Although the catalogue only directly targeted those with a command of the English language, its aim was to foster understanding of Eastern peoples throughout the Western world. This understanding, according to UNESCO's logic, was meant to result in the ultimate goal of the moral solidarity of humankind. However, while the focus on hope emerges from the ways the films are interpreted and spoken of in the catalogue, the actual contents of the films themselves might not always match the descriptions in the catalogue (Huttunen 2017).

In what follows, the plots of the films as described in the catalogue are read with the help of Northrop Frye's theory of literary criticism (Frye 1957). His 1957 book *Anatomy of Criticism* offers four essays or pieces of theory attempting to distinguish categories of literature and keywords for literary criticism: modes, symbols, myths, and genres. The essays provide principles for literary criticism, derived from and applicable to not much short of the entirety of Western literature. As we will see, his theory seems to, however, also apply to Eastern forms of storytelling - or at least to the ways Eastern storytelling is described for Western audiences. Whether this is because of the flexibility of his theory or the universality of the stories themselves remains to be

discussed in a different context. Frye's proposed system is inductive, deriving underlying patterns from specific examples and moving beyond individual texts in order to find general principles across multiple works of literature. Whether there exists a coherent system of literature in the first place is, of course, up for debate, but a defense against this criticism can be found on the pages of the book itself: even Frye's own structuralist account discusses how works of literature can blur the categories in which they are placed. The focus here will be on two of Frye's four categories: modes, or the characters, and symbols, or levels and points of reference of symbolism in the stories.

The Heroes of Hope and Struggle

The reasons for the rather disproportionate number of films included in the catalogue from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. are undoubtedly various. All three countries, for example, were among the biggest film producers of the time with Japan as number one, India as number two, and the U.S.S.R. as number six in 1959, the year the catalogue was published (UNESCO 1981)[5]. However, two interesting notions arise. First, the birth story of UNESCO positions all of the three as possible stirrers of trouble in regards to UNESCO's aims. As the CAME meetings resulting in the founding of UNESCO had specifically aimed to provide a counterforce to the propaganda of the Axis powers, the admission of Japan in 1951 was a major step for the organisation. From the other side of the wartime lines, the Soviet Union also held a peculiar position in the group of the architects of UNESCO. Their representatives attended some of the meetings, but withdrew as the East-West split started to surface. From the beginning, the Soviet Union opposed an initiative of the Western Allied countries to include media and communication as a part of the organisations agenda and, perhaps as a result, joined UNESCO only in 1954. India sent representatives to some of the later CAME meetings and joined UNESCO in 1946. From the beginning, India has been a strong but critical supporter of the whole UN system, a position most notably manifested in the statements of independent India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (see Nehru 1961). (Sewell 1975, 33-70.)

Second, the position these countries held in regards to the East-West division of the world was also quite odd. The occupation of Japan by the Allied States following World War II had ended merely five years before the launching of the catalogue project. The democratisation process embodied in the enforcement of the new constitution in 1947 had tied Japan closely together with the Western world and turned the

[5] The other three countries in the top six were the Hong Kong, the U.S.A. and Italy.

nation into a strategic pawn in the Cold War geopolitical and ideological dispute. Western influences in the socio-political development of Japan, however, reach further back. Most notably, during the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan began a conscious process of deliberately assimilating Western cultural features. India had gained independence in 1947, after almost two hundred years under British rule, and remained a part of the Commonwealth of Nations. The U.S.S.R.'s position in the post-war world proved a source of major confusion for the authors of the catalogue: after some back and forth negotiations about whether the Soviet Union was to be regarded as an Eastern country or not, it was included in the catalogue half-way through the project. The information for the films from the U.S.S.R. also includes information about the producing region instead of lumping them together as Soviet films. The 28 films come from parts of the U.S.S.R. which can roughly be defined as Asian Soviet Republics. Of the films, 3 are listed under Armenia, 1 under Azerbaijan, 6 under Georgia, 4 under Kazakhstan, 2 under Kirghizia, 3 under Tadjikistan, 1 under Turkmenia, and 5 under Uzbekistan. The remaining 3 are simply noted to have been produced in the U.S.S.R., which might have implied multiple or unknown locations within the Soviet Union. The East-West division within the U.S.S.R. was thus clearly defined by the Europe-Asia border within the country.

In the catalogue, the films are classified by country and listed in alphabetical order. For each film, production and distribution details are given, along with a description of the film's critical reception, previous festival screenings and awards, and its possible significance in the history of cinema in the country in question. The general introduction is followed by a plot summary, which is looked at here as the primary means of constructing and shaping the message mediated through the catalogue. There is great variation in the length, style and focus of the plot summaries. Some fill up to 400 words, while others have barely 100 words dedicated to them. The longer ones provide a very detailed account of the film's plot, often complete with even the conclusion of the film, while the shorter ones dedicate what little space they have to introducing the main characters and the general theme of the film without paying much attention to the actual storyline. In all of the descriptions, however, the focus is on introducing the human characters and it is through them that the cultural universe of the other half of the world is introduced to Western audiences. The heroes of the stories told through the catalogue can be roughly divided into two categories: there are the historical heroes and their counterforce, the ordinary, poor people, who often in the end realise that the life of the rich and mighty is nothing to be envious about and find happiness in their own simple way

of life. The ways the characters are described in the summaries can be looked at in terms of Frye's theory, which also begins with the characters. In the First Essay in Anatomy of Criticism, he introduces five modes, building heavily on Aristotle's *Poetics:* mythic, romantic, high mimetic, low mimetic and ironic. By mode, Frye refers to how powerful a character is in relation to his or her society, or to the power of action the characters have.

As the point of the catalogue was to introduce audiences to cultures previously unknown to them, the authors of the catalogue quite evidently wanted to make sure the context the films were placed in would create a sense of mystery and exoticism around them to intrigue Western audiences. However, the variety in regards to the historical adventure spectacles is quite striking. While all of the summaries promise exciting events in a dashing setting, it is in the characters where the main differences are found. The historical Japanese heroes are noble, honourable warriors. There is a sense of adventure and mystery in the plot summaries of the films depicting the heroes of old Japan. No matter where and when, there are bandits and rebels to fight, maidens to rescue and honour to defend. The main characters in these films, like in Frye's romantic mode, while mere men, are positioned above their environment. Many of the stories of the Indian films of a more historical nature are built on a religious theme and based on real-life characters, many of them examples of Frye's mythic mode, where the protagonist's relationship with his world is defined by god-like superiority.

Interestingly, a reference to one God with a capital G keeps appearing in the summaries. While it is possible that these were the forms the summaries were received in from the Indian representatives, it seems more likely that they would be a result of the editing process and formulated to ease the task set upon Western audiences. While suggestions for films to be included in the catalogue along with descriptions of the films were requested from film distributors and the National Commissions for UNESCO in the countries concerned, the catalogue took its final form in the hands of Winifred Holmes, a BFI employee responsible for compiling it[6]. In the Soviet films, the historical heroes are doctors, scientists and scholars. They are people of knowledge and education, who fight against religious prejudice and ignorance. The heroes are people's heroes, fighting for the common folk against the rich and powerful. The characters here, like in Frye's high mimetic mode, are people worthy of admiration, but equal to their surroundings. The differences are less present in the contemporary films, where the heroes are peasants, factory workers and railway builders. The focus is on

[6] For more information on the selection process see Huttunen (2017).

common people trying to find their way in the world defined almost without exception by fundamental societal change and challenge.

In the collection of films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. struggle plays a key role and defines the starting points of the stories and the characters alike. In the summaries, struggle takes many forms, such as hardship, misfortune, despair, trouble or misery. On a more concrete level it is described in terms of poverty, treachery, deceit, famine, war or struggle for a meaningful life. Out of all this emerges hope, the factor that guides the characters through the hardships they encounter and something that the catalogue seems to suggest we all share in common. In the Japanese films, struggle is what sets the events in motion and is often a result of people's attempts to adapt to society changing around them. Struggle is often talked about in a way that is bound to evoke sympathy in the reader, like we see in the summary of *The Refugee,* which deals with the hardships brought about by war. It is the year 1948, and every night Sachiko Kameda and her child, Keiko, stand at Kobe station waiting for a man who has promised to return to them. Ten years earlier Sachiko had married a Chinese man, Shao Chung, but she has not seen him since fighting between the Japanese and Chinese drove him to get a divorce to protect his family. He promised to return, and so Sachiko "does not give up hope, and continues to wait". One day, Shao Chung appears, but he is seriously ill. To only add to their hardships, he is in trouble for being involved in a smuggling ring. When Sachiko "begs him to break away from the ring and he does, but he cannot get work and it is a struggle to eke out a living", one cannot help but to cheer for the unfortunate couple. Finally, when he is promised a job and "joyously he hurries to Koyasan where his wife and child await him at the cable car", we learn that perseverance, devotion and sacrifice just might get us another chance in life.

The Refugee is quite an odd choice to be included in the catalogue. According to the introduction of the catalogue, "[f]ilms dealing with sources of international misunderstanding" were to be omitted (Holmes 1959). This referred specifically to "films dealing with recent wars", as a draft version of the catalogue explained. The film's reference is to the Second Sino-Japanese War, which, for the Japanese, together with the Manchurian Incident and World War II formed the Fifteen Years War (1931-1945). As the catalogue was primarily a Western effort targeted at Western audiences, "recent wars" in this case were perhaps limited to the two world wars. *The Refugee* is, in any case, a great example of how in all of the stories struggle is pretty much without exception spoken of in terms that will evoke sympathy in the reader. In a sense, the stories convince us of the similarities between the peoples of the Eastern and

Western worlds. The characters fall into Frye's low mimetic mode, where the character is an everyman and thus equal to everyone around him. In Kenneth Burke's terminology, this is a question of identification. For Burke, identification is a form of persuasion, which can only function when a similarity exists or is constructed between the speaker and the hearer (Burke 1969). In terms of the aims of the catalogue, identification rooted in feelings, experiences and values quite clearly comes across as the first step towards understanding, which in turn carries with it the promise of the moral solidarity of mankind.

If in the Japanese films struggle is what sets the events in motion, in the Indian films it is often constant. It is not only where the stories begin, but also where they end. In the 38 Indian films, struggle is the basic condition of life, defining existence in both town and country, and most often comes in the form of financial difficulties. To escape the poor, challenging conditions of country life, the characters of many of the films follow the call of the promise of an easier life in the cities. In Satyajit Ray's Bengal trilogy, this set-up runs as a thread through the summaries of all three films. The father of "a poor family living in a hopeless patched-up hovel in a small Bengal village" leaves for the city to find work in *Ballad of the Road*. Meanwhile, the daughter of the family falls ill and dies, as their hut cannot keep the rains out. The father returns and "[t]he three members of the family who are left, leave their old home to the snakes and sit in the wagon, waiting for what life will bring them next". In the second part of the trilogy, *The Unvanquished*, we find the family in the holy city of Benares, but only tragedy awaits the family in the big city. The father dies and the mother and the son return to the countryside. Eventually, dreams of a better future lead to the son abandoning his mother, as he decides to attend university in Calcutta against her wishes. The mother falls ill and the son returns only to find her dead. He leaves the village again "and goes to the city with its promise of a new and richer life". The third and final part of the story, *The World of Apu*, introduces us to the lonely life the son leads in Calcutta. He finds himself right back where the story began, poor and struggling to make a living. Apu's beloved new wife wishes to return to her family village to give birth to their child. A son is born, but the mother dies, leaving Apu "hysterical with grief", wandering round the countryside and refusing to have anything to do with his new-born son. Finally, Apu returns to his child, finding happiness and hope not in the empty promises of the big city, but in the simple life with what remains of his family.

While many placed their faith in urbanisation as a miraculous remedy for rural overpopulation and unemployment, these dreams turned out to be not much more than false hope, as Gunnar Myrdal's lengthy -

although rather low on hope - account of the political and economic conditions of the newly independent ex-colonies of South Asia pointed out (Myrdal 1968). For Western audiences of the time, identifying with the characters of the Indian films through shared hope will likely have been challenging. The poverty, death and suffering portrayed in the catalogue perhaps seemed beyond hope even in the eyes of war-torn Europe. India was, after all, faced with very different problems. The stories guide our attention to the hopes and disappointments brought along with the newly gained independence, and point out the inevitable gap between expectations and hope on one hand, and real-life possibilities on the other. However, hope can sometimes be found hidden in the most unexpected places, the collection of the Indian films tells us. Hope does not always require a happily-ever-after: sometimes the simple fact that life continues can be enough. The summaries of many of the Indian films read like textbook examples of Frye's fifth and final mode. In the ironic mode, the protagonist is weak and inferior to his surroundings, and instead of admiration, we feel pity towards him. Frye's categories of characters thus move from gods to great men and from people just like us to the ones beneath us. The stories told about these very different types of characters can, however, be surprisingly similar at heart.

Frye continues the First Essay by introducing four forms the five modes can be discussed in: tragic, comic, episodic and encyclopedic. The first two are what Frye calls fictional forms and, driven by plot, they are individualistic and primarily interested in the characters. Tragic forms deal with characters separated from their society, like in the Indian films, and comic forms with characters integrated into it, like the Japanese ones. Many of the Soviet films, on the other hand, could be read as falling into the latter two categories. They are, in Frye's terminology, thematic forms and preoccupied by ideas, being more collective in nature. In episodic forms, the idea expressed is an individualist one, while in the encyclopedic forms it is of a more social nature as is the case with many of the summaries of the Soviet films. They do, however, provide an example of how these four categories can easily and fluently overlap.

The 28 films produced in the Soviet Union quite predictably turn to the idea of struggle to draw a sharp line between the pre- and post-revolution eras and the hope brought about by the revolution, with Lenin himself making a frequent appearance. Struggle is often a way of describing how miserable, difficult and unjust life was before the revolution. *Doghunda the Beggar*, from Tadjikistan, most notably turns this set-up into a key element of the story. Poor Yodgor is destined from birth to work without pay for his rich master. After many a misfortune, he hears about "the man who is fighting for the dignity and happiness of

his people - Lenin". Eager to learn all he can about him, Yodgor decides to learn the language of his speeches and writings, but this does not sit well with his superiors and he is thrown into prison. Even there, however, "the news reaches him that the Russian workmen have unseated the Tsar and before long the sound of gunfire heralds the arrival of the Red Army" and Yodgor "'becomes his own master at last".

This set-up is of course a textbook example of cinema in the era of socialist realism. C. Vaughan James lists the three basic principles of Soviet aesthetics combining social function and ideological content: people mindedness, referring to the relationship between art and the masses and dictating that art must be intelligible to the masses but also spring from them; class mindedness, referring to the class characteristics of art and pointing out its social significance even in cases in which it has no obvious connection with social issues; and party mindedness, referring to the necessary identification with the Communist Party (James 1973, 1-14). Most notably, endless optimism was a built-in characteristic of socialist realism when it came to portraying the ideal socialist society, whereas pessimism and hardship only existed in a different time or place. Actual contempt towards the old rule and conservative traditions can be detected in many of the summaries. Often it comes in the form of a very traditional colonialist narrative, with the Soviet Russians spreading civilisation, knowledge and progress to the conservative, feudal people of Asia. Like in the Japanese films, people's own actions can bring about change, and that is precisely where hope is found. All of this comes across as a pretty standard strategy for deploying rhetorical optimism in political speech: under the circumstances of significant political change it is common to point attention to the hardships of the past while offering an optimistic vision of the future (Bennett 2015, 52).

A Future of Hope

In the Second Essay, Frye turns to symbols, which for him are the factor that communicates between societies in both time and space. Symbols can be talked about through five different aspects, each of them referring to the relationship between a symbol and what it refers to: motif, sign, image, archetype and monad. They each belong to a different phase of symbolism: literal, descriptive, formal, mythical and anagogic. Zooming out from small towards large, Frye begins with a motif. This is the literal symbol, with a reference only within the text itself. Instead of meanings outside the text, it considers how words take on meanings in relation to each other within the internal context of a work of literature. A sign, then, is a reference to something outside a given text, belonging to the descriptive phase. A sign does not belong merely to the text in

which it occurs but instead refers to our ways of giving meaning and describing things existing in our world. Even wider, the formal phase of an image adds the level of feelings associated to a reference made to the world outside a text and the interpretational aspect necessary for understanding this. An image is used to manipulate the tone of a text and the feelings mediated through it. A symbol of the mythical phase, an archetype is something that keeps recurring across multiple pieces of literature. Often an image that keeps appearing, an archetype can be used to draw connections between multiple texts. Archetypes can reveal categories and phenomena spreading beyond a specific text. Finally, at the top of Frye's hierarchy in the anagogic phase of a monad, a symbol refers to something universal in meaning. Monads deal with phenomena as wide as societal or human aspirations and stories with a theme transcending cultural or societal conventions. This is precisely how the descriptions of the films in the catalogue are understood here.

These five phases of symbol thus move from internal to external reference, and from small to big. They also explain how such different stories can essentially be read in the same exact terms. This does not, however, mean the categories are mutually exclusive. Instead, they are aspects of symbols, and in the end it comes down to the level which we choose as our starting point when considering a symbol. While all of these aspects could without a doubt be chosen as a starting point of analysis for any of the films, the summaries are clearly written with the widest possible interpretation in mind. The summaries of the films in the catalogue are quite evidently examples of a monad and the universal reference made is that of hope.

From the starting point of struggle, the characters described in the plot summaries work towards a better future - be it one of peace, happiness or simply one providing adequate resources for survival. As Bennett notes, the optimism expressed in political speech often takes its most striking form when it takes place during the least likely times: in the face of, for example, overwhelming struggle (Bennett 2015, 50). It would then make sense that this is precisely where the stories depart from. Like struggle, a better future also comes in many forms, and is described in terms of a new life, dreams of happiness, or merely comfort in the fact that life continues. In the Japanese stories, a better future is most often one of hope. The plot summary of *Street of Shame* tells the story of five brothel workers and teaches us that sometimes it is worthwhile to aspire for a better future by any means necessary, no matter how miserable the present situation is. "Yasumi wishes to raise enough money to bail her father out of prison; Yumeko, a widow, is anxious to give her teenage son a decent upbringing: Yoriya, to earn money enough to be able to marry

the man she loves; Mickey, to forget an unhappy home life and an American soldier lover; and Hanaya, to support a sick husband and young baby". Despite the difficulties the women encounter in life, hope maintained through their noble goals is never lost.

In the Japanese films, the way to get from the miserable present to a better future is through being or becoming a good person - someone with a noble and humble character, a sense of loyalty, devotion to others or to a greater cause, and the ability to love. Often penitence is all that is needed to continue on a path towards a brighter and happier future. *Living* gives us a rather good account of such a solution. We are introduced to the main character, who seems to be struggling with an existential crisis in the modern world: "An elderly business man is faced with the realization that he has an incurable disease and must die soon". The film's main character, Watanabe, is in fact a bureaucrat, not a business man. Mistakes such as this make one wonder who actually wrote the summaries. The submissions made by the National Commissions for UNESCO and film producers and distributors in the participating member states were to include the technical details along with a description of the films. The language used in all of the summaries, however, seems to imply that they were written by one person. The texts must have at least been edited by Winifred Holmes and a reasoned guess is that the tone of the texts carries her ideological imprint. This would also explain the occasional mistakes in the summaries. However, they could also simply be a case of lost in translation. "How has he spent his life?", the summary continues, "[a]n unproductive life it seems". He encounters a young girl, who reminds him of his responsibility. "He is left to do one worthwhile thing before he dies, by fighting bureaucracy to obtain a piece of waste land on which to make a park for the children of the neighbourhood", the summary concludes, pointing out that there is still a chance for him to find meaning for his life and, through one selfless act, to redeem himself.

In the plot summaries, selfishness in a character is balanced by selflessness in another, and the heroes are the ones who put others before themselves, even if this means risking or sacrificing one's own life. Another way to rise above the everyday is through nobility of character. In *Muhomatsu the Rickshaw Man*, the main character dedicates his life to the service of a young widow and her son. After his death the widow understands the value of the man who never asked for anything in return and weeps for "the selfless devotion she has lost and for a human being who was so truly noble". The characters are often defined through their devotion and love for others - or lack thereof. Selfish desires and duty are often at odds in the plot summaries. Selfishness gives way to

duty, honour or the needs of others - or even some greater good, such as "helping humanity" like in *Sansho Daiyu*. Zushio, having spent ten miserable years in slavery, becomes brutal and selfish in character but is convinced to change his ways by following the teachings of Buddha and to devote his life to a greater good.

In the Indian films, a better future is one defined by belonging and family. *Moral Heritage,* for example, points to love for one's family as a catalyst towards change for the better. After the death of his wife, the father of a family devotes himself to the responsibility of bringing up his three sons and a daughter. As the boys grow up, they turn on each other, shaking the peace of the household. "Heartbroken, the father dies and the brothers part in anger and hatred". Eventually, however, "the love they all share for their little sister turns their anger into love for each other once more, and their quarrels have a happy ending". While in many of the films, a new beginning required for achieving a better future is often brought about by the death of a loved one, the story beginning and culminating with death is perhaps less important here. Instead, it is love that transforms the lives of the three brothers. Being or becoming a good person is one of the central themes also in the collection of Indian films. The obvious religious enlightenment aside, there are multiple other ways of reaching this goal. In *Mother of Shyam,* family is what literally makes someone a good person: "A child is brought up by his parents with the definite plan of making him a patient and ideal citizen. He inherits a spirit of sacrifice and love of country from his father, while his mother builds up his moral and emotional character."

Seeking understanding and acceptance is another form that the characters' quest for a better life takes in the summaries of the Indian films. The hero of *Eternal Thirst* is a poet who, "in quest of fame, happiness, fulfilment, finds frustration and non-appreciation of his art from all except other outcast from society". Mistaken for dead, his poems become famous and he decides to attend a public event in honour of himself. Disgusted with the hypocrisy of the people, he denounces the audience and "walks away from the world with the other outcast - the girl who loves him and whom he loves". It takes his own "death" to understand that happiness does not lie with the people whose acceptance he was seeking. Much like in the Japanese films, selfishness leads to the suffering of others - even if your selfish desire is merely a new overcoat. In *The Clerk and the Coat*, Gidhari and his family are struggling to make the ends meet. "But there is one thing he wants badly, however, a warm woolen coat" to keep out the harsh cold of the North Indian winter. One pay day, his wife tells him to buy a new coat, in spite of their other needs. Through a series of unfortunate events, the family

ends up in trouble, but when all seems lost “the family is able to renew its old life, happy (in spite of the scrimping and saving) to be together in honesty and love, however poor”. Through their hardships, the family realises that a future not differing much from the present might actually be enough, no matter how miserable. Remorse and redemption also make an appearance in the Indian films. Based on a true story, *Two Eyes - Twelve Hands*, tells of the fundamental goodness of people. A prison officer's conscience is troubled by the harsh treatment of the criminals. He is allowed to take six of the toughest murderers to a waste ground, which they can cultivate. A jealous rival cultivator tries to destroy their flourishing field but, to everyone’s surprise, “the ex-murderers keep their tempers and their word”. The prison officer dies, but not before he has realised that he has succeeded: The men have redeemed themselves and “become normal human beings again”.

The descriptions of the Soviet films, then, stretch the idea of hope, family and belonging even further: Hope in these films does not mean much without one’s own hard work. *High Position*, from Tadjikistan, teaches us that fame and fortune need to be earned by hard work. Young, pretty and pampered Zulfia has just been offered a position in a clinic in the Tadjik capital. As a result of her upbringing, she is very sure of herself and luck seems to be with her no matter what she does. Suddenly, everything changes and she suffers one failure after another. Realising that her privileged position cannot be taken for given, “she decides to give up her high position and go to a distant mountain region to become worthy of the high post she has been holding by working humbly as a rural physician”. Happiness is often found in a modest, secure future defined by community. Family is not the centre, but instead the surrounding people as a collective whole. Produced in Kazakhstan, *Birches in the Steppes* tells the story of a courageous Russian woman who makes a better life for herself and her son through hard work and the help of those around her. Stepan and his family move to Kazakhstan in search of a better life, but there is no “easy bread” in Kazakhstan. Stepan is ready to leave, but his hardworking wife, Maria, refuses categorically. Stepan leaves, leaving Maria without resources and with a small child on her hands, “[but the people of the kol[k]hoz - both Kazakhs and immigrants - help Maria onto her feet”.

Similarly, in the Soviet films, selfishness is frowned upon. As the films put the focus on communities above family, the consequences of selfish acts are more far reaching. The attitudes displayed towards selfishness come across as almost ideological: people tend to push the unfitting types out of their lives not only for their own sake, but for those around them. It is all about the community, and so solidarity towards the

community must come before the individual. Many of the films take place in kolkhozes, or mention farm collectivisation as a frame. Another major factor in people's quest for a better life is the Soviet Union itself. It is a land of miracles - but not the religious type. *The Heart Sings*, produced in Armenia, tells of a family who had to flee from the massacres in Armenia. They start a new life on the Balkan coast, but lose not only their money and business, but also their musician son's eyesight. "Now the exciting news comes to the town: the exiled Armenians can return". The father hears that "in Soviet Armenia there are physicians who can restore sight". They return home and their dreams are fulfilled: the son is cured and becomes one of the most popular singers in Armenia.

The ideal of a just, equal and fair world is a fundamental part of the package that is the U.S.S.R. and, consequently, in these films there is a guarantee of a brighter future. Equality, above all else, is what the characters aspire towards and are defined by. In *Saltanat*, from Kirghizia, a young zoologist-technician of a mountain kolkhoz is fascinated by a plan to convert an arid piece of land into a pastureland. Working alongside the men to achieve this dream, "Saltanat confirms the right of women to take part in any work alongside men and wins a victory; the collective farmers achieve their high-mountain pasturage". In the films, it is the small, common people who are promised justice - occasionally, however, on the condition that their loyalties lean towards the political left.

In the summaries of films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. a general storyline emerges, leading us from hardship to hope. The way the characters' dreams and aspirations are described in the summaries is enough to evoke in the reader a realisation of how universal these themes in fact are. The characters become people whose position and motives we can actually relate to and understand. This is precisely where the path towards the moral solidarity of mankind in the world of UNESCO begins. Essentially, the stories tell us about hope. Hope reaches from small, personal everyday issues to wider, societal questions of positive expectations for the future. Three concrete forms hope emerges from in the summaries can be distinguished: 1) sacrifice, teaching us that selfishness only leads to downfall, whereas selflessness is the way forward; 2) nobility of character, reminding that there is always a promise of peace and happiness in the future but only when left in the hands of good, caring people; and 3) remorse and redemption, pointing out that a better world is not far out of reach, but only as long as we are willing to put the past behind us and work together for a future of understanding and appreciation. Sometimes, however, personal growth alone is not enough. In those times, you might need to surround yourself with other good people, the ones who will give you a new chance in life.

Conclusion

The films to be included in the catalogue were to be suitable for Western distribution, which might imply that the ways the chosen films were to be described in the catalogue were planned to intrigue rather than scare away potential audiences. To be fair, the themes distinguished in the catalogue are common, broad and universal enough to be present in cultural products from anywhere in the world. The films speak of the challenges and hardships people face when attempting to adapt to society transitioning around them. For Japan, it was adapting to the post-war world. Essentially, the films tell stories of a post-war nation reinventing itself, struggling with societal changes. For India, it was getting to terms with its newly achieved independence and the hopes of development that followed: A post-colonial nation reflecting upon the hopes and disappointments independence brought with it. For the U.S.S.R., then, it seemed to be an attempt to deal with the hard, pre-revolution past and to look into the future with a newly found hope of equality, justice and solidarity. Interestingly, the Soviet films do not speak about the post-war world as one might have expected. Instead, they come across as a part of a longer continuum of representations of class revolution and thus, it seems, they were a part of the attempts to continue to construct and promote the ideals of the Soviet socialist empire.

The position all three of these countries held in the construction of the post-war world order can be seen to problematise UNESCO's principles of the moral solidarity of mankind but also the division of the world into East and West. At first glance, it would seem that the catalogue defined the Eastern and Western worlds mainly based on the spatial aspect of the two cultural systems that could only be understood in relation to each other, defining these two civilisations as hierarchical cultural programmes organised around specific cultural values. However, slightly oddly, the catalogue seems to contradict itself: The East, represented in my analysis by Japan, India and the U.S.S.R., is spoken of both as a vaguely defined collective whole and a construction labelled by internal diversity. On one hand, the aims stated do very little do dismantle the division of the world into the East and the West. Instead, they construct and maintain this polarisation, presenting the coexistence of the Eastern and Western world within the UNESCO system as something the West needs to adapt to. Emphasis was laid on avoiding stereotypes of the Eastern world by representing the organisation's Eastern member states on their own terms, through their own cultural products. The plot summaries, on the other hand, do the exact opposite. The way the collection of films was spoken of implies that there actually is no such thing as East and West as polar opposites - at least in terms of

shared hope. They present the Eastern world as depicted in these films in terms familiar enough to point out that the themes in the summaries are actually pretty universal in nature and talk about what it is to be human on a level that transcends any artificial polarisations.

With the catalogue project, UNESCO argued for the importance of adapting to a changing world, where humanity was not divided by internal differences but rather united by hope for a better future. The hope portrayed in the catalogue is not one constructed upon blind optimism: it recognises the suffering and struggle of humankind as fundamental building blocks of life. In the case of the Orient project, UNESCO's ideal of the moral solidarity of mankind seems not to be constructed upon a homogenous, hegemonic understanding of the idea. This would then annihilate a major source of criticism directed at this idea: the fact that in a world inhabited by an endless collection of cultural constructs of differing values, the high ideal of moral solidarity is an unattainable dream. Instead, the catalogue envisions a world where the idea of universal humanism rooted in the moral solidarity of mankind is one founded upon the one factor we all share in common: hope. The focus on hope helps grasp the two levels of goals UNESCO aimed for with the catalogue: A shared hope was to lead to understanding, which would then eventually be followed by the higher and more abstract ideal of moral solidarity. Through the plot summaries of the films included in it, the catalogue argued for a new form of universal humanism grounded not in a homogenous understanding of humanity, but in the appreciation of similarity rooted in diversity. With the catalogue project, UNESCO argued for a humanity not divided by internal differences, but for one united by hope. This was the new world to adapt to - not the East with their cultural traditions separate from the West. UNESCO's intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind in this sense would then actually be an ideological one: uniting the peoples of the world through the propagation of hope.

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Appendix 1

A list of films from Japan, India and the U.S.S.R. included in the catalogue. The English titles and Romanisation are given as they appear in the catalogue when available.

Feature films: Japan

The Baby Carriage (Ubaguruma), 1956, dir. Tasaka Tomotaka
The Boyhood of Dr. Noguchi (Noguchi Hideyo no Shōnen Jidai), 1956, dir. Sekigawa Hideo
A Boy Named Jiro-san (Jirō Monogatari), 1955, dir. Shimizu Hiroshi
A Cat and Two Women (Neko to Shozo to Futari no Onna), 1956, dir. Toyoda Shirō
Five Sisters (Onna no Koyomi), 1954, dir. Hisamatsu Seiji
Four Chimneys or *Chimney Scene* (Entotsu no Mieru Basho), 1953, dir. Gosho Heinosuke
Gate of Hell (Jigokumon), 1953, dir. Kinugasa Teinosuke

In the Woods (Rashomon), 1950, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The Legend of Narayama (Narayama Bushi-kō), 1958, dir. Kinoshita Keisuke
The Life of O Haru (Saikaku Ichidai Onna), 1951, dir. Mizoguzhi Kenji
The Lighthouse (Yorokobi mo Kanashimi mo Ikutoshitsuki), 1957, dir. Kinoshita Keinosuke
Living (Ikiru), 1952, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The Lord Takes a Bride (ōtori-Jo Hanayome), 1957, dir. Matsuda Sadatsugu
Love Never Fails (Mugibue), 1955, dir. Toyoda Shirō
The Maid (Jochūkko), 1955, dir. Tasaka Tomotaka
The Mask of Destiny (Shuzenji Monogatari), 1955, dir. Nakamura Noboru
Men of the Rice Fields (Kome), 1957, dir. Imai Tadashi
Mother (Okaasan), 1952, dir. Naruse Mikio
Muhomatsu the Rickshaw Man (Muhōmatsu no Isshō), 1958, dir. Inagaki Hiroshi
The Refugee (Bōmeiki), 1955, dir. Nomura Yoshitaro
The Roof of Japan (Shiroi Sanmyaku), 1957, dir. Imamura Sadao
Samurai - The Legend of Musashi (Miyamoto Musashi), 1954, dir. Inagaki Hiroshi
Sansho Dayu (Sansho Dayu), 1953, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji
Seven Samurai (Shichinin no Samurai), 1954, dir. Kurosawa Akira
Snow Country (Yukiguni), 1957, dir. Toyoda Shirō
The Story of Pure Love (Jun-Ai Monogatari), 1957, dir. Imai Tadashi
The Story of Shunkin (Shunkin Monogatari), 1954, dir. Itō Daisuke
The Story of Ugetsu or *Tales of the Pale Moon after the Rain* (Ugetsu Monogatari), 1953, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji
Street of Shame (Akasen Chitai), 1956, dir. Mizoguchi Kenji
Tales of Genji (Genji Monogatari), 1951, dir. Yoshimura Kōsaburō
The Temptress (Byakuya no Yojo), 1957, dir. Takizawa Eisuke
The Throne of Blood (Kumonosu-Jō), 1957, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The Tokyo Story (Tōkyō Monogatari), 1953, dir. Ozu Yasujiro
Untamed Woman (Arakure), 1957, dir. Naruse Mikio
Walker's on Tigers' Tails (Tora no O o Fumu Otokotachi), 1945, dir. Kurosawa Akira
The White Snake Enchantress (Hakujaden), 1958, dir. Yabushita Taiji & Okabe Kazuhiko
Yellow Crow (Kiiroi Karasu), 1957, dir. Gosho Heinosuke

Feature Films: India

Babla, 1952, dir. Agradoot[7]
Ballad of the Road (Pather Panchali), 1955, dir. Satyajit Ray
Boot Polish, 1954, dir. Prakash Arora
The Clerk and the Coat (Gar[a]m Coat), 1954/-55, dir. Amar Kumar
The Cruel Wind (Aandhiyan), 1952, dir. Chetan Anand
Devdas, 1935, dir. P.C. Barua
Devdas, Later Version, 1956, dir. Bimal Roy
Eternal Thirst (Pyaasa), 1957, dir. Guru Dutt
Gotama the Buddha, 1956, Rajbana Khanna
Hum Panchhi Ek Dai Ke, 1957, dir. P.L. Santoshi
Lighthouse (Jaldeep), 1956, dir. Kidar Sharma

[7] Refers to a collective of Bengali film technicians together signing as the director.

Light in the Dark (Andhare Alo), 1957, dir. Haridas Bhattacharjee
The Lost Child (Munna), 1954, dir. K.A. Abbas
Lotus of Kashmir (Fleur de Lotus, Pamposh), 1953/-54, dir. Ezra Mir
Malaikkallan, 1954, dir. S.M. Srisamulu Naidu
The Man from Kabul (Kabuliwala), 1956, dir. Tapan Sinha
Mizra Ghalib, 1954, dir. Sohrab Modi
Moral Heritage (Shevgyachya Shenga), 1955, dir. Shantaram Athavle
Mother India, 1957, dir. Mehboob Khan
Mother of Shyam (Shyamchi Ayhi), 1953, dir. P.K. Atre
Our India, 1950, dir. Paul Zils
Parineeta, 1955, dir. Bimal Roy
The Pathetic Fallacy (Ajaantrik), 1948, dir. Ritwik Ghatak
The Philosopher's Stone (Paras-Pathar), 1958, dir. Satyajit Ray
Queen of Jhansi (Jhansi-ki-Rani), 1955, dir. Sohrab Modi
Ramshastri, 1943/-44, dir. Gajanan Jagirdar
The Return of Krishna (Bhagwan Shree Krishna Chaitanya), 1953, dir. Debaki Kumar Bose
The Royal Jester (Tenali Ramakrishna), 1956, dir. B.S. Ranga
Saint Tukaram (Tukaram), 1937, dir. V. Damle and S. Fatehal
Scout Camp, 1958, dir. Kidar Sharma
Shirdiche Shri Sai Baba, 1955, dir. Mumarsen Samartha
The Stranger (Pardesi/ Khojendie za tri moria (Russian title)), 1958, dir. Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, Vassili Pronin, B. Garga, D. Viatich-Berejnykh
Two Acres of Land (Do Bigha Zamin), 1953, dir. Bimal Roy
Two Eyes - Twelve Hands (Do Ankhen Barh Haath), 1957, dir. V. Shantaram
Under Cover of Night (Jagte Raho), 1956, dir. Shanbhu Mitre and Amit Maitra
The Unvanquished (Aparajito), 1956, dir. Satyajit Ray
The Vagabond (Awara), 1952, Raj Kapoor
The World of Apu (Apur Sansar), 1959, dir. Satyajit Ray

Feature Films: the U.S.S.R.

Adventures is Bokhara (Nasreddin V Bukhare), Uzbekistan, 1943, dir. Ya. Protazanov and N. Ganiyev
Any Girl at All (Nye Ta, Tak Ata), Azerbaijan, 1958, dir. Gusein Seid-Zade
At Lenin's Behest (Po Pootyevke Lenina), Uzbekistan, 1958, dir. Latif Faiziyev
Avincenna, Uzbekistan, 1957, dir. K. Yarmatov
Birches in the Steppes (Beryozy V Steppi), 1957, dir. A. Pobedonostzev
The Day Will Come (Yeco Vremia Pridyot), Kazakhstan, 1958, dir. Mashit Beghalin
The Distant Bride (Dalyokaya Nevesta), Turkmenia, 1948, dir. Ye. Ivanov-Barkov and D. Varlamov
Dokhunda the Beggar (Dokhunda), Tadjikistan, 1957, dir. Boris Kimyagorov
The Earth Thirsts (Zemlya Zazhdet), U.S.S.R., 1930, dir. Yuli Raizman
Fatima, Georgia, 1959, dir. Semyon Dolidze
Fishermen of the Aral (Rybaki Arala), Uzbekistan, 1958, dir. Yuldash Agzamov
The Heart of a Mother (Serdtze Materi), Armenia, 1958, dir. Grigori Melik-Avakian
The Heart Sings (Serdtze Poyet), Armenia, 1957, dir. Grigori Melik-Avakian
The Heir to Genghiz Khan / Storm over Asia (Potomok Chingis-Khana), U.S.S.R., 1928, dir. V.I. Pudovkin
High Position (Vyssokaya Dolzhnost), Tadjikistan, 1958, Boris Kimyagorov

I Met a Girl (Ya Vstretil Devushku), Tadjikistan, 1957, dir. R. Perelstein
The Last from Sabudar (Possledni Iz Sabudara), Georgia, 1958, dir. Shota Managadze
Legend of the Icy Heart (Legenda O Ledyanom Serdtze), Kirghizia, 1958, dir. [Aleksey Sakharov and Eldar Shengelaia]
Magdana's Donkey (Lurdja Magdany), Georgia, 1956, dir. Rezo Chkheidze and Tenghiz Abuladze
Otar's Widow (Otarova Vdova), Georgia, 1958, dir. Mikhail Chiaureli
Our Dear Doctor (Nash Mili Doktor), Kazakhstan, 1957, dir. Sh. Aimanov
Our Yard (Nash Dvor), Georgia, 1957, dir. R. Tcheidze
Saltanat, Kirghizia, 1955, dir. V. Pronin
Song of First Love (Pesnya Pervoy Liubvi), Armenia, 1958, dir. Laert Vagarshian and Yuri Erzinkian
The Splinter (Zanoza), Georgia, 1957, dir. Nicolai Sanishvili
Takhir i Zukhra, Uzbekistan, 1945, N. Ganiyev, assisted by Yu. Agzamov
This Is Where We Live (My Sdess Zhivyom), Kazakhstan, 1957, dir. S. Aimanov and M. Volodarsky
Turksib, U.S.S.R., 1929, dir. V. Turin

Japan Meets the West: New Documents about the First Japanese Embassy to Italy (1585)

Carlo Pelliccia[1]

A meeting between Japan and Europe: the Tenshō embassy (1582-1590)

One of the most significant events which marked the encounter between Japan and the West in the Early Modern age was the organization of the *Tenshō shōnen shisetsu*[2]. This mission, considered an «*esperimento illuminista* ante litteram»[3], was promoted to pay homage to Pope Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni, 1572-1585) and Philip II (1527-1598), king of Castile and Portugal. It was organized by Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), who had been appointed Visitor of the Jesuit missions to the Far East in 1573 by the fourth Superior general Everard Mercurian (1514-1580)[4] and was supported by three *daimyōs* of Kyūshū: Ōmura Sumitada (1532-1587), baptized in 1563 under the name of Bartolomeu; Ōtomo Yoshishige (1530-1587), who became a Christian and took the name of Francisco in 1578 and Arima Harunobu (1567-1612), baptized in 1580, taking the name of Protásio. The members of this delegation were four Japanese noble adolescents chosen by Arima Seminary: Itō Sukemasu Mancio (c.1570-1612), head of the mission, envoy of Ōtomo Yoshishige; Chijiwa Seizaemon Miguel (1569-1633), representative of Ōmura Sumitada and Arima Harunobu; Nakaura Jingorō Julião (1567-1633) and Hara Martinho (1569-1639). They were

[1] *Università degli Studi della Tuscia – Viterbo; Università degli Studi Internazionali di Roma*

[2] Cfr. Ryōgo Yūki, *Rōma o mita: Tenshō shōnen shisetsu 1582-1982* ローマを見た天正少年使節の 1582-1982, Nihon Nijūroku Seijin Shiryōkan, Nagasaki, 1982; Giuseppe Sorge, *Il Cristianesimo in Giappone e il* De Missione, Clueb, Bologna, 1988; Midori Wakakuma, *Kuatoro ragattsui: Tenshō shōnen shisetsu to sekai teikoku* クアトロラガッツィ: 天正少年使節と世界帝国, Shūeisha, Tōkyō, 2003.

[3] Edoardo Lorenzetti, *Kakure Kirishitan. I cristiani nascosti del Giappone*, in «SITI», 2010, n. 2, v. 1, p. 82.

[4] Joseph Francis Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan*, Routledge, London-New York, 1993, p. 3.

led by Diogo de Mesquita (1551-1614), a Portuguese Jesuit, who was their guide, mentor, tutor and interpreter[5] and Nuno Rodrigues (1539-1604), rector of the St. Paul's College in Goa, who joined them in 1583, in order to replace Valignano. This group also had Jorge de Loyola (1562-1589), a Japanese brother and two boys: Agostinho and the *dōjuku* Constantino Dourado (1566-1620), who joined the Society in 1595.

Alessandro Valignano planned this journey for three main reasons: firstly, to present to the Japanese people a reality and a civilization equal to theirs, if not better, from a developed and happy world, in which missionaries would depart to far-away lands simply because they kept in their hearts the desire to expand their faith; secondly, to show to the European people a different and distant world such as Japan, a world whose dynamics Europeans began to appreciate and identify, through the access to some documents and reports, which the Jesuits sent to Rome; thirdly, in order to enlighten the Pope about what the members of the Society of Jesus were doing in the East. The Jesuits showed, as the papacy had asked them to, the faith of these people who had recently known the Christian religion, compared to that of some European countries in the throes of a process of change and departure from the Catholic Church (Protestantism) at that time. This embassy, very probably, was intended to prepare the ground for the Jesuits to be granted the monopoly to work in Japan («*exclusiva evangelizatio*»[6]). In fact, it encouraged the writing and publication of the Brief *Ex pastorali officio* (January 28th 1585), by Gregory XIII[7].

It is important to remember that the Tenshō embassy was also prepared (perhaps primarily) to request additional financial

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[5] Michael Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582-1590. The Journey of Four Samurai Boys through Portugal, Spain and Italy,* Global Oriental, Kent, 2005, p. 20.

[6] Giuseppe Sorge, *Matteo de Castro (1594-1677): profilo di una figura emblematica del conflitto giurisdizionale tra Goa e Roma nel secolo XVII*, Clueb, Bologna, 1986, p. 28.

[7] Martin de la Ascensión y Aguirre (1567-1597), a Franciscan friar arrived in Japan in June 1596 and martyred in the following year in Nagasaki (*Nihon Nijūroku Seijin*), argued that this embassy was organized by Valignano to obtain the Brief and other favors from the Pope. He also affirmed (in his *Tratado*) that the four young ambassadors were not noble, but were sons of common people. Valignano dedicated to this topic a chapter of his *Apologia «"en la qual se responde a diversas calumnias que se escrivieron contra los P.P. de la Compañia de Jesus de Japon y de la China", escrita em Macau em 1598»*. José Eduardo Franco, *Jesuítas e franciscanos perante as culturas e as religiões do Extremo Oriente: o caso da* Apologia do Japão *e a dramática missionação das Ilhas do Sol Nascente*, in «História Unisinos», 2007, n. 2, v. 11, p. 216. On this topic: Pedro Lage Reis Correia, *A Concepção de Missionação na 'Apologia' de Valignano. Estudo sobre a presença jesuíta e franciscana no Japão (1587-1597)*, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, I.P., Lisboa, 2008.

contributions both by the Pontiff and King Philip in order to support and grow the Japanese mission.

Their itinerary lasted eight years and five months: it started on February 20th 1582, when they left for Nagasaki (on board Inácio de Lima's ship) and finished when they arrived in the same port on July 21st 1590[8]. This "pilgrimage" is described in *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam...*[9], published in Macau in 1590, which consists of 34 *colloquia* between the four ambassadors and two cousins of Miguel: Lino and Leão. This work was born from an idea by Valignano[10], who wanted to present a triumphant image of the colonial Europe, to magnify Western civilization and to underline its most important, famous and edifying aspects. For this reason, Juan Gil

[8] The Japanese emissaries, under the guidance of Valignano, met, on March 3rd 1591 in Kyōto, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) and were received in a private audience. In July of the same year, they began the novitiate in the Society of Jesus in Kawachinoura (Amakusa) residence. They were ordinated priests in 1608, but Miguel abandoned the Order around 1601.

[9] *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam, Rebusque; in Europa, ac toto Itinere Animaduersis Dialogus ex ephemeride ipsorum legatorum collectus, & in sermonem latinum versus ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis Iesu. In Macaensi portu Sinici regni in domo Societatis Iesu cum facultate Ordinarii, & Superiorum. Anno 1590*. However, in these years several reports have been written, which tell the journey of the ambassadors to Europe: Adriana Boscaro, *Sixteenth Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe. A Descriptive Bibliography*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1973.

[10] One of the most "serious" problems about *De Missione* is the authorship, because, according to some scholars, this work was executed by Valignano, perhaps in Spanish, and translated into Latin by Duarte de Sande (1547-1599). Américo da Costa Ramalho, who translated it into Portuguese in 1997, argues that it was composed by de Sande («*o verdadeiro autor*») for its extreme "portuguesism". Others believe that *De Missione* has been carried out by a team. Luís Felipe Barreto affirms: «*No* De Missione *tudo parece reduzir-se à autoria colectiva de Valignano e Duarte de Sande, mas os apontamentos dos jovens japoneses e a carta de Diogo de Mesquita S.J. para A. Valignano mostram a existência de um colectivo bem mais amplo*». Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macau: Poder e Saber. Séculos XVI e XVII*, Editorial Presença, Lisboa, 2006, p. 351. On the problem of the authorship, see: Henri Bernard, S.J., *Valignani ou Valignano, l'auteur véritable du récit de la prèmiere ambassade japonaise en Europe (1582-1590)*, in «Monumenta Nipponica», 1938, n. 2, v. 1, pp. 378-385; Américo da Costa Ramalho, *O Pe. Duarte de Sande, S. I., verdadeiro autor do* De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam... *Dialogus*, in «Humanitas», 1995, n. 47, pp. 777-790; Id., *Aspectos da vida escolar ibérica segundo o* De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam, in «Cadernos Historicós - Lagos», 1996, v. 7, pp. 67-78; Id., *O Padre Duarte de Sande, S.J., verdadeiro autor do* De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam... Dialogus, in «Revista de Cultura», 1997, n. 30, II Série, pp. 43-52; Joseph Francis Moran, *The Real Author of the* De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam... Dialogus. *A Reconsideration*, in «Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies», 2001, v. 2, pp. 7-21.

considered it an «*entusiasmada exaltación de Europa, propagadora de la fe verdadera y de la civilización*»[11].

New documents in the Italian Archives

Despite the resounding success of this event, and notwithstanding the fact that several researchers, both in this and in the last century, have written and published many articles and books about it[12] adding numerous documents, now kept in the Italian archives, there are some sheets still unpublished and, therefore, not completely analyzed by scholars.

In my research, I have found some documents in several Italian archives. Brought to light again, these documents will allow one to look at new aspects, elements, events and characters about the legation and its journey to Italy in 1585. These documents contain different types of information: they note the various expenses faced by the civil and religious communities for their food and lodging; the festive reception organized for their arrival; they mention about their solemn entry into Rome (public consistory of 23rd March), somatic traits and their peculiar characteristics; they reveal the identity of those who were hired for the initiatives organized by the cities; they show the correspondence among the members of the legation, their *daimyōs* and some exponents of the Catholic Church and, finally, they portray the passage of young Japanese men in various Italian cities up to Genoa, when they embarked on August 8th 1585 for Spain.

In various Italian archives, even if through brief references, expenses of various kinds have been noted, proving that both civil and religious communities had to support the travels and the stay of the young Japanese envoys.

In the Sezione Archivio di Stato di Spoleto (SASS) there are two letters (of the same subject) written by the priors of Foligno to priors of Spoleto, where the senders ask information about the expenses incurred for the reception and accommodation of the emissaries.

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[11] Juan Gil, *Europa se presenta a sí misma: el tratado* De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium *de Duarte de Sande*, in Roberto Carneiro – Artur Teodoro de Matos (orgs.). *O Século Cristão do Japão, Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 anos de amizade Portugal-Japão (1543-1993) (Lisboa, 2 a 5 de Novembro de 1993)*, Barbosa & Xavier Ltda, Lisboa, 1994, p. 435.

[12] As an example, one could mention the following contributions: Guglielmo Berchet, *Le antiche ambasciate giapponesi in Italia. Saggio storico con documenti*, Tip. del Commercio di Marco Visentini, Venezia, 1877; Francesco Boncompagni-Ludovisi, *Le prime due ambasciate dei giapponesi a Roma (1585-1615): con nuovi documenti*, per Forzani & Comp. Tipografi del Senato, Roma, 1904; Beniamino Gutierrez, *La prima ambasceria giapponese in Italia dall'ignorata cronaca di un diarista e cosmografo milanese della fine del XVI sec. con 6 tavole fuori testo e una carta geografica*, Stab. tipo-lit. Perego, Milano, 1938.

The first epistle was written on January 28th 1586:

> Molto Magnifici Signori come Fratelli Ossequiatissimi.
> Dessidiriamo dalle Vostre Magnificenze favore si degnino darci raguaglio come se siano governate nella spesa fatta del alloggio de Giapponesi, et da chi siano stati recettati et a spese de chi che lo receveremo per favore singolare che Nostro Padre Dio le doni ogni contento. Di Foligno li 28 di Gennaro 1586.
> Delle Vostre Magnificenze
> Affettuosissimi come fratelli
> li Priori di Fuligno[13].

The second was written some days later:

> Illustrissimi Signori come Fratelli Ossequiatissimi.
> Per un'altra nostra chiedevamo favori da Vostri Signori Illustrissimi ci dessero pieno raguaglio della spesa che fu fatta nel recetto costì de Giapponesi, et a spese de chi, et dove alloggiorno, che ce ne faranno sommo piacere offerendoci all'incontro in ogni loro occasione et di cuore ce le raccomandiamo pregandoli dal Signor Dio ogni loro dessiderato contento. Di Foligno il primo di Febraio 1586.
> Delle Vostri Illustrissimi
> Affettuosissimi come fratelli
> Li Priori di Foligno[14].

In the Sezione Archivio di Stato di Camerino (SASC), in a document dated October 28th 1585, we find the following reference:

> Priores Populi Civitatis Camerini
> Messer Attilio camerlengo della nostra città, pagarete

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[13] ASS, *Comune di Spoleto, Lettere al Comune*, b. 98, ad annum.
«Most excellent gentlemen and respected brothers,
We would be much obliged if you could kindly inform us about the expenditure incurred in providing accommodation for the Japanese, and by whom they were welcomed and at whose expense.
Foligno, 28 January 1586.
Your brothers affectionately
the Priors of Foligno»

[14] *Ibidem*.
«Most illustrious gentlemen and respected brothers,
In another message we requested that you kindly provided information regarding the full extent of the expenditure incurred in welcoming the Japanese, and at whose expense this was done, and where they resided. You would do us a great honour in telling us.
Foligno, 1 February 1586.
Your brothers affectionately
the Priors of Foligno»

> Ad Angelo Lancillotto per trè cavalli dati alli nostri Trombetti mandati da Monsignor Conti Governatore a Serravalle per hononar la venuta delli Ambasciatori Giapponesi scudi 1 baiocchi 8[15].

Camerino welcomed the ambassadors with particular attention, responding to the invitation of Pope Sixtus V (Felice Peretti, 1585-1590). In fact, in another document, present in the same Archive, mention is made of some deputies summoned to prepare the reception of the legates. The folio, written in Latin, reports the missive of the Dominican cardinal Michele Bonelli (1541-1598), better known as Alessandrino, composed on May 29th 1585. He urged the governor to receive the delegation, offering them board and lodging and everything that was necessary[16].

Other examples have been discovered in the Archivio di Stato di Ancona (ASAN), where it is written:

> Die 25 Iunii 1585 de mane
> Publico et generali consiliari
> Fuit in eodem magnifico consilio solemniter dispensatum deliberatum decretum et obtentum suffragiis quibus favorabilibus novem contrariis haud obstantibus che hano fatte buone a signori Regulatori del haver publico, le spese, che hanno fatte a quei Signori Giaponesi quando li alogiorno in palazzo trapassando però la somma de 26 scudi[17].

A similar item of information was also found, in the same Archive, in the *Minutari e squarci dei Consigli*: «*che hanno fatte bune a signori regulatori del haver publico le spese che hanno fatte a quei signori Giaponesi quando li alogiavan in palazzo non passando per la somma de ventisei*»[18].

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[15] SASC, *Comunale Camerino, Ordini e mandati di pagamento*, K2, 1585-1587, c. n.n. r/v.
«Priores Populi Civitatis Camerini
Messer Attilio, as city treasurer, be advised to pay Angelo Lancillotto 1 Scudi and 8 Baiocchi for providing three horses given to our trumpet players sent by Monsignor Conti, Governor of Serravalle, to honour the arrival of the Japanese Ambassadors».

[16] SASC, *Comunale Camerino, Atti dei consigli o riformanze*, A 17, 1584-1585, f. 646. This document is published in: Carlo Pelliccia, *«E sono venuti a rendre ubidienza a Sua Santità»: viaggiatori giapponesi a Roma nel 1585*, in Raffaele Caldarelli – Alessandro Boccolini (a cura di), *Il viaggio e l'Europa: incontri e movimenti da, verso, entro lo spazio europeo*, Sette Città, Viterbo, 2018, pp 226-227.

[17] ASAN, *Archivio Comunale di Ancona – Antico regime*, Sez. I, *Consigli* n. 57, f. 5. There is a note at the margin: «*Super expensis Dominorum Giaponensium*».
«Die 25 Iunii 1585 de mane
Publico et generali consiliari
Fuit in eodem magnifico consilio solemniter dispensatum deliberatum decretum et obtentum suffragiis quibus favorabilibus novem contrariis haud obstantibus who approved the expenses met by the council for accommodating the Japanese gentlemen for a sum exceeding 26 Scudi».

[18] ASAN, *Archivio Comunale di Ancona – Antico regime*, Sez. I, *Minutari e squarci dei*

A curious note was also traced in the Sezione Archivio di Stato di Fano (SASF), precisely in the «*registro della Referendaria*», written by Antonio Duranti:

> A dì ultimo agosto 85
> Francesco Gargamello giulii tre per haver' dato a Savelino Sanelini canciliere criminali un cavallo per andare ad incontrare et pigliar' lingua dalli re del Giappone d'ordine del magnifico magistrato n'appare domanda signata da esso magistrato sottoscritta da esso Savelino et è nel filo al n° 112. Lire 0. bolognini 18[19].

The same piece of information is kept in the «*registro della Depositeria*», where it noted the cash income and expenses divided by subject, compiled by Giuseppe Galantari, councillor of the general council and in charge of the municipal depot:

> A dì ultimo Agosto 85.
> Francesco Gargamello giulis tre sonne per haver date a Salvelino Savilini canciliero criminale per andare ad incontrare et pigliare lingua dalli re del Giapone de ordino del Magnifico Magistrato. Lire 0. bolognini 18[20].

In the Archivio di Stato di Forlì there is a document dated «*Il dì XVII di Giugno MDLXXXV*», which contains a list of members of the «*consiglio segreto*», who met for the event. This sheet reveals that the city community was inclined to welcome foreigners, according to its financial situation: «*Se piace che per honorare quei quattro Prencipi del Giappone i signori Conservatori habbiano autorità di spendere quel tanto che può il [presente] Consiglio [...] ottenne Bianche 19 Nere 10*[21]»[22]. The embassy arrived in Forlì on Monday night (about 10 p.m.),

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Consigli n. 18, quint. n. 5, c.s.n.; «approving the expenses met by the council for accommodating the Japanese gentlemen».

[19] SASF, *Antico Archivio Comunale* (AAC) III, *Referendaria*, 123, f. 188.
«On the last day of August 85
Pay Francesco Gargamello three Giuli for providing councillor Savelino Sanelini with a horse to go and meet and talk to the kings of Japan as ordered by the magistrate. This request was signed by the magistrate himself and underwritten by Savelino and was filed as no. 112. Lire 0. Bolognini 18».

[20] SASF, *AAC*, III, *Depositaria*, 203, f. 116.
«On the last day of August 85
Pay Francesco Gargamello three Giuli for providing councillor Savelino Sanelini with a horse to go and meet and talk to the kings of Japan as ordered by the magistrate. Lire 0. Bolognini 18».

[21] This proposal was made during the meeting and was approved with 19 white fava beans and 10 black fava beans. The voting took place, in fact, by each counsellor dropping a white fava bean into an urn, to assent positively or a black fava bean to express to contrary.

[22] AS-FC, *Archivio storico del Comune di Forlì, Consigli generali e segreti,* vol. n. 54/59, adunanza del 17 giugno 1585. «In order to honour the four Princes from Japan

June 17th and stayed at the Jesuit College, where they were received with great joy. In fact in the same Archive there is a mention compiled by Carlo Gaddi, treasurer, in charge of recording the extraordinary expenses made by the city of Forlì in the months of May and June of 1585, where he noted: «*più a dì 17 ditti lire dieci [...] spesi in tanta roba mandata d'ordine delli signori Conservatori alli preti giesuiti per l'alloggio delli signori ambasciatori giaponesi*»[23].

In the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lodi (ASDLo) there is a note, where the author affirmed that the religious community spent money to adorn the Cathedral for their visit (on July 24th). In fact they borrowed, from Milan, some silver candlesticks for the altar. The register, where this reference appears, was compiled by Hieronymus Gratiolus, canon and mayor of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Lodi for the year 1585, as well as administrator of the incomes of the Chapter and of the sacristy of the Cathedral. He wrote: «*A. dì 29 detto spesi a far parar; e disparar la chiesa quando vennero i Re del Chiapono, con haver mandato il Tanzo a riportar i Candelieri d'argento che si ebbero in prestito a Mediolano. Lire 8 soldi 8 denari 6*»[24].

In the Archivio della Santa Casa di Loreto (ASSC), in the *Miscellanea X* written by an Alsatian priest Joseph Antoine Vogel (1756-1817), a scholar and palaeographer[25], the author remembered the passage of the ambassadors in this city and the source from which he drew this information are the *Relationi della venuta degli ambasciatori giaponesi a Roma* by Guido Gualtieri[26]:

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the councillors have the authority to spend a sum appropriate to the Council's finances. This was approved by 19 white to 10 black votes».

[23] AS-FC, *Archivio storico del Comune di Forlì*, Amministrazione del Regolatore, 1585, registro n. 664, carte relative alle spese dei mesi di maggio e giugno del 1585.
«Moreover on the 17th ten Lire was spent for all the provisions sent to the Jesuit priests as was ordered by the councillors for the accommodation of the Japanese ambassadors».

[24] ASDLo, Fondo del Capitolo della Cattedrale di Lodi, cartella n. 8, registro *Liber reddituum et expensarum reverendi Capituli et Sacrastie Cathedralis ecclesiae Laudensis pro anno 1583 et 1584 et 1585. Canonici Francinetti sindici. Sig. V.*
«On the 29th I incurred expenses to put up and take down church decorations when the Kings of Japan visited. This included sending Tanzo to return the silver candlesticks which were borrowed from Milan. Lire 8, Soldi 8, Denari 6».

[25] He became a canon of Recanati in 1809 and later, in 1814, a canon of Loreto. Vogel wrote *De ecclesiis Recanatensi et Lauretana earumque episcopis commentarius historicus,* published posthumously in 1859. Cfr. Filippo Raffaelli, *Commentario storico sulla vita e sugli scritti del canonico Giuseppe Antonio Vogel*, Tip. Morici e Badaloni, Recanati, 1857.

[26] Guido Gualtieri, *Relationi della venuta degli ambasciatori giaponesi a Roma, fino alla partita di Lisbona. Con le accoglienze fatte loro da tutti i Principi Christiani, per dove sono passati*, per Francesco Zannetti, Roma, 1586.

fu visitato il santuario dagli ambasciadori del Giappone al loro ritorno da Roma teste Rutilio Benzonio. in l[*ittera?*]. de jubileo, e Guido Gualtieri nella relaz. della venuta degli ambasc. di R. 1586 per Fr. Zannetti.
furno incontrati dal gov*ernatore* [..], poi da 200 archibugieri, alla porta della città dal popolo, con bombarde, tamburi[..], in chiesa dal... 2 giorni comunicaron...[27]

Indeed, the quotation given in the sheet that follows was taken from the volume of the chronicler and probably composed by another hand and added later[28].

In the Sezione Archivio di Stato di Cesena (AS-FC), I found an interesting letter composed by Nicola Aldini, in Rome on March 23rd 1585, the day when the Japanese boys met the Pope («*concistoro pubblico*»). The author mentioned some features of the emissaries: «*sonno di colore olivastri tutti 3*[29] *et il maggiore è d'età de 20 anni l'altri l'intorno, et bassi di statura e ch'hanno lingua in parte Portughesa, adoravano l'Iddoli, come anco la maggior parte di loro fanno, alloggiano nel Colegio del Iesù*»[30]. In the *post scriptum*, the sender described their particular clothes[31] and noted their visit to Philip II and Grand Duke of Tuscany Francesco de' Medici (1541-1587)[32].

In the Biblioteca Bertoliana di Vicenza (BBV), where is kept the Archivio Storico dell'Accademia Olimpica, there are two passages, which recall the visit of the emissaries for this city, recorded on July 9th-10th

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[27] ASSC, *Miscellanea Vogel X*, f. 77.
«the sanctuary was visited by the Japanese ambassadors on their return from Rome teste Rutilio Benzonio in l[ittera?] de jubileo, and Guido Gualtieri in the report re. the arrival of the ambassadors by R. 1586 for Fr. Zannetti.
They were welcomed by the governor [...], then by 200 harquebusiers, and by the people at the gate of the city, and greeted with bombards and drums [..], in church from... they received communion over two days...».

[28] *Ibidem*, f. 78.

[29] Nakaura Julião failed to take part in the consistory, having already been feverish from the day before. In fact, during the solemn procession he felt ill and was immediately put in a carriage and led to the meeting, privately, with the Pope. The latter ordered him to return home and get treated.

[30] AS-FC (Cesena), *Comune di Cesena (preunitario)*, *Lettere al Comune*, 1584-1590, b. 338.
«All three of them have olive skin and the oldest is 20 years of age and the others roughly the same. They are short in height and speak some Portuguese. They worshipped the Idols, as most of them still do, and are residing in the Collegio del Gesù».

[31] Pasquale D'Elia remembered that during the procession and the consistory they wore: «*vestiti di seta policroma sui quali erano rappresentati ricami in oro d'uccelli, foglie e fiori. In testa portavano cappelli di feltro con piume bianche*». Pasquale D'Elia, S.I., *I primi ambasciatori giapponesi venuti a Roma (1585)*, in «La Civiltà Cattolica», 1952, a. 103, v. 1, p. 50.

[32] This missive is edited in: C. Pelliccia, *«E sono venuti a rendre ubidienza a Sua Santità»*, op. cit., pp. 225-226.

1585. The information collected describes the fast stop of the Japanese ambassadors in Vicenza, which is anticipated by some epistles written by Nicolò da Ponte (1491-1585), Doge of Venice. The latter invited the civil community to offer the four boys hospitality. Both authors narrate, briefly, the visit of the delegates to the Olympic Theater[33] with the concert performed in their honor and the poems compiled for the event[34]. By reading and transcribing these documents, one is able to identify the person who wrote and proclaimed the oration (in Italian) to young Japanese people: Livio Pagello (d. 1599), a poet from Vicenza, introduced to the Accademia Olimpica in 1574. His autograph oration, which begins «*Nato il Salvator del mondo in Betleeme città di Giuda, vennero dall'Oriente pietosi Regi, guidati da una stella ad adorarlo*»[35], can be found in the manuscript 171, always kept at the BBV. The poet not only celebrated the passage of Japanese dignitaries who came to Europe to honor the Pontiff, but also explained to them the ideal and profession of an Academic, citing some famous Greek philosophers[36].

In the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) several documents regarding the Tenshō embassy preserved. The manuscript Jap. Sin. 33, containing 81 papers (white papers 8-14r), includes some letters composed by Japanese emissaries and the three Christian *daimyōs* (mostly copies) to Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615), the Superior general of the Society of Jesus, to Popes and to cardinals, like Antonio Carafa (1538-1591)[37]. These epistles were composed during and after the journey. The codex, which contains some documents about the Japanese Jesuit mission[38], has inside the missive from Francis, "King of Bungo",

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[33] It was designed by Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) and completed in 1583 by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616).

[34] *IV. Memorie dell'Accademia Olimpica dall'anno 1584 sino tutto 1595*; BBV, A.O. (Accademia Olimpica) b. 2, fasc. 13 – Libro marcato O, ff. 13-14; Bartolomeo Ziggiotti, *Accademia Olimpica*; BBV, Ms. 2916, ff. 55-56.

[35] Cfr. BBV, Ms. 171, ff. 47-50v.
«When the Saviour of the world was born in the Jewish city of Bethlehem, from the Orient came three merciful kings, guided by a star, to worship him».

[36] These documents have been transcribed and published in: Mariagrazia Russo – Carlo Pelliccia, *Teatralità e ambascerie in epoca moderna: l'uso del teatro in ambito diplomatico tra Portogallo, Italia ed Estremo Oriente*. [Carlo Pelliccia, *La prima ambasceria giapponese a Vicenza (9-10 luglio 1585): la visita al Teatro Olimpico*], in *Incroci teatrali italo-iberici*, in Michela Graziani – Salomè Vuelta García (a cura di), Olschki, Firenze, 2018, (in press).

[37] It ends with an image of the famous ride of Sixtus V from the Vatican to the Archbasilica of St. John Lateran (on May 5th 1585). This *fresco* is still kept in the Sistine hall of the Vatican Library. The Japanese noblemen took also part in it and the coronation ceremony, which was held four days before.

[38] They are: «*II. Epist. Confraternitatis Misericordiae ad P. Claudium, Nagasaki 1602; III. Epist. Sodalitatum B.M.V. Arimensium ad P. Claudium. 1603-1604; IV.*

addressed to General Acquaviva and dated November 20th 1584, where he returned to deal with Francis Xavier (1506-1552) could be beatified and revered among the saints of the Christianity:

> El año passado de 83 escrevi a vuestra Paternidad Reverendissima a cerca del padre Maestre Francisco Xauier de Santa memoria pera que hiziesse con su Santidad lo quisiesse Beatificar pera consuelo de todos nosotros, y pera le podermos festejar su dia cada año vna vez coma [*sic*] a Apostol que fue deste Jappon, y tales fueron Su vida y Santas costumbres que yo por muy cie<r>to tengo estar el gozando de la gloria delante la magestad de Dios, y que la Christiandad que en Jappon se haze es por su intercession; Agora en esta torno a pedir a vuestra Paternidad Reverendissima lo mismo pues sera pera consuelo de toda esta Christiandad y augmento della[39].

The year before, Sōrin wrote an epistle addressed to Valignano and dated December 4th 1583, in which this *daimyō* asked the Visitor to intercede with the Superior General and the Pope so that Francis Xavier could be beatified[40]. In this way the Japanese Catholic community could grow and increase their devotion to the saint with prayers, masses, altars and other religious practices. A copy of this document is included in the manuscript[41], even though the original is in Jap. Sin. 9 II[42].

In this codex, there is also a document listing the clothes for the ambassadors commissioned by the pope Boncompagni (see *Appendix*). On March 24th 1585, the Pontiff sent to the *casa professa* fabrics and tailors from the Vatican for the making of some «*abiti alla moda romana*»[43], according to Miguel in the *Colloquium* XXIII. This gesture, along with it had the gift of a thousand gold coins for their maintenance. It also included consignments of several baskets of delicious fish, even though it was Lent. However, it seems that Gregory XIII commissioned

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Epist. P. Francisci Pasio ad alumnum Iaponem in Urbe, 1607.; V. De Seminariis pro futuris Missionariis ad Iaponiam c. 1600». The letter written by the Jesuit Francesco Pasio (1554-1612), at that time vice provincial of Japan, was addressed to Araki Tomás (1583-1649?), who was in Rome and was ordained priest in 1610. Reiner H. Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560-1640*, McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, Jefferson, NC, 2016, pp. 180-185.

[39] ARSI, *Jap. Sin. 33*, ff. 31-32v. Cfr. Carlo Pelliccia, *Notas sobre a influência da cultura portuguesa no Japão (séculos XVII e XVIII): o legado dos missionários europeus*, in «Antíteses», 2017, n. 20, v. 10, p. 645, fn. 43.

[40] Cfr. Maria Christina Osswald, *The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1552-1640*, in «Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu», 2002, n. 142, v. 71, pp. 259-277.

[41] ARSI, *Jap. Sin. 33*, f. 30.

[42] ARSI, *Jap. Sin. 9 II*, ff. 195-196v.

[43] Alessandro Valignano, *Dialogo sulla missione degli ambasciatori giapponesi alla curia romana e sulle cose osservate in Europa e durante tutto il viaggio basato sul diario degli ambasciatori e tradotto in latino da Duarte de Sande, sacerdote della Compagnia di Gesù*, a cura di Marisa Di Russo e traduzione di Pia Assunta Airoldi, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Firenze, 2016, p. 320, fn. 531.

the packaging of European clothes mainly for three reasons: first of all, because the Pope was not particularly impressed by the clothes worn by the Japanese; secondly, to avoid the satires of the plebs unable to grasp the beauty of otherness; and, finally, to satisfy the request from Valignano, who told Rodrigues that the legates would present themselves in Japanese clothes only on a few occasions.

In the same Archive[44], I examined the codex Ital. 159, entitled *De Legatione Iaponica (1582) 1585*, which includes 112 papers (letters and travel reports) from different authors[45]. The most frequent sender (20 letters) is Ippolito Voglia (c. 1543-1591), a Jesuit from Camerino, who had the task of accompanying the group until their boarding in Genoa for their return journey and Alessandro Leni (c. 1551-1624), a Roman Jesuit, who left for East Indies with the embassy in 1586[46] (with 5 letters). The most frequent recipient is the superior Claudio Acquaviva (with 33 letters) and Alberto Ariosto (c.1547-1629), a Jesuit born in Ferrara (with 4 letters).

The documents collected in this manuscript, according to Marisa Di Russo, «*pare dovesse servire ai gesuiti per scrivere un libro sul viaggio dei giapponesi e fu forse utilizzata anche da Gualtieri*»[47]. In fact they described, day by day, the journey and its main episodes.

These reports bring to light some new aspects and provide us with the description of the events and the most significant moments of their journey. Their days are narrated from a different perspective. They are private letters that tell new details and sometimes relate problems and misunderstandings amongst the Jesuits and how the Jesuits cared about the health of the four dignitaries, having to face some inconveniences during the movements. These missives often describe the joy of the people, in receiving and meeting these Japanese boys; reveal the identity of new characters and little cities touched by the emissaries, like for example Borghetto (a *frazione* of Civita Castellana), where they spent

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[44] There, I also discovered the letter patent written by General Acquaviva, which the Jesuits, who accompanied the boys, had to show to the superiors of the communities and the rectors of the colleges they visited. It was compiled in Rome on June 2nd 1585: ARSI, Rom. 13 I, f. 91.

[45] Most of these documents have been translated into Japanese: Cfr. Ryōgo Yūki, *Shinshiryō Tenshō shōnen shisetsu, 1590nen-1990nen, 新史料天正少年使節 1590 年-1990 年*, Nansōsha, Tōkyō, 1990.

[46] When Leni arrived to Goa, he met Alessandro Valignano and gave him some information about the journey of the legates and he delivered him reports that were printed in those years. They may be considered possible sources for the drafting of the *De Missione*.

[47] Alessandro Valignano, *Dialogo sulla missione*, op. cit., p. 554.

the night on June 3rd and were visited by Bento Lopez (c. 1541-1592)[48] or Faenza, which is mentioned in the epistle written by Ippolito Voglia in Bologna on June 19th: «*che né loro veddero né seppero cosa alcuna delli Signori né meno essi s'accorsero della città riposandosi in quel'hora fresco di matino*»[49]; descriptions about gifts that the ambassadors in Italy received (like for example «*Donativo fatto dall'Illustrissima Signoria a Signori Ambasciatori Giaponesi*»[50] in Venice), as well as about their activities during their Italian sojourn. In fact, thanks to a letter composed by Voglia, dated August 18th 1585, we can know precisely that the gifts provided to them by the Serenissima Republic of Genoa reached just before they left Italy:

> La Serenissima Repubblica mentre mangiavano la mattina dovendosi imbarcare la sera li inviò un presente per la imbarcatione di 2 vitelle [...]gone, intorno a 300 tra capponi et pollastri, 30 polli de India, un cesto di salame, dui canestri de meloni, similmente di aranci et limoni, un canestro di paste Genuese, torce et candele di cera et di sego, zuchari et altre cose che credo che haverà avanzato insino a Barcellona con due pezze di formaggio parmesiano et nell'entrare in galera li fecero gran festa, scaricorno le monschette et [quel] del Signore Duca di Mantova non si ha più visto, ne meno altro inteso[51].

Finally, just to report another\1\ example, before leaving Imola, which they visited on June 18th, the four boys left a note written in Japanese *sōsho* (coursive script, written vertically) accompanied by transliteration into Latin characters (*rōmaji*) and a translation into Italian (written horizontally)[52] to thank the city for the hospitality[53]. This

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[48] This Jesuit wrote a letter in Borghetto on June 4th 1585 and addressed to Acquaviva: ARSI, Ital. 159, ff. 20-21v. Cfr., Carlo Pelliccia, De Legatione Iaponica *a Civita Castellana (3-4 giugno 1585): lettere di viaggio nell'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, in Alessandro Boccolini (a cura di), *Viaggi e viaggiatori nella Tuscia viterbese: Itinerari di idee, uomini e paesaggi tra età moderna e contemporanea*, Sette Citta, Viterbo, 2015, pp. 41-55.

[49] ARSI, *Ital. 159*, f. 58.

«They didn't notice anything about the city, as they were resting at that early hour of the morning».

[50] *Ivi*, f. 63.

«A present given by the Most Illustrious Municipality to the Japanese Ambassadors».

[51] *Ivi*, f. 102.

«While they were eating in the morning, having to set sail in the evening, the Serenissima Republic of Genoa sent them a gift for the ship consisting of two calves, about 300 hens, 30 turkeys, a basket of salami, two baskets of melons, and similarly of oranges and lemons, a basket of dry pasta, torches and wax and tallow candles, sugar and other things that I think will have lasted them as far as Barcelona, including two forms of Parmesan cheese, and as these goods upon entered the ship, there were huge cheers».

[52] «*Del nascimento de Christo 1585 - allì 18 del mese di Giugno - Ito don Mancio - Cigiua don Michele - Fara don Martino - Nacauro don Giuliano - questa Città*

"bequest" is still preserved in the Archivio Storico del Comune di Imola (ASCI)[54]. It was exhibited in 1989[55] to a delegation from Azuchi and, more recently (2011), to group composed of the mayor of Hokuto (Yamanashi Prefecture) and some scholars and students from Nagasaki and Miyazaki, guided by Kozasa Manabu, a descendant of the martyr Nakaura Julião[56]. This document reveals the signatures of the four legates and, as reported by Ippolito Voglia (epistle composed in Bologna on June 19th), which was written by Japanese brother Jorge de Loyola:

> Se ci lasciò un foglio scritto di mano del fratello Giorgio de lettere di Giappone, dimandando loro *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* et invero il Signore Governatore et li Signori conservatori si mostrorno amorevolissimi ci accompagiorno con due carrozze, trombe et tamburo et soldati in sino a una devotione della Madonna lontano dalla città un miglio caminando verso Bologna 10 miglia lontano ci venne incontra con una carrozza Monsignore Leone fratello di quel nostro fratello con uno de nostri Padri»[57].

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passiamo et per quanto questi Gentilhuomini e Cittadini ci han fatto molte carezze e cortesie per memoria lì lasciamo la presente scrittura». («On the 18th June 1585 as we - Ito don Mancio, Cigiua don Michele, Fara don Martino, and Nacauro don Giuliano - pass through this city we leave this piece of writing in memory of the great hospitality kindly received from its noblemen and citizens»). Biblioteca di Imola (BIM), *ASCI, Campioni*, n. 23, f. 148 bis. A description to this document is present in: Marco Musillo, *Travelers from Afar through Civic Spaces: The Tenshō Embassy in Renaissance Italy*, in Christina H. Lee (ed.), *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522 - 1657*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham-Burlington, 2012, pp. 165-180.

[53] Cfr. Antonio Toschi, *Una rara scrittura giapponese del XVI secolo*, in «Il Diario», 2 marzo 1940, p. 2.

[54] The legates attended a sumptuos banquet with a performance by singers and musicians and they left Imola on the same day in order to get to Bologna. In this Archive it is preserved the *delibera* of June 16th 1585, which has as its object: «*Adventus serenissimorum principum iaponensium*», written by Astorgio Bonmercati, municipal secretary («*Ego Astorgius Bonmercatus secretarius qui supra rogatus fui*»): BIM, *ASCI, Campioni*, n. 23, f. 148.

[55] This document was also shown in Naples in 1940 during the *Triennial Exhibition of Italian Possessions Overseas*.

[56] He was martyred with *ana-tsurushi* (hanging in the pit) on October 21st 1633: Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, *El martirologio del Japón*, 1558-1873, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Roma, 1999, p. 719.

[57] ARSI, *Ital. 159*, f. 58v. Gualtieri reported: «*Quivi anco bisogno lasciar'un foglio scritto in caratteri Giaponesi, facendon'essi instanza per tenerne memoria perpetua*». G. Gualtieri, *Relationi della venuta degli ambasciatori giaponesi a Roma*, op. cit., p. 111.
«We were left a sheet written by brother George in Japanese characters *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and indeed the Governor and the councillors were very friendly with us and accompanied us with two carriages, trumpets and drums and soldiers as far as a a church dedicated to the Madonna, one mile out of town, and walking towards Bologna 10 miles we were greeted by Monsignor Leone in a carriage, and he had come with one of our fathers».

Conclusions

The presence of the documents, letters, notes and references in the archives listed testifies to the importance that this "peregrination" attracted in Italy in 1585 and the attention shown by the various civil and religious communities where the legates had passed. The analysis and study of these documents lead, therefore, to new paths of reflection, to the discovery of further data, personalities, locations and events that revolve around the Japanese delegation and which contribute to and enrich the vast panorama of studies on argument that has already been made.

The Tenshō embassy is considered an experience of dialogue and knowledge between two completely different worlds, becoming «a symbol of the cultural relations between Japan and the peoples of southern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries»[58].

Appendix

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 33, ff. 34v-36.

[f. 34v] Santissimo Domino Nostro
Per Gl'Ambasciatori dei Re del Giapone

[f. 35] **Vestimenti fatti da Sua Santità a due Eccellentissimi Signori Imbasciatori Giaponesi**

Quattro Rubboni, o vero sottane di velluto nero, con astoni guarniti a spina pesce, con bottoni d'oro, con maniche lunghe, guarnite a spina pesce sino a terra di trina d'oro, largha un dito, et mezzo, foderato di taffettà doppio, con una mostra ermisino nero, vellutato.

Quattro sottane di velluto nero con trina d'oro largha un dito, et bottoni d'oro da capo a piedi, con maniche guarnite a spina pesce, come di sopra.

Quattro giubboni di raso chermisino venetiano, trinciati et foderati di taffettà verde, con trine d'oro, mezzo dito larghe, et con bottoni d'oro.

Quattro berrette di velluto nero, con treccie di passamano, d'oro fino a punta di diamante.

Quattro cappelli di castoro berrettino fino, foderato d'ermisino berrettino, con quattro treccie ricamate d'oro fino di Milano, et con piume bianche fine.

Quattro para di calzoni di raso chermisino venetiano all'usanza moderna trinciati, et con due trine d'oro per il lungho, con i bottoni d'oro.

Quattro camiciole di raso fino.

Dodici para di calzette, ciò è quattro di seta rossa, et quattro di rosa secca chermisina di Napoli, et quattro di seta nera.

Otto cinte di seta a rete doppio di Napoli, quattro nere, et quattro a rosa secche.

Otto paia di ligacci di seta a rete chremosina, et rosa secca.

Otto paia di ligacci di seta di Bologna largha a rose secche.

Otto paia di scarpe all'usanza Romana con le fattuccie di seta.

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[58] Diego Yuuki, S.J., *The College of St. Paul of Macau and the Church of Japan*, in John W. Witek, S.J. (ed.), *Religion and Culture An International Symposium Commemorating the Fourth Centenary of the University College of St. Paul, Macau, 28 November to 1 December 1994*, Instituto Cultural de Macau-Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, Macau, 1999, p. 281.

Otto paia di pianelle di velluto nero, foderate di velluto pagonazzo a opere[59].

[f. 35v]**Secondo Vestimento per i Medesimi**

Quattro rubboni, o vero sottane di Dammasco, di rose secche, cremosine a opera minuta guarniti di trina d'oro, spondata con doi merletti dalli lati, che viene a esser larga doi dita, con mostra di velluto lavorato di rose secche, et righe d'oro, tutto il resto foderato di taffettà doppio, del detto colore, con le sue maniche lunghe guarnite per lungho, et per traverso di trina d'oro.

Quattro sottane di raso di rosa seccha, guarnite di trina d'oro largha un dito, con le maniche tutte guarnite, per traverso con li bottoni d'oro da capo a piedi, foderata di taffettà doppio di rose secche.

Quattro zimarre da camera di Dammasco giuggiolino; foderate di dobbetto cangiante, con guarnitione d'oro, largha doi dita grosse, con cinquanta paia di bottoni d'oro a groppi, lunghi mezzo palmo, richistimi per ciascuna zimarra, con le maniche lunghe, spezzate con tre tagli con sue bottoni come di sopra.

Quattro robbiglie alla spagnuola di velluto pagonazzo a opera con una trina d'oro attorno largha, foderato di taffettà doppio del medesimo colore.

Quattro paia di calzoni di raso pagonazzo, trinciati con doi trine d'oro alla cucitura, et bottoni d'oro.

Quattro giubboni di raso pagonazzo trinciati, con una trina d'oro intorno.

Quattro berrette di velluto nero riccio, con treccie di passamano d'oro fino.

Quattro ferraioli di rascia fiorentina, longhi fino a mezza gamba con una trina d'oro largha doi dita grosse, intorno di fuori, et drento una fascia di raso nero, largha con quattro imbottiture.

Camicie, con collari a lattughe, fazzoletti, scarpini di tela [f. 36v] in buona copia[60].

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[59] For the Ambassadors of the Kings of Japan

[f. 35] **Items of clothing made by Your Sanctity for two Most Excellent Japanese Ambassadors**

Four black velvet robes, trimmed in a herringbone fashion, with gold buttons, long sleeves, trimmed in small herringbone gold lace, an inch and a half long, lined in double taffeta and black velvet ermisino.

Four black velvet robes with an inch-wide gold lace, and gold buttons from top to toe, with sleeves trimmed in a herringbone fashion, as above.

Four jackets in red Venetian satin, cut and lined in green taffeta, with gold lace, half an inch wide, and gold buttons.

Four black velvet hats, finished in fine gold diamond-shaped braids.

Four hats made of fine beaver fur, with an ermisino lining, with four braids laced in fine Milanese gold, and with fine white feathers.

Four pairs of red Venetian satin trousers cut in the modern fashion, and with a double gold lace lengthwise, with gold buttons.

Four shirts in fine canvas.

Twelve pairs of socks, that is four in red silk, and four in Neapolitan pink, and four in black silk.

Eight silk belts, four black, and four pink.

Eight pairs of silk net laces in red and pink.

Eight pairs of silk wide Bologna laces in pink.

Eight pairs of shoes in the Roman fashion with silk strips.

Eight pairs of black velvet slippers, lined in purple velvet.

[60] [f. 35v]**Second set of clothes for the same said persons**

Four pink and red robes trimmed in gold, with a two-inch double lace at the sides, showing pink velvet and gold lines, the rest lined in double taffeta in the same colour, with long sleeves trimmed in gold lengthwise and across.

Four pink satin robes, trimmed in gold, with sleeves fully trimmed with gold buttons across and from top to bottom, lined in double pink taffeta.

[f. 36]**Vestimenti per quattro Staffieri**

Quattro casacche di toletta nera trinciate, con una trina di seta, largha un dito grosso intorno.

Quattro paia di calzoni di raso rosino imbottito a opera, con due trine di seta alle cociture, et bottoni.

Quattro altre paia di calzoni di saia, di seta lionata trinciati, con doi trine alla cocitura, et bottoni.

Quattro giubboni simili alli calzoni di raso, con una trina intorno.

Quattro altri giubboni di saia di seta simili alli calzoni, trinciati, con una trina intorno, et bottoni.

Quattro berrette di velluto nero.

Quattro cappelli di feltro con la fodera d'ermisino nero con cinture di perle nere.

Quattro paia di calzette di stame di Fiandra a rosa secca.

Quattro altre paia di calzette di saia lionata.

Quattro cinturini di velluto, con trine sfrangiati, con ferri doppi.

Quattro cappe di rascia fiorentina, con una trina di seta largha un dito di fuori, intorno, et drento una fascia di raso stampata.

Oltre di ciò scarpe, camicie, et fazzoletti a sofficienza[61].

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Four brown chamber dresses, lined in iridescent silk and laced in gold, with fifty pairs of gold buttons, with long sleeves.

Four pairs of purple satin trousers, stitched with gold trim and gold buttons.

Four purple satin jackets cut and trimmed in gold all around.

Four black curly velvet hats, with fine gold braids.

Four mid length Florentine wool cloaks, with a two-inch trim in gold around and on the outside, and with a black quilted satin strip on the inside.

Shirts, handkerchiefs and canvas shoes [f. 36v] aplenty.

[61] [f. 36] **Clothes for four grooms**

Four black coats, cut with an inch-wide silk trim.

Four pairs of light pink quilted satin trousers, with two silk trims and buttons.

Other four pairs of trousers, in silk and buttons.

Four jackets similar to the satin trousers, trimmed all around.

Four other silk jackets similar to the trousers, with a trim all around, and buttons.

Four black velvet hats.

Four felt hats lined in black ermisino with black pearl belts.

Four pairs of pink socks. Flanders

Four other pairs of socks.

Four velvet belts, with a fringed trim.

Four Florentine wool capes, with a silk trim on the outside and a strip of printed satin on the inside.

Apart from the above, enough shoes, shirts and handkerchiefs.

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V. ETHNOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTARY

Deceiving 'Primitivism'.
Ainu People in 1910s *Travelogues*

***Marcos Centano*[1]**

Abstract: *This work assesses the representation of the Ainu people through the early travelogues made in Japan during the 1910s, focusing on those made by Benjamin Brodsky. Considering filmic representation of the Ainu people in relation to their social context, the analysis reveals how these images projected a deceptive ethnicity belonging to a time prior to the moment they were filmed. Filmmakers created an imagery of the "primitive Ainu" aimed at attracting a Western audience by showing an exoticism of a cultural and geographically distant people.*
These images projected a historical view of the Ainu, concealing their adaptation to modern life and assimilation to the Japanese culture and way of life. A critical approach to these captivating images reveals the premeditated construction of Ainu ethnicity, and casts doubt on the validity of these moving images as a social witness.

Keywords: *Ainu, travelogue, ethnographic documentary, Benjamin Brodsky, otherness*

What we are facing now is neither the
Ainu as a race nor the Ainu as a people
but simply Ainu as a situation.
A situation in which people call us Ainu
And the meaning of that Ainu
comes to constrain our lives

Masao Sasaki. *We Humans*, 1973[2]

Introduction

The Ainu are a minority in Japan whose population is mainly concentrated on the island of Hokkaido, although their lands expanded along the Sea of Okhotsk until the 20th century, including the Kuril Islands and Kamchatka Peninsula on the current Russian side[3]. Originally, the Ainu remained ethnically different from the rest of the

[1] Lecturer, Centre for Film Studies, SOAS, University of London, UK
[2] Cited in Winchester (2009, 1).
[3] Evidence suggests that there are still between a hundred and a couple of thousand Ainu descendants living in Russia today.

Japanese (*wajin* or *Yamato* people), spoke a language different from their neighbours and preserved an ancestral culture which descended from a mixture of Satsumon, Okhotsk and Jōmon cultures.

Despite this, the Japanese parliament only passed a resolution that recognised the Ainu as the indigenous people of Japan in 2008, one year after the United Nations issued the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Cotterill 2011). This historical landmark fuelled an increase in public discourse on Ainu issues that paralleled an increasing number of films about the Ainu and several documentaries were released soon after. Hiroshi Moriya directed *Tokyo Ainu* (2011) which was sponsored by the Tokyo Ainu Association; Hideki Komatsu made *Kamui to Ikiru* (Living with Gods, 2011), which focuses on the life of the life of the Ainu activist in Tokyo, Haruzo Urakawa (co-founder of the Tokyo Ainu Association), and prompted by the growing interest in the revival of Ainu culture, I made *Ainu. Pathways to Memory* (2014). This documentary was a result of six years of research starting in 2009, during which I explored the strategies developed to recover, promote and disseminate Ainu culture in recent years. The study turned out to be an enriching experience that allowed me to meet Ainu people living as far from Hokkaido as Tokyo, and to learn different ways in which they played with their Ainu identity and adapted it to modern life.

Half-way through the project, I noticed that the diversity of the Ainu community made it necessary to have a self-reflexive approach towards the mechanisms of representation. To that end it, was essential to know what the previous film representations of the Ainu have been. As a result, I discovered that films on the Ainu people were not a new phenomenon. In fact, they were as old as cinema made in Japan: the Ainu people were featured among the earliest thirty-three *actualités* shot in Japan in 1897, which were titled *Les Aïnous à Yéso* and filmed by the Lumière brothers' camera operator François-Constant Girel (cfr. Anderson and Richie 1982, 25; Okada 1999, 187-192; Nornes 2003, 2-3). Two more *actualités* were filmed at the end of the Meiji Period (1868-1912), one shot by the Japanese anthropologist Torii Ryūzō known for his studies on the Kuroile Ainu- and another one produced by the French company, Pathé Frères. This was the *actualités*' golden age*,* as their production was cheaper and easier than fiction narratives (Musser 1994, 232).

However, during the first half of the Taishō period (1912-1926), the astonishment produced by these short sequences, which rarely lasted longer than one minute, had diminished and the medium reached a fresh realism through a new genre named *travelogues,* or travel documentaries, pioneered by the North American entrepreneur William Nicholas Selig

(Griffiths 2002: 204)[4]. Selig developed a profitable business by producing films based on expeditions across the World, among them the first *travelogue* featuring the Ainu people, *The Ainus of Japan* (1913), which was made by Frederick Starr, professor at the University of Chicago when he visited between 1909 and 1910 (Erish 2012: 148)[5].

The aim of this article is to interrogate the representation of the Ainu people in two of these films made at the end of the decade; *Beautiful Japan* (1918) and *A Trip through Japan with the YWCA* (1919) by Benjamin Brodsky, a Russian-American producer who had founded the Asia Film Company in 1909, the earliest motion picture company in China (Kar and Bren 2000). Methodologically, I contextualise the images to see what they tell us about the moment in which they were filmed. The goal of this study is two-fold: first, to evaluate the nature of these early representations, in other words, assessing cinema's validity as a tool for ethnographic analysis and as a witness of history; second, to identify film practices of the time, taking the cinematographic device as an object of study. Unavoidably, this analysis takes contributions provided by visual anthropology, from those studies on cinema as an ethnographic tool, i.e., as a means of obtaining insight into the filmed culture (Ruby, Ardévol), to the critical studies on visual representation and ideology (Martínez, Worth).

Travelogues and New Realism in 1910s

Non-fiction formats had quickly developed in Japan after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Viewers demanded a new sense of realism, which according to Komatsu, was due to a shift from itinerant troupes to permanent cinemas (Simon 2002, 64-69; Waka 1997, 19). The first permanent theatre in Japan was Denkikan, in Asakusa district, Tokyo, which opened in November 1903 (Simon 2002, 91). Denkikan's success inspired other cinemas and more permanent cinemas were built in other prefecture capitals. By 1917, there were already sixty-four permanent cinemas in Japan and twenty-one in Asakusa (Greenberg 2001: 7).

By the end of the second half of the 1910s, the audience did not see films as a mere novelty, and, as Komatsu (1994, 4-5) noted, the consolidation of permanent theatres helped cinema to establish its autonomy from other arts and means of entertainment. During the 1910s, film narration experienced a qualitative leap from the earlier *jiji eiga* ("actuality films") or *actualités*. The astonishment produced by the

[4] Burton Holmes, Selig´s old friend, popularised the term *travelogue* through his conferences on trips that he used in his documentaries (Griffiths 2002: 204).

[5] From the footage obtained after the trip to Japan, Starr made another film, *In Japan* (1911).

first moving images was over and audiences were demanding more complex stories. This was how the *travelogues,* or travel documentaries, became a popular genre by the end of the decade. These were much longer films lasting even an hour, which presented a random succession of *actualités* to create a sense of continuity between scenes. They were integrated into a proto-narration, a macro-structure that was built around the idea of "journey". The trip across exotic geographies became the repetitive basic pattern on which these films were based.

Benjamin Brodsky was another pioneer of this genre. He had founded the Asia Film Company in 1909, the earliest motion picture company in China, where he made his first travelogue*, A Trip Through China* (1916) (Kar and Bren 2000). At the end of the decade, he travelled to Japan and reached an agreement with the construction company *Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō* and Japan Travel Bureau (*Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha*) which sponsored *Beautiful Japan* (1918) (Tseng 2013, 7-46; Curry 2011, 58-94). Brodsky donated a 16mm copy of *Beautiful Japan* to the U.S. ambassador to Japan. Afterwards, the ambassador's family gave it to the Human Science Film Archive (Smithsonian Institute). This work was a full-length documentary lasting for one hour and forty minutes, structured as a 5,800-mile trip from South to North, starting in Nagasaki and ending in Hokkaido.

Ainu Primitivism vs Japanese Modernisation

Brodsky depicted an encounter with a world unknown by the Western audience, which is carefully dissected in scenes introduced by intertitles written in English. The film opens with a departing train and medium shot of Brodsky showing on a map the journey that the spectator is invited to take. After that, we find a display of images depicting a Japan that is full of contrasts. He documents the industrialisation of the country, such as the ceremony of charting a ship at Asano ship-yard, Yokohama. The festive images are remarkable for the huge size of the ocean-liners, which show the great industrial power achieved by the emerging Japanese empire. A wide shot is followed by closer pan capturing the labourers handling the machinery at the shipyard. The film also presents markets, crammed streets and factories from Nagasaki, Kobe, Kyoto, Tokyo and Hakodate. On the other hand, Brodsky also showed the world of tradition: the Imperial Palace, cormorant fishing in Nagara river, sumo matches, *sakura matsuri* (cherry blossom festival) and tea picking in Shizuoka. It is worth noting the omnipresence of children populating all these images, which shows a society comprised of large families that are not so common any more in contemporary Japan.

The film displays a country full of contrasts, and a clash between tradition and modernity, rural and urban life. In *A Trip through Japan with the YWCA,* Brodsky reused footage from *Beautiful Japan* and added new scenes. *A Trip through Japan with the YWCA* is preserved at National Film and Sound Archive (NFSA) of Australia although George Eastman House in the U.S. holds a digital copy of this film as well. The succession of images in this second film is even more contradictory; Japan is at times represented as a sophisticated civilisation, e.g. in the scene of a group of geishas playing the *tsuru-kame,* Turtle and Crane Dance, which eventually features Brodsky dancing with one of the ladies; and people dressed in elegant kimonos along a river coast celebrating the *sakura* or Cherry Blossom Festival. Nevertheless, at times Japan is shown as chaotic, dirty and still a developing country. It includes a scene of a group of labourers paving a road by hand with rudimentary tools.

This second *travelogue* was sponsored by the Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA) and an intertitle states: "The Y.W.C.A. went to Japan at the request of missionaries and leading Japanese to do special work with women and girls". This is probably the reason Brodsky added several sequences focusing on women's working and living conditions. Women are portrayed laundering clothes in a river, harvesting in rice terraces and working in factories. A shot featuring ragged female workers, pushing wagons in and out of a factory with bandages on their heads, is introduced by an intertitle announcing that thousands of women die of tuberculosis every year.

Both films feature the Ainu culture in Shiraoi village, Hokkaido in sequences that barely last for three minutes. The images of Japanese industrial power, railways and the bustle of the cities contrast with the calm *kotan* (Ainu village). Even the images of dirty streets and ragged workers are significantly different from the Ainu scenes for one reason: the rate of development. We see people adapting to modern life, even if it is an ongoing process; however, all marks of modernity are missing in the scenes portraying the Ainu, who live in a romanticised and bucolic landscape. The camera panning to introduce the isolated houses of a *kotan,* hidden in the forest and only connected through thin pathways, suggests the idea of a primitive and isolated people.

Both documentaries seek to represent a mysterious "other", different from the other Japanese citizens, linked to a traditional, mythical and ritualized past. After the opening shots featuring the landscape and the thin pathways reaching the remote village, Brodsky shows a small group of nine women on one side and ten men on the other. A clumsy panning camera features the group sitting in front of a *chise* and dressed up in traditional garments made of vegetable fibre

(*attus*) and cotton (*ruunpe*). The subsequent take show a medium-shot of four women who are adorned filmed with Ainu necklaces (*tamasai*) and the viewer can spot the traditional female tattoo around the lips of some of them. That is followed by another shot of three headmen (*ekashi*) with long beards who are portrayed wearing crowns made of wood fiber with bundles of partially-shaved wood (*paunpe*, or *sapanupe*). Then, the bear cab is noosed and pulled out from its cage. The following scene features men drinking *sake* in their lacquer cups *tuki* and offering it to their gods using their *ikupasui,* wooden carved ceremonial sticks. Apart from this, in *A Trip through Japan with the YWCA,* some shots were added, portraying a dance in large circles (*rimse*) called *tapkara* (lit. "doing claps") that traditionally elderly members of the community perform after the sacrifice.

These films thereby reproduce previous stereotypes of Ainu as savage people whose primitivism opposed Japanese modernisation. This imagery was available in earlier moving images and was linked to an exoticism that had been previously disseminated in 19th-century photography and earlier paintings and engravings (Bressner 2009)[6]. Thus, the ethnographic construction of Ainu identity must be understood as the result of a combination of intertextual references representing the "primitive" as an inferior "other" to be soon defeated by civilisation (Martinez 1995, 368). In a way, the images of Ainu people isolated in remote forests and linked to their ancestral traditions constituted the photographic negative of the Japanese people, whose engagement in modernisation pervades the mechanisms of representation of the time.

"Vanishing people"

The opening scene in *Beautiful Japan* also presents "extinction" as a recurrent feature in the codification of Ainu representation, which characterised the foreign gaze. In the first intertitle of the Ainu sequence one can read: "The Ainus [sic] were the original inhabitants of Japan, but like the American Indians they are now a fast vanishing race… Driven up into the Northern Island by Japanese civilization, they still retain many of their semi-barbarous customs."

Defining the Ainu as "vanishing people**"** is a trait that pervades all film representations of the time. This idea cemented all ethnographic approaches of the time, presenting these visual constructions as the last chance to see a people in danger of extinction. However, according to official censuses, the Ainu population had remained more-or-less stable

[6] See collections of Hirasawa Byozan's paintings on the Ainu at the British Museum and pictures taken by 19th century German explorers held at Stuttgart Linden Museum.

over the years (Muñoz González 2008, 107). According to the official census, Ainu population did not vary significantly between 1873 and 1936. Assimilation to Japanese culture promoted by successive governments and the massive arrival of Japanese settlers during the early 20th century caused the percentage of Ainu in Hokkaido to decrease from 14.63% to 0.54% and thus, fuelling the impression that the Ainu were becoming extinct. Therefore, it should be noted that what was defined as "vanishing" was actually the effect of a specific policy including unequal land distribution, settlements and cultural assimilation.

This shows how these early cinematic portrayals were ideologically motivated and contained misunderstanding and prejudices concerning the Ainu people rather than a faithful representation of their social reality. The notion of "vanishing people" was used to present a community condemned to extinction as a consequence of their inability to adapt themselves to modern civilisation. Western ideas of social Darwinism had reached Japan during the Meiji period (Muñoz González 2008, 90-96) and documentary-makers showed a primitivism considered the result of an inferior culture that was doomed to extinction. This discourse was officially promoted during Japanese modernity and the simultaneous colonisation of Hokkaido, in which Japan started to define herself as a 'civilised country' and the Ainu served as a yardstick against with Japanese progress could be measured, although stereotypes contrasting civilised and barbarian had been produced by Japanese travellers from Edo period (1603-1868) (Siddle 1997, 138).

It is interesting to note how the colonial policy fed this ethnographic portrayal and vice-versa. Thus, the idea of "extinction" supported a discourse in which the disappearance of Ainu was a natural consequence of development rather than as the result of a deliberate policy implemented by the national and local authorities at the last stage of Meiji Restoration. Having said that, some ideas on assimilation (*dōka*) began to be proposed from early 20th century, as the proper way to protect the Ainu, and this should take place through hybridisation (*konwa*) and fusion (*yūgō*) according to which Wajin would "educate" the Ainu and teach them Japanese customs (Siddle 1997, 147). By the early 1930's, some voices started defend that assimilation should be achieved through miscegenation, denying the idea of extinction and claiming that Ainu blood would continue in the veins of the "Yamato race" (Kita 1993, 27; Siddle 1997, 149).

Martinez (1995) alerts us to how ethnographic films often reproduce hegemonic discourses on civilisation and "savage people", which is why a film cannot be defined as ethnographic in itself, but only in relation to the interests it is subjected to. The image of the "primitive"

is mediated by the explorer or anthropologist's authoritative interpretation, which eventually creates images to reaffirm their ethnocentric beliefs (Martínez 1995, 364). As a consequence, these early ethnographic approaches helped to strengthen negative prejudices towards an ethnographic group rather than facilitate any true knowledge. Therefore, if we are to extract any insight from these images, it is essential to put them into dialogue with those hegemonic discourses, identifying their aims, the audience to which they are addressed and their production circumstances. Also, Raymond (2009) has provided a significant contribution to understanding how the concept of "hegemony" implies the existence of a structure where certain cultural, economic and political elite imposes its own narratives. In light of this discussion, the researcher's role should be identifying ideological transgressions and contextualising in order to obtain a scientific knowledge.

These critical approaches from visual anthropology during the last decades have been instrumental to question cinema's capacity to became a social witness, which has often been assigned too prematurely. Rather than a faithful representation of reality, films are a reflection of an ideological discourse (Martínez 1995, 372). Generally, contemporary approaches assume there is always an implicit reader in an image, and the study of these images consists to a great extent in redefining the reader of the time in which they were screened (Martínez 1995, 371; McDougal 1992: 412). Now, the reading is conditioned by dominant narratives creating the image of a "primitive" as inferior and yet to be "civilised" and "enlightened by civilisation" (Martínez 1995, 372).

Sigried Kracauer's visionary work on how films may project the mentality of a nation (Kracauer 1947) and other works assessing examples in which fantasy can be studied as a result of actuality (1997, 77-90) provided a theoretical basis for a more recent movement away from a negative assessment of the cinematic uses. In recent years, authors in the fields of Sociology of Cinema have sought to obtain insight from subjective elements in the representation rather than valorising empirical truth and objectivity, providing epistemological keys to assess how visual representations are shaped by the context in which they are created and consumed. Pierre Sorlin opened up a modern methodlogical approach warning about the uselessness of using cinema to understand the profilmic reality, as every film could be considered an ideological expression of the time (Sorlin 1996, 263-265). More recently, archaeologists of images such as Sánchez-Biosca (2008, 38) have demonstrated how images can be an enriching object of study if they are interrogated as blatant manipulations since, after all, they do not reproduce facts, only represent them. As a consequence, they show only

one version of reality but this version enables theorists to trace synchronic interests of the society in which they are used.

Other discussion led by historians has revolved around the possibilities of using historical films as a source of academic enquiry, and they have provided examples to demonstrate that films have not always reproduced dominant modes of representation and thought (Rosenton 2013; Francaviglia & Rodnitzky 2007; Landy 1997). Rosenton draws his theory on Hayden White's critical approach who assessed historical narrative as a literary genre and as a consequence, as a construction. Thus, Rosenton starts from an accurate premise: films, just like written history, create rather than represent but both can be understood as a valid way of doing history and provides examples of legitimate mode of recounting history (Rosenton 1995a, 1995b; Rosenton and Parvulescu 2013).

Deceptive images

Despite the examples provided by theorists of historical films evidencing attempts to counteract dominant narratives, Landy has explored how cinema in general has played a crucial role creating a popular history aimed at the broadest possible audiences, throughout which they have feed hegemonic conceptions of nation and ethnicity (Landy 1997, 1-30). Thus, early ethnographic films are not necessarily different from entertainment films regarding their attempt to create a unified ideological position on cultures. By the time Brodsky's *travelogues* were filmed, the Ainu were suffering from a long-standing discrimination and cultural assimilation begun by different Japanese governments during the late Edo period (1603–1868). The Japanisation of Hokkaido was intensified from the Meiji Restoration (1868–1912) under the slogan *bunmei kaika* ("civilisation and enlightenment"). From 1880 until 1912, the country sought to equip itself with a modern ideology (Gluck 1983, 3), Shinto was promulgated as a State religion and the nationalist idea of the national "Japanese family" (*kokka kazoku*) with the Emperor at the top of this structure increasingly expanded and grounded the "Imperial System Ideology" (*tennōsei ideorogī*) introduced by the Meiji Constitution of 1890. In Hokkaido, the Development Commission, which was established in 1869, banned many Ainu customs, such as female tattoos and male earrings from 1871. Moreover, they encouraged farming to the detriment of traditional hunting and the acquisition of the Japanese language over the Ainu language. Eventually, Ainu assimilation to Japanese culture was officially enacted in the 1899 *Hokaidō kyūdojin hogohō* ("Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Law"). Many Ainu customs and traditions were forbidden, people lost their names, and they were forced to change

their life-style, from 'hunter-gather' to 'labourer' for the Japanese factories and fishing industry.

Interestingly, this bucolic representation of the Ainu people apparently isolated from and alien to modernisation contrasted with the everyday life of this community and as a consequence, these films may be significantly misleading. Moreover, it is essential to keep in mind when interrogating these early representations on the Ainu that they were filmed by outsiders, Japanese and Western operators, rather an Ainu individual. In other words, they are films on the Ainu people, rather than Ainu people's films. This fact plays a key role in articulating the "otherness" that characterised these portrayals (Dubreil 2004; Weiner 1997).

The raison d'être for these films made by foreigners, which outnumbered those by made Japanese, was the fascination for the Ainu culture that arose in the West between the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This interest was fuelled by the idea that the Ainu were a Caucasian people lost in East Asia (Siddle 1997, 140). Interestingly, anthropologists often sought their own origins in the Ainu people. An introductory intertitle in *A Trip through Japan with the YWCA* states "The Anus [sic] are the aboriginal people of north Japan. They are related to the white race". The idea that the Ainu had Caucasian origins spread from late 19th century given their singular physical traits. Yet, the Ainu never claimed any kinship to the white man (Kawamura 1934). During this period, portrayals presented an ideal personification of the noble savage which would shift quickly to a more negative view of the Ainu as an inferior race later throughout the 20th century (Kreiner 1993, 33-34). Evidence of this phenomenon is the collections on Ainu culture proliferating in European museums of the time, such as the British Museum, the Linden Museum of Stuttgart, the Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel and GRASSI Museum in Leipzig[7]. However, this growing interest among European explorers, adventurers, operators and audiences was fuelled by a misconception of who the Ainu were at the time, undermining their cultural assimilation as well as their political and economic discrimination. These images are consequently deceptive, as they fail to capture the rapid changes Ainu community was involved in. We can identify a number of examples in both *Beautiful Japan* and *A Trip through Japan with the YWCA*.

First, Brodsky offered one of the few existing visual documents of the Bear Ceremony (*iyomante*), which is often regarded as quintessential to Ainu identity[8]. Both films present sequences taken

[7] For an account on the Ainu collections in Europe, see Kreiner (1993: 25-30).

[8] For an account on the early film representations of the Ainu Bear Ceremony see

from the same festival held in Shiraoi, Hokkaido, probably in 1917. However, one key aspect of the ceremony was not captured by Brodsky: in Ainu belief, the bear is the reincarnation of the Mountain God and the goal of this ceremony is the ritual sacrifice of the bear in order to send its spirit off to the mountains; this essential part of the festival is not included in the montage. Was it Brodsky's deliberate decision or did the sacrifice never really take place? The truth is that by the time Brodsky reached Hokkaido, the bear ceremony was in rapid decline due to successive prohibitions that date back to the Edo period together with restrictions on hunting and fishing which prevented the Ainu from preserving other traditions such as the Celebration of Salmon Harvest (*asircep-nomi*) (Siddle 1996: 131). As a consequence, bear ceremonies were infrequent in the late 1910's. These old traditions continued only in some remote villages which, in many cases, were places where the Ainu had been relocated when their lands were unilaterally appropriated in the name of development by the Japanese state.

However, Shiraoi was relatively close to the capital city Sapporo, which was 80 kilometres away and could be covered in a one-day trip by horse and carriage. This town had become a destination for explorers seeking an encounter with the Ainu people from the late 19th century. Its inhabitants had started to arrange exhibitions of their culture, which were increasingly professionalized, and the village had become a kind of tourist resort by the 1910's. Some of these ceremonies were only performed for visitors and researchers, and the Ainu created venues like Shiraoi to meet the Japanese and foreign demand. Thus, the *iyomante* began to be held as a tourist representation (Ogawa 1997). In fact, comparing other bear ceremonies captured a few years later by Hatta Saburō in 1926, Neil Gordon Munro in 1930 and Inukai Tetsuo in 1936, it is easy to note that Brodsky's film features a cub that is visibly too young for the sacrifice and it was probably taken out of the cage just to be filmed before the camera.

As a consequence, this ethnic representation is an ideological and material result of the specific colonial policy: First, visitors could reach these villages with an apparent 'vanishing people' precisely because of the forced relocation of the Ainu and because Japanese companies, and later travel agencies, employed the Ainu for this business. Thus, travellers would experience an encounter with an artificial community, through a performance that involved all the members of a community that was, however, comprised of real people and real relationships. Second, the material consequences of colonial rule prompted the Ainu to engage in these activities of welcoming visitors that ironically ended up

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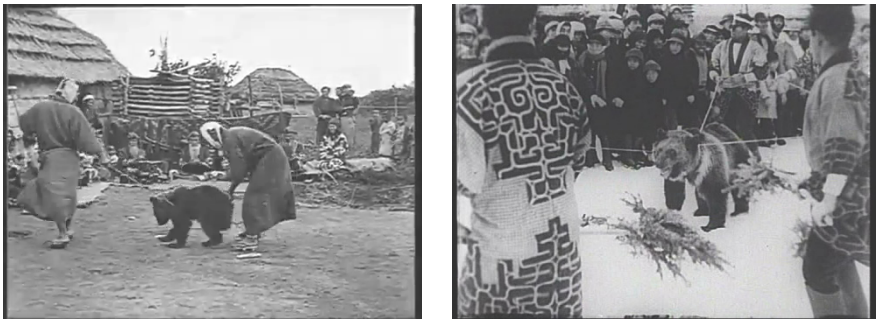
Centeno (2018).

strengthening the ideological aspect of this artifice as well. Land ordinances were legitimised by the narratives of racial inferiority and primitivism and simultaneously, the narratives existing in these film representations in turn, legitimised legal inequalities. The discussions carried out on the ethnofiction genre led by Jean Rouch in the postwar period also provided enriching contributions to clarify why filmmaker does not capture "pure" events; their presence unavoidable interferes with the events they register and without a self-reflexive attitude end up contributing to the structures of domination used to legitimise inequalities.



A Trip through Japan with the YWCA (B. Brodsky, 1919) (left).
The Ainu Bear Festival (N. G. Munro, 1931) (right).

A second example of the insistent attempts to present the Ainu as a people stuck in their past is the repetitive portrayal of female tattoo. Brodsky adds a closeup of four women with these tattoos around their lips. An intertitle introduces the scenes as follows: "The husbands take no chance of a lost wedding ring. Every woman after marriage has her mouth tattooed…" Originally, female tattoos were used as a protection against evil spirits, but nothing is explained about the spiritual nature of this custom[9]. Indeed, tattoos had been a prerequisite for women to marry an Ainu man (Hilger 1971, 152); however, this practice had been subject to persecution from 1871 and by the time Brodsky visited Shiraoi, most Ainu women had already abandoned this practice. While some tattoos were more likely to be found on older women, those featured on screen are significantly younger, obviously born after the prohibitions. Images again project a deceptive reality. In fact, the tattoos shown on screen seem artificially painted black, which was probably done due to the weak light sensitivity of the cameras of that time but it is also true that it was a common practice when women attended festivals (Muñoz González 2008, 108). Explorers, anthropologists and filmmakers of the

[9] The spiritual value of the female tattoo among the Ainu was already documented by Batchelor (1901, 20-32).

time participated in creating this view to other indigenous cultures and articulated images of the "primitive" as a metaphor of the past rather than a showcase of the present.

Absent Images in the representation

The contradictions in these films can be found not only in what is displayed on screen but also in what is not shown. Sorlin had already pointed out that films became a privileged document of what is not told (Sorlin 1985, 25) and along the same lines, Ferro noted films' capacity to show hidden aspects of a society and opened the possibility to interrogate both, what a society confesses about itself and what it denies (Ferro 1995, 17). These contributions provide key epistemological tools to interrogate how Brodsky's *travelogues* neglected many other aspects of Ainu culture, which had been transformed not only by the Japanese but also by Western influences during the Meiji and Taishō eras. Foreign missionary schools had been established in Hokkaido from the second half of the 19th century and paradoxically, many Ainu had learned to write the Latin alphabet before Japanese, which for many of them was an unknown language (Owell 2004: 5-29). Furthermore, part of the community was replacing animist beliefs with Christianity as well as Buddhism and Shinto. The number of Shinto missionaries reached its peak in the decade of 1870's once Shinto was promulgated as the state religion (Gluck 1985: 18). During the Taishō era, the Japanese government promoted a new education in which local and religious differences were unified under the new Nation-State. As a result, the apparent exoticism of the Ainu contrasted with a reality of religious and linguistic assimilation.

All these images were characterized by a distant gaze that did not try to denounce Ainu poverty or social exclusion or to explore further problems such as alcoholism (Siddle 1996: 125, 137) but rather aimed to astonish Western audiences with exotic images of an unknown world. Thus, none of these sequences shot in Japan made reference to a political agenda. Japan was immersed in vertiginous changes of all kinds. New generations started to consider the Meiji Restauration a failed revolution. Liberal ideas expanded during Taishō democracy and socialist organisations proliferated (Gluck 1985: 277). A new "Social Office" (*shakai kyoku*) was created within the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1919.

These social demands resonated with the Ainu, who organised in collectives to fight against discrimination. They created *Kaiheisha*, an Ainu left-wing association founded in Chikabumi, Hokkaido, which was

linked to the agrarian movement and the *Nōmintō,* Farmers Party (Siddle 1996: 131). Some Ainu individuals were even elected to municipal assemblies (Ainu Bunka 2011: 9). These were also years of rapid industrialisation and huge migration from rural areas to the big cities; between 1910 and 1935 the urban population doubled in Japan (Gluck 1985: 283). They had a great impact on the life of thousands of Ainu people as well, who were involved in the growth of the working classes and engaged in urban life. This adaptation and engagement with modern life, resistance and struggle was never shown; neither generally in ethnographic films of the time nor in Brodsky´s *travelogues*.

Conclusion

Thus, the social reality of the Ainu was alienated rather than explained, provoking fascination in the European spectator resulting from an apparent primitivism articulated through romantic and mythopoetic views of the Ainu. The Western eye fell into preconceived and stereotyped portrayals that had little to do with the everyday lives of the Ainu people. As a rule, Ainu adaptation to modern life remained concealed. All these examples reveal some of the contradictions related to the film representation of the Ainu, and call into question the purity invoked by the "Ainu-ness" articulated in the ethnographic works of the time.

As a consequence, Brodsky´s films do not correspond to habits of the featured characters on screen but, if anything, to the life of their ancestors decades before the films were made. These early moving images were misleading; they were announced as fragments of the world, but they instead belonged to a non-existent world evoking instead, an imagined and mythical past.

These *travelogues* ignored the transformations of Ainu culture and changes that the community had had to undertake in order to adapt themselves to modern life. They also reinforced stereotypes and prejudices in the minds of both filmmakers and audiences. These portrayals of the Ainu people were comprised of fascinating but, in turn, ahistorical images; revealing the contradictions inherent in hegemonic narratives on the "other". Brodsky's films became an open window to an exotic world that was no longer available. Assimilation, discrimination and adaptation to modernity were neglected in order to produce powerful images of individuals from another time.

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VI. SUBCULTURE

Subculture and Social Movement in the LGBT Boom: Constructing a Framework for Analysis

***Ioana Fotache*[1]**

Abstract: *A new period in Japanese queer history can be observed in the 2010s, referred to in the media as the LGBT Boom. I argue that this period marks a shift from a queer subcultural scene to a LGBT social movement, during which the subculture and social movement co-exist, whose members interact and negotiate their identities and discourse. This paper proposes a framework to separate the LGBT Boom from previous movements and cycles of protest based on the political opportunity structures that they rely on or appeal to, the structures they use to mobilise, the manner in which they frame and negotiate their identities, and the repertoires of contention that they employ as a group. The framework is built based on observation of the Japanese queer scene, media coverage, and literature.*

Introduction

The 'LGBT Boom' is an informal term that is generally used to refer to the recently increased presence of LGBT issues, events, and individuals in mainstream media.

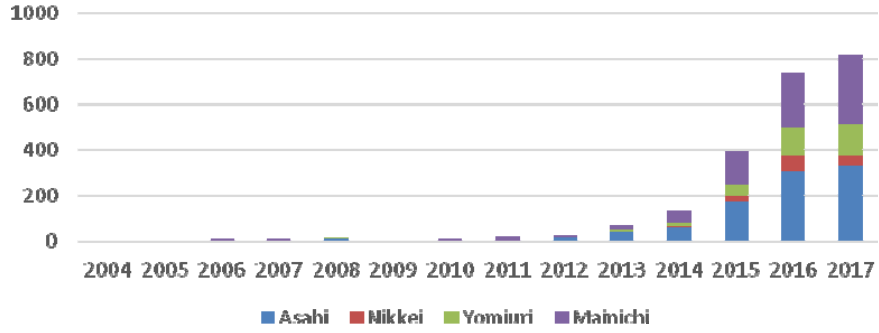

Figure 1. The number of times that the term 'LGBT' has appeared in the four major Japanese newspapers (Data gathered via consulting the newspaper databases for the 1989-2017 period).

[1] Ph.D Candidate, Nagoya University, Graduate School of Humanities, Gender Studies Department

While there is no set timeline or limit as to what constitutes the boom, it could be foreseen with the coming out of Diet member Ōtsuji Kanako at the 2005 Tokyo Rainbow Pride (Ōtsuji 2006), and is considered on-going at the time of writing.

Having a media boom is not universally perceived as a positive thing: the term 'boom' is often assigned to media crazes, often very short-lasting and carrying a tint of moral panic. Japanese media is said to have multiple booms going on at any given time, and the size of the boom is not necessarily correlated with its consequences. For example, over the past decades the Japanese queer community alone has seen a blue boy boom[2], a sex change[3] boom, a gay boom[4], and a new half boom[5], few of which have succeeded in raising awareness or bringing benefits to the persons concerned; rather, they were often used to incite media panics or to portray sexual and gender minorities as objectified subjects of entertainment or low morals, and queer people were rarely invited to speak for themselves (Yonezawa 2003).

Despite the problematic aspect of its name, this paper embraces the term and interprets the LGBT Boom media phenomenon as a sign and tool of the expansion of LGBT-related topics in Japan's socio-political reality. More than a moral panic run by outside forces and focusing on select actors, the LGBT Boom is actively fuelled by, and interconnected on multiple levels to the Japanese social movement.

Rather than passive receivers of media attention, the LGBT representatives actively participate in the media process, and work on diverting this attention towards the community presence and its voice. A notable example of this can be seen in a statement made by Yamagata Shinya, one of the Tokyo Rainbow Week organisers, who decided to tackle the issue of the boom directly by making the 2016 event slogan '*Beyond the LGBT Boom',* and releasing the following statement:

> It is said that the time for the LGBT Boom has come, but sexual minorities live on regardless of whether there is a boom or not. Diverse sexual orientations and genders exist. We want to focus on that, rather than on the boom. That is why we chose this slogan. (qtd. in Watanabe 2016)

This comment was made during an event that is directly addressed to and reported on by the media, allowing the opportunity for representatives of the movement to recognise the media boom and

[2] Blue Boys was an early term used to describe crossdressing gay sex workers.

[3] Moral panic surrounding sex changes following news regarding Christine Jorgensen's successful surgery in the 1950s.

[4] An increase in media attention and representation in the early 1990s.

[5] New Half refers to a trans or crossdressing individuals in the entertainment industry.

negotiate their position within in. Receiving the most media coverage, institutional and financial support among all LGBT-related events in Japan, the Tokyo Pride leads the way in terms of the social movement discourse, making the active diversion towards queers and their realities all the more powerful. The biggest LGBT event in the country, the 2016 edition numbered over 100.000 participants and 50 related mini-events.

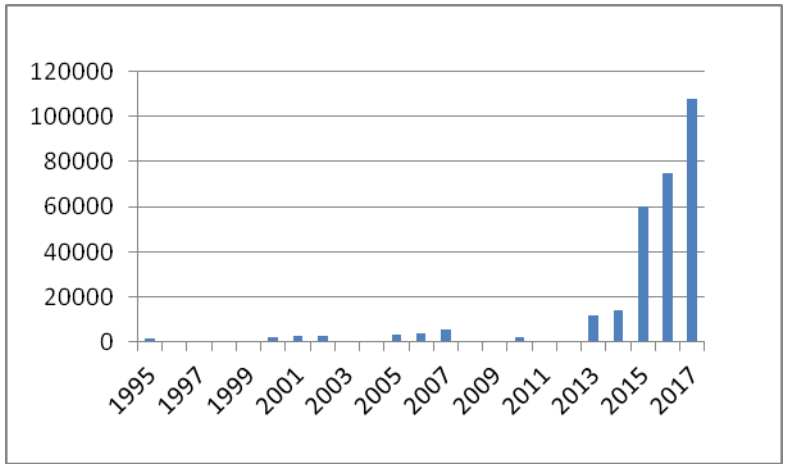

Figure 2. Number of attendants at the Tokyo Pride, based on their yearly press releases.

Though not comparable to the Tokyo event, pride parades throughout the country have quadrupled in number compared to 2010. As these events succeed in being reported by the media and fuelling the boom, potential actors are encouraged to organise their own.

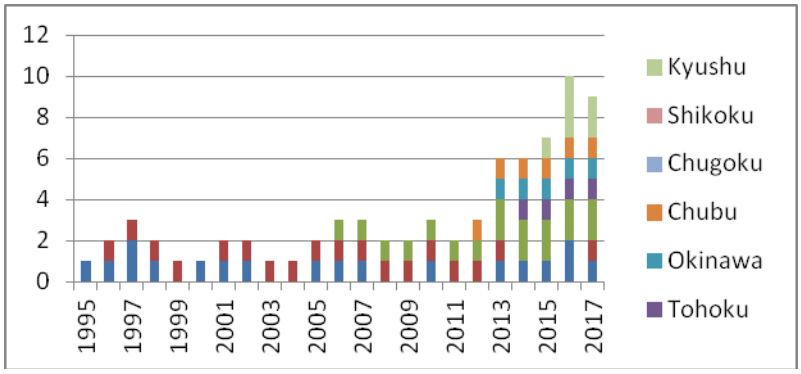

Figure 3. Number of Pride Parade events in Japan. This figure only includes events that involve marching on the streets. The 2007 Kobe Pride has been excluded from the list due to lack of information regarding its organisation.

The present paper argues that the increase in media attention is not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a larger cycle in Japanese queer history. The media boom is coupled with a boom in events and event attendance, nationwide LGBT NPOs, organisations, and more discussions on a social and political level including LGBT issues. Thus, the LGBT Boom becomes a cycle in Japanese queer[6] history that represents a shift from a local subculture[7] towards a social movement, in which the scope, size, level of organisation and institutionalisation of previous networks are expanded and succeed in making themselves visible to a mainstream audience. To understand the difference between the LGBT Boom and previous cycles, a clearer separation between the subcultural spaces that defined Japanese queer culture until the 2000s, and the social movement which can be seen in the 2010s is needed.

This paper introduces a preliminary framework, relying on the Political Process Approach in social movement studies, discourse analysis, and LGBT studies. The framework was constructed using primary data gathered via complete participant observation of LGBT events taking place between 2014 and 2018, as a queer living in Japan and interacting with both closeted and out queers on a regular basis, volunteering for local organisations, and participating at events such as the Tokyo Rainbow Pride, Kyushu Pride, Nagoya Rainbow Week, Yokohama Diversity Parade, Kyushu Film Festival, Dyke Weekend, and other local workshops and events. Official news sources, blogs, and the queer grapevine were used to follow the development of local actions and discussions. Further data were gathered from secondary sources such as queer autobiographies, as well as academic records surrounding queer aspects of Japan.

From Subculture to Social Movement

Though queer individuals remain a constant presence in any society, the means by which they interact, the formation and sense of belonging to their respective communities, their approach towards their identity and social relationships, and the ways in which they advocate their interests (and whether they do so to begin with) vary immensely between societies and historical periods. Even outside a Japanese context, queer movements have notoriously been excluded from the area

[6] For ease of comprehension, I refer to the subcultures and gender and sexual minority individuals as 'queer', and to the social movement and its actors as 'LGBT' (though many of its actors belong to subgroups not included in this acronym).

[7] Though the subculture is not necessarily a coherent and homogenous structure, based on my observations I classify them as one queer subculture, due to its consistency in terms of social capital building and other approaches, though different subcultures will have different issues and goals, as well as gathering spaces.

of social movement studies due to the ambiguous and often inter-connected status of their actors: whether being queer is a subculture, a culture, an identity, a social movement, a new social movement, or a lifestyle is still up for debate (Mucciaroni 2011).

Throughout the period of my investigation, I have observed both backlash and support towards the more political direction of the LGBT Boom, mostly surrounding the politics of coming out, relating to a perceived breach of the privacy and invisibility that define the queer lifestyle in Japan: many queer individuals are content with a shrouded existence, in which they can pursue what they perceive as a choice of lifestyle in their private time, and which clearly separates their private and their public selves. Upon telling them the subject of my research, these are individuals who would ask me to criticise the politics of coming out, or to take advantage of my interviews with political actors to ask them to stop pressuring people into coming out. However, LGBT materials released towards the general audience feature coming out as a basic goal towards 'living as oneself'. Rather than perceiving it as a clash within a homogeneous community, a framework separating these groups is necessary in order to understand the diverging goals, interests, and approaches within the queer community. This paper focuses on the queer subculture and the LGBT social movement as co-existing, interwoven but distinct in terms of approach, discourse, social behaviour, means, claims, and goals.

There is no universally accepted definition for either subcultures or social movements, and they share many characteristics: both see collective identities forged and shared among a group of individuals, practices, and memorabilia; and both are usually marginalized (directly or simply perceived to be outcasts) by 'conventional' society (Crossley 2002; Haenfler 2013). However, where subcultures focus on the shared identity/spaces and exist within an established society without necessarily challenging it, social movements are focused on challenging society in an organized, collective, and political manner, often confronting government bodies directly (Martin 2013). Subcultures and social movements rely on different forms of social and cultural capital, processes, framing, and goals, and appeal to different structures, audiences, and political processes.

As part of a framework separating the two, I will introduce the areas of interest according to what political process approach theorists generally consider the five components that determine the success/failure of social movements: political opportunities, mobilising structures, framing processes, protest cycles, and contentious repertoires.

Political opportunity structures

Some of the main elements that separate the LGBT Boom from previous activism and mobilisation attempts can be attributed to the direct involvement of political opportunities which have become available in recent years. The LGBT Boom stands out due to its reliance on institutions and systematic projects, a connection to politicians, corporations, and upper-level actors, the use of the term 'LGBT' itself, a spread of media and events that are dedicated to an open audience rather than a closed one, and active use of the media to raise consciousness of queer-related social issues, institutions, and socio-political actors.

Political opportunity structures are 'specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilization, which facilitate the development of protest movements in some instances and constrain them in others' (Kitschelt 1986, p. 58). Though this covers a wide array of institutions and norms, this paper focuses on the institutional powers that suppress the development of social movements, as well as the legislative and institutional landmarks that have led to the development of the LGBT Boom.

Queer suppression and discrimination have been practiced through various means and to various degrees, depending on the time and place, though the concept of discrimination has mostly been approached from a Western perspective, dealing with its specific means of oppression (Drucker 2001; Massad 2002). It has been previously noted that suppression of queer people in Japan has used other means than the Western context: while violence and legislative acts such as the sodomy law defined early suppression of queer identities in the West, this has not been the case in Japan; rather, the mobilization of queers has been restricted by invisibility, appeals to societal norms regarding marriage and reproduction, and a distinction between sexuality as play and as identity (Furukawa 1994; McLelland 2000; 2005; Taniguchi 2006; Vincent et al 1997).

The Japanese queer subculture was constructed acknowledging the lack of access to institutions and formal structures. Lack of recognition for same-sex relationships as valid (either socially or legally), medical discourse that did not offer the choice of medical transitions, the lack of recognition of name and gender changes in one's documents, as well as societal pressure to conform to traditional gender and marriage roles have led to the queer subculture developing in the entertainment and sex work sector, with queer people either living in the closet or being forced into those sectors (McLelland 2001; 2005; Yonezawa 2003).

Global HIV/AIDS initiatives and the translation of the DSM-IV in the 1990s stand out as the first institutions that queer people could turn

to, and formed the basis of a developing network (Horie 2015; Itani 2011; McLelland 2011). However, with little government aid towards NPOs prior to 1998, the impossibility of a recognised legal gender change until 2003, focus on heterosexual marriage as a pillar of society, and lack of media collaboration meant that most discussions and support groups were self-funded and held behind closed doors.

Another important change in political structures took place following the Hanshin-Awaji earthquake, in which volunteering and civil society started gaining track in Japanese society (Nakano 2009). The civil society movement is not often linked to the LGBT Boom, but combined with legislative reforms that took place in the 1990s, this shift in mentality towards citizen action has allowed support networks to formalise and spread throughout the country, as well as gain more funds and public recognition. Additionally, queer actors engaging in civic society have enhanced their social capital, inhancing LGBT visibility within civil society. A notable butterfly effect can be observed in the relationship between Sugiyama Fumino, an FtM activist, and Hasebe Ken, who would later be elected mayor of Shibuya ward: Sugiyama joined a group of volunteers who cleaned up the streets of Kabuki-cho in the mid-2000s, introducing transgender issues to its members (Hasebe 2006). This friendship is credited as leading to the 2015 Shibuya partnership law, the first of its kind in Japan, proposed by Hasebe Ken (Hasebe 2015).

Legislative and political reforms serving to enhance citizen participation have also allowed individual actors to access formal institutions and political parties. Transgender people in particular have seen the greatest structural change in their treatment, as the past two decades have seen a complete transformation of the medical, legislative, and social discourse that surrounds them (Taniguchi 2013; Yonezawa 2003). The introduction of the DSM-IV and transgender guidelines was followed by transgender candidate Kamikawa Aya winning a spot in Setagaya Ward's council. After 2 years, she managed to introduce the *Act on Special Cases in Handling Gender for People with Gender Identity Disorder*, which provided a landmark precedent in Japanese queer juridical history, symbolic representation in the political scene, and the possibility for transgender individuals to advance in society beyond the sectors to which were previously restricted to (Kamikawa 2007; Itani 2011; Taniguchi 2013).

By 2018, the number of elected politicians has grown to 8, and they have formed an alliance of 80 members supporting LGBT issues (Gomi 2017). In 2015, Shibuya Ward announced a limited legal recognition of same-sex partnerships, which has by 2018 been adopted by 7 other

wards and cities. Additionally, international pressure, overseas development in attitudes towards queer people, and internationalist LGBT organisations have provided both funding and pressure for Japanese companies and institutions to become more LGBT-friendly ('LGBT-Friendly Companies' n.d.).

Mobilizing structures

Mobilizing structures refer to an array of existing formal and informal organisations, which are used to form and expand networks and mobilise resources. Their importance in both subcultures and social movements is crucial, as they provide the space and network for all the actors, whether they want to get involved and offer assistance, require or offer information, help with personal or socio-economic issues, etc. As queer issues are as much about subjective experiences as they are about formal structures, the array of available structures in this case is particularly wide.

The subcultural scene initially consisted of bars, cruising spots, dedicated gathering spots, etc., which were joined by support communities and HIV/AIDS groups in the 1990s (McLelland 2005; Horie 2015). Development from these structures has been crucial in establishing and negotiating local queer identities, and they are a very important aspect of everyday life in that they provide information, support, and peer interaction, as well as medical, social, and economic support for individual cases.

With these developments in legislation and rapid geographic and discursive expansion, the mobilising structures of the social movement are mainly NPOs, prides, and open events that are advertised outside established spaces. The number of allied structures has also increased, in the form of companies that want to become more LGBT-friendly, mainstream media being more open to voices from queer people, and mainstream publishers accepting queer-related content. In addition, the internet has made it easier than ever to find information and local spots and organisations, which helps existing structures mobilise people more efficiently.

Access does not necessarily imply commitment, however, and queer people are free to choose to associate with either the subcultural scene, the political structures, both, or neither. Subcultural and political organisations have different goals, targets, behaviours, and audiences: where the subcultural scene is a place where individuals are brought together by the potential of friendship, privacy, or safety, the social movement forms a collective where the actors are cogs in a wheel and out in the open, requiring organisations that are transparent and

accessible, with actors who are willing to expose their orientation and/or identity in the process.

Some spots serve both the subculture and the social movement, loci of the subterranean networks and potential members of both, but queer organisations usually have to decide and be divided depending on their goals, offering different services depending on the actors' wants and needs, as well as the limit of their involvement and exposure: a local centre can offer both networking for queers and help recruit members for the local political movement, but it has to be careful not to alienate potential members by threatening to out them by association; a bar can advertise the upcoming pride or host an afterparty, but its sustenance relies on actors who need or enjoy its closed doors.

Protest events such as pride parades, by their very nature, require people to expose themselves and possibly endanger their privacy, regardless of their sexual or gender identity. In an attempt to expand their numbers, however, some pride parades have tried to focus on ally inclusion to prevent participants from being outed through mere attendance, or have organised floats for people who are not to be photographed by the media. Call for participants at local parades include messages for 'You, who want to support people of sexual and gender minorities' ('Rainbow Parade Kumamoto 2018' 2018), mention the existence of no-photo zones on their poster ([Aomori Rainbow Parade 20180624] 2018), invitations to declare oneself an ally, regardless of sexual orientation or gender (Nagoya Rainbow Week 2017), or even include Ally floats (Tokyo Rainbow Pride 2018).

Though some subcultural actors have tried to breach mainstream politics in the past, they lacked the collective organisation necessary for a movement to form; similarly, while it is true that some political actors come from subcultural spaces, it is not necessarily so. As Kamikawa Aya discovered when trying to run for the 2001 election, members of a gay space in Shinjuku ward would not help her gain votes in Setagaya; rather, her win depended on her presentation as an independent candidate in non-LGBT areas such as local train stations (Kamikawa 2007). Though the Greater Tokyo Area has elected 5 openly LGBT individuals so far, it must be asked why Shinjuku ward, home of the biggest gay town in the country, has not had a single candidate until the time of writing.

Despite many actors being part of both the subculture and the social movement, their roles are separate depending on the space. Social gay events have a clear target of meeting like-minded individuals, finding relationships, having fun, or taking care of one's health, whereas the social movement is more focused on the politics of identity, human rights, and the political opportunities to be oneself. Within the queer

scene, they talk as peers, whereas as advocates they must address a heteronormative audience.

Framing

Framing occurs at different levels, from individuals who resonate with certain frames in the understanding of themselves and sense of belonging to certain identities or communities, to strategic efforts employed by social movements when advocating to a larger audience. This paper assumes framing as one of the pillars of segregation between the subcultural and social movement actors, defining it as 'conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action' (McAdam et al 1996, p. 6). Most notably, the split between subculture and social movement can be observed in their choice of individual/collective framing of audiences.

Subcultural spaces are physically, financially, and culturally limited in scope and must compensate by catering to specialised audiences such as gays, lesbians, FtMs, MtFs, members of a certain age, social group, or geographic distribution. These identities and target audiences have been tweaked to local discourse, preferences, and demands, at the cost of segregating the queer umbrella into numerous smaller communities with limited to no interaction between them. These spaces are advertised in specialised areas such as dedicated gay bar directories, medical institutions catering to gay men, bulletin boards, targeted ads, local community centres, etc, directly targeting the queer individuals who would frequent them.

In contrast, social movement organisations tend to gather power in numbers by uniting all these individual identities under one collective umbrella. Crafting collective identities is a means of mobilisation after the emergence of a movement, which often requires re-defining existing identities in order to turn personal identifiers into political tools (Poletta & Jaspers 2001). In the case of the LGBT Boom, this collective identity is framed using 'LGBT' to represent the queer umbrella as a whole.

The LGBT Boom differs from subcultural framing mechanisms in the following manners:

a) **Inwards/outwards discourse**: Where inwards discourse refers to the individual hurdles and understandings of oneself as queer, outwards discourse frames these individuals collectively as part of its agenda setting process. Subcultural spaces rely on confidentiality, secrecy, and inner group interaction in order to raise the consciousness of the individuals who choose to enter them. In contrast, 'LGBT' as a

framing mechanism is used by the LGBT Boom targets businesses, mainstream media, and other spaces that are open to - if not exclusively consisting of - cisgender heterosexuals and institutions.

b) **Individual/Collective identities**: A very clear separation from previous trends is the focus on gender and sexual minorities as collective groups. It was only in the 1990s that terms such as *toujisha* (persons concerned) came about describing all sexual and gender minorities, but despite the collective term, there was a nuance that it was referring to either gay men (before the 2000s) or trans people (post 2000), with groups such as lesbians, bisexuals and other minorities excluded from the discussion (Horie 2015). While in-group debates often wonder how inclusive the collective term is, the framing of LGBT as collective offers a considerable boost in numbers and reach, which offers it more exposure and leverage. On the other hand, the subculture continues to be subgroup focused, with most spaces dedicated exclusively to gay men, lesbian women, trans people, or even subgroups within each community.

c) **Identity politics:** The LGBT Boom is based on the premise that sexual orientation and gender identities are an integral part of one's identity, and needs to be handled accordingly. In coming out to the public, the persons concerned define themselves politically as being LGBT and negotiate their rights and views as such. Within the subculture, while the spaces are queer, the people themselves do not necessarily identify as such: it is what one *does*, not what one *is,* and talks of queer identities in Japan prior to the 2000s should be taken with a grain of salt (McLelland 2000; Pflugfelder 1999).

d) **Lavender/Transnational discourse**: A note must be made of the issue of the global gay, as raised by Dennis Altman (1996). Altman claimed that during the AIDS crisis, the western gay identity spread throughout the non-western world, erasing local identities in the process. While it would be tempting to accuse the LGBT Boom of erasing current identities in favour of the Western model, we can observe the terminology and symbolism employed throughout multiple political processes and social actors. There are certainly issues that are mirrored in the Japanese queer community language and discourse. We can observe a clear tendency towards terminology and symbolism related to the Western model, such as the term 'LGBT' and its subdivisions itself, the rainbow as a symbol, and terms such as pride, rainbow, and family entering local nomenclature. However, one must acknowledge the global tendency to internationalise activism in the twenty-first century, as

transnational flows of information go both ways (Tarrow 2005). While the criticism of Western colonisation is not unheard of in Japan, we can observe the following phenomena which suggest Japanese agency in the matter, both within the subcultural and activist groups:

- Wasei Eigo - the phenomenon of forming original Japanese words starting from English loanwords is also visible in local queer cultures: Examples include *bian* (short for 'lesbian'), *sekumai* (short for 'sexual minority'), and many more. Such terms are not merely borrowed from the West so much as negotiated and integrated within the language.
- A desire to separate from previous terms coming from within the community - many previous terms referring to queer people, such as *okama,* are now perceived as slurs or entertainment roles by Japanese queers. This is an on-going debate, but though many still prefer previous terminology, advocates are explaining and rationalising their preferences, rather than simply assuming new identities (Heiannna & Heianna 2000; Sugiyama 2006; Ishikawa 2011).
- Diglossic usage - The existence of queer speech and lavender language has been observed in Japan in the form of *onee kotoba*, and words which are not common knowledge outside the community (Abe 2010; Wim and Claire 2004). Many dedicated websites feature glossaries of the community speech as it can be confusing for outsiders. Interestingly enough, the LGBT movement is currently facing the same issue, as it employs discourse and symbolism which have not yet entered common language. However, the glossaries are quite different: where the native lavender language is more concerned with sexual identity, positioning, and preferences (such as *tachi/neko*, which is similar to the western concepts of top/bottom), the LGBT discourse is more focused on identity (L,G,B,T). The separation between inward and outward framing suggests a strategic linguistic appeal in which queer people are simultaneously negotiating their own identity, whilst appealing to a larger audience.
- The lack of an established framework that would be easily accessible to an outside audience - terms used to collectively refer to sexual and gender minorities in particular have no history in Japan, which would explain the strong desire for re-framing the collective identity using an international repertoire.

Thus, transnational repertoires are negotiated and, when deemed useful, appropriated by both subcultural and social movement actors to

their own means and ends. However, the terminology that each one takes on, and the purposes to which the new repertoire is used, varies tremendously in context. Perhaps the most notable case is the simultaneous subcultural and political usage of the term 'sexual minority'. Where the subcultural actors use *sekumai* as a lavender term that only members of the community would know, the social movement uses it as a collective and political term when engaging with the media.

Protest Cycles

Protest cycles are by definition unsustainable in the long run, yet their high visibility and intensity serve to strengthen in-group solidarity, raise awareness, and provide the opportunity for new member recruitment. The very aspects for which media booms are criticised, such as their short-lived nature and high-profile activity, make the LGBT Boom stand out as such.

The element that separates a protest cycle from a media craze in this case is the active role that queer actors play in their portrayal. Unlike the moral panics and exotic portrayals of previous booms, which were presented entirely by non-queer authors, or featuring interviews with figures of the entertainment industry, the discourse surrounding the LGBT Boom is made up of eclectic sources and viewpoints. It uses press releases, organised media leaking into mainstream sources, interviews with locals and specialists, advertisement of queer spaces for non-entertainment purposes, and a push to include LGBT-friendly measures, curriculums, and consideration into a wider web of information.

These media collaborations are an act of empowerment that helps queer actors and organisations expand their outreach and enter the public conscience. Even as LGBT Boom-related events disappear from the scene after casual participants lose interest, they remain in local history as a precedent, and even one major event, such as a pride parade, brings together actors which can collaborate and exchange information until a future opportunity arises.

Additionally, the spreading of events towards the outskirts of Japan helps consolidate and expand local networks. Literature about queer subcultures in Japan usually turns to Shinjuku 2-chome in Tokyo as an example of the ultimate Japanese gay town (McLelland 2005). However, the increase in local prides provide ample opportunity for the consolidation of communities in other areas.

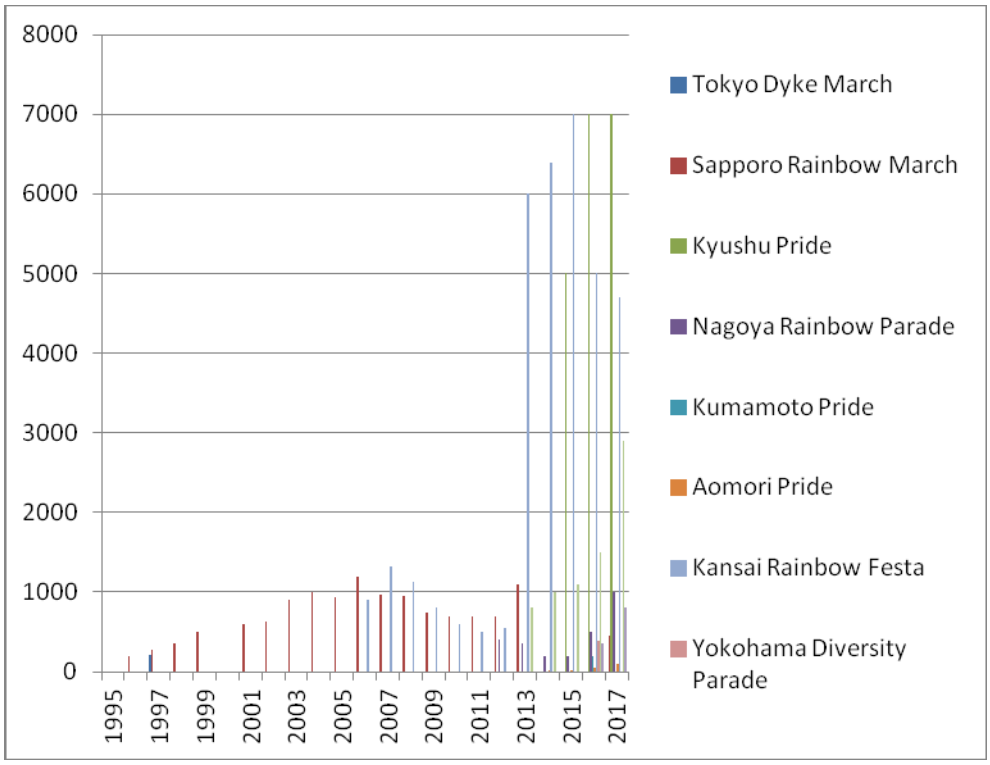

Figure 4. Number of attendants at prides around Japan (excluding TRP), based on press releases, social media updates, personal communications and participant blogs. Data may vary based on individual decisions to report only marching members or to include approximations of the number of passersby at the event booths.

Repertoires of Contention

Repertoires of contention refer to the limited set of established means that can be employed when making claims, as an 'activists' toolkit' of tried means and methods that are recognisable to the general audience or have seen positive results in other movements. These repertoires are established both on a local level, based on the historical existence and success of certain means over others in a given culture, as well as an international level, based on the existence of multiple movements across the globe.

When looking at the LGBT Boom, one can observe the seminal items from the transnational queer liberation toolkit: pride parades, focus on same-sex partnership legislation, advocacy to recognise gender transitions at an institutional level, actions taken using a collective identity, and coming out discourse.

Though attempts at forging collective identities and talks about partnerships were present in previous cycles in Japanese queer history,

the prevalence of coming out discourse and other outwards discourse methods makes it stand out. Japanese suppression relies on invisibility and powerlessness, making coming-out discourse particularly subversive in this environment (Vincent et al 1997). Compared to traditional means of contention such as strikes or demonstrations, queers cannot effectively strike or demonstrate since they have no bargaining chip to begin with, as they are excluded from regular roles in society, and their means of oppression is invisible to mainstream society.

Where the subculture congregates in readily established spots, closed and private spaces, often relying on word of mouth or specialised websites to gain access, the social movement is mainly facing outward. While the members of the subculture are often hidden, the members of the social movements become recognisable via open events in non-dedicated spaces.

Underground magazines, members-only clubs and spaces for those in the know have a long history in Japan, but it is only recently that LGBT spaces have become so easily available. There are now initiatives to bring awareness classes to schools, proposals for inclusive curriculums and sex education in schools (Doi & Knight 2017), NPOs and clubs focused on providing youth and closeted individuals with resources and support, prides that bring queers to the streets, LGBT in national media and on television, etc. This outward reach expands the social movement, though it does not necessarily bring new members to its subcultural spaces (in fact, it can take away its members by providing them with alternatives to previous spaces and sources of information).

Coming out stories are now being published at a fast pace, in the form of nationally released magazines and books published by major publishing houses (Hara&Tobi 2016). These coming out stories very rarely involve the subcultural gay community. Actors are more concerned with their experience in school or at the workplace, their medical transition and issues, and acceptance from heterosexual individuals, though interaction with other queer people is of course important in the formation of their gender or sexual identity. Many of these stories are published by representatives of the LGBT Boom such as politicians (Kamikawa 2007; Ōtsuji 2005), pride organisers (Sugiyama 2006; Sunagawa 2018), and individuals associated with related institutions (Yoshida & Minami 2015), and they spend time explaining the terminology, medical, and legislative issues of queer people in general, aside from providing their own story.

Going to an established scene and sharing one's story is perhaps the most fundamental aspect of consciousness raising and identity building, but in these coming out stories we can see a desire to outreach

towards non-scene members and raise awareness among the population at large. However, coming out discourse can spark conflict between the social movement and the subculture, as many non-political actors feel pressured to come out despite not wanting to. Early coming out stories were few and far between, only circulating among the community and were seen as means of one individual to reach out to other peers. However, with the boom of coming out stories and public queer figures, subcultural actors feel pressured to come out, provoking backlash within queers with low identity salience or who are satisfied being in the closet or being restricted to certain scenes (Maikuma 2017).

Conclusion

This paper proposes a distinction between the Japanese queer subculture and the LGBT social movement, using a framework that separates the two based on the political structures that they rely or appeal to, their mobilisation using either social or formal organisations, their choice of framing their identity and discussing it with members of different groups and the means that they use to recruit or maintain new members, as well as appeal to mainstream audiences and institutions. These distinctions are important in realising the co-existence of two layers of queer culture in Japan, interwoven and often conflicting.

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