Preface to Special Feature 2: Japanese Studies Research Papers in English

YOSHITAKA YAMAMOTO*

On the sweltering morning of July 22, 2017, a dozen scholars and graduate students from various departments at Osaka University and Kyoto University gathered on the leafy hilltop of Osaka University's Toyonaka Campus to present on their humanities research on Japan in English. The workshop, organized by the Global Japanese Studies Cluster of the Graduate School of Letters at Osaka University, brought together ten graduate students who presented on diverse topics ranging from linguistics to religion, as well as two panelists who discussed specific examples of woodblock printing in Edo-period Japan and their social and cultural ramifications. The workshop program is reproduced below.

Much of cutting-edge humanities research in Japanese studies is being conducted in Japanese as of now, and as such, it is imperative that humanists working on Japan acquire the requisite level of proficiency in Japanese. However, valuable research on Japan has been produced in other languages as well, and true collaboration can only take place where there is reciprocity. Japanese-speaking scholars of Japan ought not be afraid of engaging in academic dialogue and producing research in languages other than Japanese. One major aim of the workshop was to create a forum where scholars based in Japan could present and discuss their work in English, not to replace, but to complement, their research in Japanese.

In the succeeding pages are the research papers by seven of the graduate student presenters. While they may be rough around the edges in some parts, they each demonstrate a relatively high degree of originality and offer us a glimpse into the authors' larger projects, which are currently underway and in the process of unfolding. Finally, I would like to thank Niels van Steenpaal of Kyoto University, and Shoya Unoda, Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi, and Mohammad Moinuddin of Osaka University, without whose expertise, guidance, and support the workshop could not have taken place, and this special feature could not have been completed. I would also like to thank the graduate student research assistants, Jake Odagiri and Tianyi Tang of Osaka University, for their tireless work.

* Lecturer, Department of Japanese Literature and Historical Linguistics, Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University.

（【邦訳】　　**特集2　日本研究英文論考集　まえがき**　　山本嘉孝

2017 年 7 月 22 日、蒸し暑い朝ではあったが、大阪大学の複数の部局、及び京都大学から 10 数名の研究者・大学院生が大阪大学豊中キャンパスの緑溢れる丘陵に集った。日本に関する人文学研究成果について、英語で発表するためである。大阪大学大学院文学研究科グローバル日本研究クラスター主催の本ワークショップでは、国語学から宗教に至るまで様々な主題について 10 名の大学院生が発表し、2 名のパネリストには江戸時代における木版印刷の具体的な事例とその社会的・文化的意義についてお話頂いた。下に、ワークショップのプログラムを掲載する。

人文学分野における最新の日本研究は、現在、多く日本語を用いて行われている。したがって、日本を研究対象とする人文学研究者は、相応な高水準の日本語を身に付けておく必要がある。しかし、日本語以外の言語でも質の高い日本研究成果がまとめられており、また、真の共同研究は相互的でなければ成立し得ない。日本語を使用する日本研究者の側も、日本語以外の言語を用いて学術的対話に参加し、研究成果を発表することを恐れてはならない。日本を拠点とする研究者・大学院生を対象に、日本語で行う研究を否定するのではなく、むしろ補強するものとして、英語による研究発表・議論の場を提供することが、本ワークショップの主たる目的の一つであった。

以下には、ワークショップの大学院生発表者の内、7 名が執筆した英文論考を収める。荒削りの部分も見受けられるかと思うが、それぞれに独自の視点が構築されており、各々が現在進行形で取り組んでいる研究課題の一部分が鮮明に照らし出されている。最後に、ワークショップの開催、及び本特集の編集にあたって多大なご協力を賜りました京都大学のニールス・ファン・ステーンパール先生、大阪大学の宇野田尚哉先生、Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi 先生、モハンマド・モインウッディン先生、大阪大学大学院生でリサーチアシスタントの小田桐ジェイク氏、湯天軼氏に深く感謝申し上げます。）

OSAKA UNIVERSITY JAPANESE STUDIES WORKSHOP 2017

Saturday, July 22, 2017　11 am - 6:30 pm

Conference Room, 2nd Floor, Machikaneyama Hall, Toyonaka Campus, Osaka University

SESSION 1 (11 AM - 12 NOON)

Kohei Takahara (Clinical Philosophy, Osaka University)

"Guilt and Numbing: R. J. Lifton's Philosophy of Survival"

Yussuf Katsura (Kyosei Studies [Critical Studies in Coexistence, Symbiosis, and Conviviality], Osaka University)

"Converting to Islam: An Auto-Ethnographic Account of a Muslim-Japanese"

PANEL: BOOKS AND PRINTS IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN (1 - 2 PM)

Shoya Unoda (Professor in Japanese Studies, Osaka University)

"Books, Readers, and Reading in Early Modern Japan"

Niels van Steenpaal (Associate Professor in History of Education, Kyoto University)

"Free Print as a Window into Edo Culture and Thought"

Discussant: **Yoshitaka Yamamoto** (Lecturer in Japanese Literature, Osaka University)

SESSION 2 (2:10 - 3:40 PM)

Simona Lukminaitė (Japanese Language and Culture, Osaka University)

"*Bushidō* in the Meiji Education of Women"

Thom van Dam (Chinese Literature, Osaka University)

"Wartime *Kanshi* of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: How the 'Eastern Barbarians' Acquired the 'Central Efflorescence'"

Oana Loredana Scoruș (Human and Environmental Studies, Kyoto University)

"Controversies Surrounding the Meiji Stroll Garden"

SESSION 3 (3:50 - 5:20 PM)

Kazuaki Oda (Human Sciences, Osaka University)

"Philosophy of Kuki Shūzō and Ethics of Watsuji Tetsurō: Japanese Philosophers' Responses to Modern Individualism"

Jake Odagiri (Japanese Literature, Osaka University)

"Reading Dazai in Translation: A Paratextual Point of View"

Alexander Ginnan (Japanese Studies, Osaka University)

"Visual Culture, Representation, and Uranihon"

SESSION 4 (5:30 - 6:30 PM)

Yukio Hisada (Japanese Historical Linguistics, Osaka University)

"The Usage of Sentences Mixing Regular-Script *Kanji* and *Hiragana* in the Latter Part of the Edo Period"

Minori Momose (Japanese Historical Linguistics, Osaka University)

"On the Usage of the Japanese Filler Conjunction *Sate*"

Concentric Circles of Guilt in R. J. Lifton's Survivor Study

KOHEI TAKAHARA*

1. Introduction—empathy and apathy after disaster

Directly after a natural disaster strikes, empathy for survivors permeates society. Citizens are eager to read any news from the devastated area, and try to share the agonies and grief of the victims. Some positive slogans pervade society to maintain solidarity. For example, slogans such as *kizuna* (絆, meaning: friendships or ties) and *ganbarō Kōbe* (がんばろう神戸, meaning: cheer up Kobe) spread widely after the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011 and, the Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995 (Kobe was a major city struck by the earthquake), respectively. An emotional integration including both the disaster-affected area and the non-affected areas arises.

However, as times passes, empathy turns into apathy, support into denial. People outside the disaster area unconsciously wish to keep a psychological distance from information about the terrible incident. In their minds, they may even feel it is "unfair" that victims obtain help, recognition, and some goods without compensation. They gradually start to evade the harsh reality near ground-zero. A report by MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of the Japanese Government) highlights an extreme example of this psychological change from acceptance to dismissal.[1] The report shows that at some elementary schools and junior high schools students who evacuated from the Fukushima Nuclear Disaster in 2011 had been bullied. The report cites some abusive words spoken by assailant students to evacuating students, such as "*hōsha-nō ga utsuru*" (放射能がうつる, meaning: "You are contaminating us with your radioactivity"). This suggests that in their

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: re28000@gmail.com

[1] The office of the elementary and secondary education, Japan MEXT 文部科学省初等中等教育局, "Genshiryoku Hatsudensho Ziko tō ni yori Fukushima-ken kara Hinan shiteiru Zidō Seito ni taisuru Izime no Jōkyō tō no Kakunin ni kakaru Forō-appu ni tsuite (Heisei 29 nen 4 gatsu 11 niti genzai)" 原子力発電所事故等により福島県から避難している児童生徒に対するいじめの状況等の確認に係るフォローアップについて（平成 29 年 4 月 11 日現在）
http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/29/04/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/04/11/1384371_2_2.pdf (last accessed: October 5th, 2017)

ignorance some children viewed the evacuating victims as something extraneous and alien, and they interpreted the disaster and its effects not from the perspective of science and morals but from a more primitive sense, like *kegare* (穢れ, meaning: uncleanliness). In other words, the feelings of refusal or apathy after a natural disaster could be derived from somewhere deep beyond reason.

The rapid transition from empathy into apathy hurts survivors. It not only wounds their feelings but also their fundamental reliance on others. How can we construct and maintain true sympathy and dialogue with survivors? What arises in the situation of apathy and refusal? These questions require vast and long-ranging research. In order to obtain some clues, this paper will examine the ideas of Robert Jay Lifton. In particular, it will discuss his idea of "the concentric circles of guilt" in atomic bomb survivor research. Applying his concentric model into modern society after a disaster will open the inquiry into empathy and apathy to new dimensions.

2. R. J. Lifton—a pioneer of survivor studies

R. J. Lifton (1926–) is an American psychiatrist, and a former professor at Yale University. He trained in the Freudian psychoanalytic tradition, but does not hesitate to express antagonism toward the obsolete tradition that he experienced in his young days. He calls his methodology *Psychohistory*, following his mentor Erik Erikson (1902–1994), the psychologist famous for *Ego psychology* or the idea of *identity*.

In Japan, he is referenced solely as a person who played a major role in establishing the concept of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in the late 1970's. However, this role represents only a tiny aspect of his whole practice and philosophy. The fundamental, consistent thought and concern on which he based his life work is the psychology of survivors. The 20th century was an era of mass destruction and psychological trauma. In the earliest part of the century, some psychologists and psychiatrists, like S. Freud and P. Janet, found this caused new and old problems, especially in war neurosis and sexual violence. After World War II, a few psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, and therapists expanded their research concerning trauma into more various fields, for example, natural disaster, gigantic accidents, fire, criminal victims, domestic violence, and so on. The 20th century was the era of the survivors of those catastrophes. From the 1950s when Lifton started his career as a therapist

and researcher, he interviewed many survivors of historical incidents. It is no exaggeration to say that he paved the way for the rapid development of trauma studies from the 1970s.

Finally, he is famous for his long career as an activist against nuclear weapons and wars. He recently wrote on the web an essay criticizing the use of drone weapons, small remote-controlled military vehicles or airplanes that do not require the presence of a driver or pilot.[2]

Works

Lifton has published more than 20 books, and half of those have been translated into Japanese.[3] The following four books—*Thought Reform*, *Death in Life*, *Home from the War*, *Nazi Doctors*—are his most important.

Thought Reform: *A Study of "Brainwashing" in China*[4] is an analysis of people who were brainwashed at a political corrective facility of the Communist Party of China. In this book, he describes how deeply the brainwashing process in closed environments can affect the human mind. He interviewed many survivors in Hong Kong. This book is one of the basic text books dealing with the brainwashing process by religious cults.

Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima[5] is a study analyzing the psychological impact of the experiences of *hibakusha*, namely, atomic bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He investigated *hibakusha*s in Hiroshima in the early 1960s, but before him, there was no psychological study of the *hibakusha*s by the Japanese. The concept of "psychic numbing" that he analyzed in this book became his fundamental thought.

Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners[6] is a book dealing with the recovery process of Vietnam War veterans in the United States. In the 1970s, American soldiers who came back from the Vietnam War suffered from the disorders of social adaptation and emotional control. They suffered from traumatic memories of the battlefield

[2] R. J. Lifton, "10 Reflections on Drones", *Huffpost*, 04 November, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-jay-lifton/10-reflections-drones_b_3062566.html (last accessed: 6 October 2017).

[3] Takahara Kōhei 高原耕平, Lifton wo Nihon zin wa donoyōni yonde kitaka リフトンを日本人はどのように読んできたか (How have Japanese readers understood the concept of survivorship in R. J. Lifton?), Metahyushika メタフュシカ, 47, pp. 63–75, 2016.

[4] R. J. Lifton, *Thought Reform and the Psychological Totalism: a Study of "Brainwashing" in China*, Norton, 1961.

[5] R. J. Lifton, *Death in Life: the survivors of Hiroshima*, Random House, Inc., New York, 1968.

[6] R. J. Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans-Neither Victims nor Executioners*, Simon & Schuster, 1973.

and dwelt on the meaninglessness of the Vietnam War itself. Lifton and a selection of veterans made a dialogue group and he tenaciously listened to the stories of the soldiers. He later linked this activity to the establishment of PTSD in DSM-III (1980).

Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide[7] is a study of German physicians who worked in Auschwitz. Unlike his previous studies, it analyzed the perpetrators. This has to do with the circumstance that he is Jewish. The problem he wrestled with in the book was why and how professionals like medical doctors, in the huge bureaucratic mechanism around Auschwitz, could have implemented terrible acts such as meaningless painful experiments on inmates and "death selection" before acts of genocide, contrary to their original obligation towards saving lives.

A fact that we can easily find in those books is that his important research (except for *Nazi Doctors*) was actually conducted in East Asia including Japan. He wrote some books in Japan. *Six Lives / Six Deaths*[8] is co-authored with the Japanese famous critic, Shuichi Kato. In addition, *Destroying the World to Save It*[9] is an analysis of believers of Aum Shinrikyo. Among those books relating to East Asia and Japan, the study of Hiroshima is the most important. After that, Lifton started a dialogue with Vietnam veterans based on his experience in Hiroshima. That activity with Vietnam veterans led to the establishment of the diagnosis of PTSD in 1980. This notion of PTSD was imported to Japan in 1995, after the Great Hanshin Earthquake. By following the work by Lifton, one is able to see that one of the origins of his ideas on PTSD can be traced back to his research on Hiroshima.

Survivor study

As mentioned above, his research has quite extensive themes—brainwashed persons, *hibakusha*s, Vietnam veterans, Nazi doctors, believers in cults, or victims of flood disasters.[10] All this research can be summarized as "survivor studies". The survivor for him is a person who has survived a historic major incident in particular—for example, wars, concentration camps, the atomic bomb, and natural disasters. People who have survived those major

[7] R. J. Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*, Basic Books, 1986.
[8] R. J. Lifton, M. R. Reich, Kato Shuichi, *Six Lives / Six Deaths: Portraits from Modern Japan*, Yale University Press, 1979.
[9] R. J. Lifton, *Destroying the World to Save It: Aum Shinrikyo, Apocalyptic Violence, and the New Global Terrorism*, Owl Books, 2000.
[10] R. J. Lifton, E. Olson, "The Human meaning of Total Disaster: The Buffalo Creek Experience", *Psychiatry*, 39, pp. 1–18, 1976.

incidents not only carry deep wounds in their minds but they also have deep insights into such terrible incidents and the social circumstances behind the atrocities. He says that we must learn from such insights of the survivors. Thus, his survivor studies are not just psychiatric, psychologic, or psychoanalytic in a narrow sense. They expand to more various fields like society, religion, thanatology, and ethics.

The main feature of his methodology is to conduct long interviews with survivors. He focuses on a group of survivors of an incident. However, he considers not only the psychological trauma of the individual survivor but also the social and historical aspects. In other words, he does not analyze "psychiatric symptoms" but analyzes the relation between social, historical dynamism and the survivor's psychology. He calls it "Psychohistory".

3. Key concepts

The basic ideas consistent in Lifton's research are "guilt" and "psychic numbing". Before discussing the "concentric model of guilt", I will introduce the two key concepts below.

Guilty feeling

It is generally known that survivors of tragic incidents tend to feel guilty about their own survival and the death of others. Especially in the case of A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima, Lifton analyzes that it is a deep trauma for *hibakusha*s that they abandoned victims seeking help and water, and they ran away alone. Actually, the survivors were not responsible, but they often felt guilty.

Lifton examines the guilt of survivors as follows.[11] In our daily lives, we live with the knowledge of the order of life and death. For example, we believe that when a person dies, a funeral will be held and people will grieve, but new generations will follow with the birth of new lives. However, in the case of the atomic bomb or other catastrophes, this usual order of life and death collapses. Survivors feel responsible for this collapse.

In Japan, this analysis by Lifton can be categorized as thanatology rather than psychology or psychoanalysis.[12] It should be highly evaluated in that he considers the sense of guilt in

[11] R. J. Lifton, *Death in Life*, p.484, pp.492–494.
[12] Ikezawa masaru 池澤優, Bunkateki Sai no Shiten kara Shiseigaku wo kangaeru 文化的差異の視点

relation to the problem of death, because in Japan, the sense of guilt tends to be considered as an issue of individual psychology or a traumatic symptom, and the relationship between guilt and death is often overlooked.

Psychic numbing

Psychic numbing is the most important concept in Lifton's work. He finds that A-bomb survivors cannot regain vivid sensitivity towards the world, others, and the self; he names it "psychic closing-off" or "psychic numbing". In psychic numbing, survivors lose their current relationship not only to the world (trust, hope, expectation, interaction, and possibility, etc.) but also to their own past and future.[13] The diminishing of sensitivity caused by the survivor's traumatic experience is consistently the object of Lifton's interest. He found it not only in *hibakusha*s, but also in many survivors who have suffered trauma.

However, Lifton notes that psychic numbing canalso spread to people other than survivors. In other words, people who are outside a catastrophe also cannot maintain a vivid sensitivity towards a traumatic incident. They close the windows of their minds towards the outer world.

> I came to recognize what I called the numbing of everyday life, the barriers we automatically establish against the large bombardment of stimuli to which each of us is constantly subjected, barriers of numbing necessary to get thorough the day.[14]

He insists that people who are not survivors also broadly share psychic numbing. This is a very interesting point in Lifton's way of thinking. Put differently, he does not interpret psychic numbing as a psychiatric symptom of a patient but as a social problem. The mixture of psychic numbing and feeling guilty are the major factors blocking us from being able to recognize reality and to construct mutual understanding.

から死生学を考える, *Shiseigaku Ōyōrinri Kenkyu* 死生学・応用倫理研究,21, pp. 84–100, 2016.

[13] Psychic numbing can be a kind of "dissociation"（解離, *kairi*）in current psychiatry.

[14] R. J. Lifton, *Witness to an Extreme Century: a Memoir*, Free Press, p.130, 2011.

4. Concentric Circles of Guilt

In *Death in Life*, Lifton introduces the idea of the "concentric circles of guilty feeling".[15] According to him, *hibakusha*s feel guilty towards the dead victims of the atomic bomb, Japanese who are not *hibakusha* feel guilty towards the *hibakusha*s, and people around the world feel guilty towards the Japanese. Each group has the feeling of "I am sorry I survived", or "I should exchange the other's death or pain for my own life". In other words, all human beings have experienced the atomic bombing to some extent – people from other nations, Japanese, *hibakusha*s, and the dead. They stand in each "circle" in the ideal model of concentric ones, and feel guilty towards those standing in the circles further inward. The core of the circles is the zone of the dead.[16]

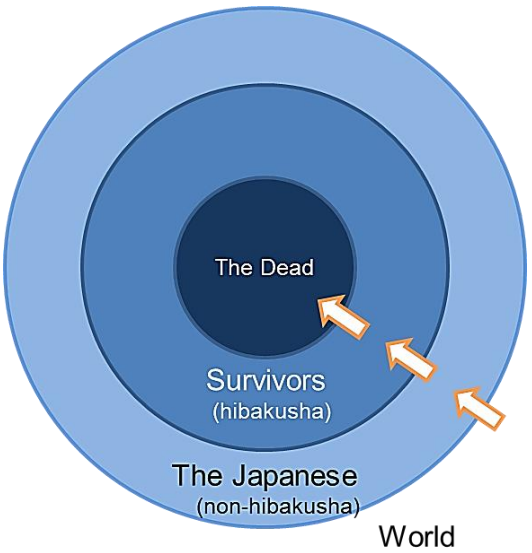


FIGURE 1: the model of the concentric circles of guilt.
(Arrows signify the direction of guilty feelings)

It is the main viewpoint of this paper that this "concentric circles model" is useful for considering the problem of empathy and apathy after any disaster, not only the A-bomb.

[15] *Zaiseki-kan no doshin-en*, 罪責感の同心円. R. J. Lifton, op. cit., pp.498–499.
[16] Dr. Naoko Miyaji, a prominent Japanese psychiatrist in the field of traumatic medical anthropology, advocates a model called "Circler Island of Trauma ". It has some similar points to Lifton's concentric model. Cf. Miyazi Naoko 宮地尚子, *Kanjōtō = Torauma no Tiseigaku* 環状島＝トラウマの地政学, Misuzu syobō みすず書房, 2007.

However, in fact, Lifton himself does not use the expression “concentric circles”. The Japanese translators of *Death in Life* added the expression. Here is a comparison of the original text and the Japanese translation.

> Identification guilt, moreover, like the bomb’s lethal substance itself, radiates outward. In Hiroshima this “radiation” moved from the dead to the survivors to ordinary Japanese to the rest of the world. That is, survivors feel guilty toward the dead; ordinary Japanese feel guilty toward survivors; and the rest of the world (particularly but not exclusively Americans) feels guilty toward the Japanese.
>
> Proceeding outward from the core of the death immersion –from the dead themselves– each group internalizes the suffering of that one step closer than itself to the core which it contrasts with its own relative good fortune.[17]

> 原子爆弾の持つ致命的な実体と同様に、一体化から生まれる罪意識は外に向かって放射する。広島におけるこのような罪責感は、死者から被爆生存者へ、被爆生存者からふつうの日本人へ、そしてさらに、その他世界各国の人々へと「放射」的に広がっていった。すなわち、被爆生存者は死者に対し罪を感じ、ふつうの日本人は被爆生存者に対して罪を感ずる。そして、その他世界各国の人びとは、日本人に対して罪を感ずるのである。（中略）
>
> 死の洗礼の核である死者を中心として、同心円状に広がる各集団は、相対的に幸運なそれぞれの運命と対比して、自分より一歩中心に近い集団の苦しみを内面化する。[18]

The original sentences in *Death in Life* do not contain the underlined words: *Dōshin-en-jō ni hirogaru* (同心円状に広がる, literal translation: expanding concentrically). According to Lifton's description, it would be more accurate to say “radiation of guilt”.

Why did the translators add the expression “concentric circles”? Probably because many A-bomb survivors and Japanese have imagined the destruction of atomic bombs by concentric circles centered on the hypocenter. Museums and textbooks often use the map of Hiroshima or Nagasaki with the badly damaged zones and concentric circles to indicate the distance from the point of explosion. Japanese officials often determine the issuance of Atomic Bomb

[17] Lifton, op. cit., pp. 498–499.
[18] Masui Michio 桝井迪夫 trans., *Hiroshima wo ikinuku (ge)* ヒロシマを生き抜く（下）, Iwanami Gendai Bunko 岩波現代文庫, 2009, pp. 324–325.

Survivor's Certificates (被爆者健康手帳, *Hibakusha Kenkō Techō*) only by the spatial distance from the hypocenter, which is problematic. L. Yoneyama analyzes that the A-bomb survivors have identified with the perspective of the B-29 pilot who dropped the atomic bomb with themselves.[19] There is a possibility that such an image has also entered the translation of *Death in Life*. The concentric model of guilt is the mixture of Lifton's analysis about the feeling of guilt from his psychoanalytic viewpoint and the spatial image shared with many Japanese survivors, an image which has to do with the identification processes of the defeated toward the former enemies.

5. Applying the concentric model to today: at the borderlines of the circles.

Can the concentric model of guilt in Lifton's analysis of A-bomb survivors be applied to natural disasters or other kind of serious incidents in the present day? The one difference concerning the psychological effect between a natural disaster and war is the existence of a responsible actor – hostile soldiers, political leaders, and nations. On the other hand, human beings cannot accuse anyone as the criminal in a natural disaster.[20] Nevertheless, the fundamental factor, namely the feeling of guilt, is common to both natural disasters and war. In both natural disasters and in war, there is a sense that pure luck determined whether or how deeply each person suffered from the disaster. And luck prevents us from resolving the guilty feeling. It is a common reaction to having survived an event with an enormous death toll.

In order to apply the concentric model to today, however, it is necessary to divide the circle of "survivors" into two groups, those who have lost their families or close friends, and those who lived in the disaster areas but their family members were safe. If it seems to be the same "victims" from the outside, survivors living inside it have different degrees of damage and psychological trauma.

The illogical nature of luck makes the problem of empathy and apathy, psychic numbing, and guilt even more complicated. Empathy and altruistic action soften the guilty feeling, and apathy protects the people after the disaster from their own guilty feelings. Survivors less damaged feel guilty towards other survivors who are seriously hurt; nevertheless, the latter

[19] L. Yoneyama, *Hiroshima traces: time, space, and the dialectics of memory*, University of California Press, 1999.

[20] In the 18th Europe, Christian people could seek any response from God about natural disasters. Cf. E. Kant, *Geshichte und Naturbeschreibung der merkwürdigsten Vorfälle des Erdbebens*, 1756. In modern times, while theodicy retrogressed, individual psychology of trauma arose.

also may feel beholden towards the public for having acquired some goods or donations.

A more important question is what is happening across each of the borderlines of the circles. Empathy and apathy are the representative phenomena there. According to Lifton's way of thinking, the cause of those phenomena is psychic numbing and guilt, but there may be other factors that need to be considered.

There are various areas of confusion and difficulties across the borderlines. Firstly, there is the difficulty of dialogue or communication. Conflicts can arise between survivors and the public, as to what they can and cannot express in words. Outside people, too, easily give meanings to what the survivors cannot express. Outside people may miss the point of what the survivors feel.

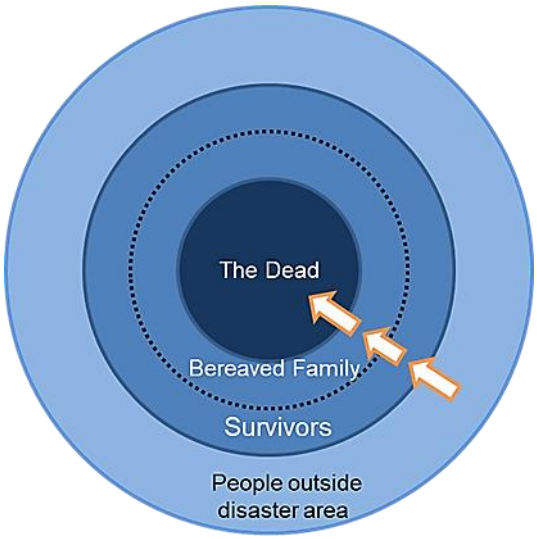


FIGURE 2: the modified model of the concentric circles of guilt.

Secondly, there are various disorders of time. In many cases, time passes normally only in the external circle. Inside the disaster area, time seems to flow at a different speed and rhythm than outside. In the deepest psychological trauma, memory is frozen, and time stops flowing. Each survivor lives in his or her own sense of time. Such differences make it more difficult to redress empathy and apathy.

Third, there is the problem of the difficulty of mourning. In our ordinary lives, the death of family member or friend is to be expected. However, in the case of sudden and mass loss due

to disasters or wars, we are not mentally prepared to accept it. The catastrophes radically destroy the culture and attitude of mourning the dead. In both the private and public spheres, the process of grief is met with difficulty. In my opinion, the difficulty of mourning and remembrance is the core of the problem of a survivor's personal recovery, and of empathy and apathy between survivors and society. This is the most important insight that the concentric model gives: the model provides the viewpoint to see the phenomena in living survivors, society, and the dead in *continuity*. The apathy, refusal, or difficulty of communication between survivors and outsiders cannot be solved without considering the process of mourning.

6. Conclusion

This paper presented the problem of psychological change from empathy into apathy in society after a disaster. Next, it introduced R. J. Lifton's concentric circles model to illustrate how the feeling of guilt affects empathy and apathy. Finally, it discussed that the model can be applied to present-day disasters, and that there are various phenomena around the "borderlines" of the feeling of guilt.

Is there no possibility of untangling the apathy and excessive empathy towards survivors? In *Home from the War*, Lifton delineates that for Vietnam veterans to recover from their trauma, it is necessary for the soldiers themselves to "animate" the sense of guilt to the past.[21] "Anima" means spirit, and "animating" means "to breathe spirit into something". He insists that *static guilt* prevents the acceptance of reality in the present and past, but *animating guilt* can reestablish it. Our true sense of the reality of time comes from animating our guilt and mourning the dead. True sympathy and dialogue can arise from a dynamic sense of time.

Finally, it is possible to consider the model from the viewpoint of history. This paper discussed the concentric model of guilt as being a contemporary model. However, considering the problem of empathy and apathy within current Japanese society, it is also necessary to contemplate the memory of past wars and their dead. In other words, the concentric circles have a historical dimension. Some thinkers point out that post-war Japanese society has evaded establishing a relationship to the traumatic memory of the

[21] R. J. Lifton, op. cit., pp.127–129.

War and the dead.[22] It means that the guilty feeling towards the past has become static. The problem of apathy at the present time may also be rooted in the fact that the feeling of guilt surrounding historical events has not yet been dealt with properly.

[22] Katō Norihiro 加藤典洋, *Haisen-go-Ron* 敗戦後論, Kōdansha 講談社, 1997.

Conversion to Islam in Japan: An Analysis of Conversion Stories from the 1980s to Early 2000s

YUSSUF KATSURA*

1. Introduction

This paper aims to illustrate the conversion processes of contemporary Muslim Japanese through analyzing testimonies written by converts who embraced Islam during 1980s to early 2000s.

In spite of rather negative images of Islam represented by the media or public discourse, there is a wide-ranging tendency of conversion to Islam in many countries. For example, it is estimated that recently in Britain, 5,200 (of whom 72% are white) converted per year,[1] and in America, 20,000 people per year.[2] So far, academic research on converts to Islam has been conducted in an interdisciplinary domain encompassing sociology, psychology and Islamic studies in the Western context, especially in Britain.[3]

Scholars mostly agree that the conversion to Islam, whether as a result of marriage or not, takes place through individual reflection mainly by reading literatures, interacting with Muslims, and travelling to a Muslim country rather than the effect of social pressure or organized missionary work. As is often imagined, marrying a Muslim can be one of the important factors for conversion. However, for the majority of the converts, conviction for Islamic practice and teaching is not obtained exactly when they get married, but either before

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: omameboys@gmail.com

[1] M. A. Kevin Brice, "A Minority Within a Minority: A Report on converts to Islam in the United Kingdom", Faith Matters, 2011, p. 4.

[2] Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I. Smith, and Kathleen M. Moore, "Muslim Women in America: The Challenge of Islamic Identity Today", Chapter 3: Embracing Islam, Paragraph 3 [Kobo Edition], Oxford University Press, 2006.

[3] See: Ali Köse, "Conversion to Islam", Taylor and Francis, 1997. Maha Al-Qwidi, "Understanding the stages of conversion to Islam: the voices of British converts", PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2002. Allievi, S. "Les convertis à l'islam. Les nouveaux musulmans d'Europe", L'Harmattan,1998. Anne Sofie Roald "New Muslims in the European Context: The Experience of Scandinavian Converts", Brill Academic Pub, 2004. Kate Zebiri, "British Muslim Converts: Choosing Alternative Lives", Oneworld Publications, 2007.

or after their marriage.[4] Given the current situation in which Islam or Muslims are often linked to political issues, the converts are often described on one hand as critics of Western society, and on the other hand, as potential mediators between the West and Islam.[5]

Compared to such tendencies in the West, the conversion processes of Muslims have never been a central topic of study in Japan probably because of the invisibility of Muslim Japanese. Tanada (2010) estimated that 11,000 of the 100,000 Muslims who make up the entire Muslim population in Japan are Muslim Japanese.[6] It is merely 0.008% of the population of Japan. He further estimated that 9,000 out of 11,000 converted upon marriage to a Muslim and 2,000 converted spontaneously.

However, according to the *Imams* of Masjid (mosques) in Japan, the number of converts to Islam in Japan is increasing,[7] and there is rapid growth of the number of Masjid all over Japan. According to Tanada, there were only 2 in the early 1980s, but reached 80 in the 2000s, and today, the number has exceeded 100.[8] The conversion to Islam accelerated, if one assumes that the tendency in Japan is somehow similar to that of the West, then one might say that the conversion to Islam has accelerated.

However, this seemingly new tendency has not yet been examined in detail. Only a few researchers have discussed how Japanese people reach the Islamic faith. Kudo (2008) focused on Japanese wives of Pakistani immigrants and examined how Japanese females interpret and redefine Islam from an anthropological perspective.[9] She observed their "second conversion (Daini no nyūshin 第二の入信)" experience, in which the women come to gain conviction for the Islamic faith, and which occurs sometime after nominal conversion upon marriage.

---

[4] Brice, op. cit., p. 18–19.

[5] Zebiri, op. cit.; Brice, op. cit., p.29–31; Roald, op. cit., p. 289–304.

[6] Tanada Hirohumi 店田 廣文, *Nippon no mosuku: tainichi musurimu no shakaiteki katsudō* 日本のモスク―滞日ムスリムの社会的活動, Yamakawa shuppansha 山川出版社, 2015, p. 14–16.

[7] An Imam in Osaka observed that "600 Japanese citizens converting to Islam" during the past decade and every month 5 Japanese enter Islamic faith in Tokyo Camii.
"The Osaka imam who represents Islam's growth in Japan", *The Japan Times*, 26 November 2014, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/11/26/national/the-osaka-imam-who-represents-islams-growth-in-japan/
"The Japanese Teacher of Islam: An Interview with Shimoyama Shigeru of Tokyo Camii", *Nippon.com*, 17 June 2013, http://www.nippon.com/en/features/c01302/ (both accessed: 17 October 2017).

[8] Tanada, op. cit., and his interview "Chūko jūtaku, purehabu Nippon no" mosuku" to Isuramu shakai" 中古住宅、プレハブ―日本の「モスク」とイスラム社会, *Yahoo!News*, 12 October 2017, https://news.yahoo.co.jp/feature/773 (last accessed: 17 October 2017).

[9] Kudō Masako 工藤 正子, *Ekkyō no jinruigaku zainichi Pakisutanjin musurimu imin no tsumatachi* 越境の人類学―在日パキスタン人ムスリム移民の妻たち, Tōkyōdaigaku shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 2008.

Komura (2015) conducted a comprehensive study concerning Islam in Japan in the past and present.[10] While her study certainly sheds light on the historical attempt of Japanese converts to allow Islam to take root in Japan, it does not pay enough attention to the actual processes of how Japanese people experience conversion to Islam. Hence, little is known about the conversion process of especially spontaneous converts in contemporary Japan.

The question is, then, how do Japanese people who grew up in a secular society traditionally based on Buddhism and Shintoism take on Islam as their own faith? In other words, how has Islam begun to take root in Japan in the form of individual conversions?

To answer this question, mainly two literatures of conversion stories written by 41 Muslim Japanese will be analyzed in this paper. The testimonies are written by converts who embraced Islam in the period between the 1980s and early 2000s, which arguably marked the beginning of the popularization of conversion to Islam in Japan. Firstly, I will describe their religious background. Secondly, I will examine their actual conversion process, which consists of their first encounter with Islam and development of understanding. Then their "conversion motifs" based on six motifs advocated by Lofland and Skonovd which have often been referred to in previous research and the key factors of conversion will be analyzed.[11] Focusing on various types of conversion processes will challenge the stereotype of the homogeneous Japanese as well as the monolithic image of Islam.

2. Existing Research on Muslim Converts in Japan

As mentioned above, the conversion process in the present age had never been a central topic of study in the Japanese context. However, two monographs have partly discussed the conversion process of Muslim Japanese.

i) Conversion to Islam in Japan

Komura (2015) studied how Japanese people have interacted with Muslims in the past and present. She divides the development of Islam in Japan into five periods.[12] She describes

[10] Komura Akiko 小村 明子, *Nihon to Isura-Mu ga deau toki: sono rekishi to kanōsei* 日本とイスラームが出会うとき―その歴史と可能性, Gendaishokan 現代書館, 2015.
[11] John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, "Conversion Motifs", *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, Vol. 20, No.4, pp. 373–385, 1981.
[12] Komura, op. cit., pp. 39–88.

the features of each period as follows.

During the first period (from 1890 to the end of the Second World War), Shōtaro Noda became the first Japanese convert to Islam in 1893 after spending some time in Ottoman Empire. In Japan, the first mosque was built in Kobe in 1935. As the global situation began to shift, the Japanese government started to investigate Islam as a political and military strategy in Southeast Asia. During the second period (from 1945 to around 1974), the first Muslim organization, Japan Muslim Association, was established, and in the third period (from 1975 to early 1980), Japan Muslim Order (*Nihon Isuramu Kyōdan*) started their activity, and attempted to spread Islam in Japan but failed. The prominent feature of the fourth period (from late 1980s to early 1990s) was a massive inflow of foreign Muslim workers to Japan. Most recently, during the fifth period (from the late 1990s to today), marriage between foreign Muslims and Japanese has been increasing in number. In addition, instead of workers, more trainees and students from Islamic societies have started living in Japan.

Komura points out that Islam has not really taken root in Japan so far because of the strictness of Islamic practice, which does not mesh well with Japanese religious views, and insists on the necessity of "indigenization",[13] or syncretism of Islam with Japanese customs and culture. In addition, she cites the lack of Islamic community, leaders, and organizations in Japan as the reason why Islam has not spread.

For these reasons, she evaluates rather positively the historical attempt to popularize Islam in Japan with the notion of "Japanese Islam (*Nihon Isuramu Kyō*)" before the Second World War by Aruga Fumihachirō and "Mahayana Islam (Daizy*ō Isuramu*)"[14] by Japan Muslim Order during the 1970s and 1980s. However, such modifications on Islam were problematic. She herself is conscious of the contradiction that "changing the Islamic doctrine would make it another religion",[15] but she did not explain how to solve this problem.

Komura's monograph covers widely the history of Islam in Japan, but, it lacks the examination of viewpoints of converts themselves on how they have been accepted Islam, which is not the Japanese version of Islam that Komura touches on. Although she interviewed some converts, she only points out the importance of marriage and the interaction with

[13] Komura op. cit., p. 244.
[14] Komura, op. cit., pp. 189–190, pp. 203–205.
[15] Komura, op. cit., p. 244.

Muslims during the conversion process.[16] Focusing more on the conversion process will shed light on how Islam has, in fact, already taken root in Japan.

ii) Second Conversion after Marriage

Kudo (2008) conducted anthropological research on Japanese wives of Pakistanis who immigrated to Japan from the 1980s to the 1990s. Although most of her interviewees converted upon marriage at first, she observes that they often experienced a "second conversion (Daini no nyūshin 第二の入信)" after their nominal conversion. After marriage, they often participated in study groups to learn more about Islam and met Muslims there. The second conversion is likely to occur when converts find a role model. The most obvious sign of the second conversion is when the converts develop their own will to wear the hijab.[17] Although Kudo's study is illuminating, it does not cover the conversion process of spontaneous converts in Japan today.

3. Analysis of the Conversion Process through "Conversion Stories"

Below, I will examine two collections of conversion stories written by converts who embraced Islam during the 1980s to early 2000s. According to Komura's division, these years correspond to the fourth to fifth periods, when the popularization of Islam in Japan began as the number of foreign Muslim workers and students increased.

Firstly, the religious background and converts' own religious view before conversion will be examined, and then secondly, their actual conversion processes will be analyzed. Thirdly, their "conversion motifs"[18] will be examined according to the six motif patterns advocated by Lofland and Skonovd.

3.1 Materials and Backgrounds of Converts

This section will begin by describing the details of the materials used in this research. Then, the backgrounds of converts—such as their family religion, belief in God, attitude

[16] Komura, op. cit., pp. 114–121.
[17] Kudō, op. cit., pp. 121–130.
[18] "conversion motifs", also regarded as "conversion careers" or major "types" of conversion, were suggested to attempt to isolate as key, critical orienting, or defining experiences during conversion process. John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, op. cit. p. 374.

towards religion, images and interpretations of Islam, etc. —before their conversion process will be presented.

3.1.1 Material

The books I have chosen for analysis are the only two collected conversion stories of Muslim Japanese published so far.

Book 1: *Thus I was guided to Islam: Japanese Muslimas' stories of conversion (3rd edition)*, Japan Muslim News Publisher, 2005[19] (*Watashi no nyūshinki – Isuraamu no shinkō ni michibikareru made dai 3 ban* 私の入信記―イスラームの信仰に導かれるまで 第 3 版, *Muslim Shinbunsha* ムスリム新聞社)
Number of Accounts=20, Female=20 (100%)

Book 2: *Conversion stories*, a youth group of Japan Muslim Association, 2006 *(Nyūshinki* 入信記*, Nihon Muslim Kyōkai Seinenbu* 日本ムスリム協会 青年部)
Number of Accounts=21, Female=9 (45%), Male=12 (55%)[20]
(All the quoted parts have been translated by the author.)

Neither of these books are distributed on the market.[21] They exhibit both differences and similarities. Book 2 consists only of conversion stories, while Book 1 consists of 12 accounts and 8 questionnaires with open-ended questions by the publisher, which ask about their first contact with Islam, how their image of Islam shifted, their religious background, and so forth. The stories and responses vary in literary style and also in length, from 1 to 15 pages. Naturally, the content of each account is diverse, but they all reveal the crucial factors of conversion and important information concerning the potential converts' background. Total number of accounts is 41, comprised of 29 females (71%) and 12 males (29%). 3 converted in the 1980s, 21 in the 1990s, 10 in the early to mid-2000s, and remaining 6 does not indicate

[19] The first edition was published in 1997.
[20] Although Book 2 contains 24 accounts but two accounts are the same with Book 1. One anonymous account in Book 2 seemingly corresponds with a response of a questionnaire in Book 1 by the contents and its literary style. I chose the response in Book 1 here since it contains more concrete information than Book 1.
[21] Both are available from the website of Japan Muslim Association; but Book 2 is currently out of order: http://www.muslim.or.jp (last accessed: 19 January 2018).

their specific time of conversion. 17 (41%) converted upon marriage, although 4 of them had already interacted with Muslims, read books on Islam, or been to a Muslim country before marriage.

Although it is difficult to specify its exact term, the conversion process in this study is defined as from the first encounter to Islam to *shahada*[22] for the spontaneous converts (not upon marriage) and to the "second conversion" for the converts upon marriage.

As Zebiri points out, most scholars agree on the importance of using testimonies for academic study. However, caution is needed, since the conversion stories are written from post-conversion points of view, and thus the conversion process is likely to be reconstructed according to current understanding. She also notes that there are "various functions" of conversion stories, such as expressing their faith, encouraging others to convert, and so on.[23] Nonetheless, tracking their processes of conversion helps understanding their way of (re)interpreting Islam more concretely.

3.1.2 Religious Background of Japanese Converts

How do converts describe their own religious background in these testimonies? Here, we will examine their familial religious background and their own religious views before conversion.

i) Family Religion

The familial religious backgrounds of converts are diverse. In Books 1 and 2, half (20) of all accounts mention the religion of the converts' families. 10 out of the 20 accounts say that the converts' familial or parents' religion is Buddhism. Only a few mention their specific sects, which include Sōtōshū and Jōdo Shinshū. 7 out of 20 had grown up in a non-religious family. "Non-religious" varies in degree, from atheist to just indifferent or participating in plural religious ceremonies without following a particular faith. One account mentions such plural religious practice of her parents:

Both of my parents have the general Japanese religious view. They visit a Shinto shrine

[22] *Shahada* is an Islamic creed declaring belief, which consists of two lines, "There is no god but God" and "Muhammad is the messenger of God", to be delivered in front of at least two Muslims.
[23] Zebiri, op. cit., Chapter 2, Section 1: Conversion as social protest?, Paragraph 6 [Kobo Edition].

> on New Year's, celebrate Christmas, and hold funerals with Buddhist rites, without feeling uncomfortable. (Book 2, p.49)

Just as she describes this practice as "general", this type of familial religious background seems to be shared by non-religious potential converts, implicitly or explicitly. For them, these practices could be cultural rather than religious, therefore, they are counted as non-religious group. More concretely, a convert was taught to avoid religion with the phrase, "Religion is the opium of the people", by her father. 4 out of 20 indicated they have Christian parents or a parent (1 Catholic, 1 Protestant, and 2 uncertain).

Family Religion	**n=41**	**Pre-conversion awareness**	**n=41**
Buddhism	8 (20%)	Non-religious	13 (32%)
Buddhism and Christianity	1 (2%)	Christianity (Educational[24])	10 (24%)
Buddhism and Atheism	1 (2%)	Christianity (Faith)	5 (12%)
Non-religious	7 (17%)	Seeking a religion or truth	6 (15%)
Christianity	3 (7%)	Unnamed monotheism	4 (10%)
Uncertain	21 (51%)	Uncertain	3 (7%)

Table 1. Religious backgrounds of Japanese Converts

ii) Converts' Own Awareness of Religion Before Conversion

Compared to the familial religious background, Buddhism is much less visible in the descriptions of converts' own awareness of religion before conversion. None out of 10 clearly stated that they were a Buddhist before their conversion. They might have answered that they were Buddhist if they had been asked in an interview, but these accounts mention that they had no specific religion on one hand, and on the other, a "seeker" of religion, truth, or way of life. Although some of them indicated their interest toward Buddhism, for them, Buddhism was just one of various ways of pursuing spirituality, and they did not always identify themselves as Buddhists. For example, one convert states that he was once thinking of leaving his home to become a Buddhist monk when he was fourteen years old, but gave up that idea after a while and started comparing several religions by reading books before the first encounter with a

[24] Christianity (Educational) means that they have received a Christian education, but not received baptism or had faith as Christian.

Muslim. He also says "I did not like to have faith in only one religion for a long time because it was as if I was fettered". (Book 2, p.4-11)

In contrast to the converts with Buddhist backgrounds, converts with Christian backgrounds are more likely to identify and state themselves as a former Christian. The percentage of converts with Christian backgrounds (12%) is quite small compering to previous studies on converts to Islam in Western contexts, where majority of converts are former Christians, but the percentage is quite high compared to the general percentage of Christians in Japan, which is approximately 1–2%.[25]

The particular feature of Japanese converts is that many state that they received a Christian education even though they do not believe in the Christian faith. 10 (24%) non-Christians out of all 41 accounts, including 6 with Buddhist backgrounds, mention that they attended Sunday school in church or/and Christian institutions from kinder garden to junior college or university. They often learn about the Bible and Christian theological concepts through singing, reading, and praying. However, none of these accounts state the faith as Christian.

Although religious education is strictly regulated in Japanese public education, it is widely admitted in the private schools. According to the demographic data, the recent rate of students who attend schools founded by Christians tends to increase as they get older. The rate of students attending Christian schools is 0.12% in elementary schools, 0.78% in junior high schools, 1.9% of high schools, 6.4% in junior colleges, and 8.2% in colleges/universities.[26]

4 (10%) accounts state that the potential converts had believed in the existence of one God, but did not know what their faith was. Hence, their religious background can be called "unnamed monotheism".

These backgrounds of Japanese converts are quite different from most of the cases of

[25] Okuyama Michiaki, 奥山倫明, "2000 nendai Nippon niokeru Kirisuto kyō shinja no kyū zōgen shūmuka shūkyō tōkei chōsa kara kangaeru" 2000 年代日本におけるキリスト教信者の急増減――宗務課『宗教統計調査』から考える, *Kenkyūjohō* 研究所報, Vol.25, pp. 16–25, Nanzan shūkyō bunka kenkyūjo 南山宗教文化研究所, 2015.

[26] The rate was calculated from the following data. Monbu kagaku tōkei yōran: 1. gakkō kyōiku sōkatsu (2015) 文部科学統計要覧 1.学校教育総括 (平成 27 年版), http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/002/002b/1356065.htm and Ippan shadan hōjin kirisutokyō gakkō kyōiku dōmei no gaiyō: gakusei seito jidōsū 一般社団法人キリスト教学校教育同盟の概要 学生生徒児童数, http://www.k-doumei.or.jp/gaiyo/2017Tokei-S.pdf (last accessed: 17 October 2017).

Britain in which converts' religion of origin is, nominal or not, Christian.[27]

3.1.3 Belief in God and Attitude Toward Religion at the Beginning of Conversion Process

In this passage, we will examine how many of the potential converts had faith in God and their overall attitude toward religion. Most of the accounts indicate their belief in God with expressions such as "I have believed in God since I was a child" or "I did not believe in God", and indicate their attitude towards religion in general with expressions such as "I felt a yearning for a life of faith" or "I had despised religion".

	n=41
Believed in God	17 (41%)
Yearning for faith or positive attitude toward religion	10 (24%)
Indifference, avoidance of religion, or atheism	11 (27%)
Uncertain	3 (7%)

Table 2. Belief in God and attitude towards religion

i) Believed in God or Yearning for Faith prior to Conversion

17 (41%) including Christians, graduates of Christian schools, unnamed monotheists, and the "Seekers" had already believed in God prior to conversion. 10 among 17 clearly say and 3 imply that they believed in the existence of God since their childhood. Many of them attended Christian schools and some seized the existence by intuition. The others realized God's existence as they became adults through their experience such as working in medical services, interacting with Christians, or investigating this world and reasoning by themselves.

The percentage 41% in this study is close to the average percentage in a general survey conducted in Japan at that time (43.5% in 1995).[28] In addition to 17 potential converts who believed in God, 10 (24%) mentioned their yearning for faith or positive attitude toward religion before conversion. In total, 27 (66%) out of 41 converts believed, wanted to believe or

[27] For example, in the study by Köse, 94% of the converts had Christian backgrounds and the rest is Jewish. Köse, op. cit., Chapter 3, Section A: Background Analysis [Kobo Edition]. The background of the interviewees in studies of Al-Qwidi and Zebiri also indicate the majority of the converts had a Christian background to greater or lesser degrees of practice. Al-Qwidi, op. cit., p. 111. Zebiri, op. cit., Chapter 1, Section 4: A Profile of British Converts [Kobo Edition].

[28] Dentsū sōken 電通総研 and Yoka kaihatsu senta 余暇開発センター, *Sekai 23 kakoku kachikan de-ta bukku* 世界 23 カ国 価値観データブック, Dōyūkan 同友館, 1999.

became interested in believing the existence of God, which suggests that they were somehow ready for accepting Islam.

ii) Indifference, Avoidance of Religion, and Atheism.

As opposed to those who had already believed in God or been yearning for faith, 11 (27%) of converts mention that they were not interested in religion at all before the conversion. Among them, 5 (12% out of all) state clearly their avoidance toward religion. The following account suggests their feeling toward religion in general.

> Originally, I was thinking that religion gives support to those who are mentally weak, and that religion makes people blind. So, it was unbearable that I had a religion, whether it was Islam or not. I was thinking I could live without religion. I *wanted* to live without it. (Book 2, p. 45 emphasis mine)

The expressions such as "mentally weak", "allergic to religion" and more strongly, "brainwashed" can be seen in other accounts, too. These kinds of avoidance or negative bias are reflected in the words that converts received from their friends after conversion, such as "running away from reality" or "gone crazy".

It has been shown that this kind of avoidance toward religion have deep roots in Japan. For example, comparative religions scholar Hosaka discusses how the "distorted" perception on religion formed in Japan.[29] He points out not only Marxism and the crimes committed by the new religious cult "Aum Shinrikyō" in the 1990s, but also historical policy of "State Shinto (*Kokka Shintō*)" by the Meiji Government which led Japan to participate in World War II and regret about the War became associated with distrust of religion. Hence, avoidance of religion is not a personal matter, but is tied strongly to Japanese history. Although we cannot examine this kind of "distorted perception" in further detail here, it is important to keep this strong general aversion of religion in mind.

As we have seen here, the converts' religious background can be divided in two main types: seeking faith and avoiding religion. This distinction will be important when we will

[29] Hosaka Shunji 保坂俊司, "Yuganda nihonjin no shūkyōkan wa ikani keiseisareta ka" 歪んだ日本人の宗教観はいかに形成されたか, *Sekai heiwa kenkyū* 世界平和研究 Vol. 38 No.1, pp. 44–53, Sekai heiwa kyōju akademi 世界平和教授アカデミー, 2012.

investigate how they come to grips with the authenticity of Islam during their conversion processes.

3.1.4 Images and Interpretations of Islam before the Conversion Process

Unlike European countries where Christianity is deeply rooted, Japan has had no direct conflict with the Islamic world throughout history. Then, how did potential converts interpret Islam, and what was their impression of Islam before they embarked on the conversion process?

	n=41	**n=26, except for 15 uncertain**
Positive	2 (5%)	2 (7%)
Negative	12 (37%)	15 (54%)
Neutral	4 (10%)	4 (14%)
Indifferent	5 (12%)	5 (18%)
Uncertain	15 (37%)	

Table 3. Images and interpretations of Islam before the conversion process

Whether they believed in God or avoided religion, their impression of Islam had been fairly negative for many of the potential converts. 37% of all, or 54% among 26 potential converts who described their original impression of Islam in concrete terms, described how negative it was. The typical negative images are expressed with the words such as “backwardness”, “terrorism”, and “fanaticism”. There is even a convert who expressed his strong antipathy toward Islam and he was thinking that Japanese people should “enlighten” Muslims (Book 2, p.19). Three of them attribute their negative image to the media, and other three mention Orientalism or Western values which they had internalized.

On the contrary, two converts mention positive images they came hold after their negative first impressions. One of the two said that the Iranian Islamic revolution allowed him to feel that Islam had “vital energy” from Islam through. He also says he had already learned from reading books that Islam emerged following the emergence of Judaism and Christianity. (Book 2, p.1) Another convert got a positive impression through reading books on life in Islamic societies. She also had an Algerian pen pal when she was a high-school student, several years before the beginning of her conversion process. (Book1 p.22)

Among those whom I categorized as “neutral”, 5 described their initial image of Islam as the “religion of Arabs”, “a religion of faraway countries”, and “seems strict”. Some of these impressions could contain slightly negative connotations, but their expressions seem to be rather descriptive than evaluative. In any case, they had not been interested in Islam because they felt it was unrelated to them.

Because of these rather negative images and indifference, Islam did not appeal to most of the potential converts, even for though some had been comparing several religions and seeking the truth or way of life. There is only one potential convert among such truth-seeking types who thought of converting to Islam before the beginning of the actual conversion process. Other than that, for most converts, “it was as if it [Islam] did not exist”, and they “never thought about learning more about it”, even while they learned about a wide variety of religions and philosophy, from Hinduism to Shintoism, and from Western philosophy to primitive Buddhism.

3.2 The Conversion Process

Despite their being rather negative images or a general indifference toward Islam, how does the actual conversion process take place? In this section, we will examine the origins and development in the conversion process.

3.2.1 First Contact with Islam

It is not always clear from their accounts what exactly was their first occasion to get to know Islam, because they may have already known about Islam from watching TV or learning at school. However, the converts often say that their first encounter with Islam took place when they became aware that Islam has something to do with themselves. That awareness can be regarded here as the “first contact”, or the beginning of the conversion process.

The biggest group 12 (29%) encountered Islam while studying or traveling abroad. However, for many (8 out of 12) of the converts in this paper, it was not a Muslim county but non-Muslim country such as Britain, United States, Australia, France, and China (Shanghai). They met Muslims originally from Syria, Malaysia, Egypt, Mauritius, Algeria, and so on. The potential converts met them by chance, as roommates, classmates, or employees of the hotel they stayed, and so forth.

	n=41
Living or Traveling abroad	12(29%)
Personal contact in Japan	11(27%)
Marriage or Romance	9 (22%)
Reading books on Islam	6 (15%)
University education	2(5%)
Internet	1 (2%)
Table 4. First contact with Islam	

The other three were first introduced to Islam when they travelled to a Muslim country such as Sri Lanka, Egypt, or Uighur Autonomous Region (China), and one visited Singapore, Maldives, Egypt, Morocco, Israel/Palestine during her round-the-world trip. However, their journey was not precisely focused on the Islamic religion itself. For example, for the convert who visited to Sri Lanka, it was in the airplane on her *way back* to Japan that she heard about Islam for the first time from a Sri Lankan passenger seated next to her. For others, the reasons to visit the Islamic areas were for travelling as much as far from Japan, for business, and for experiencing other cultures. In short, the primary goal of traveling or staying abroad, regardless of the destination, was not to explore Islam, and the converts encountered Muslims by chance.

The second largest number, 11 (27%) out of the 41 converts, encountered Islam through personal contact with Muslims in Japan. In the earlier conversion accounts up until the mid-1990s, all of these Muslims came from foreign countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Arabic countries, as students, teachers, and workers. However, the later conversion accounts after the late 1990s indicate that the role of Muslim Japanese also became important. Three potential converts were introduced Islam by encountering Muslim Japanese at university or at social gatherings.

9 (21%) got to know Islam through their spouse or boy/girlfriend.[30] Most of them mention they did not know Islam at all before encountering their partner.

[30] Those who encountered Islam through their prospect spouse explicitly in foreign country were counted in "Living or Traveling abroad" category so that the geographical situation, where they met Islam, can be visible.

On the other hand, for those who found Islam through reading and education, their first contact was more or less intentional. During their search for political, religious, and ideological knowledge, they took Islam into consideration and tried to read Islamic literatures or learn about Islam at university. One convert mentions that when he was studying at Tokyo University, which is one of the most prestigious educational institutions in Japan, the department of Islamic studies was established for the first time in Japan in 1982, and he chose Islam as his major. A later account mentions Doshisha University, which was founded by Christians, but also started teaching about Islam when the author of the account was studying there.

One convert got to know Islam while he was browsing a website on Christianity, which he had faith in.

From the above, we can conclude that the first contact was quite unintentional and unexpected for most of the prospective converts. It probably reflects the fact that many converts were previously indifferent to Islam or had negative impressions, in contrast to those who were interested in Islam through reading and university education.

3.2.2 Developing an Understanding for Islam

After the potential converts encountered Islam, how did they develop their understanding of Islam? Investigating the conversion process in this mostly pre-Internet period allows us to understand model cases of conversion after their first contact.

	n=41, multiple
Living or Traveling abroad	12 (29%)
Personal contact in Japan	12 (29%)
Marriage or Romance	5 (12%)
Reading books on Islam	12 (29%)
University Education	4 (10%)
Internet	2 (5%)

Table 5. Developing an understanding for Islam

12 (29%) travelled abroad or kept living in the foreign country where they first

encountered Islam. In contrast to the first contact, travelling to a Muslim country is more intentional in this stage. The potential converts visited Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, Mauritius, Uyghur Autonomous Region (China), Central Asia, and Kuwait, and experienced firsthand the actual state of Muslims and Islamic societies. Those who were living in Western countries continued to interact with Muslims they had met and developed an understanding for Islam through discussion and by posing questions. This process gave potential converts the opportunity to reflect on their prior image of Islam.

> The more I pose questions, the more I realized what I knew about Islam was full of misunderstanding and prejudice. The gap between my previous knowledge of Islam and what a Muslim right in front of me was saying was so different that I had to think about which was false. Soon I realized the impression of Muslims as "living in a backward country in the desert," or "ignorant and savage people who oppress women" was only fiction created by Western orientalists. (Book 1, p.13)

For her, who was living in the United States, previous negative impressions did not prevent her from developing an understanding of Islam. On the contrary, it helped her to compare her previous "ignorant and savage" image and seriously consider Muslims as actual people. Other potential converts also tell similar stories about developing their understanding. In addition, in Japan, 12 (29%) tried to deepen their understanding through personal contact by attending study groups in mosques or posing questions to their Muslim friends.

The experience of reading books also generally takes on an added significance in this stage than the first contact. In addition to personal contact, they try to gain further knowledge or answer their own questions. However, a convert who embraced Islam in 1995 remarks that she was looking for books on Islam but found only two books at the public library. It suggests the Japanese general public did not pay attention to Islam on a daily basis at that time. Other converts deepened their understanding by reading books on introduction of Islam, Islamic medicine, or females in Islam written by foreign Muslim scholars often in translation, as well as the Quran and Hadith. Similar to the first contact with Islam through personal contact, Muslim Japanese began to make their presence known in publications after the midd-1990s. One convert mentions that he understood *Tawheed* (the Oneness of God) and was deeply

impressed after reading a book *What is Islam?: its religion, society and culture* (*isuraam towa nanika: sono shūkyō, shakai, bunka*, イスラームとは何か―その宗教・社会・文化, Kōdansya 講談社) published in 1994, written by a Muslim Japanese scholar named Yasushi Kosugi.

For those who encountered Islam through university education kept on learning from the same people as first contact but they also visited mosques to understand the actual religious practice. The converts who converted for marriage often experienced their "second conversion" after living with a Muslim partner and studying Islam. It should be carefully assessed, but 6 converts mention roughly the time for achieving the second conversion. It is around one to three years, and approximately two years on average.

As stated above, personal interaction in Japan (whether upon marriage or not), traveling to a foreign country (whether Islamic country or not), and reading (including university education and the Internet) are three main types of experience in which they encountered and developed their understanding of Islam. 29% of the converts encountered Islam and developed understanding in foreign countries, while the other 71% encountered Islam in Japan at university, workplace or social gathering, and by reading. These personal interactions can be thought of as the natural consequence of globalization, which allowed both potential converts and Muslims to move internationally for studying, visiting, and working. Thus, the occasions for encountering Islam and developing understanding were widely available.

3.3 Conversion Motif Patterns and Key factors

Here, we will examine the "conversion motif" patterns and key factors of conversion so that we can understand the processes more profoundly.

3.3.1 Main Patterns of Motifs for Conversion

Previous research on conversion to Islam often refers to the six motif patterns advocated by Lofland and Skonovd in 1981 for analyzing the conversion process.[31] The six motif patterns are: Intellectual, Experimental, Affectional, Mystical, Revival, and Coercive.[32] It is generally agreed that it is not limited to only one motif exclusively but several motifs are

[31] Köse, op. cit., Chapter 3 [Kobo Edition]; Al-Qwidi, op. cit., pp. 185–188; Allievi, op. cit., pp. 315–316.
[32] John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, op. cit. , pp. 373–385, 1981.

experienced at the same time or at different times during the conversion process.[33] Naturally, for those who converted as a result of marriage, the motif of their conversion would be highly "affectional". Therefore, I examined their motifs other than the affection toward their partner.

	n=41
Intellectual	35 (85%)
Affectional	33 (80%)
Experimental	18 (44%)
Mystical	4 (10%)

Table 6. Motif patterns

As a result of the examination of the concrete expression in the accounts, Intellectual and Affectional motifs were most visible, followed by the Experimental motif. Only a few correspond to the Mystical motif and no convert underwent Revival or Coercive processes.[34] This order and distribution of motif patterns roughly correspond with Köse's study.[35] The Intellectual motif is the most visible among the six patterns. However, due to its complexity, it will be examined at the end of this section.

i) Affectional Motif

The second most visible motif is the Affectional pattern. As we have already seen, personal interactions with Muslims is important for understanding Islam. In addition, they can be living examples for the potential converts. As following account expresses, during the conversion process, strong attraction occasionally occurs toward Muslims.

> One of my university friends was a devout Muslima from Malaysia. For me who was not good at history class in school, she was not only the first Muslim but also my first contact with Islam (I was 18 at that time). (…) She was a model Muslima in every way. I was

[33] Köse, op. cit., Chapter 3, Section C: Conversion Motifs [Kobo Edition].
[34] Lofland and Skonovd state they themselves "become cynical about the existence of the true revivalist conversions in modern societies" and mentioned coercive motif as "extremely rare". Lofland and Skonovd, op. cit., pp. 380–381.
[35] Köse, op. cit., Chapter 3, Section C: Conversion Motifs [Kobo Edition]. Although Al-Qwidi gives less importance on Affectional motif and reports none of her interviewees underwent Mystical motif. Al-Qwidi, op. cit., p.185, p. 258.

> embarrassed by her perfection and healthy beauty. I think her way of life itself embodied the essence of Islam. It is thanks to the experience of spending time with her that I can absorb Islam naturally now. (Book 1, p. 88)

Like her case, even though it was only one person, the affection to a Muslim can have a big impact on potential converts. Many accounts of conversion through marriage also show the importance of attraction toward Muslims other than their partner for their internalization of Islamic values, or their "second conversion". Just as Kudo pointed out in her study on the Japanese wives of Pakistani immigrants, the accounts often mention ideal Muslima in a study group or another place.

Interestingly, not only affection toward a devout Muslim, but also affection toward a non-practicing Muslim can also motivate conversion. Another convert describes his experience of that kind.

> I got over my prejudice and understood religious precepts step by step by meeting many Muslims. The last and decisive encounter was with a Muslim who ran a bar and did not follow precepts at all. Nonetheless, he had strong self-awareness as a Muslim and he was proud of it. I was moved by him. At the same time, I thought, "One cannot be perfect from the very start. I'm standing at the same start line with him. It might be enough to convert now and then I will learn and make effort little by little. It's not the time to think whether it's possible or not. It's enough to decide to believe and accept. Let's go for it." (Book 2, p. 35)

For him, it was interaction with Muslims and books which enabled him to develop a better understanding and relativize negative images of Islam, but the last and conclusive decision for conversion was brought about by his strong feeling toward a non-practicing Muslim.

ii) Experimental Motif

18 (44%) converts mention their trial of the Islamic practice during their conversion process. It is likely to be experienced from the middle to later stages of conversion process

after gaining some knowledge through interaction with Muslims or reading books. Potential converts are "ready to give the process a try" when they undergo this experimental pattern.[36] A convert's account expresses clearly such a state of mind.

> I participated in the study circle on Sunday, wearing a head scarf. Before entering the library (in the mosque), I stopped by the bathroom to make *wudu* (ablutions). It was not because somebody had told me to, but I just wanted to do so out of respect for the sisters and the mosque. After the study circle, I prayed following the others and I left still wearing the scarf. I didn't want to take it off because of the pleasure I was feeling from it. (Book 1, p. 41)

Although she had not taken *shahada* at that time, she behaved as if she were already one of the members. Not only wearing the head scarf and praying, but also fasting during the month of Ramadan, avoiding pork and alcohol, and wearing decent clothes are mentioned in the other accounts. Especially for the nominal converts through marriage, living with a Muslim spouse directly brings about this experimental phase and it helps them reach the "second conversion".

iii) Mystical Motif

4 (10%) out of all converts experienced mystical incidents, such as dreaming, calling from a baby in the womb, receiving sudden inspiration and feeling "a shock like light toward Heaven". All the four converts remark these experiences were crucial and gave them a final push for their decision to convert. 3 out of 4 converts had researched on Islam for quite a long time before these events took place. The other convert felt sudden inspiration when she received a FAX message from her Muslim friend.

iv) Intellectual Motif

Scholars on conversion to Islam have pointed out the importance of intellectual activities during the conversion process.[37] As we have seen above, discussion, posing questions, and

[36] Lofland and Skonovd, op. cit., pp. 378–379.
[37] For Köse, the biggest number, 71% of his interviewee, experienced this intellectual motif pattern. Köse, op. cit., Chapter 3, Section C: Conversion Motifs [Kobo Edition]. Al-Qwidi emphasizes the

reading books are quite important for understanding Islam. 35 accounts (85%) indicate that converts underwent such rational reflection during the conversion process. For example, a convert who was studying social sciences and women's studies in the United States at that time met a Muslim from Iran and found logical answer to her queries about Islam.

> Posing question [to a Muslim friend] one after another, I daily challenged Islam for four months. One day, I thought "I give up. There must be a proper answer to any question." This feeling could have been the first step to the "surrender," which is one of the meanings of Islam. (Book 1, p. 14)

Her account shows even during personal interaction with Muslims, the potential converts go through highly intellectual reflections apart from developing an affectional bond.

Thus far, we have seen empirical aspects of conversion process, and now, we will focus more on its speculative aspects. I categorized this intellectual pattern into four types taking note of their method of reasoning which are: Theological, Philosophical, Scientific, and Social/Political. Although further discussion is needed about these categorizations, they might help in understanding the deeper implications of this intellectual motif.

a. Theological Reasoning (Islam as a Religion)

The first type is theological reasoning. The author of the following testimony was formerly a devout Christian and once thought about choosing to live a monastic life. She was learning Arabic and met several Muslims at that time. Gradually, she was attracted to Islam owing to their tolerant attitude and started to attend the class for reciting the Quran. Then a chapter of the Quran answered her previous question.

> Although I was a Christian, I could not fully realize the meaning of Jesus's redemption and had questions about the Trinity. I was thinking it was because of my weak faith and often prayed to God, "Please deepen my faith. Let me realize the truth". It was under

importance of intellectual activities, saying "Reasoning was far more important than affectional considerations for all of them (p. 258)". Al-Qwidi, op. cit., p. 186, pp. 256-259. Similarly, Allievi states that "rational" conversion is "very Islamic (très islamique)" comparing to that "relational" conversion is "less specifically Islamic (moins spécifiquement islamique)". Allievi, op. cit., pp.120–123.

> such conditions when I read the 112th chapter (Al-Ikhlaas) of the Quran. It says, "He is Allah, the One, Allah, the Independent and Besought of all. He begets not, nor is He begotten. And there is none like unto Him." It made my head clear. I felt that it was my faith and the truth. I thank for the guidance of Allah. (Book 1, p. 54)

After this experience, she converted and married a Muslim. Her account indicates that her theological or religious questions were answered by reading the Quran. Other former Christians, Christian educated people, and unnamed monotheists also explain how their faith got stronger or their understanding of God became clearer as they came to know Islam. Hence this type of reasoning occurs mainly to those who have already faith in, or theological knowledge on, the one God.

b. Philosophical Reasoning (Islam as a Contemporary Thought)

The second type of intellectual motif is philosophical reasoning. The converts of this type examine the world itself and once tried to deny the existence of God, but finally reach to embrace Islam. Their reflection is profound and naturally the process takes a relatively long time for reasoning and investigation. They are not large in number; only 3 (7% out of all), but 2 of them wrote the longest testimonies among the 41 accounts.

A convert who was inclined to atheism affected by Western philosophy wrote about the contemplative process of her conversion. She gained a scholarship from the French government and went to France for continuing her study focusing on "Nomadism". She encountered Islam by getting to know a Muslims there and started to read the Quran. Then she started participating in study circles in a mosque and finally converted. She describes her transition as follows.

> I myself don't regard my Islamic faith as an opposition to the philosophy that I was familiar with. It was rather a natural consequence. Basically, I had the impression for a long time that what atheists —be they Sartre, Camus, or Nietzsche— had problematized was nothing but God. The existence of God could be seen in their writings. (Book 1, p. 43)

Usually Islam is not regarded as in the same frame with Western philosophy, but for her, they were intimately linked.

Another former atheist who was also influenced by Nietzsche explains his conversion process using philosophical concepts such as "Cartesian skepticism" and "semantic skepticism". After encountering a Muslim Japanese scholar, he was trying to doubt not only the existence of God but also everything, including the meaning of "to doubt" itself and the distinction between "truth and falsity". Then, he reached a certain conclusion.

> After such discussions of analytic philosophy, I concluded that the question is not whether there is a possibility to doubt, but whether there is a theory/principle which can explain the world. If a "perspective" which can explain the world is called religion, I had a worldview which consisted of atheism, democracy after World War II, Western modernism, post-modernism, and so forth. That was my religion. The phrase "*la illaha illallah* (There is no god but God)" relentlessly broke my worldview. (Book 2, p. 25)

However, he stated that he hesitated to admit the second line of *shahada* which is "Muhammad was a prophet", while he was convinced that the first line "There is no god but God" was true. After he became convinced about the existence of God, he went to Egypt. He strongly felt that people there were living very happily and decided to take *shahada* there.

Both accounts indicate that logical and philosophical understanding can lead atheistic people to conversion when it was combined with experiences of staying in an Islamic society and interacting with Muslims.

c. Scientific Reasoning (Islam as Science)

The third intellectual type is accepting Islam through scientific reasoning. The scientific nature of Islam is often emphasized by Islamic organizations as proof of the authenticity of the Quran. Although there are few such examples among the accounts examined in this paper, scientific reasoning can also be a decisive factor for conversion.

The following convert, who clearly avoided any kind of religion before her conversion, experienced such a scientific process of reflection. After she was introduced to the "Scientific miracle of the Quran" by her Muslim friend she started investigating the Quran on the

Internet.

> At first, I was thinking that there were some mysterious things, but the more I read the description on the website, the more I was scared and it gave me goose bumps to think that I had encountered something really serious. I couldn't think of anything but that the descriptions (in the Quran) were based on the knowledge that I had learned in school. They became clearer to me when I tried to understand them in terms of leading, cutting-edge technology. The following day, I read the Japanese translation of the Quran and a notion that this is totally beyond human intelligence came to me. (…) I didn't want to be a Muslim at all, and I was desperately trying to find out a way other than becoming a Muslim. However I tried to deny it, the truth was there and there was also myself who noticed the truth. (Book 2, p. 45–46)

She says Islamic doctrine became more important after her conversion than during the conversion process. For her, Islam appealed as science rather than a religion which once she tried strongly to avoid. Two other accounts also stated that the converts studied the natural sciences at university or were interested in it.

In addition, two other converts state that they noticed the similarity of Islamic practice and medical science during their conversion process. One says she was surprised that the way of *Wudu* (ablutions) was similar to the medical technique which she had learned (Book 1, p.3), and another understood the rationality of an Islamic practice—circumcision for her son—from a medical point of view. (Book 1, p.10)

d. Social/Political Reasoning (Islam as a Foundation of the Social System)

In contrast to the previous three types, the last one focuses more on social aspects of Islam than the personal and individual quest for truth. The conversion processes that can be categorized under this type take place as a result of reflections on complex issues with social or political ramifications, often also accompanied by theological or philosophical reasoning. The following account shows the trajectory of the convert's interest before conversion.

> When I was in my late teens, I devoted myself to Christian theology, especially to the

> mysticism from the medieval-Renaissance times. The university I entered when I was 18 was also founded by Christians. As I learned about religious music, European history, and religious anthropology, I started to think of salvation as my main theme of study. I also read literatures on Marx and the Christian Reformation. I was thinking of how society and politics play a role for human salvation. At that time, my major at university was French literature so I was interested in the philosophy of Foucault too. As I read his reportage on the Islamic revolution in Iran, I started to investigate the potential of Islam in the contemporary world. (Book 2, p. 15)

After his investigation of Islamic literatures, he traveled through the world, and was attracted to Islamic societies, especially in central Asia. After coming back to Japan, he took *shahada* in Tokyo.

Another convert of this type who was previously studying sociology at university and affected by Émile Durkheim states that the Gulf War was one of the triggers that led her to conversion. She felt disappointed toward the United States, Japan, and humanity when she watched images of the victims in Iraq and also a "victory parade". After that, she started to seek more convincing ideology than the Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution for establishing peace, and she encountered Islam through a Muslim while traveling to the Uighur Autonomous Region in China. (Book 1, p. 24)

As we have seen above, there are several types of reasoning during the conversion process. Those who are in the "faith" group are likely to undergo theological and social/political reasoning, while the converts of "avoidance" group go through philosophical and scientific reasoning. Most of the cases involved affectional experiences in the converts' interactions with Muslims.

However, as Zebiri has pointed out, researchers should carefully assess the importance of interactions with Muslims, since its evaluation is divided. On one hand, it was estimated as an essential factor, and on the other hand, interpersonal relationships element are not regarded as decisive because they are rather brief.[38] Pertaining to this study, personal relationships and interactions with Muslims are highly important. It may have something to do with the situation, as mentioned above, that until the mid-1990s, there was often no other way for understanding

[38] Zebiri, op. cit., Chapter 2, section1 Conversion as social protest? [Kobo Edition].

Islam than interacting with Muslims, since there was no Internet, sufficient publications or education on Islam. However, I found no effect of Sufi orders, which is prominent in Western conversion cases, and also of organized missionary, the so-called Da'wah. Thus, it was always purely individual interactions, investigation through reading, or university education which brought about the beginning and developing stages of the conversion process among Japanese Muslims.

3.3.2 Key Factors of Conversion

Finally, we will examine the key factors for conversion which are remarked in the accounts. The converts often mention concretely which factors appealed to them during the conversion process. They compare these factors with their own values, knowledge, and norms that they had acquired through education and socialization.

Key factors of conversion	**n=41, Multiple**
Moral/ethical standards, social matters, and political ideology	27 (66%)
Gender roles	4 (10%)
Oneness of God, equality, absence of priest	19 (46%)
Discomfort or Continuity with Christianity	11 (27%)
Rationality, logical aspects	11 (27%)
Succession with Asian perspective on nature	1
Witnessing life of a Muslim and attraction to the culture	17 (41%)
Mystical aspect, or Inexplicable religious experience	4 (10%)
The Melody of the Quran, Adhan (calling for prayer)	3 (7%)
Spiritual or Mental satisfaction, Fear of dying	6 (15%)

Table 7. Key factors of conversion

The most prevalent factor was "Moral ethical standards, social matters, and political ideology". Komura mentioned that instead of religious norms, there are already established morality and ethics in Japanese culture.[39] Nonetheless several converts were attracted to Islam

[39] Komura, op. cit., pp. 247–248.

to build a “better society”. As we have seen, serious problems such as Gulf war also made them relativize their own ethics and morals.

“Gender roles” of Islam was important for female converts. A convert mentions that she compared Western feminism and Islamic teachings on women, and chose Islam since it is based on human nature. (Book 1, p. 13)

Although the number is small, the factors “Succession with Asian perspective on nature”, “The Melody of the Quran, Adhan (calling for prayer)”, “Spiritual or Mental satisfaction and Fear of dying” were also important for some converts.

5. Conclusion

So far, we have seen the religious backgrounds, initial impressions of Islam, first contact and development an understanding for Islam, “motifs” and key factors which led them to convert. We can conclude the conversion process of Japanese people in the period between the 1980s to the early 2000s can be described as follows.

The potential converts encountered Islam both in Japan and in foreign countries, which were not limited to Muslim countries, but also included Western countries. In most cases, other than those who found Islam through reading or university education, the first contact with Islam or Muslims was unexpected and unintentional. For them, the encounter was a result of global human mobility of both potential converts and Muslims for studying, working, and travelling. Once they got interested in Islam, they deepened their understanding by asking Muslims questions, participating in a study circle, reading books, or travelling to a Muslim country.

It is in this understanding stage that prior negative images of Islam are relativized. Originally, many of the converts were indifferent or had highly negative images, which were expressed in terms of backwardness, terrorism, and fanaticism. However, they realized such images were merely an orientalist’s fiction through interacting with Muslims. For those who had good impressions from the first, conversion took place more easily.

Japan is often regarded as a traditionally Buddhism and Shintoism-based country and actually many converts mention Buddhism as their familial religious background. However, no convert clearly identified him or herself as a Buddhist before conversion. The potential

converts had already faith or were yearning for it on one hand, including Christians, graduates of Christian schools, unnamed monotheists, and "seekers", and were indifferent to or avoiding religion on the other hand.

Although religious backgrounds of the Japanese converts are various and different from previous research in Western contexts, "motif" patterns are roughly similar; Intellectual motif came first, then Affectional, Experimental, and Mystical motifs followed. This similarity may be attributed to the fact that many Japanese people somehow share similar values and backgrounds in education.

The intellectual reasoning during the conversion process can be categorized into theological, philosophical, scientific, and social and political types; these categories are interrelated. In other words, Islam had been variously understood in terms of religion, contemporary thought, science, and a foundation of society by the converts.

In the future, more recent cases of conversion will need to be examined based on these findings. Since the mid-2000s, opportunities to interact with Muslims have been increasing continuously. For example, the Internet has made a wealth of information available, for better or for worse. Students, immigrants, and travelers from Islamic societies stimulate Halal businesses and the so-called inbound economy in Japan, and their presence in Japan has greatly increased the likelihood of non-Muslims interacting with Muslims. Conversion may be more likely to occur now, but whether that is actually the case remains to be examined.

Also, Muslim Japanese themselves may now cause other Japanese to convert. Since the late 1990s, Japanese converts have already played an important role in publishing books on Islam, as marriage partners, and university education, but they have become even more active in recent years. They hold events and publish colorful free papers for both Muslims and non-Muslims.[40] The number of Muslim Japanese scholars on Islamic studies is increasing and they actively publish scholarship and books. For some, events such as 9.11 (September 11 attacks) and 3.11 (the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011) may have relativized their previously held values, and Islam could present a viable alternative way of living.

[40] Such as *Zamzam: Isuramu bunka jōhō hasshin sasshi* ザムザム―イスラム文化情報発信冊子, Zamu zamu henshbuū ザムザム編集部, *Halal Life: more Fruitful. more Quality. more Lively*, vol. 1-5, HALAL LIFE and SALAM SHOP. Both first published in 2016.

Physical Education in the Meiji Education for Women

SIMONA LUKMINAITĖ*

1. Aims of the Paper

This paper, by treating a particular case of martial arts[1] instruction as modern Physical Education (PE) for women in mid-Meiji (circa 1890's–1900's) Japan, aims to provide insights into how body/mind, religion/spirituality, traditional/modern, and Western/Japanese dichotomies were perceived, grappled with in writing, and functionally put to practice in this period of moderate freedom to create new ways of understanding in educational practice. It analyzes physical education (PE) at Meiji Jogakkō 明治女学校 (1885–1907)—a girls' school run privately by Japanese intellectuals that belonged to a Protestant community-network of samurai intelligentsia—concentrating on explaining the reasons behind the role it was assigned in the curriculum at the school.

For the lack of applicable previous research, this paper predominantly deals with primary sources.

2. Setting/Introduction

With the Meiji Restoration (1868), the reforms that followed soon after, and the increased exposure to the foreign nations, the position of girls/women in Japan gradually came to be seen as a topic of great import to the nation as a modern unit. This new understanding was influenced by several factors. First of all, Japan came under the scrutinizing eye of the world that it wanted to impress in order to maintain its standing as an independent and advanced state. For that purpose, all citizens of Japan came to be seen as assets of the nation. Gradually, not only the males, but females, too, started to be treated as cultural representatives of modern Japanese society and thus a need for a suitable upbringing. In addition, with the

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: simona.lukminaite@gmail.com

[1] 武道, in the meaning of martial arts as modern physical education. *Budō* and martial arts will be used interchangeably within the text.

introduction of the ideas of eugenics, women came to be seen as mothers of future generations, determining the physical and mental development of their offspring by their own lifestyle and level of erudition. Subsequently, with the appearance of the *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 ("good wife, wise mother")[2] ideas, women started to be perceived as helpers/partners to their modernized husbands. Obviously, all these factors shaped the expectations towards the outcomes of female education and opportunities they had in society.

3. PE and its Boundaries

In order to understand how PE was generally perceived and how that perception developed in Meiji, it is important to note that there was a strong competition between different perspectives on what constituted a modern, yet complete, education.

Regarding the position of PE in the modern curriculum, it featured as a subject in the first government schemes, yet the importance assigned to it was minimal and there were few opportunities for enforcement. However, the attention paid to PE increased with time. A significant issue influencing the development in the understanding of what a modern PE should constitute of was the competition between the ideas perceived as Western and traditional, especially around the late 1880s and early 1890s. There was dissent toward an understanding, exemplified by Herbert Spencer's ideas, about education being split into independent intellectual, moral, and physical aspects.[3] While those who promoted importing foreign models of education supported such divide, the majority found it alien. This was partially due to the fact that the historical scaffolding onto which the modern system of education in Japan was built was such that there was an overlap among all categories of education. Thus, PE was seen as incomplete without intellectual and moral instruction. The Western PE, by cultivating body but not the mind, was then deemed unable to satisfactorily

[2] Shizuko Koyama. *Ryosai Kenbo: the educational ideal of 'good wife, wise mother' in modern Japan,* Leiden/Boston: BRILL, 2013. According to Koyama, although "*ryōsai kenbo*" as a term was used during the Meiji Enlightenment by Nakamura Masanao and after this by Mori Arinori, the conscious use commenced with the publication of women's magazine *Jokan* 女鑑 in 1891. (p. 4) Koyama describes how the creation of a clear ideal of "mother as teacher" was a modern phenomenon. It started in Victorian England, where supervising the home and the childrearing became the role of women in the late 17th century. Major childrearing manuals of the Victorian era promoted the idea that "mothers are the ideal agents for the task of building up the strength of the people of the nation" (p. 6), countries like France and Germany following in the subsequent centuries.

[3] Herbert Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, London: D. Appleton, 1860.

help in the building of the physical and mental strength of the nationals, at least by some of the opinion leaders. This understanding was possibly a continuation of the *bunbu ryōdō* 文武両道 (martial and civil practices) model found in the writings of Edo intellectuals such as Hōjō Ujinaga (1609–1670), who, according to Paramore, with the help of Neo-Confucian theory, in the 1600s, reworked military learning into a tradition with a worldview in some ways resembling a religious outlook that was later taken up by the samurai and even the commoners towards the end of the Tokugawa era, as *budō* became more accessible.[4]

In Meiji, the abolition of the class system further sped up the process of *budō* being seen as a subject to be possibly placed in the national curriculum. Mostly, however, it was promoted as a reactive response to the Western type of education that was endorsed by the members of government, who were in favor of the European exercises for reasons of safety (they found that *budō* lacked protective equipment),[5] and were wary of the competitiveness that would ensue during *budō* exercises due to differences in physical strength of the students.[6] Those in favor of the Japanese equivalent argued that it would prepare the students more fully, imbuing them with national qualities like *yamato damashii* (大和魂, lit. "Japanese spirit").[7] However, in the Tokugawa era, martial arts were exercised by the samurai class (men and frequently women, depending on their locale), yet were not recognized by the rest of society. Thus, the idea of introducing it into the national curriculum was perceived as a traditionalist (even nationalistic) by many. However, since around 1895 (with *Dainippon Butokukai* 大日本武徳会 particularly),[8] martial arts came to be actively proposed to be incorporated into the national curriculum. While such appeals met with little success before, they now had to be addressed, as instructing martial arts became an awkward issue in the education of men—it was commonly carried out without official support by the government.[9] Thus, by the late 1890s, without much correlation to the actual spread of *budō* within Edo society, *budō*, to a large extent, came to be increasingly more commonly seen as one of the main signifiers of

[4] Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History*, Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 54.
[5] Denis Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan*, Routledge, 2013, p. 103.
[6] Ibid., p. 128.
[7] Paramore, pp. 108, 110–111.
[8] Gainty, op. cit., p. 59.
[9] According to Gainty (op. cit., p. 101), "Despite the government's push for modern calisthenics in the 1870s, […] martial arts education was informally practiced at some primary and middle schools, and there were various voices 'from the field' calling for their inclusion in the new public school curriculum."

uniting the Japanese men under a native form of physical and moral instruction. It may have been a natural choice for the intellectual leaders of samurai descent as they sought to redeem their ancestors, strengthen their status, and search for national characteristics that could help in successfully uniting Japan when faced with the turmoil of change.

However, Gainty explains how there were numerous contributors to the *Butokukai*'s publications who wrote on "*bushidō* for women", yet such attention was of secondary to the organization's main concerns, and "the national body […] and the *Butokukai* (as well as the various versions of *kokutai* [国体] proposed by the government) were implicitly male".[10] Thus, girls and women were not in the radar of the martial arts advocates and martial arts in their education remained an oddity in the framework of modern education until at least the 1900s.

What was seen as the suitable form of PE for female students, then?

Taisō, or calisthenics—synchronized group stretching, often to the accompaniment of music—was conceived as modern, or Western, PE. It was a novelty introduced at the beginning of Meiji and was included in the first national-level reforms of education, *Gakusei* 学制 (1872), for both boys and girls at the elementary level. Girls retained the compulsory *taisō* classes at the secondary level of education as well under the subsequent regulations,[11] but it took decades into the Meiji period for a substantial number of such schools to appear and to attract students. Seen as too foreign, *taisō* was not popular among the Japanese schools for girls, and was rather secluded to missionary institutions such as *Ferris Jogakkō* フェリス女学校, which had the funds and the know-how since the beginning of the period, but it took hold with time as the definition of *taisō* expanded and became open to various interpretations.

An important contribution of introducing *taisō* and modern concepts of PE as an essential element of modern education for all was that it triggered a national-level discussion on the customary physical training, and extended the boundaries of what girls could and "should be" instructed. Interestingly, in addition to *budō, shūshin* 修身 (deportment) and *reigi sahō* 礼儀作法 (etiquette) were both seen as important traditional disciplines in and outside of the official curricula of female education, especially among the classes of samurai and peerage, in such schools as *Kazoku Jogakkō* 華族女学校, which was attended by girls of the highest social standing.

[10] Gainty, op. cit., p. 140.
[11] Such as the first regulations for the higher schools of women, *kōtō jogakkō kitei* 高等女学校規程, of 1895.

It is clear that the conception of modern *taisō* and PE "for all" changed the perception on how manners (*reigi*) should be instructed. Sue has pointed out the example of *Shōgakkō joreishiki daiichi* (小学校女礼式　第一, roughly translatable as "Women's Etiquette for Elementary Schools: Basics") that was co-authored by Ogasawara Seimu 小笠原清務 and a government official in 1881, in accordance to the government's recommendations.[12] The treatise dealt with the same forms of etiquette as would have a manual written during the Edo period; the difference was in the Appendix (*furoku* 付録) that stressed teaching manners through play (*yūgi* 遊戯) and *taisō*, in groups. According to Sue, this was a new idea developed in Meiji, as during the Edo period, manners were instructed individually. In early Meiji, treatises regarding the education of manners published in Edo were being reprinted, and Western textbooks were being translated. However, before *Shōgakkō joreishiki* was published, there were not any substantial developments made, and thus the publication marks an important turning point in the history of instructing etiquette in Japan. As it was supported by the government, it affected the educators throughout Japan, but especially those in Tokyo.

Ogasawara-style etiquette was an intrinsic part of many elegant pastimes, such as tea ceremony, ikebana (flower arrangement), Noh theater, and martial arts. Therefore, when Meiji Jogakkō introduced martial arts into its curriculum, it is not surprising that etiquette was seen as an important addition to, or a part of, PE in general.

4. PE at Meiji Jogakkō

Meiji Jogakkō was a noteworthy institution due to a variety of reasons. First of all, rather than trying to attract students or gain support by maintaining affiliations or defining itself in a clear-cut way like the other schools (missionary, government, or single-teacher private academies), it devised an original approach to education under an independent banner of a network of Japanese Protestant intellectuals who, reflecting their own education, combined in their practices various ideas stemming from within and outside of Japan. It also served as a bridge between classes and religious inclinations, taking in students from a variety of social and religious backgrounds. Their declared goal was to simultaneously liberate women on various levels. In order to receive at least a secondary-level education as a

[12] Sue Tomoko 陶　智子, "A Study of 'Shougaku-joreisiki'"『小学女礼式』について, Journal of Toyama College 42, 2007, pp. 1–10.

minimum requirement, girls were married off. They also offered a course on how to supervise modern households. For those wishing to work or research, they provided professional and tertiary-level instruction. Finally, their numerous beyond-the-school activities were aimed towards enlightening the masses about women's potential and needs. Most importantly for this paper, it was a Christian school for girls that, with great enthusiasm, decided to teach martial arts to girls when very other few found it appropriate or necessary.

4.a. Iwamoto Yoshiharu's understanding of *Taisō, Jorei,* and *Budō*

When Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巌本善治 (1863–1942), the principal of Meiji Jogakkō, introduced the new class of martial arts to his students in 1890, he stated the following:

> Regarding PE (*taisō*), up until now we have come up with various devises. Although the PE we carry out is of Western style, this time we have decided to add a class of *naginata* to, first of all, be tried out for those interested. While in *naginata* there are various schools, in our institution we shall teach mostly the *Hokushin Ittō* style. Even though we believe that it shall have a great benefit for physical exercise,[13] for persevering spirit (*kisetsu* 気節), also for appearance (*fūsai* 風采), as it is a new subject, […] only those who are interested should attend. Up until now, too, we have not forced our students into physical exercise. […] While you shall be constantly instructed in *jorei*, your teachers should not always have to tell you that in order for the study of manners (*rei* 礼) to be good for you physically, you are not meant to just be quiet. Is it not the essence of *jorei* to get the body adjusted to the principles of how to maintain good appearance when running or falling over? That is why, if you learn *naginata*, or if you practice the Western *taisō*, your bodies will become fit for *jorei*. That is why learning *jorei*, playing, exercising *naginata* or *taisō* are not contradictory to each other. In addition, carrying out exercises of any sort and behaving lady-like and gentle do not contradict each other either. You should all exercise freely and without fear and grow physically strong.[14]

[13] All the underlining is added by the author to aid understanding of the primary materials.

[14] *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* 吾党之女子教育, Chapter 1, "To the students of Meiji Jogakkō: the current state of women education" 明治女学校生徒に告ぐ。目下の女子教育, 1892, pp. 1–30.
家政科及び薙刀
亦た、體操の事に付きては從來も色々と工夫し、今日にては洋風の體操を用ひ居ることなれども、今后は

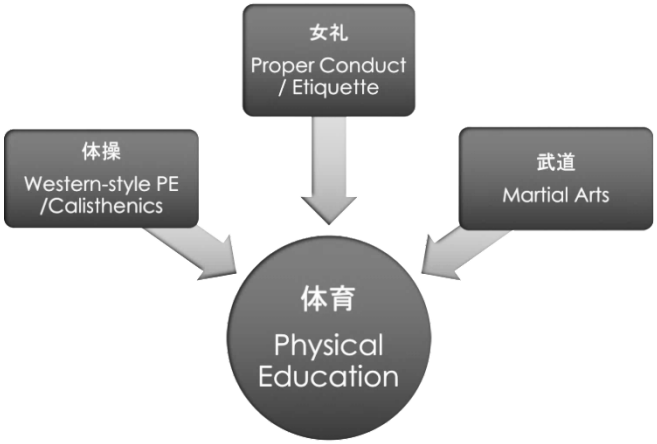


Figure 1: Threefold PE at Meiji Jogakkō

Thus, we can safely assume that the physical education in Meiji Jogakkō was, for the most part of its history, perceived as threefold, consisting of *taisō* 体操, *jorei* 女礼, and *budō* 武道.

Following the Western-education-inclined government of the beginning of Meiji, Meiji Jogakkō promoted *taisō* from 1885 as a way to liberate women's bodies, claiming that they were misguidedly kept from physical activities, especially in affluent families. It was suggested that traditional physical activities in rural areas should be encouraged instead, if necessary. Therefore, one, women of all classes were encouraged to exercise physically according to means accessible to them; and two, *taisō* was replaceable and not compulsory, but doing some form of exercise was strongly encouraged.

Jorei came into the Meiji Jogakkō's curriculum as a subject that accompanied *taisō* and *budō*. The connection with *budō* especially is made clear in the following passage authored by

---

薙刀の一課を加へ、先づ有志の人々より試ましむべし。薙刀にも色々の派あることなるが此校にては主も北辰一刀流を用ゆべし。運動の爲にも、氣節の爲にも、また女子の風采の爲にも、其效能莫大ならんと信じ居ることなれども、未だ慣れぬ先より諸氏全躰をして學ばしむることを欲せざるに付き、先づ有志の人々丈けにて初じむべし。元來運動の事に付きても明治女學校は決して強迫制限を爲さず[…]諸子は始終女禮を學ぶことなるが、女禮の先生は常に諸子に教へて言はるるならずや、禮は身態に宜しき得せしむるものにて、只靜かにせよと云ふものにはあらず、走るときにも、倒るるときにも、其身形が節を得て見惡からぬやうに、身態を慣らすが即はち女禮の極意ならずや。故に薙刀に達すれば其身態は矢張り女禮に適ふものとなるべし、西洋の躰操に達すれば亦た其身態は女禮に適ふものとなるへし、故に女禮を學ぶことと、遊ぶことと、薙刀及び躰操を爲すことと決して矛盾せず、亦た惣て活發に運動することと、女らしくオトナシクすることと、況して矛盾せざるものなり、諸子決してビクビクとすることなく、自由に運動して身躰を丈夫にし玉へかし。

Iwamoto Yoshiharu, found in chapter 7 of *Wagatō no Joshi Kyōiku*.[15]

As an answer to the critique of the school's methods of PE, the chapter explains that, in the discussions of the matters of etiquette (*rei* 礼), there should first of all be an acknowledgment of the split between ceremony (*shiki* 式) and mentality/spirit (*seishin* 精神). Ceremony, according to the teachings (*den* 伝) of the Ogasawara [school of etiquette], can be found in a variety of things: there are teachings about the right way to walk, to sit, to stand up, and a to fall. Subsequently, it is difficult to enumerate and specify the different forms (*tai* 体) of ceremonies; even more difficult it is to remember and use them quickly when pressed by need. That is why the regular efforts are not enough to acquire such skills. However, no matter how many expressions of ceremony there are, the mentality is single. Thus, even though mentality has a boundless number of forms, its essence is one, constant from beginning to end. It peacefully and naturally adjusts itself to the needs of time. Therefore, it should not be questioned how many different forms are there to carry out the etiquette; rather, even if it contradicts the teachings of Ogasawara, it does not contradict the right manners (*rei* 礼) if one stands up when one should be lying or lies down when one should be sitting. Just like in the case of learning a martial art like *kendō*, the instruction of etiquette only becomes beneficial if one has attained the secret teachings, or in the case of a monk who has reached spiritual enlightenment. When one is not yet at such an advanced stage, the teaching of forms stands for no benefit. That is why, those who are instructing in etiquette and manners should be instructing in mentality and spirituality. That entails teaching not to be distracted by things, not to be scared by places or situations, not to be surprised by people, not to look down on matters, and, when the students' daily routines change, to constantly carry themselves around as they are, calmly enjoying the inner peace.

The mentality thus seems to be treated as an indispensable element to all education, *jorei* being the means to instruct it, and thus likewise being indispensable. It is separated from the ceremony, or the sequences of movements that have to be memorized and applied when expected to, and thus the sets of rules to follow do not need to be specified.

Allusions to the esoteric Buddhist practices or *kendō* display the education and interests of Iwamoto and martial artists' influence. Such comparisons point in the direction that the

[15] Titled "*Jorei to Taisō*" 女禮と體操, the section was originally published as editorials in *Jogaku Zasshi* no. 271−272, June-July 1890. Meiji Jogaku-sha 明治女学社, *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku* 吾党之女子教育, 1892, pp. 100−112.

"mindset" that is being discussed here is of religious/spiritual origin.

Iwamoto follows by entering into the topic of martial arts, clarifying its connection with *jorei*. *Jorei* is placed within the framework of *bunbu* and simultaneously in the context of enlightened, or modern, learning. He admonishes against going for "shape only" in all education, as the right mindset precludes the instilment of knowledge.

Iwamoto explains that previously, in Japan, to develop mentality, the two teaching techniques (*kyōjuhō* 教授法) of *bun* and *bu* (*bunbu niyō* 文武二用) were applied. *Bun* was the gentle way (*yasashiki hō* 優しき方), *bu* (*kowaki hō* 剛き方) was the tough way. Between the two, they shared a variety of teachings (*gaku* 学) and techniques (*jutsu* 術). The teachings of *bu* were turned into martial arts (*budō* 武道), and the discipline representative of *bu* was martial tactics (*heihō budō no gakumon* 兵法武道の学問), while the techniques of *bu* were shaped into military arts (*bugei* 武芸), and the training in swordsmanship, spearmanship, archery, and horsemanship (*ken sō kyū ba* 剣槍弓馬). The teachings of *bun* corresponded to *bundō* (文道)—a counterpart for *budō*—representing the study of literature and culture. It is embodied by the disciplines of politics and ethics (*seiji shūshin no gakumon* 政治修身の学問). The techniques of *bun* constitute etiquette (*rei* 礼).

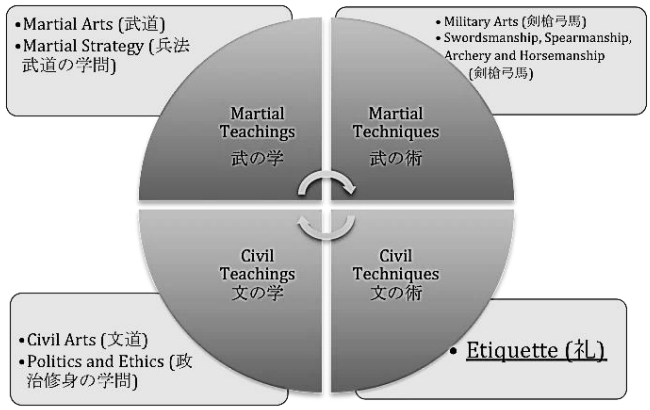


Figure 1: Bun, bu, and the modern disciplines

All the above (*bunbu gakujutsu* 文武学術), according to Iwamoto, only train the mentality and thus it is fine to use them sparingly. The "enlightening scriptures" (*bunmei no sho* 文明の書) advocate increasing the instruction in intellectual subjects, and the

"enlightening teachings" (*bunmei no kyō* 文明の教) advocate heightening the moral sense (*dōnen* 道念). However, there is no use if one gets surprised with things or shocked after jumping into it all without any practice. That is why, it is crucial to get used to the mentality of enlightening teachings (*bunmei no kyōju* 文明の教授) before applying them, internalizing it. To summarize, the etiquette has power only because it is an important part in mental training (*seishin shūyō* 精神修要).

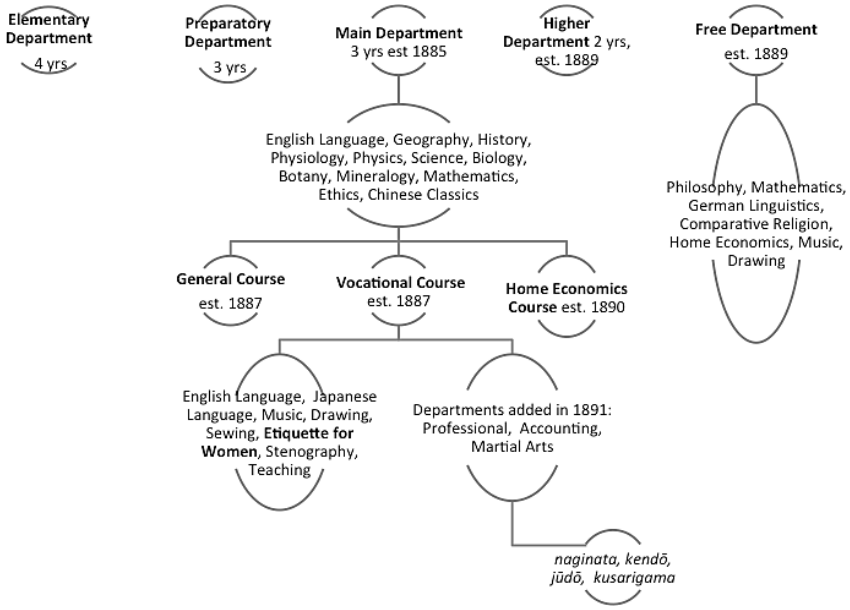


Figure 2: Curriculum

Thus, the ultimate goal of *bunbu niyō*, or martial arts/*jorei*, is portrayed as for cultivating the mentality. That does not mean that they were seen as impractical subjects, however. Indeed, they had several applications.

In 1887, Meiji Jogakkō's Main Department (*honka* 本科) branched into two separate majors—the General (*futsūka* 普通科) and the Specialized (*senshūka* 専修科). Therefore, those entering the Main Department had a choice of taking up the Specialized Course aimed at those wishing to find employment and choose from English or Japanese Language, Music, Painting, Sewing and Etiquette (*saihō jorei* 裁縫女礼), Stenography, and Teacher Training majors. In 1891, there also appeared Business (*shokugyōka* 職業科), Accounting (*shukeika* 主計科), and Martial Arts (*budōka* 武道科) departments.

In Chapter 8 of *Wagatō no Joshi Kyōiku*,[16] there is a section titled "The sewing course at a girls' school" (*jogakkō no saihōka* 女学校の裁縫科), noting that it was originally written in February 1887. It mentions *jorei* and claims that the reason why girls' schools require a class of sewing is not only so that they could acquire the skill. The greatest benefit is to be found elsewhere. It is so due to the fact that at the moment, the men and women have not developed their gender-based qualities and there is nearly no differentiation in male and female principles in education. In the curricula of elementary education, carried out at a young age, this is natural. However, when it comes to the girls aged thirteen to fourteen, the places that have gathered them help their feminine qualities manifest, and thus, apart from the classes taught at regular girls' schools, painting, music, and etiquette (*jorei*) are seen as important to cultivate the traits of elegance (*yūga* 優雅) and gentleness (*onwa* 温和).

Thus, *jorei*/sewing and martial arts were all perceived as professions that would hopefully help to secure a livelihood. While all three were seen as "traditional" accomplishments, they were also vocational courses, graduation from which might have helped women become independent in the modern society. Simultaneously, *jorei* was also perceived as a course that was deemed to preserve/cultivate the feminine virtues, and was placed next to painting, music, and sewing—accomplishments that were deemed feminine. While PE by itself was commonly criticized as opposite of feminine, by supplementing it with *jorei*, it could have been made so, and the students could have been possibly protected from harsh remarks.

At the same time, Iwamoto is providing his own criticism of PE by juxtaposing *jorei* and *budō* with the Western learning, foreshadowing the *taisō* losing its position against the two due to being of Western origin. While previously not so critical of the Western ways of instruction in morals, Iwamoto wrote the following in 1890.

> The Westerners carry out their moral education at church and do no encourage it at school. Just the same way, they emphasize the religious spiritual development and teach the etiquette (*rei*) as a way to embellish the association with others. That is why, just like the martial instruction in the West deals with technical skills only and cannot be compared to the Japanese martial arts, the Western etiquette is a shallow false adornment that does

[16] Ibid., pp. 113–123.

not stand on par to the Japanese etiquette. That is why it is acceptable if a girls' school skips a day in teaching the Western manners, but not the Japanese ones.[17]

To him, it is the moral/religious aspect that is lacking in both the Western etiquette and martial education. The Japanese equivalents, however, are then capable of providing it.

Possibly, recommending gradual acceptance of new ideas, not just assimilating practices without understanding them, could be Iwamoto's response to the new system of education promoted for Meiji girls and women—which was emphasizing Westernization, yet focusing on the morality and loyalty to the state, and thus being inconsistent. It might also be that Iwamoto was advocating a specific shapeless and undefined essence behind the learning for women, as it could be not restricted by the government, creating a possible avenue to instruct religion/spirituality in an original manner.

It is clear that Iwamoto made an effort to apply the concept of *jorei* promoted by the government, yet located it within a broader context, interpreting it in a unique way at Meiji Jogakkō and defending it against other interpretations, both from within and outside of the country. It could have been that, when in need for the glue to bring all of the elements of Meiji Jogakkō's education together, *jorei*, redefined as *seishin* (mentality), could have had what was deemed necessary. This attempt can be seen exceptionally well in the following quote.

"Education in martial arts (*budō*)"

Civil education and martial arts constitute a whole. Even so, civil/literary education is superior when it comes to the acquisition of knowledge, and martial arts are superior when building up character. That is why, by combining the two and using them in education, the process of cultivating becomes much easier, and a greater effect can be attained in many more areas. Thus, when educating in the matters of religion, if used as a supplement, martial arts can help to attain faster spiritual development.[18]

---

17 Ibid., p. 110.
（前略）西洋の禮は之に異なり。西洋人は教會に於て道徳を修練することとし學校に於て徳育を重んずることなし。如此く亦信仰に於て精神を練ることを要とし、禮に於ては只だ交際一邊の修飾として之を教ふ。故に西洋の武技は只だ器械的の武技にして日本の武道に比らべ難きが如く、西洋の禮式も亦た只だ空虚無實の飾りにして日本の禮法に類し得るものにあらず。左れば今の女學校に於て西洋の女禮を欠くは尚ほ或は可なり、一日も日本の女禮を欠くことある可らざる也。

18 Ibid., p. 148.
「武育」

Iwamoto, who served as the principal of Meiji Jogakkō for seventeen years (1887–1904) and was involved in the running of the school in the years before and after, remained an active supporter of PE for women throughout his career. In his writings, as we also saw above, he concentrated on the idea that PE was for spiritual and moral training, and stressed the suitability of Japanese vs. Western-style types of PE.

While Iwamoto was the mastermind behind the ideology that drove the school forward and kept the teachers together, he was not the man behind the actual instruction of the subject. Instead, he sought out and hired Hoshino Tenchi 星野天知 (1862–1950) to become the instructor in martial arts at the school.

4.b. Hoshino Tenchi and *Budō*

In 1890–1897, Hoshino taught Martial Arts, Eastern Philosophy (*tōyō tetsugaku* 東洋哲学), Psychology, Western and Chinese Literature, and ran a Christian Sunday class. All these activities to him came under the banner of mental training (*seishin shūyō* 精神修養) and did not hinder each other in any way. He was the mastermind behind these classes, exercising a great level of autonomy during his years at Meiji Jogakkō. His classes were optional but very popular, as can be seen by the memoirs of such students as Sōma Kokkō (相馬黒光, 1876–1955).[19]

Hoshino was not happy with the type (or, to him, "nonexistence") of women's education provided in Japan in Meiji.[20] He saw both the government and the missionary schools as failing to understand the hearts of the girls. According to him, the government avoided religion, looked down on literature, and did not care for the cultivation of aesthetic (*biteki* 美的), moral (*dōtokuteki* 道徳的), and religious (*shūkyōteki* 宗教的) sentiments (*jōsō* 情操), only concentrating on the instruction of scientific knowledge. The missionary schools, on the other hand, made the mistake of not trying to understand Japan and worshipped the Western

---

文武一のみ。然れども、智を得るは文に如かず、膽を練るは武に若かず、其二つを併せ用ゆれば、教育の術極めて容易く、效驗を得る所ろ甚はだ大ひならんとす。而して、宗教の信仰に達するにも、若し武藝の修練を用ひて之を補ふときは、靈の進歩著じるしく速やからんとす。

[19] Sōma Kokkō 相馬黒光, *Moku　Sōma Kokkō Jiden* 黙移　相馬黒光自伝, Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1999.

[20] Hoshino Tenchi 星野天地, *Mokuho 70 nen* 黙歩七十年, Seibunkan 聖文閣, 1938.

ways.[21]

In the 1890s, as Hoshino was putting his ideas to test for the first time, he selected 50 samurai daughters wishing to participate in his *budō* classes. Within a few months, the classes became well-known within and outside of the school.

Hoshino gives ironic examples of how his classes or student martial art performances were seen by the outsiders. There were three commonly-observed reactions: foreign journalists saw it as a performance of magic and tricks; the Japanese journalists sneered at the school for doing something so outdated; and the traditionalists encouraged him for augmenting the spirit of old. He summarizes the situation by stating: "It was clear that society knew next to nothing about martial arts".[22]

Like Iwamoto, Hoshino stressed the importance of the spiritual in the instruction of martial arts. He mentions the same keywords—morality, spirituality, religion, etiquette—yet introduces Psychology, Classical Chinese (*kanbun*) literature, willpower, and sensitivity into the equation.

> If a martial arts instructor concentrates only on the movements of the body, the arts are menial and there is no progress on the mental (*seishin* 精神) level. By instructing in etiquette (*reigi sahō* 礼儀作法), it is possible to purge the mind of anxieties, and lead towards morality. However, as students advance, it becomes important to lead them by mental principles (*seishinjō no kyōri* 精神上の教理). To make the necessary preparations, I undertook the Psychology course. At the beginning, there was no reference to the Will (*ishi* 意志) in Psychology, thus I chose to interpret it via Martial Arts.[23]

Hoshino is thus seeing *budō* as a multilayered system based on psychological processes. In contrast to Iwamoto, who claimed that the right mindset should precede learning, to Hoshino

---

[21] Ibid., pp. 169–170.
[22] Ibid., pp. 185–186.
[23] Ibid., p. 175.
武藝教授は單に身體動作だけでは、所謂下司の武藝で精神的に進まない。禮儀作法で精神の緊張を肅清して、道徳的に導く位は出來るが、稍々出來て來ると、精神上の教理で導く事が必要になつて來る。其講義の座を設けるために、先づ心理學の講座を引受けた。素より心理學には意志の章はない。それを私は武藝に據つて解釋する事にして居た。

the forms and movements can be taught first, raising the students' morale and self-control, but it is not enough by itself and has to be supplemented with the teaching about the workings of the mind. In addition, he paid much attention to the study of classical Chinese literature as a part of instruction in martial arts.

> As an extension to instructing martial arts, I was teaching an advanced *kanbun* class. First Mencius (Mōshi 孟子), then *Han Feizi* (Kan Pishi 韓非子), Wang Yangming (Ō Yōmei 王陽明), Tao Yuanming (Tō Enmei 陶淵明), Zhuangzi (Sōji 莊子) and Laozi (Rōshi 老子). Naturally, Zhuangzi was for the most advanced students and Laozi was beyond the limits of the course and thus I have introduced him briefly. When teaching, I was always encouraging students to express their opinions by carrying out a Q&A session about the backgrounds and personalities of the writers, the analysis of the text, the ideals in it, and the reception of the texts.[24]

As there was a pull by the traditionalists to go back to the Confucian-based education at the similar time, Hoshino felt the need to stress that his interest in *kanbun* hailed from different reasons.

> I also approached the teachers to point out that we were doing this to develop the students' skills and not for the purpose of augmenting nationalism (*yamato damashii* 大和魂).[25]

Just like the school was treating Christianity as a subject to be challenged and discussed, Confucian classics were being taught detached from the traditional rote learning and were applied as tools to draw out students' original input and ideas. Hoshino elaborates on the details behind his approach and the reception by the students.

---

[24] Ibid., pp. 186–187.
益々實績を擧げて示す他には、大和魂の成立を示す手段はないと、私は愈々教授に勢力を注いだ。武藝に連絡の教壇として私が講演する高等漢文科では、先づ孟子から韓非子、王陽明、陶淵明、莊子から老子へと進んだ。尤も莊子は高等武藝に進んだ學生へ講じ、老子に至つては免許上の解釋となるから、唯後の理想として説き聽かせたに過ぎない。私は此等の講義をするには先づ著者の環境、人格性情、文章の解剖、理想と人物總評といふやうに質問應答させ各自の考察を披瀝させるのを常とする。

[25] Ibid., p. 186.
益々實績を擧げて示す他には、大和魂の成立を示す手段はないと、私は愈々教授に勢力を注いだ。

> The students were used to the research of the spiritual matters and would study with great interest and zeal. At times, when reading the *Shijing* (*Shikyō* 詩経), they would come up with new possible interpretations by taking it literary (*hirakai shi* 平解し). At times, jumping to interpretations from the point of martial arts, they would claim that *Kannon sutra* (*Kanon-kyō* 観音経), the martial (*bujutsu*) concept of freeing oneself from worldly or worthless thoughts (*munenmusō* 無念無想), and the Christian understanding of selflessness (*mugamushiki* 無我無識) experienced in prayer (*kitō* 祈祷) fall within the same category. The lecture served as training in both ethics (*shūshin*) and literature, finally inspiring students to be intrigued by literature. We came to often analyze the texts and finally started learning rhetoric. Pointing out the reasons behind the Japanese girls' unskillfulness in conversation, and to encourage variety of opinions, I introduced *Les Misérables*[26] and *Wakefield*[27].[28]

Thus, the girls were being taught how to approach knowledge and to express themselves (rhetoric), delved into the issues in ethics and literature (reading both Chinese and Western texts), and were encouraged to be versed in a variety of religious/spiritual concepts, such as of Buddhism, Christianity, and martial philosophy. Was it all instruction in "Martial Arts", accentuating the broad spectrum of *budō*? Borrowing Hoshino's words,

> I got employed as an instructor in mental training and martial arts. I chose to focus on solely that and started lectures in such subjects as Psychology and Advanced Classical Chinese Literature and led debates on the Asian Philosophy. I also became the schoolmaster of the Sunday-only school and involved myself deeply into carrying out talks on how to self-cultivate according to the Christian teachings.[29]

---

[26] A French historical novel by Victor Hugo, first published in 1862.

[27] *The Vicar of Wakefield*—a novel by Irish writer Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), published in 1766.

[28] Ibid., pp. 186–187.
或時は詩經を平解して新味を與へ、或は感音經を講じて武術の無念無想、祈祷の無我無識の境に及ぶなど、武術の觀點より先んずる事もあつた。此講座は又修身の講座とも文學の講座ともなつたので、校内に漸く文學の空氣が動き出した。此等の講義から往々文章を解剖する事が出て來て、終にレトリックの講義を始め、續いて日本女子の談話術に拙劣な所以を警告し、諸説への注意を奬勵するため、進んで自らミゼラーブルやウェキフィールドなどを講演するやうになった。

[29] Ibid., p. 173.
私は初め精神修養、武藝教育の教授として這入つたが、心理學から高等漢學の講座を設けて東洋哲學を論

It is unclear whether the mental training, martial arts, Christianity, philosophy and psychology had obvious boundaries, or they were constituting a whole in the educational scheme of Hoshino. However, if we look into the further writings by Hoshino, we get to see how he validated such an arrangement, in addition to describing his mindset at the inception of the course.

> First, when moving, it is necessary to relax, know your enemy, and search for self. When still, it is necessary to train your willpower and sensitivity by being exposed to literature harboring aesthetic, moral, and religious sentiments. Thinking thus, I have created a special style of martial arts for women out of two styles of *naginata*, took techniques of self-defense from the *yagyū* style, and matched it with *bōjutsu* and *jūjutsu*.[30]

Therefore, to him, as well Iwamoto, the *budō* and its elements *bun* (the "still" state) and *bu* (the "active" state) were two sides of the same coin and signified the meaning of education at large, underlying the approach to knowledge and self-bearing in life in general.

In the following paragraph Hoshino provides the particular requirements and certificates awarded to the students who, having successfully met the goals he envisioned, "graduated" from his course.

> At first, I made them practice 31 moves of *Ittō*-style *naginata* for a year. Then *Yagyū*-style *bōjutsu* and 18 moves of self-defence *jūjutsu*. The students who completed this level were granted the elementary rank (*shodan*) certificate. Further on, after acquiring 10 moves of *naginata* of various styles, 12 moves of *jūjutsu* facing the opponent, 10 additional moves of *bōjutsu*, seven moves of *Yagyū*-style *naginata*, 10 moves using a dagger, including a permission to kill when protecting life, the students

---

議し、武藝就業と相俟つて專ら精神修養に盡力した。尤も日曜だけは日曜學校校長となつて、耶蘇教的修養談に熱を揚げて居た。

30 Ibid., p.169.

先づ動中に靜かを觀、敵を知り己を探ねる。不動の意志鍛錬と情操的文學を以て情操思想を養はねばならぬ。斯う考へて私は、薙刀術を二流から、懐劍術を柳生流から、棒術と柔術とを併せて女流型の手を編成し[た。]

> were granted the intermediate rank (*chūdan*) certificate. As the movements became students' second nature, they were granted the completion license with the list of gained skills (*mokuroku kyojō* 目録許状). Overall, the course took five years to complete. During approximately seven years of me teaching at Meiji Jogakkō, 26 students were granted elementary and intermediate ranks, and three the license. If I had another year or two, four more students would have graduated.[31]

He then gives names of several of the students and their particularly exceptional qualities. When it came to the benefits the girls experienced thanks to learning martial arts, Hoshino raises the following character traits. Possibly, these were the traits they saw as ideal for the modern women of Japan. Unlike Iwamoto, Hoshino seems to concentrate mostly on practical and physical benefits.

> All the students who received the beginner's qualification (*shodan*) or higher qualification acquired good posture, stable movement, elegant manners, and everyone who saw them could not spare compliments. After three or four years, I heard many stories about how thanks to the self-defense techniques the students managed to save themselves. One escaped when attacked by a drunkard; another's lantern did not get extinguished when she tumbled down the stairs; one more, when pressed, made a safe passage through mountains at night; another, all by herself, subdued a robber at night… There were numerous accounts of how the trainings affected the lives of the students.[32]

---

31 Ibid., p. 200.
武藝教育の實績
（一）教授の順序と成績
（上略）最初、一刀流の薙刀三十一手を一ヶ年練習させ、次に柳生流棒術と護身十八手の柔術を鍛錬させ、其達成者に初段免許状を與える。次で薙刀の複法十一手、立合形柔術十二手、棒術裏十手、柳生流薙刀七手、短刀十手を練達させ、之に活殺術を許して中段免許状を授ける。以上の術が其自然動作に一致するを待つて目録許状を授ける。以上で五ヶ年の科目とする。私は前後七ヶ年の授業で初段、中段二十六人、目録段の三人を出した。もう一二年で尚目録段を四人出す筈であつた事が殘念に思われる。

32 Ibid., p. 202.
（三）武藝教育の終幕
さて、初段以上に進んだ者は何れも姿勢備はり、與動沈着、風來優雅となり、觀る者をして賞贊せざるは無しといふ有様であつた。三四年の後に當護身術のため災害を脱かれた逸話が追々と聽込めるやうになつた。或者は醉漢の暴行を免れ、或者は階上よりの轉落に尚、持てる洋燈の燈火が消えずに立つて居たとか、又は火急の用務で鑛山へ夜旅を完うし得たとか、單身夜盜を説き伏せたとか、種々修行の功果を聞く事は數ふるに暇が無い。

As important events to the school, Meiji Jogakkō had its students perform martial arts for charity, extending the visibility of their methods, but the reception seems to have been consistently the same—mostly baffled. Nevertheless, in 1891, the school established an independent course for martial arts, exemplifying the importance the educators placed on the subject.

During the seven years that Hoshino worked at Meiji Jogakkō, he contributed to *Jogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌 1885–1904), that was basically run by Meiji Jogakkō, and founded an auxiliary magazine, where he encouraged the knowledge of martial arts extensively. Called *Jogakusei* (女学生 1890–1893), it combined his passion for literature and martial arts and was aimed at the readership of female students. He writes that he was reluctant to leave the school but felt the need to devote his energy to an enterprise independent of Meiji Jogakkō—*Bungakukai* (文学界 1893–1898), the offspring of *Jogakusei*, yet carried on instructing martial arts to both men and women in his villa in Kamakura throughout his life.

5. Conclusions/The Aftermath

We came to see how PE for women (and *budō* as its increasingly important element throughout the years) was perceived as a topic of utmost importance at least by a pair of educators of girls and women in Meiji. It was most likely their response to the attention PE received from the government and missionary educators, but also, a way to supplement moral, ethical, intellectual, and religious instruction they chose to provide at their school. Their perception and practical implementation of instructing martial arts provide an insight into how the modern concept of PE (also, perception of body/mind and moral/ethical/physical education) was being created in a puzzle-like manner.

Iwamoto Yoshiharu and Hoshino Tenchi saw martial arts in a way similar to how the government was advocating for *taisō*—as a means to improve overall health and hygiene, and liberate/modernize women. However, at the same time, *budō* was more than *taisō*—it was useful in daily lives as a means of self-defense and gaining gracefulness and awareness of one's body. It was seen as especially effective for building up morale, spiritual accomplishment, character, and critical thinking. At the same time, it could have served as a means to augment foreign Christianity with a more native form of spirituality at a time where

limitations placed on religious instruction were numerous. Against the trend of times, Meiji Jogakkō ridiculed the traditionalists and Westernizers alike, seemingly providing a modern understanding of martial arts and a multilayered interpretation of PE.

Budō, due to being perceived as having an advantage over Western PE by providing moral/spiritual training, was gradually appropriated to modern needs, becoming a sport (i.e. made safe, standardized, and accessible to many) in the process. Gainty describes how

> "by 1911, the Ministry of Education followed the 1908 recommendations by the Diet and made martial arts official elective classes for males in Japanese middle schools, followed closely by their inclusion in normal schools. The following year, government-sanctioned martial arts classes began to be offered. In 1917, the Ministry of Education instituted *kendō* and *jūdō* as required subjects in middle schools, and in a 1918 publication by the Ministry of Education's new School Hygiene Society (*gakkō eiseikai*), the Ministry reported further findings that *jūdō* and *kendō* were suitable for primary schools."[33]

Thus, at the beginning of the 20th C., martial arts had entered the national curriculum and became more and more accessible to women. Meiji Jogakkō was decades ahead of its time, pioneering the modern methodologies of PE for women.

[33] Gainty, op. cit., p. 59.

Philosophy of Kuki Shūzō and Ethics of Watsuji Tetsurō: Japanese Philosophers' Responses to Modern Individualism

KAZUAKI ODA*

1. Kuki Shūzō and Watsuji Tetsurō: Modern Japanese Philosophers

Kuki Shūzō 九鬼周造 (1888–1941) and Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889–1960) are representative philosophers of the early Shōwa era; both were students at First Higher School[1] and Tokyo Imperial University, and taught at Kyoto Imperial University. They studied Western and Japanese philosophy (e.g. Nietzsche, Bergson, Heidegger, and Nishida) and traditional Japanese culture. However, they present extremely different ideologies. Kuki advocates philosophy of contingency 偶然性, which is based on the isolated individual. He focuses on how an individual meets another individual. Watsuji believes in the ethics of *aidagara* 間柄, which stem from human relations, social relationships, and environmental factors. Thus, their understanding of human beings differs: Kuki believes that human beings are characteristically solitary in the world, whereas Watsuji opines that human beings live in networks since the beginning. This paper addresses the following question: Despite sharing the same educational background and literary influences, why do Kuki and Watsuji present different ideologies?

2. The Path to Japanese Philosophy: The Introduction of Modern Individualism

Western philosophy was imported into Japan after the Meiji Restoration. Concepts such as "individual", "the absolute", "subject", "object", and "the relationships between human beings" have been derived from Western philosophy. Therefore, we can consider the philosophers who discussed these concepts to be under the influence of Western philosophy. Such philosophers can be identified by comparing their philosophies with those of the West. However, I believe that it is important to consider the philosophers' own perspectives to

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: odangomushi5656@gmail.com

[1] 旧制第一高等学校

understand their philosophies. The acceptance of Western philosophy in the Japanese context requires the development of a language to discuss the abovementioned philosophical concepts. Previous studies have highlighted the significant contribution of Nishi Amane 西周 (1829–1897), who translated Western philosophical terms into Japanese (e.g. philosophy into *tetsugaku* 哲学).[2] Although introducing Western philosophical concepts into Japanese was a momentous achievement, an introduction alone was not sufficient for contemplating highly advanced philosophy. Therefore, the Japanese people had to get accustomed to Western philosophical ideas and develop a new writing style that expressed Western-style philosophy in Japanese. Japanese novelists played a crucial role in this developmental process.

Some Japanese novelists during the Meiji period, such as Yamada Bimyō 山田美妙 (1868–1910) and Futabatei Shimei 二葉亭四迷 (1864–1909), began a movement to unify the written and spoken styles of the Japanese language, thereby developing a new style of writing called "*genbun'icchitai*" 言文一致体 to appropriately describe people's psychological state and provide a first-person perspective.[3] Thus, the Japanese language acquired the style of expression using the "I" (i.e., first-person perspective).[4] Modern Japanese novelists have adopted this style to build the modern individual who is introverted and has trouble understanding the second person's perspective.[5] The works of these novelists have familiarized Japanese people with the Western concepts of "individual", "subject", "object", and "the relationships between human beings". Influenced by the novelists, both Kuki and Watsuji have adopted the *genbun'icchitai* writing style in their philosophy books. Thus, modern Japanese novelists facilitated the expansion of modern Japanese philosophy. Therefore, it is important to not only understand the thinking of modern Japanese novelists but also examine their influence on philosophers.

In this paper, I will focus on the novels of Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916), particularly *Sanshirō* 三四郎, and their criticism. Sōseki wrote his novels after the

[2] Ōhashi Ryosuke 大橋良介, *Nihontekinamono, Yōroppatekinamono* 日本的なものヨーロッパ的なもの, Kodansha 講談社, 2009, pp. 39–62.
[3] Nomura Takeshi 野村剛史, *Nihongo Sutandādo no Rekishi –Miyakokotoba kara Genbun'icchi made* 日本語スタンダードの歴史―ミヤコ言葉から言文一致まで, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 2013, pp. 229–268.
[4] Andō Hiroshi 安藤宏, *"Watashi" wo Tsukuru Kindai Shōsetsu no Kokoromi*「私」をつくる　近代小説の試み, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 2015.
[5] Karatani Kōjin 柄谷行人, Teihon Nihon Kindai Bungaku no Kigen 定本　日本近代文学の起源, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 2008, p. 28.

genbun'icchitai writing style had been firmly established. In his novels, he identifies the problem of the modern individual; he describes modern Japanese intellectuals and the collapse of the community. Both Kuki and Watsuji were familiar with the works of Sōseki. In particular, Watsuji often attended Mokuyō-kai 木曜会, visiting Sōseki on Thursdays. Furthermore, Sanshirō, the protagonist in *Sanshirō,* belongs to the same generation as Kuki and Watsuji; thus, Sōseki provides a description of the intellectual figures in that generation. In the subsequent sections, I will examine the criticism surrounding Sōseki's novels as well as the thought in *Sanshirō* to understand both Kuki's philosophy and Watsuji's ethics.

3. *Sanshirō* and City Dwellers: Absence of concrete self

Sanshirō was published as a serialized novel in Asahi Shimbun, a popular Japanese newspaper, from September 1 through December 29 of 1908 (Meiji 41). The novel is set in Tokyo Imperial University around 1907 (Meiji 40). The 23-year-old protagonist, Sanshirō, is attending Tokyo Imperial University after finishing Fifth High School[6] in Kumamoto. Since both Kuki and Watsuji entered the same university in 1909 (Meiji 42), Sanshirō is their senior by two years. Sanshirō is a naïve young man who experiences difficulties in getting accustomed to the city of Tokyo that both surprises and confuses him. In the preface, Sōseki describes Sanshirō as follows.

> Sanshirō, a high school graduate from a rural area, enters Tokyo Imperial University and experiences a new atmosphere. Then, he meets his classmates, seniors, and young ladies and tries many things. All I have to do is leave the characters in this atmosphere. After that, they act by themselves, resulting in certain events. I believe that gradually, both you and I will get a sense of the atmosphere and the characters. If this atmosphere and these characters are not interesting, we can do nothing but accept our bad luck. This novel is very realistic. I cannot write fantasy.[7]

[6] 旧制第五高等学校.

[7] 「田舎の高等学校を卒業して東京の大学に這入つた三四郎が新しい空気に触れる、さうして同輩だの先輩だの若い女だのに接触して色々に動いて来る、手間は此空気のうちに是等の人間を放す丈である、あとは人間が勝手に泳いで、自ら波瀾が出来るだらうと思ふ、さうかうしてゐるうちに読者も作者も此空気にかぶれて是等の人間を知る様になる事と信ずる、もしかぶれ甲斐のしない空気で、知り栄のしない人間であつたら御互に不運と諦めるより仕方がない、たゞ尋常である、摩訶不思議は書けない。」
Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石, *Sōseki Zenshū* 漱石全集 16, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1993–2004, p. 252

Sōseki states that he describes the atmosphere at the university, defines the characters, and leaves them in the atmosphere, and subsequently the novel advances. He claims that this novel is realistic. Therefore, if Sōseki's claim is to be believed, *Sanshirō* provides the actual description of the atmosphere in Tokyo Imperial University at around 1907 (Meiji 40), thereby revealing the background to Kuki's and Watsuji's thinking.

However, what is the atmosphere in *Sanshirō*? As many critics have highlighted, it is an urban atmosphere. Since Sōseki's protagonist is a 23-year-old man from a village, his perspective emphasizes the difference between the countryside and the city. Although Sōseki presents many aspects of the city, this paper focused on the most important one highlighted by Ishihara Chiaki 石原千秋: city dwellers do not belong to any home province, or in other words, they are abstract people.[8] According to him, *Sanshirō* is a story of how the protagonist becomes a part of the abstract people by acquiring Western knowledge. Similarly, Azuma Hiroki 東浩紀 describes the urban atmosphere and Sanshirō's classmate and love interest Mineko as follows: "city life and Mineko did not have a true self since the begining"[9] Thus, both critics have asserted that city inhabitants lack a real concrete self.

In this paper, I will examine Azuma's argument because it is more helpful for understanding the discussions of Kuki and Watsuji. According to Azuma, city inhabitants only have an outside (i.e., actions in social situations) and not an inside (i.e., a concrete mind that unites their self and situation). In the novel, Sanshirō tries to find the inner life of Mineko. She has no true self separate from social situations; the meaning of her actions is determined by the social situation, not by her inner self. However, Sanshirō cannot understand either the situation or Mineko's actions because he is a young man from a village and does not possess the ability to understand city inhabitants; consequently, he broods over whether she loves him or not. Moreover, he would not have understood her inner life even if he had been familiar with the city; she would have simply remained ambiguous to him, causing him to suppress his affection toward her. Azuma interprets the dynamic between Sanshirō and Mineko using the

(Translation by the author, emphasis added).

[8] Ishihara Chiaki 石原千秋, *Sōseki to Nihon no Kindai first and second volume* 漱石と日本の近代上・下, Shinchōsha 新潮社, 2016, Vol. 1, pp. 155–193.

[9] Azuma Hiroki 東浩紀, "Shaseibuntekininshiki to Ren'ai" 写生文的認識と恋愛, *Yūbintekifuantachi Azuma Hiroki Ākaibusu 1* 郵便的不安たち　東浩紀アーカイブス 1, Kawadeshoboushinsha 河出書房新社, 2011, p. 149.

concept of polyphony proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin. Azuma understands polyphony as the ambiguity of utterance. Utterance is constituted by words that are not only personal but also social. It occupies a space of multiplicity, and even the utterer cannot find a consistent inner life. Azuma describes the perception of Sōseki by using this concept. He calls it "the perception of sketch-like writing" 写生文的認識 according to Sōseki's use of the term "sketch-like writing." Azuma suggests that Sōseki sketches these polyphonic situations in *Sanshirō.* Such situations pose a challenge to the modern individual, whose sense of self has been formed by the perception of *genbun'icchitai*.[10]

Based on the preceding arguments, Azuma concludes that in *Sanshirō,* Sōseki is simply describing a polyphonic situation. However, Sōseki's post-*Sanshirō* works are love stories in which he expresses that love in the modern city must be based on the will of individuals; individual will must be free from social situations. Thus, love stories demand inner lives of characters. But it is impossible to describe love in one's heart by sketch-like writing. Therefore, Sōseki adopts a new style of writing in *Sorekara* それから. He does not abandon the perception of sketch-like writing, but it becomes more complicated. *Sorekara*is written using both polyphonic and monophonic words. Monophonic words sweep away the ambiguity by force and determine the consistent will of the characters. Modern individuals are demanded to use both polyphonic words and monophonic words in the perception of sketch-like writing. They have to understand polyphonic situations and form their actions according to their consistent will.[11] The problem of modern individuals is such that they find themselves in polyphonic situations, but are forced to base their actions on a consistent will, and thus it becomes impossible to understand others.

Thus, Azuma's discussion elucidates the problem faced by modern individuals in their relationships with others. Kuki and Watsuji proposed the following solutions to the problem.

4. Two Types of Being: "There-be being" and "S-be being"[12]

To understand the difference between Kuki's and Wastuji's interpretation of being, it is crucial to understand Watsuji's classification of being into "There-be being" and "S-be

[10] Ibid., pp. 153-161.
[11] Ibid., pp. 161-175.
[12] "There-be being" is「がある存在」. "S-be being" is「である存在」.

being",[13] because Kuki's counter-argument is based on this classification.[14] "There-be being" suggests that a precise "*mono* もの (thing)" exists; it is expressed using "There-be" sentences such as "There is a pen." "S-be being" represents a "*koto* こと(matter)", which is an attribute that defines the individual (e.g., father, old, or round); it is expressed using "S-be" sentences such as "He is a father of two children." According to Kuki, "There-be" being presents the existence of being in a narrow sense and "S-be" being presents the essence of being.[15] Apparently, Kuki identifies Watsuji's distinction with the discussion of Henry of Ghent (Henricus Gandavensis): "esse essentiae" and "esse existentiae." "There-be" being is fragile and can change; it will easily disappear sooner or later. "S-be" being neither changes nor disappears; it is universal. Thus, Watsuji believes that "S-be" being is more important, whereas Kuki argues that "There-be being" is more important.

5. Ethics of *Aidagara*: Watsuji Tetsurō's response

Watsuji begins his main work, *Ethics* (*Rinrigaku)*, as follows:

> The essential significance of the attempt to describe ethics as the study of *ningen* [humanity] consists in getting away from the misconception, prevalent in the modern world, that conceives of ethics as a problem of individual consciousness only. This misconception is based on the individualistic conception of a human being inherent in the modern world. The understanding of the individual is itself, as such, an achievement of the modern spirit and bears an importance that we must never be allowed to forget. However, individualism attempts to consider the notion of the individual that constitutes only one moment of human existence and then substitutes it for the notion of the totality *ningen*. This abstraction is the origin of many sorts of misconception. This standpoint of the isolated ego, which constitutes the starting point

[13] Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎, "Rinrigaku―Ningen no Gaku toshiteno Rinrigaku no Igi Oyobi Houhou" 倫理学―人間の学としての倫理学の意義及び方法, Karube Tadashi 苅部直 ed. *Shokou Rinrigaku* 初稿　倫理学, Chikumashobō 筑摩書房, 2017, pp. 57–58, pp. 123–142.
[14] Kuki Shūzō, *Kuki Shūzō Zenshū* 九鬼周造全集 3, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1980-1982, pp. 59–75.
[15] According to Watsuji, "S-be being" disappears when humans die because of aidagara among human beings. However, I argue that Kuki disagrees with Watsuji as he defines "S-be being" using a triangle.

of modern philosophy, is merely one such example.[16]

> The locus of ethical problems lies not in the consciousness of the isolated individual, but precisely in the in-between [*aidagara*[17]] of person and person.[18]

Since the beginning, Watsuji denies modern individualism, particularly the isolated ego. Sōseki primarily focuses on individualism and the isolated ego; thus, Watsuji's intention might have been to tackle and resolve the problem of his teacher.

According to Watsuji, human beings are part of a social network, and the concept of an isolated modern individual is irrational. His study of the Japanese language and the history of philosophy reveals that in Japanese, *sonzai* 存在 (being) means the awareness of oneself as part of a network.[19] As mentioned previously, Watsuji believes that "S-be being" is the foundation of the concept of being. He primarily advocates for the existence of society; the individual appears as a negation of society, which subsequently negates the individual. He thinks that the principle of the human beings is Śūnyatā 空; in other words, the absolute negation. The individual negates itself and the whole appears. Then, the individual negates the whole and the individual appears. Watsuji thinks that the social is this movement of the dual negation or Śūnyatā.[20] Human beings are formed by society, which is formed according to history and climate (*fūdo* 風土).[21] Human beings develop society over time, and are subsequently reformed by it. Therefore, the ethics of *aidagara* are the laws of social existence and the foundation of philosophy. Based on this theory, he provides a detailed description of the rules of (mainly) Japanese society. In his opinion, the foundation of ethics and philosophy can be understood by examining *aidagara*, formed on the basis of history and climate. However, there are few descriptions about the situations in which the individual negates the whole; in other words, Watsuji rarely writes about the situations where the individual becomes

---

[16] Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎, *Watsuji Tetsurō Zenshū* 和辻哲郎全集 10, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1961–1992, p. 11. (Watsuji Tetsurō's Rinrigaku, translated by Yamamoto Seisaku and Robert E. Carter, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1996, p. 9.)

[17] My personal supplement.

[18] Watsuji 和辻, op. cit., p.12. (Translated by Yamamoto Seisaku and Robert E. Carter, op. cit., p. 10)

[19] Ibid., pp. 24–25.

[20] Ibid., pp. 25-27, 123–125.

[21] Watsuji points out that the climate (Fūdo 風土) is one of the structural moment of human beings (Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎, *Watsuji Tetsurō Zenshū* 和辻哲郎全集 8, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1961–1992, p. 1).

estranged from the society. Although Watsuji provides detailed descriptions of various *aidagara* in the final half of *Ethics* and his other works, they serve as restrictions on an individual; in other words, they are static and holistic.

Sōseki and Azuma asserted that city inhabitants only have an outside and not an inside with no true self separate from social situations. Such an idea is supported by modern individualists, but rejected by Watsuji. His assertion that social situations are the essence of human beings confirms his approval of social structure. Although he comprehensively examines *aidagara*, it is difficult to determine whether his description of *aidagara* reduces the polyphonic social situation to a monophonic social role. There are no problems of the modern individuals, but I think that this answer is too repressive to the individual.

6. Philosophy of Contingency: Kuki Shūzō's response

Kuki's masterpiece, *The Problem of Contingency*, begins with the following lines:

> Contingency is the negation of necessity. Necessity means that it must be so; namely, being contains its foundations within itself in some way. Contingency means that it happens to be so, and being contains insufficient foundations within itself; namely, being contains negation, orbeing could be nothing. In other words, contingency is formed when we find being contains an internal relation with non-being. Contingency is extreme being that stands on the interface of being and nothing. It is a state in which being is based on nothing, or a figure in which nothing invades being.[22]

Watsuji tries to resolve the problem of Sōseki and rejects modern individualism. However, Kuki embraces the modern individualism of Sōseki, since, as previously stated, he believes in the importance of "There-be being", or existence. According to him, philosophy began from

22 「偶然性とは必然性の否定である。必然とは必ず然か有ることを意味している。すなわち、存在が何等かの意味で自己のうちに根拠を有っていることである。偶然とは偶々然か有るの意で、存在が自己のうちに十分の根拠を有っていないことである。すなわち、否定を含んだ存在、無いことの出来る存在である。換言すれば、偶然性とは存在にあって非存在との不離の内的関係が目撃されているときに成立するものである。有と無との接触面に介在する極限的存在である。有が無に根ざしている状態、無が有を侵している形象である。」
Kuki Shūzō, *Kuki Shūzō Zenshū* 九鬼周造全集 2, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1980–1982, p. 9 (Translated by the author).

an isolated individual.[23] He rejects the idea that "S-be being", or *aidagara*, comes first. The foundations of his philosophy are the immediate, namely the now, here, and I, which share the common characteristic of fragility. Therefore, he focuses on studying the philosophy of contingency.

Kuki argues that although human beings exist, they lack essence. Therefore, it is evident that Sōseki, Azuma, and Kuki share a similar view of human beings: everything appears ambiguous because it does not have stable foundations. Modern individualists must force these polyphonic situations to fit inside their monophonic perspectives. As previously mentioned, the process of attaching a fixed meaning entails violence; Kuki is aware of this problem and describes the role of individuals as follows.

> The internalization by the law of identity must be concrete, restricted by the contingency of thou who I meet as the facts.[24]

> On meeting others unexpectedly, an isolated I must gather all its strength to struggle and experience happiness in internalizing others deep within itself.[25]

According to Kuki, polyphonic diversity and monophonic perception must be balanced. Kuki emphasizes social interaction and escape from solitude; he asserts that interaction facilitates the development of a concrete inner self. Therefore, he prefers accidental meetings 邂逅 to formal relationships. He views human actions as reactions to social situations, and sees the formation of ego as an accumulation of contingencies. Thus, it can be observed that he adopts the existentialist ideology in his philosophy.

---

[23] Kuki Shūzō, *Kuki Shūzō Zenshū* 九鬼周造全集 3, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1980–1982, pp. 80–81.
[24] 「同一律による内面化は事実として邂逅する汝の偶然性に制約された具体的内面化でなければならない。」 Kuki Shūzō, *Kuki Shūzō Zenshū* 九鬼周造全集 2, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1980–1982, p. 252 (Translated by the author).
[25] 「弧在する一者はかしこにここに計らずも他者と邂逅する刹那、外なる汝を我の深みに内面化することに全実存の悩みと喜びとを繋ぐものでなければならない。」 Kuki Shūzō, *Kuki Shūzō Zenshū* 九鬼周造全集 2, Iwanamishoten 岩波書店, 1980–1982, p. 258 (Translated by the author).

7. Homeless Philosophers: Kuki Shūzō and Watsuji Tetsurō

Ishihara refers to a famous piece of literary criticism in the beginning of his discussion on *Sanshirō*.[26] It is "Literature of the Lost Home 故郷を失った文学" by Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 (1902–1983), published in 1938. Kobayashi expresses that he does not feel like an "*Edokko* 江戸っ子" (an Edo/Tokyo native); rather, he feels the uneasiness of being homeless.

> It is as if I cannot understand that I was born in Tokyo. In other words, I have an uneasy feeling that I do not have a home.[27]

He describes the atmosphere surrounding city inhabitants and states that he cannot find any basis for the formation of ego. Thus, his feelings are similar to those of Kuki, Watsuji, and Sōseki. Young Kobayashi feels positively toward this atmosphere because he believes that it is suitable for the abstract ego to learn Western culture. However, Kuki, Watsuji, and Sōseki identify this as a problem for modern intellectuals. Watsuji advocates *aidagara*, which is formed on the basis of history and climate, and therefore he can be considered a communitarian; he proposes that individuals should adopt the rule of community and rebuild their concrete self. In other words, he tries to recover "our home". On the other hand, Kuki argues that human beings certainly exist but lack essence; he proposes that individuals should value unexpected meetings and form ego as an accumulation of everyday actions. He approves of the atmosphere of homelessness and contemplates the philosophy of city dwellers.

Martin Heidegger, who influenced both Kuki and Watsuji, also believed that he lived in an era of homelessness (*Heimatlosigkeit*).[28] Although a close examination reveals differences in the ideologies of these philosophers, they share the same atmosphere. Heidegger asserts that nostalgia is the fundamental reason for studying philosophy; thus, for Heidegger, philosophy

---

[26] Ishihara, op.cit., Vol. 1, pp.155–157.

[27] 「言ってみれば東京に生れながら東京に生まれたという事がどうしても合点出来ない、又言ってみれば自分には故郷というものがない、というような一種不安な感情である」
Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄, "Kokyō o Takushita Bungaku" 故郷を失った文学, *Kobayashi Hideo Zensakuhin 4 X eno Tegami* 小林秀雄全作品 4 X への手紙, Shinchōsha 新潮社, 2003, p. 176 (Translated by the author).

[28] Martin Heidegger, "Brief über den Humanismus", *Wegmarken*, Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 9, Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Kloster mann, 1976, pp. 337–342.

is a way of going back home.[29] However, his European background provided him considerable convenience to study Western philosophy, which the modern Japanese intellectuals lacked. Modern Japanese philosophers are in the atmosphere of homelessness and they cannot find their home by studying the Western-style philosophy. They have to seek new ways and experience the atmosphere of homelessness at home. Today, there are many more city dwellers who live within the atmosphere of homelessness than the era of Kuki and Watsuji. Modern Japanese philosophy might provide them with clues to contemplate and formulate their own guiding principles.

[29] Ibid.

Reading Dazai in Translation: A Paratextual Point of View of *Tsugaru*

JAKE ODAGIRI*

1. Introduction

DAZAI Osamu (太宰治, 1909–1948) is one of Japan's most celebrated modern authors. Although not widely known outside of Japan, some works, such as *No Longer Human* (人間失格 1948) and *The Setting Sun* (斜陽 1947), have been translated into English and other languages. Also, in recent years there have been several short-story collections published.

One of Dazai's works, *Tsugaru* (津軽 1944), has received quite a great deal of attention in the field of research. Written and published in 1944, this work not only contains descriptions of war-time Japan, but it also has a unique narrative that encourages diverse readings. In recent research, Katsuya Matsumoto stated regarding *Tsugaru* that "I hesitate to call it a novel, so here I called it a work. It can even be called a travelogue, travel book, gazetteer, or autobiographical novel".[1] This captures very well the way in which *Tsugaru* can be read in various frameworks. Originally *Tsugaru* was published by Oyama Shoten (小山書店) and was part of a "gazetteer" series but also went through one publisher change while Dazai was alive. In 1947 a publisher called Maeda Shuppan-sha (前田出版社) re-published *Tsugaru* and many changes were made.

For this paper, the main focus will be on the "entryway" of the English translation of *Tsugaru*. First, even though the quality of the translated text will not be a focus point, reviews of the translation will be looked at. Then, the immediate "entryway" will be evaluated; mainly the covers (front and back), table of contents, and other features of the first few steps into *Tsugaru* will be analyzed. Finally, a detailed evaluation of the "Translator's Preface" will be

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: jake_timothy85@yahoo.co.jp

[1] Matsumoto Katsuya 松本和也, "Tabibito, Honyaku, Shōsetsu: *Tsugaru*" 旅人・翻訳・小説家――『津軽』――. In *Dazai Osamu no Jidentekishōsetsu o Yomihiraku: Omohide kara Ningen Shikkaku made* 太宰治の自伝的小説を読みひらく――「思ひ出」から『人間失格』まで, Rikkyō Daigaku Shuppannkai 立教大学出版会, 2010, p. 142.

performed to determine how *Tsugaru* and Dazai are presented. Evaluating this preface will give insight into what type of reading filter may be established and subtle influences it may have on the reading of *Tsugaru*.

2. On *Tsugaru*'s Translation(s)

Tsugaru has been translated into English twice and, coincidently, both translations were published in 1985. One of the translations is the case study for this presentation: *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp* translated by James Westerhoven.[2] The other, translated as *Tsugaru*, by Phillis Lyons, is contained within the translator's academic book *The Saga of Dazai Osamu: A Critical Study with Translations*.[3] Lyons reviewed Westerhoven's translation mentioning the "advantage of having two translations of the same work by translators who don't know each other is that you can be sure neither was influenced by the other; furthermore, resemblances between them give a good indication of special features of the original text".[4] Lyons goes on to touch upon the difficulties of translating Japanese texts into English and asks the following questions: "Is there any way truly to render for the general reader the tone of Dazai's prose in English? The words are there, but how to convey to a nonspecialist audience qualities that exist not in the text, but in the reader's experience and heart?"[5] Even with these difficulties at hand, Lyons praises Westerhoven's translation of *Tsugaru* as being "a very important addition to the translation canon".[6]

Reviewing both translations by Westerhoven and Lyons, Amy Heinrich praises Lyons' translation and briefly remarks on Westerhoven's translation:

> Westerhoven is addressing a general audience that Lyons's book is unlikely to reach. He has made sensible choices in his translation in this regard, such as converting era names into Western dates rather than footnoting. He includes a brief biography of Dazai and a

[2] Dazai Osamu, *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp*, James Westerhoven, trans., Kodansha International, 1985.
[3] Phyllis Lyons, *The Saga of Dazai Osamu: A Critical Study with Translations*, Stanford University Press, 1985.
[4] Phyllis Lyons, 'Review: Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp. by Dazai Osamu and James Westerhoven', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 3, May, 1986.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

> discussion of *Tsugaru* warning that the book is autobiographical fiction rather than factual dialogue, as well as providing lists of personal and historical and geographical names. It is a useful and comfortable translation, and if the tone seems lighter than in Lyon's translation, it is nonetheless a valid interpretation, supported by the translator's familiarity with the region.[7]

Furthermore, Sanroku Yoshida comments on Westerhoven's translation in the following manner:

> The translator's preface is the result of extensive fieldwork and research. The approach here is a biographical one, most natural and logical in this case. It should benefit readers interested in the author's biography and its relationship to the work. Of the twenty-seven photographs, including the ones on the jacket, most are visually attractive, but at least three of them show the bleak wintry landscape of Tsugaru. These do not well represent the mood or the season of the book. Aside from this minor flaw, James Westerhoven's conscientious and readable translation is an important addition to the rather scanty collection of modern Japanese literature available to the English-reading public.[8]

Other than this paratextual review of Westerhoven's translation, Yoshida does not go into detail on the actual translation of the text; instead the review is mostly focused on Dazai's scandalous life and the semi-autobiographical writing style found in his works.

Finally, Katsuhiko Takeda commented on both translations after using them as textbooks in a classroom. The initial review of the translation, although unconventional, compares translating to cooking and, like food, the "preference for specific words and sentences vary from person to person".[9] However, Takeda's point coincides well with Lyons' comment of

---

[7] Amy Heinrich, 'Review: The Saga of Dazai Osamu: A Critical Study with Translations. by Phyllis I. Lyons; Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp. by James Westerhoven', *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 40, No. 4, Winter, 1985.

[8] Sanroku Yoshida, 'Review: Osamu Dazai. *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp*. James Westerhoven', *World Literature Today*, Vol. 60, No. 1, Winter 1986.

[9] Takeda Katsuhiko 武田勝彦, Sando tantō: *Tsugaru* o Yomu 産土耽蕩――『津軽』を読む, *Dazai Osamu* 太宰治 3、Yōyō-sha 洋々社、1987.

being able to compare two translations to find a middle-ground and possibly read some things that were lost in translation. Takeda goes on to explain how both of the translations were received well amongst the students and adds an interpretation that the work could have been called "Return to Take"[10] as a direct reference to the end scene of the fifth chapter and end of the work.

As seen in the reviews, Westerhoven's translation of Dazai Osamu's *Tsugaru* has been accepted to the extent of being deemed worthy of "canon" by another translator of the same work. However, as seen in Heinrich's review, Westerhoven's translation is more widely available than Lyons' translation, which is in a research book. This makes Westerhoven's translation a favorable subject for a case study. Also, Yoshida's review, which focuses primarily on the visual aspect of the physical copy of the book, raises many questions about the presentation of *Tsugaru* from a paratextual point of view.

3. Cover, Title Page, Table of Contents, Introduction: *Tsugaru*'s "Entryway"

This paper is loosely based on the ideas presented by Gérard Genette in his study on "paratext". Genette breaks down paratext into two essential features: peritext and epitext. Peritext includes features such as the title or preface of a book. Other elements such as chapter titles or notes within them should also be considered. Epitext consists of outside media such as interviews or conversations with the author, private communications, and so forth. However, Genette does state that "paratext=peritext+epitext",[11] meaning that in the full sense of the word, paratext encompasses both peritext and epitext. From this point forward, paratext will be used in this sense.

Regarding paratext in translated works, there has been very little research in this field. However, in a recent study regarding paratext in translation, Valerie Pellatt states:

> The most visible categories of paratext include the footnote or endnote, the preface and foreword, the introduction and the epilogue or afterword. Less visible, but equally powerful types of paratext are the contents pages, the index, titles and subtitles, chapter

[10] Ibid.
[11] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Jane E. Lewin, trans., Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 5.

> synopses, and blurb on dust jacket and flap. In addition to these verbal paratexts, most publications contain a degree of non-verbal paratext, which may be in the form of illustrations, including photos, tables, charts and diagrams, dust jacket design and also the scarcely visible, but highly influential visual presentation, including fonts, paragraphing and layout. This sums up the range found in a published book, and each of these elements influences the reader to a greater or lesser degree.[12]

Of course the same can be said in the case of any sort of published work (especially within literature). However, when placed within the framework of a translation, the impact will vary greatly. This is especially pertinent when looking at a work that has been translated posthumously: in this case Dazai's *Tsugaru*. Pellatt also raises a set of very intriguing questions regarding paratext in translated works:

> A discussion of paratext in translation begs two questions: what are the functions and effects of the paratext of the source text, and to what extent are these functions and effects necessary, retained and of positive relevance in translation. The translator is first and foremost a reader, and interprets the text and transmits the translation thereof according to that interpretation.[13]

First Edition *Tsugaru*,
Oyama Shoten 小山書店, 1944

As with Genette's fundamental ideas regarding paratext, some of the main questions of paratext are: for whom? by whom? for what purpose? A paratextual point of view will expand the options of how to read a work and interpret its destination.[14]

When analyzing the paratextual aspects of a work, one of the first items that should be

[12] Valerie Pellatt (ed.), *Text, Extratext, Metatext and Paratext in Translation*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, p. 2.
[13] Ibid.
[14] For more information of the 'destination' of a work, see: Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, Stephan Heath, trans., Fontana Press, 1977.

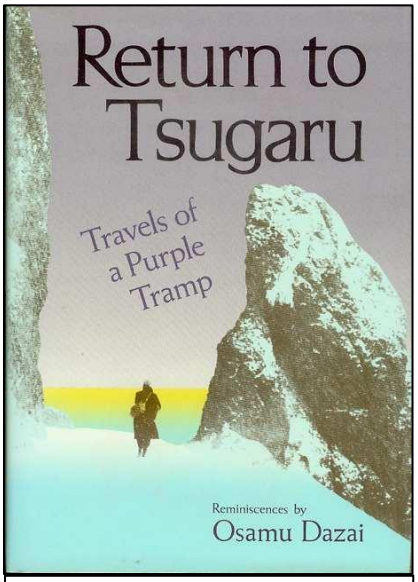
noted is the "entryway"[15] of the work itself. This essentially consists of the jacket (the front, back, and spine of the book), title page, table of contents, and introduction (if applicable). In the English translation of *Tsugaru* by Westerhoven, these essential aspects not only set the scene for the reader, but can also establish a filter prior to accessing the main body of the work.

The first edition of *Tsugaru* is a rather simple design which followed the previous books in the same series. It has the series name on the top, number "7" indicating its place in the series, the title, the author's name, and the name of the publisher on the bottom. There is also a small flower printed in the middle. All of the books in this series have similar illustrations in the middle. It is notable that these illustrations may not necessarily reflect the content of the work itself; however, it can be said that this flower represents spring, in other words, the seasonal setting of *Tsugaru*.

Second Edition *Tsugaru*,
Maeda Shuppansha 前田出版社, 1946

The second printing of *Tsugaru* has a very different overall appearance just on the cover alone. On the top it is written "長篇小説 **津軽** 太宰治" meaning "Full-length Novel *Tsugaru* Dazai Osamu". This establishment of *Tsugaru* as a full-length novel has been a very interesting point of debate in previous research as seen earlier. The picture which dominates the center of the cover, although attractive, does not coincide with the seasonal setting of *Tsugaru*. That is to say, as previously mentioned, *Tsugaru* is set in the spring and this cover shows a snowy scene. This is a detail that Yoshida also pointed out in regards to the photographs used in Westerhoven's translation.[16] Also, the two figures on this cover are not necessarily connected to the content of the work itself because there is no such scene depicted within *Tsugaru*.

[15] Or 'vestibule' as translated in Genett, op. cit., p. 2.
[16] Yoshida, op. cit.



Cover of *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp*, James Westerhoven, trans., Kodansha International, 1985

The cover of the English translation of *Tsugaru* has a very different implication. The first thing to be noticed is the translated title. It is translated as *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp* which varies remarkably from the original. In the "Translator's Preface", Westerhoven refers to the work as *Tsugaru*, in italics, indicating the translator may not have chosen the English title. From a paratextual perspective, changing the title by adding the "Return to" and the subtitle "Travels of a Purple Tramp" puts this translation into the framework of another work entirely. The subtitle "Travels of a Purple Tramp" directly refers to the text which reads: "むらさき色の乞食", or "a purple colored beggar" in the original text.[17] This, however, is a running gag within the work itself and the narrator only reveals this "purple tramp/beggar" to the reader. In fact, upon meeting his niece in chapter 4, the narrator is greeted as such:

> "How funny you look!" They burst into laughter as soon as they saw my outfit.
> "Don't laugh! This is all the rage in Tokyo." (Westerhoven, p. 111)[18]

This reaction of the narrator regarding his clothing suggest that he does not present himself as a "purple beggar" to other characters in the work. Bringing this appearance onto the cover of the work indicates that the main character is the "Purple Tramp" and can be considered as out of context.

Although the narrator "returns" to the Tsugaru region, the original text does not indicate this in the title. Being a part of the "New *Fudoki* Series", *Tsugaru* is sufficient to hint at the

[17] There may be a discrepancy in the nuance of "tramp" and "beggar". The Japanese word 乞食 has a stronger nuance toward the English "beggar" as to "tramp" which implies a "traveler" or "vagabond". Translated as "beggar" in Lyons, op. cit., p. 292.
[18] Compare to Lyons: "What strange clothes!" They both immediately burst out laughing at what I looked like. / "Don't be silly—this is the latest Tokyo fashion!" op. cit., p. 345.

content of the work itself. Calling it "Return to Tsugaru" may be considered a *service* to a non-native speaker that is not familiar with the Tsugaru region or Japan's geography implying that there will be a *return* to a place called "Tsugaru"; however, the inaccurate translation of the original title suggests it to be the author's return. The method in which the author, Dazai, is tied into this concept of return is how his name is presented at the bottom right-hand corner of the cover: "Reminiscences by Osamu Dazai". In the original and subsequent publications of *Tsugaru* there is no indication that the content of the work is a "reminiscence" of the author's experience. Although it is well-known that the content of *Tsugaru* is based on the author's travels and experiences, there is not sufficient evidence to call this work a "reminiscence" by the author. Even within the "Translator's Preface", Westerhoven says that "the proper approach to this book is to read it not as a travelogue, but indeed as a work of fiction".[19] This contradictory presentation and reading is evident throughout research of *Tsugaru* over the years.

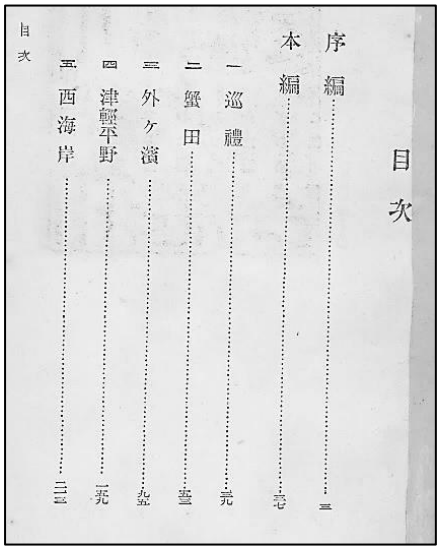
On the other hand, on the back cover there is a photograph of Dazai, and under this photograph are three quotes. Two are from famous translators, Donald Keene and Edward Seidensticker. The other is from the famous Japanese author Mishima Yukio. Keene and Seidensticker's quotes heavily emphasize that *Tsugaru* is a non-fictional work. This coincides with the "Reminiscences" that is seen on the cover. Keene, in fact, uses the term "a work of non-fiction" and Seidensticker uses "Dazai's childhood memories", possibly referring to the in-work quotes from *Omohide*.[20] Mishima's quote only reads "An uncommon talent", not referring to *Tsugaru* necessarily. However, what should be focused on here are the quotes that emphasize the non-fictional characteristics of *Tsugaru*. These, along with the features seen on the front cover, will establish a non-fiction filter for the readers of the English translation of *Tsugaru*.

The next feature that will be looked at is the table of contents. There are "Translator's Preface", "Map", "Introduction", and the contents of the work, three appendixes, and "Suggestions for Further Reading". Here, the presentation of the content of *Tsugaru* needs to be looked at. The original version and many subsequent versions of *Tsugaru* follow a very distinct set-up of content as follows:

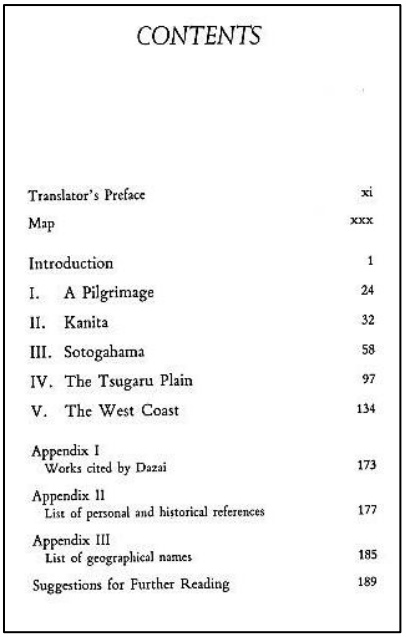
---

[19] *Return to Tsugaru*, op. cit., p. xxvi.

[20] *Omohide* 思ひ出, originally published in the literary coterie magazine *Kaihyō* 海豹, 1933. It was then included in Dazai's first short story collection *Bannen* 晩年, 1936 (Sunagoya Shobo 砂子屋書房).


目次

序編 三
本編 七
一 巡禮 元
二 蟹田 三
三 外ケ濱 六
四 津輕平野 元
五 西海岸 三三


CONTENTS

Although this is followed relatively closely in the English translation, there is a relatively large variation: the general structure is broken by not including the "本編 (Body)". In other words, by not including the "Body" in the translation there is no clear break in the narration between the "Introduction" and the "Body". This break is important to the structure of the source work because the narrative tone widely differs between them.[21] Regarding the table of contents page, the layout is unclear to where additional details added by the translator (and by the publisher/editor) begin and where the work *Tsugaru* itself begins. In other words, this table of contents page is presented as very unorganized and can possibly confuse a reader not familiar with the source work.

In conclusion of this section, it is important to note that the "entryway" of the English translation of Dazai's *Tsugaru* can be very misleading. These misleading features are especially present in the non-fictional tone the cover page beginning with the translated title and the highly suggestive "Reminiscences by Osamu Dazai" in the bottom right-hand corner. As will be discussed in detail in the next section, this non-fictional mode of presentation contradicts what portions of the "Translator's Preface" argue. However, *Tsugaru* is a very

[21] The same can be said about each individual chapter. Uno Kōji read *Tsugaru* as a collection of 5 different short stories. See Uno Kōji 宇野浩二, "Dazai Osamu" 太宰治, *Shōsetsu no Bunshō* 小説の文章, Sōgei-sha 創芸社, 1948.

complex work with highly suggestive features that it *is* non-fiction. Therefore, by considering these various details, the "entryway" of the translated *Tsugaru* is constantly changing its perspective from fiction to non-fiction and this filter is possibly adopted by the reader.[22]

4. On the "Translator's Preface": Establishing a Reading Filter

Translator's prefaces or notes are a common feature of translated works not only in English but in works translated into Japanese as well. A preface, originally included for clarity, is now expected to be included in a translation. However, it is important to be critical of these prefaces because they can be highly suggestive on *how to read* the translated work.

In many Japanese novels there is a section at the end of the book called "*kaisetsu* 解説" or an explanation (perhaps even a type of epilogue). For example, even a recent edition of *Tsugaru* contains an explanation by Katsu'ichirō Kamei dated August, 1951.[23] This is an outdated explanation and, as stated previously, can be highly influential to establishing a filter for reading.[24] This is especially the case when it is not written by the author.

Regarding prefaces and paratext, Genette states that the "*original preface*", written by the author, "has at its chief function *to ensure that the text is read properly*".[25] This raises more questions than it answers because who is to determine a *proper* or *correct* reading of a work? Even if the preface is written by the author, there is room to be skeptical about the content of said preface. Some other functions of the preface include: reading order, contextual information, statements of intent, themes, novelty and tradition, importance of the text, and so on.[26] There are other prefaces Genette mentions such as revised and posthumous prefaces.[27] The latter posthumous preface is what will be focused on in the case of *Tsugaru* because of its biographical style. Another important feature that will be considered is that of authority and

[22] Lamarque and Olsen have suggested that there should be an established distinction in the mode of reading to avoid the readers constantly needing to change the fiction/non-fiction perspective to appreciate a literary work. See Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugom Olsen, *Truth, Fiction, and Literature: A Philosophical Perspective*, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 284–285.
[23] Kamei Katsu'ichirō 亀井勝一郎, Kaisetsu 解説, in 太宰治『津軽』, Shinchō Bunko 新潮文庫, 2004.
[24] See: Saitō Minako 斎藤美奈子, *Bunkokaisetu Wandārando* 文庫解説ワンダーランド, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2017.
[25] Genette, op. cit., p. 197.
[26] See Genette, op. cit., ch. 12.
[27] Ibid.

credibility within a preface.

It can be argued that a preface, even if not an "*original preface*" by the author, can influence a *proper* reading. However, the *proper* reading is a very subjective matter. Based on the "Translator's Preface" alone, what can be interpreted as the *proper* reading, or a filter for reading, set for *Tsugaru*? Firstly, there are 18 pages of information contained in this preface. It begins with a basic explanation of the Tsugaru region of the north-eastern island of Honshū. There is quite a comprehensive amount of information regarding the "backward" nature of the Tsugaru region; however, the preface does not cite any materials it may be referring to for this information. Even in the extensive appendixes offered toward the end of the volume, there are no references to where this "backward" nature of Tsugaru came from. For example, the preface contains a section as follows:

> (...) until recently Tsugaru was generally considered one of the most hopelessly backward regions of Japan, and its people, country bumpkins lacking in most of the redeeming graces of civilization—starting with language and manners, to name just two.[28]

Although this information may be relevant to a reader interested in learning about the Tsugaru region, it does not cite any academic sources and implies that the author of this preface is an authority on the topic. Furthermore, within *Tsugaru* itself, there is enough information presented about the region that giving another account of it in the preface comes off as redundant. This is, in fact, a major theme in *Tsugaru* and the narrator's struggle of being a native to the Tsugaru region but also having features of a city-dweller from living in Tokyo for many years.

Next, the preface shifts into a biography and an overview of the production of *Tsugaru*. An important attribute of *Tsugaru* is that it, unlike the majority of Dazai's works, is not a stand-alone work. As previously mentioned, it was the seventh volume in a "new gazetteer" series. An issue that researchers still face to this day is what the ultimate goal of this series, the "新風土記叢書" or "New *Fudoki* Series", actually was. In the translator's preface, there are references to the "purpose for which this book was commissioned" and if the author "had done

[28] *Return to Tsugaru*, op. cit., p. xii.

what he was paid for".[29] However, there is no documentation explicitly stating the purpose of *Tsugaru* being anything other than one volume in the aforementioned series. This information remains a mystery to this day—the author/publisher relation is very unclear and, furthermore, *Tsugaru* was printed during wartime, during a paper crisis, which accents the unclear "purpose" of *Tsugaru*. Regarding the inception of *Tsugaru*, there is a great deal of mixed fact and fiction within the translator's preface. When presented in this manner, before even entering the actual content of *Tsugaru*, a filter is created; and when reading the work itself, this mode is "unsatisfactory" as argued by Lamarque and Olsen:

> it means that the reader of a literary work has to be seen as involved with a constant change of perspective, implying a constant change in the premise of the literary appreciation of the work.[30]

The solution for this problem is to establish a distinction between fact and fiction even if "some propositional content might be factual in nature it might none the less serve a fictive purpose".[31] This stance, when applied to the preface or to the content of *Tsugaru*, will clear up the mixture of fact and fiction in the presentation of information.

There is a shift into a lengthy biographical account of Dazai's life. On the one hand, this information can be read as interesting facts about the author and aspects of his life that remain points of interest to this day. For example, a *suicidal Dazai* and the legend that has formed around his eventual "love suicide" death in 1948. However, the main question that should be asked regarding this detailed biography is: Is it necessary to know this information in order to read *Tsugaru*? Even for a reader not familiar with Dazai and his legend, this information can be misleading when reading *Tsugaru*.[32] The preface even goes to the extent of providing a detailed list of names which are not presented within the work itself. The majority of names in *Tsugaru* are given only as a single letter; e.g. N or S and so on. Revealing the names of the

---

[29] Ibid. p. xiv.
[30] Lamarque and Olsen, op. cit., p. 285. Here Tolstoy's *War and Peace* is being used as a case study and a counterargument is presented against John Searle, "The Logical Status of Fictional Discourse", in *Expression and Meaning*, 1979.
[31] Ibid. p. 284.
[32] Regarding this legend, Matsumoto Katsuya calls it the "太宰神話" or "Dazai Legend"; see Matsumoto Katsuya 松本和也, *Shōwa Jūnen Zengo no Dazai Osamu: "Seinen", Media, Tekusuto* 昭和十年前後の太宰治——「青年」・メディア・テクスト, Hitsuji Shobō ひつじ書房, 2009.

actual people on which these characters were based does not enhance the reading. It can be said that blurring or simplifying certain information, such as a name, can vice versa *enhance* the reality in a fictional work.

The tone of the preface then shifts into analyzing *Tsugaru* following this lengthy biographical information regarding Dazai's personal life, beginning with the following:

> If this survey of Dazai's career has emphasized his personal problems at the expense of his artistic achievements, it is because the facts surrounding the composition of *Tsugaru* may provide a clue to the origin of these problems—not so much by what the book says, as by what it tries to hide.[33]

There is, in fact, very little information surrounding the author's intentions behind *Tsugaru*, even though this is a topic frequently brought up in academic discourse. This passage, as well as much of the following portion of the preface, relies heavily on two elements: first, the content of the work itself and, second, work done by Shōichi Sōma, a very well-known biographer and researcher of Dazai. The latter, Sōma, is referred to at the end of *Return to Tsugaru* in the "Suggestions for Further Reading" (p. 189) as "Sōma Shōichi. "*Tsugaru* ni tsuite". Afterword to *Tsugaru* (...)".[34] The content of this afterword was later included in Sōma's 3-volume biography of Dazai.[35] Comparing the content, it is obvious that *Tsugaru*'s translator was strongly influenced by Sōma's work. This stance of reading *Tsugaru* as a fictional-non-fiction is expressed in the aforementioned Sōma afterword:

> However, before *Tsugaru* is a gazetteer, it is a literary work. It is a type of 'fictional world' created with the materials of Tsugaru's people and climate to investigate the origins of the author's life, and to find the proof for his own existence within. I cannot deny the stance to evaluate *Tsugaru* as a literary autobiography; however, it is difficult to agree with the contents presented as a narrative of facts. I repeat that *Tsugaru* is a novel.

---

[33] *Return to Tsugaru*, op. cit., p. xxii.

[34] Sōma Shōichi 相馬正一, "*Tsugaru* ni tsuite" 「津軽」について, in Dazai Osamu 太宰治, *Tsugaru* 津軽, Tsugaru Shobō 津軽書房, 1976.

[35] See Sōma Shōichi 相馬正一, Hyōden Dazai Osamu 評伝 太宰治, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1982–1985. The section referred to is in Volume 3. Later this biography was edited into a 2 volume set in 1995.

> To ignore this simple premise and attempt a study of *Tsugaru* would result in a futile effort separated from the intentions of the author.[36]

One of the more evident features of this influence is in how the content of *Tsugaru* is tied in strongly to the author while maintaining the fictionality of the work. Switching between a fictional mode and historical (factual) mode by using the pronoun "narrator" or the author's name "Dazai" presents a paradoxical reading. In other words, it presents a reading mode/filter of *Tsugaru* as a fictional-non-fiction. Touching upon the reunion with "Take" in chapter five, there is a paradoxical explanation given in the preface:

> This is no doubt how Dazai wished *Tsugaru* to be read, and it is certainly the most aesthetically satisfying interpretation of the book. It gives an almost cathartic effect to the narrator's search for Take and to Take's emotional outpouring in the concluding pages. Unfortunately that final passage, which is as it were the key to the appreciation of *Tsugaru* and has deservedly become a *locus classicus* in Dazai's work, is ninety percent fiction. Unfortunately, that is, for those who assume that Dazai's account of his wanderings is completely true.[37]

Up until this passage, the preface for the English translation of Dazai's *Tsugaru* has suggested heavily that the work *is* true; that is to say it is presented as a true account. This sudden shift of tone in the preface, between the fictional narrator of the story and the actual writer of the story, runs the risk of being not only confusing to a reader but also establishing a filter for reading. Then a detailed account of what really happened between Dazai and Take is provided although this is not narrated in the work. Westerhoven then asks: "If the last, most celebrate pages of *Tsugaru* are fiction, what guarantee do we have that the other pages are closer to the truth?"[38]

Regarding the English translation of *Tsugaru*, there was a book review published on June 6th, 2015, in the English newspaper The Japan Times. This article generally praises the work itself while criticizing the translator's shifting focus on reality and fictionality in that the "introduction is merciless in its examination of this issue, as though he were rummaging

[36] Translated from Sōma 相馬正一, op. cit. (1976), p. 209.
[37] *Return to Tsugaru*, op. cit., p. xxiii.
[38] Ibid. p. xxv.

through a magician's papers in search of secrets never to be shared".[39] This issue between the work and the intention of the author is addressed by Peter Lamarque in the following:

> Literary works have authors, of course; they are the product of a creative act (a real act from a real agent) but the constraints on interpretation, and the determination of coherence and value, that serve to characterize the literary work, are independent of the individual author's will.[40]

The preface for the English translation of *Tsugaru* can be very misleading in the sense that it suggests the author's intention(s) *can* be read in the work. However, as has been mentioned multiple times, there is very little information about Dazai's intentions surrounding *Tsugaru* and how it *should* be interpreted or read.

Finally, another misleading feature of the "Translator's Preface" is the authoritative nature of presentation. In other words: the translator as an authority on the translated work. This can be deceiving because, firstly, the translator has (probably) gone to extensive lengths in order to deliver a translation; secondly, the order in which the information in the preface is presented. In Genette, the order in which the information is presented becomes an important factor on *how to read* a work of literature.[41] When placed at the beginning of a book, there is an indication that this is where the reading should begin. This is very closely tied into the "entryway" as argued earlier where the readers are being subtly influenced before ever starting the work itself by verbal and visual suggestions. A stronger suggestion will be the authoritative nature in which information is presented by what can be considered as a reliable source; e.g. a translator. However, as has been discussed, the "Translator's Preface" to the English translation of Dazai's *Tsugaru* contains information that is not necessary in order to read *Tsugaru* and also presents information that may establish a *fictional-non-fiction* reading filter.

---

[39] Matt Treyvaud, "Osamu Dazai's travel guide 'Return to Tsugaru' is more concerned with people than place" http://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2015/06/06/books/book-reviews/osamu-dazais-travel-guide-return-tsugaru-concerned-people-place/ (accessed October, 2017).

[40] Peter Lamarque, *The Philosophy of Literature*, Blackwell Publishing, 2009, p. 111.

[41] Genette, op. cit., p. 218.

5. Conclusion

In Genette's paratextual context, the "entryway" for a literary work can be heavily influenced by visual items such as the cover, title, table of contents, preface, etc. In the case of Dazai Osamu's *Tsugaru* there is a considerable deviation from the original work which will almost undeniably have an effect on the manner in which it is read. Beginning with the translation of the title from *Tsugaru* to *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp*, it can be said that the English translation is a different book completely. Furthermore, on the front cover of the book the verbal and visual cue "Reminiscences by Osamu Dazai" and quotes from well-known translators/researchers/authors on the back cover change the mode in which *Tsugaru* is read. In other words, it shifts the mode of reading from (possible) fiction to non-fiction. However, this is contradicted within the "Translator's Preface" which presents *Tsugaru* as a kind of hybrid between fiction and non-fiction. Even readers familiar with issues such as the "Watakushi-shōsetsu 私小説" or "I-novel"[42] in Japanese literature may be influenced by the outward appearance of *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp*.

In regards to the "Translator's Preface", there is a tradition in the inclusion of this kind of preface. However, even in the traditional sense, there may be misleading and possibly incorrect or outdated information included in the preface. When placed at the beginning of the book, the preface serves as a part of the "entryway" and can potentially establish a filter for the reader. This means that when designing the layout of the book, the placement of information that could essentially affect the entire reading of the work needs to be deeply considered. For example, instead of having the preface placed at the beginning of the book, it could be placed toward the end of the volume as a type of *supplemental* reading for readers who might be interested.

[42] For more information see Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*, Stanford University Press, 1996.

Visual Culture, Representation, and Uranihon

ALEXANDER GINNAN*

Though now somewhat forgotten, there is a word called Uranihon.[1] It originated in the late nineteenth century as a geographic term for the coastal region of Honshu facing the Sea of Japan. Conversely, Omotenihon was the term used to indicate the area of Honshu along the Pacific coast. However, before long, Uranihon also began to insinuate destitution and lack of modernization. By the 1960s, the term was deemed derogatory and unsuitable for broadcast, and has since fallen into disuse.

Previous research regarding Uranihon has focused on the development of its negative connotations, through analyses of domestic population shifts, industrial advancement, expansion of transportation networks, and the distribution of capital from the perspectives of geography, history, and economics. Meanwhile, very little research has been done from the standpoint of visual culture. In this essay, I will conduct a comparative analysis of representations of Uranihon, beginning with the photobook *Uranihon* (1957) by the photojournalist Hiroshi Hamaya (1915–1999), followed by the works of artists based primarily in Tottori Prefecture, including photographers Teikō Shiotani (1899–1988) and Shōji Ueda (1913–2000), as well as painters Mamoru Sumi (1943–) and Mana Satō (1961–). Finally, I will also refer to the work of interdisciplinary artist Cindy Mochizuki (1976–) who is based in Vancouver, Canada, but has spent time creating and exhibiting work in Tottori which is relevant to the history of Uranihon.

Research in the field of visual culture in Japan has tended to focus on artistic activity in and around Tokyo. As a result, the academic understanding of the state of visual culture in non-urban areas remains sparse and insufficient. Research on artists based outside of major cities has typically been limited to studies of authorship, and their works are rarely considered outside the context of their respective genres. This essay aims to break away from this tendency. I will argue that the visual culture engaged in this essay can shed light on cultural

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: u067829i@ecs.osaka-u.ac.jp

[1] Uranihon 裏日本 is sometimes translated into English as “the backside of Japan”. The meaning of ura is “backside” or “rear”, while the prefix of the antonym Omotenihon 表日本 denotes “front”. Nihon is the Japanese word for Japan.

and transnational dimensions of Uranihon which could not be grasped through hitherto studies based on numerical data and statistics.

1. Theorizing Uranihon

The term Uranihon appears in vast amounts of literature across many genres and disciplines. For example, in the first half of the twentieth century, there were studies conducted on the climatic conditions of Uranihon, travelogues published recounting visits to coastal areas along the Sea of Japan, as well as publications urging for the development of the region.[2] In all these cases, the word Uranihon is used first and foremost as a geographic term to indicate the area of Honshu along the coast of the Sea of Japan. However, gradually, the word also began to connote a lack of modern development in the region in a negative manner. In the second half of the twentieth century a number of scholars began researching how and why such a destitute situation had developed in the first place. An early influential example is the essay "Iwayuru 'Uranihon' no Keisei ni tsuite" (1964) by the geographer Tokuji Chiba.[3] Chiba refers to the Hokuriku region of Japan as Uranihon and conversely the Tokai region as Omotenihon. For him, the disparity between these two opposing regions was the result of the decision made by the local Hokuriku leadership to prioritize traditional rice farming and resist the introduction of new technologies and industries.[4] To corroborate this thesis, he points out that the Tokai region willingly adopted machine-driven paper production technology in 1903 which allowed the development of a modern paper industry around the base of Mount Fuji.[5]

A counterargument to Chiba's theory was put forth by the historian Tsunehisa Abe in the early 1970s, and was subsequently published as a book entitled *"Uranihon" wa Ikani*

[2] For an early example of a study on climate see: Ishida, Masao 石田雅生, "Tōki Uranihon ni okeru Kōsui Tokutai ni tsuite" 冬季裏日本ニ於ケル降水特態ニ就テ, *Kishō Shūshi* 氣象集誌, No. 1, Vol. 27 (6), 1908, pp. 207–216. Travelogues from this period include: Fujishima, Aisen 藤嶋愛泉, *Ryokō Shōhin Hakuun Yūyū – Uranihon no Sansui* 旅行小品白雲悠々―裏日本の山水, Yamaguchiya Shoten 山口屋書店, 1913, and Kume, Kunitake 久米邦武, *Uranihon* 裏日本, Kōmindōmei Shuppanbu 公民同盟出版部, 1915. The latter is a book that combines a travelogue of Kume's visit to the San'in region as part of Shigenobu Ōkuma's electioneering campaign, along with ancient regional history, and commentary on the state of development of the local industries.

[3] Chiba, Tokuji 千葉徳爾, "Iwayuru 'Uranihon' no Keisei ni tsuite – Rekishi Chirigaku Shiron" いわゆる「裏日本」の形成について―歴史地理的試論, *Rekishi Chirigaku Kiyō* 歴史地理学紀要, No. 6, Nihon Rekishi Chirigaku Kenkyukai 日本歴史地理学研究会, 1964, pp. 165–180.

[4] Ibid., p. 174.

[5] Ibid., p. 169.

Tsukuraretaka in 1997.[6] In order to determine how regional disparities had arisen in Japan, Abe analyzes domestic population shifts from the late nineteenth century onwards, as well as government policies for industry advancement, regional distribution of capital, and the establishment of educational institutions throughout the country. His analysis infers that each of the factors worked in favor of the regions along the Pacific coast, and in turn, became the cause for the poor quality of life in Uranihon.

Most of Abe's book focuses on Niigata Prefecture as Uranihon. However, in the sixth chapter he examines the development of Uranihon in the San'in region. According to Abe, the problem of Uranihon was acknowledged for the first time in the context of San'in during an Imperial Diet meeting held on January 22nd 1902, after an assembly member elected from Shimane Prefecture raised issues regarding a local agricultural school and the lack of national security in the region.[7] For Abe, a decisive factor that led to the problem of Uranihon in the San'in region was the conspicuous delay in establishing a railway system in that linked San'in to Tokyo. He concludes that this was the result of apathy towards promoting regional development on the part of the Meiji government.[8]

In the same year as Abe's *"Uranihon"*, the historian Tadao Furumaya published the book *Uranihon – Kindai Nihon o Toinaosu* (1997).[9] Furumaya, who also focuses primarily on Niigata Prefecture, adopts an economic perspective to reconsider the lack of investment provided to Uranihon. Contrary to Abe, Furumaya contends that money and labor was siphoned from Uranihon and invested towards developing Omotenihon. For example, he explicates how land tax, one of the primary sources of revenue during the Meiji period which Niigata was at one point generating three times more of than Tokyo, was used to establish infrastructure in areas along the Pacific coast.[10] Since the process of Uranihon was a prerequisite for the rapid economic growth of Omotenihon, Furumaya asserts that a resolution to the problem of regional disparity requires thinking which moves beyond a binary opposition between Ura and Omote.[11]

---

[6] Abe, Tsunehisa 阿部恒久, *"Uranihon" wa Ikani Tsukuraretaka* 「裏日本」はいかにつくられたか, Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha 日本経済評論社, 1997.
[7] Ibid., pp. 253–284.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Furumaya, Tadao 古厩忠夫, *Uranihon – Kindai Nihon o Toinaosu* 裏日本―近代日本を問いなおす, Iwanamishinsho 岩波新書, 1997.
[10] Ibid., p. 39.
[11] Ibid., p. 169.

The aforementioned literature constitutes the generally accepted theories of Uranihon. As this research concentrates on the economic disparity and diminishing population which resulted from uneven development, in some ways, it emphasizes the destitute image of Uranihon. This very image was being produced and disseminated by one photographer even before scholars such as Chiba and Abe were publishing their first essays on this subject.

In 1957, the Tokyo-born photojournalist Hiroshi Hamaya (1915–1999) published the photobook *Uranihon*, consisting of seventy-nine photographs of the twelve prefectures between Aomori and Yamaguchi along the coast of the Sea of Japan.[12] In terms of individual regions, scenes of Aomori (nineteen) are the most numerous, followed by Akita (sixteen) and Niigata (sixteen). The least represented prefectures are Kyoto, Hyogo, Tottori, and Shimane, with only one photograph of each included in the collection. The photographs depict rigorous physical labor being conducted under harsh climate conditions, people living outmoded lifestyles in dilapidated rural villages, and undeveloped landscapes. Hamaya's interest in Uranihon can be traced back to 1939, when he visited Niigata Prefecture as a freelance photographer in order to shoot a military ski training exercise.[13] In Niigata, Hamaya met the local folklorist Shinji Ichikawa who introduced him to the agricultural rituals being conducted in the prefecture's snowy rural villages.[14] This became the subject of the photobook *Yukiguni* which was published in 1956.[15] In order to further document the kind of lifestyle he discovered in the rural villages of Niigata, in 1954, Hamaya set out to photograph the entire area of Honshu along the coast of the Sea of Japan. This became the subject for the photobook *Uranihon*.

Although *Uranihon* was published in 1957, the photos were circulating widely before that time through serialization in photography magazines and other popular publications such as *Camera* in 1955, *Nihon Camera* and *Shashin Salon* in 1956, as well as the January 1956 to April 1957 editions of *Chuo Kōron*.[16] Among these photos, the *Awara no Taue* (Awara Rice Planting) series which appeared in the September 1955 edition of *Camera* as well as the May

[12] Hamaya, Hiroshi 濱谷浩, *Uranihon* 裏日本, Shinchosha 新潮社, 1957.
[13] Hamaya, Hiroshi 濱谷浩, "Jidai no Uzu" 時代の渦, in Tsuguo Tada 多田亞生 ed., *Tanjō Hyakunen Shashinka Hamaya Hiroshi* 誕生 100 年 写真家・濱谷浩, Crevis クレヴィス, 2015, p. 8.
[14] Hamaya, Hiroshi 濱谷浩, *Senzō Zanzō – Shashin Keiken 60 nen* 潜像残像―写真体験 60 年, Chikumasōsho 筑摩叢書, 1991, pp. 32–36.
[15] Hamaya, Hiroshi 濱谷浩, *Yukiguni* 雪国, Mainichi Shimbunsha 毎日新聞社, 1956.
[16] Iizawa, Kōtarō 飯沢耕太郎, *Shashinshu no Tanoshimi* 写真集の愉しみ, Asahi Shimbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1998, p. 58.

1956 edition of *Chuo Kōron* elicited a major response.[17] The photographs depict scenes of female famers in Toyama Prefecture planting rice in deep swamp-like paddies with most of their bodies submerged in muddy water (Fig. 1). According to Akira Hasegawa, the rice production per unit in Toyama between 1954 and 1956 was lower than the national average due to the low temperature of the irrigation water as well as a lack of effective microorganisms.[18] In addition, a health survey conducted in 1956 at a hospital in Kamiichi Town where the *Awara* photographs were taken reveal that farmers working in the Awara paddies were seeking two to three times more treatment for joint pains, back pains, and neuralgia compared to farmers who worked in dry rice fields.[19] Hamaya's photographs can be interpreted as a critique of such poor working conditions. Although perhaps not a direct result of the photographs, land reclamation efforts enforced in this region during the 1960s led to the demise of Awara rice planting.[20]

Photograph by Hiroshi Hamaya /©Keisuke Katano

Figure 1: Hiroshi Hamaya *Arawa no Taue* (photograph) 1955

Photograph by Hiroshi Hamaya /©Keisuke Katano

Figure 2: Hiroshi Hamaya *Yotsude Ami* (photograph) 1955

The single photograph depicting a scene shot in Tottori Prefecture entitled *Yotsude Ami*

[17] Hamaya, Hiroshi 濱谷浩, "Awara no Taue o Miru" アワラの田植を見る, Chuo Kōron 中央公論, May 1956, pp. 7-8.
[18] Hasegawa, Akira 長谷川明, *Shashin o Miru Me – Sengo Nihon no Shashin Hyogen* 写真を見る眼—戦後日本の写真表現, Seikyusha 青弓社, 1995, p.14.
[19] Ibid., p. 15.
[20] Ibid., p. 20.

(Scoop Net) portrays a young fisherman attempting to catch fish in the summer heat (Fig. 2). While only the man, the boat he stands on, and the rippling water in the background are visible within the frame, the text accompanying the photograph elucidates the message which Hamaya wanted to convey: "The young man continues to cast a large net in the blazing heat, but is only able to catch one or two small fish".[21] A similar critique to that which is conveyed in *Awara* can be read from this description of difficult and unproductive labor being conducted under harsh climate conditions.

Theories of Uranihon have a degree of significance as they demand a consideration of modernization in Japan from a standpoint other than Tokyo. At the same time, in order to depict the regional differences between Uranihon and Tokyo, Hamaya chooses to focus his lens on rigorous labor, harsh climate, and cultural aspects that were persisting due to lack of modernization. As a result, *Uranihon* risks putting forth a one-sided representation of the area of Honshu along the coast of the Sea of Japan. There are many aspects of Uranihon which do not appear in Hamaya's photographs. For one, there was a wide variety of artistic activity happening in areas within Uranihon before Hamaya even set foot in the region.

2. Modern Art and Culture in Tottori

It goes without saying that there is ample literature on modern art in Japan written from divergent perspectives. However, there is also a fundamental problem that is shared by a large proportion of that work. Most writing on modern art or visual culture in Japan has a tendency to focus on activity in Tokyo, leaving other regions underrepresented. As the title of Hiroshi Uno's book *Modan Toshi Tōkyō*: *Nihon no 1920 nendai* (1988) suggests, Tokyo often serves as a metonym for Japan.[22] A rare example of an effort to include artists from different regions in Japan is Teiichi Hijikata's book *Nihon no Kindai Bijutsu* (1966). Whereas Hijikata does describe influential people from Tottori Prefecture such as Yasuo Hashiura, Kanji Maeda, and Kazuo Fukuda, he focuses on their activities in Tokyo or overseas.[23] In other words, Tottori is only mentioned as their birthplace.

---

[21] Hamaya, op. cit., 1957, p. 9.
[22] Uno, Hiroshi 海野弘, *Modan Toshi Tōkyo – Nihon no 1920 nendai* モダン都市東京―日本の一九二〇年代, Chuokōron Shinsha 中央公論新社, 1988.
[23] Hijikata, Teiichi 土方定一, *Nihon no Kindai Bijutsu* 日本の近代美術, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1966, pp. 186–188.

As in the case of any region in Japan, there are artists and authors from Tottori Prefecture who became widely known for the work they accomplished in Tokyo. However, little attention has been given to the artistic and visual culture within Tottori. This is likely due to the assumption that there was not much artistic activity needing attention in the first place. In 1960, the Ministry of Education conducted a survey and produced a report entitled *Shōwa 34 nendo Chihō Geijutsu Bunka Gyōsei no Jōkyō* which assessed regional characteristics in regard to different artistic genres.[24] For example, in regard to fine arts, the report refers to Tōnō pottery and Hidan woodblock prints in Gifu, Nihonga painting in Kyoto, Hizen ceramics in Saga, but in the case of Tottori, it states that "aspiring youth rush to the capital, which hinders the fostering of any new generation of artists".[25] Although the methodology used in the survey is unclear, the message is transparent—the state of artistic culture in Tottori is substandard compared to that of other regions.

In spite of such assumptions, modern artistic and cultural activities were taking place in Tottori Prefecture from an early stage in the twentieth century. By the turn of the century, local newspapers such as *Tottori Shimpō*, *Inpaku Jihō*, *Yonago Kakuban Nippō*, and *San'in Nichinichi Shinbun* featured a culture section where modern literary writing could be published, while the introduction of the letterpress allowed for the printing of local literary magazines such as *Mio* (1911).[26] Such media allowed for the development of a locally-based modern literary scene. During this time, modern painting was introduced into the Tottori school system by the educator Tadasu Endō, who had acquired technical training at Yuichi Takahashi's Tokyo art school Tenkaisha.[27] Additionally, in 1920, an artistic society known as Sakyū-sha (Sand Dune Society) was established in Kurayoshi City in the central region of the prefecture by a local painter and middle school art teacher, Kanzō Nakai. In addition to literary writing and painting, the members of Sakyū-sha also held music and dance events as well as film screenings. Moreover, as will be elucidated later, several amateur photography groups were also formed in Tottori around this time. In short, though small in scale, modern cultural activity was alive in Tottori Prefecture during the first half of the twentieth century.

---

[24] *Shōwa 34 nendo Chihō Geijutsu Bunka Gyōsei no Jōkyō* 昭和 34 年度地方芸術文化行政の状況, Monbushō Shakai Kyōikukyoku Geijutsuka 文部省社会教育局芸術課, June 1960.
[25] Ibid., p. 56.
[26] Takeuchi, Michio 竹内道夫, *Furusato Bungeikan Vol. 37 Tottori* ふるさと文学館 第三七巻 鳥取, Gyōsei ぎょうせい, 1995, pp. 650–662.
[27] Tottori-ken 鳥取県, *Tottori-kenshi Kindai Vol. 4 Bunka-hen* 鳥取県史 近代第４巻 文化篇, 1969, p. 11.

As can be seen through the scope of activities undertaken by Sakyū-sha, different genres of modern culture did not necessarily develop separately. Rather, in many cases, artists would straddle multiple genres simultaneously. For example, the first documented "western-style painting exhibit in Tottori", was held in 1914 at the Tottori Library featuring works by members of a literary circle.[28] As many amateur writers were also artists, local literary magazines often featured many drawings and illustrations. Even if a writer did not draw, they most likely knew someone who did. In 1921, the literary magazine *Mio* was reestablished as an art collective known as *Suimyaku* which expanded their activities beyond visual art and writing to include theatre and music.[29] Furthermore, many artists and writers who had moved to large cities, such as the sculptor Shindo Tsuji and novelist Kenji Ōe, moved back to Tottori to seek refuge during World War Two. After the war, such people formed the group Rokujinkai at the foot of Mount Daisen, further advancing local artistic culture through holding art exhibits, lectures, and publishing magazines.[30]

Nevertheless, there was a temporal lag in terms of the development of modern culture in Tottori, compared to Tokyo and its surroundings. The primary reason for this discrepancy was the delay in the construction of a railway line that would connect Tottori to the Tokyo area. The first train to run in Japan departed Shinbashi in Tokyo for Yokohama in 1872. Whereas the railway network quickly expanded from this first connection, it took an additional forty years for the railway lines to reach Tottori. In 1912, the San'in line was finally realized between Kyoto and Izumo. However, it is important to note that this was not constructed for the purposes of regional advancement or the improvement of living conditions in the Uranihon region. Rather, the San'in line was constructed with the military aim of overseas expansion.[31] While the construction of the San'in line allowed for a rapid increase in the movement of people, goods, and information between Tottori and Tokyo, which gave way to the development of modern culture, this was the result of something that was initially implemented for military purposes.

---

[28] Andō, Naofumi 安東尚文, "Tottori no Bijutsu" 鳥取の美術, *Kyodo to Hakubutsukan* 郷土と博物館, Vol. 28-2, Tottori-kenritsu Hakubutsukan 鳥取県立博物館, 1983, p. 8.
[29] Ibid., p. 9.
[30] *Tottori-ken no Bijutsu VI – Rokujinkai no Sakkatachi* 鳥取県の美術 VI—麓人会の作家たち, Tottorikenritsu Hakubutsukan 鳥取県立博物館, 1998, p. 1.
[31] Abe, op. cit., pp. 277–280.

3. Uranihon and Photography in Tottori

While photographic technology was introduced to Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, the first known photograph taken in Tottori was shot around 1877. A Tottori-born photographer living in Osaka, Kanshirō Kitamura, was called upon to photograph the Tottori Castle after it was determined that it would be torn down.[32] Meanwhile, the use of photography for artistic purposes in Tottori began after 1910, through the activities of locally-based amateur photographers.

A great number of amateur photography groups formed in and around Tokyo from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. The appeal of creating photographs spread to regional areas soon after. The first amateur photography club in Tottori was formed by a high school art teacher Fukuei Kume, who had moved to Tottori from Tokyo in 1913 to teach at Tottori Middle School (the current Tottori Nishi High School).[33] In 1919, he established the Kōei Club, while a second club devoted to using only small Kodak Vest Pocket cameras (the Akasaki Vest Club) was formed in the central part of Tottori Prefecture in the same year. Furthermore, in 1925, the Yonago Shayūkai was established in the western part of the prefecture.

Unlike professional photographers who devoted their time to shooting portraits as their line of work, amateur photographers engaged in photography for the purpose of artistic expression. As the photography historian Ryuichi Kaneko explains, at the beginning of the twentieth century, many amateur photographers had a tendency to shoot unspecified rural landscapes which were accompanied by literary titles such as *Kiro* (The Return Home) or *Haru no Yūhi* (Spring Sunset).[34] In addition, amateur photographers would often use gum bichromate or bromoil printing techniques along with excessive soft focus in order to produce photos with aesthetic qualities akin to oil paintings.[35] This form of photography came to be known internationally as pictorialism.

There are a number of different interpretations regarding the subject of the unspecified or

[32] Fukuda, Yōichi 福田陽一, *Taishō Jidai ni Hanasaita Kōei Kurabu no Kiroku* 大正時代に花咲いた光影倶楽部の記録, 2007, p. 69.
[33] Ibid., p. 5.
[34] Kaneko, Ryūichi 金子隆一, *Hidaka Chōtarō to Aiyū Shashin Kurabu* 日高長太郎と愛友写真倶楽部, Nagoya Shiritsu Bijutsukan 名古屋市立美術館, 1990, p. 5.
[35] Ibid.

anonymous landscape. For example, according to the art critic Tomohiro Nishimura, the propensity to produce unspecified landscapes can be regarded as being influenced by the landscape paintings of the prominent Japanese painter Seiki Kuroda.[36] Meanwhile, visual cultural theorist Morihiro Satow argues that the anonymous landscapes of Japanese pictorialism functioned to arouse nostalgia among viewers at a time when sixty percent of the population in Tokyo was comprised of people who had left the countryside for the city following the 1906 Railway Nationalization Act.[37] Moreover, he goes on to state that pictorialism, along with the song *Furusato* written in 1914, worked to strengthen national identity by evoking nostalgia and homesickness at a time when Japan was moving towards becoming an imperialist state.[38]

Whereas Satow's contentions regarding pictorialism and nostalgia are insightful, they are based on the standpoint of viewers in Tokyo. Meanwhile, as explicated in the above section, there were both producers and viewers of visual culture living in non-urban areas of Japan during this time. According to data published in the 1927 edition of *Nihon Shashin Nenkan* (Japan Photography Almanac), there were four amateur photography clubs active in Tottori Prefecture that year with a total of 515 members.[39] Among these photographers, Teikō Shiotani (1899–1988) was documenting the natural landscapes and lifestyle of people in Tottori nearly thirty-five years before Hamaya started working on his *Uranihon* project. However, the regional representations of Tottori (and by extension Uranihon) produced by Shiotani, differ greatly from the images of hardship produced by Hamaya, and prompt a reconsideration of the critique of pictorialism outlined above.

Although Shiotani lived in the small seaside town of Akasaki throughout his life, by the 1920s he was exhibiting works in Tokyo as a member of major photography associations such as Geijutsu Shashin Kenkyūkai and Nihon Kōga Kyōkai, and was publishing photos in magazines such as *Asahi Camera* and *Photo Times*. In 1975, he published his first photobook,

---

[36] Nishimura, Tomohiro 西村智弘, *Nihon Geijutsu Shashinshi – Ukiyoe kara Dejikame made* 日本芸術写真史―浮世絵からデジカメまで, Bijutsu Shuppan 美術出版, 2008, p. 150.

[37] Satow, Morihiro 佐藤守弘, *Topogurafi no Nihon Kindai – Edo Doroe, Yokohama Shashin, Geijutsu Shashin* トポグラフィの日本近代―江戸泥絵・横浜写真・芸術写真, Seikyūsha 青弓社, 2011, p. 180.

[38] Ibid., p. 184.

[39] Iizawa, Kōtarō 飯沢耕太郎, *"Geijutsu Shashin" to sono Jidai* 「芸術写真」とその時代, Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1986, p. 109.

Shiotani Teikō Meisakushū 1923–1973.[40] As mentioned above, there were many amateur photographers active in Tottori during the same period as Shiotani. Nevertheless, information regarding these individual photographers and their works is sparse, and on the whole, very limited.[41] In contrast, Shiotani's photobook features around forty photos shot in the 1920s, and approximately fifty taken in the 1930s, with details regarding the date and location of each work.[42] For this reason, the photobook serves as an important collection of regional representations from that era.

Of the 121 photographs in this collection, approximately seventy can be described as landscapes. There are also about twenty-five portraits as well as some still lifes and photos of animals. The fact that more than half of the photos are those of landscapes seems to reflect the general trend of pictorialism. However, the landscapes shot by Shiotani are not necessarily anonymous. In fact, about half (thirty-six) of the landscape photographs in the collection refer to the name of the location in the title of the work. In addition, works such as *Matsue Yukibi* (1925) include the name of location not only in the title, but also in the photograph itself, through a visible sign ("Matsue Eki Nakashi") with the name of the location written on it (Fig. 3). Furthermore, Shiotani's landscapes are not exactly "timeless" or "static" in the way Satow's argument against pictorialism suggests.[43] Although certainly not comparable to Tokyo, photos such as *Agei Eki* (1929) and *Akasaki Sekkei* (1932) show that modernity was not something found only in the city, by including trains, railway tracks, and electrical posts within the frame (Fig. 4).

One of the chief characteristics of pictorialism is the deformation of the image made possible through pigment printing techniques. In the case of Shiotani, Uranihon was not only

[40] Shiotani, Teikō 塩谷定好, *Shiotani Teikō Meisakushū 1923-1973* 塩谷定好名作集 1923-1973, Nihon Shashin Shuppan 日本写真出版, 1975.

[41] There are however two books worth mentioning which feature important information about early photography in Tottori Prefecture. The first is *Geijutsu Shashin no Jidai – Yonago Shayūkai Kaikoten* 芸術写真の時代―米子写友会回顧展 (1990), a catalogue published by the Yonago Bijutsukan (Yonago Art Museum) for an exhibit they held in 1990, showcasing the works of amateur photographers that were active in the Yonago City area in the western part of Tottori Prefecture between 1925–1935. The second is Yōichi Fukuda's *Taisho Jidai ni Hana Saita Kōei Kurabu no Kiroku* 大正時代に花咲いた光影倶楽部の記録 (2007), a collection of data and materials on the Kōei Kurabu amateur photography group established in Tottori City in 1919.

[42] A second photobook, *Shiotani Teikō Shashinshū - Uminari no Fūkei* 塩谷定好写真集―海鳴りの風景 was published in 1984. Of the ninety-five photos, forty were already published in Shiotani's first photobook.

[43] Satow, op. cit., p. 182.

the subject matter he was shooting, but it was also influencing the way he was processing and developing his photos. In an interview, Shiotani reveals that he was blending ink with bull semen which he acquired from his job at a nearby cattle ranch in order to edit noticeable blemishes in his photographs.[44] Thus, a very rural local industry, in many ways representative of this area of Uranihon, held the key to the finishing touch of Shiotani's aesthetic.

Figure 3: Teikō Shiotani
Matsue Yukibi (photograph) 1925

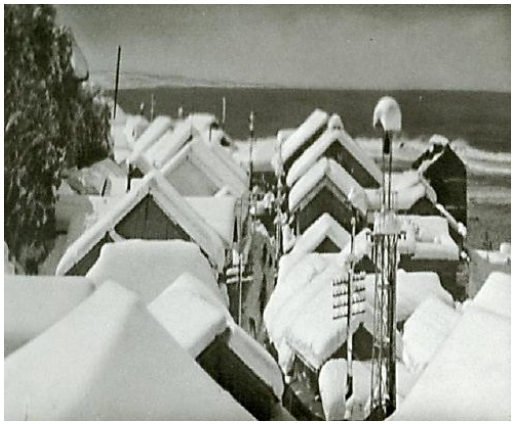


Figure 4: Teikō Shiotani
Akasaki Sekkei (photograph) 1932

By the 1930s, the popularity of pictorialism was waning, and a new avant-garde style known as Shinkō Shashin was being pursued by artistic photographers. However, Shōji Ueda (1913–2000), another photographer who spent most of his life living in Tottori, decided not to follow this new trend, but rather create his own original style which became known as Enshutsu Shashin (Performative Photography). The first photo Ueda ever shot was of the sands of the shoreline near his home in Sakaiminato City.[45] While many photographers from Tottori have chosen the sand in Tottori (especially the Tottori Sand Dunes) as the subject matter for their work, in the case of Ueda, the sands of Tottori have been the primary setting for some of his most famous works including *Shōjo Yontai* (1939) and *Kogitsune Tōjō* (1948) (Fig. 5).

The frequent appearance of sand in the works of photographers in Tottori may be related

[44] Miki, Jun 三木淳 ed. *Shiotani Teiko Shashinshu – Uminari no Fūkei* 塩谷定好写真集―海鳴りの風景, Nicōru Kurabu ニッコールクラブ, 1984, p. 117.
[45] Ueda, Shōji 植田正治, "Watashi to Sakyu" 私と砂丘, Kaneko, Ryuichi 金子隆一 ed. *Ueda Shōji – Shashin no Sahō* 植田正治―写真の作法, Kōrinsha 光琳社, 1999, p. 40.

to something more than just the fact that the prefecture is home to one of the largest sand dunes in Japan. As the novelist Kōbō Abe states in his essay "Sabaku no Shisō" (1965), sand suggests the notion of remoteness, and the quantity of sand necessarily effects the caliber of that remoteness.[46] For example, a large desert connotes the idea of remoteness much more strongly than a small sand box in a park. In line with this logic, the frequent use of sand in Tottori as the subject matter of photography equates to a quantitative increase of sand at the level of representation, which in turn, emphasizes the remoteness attributed to the region.

Figure 5: Shōji Ueda *Kogitsune Tōjō* (photograph) 1948

In 1940, Ueda published an instructional handbook entitled *Den'en no Utsushikata* (How to Photograph the Countryside). In the preface, he makes the following remarks:

> (...) the photographic examples I have presented in this book have been taken from where I live in the Chugoku region of Uranihon, the rural landscapes along the Sea of Japan (…). As a result, there are many atmospheric differences from the warm farming villages in the south, and the Tohoku region far to the north. This is rurality, but not a generalization (…).[47]

Here, Ueda identifies the area where he lives as part of Uranihon, while simultaneously stating the peculiarities of his region, in relation to other rural areas. Ueda became famous for his Enshutsu Shashin, which are comprised of a calculated positioning of people and objects within the frame. Like Shiotani, Ueda was able to produce great works of photography while

[46] Abe, Kōbō 安部公房, "Sabaku no Shisō" 砂漠の思想, *Abe Kōbō Zensakuhin* 安部公房全作品, Vol. 14, Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1973, p. 32.
[47] Ueda, Shōji 植田正治, *Denen no Utsushikata* 田園の寫し方, Arususha アルス社, 1940, p. 3.

living in Tottori Prefecture, during a time when the region was known as Uranihon. In fact, both photographers were able to see beyond the negative factors of Uranihon, and take advantage of regional characteristics in their artistic production.

4. Uranihon and the Image of Darkness

In addition to a lack of modernization, rurality, and remoteness, there are other meanings which are connoted by the word Uranihon. In 1958, the year following the publication of Hamaya's *Uranihon*, the writer Toshio Suzaki began a literary magazine in Tottori entitled *Uranihon Bungaku*. In the afterword to the first edition, he comments on the title of the publication in the following manner:

> The meaning of the title is a manifestation of our will to no longer turn away from the dark and dank natural features of the San'in region, but rather to stare fixedly at these features in a paradoxical manner to bring about a bright future.[48]

Here, Uranihon is also indicative of the "dark and dank natural features of the San'in region", an area which consists primarily of the prefectures of Tottori and Shimane. The name San'in is written in Japanese with the characters for *yama* (mountain) and *kage* (shadow). As a result, the name is said to give a dark impression of the region. The mountain referred to in the name is the Chugoku mountain range with Mount Daisen located in Tottori Prefecture being the highest peak. The Chugoku mountain range runs across the Chugoku region like a wall, dividing the area into opposing sections of San'in to the north, and Sanyō to the south. And just as San'in consists of the characters for mountain and shadow, Sanyō is literally written as "mountain light".

From an early stage in the twentieth century, the name "San'in" also reflected the weather and climate in the region. In 1926, the owner of a bookstore in Tottori, Keijirō Yokoyama, published a book entitled *Inpaku Ninjō to Fūzoku* in order to introduce the region to outsiders. In the book, he provides the following description:

[48] Suzaki, Toshio 須崎俊雄, "Henshū Koki" 編集後記, *Uranihon Bungaku* 裏日本文学, First Edition, 1958, p. 61.

> The climate of Tottori Prefecture is, in general, quite gloomy... The low atmospheric pressure always collides with the Chugoku mountain range, causing rainfall in the San'in region. Especially around September and October, the winds bring about dark clouds and torrential rain which threatens the region with the risk of floods...[49]

To be sure, the weather and climate in the San'in region have no doubt changed in the more than ninety years that have passed since Yokoyama wrote the above passage. At the same time, data regarding average amounts of precipitation, daylight, and cloud coverage in Tottori between 1981 and 2010 compiled by the Japan Weather Association suggests that there still may be some truth to the message Yokoyama was trying to convey. According to this data, the annual average precipitation in Tottori is 1,914 millimeters.[50] To compare, the average figures for Tokyo amount to 1,528 millimeters, while in the case of Osaka it is 1,279 millimeters.[51] In short, Tottori experiences much more rainfall than these two major cities. In regard to the annual average hours of daylight, in Tottori it is 1,663 hours, while in Tokyo it is 1,876 hours and in Osaka 1,996 hours. The hours of daylight in Tottori are comparatively less.

In particular, a monthly comparison of the hours of daylight in Tottori and Tokyo shows that the widest discrepancy can be seen in the winter. Data analyzed by sociologist Hiroshi Takemura shows that in fact, between the months of April to October, the hours of daylight in Tottori are actually slightly greater than in Tokyo.[52] However, between November and March, Tottori experiences far less daylight. The figures for December are about eighty hours less than Tokyo. In January, Tottori falls more than one hundred hours behind. This long period of dreary weather is often noted as one of the characteristics of the San'in region, and more generally, Uranihon.

---

[49] Yokoyama, Keijirō 横山敬次郎, *Inpaku Ninjō to Fūzoku* 因伯人情と風俗, Yokoyama Keijirō Shoten 横山敬次郎書店, 1926, p. 3.

[50] Ippan Zaidan Hōjin Nihon Kishō Kyōkai Chūgoku Shiten 一般財団法人日本気象協会中国支店, *San'in no Kishōreki to Chōseki* 山陰の気象暦と潮汐, 2015.

[51] Data regarding the average annual weather in Tokyo and Osaka is available on the Japan Weather Agency website: http://www.data.jma.go.jp/obd/stats/etrn/view/nml_sfc_ym.php?prec_no=44&block_no=47662&year=&month=2&day=&view=p1 (accessed on June 26, 2016)

[52] Takemura, Hiroshi 竹村弘, "'Chiki Imēji' wa Kaerareruka – 'Ura', 'Kage', 'Kurai' to Iwareru San'in Chihō no Kokoromi" 『地域イメージ』は変えられるか―「裏」「陰」「暗い」といわれる山陰地方のこころみ, *Aichi Shukutoku Daigaku Gendai Shakaigakubu Ronshū* 愛知淑徳大学現代社会学部論集, Vol. 3, 1998, p. 50.

The January 1st 1965 local edition of Mainichi Shinbun featured a full page interview between the Governor of Tottori Prefecture and the president of the Yonago Takashimaya department store, wherein they discuss ways to "brighten up" the gloomy image of the San'in region.[53] The page also included editorials on the same subject, as well as an open call to all readers to propose a new, "sunnier" name for the region. The contest was organized by a committee consisting of local private enterprises, public administrators, and politicians. On July 11th of the same year, "Hokuyō" (Northern Light) was selected as the new name to replace San'in.[54]

Nevertheless, this new name never took root. In 1989, another attempt to change the name of San'in, this time to "Minami Nihonkai Chihō" (Southern Region of the Sea of Japan), was made by the Association of Corporate Executives of Tottori and Shimane. This attempt to eliminate the use of the name San'in also failed. These endeavors were no doubt motivated by the hope that a new, brighter name might help increase tourism, and by extension, positively stimulate the local economy. Meanwhile, there are works of art produced by people living in San'in that express a very different attitude towards the element of darkness and its relation to the region.

Mamoru Sumi (1943–) is a painter who has been creating works of art in his hometown of Sakaiminato City located in the western part of Tottori Prefecture since the 1970s. His early works depict fishermen and merchants working at the ports during the early hours before dawn. The subject matter is closely related to Sumi's life as his family ran a marine transport business.[55] The artist has commented that he chose this theme because he wanted to paint something that reflected his life in San'in, rather than follow some big city trend.[56] Paintings from his fishermen series such as *Kagura-san* (1977) (Fig. 6), are composed almost entirely of black and Prussian blue tones. On the surface, this could be interpreted as producing a dark impression of the San'in region. However, Sumi had no intention of creating a negative image.

---

[53] *Mainichi Shinbun* 毎日新聞, January 1, 1965, p. 1.
[54] "Akaruku 'Hokuyō' to Yobimasho" 明るく〝北陽〟と呼びましょう, *Mainichi Shinbun* 毎日新聞, July 12, 1965, p. 16.
[55] Yamamoto, Haruo 山本晴男, "'Kankan Butai' no Obasantachi to Najinde" 「カンカン部隊」のオバサンたちと馴染んで, *San'in no Bijutsukatachi* 山陰の美術家たち, Ri-do Renmei リード連盟, 2000, p. 401.
[56] Artist statement during special lecture "Sumi Mamoru Kōenkai – Uchinaru Uchūkan o Miru" held at Torigin Bunkakaikan on February 16th 2013 (Hosted by Tottori University Department of Regional Sciences Art Center).

Though the fishermen series is dark in terms of its use of color and the time of day being depicted, it is also burgeoning with life, with the representation of fishermen and merchants hard at work together handling fresh sea produce.

Figure 6: Mamoru Sumi
Kagura-san (oil painting) 1977

Figure 7: Mamoru Sumi
Kawaita Umi (oil painting) 1995

Following the fishermen series which Sumi continued throughout the 70s and 80s, in the 1990s he began a new series consisting of a dystopic future where the sea had dried up, leaving only a barren landscape. Works from the waterless sea series such as *Kawaita Umi* (1995) (Fig. 7) depict scenes in broad daylight, but the images consist of only one woman sitting amongst garbage and dried carcasses of dead sea creatures scattered across a parched seafloor. Whereas Sumi's earlier work document a past reality which has all but disappeared due to advances in industry, the waterless sea series portrays a fictional world which may become a future reality if we are not careful of the ways we engage with the environment.

While Sumi's fishermen series focuses on life during the dark hours before dawn, another artist, Mana Satō (1961–) produces work which represents the evening and night. At first glance, the main theme of Satō's work may seem to be Hinamatsuri, as young girls dressed in kimono as well as hina dolls appear frequently as motifs. In the town of Mochigase in Tottori, the important Hinamatsuri event Nagashibina takes place on March 3rd according to the lunar calendar. Although most Hinamatsuri events and celebrations take place in the daytime, there is something tenebrous about works by Satō such as *Sōshun* (Fig. 8). Satō was born in Tokyo, but moved to Mochigase when she was a young child. One of the major differences she

perceived from life in Tokyo was the lesser degree of artificial lighting used at night in Tottori.[57] Since there were no abundant street lighting and neon signs like Tokyo, the experience of night in Tottori was much darker. In addition to the Nagashibina motifs, Satō's paintings can also be understood as a representation of this experience.

Figure 8: Mana Satō
Soshun (oil painting) 2006

For better or worse, regional governments and local enterprises invest a large amount of effort towards advertisements and promotions in the hopes of invigorating the economy and attracting tourism. Such activities are showcased as local news which in turn saturates the region. According to the political scientist Benedict Anderson, the origins of the nation state and nationalism are linked to the invention of the printing press which allowed for the spread of information in a common language and the creation of a shared consciousness of space and time.[58] Anderson refers to such communal consciousness as an "imagined community". Whereas he developed this notion in relation to the nation state, a similar process can be seen at work at a regional level, through the dissemination of information in local newspapers and regional news broadcasts on the television and radio. Meanwhile, artists such as Mamoru Sumi and Mana Satō reference regional and local subject matter at a more subjective and personal level, which does not necessarily contribute towards a shared consciousness.

[57] Artist's statement made during Tottori Gas Salute Culture Lecture "Satō Mana – Dōshin o Egaku" held on November 15th 2013.
[58] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, 1991.

5. Conclusion: Beyond Uranihon

Hitherto research regarding Uranihon has for the most part been conducted within the context of binary relations such as Ura and Omote; periphery and center; countryside and city; as well as darkness and light. However, there are elements of Uranihon which cannot be contained within such binary oppositions. For example, the outward migration of people from Uranihon is generally understood as the movement of workers from the countryside to the city. And while there were no doubt people moving in this direction, this was not the only vector of migration occurring at the outset of the twentieth century. In the case of Tottori Prefecture, people were also moving to places as diverse as Hokkaido, Brazil, and North America in search of economic opportunities and to fulfill dreams. In the place of a conclusion, I will turn to an example of art that engages the history of people who migrated to Canada from Japan, in order to draw connections which will encourage a reconsideration of previous ideas regarding Uranihon.

Between 1895 and the onset of the Pacific War, over 1,500 people moved to the west coast of North America from the Yumigahama (Sakaiminato and Yonago) region of Tottori Prefecture.[59] Approximately 120 years after the first migrants from Tottori set foot on the west coast of Canada, in 2014, the Vancouver-based contemporary artist Cindy Mochizuki (1976–) took part in an artist residency in Yonago to create a speculative science fiction piece entitled *Paper*. The narrative interweaves allusions to the history of the people who migrated from Yonago to British Columbia to work in the lumber industry, with a story about a teahouse on a small island off the coast of Yonago based on fragmented memories of local residents. *Paper* was an art project comprised of an audio narrative voiced by Mochizuki which was listened to by participants of a boat tour around the island where the tea house once existed, as well as a separate installation consisting of documentary footage of early migrants to Canada from Japan. After creating *Paper*, Mochizuki continued to work in both British Columbia and Tottori in order to expand the story into *Rock, Paper, Scissors* (2017) (Fig. 9), a time travel trilogy, spanning between the early 1900s and the year 2100.

[59] *Hokubei Ijū to Adachi Giyomatsu* 北米移住と足立儀代松, Sakaiminato Kyoikuiinkai 境港市教育委員会, 2012.

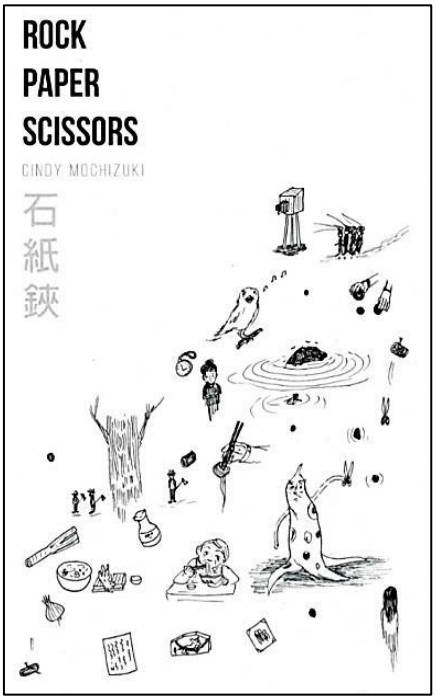


Figure 9: Cindy Mochizuki
Rock, Paper, Scissors
(Nikkei National Museum and
Cultural Centre Exhibition Flyer:
Feb. 4 – April 30, 2017)

Just as *Paper* engaged the theme of lumber (hence the title "paper"), the new chapter *Rock* references the coal mining work which many Asian immigrants to Canada took on during the early twentieth century. The title of the third part of the trilogy, *Scissors* alludes to the Japanese *tatara* method of iron and steel smelting, while the story itself is set in a distant future dreamscape. The three stories are linked through the character of K, who works in a restaurant on the small island off the shore of Yonago. One day, K discovers a pathway to travel through time and encounters people who immigrated to British Columbia at the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as the historical circumstances they lived through.

As the historian Masako Iino explains, people who migrated from Japan to the west coast of Canada at the turn of the century were initially received as cheap physical labor, but as their

numbers increased, they came to be perceived as a threat to white society.[60] In September 1907, the members of the Vancouver chapter of the Asiatic Exclusion League marched into the local Chinatown and Japantown, causing a massive riot. This triggered the Canadian Government's decision to enforce policies to restrict Japanese immigrants, and fueled racist sentiments which expelled children of Japanese immigrants born in Canada from economic opportunities.

Following the December 7th 1941 (Pacific Standard Time) attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese army, the Canadian Government declared all people of Japanese ancestry to be enemy aliens, confiscating the assets of anyone who fit that description, and requiring them to either repatriate to Japan or face forced relocation and incarceration in internment camps.[61] As a result of the long efforts of the redress movement, in the 1980s, the Canadian Government acknowledged the financial losses and deprivation of human rights caused by the forced eviction and internment with a formal apology and compensation to surviving citizens who went through that experience. Meanwhile, Mochizuki's trilogy draws attention to discrimination which existed in Canada well before the outbreak of World War Two.

As previous research regarding Uranihon focused on statistically measurable data such as domestic population shifts, the advancement of industry, the expansion of transportation infrastructure, the establishment of education facilities, and the distribution of capital, in many ways it emphasizes a backwards and destitute regional image. Conversely, this paper turned to examples of photography, painting and other art produced in Tottori Prefecture, in order to reexamine the notion of Uranihon from the perspective of visual culture. The place names and bull semen incorporated into the photography of Teikō Shiotani, the repetitive use of sand by Shōji Ueda, the documentation of early morning fishermen and merchants at work by Mamoru Sumi, and the depiction of evening darkness by Mana Satō are all references to elements of Uranihon. These artists harness the regional characteristics of Uranihon and channel them towards their creative activities. By focusing attention on the work of artists in Tottori Prefecture, this essay also aimed to demonstrate the need to branch out from an urban-centered approach to visual cultural research.

---

[60] Iino, Masako 飯野正子, "Nikkei Kanadajin no Ayumi – Kunan o Norikoete" 日系カナダ人の歩み――苦難を乗り越えて, Iino, Masako and Yutaka Takenaka 飯野正子・竹中豊 eds. *Gendai Kanada o Shiru tame no 57 sho* 現代カナダを知るための 57 章, Akashi Shoten 明石書店, 2010, pp. 90–99.
[61] Ibid., pp. 96–97.

Finally, this paper also turned to Cindy Mochizuki's *Rock, Paper, Scissors* in order to reconsider the meaning of Uranihon. Mochizuki's work reminds us that people in search of new opportunities were not only migrating from Uranihon to Tokyo, but also to a variety of regions both in Japan and overseas. In this sense, the prefix "Ura" and the word "Nihon" are misleading, as they skew the movement of people which spread across the globe, as something to be interpreted only in a national context comprised of binary oppositions. The works examined in this essay show that regions like Tottori Prefecture should be regarded as one of many focal points, where visual culture was and continues to be alive, and from where migration did and continues to ebb and flow in all directions.

(Author's note: This paper is an abridged English translation of a research paper originally written in Japanese and published as: "Shikaku Bunka to 'Uranihon' no Chiiki Hyōshō" 視覚文化と「裏日本」の地域表象, *Nihongakuhō* 日本学報, Vol. 37, 2018. All text, including quotations, was translated by the author. All names in the main text appear in the order of first name followed by last name.)

The Usage of Sentences Mixing Regular-Script *Kanji* and *Hiragana* in the Latter Part of the Edo Period

YUKIO HISADA*

1. Introduction

The Japanese writing system has three character types: *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana*. In the present day, it is natural that sentences are written by mixing *kanji* and *hiragana*. *Katakana* is used primarily to express foreign words, onomatopoeia, and names of animals and plants. However, in the Meiji period, *katakana* was used more widely than it is in the present day. This is evident in sentences mixing *kanji* and *katakana*.

Over time, the style of *kanji* used in the Japanese language has changed, evolving from semi-cursive-script *kanji* (行書, *gyōsho*) to regular-script *kanji* (楷書, *kaisho*). While semi-cursive-script *kanji* was for daily use, regular-script *kanji* was used only in academic books. During the Edo period, Japanese sentences were typically written using a mix of *kanji* and *kana*: semi-cursive-script *kanji* and *hiragana*, and regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*.

Although Japanese used both styles of *kanji* and combinations of *kanji* and *kana*, in the present day, Japanese is typically written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. Thus, from the Edo to the Meiji period, the Japanese writing system changed significantly in terms of the style of *kanji* and the combination of *kanji* and *kana* used. These major changes can be explained by the influence of the printing press in the Meiji period. However, there were books written in the style of sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* during the Edo period. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether this style used in the latter part of the Edo period influenced the style used in the Meiji period.

This article provides a survey of books containing sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*, from the perspectives of their contents, publishers, and printing methods. Based on these attributes, I will clarify the characteristics of the books published in the latter part of the Edo period. This is important when examining the changes that occurred in the Japanese writing system from the Edo to the Meiji period.

* Osaka University, Graduate Student; e-mail: fmptsr34@yahoo.co.jp

2. Manuscripts and printing during the Edo period

During the Edo period, commercial publishing developed and many books were printed. This social change made books available to people of every class. This social change also drew the attention of book publishers, because they needed to make books legible for all readers and accessible. Moreover, these changes deeply affected the method of manufacturing books, which shifted from handwriting to woodblock printing. When books were handwritten, much time was needed to produce a single book and thus efficiency was very important. However, when books were printed via woodblock printing, the legibility of the books became more important than efficiency alone. Yada Tsutomu pointed out that the marks used to ease reading and understanding in handwritten books (i.e., sonant or punctuation marks) came to be used as basic elements of the act of writing in itself during the print era.[1] For book publishers considering the need for greater legibility to reach a wider range of readers, a particular writing style was required.

Sentences mixing *kanji* and *kana* were easier to understand than sentences written only in *kana*. This is because *kanji* helps to clarify the meaning of sentences by preventing the misunderstanding of homonyms, in contrast to sentences written only in *kana*. However, sentences mixing *kanji* and *kana* contain characters that were difficult for readers who could not read *kanji*. For these readers, providing *kana* above the *kanji* aided their reading comprehension. Even if the *kanji* itself was not readable, readers could understand the meaning of the words by reading the *kana* above the *kanji*. In other words, sentences mixing *kanji* and *kana* were more suitable for printing because this style was accessible to different levels of readers.

For these reasons, in print, sentences mixing *kanji* and *kana* were ideal. However, in handwriting, it was typical that people wrote *sōrō* sentences: sentences ending with the copula *sōrō* (候文, *sōrō-bun*). *Sōrō* sentences were used in letters written during the Edo and Meiji periods. Therefore, many people wrote and read *sōrō* sentences in letters, while they read

[1] Yada Tsutomu 矢田勉, *Kokugo Moji Hyōkishi no Kenkyū* 国語文字・表記史の研究, Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 2012, pp. 507–525. First printing "Insatsu Jidai ni okeru Kokugo Shokishi no Genri" 印刷時代における国語書記史の原理. In *Tōkyō Daigaku Kokugokenkyūshitsu Sōsetsu Hyakushūkinen Kokugokenyū Ronshū* 東京大学国語研究室創設百周年記念 国語研究論集, Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1998, pp. 567–585.

sentences mixing *kanji* and *kana* in printed books. In other words, commercial printing divided people into those who could only read sentences mixing *kanji* and *kana* and those who could read and write sentences mixing *kanji* and *kana.*

During the Edo period, it was normal to have both styles in handwriting and in printed books. Moreover, the following relationship can be found in manuscripts and printed books. At the beginning, printed books were influenced by manuscripts; but before long, printed books affected manuscripts by their overwhelming production capacity. In other words, there was a demand for printed books to resemble manuscripts. However, soon the situation reversed and people began to value handwriting that was like printed material. In the latter part of the Edo period, with the maturation of publishing culture, printed books influenced handwritten books. This article examines printed books.

3. Culture of publication and writing during the Edo period

During the Edo period, there were many forms of printing genre and style. For example, academic books written in the style of Chinese texts translated into Japanese (漢文訓読, *kanbun-kundoku*) were written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*. Meanwhile, light literature (戯作, *gesaku*) and collections of "exemplary letters" (往来物, *ōraimono*) were written in sentences mixing semi-cursive-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. In addition, literary printing had its own format such as a style of handwriting used in books on *jōruri* and a printing plate characteristic of illustrated storybooks with yellow covers (黄表紙, *kibyōshi*). These books can be identified simply by the appearance of their printed pages, without even reading their contents. In other words, the style of printing, such as handwriting and illustrations, reflected the book's respective genre. During the Edo period, there were several expressive modes of writing based on established styles and forms. Different modes of writing targeted different readers. This is a distinctive feature of commercial publishing in the Edo period.

It is important to understand the aspects of style and genre in order to evaluate the actual conditions of writing in the Edo period. Thus, it is useful to review previous research on books written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*.

There were books written in the style of sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. Among them, *Keiten'yoshi* (経典余師) (Figure 1)[2] received attention early on because it was the first book that employed sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* in order to read Chinese classics in Japanese (書き下し文, *kakikudashi-bun*). This book was published in 1786, in the latter part of the Edo period, for students who wanted to read Chinese classics in Japanese. Suzuki Toshiyuki has researched *Keiten'yoshi* and similar books and has pointed out that many books of a similar format were produced because *Keiten'yoshi* was so well received.[3] As a result, many Japanese readers learned to read regular-script *kanji* and publishers sold books written in the style of sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*.

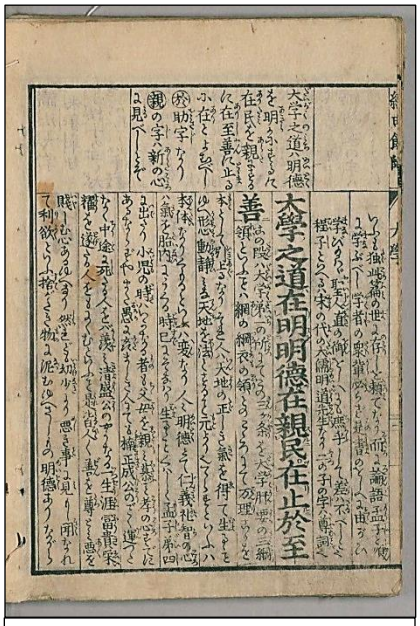

大學之道在明明德在親民在止於至
善

Figure 1: *Keiten'yoshi* (1v)

The Chinese classics were academic works, so it was natural that regular-script *kanji* was used. *Keiten'yoshi* was written for lower-class samurai. These cases suggest that sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* may have been used in academic books when publishers assumed that the readers were not scholars. Therefore, it is necessary to research the genres written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*.

4. Content of the books

The writing styles used in books published in the Edo period were deeply connected to the books' contents. Thus, this section will begin its analysis by focusing on the contents of the books published during this period.

[2] National Diet Library Digital Collection (Call No: 特 1-1903).
[3] Suzuki Toshiyuki 鈴木俊幸, *Edo no Dokushonetsu:Jigakusuru Dokusha to Shoseki Ryūtsū* 江戸の読書熱－自学する読者と書籍流通, Heibonsha 平凡社, 2007, pp. 145–244.

4-1. Buddhist scriptures

Buddhism was imported to Japan from India via China. Thus, in Japan, it was natural that Buddhist scriptures were written in either a classical Chinese style or sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*.

Buddhist scriptures have a long publishing history in Japan because of the important cultural role Buddhism has played in the country. Many Buddhist scriptures were published in the early Edo period when commercial publishing first developed. Many Buddhist scriptures were also sold with the purpose of spreading Buddhist teachings; therefore, Buddhist scriptures were printed not only for priests but also for ordinary people. They were generally written in either a classical Chinese style or sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*. However, roughly before the 19th century, sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were used in published Buddhist scriptures. For example, *Hōjō Yorokobi Gusa* (放生歓喜草), printed in 1816, and *Sanjō Wasan Kankishō* (三帖和讃歓喜鈔), printed in 1836. Also, medical books written in regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* appeared earlier; however, this will be further explored later in this article.

Buddhist scriptures characteristically used sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* when they were reprinted. For example, *Anzai Hōshi Ōjōki* (安西法師往生記) was first printed in 1712, and then reprinted in 1815, 1840, and 1848. Although this book was printed in sentences mixing semi-cursive-script *kanji* and *hiragana* in the 1815 edition, later it was printed in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* in the 1848 edition.[4] This case suggests that sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were required at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate.

4-2. Medical science and herbal medicine books

In Japan, knowledge of medical science was imported from China. Thus, the transfer of medical knowledge to Japan was similar to the transfer of Buddhism. In the Edo period, medical books were also sold because there were few doctors. These medical books were written in everyday language, rather than in technical language, to make their contents accessible to regular people who did not have access to doctors. In this historical context, medical books written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were sold as

[4] I was unable to access the 1840 reprint of *Anzai Hōshi Ōjōki* (安西法師往生記), so it is possible that it was printed in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*.

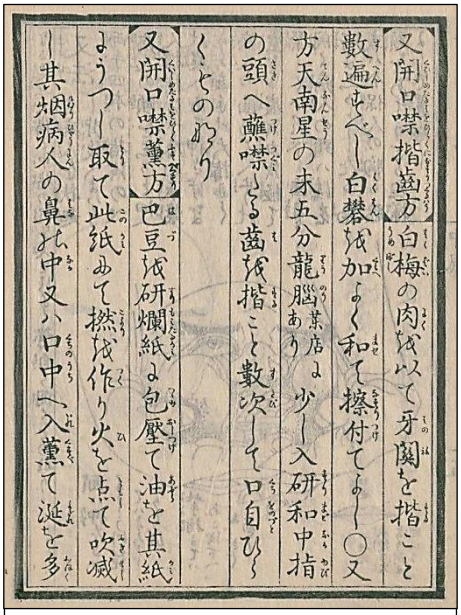


Figure 2: *Kōkeisai Kyūhō* (5v)

earlier as the late 18th century. For example, Taki Motonori wrote *Kōkeisai Kyūhō* (広恵済急方) in 1790 (Figure 2)[5] and Nasu Tsunenori wrote *Honchō Idan* (本朝医談) in 1822.

Taki Motonori was the son of Taki Mototaka, who was the shogun's doctor, and was deeply involved in medical education, and *Kōkeisai kyūhō* was printed for ordinary people. It merits attention that sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were used in this book, because *Fukyū ruihō* (普救類方) was printed in sentences mixing semi-cursive-script *kanji* and *hiragana* for ordinary people in 1729 by the Tokugawa shogunate. It seems that there was a shift in consciousness regarding writing style during those sixty years.

Herbalism and Chinese medicine were imported from China, and were dealt with similarly. Herbal medicine books were written in either classical Chinese style or with sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*. In the latter part of the Edo period, sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were used. Kitano Akiyoshi wrote *Akino Nanakusakō* (秋野七草考) in 1812 and Asao Taneo wrote *Shinsen Koshōkō* (新撰胡椒考) in 1837.

4-3. Reading books (読本, *yomihon*)

Reading books (読本, *yomihon*) comprised a genre of light literature published in the latter part of the Edo period, which needs to be distinguished from the academic books mentioned above. Reading books are divided into two classes by year of publication: the early period and the late period. In addition, this distinction is consistent with the publication area: Kamigata and Edo. In the late period, sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were used. Although the reading books of the late period are classified as light literature, these books were sold in distribution channels separate from other light literature. Reading books of the

[5] National Diet Library Digital Collection (Call No: 特 1-308).

late period were sold in distribution channels that primarily handled academic books. While other types of light literature were written in sentences mixing semi-cursive-script *kanji* and *hiragana*, reading books were written in regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*.

Santō Kyōden wrote *Chūshin Suikoden* (忠臣水滸伝) in 1799, which was the first reading book published in the late period. This book was written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. Santō Kyōden also wrote *Honchō Suibodai Zenden* (本朝酔菩提全伝) in 1809 and *Sōchōki* (双蝶記) in 1813 in this style. However, in 1803, Santō Kyōden wrote *Fukushū Kidan Asakanonuma* (復讐奇談安積沼) and *Mukashigatari Inazuma Byōshi* (昔話稲妻表紙) in sentences mixing semi-cursive-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. In addition, Kyokutei Bakin wrote reading books in the late period using sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. Bakin also wrote *Sangoku Ichiya Monogatari* (三国一夜物語) in 1806 in this style. These two authors had a significant influence on later reading books in terms of the writing style that they used in their books. For example, *Dokuyō Shingo* (独揺新語) and *Noji no Tamagawa* (野路の玉川) were both written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*.

However, it is important to understand that not every book belonging to these three genres of printed books was written in this style of sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. To the best of my knowledge, most books belonging to the three genres show a tendency for this style.

In some other genres, sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were also used. For example, *Sanpō Kyūseki Tsūkō* (算法求積通考) and *Edo Daisetsuyō Kaidaigura* (江戸大節用海内蔵) were written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. The former is a book about Japanese mathematics (算法書, *sanpō-sho*), and the latter is a type of dictionary (節用集, *setsuyō-shū*).

5. Publishers

Next, in this section, the publishers during this period will be discussed. During the Edo period, publishers sold books belonging to specific genres. Thus, it is also useful to analyze printed books from the perspective of publishers to reveal the features of the books that they published.

5-1. Kashiwaraya Seiemon (柏原屋清右衛門)

Kashiwaraya Seiemon was a publisher located in Osaka. It was founded in the late 1600s, and stayed in business until the end of the Tokugawa shogunate. The most famous books it published include *Hayabiki Setsuyō-shū* (早引節用集) and *Shibukawa-ban Otogizōshi* (渋川版御伽草子). This publisher obtained the copyright for the sales and reprinting of the books it published. For example, Kashiwaraya Seiemon published *Idō Nichiyō Kōmoku* (医道日用綱目) and *Chūya Chōhōki* (昼夜調法記), which had been published before by other publishers.

Books written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* were published by Kashiwaraya Seiemon during the 1700s, which is earlier than the scope of this article. However, Kashiwaraya Seiemon cannot be overlooked, as it was a bookstore that published books written in this writing style. For example, *Shōni Ryōji Chōhōki* (小児療治重宝記) was printed in 1715 and *Kakanpu Ryakusetsu* (火浣布略説) was printed in 1765. However, it was not only Kashiwaraya Seiemon that printed *Kakanpu Ryakusetsu*. Therefore, strictly speaking, it is possible that *Kakanpu Ryakusetsu* was sold by publishers other than Kashiwaraya Seiemon. In addition, Kashiwaraya Seiemon published *Wakan Rōei-shū* (和漢朗詠集) with other publishers in *Keiten'yoshi* style in 1807.[6]

5-2. Ibuki-no-ya (気吹舎)

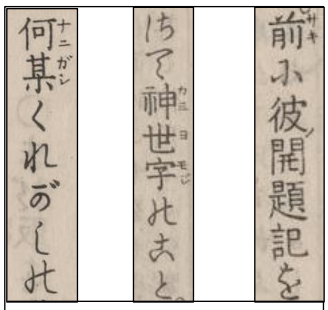


Figure 3: Examples of Ibuki-no-ya's *hiragana*.

Ibuki-no-ya was an organization of disciples of Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), rather than a publisher.[7] Ibuki-no-ya published books written by Hirata Atsutane. Atsutane was a scholar of Japanese classics and became a disciple of Motoori Norinaga; but this was after Norinaga had died. Yada Tsutomu pointed out that books printed by Ibuki-no-ya employed the style of mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*.[8] For example, *Tama no Mihashira* (霊能真柱) was printed in 1812 and *Kan'na Hifumi no Den* (神字日文伝) was printed in 1819.

[6] This was pointed out by Suzuki Toshiyuki in 2007.

[7] See the following study for more information on Ibuki-no-ya publishing: Yoshida Asako 吉田麻子, *Chi no Kyōmei: Hirata Atsutane wo Meguru Shomotu no Shakaishi* 知の共鳴－平田篤胤をめぐる書物の社会史, Perikansha ぺりかん社, 2012.

[8] Yada Tsutomu, op. cit., pp. 641–660.

Books printed by Ibuki-no-ya have distinctive features specific to the usage of *hiragana*. During the Edo period, it was natural that *hiragana* was written in a cursive style. However, the *hiragana* used in these books is similar to that used in the present day (Figure 3).[9] Yada stated that these features were influenced by *Kojikiden* (古事記伝). Norinaga wrote *Kojikiden* and it was printed from 1790 to 1822. While *Kojikiden* was the only book written in that style by Norinaga, Ibuki-no-ya published many books written in the same style. Ibuki-no-ya employed this style as their format when they published books written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. Thus, books published by Ibuki-no-ya in this style were not related to their contents.

6. Printing method

Finally, in this section the different printing methods used will be discussed. During the Edo period, woodblock printing was a common publishing method, and the books mentioned in this article are of woodblock print. However, printing using individual pieces of wood, or movable wood type, was used more in the latter part of the Edo period, or after the Tenmei and Kansei years (天明・寛政期) in the late 1700s. Printing type made from wood was primarily used for books written in either classical Chinese style or sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*. However, there are several books written in the style of sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. It is important to understand the actual conditions of the books printed by woodblock to discern the relationship of the books printed with the printing press in the Meiji period and books printed in the Edo period.

6-1. Wood type printing

During the Edo period, wood type printing was not a common publishing method because it was not suitable for mass printing and reprinting. In contrast, woodblocks could be used many times even though they were subject to wear and tear. However, wood type printing required the page to be reset every time a book was printed, so wood type printing was inferior to woodblock printing. During the Edo period, when commercial publishing developed, woodblock printing became the most popular publishing method, and the woodblocks owned by the publishers constituted a kind of copyright.

[9] *Kan'na Hifumi no Den*, National Diet Library Digital Collection (Call No: 837-18).

Printing using wood type was suitable for limited printing, especially after the Tenmei and Kansei years. In 1790, the Tokugawa shogunate prohibited learning any type of Confucianism other than Neo-Confucianism. This policy caused the subjects of learning and the demand for books to change. The scale of this demand was suitable for wood type printing. Books printed using wood type were mostly written in either classical Chinese style or sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*. However, toward the end of the Tokugawa shogunate, there were few books written in the style of sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. Suzuki Hiromitsu pointed out that *Batbiya-Shinbun* (バタビヤ新聞) and *Hoheiseiritsu* (歩兵制律) were written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* and printed using wood type.[10] Suzuki stated that these books were written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* because their contents were new, so the new writing style was more suitable for their contents.

However, it is not clear whether wood type printing in the latter part of the Edo period influenced the printing press used in the Meiji period. In a study of the history of publication, Komiyama Hiroshi and Fukawa Mitsuo examined the printing press,[11] but their study did not address the continuity of wood type printing. Thus, concerning the continuity of writing style, further research is needed.

7. Conclusion

In this article, I analyzed books written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana* from three perspectives: the contents of the books, the publishers, and the printing methods used. There were two typical styles of writing in the Edo period: sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*, and sentences mixing semi-cursive-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. However, the books I mentioned in this article were written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*.

[10] Suzuki Hiromitsu 鈴木広光, *Nihongo Katsuji Insatsushi* 日本語活字印刷史, Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 2015, pp. 218–263. First printing "Kaika no Kishimi: Yōranki no Nihongo Taipogurafi" 開化の軋み－揺籃期の日本語タイポグラフィ, *Bungaku* 文学, Vol.12, No. 3, 2011.

[11] For example, Fukawa Mitsuo et al. 府川充男他, *Kumihan: Taipogurafi no Kairō* 組版－タイポグラフィの回廊, Hakujunsha 白順社, 2007; Komiyama Hiroshi 小宮山博史, Fukawa Mitsuo 府川充男, and Koike Kazuo 小池和夫, *Shinsei Katsuji Chūdokusha Tokuhon: Hanmen Kōshō Katsuji Shotaishi Yūran* 真性活字中毒者読本－版面考證 活字書体史遊覧, Kashiwa Shobō 柏書房, 2001.

Concerning the books' contents, Buddhist scriptures, medical books, herbal medicine books, and reading books (*yomihon*) tended to be written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. These books had academic content and were sold in the same distribution channels.

Regarding the publishers, Kashiwaraya Seiemon and Ibuki-no-ya tended to publish books written in sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*. However, the situations of these two publishers were different. Kashiwaraya Seiemon published the same books as other publishers; therefore, Kashiwaraya Seiemon may not have intentionally chosen to use this style. Meanwhile, Ibuki-no-ya published its own books, so Ibuki-no-ya used this style of its own accord. Ibuki-no-ya was not a commercial publisher, so it may be said that Ibuki-no-ya selected this style out of preference.

Regarding the printing method, books printed using wood type printing were mostly written in either classical Chinese style or with sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *katakana*. However, toward the end of the Tokugawa shogunate, there were few books written in the style of sentences mixing regular-script *kanji* and *hiragana*, and these books contained new contents. These new contents were more suited to this writing style.

This style represented the most common style used during the Meiji period. In this article, I did not discuss books published during the Meiji period. Therefore, more research is needed to explore which factors influenced the actual conditions of writing and publishing during the Meiji period.