“DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

ANNALS OF “DIMITRIE CANTEMIR” CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY OF TEACHING

VOLUME XXI
No. 1/2022

This journal is included in
IDB SCIPIO
CEEOL
ICI Journals Master List 2021

http://analeflls.ucdc.ro
analeflls@ucdc.ro

ISSN 2065 – 0868
ISSN-L 2065 – 0868

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PRO UNIVERSITARIA

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GAZING AT THE 'INNER JOURNEYS' OF FUJIWARA SHINYA AND SAWAKI KŌTARŌ

Prakash ANUSHREE[1]

Abstract: *Fujiwara Shinya's* Wandering India *(1972) and Sawaki Kōtarō's* Midnight Express *(1986, 1992) are representative travel writings of post-war Japan. The paper discusses the motivation of the travel writers for their respective journeys and traces the inner journeys of the writers. The paper argues that any travel takes place in the physical as well as mental realm, and the internal and external journeys consistently complement and interact with each other. It is often the 'inner journeys' more than the exterior ones which readers identify with. While tracing the 'inner journeys' of the two travel writers, this paper explores the complexities and intricacies of the narrative.*

Keywords: Japanese travel writing, Fujiwara Shinya, Sawaki Kōtarō, Othering, Indian image

Introduction

Travel writing is much more than the description by the travellers of their journeys and destination. It as well reflects the inner world of the writer. This form of writing is a product of the encounter and negotiation between the gazer and the gazed, the observer and the observee, traveller and the travellee. The consistent mix of these dichotomies makes reading the travel genre highly complex and intriguing. Japanese literature boasts of a long and rich history of travel literature that dates back to medieval times. From the *Tosa Diary* by *Ki no Tsurayuki (Tosa Nikki,* 935*)* to Matsuo Bashō's *The Narrow Road to the Deep North (Oku no Hosomichi,* 1694*)* and *Shanks' Mare* genre by Jippensha Ikku (*Hizakurige* 1802-1822) to Nagai Kafū's *American Stories (Amerika Monogatari*, 1908*)* or Oda Makoto's *Give Anything a Look* (*Nandemo Mite Yarō*, 1961), domestic and overseas travels have been reflected in several literary genres. Post-war decades saw a ban on overseas travel for tourism purposes, as Japan did not allow its citizens to leave the country for fun and pleasure. It was only in 1964 that overseas travel was liberalised, and Japanese nationals could leave their shores without having to specify the reason. The trend soon gained

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momentum, and the country saw a large number of youths travelling abroad. As Maekawa observes, the term 'sightseeing tourism' for overseas travel did not exist before liberalisation; however, within a decade, the country witnessed its first mass tourism period in the mid-seventies (Maekawa 2003:66-7). Travel writing also showed a tremendous boom during this time, as the Japanese youth travelling around the world published the memoirs and accounts of their journeys, informing the readers back home about their experiences and stories.

The present paper traces the travel writings of Fujiwara Shinya (1944-) and Sawaki Kōtarō (1947-), the two distinguished and representative figures of post-war Japanese travel literature. *Wandering India* (*Indo Hōrō*, 印度放浪, 1972) by Fujiwara and *Midnight Express (Shinya Tokkyū* 深夜特急 1986, 1992) by Sawaki are considered to be the 'bibles' of travel writing (Hayamizu 2008: 69) by many Japanese travellers to India and Asia. Both continue to influence new generations of young backpacker travellers and travel writers alike. While *Wandering India* focuses on India, *Midnight Express* is a memoir of a year-long trip to Asian as well as European countries. The travel takes place in the realm of both exterior and interior, physical and psychological. However, it is often the 'inner journeys' more than the exterior ones which readers identify with. They become the essence of the memoir. Hence, this paper seeks to analyse the narrative of *Wandering India* and *Midnight Express* and shed light on the interwoven complexities of the inner and outer journeys of the writers. The two works may appear to be quite different from each other in terms of themes, structure, and composition; however, it is interesting to note that the 'inner journeys' of the travellers bear a stark resemblance not only in their perception but also in their narrative. Though Sawaki's work features many other countries, the paper primarily focuses on the travel accounts related to India.

The travel writers and their memoirs

Fujiwara Shinya and Sawaki Kōtarō are premier figures of post-war Japanese travel writing. They have been credited with introducing the 'budget travelling across Asia' (Hayamizu 2009: 69- 70) to the Japanese readers. Both travel writers have been termed as the 'founder of the journey of self-discovery' and the originators of the spiritual travels beautifying the 'self-discovery' through their travels. Araki Sachio, a well-known Japanese travel writer[2], in one of his articles in Japan Travel Bureau Foundation's magazine, *Kankō Bunka* (*Tourism Culture*), lists

[2] Araki introduces himself in his blog as a 旅行作家 (travel writer) https://slowtravel.exblog.jp/5980867/

thirty legendary works among Japanese travel books and both Fujiwara's and Sawaki's works feature in it (Araki 2016). The popularity of these travelogues is not just limited to domestic Japanese readers. It has crossed borders, as *Wandering India's* translation is now available in Chinese, and *Midnight Express* has been translated into Chinese and Korean.

When they made their maiden solo trip to India, the two travellers were in their twenties. Born in 1944, Fujiwara was 25 years old and Sawaki, born three years later in 1947, was 26 years old. Before embarking on their respective journeys, Fujiwara left the Tokyo University of Arts and Sawaki resigned from his job on the first day (Hayamizu 2008: 85). Fujiwara's first visit to India was in 1969 for around three months; intrigued by the country, he revisited the following year. *Wandering India* is essentially based on these first two trips. During his brief returns to Japan, he gets his memoir initially published by *Asahi Graph* as a two-part series titled 'Discover India: 100 Day Trip' and 'Wandering India' in 1970 and 1971, and later as a book with the latter title in 1972. It boasts of multiple editions. Along with the textual representation, *Wandering India* is flooded with visual images, which seem to have significantly impacted the Japanese readers. Fujiwara continued to travel repeatedly to India and other Asian nations throughout the next decade; as explained in his own words, 'during these thirteen years, my stay in some country in Asia is longer than my stay in Tokyo' (Fujiwara 1990: 70). India continues to appear in his subsequent writings, too.

Sawaki travelled to India in 1974 and stayed for more than three months. He took longer to publish this memoir, which came out more than a decade later. A part was initially published in two magazines called *Gekkan Playboy*[3] in 1977 and later in *Quest*[4] (Sawaki 2008: 190-1), recounting his travels to Hong Kong and the Silk Road. He earnestly wrote about his journey in 1984 in the newspaper *Sankei*, in a series that continued for fifteen months. For penning his travelogue, Sawaki relied on more than a hundred letters he had written to different people back home while travelling. The serial writings were published as *Midnight Express* in 1986; in fact, the title is the Japanese translation of an American film with the same title[5]. Initially, a three-volume version came out, out of which the first two volumes were published in 1986 and the third one in 1992, later divided into the six-volume series commonly available now. *Midnight Express* won Sawaki the second JTB Prize for

[3] Under the title *Fly! Fly! Fly! Accounts of Wandering Hong Kong* (「飛光よ！飛光よ！香港流離彷徨記」*Hikōyo! Hikōyo! Honkon Sasurai Hōkōki*).

[4] Under the title *Silk and Sake* (「絹と酒」Kinu to Sake).

[5] The movie is based on *Midnight Express* (1977), a non-fiction work by Billy Hayes.

Travel Literature[6] in 1993. Soon after, the series was dramatised and broadcasted, and its DVDs are now widely available. *Midnight Express* claims to have sold more than five million[7] copies so far. The third volume of this series deals explicitly with India and Nepal. However, some references can also be found in other parts. Sawaki was already a non-fiction writer before setting off on his long journey. He had worked as a reporter, and his non-fiction essay, *Young Influential People* (*Wakaki Jirikishatachi*), was published in 1973. It was the copyright money he received for this book that he used for his travels. On the other hand, Fujiwara's journey as an author and a photographer began with *Wandering India*.

Journey and the route

For Sawaki, India was not the only destination. It was a part of his extended travel plan. He wanted to travel to London by road, by boarding the bus from Delhi. Both travellers were on a budget trip. Fujiwara applied for an Asahi travel campaign for financial aid to support his journey and borrowed the camera from his brother. Sawaki, too, can be seen as being very frugal with his expenses throughout his travels. Though he had received an enormous amount as royalty for his book, while reminiscing his travels, he says that the luxurious travel is not meant for writing a travelogue. Lack of money creates conflict, which connects people, hence bringing further depth into the journey (Sawaki 2008: 221).

For their Indian sojourn, Fujiwara and Sawaki took different routes to the country. The former took the Eastern route, travelling from Japan to London by flight and then taking the bus journey, passing through the Middle East, Iran, and Pakistan to reach Amritsar, a border city in the north Indian state of Punjab. Incidentally, it is the same city that Sawaki crossed a few years later on his bus journey to London. Sawaki opted for the Western route via Hong Kong, Macao, Thailand, and Singapore and entered India through Calcutta[8]. Fujiwara's writing is not chronologically recorded as he travelled far and wide in India, from Kashmir in the north to Kerala and Chennai in the south. Sawaki's travelogue is chronologically recorded. He visited many cities in northern, eastern, and central India. Amritsar, Banaras, Bihar, Delhi, and Kolkata are the cities visited by both travellers.

Fujiwara, in his narrative, engaged with both text and visual images and used photographs amply in the travelogue. Sawaki too carried a camera, but there are no photographs in *Midnight Express*. It

[6] https://prizesworld.com/prizes/various/jkik.htm
[7] https://www.shinchosha.co.jp/sawaki/
[8] Present-day Kolkata.

relies on text alone. He would usually use the camera for taking commemorative pictures, and it is interesting to note that he took photos at the Ashram, where he stayed for a few days. Three of his photographs appeared recently in an interview in a magazine, of which two were from India[9]. Only simple illustrations of maps are used at the beginning of each of the six volumes. One tool that both the writers refused to rely upon was guidebooks: Fujiwara states that he confronted India with the most fundamental things he possessed as a human, i.e., his senses and instinct (Fujiwara 1984 vol1: 30), whereas Sawaki, too, claims he 'exposed himself to the world as it is.' (Sawaki 2008: 111).

Regarding their destination, Fujiwara mentions that he wanted to go specifically to India (Fujiwara 1990: 61). Soon after he returned to Japan after his yearlong travels, Sawaki can be quoted as saying that 'I wanted to go on a trip just like an average Japanese youngster. I surely wanted to go somewhere but was not sure of the destination.'[10] (Yamaguchi 2010: 136).

Inner journeys

Wandering India and *Midnight Express* are evidently both exploratory and adventurous in their narrative. Fujiwara and Sawaki were solo travellers without any itinerary or intermediary. They moved around the length and breadth of the country and observed and examined the country and its people minutely. Their narratives about India are impregnated with details of the abject poverty, misery, pavement dwellers, squalor, starvation, and lawlessness they witnessed at the destination. Encountering the Indian 'other', both experience a kind of shock.

Inner journeys are part and parcel of the outer physical journeys. They occur simultaneously and could be related to nostalgic memories, struggles, or internal conflicts the traveller undergoes while encountering the 'other'. Inner journeys take place in the mental realm, and outer ones are physical and spatial, and both take place in a 'correlation between the external world and the inner self' (Youngs 2018: 108). The mind with which one travels and observes the world constitutes the inner journeys. Outer journeys are motivated by internal stimulation, and when the journey begins, the inner self reacts to the outer journeys with inquiries and introspection. Such inquiries and introspection into the perceptions and observations further develop the 'inner journeys'. For Fujiwara and Sawaki, their journeys take place in

[9] Hostelling Magazine, 2/15 Spring 2016, p 2-9. http://www.jyh.or.jp/hm/download.cgi?name=04&type=pdf
[10] All the translations are mine.

both realms. While in the case of Fujiwara the instances of inner journeys are quite evident in the narrative, in Sawaki's *Midnight Express* they are more implicit and hidden. In fact, Sawaki's inner journey had in a way already begun even before arriving in India. In Singapore, when he was contemplating his next destination to be Delhi, suddenly he changed it to Calcutta because it 'is a dreadful place' and 'a city with a strong smell' (Sawaki 2 1998: 189). So, Sawaki arrived in India with a specific image in mind.

This paper presents a study on four aspects of the inner journeys of Fujiwara and Sawaki: a) nostalgia, b) quest for self, c) philosophical discourse, and d) othering. All four take place in the mental realm, and the comparative study of commonalities and differences in the narrative can help us navigate the perception of the travel writers.

Nostalgia: Sights of shabbily dressed children playing in the streets trigger a sense of nostalgia in both travel writers. Sawaki is reminded of his childhood when children would play on the streets and 'wearing a rag was not shameful at all'. While experiencing a power cut in India, he recalls that he 'would feel a strong bond with his family during the power cut nights, even if there wasn't much on the dinner table.' (Sawaki 3 1999:65). While looking at the children, Sawaki remembers the 'happiness of the times when one just had to move their bodies', indicating the complexities of contemporary society. In a similar vein, Fujiwara observes a kind of vigour in these children, which does not appear to be unfortunate (Fujiwara 1984 vol.1: 178). Sawaki, too, hints at a similar 'vitality' in his travelogue (Sawaki 3 1999: 209). Fujiwara even identifies himself with the hotel boy working in the city of Madras[11], when he states that 'I felt as if I was watching myself' (Fujiwara 1984 vol 1: 118). Thus, for Fujiwara and Sawaki, the trip to India was steeped in nostalgia, invoking memories of old Japan, which had progressed and was no more the country of their childhood.

Quest for self: India was clearly an escape route for Fujiwara. He wanted to leave Japan's highly bureaucratised and managed society (*kanri shakai*) (Fujiwara vol 2 1984: 218, Fujiwara 1990: 43, 82). His father had lost the inn he was running due to urbanisation, which Fujiwara fondly recalls as 'mother's womb' (Fujiwara 1990: 50). Fujiwara witnessed the dark side of the post-war high economic growth. Having lost his 'home' impacted Fujiwara deeply, and he was trying to find solace in India.

[11] Present- day Chennai.

For Sawaki, the motivation for his travels seems to be changing from time to time. In *Midnight Express,* he indicates that he wanted to 'evade from the fact that he was about to be recognised as a reportage writer' (Sawaki 3 1999: 205). In an interview, he reports that 'It was not like I had wanted to escape or anything by travelling, but I had wanted to encounter that perfect job, that perfect event, that perfect person — but it did not happen.' (Otake 2007). However, he changes his stance a year later in *Power to Travel* where he clearly states that he wanted to 'escape from writing' (Sawaki 2008: 174). In a way, for both Fujiwara and Sawaki, their travels provide them with an escape route, the difference being that Sawaki wanted to evade his job and always longed for the homeland (Sawaki 3 1999: 225), whereas Fujiwara wished to escape from Japan (Fujiwara 1990: 70, 92). Sawaki did not want to get trapped into the 'identity of a reportage writer', while Fujiwara was looking for a way to 'exist' as a human (Fujiwara 1996: 18, 248-9). So, for one, it was as identity crisis, and for the other, it can be termed an existential crisis. Their outer and inner journeys were the mechanisms to cope with these crises.

Indicating similar Western travel writers, Blanton categorises them as 'post- Vietnam' travel writers, who, 'for the most part, travel alone, usually by foot or third-class conveyance, coming closer to the people among whom they travel than ever before. Freed from the essential certainties of self and other, this traveller embarks with less cultural baggage but with an inner struggle to define himself and assert his own presence among others who are clearly less focussed than himself.' (Blanton 2002: 26-7). Both Fujiwara and Sawaki are without any of the baggage of being Japanese in a foreign land, but with a crisis to cope with, and the 'inner struggle to define themselves' seems to be a common denominator delineating their inner journeys.

Philosophical discourse: In *Wandering India* and *Midnight Express*, India comes across as a land that provides freedom. While in India, Fujiwara deliberates on the philosophies of life and death and derives life lessons. For him, since he could overcome his existential crisis, India was a place for deep introspection and a place where he sought a new value system (Fujiwara 1996: 45). This revelation about self happens at the cremation sites. The theme of life and death prevails in *Wandering India,* as this author has discussed in other papers (Anushree 2009a, 2009b). Fujiwara seems to be so overwhelmed by the scenes unfolding in front of his eyes at the cremation sites that he highlights the fact of visiting again and again. His gaze is transfixed on the dead bodies, and observing them with all his five senses, he claims to have gained proof of his own existence. Fujiwara in *Wandering India* is wandering into the far-flung desert areas of the country alone, pondering over philosophies of life.

Sawaki, too, bringing in a stereotypical image of India, describes these sites as a theatre where dramas are being played in a chaotic manner (Sawaki 3 1999:158). He, too, revisits the cremation site. There is no further philosophical discourse, as seen in the case of Fujiwara. However, India in its entirety is compressed into that sole experience, as is evident from the diary he maintained through his travels, where Sawaki summarised his notes related to India under the title *Dead People and Living People* (*Shisha to seija* 死者と生者, Sawaki 2008: 187). Furthermore, the title of one of the chapters of the volume dealing with India is *Smell of Death* (*Shi no nioi* 死の匂い). Further elaborating on other philosophical concepts, Sawaki mentions reincarnation while looking at the river in a village which swells up during the monsoon season (Sawaki 3 1999:109) or gives up his anxiety about contracting smallpox, 'resigning' it to 'destiny' (Sawaki 4 2000: 14).

Fujiwara reports the non-existence of any law and describes the country as anarchy (Fujiwara 1996: 24). Nevertheless, he sees 'value' in it, as the free place allows him to 'exist' and he can regain the essence of being alive. Life in India appeared to him to be vibrant, vivacious, and free, which led to self-discovery. In *Midnight Express,* too, one comes across instances indicating freedom from mundane material possessions like spoons and toilet paper. For Sawaki, the country seems to be devoid of any concepts of reason and interpretation (Sawaki 3 1999: 64, 210). Sawaki explains that any attempt towards explanation or interpretation in India is futile, and the country allows 'freedom' from things/possessions (Sawaki 3 1999:105). Sawaki was disgusted at the sight of poverty and people sleeping on pavements yet he saw India also as a land where the traveller definitely 'attains' something. It is interesting to note that the conversations Sawaki includes towards the end of each book are with other travellers, non-fiction writers, and actors from Japan sharing their notions and concepts of travels. At the end of the volume dealing with India, Sawaki is in conversation with Koretsune Keisuke, whom he had met during his stay in India. Through his conversations with him, the readers learn that Koretsune, too, had left the university in Japan where he was working as an assistant, as he was not sure if he wanted to be a researcher. However, by helping a needy child in India, he becomes a 'guru for life' (Sawaki 3 1999: 210). Koretsune confesses to having 'dropped out' of his own country because of its highly consumerist society and to have 'grown up' while looking at the vitality of his observees. Though initially he did not expect to survive in India, he too was duly 'awarded'[12] by the country. Koretsune had stayed in India for a much longer period and had already published his memoir before *Midnight Express*. By including his conversations with Koretsune, who seems to have more authority and a better comprehension of the country, Sawaki tends to legitimise his own claims. Thus, India is considered a land where one could 'gain' something, discover self, or become a 'guru for life'.

Othering: Constant othering can be seen in the travelogues in both explicit and implicit ways. Sawaki seems to be engaging in conversations with his observees. He portrays them as arrogant and thankless people while portraying himself in a positive light, as emphatic and sensitive to the sufferings of Indian people. Sawaki tries to assimilate himself with his observees by wearing Indian clothes, eating with his hands, and speaking in fragmented Hindi. He even sacrifices his lunch to feed a beggar. Sawaki's stay in Ashram with impoverished children enables him to look at their lives closely. He seems to be moved by their condition and thinks he could do something for them (Sawaki 3 1999. 104). He justifies himself as a conscientious traveller for visiting an Ashram meant for outcasts and dealing with them in detail in his writing. The readers are informed of his integrity when he points out that he chose not to overstay in the Ashram, as it would mean consuming more food, or when he does not complain about the food and toilet of the place (Sawaki 3 1999:91, 105). He presents himself as sympathetic to the sufferings of others when he tries to overpay a rickshaw puller or gives some money to a beggar, which Sawaki saves from his lunch. He also presents himself as a humanitarian who never forgets to thank people for their good deeds or to apologise even for his unintentional mistakes.

Even though he travelled to other countries as well, India, particularly Calcutta, seems to have left a deep impression on Sawaki's young mind. For him Calcutta is the city where one encounters an endless number of scenes and numerous thoughts cross one's mind (Sawaki 3 1999: 45). Sawaki mentions that in Thai, Singapore, or Hong Kong, something was amiss (*monotarinai* 物足りない), but Calcutta was amazing; and yet, no matter how amazing Calcutta was, a sense of disgust is evident when he uses terms like "miserable" and "shocking" (Sawaki 3 1999: 206, 64) to describe the city. While gazing at poor pavement dwellers, Sawaki notes that in Calcutta, 'one comes across such sights or such complex thoughts that one would not encounter in their entire lifetime' (Sawaki3 1999:45) or that there is 'everything

[12] https://www.bukkyo-kikaku.com/archive/no113_17.htm

related to human life' (Sawaki3 1999: 58). Through such statements, a discourse about the country is constructed. *Midnight Express* is basically based on the letters which Sawaki had written to his friends from various destinations. He confesses in *Power to Travel* that the letters he had written from Calcutta actually got lost, but the experience he had in this city was so strong that he could never forget it (Sawaki 2008: 207). Further recounting his cultural encounters, Sawaki states Hong Kong equipped him better in 'acclimatising' to a foreign land, but 'had I entered India directly from Japan, I would have suffered a kind of 'severe disability' (Sawaki 2008: 108). Not only does he refrain from shedding further light on the 'severe disability' *kōdo shōgai* (高度障害), but Sawaki also deals with the Indian 'Other' by using expressions like 'something', 'everything', 'some kind of', pointing out his inability to find suitable expressions for defining the country and its people.

Fujiwara appears to be applauding the country, praising its freedom (Fujiwara 1990: 309), and says that Indian people do not carry the burden of being human (Fujiwara 1984 vol1: 188), indicating the absence of any laws in the country. He is further fascinated by the presence of 'zeal' (*netsu* 熱) in Indian lives, which he describes as a 'source of life' and which he feels is 'getting controlled' in Japan (Fujiwara 1984 vol 2: 218). In Fujiwara's writing, one comes across statements like Indians giving more importance to 'birth-sex-death than us', that 'though India is a poor country, it has passion' (Fujiwara 1984 vol2: 10-44), or that he can finally return to normal life in India (Fujiwara 1984 vol1: 64). Referring to the Japanese society of the time and dismissing its economic growth, at the beginning of *Wandering India* he writes, 'As I walked, I could see the deceit in myself and the world I come from' (Fujiwara 1984 vol1: 1). Fujiwara confirms that nature provides morality and reality in India (Fujiwara 1996: 114, 238-9). *Wandering India* is replete with instances of self-reflection and introspection. Such philosophical discourse about the freedom in life and death, as opposed to the bureaucratised and controlled society of Japan, is not limited to *Wandering India*; they can be found in his other works, too, especially *Tōkyō Hyōryū,* etc.

Through such recurring motifs of life and death, misery, disease, illness, and freedom in both Sawaki's and Fujiwara's writings, the construction of a distinct Indian 'Other' is evident, whether the writers applaud or criticise the country. India is seen through the prism of the 'Other' and portrayed as a socio-culturally distinct identity with a completely different value system from their own.

Discussion

Sawaki's and Fujiwara's statements about philosophy and their lengthy descriptions of their personal experiences create a specific discourse about India. One can clearly see an aestheticisation and exoticisation of death, mourning sites, poverty, and starvation. The mourners, the beggars, street urchins, nature, and the animals are all mere tools for creating the travel discourse. While Fujiwara's narrative is detailed and descriptive, he tends to 'dramatise' it by 'wandering away' from the actual scene in front of his eyes and personalising the whole experience with deep contemplations and subjective impressions. He tends to delve deeper into the realm of identity, existence, and self-doubt. In *Wandering India*, Fujiwara's engagement with India is what Thompson terms as 'coping strategy' (Thompson 2011: 114) towards his relationship with Japan's highly bureaucratised society of the 1960s, prospering under high economic growth. According to Fujiwara, such a society was 'hollow' and 'devoid of life' (Fujiwara 1984 vol1: 202). Fujiwara, for whom India was an escape route, constantly gazed at India through the reflection of Japan. In Fujiwara, we see an admiration toward Indian culture, which Thompson calls 'a desire to seek some form of moral or spiritual education from supposedly less sophisticated cultures' (Thompson 2011: 151). However, as far as 'wandering' is concerned, it is not merely a coincidence that Sawaki, too, had titled his first travel accounts as 'Fly! Fly! Accounts of Wandering Hong Kong', hinting at the significance of the act of wandering during one's travels.

On the other hand, Sawaki's accounts appear more objective and realistic, as he tends to inform readers about his travel experience in a factual, journalistic, and impersonal manner. His description has a rhythm that is extremely composed and not overly emotional. His literary and journalistic career could be said to have had a profound impact on toning down the narrative. Also, the time-lapse between the actual travel and the writing could have brought in the objectivity of the narrative. Fujiwara hints at a resultant transformation of self, while Sawaki, through his narrative, tends to educate readers and refrains from any narrative of self-examination and introspection. As Thompson argues, 'for in representing those others, the travel writer is in effect suborning or appropriating them for his or her own project of identity formation and self-advancement.' (Thompson 2011: 119); it is evident that both Sawaki and Fujiwara, in order to show their cultural superiority, through consistent 'Othering', are 'appropriating' their observees, while representing themselves as advanced, sentient civilised beings.

Undermining his objective claims while reflecting on his journeys, Sawaki does reflect on the fact that while crossing one border after another, one doesn't have the opportunity to understand the country (Sawaki 3 1999: 211). He shows a pragmatic approach as he undermines his own authority when he states that the only thing he understood (through his travels) is that he did not understand anything. Yet, he hardly seems to doubt his claims in the narrative of *Midnight Express*. He states that he decided to refrain from making any statements regarding his understanding of the country [13]. Fujiwara's claims, comments, and observations were limited to one country; in Sawaki's case, he has the liberty to generalise his subjective claims in order to bring in more objectivity. He tries to generalise the above-mentioned statement by not mentioning any particular country's name; however, the fact that the statement appears during the conversations and the volume dealing specifically with India is self-evident to a certain extent.

Discourse construction in *Wandering India* and *Midnight Express* can be examined with what Margret Topping in her critical essay calls the concepts of 'habitus' and 'field'. She explains that the worldview of the writer is 'not neutral. Rather it is influenced by the attitudes or 'systems of dispositions' we unconsciously internalise as individuals ('habitus'), and by the institutional, codified structures within which we as individuals operate ('field')' (Topping 2016:78). The worldview that Fujiwara and Sawaki seek to present through their travel writing is so aptly conditioned by their own 'habitus' and 'field' that their gaze and perception cease to be neutral. What we see in their travelogues is an authoritative claim over the experiences, conversations, moments, and events.

As far as the 'inner journey' of Fujiwara Shinya is concerned, *Wandering India* offers insights on themes like fractured identity, self-exploration, and self-discovery. However, the investigation of the 'inner journey' of Sawaki is a challenging task. One must be aware that *Wandering India* was already published almost two years before Sawaki set off for his travels. Moreover, by the time Sawaki published his memoirs, *Wandering India* had two editions.

There are two stages in which 'inner journeys' are taking place in the case of Sawaki. One is when he was actually travelling, and the other is when he began writing his travelogue more than a decade later. In the eighties, when *Midnight Express* was published, Japan was an entirely different country as compared to Japan in the mid-seventies. Sawaki had to cater to the needs and expectations of the young readers of the time. Also, by that time, travel writing by other travel writers, including Fujiwara, were already available. The chances are slim that Sawaki had not read or heard about *Wandering India*. So, he must have been aware of the fact that he needed to offer what other travel writers—in the case

[13] https://lifestyle.at.webry.info/200906/article_10.html (in conversation with Koretsune Keisuke).

of India, Fujiwara—had not. In fact, a closer reading suggests that the influence of the preceding work echoes in *Midnight Express*.

Wandering India, already an established and well-known name in the genre of travel writing in Japan, is rather conspicuous by its sheer absence in *Midnight Express*. Right from the structure of the travelogue to its discourse, there are instances during the course of the narrative where Sawaki seems to be conscious of Fujiwara. For instance, *Wandering India* is a monologue that Fujiwara refers to as a 'silent bible' with hardly or almost no conversations, yet something 'sacred'. On the other hand, *Midnight Express* is adorned with conversation with locals as well as Japanese nationals. While *Wandering India* includes visual representations, Sawaki strives to clarify his stance that he would rely on the pen (Sawaki 2008: 222). Travelling for Fujiwara was an opportunity to challenge himself and pose questions regarding Japanese society. In this sense, the act of 'travelling' can be said to be the 'protagonist' in his travelogue because of the transformation it brought to him. In contrast, Sawaki claims to be the 'protagonist' of his trip (Sawaki 2008: 216). While describing 'travel', he states, 'travel has a beginning or an end. The trip is made by the person who travels. Each and every decision makes the journey. Places the traveller wants to visit. The route he wants to take. Length of the stay and what one wants to do. The journey is not something that exists somewhere, but the traveller makes it. Any trip takes shape, as it is made by the traveller' (Sawaki 2008: 9). Sawaki claims that the traveller has complete control over his actions and decisions about his journey.

It is not a coincidence when Sawaki says that 'a journey cannot be told in abstract terms' (Sawaki 3 1999: 222) and provides details of the places he visited and people he encountered. In fact, he is again hinting at Fujiwara, whose journey is all reported in abstract form, his writing replete with nameless and faceless people and places. Further reflecting upon his journey, Fujiwara reports that he went to India 'to be defeated' (Fujiwara 1984 vol1: 20). He seems to be defeated by everything which belongs to India, its trees, leaves, and animals, indicating the resultant transformation in himself. On the other hand, in *Midnight Express* Koretsune expresses his determination to 'not be defeated' by the country (Sawaki 3 1999: 225), and Sawaki claims himself to be a 'survivor' (Sawaki 4 2000: 23), hinting at resistance and a sense of aversion towards any change that travelling to India may bring. Similarly, while Fujiwara seems to have comprehended the country with all his didactic claims, Sawaki, on the other hand, reflects that while crossing one border after another, one does not have the opportunity to understand the country (Sawaki 3 1999: 211). He is direct and shows a pragmatic approach as he undermines his own authority when he states that the only thing he understood (through his travels) was that he did not understand anything. Also, as Youngs notes, ‘the more familiar the destination, the more the narrator relies on humour, personality and idiosyncrasy to distinguish him or herself from previous travellers’ (Youngs 2018: 153). It would not be an exaggeration to say that the only way for Sawaki to ‘distinguish’ himself from *Wandering India’s* passionate and didactic discourse was by making his narrative plain and distant with his journalistic skills.

Conclusion

The underlying difference between the two travelogues is that while *Wandering India* is experiential and autobiographical, *Midnight Express* is both experiential and itinerary-based, and the account is impersonal. In contrast to *Wandering India’s* passionate, emotional, and didactic discourse, *Midnight Express’s* narrative is subtle, distant, and nuanced. As discussed, Sawaki strives to bring a difference in his narrative and writing style. However, both travelogues allow their readers a glimpse into the writers’ experience through their ‘inner journeys’. Outer journeys are motivated by internal images and perceptions. Inner and outer journeys are constantly complementing and interacting with each other. There is an interplay of awareness and confirmation.

Through their inner journeys, Fujiwara and Sawaki are trying to construct a narrative about India. India is an object of inquiry, and thus the subsequent cross-cultural encounters are evident in the text of their travels. Their perception of India, marked by complex thoughts of reincarnation, life and death, freedom, and self-discovery, is nothing but what Youngs describes as ‘an act of appropriation’ (Youngs 2018: 105). The consistent gaze at the country, the expression of Self against the Indian Other, and the reliance on subjective interpretations are common to both texts. It is significant to note that it is the journey in this inner realm, through the gaze of the traveller, that the construction of the image and perception takes place. Overcoming an existential crisis, self-discovery, a space to experience all human emotions, and seeking lessons are all episodes of a discourse construction leading to ‘othering’. Fujiwara achieves this through his subjective (judgemental) claims and consistent appreciation of the country, and Sawaki, through engaging with his observees and objective justifications. They are unable to see beyond what is visible to them and never seem to be questioning their position. Their discourse is centred on themselves. The explicit or implicit representation of Self as a distinct identity through these inner journeys is evident in the works of both writers. One might say that the photographs in *Wandering India* and the illustrative maps at the beginning of the book, along with the conversations with Japanese nationals towards the end of each volume are nothing but tools for legitimising the author's subjective claims and an outward textual and visual expression of their 'inner journeys'. As Dea Birkett and Sara Wheeler have rightfully observed, 'it is one's interpretation of the place rather than the destination that matters' (quoted in Youngs 2018:110); thus, the entire narrative about India created and constructed in *Wandering India* and *Midnight Express* is a by-product of the writer-travellers' limited interaction with Indians and the unrestrained imagination in the realm of the inner self. The narrative is marked by generalisation and universalisation, aiming at presenting the distinct Asian 'Other'.

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NISHITANI AND ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS

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Abstract: *The aim of this paper is to identify and discuss the elements needed for an assessment of Nishitani Keiji's contribution to environmental ethics. The main ones are "land" and "care". Nishitani does not often discuss them in explicitly ecological terms, but his remarks leads us to ecologically relevant conclusions. I can be the individual and subject that I am because I am constantly sustained by the land. In terms of the Buddhist view of loving compassion, the corresponding response can only be to take care of the land—and, in the long run, the earth.*

Keywords: care, land, subjectivity, Nishitani Keiji, environmental ethics

What can be the contribution of Nishitani Keiji's philosophy to environmental ethics? It is not my purpose here to provide an exhaustive answer to this question, a task which would require several articles. Nevertheless, what I can do for now is to identify and discuss the elements needed for an adequate exploration of the question. To begin with, two points should be made. First, although it seems that his comments most closely related to ecology turn around the notion of native *land* (*furusato* in Japanese), he discusses this notion in relation to problems that are not evidently ecological, but related to the nature and challenges of religion in our times (e.g. Nishitani 2021: 257-261; 2006: 68, 84-88, 103-106, 122-126). Thus, in order to examine to what extent his comments are relevant to ecological thought in general, and environmental ethics in particular, we will have to assess them in their own terms.

The second point we need to address is the notion of care. Even though he does not develop it in detail, Nishitani agrees with the Buddhist notion that the ethical response to the realization of the dependence of our subjectivity on the rest of reality—in a word, to the realization of non-ego (*anātman*)—is no less than loving compassion (*karuṇā* in Sanskrit), or in perhaps more contemporary terms, care. In *Religion and Nothingness*, he claims that the Buddhist stance of non-ego has two inseparable sides: Great Wisdom (*mahāprajñā*) and Great Compassion (*mahākaruṇā*). The second side is embodied as nondiscriminating love, quite like the sun, which shines equally on everyone without making any differentiation or showing "no preferences

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as to likes and dislikes" (1982: 60). For Nishitani, this nondifferentiation is the nature of God's *agape* in Christianism: God makes the sun shine equally over the just and the unjust (90, 278). Now, this "same divine perfection [i.e. this *agape* or *mahākaruṇā*] is then demanded of man" (60), a perfection which, in Christian terms, is disclosed by loving one's neighbor (278).

The relevance of this point for Nishitani is indicated by the several times he states it in *Religion and Nothingness*, and by the role it plays in the argument of this book. The non-differentiating love or Great Compassion is the cornerstone for the overcoming of the nihilistic nihilism (it transforms the pale indifference of mechanical, natural law into the non-differentiation of embodied natural law; 1982: 58-60; 89-90). Yet this Great Compassion is not limited to humans, not even to sentient beings. Fully aware that its being is fully interconnected with all things, the compassionate self is a servant to all things and this way becomes a master over all things (275-276).

It seems reasonable to combine these two points (land and care) and approach them from an ecological perspective. If we exist to the extent that we are sustained by a certain land, the perfection of compassion or non-differentiating love that extends over all things inevitably finds its most concrete expression as care for the land and its creatures. Now, given that no land (just as no ecosystem) exists apart from the other ones, the inescapable conclusion is that we are sustained by the planet earth as a whole. Therefore, the realization of non-ego is concretely manifest as care of the earth. To the extent that the self-awakening of reality (*jikaku*) occurs in us, it must occur as the self-awareness of the earth taking care of itself. Let us explain these two points in further detail, but not before putting our discussion in context.

The current environmental crisis and what to do about it

In its 2021 report, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) claims that an increase of 1.5ºC in global temperature would amount to severe changes in weather: longer dry seasons, shorter cold seasons and increasing heat waves. If the increase reaches 2ºC, the conditions for agriculture and human health would become quite difficult to sustain. Regarding the impact of human activity on these changes, in its version for policy makers the report bluntly claims: "It is unequivocal that human influence has warmed the atmosphere, ocean and land. Widespread and rapid changes in the atmosphere, ocean, cryosphere and biosphere have occurred." (4).

It is important to remark that the IPCC report summarizes recent scientific research on climate change and the environmental impact of human activity. In light of the severe weather changes and environmental degradation we can easily witness, the conclusion is inescapable: there is an environmental crisis. Despite all the fuss about climate change denial and similar conspiracy movements, the fact that we human beings are facing a critical environmental situation is out of the question. The fact that we are forcing the extinction of countless species and endangering many ecosystems is out of the question. It might as well be the case that climate change is a natural process, but that does not deny the fact that our activity—mostly our industrial activity—is making it worse. Whether this is a problem for the earth as a whole is a different matter: at least, it is a problem for us: the earth might as well survive us. Whatever the case, it is widely agreed that we need to make human civilization ecologically sustainable. In sum, the environmental crisis is a sustainability crisis.

Now, it may not be unreasonable to argue that the lack of ecological sustainability stems from a certain mindset which is essential to the modern subject. If the mindset is not changed, no amount of scientific knowledge, technological innovation, or even good intentions will do. This mindset consists in constituting human subjectivity by means of severing it from the rest of reality. That is, the modern subject tries to establish itself by means of setting itself in opposition to external reality. From this stance, the view of nature as the set of all external objects and facts surrounding the subject emerges. Under such conditions, the modern individual attempts to gain its own individuality by cutting its ties with nature. Erich Fromm articulates this point quite eloquently: "The growing process of the emergence of the individual from his [sic] original ties [with nature and society], a process which we may call 'individuation', seems to have reached its peak in modern history in the centuries between the Reformation and the present." (2001[1942]: 20; emphasis added). Through this process does the modern individual turn its own individuality into the ground for the exploration and constitution of its very subjectivity.

Nishitani is not far from this analysis. As he puts it, in modernity the world begins to be conceived as completely ruled by mechanistic laws, entirely made of matter and absolutely independent from the will of a personal God. As a consequence, the world becomes totally accesible to human reason, since such faculty is essentially active whereas matter is absolutely passive (let us remember the first law of classical mechanics: a body will remain in a state of inertia unless an *external* force is applied to it, hence matter is essentially inert). This way, the modern notion of progress emerges: human reason can make unlimited progress in its efforts toward controlling the world (1982: 53-54). From this viewpoint, nature easily turns to be conceived in terms of resources to be freely exploited by humanity: mountains, rivers, oceans, forests or valleys, even non-human animals have no value in themselves and become reduced to mere resources for the satisfaction of human ambitions.

Modern subjectivity has developed in very sophisticated ways that have thus yielded very important results, such as modern democracy or the notion of civil liberties, among others. However, it has also conditioned us to conceive of nature as fundamentally something utterly different from us—what is more, it has compelled us to understand it in terms of resources and not as valuable in itself. Given our current situation, it is evident that such perspective on nature has triggered all sorts of environmental problems. In particular, Nishitani is aware of the fact that the unrestricted development of techonology has yielded the problem of environmental pollution (2006: 98). Therefore, we need to radically change the course of the modern mindset if we wish to have any hope that we can solve our sustainability crisis.

Nishitani's philosophy, I believe, can contribute to the task of overcoming the modern mindset. He takes the problem of modern subjectivity very seriously and attempts to overcome the self-confinement of the modern subject by leading it to a mode of being able to realize the interconnection of all things. He can offer various powerful theoretical and methodological resources that can help us to overcome, or rather reorient, the modern mindset *in light of* modernity—and not in desperate opposition to it. However, the question here is how this reorientation may have an impact on ethics in general, and environmental ethics in particular. In order to tackle this twofold question, we need to consider how Nishitani conceives of the relation between the (human) subject and the land.

Individual, subject and land

We can claim that Nishitani appropriates the Zen notion that the primary problem we face as human beings is the problem of the self: What is the self? Who am I really? (1984: 1). On the other hand, modern philosophy asks what makes one an individual, that is, a unique and irreplaceable being that is distinct from the rest of reality. Due to his grounds both in Zen and in modern philosophy, Nishitani is concerned with the problem of what makes an individual and the problem of what is the self. But what does he say about these questions? We often consider each human being to be unique, irreplaceable and separate (2006: 89-92). Nishitani concedes, but there are some reasons to examine this affirmation critically. Individuality is simultaneously closed and disclosed:

> [...] individuality, while possessing something closed, has simultaneously a disclosed side. While being closed within itself, it manifests itself in the form of plurality, just because it exists together with the other through interconnecting with each other in the same actual world. (2006: 93)

In order to understand such disclosure of individuality more concretely, two points should be noted. First, humans do not make themselves: they live due to the grace of the land. It is only *in* the land that an individual human being can become really human. Secondly, from the perspective of karma and samsāra[2], we are not special (or exceptional). As Nishitani interprets these two closely related terms, all sentient beings—we humans included—belong to a great nexus or network of life. Within this nexus, each individual existence unfolds infinitely over time and spreads boundlessly over space, despite being finite (1982: 172-173); conversely, it means that it is intrinsically bound to all other existences. If we combine these two points, the result is that our existence is fully established in dependence of all other things.

This approach, I believe, enables a reorientation of the modern notion of nature. As observed above, this notion is ecologically problematic because it tends to reduce ecosystems to sheer resources for human interests. Still, it is so deeply ingrained in us that we cannot simply change it by means of a merely intellectual reconsideration. We need to become aware of the concrete ways in which the modern notion of nature conditions our relation to it. This is why I consider the notion of land especially valuable for such a reorientation. The "land" is much easier to be experienced in concrete terms, thus it is a more plausible ground for the overcoming of our tendency to see mountains, rivers or forests as sheer resources, and for the development of our awareness of their intrinsic value. Nonetheless, I believe that it should not simply replace the notion of nature. "Nature" is still a valuable concept. It still holds that one's land is not separate from other lands: the whole planet is a complex system of interconnection: what happens in one place can affect many others. It is quite relevant to develop this awareness today, especially in our densely interconnected human world.

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[2] To put it quite simply, "karma" refers to action and its consequences. In karmic religions (such as Buddhism), every action yields consequences according to its quality: good acts yield good results, wheres bad acts lead to bad results. Most of the time these effects are not immediate, but will come about nonetheless. In the long run, the set of all these results make up the life of the agent, that is, the agent builds its own life out of the results of its actions. The type of existence I have depends on my deeds. Now, this may eventually change over time, so that I may be reborn in different conditions. That is, I continually roam through different types of existences or, in Buddhist lore, domains. This continuous transit through the realms of existence is called samsāra.

In these terms, as it seems reasonable to affirm, Nishitani would agree that we are not absolutely separate individuals in opposition to nature—provided that we experience this fact primarily in our own land. However, at the same time he claims that we gain our authenticity in the direction of distinguishing ourselves from nature. This way, we are not separate from nature, but at the same time we are. Such paradox seems unsolvable until we pay attention to the following fact: when we deepen our inquiry into ourselves and thus take further distance from the rest of reality, what we find deep inside us as the root of our being (our home-ground) is nothing but the multiplicity of real things. That is, nature is what we are deep inside. We are simultaneously separate from and tied to nature. What is more, only by virtue of emerging from nature do we become irreplaceable individuals. Let us explain Nishitani's ideas in further detail.

From 1971 to 1974, Nishitani gave a series of six lectures to the Shin Buddhist Association of the Great Earth in Kyoto, later included in the 17th volume of his Collected Works (NKC), and translated into English in 2006 with the title *On Buddhism*. There he comments on the concept of land in more detail than (probably) elsewhere in his work, yet it is one of a series of topics that he touches upon in order to elaborate on ethical matters and the role of religion in contemporary society. Still, it is possible to detect in these lectures a reflection on nature and our place in it based on the notion of land. Of special interest in that regard are the second and fourth conferences: Opening Up the Self to the World (2006: Ch. 2), and A Departure from the Individual (2006: Ch. 4).

In Opening Up the Self to the World, Nishitani defines the land as "a place that supports the existence of human beings." (2006: 66). Indeed, for him "land" is not merely physical territory, but is intrinsically bound up with the people that inhabits it. The earth, he claims, is not the same thing as land, even though these two are closely connected: considered as one of the great elements (i.e. wind, fire, water, earth), the earth can be considered as one of the components that make up the human body: "According to Buddhism, the four great agents combine for a time to give birth to a human body. It is here supposed that once they are dissolved, they return to the source from which they came." (2006: 65-66). As such, our body does not exist apart from the environment—what is more, it is a part of the environment.

Nishitani develops this point in more detail previously in an essay entitled Science and Religion, published in Japanese in 1969 (there is a Spanish translation published in 2021 which we will use here for reference). As he explains there, the native land (*furusato* in Japanese) is not only the place where one comes to the world, but the place where one's existence in the world is established (2021: 257). In general, it is the place where even things like mountains and rivers can be established in their own existence as individual things. In other words, in the native land each thing can have a proper name. That is, the human world is a world of proper names, but it can only be established in the (native) land: there is no human world without a concrete territory.

However, in another sense, the native land as ordinarily experienced by its inhabitants is not the *true* native land (2021: 258-259). As much as it is the place where human life is made possible, the land is also the place where we die and experience suffering. It is the realm of differentiation, where we distinguish between like and dislike, good or bad, fair or unfair. Therefore, it is a realm of continuous suffering. In that profoundly existential sense, it cannot be regarded as the *true* native land, since it is not the place where we can *definitely* establish our own existence and find refuge.

If that is the case, where can we find our true native land, where we definitely can be established and find refuge? According to Buddhism, that place is found where we find our "original countenance," that is, our true self before being born from our parents (2021: 259-260). In other words, it is the Pure Land, which implies a transcendence from the soil, but also indicates "the place where existence is established" and is the opposite of this "impure" and "vile" world (2006: 66). As long as we live, we need a soil to stand on. Even more, my being is inextricably linked to the land where I am (2006: 84). Thus, the Pure Land transcends the (impure) land. However, it would be a mistake to declare that it is disconnected from it. Rather, the Pure Land is intrinsically linked to the land and the earth. Only in this very vile, impure world, a transcendence from suffering can be disclosed.

This point, of course, deserves further clarification. For now, let us summarize what we have explained so far. We humans gain our individuality and constitute our subjectivity by taking distance from the outside world. However, the more we take distance from the outside world, the more we find within us the very force of nature that gives birth to all things in the world. This way, since the very force of nature that gives birth to all things is the factor that sustains our individual lives, in our very inner life we find ourselves again in contact (even more, in intimate contact) with the multiplicity of things. We can no longer define nature in opposition to the human, as it is frequently done even in our days. Despite being distinct (or distinguishable) from the rest of things, the realm of human individuality and subjectivity can no longer be understood in opposition to nature. Rather, we exist in nature, and nature is the ground where can gain our individuality and constitute our subjectivity. In more concrete terms, the land is not a sheer portion of physical space that we occupy but the very provider of the conditions that allow us to live. It can then be claimed that we never exist apart from our environment, and that even the possibility of our own distinctive individuality and subjectivity is granted by it.

The problem is that our contemporary civilization tends to overlook these facts. Even though it seems evident that we depend on the environment to exist, our civilization acts as if we could progressively gain more independence from our environment. Such mindset arises out of modernity and, more specifically, from modern atheism understood as the utter denial of religion, as Nishitani explains in *Religion and Nothingness*:

> [...] out of the union of the passive, raw material of the world and the absolute formative agent of human reason, the idea of "progress" emerged. In a totally passive world, reason finds itself able to advance in self-awareness and in the imposition of rational form on the world. Indeed, this is the way reason must function, giving rise to a future that opens up like a path to unlimited progress. Such was the optimism of the atheism that grew out of the Enlightenment. (1982: 54)

As he understands it, this is not atheism as a mere negation that there is a God, but more profoundly the mode of life that resolutely believes that human reason is powerful enough to resolve all problems of humanity without relying on any power external to it. This mode of life and this worldview, which arose out of mechanicism and the Enlightenment, presupposes that the world is basically made of inert—hence essentially passive—matter, while reason is essentially autonomous and free. Therefore, human reason can impose its own purposes on nature and treat things like water, wood or even animals as resources. More concretely, scientific knowledge provides the conditions for humans to impose their rule over nature, whereas the technology based upon it materializes such rule.

Now, as mentioned above, Nishitani claims that in its tendency to dissolve the being of individual beings and know things in mechanical—hence abstract—terms, science causes environmental problems such as pollution (2006: 98). These problems arise because we forget that we are connected to an environment we depend on: our body is inseparably linked to the environment and is part of it.

> "With respect to scientific techniques or mechanical techniques, it must be remarked that the fact that human beings cannot live without air or water was put aside, until we began to suffer from difficulties such as air pollution and water pollution. This clearly indicates that, fundamentally speaking, a scientific standpoint does not pay heed to air and water except as resources to be utilized. And it has come to pass that

> such a scientific standpoint has transformed, just as it is, into technologies that give rise to mechanical techniques." (2006: 99).

This is not to argue that we should abandon modern science. The problems it has brought about notwithstanding, it has also provided enormous benefit: thanks to progress in medicine, for example, millions of people can be cured of diseases that were incurable in the past (2021: 245-246). Given the diversity of problems it helps us to solve in very efficient ways, it would be unreasonable to renounce modern science and technology. Still, we cannot ignore that it has also produced so big an environmental imbalance that the very existence of our modern civilization, let alone of the science and technology that sustain it, is at serious risk.

If we agree with Nishitani up to this point, it follows that we cannot get rid of modern science and technology, but we cannot leave them untouched either. We need to change their course if we want to preserve any hope to solve the environmental crisis. We can only do this by reforming the mindset in which they are based, that is, the modern mindset we have described above. We need to move from a worldview that severs our human existence from the rest of nature and conceives of the latter as sheer inert resources, to a worldview that acknowledges the intrinsic ties between our humanity and nature, our place in the environment and the value of things like rivers or mountains beyond the use we can make of them.

The human body and the environment are inextricably tied together. We need things such as water or air to live. But instead of simply treating these things as inert or as mere resources, traditional worldviews have long considered the whole of nature as a large current of becoming, and this current as alive (2006: 100-101). Buddhism has always understood this viewpoint in terms of interdependent origination: it is not only that we come to be out of an endless stream of causes (I was born from my parents, etc.), but also that we constantly emerge from the world. The world is a disclosure out of which we emerge and become established. This is what Nishitani means when he says that "nature is alive" and "it is that through which something novel incessantly arises." (2006: 102).

Still, the solution to the current environmental crisis does not consist in returning to traditional worldviews just as they were (1982: 13). The past does not come back. We are inevitably permeated by the experience of modernity. Consequently, we can only find a way out by breaking through modernity to a more encompassing standpoint that allows us to regain contact with the reality of things and of ourselves. Nishitani, I argue, refers to such a standpoint when he mentions the

Pure Land or the field of our original countenance as the place where suffering can be overcome. This suggests that the solution to our environmental crisis and the required shift of mindset amount to a radical transformation of subjectivity. The point is that we need to regain contact with reality, since the price we have paid for the modern experience is that we have lost it. And regaining contact with reality requires no less than a radical transformation of our subjectivity: we need to break through the prison of the self-confined subject and constitute subjectivity not in opposition to things, but in accordance with things—in a word, to transition from a self-confined subjectivity to a connected subjectivity.

Ethics and care

How can a connected subjectivity have an impact on environmental ethics? It is not easy to address this question from Nishitani. Nonetheless, we find a clue in *Religion and Nothingness*: the "non-differentiating love that transcends the distinctions men make between good and evil, justice and injustice" (1982: 52). As he explains it, non-differentiating love is the enactment in the human individual of the force of nature that allows all beings to be what they are and keeps them joined together. In Chistianity, this is called *agape*: the non-discriminating love of God that "makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust" (Mt. 5:43-48; quoted in 1982 58). As pointed out above, in Mahayana Buddhism it receives the name of *karuṇā*: the loving compassion of a Bodhisattva, who listens to the suffering of all sentient beings and reaches out to them. Therefore, it can be inferred that non-differentiating love cannot emerge from the self-confined subject because of its intrinsic egocentricity. It can only emerge from the connected subject: only the connected subject establishes itself on the ground of the force of nature that allows all beings to be what they are and keeps them joined together.

From this perspective, it seems that we humans can no longer claim to be special in the order of things. However, as we explained above, Nishitani appears to believe that we are. He insists that only human beings need to take pains in order to become genuine human beings: only for a human being does the need arise to *achieve* its own humanity by its own effort (2006: 115). We may—and certainly should—problematize this viewpoint, but that would lead us away from our current discussion.

There is still another sense, nonetheless, in which Nishitani could have claimed that we are *special* in the order of things. If we are to insist in what sense we are special, we can say that we are self-aware and self-awareness (*jikaku*) in us is also reality's self-actualization (1982: 5-6). As Nishitani articulates the notion, however, we cannot claim that *we* are self-aware, but that there is self-awareness, and by virtue of self-awareness *we become* fully human. Therefore, self-awareness gains ontological precedence over the subject, and to the extent that self-awareness becomes deeper in us—to the extent that we existentially recognize nature within us—, we become more truly ourselves. That is, we achieve our authenticity (we become genuine human beings) by means of the self-awareness of reality, and this is a human prerogative.

To some ears this perspective may sound still too anthropocentric to be adequate for environmental ethics. It might as well be the case that Nishitani has not taken enough distance from anthropocentrism. Be that as it may, we can claim that his perspective on self-awareness and authenticity is ecologically relevant. Precisely, an ecologically relevant consequence of his approach is that "special" does not mean "superior." Even if we can insist that we are special, that does not mean that we are superior to other sentient beings. If it is true that human authenticity is grounded on the self-awareness of reality, and given that human individuality and subjectivity are granted by the force of nature that acts within us, it seems clear that *nature* does enact self-awareness in us and by that means allows us not only to exist, but to become truly human beings. Let us remember now that the force of nature takes in us the form of non-differentiating love. As a consequence, the authentic human being is not called to enthrone itself as the lord of nature, contrary to what the Enlightenment would declare. Instead, the authentic human being is called to become a *steward* of nature—to use the expression coined by U.S. philosopher and conservationist Aldo Leopold. In other words, the fact that our authenticity can only be firmly established on the ground of the force of nature implies that we are called to care for the environment. If, as mentioned before, we are allowed to live by the grace of the land, we are responsible for taking care of it and the beings that inhabit it. This is so not simply because endangering the land means endangering ourselves—Nishitani would certainly agree, as his comment on the cause of pollution suggests. But, even more, we are responsible for taking care of the land because our becoming true human beings is inextricably linked to the land as a whole. This way, Nishitani's philosophy suggests an inextricable connection between human authenticity and environmental responsibility.

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GOLD, JADE AND JEWELED LEAVES: FIRST STEPS TOWARDS A MATHEMATICAL ANALYSIS OF THE KYŌGOKU POETIC STYLE

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Abstract: *This paper presents an analysis of late 13th - 14th century Kyōgoku school's poetry found in different sources from the poetical devices perspective. Four devices described previously by other scholars were taken into account: ji-amari, sound manipulation, and pauses. The main criterion for the analysis was the average number of devices in a source. The Kyōgoku poets whose poems were chosen for the analysis were Kyōgoku Tamekane, his sister Tameko, emperor Fushimi, Fushimi's principal consort Eifukumon-in, and emperor Hanazono. The list of sources includes six imperial anthologies contemporary to previously outlined poems and one poetry contest — the Kingyoku uta-awase. Thus, more than 500 poems from 7 different sources were examined. The devices were counted and their amount was compared. The analysis showed that anthologies compiled by Kyōgoku poets display a much higher average number of Kyōgoku devices than other sources, with Kingyoku uta-awase having the highest average. Additionally, the poetic techniques of Kyōgoku poets were analyzed on a case-by-case basis, which showed that Fushimi used the majority of devices more frequently than other Kyōgoku poets in imperial anthologies. On the other hand, Kyōgoku Tamekane demonstrares higher results in Kingyoku uta-awase, which shows the need for further study.*

Keywords: Kyōgoku Tamekane, poetic devices, Kamakura period, Kyōgoku school, waka poetry

1. Introduction

Since late 12th century, when poet Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204) compiled a poetic anthology called *Senzaishū*[2] 千載集, the Mikohidari clan he was the head of had experienced a huge growth in status. Almost every imperial anthology from late 12th century until the 15th century

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[2] In this paper, we occasionally use the following abbreviations for the names of anthologies and poetry contests: ShokuSIS = *Shokushūishū* 続拾遺集 [Collection of Gleanings Continued], SGSS = *Shingosenshū* 新後撰集 [New Later Collection], GYS = *Gyokuyōshū* 玉葉集 [Collection of Jeweled Leaves], ShokuSZS = *Shokusenzaishū* 続千載集 [Collection of a Thousand Years Continued], ShokuGSIS = *Shokugoshūishū* 続後拾遺集 [Later Collection of Gleanings Continued], FGS = *Fūgashū* 風雅集 [Collection of Elegance], KU = *Kingyoku uta-awase* 金玉歌合 [Poetry Contest of Gold and Jade].

was compiled by a poet from Mikohidari lineage or one of its direct descendants. Given the importance of the institute of imperial anthologies for the medieval poetic world of Japan, calling the Mikohidari the most powerful and respected poetic house in the country would not be an understatement.

Shunzei's legacy was carried on by his son Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241), who is well known to this day as one of the best poets in Japanese history, and Teika's own son, Fujiwara no Tameie (1198-1275). Tameie served as a compiler for two imperial anthologies: *Shokugosenshū* 続後撰集 and *Shokukokinshū* 続古今集, which once again displays Mikohidari's power as a poetic clan. However, after Tameie's death in 1275, a conflict broke out between his heirs. It involved land rights (namely, the rights for the Hosokawa estate in modern-day Hyōgo prefecture) and, most importantly, Mikohidari's library, which contained an outstanding number of invaluable materials which could certainly serve as a very reliable source of wealth for a poet in the 13th century. Due to this conflict, the Mikohidari clan split into 3 separate branches: Nijō, Kyōgoku and Reizei. See Atkins (2006) for further detail on the conflict.

The split of Mikohidari had a profound impact on the history of Japanese poetry, since it essentially shaped the way major poetic clans were interacting with each other throughout the next centuries.

However, besides the legal conflict, there had also been a literary one. The three clans had entirely different opinions on poetry and poetic style, with Nijō being the conservative party, while Kyōgoku and Reizei were advocating for more innovative poetry. Nijō's primary poetic rivals were the Kyōgoku who had Reizei as their allies.

One thing that the split of Mikohidari showed very well is how deep the connection between poetry and politics was during the Late Kamakura period. Each of the three new branches of Mikohidari had become close to factions fighting over power in the capital and outside.

In approximately the same time as Mikohidari, one other significant house was undergoing a dynastic split: the imperial family. After emperor Go-Saga (1220-1272) died in 1272, the lineage was divided in two — the members of the new *Daikakuji* and *Jimyōin* branches of the family were competing for the title of *chiten-no kimi*,[3] who usually possessed far more power than the reigning emperor. One way for *chiten-no kimi* to legitimize the power of their faction even further was through the imperial anthologies.

Nijō became closely associated with the *Daikakuji* line of the imperial house, while Kyōgoku turned to the rival faction, the *Jimyōin*.

[3] Occasionally referred to as *jisei-no kimi*. See Sansom (1958).

Reizei Tamesuke (1263-1328), the founder of the Reizei, was forced to leave Kyoto for Kamakura, where he and his mother Abutsu (1222?-1283) eventually found themselves in the center of the local literary circle, with Tamesuke's daughter even marrying the shogun Hisaakira (1276-1328). Thus, each of the three new poetic clans forged alliances with the major court powers, becoming the cultural weapon of their respective party. From the death of Fujiwara no Tameie to the end of Kamakura period, five anthologies were created, with retired emperors from *Daikakuji* commissioning four of them, and only one by the member of *Jimyōin* lineage. See Belov (2022) for further detail.

Both Nijō and Kyōgoku clans had an enormous impact on the poetic life of the capital. However, Kyōgoku poetry school started to fade away shortly after its second and most prominent head, Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254-1332) had died in 1332 after 17 years of exile. After Tamekane's death, Reizei remained Nijō's main poetic rival for the next few decades. It would not be a mistake to say that Reizei emerged as a victor of the fight, since it is the only Mikohidari branch whose descendants are still contributing to Japan's poetic legacy. In fact, in 1980, the clan's head at the time, Reizei Tametō (1914-1986) opened the clan's archives, which revived the scholars' interest in the subject. Of course, the split of Mikohidari and even the Kyōgoku style have been addressed before by scholars, but the opening of the archives shed some light on the more obscure parts of its history while attracting researchers' attention.

One of the scholars who used this opportunity to conduct research on the subject was Robert N. Huey, the author of "Kyōgoku Tamekane: Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan", the work that certainly inspired the current paper. R. Huey does not merely research Kyōgoku Tamekane's biography and poetic circle, but also thoroughly analyzes the Kyōgoku poetry style itself, even noting the devices characteristic to Kyōgoku poems.

While analyzing Kyōgoku Tamekane's activities in the early 1300s, Huey (1989: 47-49) mentions the poetry contest known as the *Kingyoku uta-awase*. It had only two participants: Kyōgoku Tamekane and retired emperor Fushimi (1265-1317). The participants were not judged, which also makes the KU a prime example of more private contests that simply displayed remarkable poetry rather than put competitors against each other (Huey 1987: 301-302).

Huey (1987) rightfully mentions KU as one of the most important documents for the Kyōgoku poetry school. The fact that 41 verses from that contest were later included in imperial anthologies compiled by Kyōgoku poets, GYS and FGS, suggests that KU was supposed to be a model of the Kyōgoku style. Moreover, Brower & Miner (1961: 338-421) and Huey (1989: Ch. 5) have scrupulously described the most important details of the Kyōgoku style.

However, even though we can call KU a model Kyōgoku source in terms of style expression, there is still much yet to be described. The question which served as the motive for this particular paper is "Is there any way to describe how 'Kyōgoku' a source is in a more mathematical way?". But as the research developed further, it transformed multiple times with its shape and goals.

Of course, there are plenty of possible ways to answer this question, but we decided to use the part of Kyōgoku style that is the easiest to describe and count — the Kyōgoku poetry devices, thoroughly described in Huey (1989: Ch. 5). To properly address this problem, we will first discuss the sources and the method used for the analysis.

2. The Kyōgoku poets

Although it is obvious that we are not able to identify every single poet who wrote in Kyōgoku style or considered himself a Kyōgoku poet, it is possible to say who were the most active members of Kyōgoku salons. Poets who interest us the most (besides Tamekane himself) are Kyōgoku-associated poets who studied poetry directly under Tamekane and thus have the strongest bonds to the school's founder. Furthermore, our candidates should have their poems included in imperial anthologies. Even so, there were quite a lot of people who studied under Tamekane, so if we try to narrow it down even further to find perhaps the most representative Kyōgoku poets, we end up with with a list that looks like this: Fushimi, his principal consort Eifukumon-in (1271-1342), Tamekane's sister Tameko (1252?-1317?), and emperor Hanazono (1297-1348). One might also note that the list is missing at least one more important Kyōgoku poet from the *Jimyōin* lineage — the emperor Kōgon (1313-1364), one of the compilers of the famous Kyōgoku anthology, *Fūgashū*.

The main problem lies in the fact that Kōgon was born much later than the poets chosen for our analysis — in fact, he was born only 2 years before Tamekane's exile, so the future emperor was not a direct pupil of his. Also it should be mentioned that Kōgon had made an appearance in just a single major source chosen for the analysis (see below for more detail) — the FGS, which does not allow us to draw a comparison with other poets.

3. The sources

For almost any poetic tradition, one can find more and less "formal" sources. In the context of Japanese poetry, we are mainly talking about imperial anthologies, where the poets were doing their best to leave their trace in history, and less significant inner competitions, which were the places of experimentation. We decided to take both kinds of sources into account when conducting the analysis, so that the data could be compared later. Since Kyōgoku's active lifespan was relatively short, we were able to include the anthologies compiled during the lives of major Kyōgoku poets. These anthologies are: *Shoku shūishū (1278), Shin gosenshū (1303), Gyokuyoshū (1312), Shoku senzaishū (1320), Shoku goshūishū (1326), Fūgashū (1349)*. Only two of them, namely, GYS and FGS, are traditionally considered Kyōgoku anthologies, while four others were compiled by Nijō poets. As the less official source, we decided to use the KU, mostly because of its remarkable expression of the Kyōgoku style.

4. The Kyōgoku devices

First of all, let us once again define and list the devices particularly frequent in Kyōgoku poems. It is important to notice, though, that what Huey (1989: Ch. 5) examined was mostly the Tamekane's individual style, and it is not entirely correct to refer to it as the "Kyōgoku style". However, since most other Kyōgoku members' styles were undeniably heavily influenced by Tamekane's, we believe we can extrapolate Huey's analysis of Tamekane's poetic practice on the whole group as a temporary solution, leaving the more definitive determination of the correct criteria of the Kyōgoku style for future researches.

It is important to note in advance that these devices were not exclusive to Kyōgoku, but usually could be used by many other poetic schools. Nonetheless, the devices we use during this analysis, in our opinion, constitute the majority of the Kyōgoku style that can be depicted by numeric values and averages.

4.1. *Ji-amari*

Ji-amari mainly involves the use of at least one extra syllable in at least one line of a poem, altering the standard 5-7-5-7-7 pattern. Of course, *ji-amari*, like many other techniques outlined in this work, are not in any way limited only to Kyōgoku poetry and have been in use since *waka* established as a genre. What we can state, however, is that Kyōgoku poems contain a relatively high amount of *ji-amari* for its time (i.e. compared to *Nijō* and other schools). Most Kyōgoku sources (especially school's inner contests, e.g. KU or *Fushimi-in Nijūban Uta-awase* 伏見院二十番歌合 [Retired Emperor Fushimi's Poetry Contest in 20 Rounds]) confirm that high occurrence of *ji-amari* was a part of the style, and not some random experimenting.

The following poem by Tamekane from the FGS, which contains two lines with *ji-amari*, can be shown as an example:

Mono to shite Hakarigatashi na Yowaki mizu ni Omoki fune shimo Ukabu to omoeba	It's hard to believe! Just think about it: Even heavy ships Can float on the surface Of weak water.[4]	物として はかりがたしな よはき水に おもき船しも うかぶと思へば

Like with many other devices, *ji-amari*'s main purpose was to alternate the poem's rhythm. Reading through endless lines of five and seven syllables for a long time can be a rather boring experience, and this was acknowledged since the time waka was born as an art. In the poem by Tamekane above, the *ji-amari* in lines 3 and 5 not only break the monotonous rhythm, but also attract attention to these lines.[5]

4.2. Sound manipulation

Huey (1989: 106) refers to this technique as "The Manipulation of Vowels and Consonants", but we decided to shorten the name for the sake of convenience.

Sometimes the limited phonetic supply of the Japanese language was used in poetry to alter poem atmosphere, rhythm overall impact, and draw complicated parallels with images of nature. As an example, we can examine a poem from *Kokinshū* 古今集 [Collection of Ancient and Modern Times] by an unknown author:

Okuyama ni Momiji fumiwake Naku shika no Koe kiku toki zo Aki wa kanashiki	When I hear the stag Cry out deep within the mountains Where he picks his way Trading upon the fallen colored leaves, Then I feel autumn truly sad. (transl. by R. Huey)	奥山に 紅葉ふみわけ 鳴く鹿の 声きく時ぞ 秋は悲しき

In this particular poem the repeated "k" resembles sobbing sounds, contributing a lot to the poem's overall impact, as Huey (1989: 111) suggests.

As for the vowel manipulation, the following example by Tamekane from the KU can be given:

[4] When no translation author is mentioned in the brackets, the poem is translated by myself
[5] If at least one line of a poem contained ji-amari, the poem was marked as having such a device.

Neya no ue wa Tsumoreru yuki ni Oto mo sede Yokogiru arare Mado tataku nari	It makes no sound On deep snowdrifts upon My bedroom roof, But there it is, slanting hail, Tapping sharply at my window. (transl. by R. Huey)	閨のうへは つもれる雪に をともせで よこぎる霰 窓たたく也

Here, the vowels "o", "e" prevailing in lines 1-3 and "a", prevailing in lines 4-5, seem to be used to emphasize the images of snow and hail respectively. This gives a new dimension for the snow-hail contrast: the phonetic expression changes according to the image change.

Sound manipulation is probably the most vague and hard to identify device out of all we have chosen to analyze. The main problem lies in the fact that there is no 100% accurate and objective way to define whether it is present in a poem or not. It still bears connection to one's own personal perception of the poem and its meaning. We should keep in mind that the use of sound manipulation, just as most other devices, was not limited to Kyōgoku exclusively, and could be utilized by poets from any other school. What makes sound manipulation remarkable from the research standpoint, however, is the rather frequent use of the device in works of Tamekane and other Kyōgoku poets, which thus allows us to conclude that this device was at least in some way significant for the school. We believe this technique to be too important to ignore, and we will be able to examine it later during our analysis.[6]

4.3. Pauses

One feature of Kyōgoku poetry that makes it stand out among other school is its extensive use of pauses, which contributed to Kyōgoku poems' unusual rhythm. During our analysis we are particularly interested in pauses that follow gerunds formed using "*-te*", or particles like quotational "*to*", or emphatic "*zo*", since these formants can be seen as relatively reliable pause markers, as Huey (1989: 104) suggests.

The following poems written by Tamekane and included in GYS shows a fine example of Kyōgoku pauses:

Tabi no sora Ame no furu hi wa Kurenu ka *to* Omoi*te* nochi mo Yuku *zo* hisashiki	This rainy day of travel, The sky so dark I wonder If already the sun has set, But then I continue on, For I still have far to go (transl. by R. Huey)	旅の空 雨の降る日は 暮れぬかと 思いてのちも 行くぞ久しき

[6] We may state that the poem has "Kyōgoku style manipulation" if, in at least one line, there is a sequence of vowels or/and consonants that seem to bear some kind of onomatopoeic purpose.

This poem contains at least three noticeable pauses, creating a deviation from a normal rhythm while also supporting an atmosphere of indecisiveness because of a long way ahead.[7]

Like with most other devices, pauses were widespread outside of Kyōgoku, but for the most part, the pauses were considered a "poetic illness" by the majority of schools and were used rarely. The Kyōgoku, on the other hand, often used particles and forms followed by a pause even in places where avoidable, as if put there on purpose to spite the critics, which certainly does sound like something Kyōgoku Tamekane would do.

5. Counting and comparing

Having discussed the devices we will be comparing, we shall define the criteria for the comparison. To get a rough measure of how "Kyōgoku" a certain source is, we can use the average number of devices in the source. Obviously, "Kyōgoku style" is by no means limited to use of the poetic devices, but it can still give us an idea of which source contained more Kyōgoku-associated features.

Some of the previous scholars have also worked with the concept of quantitative comparison in poetry, but we have not been able to find any studies that concerned the Kyōgoku style and its properties. It is worth mentioning that Huey (1989) does examine some properties of Kyōgoku through a similar kind of analysis, but Huey mostly uses quantitative evidence to attribute a device to the Kyōgoku school or to prove that it was not typical for other schools to use it. What we are trying to accomplish in this work, however, is to compare all the Kyōgoku poems throughout different sources.

In order to count an average number of Kyōgoku devices, we used the following formula for every source:

$$A = \frac{n_1}{n_2}$$

Where A is an average number of Kyōgoku devices, n_1 is a number of Kyōgoku devices used in a source, and n_2 is a total number of Kyōgoku poems (implying a poem written by a Kyōgoku poet) in a source.

Essentially, we can expect that the average should theoretically be distributed in the following way: KU > Kyōgoku anthologies > Non-Kyōgoku anthologies. If the data from the analysis follows such a distribution, we can assume that this method most likely depicts features of Kyōgoku style well enough.

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[7] In most cases we can state that a poem contains a Kyōgoku pause if it has at least one of the formants which are thought to be followed by a pause.

6. Results

Table 1. Kyōgoku devices in the chosen sources

Source	ShokuSIS	SGSS	GYS	ShokuSZS	ShokuGSIS	FGS	KU
Ji-amari	0	4	82	3	1	114	48
Sound manipulation	0	0	16	0	0	20	8
Pauses	1	22	135	12	9	154	70
Devices in the source	1	26	233	15	10	288	126
Number of Kyōgoku poems in the source	5	45	257	35	18	299	120
Average	0,2	0,58	0,9	0,43	0,56	0,96	1,05

This data allows us to make several important conclusions. First and foremost, we can see that Kyōgoku sources consistently show a higher average number of Kyōgoku devices, especially the KU. This corresponds well with our hypothetical vision of source hierarchy outlined above.

One important thing to note is the fact that sound manipulation was only found in Kyōgoku anthologies. This probably means one of two things: (a) it is very specific to Kyōgoku, and Nijō did not find it appropriate to include poems with this technique in their anthologies, or (b) it is caused by ambiguous criteria suggested for its identification. Either way, it is unlikely this occurrence is a mere coincidence and it is probably connected with the essence of Kyōgoku poetry in one way or another.

7. Individual style

Devices in poems of the selected Kyōgoku authors were also analyzed on a case-by-case basis. This method provided us with valuable data which allowed us to analyze the individual styles of the poets in terms of the device use. Moreover, we were able to find several patterns with some of the poets, which in future may, for example, help us pin down the author of a poem or at least narrow down the list of possible authors. Let us examine a few examples of how Kyōgoku poets' individual style might be traced by looking at the use of poetic devices.

Table 2. Distribution of Kyōgoku devices in imperial anthologies between the poets

Poet	*Ji-amari*	Sound manipulation	Pauses
Fushimi	36%	22%	35%
Tamekane	19%	14%	16%
Tameko	15%	28%	19%
Eifukumon-in	23%	28%	19%
Hanazono	7%	8%	11%

The results of the individual analysis are somewhat surprising. As can be seen from table 2, Fushimi dominates every section except for the sound manipulation. That means that Fushimi used Kyōgoku devices even more frequently than the school's leader. One possible explanation is the fact that Kyōgoku Tamekane's poems were not included in some anthologies due to him being in exile.

Interestingly enough, analyzing the data from the KU showed different results:

Table 3. Distribution of Kyōgoku devices in KU

Poet	*Ji-amari*	Sound manipulation	Pauses
Fushimi	42%	25%	44%
Tamekane	58%	75%	56%

This comparison shows us that Tamakane used every poetic device more frequently than Fushimi. In most cases, though, the difference is not that significant, which does not allow us to make confident claims for the moment. It also proves that further analysis should be executed with other sources, with emphasis put on poetry contests.

Of course, this is just one way of many to interpret the results gained from the research. We can leave the more thorough analysis for the other study, and move on to the conclusions of this paper for now.

8. Conclusion

In the present paper, it was demonstrated using quantitative comparison that poems from KU contained much more Kyōgoku poetic devices than Kyōgoku poems from any other contemporary source. In turn, Kyōgoku anthologies consistently display a higher average number of Kyōgoku devices than non-Kyōgoku ones. This means that the method for analysis proposed here might be enough to compare different sources in the presented way.

The analysis also reveals other peculiar details, such as the fact that the sound manipulations were only found in Kyōgoku sources without even a single occurrence in any other chosen source. This might serve as a reason to further explore the nature of this technique and its connection to Kyōgoku school.

We have also examined the poets' individual approach to the use of poetic devices and received rather contradictory results. The data from the imperial anthologies showed that the most active user of every technique except for sound manipulation was emperor Fushimi, which could be caused by the fact that no Tamekane's poems were included in two of the anthologies observed. The analysis of KU poems shows quite the opposite, with Tamekane leading with most devices. We think this difference between two types of sources should be looked into further in the future studies.

Finally, it might be interesting to try using this method of device counting with other literary schools and eras. This may certainly help improve the methods of analysis while also gaining more data concerning other sources and schools. Of course, the first priority would be to explore the patterns of Nijō in order to compare them with those of Kyōgoku school.

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RAILWAYS AND CIVILIZATION: A STUDY ON TRAIN IMAGERY IN NATSUME SŌSEKI'S LITERARY WORKS

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Abstract: *The development of rail transport played a crucial role in the Industrial Revolution, initially in Western Europe and the United States. From there, technological innovation spread to all parts of the world, turning trains into one of the most potent symbols of Western civilization. During the Meiji period (1868-1912), Japan underwent a rapid modernization from a feudal society to an industrialized nation by adopting Western political, economic, and social institutions. At that time, one of Japan's most celebrated novelists, Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), consistently displayed keen psychological insights into the various challenges at the individual and national levels stemming from the rather indiscriminate Westernization characterizing that period. In this paper, a variety of train imagery appearing throughout Sōseki's oeuvre was examined to determine what these images symbolize and how they changed with time. Their relevance and significance in modern times are also discussed with a view to the challenges facing contemporary society.*

Keywords: Natsume Sōseki, train imagery, modern society, Westernization

1. Introduction. Railways in Meiji Japan

In 1825, the Stockton and Darlington Railway in northeast England commenced operations. Employing both horse and steam power, it became the first public railway in the world. Five years later, in 1830, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, a novel public railway powered only by steam locomotives, was made available for general use. Railways relying on steam power alone were subsequently built in 1828 in the United States, 1832 in France, and 1835 in Germany, with railroad systems becoming the backbone of the Industrial Revolution and spurring further modernization in the West.

During the Meiji period (1868–1912), Japan underwent rapid modernization from a feudal society to an industrialized nation by embracing the Western political, economic, and social institutions of the time. Under the national slogan "*Fukoku kyōhei*" [enriching the country, strengthening the military], the construction of an extensive railway

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system was prioritized and considered crucial for Japanese development. In 1872, the first railway in Japan opened to the public, connecting Shinbashi (Tokyo) and Yokohama. The then 21-year-old Meiji Emperor attended the inauguration ceremony with other high-ranking officials. Two years later, in 1874, the Osaka and Kobe Railway was built, followed by the Osaka and Kyoto Railway in 1877. In the same year during the Seinan War, trains were used for military transportation for the first time in Japan. From that point onward, the railway network in Japan grew exponentially. The Horonai Railway proved instrumental in the colonization of the northernmost island of Hokkaidō and even more so in both the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) 10 years later. Shortly after Japan's victory in 1905 over Russia, the South Manchuria Railway Company (*Mantetsu*) was established in north-eastern China and later expanded with a route to Japanese-occupied Korea (Oikawa 2019 [2014]: 191–218; Uenaga et al. 2020: 14–23). In the following year, *Mankan tetsudō shōka* was added to the then highly popular *Tetsudō shōka*, a collection of railway songs praising the cities and the beautiful scenery along the railroads that was used primarily to foster a sense of "national consciousness" (Fieve and Waley 2013: 205) among students.

In 1909, Natsume Sōseki was invited by Yoshikoto Nakamura (1867-1927), an old friend who had achieved the position of Chairman of the South Manchurian Railway Company, to travel to Manchuria and Korea via *Mantetsu* from September 2 to October 14. Sōseki's account of his Manchuria journey, *Mankan tokoro dokoro* (1909), was serialized in the *Asahi* newspaper later the same year[2]; however, in this article, I will focus mainly on the train imagery presented in his other literary works.

While using train imagery as the forefront of one's criticism of modernity and modern civilization is by no means novel in itself, as that connection has already repeatedly been made with regard to Sōseki (Fujii 1997; Komori 1999; Komori 2020; Makimura 2020), it has more often than not been discussed as a rather one-dimensional representation of the evils of modernization. Moreover, even though that side of train imagery does occupy a considerable share in Sōseki's literary world, as we will see below, it is arguably not the only aspect of such imagery.

2. Natsume Sōseki in London: first encounters with Western civilization

It is widely known that Natsume Sōseki, undoubtedly one of, if not the most prominent writers of modern Japan, started off as an English

[2] For a discussion of *Mankan tokoro dokoro*, see Senuma (2007 [1962]: 174–175); Shibata (2015: 242–244); Yiu (2019: 201–226).

language teacher after graduating with a degree in English literature from Tokyo Imperial University (now University of Tokyo) in 1893. In 1900, he was selected by the Japanese government for a two-year scholarship to further his studies of the English language in London, England. On September 10, he sailed from the port of Yokohama; the 40-day voyage took him to Naples and then Genoa, from where he made his way to London via Paris. He remained in London for a little over two years from 1900 to 1903, the majority of which he spent rather in isolation and in ever-growing self-consciousness and distress. His failure to adjust to the new environment, from the damp and gloomy weather to the occasional racism toward Asians to the practical struggles of getting by in London (by then the largest modern metropolis in the world) on a fairly humble budget, made his first encounters with Western civilization[3] rather unpleasant. However, as is often the case, these struggles and experiences were mentally broadening at the same time. From his initial journey to Europe and his personal experiences and observations in London we can trace the origins of one of the most repeated imageries in his creative writing—trains and their complex role in modern life. Although by 1900 the railroad system in Japan was rapidly expanding and Sōseki himself had already made a few long-distance trips by train (for example, to Kyoto, Kobe, and Okayama in 1892, to Matsuyama in 1895, and to Kumamoto in 1896), he remained highly impressed (and somewhat intimidated) by the extensive interlacing network of carriages, trains, and subways "making Paris truly worthy of the name 'metropolis of the world'"[4] (Sōseki 1976a:152). London was, of course, no different (Sōseki 1976a: 157–158). In fact, on several occasions throughout his first six months in London, Sōseki complained to friends and family of London's transport system (carriages, trains, subways) being so complicated that sometimes he would end up being "carried away" to a completely different place (Sōseki 1976a: 158; Sōseki 1976a: 159; Sōseki 1976a: 175).

In the short story "The Tower of London," published in 1905, Sōseki draws from his recollections of his first days in England and his own visit to the Tower of London to recreate the city's atmosphere.

> Thinking I might be swept away in a human wave if I went outside, and fearing that a steam train might come crashing into my room when I went home, I had peace of mind neither day nor night. If I have to live for two years amongst that noise and these crowds, I mused, the very fabric of my nerves will eventually become as sticky as a gluey plant in a cooking pot. I

[3] A great part of Sōseki's experience in London will be later reflected in *Sanshirō*. See Sasaki (2002), Takahashi Harb (2019:143).

[4] Translations from Japanese by the author. When English translations were available, these have been used.

even had times when I thought Max Nordau's *Degeneration* all the more keenly to be the absolute truth. (…)

I did not, of course, get on any trains, nor was I able to get in any carriages, and, when I did make a rare attempt to use a mode of transport, I had no idea where I was being taken. The steam trains, carriages, electric railways and cable railways that criss-cross like spider's legs the wide city of London were unable to provide me with any convenience whatsoever. (…)

The history of the Tower of London is a distillation of the history of England. (…) Human blood, human flesh, human sins crystallized and left behind in the midst of horses, carriages and steam trains, that is the Tower of London.[5] (Flanagan 2005: 91–92)

From the first part of this passage, we see the narrator's initial reluctance to make use of one of modernity's finest conveniences ever so intertwined in the fabric of the city, which suggests not only an obvious lack of experience but also the narrator's inherent sense of incompatibility with Western civilization. On the other hand, the last paragraph provides us with the first indication that trains for Sōseki might signify something more than what they likely do for most daily commuters in a big city. Trains serve as a visual epitome of the material side of modernity. Moreover, the overwhelming speed at which they constantly propel profound changes at both the individual and collective levels is an image that will come up time and time again in Sōseki's works with increasing complexity attached to it.

As for Sōseki's view of Western civilization itself, countless books and papers have been produced on the matter throughout the years[6], so I will limit myself to citing only one of his diary entries, written between 1905 and 1906, which is quite telling of his reservations regarding Western civilization and its influence on his native culture and society.

Neurosis is the common disease of the 20th century. The same people who bring progress to human knowledge, science, indeed every possible sphere of life altogether, degenerate and get weaker and weaker with every step forward. (…) If there is a country that is going to perish one day because of neurosis, England will no doubt be the first. (…) We foolish Japanese learn from those malaise-ridden Englishmen, not knowing that we will be the next to become ill. It is much like willingly taking your own life. (Sōseki 1975a:164–165)

This idea will be fully explored years later in *The Wayfarer (Kōjin)* (1912–1913). However, even in "The Tower of London" we can already

[5] Quoted with slight revision from Damian Flanagan's translation, *The Tower of London: Tales of Victorian London.*

[6] See, for example, Ochi (1985: 10–47), Wada (2010: 57–80), Miyoshi (2015 [1986]: 363–378).

see the subtle correlation being made between the tumultuous life in the big city and nervous breakdown with trains as a symbol of modernity being the connecting thread. In the next section, I will look closely at some of Sōseki's literary works where trains play a significant role in the story to explain and discuss the ways in which train imagery evolved in Sōseki's world.

3. Train imagery in Natsume Sōseki's literary works

3.1. Railways in service of war: the Dark Side of Modernity

The Three-Cornered World (Kusamakura) (1906)

When discussing train imagery in Sōseki's literary works and its strong connection with Western civilization, his 1906 work, *The Three-Cornered World*, is often brought up in terms of his apparent critical view of trains in Japanese life at the beginning of the 20th century, in particular the crucial role that railways played in Japan's ever-growing military expansion in Far East Asia. For the poetic escape from the exhausting reality of the big city (in itself a symbol of "civilized" Japan), a "first-of-its-kind haiku-like novel" (*haikuteki shōsetsu*) with the sole purpose of rendering "a certain feeling... of beauty" (*utsukushii kanji*) that will "remain with the reader" (Sōseki 1976b: 544–545) that Sōseki initially envisioned, *The Three-Cornered World* ends on a rather grim note that hits too close to reality. The nameless young painter, the narrator/protagonist of *The Three-Cornered World* who is trekking in the mountains with no explicit final destination whatsoever in what we would call today a kind of spiritual journey, retreats into nature in search of peace of mind and rejuvenation of the spirit, only to find himself "being dragged back" into the "world of reality" while waiting for the arrival of the train, "the serpent of civilization," that will take Kyuichi, the cousin of his new female acquaintance Nami, to the battlefields of Manchuria.

> Anywhere that you can find a railway train must be classed as the world of reality, for there is nothing more typical of twentieth-century civilization. (...) People are said to board and travel by train, but I call it being loaded and transported. Nothing shows a greater contempt for individuality than the train. Modern civilization uses every possible means to develop individuality, and having done so, tries everything in its power to stamp it out. (...)
>
> Whenever I see the violent way in which a train runs along, indiscriminately regarding all human beings as so much freight, I look at the individuals cooped up in the carriages, and at the iron monster itself which cares nothing at all for individuality, and I think, "Look out, look out, or you'll find yourselves in trouble." (Turney 2000: 181–182)

As Kyuichi boards the train, the narrator's observation abruptly takes form in reality.

> One turn of the wheels, and Kyuichi would no longer belong to our world, but would already have gone to a world far, far away where men were moving midst the acrid fumes of burnt powder, and where they slipped and floundered wildly in a crimson quagmire, while overhead the sky was filled with the roar of unnatural thunder. (Turney 2000: 183)

Thus, Kyuichi becomes the epitome of the individual being robbed of his or her humanity, a person in the process of being transformed into a mere component of a machine, which in turn serves Japan's imperialistic advances in East Asia. As a result, the narrator's sobering observation overpowers the poetic escapism prevailing in *The Three-Cornered World* until almost the very end. In the same way, Sōseki's need to caution readers of the dangers of Western civilization's influence on Japan and Japanese society and the way Japan is implementing it in other countries has clearly overpowered his initial intention to create a new type of novel, the sole purpose of which was originally to leave the reader with a lasting sense of beauty as opposed to the dull realism prevalent in the Japanese literature of that period.

As Yōichi Komori noted, for the narrator/protagonist of *The Three-Cornered World* trains are a representation of not only "Japan's westernization (*bunmei kaika*), militarization (*fukoku kyōhei*), industrialization (*sanshoku kōgyō*), and leaving Asia behind and joining the Western powers (*datsua nyūō*)" but also "the greatest paradox of modern Japan." During the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), "Japanese soldiers would be drafted and taken from their hometowns and villages, then loaded into trains to be trained and afterwards transported on to the battlefields. Some of them would survive and get back home by train, some would get killed and their remains would be transported back to Japan via railways again" (Komori 1999: 121–122). In *The Three-Cornered World,* trains are used as an allegory for not only Western civilization but also its driving force, the imperial war itself.

The Heredity of Taste (*Shumi no iden*) (1906)

One early novella published eight months prior to *The Three-Cornered World*, *The Heredity of Taste*, although long considered Sōseki's response to the Russo-Japanese War following its conclusion two months before (Kohl 2005: 9; Shibata 2015: 98), often goes unnoticed in relation to railway imagery. Here we can see a rather overt representation of the intrinsic interconnectedness between trains, war, and the loss of individuality in Sōseki's prose fiction. The narrator of *The Heredity of Taste*, again a nameless young man, comes across a rejoicing crowd at Shinbashi station waiting for the train with returning troops and officers after the end of the Russo-Japanese War.

In *The Heredity of Taste*, the train loaded with men coming back from war is, for the first time, likened to a “snake,” which will become a common trope used by Sōseki when it comes to trains, as we just saw in *The Three-Cornered World*. “A French novelist once compared the whistling of a train with the wheezing of an asthmatic whale. Just as I was thinking that comparison peculiarly appropriate, a train came wriggling in like some long snake and, in one great gout, disgorged about five hundred stalwart lads onto the platform.” (Aiko Itō and Graeme Wilson 1974: 122–123) Joining the sea of people at the station, the narrator is mentally preparing himself to shout “*Banzai*” with everyone else for the first time in his life when a general battered from the war passes in front of him and puts an abrupt end to his ill-fated first attempts to cheer them on with “*Banzai*”.

> At the same time as the “Banzai!” was blocked, spasms difficult to describe shook my breast and two tears rolled down my face. (...) War, if it does not kill a man, must age him. The general was extremely thin: that, too, perhaps the consequence of hardships. Perhaps, in fact, the only aspect of his whole physique which remains unchanged is his height. A person like myself, a natural hermit living among books, can get along perfectly well in total ignorance of all that happens beyond his study-walls. (...) Hence, however long the war might last, I could never have grasped its true essential nature. But this carefree human being happens to stray into a station and there observes a tanned face and a frost-dyed beard. Though I cannot personally witness warfare, the results of war, one aspect, one vividly living aspect, of those results, has now flashed upon my mind. Under which stimulation, the whole spectacle of that fearful conflict raging across the vast plain of Manchuria is suddenly revealed to me. (Aiko Itō and Graeme Wilson 1974: 125–126)

Here, the young man at last puts a face to the abstract concept of war that had until that moment allowed him to go about his life without becoming too entangled in the emotional complexities of war and the human factors behind it, so much so that he finds himself physically unable to join in “the roaring waves of ‘Banzai’” surrounding him. He is further distraught upon being reminded of his friend, Kō-san, who had been killed in the war, when he sees a young 28–29-year-old soldier who resembles him so much that “they could be taken for brothers” (Aiko Itō and Graeme Wilson 1974: 136). The self-professed “hermit living among books”, caught up in the tireless sea of joyful “*Banzai*” chants of the crowd who is seemingly oblivious to the countless lost lives, is finally confronted with the real world outside of the newspapers with all its devastation and paradoxicality.

It is also interesting that the loss of individuality[7] in *The Heredity of Taste* is not only hinted at in the aforementioned scene when "five hundred stalwart lads" are "disgorged" of the train onto Shinbashi Station, but is reinforced by the depiction of the crowd welcoming them. "After the general had disappeared the crowd began to disintegrate and to become less orderly. One corner of the wedged mass crumbled and the whole block, which had seemed as solid as a black mountain, began to loosen." (Aiko Itō and Graeme Wilson 1974: 133) This collective picture of people *en masse* on both sides accentuates the dehumanization of both the soldiers and the crowd of their friends and family, in turn representing the entire nation losing its personality for the sake of the military expansion of Japan and the putative benefits of the full-scale modernization that the imperial wars serve.

What makes *The Heredity of Taste*'s narrator shed tears beyond his understanding is undoubtedly not only the "fragment of the consequences" for one particular man debilitated by war but also what the general embodies as a whole— the most striking image of Japan itself leading one war after another, treading a very dangerous path, a path of self-destruction of which *Sanshirō*'s Hirota Sensei is fully aware.

3.2. Embracing All Possibilities *Sanshirō* (1908)

In the end, *The Three-Cornered World* was Sōseki's last novel to address the interrelation between trains and modernization/imperial war overtly and at length.

In *Sanshirō*, the protagonist Sanshirō is a 23-year-old country boy who leaves his hometown in rural Kyūshū, Southern Japan, to continue his studies at a university in the capital, Tokyo, which by then was an ever-growing economic and cultural metropolis. It is by no means a coincidence that Hirota Sensei's most poignant criticism of Westernized Japan and its national and foreign policies takes place on a train, which in itself is one of the driving forces of Japan's war campaigns and where the atmosphere is furthermore set by conversations between passengers about the Russo-Japanese War and relatives who sadly have not made it back home. Upon seeing Westerners at one of the stations, Hirota Sensei

[7] Sōseki's general views on the matter of individuality (*kojinshugi*) and self-centeredness (*jiko hon'i*) are presented in greatest detail in his 1914 public lecture "My Individualism" (*Watakushi no Kojinshugi*), in which Sōseki not only stresses the importance of finding oneself and following one's own path in life but also strongly emphasizes on the responsibility of those in power not to hinder others in their free expression. In this sense, train imagery in relation to the loss of individuality in both *The Heredity of Taste* and *The Three-Cornered World* serves as an early and rather straightforward representation of Sōseki's view of the dangers awaiting modern society, whose development also entails suppressing one of its presumed core values.

remarks, “We Japanese are sad-looking things next to them. We can beat the Russians, we can become a first-class power, but it doesn’t make any difference”.

> “But still,” Sanshiro argued, “Japan will start developing from now on at least.”
> “Japan is going to perish,” the man replied coolly. (...) “Tokyo is bigger than Kumamoto. And Japan is bigger than Tokyo. And even bigger than Japan...” he paused and looked at Sanshiro, who was listening intently now. “Even bigger than Japan is the inside of your head. Don’t ever surrender yourself— not to Japan, not to anything. You may think that what you’re doing is for the sake of the nation, but let something take possession of you like that, and all you do is bring it down.” (Rubin 1977: 15)

The significance of Hirota Sensei’s harsh critique of Japan having bitten off more than it can chew, followed by a warning to Sanshirō to not let nativistic ideas get into his head and ruin his own future at the point in the novel where they have just met, becomes clearer when we consider that this is Sanshirō’s first time leaving the countryside and in a sense “pre-modern” Japan, as will be hinted at numerous times throughout the novel. Travelling by train to the capital of the Empire of Japan, Sanshirō is quite literally on a tour of “civilized Japan” and is becoming increasingly enchanted by what he sees; there is no better time than that to put things into perspective, which would be difficult for Sanshirō himself, but it is the most natural thing for Hirota Sensei to do. Moreover, the fact that they are at this point literally strangers who do not even know each other’s names further enhances the impression that this is not only personal advice to Sanshirō but rather a warning from the older generation, having experienced the realities of Meiji Japan, to the younger one on which the future of Japan will soon depend. In addition, as Shōji Shibata accurately points out, on a more allegorical level, Sanshirō is an image of Japan itself on its ongoing journey toward modernization (Shibata 2006: 71–72).

It is no coincidence that soon after settling in Tokyo, Sanshirō is reminded of Hirota Sensei by the tragic death of an unknown young woman who stands in front of an oncoming train under the cover of night. It is a tranquil early autumn evening and Sanshirō is alone when he hears a distant cry, “Oh, oh, just a little longer”, soon followed by the “roar” of a train approaching.

> (...) this single cry had sounded to Sanshiro like a true soliloquy, the solitary utterance of one who has been abandoned by all, who seeks an answer from no one. An eerie feeling came over him. Another train echoed in the distance. (Rubin 1977: 42)

Sanshirō is incapable of sitting still and goes into the darkness to the railway to either confirm or dismiss his morbid hunch. What follows is a graphic description of the scene that unfolds before his eyes.

> Sanshiro looked down without a word. In the circle of light lay part of a corpse. The train had made a clean tear from the right shoulder, beneath the breast, to the left hip, and it had gone on, leaving this diagonal torso in its path. The face was untouched. It was a young woman. (...)
>
> Sanshirō recalled how the man eating the peaches on the train had said to him, 'You've got to watch out; life can be dangerous.' For all his talk of danger, the man was annoyingly self-possessed. (Rubin 1977: 43)

We are never told why the young woman decided to end her life, but if anything, this only emphasizes the wide range of possible reasons. For Sanshirō, this first encounter with untimely death serves as a reminder of not only the fragility of human existence but also of the invisible danger that is almost always present from the machines that played a crucial role in his journey from rural Kumamoto to the heart of Japan and have continued to fascinate him in his day-to-day life in Tokyo ever since. Hirota Sensei's words, "You've got to watch out—life can be dangerous," which come to mind in the wake of the young woman's suicide, in fact refer not only to him but also to life in general. "*Abunai. Ki o tsukenai to abunai*" [It's dangerous. If you're not careful, it's dangerous] (Sōseki 1975b: 19), in the Japanese original immediately follows "Single-mindedness is an awesome thing. (...) It's lucky for us we're not pigs," he went on. "Think what would happen if our noses kept stretching toward all the things we wanted. By now they'd be so long we couldn't board a train." (Rubin 1977: 13). This is followed by the above-quoted remark on Hirota Sensei's part regarding the Russo-Japanese War, the political standing of Japan on the international scene, and the dangers of letting nationalistic sentiments take over one's own perception of right and wrong. Thus, Hirota Sensei's statement becomes an obvious reiteration of *The Three-Cornered World*'s narrator's closing words while watching the Manchuria-bound train taking off, "'Look out, look out, or you'll find yourselves in trouble.' The steam train which blunders ahead blindly into the pitch darkness is one example of the very obvious dangers which abound in modern civilization", the first part of which in the original reads, "*Abunai, abunai. Ki o tsukeneba abunai*" [It's dangerous, it's dangerous. If you're not careful, it's dangerous] (Sōseki 1975c: 544). There is an intricate continuation of the intertwined images of trains, modern civilization, darkness, and death from *The Three-Cornered World* to *Sanshirō*. Now it is time for Sanshirō to realize what is already obvious to *The Three-Cornered*

World's narrator and Hirota Sensei— darkness does not end with one war and does not take only one form in a time of history when a never-ending desire for more is the driving force of people and nations.

What is different from the previous works, on the other hand, is that train imagery in *Sanshirō* is also about balance. Soon after the beginning of the semester as a first-year student in the Law and Letters Department, Sanshirō starts to feel overwhelmed by the vast new world of academia, both enchanting and intimidating at the same time. "He felt himself under constant pressure, but whatever was missing stayed that way. The fun had disappeared." (Rubin 1977: 33) Upon hearing that, his friend Yojirō, a special student who had graduated from a private college and had taken it upon himself to show Sanshirō the ropes of being a university student in Tokyo, advises him to ride the streetcar and clear his head.

> "Get on the streetcar and ride around Tokyo ten or fifteen times. After a while it'll just happen— you'll become satisfied."
> "Why?"
> "Why? Well, look at it this way. Your head is alive, but if you seal it up inside dead classes, you're lost. Take it outside and get the wind into it. Riding the streetcar is not the only way to get satisfaction, of course, but it's the first step, and the easiest." (Rubin 1977: 34)

That same evening, Yojirō and Sanshirō ride the streetcar from Yonchōme to Shinbashi and then all the way back to Nihonbashi in an attempt to soothe Sanshirō's nerves. In this passage, even Shinbashi, a symbol of Japan's imperial wars in *The Heredity of Taste*, is mentioned only in passing. Here, we have another function of the trains that Sanshirō is encouraged to explore more. In the beginning of his life in Tokyo, we see him intimidated by the hustle and bustle of the big city: "The real world would move on in its uproar and leave him behind. The thought filled him with a great unease. Sanshirō stood and watched the activity of the streetcars and the trains, of people in white and people in black, and this was how he felt." (Rubin 1977: 18) Yojirō advises Sanshirō to let himself become one with the flow and broaden his understanding through observation and living in the present.

That, in a sense, foreshadows what Sanshirō will later consider a possible coping mechanism when feeling overwhelmed by the complexities of modern life. Immediately after returning from the scene of the young girl's railway suicide, Sanshirō remembers "the man eating peaches on the train", Hirota Sensei, and starts "to wonder if he, too, should live as a critic some day", meaning "while [being a] part of the world", watching it "from a place apart" (Rubin 1977: 43). Riding the train is one of the various ways to ease one's mind and to be able to carry on with everyday challenges. That is, today as well, we can make use of the importance of finding the balance between being engaged in reality and knowing when to take a step back and change one's perspective. In *Sanshirō* a young boy navigating the big hectic city is again an allegory of Japan in its bid to join modernized Western powers. On an allegorical level, the act of enjoying a train/streetcar ride and having a mindset that allows one to let go of the anxiety of the unknown could be viewed as the first representation through train imagery in Sōseki's fiction of the idea that the only way is forward, and since that includes modernization, one might as well make the best of it. Variations of this particular train/streetcar imagery will later appear in *Sore kara* (1909) and culminate in *Kokoro* (1914).

While in *Sanshirō* the grim side of modernity remains largely only slightly hinted at on several occasions (some of which are discussed briefly above) and the novel ends on a rather light note as a whole, in *Kokoro* the dark shadow of Meiji is far more pronounced. The underlying meaning of the train trope in Sōseki's most famous work, however, is arguably the most positive.

***Kokoro* (1914)**

There is not much left unsaid about Sōseki's undoubtedly best known and by far most analyzed novel. I will only briefly touch upon the train motif in *Kokoro* (1914), which is likely the most subtly incorporated train imagery among his works. In *Kokoro*, the strong relationship between the narrator, a young student, and an older man, Sensei, who largely shapes the young man's perspective on life, is not only a large part of the plot but also a recurring theme. First, there is the relationship between the poor graduate student Takayanagi, who is struggling to find his place in a world polarized by economic status, and the former provincial teacher Dōya Sensei, who has elected to embody his philosophical vision of life and purpose by pursuing a writer's career over the security of his occupation as a high school teacher. The theme is further developed, as discussed above, in *Sanshirō* with Sanshirō, a first-year student at Tokyo Imperial University, and Hirota Sensei, an English teacher at a local higher school (nowadays college). It finally crystalizes in *Kokoro*, where the relationship between the young narrator, a third-year graduate student, and Sensei, an older closeted intellectual, gradually becomes a life-changing experience for both. One of the connecting threads between these three cases is the young boys' actively seeking older men's companionship and, naturally, the guiding role on the part of the old generation. Sōseki's entry in his diary from November 1915 hints at its significance, "The only way to guide someone into enlightenment is to stretch out one's hand and help them, but only after they have made a step toward you" (Sōseki 1975a: 772).

The young narrator, with his unyielding loyalty to Sensei, gains his trust and ultimately becomes the only person Sensei confides in before committing suicide. When the narrator receives Sensei's letter containing his "confession" or "testament" about the darkest secret of his life, he is in the countryside, taking care of his dying father along his mother and his older brother. As soon as he receives Sensei's letter, even before knowing its contents, he decides that he must immediately return to see Sensei in Tokyo. Without too much thought for his family, he rushes to take the first train to Tokyo. "Then, with the vigor of decision, I leaped onto the Tokyo-bound train. Seated in the thundering third-class carriage, I retrieved Sensei's letter from my sleeve and at last read it from beginning to end." (McClellan 2007: 128) Sensei prefaces his testament with the following warning.

> In truth, if there had not been such person as you, my past would never have become known, even indirectly, to anyone. To you alone, then, among the millions of Japanese, I wish to tell my past. For you are sincere; and because you once said in all sincerity that you wished to learn from life itself.
>
> Without hesitation, I am about to force you into the shadows of this dark world of ours. But you must not fear. Gaze steadily into the shadows and then take whatever will be of use to you in your own life. (McClellan 2007: 128)

If we consider *Kokoro* and this small detail of the young narrator "leaping" onto the first train bound for Tokyo in isolation, we might overlook its great significance. However, in light of the multifaceted train imagery in Sōseki's fiction discussed to this point, his views on modern Japan first alluded to in *Sanshirō* become even clearer. In his infamous 1911 public lecture "The Civilizing of Modern Japan" (*Gendai Nihon no Kaika*), Sōseki defines Western civilization as developed on its own terms, propelled by internal factors (*naihatsuteki*), and Japanese civilization as influenced by external factors (*gaihatsuteki*), a "slipping on the surface" (*uwasuberi*) (Sōseki 1975d: 340) type of civilization. In the following passages, Sōseki concludes:

> But I am not saying we should stop now because it is bad. What I am actually saying is that we have no other choice but to keep on slipping forward, be it with tears in our eyes. (...)

> (...) after the war you can hear boastful voices coming from all places that we have become a "first-class power." It seems to me that one must be quite carefree to make an assumption like that. Having said that, I have no answer as to what we ought to do in order to overcome the difficult situation we are in. I must say that the only thing we can do is to try and develop independently (*naihatsuteki ni*) without giving ourselves a nervous breakdown. (Sōseki 1975d: 340–343)

The narrator of *Kokoro*, again a clear embodiment of the younger generation, the present, and the future of Japan, jumps onto the train heading to Tokyo (a symbol of modernization with all its positive and negative sides), leaving the countryside (the past, pre-modern Japan) behind, as he sees it as the only possible way to go about the situation he is forced into. Most importantly, he does so armed with Sensei's candid confession, a guiding light into the future so as to not repeat his mistakes.

This development is consistent with Sōseki's advice to one of his disciples, Sōhei Morita (1881-1949), as early as November 1906. Sōhei Morita initially went back to his hometown in the countryside after graduating but decided to return to Tokyo and pursue a career as a writer. Sōseki sent him a letter upon his return to Tokyo and cheered him on, "After all, it's good you are back in Tokyo. You'd be better off in Tokyo, keeping an eye on what everyone is on about." (Sōseki 1976a: 497) Again, two days later he writes in another letter, "If I were to retire from the literary world, I would go to Saito [Kyūshū] and pass the time teaching at university. But since I have the privilege to be born and alive [at this period of time], I would rather do my best in Tokyo" (*sekkaku umareta kai ni wa Tokyo de hanabanashiku uchiji o shitai desu ne*) (Sōseki 1976a: 499). The young protagonists of *Botchan* (1906) and *Kōfu* (1907) making their ultimate return to Tokyo at the end of both novels is also noteworthy. All of these examples reflect Sōseki's rather pragmatic view of how to cope with Japan's modernization: if it is something you cannot escape, you can at least strive to prepare yourself as well as possible to face it forthrightly and fulfill your role in it.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed only a fraction of the many hidden layers of meaning reflected in the train imagery of Sōseki's literary fiction. I tried to demonstrate not only the deep correlation between train imagery, the complex modernization process in Japan, and, ultimately, war, but also its gradual encompassing of an increasing number of aspects of modern life. Looking at Sōseki's body of work, we can clearly see how the highly overt and one-sided symbol of modernization and imperial war trains represented in his early works with time transitioned into a more multifaceted space for dialogue and contemplation embodying the complexities of modernity itself. Sōseki writes of his future plans in a letter dated November 1915:

> There are too many things I want to do. In the past I was planning on achieving success in 10 years, but lately I realized there is no need to rush and switched to a 100-year plan. With a 100-year plan there is nothing to worry about; I am confident that no one is going to stop me from succeeding." (Sōseki 1976a: 503)

Unfortunately, he passed away from an internal hemorrhage a little more than a year later, on December 9, 1916; however, his 100-year plan was by all means on the mark, even modest. Even though an incredible number of books and papers have been produced on all aspects of his literary fiction, there are still new layers to be fully explored and lessons to be learned today.

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MARKED USES OF NON-GRADABLE ADJECTIVES IN JAPANESE: TOWARDS A SYSTEMATIC DESCRIPTION OF GRADABILITY

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Abstract: *The present paper focuses on the frequently set-aside class of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese, aiming to illustrate their properties through the analysis of examples produced by native speakers. The paper explains the mechanisms which motivate the selection of non-gradable adjectives in speech, with unmarked contexts, in which gradability markers are not accepted, as a starting point. The mechanisms behind marked contexts, in which the co-occurrence of non-gradable adjectives and gradability markers such as the comparative or degree adverbs is accepted, are also explained by taking into consideration the type of information that the speaker chooses to focus on in a particular communication context. The analysis proves that the behavior of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese can be accounted for in both unmarked and marked contexts. At the same time, the parallel with the behavior of gradable adjectives confirms that it is possible to draw a systematic classification of Japanese adjectives from the point of view of gradability. The paper also explores the relationship between gradability and subjectivity, proving that they are closely connected in Japanese.*

Keywords: non-gradable adjectives, standard image, marked

1. Introduction

It is self-explanatory that most studies on gradability, generally described as one of the defining properties of adjectives, focus on the behavior of the so-called “gradable” adjectives. Indeed, generally starting from the behavior of gradable adjectives in English, comprehensive research has been carried out, clarifying numerous questions about the nature and role of gradability. For example, although there are various approaches in the literature when it comes to the semantic properties of such adjectives, there is consensus regarding the fact that gradability is manifested through their compatibility with degree adverbs or the comparative.

One frequently ignored category is that of “non-gradable” adjectives, which are usually briefly mentioned as supporting evidence

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in the analysis of gradable adjectives. For example, in his analysis of subjectification in gradable adjectives, Pander Maat (2006: 279) mentions that "typical non-gradable adjectives include adjectives denoting nationality, provenance or style (*American*, *Gothic*) and other denominal adjectives with meanings such as 'consisting of', 'involving' or 'relating to' (*annual*, *medical*, *political*)." Paradis (2001: 4) states that non-gradable adjectives such as 'classical' are "typically categorizing and resistant to the main criterion of gradability, i.e. they do not combine with degree modifiers". Kennedy (2007: 22) mentions adjectives such as 'geological' and 'hand-made', which are not usually associated with degree adverbs or the comparative, to confirm that not only adjectives such as 'tall', which can co-occur with both degree adverbs such as "very" and the comparative, are gradable, but also adjectives such as 'pure', which can be modified by adverbs like "completely". Although non-gradable adjectives have not occupied a central position in most previous studies, their behavior can offer invaluable insights into the nature of gradability as a general concept.

In Japanese linguistics, gradability has received relatively little attention, with very few studies attempting to provide a comprehensive description of the class of adjectives from the perspective of their gradability features. The present paper starts from the abovementioned premise that non-gradable adjectives are essential for understanding the nature of gradability and the role it plays in language. There are numerous cases in which non-gradable adjectives in Japanese co-occur with degree adverbs, thus confirming that there is still a need for further research into their behavior. One example is offered below, with the adjective *kagakuteki-na* 'scientific', a categorizing adjective which should not be compatible with degree modifiers, being modified by *hijō-ni* 'extremely'[2].

(1) HT さん「科学者が出てくるパートと、被災者の声を聞くパートで、番組のトーンが全然違う。被災者を映したシーンでは、感情に訴えるような撮り方や編集。一方で放射能汚染地図という**非常に**<u>科学的な</u>内容が、交互に出てくるため、強い違和感を覚えた。また科学番組であれば最低限出すべき情報や説明が欠けているように感じた」
(https://costep.open-ed.hokudai.ac.jp/costep/contents/article/460/)

(1') Mr. HT: "The tone of the program is significantly different when looking at the part where the scientists appear and the part where we hear the victims' voices. The scenes showing the victims are filmed and edited in such a way as to appeal to our emotions. However, the radioactive contamination map, **extremely** <u>scientific</u> content, is shown alternately, so I found it strangely out of place. At the same time, I felt that it lacks the minimum of information and explanations which should be offered in a scientific program.

[2] The English translations of the Japanese examples in this paper are by the author.

This paper also represents the final step of an endeavor to draw a systematic description of Japanese adjectives from the point of view of gradability, building on the findings Ciolca (2021a, 2021b), which will be discussed in the following section and will be used as a starting point in the analysis of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese. This paper will first describe the general properties of such adjectives, and then will bring into question the mechanisms behind marked uses in which they co-occur with gradability markers, like in example (1).

2. Insights offered by gradable adjectives

While it might appear contradictory at first, in order to be able to clarify the nature of non-gradable adjectives, it is necessary to start from the behavior of those adjectives which do possess gradability traits. To put it another way, since non-gradable adjectives are defined by the absence of a property, gradability, a necessary first step is to provide an explanation of that property and of its realization in speech. Gradable adjectives in Japanese and their behavior in both unmarked and marked contexts are analyzed in Ciolca (2021a, 2021b). The findings in Ciolca (2021a, 2021b) represent the basis for the analysis in the present study and will be briefly presented below.

The framework adopted is the one proposed in Kennedy (1999) and Kennedy and McNally (2005) regarding the semantic properties of gradable adjectives. Specifically, the assumption is that gradable adjectives map their arguments onto degrees, described as abstract representations of measurement, and that a set of such ordered degrees corresponds to a scale (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 349). Although different researchers employ different terminology to describe the structure of a scale, the main question is whether the scale projected by a particular adjective has a limit point, or a boundary.

There is consensus in the literature when it comes to the fact that the presence of a limit point on the scale can be demonstrated through the compatibility of a particular adjective with a specific type of degree adverbs. To describe Japanese adjectives based on the presence of this limit point, I employ the concept of "boundedness", introduced by Paradis (2001) and the classification of degree adverbs in Kitahara (2013), stating that adjectives compatible with *totemo* 'very', *hijō-ni* 'extremely', *kanari* 'fairly', and *sukoshi* 'a little' are unbounded, while adjectives compatible with *hobo* 'nearly', *hotondo* 'almost', *kanzen-ni* 'completely', and *mattaku* 'entirely' are bounded[3].

[3] Adverbs which fall under the category of gradability markers have been extensively researched in Japanese linguistics. Two representative studies are Moriyama (1985) and Nitta (2002). However, most studies do not analyze these adverbs from the perspective of adjective gradability per se. The present paper

Two other central elements in the literature, which are also essential for the analysis in Ciolca (2021a, 2021b), are the reference value and the standard value associated with each gradable adjective. The former can be described as the value pointing to the degree to which the subject possesses the quality expressed by the adjective, and the latter is the value expressing the standard which needs to be surpassed by the reference value for the adjective to be selected in speech (Kennedy 1999: 110). The analysis in Ciolca (2021a, 2021b) also focuses on the relationship between gradability and subjectivity, interpreted as the role played by the speaker in setting the standard, following Fleisher (2013).

Based on the theoretical framework described above, the analysis in Ciolca (2021a) describes the properties of unbounded adjectives in Japanese, starting from unmarked contexts in which they co-occur with the comparative and degree adverbs such as *totemo* 'very', projecting an unbounded scale. The paper focuses on the differences between the so-called "property adjectives" such as *takai* 'high' and "emotion adjectives"[4] such as *ureshii* 'happy', based on the role of subjectivity. On the one hand, property adjectives have an objective reference value, but their standard value is set through subjectivity. More specifically, while an adjective like *takai* 'high' refers to the actual size of the object it describes, whether something is considered high or not depends on the judgement of the speaker. On the other hand, emotion adjectives are selected based solely on subjectivity. For example, *ureshii* 'happy' has a reference value describing the subjective feelings of the speaker and a standard value set through subjectivity as well. The conclusion in Ciolca (2021a) is that these adjectives, which project an unbounded scale in unmarked contexts, allow marked uses in which they co-occur with adverbs such as *kanzen-ni* 'completely', suggesting the realization of a bounded scale. Moreover, such marked uses are proven to be mostly motivated by subjectivity. While there are cases in which the boundary on the scale is embedded in the objective context in the case of property adjectives, most such marked uses become acceptable when the boundary is set through the subjective intervention of the speaker, for both property and emotion adjectives.

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adopts the classification proposed in Kitahara (2013) on the grounds that it focuses on the type of scale that each degree adverb is compatible with. The classification in Kitahara (2003) can be related to the "open scale/closed scale" system proposed in Kennedy and McNally (2005), but this system is closely connected with antonymy, which is not relevant in the context of the present paper. As a result, the concept of "boundedness" introduced in Paradis (2001) is used to reflect the presence or absence of a boundary on the scale projected by each adjective. The reasons behind the choice for this framework are detailed in Ciolca (2021a, 2021b) as well.

[4] In Japanese linguistics, property adjectives are commonly called *zokusei keiyōshi* (属性形容詞), and emotion adjectives are called *kanjō keiyōshi* (感情形容詞).

The same framework is employed in the analysis of bounded Japanese adjectives in Ciolca (2021b). Adjectives such as *kanpeki-na* ‘perfect’, which project bounded scales and co-occur with adverbs such as *kanzen-ni* ‘completely’ in unmarked contexts, have a standard value with a dual nature. On the one hand, this value can be set as the boundary on the scale, or the point corresponding to 100%, through objective knowledge, especially when the adjectives co-occur with concrete objects. However, the standard value can also be set according to the subjective judgement of the speaker, especially in cases when the adjectives co-occur with abstract objects. It is again subjectivity that allows the realization of a special type of marked use, since in contexts in which the standard value of such bounded adjectives is set through subjectivity, it becomes acceptable to use structures in which they co-occur with the comparative, suggesting the projection of an unbounded scale. Such structures presuppose the existence of two objects which are compared, in a situation in which the speaker expects the 100% level initially associated with the adjective, with neither object corresponding to that 100% level. The marked use expresses the subjective judgement of the speaker that between the two objects, one is closer to this preferred level.

Since the present paper represents the final step towards a comprehensive, systematic analysis of Japanese adjectives from the perspective of gradability, bringing into question the frequently ignored category of non-gradable adjectives, the findings in Ciolca (2021a, 2021b) will serve as a starting point. As mentioned in the literature, since gradability is associated with scalarity, it goes without saying that non-gradable adjectives should not project scales. In the following section, the properties of such adjectives will be explained based on a parallel with unbounded and bounded adjectives. This paper will attempt to offer an alternative for the standard value associated with unbounded and bounded adjectives, an alternative which applies to non-gradable adjectives. At the same time, the mechanisms motivating the marked uses in which such adjectives co-occur with degree adverbs will be brought into question, also questioning the role of subjectivity or the lack thereof.

3. Properties of non-gradable adjectives in unmarked contexts in Japanese

As mentioned in the Introduction of this paper, non-gradable adjectives are frequently employed as supporting evidence in the literature on the topic of gradability. For example, Kennedy (2007: 22) states that “true non-gradable adjectives” such as ‘geological’, ‘wooden’, ‘locked’, and ‘hand-made’ are anomalous with comparatives, supporting the idea that adjectives such as ‘open/closed’ or ‘bent/straight’, which can be modified by comparatives and other degree morphology are, indeed, gradable. Kennedy (2007: 22) also mentions that it is possible to coerce gradable interpretations for non-gradable adjectives, but that such interpretations are "clearly marked", explaining that an example such as 'The table is more wooden than the door' might mean that "the table has more wood in it than the door".

A similar interpretation is given by Paradis (2001: 4), who brings up 'daily', 'classical', and 'pictorial' as examples of non-gradable adjectives, stating that such adjectives are "typically categorizing and resistant to the main criterion of gradability, i.e. they do not combine with degree modifiers (?'a *very daily* newspaper', ?'an *absolutely daily* newspaper', ?'a *fairly classical* ballet', ?'a *completely pictorial* atlas')". Paradis (2001: 10) too mentions coercion in the context of gradable interpretations of non-gradable adjectives, stating that it is possible to perceive an adjective like 'Swedish' as gradable and scalar in expressions such as 'That woman is terribly/very/extremely Swedish'.

First, starting from the examples above, there is an interesting parallel between English and Japanese that should be mentioned. Frequently, non-gradable adjectives in English are translated into Japanese as nouns or verbs. For example, the equivalent for *wooden* would be either *mokuzō(-no)*, which functions as a noun in Japanese, or *ki kara dekita* 'made of wood', a verb phrase functioning as a modifier[5]. This does not mean that there are no veritable non-gradable adjectives in Japanese. The analysis in this section will focus on three types: categorizing adjectives usually including the suffix *-teki*, adjectives expressing shapes, and color adjectives, which exhibit a behavior that can be seen as exceptional. Adjectives belonging to each type will be analyzed in detail based on examples produced by native speakers of Japanese. However, before starting the actual analysis, it is necessary to clarify the nature of this category of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese.

Non-gradable adjectives seem, thus, to be defined by their incompatibility with degree markers, at least in unmarked contexts. However, this incompatibility may be seen as the consequence of certain properties that they inherently possess, just like the compatibility of unbounded adjectives with the comparative can be seen as the consequence of such adjectives expressing a quality not normally associated with a limit or boundary. Starting from this assumption, the goal of this section is to clarify these inherent properties of non-gradable

[5] Morita (2010, 2013) starts from Scott's (2002) classification of adjectives and states that modifiers belonging to the semantic classes NATIONALITY/ORIGIN and MATERIAL in Japanese are non-degree, arguing in favor of classifying them as "*no*-adjectives". Some of the examples offered in Morita (2010, 2013) are *nihon-no* 'Japanese' and *ki-no*/*mokusei-no* 'wooden'. However, modifiers which co-occur with *no* are typically recognized as nouns in Japanese.

adjectives in Japanese, starting from their behavior in unmarked contexts, in which they appear unmodified by degree adverbs. Since one of the main purposes of the present paper is to complete a systematic classification of Japanese adjectives from the perspective of gradability, the parallel with gradable adjectives (unbounded and bounded) in Japanese will be at the base of the analysis.

First, as already mentioned, non-gradable adjectives in Japanese are defined by their incompatibility with degree markers in unmarked contexts. This applies to the comparative and adverbs such as *totemo* 'very' or *hijō-ni* 'extremely', which reflect unbounded scales, and to adverbs such as *hobo* 'nearly' or *kanzen-ni* 'completely', which reflect bounded scales. Such an incompatibility is self-explanatory, since non-gradable adjectives do not project scales in unmarked contexts.

There is still the question of how such adjectives are selected in speech. The concepts of "reference value" and "standard value", essential in the case of unbounded adjectives such as *takai* 'high' and bounded adjectives such as *kanpeki-na* 'perfect', do not seem appropriate for non-gradable adjectives, since they cannot be understood as projecting degrees. To explain how non-gradable adjectives in Japanese are selected in speech, at the same time aiming to maintain the parallel with gradable (unbounded and bounded) adjectives, the present paper will employ two concepts which will be called "reference image" and "standard image". Using the "reference value" as a model, the "reference image" will point to the actual state or aspect of the object described by the adjective. The "standard image" will point to the information that speakers associate with each non-gradable adjective. This information is usually retrieved from the encyclopedic knowledge of the speakers and there is little to no variation to it. In other words, the standard image associated with non-gradable adjectives cannot be seen as subjective. The role of the speaker is to judge whether the objective reference image, or the image of the object, coincides with the standard image. Thus, the type of subjectivity associated with setting the standard in the case of unbounded adjectives and bounded adjectives does not apply here.

Now, the analysis will go on to actual examples to prove how the features described above actually manifest in speech. First, the most representative type of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese can be said to be the categorizing type, usually relying on the support of the suffix *-teki*, such as *seijiteki-na* 'political', *kagakuteki-na* 'scientific', *butsuriteki-na* 'physical', and so on. This type corresponds to the non-gradable adjectives used as examples in most previous studies on gradability, as mentioned above.

Below, real examples including *seijiteki-na* ‘political’ and *kagakuteki-na* ‘scientific’ will be analyzed in detail. In both (2) and (3) the non-gradable adjectives are obtained from nouns referring to a particular domain, *seiji* ‘politics’ and *kagaku* ‘science’, and express the fact that their objects belong to these domains. The examples also prove that the standard image, or the information associated with these adjectives, is established through objective knowledge, acquired through experience.

In example (2), as can be understood from the use of the expression *seijika toshite* ‘from the position of a politician’, the standard image for *seijiteki-na* ‘political’ is set through the general information associated with the domain of “politics”. An example of such information is given by the speaker, who places emphasis on the difference between politics and science: *kagakuteki-na kenchi to wa mō sukoshi betsu-ni* ‘slightly different from a scientific point of view’. Since the reference image, describing the object of the adjective – *hassō* ‘approach’ – coincides with the standard image, the non-gradable adjective is selected. The same process applies to example (3) as well, with the standard image of the non-gradable adjective *kagakuteki-na* ‘scientific’ being established through general, objective information related to the domain of science. As explicitly indicated in the example, the association of the reference image of the object – *chōsa* ‘investigation’– with X-rays (*ekkusu-sen*) or high magnification microscopes (*kakudai-ritsu no takai kenbikyō*), elements associated with science as general knowledge, motivates the use of the non-gradable adjective.

(2) しかも、この一つのポイントとともに、もう一つのポイントは、私がさっき言ったように、科学的な見地とはもう少し別に<u>政治的な</u>、政治家としての発想があり得るだろう、特に日本の農業を守るという立場の者としての発想があり得るだろうというところをしっかり、私はその評価報告書をお読みいただくときにもあわせ持っていただきたいと思うのです。

(BCCWJ-NT・国会会議録)

(2’) Moreover, there is another point I would like to make. Like I have just said, when reading that evaluation report, I would like to ask you to leave the scientific point of view aside for a moment, and to also be completely aware that a <u>political</u> approach is also valid. It is the approach of the politicians, of the people protecting Japan’s agriculture.

(BCCWJ-NT: Minutes of the Diet)

(3) もっとも古い印刷物はといえば、それは一般に『百万塔陀羅尼』といわれている経文を木版印刷したものである（中略）。木造りの三重塔を百万つくり、二十五万枚ずつ四種の経文を、麻紙、黄麻紙、楮紙の三種類の紙に、判こを押すように押して刷っ

て、一枚ずつ納入してある。これは、X線や拡大率の高い顕微鏡をつかったりする科学的な調査で判明した。

(BCCWJ-NT ・<字源>の謎にこだわる本)

(3’) The Buddhist prayers printed with woodblock commonly known as *Hyakumantō Darani* (The Million Pagodas and Dharani Prayers) are the oldest printed objects . . . They made one million wooden three-storey pagodas, printed 250 thousand copies for each of the four types of Buddhist prayers on three types of paper – hemp paper, jute paper, and mulberry paper - by pressing on the paper as if applying a seal, and then delivered each copy. This was confirmed through scientific investigation, in which X-rays and high magnification microscopes were used.

(BCCWJ-NT: A Book Concerned with the Mystery of Kanji Origins)

Next, adjectives expressing shapes will be classified as non-gradable and analyzed in detail. It is important to note that such adjectives are not commonly mentioned in studies on gradability, but there is an interesting phenomenon in Japanese proving that they are, indeed, non-gradable. There are nouns to represent the names of all shapes in Japanese, but only two that can function as adjectives as well, namely *shikakui* ‘square’ and *marui* ‘round’[6].The remaining ones function exclusively as nouns, needing the support of *no* when modifying another noun, as is the case with *sankaku-no* ‘triangular’, *rokkaku-no* ‘hexagonal’, and so on. This proves that the properties related to shapes are not associated with gradability, since nouns do not inherently possess gradability traits, and supports the idea that *shikakui* ‘square’ and *marui* ‘round’ function as non-gradable adjectives in Japanese.

In the case of these two non-gradable adjectives, it goes without saying that the information included in the standard image is objective, universal. In example (4), the fact that the reference image associated with the object – *kankisen ga tsuku ana* ‘the hole for the ventilation fan’ – coincides with the standard image of *shikakui* ‘square’ is indicated in the text by clearly specifying the size: 34 cm by 34 cm. In example (5) as well, the fact that the standard image associated with *marui* ‘round’ includes objective, universally known information is explicitly stated by the speaker: *dare-mo ga chikyū ga marui koto o shitte iru* ‘everybody knows that the Earth is round’.

[6] Morita (2010) also analyzes *shikakui* ‘square’ and *marui* ‘round’, together with *shiroi* ‘white’ and *kuroi* ‘black’, as representatives of the semantic classes SHAPE and COLOR. Morita (2010: 110) argues that these modifiers are gradable when realized as “*k*-adjectives” (more frequently called “*i*-adjectives”), and non-gradable when they co-occur with *no*, like in *maru-no*, *shikaku-no*, *shiro-no*, or *kuro-no*. The criterion is the compatibility with the degree adverb *totemo* ‘very’. In the present paper, the fact that only *shikakui* ‘square’ and *marui* ‘round’ can function as adjectives, while also being compatible with *no*, is seen as further evidence for the classification of adjectives expressing shapes (and colors, as will be stated below) as non-gradable. Contexts in which they co-occur with degree adverbs such as *totemo* ‘very’ are seen as marked, as will be demonstrated in the following section.

(4) 引越し先に換気扇が付いてないのですが、枠の寸法（四角い穴）が三十四 cm×三十四 cm です。3 畳ぐらいのキッチンなのでもっと小さく、安いのがいいです。

(BCCWJ-NT・Yahoo!知恵袋)

(4') My new place doesn't come with a ventilation fan, but the size of the frame (a square hole) is 34 cm x 34 cm. The kitchen is around 3 tatami mats in size[7], so I want a smaller, cheaper fan.

(BCCWJ-NT: Yahoo!Chiebukuro)

(5) 人間にとって自分の立っている大地の先がどこまでも未知であった頃…その頃の人間の人生観って、今、なにげなくでも誰もが地球が丸いことを知っている普通の人間の人生観と、やっぱりかなり違ったのでしょうか？その当時、人間にとって、世界とは…どんなものだったのでしょう？　時々、そんなことを考えます。

(BCCWJ-NT・竜の聖域)

(5') The time when everything beyond the land they were standing on was unknown to people...Was the view of life that people had then significantly different from the one that people normally have nowadays, when everybody just knows that the Earth is round? Back then, how did people see the world? I sometimes think about things like this.

(BCCWJ-NT: The Dragon's Sanctuary)

The last type of Japanese adjectives included in the "non-gradable" category in this paper refers to color adjectives. It must be mentioned that the status of color adjectives has been extensively debated in the literature, with no consensus reached, but with a tendency to classify them as "gradable"[8]. Starting from the criteria outlined above, the present paper sees them as holding a peripheral position in the category of non-gradable adjectives. First, it must be mentioned that, as was the case for adjectives expressing shapes, in Japanese, there are nouns to represent the names of all colors, but only some can function as adjectives as well, with *murasaki* 'purple', *midori* 'green', and others needing the support of *no* to be able to modify other nouns. To clarify the properties of color adjectives in Japanese, examples including *aoi* 'blue' and *akai* 'red' will be analyzed, proving that they behave just like other non-gradable adjectives in unmarked contexts. The reason for placing them in a peripheral position will become clear in the following section, which deals with marked uses of non-gradable adjectives.

In unmarked contexts, color adjectives are selected based on the same mechanism described above, which depends on whether the

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[7] One tatami mat is the equivalent of 1.62 m^2.

[8] Tsujimura (2001: 31) mentions that "*totemo* modification is normally odd with color adjectives such as *akai* 'red', *kuroi* 'black' and *aoi* 'blue'", stating that "the values associated with color terms are not gradable". However, Tsujimura (2001: 31) also mentions that these adjectives "can be considered gradable when the context allows such an interpretation".

reference image coincides with the standard image associated with each adjective. Information used to distinguish between colors cannot be said to be subjective, since it follows universal criteria learned by all speakers. One instance of such universal criteria is given in example (6), with *ao* 'blue' and *kiiro* 'yellow', being described as complementary colors, just like *aka* 'red' and *midori* 'green'. This knowledge is at the center of the standard image associated with the adjective *aoi* 'blue', and the fact that the aspect of the plates coincides with this standard image motivates the selection of the adjective in speech. The same mechanisms apply to the use of *akai* 'red' in example (7), since it goes without saying that the association of this color with blood is part of universal knowledge.

(6) 赤と緑の関係と同じように、青（青紫）と黄色は補色の関係にあります。例えば、青いお皿に卵焼きを盛り付けると、卵の黄色がより鮮やかに見えるでしょう。また、コーンスープを青いカップに入れるとコーンの黄色が濃く見えるため、スープのコクも増したように感じられるかもしれません。

(https://manatopi.u-can.co.jp/life/190423_2231.html)

(6') Like red and green, blue (purple blue) and yellow are complementary colors. For example, if we serve *tamago-yaki*[9] on a blue plate, the yellow color of the egg will look more vibrant. Likewise, if we serve corn soup in a blue cup, the yellow color of the corn will look more intense, so we might feel that the flavor of the soup has increased in intensity, too.

(7) 冬でも葉を落とさない常緑樹のモミの木は永遠の命の象徴として、またヒイラギのリースは十字架にかけられたキリストの冠、棘はキリストの受難を、赤い実はキリストの血を表しているとされます。

(BCCWJ-NT・Yahoo!ブログ)

(7') The interpretation is that the evergreen fir tree, which does not lose its leaves even in winter, is the symbol of eternal life, and the holly wreath represents the crown of Jesus on the cross, with the thorns symbolizing his suffering, and the red fruits symbolizing his blood.

(BCCWJ-NT: Yahoo!Blogs)

To sum up the analysis in this section, non-gradable adjectives in Japanese are not compatible with any degree markers and do not project scales in unmarked contexts. Their selection in speech is dependent upon the reference image coinciding with the standard image, a process which cannot be seen as involving the type of subjectivity associated with unbounded and bounded adjectives in Japanese. Thus, it becomes clear that there is a very close relationship between gradability and subjectivity, and this relationship will be further explored in the

[9] *Tamago-yaki* is a type of Japanese rolled omelette.

following section, based on the patterns of marked gradable uses of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese.

4. Marked gradable uses of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese

As already discussed above, there is mention of coerced gradable interpretations for non-gradable adjectives in the literature. However, the mechanisms behind such interpretations, seen as marked in the context of the present paper, are not yet clear. This section represents an attempt to offer a systematic explanation for the marked gradable uses of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese, starting from the insights provided by their properties in unmarked contexts.

Based on the analysis of real examples in which native speakers of Japanese combine non-gradable adjectives of all three types from the previous section with gradability markers such as *totemo* 'very', it is possible to bring to light a specific mechanism which can be said to motivate the marked uses in question. Specifically, when non-gradable adjectives co-occur with gradability markers in Japanese, the focus is not on the property expressed by the adjective itself, but on some other gradable property that the speaker associates with that adjective. This gradable property is not included in the standard image related to the non-gradable adjective. However, the speaker associates it with the information included in this standard image.

It must be mentioned that a similar mechanism has been mentioned in the literature on the topic of gradability, but in relation to nouns. For example, Bolinger (1972: 61) states that in the case of non-gradable nouns, such as 'lad', a sentence like 'What a lad John is!' points to something external to the fact of being a lad. This parallel with nouns goes beyond the scope of the present analysis, but it is relevant in that it serves as additional evidence that the Japanese adjectives analyzed here do, in fact, function as non-gradable predicates, since nouns are typically recognized as non-gradable.

The mechanism outlined above applies to the marked uses of non-gradable adjectives like *seijiteki-na* 'political' and *kagakuteki-na* 'scientific', as can be seen from the examples below. In (8), the use of *hijō-ni* in the noun phrase *hijō-ni seijiteki-na reberu* 'extremely political level' is motivated by the speaker focusing on the number of people affected by the phenomenon in question. There is a parallel with *kojinteki-na reberu* 'the individual level', suggesting that the political level is seen through the lens of "how many people become involved". Since this refers to a property associated with gradability, the marked gradable use of the non-gradable adjective *sejiteki-na* 'political' is allowed. This gradable property is understood by the speaker as being associated with the standard image for the adjective in the given context, which relies on the parallel with the "individual level". The same applies to the marked use of *kagakuteki-na* 'scientific' in example (9). The selection of the noun phrase *totemo kagakuteki-na saibaihō* 'very scientific cultivation method' is motivated by the speaker focusing on a gradable property, that of being effective, which is associated with the standard image of the adjective in the context of understanding and controlling the development of crops.

(8) それは、彼らのコンセプトの中に存在していた「プロダクトすることへの拒否」という思想が、社会オピニオンの大勢を支配していた体制批判と密接に結びついていたからである。この傾向はニューヨーク・ニュー・ウェーヴの思想の中でも受け継がれているが、七十年代と異なるところは、七十年代のそれが**非常に**<u>政治的な</u>レベルで成立していたのに比べ、八十年代は個人的な問題として還元されてきた、ということである。例えば、ジュリアン・シュナーベルやデヴィッド・サーレの作品を見てみると、彼らの絵画から確実に社会に対する批判的態度を感じることができる。

(BCCWJ-NT・現在美術)

(8') That is because the idea of "rejection towards the act of producing" which was part of their philosophy was closely connected to the criticism of the system which dominated a significant proportion of the public opinion. This tendency continues to exist in the ideology of the New York New Wave, but the difference from the 70's is that, while in the 70's it materialized on an **extremely** <u>political</u> level, in the 80's it was reduced to an individual problem. For example, when looking at the work of Julian Schnabel or David Salle, one can clearly feel their critical attitude towards society from their paintings.

(BCCWJ-NT: Art in Front)

(9) 余談になりますが、この『栄養週期』は、ぶどうに限らず、様々な作物に応用できる栽培法で、簡単に言いますと、作物の成長段階に応じて必要な栄養素が違うことや、それぞれの段階での作物の生理を理解して、栄養価・収量・味・ 病害虫への抵抗性など人間の目的に沿って、作物をコントロールする技術です。**とても**<u>科学的な</u>栽培法ですが、ちょっと難解で手間もかかるため、効率優先の農業のもとでは、広まりませんでした。

(http://gigaplus.makeshop.jp/tanizawa1979/tsushin/106.pdf)

(9') Incidentally, this "nutrition cycle" is a cultivation method which can be applied to a variety of crops, aside for grapes. To put it simply, by understanding the fact that the necessary nutrients are different based on the development stage of the crops and the physiology of the crops in each of the stages, this technology allows humans to control the crops according to their objectives, related to the nutritional value, the size of the harvest, the taste, or the resistance to insect pests. It is a **very** <u>scientific</u> cultivation method, but also a bit difficult to understand and time-consuming, so it didn't gain ground in the efficiency-prioritizing agriculture.

When it comes to the marked uses of non-gradable adjectives expressing shapes and colors in Japanese, the same mechanism discussed above applies, but with a notable difference. In most examples of such marked uses, the non-gradable adjectives are part of what can be seen as collocations or idiomatic expressions. This can be explained by taking into consideration the nature of the standard image associated with non-gradable adjectives in Japanese. Intuitively, it seems easier to find gradable properties which can be associated with the standard image of non-gradable adjectives like *kagakuteki-na* 'political' than in the case of adjectives like *shikakui* 'square', associated with a standard image based on information such as "having square angles at the four corners"[10]. Thus, it can be stated that the intervention of collocations or idiomatic expressions allows for more associations between gradable properties and the non-gradable adjectives.

In example (10), *totemo shikakui* 'very square' is used to describe the shape of a car. Although this cannot be seen as an idiomatic expression per se, the association between the adjective and the car in question allows the speaker to focus on the (small) number of curved lines, which can be seen as a gradable property. This is clearly expressed in the example, through the parallel with a second car which had too many such curved lines (*kyokusen ga ōsugiru*). Thus, the speaker associates this number of curved lines with the standard image for *shikakui* 'square' in the context of its association with cars, which motivates the marked use of the adjective. A similar phenomenon can be seen in example (11), with the non-gradable adjective being modified by *kanari* 'fairly', in the context of its association with the speaker's personality: *kanari marui seikaku* 'fairly round personality'. Through this association, the speaker sees a gradable property, such as being mellow, as related to the standard image for the adjective *marui* 'round'.

(10) PANDA はとても四角い個性的な車で、夫もワタシも「四角い車」が大好きだったので、昨今の車はとにかく曲線が多すぎる！という印象を受けるものが多くなかなかスタイルで満足する車が、今新車で売っている車がなかったのですが、この車、フロントは丸みもあるものの、何より惚れたのがこの後ろ姿

(http://hulagirl.jugem.jp/?month=200905)

(10') PANDA is a **very** square, unique car. My husband and I both loved "square cars" and we often felt that cars nowadays just have too many curved lines, so we couldn't really find the style we like among the new models they are selling now. Even though this car is rounded in the front, we fell in love most of all with its back shape.

[10] The dictionary *Kōjien* provides the following explanation for *shikakui* 'square': *shikaku de aru* 'shaped like a square'. For *shikaku* 'square', there is the following explanation: *yosumi ni kado no katachi de aru* 'with angles in the four corners'.

(11)キャンピングカーに乗る前は走り屋で、今でも顔に事故の傷が残るやんちゃだった私ですが、キャンピングカーのお陰で、**かなり**<u>丸い</u>性格になりました。たまに今でも、ワインディングロードの楽しい山道を走ると、思わず「何人とも俺の前は走らせない！」というファイトな気分が頭をもたげますが、後ろには家財道具や大切な家族がのっていると思うと、必然的にソフト＆メロウな運転になります。

(https://news.yahoo.co.jp/articles/4157246c7882101ca4d977c142c974e5b101baca)

(11') Before riding in a camping car, I used to drive dangerously, I was such a rascal that I still have scars from accidents on my face. But thanks to my camping car, I now have a **fairly** <u>round</u> personality. Occasionally, even now, when driving on an exciting winding road in the mountains, without even thinking, this fighting spirit rises its head and I tell myself "I won't let anyone ride in front of me!" But I remember I have my household possessions or my dear family in the back, so I inevitably switch to soft, mellow driving.

The same interpretation applies to marked contexts in which adjectives expressing colors co-occur with gradability markers. Specifically, their functioning as part of idiomatic expressions or collocations allows for associations between their standard image and gradable properties. In examples (12) and (13) below, the noun phrases *totemo aoi kao* and *sukoshi akai kao* are allowed because the association with the human face allows the speaker to focus on gradable properties such as how hot/cold someone is or how good/bad their blood circulation is[11]. In (12), the association between the adjective *aoi* 'blue' and bad blood circulation is clearly stated, since the speaker states that the person in question looks dead, as if they had lost a lot of blood (*sono hito wa totemo aoi kao o shite ite, chi ga – jissai wa nagarete inakatta sō nan desu keredo – nagarete iru yō ni miete, maru de shinde iru yō ni mieta*). In (13) as well, the association between *akai* 'red' and temperature or blood circulation is clear, since the speaker explains that his grandfather had been drinking *o-toso* – a type of sake drunk at New Year's – since morning (*asa kara o-toso de sukoshi akai kao no jii-chan*).

(12)「私たちは、港に向かう途中で、ラーメンの屋台のそばに倒れている人を見つけました。その人は**とても**<u>青い</u>顔をしていて、血が—実際は流れていなかったそうなんですけれど—流れているように見えて、まるで死んでいるように見えたんです」

(BCCWJ-NT・きらめく星空に哀愁のチャルメラが聞こえる)

(12') On our way to the harbor, we found a man collapsed next to the ramen stall. The man had a **very** <u>blue</u> face, and it seemed liked he was bleeding - apparently, he wasn't actually bleeding, but it really seemed like he was dead.

(BCCWJ-NT: Under the Twinkling Starry Sky, the Charumera Plays)

[11] Tsujimura (2001: 31) argues that *aoi* 'blue' is non-gradable when referring to the color of something like a chair, but can be seen as gradable when describing "facial color", which is "gradable according to the physical condition of the individual". In the present paper, such gradable interpretations are seen as marked.

(13) お正月は毎年、じいちゃんの家に親戚が集まる。つまり俺の家。普段静かな家も今日は笑い声があふれている。
「おい、たかし!最近学校はどうだ?」
朝からお屠蘇で**少し**<u>赤い</u>顔のじいちゃんが話しかけてきた。

(https://www.city.obu.aichi.jp/_res/projects/default_project/_page_/001/009/049/190101_02.06-07.26-36.pdf)

(13') For New Year's, the family gathers at my grandpa's house every time. Meaning, at my house. The house is usually quiet, but today it's filled with laughter.
"Hey, Takashi! How's school these days?"
Grandpa called to me, his face **a little** <u>red</u> from the *o-toso* he had been drinking since morning.

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to focus on a second type of marked gradable use which is allowed in the case of color adjectives in Japanese. As will be demonstrated based on the examples below, in marked contexts, there is a scale of intensity that can be associated with color adjectives. In other words, in such marked contexts, degree markers such as *totemo* 'very' or *hijō-ni* 'extremely' can be selected by the speaker to place emphasis on how intense the quality (color) expressed by the adjective is. In example (14), the adjective *aoi* 'blue' is selected because the reference image associated with the sky and the sea coincides with the standard image consisting of objective, universally known information, as can be understood from the parallel with the second color used in the example, *kuro* 'black'. The adjective phrase *totemo aoi* 'very blue' is motivated by the speaker focusing on the intensity scale associated with the adjective in this context. The same interpretation applies to example (15) as well, with the noun phrase *hijō-ni akai yūyake* 'extremely red sunset' expressing the speaker's desire to emphasize the intensity of the sunset which seemed to be an omen of the earthquake.

(14) 海の玄関口といえる関門海峡沿いに住んでいる。この季節は、空も海も、**とても**<u>青い</u>。ところが、今朝はその海の向こうから黒煙が立ち上っていた。初めは真っ黒な雲かと思ったが、その異様な黒さは確かに黒煙で、「なんだろうね」と家族と話していた。すでに全国でも報じられているように新日鉄八幡製鉄所の火災だった。

(BCCWJ-NT・Yahoo!ブログ)

(14') I live along the Kanmon Straits, seen as the gateway of the sea. In this season, both the sky and the sea are **very** <u>blue</u>. However, this morning, black smoke was rising from the other side of the sea. At first, I thought it might be a jet-black cloud, but such odd blackness could only come from smoke, so I talked to my family wondering what the source was. As already reported throughout the country, it was the fire at the Nippon Steel Yawata Works.

(BCCWJ-NT: Yahoo!Blogs)

(15) 以前より、大きな地震の前触れとして「**非常に**赤い夕焼け」が目撃されることはよく知られています。6 月に大きな地震が発生したばかりの大阪、京都、兵庫をはじめとする関西方面に住むツイッターユーザーが、この赤すぎる夕焼けの写真を撮影した画像を多数ツイート。以下の Yahoo!リアルタイム検索の分析グラフを見て見ましょう。過去 30 日間を見ても、25 日の夕刻に「空が赤い」という言葉がもっともつぶやかれていることがわかります。

(https://news.livedoor.com/article/detail/15068965/)

(15') For a long time, it has been well known that "**extremely** red sunsets" appear as omens of big earthquakes. Just after the big earthquake in June, Twitter users living in Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, and the rest of the Kansai area, were tweeting numerous images depicting photos of such a sunset, one that was too red. Let's check the Yahoo! Real Time Search analysis chart from below. Even when looking at the past 30 days, we see that the most tweeted words are "the sky is red", on the evening of the 25th.

This second type of marked use allowed in the case of color adjectives explains why they can be seen as occupying a peripheral position in the category of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese. First, a natural consequence of the existence of an additional type of marked use is an increase in the number of actual marked contexts in which color adjectives co-occur with gradability makers. Second, this intensity scale can be activated for all color adjectives in Japanese, and the existence of a scale which can be constantly associated with these adjectives, albeit in marked contexts, suggests that they are more susceptible to gradable interpretations that the other two types of non-gradable adjectives analyzed in this paper. At the same time, the existence of this intensity scale in the case of color adjectives can offer interesting insights into the parallel between non-gradable adjectives and verbs, since the intensity scale is an element frequently brought up in studies on verb gradability[12]. This parallel with verbs goes beyond the scope of the present study, but it serves as additional evidence supporting the fact that color adjectives occupy a peripheral position in the category of non-gradable adjectives.

To sum up, marked gradable interpretations of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese cannot be reduced to random phenomena. Most such marked uses are based on a mechanism connected to the standard image motivating the selection of these adjectives in speech. Specifically, if the speaker focuses on a gradable property which can be associated, in the given context, with the standard image of the non-gradable adjective, the use of gradability markers is permitted. Moreover, it can be said that

[12] For a detailed analysis of the role played by the intensity scale in the degree gradation of verbs in a variety of languages, see Fleischhauer (2016). According to Fleischhauer (2016), the intensity scale is retrieved from the conceptual knowledge associated with each verb. This phenomenon also applies to non-gradable adjectives in Japanese, which can co-occur with degree markers based on information included in the standard image associated with them.

subjectivity supports this type of marked use. Given that non-gradable adjectives do not include the subjective judgement of the speaker in unmarked contexts, it cannot be claimed that it is subjectivity that motivates the marked gradable uses. However, since the mechanism explained above involves the speaker choosing to focus on a particular gradable property and gradable properties have been proven to be in a close relationship with subjectivity in Ciolca (2021a, 2021b), it can be stated that some sort of subjectivity at least supports the marked uses of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese.

5. Conclusions

Contradictory though it may seem, understanding the properties of non-gradable adjectives is an essential step towards clarifying the nature and the role of gradability. This paper has illustrated the properties of non-gradable adjectives in Japanese, first answering the question of how they are selected in speech in unmarked contexts, and then providing an analysis of the mechanisms which motivate their co-occurrence with degree adverbs or the comparative in marked contexts.

The findings in this paper start from the concepts of "reference image" and "standard image", modelled after the "reference value" and "standard value" traditionally used in studies centered around gradable adjectives. Non-gradable adjectives in Japanese are selected when the reference image of the object coincides with the standard image, consisting of the basic information associated with the meaning of the adjectives. This standard image can be related to the marked uses of non-gradable adjectives, since most such uses are allowed when the speakers focus on a particular gradable property that they perceive as being related to the standard image in a particular context.

The analysis of non-gradable adjectives has provided invaluable insights into the relationship between gradability and subjectivity in Japanese, adding to findings based on the behavior of gradable adjectives, unbounded and bounded. As far as gradable adjectives are concerned, it can be stated that subjectivity plays an essential role in their selection in speech, also being at the base of the most significant part of their marked uses. Lack of gradability features can be associated with a lack of subjectivity, since the selection of non-gradable adjectives in speech does not require the subjective judgement of the speaker in unmarked contexts. However, the marked structures in which non-gradable adjectives co-occur with gradability markers are supported, in an indirect way, by subjectivity. Thus, the behavior of Japanese adjectives supports the idea that gradability and subjectivity are inextricably connected.

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TŌŌ O YUKU – HANGARIA MONDAI NO HAIKEI
AND ABE KŌBŌ'S EXPERIENCE OF "EASTERN" EUROPE

Nina HABJAN VILLARREAL[1]

Abstract: *This article focuses on the travel writing of Abe Kōbō, describing his visit of Czechoslovakia and Romania in 1956, namely his first and last visit to the region of Eastern Europe as a representative of Japan, who was to attend the Second Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union. His travelogue published in early 1957 under the title Tōō o yuku – Hangaria mondai no haikei, describes Abe's unique experience of the art, society and social order of the countries and offers a unique look into his creative interests and the way his experience of theater, literature and animated motion-pictures of the region had inspired him as an artist. A combined analysis of both his non-fictional travelogue as well as his fictional work, could potentially shed light on the influences this unique experience in Eastern Europe had on his own literary production in the following years, and more importantly, on the course of Japanese literature in the 20th century in general.*

Keywords: Japanese literature, travelogue, Eastern Europe, avant-garde, writers' congress

1. Introduction

In this essay I would like to analyse Abe Kōbō's writing which describes his visit of Czechoslovakia and Romania between April 24rd and June 24th of 1956, mostly focusing on his travelogue covering the visit titled *Tōō o yuku – Hangaria mondai no haikei* [Through Eastern Europe – The Background of the Hungarian Question][2]. I intend to establish a connection between Abe's first visit to this region and his later writings, as I believe that while Abe himself did not have many expectations prior to his departure, he was strongly influenced by his visit, especially the Soviet theater in Czech production which he experienced during his stay in these two countries. I will begin with an introduction of the background of his visit and an overview of the serialization and publication of his essays describing his visit to Europe. Before beginning with the analysis of the travelogue itself, I will also summarize Abe's participation in the different art movements at the time and consider their relevance to Abe's visit.

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[2] English translation for the title *Tōō o yuku – Hangaria mondai no haikei* is taken from Thomas Schnellbächer's *Abe Kōbō, Literary Strategist*.

2. Background of Abe's visit

The official purpose of his visit was to attend the Czechoslovakian Writers' Congress (*Chekosurovakia sakka taikai* in Japanese as Abe mentions it in his travelogue, and *II. sjezd Svazu československých spisovatelů* in its original, the literal translation of which is the Second Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union) which was organized in Prague between the 22nd and 29th April. He was sent to the congress as the representative of the *Shin Nihon bungakukai* (New Japan Literature Association) and the committee of the National Congress of Culture in Japan.[3]

Abe's participating in the *Shin Nihon bungakukai* had started only a year earlier, as he was previously associated with the magazine *Jinmin bungaku* (People's literature), which was in strict conflict with *Shin Nihon bungakukai*. Abe was a member of the Japanese Communist Party during his visit of Eastern Europe, and while both associations included many authors which were members of the party, *Jinmin bungaku* was declared to be representing the correct Communist party line by the Directorate, and the recent publications in *Shin Nihon bungakukai* were considered to be too inclusive, decadent and provocative.[4] The conflict between the two continued until 1952, when the groups agreed to follow a course towards co-operation and unity, with the hostilities between the two officially ending in 1955.[5] It was on January 10th 1955 during the *Shin Nihon bungakukai*'s 7th National Conference, which became the unifying conference of both associations, that Abe was chosen as one of the executive secretaries of *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, as he was one of the more visible members of the *Jinmin bungaku*, having gained recognition by winning the Akutagawa prize in 1951.[6]

Similarly, Abe also became a permanent member of the Literature Committee of the union-based National Congress of Culture in Japan in 1955, after being elected as the executive secretary of the *Shin Nihon bungakukai*.

Having arrived to Prague on April 28th via Rome and Paris, he had the opportunity to attend only the last few days of the writers' congress. The rest of his stay in Europe was filled with traveling around Czechoslovakia and Romania, before returning to Japan via Paris on June 24th. As we can read in the letters addressed to his wife Machi,

[3] Saka 2013: 33.

[4] Schnellbächer 2004: 88, 94. The publications include a story by Shimao Toshio, another writer with close connections to Eastern Europe, published in the May edition of *Shin Nihon bungaku* magazine of 1950, which tells of a school teacher almost having an affair with a shop employee.

[5] Schnellbächer 2004: 100-101.

[6] Apart from Abe, Tokunaga Sunao and Noma Hiroshi, also previous collaborators with *Jinmin bungaku*, were chosen as executive secretaries.

which were written during his stay in Czechoslovakia, he was originally planning to travel across the former Yugoslavia as well. Abe writes:

> それから、人形映画のことなどをしらべて、ユーゴ・スラヴィア行きの計画をたてます。バルカンまわりは中止しました。とても大変です。ユーゴだけは行ってみたいと思いますが、ユーゴもだめなら、チェコの西端のボヘミヤ地方を見て、そのままパリに戻ろうかと思います。
>
> [I will research puppet films and make plans to go to Yugoslavia. I cancelled my trip to the Balkans. It's very difficult. I would like to visit only Yugoslavia, but if not Yugoslavia, I would like to visit Bohemia, the Western end of Czechoslovakia, and then return to Paris.] (Abe, *Abe Machiate Shokan Daiisshin*, 1998: 79)[7]

In his next letter, however, he writes that organizing the trip proved to be too difficult and he eventually decided to spend more time in Prague.[8]

2.1 Czechoslovakian writers' congress

As already mentioned, Abe arrived to Czechoslovakia on April 28, 1956, one day before the congress ended. The congress Abe attended was the second one the Czechoslovak Writers' Union ("Svaz československých spisovatelů") had organized, with the first congress taking place on March 4-6, 1949. The second congress was originally scheduled for 1952, but ended up being postponed several times for political reasons, amongst which was also Stalin's death.[9] Both congresses were moderated by Jan Drda, the head of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union at the time.

The organizer of the congress, the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, asked permission from the Politburo of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to invite 38 delegates from outside Czechoslovakia; however, the number of attendees was eventually increased to 45. Amongst the invitees were world-renowned writers and future Nobel laureates, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Pablo Neruda and Jorge Amado. Nevertheless, most of them declined the invitations, or sent another representative to attend on their behalf, as was the case with Abe.[10] From Japan, the Politburo originally invited Tokunaga Sunao,[11] as he had previously attended the Second Congress of Soviet Writers held by the Union of Soviet Writers in December 1954, but eventually it was decided that Abe was to be sent on his behalf.

[7] All translations from Japanese are mine (N.H.V.), unless otherwise stated.
[8] Abe, *Abe Machiate Shokan Dainishin*, 1998: 81.
[9] Bauer 2011: 9.
[10] Bauer 2011: 23.
[11] Bauer 2011: 25.

2.2 Serialization of *Higashi Yōroppa de kangaeta koto/Nihon kyōsantō wa sekai no koji da*

Abe's first publications and lectures regarding his visit to the region were published in the months after his return to Japan. Exactly one month after his return, he held a lecture titled *Saikin no gaikoku engeki o kataru – Chekko, Rūmania* [Discussing the Recent Theater from Abroad – Czech Republic, Romania]; a week later he held another lecture, titled *Tōō ni fukkatsusuru avangyarudo* [The Revival of the Avantgarde in Eastern Europe]. He also published two articles in the September and October issues of the magazine *Chisei* [Reason],[12] which include two out of the three chapters which would later be published as part of his travelogue. *Chisei* mostly comprised articles and essays on literary criticism, but also contained literary writing, commentary on current topics and translations of foreign literature.[13]

The middle chapter of his later published travelogue, which includes the three reports at the congress which Abe considered to be most important, is published in the October issue of the magazine *Shin Nihon bungaku* [New Japanese Literature] under the title *Geijutsu no tōmensuru shomondai* [Current Issues of the Arts]. It is interesting to note that as a writer who had only recently started publishing in *Shin Nihon bungaku* magazine, Abe's report and the speech of the writer Anna Seghers[14] at the German Writer's congress, which was translated to Japanese for the magazine, were the only articles of the issue promoted on its front page. Similarly, Tokunaga Sunao's attendance announcement, reports from the congress and symposium he participated in after his attendance at the Soviet congress in 1054 were strongly promoted in many of the issues and covers of the magazine in 1955, which overall shows the strong importance that *Shin Nihon bungakukai* attached to the discussions and results of the writer's congresses held in different socialist countries.

As the Poznań protests[15] began only four days after Abe's return to Japan, his articles in *Chisei* include his opinion on the development. Abe stated that the protests are symptoms of a positive development and thus not counter-revolutionary, which led to him being harshly criticized in the Communist Party newspaper *Akahata* [Red Flag].

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[12] *Chisei* was a monthly comprehensive literary magazine aimed at intellectuals, which was issued by the publisher *Kawade shobō* between the years 1938 and 1957. (Kuwao 1996: 185)

[13] Nihon Dokusho Shinbunsha (ed.) 1988: 251.

[14] One of the main speakers at the 4th German Writers' Congress was the writer Anna Seghers, whose speech titled "Die große Veränderung und unsere Literatur" [The Great Change and our Literature] was read by Stephan Hermlin. The Japanese translation of this speech was published in *Shin nihon bungaku* under the title *Ōkina kakumei to waga bungaku*.

[15] Demonstrations by Polish workers demanding better working conditions, known as the Poznań protests, began on 28 June 1956 at Poznań's Cegielski Factories and were met with violent repression.

2.2 The travelogue *Tōō o yuku*

His full-length travelogue composed of the essays he had written during and after his visit to Czechoslovakia and Romania was published under the title *Tōō o yuku – Hangaria mondai no haikei* on February 15th 1957 by *Dainippon yūbenkai kōdansha*. The travelogue is separated into three sections, the first part of which can be described as a collection of essays on Abe's views on the culture, scenery and the people he was meeting. The second part focuses on his experience at, and includes his examination of the congress he had attended during the first days of his stay in Europe. The second part also includes three speeches from the congress, which had the strongest impact on Abe, as well as his consideration of the theatre and literature of the region. The third part, which was not fully included in the *Chisei* articles, includes his view on the Poznań protests and Hungarian revolution, which began in October of 1956. As Schnellbächer writes, the inclusion of the subtitle "The Background of the Hungarian Question" suggests that Abe's travelogue's publication was placed in the context of the discussions surrounding the intervention of the Soviet forces in Hungary.[16]

As the articles in the magazine *Chisei* were published prior to the publishing of his travelogue, they include parts of the text which are similar or almost identical to the ones published in his later travelogue, such as Abe's impressions of the literary tradition in Czechoslovakia, his view on tradition and what it means in the context of artistic expression. However, his two articles in *Chisei* also include his critique of the Japanese Communist party, which he further develops later on and reflects upon in the third part of the travelogue itself. Thus, previous scholars have argued that parts of his articles, as well as of the travelogue itself, had already written already during his stay in Eastern Europe.[17]

As previously mentioned, I will be focusing on the writings published shortly after Abe's return to Japan, in which he describes his own unique experience of Czechoslovakia and Romania. I will also analyze his travelogue in order to determine how he collected his impressions into a single and unified publication as a comprehensive expression of his overall experience. It is important to note that similarly to other authors who visited the area of Eastern Europe during the 1950s and 60s, Abe was associated with the newly established Japanese literary movement, *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, which strived to lead Japanese literature into a new direction after the devastating end of

[16] Schnellbächer 2004: 409.
[17] Toba 1997: 43.

World War II.[18] As a representative of such movement, he approached his visit as that of someone who is looking for a new direction and new influences which could help lead and shape the future of Japanese literature. It is also important to note that Abe approached his visit to these countries as a member of the Japanese Communist Party and a believer in their ideas. Oh Mijung describes Abe's approach to his first experience of Eastern Europe as the approach of someone who was already well-familiarized with the order of the society he was meeting for the first time.

> 安部は、局外者としてではなく、理念的仲間として社会主義国内部の問題を見ようとしていたことを意味し、その眼差しは東欧社会主義圏の現実に対する解釈と、日本の情況に対する理念的葛藤の省察へと導かれていくことになるのである。
>
> [Abe's gaze, which was not that of an outsider, but of one who believed in socialist ideas, looked at the state of affairs in these countries and this led him to his own interpretation of the reality of the socialist Eastern bloc and to reflect on his idealistic conflict concerning the state of affairs in Japan.] (Oh 2009: 150)

3. *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, the Reportage Movement and the Purpose of Abe's Eastern European Experience

Before beginning the analysis of Abe's writing, I would like to look at the literary movements or groups which he was a part of before or during his visit of Eastern Europe, with the purpose of determining the role his visit could have played in his writing process.

3.1 *Shin Nihon bungakukai*

3.1.1 Background of the Association

As mentioned previously, it is important to remember that Abe was sent to Europe in order to attended the writers' congress as the representative of the *Shin Nihon bungakukai* association. *Shin Nihon bungakukai* began in 1945 with a convention in the Kanda district of Tokyo. The idea behind the association was the strong belief that a new direction was needed for the defeated Japan, a type of literature that would reflect the new democratic reality of the country.[19] As previously mentioned, the association was closely connected to the Japanese Communist Party in its beginnings and many of its members were also

[18] Apart from Abe, many other Japanese writers visited countries of Europe during this period of time. While they were not all officially invited to visit as members of the *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, the visiting writers which can be associated with the movement are Kaikō Takeshi, Haniya Yutaka and Shimao Toshio.
[19] Tadokoro 1980: 12.

members of the party; however, the ties between the two were cut in the 1960s.[20]

During Abe's visit of Eastern Europe, however, the association was still closely related to the Communist Party. As mentioned in the chapter "Background of Abe's Visit", the two groups publishing magazines *Jinmin bungaku* and *Shin Nihon bungaku*, were in conflict due to their different policies, with *Jinmin bungaku* being considered to be following the party's directions more closely. However, when the associations reconciliated and Abe was chosen as the executive secretary of the *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, the decision to co-operate more closely came out of a necessity to commit to the political program to the Communist Party. As this commitment strongly affected the writers publishing in *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, Abe soon began to distance himself from the association. As Schnellbächer writes, he was an official member of the association until the late 1960s, but he ceased to attend the General Meetings and rarely published anything in the association's magazine after 1962.[21] As a consequence of his protest against the party's leadership forcing a new party program, Abe was expelled from the Japanese Communist Party in 1962.[22]

Shin Nihon bungakukai's close relationship with the Japanese Communist Party eventually ended in the 1960s, when the party attempted to bring the association under its constitutional control.[23]

3.1.2 Abe's contribution to *Shin Nihon bungakukai*

As stated above, by the time Abe traveled to Europe, he had been associated with the group as one of its close members for only slightly over a year. While being chosen as the executive secretary, he had not yet established his position within the association, and it can be said that his visit of Eastern Europe and the resulting publication of the travelogue strongly contributed to the strengthening of his presence within the group. As previously mentioned, Abe's return from the Czechoslovakian Writers' Congress was advertised on the cover of the October edition, while he had previously not even appeared as an individual writer on the pages of the magazine until as late as 1955. Schnellbächer points out that the advertising of Abe's return indicated the general interest in the new developments happening in socialist countries, especially after the new political line in the Soviet Union which was initiated by Khrushchev in February 1956.[24] It is also

[20] Kamata 2005: iv.
[21] Schnellbächer 2004: 210.
[22] Schnellbächer 2004: 38.
[23] Schnellbächer 2004:107.
[24] Schnellbächer 2004: 214

important to mention the Japanese translation of the poems of Vítězslav Nezval, which appeared in the September 1956 issue of *Shin Nihon bungaku,* and could have possibly been influenced by Abe's inclusion of Nezval's speech at the congress as one of the important speeches he reported on in the next issue of *Shin Nihon bungaku*.

Abe's representation of the association at the congress can be said to have established his position within the association, and has led to a more frequent publication of his writing in the magazine. Moreover, Schnellbächer writes that the publishing of Abe's travelogue contributed to his visibility and newly found credibility in the movements he had been championing since early 1950s, which are the documentary or reportage movements described in the next section.[25]

3.2 The Reportage Movement

When discussing the different groups Abe contributed to during the first decade of his career, it is important to mention *Yoru no kai* [Night society], *Seiki no kai* [The Century], *Genzai no kai* [Present Society] and *Kiroku geijutsu no kai* [The Society for Documentary Art].[26] While the members of all of these groups were similar, the focus of the groups changed gradually, making them rename their movements and start fresh on multiple occasions. For example, while *Yoru No Kai* was a movement of Japanese avant-garde artists, *Genzai no kai* and *Kiroku geijutsu no kai* were focusing on writing reportages of current events. Most of these groups also issued their own monthly or quarterly magazines. Amongst them, the two movements which seemed to have an especially strong impact on Abe's travelogue writing, and need to be mentioned as a probable influence on his Eastern European travelogue, were the movements of the previously-mentioned reportage groups.

Genzai no kai began in March and is believed to have continued until 1957 and consisted of young poets and writers.[27] Its original organizers were Abe Kōbō, Shimao Toshio and Manabe Kureo. Their group published 14 issues of the magazine *Genzai* [Present] between June 1952 and September 1955.

The first meeting of *Kiroku geijutsu no kai* was held in the Higashi Nakano in 1957, and the meetings continued to be held monthly. *Kiroku geijutsu no kai* began as Sasaki Kiichi, who felt that the so-called "new" Japanese literature movement *Shin Nihon bungakukai* was not capable

[25] Schnellbächer 2004: 214

[26] English translations for *Yoru no kai*, *Sekai no kai*, *Genzai no kai* and *Kiroku geijutsu no kai* are taken from Thomas Schnellbächer's *Abe Kōbō, Literary Strategist*.

[27] Toba 1997: 48. The group seems to have disbanded in 1957 only to get reorganized and continue their activities. It is not clear, however, until when the meetings of the group were taking place as there is no indication about it disbanding again in any historical writing on the topic.

of producing new literature and art anymore, began holding meetings with the 24 original members, amongst which was also Abe.[28] The main assignment of this newly-founded group was to begin an exchange between different genres of art and create a type of a synthesis of art. The group started issuing their magazine *Gendai geijutsu* [Modern Art] in October 1957 and continued to regularly publish it until 1961.[29] The magazine included literary works by its contributors, while also having a section for travelogues, photography, book reviews, essays and one for introducing the artistic movements of other countries.[30]

Abe contributed to most of the issues, either by publishing his TV dramas or participating in symposiums on different topics.[31] His wife Machi designed the cover of one of the issues.

4. *Tōō o yuku – Hangaria mondai no haikei* – Traveling as conversation with oneself

Having determined that Abe approached his visit to Europe as a member of the Japanese Communist Party, as well as a member of literary movements such as *Shin Nihon bungakukai* and the different reportage movements, we can begin with the analysis of his travelogue describing his impressions of the Eastern European countries he visited. Abe spends most of the pages in his travelogue contemplating different concepts he felt were important when approaching a different world and culture. Having come from an island country to a continent, his thoughts are strongly focused on the influence the proximity of other nations and their cultures might have on the culture and arts of a country. Having attended the congress before his travels around Eastern Europe, he also felt that his visit should have a higher purpose than simple travel, which lead him to his decision to search for something worth writing about and being inspired by.

4.1 Prejudice, borders and *tengokubyō*

An important concept Abe discusses in the first chapters of his travelogue is the concept of prejudice. He claims that he felt prejudice against his travels, but does not see prejudice as something negative. Due to the existence of his prejudice, he was able to correct his own

[28] Miyanishi 2009: 130 – 131.

[29] Miyanishi 2009: 134.

[30] The October issue of year 1960 included a reportage on the travels of its contributors to Brazil (*Burajiru ki* [Chronicle of Brazil] by Kinhide Tokudaiji), East and West Berlin (*Tōzai Berurin* [East and West Berlin] by Shiro Hasegawa), while the November issue included a reportage of a visit to Paris (*Pari e no dantai ryokō* [The Group Trip to Paris] by Shiro Hasegawa), for example.

[31] Three issues of the magazine include his TV dramas, one includes a radio musical and one a short story, while almost every issue includes a symposium, in most of which Abe participated.

twisted perception of the things he witnessed and experienced during his trip. Abe writes:

> しかし私はいまでもそれをただの偏見だとは思っていない。あの偏見があったればこそ、そこから脱け出すこともできたのだと思う。私は印象に極力抵抗した。抵抗したおかげで混乱した。混乱したおかげでいくばくかの収穫をうることができた。
>
> [“But even now I don't consider that to be just prejudice. I think it was that prejudice which allowed me to break free. I resisted the impressions as much as possible. As a result of my resistance, I became confused. And due to my confusion, I was able to reap some rewards.”] (Abe 1957: 14 – 15.)

Here, he claims that he was trying to resist the “impressions of the travel”, and it was his resistance that led him to confusion, which influenced his experience and turned it into something useful, with a purpose.

Hearing a discussion on the differences between nations within Europe leads Abe to a contemplation on borders and their connection to prejudice. Abe writes that, contrary to popular belief, the populations of countries separated by borders that can be crossed freely do not neccessarily have less prejudice. He claims the logic works exactly in the opposite way; according to Abe, the sole existence of a border is the reason for prejudice to be first created and further developed. As he writes 「現実は逆に国境という怪物によってますます偏見が助長されるわけである」[In reality, it is the opposite: prejudice is increasingly encouraged by the monster that is a national border]. (Abe 1957: 45.) He calls the effect that the concept of border has on an individual the “border sickness” or *kokkyōbyō*.[32] He touches on the same topic of prejudice in a short essay titled *Henken o ikuseiseyo* [Let’s Nurture Our Prejudice] first published in the April’s issue of magazine *Sekai* [The World] in 1957. There, Abe writes「だから私は、やや逆説めくが、むしろ偏見を愛する精神をこそ強調したいと思うわけである」[So, somewhat paradoxically, I would rather like to emphasize the spirit of love of prejudice.] (Abe, *Henken wo ikuseishiyō*, 1998: 120.)

He writes that as European countries are constantly forced to be conscious of the existence of other countries due to being connected by physical borders, their resistance against prejudice is stronger, while at the same time their prejudice itself is also stronger. The friction between their resistance to prejudice and the strength of that prejudice itself is what Abe perceives to be the motivating energy that drives social

[32] Abe 1957: 46.

change.[33] In an article titled *Chekko sakka taikai to sono shūhen* [Czech Writers' Congress and Its Surroundings], which was published in the August 1956 issue of the magazine *Bijutsu hihyō* [Art Criticism], he states the following in a conversation with Hariu Ichirō, Sasaki Kiichi and Kiyooka Takayuki: 「陸地の国境は社会的な政治的な壁だ。そこから文学も強い個性がつくられてくる。」[Land borders function as social and political barriers. This is how the strongly individual literature of each country is also created.] (Abe, *Cheko sakka taikai to sono shūhen*, 1998: 93).

After the congress, Abe travels around Czechoslovakia and is shown all the tourist sights of the region. But as this was not the type of experience he wanted to have, he becomes deeply dissatisfied with his visit, consequently cutting the trip short and instead staying in Prague to experience the culture of the city.

It is at this point that he develops his idea of *tengokubyō,* or "paradise disease". He feels like everything he sees is more traditional than it is revolutionary, too systematic and oppressive. He finds it to be like a picture cut from a magazine, which lacks contradictions or inconsistencies (in Japanese original he uses the word *mujun*).[34] He sees inconsistencies in society as possibly positive ideas that lead towards progress. An example of inconsistencies leading to positive results can also be found in his stance on the Poznań protests, which, as previously mentioned, Abe considered to be symptoms of positive development. Similarly, in the last chapter of his travelogue, which includes his answer to the *Akahata* criticism, Abe writes on the Hungarian uprising that he considers the Soviet intervention to have been a tragic necessity.[35]

Moreover, Abe calls the belief that socialist countries are the realization of an ideal concept of society *tengokubyō.*[36] He believes individuals that perceive socialist countries as perfected ideas realized in our society treat any type inconsistencies and parts of reality in those countries merely as a side effect of these countries previously being capitalist.

Abe also criticizes the perception that these individuals have of paradise itself, which he sees as unimaginative, due to which he perceives the literary movement of socialist realism under Stalinist rule to be a failure as well. He is also critical of the travelogues of travelers to the Eastern European region whose work he had read previously, writing:

[33] Abe, *Henken wo ikuseishiyō*, 1998: 120.
[34] Abe 1957: 48 – 49
[35] Abe 1957: 211.
[36] Abe 1957: 49.

最近のソ連文学のつまらなさ、日本共産党の馬鹿らしさ、あるいはこれまでの共産圏旅行者の愚劣な紀行文にもかかわらず、原則的に共産主義者として社会主義を支持し続けることができたのだと思う。

[I suppose I could continue to support socialism as a communist in principle, despite the triviality of recent Soviet literature, the idiocy of the Japanese Communist Party, or the foolish travelogues of previous communist bloc travelers.] (Abe 1957: 51.) [37]

It is at this point of the travelogue that Abe finally realizes what it is that he had expected to achieve from his trip to the region. His main expectation from the visit to the region, was to discover the inconsistencies in the society, which had regularly been portrayed in literature as something consistent and orderly. Abe does not believe that he could fully grasp the situation in these countries as a mere traveler over the course of two months. However, an important claim he makes is that he does feel like he could write a novel set in Prague,[38] as it is the only city in which he managed to get a glimpse of the artificially consistent reality he was shown.

5. Czech tradition and Abe's vision

As Abe used the concept of tradition as something negative when he described the stagnation he felt during his first few days traveling though Czechoslovakia, he dedicates a short chapter on his perception and thoughts on tradition itself. He feels that Prague, together with Czech literature and art, has a very rich tradition; however, due to the heavy influence and oppressiveness of tradition, Czech artists have developed new approaches only in relation to tradition itself, either appreciating or disproving it. As Abe writes:

現代はすべて伝統にたいする愛情と憎悪、継承と断絶の複雑なからみ合いである。
[The modern world is a complex interplay of love and hatred, inheritance and interruption of tradition.] (Abe 1957: 53.)

Tradition, while it can be very oppressive, can also stimulate artists in Abe's opinion, as was the case of Rilke, who managed to escape the oppressiveness of the heavily traditional city which is Prague.[39]

Abe also mentions the parts of Czech culture and art which made a positive impression on him. These include the novel *The Good Soldier*

[37] Abe does not mention any authors or titles of travelogues by name.
[38] Abe 1957: 52.
[39] Abe 1957: 56.

Švejk by Jaroslav Hašek,[40] puppet theatre, and most of all he praises Jiří Trnka and his animated motion-pictures. [41]

Abe also perceives a unique sense of irony and satire as some of the basic elements of Czech literature.[42] He especially values the avant-garde tradition of the region. His thoughts are echoed by those of the avant-garde Czech poet Vítězslav Nezval, who mentioned humor as an essential part of art during his speech at the Czech Writers' Congress. For Nezval, as quoted by Abe, all good artists, not only writers or poets, have had a great sense of humor.[43] It could be said that having come from a surrealist background and using humor as an essential part of his writing, Abe could connect to the culture he experienced in the city of Prague more than that of Bucharest or Bratislava, as in comparison he perceived Prague to be the city with the richest avant-garde tradition, the essential part of which had been humor itself. He thus only names Prague as the city which he could write about also in his fictional work, as it was the city closest to his own perception of literature and what constitutes it.

6. Travel as inspiration

As Abe writes in the opening chapter of his travelogue, his upcoming trip to Eastern European countries inspired him as soon as he had set off:

> 出発の日が近づくとともに、この感情はますますひどくなり、たぶんまだ見ない外国の風物が私にあたえるであろう印象に先まわりしてやろうという反抗的な気持ちから、無意識にでも大紀行分の一節がつぎからつぎへと湧きおこって、これをそのまま書きのこせば、行く前に旅行記の一つくらい書いてしまえそうな気がしたほどである。
>
> [As the day of my departure approached, this feeling grew worse and worse, and I felt a rebellious desire to get ahead of the impressions that the foreign scenery I had yet to see would probably make on me, so many passages of what was to be the Big Travelogue sprang up one after another, even unconsciously. I felt as if I could have written at least one travelogue before I went there, if I had written it down as I felt then.] (Abe 1957: 10)

Abe might have felt the pressure to write a book based on the experience he was yet to have, but it could be argued that his idea of the upcoming visit was bringing him inspiration even prior to his departure from Japan.

The chapter which includes three important speeches also features a reflective and apologetic letter on past mistakes committed by the

[40] Abe 1957: 61.
[41] Abe 1957: 62.
[42] Abe 1957: 61.
[43] Abe 1957: 98.

Czechoslovak Writers' Union. As one of the mistakes that had been committed when it comes to literature and socialist realism, the tendency to stimulate writers by sending them on trips around the country is emphasized. The letter reflects on the wrongly assumed position regarding the inspiration and motivation of writers, thinking that simply supplying new materials and helping the writers gain new experiences would be enough for them to create new and better literature.

However, if we look again at Abe's letters to his wife Machi, he mentions on multiple occasions the inspiration he has felt during his visit, as well as the deepened understanding he had finally reached after physically visiting the countries he had known before through literature and movies. Not only does he feel like he understands how the city of Prague could have influenced Rilke[44] and Kafka,[45] as he writes in his travelogue, but he perceives traveling itself as a type of experimental dialogue with the greats. It does not mean being completely cut off from one's reality, but a maneuver that helps one understand one's reality better than before.[46] This can be linked to his decision to write a novel about Mt. Fuji, which he had planned before but had been unable to. Not only did his visit to Europe deepen his understanding of the continent, but his temporary spatial separation from Japan gave him the distance that was needed for him write this novel, also making him understand the importance of writing it.[47] In Abe's words, 「遠くから見ると、全景がよく分かります。」 [when looking at it from afar, I can see the whole image clearly.] (Abe, *Abe Machiate shokan daiisshin,* 1998: 82)

The novel referenced here could be *Kagami to yobiko* [Mirror and Whistle] published in January 1957. According to the article *Shōwa sanjū nendai no Abe Kōbō tanpen sakuhin nitsuite (2)* [On Abe's Short Stories from Shōwa Thirties] by Kobayashi Osamu, Abe's idea of a novel about Mt. Fuji was later developed into a novel about life in a rural village, which crystallized in *Kagami to yobiko*.[48] It can thus be said that the physical distance did not separate and isolate Abe from his homeland, instead it offered him new perspectives and an opportunity for a new dialogue, which led him to literary works he might not have been able to write otherwise.

After attending the last day of the congress and traveling around Czechoslovakia together with other writers in attendance, Abe goes on a long trip around the country together with his interpreter. He visits

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[44] Abe, *Abe Machiate shokan dainishin*, 1998: 79.
[45] Abe, *Chitekina musōka – Cheko to kokkō kaifuku no hi ni*, 1998: 108.
[46] Abe 1957: 14.
[47] Abe, *Abe Machiate shokan daiisshin,* 1998: 79 – 80.
[48] Kobayashi, *Shōwa sanjū nendai no Abe Kōbō tanpen sakuhin nitsuite (2)*, 2003: 92 – 93.

churches, farms and factories, but amongst all these the visit he describes most in detail is an unplanned experience of a gypsy village.[49] Together with his interpreter, he stumbles into a small village outside of town, where he is greeted warmly, and spends time with the villagers exchanging knowledge about each other's culture, singing songs and forming conversations with the help of the interpreter. As he writes in the letters to his wife Machi, he finds their group to be very interesting and he decides to do further research on them.[50]

Furthermore, as a writer who had entered the Japanese literary world only less than a decade before his visit to Eastern Europe, Abe's visit fell into the relatively early part of his writing career. It is thus possible to connect some of the experiences that he writes about in his travelogue to the direction his career had taken in the years after the European trip. One of the experiences which made a positive impact on Abe's perception of his own future creative possibilities is surely his experience of the theater of Czechoslovakia. He was most impressed by a play of the Soviet avant-garde playwright Mayakovsky, namely *The Bedbug*, the performance of which he saw in Prague. Prior to his experience, he had been disillusioned by the Japanese theater, and expected himself to also become entangled into its dismal state.[51] However, it was this single performance of the Mayakovsky play directed by the renowned Czech director Emil František Burian that completely dispersed his fears and gave him newly found hope for the future of theater in general. After being touched by the performance and shedding a few tears due to the deep impression it made on him, Abe writes 「こういう舞台が可能だということは、私にとってはなによりも大きな勇気と自信をあたえられることだった。」["Knowing that such a theatrical production is possible gives me more courage and confidence than anything else."] (Abe 1957: 122.)

He even imagines how it would feel to see his own plays performed there, which does not seem like an impossible feat, as many of his short stories were indeed published in Czech translation in different literary magazines over the next few years, helping him gain recognition in the region.[52] These stories are the first translations of Abe's work into other languages.[53]

[49] Abe 1957*:* 27.
[50] Abe, *Abe Machiate shokan daiisshin*, 1998: 79.
[51] Abe 1957: 121.
[52] Tani 2002: 55, 59.
[53] Miyanishi 2009: 127.

7. Conclusion

As stated above, even if he had not mentioned the travelogues by their titles or referred directly to their authors, Abe had been familiar with the genre and the predecessors that had visited and had written about the Eastern European region before him. Having been conscious and critical of these writings, Abe likely intended to approach both his visit and the writing of his travelogue with new ideas on how to use the genre of travel writing for the exploration of his own thoughts.

Moreover, having had a clear purpose for his visit, which was the attendance of the last two days of the writers' congress, his expectations and restlessness stimulated him into contemplating what he was feeling and why he was feeling these emotions. As a result, his travelogue is full of introspection, which is also what he perceived to be a characteristic of Czech literature, as well as his thoughts and opinions on the things he had experienced and seen.

As a representative of the new literary movement(s) in Japan, Abe approached his visit to Czechoslovakia and Romania as that of a person who is in search of something new and inspirational. While he had trouble defining what his exact expectations were at the start of his visit, he had fully grasped what he was after once a certain amount of time passed, and instead of traveling through different parts of Bohemia and Slovakia, he instead chose to focus on the city of Prague, consuming as much of its culture as he could during his stay. It was his decision to stay in Prague that turned out to be crucial for his own inspiration, while also being the catalyst of the troubled thoughts and doubts he had at the beginning of his visit. He had experienced theater as he had never seen it before in his home country, which gave him the additional push to not only believe in his own creative possibilities, but also in the genre's ability to express the ideas he had longed to express. Moreover, his physical distance from Japan helped him understand his previous ideas for new novels, which were deeply connected to the country he had lived in for most of his life, and consequently led him to write on topics he had struggled with before. It can also be said that the publishing of his travelogue contributed to the strengthening of his position within the association of *Shin Nihon bungakukai*, as well as in the wider Japanese literary circles.

In conclusion, the visit of Abe to Czechoslovakia and Romania not only left a deep imprint on him as an individual, but also strongly contributed to his creative process and his positioning in the Japanese literary circles, giving him the courage to continue on his literary path, exploring the different ways of expressing himself through different forms of art and continuing to actively participate in the reportage movement that he had been promoting since the early 1950s. In future work, an exploration of his literary work written after his stay in Europe might be needed to define which were the novels apart from *Kagami to yobiko* that might have been inspired and motivated by his Eastern-European experience.

On the other hand, Abe's Eastern European experience did not only widen his view on the possibilities of art, but also helped spread the writings of both Czech and Japanese writers and poets, as his visit resulted in translations of Nezval's poetry to Japanese and Abe's writing to Czech. As Abe states in the final paragraph of his travelogue, his book ends here, but his real dialogue with Japan is just beginning,[54] as it was time for him to turn towards Japan's own situation after having experienced and learned from the countries he had visited. Thus, Abe returns from eastern Europe and turns towards the newly established Japanese literary movements, continuing to explore and surpass their limitations.

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HOW TO MAKE COLLECTIONS TALK WHEN THE COLLECTOR IS SILENT? THE JAPANESE ART COLLECTION OF DR. OTTÓ FETTICK

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Abstract: *A major boom in the collecting of Japanese art in the West from the second half of the 19th century was caused by Japonisme. Japanese objects, which found their way to Western collections through the export art market of Japan often lack correct attribution, date, and exact provenance. Dating, attributing, and describing each object through "classical" art historical research methods can provide new details about the collector's aims, the collection itself, and the historical circumstances in which it was formed. We will use as an example a collection of 200 Japanese objects, which once belonged to a Hungarian bacteriologist professor, Dr. Ottó Fettick (1875-1954), who never travelled beyond the Western hemisphere and who left no written information about his collecting intentions. This paper sums up the outcomes of a six-month-long research project conducted in Japan during 2019 and 2020, which focused on the Japanese artworks preserved at the Fettick collection in Hungary, and discusses how the results help the (re-)evaluation of the collection and the interpretation of the collector's aims, vision, and activity.*

Keywords: collecting, Japanese art, export art, market of Japonisme, Dr. Ottó Fettick

Japanese collections in the West with or without histories

The Japanese collection at the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts (Hopp Museum) in Budapest consists of more than 8000 Japanese objects, which includes the majority of Japanese artworks that have ever entered Hungary. They originated from about 200 former public or private collections (Dénes 2019: 91). Even though the age of the artworks varies from the Jōmon period to the Meiji era, the formation of the majority of the collections which first took them to the Carpathian Basin date to the same period, which lasted from the 1870s to the 1920s and 1930s.[2] This was the time when Hungary (as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) first made diplomatic contact with Japan, after which it developed a lasting interest in the arts and cultures of the Land of

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[2] For further information on the formation and content of the Japanese collection at the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts see Nichibunken 1995, Bincsik 2005: 229–241 and Fajcsák 2007.

the Rising Sun (Dénes et al. eds. 2020) which, unlike in Western European countries, in Hungary (which became independent in 1918) lasted even until the interwar period (Dénes 2017a: 56–61). Therefore, we can say that the collection of the Hopp Museum, which was formed upon its 1919 establishment by the unification of many public and private collections previously held elsewhere, reflects the collecting tendencies of the era when Japonisme was born (Dénes 2017b: 126 –136, 156–164).

A complex notion of art and cultural history, Japonisme, was in use from the 1860s when the art and culture of Japan started to occupy an important place in Western art and aesthetic thinking for the first time in history (Watanabe 2020). Since 1854, Japan has opened its ports for Western ships, and as a result of both Japanese economic interest and Western demand for the "exotic" and "unknown", Japanese artworks entered the international market in huge quantities. This resulted in the phenomenon called Japonisme, the name of which was coined by Philippe Burty in France in 1875, as "The study of the art and genius of Japan." (Burty 1875: 150–151). In other words, Japonisme was the Western interpretation and appreciation of Japan, a country previously unknown, along with its culture, and its aesthetics, mainly through visuality.[3] We can obtain interesting historical reconstructions of what Western people appreciated about Japan through the research of Western people's Japanese collections which were formed during the time of Japonisme. Collections that made their way to the Hopp Museum not only represent an array of Japanese art which was available for purchase, and interesting enough for Westerners to acquire them, but they also mirror the image of Japan interpreted by Western collectors. Thus, the analysis of Japanese art collections in the West, including those in Hungary, through the filter of Japonisme, provides us with significant, first-hand information for a better understanding of the late 19th and early 20th-century history of the reception of Japanese culture.

Western collectors of Japanese art can be divided into two large categories. The first one contains those collectors who have visited Japan and acquired their collection, or a part of it there, while the second category holds those collectors who have never visited Japan and bought their Japanese artifacts elsewhere. The category of traveller-collectors has long been a popular research topic. Travelogues, letters, and biographies are often used by researchers to reconstruct the itinerary of those early visitors to Japan from many European countries and from the United States, and their collections are often interpreted as tangible documentation of the adventurous journey, as well as a "mirror" of the country they saw. On the other hand, collections, the owners of which

[3] For the most important publications on Japonisme see Watanabe 2020.

have never visited Japan, often remain untouched by researchers[4], since they cannot be interpreted from the romanticized viewpoint of travelling. Furthermore, they often lack supporting documentation of the collecting activity, and many times the only interpretative field to understand the collector's 'curatorial mindset' is the collection itself. The silence of such collections might be intimidating since their analysis necessitates in-depth field research in the case of each and every artwork within it; a tiresome, but rewarding expedition. Furthermore, the socio-cultural fact that the majority of everyday people at the time of Japonisme could not afford a trip around the globe, but they still appreciated Japanese art and often managed to acquire either just a few examples or even a decent-sized collection, make the topic interesting and worthy of research.[5] This paper aims at providing an example of how one might analyse such Japanese collections in order to understand better the logic behind their formation, despite the lack of documentation regarding the collector's activity.

A Silent Collector: Dr. Ottó Fettick

The subject of this research project is a Hungarian veterinarian and bacteriologist professor named Dr. Ottó Fettick (1875-1954), who, according to his published biographies, had never visited Japan, and who remained surprisingly silent about his collecting activity, even though at the end of his life he bequeathed more than 5000 artworks (of both Eastern and Western art) to the Hungarian state (Ferenczy–Horváth 2002: 274, Fajcsák 2009: 139-140, 149-150, Horváth 2019). According to his biographers, he began his collecting activity around 1895, around the age of 20, shortly before he graduated from university, following the family tradition. His father ran a grocery shop in the 8th district of Budapest, and his two brothers were tax office councilors and bank representatives.[6] After the Second World War, Dr. Fettick was the last living member of the family, so he might have inherited the art collections, if any, of all his relatives (Dobrovits 1955: 2) **(Figure 1)**.

During his life, he travelled extensively in Europe for research purposes (England, France, Germany, and Denmark were his most frequent destinations), and in the meanwhile, according to information he himself provided, he purchased many of his artworks.[7] Particularly

[4] A few positive counter-examples are the publications on the Japanese collection of Edmond de Goncourt (see Lacambre 2018), Feliks 'Manggha' Jasieński (see Kluczewska-Wójcik 2014), Hendrik Willem Mesdag (see Suijver 2018), the brothers Van Gogh (see Uhlenbeck et al. 2018).

[5] As an example for the availability of Japanese artworks for sale in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy see Turina 2020.

[6] The Budapest City Archives (Budapest Főváros Levéltára) hold the documentation relevant to the family of Dr Ottó Fettick. See HU BFL – VII.12.b – 1925- 185047, HU BFL – VII.156 – 1945 – 0174, HU BFL – VII.6.a – 1945 – 05363.

[7] Attested by the document held at the archive of the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts: HMI 227/1953.

relevant from the perspective of collecting Japanese art are his purchases from the auction of Edmond de Goncourt's collection in Paris in 1897, the Japan-British Exhibition in London in 1910, and the auction of the Oppenheimer collection in Munich in 1913.[8] The pieces of his collection miraculously survived both World Wars, and late in his life, Dr. Fettick decided to donate the whole collection to Hungarian museums (Horváth 2019: 68-69).[9] **(Figure 2)**

In 1954, Western applied art objects, including 3000 pieces of ceramics and glassware, and some 1700 pieces of carpet from the Middle-East, laces, textiles, furniture, and metalwork accessed by the Museum of Applied Arts, and Asian art objects, exactly 281 pieces, were sent to the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts (Dobrovits 1956: 29). Dr. Ottó Fettick passed away at the age of 79, on 2 February 1954, shortly after the donation act was ratified. Most objects which used to belong to Dr. Fettick were labeled with a special sticker bearing his name, so they are easy to recognize even today **(Figure 3)**.

According to the 1955 issue of *Az Iparművészeti Múzeum Évkönyvei* (The Almanac of the Museum of Applied Arts): "In his more than 50 years of collecting, Dr. Ottó Fettick has purposefully and with great skill acquired the works of traditional crafts, as well as what he considered to be the most outstanding and valuable in the applied arts of his time."[10] Clearly, the collection reflects the modern and complex aesthetic mindset of the people who lived at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, it has always been highly regarded by museum specialists, but a fulfilling explanation of what makes the collection unique and so precious has been lacking so far.

Upon general observation of the content of Dr. Fettick's collection, one might find various possible interpretations to define the collector's taste, interest, and curatorial intentions. Through his collecting, did he intend to focus on the abundance of ornament, which came to the fore so strongly in the late 19th century with the re-evaluation of applied arts, crafts and with the spread of the aesthetic movement? Did he try to create a cross-section of his time's leading aesthetic values? Was he especially interested in having pieces with the highest level of

[8] The documentation regarding the provenance data of certain Japanese artworks in the collection does not state whether Dr. Fettick himself was present at those events or whether he purchased his objects through an agent, a mediator or another collector who decided to pass the provenance information of the objects alongside the artworks themselves to Dr. Fettick.

[9] The donation of Dr. Fettick's collection to the Hungarian State is heavily impacted by political controversies of the new socialist regime surrounding private ownership in 1950s Hungary, which is not discussed in this contribution. More on the topic in Horváth 2019.

[10] „Fettick Ottó több mint 50 éves gyűjtői pályáján céltudatosan és rendkívüli hozzáértéssel szerezte meg a régi iparművészet alkotásai mellett mindazt, amit korának iparművészetében a legkiemelkedőbbnek, legértékállóbbnak vélt." Dobrovits 1956: 28.

craftsmanship? Was he eager to represent the cultures and aesthetic values which inspired or influenced the art of his time? There must be many more relevant questions to which, after careful consideration, the answer would be 'Yes'.

Japanese artworks within the collection

From the aspect of Japanese Studies, a possible interpretative field to get closer to understanding Dr. Fettick's complex 'curatorial mindset' is the exploration of the relationship between the Japanese artifacts and Western art objects of Japonisme which both were abundantly represented in his collection. In my research, I wish to investigate Dr. Fettick's understanding of and interest in Japanese art and Japonisme, by focusing on the two collection parts respectively.

The first stage of my research project, which intended to focus on Dr. Fettick's Japanese artifacts, became realizable thanks to the Japan Foundation's Japanese-Language Program for Specialists in Cultural and Academic Fields in Osaka, in which I could participate from October 2019 to March 2020. The six-month-long stay in Japan enabled me to immerse myself in Dr. Fettick's Japanese art collection and to have each piece thoroughly examined. I was mainly focusing on the dating and attribution of the pieces, the deciphering of signatures, artists' seals, and stamps, and finding convincing, existing analogies. I collected written and visual materials related to the Japanese artworks in the Fettick collection, and I discussed my results with related art specialists.

To date, Dr. Fettick's Asian collection counts a total of 241 items, containing 190 Japanese objects (78% of the whole collection), 30 pieces of Chinese artworks (12%), 5 objects from India (2%), and 17 pieces from the Middle East (8%).[11] From this ratio, one can understand that the collector was more interested in Japanese artworks than in those from other Asian cultures.

Based on their material, the artworks of the Japanese collection can be divided into seven categories. The largest category is that of ceramics with 76 items (40%), but the 37 pieces of metalwork, the 33 items of baskets and vases made of bamboo, and the 23 lacquer items are also important. The collection is almost entirely focused on applied

[11] Objects belonging to the Fettick collection are accessed under the following inventory numbers: HFM 53.259 – 53.271, 53.297 – 53.322, 53.325 – 53.368, 53.370 – 53.388, 53.390 – 53.395, 54.76, 54.78 – 54.83, 54.85 – 54.97, 54.109 – 54.124, 54.126, 54.127, 54.129 – 54.138, 54.150 – 54.154, 54.156 – 54.160, 54.165,54.170 – 54.173, 54.175, 54.176, 54.178 – 54.193, 54.195 – 54.202, 54.204, 54.206, 54.215 – 54.232, 54.234, 54.235, 54.243, 54.245, 54.249 – 54.251, 54.258, 54.259, 59.43 – 59.54. The difference between the numbers given in The Almanac of the Museum of Applied Arts and those we can find at the Hopp Museum's inventory books results from the fact that two-piece items (such as a lidded pot) were counted as two pieces in the Almanac, while they were inventoried as one item consisting of two pieces by the Hopp Museum.

arts, with only a handful of Japanese woodblock prints[12] representing the so-called "fine arts". Furthermore, the majority (around 75%) of the objects in the collection are of particularly small size (less than 30 cm) and thus, were made for close observation and for private enjoyment rather than for representative purposes.

An investigation was conducted on each Japanese artwork in the Fettick collection based on photographic reproductions, through which a special emphasis was put on understanding their inscriptions. 99 out of 190 objects are unsigned, so those had to be researched based on analogies. I found relevant information in various internet databases,[13] in exhibition catalogues (Saga kenritsu Kyūshū tōji bunkakan-hen 2003, Murata 2011, Suzuta 2015, Hirai–Ōchō 2018, Arakawa–Moriya 2019,), and books (Honda–Kikuchi–Impley 1994–1995, Cseh 2001, Bincsik 2007, Rinne 2007, Aichiken tōji shiryōkan gakugeika-hen 2010), and I was introduced to much unique information while consulting specialists.[14] Such information included the historic changes in the colour of pigments used for ceramics decoration (for example, the so-called "Meiji-blue" hue for Hizen ceramics in the late 19th century), or dates when certain technical inventions (for example, transfer printing in Japanese ceramics) were introduced. Signed or seal-bearing objects (91 pieces) were primarily investigated based on the meaning of the signs. In the case of 55 artworks, I managed to read the signs and find relevant published information on the maker. I was unable to decipher 36 objects (mainly bamboo baskets), either because the reading of the sign is uncertain or because I have not found published information on the artist, the name of whom appears on the object, so further investigation will be necessary. Based on the above examination, I was able to analyse the research outcomes from three aspects: the age of the Japanese artworks in Dr. Fettick's collection, their artistic quality, and their target. Such aspects might be useful for our attempts in interpreting his aims as a collector.

Date, quality, and target of the Japanese objects

Understanding the creation date of the artworks was my most important research goal since it closely relates to answering my main research question, whether Dr. Fettick was a conscious collector of both

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[12] HFM 54.117.1 – 54.122.1, 54.124.1, 54.202.1.

[13] The following databases were used most frequently: Japanese Ceramics Database (https://www.dh-jac.net/db9/JapaneseCeramics/enter.html), The Shiokawa Collection Database (http://home.h00.itscom.net/shiokawa/japaneseporcelain.html), Satsuma Marks and Makers (https://www.satsuma-database.nl/442181269), Gotheborg.com, Bonhams.com

[14] Heartfelt thanks for the insightful discussions and their advice to professor Maezaki Shinya at Kyoto Women's University, to director Suzuta Yukio and curator Fujiwara Tomoko at Kyūshū Ceramic Art Museum, and to director Kobayashi Hiromasa at Shippō Art Village.

Japanese art and Japonisme. Artworks made in the Meiji period (1868-1912) were more likely to target Western audiences than those made earlier, and thus, had more to do with Japanese export policy on the Western art market, and were heavily inspired by the Western fascination with Japonisme. Furthermore, it is more likely that artworks created in Dr. Fettick's lifespan were collected by himself rather than that he inherited them, so they can be regarded as the collector's voluntary choices for contemporary pieces.

So far there are only 12 artworks about which I have not found any information related to their creation date.[15] The rest (178 pieces) are datable based on their style, function, creation method, or based on their inscription. Based on their age, the artworks can be categorized into two groups.

Group I: objects made "pre-collector". Objects which I listed under this group were made in the Edo or Bakumatsu period or during the early phase of the Meiji era. It includes 44 items.[16] Objects which belong here are *tsuba*, *netsuke*, *inrō*, and traditional lacquer objects reflecting the Edo period Japanese lifestyle, classic export ceramics from Arita, early Satsuma ceramics lacking "*Nippon*" (Japan) or "*Dainippon*" (Great Japan or Japanese Empire) indications for foreign consumers and thus were created for the domestic market, artworks made without the usage of artificial pigments, etc. **(See figs. 4–7).**

Group II: objects made contemporaneous with the life of the collector. Artifacts belonging to this category were made during the Meiji era or later. It includes 134 items.[17] This category contains artworks such

[15] Undated Japanese objects from the Fettick collection are accessed at the Hopp Museum under the following inventory numbers: 53.326.1.1, 53.336.1-2, 53.348.1, 53.349.1, 53.352.1, 53.376.1, 54.129.1, 54.175.1-2, 54.184.1, 54.198.1, 54.215.1, 59.49.1.

[16] Japanese objects made "pre-collector" are accessed under the following inventory numbers: 53.265.1-2, 53.269.1-3, 53.328.1, 53.332.1, 53.333.1, 53.358.1-4, 53.359.1.1-3, 53.360.1-3, 53.361.1-2, 53.362.1-3, 53.370.1, 53.371.1, 53.372.1, 53.373.1, 53.374.1, 53.375.1, 53.378.1, 53.381.1-3, 53.382.1.1, 53.385.1.1-2, 53.390.1, 53.391.1, 53.392.1, 53.393.1, 53.394.1, 53.395.1, 54.76.1, 54.86.1, 54.88.1, 54. 89.1, 54.93.1, 54.159.1, 54.165.1, 54.179.1.1-2, 54.180.1, 54.181.1, 54.183.1, 54.192.1, 54.220.1, 54.223.1-2, 54.224.1-2, 54.225.1-2, 54.226.1-2, 59.54.1.

[17] Japanese objects made during Dr. Fettick's lifespan are accessed under the following inventory numbers: 53.259.1, 53.260.1, 53.261.1, 53.262.1-2, 53.263.1-2, 53.266.1-2, 53.267.1-2, 53.268.1-3, 53.270.1, 53.271.1, 53.311.1, 53.312.1, 53.313.1, 53.314.1, 53.315.1, 53.316.1, 53.317.1, 53.318.1, 53.319.1, 53.320.1, 53.321.1.1 53.321.1.2, 53.322.1, 53.325.1, 53.327.1, 53.329.1, 53.330.1, 53.331.1.1-2, 53.334.1., 53.335.1, 53.337.1, 53.338.1, 53.339.1, 53.340.1, 53.341.1, 53.343.1, 53.354.1-2, 53.355.1-2, 53.356.1-2, 53.357.1-2, 53.366.1, 53.367.1, 53.368.1, 53.377.1-2, 53.379.1, 53.380.1, 53.383.1.1-2, 53.384.1-4, 54.78.1, 54.79.1, 54.80.1, 54.83.1, 54.85.1, 54.87.1, 54.94.1, 54.95.1, 54.96.1, 54.97.1-2, 54.109.1, 54.110.1, 54.111.1, 54. 112.1, 54.113.1, 54.118.1, 54.119.1, 54.120.1, 54.121.1, 54.122.1, 54.124.1, 54.130.1, 54.131.1, 54.132.1, 54.133.1, 54.134.1, 54.135.1, 54.136.1, 54.137.1, 54.138.1.1-2, 54.150.1, 54.151.1.1-2, 54.152.1, 54.153.1, 54.154.1.1-2, 54.156.1.1-2, 54.157.1.1-2, 54.158.1, 54.160.1, 54.170.1, 54.171.1, 54.172.1, 54.173.1, 54.176.1, 54.185.1, 54.186.1, 54.187.1, 54.190.1, 54.191.1, 54.193.1, 54.195.1, 54.196.1, 54.197.1, 54.199.1, 54.200.1, 54.201.1, 54.202.1, 54.204.1, 54.216. 1-2, 54.217.1, 54.218.1, 54.219.1, 54.221.1, 54.222.1, 54.227.1, 54.228.1, 54.229.1, 54.230.1, 54.231.1,

as decorative metal objects, Satsuma ceramics made for export with "*Nippon*" or "*Dainippon*" indications, signed, modern Japanese ceramics of studio pottery, artworks that were purchased by Dr. Fettick either at the 1910 British-Japan exhibition in London or at its touring version held in Budapest in 1911 (at both locations only contemporary artworks were put on sale, see Hotta-Lister 2013: 123-124), ceramics decorated with the so-called "Meiji blue" colour (Montanari et al. 2020), ceramics made with the transfer printing technique, which became used in Japan from the late 19th century (https://gotheborg.com/glossary/transferprinting.shtml), bamboo baskets, cloisonné enamel (*shippō*) objects and woodblock prints **(See figs. 8–11)**.

Based on the above, 70% of the collection is likely to be made contemporarily with the collector, and in the time of Japonisme, which lasted from the 1870s roughly until the 1920s in Hungary. This percentage of artworks made in the modern era of Japan is so high compared to that of artworks that were made before the time when Japan opened its ports to Western ships, that even though future research might subtly modify the ratio of artworks based on their creation date, the dominance of artworks from the Meiji period or later will most likely not change.

The second research goal was to observe the quality of craftsmanship and the aesthetic quality of the pieces, so based on their technical execution quality and aesthetic appeal I divided the collection into the categories of "everyday objects" and "objects of high artistic value".

Artefacts that fell under the category of "everyday objects" are artefacts that carry certain aesthetic qualities. However, because of the lower quality of technical execution, they were modestly priced either in the domestic or in the international market, and thus they were affordable for many consumers. Some of these objects could probably be labelled as "ethnography" as well, because of their recurrent appearance as an object in the everyday life of Japanese people. An object belonging to this category possesses one or more of the following characteristics: it is unsigned; it is signed, but it has a lower technical quality of execution; it is signed, but mass-produced; or it is signed, but published information about the maker is not available **(See examples of figs. 4, 6, 8 and 10)**. Artefacts belonging to the category of "objects of high artistic value" are of high technical quality and aesthetic level, and thus were not affordable for everyday consumers. As well, they used to be regarded as treasures or valuables (*takaramono*) by their owners and are also regarded as important by art historical research of today. An

54.232.1, 54.234.1, 54.235.1, 54.243.1, 54.245.1.1-2, 54.249.1, 54.250.1, 54.251.1, 59.43, 59.44, 59.46, 59.47, 59.48, 59.50, 59.51.1.1-2, 59.52.1.1-2, 59.53.1.

object belonging to this category possesses one or more of the following characteristics: the maker of it is an Imperial Household Artist (*Teishitsu Gigei-in*), an artist who won domestic or international prices, an artist who is well-definable and published, or in case the object is unsigned, it has a high technical or aesthetic quality compared to objects from the same period and that have the same function **(See examples of figs. 5, 7, 9 and 11)**.

Based on the above-described criteria, 93 artworks were placed in the "everyday object" category and 97 artworks were placed in the "object of high artistic value" category.[18] The high ratio of Japanese objects with high artistic value (52%) shows the collector' essentially aesthetic interest towards Japanese tangible culture, and that the collection was a serious financial investment. The fact that four imperial household artists (master potters Miyagawa Kōzan (1842-1916), Seifu Yohei III (1851-1914), Itō Tōzan (1846-1920), and Inoue Ryōsai II (1854-1905)), the title of which meant the highest national standard at that time, are represented with eight artworks within the collection (more on the artists in Kunaichō sannomaru shōzōkan ed. 2008),[19] and that artworks by other international prize-winner artists are abundantly represented, raises the overall value of the collection significantly.[20] In

[18] The following items from Dr. Fettick's collection were categorized as "everyday object": 53.259.1, 53.260.1, 53.267.1-2, 53.271.1, 53.320.1, 53.322.1, 53.326.1, 53.327.1, 53.348.1, 53.349.1, 53.352.1, 53.360.1-3, 53.366.1, 53.368.1, 53.376.1, 54.76.1, 54.78.1, 54.79.1, 54.80.1, 54.83.1, 54.85.1, 54.86.1, 54.87.1, 54.88.1, 54.89.1, 54.93.1, 54.94.1, 54.96.1, 54.109.1, 54.110.1, 54.112.1, 54.113.1, 54.119.1, 54.120.1, 54.121.1, 54. 129.1, 54. 130.1, 54.131.1, 54.132.1, 54.133.1, 54.134.1, 54.135.1, 54.136.1, 54.137.1, 54.138.1.1-2, 54.150.1, 54.151.1.1-2, 54.152.1, 54.153.1, 54.154.1.1-2, 54.156.1.1-2, 54.158.1, 54.159.1, 54.160.1, 54.165.1, 54.170.1, 54.171.1, 54.172.1, 54.175.1-2, 54.181.1, 54.184.1, 54.185.1, 54.186.1, 54.187.1, 54.190.1, 54.191.1, 54.192.1, 54.193.1, 54.195.1, 54.196.1, 54.197.1, 54.198.1, 54.199.1, 54.200.1, 54.202.1, 54.204.1, 54.215.1, 54.216.1-2, 54.217.1, 54.218.1, 54.219.1, 54.220.1, 54.221.1, 54.222.1, 54.227.1, 54.229.1, 54.230.1, 54.232.1, 54.234.1, 54.249.1, 54.250.1, 54.251.1, 59.53.1. Artefacts which were sorted under the category of "object of high artistic value" are the following: 53.261.1, 53.262.1-2, 53.263.1-2, 53.265.1-2, 53.266.1-2, 53.268.1-3, 53.269.1-3, 53.270.1, 53.311.1, 53.312.1, 53.313.1, 53.314.1, 53.315.1, 53.316.1, 53.317.1, 53.318.1, 53.319.1, 53.321.1.1, 53.321.1.2, 53.325.1, 53.328.1, 53.329.1, 53.330.1, 53.331.1.1-2, 53.332.1, 53.333.1, 53.334.1, 53.335.1, 53.336.1-2, 53.337.1, 53.338.1, 53.339.1, 53.340.1, 53.341.1, 53.343.1, 53.354.1-2, 53.355.1-2, 53.356.1-2, 53.357.1-2, 53.358.1-4, 53.359.1.1-3, 53.361.1-2, 53.362.1-3, 53.367.1, 53.370.1, 53.371.1, 53.372.1, 53.373.1, 53.374.1, 53.375.1, 53.377.1-2, 53.378.1, 53.379.1, 53.380.1, 53.381.1-3, 53.382.1.1, 53.383.1.1-2, 53.384.1-4, 53.385.1.1-2, 53.390.1, 53.391.1, 53.392.1, 53.393.1, 53.394.1, 53.395.1, 54.95.1, 54.97.1-2, 54.111.1, 54.118.1, 54.122.1, 54.124.1, 54.157.1.1-2, 54.173.1, 54.176.1, 54.179.1.1-2, 54.180.1, 54.183.1, 54.201.1, 54.223.1-2, 54.224.1-2, 54.225.1-2, 54.226.1-2, 54.228.1, 54.231.1, 54.235.1, 54.243.1, 54.245.1.1-2, 59.43.1, 59.44.1, 59.46.1, 59.47.1, 59.48.1, 59.49.1, 59.50.1, 59.51.1.1-2, 59.52.1.1-2, 59.54.1.

[19] Miyagawa Kōzan: 53.266.1-2, 53.334.1, 54.176.1, 59.50.1; Seifū Yohei III: 53.335.1, 59.52.1.1-2, Itō Tōzan: 53.270.1, and Inoue Ryōsai II: 59.46.1.

[20] Honorable mentions are Yabu Meizan (1853–1934), Nishiura Enji V (1856–1914), Shōfū Kajō (1870–1928), Kanzan Denshichi (1821–1890), Tominaga Genroku I (1887–1907), Miura Chikusen I (1854–1915), the Hyōchien Ceramic Factory of Kyoto, The Kōransha and the Fukagawa Ceramic Factories of Arita (ceramics), Jōmi Eisuke (1839－1900), Miyabe Atsuyoshi (ca. 1900) (metalwork), *inrō* artists Iizuka

other words, Dr. Fettick's Japanese collection is highly artistic, with a considerable number of masterpieces of the highest level.

The third aspect of my analysis was the identification of the target, in other words, who the object was made for. The essential question was whether the Japanese objects in the Fettick collection were made for the purpose of gaining overseas ownership, or were they intended for the domestic market. In most cases, the original function of the objects facilitated the identification of the target, but in a few cases, the decision was made based on the shape, style, and pattern of the objects.

Items that had a clearly identifiable function in Japanese cultural history, while they were not entirely fitting to that of the West, formed the first group and included *sagemono* (*netsuke* and *inrō*), *tsuba*, bamboo baskets, and vases for Japanese flower arrangements, teacups without handles, and tea caddies for *matcha*, censers and incense containers, inkstone boxes, rice bowls, sake cups, personal seals (*hanko*), *hibachi*, fans, woodblock prints, etc. Objects belonging to this category were not entirely deprived of function as they entered a new, Western environment, but they were no longer used for their originally intended purpose. Based on the above, out of 190 Japanese items in the Fettick collection, 103 pieces (ca. 55%) were sorted into this category.[21] **(See examples of figs. 4, 5, 8 and 9)**

The second group contained objects which were purposefully made by the Japanese to fit Western functional requirements. Such objects became widespread in Europe and America, but despite being made in Japan, there they came to use only during and after the Meiji Era, as part of Westernization, and remained relatively alien to traditional Japanese aesthetics as well. This category included objects with purely decorative purposes: large ornamental plates, bronze vases that were not meant to hold flowers, vases for Western-style bouquets, decorative ceramic figurines, enamel plaques, dishes, and plates atypical in Japanese tableware, etc. Out of 190 Japanese items, 87 pieces (ca. 45%)

Toyo II (ca. 1725–1790), Koma Koryū (c. 18th century) and Kajikawa (Edo period), and modern printmakers Ohara Koson (1877–1945) and Takahashi Bihō (1873– ca. 1910s).

[21] The following items from Dr. Fettick's collection most probably targeted the Japanese domestic market: 53.260.1, 53.268.1-3, 53.269.1-3, 53.271.1, 53.329.1, 53.331.1.1-2, 53.336.1-2, 53.348.1, 53.349.1, 53.352.1, 53.354.1-2, 53.355.1-2, 53.356.1-2, 53.357.1-2, 53.358.1-4, 53.359.1.1-3, 53.360.1-3, 53.361.1-2, 53.362.1-3, 53.366.1, 53.367.1, 53.368.1, 53.370.1, 53.371.1, 53.372.1, 53.373.1, 53.374.1, 53.375.1, 53.376.1, 53.378.1, 53.379.1, 53.380.1, 53.381.1-3, 53.382.1.1, 53.383.1.1-2, 53.384.1-4, 53.385.1.1-2, 53.390.1, 53.391.1, 53.392.1, 53.393.1, 53.394.1, 53.395.1, 54.80.1, 54.83.1, 54.96.1, 54.109.1, 54.118.1, 54.119.1, 54.120.1, 54.121.1, 54.122.1, 54.124.1, 54.129.1, 54.131.1, 54.132.1, 54.133.1, 54.134.1, 54.136.1, 54.137.1, 54.138.1.1-2, 54.150.1, 54.151.1.1-2, 54.152.1, 54.153.1, 54.154.1.1-2, 54.157.1.1-2, 54.158.1, 54.165.1, 54.170.1, 54.171.1, 54.172.1, 54.173.1, 54.175.1-2, 54.179.1.1-2, 54.185.1, 54.186.1, 54.187.1, 54.195.1, 54.196.1, 54.197.1, 54.198.1, 54.202.1, 54.204.1, 54.215.1, 54.216. 1-2, 54.217.1, 54.218.1, 54.219.1, 54.223.1-2, 54.224.1-2, 54. 225.1-2, 54.226.1-2, 54.227.1, 54.230.1, 54.231.1, 54.232.1, 54.235.1, 54.245.1.1-2, 59.43.1, 59.44.1, 59.51.1.1-2, 59.52.1.1-2.

might have been targeting Western users.[22] **(See examples of figs. 6, 7, 10 and 11).**

Taking into consideration that the collector never visited Japan and that he could only purchase Japanese objects at Western markets, such a ratio may suggest two things. First, Japan considered the exportation of its traditional visual culture to the West just as important as the continuous catering to the ever-changing Western taste by exporting art. Furthermore, the collector himself must have purposefully united objects representing both the traditional (domestic market-oriented) and the modern artistic values of Westernizing Japan through his collection.

Conclusion

The survey introduced in this contribution resulted in three outcomes. The first is that the majority of the Japanese artworks in Dr. Ottó Fettick 's collection were created during the life of the collector, and during the era of Japonisme, namely, during or after the Meiji era. The second outcome is that Dr. Fettick's Japanese collection is highly artistic and has a considerable number of first-class masterpieces. The third one is that the collection's pieces might have been as much designated for the Japanese market as for Westerners. Thus, based on the examination of each Japanese artwork belonging to the same collection, which was then used for the analysis of the age, quality, and target of the artworks, the collector’s interest can be described with the key concepts of "modernity", "technical and aesthetic quality" and "traditional functionality."

The research results introduced in this contribution will help further detach the interpretation of the collection from its micro-history, contextualize it within the history of Japanese art, and embed it into the realm of the global art market of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Future research focusing on artworks of Japonisme in the same collection will hopefully bring us even further to the more complex understanding of the collector’s curatorial mindset.

[22] The following items from Dr. Fettick’s collection most probably targeted the Western export market: 53.259.1, 53.261.1, 53.262.1-2, 53.263.1-2, 53.265.1-2, 53.266.1-2, 53.267.1-2, 53.270.1, 53.311.1, 53.312.1, 53.313.1, 53.314.1, 53.315.1, 53.316.1, 53.317.1, 53.318.1, 53.319.1, 53.320.1, 53.321.1.1, 53.321.1.2, 53.322.1, 53.325.1, 53.326.1.1, 53.327.1, 53.328.1, 53.330.1, 53.332.1, 53.333.1, 53.334.1, 53.335.1, 53.337.1, 53.338.1, 53.339.1, 53.340.1, 53.341.1, 53.343.1, 53.377.1-2, 54.76.1, 54.78.1, 54.79.1, 54.85.1, 54.86.1, 54.87.1, 54.88.1, 54.89.1, 54.93.1, 54.94.1, 54.95.1, 54.97.1-2, 54.110.1, 54.111.1, 54. 112.1, 54.113.1, 54. 130.1, 54.135.1, 54.156.1.1-2, 54.159.1, 54.160.1, 54.176.1, 54.180.1, 54.181.1, 54.183.1, 54.184.1, 54.190.1, 54.191.1, 54.192.1, 54.193.1, 54.199.1, 54.200.1, 54.201.1, 54.220.1, 54.221.1, 54.222.1, 54.228.1, 54.229.1, 54.234.1, 54.243.1, 54.249.1, 54.250.1, 54.251.1, 59.46.1, 59.47.1, 59.48.1, 59.49.1, 59.50.1, 59.53.1, 59.54.1.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1. Unknown photographer: Portrait of Dr. Ottó Fettick (1876–1954). Archive of the University of Veterinary Medicine, fond no. 15, box no. 5.

Fig. 2. Unknown photographer: The collection of Dr Ottó Fettick before the donation, in his home, 1950s. *Magyar Állatorvosok Lapja - Fettick Ottó különszám*, June 1955, s.p.

Fig. 3. A special sticker indicating the objects which belonged to the collection of Dr. Fettick at the bottom of item 53.270.1.

Fig. 4. Miniature shrine (*zushi*) with Kannon, Jizō and Monju bodhisattvas. Japan, Edo period. Unsigned. Wood, lacquer, colours, bronze fittings, 11.2 x 10 x 5 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 54.165.1.

Fig. 5. Koma Kōryū: *Inrō* with five compartments, with "fox wedding" (Kitsune no yomeiri). Japan, mid-18th century. Signed: Koma Kōryū and *kakihan*. Wood, lacquer (*maki-e*), bronze, gold, silver, textile cords, *ojime* made of wood and lacquer (*maki-e*), and *manju* made of wood and lacquer (*maki-e*), inlayed with a mixed metal relief *kagamibuta*. Height: 9 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 53.362.1-3.

Fig. 6. Lobed plate with design of chrysanthemums, peonies, and plum blossoms. Japan, Arita, ca. 1700-1740. Unsigned. Porcelain, painted in underglaze blue and red enamel, gilded. Diameter: 30.6 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 54.181.1.

Fig. 7. A pair of Satsuma vases with elephant-head shaped handles and decorated with chrysanthemums and phoenixes. Japan, Satsuma, Bakumatsu or early Meiji era. Signed: Satsuma-yaki, Futaba and crest of Satsuma domain. Earthenware, painted and gilded. Height: 15.5 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 53.333.1 and 59.54.1.

Fig. 8. Rice bowl with patchwork-style geometric and floral motifs. Japan, Kaseyama, Ichijo domain, mid-19th century. Porcelain, painted in underglaze blue and blue transfer printing, brown enamel. Height: 11.2 cm, diameter: 24 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 54.96.1.

Fig. 9. Seifu Yohei III (1851-1914): Incense container in the shape of a seated crane. Japan, Meiji era. Signed: Seifu. Earthenware with greyish-green crackle glaze. Height: 5.2 cm, length: 8 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 59.52.1.1-2.

Fig. 10. Enamel vase decorated in the imitation flambé glaze. Japan, late 19th or early 20th century. Unsigned. Bronze, enamel. Height: 18 cm, diameter: 10 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 53.322.1.

Fig. 11. Itō Tōzan (1846-1920): Vase decorated with daffodil motifs. Japan, late Meiji or early Taishō era. Signed: Tōzan seisei. Porcelain, decorated in low relief and white enamel. Height: 23.2 cm, diameter: 13 cm, collection of Dr. Ottó Fettick, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts, inv. no. 53.270.1.

ARTICULATING TSUCHIDA KYŌSON'S *JINKAKU* AS VOCATION

Yuka HASEGAWA[1]

Abstract: *This paper examines the concept of jinkaku or personality developed by the philosopher, cultural critic, and activist Tsuchida Kyōson (1891-1934). Tsuchida's philosophy of jinkaku deserves attention because it was not only a philosophy but also a practice that shaped his personality and his vocation as a philosopher. Although Tsuchida in his earlier years was a strong advocate for decentralizing education in the interests of the rural youth, the turbulent interwar years in which he lived influenced his thought to adopt a totalitarian approach in his later years. By studying Tsuchida's jinkaku, we are able to trace what Shimizu calls the 'lost link (miushinawareta wa)' between pre- and post-war Japan that also helps us construct a different narrative of modernity from the dominant narrative that takes the perspective of Western capitalism.*

Keywords: Tsuchida Kyōson, *jinkaku*, vocation, interwar Japan, modernity

Who is Tuschida Kyōson?

Tsuchida Kyōson (1891-1934) was a philosopher who studied with the Kyoto School founder Nishida Kitarō (1870-1945) but who had left the ivory tower to actively engage in sociopolitical causes as an activist and a critic. Today, his name is not as known as his contemporaries including Tosaka Jun (1900-1945), Miki Kiyoshi (1897-1945), and Watsuji Tetsurō (1889-1960) who were members or associates of the Kyoto School philosophy. However, as a student of Nishida, Tsuchida's philosophical treatise inherited many Kyoto School ideas such as pure experience, self of non-self, and limit-concept, as I will discuss in greater detail below. Nevertheless, his thoughts did not remain within the sphere of the Kyoto School but were also influenced by overseas intellectuals such as C. H. Douglas, Bertrand Russell, and scholars such as G. D. H. Cole and Arthur Penty who were part of the guild socialism movement. The sheer breadth of thinkers he engaged in his writings has led some scholars to describe Tsuchida as a knowledgeable yet unfocused critic through descriptions such as: "Omnivorously, he read everybody; unhesitatingly, he used everybody; characteristically, he subscribed to nobody" (Soviak 1990, 84).

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However, his philosophy is important to us today because it provides a clue to what Shimizu (1993a; 1993b) calls the 'lost link (*miushinawareta wa*)' of intellectual history that connects the past with the present, and I would suggest even the future.

Shimizu singles out Tsuchida from other philosophers of his time, including the more well-known ones, by noting how his thoughts followed the uncertain political climate of the interwar period when public opinion drastically changed from liberalism to militarism. For example, Shimizu writes that Tsuchida quickly responded to the trends of contemporary thoughts such as 'culturalism (*bunka-shugi*)' during the Taisho era (1912-1926) and 'consumer society' during the early Showa era (1926-1989). "At the same time," Shimizu continues, "he actively took part in the emerging claim for a command economy" (1993a, 226), suggesting that Tsuchida's thoughts provide us with clues to whether the shift from liberalism to totalitarianism was the outcome of a weak democratic foundation in Japanese society as we tend to believe today. Shimizu also points out how discourses used back then are seeing an uncanny revival in the present, indicating the structural affinity between our period with Tsuchida's by explaining how Tsuchida's critique of consumer society, for example, can be applied to the consumer society we live in today.

As Shimizu states, the liberal democratic ideals that Tsuchida espoused during the early 1920s shifted towards a proposal for what he describes as a 'totalitarian policy' (1993b, 247) by 1930. This period in Japanese history was extremely tumultuous. Japanese society was shaken with a series of crises from the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, a 7.9 magnitude earthquake that crippled the capital, after which the Showa Financial Crisis of 1927 was brought on by major businesses defaulting on bank loans. This was followed by the Showa Depression of 1930-31 caused by the Great Depression originating in the United States. Although we cannot ignore these catastrophic events that helped shape public opinion in favor of greater state intervention and control, Shimizu nevertheless points to a tendency in Tsuchida's thought that he describes as "social engineering" to explain this shift towards totalitarian thought (1993a, 236). Shimizu suggests that seeds of this can already be seen in Tsuchida's notion of *jinkaku*[2] which is abstract, transpersonal and transcendent: "In the experiential dimension of reality, individuals'

[2] I use the Japanese term *jinkaku* (人格) to discuss Tsuchida's philosophy throughout the paper instead of translating it as "personality" to retain the rich and manifold meanings it contains. I also add the possessive pronoun 'Tsuchida's' *jinkaku* throughout this paper to underscore the distinction I give to Tsuchida's philosophy among multiple philosophies of *jinkaku* that have been developed by numerous scholars such as Abe Jirō, Kuwaki Genyoku, and Soda Kiichirō.

objectives and ideals often oppose each other and mutually create tension. However, Tsuchida did not deal with the frictions and conflicts in the experiential dimension that emerge through the personal exercise of freedom" (1993a, 231).

Re-envisioning modernity

This paper examines Shimizu's claim more closely by analyzing Tsuchida's philosophy of *jinkaku* or personalism that emphasizes the significance and uniqueness of persons. My goal, however, is not to question whether Tsuchida leaned towards totalitarianism as years passed but rather to envision a different narrative of modernity from that which has been written from the perspective of Western capitalism. Specifically, I analyze Tsuchida's *jinkaku* as a lived philosophy and practice that attempted to bring about the rationalization of revolutionary impulses among 'the masses' whom Tsuchida, in his earlier text, described as "the man of the street" in the passage below:

> How appalling is the man of the street. I become startled and afraid by seeing such precise engraving of life on their faces. How their wretched reality and suffering are engraved upon their faces and worn by them as their pitifulness that cannot be undone. Always alarmed by something, constantly feeling tension, without rest, feeling tortured and miserable, their expressions have become cowardly, decrepit, and sneaky. Modern men have become used to seeing these faces, their eyes no longer recognizing any oddity. If we unexpectedly encountered a girl of a heavenly beauty in front of our eyes, how surprised we will be by their contrast (1921, 19-20).

Tsuchida's feeling of shock and fear that "the man of the street" elicited was experienced as contempt among many Taisho-era intellectuals. Sociologist Oguma (2002) describes how intellectuals working during and immediately following the war including Maruyama Masao (1914-1996) and Ōtsuka Hisao (1907-1996) were condescending towards the masses. Oguma writes that intellectuals tended to look down upon the masses' political apathy by suggesting that their subjugation to power was externally imposed, rather than internally motivated as a pursuit of enlightenment and progress. They also scorned the masses for being provincial and suspicious of others (2002, 96-97). This was particularly true among the so-called 'old liberalists' who came of age during the Taisho era. At a time when only 4.4 percent of the population had the literacy to read and write newspaper level Japanese (2002, 191), the old liberalists were the privileged few whose lives were markedly different from "the man of the street."

Unlike these intellectuals and despite the significant class differences that existed between him and “the man of the street,” Tsuchida was more empathetic towards the latter. His feeling of empathy framed his understanding of “the man of the street” as potential agents of revolutionary change. Tsuchida in his later years identified “the man of the street” with the sociological category of the ‘masses’ (*taishū*), which he distinguished from ‘society’ (*shakai*) and the ‘crowd’ (*gunshū*). While members of ‘society’ have a conscious sense of belonging to a clearly defined organization or an institution (1932, 266-8), ‘masses’ are not a consciously organized group although they may find unity in a more broadly defined activity aimed towards a common life purpose (*seimei teki na mokuteki katsudō*), even if this behavior may not be rationally cognized for the attainment of a clearly defined goal (1932, 290). A ‘crowd’ on the other hand, is a physical group of people temporarily gathered in a particular location which can also be distinguished from the ‘masses’ that do not have an empirically observable form nor a shared purpose to be in the same location at the same time (1932, 291). Stating thus, Tsuchida associates the ‘masses’ with the May 15 Incident, an attempted coup in 1932 by several young officers of the Imperial Japanese Navy who assassinated the then Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi. Tsuchida locates the cause of this incident in the raw, emotional uprising of the ‘masses’ or rural farmers who expressed vehement criticisms and protests against the government after their livelihoods were severely affected by the Showa Financial Crisis of 1927.

If modernity is history that has been recognized by itself as distinct from prior sociohistorical forms as Takeuchi Yoshimi describes (2005[1948], 54), then modernity in Japan was experienced through this recognition of history in the emerging images and discourse of the ‘masses.’ Tsuchida, a voracious writer who published 61 articles and books during his short lifetime of 43 years (Shimizu 2013, 228), was among the many intellectuals who wrote on a wide range of subjects from philosophy, education, politics, economics, culture, and art, in which he took a variety of discursive positions to represent “the man of the street.” For example, the early Tsuchida often spoke for the rural youth in the name of ‘proletcult’ [3] whose education he thought should be aligned with proletarian causes instead of being imposed by a centralized system that

[3] Proletcult comes from the book *Proletcult (Proletarian Culture)* written by Edan and Cedar Paul (1921, 245). Tsuchida introduced the book to the Japanese public in the magazine Chūō Kōron in 1923. He uses the term to refer to the agents of his Free University movement and the decentralized education of the rural regions. Furuichi explains that ‘Proletcult’ does not equate to proletarian culture for Tsuchida who interprets ‘cult’ as “having a much broader meaning than education to include “socialization” as prior to education, or the influence that people have upon each other through everyday interactions that do not necessarily have to conform to the specific activity of education” (2002, 106).

reproduces a capitalist, class-based society. The later Tsuchida, as Shimizu pointed out, spoke of a 'general public' (*kōshū*) supported by a strong central government. At a time of disaster restoration, economic turmoil, and international conflict, Tsuchida believed centralized control that could reorganize industries to build a self-sustaining domestic economy was necessary to ease the country's dependence on imported goods. Yet if this makes it difficult to identify Tsuchida with a clear and identifiable discursive position, then it is his unique and singular life that Tsuchida sought coherence and integrity to these diverse perspectives and positionalities. As Tsuchida asserts in one of his texts: "Modernity needs to be unified through everyday life (*seikatsu*). The variety of complex aspects to our lives need to be unified through a single principle" (1930, 5).

Articulation

The theory and method used to understand Tsuchida's *jinkaku* is articulation, which is both a theory and a practice of cultural studies. As a theory, it characterizes "social formation without falling into the twin traps of reductionism and essentialism" by transforming communication into a theory of contexts. As a method, "it provides strategies for undertaking a cultural study, a way of contextualizing the object of one's analysis" (Slack 1996, 112). By articulating *jinkaku*, this paper will contextualize *jinkaku* within the opposition of idealism and materialism to arrive at an understanding of *jinkaku* as a negative term, or what Tsuchida's mentor Nishida Kitarō and colleague Soda Kiichirō (1881-1927) call *kyokugen gainen* or 'limit-concept.' Articulation is also an interventionist practice of "establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, 105). Hence, the second part of articulation will study Tsuchida's view of education as a means to cultivate *jinkaku* by way of antagonism. In doing so, this section will articulate Tsuchida's *jinkaku* as a vocation that rationalizes the countervailing impulses of social responsibility and personal freedom. Contrary to Shimizu's claim, I maintain that empathy allowed Tsuchida to bring these impulses into a means-ends relationship where 'service' rendered to others was synonymous with the cultivation and expression of the person's *jinkaku*. I conclude by suggesting that Tsuchida's *jinkaku* gives us a theory for understanding why the political climate shifted from liberalism to militarism during the interwar period.

Beyond idealism and materialism

One of the important and interesting foci of Tsuchida's life work that separated him from Kyoto School philosophers is his concern with education, especially among the rural youth. Tsuchida strongly believed that philosophy was not a special discipline reserved only for academic contemplation but a practice to be applied to improve life in general. For example, he is recorded to have made statements such as: “I was bored with the cultural critics who launched shallow arguments based on British and American philosophies of the time. I wanted to think more rigorously while deepening my life to the same depth, so philosophy and life are closely intertwined” (Ueki 1982, 39). He also believed in making philosophy more accessible to the public as a means to promote social reform. He often traveled to various cities across Japan to give talks on culturalism. Tsuchida’s idea of establishing a Free University also developed through the talks that he gave in the Shinshū region of Nagano prefecture. Originally named the Shinano Free University, its prospectus states that the project aims to decentralize education to encourage members of the rural public (*chihō ippan no minshū*) to participate in the education sector (Ueki 1982, 71). After the Shimano Free University was established in 1921, other schools from different regions across Japan joined the movement including Fukushima, Niigata, and Gunma prefectures.

One of the aims of this movement was to show the relevance of education for the rural youth who did not have the chance nor see the necessity of receiving an education that seemed divorced from their everyday lives. If rural regions built their own, regionally organized and autonomously governed education systems, then Tsuchida believed education would be more relevant to local concerns and interests. The Free University movement was guided by Tsuchida’s belief that taking control over one’s own education, which was controlled by the central government then as it is now, would give more agency to individuals, enabling them to learn for themselves and throughout their lives. This belief which he called “proletcult” shared fundamental ideas with Tsuchida’s philosophy of culturalism, which stated that human society was not governed by impersonal laws but shaped by people whose actions were guided by their cultural ideals. However, it was not Tsuchida’s philosophy that led the Free University movement but rather the other way around. Tsuchida stated that the theory of proletcult was “presented to me naturally in the atmosphere of exchange that I had with the new youth from the rural region” (cited in Matsui 1997, 59).

Based on this point, Matsui refutes Shimizu who maintained that Tsuchida’s philosophy of *jinkaku* was idealist because it was abstract and transcended the experience of interpersonal conflict and tension as discussed above. Instead, Matsui argues that Shimizu had not appreciated the interventionist element in Tsuchida’s ‘culturalism’ regarding the idealism versus materialism debate in philosophy. Matsui goes on to state that the reason culturalism as a philosophy is often interpreted as abstract and idealist is because of the work of scholars such as Kuwaki Genyoku (1874-1946) and Soda Kiichirō (1881-1927). For Kuwaki, for example, "culture meant the German notion of *kultur* as 'an ideal everyday life' which should be distinguished from those 'events related to real interests' in politics, law, and economics" (Matsui 1997, 49). Matsui further writes that culturalism explained in this way by Kuwaki and Soda "did not address concrete measures for real social issues" (ibid). Tsuchida, however, saw that even politics, law, and economics were organized around their own cultural values and did not distinguish these spheres from 'culture' itself. Indeed, Tsuchida "argued that the ideal, purpose, and scope of individual cultural sciences (politics, economics, law, art, ethics, etc.) should be determined from the perspective of the 'ideal in life as a whole'" (ibid, 52).

If Tsuchida's culturalism was counter-cultural to idealism, so were his thoughts on materialism. Tsuchida was critical of historical materialism that saw the material conditions of capital and labor that define the relations of production as the ultimate value that drives history. What drives history instead, according to Tsuchida, is "service guided by one's inner command" (1921, 75).[4] Tsuchida believed that there was an intrinsic value in one's inner command that motivated one's service to society. Tsuchida's perspective was founded in *kegon* Buddhism that taught to perceive one's 'inner command' as it is, without interpretation or imagination. In *kegon* Buddhism, the 'real, lived reality' is believed to be not just as one among many worlds but as 'the only world.' Tsuchida describes this singularity thus:

> This Winter Camellia in front of my eyes is a singular flower whose petals, if fallen, will never open again. Even the single dew drop on its corolla, if blown to the ground by a wind, will have deprived the flower of its pearl-like dew. Nowhere in the world would you find the same shape and color of this Winter Camellia flower, nor will you ever find the same pearl-shaped dew as the one on its petal anytime in the past, present, or in the future (Yamaguchi 1993, 85)

Tsuchida maintains that affirmation of the singularity of this world is "something that can only be experienced, as the root of one's life, as the root of the world" (ibid). Moreover, this intuitive and mystical experience of singularity is not completely irrational. He writes that "it is foundational to logic and sensibility, and it is not irrational to the extent that it is grounded in both. We can recognize the transcendental nature

[4] Tsuchida's text in Japanese reads: *ware ware wa ware ware no uchi naru meirei ni mukatte hōshi suru* (我々は我々の中なる命令に向かって奉仕する).

of this intuition from logic and sensibility as that which constitutes while enabling experience and thought. The mystical intuition is an inner authority that founds sensibility and logic, and it is the epistemology of mysticism that recognizes such mystical intuition at the bottom of our knowledge" (Furuichi 2000, 110).

Tsuchida's *kegon* perspective finds affinity with Nishida's philosophy of pure experience. Tsuchida himself writes that all cultural values which find expression in logic, ethics, and aesthetics are constituted in 'pure experience' rather than in objectified forms (1921, 46). Pure experience resists the binary opposition between knowledge and existence by claiming that no such distinction can be made in the fundamental form of reality. Nishida writes that the basis of this unity is found in "*self-consciousness,* wherein the fact that "I know myself" immediately means that "I am," and vice versa, a self being by definition that which knows itself" (1987, 33). Nishida used the concept of pure experience to critique the presupposition that existence is individual and subjective and that it only leads to knowledge through a cognitive process and/or communication with others. Hence, when Tsuchida argues that cultural values are grounded in pure experience, he follows Nishida in maintaining that both existence and knowledge are grounded in the value consciousness of 'ought': "Rather than think of that which knows and that which is known as first existing and the former then acting on the latter to produce knowledge, we should derive both the subject and object of knowledge from this consciousness of value, of the "ought," which grounds all knowing" (ibid, 6).

Limit-concept

This "ought" that exerts judgment to determine both that which knows and that which is known is what Kant calls a limit-concept. Kant coined the notion of limit-concept, referring to it as noumena or objects and events that exist independently of human subjectivity, "behind" the observable phenomena. Noumena are impossible to describe or know about, but they also make knowing possible by setting limits to the realm of knowledge. Nishida also describes the limit-concept in this manner:

> The ultimate subject of this judging consciousness, the cognitive subject properly speaking, is only a limit-concept, the final standpoint from which all worlds of experience could be viewed as the content of consciousness, and as such it is not something which has any reality. (1987, 6)

The idea of limit-concept has its origin in mathematics, and its significance in relation to binding existence with knowledge is explained by Nishida thus:

> A limit point[5] is a point one can approximate indefinitely but never attain. The derivative is the set of a higher standpoint, related to that from which it emerges as Lipps "snapping shut," or Bergson's *élan*. From its own standpoint a set of points, or a polygon, is already a perfect system, and no further position seems necessary. But concrete experience, or life itself, which grounds all abstract thought, can rest content with no abstract system, and always demands a more concrete position, spurring thought to advance infinitely towards the concrete. Indeed it is this advance toward concrete reality which underlies the mathematicians' discovery of analysis… A set of mere points may seem very different from the concept of order, but in concrete experience its elements are no longer simple elements, but possess meaning. The concrete ordering action comprises these elements and a law of combination, and when that ordering action is complete in a perfect set it becomes, in Hegelian terms, *an und für sich*, in and for itself. Bergon says that no matter how many photographs of Paris we assemble we cannot know Paris itself, for no combination of discrete positions can construct movement. Yet just such a transition is made intelligible by the notion of limit, which can relate abstract to concrete and thought to intuition. (1987, 84)

Tsuchida and Nishida's colleague Soda Kiichiō apply this understanding of the limit-concept to cultural value as an action that orders various fields ranging from religion, economics, art, law, and politics in his paper titled 'Cultural Value and Limit-concept' (1921, 227). Limit-concept is the *a priori* of all epistemology, Soda claims, that allows us to relate the irrational rationally to form an autonomous and coherent value system (1921, 227-8). He also maintains that value systems can be either progressive or regressive, but they exceed human thought in both. By situating *jinkaku* at an intersection of various and multiple meaning systems (un-)grounded in the depths of irrationality to be made intelligible at its limit, Soda maintains that limit-concepts perpetually require new perspectives and meanings that must be met with our infinite effort to understand throughout life (1921, 238-9). Limit-concepts are unlike any value system whether it is religion, politics, art, or law that situate some value such as god, power, creativity, or justice as its ultimate value. Instead, they constitute the possibility to merge with other value systems to develop an even higher order value system. The philosophy of limit-concepts does not assume an ultimate value or a starting and an endpoint, but it is predicated on an infinite potential to transform and develop.

Tsuchida's *jinkaku* presupposes this limit-concept as what enables a person to participate in and synthesize a variety of spheres such as those raised above like religion, art, and politics as 'life.' It was through

[5] Nishida speaks of a "limit point" here instead of limit-concept to describe the mathematical origin from which limit-concept as a philosophical idea has been derived.

life that Tsuchida believed individuals developed their unique characters. The uniqueness of *jinkaku* goes hand in hand with the universalizing character of culture, according to Soda, who asserts that culture "provides universal validity to the concrete assertion of a person's *jinkaku* as a result of his or her participation in the creation of cultural products within their limited spheres" (1921, 268). Nevertheless, Tsuchida's *jinkaku* should be understood as that individuality attained through life that recognizes the limits and the relativity of value systems in which one participates yet strives to gain ownership and meaning through continuous learning and labor.

As such, Tsuchida claims that *jinkaku* is life as experienced as well as self-determined, but insofar as "*jinkaku* should be treated as an end rather than a means to life," it is also "the principle that serves as a basis for democracy" (1921, 54). *Jinkaku* connotes a sense of dignity as used by Kant who saw dignity as having an intrinsic worth that cannot be measured by external values. For example, Tsuchida considers labor as an extension of *jinkaku*, but he stresses that labor for the fulfillment of material possession will not cultivate *jinkaku* because the purpose is external to the laborer him/herself. However, the term *jinkaku* should be distinguished from the idea of human dignity as elaborated by Kant as well, because Kant believed that all humans should be respected due to the rationality that allows us to make independent choices. *Jinkaku* does not presuppose human rationality, as it is shaped by our impulsive, inner commands that give direction to our lives. *Jinkaku* therefore arrives at a distinction worthy of dignity, which Tsuchida aptly describes by using the term '*jinkaku no hin'i*' or dignity of the personality. Note that the particle *no* suggests that dignity *hin'i* is not inherent in the person but describes the personality or *jinkaku*. This is significant because elsewhere, Tsuchida suggests that dignity derives from an alterity within us or what Tsuchida describes as a "self of non-self (*muga no ware*, 無我の我) which may also be called dignity of the personality (*jinkaku no hin'i*)" (1921, 155).

The idea of *muga no ware* or self of non-self is another mark of Nishida's influence on Tsuchida's thought. Insofar as "transition is made intelligible by the notion of limit," the self is not only a mere aggregate of experiences but also a non-self that seeks meaning in the continuum of experiences as a unity. In other words, self-consciousness constitutes its own contradiction as the self who perceives while bringing unity to perception and a reflection on this perception as its own object of knowledge (Nishida 1987, 33). Although to what degree Tsuchida's "self of non-self" aligns with Nishida's philosophy is debatable, we can surmise that Tsuchida believed that this non-self or the negation of self is at the heart of self-consciousness that drives history rather than scientific progress or even class struggle. Negation is paramount to bringing about this higher unity, which Tsuchida associates with voluntary service given in response to one's inner command (1921, 75).

Antagonism and education

This is how, for Tsuchida, *jinkaku* constitutes its own limit simultaneously as the highest form of cultural value and an ideological critique which, in the words of political theorists Laclau and Mouffe, lends itself as an antagonism. Antagonism is neither an opposition nor a contradiction. Laucalu and Mouffe explain opposition as something which occurs in the physical world, such as two vehicles colliding. In an opposition, each object "has a reality of its own, independent of that opposition" (2001[1985], 123). Unlike opposition, contradiction is a relation that occurs at the logical-conceptual level. It refers, for example, to contradictory belief systems such as the Big Bang and the Bible. Antagonism is neither an opposition nor a contradiction or, more precisely, it cannot be assimilated into these two types of relations as antagonism is not an object which possesses a full presence for itself. In the case of an antagonism, Laclau and Mouffe explain, "the presence of the 'Other' prevents me from being totally myself" (2001[1985], 125).

Jinkaku constitutes an antagonism that contains its own critique, or its own negation. For example, *jinkaku* for Tsuchida is neither a discursive-subject of proletarian consciousness nor an exploited labor-object of bourgeoise capitalism but an experience of this limit, the self of non-self. In other words, *jinkaku* constitutes its own negativity that transcends the subject-object opposition to bring consciousness into being as an active and creative force of historical formation. Education is essential for the development of *jinkaku*, but it must be an education that is independent of politics. Tsuchida argues that "proletcult and bourgeoiscult are no different from each other in respect to placing education under a centralized political power" (1924, 318).[6] Tsuchida claims that like economics, politics, religion, and art, "education must also constitute its own independent and normative, cultural value" (ibid, 320). This value is not to be determined and imposed by an external, political or economic force but should be shaped through education as an independent activity. To this effect, Tsuchida claims that education is also a creative activity: "If a spirit of proletcult does not develop from a

[6] As discussed earlier, Tsuchida often used the term 'proletcult' when referring to the rural youth for whom he promotes a self-directed education to develop proletarian consciousness and culture. However, Tsuchida also relativizes proletcult (*purorettokaruto*) with what he terms 'bourgeoiscult' (*burujoakaruto*) as he does here to underscore that the purpose of education does not stop at developing a proletarian culture but aims to transcend the binary to cultivate *jinkaku* as a creative endeavor.

bourgeoise education, then it is because one takes education as a mechanical process as if multiplying 2 by 2 to produce 4, rather than a creative endeavor. As I said earlier, education is a creative industry that aims not to produce A from A, but to produce A+X from A" (ibid, 324-5).

Tsuchida believed education could empower the learner to gain political consciousness and vocational purpose as a value that is inseparable from the person's views on life and his or her labor as a means of engaging with the world. Tsuchida does not conceive labor as a power to produce goods and services, but instead he writes that "Labor must be autotelic, or self-serving" (1921, 102). In other words, labor itself has the same kind of value that is on par with art and truth which could serve as a currency from which an economic sphere develops (ibid). Tsuchida claims that economic justice is brought about by engaging in labor as a value in and of itself rather than making it serve the purpose of gaining material rewards. Thus, it is in labor for the sake of labor that Tsuchida sees people achieving dignity which, in turn, raises their distinction as *jinkaku*. Education was important for Tsuchida precisely for this purpose of developing the dignity of *jinkaku* as the highest potential to be realized by all humans as a form of lived culture. It was also important for *jinkaku* to become an object of knowledge for the sake of self-knowledge or to find one's 'vocation' that enables self-transformation as well as social reform.

Therefore, Tsuchida believed that education should be in the hands of laborers so that it would serve their own needs and interests. It should not, Tsuchida claimed, be an instrument of the government to produce servile subjects of the state. To achieve this end, he believed that education should be a lifelong endeavor that helps laborers engage with real-world issues rather than theoretical ones so they may understand the system of which they are part. At the same time, Tsuchida was a realist who understood that every person's complaint against education would be different. He claimed: "If there are ten people, there are ten different ways of thinking, feeling, and acting, and it is only natural for one of them to have some type of complaint against another's thought, emotion, and behavior" (1924, 39). Tsuchida was therefore keenly aware that ideological problems cannot be approached in the same manner as mechanical problems, such as constructing a bridge or manufacturing chemical fertilizers. Rather, Tsuchida claimed that "for ideological problems (*shisō mondai*), the solution given by those who specialize in the field is not always or necessarily correct because the person's *jinkaku* is involved in many ways. We might say that ideological critique is a direct expression of the person's *jinkaku*" (1924, 24).

Empathy in vocation

As Shimizu pointed out, there had been a shift in Tsuchida's positioning of *jinkaku* from his earlier campaign for democracy and decentralized education towards the establishment of a more totalitarian 'State Public Party' (*Kokka Kōshū Tō*), a version of State Socialism. Yet the fundamental belief that the cultivation of *jinkaku* leads to both self-transformation and social reform, regardless of whether the outcome is democratic or totalitarian, has been consistent in Tsuchida's philosophy of *jinkaku* as he formulated it in relation to the 'masses.' Tsuchida was a practitioner who acted on the values he philosophized through his role as a philosopher by empathizing with "the man of the street." In this sense, Tsuchida's philosophy reflected his experiences which gave meaning and direction to his philosophy of *jinkaku* as a vocation. As Weber writes, "in the realm of science, the only person to have 'personality' is the one who is *wholly devoted to his subject*. And this is true not just of science" (1919, 10-11). Tsuchida's *jinkaku* was not just a philosophy of personality but also a philosophy lived as his personality and therefore also a vocation.

But Tsuchida's vocation is unlike the Protestant calling that Weber (2005[1930]) analyzes as a modernizing force that developed the capitalist system by interpreting the accumulation of capital as proof of one's salvation. Rather, Tsuchida's *jinkaku* as a vocation was driven by empathy, which allowed one to give up one's freedom in the service of society. Empathy, a concept developed by the German philosopher Theodore Lipps (1851-1914), was popularized in Japan by Abe Jirō who translated Lipps' publication *The Fundamental Question on Ethics and Value Theory* (1899) in 1916. Abe was already known to the Japanese reading public for his book *The Diary of Santarō* (1914) which immediately became a bestseller, selling more than a thousand copies in the first print, a rare thing at the time (Takeuchi 2018, 175). Therefore, we can imagine that Lipps' concept of empathy was already circulating widely at the time Tsuchida was writing *Principles of Culturalism* (1921).

Present-day discourse often distinguishes empathy from sympathy. Described as the difference between "feeling *as* and feeling *for* the other" (Cuff et al. 2016, 145), the former refers to an identification of the self with another and the latter refers to feelings of agreement and harmony with another. This distinction was not clearly defined in Lipps' theory of empathy. Lipps often used empathy, the English translation of the German word *Einfühlung*, interchangeably with sympathy. Empathy as a concept first emerged from the field of aesthetics. It was attributed to a "feeling into" an aesthetic object that was thought to give its subjective meaning. Lipps extended this association to other persons while refuting the claim that one's feeling of harmony with another through external manifestations of those inner feelings was due to inference. Instead, he argued that feelings such as "anger, friendliness, and sadness cannot be perceived through the senses. We can only experience this kind of thing in ourselves." (Jahoda 2005, 156). Note that Tuschida's belief in *kegon* Buddhism entailed a worldview of a singular and ever-changing 'real, lived reality' without repetition and which could only be intuitively experienced as we already discussed. The affinity of empathy with this worldview – where truth can only be lived rather than shared in discourse – explains how Tsuchida might have understood the term 'service' when he argued that history is driven by service guided by one's inner command (1921, 75).

Another feature of Lipps' notion of empathy was that feelings, while they could only be experienced "in ourselves," could nonetheless be shared among others because they were generalized feelings belonging to "*a* self" or a socialized self. Lipps believed that feelings became socialized through imitation, as in "the infectiousness of yawning, and this kind of automatic imitation is supposed to explain how the angry gesture of the other person triggers a tendency for a corresponding 'activity' in me" (Jahoda 2005, 157). Tsuchida did not believe in imitation, but he did believe that education contributed to the socialization of individuals. To reiterate my previous claim, education for Tsuchida was not a tool to accumulate knowledge of a world 'out there' but to gain knowledge of one's *jinkaku* 'within.' Empathy as a service for society was not only a subjective 'feeling into' the other but also an objectification of one's lived reality in a world 'out there' as *jinkaku*. Tsuchida's description of "the man of the street" reveals this dual-sided nature of empathy, where the "engraving of life on their faces" expresses the man's cowardice, fatigue, and deceit while reflecting Tsuchida's feeling of being "startled and afraid." If empathy enabled people like Tsuchida to give up one's freedom in the service of truth and society such as his activism for proletarian causes in the Free University movement, then it is because empathy also gave him the freedom to express this act of service as his *jinkaku*. *Jinkaku* as a vocation was therefore the rationalization of two countervailing impulses of finding freedom in the sacrifice for others in a means-ends relationship.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, I discussed how Shimizu problematized the abstract, transpersonal and transcendent quality of *jinkaku* by arguing that "In the experiential dimension of reality, individuals' objectives and ideals often oppose each other and mutually create tension. However, Tsuchida did not deal with the frictions and conflicts in the experiential dimension that emerge through the personal exercise of freedom" (ibid, 231). We now see how sacrifice and freedom do not necessarily or always conflict in Tsuchida's philosophy of *jinkaku* but they enter into a means-ends relationship through the feeling and expression of empathy as 'service.' Moreover, to Shimizu's (1993a, 234) question of how personal freedom could be guaranteed under State Socialism, I would reply that Tsuchida was proposing state control over regulatory laws and policies, but he had imagined that implementation of those laws and policies would be done collaboratively and cooperatively by citizens as a society. For example, Furuichi (2002) explains that Tsuchida's theory of social education involved the growth of the whole person, an education that continued throughout one's life. In this theory, education is not a separate endeavor from life itself. Thus, according to Furuichi, Tsuchida believed that the goal of education should be the perfect synthesis between freedom and social duty (2002, 108). When we examine Tsuchida's version of State Socialism which he called "Controlled National Democracy (*Tōsei Kokumin-shugi*), and a controlled economy which he renamed "national democratically controlled economy" (*Kokumin-teki Tōsei Keizai*), it seems clear that he saw the citizens – rather than the state – as the agent who regulates the economy in order to make it more self-sufficient. He writes that a Controlled National Democracy "would think from the position of all citizens as a collective society and give the citizens power to control the financial sector rather than a selected few, and to control the direction and amount of production in the country so that it becomes self-sustaining" (1935, 528).

Therefore, I contend that it was not Tsuchida's proclivity towards "social engineering" that caused his reversal from liberalism to totalitarianism. Rather, I believe empathy depoliticized the impulses of resistance and struggle that he acted upon as a cultural critic and an activist in his earlier years. This is reflected in Tsuchida's thoughts that were developed in his later years who gave way to the sociological category the 'masses' to analyze and explain "the man of the street" which was described as an emotionally fraught, empirical reality in his earlier text. He also rationalized those revolutionary impulses that he felt as a critic and an activist to propose social and economic policies in order not to resist but to guide and control the centralized power of the state. Nevertheless, I conclude by agreeing with Shimizu that Tsuchida Kyōson as a philosopher – though not as well-known as the Kyoto School philosophers – gives us valuable clues to trace back the 'lost link' of intellectual history which the Second World War had severed from our narrative of modernity. In particular, his *jinkaku* gives us a vantage point from which to understand the shift in political climate from liberalism to militarism that took place during the interwar period. That is to say, as the novelist, playwright, and later politician Takakura Teru (1891-1986) later remarked on the overly sincere and serious character of Tsuchida as his longtime friend and colleague (Ueki 1982, 67), militarism might have been an unexpected outcome of a well-intended education to rationalize and control revolutionary impulses among the 'masses' as a disciplined cultivation and performance of one's *jinkaku*.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF EDO PERIOD LAW COLLECTIONS AND DECREES AND THEIR TRANSLATION DIFFICULTIES

Dániel HORNOS[1]

Abstract: I*n any country, in any era, the laws and statutes of the time have a very strong influence on the society of that period. Of course, Japan and the Edo period are no exception. In my doctoral research, I am translating the most typical documents of early modern legal history, such as the rule books issued and compiled by the Edo shogunate, which are not available in languages other than Japanese and analyzing them in an interdisciplinary approach from both philological and sociological perspectives. However, when conducting research, various problems arise, such as the inability to directly translate early modern words that are strongly related to the culture of the time. In this paper, I will briefly introduce the most important features of Edo-period laws (e.g., differences in the laws applied to different classes and social groups) and the types of Edo-period regulations and I explain the problems in translating and analyzing laws and regulations of the Edo period by citing some examples.*

Keywords: Edo period law, translation issues, Buke shohatto, ofuregaki

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present, after a brief introductory historical overview, the main features of Edo-period Japanese law, especially shogunate law, the characteristics of the rulebooks and shogunate decrees of the period, and to give some examples of the translation difficulties encountered in translating these decrees and rulebooks into European languages. In addition, I would also like to highlight why it may be important for those working in the field of Japanese studies to familiarise themselves with Japanese legal texts from pre-modern periods, such as the early modern Edo period, and to make them accessible in languages other than Japanese.

As a doctoral student, my main research topic is the translation and the philological-interdisciplinary analysis of the most important legal source texts of the Edo period, such as the *Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度, which was repeatedly issued under various shōguns, and the

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Supported by the ÚNKP-21-3 New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Innovation and Technology from the source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.

Kujikata osadamegaki 公事方御定書, compiled under the shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗, into Hungarian (I intend to prepare an English version as well in the future). The reason for my choice of topic is based on the observation that the philological analysis of medieval and early modern Japanese legal texts in the humanities is an undeservedly under-researched field in Japanese studies outside Japan. While the law of the Meiji period and the following periods is often studied from a jurisprudential point of view (for example, there have been academic works on the Meiji constitution and the modern constitution in Hungarian, for example a doctoral thesis by Csaba Gergely Tamás, "The Birth of the Japanese Democracy – The Historical Analysis of the Meiji and the Shōwa Constitutions"), the pre-Meiji period tends to be overlooked. In Japan, law schools and history courses in the humanities naturally deal with Edo period legal texts, but they use the original Edo period versions of the texts so that their analysis requires knowledge of the language and style (e.g. *kanbun* or *sōrōbun*) of the period. There is no modern Japanese transcription of these texts, nor any translation written in a language other than Japanese. These sources are inaccessible to researchers who lack sufficient Japanese language skills.

I aim to contribute to Japanology studies by translating and philologically analysing the most important legal sources of the Edo period. Following the translation and analysis of the basic source texts, there is also a rich source of, for example, shogunate edicts, which can be processed and analysed thematically for academic research on a specific topic. To be able to research and analyze these decrees, it is important to be aware of the most basic features of the law of the time, and this research project also provides an opportunity to summarise and elaborate on these important points. However, since we are dealing with the translation and analysis of texts dating back hundreds of years, it goes without saying that there will be difficulties in the translation process. In this paper, I would like to highlight some of these difficulties in the translation process.

As I am still in the early stages of my research, this paper is only a brief overview of the project's relevance and the difficulties and problems encountered. I aim to publish the completed translations with annotations and their explanations as soon as possible as the translation and analysis progress.

2. Law in the Edo period

Before the explanation of Edo-period law and legal source texts from this period, I would like to briefly clarify what is meant by the Edo period. The unification campaigns of the 16th century, which brought the age of

Sengoku period („Warring States period") to a close, are attributed to three warlords, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 and Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康. The third of these, Ieyasu, established the shogunate in Edo, the site of present-day Tōkyō, thus beginning the Edo era, which lasted for more than two and a half centuries.

Traditionally, the Edo period began in 1600, the year of the Battle of Sekigahara, when the eastern armies led by Ieyasu were victorious over the western armies. Another view places the beginning of the era in 1603 when Tokugawa Ieyasu gained the title of *seii taishōgun* 征夷大将軍. The era lasted until 1868, when the last shōgun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, abdicated and returned power to the emperor (Fujii 1992: 22–23).

Although the beginning of the Edo period is placed in 1600 or 1603, this does not mean, of course, that the state organisation of the Tokugawa shogunate was immediately established. In the early years, Toyotomi Hideyori 豊臣秀頼, son of Hideyoshi, who ruled Ōsaka Castle, was still a major centre of power. It was after the siege of Ōsaka (1614-1615) that Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠, son of Ieyasu, began to consolidate the state organisation of the shogunate (Fujii 1992: 68–69). One of the first steps was the first collection of laws, the *Buke shohatto*, published in 1615, the significance and translation difficulties of which are described below.

Edo-period Japan was a kind of federal state: the shogunate had central power, but the local *daimyō* 大名, the local lord, had influence over the individual fiefdoms (*han* 藩) that made up the country. In addition, the emperor continued to rule Kyōto, the court nobles continued to be present around him, and the samurai (*bushi* 武士) could also hold the noble titles granted by the emperor. This is also reflected in the legal system of the time.

As far as Edo period law is concerned, the origins of the prevailing law of the period go back to the Kamakura period *bukehō* 武家法. In the Kamakura period (1185-1333 or 1192-1333), at the time of the first warrior (*bushi*) government, the Kamakura shogunate, a specific legal system was established based on the *ritsuryō* 律令 law of antiquity and the moral principles of the warriors (*dōri* 道理) (Asako et al. 2010: 107–108). The law was divided between the different centres of power: the *kugehō* 公家法 (nobles' law), which had evolved from the *ritsuryō*, continued to apply to the emperor and the nobility; the private estates, called *shōen* 荘園, were allowed to create their laws and rules, called *honjohō* 本所法; while the *bushi* likewise created their laws for their relations with each other. The latter was called *bukehō*, and in this law, we find the roots of the Edo period samurai law. The *bukehō* continued to exist in the Muromachi period and later gave rise to the *bunkokuhō* 分国法, or the law of the warring states, which developed in the Sengoku period (Asako et al. 2010: 153).

In the age of warring states, each small state made its laws and rules, and this remained as the law of the *han* even in the Edo period. At this point, I would like to touch on the divisions that characterised Edo period law. Similarly, to the Kamakura-era legal system, there was no unified legal system in the Edo period, but several different types of law coexisted in parallel. The *han* had separate laws that applied to the *daimyō* domain: this was called *hanhō* 藩法. At the same time, the shogunate, the bakufu, also issued rules or decrees that were officially valid throughout the country - in practice, however, it was possible for a decree issued by the shōgun to be taken over by the particular *han*. This central legal system is called the law of the shogunate, or *bakufuhō* (Deguchi et al. 2018: 274–277). Just as the emperor continued to be the sacral ruler of the country, and the court nobility did not cease to exist around him, so in the Edo period *kugehō*, the law system of the court nobility applied in its own sphere also continued to exist. In addition, other social groups may have had their own set of rules and laws. For example, the law of villages (*sonpō* 村法), the law of cities (*chōhō* 町法), the law of Buddhist temples (*jihō* 寺法) or the law of guilds (*zahō* 座法) (Hiramatsu 1976: 333–334). In addition to written law, customary law also played an important role, and precedents were of particular importance. It was not uncommon for the laws under which the people were judged to be secret from the people. For example, the *Kujikata osadamegaki*, a collection of laws and precedents compiled in the second half of the Edo period, was written for the bushi officials in charge of adjudication and was not supposed to be read by the common people (Deguchi et al. 2018: 272–274). In practice, however, many copies were made and circulated among the common people.

The subject of my research is the laws and collections of laws issued by the central government, and the decrees issued by the shogunate, so I will discuss these legal texts in the following, but it should be pointed out that there are many collections of decrees issued by local *daimyō* in each *han*, which are worthy of research, and which are also studied by historians and experts on the history of a region or county in Japan. Oriental studies outside Japan could also benefit from the translation and analysis of certain collections of *han* laws, but since we do not yet have a translation or analysis of the most important source texts of the central government, it is worth starting with this.

Edo period laws and regulations can be classified into different types based on their form and personal scope (Hiramatsu 1976: 334–339). The most important and influential basic laws are called *hatto* 法度. Examples include the *Buke shohatto* – discussed in detail in section three on translation difficulties – which clarifies the basic relations between the shogunate and the *bushi* families (in fact, the *daimyō*); or the *Kinchū narabini kuge shohatto* 禁中並公家諸法度, which laid the foundations for the system of relations between the imperial court, the court nobility and the bakufu. The *jōmoku* 条目 was a basic law similarly to the *hatto*, which contained the laws in bullet points. Not only researchers but also fans of Japanese historical films often come across *kōsatsu* 高札, which are laws placed on a high pedestal on wooden boards in important places such as major hubs, harbours, markets, etc. Rules were posted on *kōsatsu* which were considered necessary for everyone to know. A very similar category is the type of ordinance known as *fure* 触 and *tasshi* 達. Both are specific decrees issued by the shogunate on an as-needed basis; the former could be used to address a wide range of persons, while the latter only concerned a specific individual (Kasaya 1994: 137–139).

3. Edo period *bakufuhō* and translation difficulties

In this section, I would like to use a few examples to illustrate the translation difficulties we encounter in translating legal texts from the Edo period.

As the first step in my doctoral research, I am focusing on *Buke shohatto*, the first major legal historical source text of the Edo period, and its versions published in different periods. The first *Buke shohatto*, the title of which could be translated as 'Miscellaneous Laws for Samurai Families', was issued in 1615 by the second Tokugawa shōgun Hidetada. Buddhist monk Konchiin Suuden 金地院崇伝 was responsible for the drafting of the text, and he was also the one who read the completed laws to the *daimyō* gathered before the shōgun at Fushimi Castle (Hiramatsu 1976: 335–336). This collection of laws can also be seen as the basic law of the Edo period *bakuhan* system 幕藩体制 (the state organization based on the relationship between the shogunate and the *han*): it spells out the duties of the samurai, *daimyō*. Later, it was issued again and again when a new shōgun took over the bakufu (Ogura 2014: 179), so in the course of this research, I will also examine how the language and content of the laws changed over the decades and centuries. Let us look at the differences between the first *Buke shohatto* of 1615 and a later version, issued in 1710. Here you can read the first article of the 1615 *Buke shohatto*:

一、文武弓馬之道、専可相嗜事、
左文右武、古之法也、不可不兼備矣、弓馬是武要樞也、號兵爲凶器、不得已而用之、治不忘亂、何不勵修錬乎、

Devote your lives to the sciences, martial arts, archery and horse riding alone.
To hold science in our left hand and martial arts in our right thus says the ancient laws. We must possess both at the same time. And archery and riding are the most important skills of the samurai. Weapons are called dangerous tools and are used only as a last resort. In peacetime, let us not forget fighting. So why not throw ourselves into practice? (Ishii (ed.) 1959: 61–62)

As can be seen from the above, the *Buke shohatto* of 1615, consisting of thirteen articles, is still written in classical Chinese, and there are no *kana* characters in the text. It is true to say that the text contains vague wording and references to older texts, such as Chinese classics or Japanese laws of earlier periods. Asao Naohiro points out that the phrase 'the ancient laws' (古之法) in the above text is one such reference: the phrase "take martial arts in your right hand and science in your left" is found in the *Jinnō Shōtōki* 神皇正統記, a work on Japanese history written in 1339 by Kitabatake Chikafusa, a Japanese court noble and writer who was also an advisor of several emperors (Fujii 1992: 72). In other parts of the text, we also find passages that are taken verbatim from the Muromachi era collection of laws, the *Kenmu shikimoku* 建武式目, but also expressions that are taken from the Six Secret Teachings 六韜 or the I Ching 易経 and Shijing 詩経. Finding all these references and translating them accurately into the language is a difficult task in translation.

In addition to quotations and references, the work is made more difficult by the appearance in the text of contemporary expressions and units of measurement, as well as realities and culture-specific expressions that cannot be expressed in the target language by an exact equivalent. As an example, consider the tenth point of the 1615 *Buke shohatto*:

一衣裳之科不可混雜事、
君臣上下可爲各別、白綾、白小袖、紫袷、紫裏、練、無紋之小袖、無御免衆猥不可有着用、近代郎從諸卒、綾羅錦繡等之飾服、非古法、甚制焉、

It is forbidden to mix the types of clothing.
The ruler and subjects must be separated according to subordination. White aya, white kosode, purple awase, purple ura, neri, kosode without coats of arms shall not be worn by the people arbitrarily without permission. The wearing of ornately embroidered silk cloth by middle and low-ranking bushi today is not mentioned in the ancient laws. It is extremely forbidden. (Ishii (ed). 1959: 61–62)

The text lists a large number of Japanese clothing items for which there is no equivalent in European languages. In this way, we can footnote the details of the garments covered by the text. The philological analysis of these texts is also important in this respect, as the copious annotation will help to make the text more comprehensible to those less familiar with Edo period history or Japanese culture.

Let us now compare the 1615 *Buke shohatto* with the version published in 1710, when Tokugawa Ienobu 徳川家宣 became shōgun:

> 一、文武之道を修め、人倫を明かにし、風俗を正しくすへき事、
>
> *Master the ways of science and martial arts, be aware of human morals, and behave according to the right morals and customs.* (Ishii (ed.) 1959: 67)

As can be seen above, instead of being written in classical Chinese, this *Buke shohatto* is now written in Japanese grammar, the text contains *kana* characters, and the order of the sentence parts follows Japanese sentence structure principles. All this is the influence of the Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石, who was the creator of this version so that Confucian doctrines are given even greater prominence in the text. The 1710 text abounds in lengthy interpretations and explanatory texts, not as concise as the first *Buke shohatto* versions. References to precedents and earlier laws remain important. For example, this collection of laws consists of 17 articles, similar to the ancient 17-article constitution of Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子. In my extended research, I will similarly seek to examine the linguistic, stylistic and content differences between the different versions of the text.

I would also like to shed light on some translation difficulties in the case of another typical type of law text. This type of decree is the *fure*, also known as *ofure*, *ofuregaki*, already introduced in section two.

These individual decrees issued by the bakufu were summarized by period, resulting in the *Ofuregaki Kanpō / Hōreki / Tenmei / Tenpō Shūsei* 御触書寛保・宝暦・天明・天保集成, which collects the decrees issued in the above periods respectively. In the 20th century, researchers led by legal scholar and legal historian Ishii Ryōsuke 石井良助 transcribed these decrees into a printed script and published them in several volumes, so that they are still available to researchers. For an example, let us see *Ofuregaki Kanpō Shūsei*'s Decree No. 1113 on morality, issued in the 8th month of the 2nd year of Tenna 天和.

覚
支配之者之内ニも作法風俗不宜者も有之、其上奢候様ニ兼々被為　聞召候、万事慎候様可申付之、向後不宜者有之ハ、品により支配方迄急度申達之、又は前々之通、自分仕置ニも可申付之、かはひ置候ハヽ、面々越度ニ可被　思召者也、

八月

Decree
We are told that among the subjects there are those who do not observe customs and moral rules, and who, moreover, have long led a life of luxury. We order them to refrain from all these deeds. In the future, such misbehaviour should be reported to your superior and, as before, the daimyō may judge the case on his own authority. Failure to do so is also a criminal offence.

Month 8

(Ishii–Takayanagi (ed.) 1989: 579–580.)

These *fure*s are characterised using the official written language style of the time, the *sōrōbun* style, and by the frequent repetition of well-established, common phrases. It was a unique text style of the Edo period, with passages that included the grammatical features of the classical Chinese text and passages that were to be read according to the Japanese grammatical order. As with the *hatto* presented earlier, there are frequent ambiguities and, of course, the use of contemporary expressions can also make translation difficult. The character 覚 is often used as a kind of title at the beginning of the regulations, and its translation is also a puzzle for the researcher.

Although the above-quoted decree does not mention such a thing, we cannot ignore the problem of the names of people or place names that appear in the decrees of the time. The decrees often indicate the specific addressee or addressees, so it is not uncommon to find tens of names of individuals or of offices of the period one after the other. This certainly creates a dilemma in translation, since the names of persons or places may not be of any additional information value to the layman, but they can be an important reference point for researchers on certain subjects. From this point of view, it may also be essential to annotate such proper names, real names, etc., and to provide, in addition to the translation of the text, explanations of the context of the period.

4. Summary

This paper has provided an insight into my research plans for the translation and analysis of Japanese legal texts from the Edo period, the characteristics of Edo period law, and some of the translation problems that researchers in this field have to deal with. For example, the contemporary style of the various texts and the difficulties of translating the realia in the texts were briefly discussed. As we have seen, Edo period shogunate laws and decrees, and Edo period Japanese law, are little researched areas outside Japan, and therefore a thorough exploration of the legal history of this period and the world of shogunate decrees could be of great importance for Japanese scholars. The translation and analysis of these source texts should, however, be done in such a way that they can be easily understood and enjoyed not only by experts but also by laypeople interested in Japanese history.

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MOTHER GHOST SEEKING SALVATION: REDISCOVERING *UBUME* AND *KOSODATE-YŪREI* IN EARLY MODERN JAPANESE *KAIDAN-SHŪ*

Biyue KONG[1]

Abstract: *In this paper, I examine the cultural representation of ubume and kosodate-yūrei in early modern Japan. Specifically, I explore how intellectuals, writers, and artists understood and portrayed this group of mother ghosts whose characteristics were most evident in their death related to child delivery and in an afterlife in which they longed to raise their children. Female ghosts of this sort differed greatly from the ghost heroines depicted in contemporary Japanese horror films and even from Kabuki representations of dead women. They were closely associated with beliefs, taboos, and ritual practices around blood, childbirth, and death. By analyzing a selection of short ubume and kosodate-yūrei-related stories as well as accompanying illustrations, which were produced in late seventeenth-century kaidan-shū but have remained untranslated into English, I hope to provide my own interpretation of "mother ghosts" and contribute to the comprehensive study of yōkai in and outside of Japan.*

Keywords: *ubume, kosodate-yūrei*, *yōkai*, supernatural cultural production, premodern Japan

Introduction

Yōkai has today become ubiquitous in manga, anime, fiction, film, and other popular media forms; however, it is by no means a cultural production of contemporary society but rather a "communal intellectual property" (Foster 2015: 44) shared by all Japanese people since time immemorial.

In this paper, I examine the cultural representation of a subcategory of *yōkai*, the *yūrei* -or "ghosts"- in early modern Japanese narrative, visual and performative art. Specifically, I explore how intellectuals, writers, and artists understood and portrayed a group of mother ghosts whose characteristics were most evident in their death related to child delivery and in an afterlife in which they longed to raise their children, the former usually called *ubume* うぶめ and the latter *kosodate-yūrei* 子育て

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幽霊.Female ghosts of this sort differed greatly from the ghost heroines depicted in contemporary Japanese horror films and even from Kabuki representations of dead women. They were closely associated with beliefs, taboos, and ritual practices around blood, childbirth, and death. By analyzing a selection of short *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei*-related stories as well as accompanying illustrations, which were produced in late seventeenth-century *kaidan-shū* (collections of strange tales) but have remained untranslated into English, I hope to provide my own interpretation of these "mother ghosts" and contribute to the comprehensive study of *yōkai* in and outside of Japan.

Over the last several decades in Japan and in the English language scholarship, we have already observed a significant increase in the number of scholars researching *ubume*. Some of these scholars have observed a recurring pattern in the illustrations of *ubume*. Kiba Takatoshi (2010), for instance, noted that *ubume* of the seventeenth century were frequently depicted without their baby, merely wrapped in a white, blood-stained cloth from the waist down. Death was symbolized by white, and birth was symbolized by blood (269–270). Moreover, Yasui Manami recently analyzed the representation of *ubume* in *yōkai* illustrations created by *ukiyo-e* painters in the late eighteenth century. While visual motifs such as long black hair, women standing by a river, holding a baby, and a special ritual ceremony known as *nagare kanjō* 流れ灌頂[2] to be performed after mothers' death in child delivery are common, Yasui maintains that not all these features were employed in the illustrations. In most cases, artists chose "a mother holding a baby" as the essential element to portray *ubume*. Others preferred a hybrid representation of *ubume* as half-bird, half-woman, which originated from Chinese legends (2020: 105–107). Shimazaki Satoko noted in her insightful examination of Tsuruya Nanboku's Kabuki plays (1755–1829) that *ubume* as a bird is frequently referred to in early modern natural-science dictionaries and in the personal journals of Japanese literati who had extensive access to Chinese texts, where the bird imagery was intended to inspire viewing the *ubume* as a rather aggressive and harmful ghost. Coincidentally, this imported aspect of *ubume* imagery eventually fused with indigenous folk conceptions of *ubume* as the ghost of a woman who died in childbirth that the Chinese characters for the bird (ch. *guhuoniao* 姑獲鳥) acquired the Japanese reading *ubume*. Then, toward the end of the early modern period, the concept of *ubume* as a bird became increasingly popular in both theatre and fiction. As demonstrated in Tsuruya Nanboku's ghost

[2] A special ceremony to ensure that the dead woman could become Buddha in her afterlife. Typically, a small piece of red cloth stretched out between four waist-high poles driven into the ground, and passers-by pour water over the cloth until the red colour fades.

plays, *ubume*'s dual identity as the grieving mother's spirit and as a bird creates an ideal visual fusion (2016: 210).

On the other hand, *ubume* images have been discussed in relation to beliefs and burial customs associated with women's death in childbirth. Women who died during late pregnancy or childbirth were believed to remain in the living world after death as *ubume*, unless the foetus was ritually separated from them (Yamaguchi 1953; Itabashi 2000; Yasui 2003a; Yasui 2003b; Williams 2008; Glassman 2009). Several analyses, including those by Michiko Iwasaka, Bare Toelken (1994), and Hank Glassman (2009), have examined *kosodate-yūrei* in comparison to *ubume* legends. Iwasaka and Toelken note that in some of these tales, it is the foetus that is feared, not the mother ghost (1994: 65–66), while Glassman addresses the significance of looking into the theme of parental attachment to a child in the representation of these mother ghosts (2009: 195–196).

This paper is informed by the extensive preliminary research on the topic, but it also makes an ambitious attempt to address the following questions. Firstly, how can we understand the *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* phenomenon? By digging through historical records relating to *ubume, kosodate-yūrei*, and *yōkai* from the late seventeenth century to nineteenth century, I explore how premodern Japanese people interpreted *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* in *kaidan* collections. Following that, I provide my own definition. Secondly, I ask what we can learn from *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* legends or folktales. Here I draw special attention to the motifs of blood and water that were frequently used to portray these mother ghosts. I argue that both blood and water imagery were embraced as mediums associated with Japanese Buddhism, implying religious beliefs and taboos regarding women's late pregnancy or death during childbirth. The third question asks why mother ghosts are significant. By reading tales that feature *ubume*'s images that problematize customary imagination, I contest the motif of women's salvation as mothers, or, more precisely, the fulfilment of maternal love for their children, as the fundamental element of depicting a mother ghost. I believe that the depiction of *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* reflects women's status in society to a considerable extent. It is also a product of premodern Japan's imagined femininity "circumscribed by a masculine voice" (Griswold 1995: 60).

Defining *Ubume* and *Kosodate-yūrei*

Kosodate-yūrei is found in many parts of Japan. Legends tell of a mysterious woman who appears night after night to buy candy from a particular shop. One night the suspicious shopkeeper follows her, only for her to disappear into a graveyard. After that, the shopkeeper hears a baby crying from somewhere. A grave is dug up and people find the corpse of a recently buried woman who had died during pregnancy. By her side in the grave is a live, healthy baby. In many of the legends, the baby grows up to be a prominent monk (Murakami 2000: 159–160). The candy *kosodate-yūrei* bought for her child is accordingly named "*yūrei ame" (*ghost sweet). In other tellings, this candy is replaced by food such as rice cake.

For example, in a collection of *kaidan* entitled *Kii zōdan-shū* 奇異雑談集 (*Collection of miscellaneous strange tales*, ca. 1650s), a male protagonist named Kukua Shōnin is stationed in Ise when word comes that his pregnant wife has died en route to the capital. While he is unable to return home for the funeral due to official duties, feeling that he must do something to ensure her salvation, he gives three coins to a local outcast beggar every day. When he visits her grave for the first time, he stops at a nearby tea shop, where the owner tells him of a ghostly woman who comes every day to buy rice cakes with three coins. Later, as Kokua approaches the grave, he hears a baby crying inside it and digs it out. Although his wife's body has severely deteriorated, the little baby appears to be in good health. He gives the baby to the tea shop owner to adopt and retreats from the world. This narrative mostly follows the typical pattern of *kosodate-yūrei*, but it is the female ghost's husband who eventually becomes a Buddhist priest. More interestingly, the collector of this *kaidan-shū* concluded that "without the money given to those beggars, no doubt the spirit of that dead woman would transform into a *ubume*" **(Figure 1).**[3]

Figure 1. *Ubume* illustrated in "Kukua Shōnin hosshin yurai no koto", *Kii zōdan-shū*, vol.4, 1687. Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works. https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100105107/viewer/83 (eighty third frame).

[3] もし毎日三銭ほどこす事なくば。姑獲となるべきものなり。See *Kii zōdan-shū*. Vol.4, in *Kinsei kaii shōsetsu*, 89–90. Most of the tales analyzed in this paper have not been translated and introduced by the English-language scholarship. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

Glassman suggests that the money *kosodate-yūrei* used to buy food for the baby is the money buried with them to cover the necessary expenses of being ferried across the Sanzu River (*Sanzu no kawa*) (Glassman 2009: 193–194). According to Buddhist doctrines, the Sanzu River must be crossed on the path to the afterlife, which implies that deceased mothers cannot attain salvation unless their child is discovered and raised by living people. Only by doing this could they eventually reach the other shore of eternal rest using the money from their coffin.

As a matter of fact, in *Kii zōdan-shū*, the term *ubume* was written in Japanese kanji characters 姑獲, in addition to 産女. The former specifically related to the image of an evil bird that initially derived from Chinese *guhuoniao* legends. The author further writes that a *kokaku* bird has such a passionate longing for maternity that it would steal another woman's child and rear it itself.[4] Another reference to *ubume* as a hybrid image of a bird and a pregnant woman appears in Yamaoka Genrin's (1631–1672) *Kokon hyaku monogatari hyōban* 古今百物語評判 (*The critiques of one hundred supernatural tales from the past to the present*, 1686). The story begins with a disciple seeking advice on *ubume* from his teacher, who responds with a Neo-Confucian interpretation:

> In China, the *ubume* is called *guhuoniao* or *yexing younü* [Jp. *yakō yūjo* 夜行遊女; literally, "night-wandering woman"]. The Record of Mysterious Creatures (*Xuan Zhong Ji* 玄中记) says that this bird is a type of evil deity. When it puts on feathers, it turns into a bird; when it takes off the feathers, it turns into a woman. This is what happens after the death of women in childbirth. For this reason, this bird has breasts and takes pleasure in snatching people's children and making them its own……Originally this creature must have emerged spontaneously from the corpse of a pregnant woman, and then later others of the same sort were born. Since it originated from the *qi* [energy] of the pregnant woman, it acts on that nature.[5]

Genrin continues to explain that "all things that come into being between heaven and earth originate from the *qi* (energy), and take shape where the *qi* stagnates… When the *qi* becomes stagnant, it may take on a

[4] 唐に姑獲といふは。日本の産女なり。姑獲は鳥なり。(中略)いふ心は産婦死して変化してこれになる。よく人の子をとつてもつて己が子とす。See *Kii zōdan-shū*. Vol.4, in *Kinsei kaii shōsetsu*, 87.

[5] まづうぶめと申すは、もろこしにも姑獲鳥又は夜行遊女など云へり。玄中記には此鳥鬼神の類なり。毛を着て飛鳥となり、毛をぬぎて女人となれり。是れ産婦の死して後なる所なり。此故にふたつの乳あり。このみて人の子をとりて、己が子となせり。（中略）其はじめ産婦の死せしからだより、此ものふと生じて、後には其類を以て生ずるなるべし。もと生ずる所の気、産婦なれば鳥となりても、其わざをなせるにこと侍れ。See Yamaoka Genrin, *Kokon hyaku monogatari hyōban*. Vol.2, in *Zoku hyaku monogatari kaidan shūsei*, 32. The English translation here is provided by Shimazaki 2016: 208.

form or a voice which is what is called a ghost.”[6] Additionally, while the text emphasizes *ubume*'s association with birds, the accompanying illustration depicts her as a tearful woman with long black hair, wrapped in white cloth, barefoot, and walking with a stick. Notably, her lower body is covered in blood **(Figure 2)**. As mentioned at the beginning of this tale, “stories have been told that when a woman dies during pregnancy, her attachment 執心 [*shūshin*] takes the form of this ghost [*the ubume*]. Typically, her lower body is drenched in blood”, referring to the blood during miscarriage or stillbirth and suggesting that she is suffering in the Blood Pool Hell, a destination for women on account of the pollution of menstrual blood and the blood of childbirth (Yasui 2020: 95).

Figure 2. *Ubume* illustrated in “Ubume no koto tsuki yūrei no koto”, *Kokon hyaku monogatari hyōban. Vol.2*, 1686. Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works. https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100239199/viewer/44 (forty fourth frame).

Artists from the later period, such as Sawaki Sūshi (1707–1772) and Toriyama Sekien (1712–1788), also emphasized the effects of blood imagery in their depictions of *ubume*. It is well worth noting that in

[6] 天地の間に生ずる物はみな気よりおこれり、気のとどこほるによつて形を生ず。（中略）されば其気のとどこほりて、或は形をなし、又は声を生ずる物を幽霊といふなれと。See Yamaoka Genrin, *Kokon hyaku monogatari hyōban*. Vol.2, in *Zoku hyaku monogatari kaidan shūsei*, 33.

Gazu hyakki yagyō (*An illustrated catalogue of the Demon's Night Parade*, 1776), Sekien represented *ubume* as a hybrid creature with bird's wings as well as a woman's breasts. Moreover, he applied the kanji characters 姑獲鳥 next to the Japanese hiragana characters うぶめ **(Figure 3).** However, as Yasui points out in her exploration of the differences between Chinese *guhuoniao* and Japanese *ubume* images, no artist represented *ubume* exclusively as a bird; rather, they favored hybrid imagery (2020:107). Japanese people thus rediscovered *ubume* as a woman rather than a bird due to the established belief that *ubume* manifested in a feminine form as well as burial rituals regarding death.

Figure 3. *Ubume* illustrated by Toriyama Sekien, *Gazu hyakki yagyō*, 1776. Database of Pre-Modern Japanese Works. https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100275261/viewer/22 (twenty second frame).

Although it seems impossible to precisely define *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei,* I generally agree with cultural anthropologist Komatsu Kazuhiko's classification that *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* could both be forms of the *yūrei*, and accordingly as subcategories of the *yōkai* in a broader historical context. Komatsu also considers *kosodate-yūrei* to be a peripheral *yōkai* until being renamed *ubume*. This is attributed to his understanding that *yūrei* has a distinctive personal history, i.e., it had a name and appearance that could be easily recognized. Otherwise, the dead sprit would wonder around the margins between generic *yōkai* and *yūrei* (Komatsu et al. 2017: 139–140). Komatsu's theory is relatively advanced compared with those of his predecessors, who viewed the *kosodate-yūrei* and the *ubume* within the customary framework of *yūrei* without looking at their basic individualities.[7] Komatsu is well aware that it was the numerously produced texts and visual arts in early modern Japan that made *yūrei* more visible and distinctive than other supernatural creatures. He offers an alternative approach to examining the group of *yūrei* in the broader concept of *yōkai,* but it remains significant to perceive the image of *yūrei* through representations in cultural production.

Moreover, a conspicuous bias towards examining the images of *ubume* could be seen, owing to the fact that *kosodate-yūrei* more frequently appear in oral folktales in a typical form that is basically unchanging. Meanwhile, depictions of *ubume* as deeply repressed ghosts in various forms, especially in the late Tokugawa period, became compelling to their audiences. This difference is, in fact, caused by the aforementioned individual history of the ghost that Komatsu assumes, and the manifestation of a female ghost is accordingly a reflection of a woman's personal identity that she had before her death. As a result, the portrayal of *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* represents a process of integration, in which in addition to maternity, the female ghosts have been endowed with unique characteristics. *Kosodate-yūrei* was increasingly rediscovered as *ubume* and ultimately became part of the *ubume* that we are familiar with today. In this case, I argue that *kosodate-yūrei* should be classified as a subcategory of *ubume*. While in this paper I prefer to use another term to refer to both as an entirety—the "mother ghost", at the same time, it might be more appropriate to individually investigate their representations in cultural production with their slightly distinguished traits in mind.

Death in "Reality" and rebirth in "Legends"

A woman's death during childbirth was not uncommon in premodern Japan. The mother's energy is depleted along with the loss of blood, which might result in death after birth or death while the child is still unborn. There was a widespread belief in Tokugawa society that if a pregnant woman died with a baby inside her body, she would try to give birth in the grave or return to the living world as *ubume*. Thus, medical doctors and Buddhist monks were to undertake a practice called *mi-*

[7] For more discussions on the definitions of *yōkai* and *yūrei*, see Inoue Enryō 1893, Ema Tsutomu 1923, Yanagita Kunio 1956, Ikeda Yasaburō 1962, Suwa Haruo 1988. For a comprehensive investigation on folklore belief in the supernatural and the roles it played in the constitution of Meiji Japanese modernity, see Gerald Figal 1999.

futatsu (separating the foetus from the mother) in order to prevent the deceased woman from transforming into such an uncanny vengeful ghost (Yasui 2003a:486-501; Yasui 2003b: 102-114; Jōo 2011: 122-131). In some *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* tales, a wooden stupa revealing the dead woman's name and birthday would also be established as a memorial service to calm her spirit, which is a ritual that has been borrowed to indicate the manifestation of mother ghost.

Fumiko Jōo also notes that the Buddhist clergy exploited people's concerns about dead mothers to propagate their faith to public audiences by appealing to *kosodate-yūrei* and *ubume* tales (Jōo 2011: 122). While elements of Buddhist teachings pervade a number of strange tales in early modern Japan, as Reider observes, we can discern a noticeable shift toward secularization in the artistic and literary depiction of the supernatural in the *kaidan-shū* of the Tokugawa period. The fundamental focus of the authors' works and readers' concerns is the strange or uncommon phenomena that is interwoven throughout the tale (2001: 82). For example, a *kosodate-yūrei* tale found in *kaidan-shū* entitled *Inga monogatari* (The tales of retribution, 1661) whose authorship is attributed to the Buddhist monk Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655), depicts a woman who leaves Kyoto to follow her husband to live together in Mogami Province and later gives birth to a child. However, when the husband returns to Kyoto, his wife's hometown, he is told by his wife's parents that their daughter died three years earlier:

> The husband insists that it is true that his wife is alive. However, his wife's parents consider this to be highly suspicious because they remember when their daughter was cremated, her ashes were buried in a grave, and a stupa was built to commemorate her death. While the neighbors do not believe that either, the man is convinced. The father eventually decides to visit the Mogami province to find out what had really happened. When the two men just about to enter the husband's house in Mogami, they hear the cry of a child from the inside.[8]

Upon entering, the father sees a baby sucking milk from the stupa he established for his dead daughter in Kyoto. Based on the "name, year, and date on the stupa," he confirms that the baby is in fact his grandson **(Figure 4).**

[8] 少もいつはりならずと、慥に堅く申ければ、父母聞て、これはまことにあやしき事かな。娘は何々の何時死て、火葬にして骨をとり、墓をつき、卒都婆をたてて弔ける事、実正也。隣あたりの人々もより合、まさしく死たる娘を最上へ行たるとは、うたがはしき事をも申さるゝといへども、男も慥にいひければ、さらば父、最上へくだりてみんとて、商人と打つれ最上へ着しかば、かのあき人の家に入てきけば、部屋の内に子の啼声聞えけり。See *Inga monogatari*. Vol.1 in *Asai Ryōi zenshū*, 32.

This tale essentially follows the pattern of *kosodate-yūrei* stories in which a female ghost remains in this world out of deep attachment to her husband and child; *yūrei-ame* is replaced by breast milk. Nevertheless, it is distinctively different from the story previously discussed in two ways. First, we note an absence of the dead woman's physical body because she "was cremated and her ashes were buried in a grave." In scholar Suwa Haruo's accounts, the adoption and wide spread of cremation in early modern Japan accelerated the emergence of the *yūrei* image. Previously, it was believed that the human's body and spirit would be separated through the custom of earth burial, with the spirit heading to another world. Cremation, by contrast, made it possible for the dead's body to disappear along with their spirit (Suwa 1988: 76). Therefore, in the customary *kosodate-yūrei* legends, the bodies of the deceased mother and her baby are destined to be found by living humans upon opening the buried coffin, and the spirit is only active in limited spaces. However, in this tale, rather than a coffin, a wooden stupa is set up in replacement for the vanished female body and spirit; it is the dead wife's stupa other than her spirit which transforms into a ghost with her human shape that travels far away from Kyoto to Mogami to live with the husband. Therefore, this ghost returns to its original shape upon discovered by human beings.

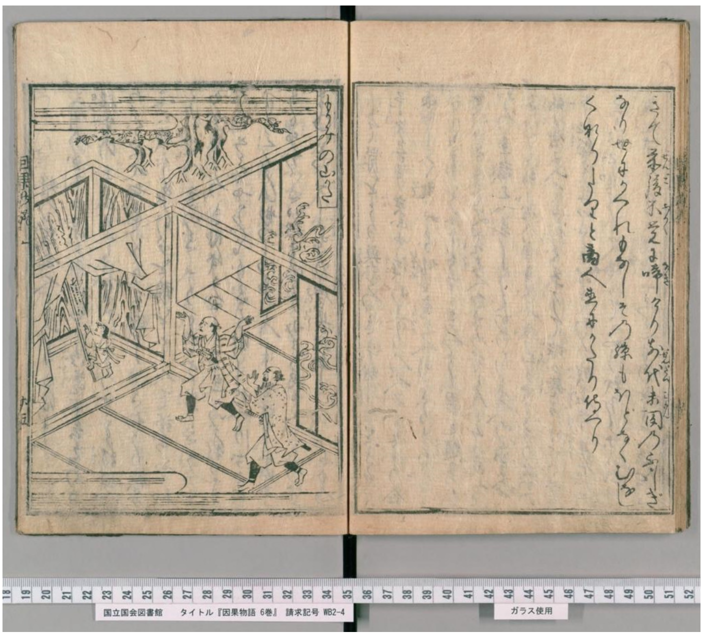

Figure 4. *Kosodate-yūrei* illustrated by Nakagawa Kiun in *Inga monogatari*. Vol.1, 1661. National Diet Library Digital Collection. https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2546074?tocOpened=1 (twenty second frame).

Second, the story's ending shows that the ghost's baby does not eventually become a Buddhist priest because "after the mother ghost vanishes, the baby soon after dies." In fact, *Inga monogatari* has two versions, one written in hiragana syllabary with illustrations, which is used in this paper, and the other in katakana syllabary without pictures. The hiragana version was published sometime after Shōsan's death and was received as entertainment, as opposed to Shōsan's original intention to "lead people to religious awakening and to record the manifest concept of cause and effect." (Reider 2001: 85; Asai 2013: 21) The author of the hiragana version, supposed to be Asai Ryōi (d. 1691), is also a Buddhist priest-writer who was later renowned for his *kanazōshi*-collection called *Otogibōko* (*Funeral Figurines*, 1666) [9]. We see frequently in the hiragana version of the tale 母の卒都婆わが子に乳をのませし事 [The tale of a mother's stupa breastfeeding her child] that adjectives such as *ayashiki* あやしき (suspicious), *utagahashiki* うたがはしき (doubtful), and *fushigi* ふしぎ(astonishing), implying a feeling of distrust toward the irrational or supernatural phenomenon. Thus, the narrator emphasizes the dramatic effects of the tale's strangeness, which makes the ending of the tale even more impressive by giving form to the distrust expected in the audience (Tsuneyoshi 1987: 35). In this case, the mother ghost, who was widely perceived as a threat to human society by showing a maternal attachment to her child, has become a source of entertainment through human agency in the early modern fantasy world.

Women's salvation as community concerns

The problem of death in childbirth was never simply a physical issue. Compared to physical aspects, psychological or spiritual ramifications of such a death are pregnant women's primary concerns. According to the contemporary understandings of *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* as discussed above, it is ultimately not the woman's physical body that transforms into a ghost, but rather her painful psychological state at the moment of death (Glassman 2009: 193). It is possible that such mental anxieties are rooted in a belief that women will be punished in the Blood Pool Hell for the blood they shed during menstruation and childbirth. Nevertheless, it should be noted that it was the circulation of *Ketsubonkyō* (Blood-bowl Sutra) among people since the fifteenth century that further emphasized the association between punishment in hell and the pollution caused by death in childbirth (Glassman 2009: 180; Yasui 2020: 95).

[9] For an English translation, see Dykstra 2014.

The *Ketsubonkyō* is a sutra initially composed in China around the late twelfth century and circulated around medieval Japan in different interpreted versions since its adoption. The Chinese version tells the story of a Buddhist disciple named Mokuren who descended to hell to save his mother; however, we find in the Japanese telling that Mokuren's mother is submerged in a blood pool, where a multitude of women are punished by hell wardens because the blood produced by their bodies spills on the ground and offends the earth gods or ends up in rivers from which the water is used to make tea for holy men. Some versions of *Ketsubonkyō* address the offending effluvium as birth blood exclusively, while others include the menstrual blood. However, death in childbirth is the primary cause of suffering in this hell (Glassman 2009: 176–177). A woman who dies in childbirth falls into a pool of blood in the afterlife because she is covered in blood and in a state of 穢れ *kegare* (pollution or defilement). Consequently, ghosts of dead pregnant mothers were usually depicted as creatures covered in blood who attempted to escape from this hell in order to 成仏 *jōbutsu*, literally means "become a Buddha", which is to achieve their own salvation in oral legends.

The belief of connection between punishment in hell and death in childbirth had developed into a well-articulated system of mythology and ritual practice by the fifteenth century. To save women from the next world, *Ketsubonkyō* was initially copied, recited, and offered by their relatives (Glassman 2009: 180). As we shall see in the next few stories, the salvation of these dead mothers was not only a family issue, but also a community concern.

A story addressing such communal concern over *ubume* was collected in *Tonoiugusa* 宿直草(1677). In this tale, a low-status woman dies with her unborn child inside her body, and later transforms into an *ubume*. Dwellers in the woman's village are so frightened that they tightly shut their doors and pull down their curtains. The *ubume* makes such intolerable cries each night that her former husband could barely sleep. One night, the man is so irritated that he ties the woman's spirit to the pillar of his room with a string and goes back to sleep. The next morning, he finds only the string stained with blood. When he is just about to ignore the *ubume*, she comes back again, and follows him wherever he goes. Even paying someone to chant Buddhist sutras cannot keep the *ubume* away. The husband then listens to someone's advice, and finally keeps the *ubume* away by hanging his belt on the window. The *ubume* vanishes, so does the husband's belt. [10] In this story, conflicts can be seen between the dead spirit and living humans. The

[10] "ubume no koto," Ogita Ansei, *Tonoigusa*. Vol.5, in *Kinsei kidan shūsei,* 308-309.

Buddhist sutra chanted here is supposed to be *Ketsubonkyō*. Religious power is borrowed, however, as it is essentially human beings who can defeat the resentful *ubume*. The great influences of Buddhist instruction cannot be ignored, and, as time passed, Yasui concludes that the figure of the maternal ghost seems to transform from being a symbol of sympathy to being primarily a locus for expressing people's fearfulness (2003b). Yasui's research is of considerable value in examining the relationship between the foetus removal ritual and the representation of maternal ghosts. Nevertheless, it is also important to recognize that the distinctions in the depiction of maternal ghosts is to some extent caused by the differences in literary genres. Especially in texts for performing arts, religious power is moderated; inversely, the utilization of female ghosts for individual expression stands out.

Water is another significant icon in manifesting mother ghosts. On the one hand, it functions as part of the religious rituals for pacification. Women who died in childbirth were invariably bound for the Blood Pool Hell, and a special ceremony known as *nagare kanjō* 流れ灌頂 [flowing anointment] was required of the living to ensure that the dead woman could be saved and, more specifically, become Buddha (Kitashima 1983: 239–260; Kunimoto 1983: 339–341; Tanaka 1997: 119; Shinmura 1996: 149–150). The *nagare kanjō* was very common throughout Japan during the late Tokugawa and Meiji periods and marks the culmination of belief in post-mortem punishment in the Blood Pool Hell. This ceremony was most frequently performed by suspending a cloth from two or four poles above a river or along a roadside. This cloth was dyed red (in some cases it was an actual piece of blood-stained clothing or bedding from the birth itself), and usually a portion of a sutra was written upon it. Passers-by sprayed water on this cloth, praying for the dead woman's welfare, until the red colour faded to white. Thus, the community would make the appeasement of a woman's miserable spirit a joint endeavour. In this way, death in childbirth posed a concern that extended beyond the woman in question and her immediate family. It eventually became a public problem (Glassman 2009: 185–186).

Although the ritual of *nagare kanjō* was not especially applied in the *kaidan* stories discussed in this study, there is a well-known scene in an early-nineteenth-century Kabuki play *Tokaido Yotsuya kaidan* (Tokaido Ghost Stories at Yotsuya, 1825) in which the protagonist Oiwa suddenly appears as an *ubume* rising from the cloth used for *nagare kanjō*: "Oiwa's ghost suddenly appears, holding a child in her arms. She is dressed in white, her hair is a mess, and she is completely covered in blood from the waist down."[11] In this case, the female ghost, which is supposed to be pacified under the religious power of water, rising to rebel against it in a steadfast stance perfectly demonstrates the triumph of female power.

On the other hand, water is an essential element in narrating the supernatural. The combination of water, woman, and death as a codified pattern in the literary world has a long history (Inouye 1991: 45). Yanagita Kunio notes that in some remote areas, there is a spirit of a dead woman appearing on the sand shores near the sea, with a baby in her arms. Local people call her *Iso-onna* (ghost on a sand beach), which is probably a subclass of *ubume* (Yanagita 1962: 304). Miyata further addresses this issue based on Yanagita's theory, and suggests that water acts as a boundary between this world and "that world", supported by the fact that *Iso-onna*'s activities are limited to spheres such as the edge of the ocean, i.e., neither the land nor the ocean (Miyata 2006: 168). This notion of relating *ubume*'s image to water has been adopted by ukiyo-e artist Sawaki Sūshi (1707–1772) in *Hyakkai zukan* (Encyclopedia of one hundred mysteries, 1737). This picture scroll depicts thirty *yōkai* in vivid colour with its name or title respectively, which attributes to each a rich individuality (Yasui 2020: 95–97). In *Hyakkai*

Figures 5 & 6. *Ubume* (above) and *nure-onna* (bottom) painted by Sawaki Sūshi, *Hyakkai-Zukan,* 1737. Fukuoka City Museum.

[11] 布の中よりお岩の亡霊、産女のこしらへ、白装束、亂れ髪、腰より下は血に染みし姿、極く凄き思ひ入れにて、子を抱いてスツと現はれ出る。See Tsuruya Nanboku, *Tōkaidō Yotsuya kaidan*, in *Tsuruya Nanboku kaidan kyōgenshū*, 406.

zukan, the *ubume* wears a blood-stained cloth and holds a two- or three-year-old child. Additionally, Sawaki used black strokes of blurring slashes as the background for the *ubume*, indicating the motif of water **(Figure 5).** This indicates her true identity as a ghost while also representing the pacification ritual of *nagare kanjō* for a deceased pregnant woman. The water image could also be seen as his depiction of the *nure-onna* (wet woman), a snake-like woman often spotted by the shore washing her hair **(Figure 6).**

As a result, I argue that images of blood and water have been adopted as distinctive symbols in *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei*-related cultural productions as well as in the religious context. These images reveal people's belief in the pollution caused by childbirth and also women's deaths when delivering children. In conjunction with the introduction of the *Ketsubonkyō*, this primitive belief evolved into a communal fear of mother ghosts as creatures revived from the frightening Blood Pool Hell. Religious rituals such as chanting *Ketsubonkyō* and *nagare kanjō* were performed by the living to pacify the spirits of dead mothers and to eliminate the sins they committed. Nevertheless, it should be noted that unlike the tales narrated in the medieval period, the emphasis in these *kaidan* collections and illustrations produced in the early Tokugawa period is clearly not focused on religious power or praise for religious efficacy, but on how a human being transformed into a supernatural being and performed strange and mysterious acts.

Mirror of reality: attempts at reinterpreting *Ubume*

The term maternity, referring to *bosei* 母性 in Japanese, is a modern idea. It was first introduced into the Japanese language by Shimoda Jiro in a section on Female Education *(Josei kyōiku*, 1904), in which the author discussed theories of female education in the west (Niwa and Yoda 1993: 76). During the Taisho period (1912–1926), child rearing, particularly educating children, was considered part of the vocation of women stemming from maternal love. Nevertheless, this notion of maternity has gone to extremes as an obligation for women to give birth and educate children, even at the expense of their own freedom, thus arousing great resistance from modern Japanese women, such as those who insisted on being single or mothers who refused to rear their children.

However, in the Tokugawa period, mothers were not expected to rear or educate their children, and even their affection for children was viewed negatively (Niwa and Yoda 1993: 72). This attitude was closely tied to the changing place of women in families, whereby wives became increasingly identified with the interests of their husband's families and their birthing bodies became a corporate resource (Sawayama 1998: 213–216). According to Wakita Haruko, during the late medieval period the Japanese view of motherhood shifted from one in which the child was considered a replication of the mother, a part of her body, to one in which the foetus or child was viewed as an independent entity from the mother (Wakita 1985: 203). As women's role as mothers grew increasingly circumscribed, they lost their claim to the genetrix position and were relegated to merely vessels for male reproduction (Glassman 2009: 176).

In the seventeenth-century *kaidan* tales, maternity was a narrowly-defined concept. Firstly, it is regarded as an obligation for women to give birth. This is evident in the depiction of deceased women transforming into ghosts to find their husbands and having their own children, or female ghosts asking for the removal of the foetus from their bodies. Secondly, it is perceived as a mother's natural instinct to take care of her newly born baby. This notion is frequently adopted in *kosodate-yūrei* tales, in which ghosts are generally considered to be subjects of sympathy. Neither of the two patterns address the issue of children's education, thus making the Tokugawa-period maternity very different from the modern one. Although authors' attitudes towards dead mothers might be seemingly compassionate, we should not ignore the fact that these texts are essentially created by male authors and ultimately served Tokugawa dwellers, mainly male readers, as moral instructions or not. As a result, maternity represented in these works is "circumscribed by a masculine voice" (Griswold 1995: 60). The real notions of maternity in early modern Japan remain debatable. Simultaneously, a practice of reinterpreting traditional depictions of *ubume* developed, with the supernatural figure increasingly resembling human women.

***Ubume*'s request: Mother Ghost as a blackmailer**

Oral legends mentioned a great deal about the requests made by an *ubume*. Typically, she appears at a crossroads or on a bridge as evening falls, her lower body covered with blood, crying, and cradling her infant in her arms. She asks a male passerby to hold the baby, and then she leaves. The baby gradually becomes heavier and heavier until the man cannot move at all for fear of dropping it. In some versions, the baby is revealed not to be a human infant but rather a stone. *Ubume* narratives have many different outcomes, but at least in a number of legends, the man is rewarded for his efforts with great physical strength, a trait he passes down to his descendants (Miyata 1990: 22–24; Murakami 2000: 56–57).

In the literary world, *Konjaku monogatari-shū* (*Tales from times past*, late Heian period) was the first to depict the image of an *ubume* asking for help. The *ubume* in this narrative is portrayed as a poor spirit that cannot resist human courage. Nevertheless, in a story collected in *Taihei hyaku monogatari* (*One hundred ghost stories of peace*, 1732), this maternal ghost displays her distinctive characteristics. Typical of the genre, the first part shows Jūsaku, the male protagonist, by accident confronting an *ubume*, then the *ubume* promises to offer him supernatural power in exchange for removing the unborn child from her body. This makes the male character feel so creepy that he refuses to help and decides to run away. Interestingly, however, the story does not end here:

> The *ubume* shows a resentful face and says: "if you refuse to fulfill my request, I will follow you and curse you forever". With his swords at ready, Jūsaku slowly approaches the female ghost in fear. After he tears up the *ubume*'s belly and removes the baby, the *ubume* says: "I am glad. Now my true desire is fulfilled". Then she disappears immediately.[12]

Many *ubume* tales of this period fail to depict the mother ghosts' interiority. These women are either regarded as mere objects of horror and strangeness or means of Buddhist teaching. Moreover, they are rarely given the opportunity to "speak" for themselves. However, readers of early modern *kaidan-shū* would have immediately noticed the mother ghost in this tale more attractive to her predecessors. Every night, she appears in the same location, waiting for someone to say a word to her. When the male protagonist is the only one who comes to her aid, she says "御身幸ひに言葉をかわし給ふ嬉しさよ[I am so glad you answered me]". She also clarifies she is requesting help because "わが腹に子をやどりしが、死せずして胎内甚だくるし [I carried a child in my belly, but it did not die, and it became extremely painful in my womb]". Following the male protagonist's refusal to remove the foetus, the female spirit appears to become "irritated" and expresses her strong resentment. She implies that she will follow him and curse him in perpetuity unless she is able to have the baby removed from her body. The mother ghost eventually achieves her "true desire" by blackmailing the man. She is ultimately saved through her own efforts, rather than through religious power. By omitting Buddhist teachings and focusing exclusively on maternal attachment to her child, the mother ghost is able to detach herself from her doomed fate of being eliminated from the living realm.

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[12] ゆうれひと恨めしげなる顔ばせにて、「若し此事かなへ給はずば、永く御身に付きそひて、恨みをいはん」といふにぞ、十作も今はぜひなく脇ざし引きぬき、かのゆうれひの傍へおそろしながら近々と寄りて、胴腹をたちやぶれば、「うれしや。今はわが本望は達するものを」といふかとおもへば、姿は其まゝ消えうせけり。See Yūsa, *Taihei hyaku monogatari.* Vol. 2, in *Hyaku monogatari kaidan shūsei*, 290.

"Uwanari –uchi": *Ubume* as avenger

Ubume also appears as a jealous and vengeful woman in some seventeenth-century *kaidan-shū*. As Glassman writes, the real-world violence associated with death in childbirth was replicated in the literary world through violence against pregnant women. Notably, this violence was typically the result of co-wives' jealousy. (2009: 186). Such a pattern of "*uwanari –uchi*" (the first wife attacking the succeeding wives) is an extremely common motif in representing women's jealousy in Japanese literature. One particular interesting tale in *Shokoku hyaku monogatari* 諸国百物語(*One hundred strange tales from various provinces*, 1677) adopted this idea and combined it with the *ubume* legend. It particularly addressed the deeply repressed female resentment against religious power. In this tale, the husband has been possessed by the spirit of his deceased wife for quite some time, and one day he accidently comes across a holy Buddhist priest who considers his situation and instructs him to copy the Buddhist sutra onto his body so as to protect him from the female spirit. At first, this sutra works well as his wife's spirit is scared away, but she then flees into the house and angrily kills the man's second wife, who cursed her to death while she was still alive. Unable to find the husband because of the protection of the Buddhist sutra, the female ghost must give up seeking revenge on him, and so ultimately she returns to the grave with her living child.[13] The *ubume* here seeks revenge not only on the second wife but also on her husband, the one who tolerated her enemy's behavior. On the other hand, other than bringing her child into the living world, that a ghost mother normally desires, this spirit takes the child back to the world of death instead.

Consequently, female power in this story, which is characterized by jealousy and a mother's love for her child, is a manifestation of women's long-restrained hatred of reality. Kabuki scholar Shimazaki Satoko conducted a comprehensive investigation into female ghosts in the late-nineteenth century and suggests that it is the failure in their relationships with men that inspired female ghosts' resentment, which women can act on only in death (Shimazaki 2016: 154). This statement precisely accords with the women's status as especially inferior to men in premodern Japan, and the easiest way to liberate themselves from this prison was probably death—which, of course, was the most ironic way as well.

Conclusion

The female ghost is never shy to show off her charms on the stage of Japanese cultural production. She can be either beautiful or

[13] "uwanari uchi no koto tsuke tari hokekyō no kuriki", *Shokoku hyaku monogatari*. Vol.1, in *Hyaku monogatari shūsei*, 27–28.

terrifying; she can be either alluring or threatening; and, most importantly, by delving into the world of ghosts, we are forced to question issues of belief, as well as metaphysical and phenomenological concerns regarding the ways we experience and perceive our lives in the past, present, and even future. Nowadays, the image of the female ghost is approximately synonymous with jealousy, revenge, and curse as a product of urban culture, the roots of which date back to premodern Japan. Portrayals of female ghosts, especially those being produced in the late nineteenth century, primarily contributed to this urbanized hybrid creature. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that a group of precedent female ghosts had been endowed with certain characteristics that are easily forgotten today. Maternity, or maternal love, which is considered to be a crucial component of female power in this study, is intensively represented in the depiction of what I would call mother ghosts. They are the *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei*, the subjects that have provided the focus of this paper.

Foster writes: "As long as human culture persists, so too, in one form or another, *yōkai* will flourish" (2015: 52–53). The images and attributes of individual *yōkai* were enhanced and developed through human agency that enabled *yōkai* to take on more concrete and diverse forms. Therefore, this study examines *ubume* and *kosodate-yūrei* in a way that brings together their shifting forms found in historical texts, literature, the visual arts and folklore beliefs. In Tokugawa society, popular Buddhist discourse on childbirth emphasized the sin of pregnant women and their afterlife fate: women who died during childbirth were said to suffer in a Blood Pool hell. To protect the dead mothers from the torments of hell and to keep them from returning to the living world to harm people, religious rituals such as chanting *Ketsubonkyō* and *Nagare kanjō* were performed by their relatives and even the entire community to pacify the spirits of deceased mothers and to eliminate the sins they committed. Ironically, while feared by people living in Edo Japan, the *ubume* and *kodate-yūrei*, as we see in the early seventeenth-century *kaidan-shū*, are often portrayed as faithful, self-sacrificing beings who rarely threaten living humans. In most cases, they do not seek revenge, but rather salvation through fulfilling their responsibility as mothers, a salvation by virtue of the very biological potential that would come to spell their doom (Glassman 2009: 177). As it reflects a prevalent view of female obstruction in early modern Japan, the supernatural power endowed to female spirits is destined to be defeated by the rules of the living world.

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STUDY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANCIENT JAPANESE TURTLE MOTIFS

Marianna LÁZÁR[1]

Abstract: *Turtles/tortoises hold great significance in many ancient cultures. Often perceived as the foundation for the beginning of things or an emblem of cosmos, they have a sacred role in mythologies, legends and folklore around the world, especially so in East and Southeast Asia. In Chinese culture, tortoises are generally viewed as a symbol of longevity, endurance, stability and wisdom because of their long lifespan and unique appearance.*

In early modern and modern Japanese culture, turtles/tortoises with a tail made of seaweed and algae can be seen as a symbol of several legendary creatures and deities. Accompanied by a crane, they are favored, auspicious motifs appearing in visual arts, crafts and even in modern-day popular culture. But what about ancient times? Besides turtle-shaped prehistoric objects, turtle motifs can be found on bronze bells, bronze mirrors, stone structures, carvings, textile art, frescos of burial mounds and other artifacts from ancient Japan.

How did people who lived in the Japanese archipelago during prehistoric and ancient times depict these animals? What cultural-historical factors influenced the development of these peculiar motifs and mysteriously-shaped objects? In this paper, the author explores early Japanese depictions of turtles and tortoises from the middle Jōmon period to the Asuka period.

Keywords: turtle, tortoise, Japanese art, Dark Warrior, turtle motif, ancient Japan

Turtles and tortoises[2] hold great significance in many ancient cultures. Often perceived as the foundation for the beginning of things or an emblem of cosmos, they have a sacred role in mythologies, legends and folklore around the world, especially so in East and Southeast Asia. In Chinese culture, turtles are generally viewed as a symbol of longevity, endurance, stability and wisdom because of their long lifespan and unique appearance (round, domed upper shell and flat undershell, that resembles the ancient Han concept of round, domed sky and flat earth). (Allan 1991)

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[2] Although biologically speaking, turtles and tortoises have distinct differences, in this paper, the generic word 'turtle' is used to describe both animals.

In Japan, the turtle and/or tortoise have developed an independent tradition. In traditional Japanese culture, turtles, with a tail made of seaweed and algae (*minogame* 蓑亀) can be seen not only as a sacred symbol of several legendary deities, but also as a symbol of good luck and support.[3] The earliest concept of minogame in the first written Urashima Taro tales is influenced by a mix of Daoist thought and Confucianism. Accompanied by a crane or a snake, the turtle or tortoise is a favored auspicious motif appearing in Japanese visual arts, crafts and even in modern-day popular culture. The turtle-crane pairing is a favored motif by netsuke-carvers and other artisans, and is featured in traditional Japanese wedding ceremonies. Another well-known motif is connected to the Myōken cult[4] of Eastern Japan. Especially during medieval times, Japanese people worshipped Myōken bodhisattva, a Buddhist patron deity portrayed as a young figure, holding a sword and standing on a turtle. (Ball 2004)

Previous research studies conducted by art historians mainly focus on the above-mentioned medieval or early modern depictions of the Japanese turtle motifs. The author of this paper will put emphasis on a research that examines these motifs up until the 7th century. Besides turtle-shaped objects, turtle motifs can be found on earthenware pottery, bronze bells, bronze mirrors, stone structures, carvings, wall paintings and other artifacts from prehistoric and ancient Japan. How did people who lived in the Japanese archipelago during prehistoric and ancient times depict these animals? What cultural factors influenced the development of these peculiar motifs and mysteriously-shaped objects? The author will explore early Japanese depictions of turtles and turtles from the late Jōmon period to the Asuka period.

Jōmon period

Jōmon people were prehistoric foragers who lived from about 14,000 B.C. to 800~300 B.C. in certain parts of the Japanese archipelago. As they lived in coexistence with nature, Jōmon people had a rich spiritual world. Expressions of Jōmon spirituality were given material form in numerous items such as clay figurines (*dogū*), clay tablets, ritual vessels, pots and smaller clay objects with unique characteristics. Although many Jōmon vessels are plain, around half have decoration of some kind, most typically cord- or rope-like lines with regional differences. During middle Jōmon, new shapes of pottery appeared that served specific functions (e.g.

[3] Turtle motif is also used in geomancy; it carries on its back the legendary three mountains of the Land of the Daoist Immortals. (Ooms 2009)

[4] Myōken is thought to have originated from Chinese Daoist and folk beliefs and as a god of the Pole Star and/or the Big Dipper, it has played an important role in Japanese Buddhism from the Heian period.

rituals). Among middle and late Jōmon decorated vessels of Eastern Japan, there are a few patterns that might symbolize an animal, very rarely, a turtle-frog hybrid animal. Such clay pots were found at Tonai site (藤内遺跡) in Nagano prefecture and at Kaminoiri-B site (上ノ入 B 遺跡) in Kanagawa prefecture and were presumably produced to make fermented alcoholic drinks. (Senda 2008) The entity represented on these artifacts may not necessarily be a real frog or a turtle, but something spiritual beyond a specific form. Noguchi suggested that the decorative animals of the middle Jōmon period are totems and were not necessarily associated with agriculture. (Noguchi 1965)

Fully animal-shaped hollow clay objects have been made mainly throughout the middle, late and final-phase Jōmon period, and are not similar to East Asian pottery styles of the same time period. There are two major terms used by Japanese archeologists for categorizing enigmatic animal figures: the most general term is *kamegata doseihin* (亀形土製品 lit. 'turtle-shaped clay object') but some scholars[5] tend to use *kamegata dogū* (亀形土偶 lit. 'turtle-shaped clay figurine') more frequently in recent years. Oddly enough, some of these kamegata figures look quite mysterious. They can symbolize any kind of ancient animal; not only turtles, but frogs, sea animals (e.g. seals), birds, hybrids or any kind of abstract spiritual being. Most of them were found in the Kantō and Tōhoku[6] regions of Japan; however, 2 figurines were excavated from cemetery sites in Hokkaido as well. (Senda 2008)

These hollow unglazed clay objects were made in 3 different types in the Jōmon period:

- Type A: full form, an oval body with a head and limbs („hands" and „legs")
- Type B: an oval body with a head and only one pair of the limbs („hands" or „legs")
- Type C: an oval body with a head, no limbs attached (C/a) or several limbs attached (C/b)

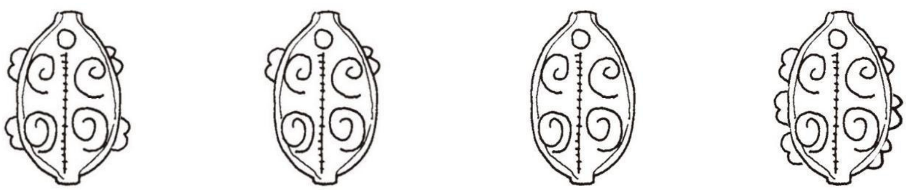

Figure 1: Type A, B, C/a and C/b of kamegata hollow clay figurines (from left to right)[7]

[5] Shigehiko Narita (2016, 2017) should be mentioned, among others.

[6] Except for Miyagi prefecture, where no kamegata figure was found so far. (Senda 2008)

[7] Digital lineart made by the author based on all known pictures of kamegata hollow clay figurines. Without aiming to give an exhaustive list of all unique sub-types, these pictures illustrate the 3 major designs of kamegata objects.

The biggest kamegata figurines are 12+ cm long, 9+ cm wide, their average size is 8~12 cm long and about 6 cm wide, and there are small objects as well measuring ~8 cm in length and 4 cm in width. Iwate prefecture, Akita prefecture and the whole Kantō region (Nagano, Kanagawa, Tokyo, Chiba, Saitama) have figurines in all 3 sizes. Big and small figurines were excavated only from Aomori prefecture. Average sized and small objects were found only in Yamagata prefecture. While figurines excavated from Tōhoku have various imaginative and creative patterns, Kantō patterns are rather similar (or do not have decoration at all). Most turtle-shaped objects uniformly feature 2 (or rarely 3) bored holes. (Narita 2016)

One of the earliest enigmatic animal figures from the middle~late Jōmon period is 'Bibi-chan' as Japanese researchers named it. It was excavated at the Bibi 4 Site (美々遺跡) in Chitose City, Hokkaido Prefecture, hence the name 'Bibi-chan'. This 31.7 cm long and 16.2 cm wide hollow unglazed clay figurine might have been modeled after a turtle or an imaginary sea spirit; however, it is hard to tell what the artist intended it to be. (Senda 2008) Interestingly, the shape of the object is similar to those that were found in Eastern Japan, but its design is clearly different.

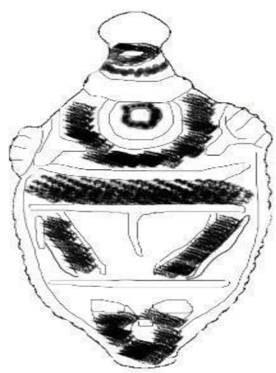

Figure 2: Lineart of 'Bibi-chan' figurine (type B)[8]

Presumably, one of the earliest clearly turtle-shaped dogū was excavated from the Nagatake Site (長竹遺跡) in Kazo City, Saitama Prefecture. Accompanied by a dog and a wild boar, this obvious example of a river turtle (about 8 cm in length) was made approximately 3,500–3,000 years ago at the end of the late Jōmon period. The detailing of the body and facial features had not become specific enough yet (type C), but the simple workmanship captures the key features of a real turtle.

[8] Lineart made by the author based on the pictures of the original relic, housed at Hokkaido Archeological Operations Center, Hokkaido.

In the Final Jōmon period, Kamegaoka-pottery was made in present-day Aomori prefecture. Besides magatama jewels and lacquered serving wares, archeologists excavated small kamegata figurines (type C) from the Kamegaoka site (亀ヶ岡遺跡)[9]. Most of these figurines have a typical characteristic: a C-shaped pattern can be observed on both sides that is fairly similar to the popular *warabite* pattern[10] of later time periods. Turtle-shaped relics of Iwate prefecture have the same warabite-like decoration; however, each piece has a unique design. (Senda 2008)

Figure 4: Kamegata figurine[11] from Ebaradai site (江原台遺跡), Chiba prefecture
(type B – Late Jōmon) 14.3cm in length

Yayoi period

According to archeological evidence, the Final Jōmon culture is succeeded by the Yayoi culture (dated from 900/400 BC to 300 AD), a new agricultural-based culture first in Kyūshū, Shikoku and the southern extremes of Honshu. (Mizoguchi 2013) Cultural features (e.g. cultivation of rice, establishment of settled communities) and advanced techniques in metallurgy (manufacturing bronze and iron objects) were introduced from China via the Korean peninsula to these regions. Later, Yayoi culture extended up to the center and eastern part of Honshu as well. Metal objects (iron tools, bronze blades and mirrors) were first imported from Korea and Han China, but as the culture extended from Kyūshū to northeastern regions, metal objects were beginning to be locally made. Primarily in the western and southwestern areas, Japanese bronze bells (*dōtaku*) with archaic designs can be found. (Mason 2004, Senda 2008)

[9] The Kamegaoka remains are among the largest known Jōmon settlements in Japan.

[10] Japanese warabite pattern (蕨手文) is a bracken-shaped, scroll-like pattern.

[11] Housed at Meiji University Museum (明治大学博物館). Digital lineart made by the author based on photos of the original relic.

In Japan, bronze was used by certain clans for ritual and ceremonial artifacts, as these items were markers of status. While – as evidenced by the grave goods in late settlements – Yayoi craftsmen had taken on advanced metalworking technologies from most likely Korea, the simple animal images depicted on clapperless Japanese bronze bells are not of Korean (or Chinese) origin. Very simple reliefs, incised figural motifs of middle-late Yayoi period *dōtaku* show us how Yayoi people imagined animals in their daily life and spiritual world. The styles and the height of the bells varied greatly. (Mizoguchi 2013) Dōtaku with turtle decoration have been found mainly in the Kansai region (Shiga and Hyōgo), the Tokai District (Shimane), the Chūbu region (Fukui) and Shikoku (Kagawa). (Senda 2008)

Among other objects, fourteen middle Yayoi period (2nd century BC- 1st century AD) bronze bells were excavated at Sakuragaoka Site in Kobe in 1964.[12] Among these dōtaku, No. 1, No.4 and No. 5 should be mentioned, because – in a certain manner - the simply depicted motifs of turtles are probably one of the first archaic turtle drawings in Japanese art history. Another valuable artifact is a bronze bell[13] dated to the late Yayoi period (presumably) from Kagawa Prefecture, depicting daily life, animals and plants. In the middle tier of blocks, there is a rather simply executed turtle, accompanied by two cranes. Another „sticklike" turtle figure can be observed in the bottom tier with a salamander. Turtle shells were depicted with two carved lines that is considered to be a new drawing style in the Kansai region. (Senda 2008) On closer inspection of toes and head shapes, these patterns might have been formed as a Chinese softshell turtle (スッポン).[14] However, due to their seaside location the bronze bells of Shimane prefecture in Tōkai region are believed to depict sea turtles instead.

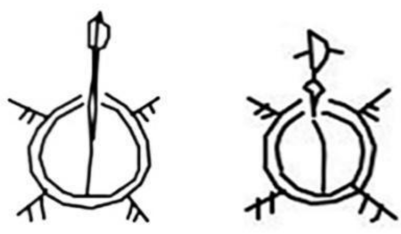

Figure 5: Examples of turtle patterns discovered on Sakuragaoka bronze bells[15]

[12] Housed at Kōbe City Museum (神戸市立博物館) in Kōbe, Hyōgo prefecture.

[13] Housed at Tokyo National Museum (東京国立博物館) in Tokyo.

[14] Chinese soft-shelled turtles are found in fresh and brackish waters (rivers, lakes, ponds, canals, etc.) throughout Japan.

[15] Digital lineart made by the author based on patterns of Sakuragaoka bells. (Senda 2008)

Yet another valuable turtle depiction can be found on vessel fragments excavated from a big scale moat-surrounded Yayoi settlement called Karako Kagi ruins (唐古鍵遺跡) in Nara prefecture. The site is known to be a major place where bronze bells were produced and where clay vessels and jade accessories of different regions (but mostly Kansai region) were carried in. Large amounts of pottery with carved line pictures (e.g. buildings, animals, people) drawn on them were unearthed. On the top half of the body of one particular vase, a tower, deer and two human figures (possibly shaman figures) wearing animal costumes are all drawn in sequence. Scholars believe that the person in the bird costume is a female shaman performing a ritual and she is accompanied by a male performer in turtle costume. (Senda 2008) From the Yayoi period, turtle motifs started to appear in depictions of everyday life and ritual scenes, they became a valuable part of symbolic story-telling.

While turtle motifs of bronze bells and clay vessels are definitely not of mainland Asian origin, Chinese and Korean artistic influence is obvious on the engraved figures of the so-called TLV-style bronze mirrors (方格規矩鏡).[16] The mystical connotations of ancient East Asian bronze mirrors can be seen from the patterns and inscriptions molded into the backs. Several Japanese mirrors were made in Chinese Han style and are usually depicting the four cardinal deities of ancient Chinese mythology.[17] (Okamura 2017) On TLV-style mirrors, the four guardians' lineart were created above the pillar motifs, between the knob and the border, suggesting that these supernatural beings belong to Heaven and represent constellations in the four quarters of the universe. One of the legendary figures, the Guardian of the North called 'Dark Warrior' (玄武), is a fusion of the intertwined figures of a turtle with a highly detailed shell pattern, and an open-mouthed snake. The intertwining of the two motifs was a symbol not only of long life and fertility, but also of the balance of yin and yang, heaven and earth. The Dark Warrior motif is an important part of the design that symbolically express the cosmology of ancient China. The symbolic meaning and the peculiar look of the Dark Warrior became even more important in the following centuries. (Lazar 2018)

[16] Japanese bronze mirrors were either imported from China, manufactured in the Korean peninsula or created on the Japanese peninsula. Yayoi mirrors were first treated as both ritual and luxury goods by the local elite, then later, Han-style bronze mirrors became mortuary goods in Japan as well. (Okamura 2017)

[17] The cult of the Four Guardians originates in Chinese totemic traditions. From the 11th century BC, they became associated with the 28 ancient Chinese constellations and were regarded as mythical deities who ruled the segments of the sky. From the Han period, the guardians were considered symbols that could exorcize evil spirits and bring good fortune. (Lázár 2018)

Kofun period

Between the mid-third and early sixth century, numerous tombs were built as burial mounds for clan leaders, the most enormous of which is the key-hole shaped Daisen kofun in Osaka. A variety of hollow *haniwa* clay figures —representing humans and animals (horses, deer, water birds, dogs, forest animals etc.) among other things—were placed on the top of tombs along the edges. Researchers have proposed various theories on the functions of clay figurines but have not reached a consensus due to the lack of proper evidence. Although they are the most frequent funerary objects in the Kofun period, to the best knowledge of the author, not a single turtle shaped haniwa was found so far. Many ornaments were buried inside a tomb: typical ornaments were bronze mirrors (often depicting the Dark Warrior), weapons like swords and armor and earthenware ornaments.

Although Japanese *sue* ware (須恵器) with natural ash glaze - first produced in the mid-fifth century - is of ancient Chinese origin, its direct predecessor is the blue-gray stoneware pottery of Gaya confederacy in southern Korea. During the late Kofun period, it is assumed that a certain amount of turtle-shaped sue pottery (*kamegata-hei* 亀形瓶) was made in southern regions of Japan. However, it must have been quite rare, as only 2 turtle-shaped vessels have been found so far. One of them - measuring 18.7cm in length, 17.5cm wide, 12.6cm height - was excavated from Hitotsumachi Tomb in Akitakata, Hiroshima, and is believed to have been made in the first half of the 7th century.

The other object was found during the excavation work of the Funahara Tomb No. 4 in Koga, Fukuoka in Kyushu. The *sagebe*-type (堤瓶形) turtle-shaped hanging jar has a circular body with one flat and one spherical side; a short neck expanding towards a mouth; two round handles placed on the shoulders; and decorated with fine incised spiral lines. The Funahara Tomb also yielded gilt bronze *uzu* (雲珠) items with a turtle design.[18] Uzu ornaments were discovered in the fully excavated royal tomb of King Naemul of Silla as well (皇南大塚).

Another rare piece of ornamental gilt bronze horse trappings should also be introduced here. It was excavated from Sasazuka tomb in Iki Island[19] (Nagasaki prefecture) and was clearly formed as a Chinese softshell turtle. Scholars said it was rare for ancient trappings to be found in such good condition in Japan. This item was designed to decorate a horse's head.

[18] Uzu are generally circular ornaments (about 2 cm in diameter) hung at the top of the horses' tail.

[19] Numerous artifacts from the Yayoi and Kofun period have been found by archeologists at Iki Island.

Asuka period

The Asuka period was a time of transformation for Japanese society. It is named for the Asuka area at the southern end of the Yamato Basin, which was the political and cultural center of the country at the time. During this period of intensive peninsular contact, many Korean artisans skilled in metalwork, sculpture and painting immigrated to (or were brought to) Japan. Many cultural and artistic influences during this period originated in China, but were adapted in Goguryeo or Baekje before reaching Japan.[20] Moreover, imperial Japanese envoys who visited Sui and Tang China in the 7th century, came back to Japan with excellent artistic skills and introduced new artistic styles and themes of the Sui and Tang period. Intense contact with China and Korean kingdoms transformed Japanese art, so it does not come as a surprise that Chinese and Korean turtle depictions heavily influenced Japanese turtle images and turtle-shaped sculptures and decorations during the 6th to 8th centuries.

The most advanced techniques of burial mound decoration-influenced by Chinese and Korean tradition - date from the late 7th to the early 8th century and can be found in present-day Asuka village (Nara Prefecture). There are two tumuli with walls plastered with Chinese/Korean techniques and then decorated with turtle paintings, among other things: the Takamatsuzuka[21] and Kitora tumulus[22].

Both tombs depict the so-called Four Guardian deities[23] with similar attributes. The figure of the Guardian of the North, called the Dark Warrior, appears in its traditional Chinese iconographic style; it is a fusion of intertwined figures of a turtle and a snake. The two animals face each other, the snake wraps itself once around the turtle. The image in the Takamatsuzuka tumulus is characterized by soft, delicate (yet

[20] Especially in the second half of the 7th century, during the reigns of Tenmu, Jitō and Monmu, Daoist philosophy (cosmological traditions) had a significant influence on the culture of the Japanese court, which by then had incorporated Buddhist elements to its ancient Shintō rituals. In addition to the Chinese classics imported to Japan from the 5th century via Korea, the growing popularity of Chinese (and Korean) geomancy also contributed to the integration of several cosmological principles into the culture of the Japanese court.

[21] Based on archeological evidence, Takamatsuzuka tomb was probably built between 694 and 710.

[22] The four walls and ceiling of the burial chamber are decorated with colorful frescoes, the themes and depictions of which suggest that Kitora tomb was probably built in the first decade of the 8th century and is one of the last tumuli to be constructed.

[23] Being intertwined with taoist cosmological traditions (such as the Five Phases theory and the yin-yang philosophy), the Four Guardians became an increasingly popular part of the Chinese tradition. The decoration of the deities had not only a decorative function, they were also an essential part of the cosmic space artificially created inside the tombs. Besides funerary traditions, they were also widely depicted on the backs of cast-bronze mirrors or carved on lacquer ware, bricks, tiles, and seals. The tradition of depicting the Four Guardians became popular in many East Asian regions. In the 5th century it spread to the ancient kingdoms of the Korean peninsula (especially to Goguryeo) and later to Japan in the Asuka period.

fluently executed) brushwork and by a more faded palette. In contrast, the Dark Warrior fresco in Kitora is rougher, with strong, powerful lines. Gray, yellow, red, green and black were used to paint the snake in the Kitora tumulus, while the turtle in both tombs is grayish-yellowish in color. The snake of Takamatsuzuka was colored with a faded greenish color. Both depictions give the mythical guardian figure character and a sense of vitality. The remains of thin scratch marks on the north wall of Kitora tomb indicate that the model image of the Dark Warrior was probably pressed onto the clay wall and the preliminary outlines of the model were carefully carved out with a spatula, then painted with a thin brush in ink. After that, the colored dye materials were applied and finally, the dark outline was worked with a thin brush. (Donohashi 2013) In terms of the pigments and color treatment techniques used, the Dark Warrior fresco of Takamatsuzuka and Kitora kofun are partly identical to the tumulus frescoes of Goguryeo.

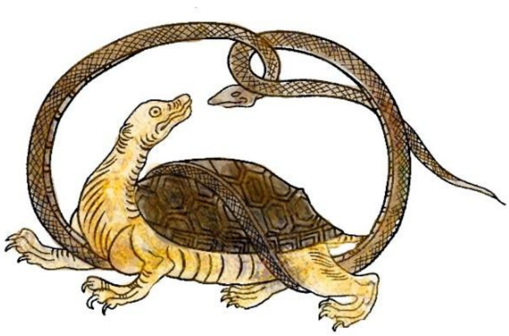

Figure 11: Dark Warrior fresco of Kitora tomb, Asuka[24]

Color	Name and source of the pigment powder (natural dyes)	Tumuli of Goguryeo (5-7th century)	Tumuli of Asuka (7-8th century)
red, burgundy	vermilion *(from cinnabar)*	X	X
	bengala *(from Iron (III) oxide)*	X	X
	burgundy		X
	reddish brown *(from manganese-rich soil)*		X
blue / green	azure blue, bluish green *(mixture of malachite and azurite)*		X

[24] Digital art made by the author based on the original fresco.

	greyish green *(from glauconite)*	X	
	ultramarine blue *(from lazurite)*		X
	green *(from the leaves of the soapnut tree)*		X
	patina green *(from Copper II carbonate)*		
black	black (*from coal)*		X
	grayish brown *(from coal and magnetite)*	X	X
white	lead white *(from white lead)*	X	X
	white *(from mussel shells)*		X
	white (for plastering) *(from kaolin)*		X
	white *(from minium)*		X
	white *(from calcium carbonate)*		
yellow	yellowish brown *(from clay colored with iron oxide or lead (II) oxide)*	X	X
	orange, yellowish red *(from realgar)*	X	X
	yellow *(from quartz)*		

Table 1.: Raw materials of the pigments and plasters used in the tombs of Goguryeo and the tombs of Asuka, Japan (Lázár 2020:241 ; based on the research of Mori 1982, Aoki 2012, Kōzuma 2013, Sekino 1970)

Another rare Japanese depiction of the Dark Warrior is found on the pedestal of the Yakushi Triad in the Buddhist temple of Yakushiji. Besides various motifs such as a grape-patterned arabesque and exotic figures, the principal statue's layered pedestal is decorated with carvings of the Four Guardians figures (one on each side), completed in 697. Based on their similar characteristics and design, the Dark Warrior carving of Yakushi Triad was presumably made approximately at the same time as the Takamatsuzuka tomb's turtle-snake fresco. (Lázár 2018)

The next Asuka period artwork to explore is the *Tenjukoku Shūchō* ('Embroidery of the Long Life in Heaven' 天寿国繍帳).[25] It is an embroidered curtain mandala representing Buddhist heaven and eternal

[25] Property of Chūgūji temple (Nara prefecture). Fragments are housed in the Nara National Museum, the Tokyo National Museum, Horyuji temple and Shōsōin (treasure house of Tōdaiji temple).

life, which Prince Shotoku was believed to have attained at the time of his death (622). The present-day tapestry, measuring 90 centimeters, was created in the first half of the 19th century and is a composite of a fragment of the Asuka period original (made by court ladies in the early 7th century) and a supplemental fragment dating to the Kamakura period (1275). (Pradel 1996)

The preserved fragments of Japan's oldest embroidered tapestry are full of references to Chinese Daoist symbols such as turtles. (Ooms 2009) Among the extant pieces with purple and white ground colors, there are 4 turtle motifs, and there is another complete turtle shell, and five small shell fragments. Interestingly enough, the brighter turtle patterns are from the Asuka period. All shells carry an inscription (four characters on each), and there are twenty-five extant characters in total. Records from Shōsōin show that originally, there were 100 turtles with 400 Classical Chinese characters. Turtle patterns contain either characters of important names (representing Shōtoku's genealogy) or characters recorded in the *Jōgū Shōtoku Hōō Teisetsu* (上宮聖徳法王帝說)[26] – such as the death dates of Shōtoku and his mother, and the story of how the mandala was created. (Pradel 1996) The outlines of the turtle motifs and the stitches inside the motifs represent the characteristics of Asuka period embroidery influenced by Chinese and Korean textile art. For instance, contiguous rows of overlapping stem stitch (flat satin stitch) were used on the original turtle shells. (Pradel 1996) It is known from the inscription that designer artists and the supervisors were descendants of influential immigrant clans, such as the Koma[27], Aya[28] or Hata[29] clans.[30] Based on relevant ancient manuscripts, Japanese scholars have proposed a variety of theories regarding the proper arrangement of the turtle motifs in the original embroidered tapestry. Some suggest that the turtles were at the bottom part of the artwork while others believe the animal patterns were placed around the borders. According to Ōhashi, the turtles were probably placed among the other scattered motifs, being elements of the whole composition, and having the function of carrying the inscription. (Ōhashi 1995)

[26] Jōgū Shōtoku Hōō Teisetsu is an old text presumably completed in the second half of the Heian period. It is a biography of Prince Shōtoku. The oldest section of the text was written sometime before 708.

[27] This clan (高麗氏) was an immigrant royal family descended from a Goguryeo prince.

[28] People of Aya clan (漢氏) were descendants of Chinese (of Han dynasty) who had earlier settled in the Korean peninsula, and later immigrated to Japan and settled in the Hinokuma district. (Carter 1983)

[29] The Hata (秦 'loom') clan were associated in early history with weaving and metallurgy. Ancestors of Hata people came from the continent during the Kofun period through the Kingdom of Baekje. (Carter 1983)

[30] In the 7th century, several artist families of noble origins fled the Korean peninsula and settled in the Japanese capital of the Asuka period, taking up office. Painters of noble Goguryeo origins (e.g. the Koma clan) and artisans from the Hata clan are mentioned in Nihon Shoki as well. (Donohashi 2013)

All turtle motifs in the Tenjukoku Shūchō are partially similar to some enigmatic stone artifacts of a turtle design (亀形石造物) in present-day Asuka village. For instance, 'Turtle Stone' (亀石)[31] is a sculpted rock carved in the shape of a smiling turtle facing southwest. It certainly looks like a turtle from one angle and its exterior bears lattice-shaped cuts like those on a mysterious basalt boulder on top of a steep hill in Asuka village called 'Masuda's Stone Boat' (益田岩船). Some people believe it was a marker between village or temple boundaries, or it might have some kind of religious or memorial purpose (e.g. protecting temples, being a stone memorial), but scholars are not sure about what it was used for.[32]

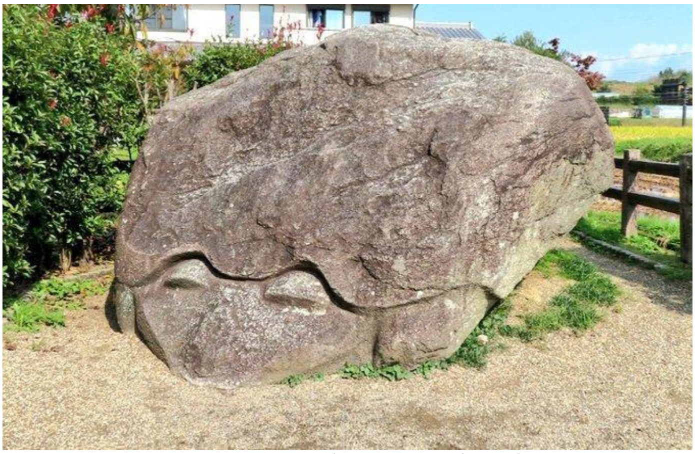

Figure 14: "Turtle Stone" of Asuka[33]

Another noteworthy turtle-shaped stone artwork in Asuka is a peculiar looking water tank, a part of the Sakafune-ishi Ruins (酒船石遺跡). The site was mentioned in an entry for 656 in the Nihon Shoki. During the excavation work in 1992 and 2000, a turtle-shaped pure granite[34] water tank (measuring 2.4 meters in length and 2 meters in width), stone paving, stone walls and stone steps were discovered around an oval stone structure. Very similar to the turtle motifs of Tenjukoku Shūchō, the design of the tank suggests that it was carved to form the shape of head, shell, tail and legs of a Chinese softshell turtle. The part of the carapace (measuring 1.25 meter in diameter and 20 cm in depth) was hollowed out to form a 'basin'. The artwork has a realistic

[31] Interestingly enough, Neil Gordon Munro (1863-1942, a Scottish physician) called it 'Frog stone' in one of his photographs, taken in Asuka, Nara Prefecture, circa 1905 (in the collection of Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford). (Grover 2017)

[32] In Nara prefecture, there is a legend that if the sculpted stone ever faces west, Japan will be flooded.

[33] Photograph was taken by the author in Asuka village, Nara, Japan. (2012)

[34] Pure granite rock is one of the hardest stones to work.

design, the turtle has well-proportioned body and four long toes on its legs.[35] The turtle-shaped carving are situated at the true north of the famous giant granite slab 'Sakafune", which placement could suggest a Daoist influence (water element – north direction – Dark Warrior deity) or the influence of Chinese geomancy, but the relationship between these two artworks and their origins remains unknown. The complete stonework was engineered to carry (sacred?) spring water which drained from an upper oval stone, passing through the stone turtle's nose and collecting in the turtle's back tank (shell section).

Figure 15: Turtle-shaped tank of Sakafune-ishi Ruins[36]

The water would flow out of the tail. Scholars believe that these are the remains of a structure that Empress Saimei (r. 655-661) used for fertility rites and purifying water rituals, while others argue that it may have been the structure related to Futatsuki Palace of Empress Saimei. Based on archeological evidence, it was in use until the Heian period for approximately 250 years. (Kawakami 2003, Senda 2000: 155–157., Wada 2000)

There is a similar looking stone structure inside Shitennōji temple – or as many native Kansai people like to describe it, the "Turtle Temple" - in Osaka. Being just a few meters away from a large man-made pond filled with hundreds of turtles, there are two stoneworks in Kameidō Hall facing each other; one is a turtle-shaped stone tank (2.15 meters long and 1.52 meters wide) and the other one is a realistic stone turtle (1.22 meters long and 1. 54 meters wide), both carved from single

[35] Most turtles and tortoises have five toes. Nevertheless, it is still a realistic depiction of a turtle.

[36] Photograph was taken by the author in Asuka village, Nara, Japan. (2012)

pieces of Tatsuyama stone (竜山石)[37]. The structure – which is about 1.5 meters below ground level - was presumably built around the same time period and is similar in scale as the stonework at the Sakafuneishi ruins in Asuka. The stone turtle's back and head were clearly made in later years than the tank. It was engineered to carry water which drained from the oval stone, passing through the turtle's nose and collecting in the turtle's back tank. Supposedly, it was created for use in state rituals (water ceremonies). The first academic studies were conducted by a number of scholars of Gangōji Institute for Research of Cultural Property (元興寺文化財研究所) in 2019.[38]

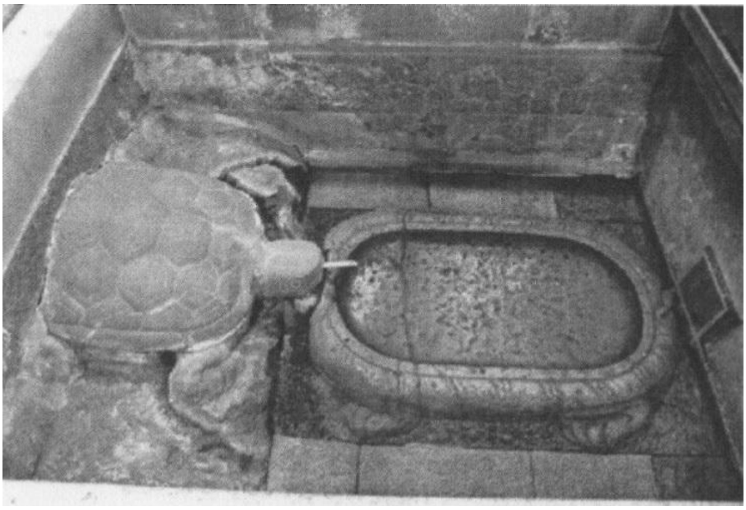

Figure 16: The stone structure of Shitennōji temple, Kameidō Hall (四天王寺亀井堂)

Lastly, an interesting fact should be mentioned here. Turtle-supported funeral steles (亀趺) are stone slabs that originated as imperial tomb markers in Han China and bear information (glowing biographies).[39] Over time, these carved objects also appeared in Mongolia, the Korean Peninsula, Vietnam and Japan. Examples of stone turtles carrying a stele are found in Japan, but only – interestingly enough - from the end of the 12th century.[40] For instance, in Kamakura (Kanagawa prefecture), the tombs of Shimazu Tadahisa and Mori

[37] Tatsuyama mountain in Hyogo prefecture is the location of an ancient stone quarry. Tatsuyama stone (a variety of tuff) was widely used for stone coffins and other stonework during Kofun and Asuka periods.
[38] Mainichi Shinbun article by Yukiko Hayashi (April 26, 2019)
[39] This pictures is a scanned image from a research report copy that was shared publicly at an official „report meeting" (亀形石造物調査報告会) on June 1, 2019 at Shitennōji temple. The event was organized by a number of scholars of Gangōji Institute for Research of Cultural Property and Shitennōji temple.
[40] One notable, well-preserved example of a turtle-supported tablet was installed in the garden of Gesshōji temple in Matsue city (Shimane prefecture) as a tomb marker of Matsudaira Munenobu (r. 1731-1767).

Suemitsu (founders of early medieval samurai clans) are separated by a well-preserved stele. Another famous example of a turtle-supported tablet was installed in the garden of Gesshōji temple in Matsue city (Shimane prefecture) as a tomb marker of feudal lord Matsudaira Munenobu. But why was this tradition neglected in ancient times? The design and the concept did not seem to have been particularly welcome at the imperial court – probably because the Japanese imperial court developed its unique tomb culture/funerary customs, based on local traditions. Even during (and after) the significant artistic, social, and political transformations of the Asuka period, nobles from the court remained selective in considering the artistic and religious ideas that they wanted to adopt from China (or Korea) and presumably they chose not to incorporate tomb marker steles for imperial tombs.

Conclusions

The present paper analyzed prehistoric and ancient Japanese depictions of turtles from the middle Jōmon period to the end of the Asuka period. Jōmon and (most) Yayoi period depictions were very simple and spiritual, more symbolic than realistic. As Japanese culture developed and was eventually influenced by many foreign traditions and beliefs, Japanese art transformed and the iconography and symbolic meaning of the turtles developed as well.

In ancient Chinese tradition, the deity 'Dark Warrior' (depicted as intertwined figures of a nearly realistic turtle and snake) represented seven constellations in the northern quarter of heaven and was believed to be the guardian deity of the north. The depiction of this supernatural being became quite important in Korea (mostly Goguryeo) and Japan as well. Colorful tomb murals and carvings of the Dark Warrior figure, as well as turtle-shaped stone structures, gilt bronze horse trappings and crafts are remarkable examples of how Japan greatly absorbed and modified the artistic knowledge, philosophies and cosmology of ancient Chinese and Korean culture.

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HUMILIATIVE AND DEFERENTIAL EXPRESSIONS IN MODERN JAPANESE

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Abstract: *This paper discusses the pragmatics of humiliative-deferential expressions in modern Japanese. Huang (2007:171) shows that honorific forms or humiliative and deferential expressions are social deixis. My central claim in this article is that Japanese humiliatives and deferentials are sensitive to indexical features, i.e. the speaker or the addressee features. This lexical distinction has been associated with sociological characterization of uchi 'in-group' and soto 'out-group' by Suzuki (1978), but the application of this characterization to lexical divide in kinship terms has not been well worked out or defined. No previous theories have made this distinction clear. However, the consensus seems to exist in that this lexical divide is associated with formality depending on whether the referent belongs to in-group or out-group. I argue against such claim. Adopting Manning's (2001:57) definition of indexical as a component of social deixis, I propose the distinction is a matter of indexing the contextual role of the referent. I will support my argument by distinguishing social deixis from speech style markers and showing that the humiliative and deferential expressions are distinct from speech style markers.*

Keywords: Humiliative/Deferential, Speech Style Markers, Social deixis, indexicals

1. Introduction

In Japanese, there are humiliative-deferential lexical pairs in many kinship terms. The humiliative and deferential pairs are identical in how they are lexically defined but differ in what they can and cannot refer to in a particular speech context.

The lexical divide between humiliative and deferential is shown in Table 1, and the clear divide is most obvious in the family terms:

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Lexical meaning	Humiliative	Deferential
Mother	*Haha*	*O-kā-san*
Father	*Chichi*	*O-tō-san*
Big sister	*Ane*	*O-nē-san*
Big brother	*Ani*	*O-nii-san*
Little sister	*Imōto*	*Imōto-san*
Little brother	*Otōto*	*Otōto-san*
Daughter	*Musume*	*Musume-san, O-jō-san*
Son	*Musuko*	*Musuko-san, O-boc-chan*
Wife	*Tsuma*	*Oku-san, Yome-san*
Husband	*Shujin, Danna*	*Danna-san, Go-shujin*

Table 1: Names for family/kinship

The humiliative and deferential expressions are heavily constrained by who is referred to in a speech context. The previous approach to this distinction is based on Suzuki's (1978) *uchi* 'in-group' vs. *soto* 'out-group' distinction together with the referent honorifics (Hasegawa and Hirose 2005). According to this distinction, whether the referent is self or anyone from one's own group, or from outside this group. The first distinction is whether the referent is self (x) or non-self (non-x). This is followed by the extension of self, namely, the family members, x's mother, x's father, x's son, x's daughter, and so on. This characterization states that if the humiliative term, say *haha*, is used, the referent must be the speaker's mother (x's mother). This part of the theory is born out. However, the prediction isn't born out with the deferential terms; the theory predicts that the referent of *o-kā-san* should be the mothers of non-x, but this is not the correct characterization. As Hasegawa and Hirose pointed out, *o-kā-san* has no such characteristics, as it can refer to the speaker's mother, the addressee's mother, and the third-party's mother.

The alternative approach that I propose in this paper is the humiliative-deferential terms as relational terms defined by the context dynamics of speech situation. For example, in the context where the humiliative form of "mother" is used in the utterance as in (1a), the reference of "mother" must be the speaker. The use of humiliative form is canonical if and only if the speaker is referring oneself as a mother. Thus, it immediately excludes this form from referring to the addressee as in (1b), or to the third-party audience as in (1c):

(1) a. Watasi wa haha(oya) desu.
I Top. mother.Humiliative Copula
"I am a mother."

b. #Haha, kochira ni kite kudasai.
mother.Humiliative this.way Dat. come please
"Mother, please come here."

This distinction is also observed among the name of occupation and personal belongings. For instance, in the context where the humiliative form of "teacher" is used in the utterance as in (2a), the reference of "teacher" must be the speaker. Thus, it excludes this form from referring to the addressee as in (2b), or to the third-party audience as in (2c):

(2) a. Watasi wa kyōshi desu.
I Top. teacher.Humiliative Copula
"I am a teacher."

b. #Kyōshi, kochira ni kite kudasai.
Teacher.Humiliative this.way Dat. come please
"Teacher, please come here."

c. #Kochira wa kyōshi desu.
This Top. teacher.Humilative Copula
"This is my teacher."

The latter class of terms, the names for one's occupations and personal belongings, are summarized in Table 2:

Lexical meaning	Humiliative	Deferential
Teacher	*Kyōshi*	*Sensē*
Doctor	*Isha/Ishi*	*Sensē/O-isya-san*
Official	*Tantō-no-mono*	*Tantō-no-kata*
Company	*Heisya*	*Kisya*
Manuscript	*Sekkō*	*Gyokkō*
House	*Uchi/wagaya*	*O-taku/O-sumai*

Table 2: Names for occupations and personal belongings

On the other hand, the use of deferential form is canonical if and only if the term refers to the addressee to which the utterance is directed, as in (3b). But the term cannot refer to the speaker or the third-party audience, as anomalies of (3a) and (3c) indicate:

(3) a. #Watasi wa o-kā-san desu.
I Top. mother.Deferential Copula
"I am a mother."

b. O-kā-san, kochira ni kite kudasai.
mother.Deferential, this.way Dat. come please
"Mother, please come here."

c. #Kochira wa o-kā-san desu.
This Top. mother.Deferential Copula
"This is my mother."

The reason for the anomaly of (3a) is that *o-kā-san* is a deferential expression which is restricted to referencing to the addressee. The anomalies for (2c) and (3c) suggest that the humiliative and deferential expressions are social deictic expressions, which are inflexible with contextually neutral reference.

The previous accounts hold that this lexical divide is one of speech style markers.[2] The most influential belief is due to Suzuki (1978), who argues that the use of humiliative is deeply connected with the cultural notion of *self* and the humiliative forms refers to someone *in-group* or *extended self*. Hasegawa and Hirose (2005:226) argue that the term *o-kā-san* is the unmarked choice for the word "mother," and that *haha* is to be chosen over *o-kā-san* in the formal situation. I'll argue against this claim in Section 3.

Also, the claim that *o-kā-san* is an unmarked or neutral does not explain why *o-kā-san* can have other variations such as *o-kā-sama, o-kā-chan,* or *o-kā,* etc. There are group of suffixes that attach to the proper names such as *-san, -sama, -chan, -kun*, etc. which vary according to the social status of the addressee in relation to the speaker.

Lexical variation	Gender	Age
Akiba-san	neutral	Same or senior
Akiba-sama	neutral	Adult, senior, superiority
Akiba-chan	Female (or neutral)	Same or younger
Akiba-kun	Male[3]	Same or younger

Table 3: Address term suffixes

The uses of these expressions are constrained by the social status of the referent in relation to the speaker. For example, the use of the suffix *-san* to the proper name usually implicates formality of the speech situation and that the referent is not in the close relationship and/or is senior to the speaker:

(4) a. #Watasi wa Satō-san desu.
I Top. Mr.Satō Copula
"I am Mr. Satō."

b. Satō-san, kochira ni kite kudasai.
Mr.Satō this.way Dat. come please
"Mr. Satō, please come here."

[2] This position is taken by Suzuki (1978), Hasegawa and Hirose (2005), and Weltzel (2015) among others. They argue that terms like *haha* refers to in-group members, whereas *o-kā-san* refers to out-group member. According to this theory, these distinctions are attributed to *in-group* vs. *out-group* terms, whose distinction comes from sociocultural characterization of collectivistic or group-orientation of Japanese society.

[3] The suffixes *-kun* and *-chan* can have other functions, too, not simply gender specific. A female office worker can be addressed by *-kun*, for example.

c. Kochira wa Satō-san desu.
This Top. Mr. Satō Copula
"This is Mr. Satō."

The use of *-san* is open to both reference to the addressee and to the third-party audience. Given the diagnostics of three different kinds of references in speech contexts, this article aims to answer the following questions: what are humiliative and deferential expressions and why they require different referents? Are humiliative and deferential a type of speech style markers?

The distinction between humiliative and deferential expressions we have seen above can be (mis)taken to be speech style markers, assigning *o-kā-san* as a formal term and *haha* as a casual form. However, I will provide counterarguments to such a solution. In what follows, I argue that humiliative-deferential divide is a matter of social deixis, which is to be distinguished from speech style markers. In section 2, I will overview the formal definitions of speech style markers from Brown and Fraser (1979) and social deixis from Levinson (1979) and Manning (2001). In section 3, I argue that humiliative and deferential are not speech style markers, based on three pieces of evidence: third person reference, stereotypical meaning, and complementarity of self-reference and others-reference. In section 4, I will conclude by providing semantics of humiliative and deferential expressions.

2. Social deixis vs. speech style markers

In this section, I aim to make a clear distinction between speech style markers and social deixis using Humiliative and Deferential examples, based on the previous studies of speech style markers and social deixis.

2.1 Speech style markers

According to Brown and Fraser (1979), social style markers are defined as "markers of situation." They are a range of linguistic markers that represent levels of formality in the speech situation. The speech style show variations depending on the speech situations. More concretely, the speech situations refer to settings, participants, and purposes of communication. Let me illustrate with some concrete examples how each of these clues in the speech situations create different speech styles.

Firstly, speech settings can make a speech situation. There are formal settings such as a public speech in a wedding ceremony, to be distinguished from the casual conversation in the family dinner. In the wedding ceremony, you may have to address your family members by a "super" respective form such as *go-resseki no minasan* to address audience, while they will be addressed by the casual form *minna* in the family dinner. Secondly, participants in conversation can play a role in making a speech situation. Imagine the speech situation where a kindergarten teacher is talking to her students, compared with a high school teacher is talking to her students. The speech style as well as the choice of words will be adjusted to the types of students she is talking to. The kindergarten teachers might use casual forms and more gestural language; the high school teachers will use much more formal and descriptive language. Thirdly, the purpose of utterance makes speech situations. The good example is the contrast between spoken and written languages. Compare the language read by the TV news, with the language in the newspaper. TV news may use the audience friendly language, like a report, whereas the newspaper has a tone of monologue and use descriptive language. Another interesting example is how a father addresses his daughter in the spoken language compared in the written language, say, in a letter. In Japanese, a father might address his daughter by names without any suffix, like "Kuniko," but in a letter, there is a certain style and the letter writer has to address the addressee by the name in a respective form such as *-sama* or *-dono*. Thus, choosing to communicate through writing a letter forces a father to address his daughter by the respective form such as *Kuniko-dono* "Miss Kuniko."

As such, the overall language of utterance and speech styles are largely determined by the degree of formality required in the speech situations. Like Korean speech style markers, Japanese has variation in speech styles, depending on formality of the speech situation, the social status of the addressee, and the social relation to the speaker. In Japanese, the speech style markers are divided by formal and casual registers, but I would like to add the third type, diminutive.

The Japanese copula has stylistic variation; *-masu* and *-desu* are known as a "polite" form and encode formal register for the conversational setting and for showing respect and psychological distance to the audience[4]. The "plain" copula *-da* in (4b) or complete omission of copula (null) in (4c) encodes casual register and makes the utterance sound direct to the audience as in (4c).

[4] Fukada and Asato (2004) states that the copula form *masu* signifies a type of honorifics, which show respects to the audience (=*addressee honorifics*). Cook (2011) states that addressee honorifics is prevalent to various social contexts, while referent honorifics is much more constrained. Many cases of disputes over politeness vs. discernment in Ide (1989) and Matsumoto (1988) can be revised by explicating what speech style markers do. As Cook (2011: 3536) states, the copula ending forms *masu, da*, etc. are to be categorized under speech style markers, encoding a level of formality (and not politeness by itself).

(4) a. (Watashi wa) kyōshi desu. (Formal)
I Top. teacher Copula.Polite
"I am a teacher."

b. (Watashi wa) kyōshi da. (Casual)
I Top teacher Copula.Plain
"I am a teacher."

c. (Watashi wa) kyōshi. (Casual)
I Top. teacher Ø
"I am a teacher."

Examples in (4) show that the Modern Japanese copula can be either long, short, or null. The choice of these styles depends on whether the utterance is spoken or written, or what the setting of the utterance situation is.

Likewise, it is possible to use both formal and casual copula forms with a deferential term. However, the use of deferential term in the main clause is heavily constrained by the referent honorification.[5] Combined with the proper use of referent honorifics of copula *de-irassyaru*, the use of deferential term *sensē* 'teacher' can be used either with formal or casual form as in (5a-b):

(5) a. (Anata wa) Dolittle sensē de-irassyai masu ka? (Formal)
You Top. Dolittle teacher Cop-Hon. Cop.Polite Q
"Are you Dr. Dolittle?"

b. (Anata wa) Dolittle sensē de-irassyaru? (Casual)
You Top. Dolittle teacher Q
"Are you Dr. Dolittle?"

Another set of speech style markers are observed in address terms. For example, there is a range of variation to the address term suffixes, i.e. how a proper name is addressed by attaching different suffixes as in (6).

[5] The omission of copula or the casual form is constrained when the deferential noun is used for the sentential subject, due to the lack of referent honorification. In the linguistic environment where there is no copula, the referent of *sensē* is interpreted as the third person.

1) a. Dolittle sensē ka? (Casual)
Dolittle teacher Q
"Is he Dr. Dolittle?"

b. Dolittle sensē Ø ? (Casual)
Dolittle teacher Ø
"Is he Dr. Dolittle?"

(6) a. Akiba-**san** desu.
Akiba-san Copula
"He/she is Mr./Ms. Akiba."

b. Akiba-**kun** desu.
Akiba-kun Copula
"He/she is Mr. Akiba."

c. Akiba-**chan** desu.
Akiba-chan Copula
"He/she is Akiba."

While -*san* and -*sama* are used in the formal situations, -*kun* and -*chan* are relatively casual. The use of -*san* indicates that the speaker pays due respect to the referent. The use of -*kun* indicates that the referent is a male who is either in the same age or younger than the speaker. The use of -*chan* indicates that the referent is close to the speaker, but usually is younger than the speaker.

The main reason why these suffixes are speech style markers is that the choice of the suffix is associated with the social identity of the third person in the speech context[6] and resonates with the speech style markers on the predicates. This property makes a clear contrast against the deferential-humiliative terms, which are associated with the identity with the speaker or the addressee and are neutral to the speech styles of the predicates. The formal suffixes -*sama* and -*san* can be the subject of honorification by predicative form *o-kirai-desu* as in (7a) or the subject of polite form *kirai-desu* as in (7b) and make honorification of the referent or the addressee. In contrast, the casual forms such as -*kun* or -*chan* cannot be the subject of honorification, but can combine with less formal copula forms as in (7c-d): [7]

[6] The humiliative-deferential terms can refer to the third person, but the choice of the term is associated with presence of kinship or social connection to the speaker. The address term suffixes does not make distinction between presence and absence of a perduring social connection (that of in-group/out the group distinction).

[7] The casual form of copula or the omission of the copula leads to anomaly if the speech situation is formal. Also, it should be noted that there are much more variations to the speech styles of copula if sentence-final particles are also included (Tsujimura 2014: 417). The use of these particles imparts partial information about the speaker's conception of the social/gender identity of the referent. In (1), the suffix -*san* resonates with the feminine sentence-final particles. In (2), the omission of suffix resonates with the casual or masculine sentence-final particle. Note that the referents of *Akiba-san* and *Akiba* are the third person:

1) a. Akiba-san desu wa. (Formal/Feminine)
Akiba-Ms./Mr. Cop.formal Assertive.Feminine
"She is Ms. Akiba/He is Mr. Akiba?"

b. Akiba-san kashira? (Formal/Feminine)
Akiba-Ms./Mr. Question.Feminine
"Is she Ms. Akiba/Is he Mr. Akiba?"

(7) a. Akiba-sama wa yasai ga o-kirai desu. (Honorification)
Akiba-sama Toc. vegetable Nom hate-Honorific Copula.Polite
"Mr./Ms. Akiba hates vegetables."

b. Akiba-san wa yasai ga kirai desu. (Formal)
Akiba-san Top. vegetable Nom hate Copula.Polite
"Mr./Ms. Akiba hates vegetables."

c. (#)Akiba-kun wa yasai ga kirai da. (Casual)
Akiba-kun Top. vegetable Nom hate Copula.Plain
"Mr. Akiba hates vegetables."

d. (#)Akiba-chan wa yasai ga kirai ∅. (Casual)
Akiba-chan Top. vegetable Nom hate
"Little Akiba hates vegetables."

Interestingly, there is another type of speech style: a "diminutive."[8] Functionally, this speech style markers are similar to "expressives"[9] as discussed in Potts and Kawahara (2002). This category includes no

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2) a. Akiba ∅ da zo. (Casual/Masculine)
Akiba Cop.short Assertive.Masculine
"He/She is Akiba"

b. Akiba ∅ da ro? (Casual/Masculine)
Akiba Cop.short Q.Masuculine
"Is he/she Akiba?"

In (1-2), the formality of the suffix resonates with the formality expressed by the sentence-final suffix.

[8] Here I used "diminutive" to mean anti-respective speech style markings to address the addressee. Typically, the utterer uses the term to make the addressee appear small or unworthy of respect. These terms implicate the speaker's derogative attitude towards the referent. Suzuki (2001: 145-146) used the term "diminutive" for the suffix *chan* as this suffix marks the referent being younger than the speaker. To me *-chan* corresponds to a casual speech style marker, which express closeness, familiarity, and friendliness.

[9] Potts and Kawahara (2002) provided the following examples as the instances of "expressives" in (1-2).

1) Ano sensei wa gaki-**domo** ga urusai koto o sira-nai.
That teacher TOP kids-**antihon** Nom noisy fact ACC know-Neg
'That teacher does not know that the kids are noisy.'

2) Iikagen ni shi-**yagare**!
Appropriately do-**antihon**.IMP
'Knock it off!'

I distinguish expressives from diminutive in that the expressives are more lucid and widespread in linguistic expressions as well as its pragmatic functions; they are not limited to a particular syntactic class or limited to a particular speech style. According to Potts and Kawahara, the use of expressives gives rise to the additional (non-truth conditional) meaning such as "I don't like the kids" which shows the speaker's strong emotional attitude towards the referent. The instances of expressives are: attributive adjectives (*damn)*, the content of epithets, certain interjections (*ouch*), and a set of discourse particles. Japanese has a rich lexicon for expressives. For example, this group includes swear terms like *chikusyō* 'beast' to mean 'Damn it!' or exclamations by making a phonetic stretch of the final vowel of a word like *urusai* 'noisy' to *urusē!* 'Shut up!' However, there are expressives for other range of emotions, excitements (*hē*!), teasing (*yāi!*), relief (*yare yare*), for example.

suffixation to the proper name, or expressive such as *-yarō* 'bastard,' -*me* 'damn,' or *-domo* 'gangs':

(8) a. Akiba!
"That Akiba!"

b. Akiba yarō!
"Bastard, Akiba!"

c. Akiba me!
"Damn Akiba!"

d. Akiba domo!
"Those Akiba rogues!"

The uses of these expressions are usually offensive to the addressee and are only used in the context where the speaker is trying to show derogative attitude to the addressee.

2.2 Social deixis

Levinson (1979, 1983) defines social deixis as those expressions that carry information about social status of the speaker, the hearer, or a third person, and the social relationships holding between them. Levinson's examples of social deixis consist of honorific expressions in natural languages.

Levinson makes distinction between two types of social deixis: absolute and relational. For instance, English expressions *your honor* or *Mr. President*, are absolute in that the expressions are directly tied to the specific social roles or occupations. The referent is absolute in terms of the speaker of the utterance in the sense that the referent does not vary depending on the speaker.[10] According to Levinson, the relational social deixis is divided into referent honorifics, addressee honorifics and bystander honorifics. French second person pronoun has variations of *tu* and *vous*, which is classified under referent honorifics. The referent honorifics are used to honor the referent of the term; the addressee honorifics are used to honor the addressee, and the bystander honorifics are used to pay respect to the distant relatives, i.e., the in laws. I argue that the uses of humiliative and deferential expressions are predicted by the pragmatics of social deixis.[11]

[10] Note that the reference of absolute social deixis still varies depending on the time of utterance.

[11] Strictly speaking, humiliative is not one of honorifics, and needs further characterization and definition. Suzuki's characterization of in-group referring terms is associated with the choice of self-referring terms, but self-referring terms such as the first person pronouns have further variations by gender, age, or masculinity or feminity: *watashi, boku, atashi*, and *ore*, etc.

There are challenges to Suzuki's (1978) characterization of in-group and out-group, if it is directly applied to this lexical divide, as not all humiliative terms are associated with referencing members of in-group and all the deferential terms with referencing members of outside the group, as I will show later in this section.

I will be offering a new characterization of humiliative-deferential distinction by clarifying the distinction between speech style marking and social deictic terms, by adopting Manning's (2001) definition of "social indexicals." I argue that humiliative and deferential are specifically associated with "social indexicals." Manning divided social deixis into two components, denotational and indexical. Manning argues that deictic expressions are conflation of denotation and indexicality, as there are expressions of social deixis that have referential characterization, while others are purely indexical and its denotations are context-dependent. Indexicality can be characterized by "origo", the reference point or egocentric center, which can be the speaker, the time or place of the speech situation. The indexical component determines whether the expression indicates "being proximal or distal to" or "visible or invisible to" the reference point. Applying such a concept to the humiliative and deferential expressions, the use of humiliative indicates social proximity of the specific referent to the speaker, and the use of deferential indicates social distance to the speaker.

For instance, Japanese humiliative terms must refer to the speaker of the utterance. They have denotational meaning, such as "teacher," but their reference is determined by the form, (i.e. humiliative or deferential). When "teacher" is expressed by the humiliative form, *kyōshi,* it usually refers to the occupation of the speaker. But it can be optimal for describing the occupation of the speaker's younger family member or the speaker's peers when the term refers to the third person. If "teacher" is expressed by the deferential form *sensē*, this refers to the occupation of the addressee. The third person reference is optimal if the referent has no social connection to the speaker. In the unmarked declarative sentence in (9a), the subject DP refers to the speaker and thus the appropriate use of "teacher" in this context would be *kyōshi* over *sensē*:

(9) a. (Watashi wa) kyōshi desu.
I Top. teacher.Humiliative Copula

b. #(Watashi wa) sensē desu.
I Top. teacher.Deferential Copula
"I am a teacher."

Let us switch from the declaratives to the interrogatives, which obligatorily take a non-speaker subject. When an interrogative sentence asks for the addressee's occupation, it must take a deferential to refer to the addressee's occupation. Thus, it is predicted that *sensē* and not *kyōshi* is appropriate in this context:

(10) a.* (Anata wa) kyōshi desu ka?
You Top. teacher.Humiliative copula Q

b. (Anata wa) sensē desu ka?
You Top. teacher.Deferential Copula Q
"Are you a teacher?"

Another context to test whether the words *kyōshi* and *sensē* are sensitive to indexicality in a social context is given in (11), where "teacher" is used as a third party.

(11) a. #Kyōshi kara o-denwa desu.
Teacher.Humiliative. from telephone.Hon Copula
"Your teacher is on the phone."

b. Sensē kara o-denwa desu.
Teacher.Deferential from telephone.Hon Copula
"Your teacher is on the phone."

In this context, the humiliative *kyōshi* is excluded, as the speaker has no perduring social connection to the referent (=the teacher), and therefore, the deferential *sensē* is appropriate.[12] These examples show that humiliative-deferential terms are social indexicals. The terms are sensitive to social closeness or remoteness of the referent to the speaker.

2.3 Humiliative and deferential

I show that the humiliative and deferential terms require coindexing with either the speaker or the addressee, and do not require the referent is in-group or not. The lexical divide referent is either close to or distal to the index of the speech context, which comes with the implicature of existence/absence of the perduring social relation. This explains that humiliative and deferential references are not a marker of formal or casual register.

As mentioned in 2.1, Japanese address terms consist of a proper name and a suffix that is associated with the social status of the referent: suffixes such as *-san* or *-sama* mark formal register. Just like the deferential terms in (2a-b), the use of this class of suffixes is excluded from the self-referencing context as in (12a):

[12] There is a term "*Kyōshi-kai*" meaning Teacher's Association. This humiliative use is justified due to the affiliation of the teachers under the same social group.

(12) a. *Watashi wa Akiba-san da.
I Top. Akiba-san Copula
"I am Akiba."

b. Wastahi wa Akiba da.
I Top. Akiba-∅ Copula
"I am Akiba."

In the context of self-reference, it is usually the case that no suffix is used, as in (12b). On the other hand, attachment of this class of suffix is, under the normal circumstance, required for referencing others as shown in (13a-b).

(13) a. (Anata wa) Akiba-san desu ka?
You Top. Akiba-san Copula Q
"Are you Mr./Ms. Akiba?"

b. *(Anata wa) Akiba desu ka?
You Top. Akiba-∅ Copula Q
"Are you Mr./Ms. Akiba?"

The presence of suffix to the proper name *Akiba* corresponds to English surnames Mr. or Ms., which gives a sense of formality and deference to the referent.

The family terms are no exception. There are variations depending on which form or suffix the speaker chooses; family terms can take suffix such as *-san* and *-sama*, or without. The Humiliative expressions listed in Table 1 never takes suffixes. *Haha* "mother" for example, can be used for self-reference, but not for addressing others.

(14) a. Watashi wa haha desu.
I Top. mother.Humiliative copula

b. #Watashi wa o-kā-san/o-kā-sama desu.
I Top. mother.Deferential copula
"I am mother."

Just like proper names, attachment of suffixes is limited to the non-self-referential context.

(15) a.*(Anata wa) Tanaka-san no haha desu ka.
You Top. Tanaka-san Gen mother.Humiliative copula Q

b. (Anata wa) Tanaka-san no o-kā-san/o-kā-sama desu ka.
You Top. Tanaka-san Gen mother.Deferential copula Q
"Are you Mr. Tanaka's mother?"

These examples show that there are similarities between social deictic expressions and speech style markers. If humiliative-deferential expressions are taken to be speech style markers, then, we might as well conclude that *haha* represents a casual register of "mother" and *o-kā-san* represents a formal register.

However, there is a counterexample to this analysis. If humiliative-deferential terms are speech style markers, the third person reference of "mother" should be expressed by a formal register, as the third person reference creates a social context of referencing others. However, this is not the case. Referencing the third person as "my mother" selects humiliative, as in (16b), parallel to self-referencing as a mother as in (16a).

(16) a. Watashi wa haha desu.
I Top. mother.Humiliative Coplula
"I am a mother."

b. Kochira wa haha desu.
This Top. mother.Humiliative Copula
"This is my mother."

In (16a), the term "mother" is referring to the speaker herself. In (16b), the term "mother" refers to the speaker's mother who is attending the conversation as an audience, and the utterance is directed to someone who is not the speaker's mother. This use of humiliative in (16b) clearly violates the appropriateness condition of speech style marking.

In addition, I argue that the deferential form *o-kā-san* is not a speech style marker. If *o-kā-san* is an expression of formal register, we would not expect that *o-kā-san* to appear in the context where the speaker is addressing the speaker's own mother in the private setting. However, as shown in (17a), *o-kā-san* (or any form with a kind of honorific marker) is the only choice for addressing the speaker's mother, and the use of the humiliative *haha* is strictly prohibited. Thus, *o-kā-san* can appear in a casual register as in (17a) or in a formal register to address other people's mothers, as in (17b):

(17) a. O-kā-san, kocchi ni kite.
Mother.Deferential, this.way Dat. come.imperative
"Mother, please come here."

b. O-kā-san wa o-genki desu ka.
Mother.Deferential Top. be.well.Hon Copula.Formal Q
"How is (your) mother?"

In this example, even though the term is used in the casual setting, the deferential form is selected. Furthermore, there are variations to the casual forms for "mother." The casual forms would be more often expressed by omission of prefix *o* or omission of the suffix *-san*, as *kā-san* or *o-kkā*, or the use of *-chan* as *kā-chan*.

To sum up, the humiliative and deferential distinction of kinship terms is sensitive to the deictic orientation of the referent in the speech context, and not to the social setting of the utterance.[13] In the next section, I investigate the issue more in detail by comparing humiliative-deferential expressions with speech style markers.

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[13] A question arises as to whether this nominal distinction between humiliative and deferential terms is applicable to humble and honorific distinction in predicates. This is both plausible and natural development. Tsujimura (2014) discusses Japanese lexical inventories for the notion of giving and receiving: *sasiageru, ageru, yaru, kudasaru, kureru* 'give' and *itadaku,morau* 'receive.' In particular, the distinction between *ageru* and *kureru* 'give' is one of social deixis. *Ageru* is speaker oriented. The speaker must be the giver, and the action of giving must be directed from the speaker to the non-speaker. *Kureru*, on the other hand, is addressee oriented, and the speaker must be the receiver. The lexical entries are:

1) *Ageru* 'I give to a non-speaker'
Kureru 'A non-speaker gives to me'

Under this lexical rule, simple tests on the use of the first-person pronoun bring the correct results. The first pronoun *watasi* 'I' cannot be used to represent a non-speaker:

2) a.#Watasi ni ageru
1st.person.Neutral. Dat give
'(Someone) give to me'

b. Watasi ni kureru
1st.person.Neutral. Dat give
'(Someone) give to me'

The deferential term *O-kā-san* shows the complementary distribution to *watasi,* as in (3):

3) a. O-kā-san ni ageru
mother.Deferential Dat give
'(I) give to my mother'

b. #O-kā-san ni kureru
mother.Deferential Dat give
'(I) give to my mother'

Tsujimura (2014:324 (40), 325 (46)) shows that the humiliative forms (*haha* 'mother', *imōto* 'younger sister') show the parallel behavior with the first-person pronoun with these verbs. In the previous accounts, the kinship terms are bundled under *in-group*, as they are considered having a close social relationship to the speaker. However, the behavior of *o-kā-san* in (3) strikes as exceptional if *o-kā-san* is to represent one of *in-group* member.

3. Are humiliative and deferential a type of speech style markers?

So far, we have seen that there is a conceptual difference between speech style markers and social deixis. I have shown that the humiliative-deferential divide depends on the referent of the term in the context, and that the address term suffixes in Modern Japanese are speech style markers. I will support my argument by providing the following observations: first, the third person reference by the humiliative-deferential expressions ends up with denoting a distinct set of individuals (i.e. referents) in the given speech situation; second, speech style markers have stereotypical meaning whose referents do not vary by speakers; and third, the wrong use of speech style markers would not give rise to ungrammaticality, but the wrong use of humiliative and deferential expressions will result in ungrammaticality.

3.1 Third-person reference

In the context where the expression refers to the third person, humiliative and deferential terms denote distinct sets of referents. Switching speech style markers from formal to casual do not result in the different referents.

Let us start with the humiliative mention of the proper name with no suffix in (18a) and the defeferential mention of the name with formal suffix in (18b):

(18) a. Akiba wa ori-masen.
Akiba-∅ Top. be.present.Humble-Neg.formal
"Akiba isn't here."

b. Akiba-san wa i-masen.
Akiba-san Top. be.present-Neg.formal
"Mr./Ms. Akiba isn't here."

Let us take a context where the speaker is visiting his business customer with his colleague. In this context, when the speaker uses the humiliative for *Akiba*, as in (18a), *Akiba* must refer to the in-group member, i.e., the speaker's co-worker. If he uses the deferential form, as in (18b), *Akiba-san* must refer to the out-group member, i.e., the customer. This way, the humiliative and deferential refer to different set of individuals (i.e. referents) in the speech context.

Now compare (18) with the use of different speech style markers, -*sama*, -*kun*, and -*chan*.

(19) a. Kochira wa Akiba-sama. (Formal)
This Top. Akiba-sama

b. Kochira wa Akiba-kun. (Casual)
This Top. Akiba-kun

c. Kochira wa Akiba-chan. (Casual)
This Top. Akiba-chan
"This is Akiba."

There is no distinction based on the notion of in-group or out-group. The same person can be referred to by choosing any suffix.

In the same token, the humiliative and deferential family terms are distinguished by who is referred to in the context. For the speaker to refer to his own mother, only humiliative term can be used:

(20) a. Kochira wa haha desu.
This Top. mother.Humiliative Copula

b. #Kochira wa o-kā-san desu.
This Top. mother.Deferential Copula

The use of humiliative kinship term *haha* is optimal in (20a), while this use is eliminated in the occupational term *kyooshi* shown in (2c), repeated here as (21).

(21) #Kochira wa kyōshi desu.
This Top. teacher.Humilative Copula
"This is my teacher."

The difference is that the humiliative form is optimal only if the referent has a perduring social connection to the speaker. Presumably, the referent of *kyōshi* has no such relationship to the speaker.

For the speaker to refer to the third person who has no social connection to the speaker (i.e., somebody else's mother), the deferential term must be used:

(22) a. Kochira wa Akiba-kun no o-kā-san desu.
This Top. Akiba-kun Gen mother.Deferential Copula

b. #Kochira wa Akiba-kun no haha desu.
This Top. Akiba-kun Gen mother.Humiliative Copula
"This is Mr. Akiba's mother."

As examples show, when the address term refers to the third party, the choice of humiliative and deferential form is determined by whether the referent has a close social relationship to the speaker or not. In (18a), the social connection is the occupational relationship as a co-worker, and in (20a), it is a kinship relation. This supports my analysis that the distinction made by humiliative-deferential forms is whether the referent is either proximal or distal to the speaker.

3.2 Stereotypical meaning

Relating to the point made in the previous section, my second argument to support my claim is that speech style markers usually have a stereotypical meaning, which humiliative-deferential expressions lack. Speech style markers have stereotypical meaning, whose referents do not vary by the speaker.

(23) $[\![o - cha]\!]$= a cup of green tea
$[\![o - tearai]\!]$= a bathroom
$[\![o - s\bar{e}bo]\!]$ = year-end gift
$[\![b\bar{o}zu]\!]$ = a little boy
$[\![gaki]\!]$= kids, little scoundrels
$[\![o - bo - chama]\!]$= a wealthy or spoiled boy
$[\![oyaji]\!]$= middle-aged man
$[\![gyaru]\!]$ = street girls
$[\![ko - musume]\!]$= a cheeky girl
$[\![wank\bar{o}]\!]$ = street dogs
$[\![doraneko/noraneko]\!]$ = street cats

No matter who speaks of these terms, the referent will always have the same meaning. Among them, there are terms like *gaki*, *gyaru*, and *oyaji* which are only used for casual speech, but also have certain stigmatized meanings, i.e. "expressive" uses. They convey socially attached meanings to the audience, no matter who use the expression.

On the other hand, humiliative-deferential expressions do not have stereotypical meanings. Their denotations are different from context to context, and referents of the expressions vary by the speaker.

(24) $[\![segare/musuko]\!]$ = my son
$[\![musuko - san/o - bo - chan]\!]$ = your son
$[\![tuma/kanai/ny\bar{o}b\bar{o}]\!]$ = my wife
$[\![oku - san/o - yome - san]\!]$ = your wife
$[\![t\bar{e}syu/syujin]\!]$ = my husband
$[\![danna - san/go - shujin]\!]$ = your husband

The fact that the humiliative-deferential expressions refer to different individual depending on the speech context is reminiscent to the use of the first and second person pronouns. The simple sentence like "I am John" is true if and only if the statement is uttered by John, but otherwise false, as the referent of the first-person pronoun *I* varies by the speaker.

3.3 Complementarity of self-reference and others-reference

It is generally true that politeness is naturally expressed by the formal register in addressing someone's name attaching *-sama*, which is contrasted with the casual register in using no suffix to describe the speaker's names or somebody else who is close enough to the speaker. This general tendency might be thought of as one effect of politeness.

However, politeness or sense of deference expressed by speech style markers can be easily violated or manipulated by the speaker's intentional language uses. For example, the suffix *-sama* is usually chosen to address others but under unusual circumstances, it can be intentionally violated by using the suffix to address the speaker himself as in (25a). In other cases, expressive like *yatsu* "that fellow" or no suffix can be used to refer to others as in (25b-c). These violations or manipulations are detected by the audience and trigger implicature that the referent does or does not deserve public respect, due to his social status or his belief as in (25a), or the dishonorable actions in (25b) or to show group identity in (25c):

(25) a. Wagahai wa Akiba-sama da.
1st.Def. Topic Akiba-sama. Copula.short
"I am Akiba."

b. Akiba ∅ ga taiho sare masita.
Akiba ∅ Nom arrest Pass. Copula.past.long
"Akiba was arrested."

c. Akiba ∅/(no yatsu) genki?
Akiba ∅/Gen. fellow be.well
"How is Akiba?"

All examples in (25a-c) show non-typical uses of suffix. The speaker's use of respective suffix *-sama* to refer to him/herself in (25a) can be taken as anti-humiliative. On the other hand, no suffix to address other people's name in the public TV news, for example, would be anti-honorific. Uses of "diminutive" or "expressive" to refer to the addressee whom the speaker knows well, can be emblematic of friendship or of social identity of the addressee having graduated from the same school, and so on.

While such manipulation is possible with speech style markers, the same is not true with humiliative-deferential distinction. In (26a) and

(27a), the deferential is used in the context of humiliative, and in (26b) and (27b), the humiliative is used in the context of deferential. This misuses of deferential in (26-7a) would not give rise to anti-humiliative implicature as seen in (25a). In (26-7b) and the misuse of humiliative would neither make the sentence anti-honorific as seen in (25b) nor elicit the referent's social connection to the speaker as in (25c):

(26) a. #Wagahai wa musuko-san da.
1st.Def. Topic son-Deferential. Copula.short
"I am (his) son."

b. #Musuko genki?
son-Hum be.well
"How is your son?"

(27) a. #Watakushi wa o-kā-san desu.
1st.Def. Top. mother.Deferential Copula.short
"I am mother."

b. #Haha genki?
mother-Hum be.well
"How is your mother?"

The anti-humiliative implicature of (27a) could be that the speaker deserves respect from the audience by using the deferential *o-kā-san*, and the anti-honorific implicature of (27b) could be that the speaker is not paying due respect to the referent by using the humiliative *haha*. However, the misuses of humiliative and deferential expressions do not turn out to be "unconventional uses" or "manipulation" of the implicature it triggers; they are anomaly.

This contrast in the misuses is suggestive. The reason why the misuses of speech style markers do not give rise to anomaly is that they are a part of language variation. The most typical instance of language variation is that of dialects. The use of dialects will tell the audience something about the speaker, i.e., where the speaker is from. However, the misuse of dialects will not be anomaly. Analogously, the various uses of address term suffixes can be viewed as language variation depending on the certain features of the speech context. On the contrary, a lexical choice that differentiates social relationship in the speech context is *grammaticalized* if the chosen word/morpheme becomes a part of the lexicon and is integrated in the sentence grammar, whose use will be specified by truth conditions or a part of sentence syntax. We have seen that the humiliative/deferential distinction is not conceived as a part of variation, but a matter of grammar, as the occurrences of the word is predictable from linguistic environments. Here the contrast indicates that the humiliative and deferential expressions are grammaticalized.

4. Semantics of humiliative-deferential expressions

In this section, I will adopt Levinson's (1979, 1983) and Manning's (2001) pragmatic definition of social indexicals combined with Kaplan's (1978) and Kratzer's (2009) sematics of indexicals, and provide semantics of humiliative and deferential nominal expressions. I am not trying to discern whether humiliative/deferential distinction is to be treated in truth conditions or use conditions. They have both properties, as the pragmatic aspect of social indexicals has to do with the definition of socially deictic reference points, and the semantic aspect has to do with the denotation of such indexical expressions.[14]

Let me summarize my findings of humiliative and deferential as follows. I argued that the humiliative and deferential expressions are social indexicals. The main reason for this argument comes from the fact that humiliative-deferential expressions have the crucial property of social indexicals: contextually specific meanings. By contextual meaning, I meant that humiliative-deferential expressions denote distinct (sets of) individuals in any given context and a term is selected depending on whether there is a perduring social connection between the referent and the speaker. This indexical information is not a part of speech style markers. Speech style markers have stereotypical meanings associated with social status or occupations and their conventional implicature can be manipulated through their uses of the term. However, the wrong uses of humiliative and deferential expressions result in anomaly. Thus, I conclude that humiliative-deferential lexical divisions are not a matter of speech style but a matter of grammar.

Let me spell out use conditions for humiliative and deferential expressions as follows:

(28) a. Humiliatives are used for self-reference.
b. Deferentials are used for addressee-reference.
c. For the third-person reference, humiliative is used when there is a perduring social relationship with the speaker, and deferential when there is no perduring social relationship with the speaker.

The perduring social relationship includes but is not limited to kinship, affiliations, ownership, or workplace. As for the referential

[14] I follow Pizziconi's (2020) general approach to Japanese social deixis. She states, "an indexical approach is therefore best equipped to avoid the pitfalls of often innocent, and unintentional stereotypifications." Also, she explains, "an indexical view combines instead an analysis of the linguistic properties of the class of forms called social deictics, that is, the schema they provide, with a focus on the social context, understood as specific socio-historical conditions, …" (Pizziconi 2020: 765).

meaning of the humiliative and deferential, I can define the expressions by adopting truth-conditions of indexicals given by Kaplan (1978) or those of first-person pronouns as defined by Kratzer (2009). Let me define the contextually defined referent of humiliative and deferential expressions, using the lexical pair, *haha* "mother in humiliative term" and *o-kā-san* "mother in deferential term" as follows:

(29) Truth conditions for Humiliative/Deferential expressions

$[\![haha]\!]=[\![ok\bar{a}san\ ]\!](=[\![mother]\!])$ Line 1

For all variable assignments g admissible in a context c:

$[\![haha]\!]^{g,\,c} = g(3)$ if $g(3)$ is a speaker in c. Line 2

$[\![ok\bar{a}san\ ]\!]^{g,\,c} = g(3)$ if $g(3)$ is an addressee in c. Line 3

Otherwise,

$[\![Haha\ 3]\!]^{g,\,c} = fg(3)$ if $g(3)$ is a speaker in c, and there is a perduring social connection *f* such that $f(g(3))([\![Haha]\!])$. Line 4

$[\![ok\bar{a}san\ 3]\!]^{g,\,c} = {\sim}fg(3)$ if $g(3)$ is a speaker in c, and there is no perduring social connection *f* such that $f(g(3))([\![ok\bar{a}san\ ]\!])$. Line 5

Line 1 shows that the lexical terms *haha* and *o-kā-san* have the same sense. Line 2 states that the denotation of *haha* is the speaker when it is used for self-referencing. Likewise, line 3 says that the denotation of *o-kā-san* is the addressee when the term refers to the addressee. When those terms are used for the third person, the use of a humiliative term, *haha*, indicates that the denotation of the terms have a certain social relationship with the speaker, but the use of a deferential term, *o-kā-san*, indicates that there is no such relationship, which are stated in line 4 and line 5 respectively.

5. Conclusion and perspective

In this paper, I've considered nominal category of humiliative and deferential expressions in Modern Japanese. I have argued that the humiliative and deferential expressions form a distinct natural class, to be demarcated from speech style markers.

I have not explored how such distinction is associated with predicative category of honorific and humble forms, and they are left for future research.

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PANDEMIC PERFORMANCES: THE NEW NOH PLAY *AMABIE* AND AMABIE NOH MASKS

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Abstract: *The stereotypical image of Noh theater might call to mind the chanting of canonical pieces, and the slow movements of a traditional Japanese performing art. Gerry Yokota opens her influential work on the creation of the "canon" of Noh plays noting it is often taken up by scholars and media commentators alike as an art that is "quintessentially Japanese," one of the most "traditional" of Japanese cultural institutions.*[2] *With pieces drawing on Japanese mythology and history, Noh is not typically associated with current events. Contrary to common ideas about Noh as a static art form that relies on the performance of canonical pieces, however, recent scholarship by Gerry Yokota and Susan Blakely Klein, for example, has revealed that the art form has always been influenced by the contemporaneous cultural contexts. Furthermore, Yokota's work has demonstrated that Noh has always been fluid, and in particular, in contemporary Japan, shinsaku Noh, or New Noh plays, in fact take up a wide array of social issues and current events.*[3] *As the current global novel coronavirus pandemic has inspired art around the world, and therefore it is no surprise that, just as it did around the world, the novel coronavirus pandemic also inspired art in Japan—such as the New Noh play Amabie. This short paper introduces the new Noh play Amabie and examines both the meaning of the play itself and the way that it is staged, arguing that it represents Amabie as at once Japanese and global, and representative of both traditional and popular culture. This paper also introduces the appearance of new Amabie Noh masks, one made for commercial sale and one as an artistic object, as examples of the way in which Amabie's appearance in Noh can be seen as an act of fusion between popular culture and tradition, Japanese mythology and Greek mythology, and spiritual and commercial practices.*

Keywords: New Noh plays, Noh, masks, Amabie, COVID-19, popular culture, shinsaku Noh *Amabie, yōkai*

Introduction: Amabie and the COVID-19 pandemic

Amabie may now be best-known as a pop culture phenomenon born of the COVID-19 pandemic. Amabie is a *yōkai*, or Japanese folkloric creature; unlike other *yōkai* associated with prophecy or illness, there is

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[2] Yokota, Gerry, *The Formation of the Canon of Nō: The Literary Tradition of Divine Authority*, Osaka University Press, 1997:1.

[3] See, for example, Yokota, Gerry, "Letters to the Void," Gengo bunka kyōdō kenkyū purojekuto 2004 [Joint Research Project on Language and Culture 2004] 2005 and Susan Blakely Klein, *Dancing the Dharma: Religious and Political Allegory in Japanese Noh Theatre*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Monographs 435, 2021.

no significant historical documentation of her appearance or lore. A single *kawaraban*, or a wood- or tile-block printed broadsheet that was used to report current events during the Edo period (1600-1868) is the only record extant today that describes events associated with her. According to the legend recorded on this broadsheet, the creature, which is usually depicted with feminine characteristics, appeared in the sea in what is today Kumamoto prefecture and instructed people to show her image to the world whenever epidemics spread. Held in the Kyoto University archives, the sheet is headlined "Uncanny being from the Sea at Biko (Image of Amabie)," and the text reads simply:

> A glowing being appeared every night in the sea of Higo Province [today's Kumamoto prefecture], so an official went to investigate, resulting in his discovery of a being like that in this drawing. 'I live in the sea and I am called Amabie. This year's good harvest will continue for six years, but at the same time disease will spread. Copy my image and show me to as many people as possible.' So saying, the being disappeared into the sea.
> The middle of the fourth month, the year Kōka 3 (mid-May, 1846).[4]

Figure 1. Photograph courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University - Amabie

[4] Translation adapted from Furukawa, Yuki and Rei, Kansaku, "Amabie: A Japanese Symbol of the COVID-19 Pandemic." JAMA 324(6) 17 July 2020: 531. Also quoted in Kathryn M. Tanaka, "Amabie as Play in Kansai," in: *Beliefs, Ritual Practices, and Celebrations in Kansai II,* ed. Carmen Săpunaru Tămaş, Bucharest: Pro Universitaria, 2021: 182-227.

In the accompanying image, Amabie is a mermaid-like figure. The creature is depicted with long hair, diamond-shaped eyes, a beak, and a scaly, fish-like body with three fins. These characteristics are preserved in modern images of Amabie, making it instantly identifiable, and as is common with contemporary imaginings of mermaids, in the contemporary pop culture revival of Amabie, the creature is often depicted with feminine characteristics.

While other folkloric creatures might have any number of archival sources, from scrolls to oral stories, u unlike other *yōkai*, Amabie's historical references are limited to this single source. There are no other literary works, broadsheets, or records of the creature's appearance or deeds. In the pantheon of Japanese *yōkai*, Amabie was not particularly popular or well-known, until the creature was picked up by one of Japan's foremost *yōkai* experts, who was also one of the country's most famous and beloved manga artists, Mizuki Shigeru (1922-2015). His work also became the basis for *Gegege no Kitaro*, a wildly popular animated series by Tōei Animation that was first broadcast in 1968. The series has been rebooted several times over the decades, and Amabie first appeared in the series in 2007. In Mizuki Shigeru's universe, Amabie is rendered akin to a cute mermaid, in pastel colors, and is gendered female. She is associated primarily with premonition rather than illness. Thus, in part because of the appearance of the creature in Mizuki's popular manga and animated television programs, Amabie has continuously appeared on the fringes of pop culture as a minor *yōkai* associated with premonition.[5]

But in January and February of 2020, references to Amabie and the COVID-19 pandemic began to pop up on Twitter, beginning with user @Youkaidaihuku. Then on 27 February, folklore artist Orochidō shared an updated image of Amabie and wrote: "A certain virus is spreading with unstoppable momentum, but a creature once said, 'If an epidemic occurs, draw my image and show it to people as a preventative measure.' It's called Amabie."[6] His tweet launched the hashtag #AmabieChallenge across Twitter, and the Amabie phenomenon began, with people all over the world sharing artwork inspired by Amabie on social media. This viral trend was picked up by newspapers and media all over the world, creating a global sensation.[7] Amabie quickly became a symbol of hope for healing, a prayer for health, in the face of the pandemic.

I have discussed Amabie in the work of Mizuki Shigeru and the origins of Amabie in contemporary pop culture as play and ritual in the

[5] For more on Amabie in Mizuki Shigeru and the initial spread of the creature on Twitter, see Tanaka, "Amabie as Play in Kansai."

[6] Orochidō (@orochidou). "Tweet Message." 27 February 2020, 6:11 PM.

[7] This is covered extensively in Tanaka, "Amabie as Play in Kansai."

recently published volume, *Beliefs, Ritual Practices, and Celebrations in Kansai II*, and in a chapter entitled "Amabie as Play in Kansai," I briefly referred to the New Noh drama *Amabie*.[8] This paper extends my previous work to provide a more in-depth introduction to the new Noh drama *Amabie* and the significance of its appearance and performance both as a Noh drama and as a symbolic performance for healing during the novel coronavirus pandemic.

The new Noh drama *Amabie*

The New Noh play *Amabie* should be understood as what Noh scholar Gerry Yokota has called a "creative act of fusion," fusing ritual performance with global mythology and new means of performance, as well as fusing Noh performance with popular culture in response to the pandemic and the symbolism of Amabie as the expression of a desire for healing.[9] This section introduces the background of the play and its author.

The play was written by Ueda Atsushi as the Amabie boom spread across social media in early 2020. Ueda is a Noh performer with the Ohtsuki Noh troupe in Tanba, Hyogo. He is a Noh musician on the *kotsuzumi*, or hand drum, and is also an active Noh playwright. He relocated to Tanba from Osaka around 2014, a move that was precipitated by the Great Eastern Japan Earthquake (2011) and the memories and trauma it revived in him of the Great Hanshin Earthquake (1995). In fact, he moved to Tanba with his family with the intention of working as both a Noh performer and a farmer.

In Tanba he was able to begin a community-based Noh movement, engaging people from the Tanba area to become interested in Noh theater. He performed at schools, and his community-based model of Noh theater attracted some media attention. Not only do his performances in the countryside attract the attention of people in the surrounding areas, but many of his plays draw inspiration from local history, culture, and people. His work has been funded by Tanba City, and one of his first new Noh plays was *Naomasa*, about a local *daimyō* Akai (Ogino) Naomasa (1529-1578).[10] In addition, he has also written scripts for children's plays, for example *Chi-tan and the Tanba Dragon*. Both of these plays were performed for the first time in November 2019 as part of the Tamba Zarugakuza first special performance at Kasuga Cultural Hall in Tanba. Just as his work was gaining more recognition in the fall of 2019, the

[8] Tanaka, "Amabie as Play in Kansai."

[9] Yokota, "Requiem for Minamata," *Hyoshō to bunka II* (2005): 45.

[10] Ueda, Atsushi, "Tanba ni Noh no tane wo maku" (Planting the Seeds of Noh in Tamba), unpublished article, 2-4.

coronavirus pandemic struck, engagements were cancelled, and his career trajectory seemed derailed. It was at this point he saw Amabie spreading on social media; as Ueda said, his art was Noh theater and that is how he decided to share the image of Amabie through his art.

The New Noh *Amabie* play was therefore similar to work he was doing prior to the pandemic, drawing on local legends and lore and using Noh to make them accessible and enjoyable for people in his community. He states that he wanted the piece to be easily understandable, like a fairy tale, and once the inspiration struck, he finished the script in a day. The play has been performed by Ohtsuki Noh troupe, which is active in the Kansai area of Japan. The first performance took place in September of 2020, and over the following months the play was performed about twenty times in theaters, shrines, and ritual sites around Kansai. A performance of the play was also shared on social media, performances were covered fairly extensively in local media, and its performance around Kansai has been funded by a grant from the Agency for Cultural Affairs.[11]

The play is inspired by traditional Noh repertoire, in particular a piece called *Shōjō* (sometimes translated as *Monkey with a Sake Jar*).[12] The *shōjō* is a mythical beast described in Chinese and Japanese folklore as an ape-like humanoid creature covered in orange hair. Associated with the sea, the *shōjō* is also well-known for having a love of alcohol. The Noh play featuring the creature tells the story of a man named Kōfū, who is visited in a dream and advised to open a liquor stall at a local market. Kōfū does this, and the stall is very successful. A mysterious customer appears regularly, drinking copious amounts but never becoming intoxicated. When the shopkeeper asks about this, the mysterious customer reveals himself to the stall owner as a *shōjō* who lives in the ocean. The stall owner then goes to the beach to meet the *shōjō*, who presents him with an ever-flowing liquor pot as a gift. Later, however, it is revealed that this all happened in a dream of the stall owner, although the magical sake jar remains and ensures the prosperity of the family.[13] *Shōjō* features a main character, or *shite*, that is a deity, and it is a type of *shūgen-noh*—a celebratory piece that typically concludes a day of Noh performances.[14] The focus of the play is on the celebration, and the *midare* dance of the *shite*, the *shōjō*.

[11] Ueda, "Tanba ni Noh no tane wo maku," 4-5.

[12] Monga, Mieko and Ueda, Atsushi, "Konna kibishii yo no naka dakara koso Noh wo enjiru koto ga Nohgakushi no tsutome da to omou" [Because it is such a harsh world, it is the duty of the Noh artist to perform Noh," in: *Kai to Yū* [Unknowns and Spirits] vol. 007, 27 April 2021: 376.

[13] The Noh Database. *Shōjō*. Accessed 6 February 2022. Available online: https://www.the-noh.com/en/plays/data/program_053.html

[14] Yokota, *The Formation of the Canon of Nō*:193; The Noh Database. *Shūgen*. Accessed 11 February 2022. Available online: https://db2.the-noh.com/edic/2010/01/shugen.html

Ueda drew inspiration for the Noh drama *Amabie* from this earlier piece, and parallels can be seen in the plot summary that accompanies a public performance of the piece. There are clear parallels in the way Ueda foregrounds the celebratory dance in his performance as well. Yet, Ueda's work contains some unique features that make it an act of fusion: between Japan and the world, between Noh and pop culture, and as ritual and viral performance. It is also clear how deeply Ueda's work to make local stories appealing to wider communities, and how his commitment to increasing engagement with Noh drama made this piece more adaptable and flexible.

Performance in pandemic

Ueda Atsushi envisions the performance of his Noh play as a ritual response to the pandemic, drawing on the roots of Noh as a religious performance. Noh both Shinto and Buddhism have been long linked; religious scholar Stuart D. B. Picken has noted that although Noh is now considered secular it still draws on its religious connections, with many performances taking place at shrines or outdoors as part of larger ritual practices, as has been the case with *Amabie*. Further, when performances do no take place in shrines or outdoors, it is common for all the performers, assistants, and even masks and costumes to undergo an *oharai*, or Shinto purification ritual.[15] Finally, the act of dance as a ritual offering to the gods also has a long tradition in Shinto, and the dance as an act of thanks is a common feature in Noh plays.

Therefore, the performance of *Amabie* draws on Noh traditions as well as contemporary popular culture. By staging and performing the play as both a pop-inspired and as a ritual response to the pandemic, Ueda Atsushi engages with both the virus and its concomitant mental stress. He hints at this in a postscript to the *utaihon*, or script for the Noh chants in the play: "The New Noh play *Amabie* was created as a prayer for the end of the spread of the Novel Coronavirus that has been sweeping across the world and causing tremendous damage."[16] In another interview, Ueda has stressed that in a society battling the psychological effects of the pandemic and the uncertainty (*fuan*) it has caused, "now is the time for Noh art to do its best" to provide entertainment and a spiritual message of healing.[17] His Noh play is, in his own words, a ritual performance of a prayer for the end of the

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[15] Picken, Stuart D. B., *Historical Dictionary of Shinto,* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011: 7.

[16] Ueda, Atsushi. "'Amabie' utaihon kankō ni tsuite" (On the Publication of the Script of "Amabie") in: *Amabie Utaihon*, Tanba Nōgaku shinkōkai, 2021, n.p.

[17] "Amabie shuyaku de shinsaku noh 'Ima koso geinō ga ganbaraneba' (A New Noh Play with an Amabie Protagonist: "Now is the time for Noh art to do its best"), Kobe Shinbun 27 June 2020. Accessed online 11 February 2022: https://www.kobe-np.co.jp/news/sougou/202006/0013460824.shtml

COVID-19 pandemic that, through entertaining the audience, also helps assuage the stress and anxiety caused by the pandemic.

At the same time, while the play itself reflects popular, artistic responses to the pandemic, the staging of the play is framed by physical responses to the virus itself. The performance of the play is altered by pandemic safety guidelines, from masking to social distancing to sanitizing. Driven in part by a desire to share the performance while Japan was still asking people to adhere to social distancing, a video of the performance and an English summary of the story were made available on the troupe's YouTube channel in December 2020.[18] This video of the performance of the piece immediately marks the play as strange, performed as it is in an empty theater. The piece has been primarily performed in an empty theater and broadcast on YouTube, or in open-air theaters without an audience. Thus, from the first, the staging of the play is unusual and new. It was also meant to be international: an English summary was uploaded onto YouTube at the same time.

Figure 2. Amabie as shared on the Ohtsuki Troupe's Youtube channel. Used with permission.

Ueda stated that from the first performance, the staging of the play was impacted by the pandemic, as there was still uncertainty about the virus, and how Noh could be staged safely. For this reason, musicians in the chorus wore hygienic masks onstage, as can be seen in the images

[18] Ohtsuki Noh Theater, *Shinsaku Amabie,* Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-okw1g DZVDA &t=6s The English summary is available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jvQ5G1tynk&t=1s

below. They also performed the play outdoors whenever possible—Ueda says more than half the performances thus far have been outdoors.[19] When the event was performed inside, the position of seats and performers were altered, and the audience was limited to half capacity.

Figure 3. Masked musicians perform in the chorus during a performance of Amabie
Photo credit: Ueda Atsushi, used with permission

Figure 4. A masked musician in the chorus during a performance of Amabie
Photo credit: Ueda Atsushi, used with permission

Other measures were also taken. To give a final example, the piece was performed indoors during a decline in pandemic cases, as part of a longer Noh performance in March 2021 in Osaka. The website promoting the event noted that measures such as sterilization of the seats and their

[19] Ueda, Atsushi. Interview. 17 February 2022.

spacing, limited audience numbers, ventilation of the theater, and recording temperatures and health status of the audience were all utilized to ensure the safety of those who attended.[20] The performance of the play itself, then, is thus inextricably connected to pandemic practices such as social distancing, sterilizing, and ventilation—the audience performed the hygienic measures required to prevent the spread of disease just as the play performed a wish for the end of the pandemic.

According to Ueda, performing outside and under the constraints of social distancing has meant that the performers and the audience alike have had to be adaptable. The performance changes based on the space, and the audience's perspective might be different depending on how the performance space can be safely and fully utilized. The musicians and singers onstage do not always sit in the same positions relative to each other. In subtle but unmistakable ways, then, the pandemic is imprinted on the staging, performance, and audience as well as on the story.

Summary of the play

The play itself is comprised of two parts: the first part (*zenhan*) and the second part (*kōhan*). The second half was written first and is about twenty-five minutes long. It is this second half that has been made available on YouTube and was originally performed. The full play, inclusive of the first half, is about an hour. When the first half was added to the play, the title was changed from *Amabie* (using katakana, アマビエ) to *Amabie* (in kanji 尼比恵). The summary below and the discussion of the paper is limited to the second half, as it is what is publicly available and most discussed in media.

Second Half
A public servant (*yakunin*) from the imperial court, the *waki*, appears and moves slowly onto stage. He begins to tell the story of the plague and how it was brought to an end. He states that people were tormented by the treat of the virus. Whilst their minds were troubled, one night he dreamt of a strange creature, called Amabie. She stated she has been sent by the Sea God (Wadatsumi in Japanese; Poseidon in the troupe's English summary) to help humanity overcome the plague. Amabie tells the public servant to share her image with all. As the public servant does so, the plague subsides and finally vanishes. He is now performing a dance and offering thanks to Amabie for her intervention.

[20] "Shinsaku Noh 'Amabie' mo hirō—Ōhtsuki Nohgakudō de nōgaku tokubetsu kōen" [New Noh play 'Amabie' to be performed at Ohtsuki Noh Theater]. Accessed 6 February 2022. Available online: https://osaka-ca-fes.jp/2020/report/nohgaku/

Amabie, attracted by the ceremony, appears and begins her own celebratory dance, the culmination of the play.
After she performs, Amabie gives humanity a final message: “Since the beginning of time, suffering has been all around us. In spite of this, we see the beautiful sight of those who are not swayed by slander, never abuse others, and are pure of heart. Amabie will always be with the people as a savior from this day forward.”[21] She then disappears back from whence she came.

The troupe that performs the play expands upon the final message given by Amabie in an English introduction to the play: “So in Japan, this old, strange creature Amabie can be found from folk materials of Edo period which is about two hundred or three hundred years ago. And today, it regained the spotlight as a symbolic figure of charm against coronavirus. So, according to Amabie’s message, we at the Otsuki Noh Theater, decided to share its image by the performance of a Noh play.”[22] In this explanation, we can clearly see how Amabie is conceptualized in Noh as at once a creature of traditional Japanese folklore and a newly re-imagined, modern monster.

Analyzing the new Noh play *Amabie*

The staging of the new Noh play *Amabie* includes some unusual formal features. Again, Ueda had been innovating with Noh performance for children and in other ways prior to the pandemic, and in a sense some of his innovation in the play *Amabi*e is a natural extension of his work to popularize Noh with new audiences. In a review of the play from the summer of 2021 by an anonymous author, published by Kobe Women’s University Research Center of Classic Performing Arts, it is noted that the play uses a slightly faster pace for the music, which makes it easier for the audience to understand. The performance is also shorter than a typical Noh piece, as it is only thirty minutes as opposed to the more common 60-90 minutes. The play also uses modern vocabulary, such as “government official” (*yakunin*) as the *waki* or supporting role and unmasked character, rather than the more traditional term “vassal” (*shinka*), although this is also the language that is used in the original *kawaraban*[23] Together with strategies such as uploading the performance on YouTube and sharing the story in English, these features serve to make the play more accessible to a wider audience.

Many Noh performances render Amabie a supernatural woman, since the mask she wears most often is the *masukami* mask, a Noh mask

[21] Ohtsuki Noh Theater, “New Noh Drama ‘Amabie’ English outline.” Available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jvQ5G1tynk&t=1s
[22] I Ohtsuki Noh Theater, “New Noh Drama ‘Amabie’ English outline.”
[23] I thank Abbie Miyabi Modry for pointing this out to me.

that represents a troubled woman or a divine being. Literally meaning "tangled hair," this Noh mask hints at agitation and heightened emotion through the wisps of hair on the sides of the mask, as well as through the furrows between the brows and the parted lips. The emotion in this mask is further highlighted by the fact that the Amabie role is sometimes performed in a disheveled wig. Use of the *masukami* mask grounds the play in Noh traditions while at the same time placing it in dialogue with our current pandemic and the popular imagination of Amabie as a supernatural, feminine being with the imagined power to stop the spread of the virus.

Indeed, Ueda went so far as to state that Amabie in Noh was reimagined not as a *yōkai* but as a messenger from the gods, and therefore imbued with divine healing power: "If this play was a prayer for the end of the pandemic and a wish for longevity, then Amabie should not be portrayed as a *yōkai*, but rather in the form of a messenger from the gods. I thought of Amabie as a divine servant sent from the Sea God (Wadatsumi)."[24] The casting of Amabie as a messenger from the Sea God first invests her with divine powers, and second, it allows the story to be easily shared across cultural contexts. While *yōkai* are culturally specific, the amorphous idea of a Sea God allows cultural and lingual slips. She has become a global messenger that lends itself easily to adaption to different cultural contexts.

The divine power of Amabie and her relationship to the Sea God is underscored in the chants and performance at the moment when Amabie's story is told in the play. The public official appears on the stage, accompanied by Noh chanting, flutes, and drums. The man's rhythmic chanting is initially punctuated by drumbeats, flute notes, and emphasis from the chorus as he intones the opening to his tale:

Waki: The winds quietly ebb with the tide
the winds quietly ebb with the tide
time has passed and the world has healed.[25]

The choral and musical accompaniments fall silent to mark a new scene as he turns to face the audience and introduces himself as a public official of the country during a time when a plague was spreading across the world, afflicting the young and the old, the men and the women alike. The ministrations and efforts of the people did naught to quell the spread of illness. After relating this, he continues:

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[24] ""Yōkai Amabie" tema no shinsaku noh—Hyogo・Tanba-shi no nōrakushi ga sōsaku"" ("Yōkai Amabie" as the theme for a New Noh Play—Written by a Noh artist in Tanba City, Hyogo), Rajio Kansai Topikkusu, 29 May 2020. Accessed online 27 February 2021: https://jocr.jp/raditopi/2020/05/29/70062/

[25] Ueda, Atsushi. *Amabie Utaihon*, [Amabie Noh Chant]. Tanba Nogaku shinkōkai, 2021: np. I use line breaks to reflect emphasis in the performance. All translations my own unless otherwise noted.

Waki: One night as I was dreaming
A strange being appeared and spoke
"I am Amabie, sent by the Sea God.
The disease
That of late has spread around the world
The power to heal has been bestowed upon me
It is thus: if my likeness
Is copied
And shared widely throughout this world
The disease will be quelled and all
Will be illness-free longevity
While you may distrust this
As a dream
If you do as I say
Copy my image and share it with the world
It may be strange but
The disease will gradually be subdued
And many lives will be saved."
Indeed, although strange
It was as prophesized
Today is an auspicious day
Everyone's hearts move as one to honor Amabie
With a ritual dance.[26]

The chant, uninterrupted by music or the chorus, connects "this country" (*kono kuni*) where the narrator is a public servant, to "the world" (*sekai*) in their shared powerlessness and in the failure of their efforts to stop the disease. This is significant in its insistence on locating the illness as a shared, global problem, an important departure from what Susan Sontag famously referred to as "the usual script for the plague: the disease invariably comes from somewhere else."[27] In a world where geolocating or racially stigmatizing COVID-19 with xenophobic slang terms is rife, Ueda's script emphasizes the global nature of the problem and the randomness of the illness. The New Noh play *Amabie* draws on Japanese performing arts to articulate humanity's shared desire to heal, but it is also an expression of unity in the face of a pandemic that is altering everyone's way of life. Ueda's insistence on the unnamed disease as a global problem, his references to "the world" (*yo* and *sekai*), as well as the shifting image of the Sea God across languages renders Amabie a figure capable of transcending cultural and religious boundaries to unite the viewers.

It also depicts the working of the image of Amabie much like a virus: the chant makes it clear that people may be skeptical of the power of the image, but it simply needs to spread in order to be effective. Just as the

[26] Ueda, Atsushi. *Amabie Utaihon*, [Amabie Noh Chant]. Tanba Nogaku shinkōkai, 2021: np.
[27] Sontag, Susan, *AIDS and Its Metaphors*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988: 47.

virus spreads through unseen channels and brings illness, Amabie's image infects the world with health and longevity. Indeed, Amabie's image as virus is underscored in the next lines of the chant, when the narrator sings that the dances are an act of giving thanks because "the salvation of the Sea God is like waves" (*Wadatsumi no sukui ha nami no gotoku nite*).[28] The use of waves as metaphor is highly evocative, as it reflects common and global metaphors for the movement for COVID-19 itself, in "waves" that are widely reported in the media.[29] In this, Ueda has turned waves of illness into waves of salvation. The description of the way Amabie's image should spread, and the healing that follows draws on viral metaphors that also echo the way the myth of Amabie was popularized during the COVID-19 pandemic: as a virus, viral, online.

A second gesture toward the global nature of the play is in the way the Sea God is described by the Noh trope in their English video. Amabie is quoted as saying she is at the service of the god of the sea, and in Japanese Ueda refers to this deity as Wadatsumi. Wadatsumi is a spirit or *kami* in Japanese mythology, a dragon water deity that appears in the *Kojiki*, a collection of Japan's oldest myths. In the English introduction of this Noh play, however, Amabie is explicitly described as a messenger from the Greek god of the sea, Poseidon. This reflects the blending the Japanese lore informing this Noh play with Greek mythology:

> Subtitles: "One night, an apparition appeared to me in a dream and spoke these words: I am Amabie sent by Poseidon to offer you a spell capable of abolishing the deadly plague."[30]

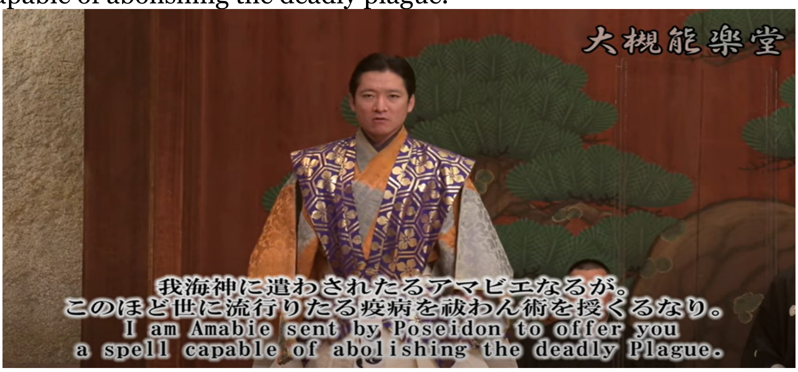

Figure 5. The English translation provided by the troupe of the public servant's retelling of Amabie's story. As shared on the Ohtsuki Troupe's Youtube channel. Used with permission.

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[28] Ueda, Atsushi. *Amabie Utaihon*, [Amabie Noh Chant]. Tanba Nogaku shinkōkai, 2021: np.
[29] Craig, David, "Pandemic and its metaphors: Sontag revisited in the COVID-19 era," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 23 (6) 2020: 1029.
[30] Ohtsuki Noh Theater, "New Noh Drama 'Amabie' English outline." Available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jvQ5G1tynk&t=1s

This movement between Japanese mythology and Greek mythology highlights the fact that while sharing the image of Amabie may be symbolic of a ritual for healing, this practice transcends culture and religion. Ueda notes this positioning of Amabie was intentional on his part, stating there is no precedent for this mixing of Western and Japanese mythology to create a universal message for healing.[31]

Just as the name of the Sea God shifts depending on the language, the appearance of the titular character Amabie also changes depending on the performance. Ueda has said that he had no fixed image of Amabie, and because there were so few historical sources, this gave each individual performer a great deal of freedom to re-imagine the character. Indeed, Ueda finds it appealing that Amabie's appearance transforms with each new performance, something that is unusual in Noh.[32]

Figure 6. Amabie performed at Ōshio. Photograph courtesy of Ueda Atsushi. Used with permission.

Figure 7. Amabie dai ni kai shin Tanba performance. Photograph courtesy of Ueda Atsushi. Used with permission.

[31] Ohtsuki Noh Theater, "New Noh Drama 'Amabie' English outline."
[32] Ueda, Atsushi, Interview, 17 February 2022.

Figure 8. Amabie performed at Kasuga Shrine. Photograph courtesy of Ueda Atsushi. Used with permission.

At the same time, the representations of Amabie often share some common features. First, her clothes typically gesture to her otherworldly origins, with water patterns appearing in some form on each of the costumes used to perform the role in different locations. In addition, the performers generally choose long hair and the mask of a woman, although in the original *kawaraban* Amabie is not marked as male or female.[33] A final shared point is that the performers tend to use some kind of movement technique to emphasize a third leg. Ueda pointed out it is very difficult to create the appearance of a third leg with costumes, so many performers use creative performance techniques, such as *ashi-byōshi*, or stepping or stomping on the floor as an expression of motion or mood. Ueda also stated that the performers would use three steps to emphasize the third leg of the Amabie character.[34] But other than the use of a similar mask, gestures towards water, the emphasis on the third leg, and unruly hair, the changing costume of Amabie across performances reflects a spirit of creativity and play (*asobi gokoro*) in the new Noh play *Amabie* and its staging.

At the same time, while the Noh play *Amabie* is inspired by the global popularity the Japanese creature found in its virality on SNS and through marketing, Ueda has made clear in multiple interviews that the play is also rooted strongly in Japanese performance and ritual traditions. The play was written as "a prayer for the end of the corona

[33] Ueda, Atsushi. Interview. 17 February 2022.
[34] Ueda, Atsushi. Interview. 17 February 2022.

crisis. It introduces a performance that contains a prayer for the dispersion of disease and a long life free of sickness."[35] The play has been performed in open air spaces and theaters, but also at shrines as a ritual practice. In that sense, the *Amabie* play was also associated with sacred spaces and rites to dispel illness.

Finally, it is significant that Ueda gestures beyond the acute, medical crises caused by COVID-19. Ueda wanted to focus not only on the plague, but also on the difficulties of healing spiritually and the continued challenges people face because of the illness. This is why Ueda set the performance in the future, when the illness has already disappeared. As he notes, the challenge people in the play have faced "isn't the plague itself, but the raging spirits of those who have faced hardship that plant the seeds of hatred and conflict."[36] This is why Amabie's final message is about the importance of living in peace and helping each other—a message that Ueda admits he took liberties with in order to stress the importance of the ritual performance as an act of bringing relief. For him, the ability to heal troubled spirits is also part of the power of the spiritual expression of Noh.[37]

Amabie Noh masks as commodities and art

The use of Noh masks in connection with the figure of Amabie deserves a further word here, because while the *masukami* mask has often been used intentionally in Ueda's New Noh play to highlight the creature's supernatural powers, the Amabie story in fact inspired the creation of at least two other Amabie Noh masks, one by a Japanese company, the Inoue Corporation based in Kyoto, and the second by a Asō Lilico, a Noh mask artist, scriptwriter and grand prize winner of the 4th annual Scientific Drama Awards. Both of these masks reveal important details about Amabie's popularity and the intersections between Japanese popular culture and traditional performing arts. It further hints at the ways in which traditions are re-imagined and re-invented in public discourse. While I will discuss Asō's mask in greater detail below, Inoue Corporation's commercial mask, branded and marketed online as symbolic of Japanese *yōkai* traditions, raises some important points about the commercialization of Noh as part of Japanese culture, and Amabie's viral appeal as symbolic of healing and of what is perceived and marketed as "traditional" Japanese culture.

[35] Monga Mieko and Ueda Atsushi, "Konna kibishii yo no naka dakara koso Noh wo enjiru koto ga Nohgakushi no tsutome da to omou" [Because it is such a harsh world, it is the duty of the Noh artist to perform Noh," in: *Kai to Yū* [Unknowns and Spirits] vol. 007, 27 April 2021: 376.
[36] Ibid., 377.
[37] Ibid.

Canonically in Noh, there are six main types of masks: *okina* (old man), *jō* (elder) *onna-men* (woman); *otoko-men* (man), and *kishin* (demons). and *onryō* (ghosts or spirits, further divided into male and female masks).[38] The *shōjō* is an example of *kishin*; between the *kishin* and the *onryō* categories, the Noh Masks Database lists twenty-seven canonical masks. While the canonical styles are well-established, at the same time Noh masks are in high demand with tourists and collectors as symbolic of Japanese culture. It should be no surprise then, that not only canonical masks, but also masks that represent familiar *yōkai* or characters that are also associated with Japan should find representation in Noh masks made as novelty items.

The Inoue Corporation targets tourists and collectors of Japanese "traditional" cultural items, making the addition of the Amabie mask to its online catalog an important comment on how far Amabie has become associated with Japanese "traditional" culture and performing arts. Again, while the masks created by the Inoue Corporation are most likely meant for tourists rather than performers or Noh aficionados, the creation of the mask itself is interesting: it imagines Amabie as akin to a *kappa*, another amphibious *yōkai* in Japan.[39] The newly imagined Amabie Noh mask preserves her diamond eyes, flowing hair, and beak, making the character unmistakable. At the same time, the mask has a bald patch on its head, reminiscent of how the *kappa* is traditionally depicted. The Noh mask designed for commercial purposes, then, makes her explicitly a *yōkai*, a specific reinvention of Japanese folklore and tradition to market.

Figure 9. The Inoue Corporation's Amabie Noh Mask

[38] "Introducing the World of Noh: Masks." Available online: https://www.the-noh.com/en/world/mask.html. Accessed 20 February 2022.

[39] Inoue Corporation. Noh Mask: Amabie. Available online: https://nohmask21.com/eu/amabie.html. Accessed 10 April 2022.

In contrast to the commercialization and commodification of Japanese culture to appeal to overseas collectors by the Inoue Corporation, the New Noh play *Amabie* also inspired Noh artists online. Asō Lilico does research into facial expressions and is both a traditional and a creative Noh mask artist. She shared a version of an Amabie Noh mask she made on Twitter on 5 August 2020, as Amabie's image was spreading around the world. She later said that it was made from *kiso hinoki* (Japanese cypress) wood and colored with traditional Japanese painting pigments. She also incorporated lapis lazuli above and below the eyes of the mask, both to create the effect of diamond eyes associated with Amabie and because lapis lazuli "is said to ward off evil." Indeed, lapis lazuli is associated with Buddhism in Japan, as it was believed to protect the wearer from illness and harm, and Shōsō-in temple repository contains many centuries-old Buddhist artefacts made from this stone. The stone is intended as an expression of the function of the mask as a symbol of healing.

While lapis lazuli might have deep cultural connections to religion and healing in Japan, Asō's mask is almost futuristic. The pink hair and green skin are otherworldly and not immediately identifiable as connected to Japanese tradition, and in fact recall the aesthetics of anime.[40]

Figure 10. Screenshot of Asō Lilico's Twitter showcasing her Noh mask

[40] I thank Abbie Miyabi Modry for pointing this out.

Asō shared some of the process of carving the mask online.[41] This act of putting photos of the Noh mask on Twitter with the Amabie hashtag was yet another way Japanese tradition and Noh arts went viral as part of the global Amabie boom,-another reimagination and re-presentation of "traditional" Japanese culture.

Like Ueda, Asō learned of Amabie on social media, and as a Noh mask artist was inspired to share Amabie's image in her medium of choice. As a Noh mask creator, Asō was also specifically interested in how a Noh mask might reflect uncanny women: "Noh masks are very realistic, yet deformed so that they look good on stage. This balance between realism and deformation is what gives Noh masks their artistic appeal. The changes in expression and artistry are particularly evident in female masks, and I am fascinated by female masks, so that is what I mainly create."[42]

[41] Podcast "Maki Nishimuro's Traveling Closet." No. 17, "Ukelele Lilica." 1 September 2021. Available on Spotify: https://open.spotify.com/episode/5vC9D0Y5VJuJnMVay6PzGM
[42] Asō, Lilico, Interview. 20 February 2022.

Figure 11. Asō Lilico's process of mask creation.
Photographs by the artist. Used with permission.

Furthermore, Asō argues that Noh was a particularly apt medium for a prayer to stop a pandemic: "I've heard that Noh has its origins in the gods (*kami*) and the natural world. It is also associated with salvation, so I felt that using the image of Amabie as a prayer for the end of the pandemic was a reflection of the essence of Noh, which is why I decided to make a "creative" Noh mask."[43] Thus, in both Asō's and Ueda's work, there is a clear spiritual element that is missing from the more commercialized versions of Amabie and many of the images of Amabie shared online.

[43] Asō, Lilico, Interview. 20 February 2022.

Figure 12. The tools Asō uses for her mask creation.
Photographs by artist. Used with permission.

Asō tried to capture some of the most iconic elements of the image from the *kawaraban* in her mask: she used diamond-shaped eyes, a pointed, beak-like mouth, and fins at the ears. For Asō, the eyes were particularly important, and to create the diamond shape she imbedded lapis lazuli as mentioned above. She also added a second element to the eyes; Asō states that, "The color of the eyes is one of the expressive elements of a Noh mask. In Noh masks, the whites of the eyes are sometimes colored gold. This signifies that the person is not a living being, but a being that has transcended humanity. In the case of masks of gods, demons, and malevolent spirits of the dead, the eyes are colored gold. As Amabie is a supernatural being, her eyes are also painted gold."[44]

[44] Asō, Lilico, Interview. 20 February 2022.

Figure 13. The photographs Asō Lilico shared on Twitter, in more detail. Photographs courtesy of Asō Lilico. Used with permission.

Finally, Asō also draws attention to the way in which the figure of Amabie bridges cultures: "Amabie reminds me of a mermaid… We often see mermaids in illustrations and anime. They are typically depicted as beautiful women, and their hair and scales are gorgeous pastel colors such as pink, light blue, and purple. The idea that Amabie was a kind of mermaid… had more than a little influence on me when I was thinking about the design."[45] The colors became especially important, because as a Noh mask artist, Asō had to capture the entirety of Amabie in the figure's face, without reference to a body. Just as the Noh performers emphasized with gesture and movement what they could not express in the costume, Asō used nontraditional colors to express the idea of Amabie. She continues:

> "I had two reasons behind my intention when I chose these colors. First, I wanted to show through the face alone that this was a sea creature and not an ordinary human being. Therefore, I made the skin color blue, not a typical human skin tone, but to draw on the image of a fish living in the water. The second reason was cultural integration. The implication here is very important…[Many people] have a fairy-tale image of mermaids… [and] the combination of pink and blue is very anime-esque. Japanese anime is recognized globally… In other words, this Amabie mask is a fusion of a form of traditional Japanese culture, the Noh masks, the Western culture that modern Japanese have grown up with… and modern

[45] Asō, Lilico, Interview. 20 February 2022.

Japanese pop culture. The Amabie mask is the result of the fusion of realism and deformity in its modeling, and the fusion of classical Japanese culture and modern Japanese pop culture in its aesthetics."[46]

Asō's words encapsulate the appeal of Amabie in Noh arts: on the one hand, the character is distinctly Japanese, coming from Kumamoto, and sharing her image draws on Japanese tradition to create a symbolic wish or prayer for the end of the spread of disease. Again, the lack of historical sources about the creature creates space for play and individual interpretation—this space allows artists to put the figure of Amabie in dialogue with Japanese tradition, spiritual practices, and the contemporary pop culture contexts in which the creature went viral.

And while Amabie's image quickly spread across social media in the winter and spring of 2020, the performances of Ueda's New Noh play coupled with these masks—one artistic, a creative and hand-carved mask using Noh artistic techniques and tools, and one an example of commercial goods—demonstrate the ways in which traditional culture draws inspiration from contemporary contexts to create new art and new traditions. It reveals the different ways in which Amabie's message is being reinterpreted and spread both in Japan as tradition and around the world as a wish for healing that transcends cultures and religions to be a symbolic figure that is at once traditional and popular, Japanese and global, spiritual and commercial, viral and healing.

Conclusion

This Noh drama, Asō's Noh mask, and the commodification of Amabie as "traditional" demonstrates the ways in which a performing art that is often considered traditional is often in fact in dialogue with global popular culture. The play positions the pandemic as a global issue through its depiction of Amabie as a messenger within a global pantheon of gods. While the play builds on canonical and ritual elements of Noh theater, the manner of its performance, and the fact that it has been shared online in English and Japanese, together with some unusual formal features, makes the play distinctly modern. Asō's mask similarly blends Noh tradition with contemporary Japanese and global culture, creating a Noh mask that reflects the aesthetics of both Noh and pop culture. In Asō's mask art and in the New Noh play *Amabie*, a symbolic expression of the desire for the end of the pandemic is expressed in their depiction and sharing of the image of Amabie. Their depictions of Amabie as Noh arts links to the art form's connections to Shinto as expressing a prayer to the gods through performance, as well as to both

[46] Asō, Lilico, Interview. 20 February 2022.

the original request in the *kawaraban* and the spirit that parlayed Amabie's image into a Twitter challenge. Art featuring Amabie, including Noh art, provided people with an escape from the pandemic, if only symbolically. Finally, through its stress on hardship and purity of spirit, the Noh play reminds us that disease is never only biological, and without spiritual or ritual healing in shared spaces, such as through art, the pandemic will not truly be over.

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SWEAT AND FIREWORKS: CAPTURING THE SACRED AT JAPANESE FESTIVALS

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Abstract: *This essay focuses on the journey of a sacred portable Shinto shrine, Ôtori Mikoshi, from Osaka Tenmangu Shrine to a river procession in Osaka and back during Tenjin Matsuri, one of Japan's three great festivals. Tenjin Matsuri, taking place on July 25, is known as a fire and water extravaganza that attracts over a million visitors each year, among them many professional and amateur photographers. We are here presenting results of fieldwork that extended over four years in an attempt to create a visual ethnography, to illustrate how ancient ritual practices are performed in contemporary Japanese society, and to explain how the festival becomes a temporary stage for the manifestation of the sacred, and for a display of traditional masculinity meant to appease the gods as well as ensure the welfare of the community. Matsuri, the Japanese festivals, are organized in order to provide entertainment both for the deities and the communities that celebrate and worship them, creating an extra-ordinary escape from the ordinary world we live in. Our work addresses the two entwined aspects of a Japanese festival: on one hand, the divine elements embodied by the rituals performed by priests and shamanesses at the main Shinto shrine, and the temporary one on the boat; on the other, the interaction of the participants with the sacred seen in their efforts to carry the mikoshi for four exhausting kilometers, and in their admiration of the fireworks offered to the deities. Unlike most matsuri photography, the photos presented here focus less on aesthetics and more on the meaning of their objects, the gestures, and the implied sounds.*

Keywords: Japanese, festival, matsuri, mikoshi, Tenjin

Performance, celebration, and photography

The names of thousands of deities are included in *Kojiki* (712), Japan's oldest written chronicle, and most of them are still worshipped today at numerous shrines all over the country. Japan boasts an impressive number of *matsuri*[3] (festivals) that have religious roots

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[3] Various internet sources (such as https://www.nippon.com/ja/features/h00010/ or https://www.jmstats.com/economic-effect-of-festivals-in-japan/ -- accessed on February 21, 2022—place the number of Japanese festivals somewhere between 100,000 and 300,000. The Dictionary of Japanese Matsuri and Annual Events (日本まつりと年中行事事典) describes approximatively 2000 events.

(mainly connected the indigenous set of beliefs known as Shinto), with extravagant displays of color, sound, and movement performed as a sacred offering taking place on almost any day of the year. The Japanese also enjoy categorizing things[4], and events as important as matsuri cannot escape this tendency. This visual essay attempts at capturing the concepts of sacrifice and sacred as they are expressed and performed during Tenjin Matsuri, one of Japan's Three Great Festivals.

A matsuri represents the time when the divine spirits are welcome among mortals, "receiving offerings and being properly entertained with artistic performances and feasts, so that they would be pacified" (Fukuta 2000: 577). Tenjin Matsuri is celebrated each year on July 24 (the eve of the festival) and 25 at Osaka Tenmangu Shrine, a Shinto shrine located in the commercial center of Osaka. The matsuri is centered around the god Tenjin—a deity that became associated with a real historical figure, Sugawara no Michizane, towards the end of the 10th century. Sugawara no Michizane was an aristocrat who attained a high political position at a young age due to his scholastic abilities—a success that attracted the envy of his rivals and led to his eventual exile in Dazaifu, Kyushu. Michizane died in exile, and several years after his death a series of calamities affected the capital, the imperial family, and his political rivals, leading the population to believe that they were the result of Michizane's having morphed into a vengeful ghost. In 951 a religious ceremony with the purpose of appeasing his spirit was created at Osaka Tenmangu—the beginning of today's lavish displays of traditional art combined with religious belief and community activities[5].

The contemporary festival includes a land procession with approximately 3,000 active participants, who dance, beat drums, and carry on their shoulders portable shrines weighing over two tons, followed by a river procession where the above-mentioned participants and their extravagant accoutrements take the deity on a pleasure trip on the river. The flamboyant parades, combined with an equally elaborate fireworks show, attract over a million visitors each year, and many of them are amateurs and professional photographers. The professionals usually manage to acquire special permission from either the shrine or one of the groups involved in organizing the festival, and as such have a much-coveted access to the best photography spots, but the amateurs are compelled to do research, gauge the most adequate place to be in order to take the desired shot (since the event is a very energetic

[4] A list of "top three" places in Japan from various categories can be found here: https://travel.rakuten.com/campaign/ranking/top3/ (accessed on February 18, 2022).

[5] For more information on Tenjin Matsuri and its origins see Carmen Sapunaru Tamas, Ritual Practice and Daily Rituals. An Introduction to the World of Matsuri (Bucharest: Pro Universitaria, 2018), and Beliefs, Ritual Practices, and Celebrations in Kansai (Bucharest, Pro Universitaria, 2020).

occurrence, taking good photos of various significant moments in the same year may prove an elusive quest), and wait there for several hours under the torrid sun of the Japanese summer. Their efforts are rewarded by the Tenjin Photo Competition, organized annually by the Imperial Hotel in Osaka—a business closely associated with Osaka Tenmangu Shrine—where the judges are members of the groups in charge of Tenjin Matsuri, who offer matsuri memorabilia and boat rides for the next river procession to the winners.

We have been fortunate enough to obtain permission to follow the Ôtori Mikoshi Group on its matsuri route, in an attempt to document their sacred journey through the streets of Osaka, as well as understand the mechanisms that make men want to carry a two-ton portable shrine[6] for four long kilometers on a hot and humid Japanese summer day. The Japanese festivals are popular subjects for photographers because they are lavish events that address all senses, where capturing the spectacular, the unusual, the visually pleasing does not require more than patience and endurance. However, not having at least a basic knowledge of the meaning and history of these performances may cause the photographer to ignore significant moments in favor of transient beauty—such as the efforts of taking quality shots of the fireworks while paying no attention to the rituals occurring under the rain of color and light.

The originality of our project consists in combining the research skills of an anthropologist with the technical and artistic skills of a professional photographer, initially hired by the Ôtori Mikoshi Group to create a record of the event, in order to put together an annotated chronicle: things as they happened, why they happened, and how, and what is the narrative that holds everything together.

Ritual and perception

The ritual performed inside a Shinto shrine represents the religious core of any matsuri—the moment of communion and communication between the human officiant and the divine beings who are being worshipped. The word "matsuri" derives from the verb "matsuru・奉る," the respect form of the verb "to give/ offer," which is why many practitioners define matsuri as the ritual of making offerings to being of the highest possible rank, the *kami* (Numabe & Motegi 2011: 4). The priests are obviously in possession of this specific knowledge, and in the case of Tenjin Matsuri, they do their best to impart the information. Starting at noon on July 25, a shrine representative explains each stage of the ritual and the accompanying performances to the people gathered

[6] *Mikoshi* in Japanese, a ritual object modeled after the palanquins used by the aristocracy in the old times, which is used to take deities on a symbolic journey during their feast days.

to witness the celebration. Nevertheless, the color and light spectacle created as an offering to the gods is what attracts the attention of the onlookers, and few people, including those we interacted with, are able to explain what the rituals consist of, although the direct participants are aware of the fact that everything they do is dedicated to a divine being that is supposed to protect them and their community in the year to come. Tenjin Matsuri is centered around the god Tenjin under his human form as Sugawara no Michizane, whose presence is casually assumed by the local people who are more focused on the practical aspects of the matsuri than on the rituals leading to the sacred manifestation of the deity—as John Nelson puts it, the concept of "kami" is "'enculturated' rather than intellectualized" (1996: 27). During these busy couple of days in July, there is little time for contemplation, and people think more of what they must do than of why they have to do it (or for whom).

At present there are 26 active Kô (groups involved in organizing Tenjin Matsuri and all the performative events related to it), and the one we did research on is Ôtori Kô. Ôtori Mikoshi is the oldest *mikoshi* currently in use at Tenjin Matsuri, having been donated to the shrine in 1840 (according to records from 1845). Until the Gohôren (the main mikoshi from Osaka Tenmangu) was built in 1876, it used to host the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane; nowadays, it represents a temporary dwelling for Sugawara no Nomino Sukune, one of Michizane's ancestors.

The journey of the Ôtori Mikoshi—the Shrine of the Phoenix—begins with the *shinrei igyo*, the symbolic transfer of the spirit of the deity from the innermost sanctum of the main hall onto a plum branch (the plum tree, its flowers and fruit are associated with Sugawara no Michizane due to a poem he apparently wrote when he was eleven, admiring the beauty of dark pink plum blossoms) and into the portable shrine. This is an example of what Helen Hardacre calls "animating the mikoshi"—moving sacred symbols from the innermost sanctuary into the mikoshi, "in a secret ceremony that must not be seen except by the immediate participants." (2017: 501)

The priests and closest attendants wear masks because even their breath can pollute the deity; the attendants hold white sheets to protect the deity from the eyes of the onlookers, or maybe help them avoid a fate like Semele's, the mortal destroyed by having looked upon the full divine glory of her lover Zeus.


Image 1. The spirit of the deity leaves the main shrine

Working for the Gods

Once Sugawara no Michizane/ the God Tenjin[7] and his attendants (historically attested ancestors and other deities mentioned in the Japanese chronicles) are enshrined in their temporary abodes, the *mikoshi* are lifted high into the air by their carriers, in a salute to the shrine which shall remain empty (although no less sacred) until their return. Ôtori Mikoshi and Tama Mikoshi (a newer portable shrine, donated by Osaka Central Market), pictured below, are the last to leave the precincts of the shrine, following the groups of drummers and dancers who announce the coming of the deities.

[7] Sugawara no Michizane, the main deity from Osaka Tenmangu Shrine and Tenjin Matsuri, is known as the God Tenjin, God of Thunder and protector of scholars. “The use of the term "tenjin"… predates the ninth century. In ancient China the expression "heavenly deities and earthly deities" (Tenjin chigi" 天神地祇) existed and subsequently in Japan the same characters were applied to the words "Amatsukami" and "Kunitsukami". (These names also mean heavenly kami and land kami, but have different meaning from the Chinese usage.) The Kanmu Emperor "worshipped the tenjin at Katano," and when envoys were sent to T'ang Dynasty China (kentōshi), prayers were made to the tenjin chigi for their safe journey. Tenjin were also worshipped in other regions in Japan besides the capital. All of these instances pre-date Sugawa Michizane's deification as Tenjin and even now at the shrine Kita-Shirakawa Gūsha venerates Tenjin as a deity of thunder and rain. However any mention of Tenjin belief is generally seen as a reference to the cult of Sugawara no Michizane after he acquired the characteristics of the conflated deity Tenman Tenjin.” (Yonei Teruyoshi—*Encyclopedia of Shinto*)


Image 2. The gods are ready for departure

Image 3 captures the essence of the Japanese festivals: humans working for the gods. The Japanese gods are powerful and temperamental beings unconcerned with the mortal concepts of good and evil, who, when whimsically enraged, bring about earthquakes, typhoons, and plagues. As stated by Herbert Plutschow (1996: 16), “A deity or spirit can be both good and evil, beneficent or maleficent, depending, it seems, on the way it is treated by the human community, or depending on the way it was treated while alive,” meaning that they must be appeased with offerings and entertainment. In the hierarchy of offerings for the divine, human sacrifices occupy the highest spot, yet the practice has been discouraged for hundreds of years. In its stead, Japanese festivals provide pain and sweat: carrying two tons of wood, lacquer, and golden ornaments on one’s shoulders is a literally back-breaking enterprise, leaving the participants bruised, sore, and exhausted. Yet they do it year after year, to prove both their devotion to the deities protecting the country, and their masculine ability to do the same for their families. In shouts of encouragements and grunts of pain, the *mikoshi* passes under the torii, the Shinto gate that separates the sacred from the profane. Helen Hardacre describes the carrying of the mikoshi as an event closely related to a mystical trance: “Young men who bear the *mikoshi* are expected to manifest ecstatic behavior, as the Kami within the sacred palanquin whirls it about according to divine will and irresistible sacred power.” (2017: 475) However, such a typology is rare at Tenjin Matsuri, where both the ordinary carriers (those who join for the day only) and the regular members of the group manifest restraint and adhere to a strict schedule. The land and river procession must follow the decided timeline to the minute, because no event can be skipped, and all the groups must return to the shrine before midnight, which means there is little room for behavior otherwise common for a matsuri.


Image 3. Working for the gods

The land procession is an exquisite parade leading from the center of the festival, Osaka Tenmangu Shrine, to the riverside, during which one can admire three types of traditional dances, historical costumes, a giant drum incessantly beaten by six carefully selected and trained men, and of course the mikoshi. The river procession, on the other hand, is the climax of the ritual, taking place at the special moment between day and night, when the borders between the human and the divine world are fluid, and when the presence of the gods is signaled by the universal indicators of communication with the other world: special sounds and light. The boat carrying the Shrine of the Phoenix becomes a temporary Shinto shrine, where a *shinji* (Shinto ritual) is performed. In Image 4 a priest waves a *sakaki*[8] branch decorated with white paper strips in order to purify the space where the ritual occurs. We are on one of the three boats commissioned by the Ôtori Mikoshi Group, and first in order of importance, because it is the one transporting divinity, the other two being for ordinary festival participants and *mikoshi* carriers.

[8] Evergreen tree used in Shinto rituals

Image 4. Ritual purification

Image 5 shows the offerings presented to the deity, and the carriers admiring one of the most dazzling sunsets (July 25, 2019) in the history of the festival, a phenomenon, all the participants agreed, owed to the grace of the God Tenjin. The photo has been only minimally edited for light and clarity, as the true colors showering the sacred boat on that evening were even more spectacular than the fireworks that followed.

Image 5. The burning eye of the God of Thunder

A basic Shinto ritual includes five main stages: purification, presenting the offerings, prayer, dance, and the attendants paying their respects by symbolically placing a *sakaki* branch on the altar. Image 6 shows a *miko* (shrine maiden) in brief silent prayer after she had danced for the entertainment of the sacred spirit ensconced in the brilliantly lit and decorated shrine in front of her. Ritually speaking, these moments, seldom captured by photographers not only because of lack of access, but also because they are less impressive than all the other things simultaneously occurring around them, represent the essence of the *matsuri* as the rare instances when direct communication with the divinity becomes possible. This particular image focusing on the shamaness and the object of her devotion manages to record an unlikely bubble of silence among the incessant sounds of the festival.

Image 6. Prayer and magic

As an anthropologist, I was interested in the contemporary performance of ritual, but the eye of the photographer was attracted to the combination of archaic and modern obvious in the tableau of a golden portable shrine floating under the steel and concrete bridges of Osaka.

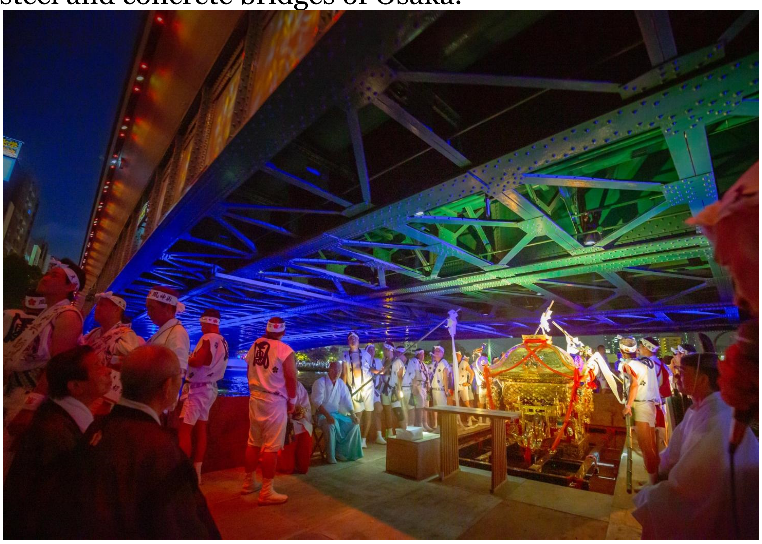

Image 7. Under the bridges of Osaka

Fireworks have always fascinated both ordinary people and photographers, and there are many fireworks events that light up the Japanese evenings. In many cultures they are used to ward off evil spirits at the passing between years, but in Japan they are most common in summer, the time when the spirits of the departed are supposed to return for a brief symbolic reunion with their families. The Tenjin Matsuri fireworks are special, one of the offerings to the celebrated deities, that is why they are only released when the boats carrying the mikoshi pass by. The significance and role of fireworks are slowly becoming obsolete for the younger generations, yet their beauty is still very much appreciated both by the men (as seen in Image 8) and the gods to whom they are dedicated (Image 9).

Image 8. Offerings above and below

Image 9. Fireworks for the God of Thunder

The boat ride, with its solemn ritual and grand fireworks show, provides a respite for the mikoshi carriers, whose grueling work has not ended yet. The deity must be returned to the main hall, so immediately after landing they line up for a song that embodies the essence of their performance: sacrificing sweat and flesh for the gods, praying for peace and protection, and displaying themselves as “manly men” who can work for and defend their community. Despite the numbers (200 hundred carriers and 33 permanent members of the Ôtori Mikoshi Group), it is an almost intimate moment where the researcher and photographer are intruders, self-exiled to the edges of the stage as not to disrupt the dignity of the moment.

Image 10. The return of the Guardians of the Phoenix

Tenjin Matsuri ends when the mikoshi are taken back to their assigned places within the precincts of the shrine—a moment of exhilaration at the completion of yet another successful festival combined with the kind of bitter-sweet sadness I used to feel in January, dismantling the Christmas tree. One last greeting, led by the Head of the Ôtori Mikoshi Group (Image 11), to the God of Thunder is performed, and the world is ready to become again an ordinary place, where work is not accompanied by the sound of drums, and sweat is not lit by fireworks.


Image 11. Farewell to the gods

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THE SNAKE BRIDEGROOM IN SERBIAN AND IN JAPANESE FOLKTALES

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Abstract: *Marriage between a human and a supernatural creature, which can also be an animal, is one of the most widespread themes-motifs in mythologies and in folk literatures around the world. Characteristics vary depending on whether the supernatural spouse is male or female. This paper concerns with the typological and comparative analysis of the most commonly stylized of these topics - the marriage to a snake bridegroom, on the example of Japanese and Serbian folktales. In Japanese tradition, the bride's ambivalent attitude toward the supernatural bridegroom is conditioned by whether the tale is a reflection of a mythical holy marriage between a woman and a zoomorphic god, mainly in the form of a snake, or it describes an unwanted marriage to a despised animal (usually a monkey or a snake), which is a more common theme in Japanese folktales. On the other hand, Serbian snake bridegroom folktales with their particular elements, are obviously part of much broader group, which reaches as far as India. The tale may also be in verse form, mostly ending with the death of the snake, while the wife's search for her supernatural spouse is stylized only in fairy tales.*

Keywords: Japanese folktales, mukashibanashi, Serbian folktales, human–animal marriage, snake bridegroom

Marriage between a human and a supernatural creature, which can also be an animal, is one of the most widespread motifs in mythologies and in folk literatures around the world. This paper summarizes the results of comparative analysis of such motifs in Serbian and Japanese myth and folklore.

Serbian folklore is important primarily because it preserves the Slavic heritage, for example the elements of old beliefs. Heroes of Serbian folk tales are often Christian saints (St. George, St. Nicholas, St. Sava, etc.), who possess the attributes of various pagan gods. The historian of Serbian literature, Jovan Deretic, emphasizes that „perceptions of nature and the cosmos, everyday family life, social relations, emotional states, national history, life wisdom and collective experience – all this is expressed in various types of folklore in a way that provided the widest communicativeness (Deretić 2004: 23)."

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The importance of Serbian folk literature was recognized by the the German scholars, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. They even cultivated the deep cultural exchange with Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, the main protagonist of Serbian philological romanticism, a linguist and the major reformer of the Serbian language. Jacob Grimm started exploring Serbian language and culture in order to reach a better knowledge of the folk songs Karadžić was collecting at the time. These songs allowed him to give more concreteness to his theories and researches about "natural language" and encouraged him to explore the field of Indo-European comparative philology. Grimm managed to interest Johann Wolfgang Goethe himself in Serbian poetry and Karadzic's work, at whose instigation Serbian folk poetry was translated into several languages.

In 1853. Karadžić published a new collection of folk tales, *Srpske narodne pripovjetke*, (the first one was published in 1821), and dedicated it to Jacob Grimm. The latter, in his review of this work, gave a voice to his theories about the folk tales as remnants of ancient myths orally transmitted and as useful element in the research of relations and affinities within European people and Asian ones. In his vision, Slavic folk tales, and among them Serbian ones, were a privileged source of information that could lead to the detection of original ancient elements of a common Indo-European culture.

On the other hand, from the ideas of the founder of folklore studies in Japan, Kunio Yanagita (e.g., Yanagita 1948), it is clear that he was up to date with folkloristic tendencies in the West. He was informed of the actions of the Brothers Grimm, with whom he was often compared, which gave impetus to his research.

1. Marriage between humans and non-human creatures

Marriages to supernatural creatures, frequently in zoomorphic forms, are subjects of all sorts of oral and written genres around the world. Jason Davis and Mio Bryce (Davis and Bryce 2008: 201) point out that this motif does not reveal an unnatural relationship with an animal, but represents the "metonymy of man's (spiritual) connection with the Otherworld."

The supernatural being can be wife or husband. Barbara Leavy, for example, explains that stories about marrying a supernatural bride can be found in every corner of the world because in most cultures a woman was a symbolic outsider, and marriage thus required intimate interference in a world that was never entirely hers (Leavy 1995: 2). However, such wives sometimes would lure the mortal husbands into their world, where they would enjoy unseen pleasures even when they actually had to worry about the consequences of that carefree bliss. Leavy also gives the example of a Japanese hero, Urashima Tarō (1995: 2).

On the other hand, in the background of the story about marrying a scary animal may lie, among other things, the concern of an inexperienced young girl about her future married life, primarily about sexual act, which is basically animal in nature. Considering one of such tales, “Beauty and the Beast”, Maria Tatar (2017: 34) explains that all types of cultural neuroses are coded in it due to the social and emotional structure of marriage: fear of the other, fear of leaving home, fear of changing oneself by forming a new partnership, etc. Some of these tales prescribe certain types of behavior, warning girls not to be vain or cruel. The main character’s beautiful appearance coincides with her virtues and selflessness, and she stands out even more against the vanity, greed and malice of her sisters. Tatar emphasizes that such stories reflect the desire to turn fairy tales, from entertainment for adults, into parables about good behavior, means for indoctrination and instructing children in the virtues of good behavior and good upbringing (Tatar 2017: 35).

The theme of marriage to a supernatural or enchanted spouse, as well as the motifs related to it, are stylized in folk literatures around the world. The Aarne-Thompson index (1961) contains a number of such types, for example: 400, 401A, 402-413 for tales about supernatural wife or 425, 425A, 425C, 433B, 433C, 441 for those about supernatural spouse. According to the prevalence of these themes and motifs in folklore, they have appeared in numerous scientific studies so far. At the beginning, Jacob Grimm sought their roots in myth, while others, like Theodor Benfey, found their origins in India. Elizar M. Meletinsky (1976: 188) is not the only one who recognizes the obvious origins of totemism in this topic, since the concept of exogamy is closely related to totemism. Alexander Veselovski (2005: 621) also classifies marriage between people and animals, as well as the origin of people from plants and animals, as legendary tales in the field of totemism. Northrop Fry (1973: 915) notes that the identification of gods with animals and plants, and those with human society, forms the foundation of totem symbolism.

In the middle of the last century, the Serbian folklorist Nada Milošević-Đorđević confirmed that in Balkan regions the theme of human marriage to a supernatural being has been present for centuries in “various literary and folklore achievements (Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 51).” She also summarizes that scientists usually single out two types of stylization of this theme. In the first type, called “Cupid and Psyche”,[2] husband is supernatural. In the other, also known as the “Melusine

[2] AT 425 (The Search for the Lost Husband), Richard M. Dorson describes as “one of the oldest, most studied, and most widely distributed folktales in the world” (Dorson 1975: 230).
The myth of love between Cupid (Cupid) and Psyche (see Kenney: 1990) was recorded by Apuleius in the 2nd century in his book *The Golden Donkey* or *Metamorphoses*.

type”,[3] supernatural creature is wife (Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 51). In Serbian folktales, the main character is usually male, whether he is a fantastic creature or a human marrying a supernatural bride (e.g., fairy). The Serbian folklorist analyzes the variants of the tale about marrying a fairy, which take place “both in prose form of legend and fairy tale, but also in ballad or in epic poem (Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 52).” In the AT index, such tales correspond to the Swan Maid type (400). In different cultures, they can take the form of myths or orally transmitted poems and tales. The oldest variants come from Asia, like the one about crane maidens in ancient Chinese literature (Gan Bao 1996: 167).

The fantastic bride of Serbian folktales can also have an animal shape. A hero (czarevitch) marries a peahen (Karadžić 1985: 73) or a frog (Karadžić 1977: 171; Čajkanović 1999: 41), and a child is born to a man and a she-bear (Čajkanović 1999: 315). On the other hand, a supernatural husband or a lover can also be an animal. Occasionally he takes off his mask and becomes a human being, for example in “Golden-Haired Hero in Pig Skin” (Čajkanović 1999: 126). In Serbian fairy tales, the emperor’s daughter also marries a dragon, a falcon or an eagle-emperor (Karadžić 1977: 153), and a woman also has a child with a bear (Karadžić 1985: 315).

Marriage with a supernatural being, which can also have an animal form, is one of the most widespread topics, and Serbian folk tales do not deviate from the world heritage in that respect.

2. *Irui kon’in*

The Japanese tradition does not stray from that either. Japanese term *irui kon’in* (interspecies marriage) encompasses themes and motifs stylized in myth and in oral prose, but echoes of this folklore theme can also be found in Japanese ancient literature. Namely, in the *Taketori monogatari* [*The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*], written in the end of the 9th century, we recognize the allegory about the impossibility of marriage between a mortal and a supernatural (celestial) being (cf. Katagiri et al. 1972; *Priča o sekaču bambusa* 2010; and more about the oldest monogatari in: Vasić 2013).[4]

Two oldest recorded variants of the myth about marriage to a zoomorphic goddess we discover in the oldest extant Japanese chronicle, *Kojiki*, 712 (cf. Ogihara and Konosu 1992; *Kođiki* 2008). In the first variant, Homujiwake married Hinagahime, but when he looked at her

[3] Melusine is a character from European mythology and folklore, usually presented as a mermaid or a sea fairy. The most famous written version of this story was recorded by Jean d'Aras in the 14th century (see Stouff: 1932).

[4] How this motif is woven into *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter*, cf. Vasic 2013.

secretly, it was obvious that she was actually a snake, so he got scared and ran away. In the second, the god Hoori marries the daughter of a sea god, the goddess Toyotamabime. After three years spent in her world, the couple came to his homeland. When the time came to give birth, she asked her husband not to look at her. The reason for this taboo is that all aliens return to their original form during childbirth. She turned into a shark.[5] Despite the pleas, Hoori watched her secretly, got scared of the scene and ran away. Toyotamabime gave birth to a son, but ashamed, she returned to the depths, closing the border between sea and land behind her. This caused cosmological consequences since this act is the reason for the existence of the border between land and sea world. Toyotamabime is also a heroine of Japanese folktales and legends,[6] like „Urashima Tarō", about a hero's departure to the fantastic sea world, where he marries the supernatural bride.

Veselovsky analyzes the myths about Melusine and Psyche, citing the example of the Japanese myth about the god Hoori. He explains that returning to her totemistic family and leaving her children points out the disintegration of the matriarchal family, in which the children belong to the mother's family (Veselovski 2005: 613-614). In the oldest Japanese mythologies, the myth is presented as a story that confirms belonging to a certain family with significant, divine ancestors.

Both myths contain the motif of broken taboo of viewing, which is punished by separation. That coincides with stylizations in tales about Melusine, even with those in Serbian tradition. Now that her secret has been revealed, the fantastic wife can no longer stay married. Both Toyotamabime and Melusine left a gift to their sons (e.g., power or wealth), which allows them to have successful life.

Marriages to supernatural creatures have always intrigued Japanese people. Researches on these themes and motifs in Japan gained momentum in the 1930s, with growing interest in oral tradition and establishing of folklore studies. In the center of interest of both scientists and ordinary people were especially folktales - mukashibanashi.[7] Such interest in this literary genre was influenced primarily by one of its main characteristics - the importance of the concept of family. Not only people have family life, but also animals and fantastic creatures like *oni* or a spider woman. That is why it is quite

[5] Toyotamabime also appears in the form of a snake. The myth is also recorded in the first emperial chronicle, *Nihon shōki*, 720 (cf. Sakamoto et al. 1994), where she is actualy a dragon, like her father.

[6] More about problems on classifications of Japanese oral genres, cf. Vasić 2016.

[7] Japanese folktales – mukashibanashi ("tales of long ago"), according to the genre characteristics of each individual tale, include stories that have parallels in various Serbian (i.e. Europian) oral genres. Apart from fairy tales, some correspond to (Serbian) legends, but others have paralles to humorous tales (more in: Vasić 2016: 4-5).

logical that a large number of tales concern marital relations and that many of them describes precisely marriage between a human and a fantastic spouse.[8] Japanese folklore is abundant with animals and (terrible) supernatural creatures disguised in human-looking body. Due to the blurred border between the Japanese folktale and the myth, we can also find a deity in the role of a spouse.

Such tales have been orally transmitted for centuries in all parts of Japan. The evidence is presence of such tales in various collections, but also the number of professional papers on such topics. Even the most important scholars of Japanese folklore, from Kunio Yanagita and Keigo Seki, Koji Inada, and Toshio Ōzawa, did not miss the opportunity to underline these tales. Ōzawa analyzed in detail their popularity and suggested that "the behavior of animal brides is a reflection of Japanese aesthetics (1994: 135)." Seki (1980: 55) concluded that there was a large number of myths, legends and folktales on relationship between humans and animals, and in them stories about wives-animals occupied a very important part. Many other scholars drew conclusions about characteristics of Japanese folktales, based on such themes and motifs. Along the way, scholars compare them with related stories from other cultures, looking for a place for Japanese oral literature in a much broader, world context.

One of the most important representatives of comparative studies of Japanese oral literature, Toshio Ōzawa, was analyzing Japanese folktales by comparing them with those from other countries. In his works he assures us of the importance of stories in which similar ideas of different ethnic groups appear (Ōzawa 1994: 22-23), which is important for deciphering the processes of creating folktales. Among other things, Ōzawa tried to find out what people around the world think of an offensive hero, primarily of an animal spouse, as well as how narrators accept this kind of idea and shape the story. In his opinion, such folktales and legends, passed down from generation to generation, survived only because they were acceptable to everyone, and that is precisely because "they contain a basic ideology, which the group itself is not aware of, and relates to the way people see animals and nature (Ōzawa 1994: 22)." He was convinced that such a fundamental ideology could be explored precisely through the analysis of animal and human marriage stories (Ōzawa 1994: 23). Regarding the motifs of the transformation of people and animals in the tales, Ōzawa concludes that the world of Japanese folktales is close to those that can be found in Indonesia, Punjab and among the Eskimo tribes. In all the analyzed tales, Ōzawa found a similar

[8] Folktales with animals - fantastic partners, are followed by other tales about animals, e.g., about joint visits to other worlds, about their mutual relations: friendship, conflict, revenge, etc. (more in: Vasić 2016).

perception of spouses from other species. However, when a main (human) character in such a Japanese tale discovers the true (inhuman) identity of his spouse, marriage becomes impossible. This, as Ōzawa summarizes (1994: 201), is still more akin to "European legends about people and fairies" than to stories from the East.

3. How to classify them

Researchers give various classifications of Japanese folktales (mukashibanashi) about intermarriage between humans and non-human creatures. It is common to classify them into tales with and without a happy ending (Davis and Bryce 2008: 202). However, Keigo Seki does not completely agree with it. He does not consider the tales with happy ending to be *irui-kon'in* type, but include them among tales where the hero was born in a supernatural way (*tan'jo-tan*), for example as a frog, a snail or a tiny child (*chisako*). Davis and Bryce (2008: 202) point out that number of such tales is limited. Their framework resembles the Western fairy tales, but they are usually wrapped in mythical or religious nuances, and inhuman identity of the protagonist is revealed in the early part of the narrative. Let us add that this type of storytelling includes the necessary task that a man (or a woman) must perform in order for a supernatural spouse to turn into a "handsome young man" as in "Tanishi chōja" [Wealthy Mud Snail] ("Barski puž bogataš", cf. Vasić 2018: 22) .

Many Japanese folktales about marriage to a supernatural creature, mainly animal, do not end happily.[9] We recognize two types of these tales: folktales with a supernatural bride/wife and those in which bridegroom/husband is a supernatural creature.

Mukashibanashi about marriage to a fantastic bride include stories with animal bride/wife. Their main characteristics are conciseness and stable cyclic structure. The final parts of different stories included in this group do not bring any essential differences for the main characters. This means that preference is given to stability, rather than to insisting on the development of the genre.

The motif of a grateful animal, which becomes a miraculous helper, often is incorporated into the plot. The closing parts do not bring any essential differences for the main characters, their fate is certain: supernatural wife's disappearance at the moment when *miruna no tabū* (don't look taboo) is broken, and her true identity is revealed. Seen from a human perspective, supernatural brides are transient, unexpectedly coming into a person's life and leaving it suddenly, so it is not surprising that migratory birds, like cranes and swans, are the most appropriate

[9] That is in direct opposition to (European) fairy tales (Märchen), where happy ending becomes genre imperative.

metaphorical image of supernatural brides. In these contexts, foxes and snakes also appear, as well as other animals: frogs, turtles, fish, shellfish, etc. If we consider the social position of these supernatural women, Hayao Kawai (1982: 78), for example, notes that there are conflicting attitudes towards their origins. In some tales, a man looks at such woman with contempt, like at a lower being. On the other hand, there are stories in which men admire supernatural women, for example foxes, celestial maidens or dragon daughters, as higher, spiritual beings. There is no complementarity or equal position for all such characters in the roles assigned to them. They can be possible initiators of action and/or victims of exploitation, and according to Kawai, their marriage can be seen as a metonymy of the relationship between people and nature (1982: 85).

In the initial part of these tales, an animal comes from somewhere, from the wild, to visit the human world. At first, this appearance may seem like an attack on a person, but it is soon revealed that its intention is not to harm a human. The animal transforms into a beautiful woman and insists that the man takes her as his wife. When a man agrees, a happy life without poverty is started.

In the further course, the taboo motif is introduced as a crucial part of the plot, just like in the previously mentioned Japanese myths or in the story of Melusine. The taboo regarding seeing a woman in her original form is a common motif in Japanese folklore. It can be *miruna no tabū* (don't look taboo) or *miruna no yashiki* (forbidden room, cf. Davis and Bryce 2015: 203). The spouse promises that (in a certain situation) he will not look at his wife, or it is understood that he must not do that. When he violates that prohibition and at the same time reveals her identity, it is the beginning of the end of their happy marriage. Unlike the European folktale, there is no obligatory punishment for this violation, but anyway, parting is inevitable. When a man finally discovers a woman's true (animal) nature, she must leave, so there is a permanent separation. A similar motif appears in the myth of the demiurge gods, Izanagi and Izanami. When Izanagi searches for his dead wife in the underworld, she forbids him to look at her. Violation of the ban unavoidably leads to their permanent separation.

4. Snake bridegroom folktales in Japan

In Japanese folktales about supernatural bridegroom or husband, i.e., son-in-law (AT 425), characters are not exclusively animals. Inhuman identity can be expanded to certain fantastic creatures (e.g., *kappa* or *oni* demons), while there are also examples of fantastic plants, like willow, in such a role (see, for example: Vasić 2016: 83-84; 2018: 185-188). In the multitude of such narratives, two kinds of animal-spouse prevail: snake bridegroom or son-in-law (*hebi muko*), and monkey bridegroom or son-in-law (*saru muko*). Snake bridegroom tales may coincide with ancient myths about *hieros gamos* - sacred marriage.

In Japanese mythology, we can find myths about marriage to a god (*shinkon shinwa*), usually with a woman marrying a deity. Such myths are result of the ancient belief that women serve as mediators between the world of men and the world of gods, and they are able to communicate with such exalted beings. Keigo Seki (1966: 55), analyzes in detail these myths about sacred marriages, pointing out that they are always related to the sacred mountain Miwa (Mimoro), which was believed to be inhabited by a god or to be a deity itself. “Legend of Mount Mimoro” is a chapter in the *Kojiki* (2008: 156), which explains how a zoomorphic god from that mountain, taking his human form, impregnated a human girl: A handsome young man suddenly started visiting Ikutamayoribime. His calls occurred exclusively at night, and after a while she became pregnant. She finally succeeded in finding out who he was. At the urging of her parents, she stuck a needle with a hemp yarn into his clothes. In the morning, they discover the thread passing through the keyhole, and its end was in the mountain temple. Since the only one who could pass through the keyhole was a snake-man, they concluded that it actually was a god from the mountain - the object of worship of the local community. In accordance with the function of the *Kojiki*, pointing out the divine origin of the imperial and other important families, the myth reveals who were that god’s descendants.

The snake god from the Japanese myth is a creature of the night and everything related to it is mystical and mysterious. He has one appearance during the day, and another at night, when he becomes anthropomorphic and makes his visits to his human bride. In addition, the girl’s name, Ikutamayoribime (Princess Who Summons Spirits), indicates her shamanic abilities to communicate and to establish connection with a supernatural being.

Kunio Yanagita insists (1933: 33-34) that Japanese tales about animal brides and grooms are based on sacred texts, and that the transfer of these topics into oral literature completely erased the significance of sacred marriages. He concludes that mukashibanashi had developed from myths and legends, and as time went on, their meanings and themes became simpler, and more and more receptive to the ears of ordinary audience. Careful analysis of myths and legends allows folklorists to understand how the concept of the sacred marriage shaped these themes/motifs in tales about supernatural spouses. One thing is for sure, collecting the folklore material revealed to what extent narrators like to describe unusual marriages between humans and animals, and there are plenty of various forms of this motif in Japanese narrative tradition.

Comparing a snake son-in-law from Japanese folktales with that in the myth, we can unveil his different features.[10] He is not a god that should be adored. Like the fantastic spouse in the “Beauty and the Beast” fairy tale, he imposes himself on the girl’s father as the future groom. But unlike the beast, at the end he will almost certainly not transform into a handsome young man, worthy of a girl’s hand. And unlike the snake god, he is often an intruder, whom the girl has to destroy.

However, the snake son-in-law in Japanese folktales can have ambivalent nature. While some suffer at the hands of their bride, others manage to take their brides with them. For this second type, it is obvious that such folktales are based on mythical narratives about snakes respected as gods that appear in response to a prayer request.

All of collected Snake Bridegroom folktales Yanagita Kunio assign to a same category, implying that the underlying theme of all such tales is the same, regardless of how the girl gets involved with the snake and how she manages to rid herself of the sinister suitor. A variant of the Snake Bridegroom folktale from a collection of one of the most important contemporary Japanese folklorists, Koji Inada (cf. Inada and Inada 2010; or in Serbian: Vasić 2016; 2018), is more suitable for the monkey bridegroom type. The basic elements of both “Snake Bridegroom” and “Monkey Bridegroom” tales from this collection knit the story about unwanted marriage between a girl and a supernatural animal. In both plots, the usual folklore motif of the sacrificed youngest daughter is incorporated. She is the only one with filial piety and ready to fulfill her father’s promise. Her intelligence and resourcefulness help her to get rid of her repulsive spouse and then to be rewarded with a happy life. The “Snake Bridegroom” tale is contaminated with the story about a girl in old woman’s skin (cf. Vasić 2016: 55), where a witty girl is helped by another supernatural animal - a miraculous helper. That means that the motif of a grateful animal got its place in this folktale, too.[11]

The bridegrooms in these tales, both the monkey and the snake, are supernatural beings since they speak human language and have human

[10] Snake spouses also exist in legends (densetsu), where they have different characteristics than in folktales. Such narratives have etiological elements, connecting such snake with particular place and family. Among their purposes is explaining the origin of a particular family, which claims to have originated from a serpent, and in which this type of story is passed down from generation to generation.

[11] Variants of mukashibanashi about proposing often also contain a water motif. In “Snake Bridegroom“, this has parallels in the myth where a snake is the embodiment of the water god (e.g. the snake-like monster Yamata no orochi). As far as the monkey is concerned, apart from the fact that it is a part of the beliefs concerning cultivation of (flooded) rice fields, it is also related to the water motif in other folktale types. For example, in the “Monkey Liver“, a monkey on a turtle`s back goes to the bottom of the sea, to paradise castle of a sea dragon. (Inada and Inada 2010: 167; Vasić 2018: 136).

behavior. Neither animal has the ability to transform into a human figure, and they constantly stay in their original, animal forms. Also, they do not possess the attributes of deities that instills awe, and in addition, the monkey serves exclusively as an object of ridicule. They are in life danger as they suffer at the hands of resourceful and smart wives. Comprehending the wife's deadly intention towards her inhuman husbands as a human antinomy towards nature, Komatsu Kazuhiko claims that such tales secretly warn listeners/children about the dangers of nature (1984: 51). The complete absence of sympathy for the supernatural spouse, probably is a consequence of his animal appearance. The allegorical element of human rudeness is less obvious in the case of mythical snake groom, a spiritual being that approaches his bride disguised as a handsome man.

The separation of different species spouses, one from the human and the other from the supernatural (animal) world, indicates the existence of an ontological boundary between this and the other world. Narrators and listeners of these folktales were aware of those borders. For both of them, it is acceptable that a newcomer marries a human, but it is also quite clear that a foreigner is not able to fully fit into the world of people. The animal wife shows a strong desire to live with a man (to whom she feels gratitude). Unlike the snake groom from the Japanese myth, who visits his wife only at night, she constantly stays under her new roof and tries to fulfill her role of wife as best she can. Her husband does not kill her, nor does she forcibly expel her. Instead, she terminates her marriage at the moment when, due to a broken taboo, her identity is revealed. The inner balance of the relationship between the characters is disturbed and she leaves her husband and her new home forever.

If we compare the stories with a fantastic spouse and those with such a wife, we can summarize it thus: with all the narrative diversity, the introductory segments mostly coincide: fantastic heroes suddenly appear in front of a person of the opposite sex. Unlike the previous Animal wife type, the true identity of this supernatural creature is often revealed at the very beginning of the narrative. However, once their true identities are revealed, their destinies are different. Most of such husbands do not deserve the respect of humans, so they mostly suffer at the hands of their fearless human wives and are killed by her alone or with the help of her family. In contrast, the animal-bride leaves on her own or simply disappears.

And while the balance of the relationship between man and wife-animal is disturbed, in the second type of story, it was only an illusion, since the human bride is always an independent bearer of action, a central character and an active initiator of events. Although the endings of both speak of permanent separation, it is not the same. Because, one is a murder case, and the other is not.

Fumihiko Kobayashi (2015: 27) discusses these differences in detail and assumes that Japanese tastes differ when it comes to the gender of the animal spouse, which affects the way the Japanese portray gender in these tales. “In fact, the Japanese tend to favor femininity over masculinity (Kobayashi 2015: 27).“ However, Kobayahashi’s point of view may be controversial as it contradicts the previous studies that link animal-wife tales to the female role in Japanese domestic sphere: unlike animal husbands, animal wives stay in the household because traditionally the female role is to raise children and manage the household.

5. Snake bridegroom folktales in Serbia

The motif of marriage to a supernatural being is also well known in Serbian folk literature. There are a number of literary variants of this motif, especially from the Middle Ages, where it is mostly considered to be an adaptation of motifs from the oral tradition. In fairy tales of this type, the supernatural hero can be a man or a woman. If the hero of a fairy tale is a fantastic being, it is usually masculine, but if the hero is a human, then he has a supernatural wife.

If we analyze Serbian folktales about marriage to an animal spouse, we can conclude that the basic initial element is the realization of the desire of infertile parents to have a child, even in the form of an animal. Their wish comes true and they really get a zoomorphic child. When he grows up, he wants to get married and in accordance with the fairy-tale trawl, he succeeds.

Nada Milošević-Đorđević explains that this summary is formed both in verse and in prose (Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 37–38). In Serbian folk poems the supernatural hero dies, while the wanderings and later adventures of a wife who tirelessly searches for her fantastic husband are stylized only in fairy tales. This is completely in line with the genre imperative of the fairy tale, which must have a happy ending. In fairy tales, the bridegroom usually takes off his animal skin on the first wedding night and appears in the right light, like a beautiful young man. Not understanding the reason why he could not be in anthropomorphic form in daylight, the mother or the bride (alone or with the mother-in-law) steals the animal’s skin (and burns it) in order to prevent its re-transformation. Thus, in the short story "Golden-haired hero in pig skin" (Čajkanović 1999: 126), the boar takes off his skin and becomes a beautiful golden-haired young man. His mother throws his skin into the fire, and he remains a man forever. The mother is also the culprit of the broken taboo in the short story “Snake Bridegroom” from the collection of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, who is considered the father of Serbian folk literature scholarship (Karadžić 1985: 101; 105).

This means that this type of folktales contains the motif of broken taboo of viewing. Archaic marital taboos, for example when a husband or wife is not allowed to say the personal or family name of their partner, or to see each other in the light of day, are established motifs in folktales about a fantastic wife. In the Japanese variants, the man is curious. At the same time, the hero of a folktale is not excused by the fact that he was not clearly warned that the ban exists. A broken rule entails consequence.

Scientists approach this issue from different angles. According to Davis and Bryce (2008: 203), the original taboos of viewing are "associated with showing off the genitals and a strong sense of shame that follows (Davis 2008: 203)." In this spirit, Kitayama concludes: “The sight of bare genitals undermined the desire for spiritual unification, revealing the essential differences between the viewer and the other person, which resulted in their permanent separation (Kitayama 1993: 45).”

The outcome of a breach of the ban may be twofold. It can lead to the separation, which can be temporary, leading to further adventures, or to the final opting for the world of people. In many variants, the husband leaves, abandoning his pregnant wife and cursing her not to give birth until she finds him (Čajkanović 1999: 126; Karadžić 1985: 105). But the end can be simpler: after burning the animal’s skin the young man remains a human and thus acquires its final form.

Serbian Snake bridegroom type folktales are also the most common among the tales about marriage to an animal spouse. Serbian anthropologist Špiro Kulišić writes about it: “In Serbian folktales, it is very common to narrate about the transformation of a human being into a snake, especially in the snake bridegroom folktales (Kulišić 1970: 11).” In the initial part, completely in accordance with other tales of this type, the barren woman prays to God to have a child, even if it is a snake. That child is ready for marriage, and on the first night of marriage, he takes off his snake skin and appears as a handsome young man. The bride tells everything to the hero’s mother and thus breaks the taboo of revealing the secret. Then, she either burns the animal’s skin herself, or gives it to another (mother-in-law) to burn. A Serbian scholar, Veselin Čajkanović summarizes that “burning animal skins is a ritual that removes sorcery, but it must be performed at the right time, or otherwise it can be fatal (Čajkanović 1999: 505).”

Serbian snake bridegroom folktales were certainly not created without any external influences, but are part of a much broader and more complex story: Slavic, European and beyond. With no attempt to discuss influences of Indian tales on other people’s oral folklore, we must mention that among many others, a snake bridegroom tale also can be found in the *Panchatantra*. The story about enchanted brahman's son ("Der verzauberte Brahmanensohn" in: *Pantschatantra* 1859) has all relevant elements: disconsolate childless wife, granted wish, giving birth to a snake, searching for a bride for the animal-son, marrying the snake, transformation to human form late at night etc. Only difference makes the fact that here the father burns the snake skin.[12]

At the end, we will add one more observation. In Serbian folktales, the supernatural spouse can also be a dragon. Above the fact that distinction between snakes and dragons is a hazy one, and that the overlap between the two categories is considerable, in Serbian and in other South Slavic folk traditions there is also a difference between two types of dragon-like creatures. Although the term *dragon* mostly corresponds to *zmay* (*zmaj*), the dreadful, malevolent supernatural beast, which should be vanquished by a hero, is actually called *azhdaya* (*aždaja*) or *ala*.[13] This multi-headed creature of pure evil usually guards unreachable locations or lives in dark and hostile places, which represent the entrances to the chthonic world. Those places are also entrances into the netherworld, marking a boundary between different worlds, and as such they are always characterized as ominous and fateful habitats of devils, demons and other evil forces.

On the other hand, *zmay* is dimorphic creature, half human and half animal (e.g., fiery bird). He is generally a highly respected creature, and while not always being benevolent, it is never an entirely evil either since he fights the storm-bringing *ala* and protects people and crops. *Zmay* is considered as an extremely intelligent creature of superhuman strength, possessing proficiency in magic and very rich (usually described as having castles and enormous treasure hidden in distant lands).

The *zmay* is often lustful for women with whom he is capable of making offspring. In the other words, *zmay* replaced the image of snake in folktales about supernatural marriage. It is a kidnapping dragon, about whom Propp writes in the *Historical Roots of the Magic Fairy Tale*: "It means that the dragon is a later phenomenon, that its character was built after its functions (Prop 2013: 307)."

While the motif of the animal spouse in Japanese folktales usually reasserts the human-animal boundaries (with the final separation of the couple), in Serbian tales these boundaries seem to vanish (the animal groom takes a human shape forever). This contrasts also with the

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[12] (More about Indian folktales on interspecies marriage, in: Nanba 2021.)

[13] For example, behind the legend of the downfall of medieval Serbia lie folk beliefs about good dragon – *zmay* (Serbian army), who failed to save their people from the hands of the malevolent dragon – *azhdaya* (invading army of the Ottoman Empire) in the famous Battle of Kosovo, which took place on June 15th, 1389.

European tales (e.g., “Beauty and the Beast”), where the animal groom is typically a man who has been transformed into an animal and then takes back his human shape forever.

6. Final remarks

Reaching the complex symbolism of tasks and the meaning of motifs in folktales requires complex research processes. Over time the “surviving” archaic layers have been covered with all sorts of deposits, modified with new ideas and subjected to particular adaptations keeping with laws of the word art. Folktale is shaped in the absolute sphere of fiction, relying on reality and long-forgotten rituals, as well as on modified mythological notions. All these worlds have experienced certain metamorphosis, being the subjects of the poetic laws of particular narrative type.

If we consider the characters of animals in folktales, we should have in mind that a man in the primitive community has always been dependent on the animal world. Observing dynamic relationships, he first tried to identify himself with certain animals, and then to explain the incomprehensible order of natural forces in order to control them, tame them and subordinate them to increasingly complex social needs. However, in all stages of the development of civilization, the fascination with the animal kingdom lasted in various forms.

Through ancient cults, the respect for certain animals had been manifested, and they became objects of ritual attitude. This was especially reflected through mythological notions in which animals were personified. Animals that were seen as ancestors or cultural heroes. Totemism significantly marked the oldest stage of human development. Prayers and sacrifices were offered to mythical ancestors in animal forms, and various prohibitions and behavior regulations were imposed in order to remove dangers and preserve their affection.

Later on, certain attributes of totems were transferred to anthropomorphic deities. Even when animals gradually gave way to the hierarchical organization of gods, their divine powers were linked to the animals. With the development of human consciousness and the disintegration of the mythological pagan system, the status of animals was preserved in other forms as well. In addition to a number of beliefs included in the complex of tradition, representatives of flora and fauna have gained special significance in various genres of oral literature, as evidenced by narratives preserved in oral traditions, but also by numerous variants of written tales from the very beginnings of human written monuments. Human characteristics are attributed to animals, and their adventures figuratively outline human social relations.

In our article, we have dealt with only one tiny segment of this complex symbolism. We tried to make a brief overview of folktales in which the marriage between a man and an animal is possible. The number of tales in which this motif is stylized is surprising and we can conclude that marriage between a human and a supernatural creature is one of the most popular motifs in oral literatures, but also in myth. Characteristics of these tales vary depending on whether the animal is male or female. In Serbian folktales, the hero is usually a man, whether he is a human or fantastic being. In Japan, we more often come across tales in which a man is married to an animal wife.

Our focus, however, was on the folktales with the animal bridegroom motif. In Japanese tales, the wife's ambivalent attitude towards the animal bridegroom is conditioned by whether the story is a reflection of a mythical hieros gamos - sacred marriage between a woman and a zoomorphic god, usually in the form of a snake, or it describes a more common theme of unwanted marriage to a despised animal, often a monkey. In both types, folktales about marrying a snake bridegroom are numerous. He is also the main animal spouse in Serbian folktales, which reveal the elements from the oldest Indian collections.

When we take a closer look at individual segments of these folktales, for example: stylized motifs, character's psychological profiles, socio-political circumstances at the time the narratives were created, etc., it becomes clear that folktales, which at first resembled many other related stories outside Serbia and Japan, actually reveal much more complex layers. Folktales suddenly become unique and go beyond the framework of a widely recognizable oral treasure. And therein lies the secret of their popularity and their priceless value.

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